

Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

Volume 33: - November 9 - December 1, 1994

Published by:

East Timor Action Network / U.S.

P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA

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These documents are produced approximately every two months and mailed to subscribers.

For additional or back copies, send US\$25 per volume; add \$3 for international air mail. Discount rates: \$10 for educational and non-profit institutions; \$6 for U.S. activists; \$8 international.

Subscription rates: \$150 (\$60 educational, \$36 activist) for the next six issues. Add \$18 (\$12 activist) for international air mail. Further subsidies are available for groups in Third World countries working on East Timor. Checks should be made out to "ETAN."

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Please note that the categorization of articles in this issue of East Timor Documents is less rigid than usual, because many items deal with more than one topic. In particular, actions and statements from solidarity groups in support of protesters in Jakarta and East Timor are included in the section on the country where the solidarity group is located.

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PRE-APEC BACKGROUND

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE APEC REGION: 1994

Report from Human Rights Watch/Asia, November 1994. Vol. 6, No.13. [Excerpt: Introduction and Indonesia sections only]

INTRODUCTION

Many of the eighteen countries making up the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group are coming to the 1994 summit in Jakarta with impressive economic growth rates and poor human rights records. The Asia-Pacific region more than any other has generated a debate about the relationship between economic development and human rights: is economic development a prerequisite for political liberalization, as some people suggest the experience of South Korea and Taiwan has shown, or does economic growth further legitimize authoritarian governments, as might be asserted in the case of Singapore and Indonesia? Does growth lead to greater demands from a growing middle class for empowerment and individual rights, as in Thailand, or to intensified repression to head off those demands, as in China? The simple answer is that there is no generalization about the impact of economic growth on human rights that is applicable across the region. But as the entries in this report covering a selection of APEC countries illustrate, there is certainly no evidence to suggest that economic growth by itself is any guarantor of human rights protection. That fact suggests that outside pressure on abusive governments is still very much needed, but therein lies a crucial policy dilemma, brought out most starkly by the debate in the United States over extending Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status to China: can the "commercial diplomacy"

of donor countries eager to take advantage of growing markets co-exist with a strong, principled stance on human rights? If the answer is yes, it is clear that no government has quite figured out how.

Development, Equity and Worker Rights

The World Bank has praised the "miracle economies" of the APEC region – Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia – for delivering "growth with equity." In 1994, however, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Asia were asking probing questions about how that growth was achieved and how equitable it really was. Many specialists on the region argued that the sometimes unpopular decisions necessary to achieve rapid growth in countries such as South Korea, Taiwan or Indonesia could only have been made by strong central governments able to resist the pressures of outside interest groups, and that political stability had been essential. The implication was that full respect for the full panoply of political and civil rights in a place like China was not only unrealistic, it might also be undesirable. But the experience of many of the APEC countries shows that suppression of political rights has too often been accompanied by the kind of widespread political arrests, torture and summary executions that characterized the Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan years in Korea or the first two decades of the New Order in Indonesia. Repression in the name of stability can be a cancer, spreading quickly from emergency decrees to the establishment of an extensive internal security network and assaults on bodily integrity. Once in place, authoritarian institutions are very difficult to remove, and it might well be that earlier moves toward dismantling those institutions would have produced greater economic gains for Korea, or that the current government in Indonesia could lift controls on freedom of expression

and association now without doing any damage, and perhaps even enhancing, its economic performance.

Asian NGOs were also increasingly challenging the notion of "growth with equity" by pointing to growing income disparities and corruption and to the many losers in the development process: indigenous peoples, urban squatters, and in some cases, industrial workers.

Worker rights, indeed, may soon become the biggest human rights issue in Asia for several reasons. The economic strategies of many East Asian countries involve the use of low labor costs as an incentive to foreign investors. Worker demands underscore the social transformation and dislocations taking place in Asia: the flow of workers from rural areas into cities, the declining place of agriculture in the GNP of many countries, the changing role of women (especially with the importance of women workers in key export-oriented industries such as garments, shoes, toys and electronics); and the internationalization of markets in the region.

The issue is also highly charged politically. Asian governments argue that labor rights are a disguised protectionist tool used by the North against the South, at the same time that many NGOs in the region see the light of workers as symbolic of the collusion between their governments and the West in the interests of more profits. Concern over worker rights in Asia has become a major issue for labor lobbies in developed countries, and in the U.S., there are more economic sanctions written into law for violation of labor rights than perhaps for any other single kind of abuse.

Worker rights is not only a question of wages and working conditions, although those are among the key issues that led to over 10,000 strikes and work stoppages in China in 1993 by the government's own admission, or the tens of thousands of workers out on the streets of Medan, North

Sumatra in April 1994. Some degree of freedom of association is essential, so that workers have the ability to negotiate the terms of their employment. That ability may be key to the subsistence and survival that Asian governments insist is their top priority. The fire at the Kader toy factory in Thailand in May 1993 or at the toy factory in Shenzhen that killed 84 women in November 1993 or at the textile factory in Fuzhou that killed 61 the following December might all have been prevented had the workers had some ability to organize and present grievances. The tight controls on freedom of association, combined with mounting grievances, also mean that Asian governments are in many cases creating a pressure cooker with the potential to cause far greater damage in the future than relaxing the controls would do now.

Growing regional ties have given labor issues a higher profile for several reasons. It is widely accepted premise that some of the worst working conditions in Asia are in plants set up with Asian capital, from Hong Kong, Taiwan or Korea in particular. The disastrous fire in Fuzhou in December 1993 took place at a Taiwanese-owned firm, and one of the big strikes in Indonesia in 1993 was at a Korean-owned electronics firm. It raises the question as to whether those Asian governments, like Japan and Korea, with an explicit commitment to upholding human rights across borders, have any influence or will to exert influence over the practices of their own investors. It also gives rise to complacency among Western corporations, particularly American ones, who point with pride to the workplace conditions in their own joint ventures and plants and compare them favorably with those set up by their Asian counterparts. But growing worker discontent is likely to have effects that go beyond a single plant, and it is surely in the interests of the international corporate community to address worker rights issues that go beyond the workplace.

Tensions over international labor flows have created major diplomatic incidents and fueled regional tensions. Labor shortages in the more developed countries of the region have exerted a strong pull on workers from poor countries: some 200,000 to 400,000 Burmese are working in Thailand while Thais themselves seek work in Taiwan, Japan and the Gulf countries. Indonesians constitute most of the 430,000 legal and 200,000 illegal foreign workers in Malaysia, doing everything from domestic work to rubber-tapping. Taiwan has 61,000 foreign workers according to the Interior Ministry, but church sources there put the total of legal and illegal workers at closer to 200,000, mostly from the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

The same governments who turn a blind eye toward the ill-treatment of guest workers in their country show more concern for their nationals working abroad. Many of the Burmese workers in Thailand face a range of abuses ranging from forced labor to physical abuse and extortion in immigration detention centers – abuses in which Thai officials are directly involved. But when some of the over 53,000 Thai workers in Japan each year who overstay their visas are arrested or abused, the Thai government actively intervenes to urge the Japanese government to grant the workers a right to stay and protect them from abuse.

Asian Responses to Human Rights

In part because of the nature of the issues development has raised, and in part because of the international attention to the issue, there is now a growing constituency within the APEC region, both non-governmental and governmental, for more attention to human rights. International pressure is increasingly a reflection not merely of Western values but of the demands of Asians on their own governments. While the huge expansion of NGOs in the 1980s in East and Southeast Asia, particularly the latter, can be traced in part to the availability of funds from donor countries, the roots of the NGO movement in Asia are deep. The largest human rights organizations in the region emerged as responses to political crack-downs in their own countries, when their colleagues were subject to arrest and detention. This was true in Korea in the mid-1970s, the Philippines after Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972, the formation of the Legal Aid Institute in 1971 in Indonesia and the emergence of Thai human rights organizations after the coup in 1973. The first human rights organization, short-lived, to appear in China was in 1979 at the beginning of the Democracy Wall period. To think that concern over political and civil rights is a Western conceit is to do an enormous disservice to the efforts of many Asians to oppose abuse of state power in a period before support for NGOs became a Western vogue. The "Asian concept of human rights," stressing economic development over political rights and collective duties over individual freedoms, is largely a self-serving construct of Asian governments that has been widely rejected by Asian human rights activists.

The accusation by Asian governments that NGOs are a channel for introducing foreign values because of their reliance on foreign funds is hypocrisy in the extreme. It is true that indigenous funding for NGOs is almost non-existent. But the economic growth of East Asia has been due in part, according to the World Bank, to its open-

ness to foreign ideas and technology – and foreign financing. Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew was Western-trained; so were many of the most important policy-makers of every East Asian country except perhaps China and Vietnam. Their countries have shown no objection to Western aid or development experts, their institutes receive generous grants from the same donors who fund the NGOs. Why funding for NGOs should be subversive when grants to government agencies and academic institutions are not is something of a mystery.

Despite the efforts of some governments in the APEC region to reject human rights criticism, many at the same time have been responsive to domestic and international pressure for improvements, thereby tacitly acknowledging the legitimacy of the issue or the validity of the concerns.

In China, there are projects underway in the Institute of Law of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and other academic institutions to understand international human rights law and how it applies to China, and some lively debates on constitutionalism taking place within the legal community. (These efforts, which are serious, stand in sharp contrast to the sham "non-governmental" institution that the government set up in 1993. Called the Chinese Society for the Study of Human Rights, it seems to have been created for the sole purpose of attending international NGO conferences to promote the government viewpoint.)

In June 1993, President Soeharto of Indonesia formed a national human rights commission that proved to be more independent than expected. A year later it has become a lightning rod for complaints of abuse from all over Indonesia, even if it remains powerless to do much more than publicize the complaints. A bill to set up a similar commission in Thailand is currently pending in the Thai parliament.

The countries making up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN, including Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Brunei) have been discussing the past few years the setting up of either a bureau of human rights within the ASEAN secretariat or an Eminent Persons Delegation composed of people from the region that would be able to take quick action, of a quiet, diplomatic sort, in case of a major human rights violation in a member country. The problem of any such governmental initiative, however, was demonstrated by Indonesian bullying of the Philippines and Thai governments to prevent the holding of conferences on East Timor in Manila and Bangkok respectively in mid-1994 and the Thai government's willingness in September 1994 to bow to

Malaysian pressure for the arrest and deportation of a Malaysian Muslim leader and his followers on spurious grounds (see entries on Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, below).

Japan's response to the debate over human rights has been different. Its own human rights practices have not, for the most part, been the subject of much international scrutiny, although human rights groups within Japan and abroad have raised concerns about its treatment of the Korean minority, foreign workers and refugees, and the failure to consider individual compensation to victims of abuse during the Second World War. Japanese detention procedures, prison conditions and use of the death penalty have also come in for censure.

But like South Korea and the Philippines, it has rejected many elements of the "Asian concept of human rights" in favor of a more universalist interpretation that acknowledges human rights as an issue transcending international boundaries. Its acceptance of U.N. standards on human rights, combined with its economic clout as the largest donor in the region, should make it a logical partner of other developed countries in a campaign to press for human rights improvements in Asia. Concern that Japan cannot be an effective human rights advocate because of the legacy of horrific wartime atrocities is voiced more often by Japanese officials than by human rights activists and victims in the region, many of whom would welcome greater Japanese pressure on their governments.

The Policy Response

Since it is clear that human rights abuses in the APEC region will not go away with economic growth, the challenge is how to respond to them. The international community clearly has not yet found an effective answer. The U.S. in particular has lost credibility as a human rights advocate with the delinkage of MFN and human rights in China after two years of strong rhetoric. The Clinton administration also suspended a review of labor rights practices in Indonesia, partly in order to pave the way for a harmonious reception for President Clinton at the APEC summit. While Australia, Canada, and many European governments include human rights language in their aid agreements and American law conditions certain trade benefits on respect for worker rights and human rights more generally, application of these provisions tends to be token at best. Thus far, the chosen alternatives have been ineffective:

- Quiet diplomacy or "dialogue" in the absence of credible pressure does not work, as the U.S. experience with China attests. A government without the politi-

cal will to end abuses is not going to be persuaded by polite diplomatic appeals alone.

- Long-term institutional development, particularly in the field of law, can be productive but it cannot not address problems such as torture or arbitrary detention, where immediate action is necessary. There can also be serious ethical dilemmas about providing aid to an abusive government designed to halt practices that the government has shown no interest in addressing.

The economic importance of the APEC region to industrialized countries, and the linkages between foreign economic policy and domestic well-being, means that the domestic consensus in the first world behind a forceful human rights policy is harder to build. A market-driven foreign policy, on the other hand, seems to have the inevitable effect of marginalizing human rights concerns.

A new approach may lie in combining strong bilateral initiatives with building a human rights strategy firmly anchored in the United Nations system of human rights protection. That system includes numerous international treaties, the most important of which are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, as well as several specialized mechanisms dealing with torture, summary executions, freedom of expression and others issues. Many of these are already well-known to Asian governments. At the invitation of the Indonesian government, the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions have visited East Timor in 1991 and 1994 respectively. The Working Group on Disappearances, another U.N. body, has been to the Philippines, and the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention visited Vietnam for three weeks in November 1994. The Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance was scheduled to visit China, also in November.

The International Labor Organization has also developed standards and conventions for the protection of worker rights and in some cases has sent "direct contact missions" to discuss with governments how to better protect human rights. Such a mission visited Indonesia in November 1993.

The recommendations of these various groups and individuals can form the basis of a multilateral advocacy strategy, but it will require time, resources and coordination. It will also require a commitment by governments to use a combination of constructive and punitive measures to press for implementation of these recommendations. (It

will also become more imperative than ever that the United States become a party to all major treaties, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which it has signed but never ratified. It remains the only major developed country which is not a party.)

A U.N.-based strategy will not remove the need for a strong bilateral human rights policy on the part of individual governments. That policy may increasingly have to be in partnership with the private sector, and it will require strong commitment and leadership from respective heads of state, and, like multilateral strategies, a combination of pressure and incentives. If human rights policy becomes the de facto responsibility of ministries of commerce or industry, it will be doomed from the start.

INDONESIA

Indonesia's policy of "openness," characterized by a freer press, greater tolerance of demonstrations, increased visibility of non-governmental organizations and open discussion of previously taboo subjects, came to an abrupt end during the year with the closing of three well-known news publications in June. The closures, weeks before the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, served to draw international attention back to a pattern of abuse that the policy of "openness" had temporarily obscured.

That pattern was characterized by military intervention in virtually all aspects of Indonesian public life and by the arbitrary exercise of authority by President Soeharto, well into his fifth term as President and looking increasingly likely to stay in office for life. More and more, however, the President and senior army officers were at odds, with Soeharto's championing of the powerful Minister of Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie, a major sore point with the military as Habibie increasingly took on defense procurement functions and worked on turning an organization of Muslim intellectuals into a vehicle to build a political base for the President and himself. (The immediate cause of the press closures was a series of articles in one of the banned magazines about Habibie's controversial decision, without the military's knowledge, to purchase thirty-nine ships of the former East German navy.) Neither the military nor the President was accountable to the Indonesian public for their actions, and therein lay one of the key factors in ongoing human rights abuses.

In addition to restrictions on freedom of expression and curbs on dissent, the abuses included denial of worker rights, especially the ability to form independent trade unions; harassment and intimidation of non-

governmental organizations and professional associations; forcible dispersal of peaceful demonstrations and other legitimate exercises of freedom of assembly; and torture.

The issue of worker rights came to a head with a massive workers' rally on April 14 and 15 in Medan, North Sumatra, where workers poured into the streets demanding higher wages and the right to organize, and the subsequent trials of its alleged organizers in October and November. The rally was the culmination of months of wildcat strikes and turned into anti-Chinese violence on the second day, with Chinese-owned shops vandalized and one ethnic Chinese businessman reported as killed; although his death was initially reported as a lynching, an autopsy showed that he died of a stroke after his car was set upon by angry workers. The violence appeared to have been instigated by typed flyers distributed by military-backed thugs.

Hundreds of workers and labor organizers were arrested in connection with both the rally and several subsequent strikes in North Sumatra, and they were tried more quickly than usual, apparently to try to defuse worker grievances before the APEC conference. Most workers accused of damaging property were sentenced to relatively lenient terms of three or four months in prison. Independent labor organizers accused of incitement were treated more harshly. Mochtar Pakpahan, leader of the independent labor union called Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia or SBSI, was sentenced to three years in prison in November – long enough to keep him out of circulation during the national parliamentary elections in 1997. Several other labor organizers, including two activists from Medan named Janes Hutahean and Parlin Manihuruk, were on trial as of early November. HRW/Asia believed all those charged with incitement were arrested in violation of their right to freedom of association.

In an effort to dampen domestic and international criticism of worker rights, especially with the threat of American economic sanctions looming large (see below), the Indonesian government announced a series of labor reforms in January and raised the minimum wage. It also entered into an agreement with the International Labor Organization which many local labor activists saw as merely serving to strengthen the government-recognized union.

Freedom of association was also at stake with the drafting of a presidential decree on NGOs that would tighten government control of their activities and make it possible for them to be dissolved if they were judged to have engaged in actions detrimental to undefined “national interests.” The draft decree was circulated by the Ministry of

Home Affairs in February, and as of November, it had not yet been promulgated, although many believed the government was waiting until after the APEC meeting to do so. The decree appeared to be aimed at many of the most outspoken human rights and environmental organizations including the Legal Aid Institute and WALHI. The latter, an environmental organization, brought a lawsuit against President Soeharto in September in the Jakarta administrative court, alleging that he had allowed Minister Habibie to take a no-interest loan from funds meant for reforestation in order to support the development of Habibie's aircraft manufacturing company.

The travails of an independent journalists association, Aliansi Jurnalis Independen or AJI, were also indicative of controls on freedom of association. Most professional organizations in Indonesia are government-backed or run and have no interest in challenging government policies. The officially-recognized journalists organization, Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia or PWI (Indonesian Journalists Association), was no exception. The closure of two magazines, *Tempo* and *Editor*, and a tabloid newspaper, *DeTik*, on June 21, however, led outraged journalists and editors, many of them from the banned publications, to set up AJI on August 8. In what became known as the Sirna Galih Declaration after the place where it was announced, the journalists rejected “all kinds of interference, intimidation, censorship and media bans which deny freedom of speech and open access to information.” The Ministry of Information then began to harass AJI members, saying the organization was not recognized, suggesting to their editors that they be fired and stating that access to important meetings like APEC would be restricted to PWI members. On October 31, Andreas Harsono, a prominent AJI member and journalist from the English-language *Jakarta Post* was sacked, on vague charges of misconduct.

Two of the publications closed down in June attempted unsuccessfully to re-open under other names and with a new editorial staff. The editor of *DeTik*, Eros Djarot, tried to publish a look-alike tabloid called *Simponi* on October 3, but it was shut down after one day, in part on the grounds that journalists who were not PWI members were involved in its publication. The staff of *Tempo* loyal to the former editors tried to obtain a new license for a *Tempo* look-alike called *Berita*, but as of November, their chances of doing so looked slim.

Academic freedom became a major issue late in the year with the military interrogation and dismissal respectively of two noted activist professors from a small Christian university, Satya Wacana Christian Univer-

sity, in Salatiga, Central Java. Dr. Arief Budiman, 50, a Harvard-trained sociologist and professor of development studies at Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, was sacked, effective October 31, ostensibly for “making unauthorized comments that damaged the good name” of the university. Budiman was outspoken on everything from human rights to political succession in Indonesia to the need for democracy on campus. Dr. George Aditjondro, who holds a Ph.D. in education, was intensively interrogated by police in the central Javanese city of Yogyakarta in October. He was suspected of having insulted governmental authorities for humorous remarks he made about the political power structure in Indonesia during a university seminar on August 11. He had also been repeatedly criticized by officials for his work on East Timor, suggesting that the death toll in the 1991 Dili massacre was far higher than acknowledged.

Torture by both the military and police, who are also part of the armed forces, continued to be a serious problem. One prominent case publicized during the year involved members of one faction of a church dispute in North Sumatra who were severely tortured in the district military command of Tarutung, North Tapanuli, after their arrest on May 12. They were arrested, in violation of their right to freedom of assembly, on suspicion of having conducted a secret meeting to discuss church affairs; a month afterwards, two were still hospitalized as a result of the torture they suffered. Torture was also a major issue at the trial of eight civilians and one military officer accused in the May 1993 slaying of a labor organizer named Marsinah, whose murder became the most notorious human rights cases of the decade. At the trials in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java, between the months of March and July 1994, all of the civilians alleged that they had been tortured during the nineteen-day period in October 1993 that they had been held in incommunicado detention by the intelligence unit of the East Java division of the army.

The army also stepped up an anti-crime campaign that appeared to involve the extrajudicial execution of criminal suspects, when it launched Operasi Bersih or Operation Clean-Up in April. The Jakarta police commander gave the upcoming APEC meeting as one reason for the draconian measures. At least thirteen suspected criminals were shot dead in the first month of the operation.

East Timor, the territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and unlawfully annexed as its twenty-seventh province in 1976, continued to be the site of major human rights abuses, as the government tried to prevent any expression of pro-independence senti-

ment or dissatisfaction with Indonesian administration. At the same time, there were some signs of movement on the question of East Timor's political status. A "reconciliation meeting" took place in England from September 27 to September 29 between East Timorese working with the Indonesian government and East Timorese exiles, who for the most part, however, were not supporters of the largest resistance organization, the Maubere National Resistance Council (CNRM). A CNRM leader, José Ramos Horta, met with Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas in New York on October 7 for further talks, although Indonesia said the talks did not constitute negotiations.

In East Timor itself, tight controls on the freedoms of expression, association and assembly remained in place, and while disappearances and extrajudicial executions were increasingly rare, there was no progress on accounting for past cases. (The U.N. Human Rights Commission's Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions visited East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian government in July.)

Two demonstrations were forcibly broken up by the military. On April 14, a small group of East Timorese held a pro-independence demonstration in front of the hotel in Dili, the capital of East Timor, where a delegation of foreign journalists was staying. They were briefly detained, then released until after the journalists had departed. In early May, eleven young men were arrested in connection with the demonstration, and six were eventually charged and tried. The heaviest sentence was given to Pedro de Fatima, three years and six months for "spreading hatred toward the government of Indonesia."

On July 14, a march of students from the University of East Timor to the local parliament to protest the behavior of Indonesian soldiers and perceived religious insults had just gotten underway when it was forcibly dispersed by the military. The military blamed the students for initiating the violence by throwing stones at security forces, but it was contradicted by the university's rector, a Javanese named Bratasudarma, who saw developments unfold and said soldiers had led the attack.

Peaceful supporters of independence continued to be arrested. On May 19, an East Timorese theological student named José Antonio Neves was arrested in Malang, East Java, while posting a letter from the East Timorese guerrilla leader Konis Santana to supporters attending a conference in Manila. His trial was ongoing in November. Dozens of East Timorese remained in prison for their non-violent role in organizing or participating in a funeral procession in No-

vember 1991, on which Indonesian troops opened fire, leading to the "Dili massacre."

Indonesian sensitivities over East Timor led to an effort to export controls on freedom of expression and assembly to neighboring countries. In May, the Indonesian government tried to stop a conference on East Timor from being held in Manila; after canceling joint venture contracts with Philippine companies and engaging in other heavy-handed tactics, it succeeded in persuading President Ramos to ban foreigners from attending the four day Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET). Similar pressure was exerted on Malaysia in June and on Thailand in July to stop meetings or demonstrations in support of East Timor.

Some human rights lawyers were arrested during the year. Maiyasyak Djohan, a lawyer with an organization called the Indonesian Institute for Children's Advocacy (Lembaga Advokasi Anak Indonesia) was arrested in September in connection with the April worker unrest in Medan, apparently because of information given to him during confidential conversations with his clients who had been involved in earlier strikes. He was expected to be tried on charges of incitement in November. A lawyer named Munir from the Legal Aid Institute's Surabaya (East Java) branch was arrested and briefly detained on August 19 in Malang, East Java, for advising workers on how to pursue legal claims for unfair dismissal. He was accused of holding a meeting without a permit.

As the summit meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) organization approached, human rights activists from the Legal Aid Institute and other organizations found themselves under constant surveillance by military intelligence.

International Response

International concern over worker rights and East Timor was more than matched by the increasing tendencies of developed countries to see Indonesia as an emerging regional power and attractive market. The latter view began to prevail in the United States, after a relatively tough stance on human rights during the Clinton administration's first two years led to increasing pressures from sources ranging from the business community to the Australian government, to take a more constructive approach.

The American reversal on labor rights was a case in point. After having given the Indonesian government eight months in July 1993 to improve its labor rights policies or face a cut-off of tariff benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program, the U.S. Trade Representative's office decided in February that the legal

reforms announced by the Indonesian government in January were sufficient to warrant a decision to "suspend but not terminate" its review of labor rights practices. The legal reforms in question, however, which included revoking a decree which allowed military intervention in labor disputes; allowing workers to negotiate collective bargaining agreements at the workplace level; restructuring the single government-recognized union; and raising the minimum wage, had little effect in practice on abuses of worker rights. In late August, the USTR's office visited Indonesia to assess worker rights again, and despite the fact that key labor organizers were under arrest in Medan and that military intervention in labor disputes continued to be routine, the Clinton Administration showed no signs of reviving the pressure.

Indonesian pressure on the Philippines over the East Timor conference in May provoked especially strong reactions in France, where one of the invitees denied a visa to attend was Danielle Mitterand, wife of the French president. Several delegations of parliamentarians visited East Timor during the year, from Britain, Sweden, New Zealand and Japan. In November, the Japanese parliamentarians, who had visited in August, urged Prime Minister Murayama to raise the issue of human rights in East Timor during his bilateral meeting with President Soeharto at the APEC meeting in Jakarta; they also criticized the use of Japanese development aid to monitor shortwave transmission in East Timor.

The newspaper closures in June generated widespread, but muted, international criticism. Australian Prime Minister Gareth Evans called it "a very disappointing development indeed." The initial American response was to express "regret." A somewhat stronger statement, buried in paragraphs of praise for economic achievements, was included in the U.S. delegation's statement at the annual meeting in July of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), the countries and international lending institutions which provide Indonesia with development aid.

A debate ensued in both Europe and the United States over arms sales to Indonesia. In a report submitted to the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee on June 16, the U.S. government was urged to "carefully consider progress in addressing human rights concerns" prior to approving licenses to sell military equipment. The Clinton Administration adopted a new policy on Indonesia ceasing both sales and the granting of licenses for export of small arms and other crowd control items. The report suggested that certain human rights conditions be met before the sales or licensing was resumed.

The Administration opposed the proposal, and the Indonesian government said it would rather buy arms elsewhere than accept conditions. On August 1, Congress agreed on wording that arms sales and export licensing to Indonesia could only take place if the President could report that the Indonesian government was reducing its military presence in East Timor, complying with the recommendations made by the U.N. Human Rights Commission in a resolution on East Timor in March 1993 and working to advance the U.N. Secretary General's efforts to resolve the political status of the territory.

AMNESTY SHINES SPOTLIGHT ON JAKARTA

Washington, Nov. 3 (IPS) - Less than two weeks before the summit of Asia-Pacific leaders in Bogor, Indonesia, Amnesty International is accusing Jakarta of cracking down on opposition and socially marginal groups.

The London-based human rights group Thursday released a 39-page report which says the government of President Suharto has used a six-month-old anti-crime campaign called 'Operation Cleansing' to harass its critics and labour activists.

"In an apparent attempt to suppress dissent in the run-up to APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) meeting, the government has launched a concerted attack on freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of association," the report charges.

Amnesty's broadside follows a similar report issued last week by Human Rights Watch/Asia, formerly known as Asia Watch.

The New York-based group accused Jakarta of "tightening controls on non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the press and taking harsh anti-crime measures involving what appeared to be extra-judicial executions of suspected criminals."

It said all of these efforts appeared intended "to ensure that no incidents, organisations, or individuals 'blackened the good name' of Indonesia prior to or during the APEC summit."

The APEC summit will bring leaders of 17 nations - including China, Japan, and the United States - to Indonesia to discuss the easing intra-regional restraints on trade and investment.

The meeting is focusing unprecedented attention on Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation with which Washington has traditionally had major strategic and trade ties.

Just last month, the Wall Street Journal carried a front-page article which praised economic progress made by the Southeast Asian nation under Suharto's 27-year rule. But the paper also noted what it called Suharto's "tight autocracy" in which "soldiers and the rich still hold sway."

The closure by the government of three popular publications and a crackdown against independent labour union leaders over the past year have attracted an unusual amount of publicity.

But the biggest bilateral rights problem between the United States and Indonesia has centered on East Timor, the former Portuguese territory invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the mid-1970s. Human Rights groups like Amnesty have since charged that as much as a third of the Timorese population was wiped out after the invasion.

Earlier this year, Congress banned the supply of U.S.-made helicopters and counter-insurgency weapons to Indonesia. It had earlier forbidden the use by Indonesia of any aid money to gain military training from the United States.

Most recently, Washington has expressed concern about the government's encouragement of Indonesians from other islands to migrate to East Timor.

Asked about current U.S. policy towards Indonesia this week, Assistant Secretary of State for Asia Winston Lord noted all of these problems and insisted that both President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher will raise the issues with Suharto and other Indonesian officials during the APEC meetings.

"We would hope that the East Timor situation would be eased in terms of (Indonesia's) military presence and the amount of access for outsiders and respect for local culture," he said.

"I'd rather not get more into that internal affair, (but) I'd just say that we hope this situation will improve, and it will be a subject on the agenda."

Lord also said Washington hoped "that the Indonesians in their own self-interest will take liberalizing measures in their society - whether it's treatment of the press or East Timor or journalists or NGOs (non-governmental organisations) or labour issues - both as an end in itself, but also to create a positive atmosphere for the APEC meetings, and allow Indonesia ...to show its best face."

But he stressed that human rights must be seen as only part of a wide-ranging relationship whose "positive elements" include economic growth, the bilateral military relationship, Jakarta's role in U.N. peacekeeping and its "moderate leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement."

Amnesty in its report accuses Jakarta of targeting individual human rights activists and academics for arbitrary arrest, and, in some cases torturing them.

It notes, in particular, the case of Dr. George Aditjondro, a prominent academic who was arrested twice last month on charges of "insulting a government authority or body" which carries a maximum 18-month prison sentence.

It also cites the cases of four men arrested in September - including a law student, a lawyer, a human rights activist, and an artist - who were detained by security forces in Jakarta and tortured over two days and nights before being released.

Amnesty also notes the better-known case of an independent trade union leader, Dr. Muchtar Pakpahan, and at least 10 other labour activists, arrested in connection with labour unrest in North Sumatra last April.

Amnesty says no evidence has been presented that justifies the charges of "incitement" with which they were charged and which carry a maximum six-year prison sentence.

ON EVE OF ASIAN SUMMIT, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ASSAIL ABUSES IN INDONESIA

by William Branigin, Washington Post Foreign Service

MANILA/Nov. 3 - As Indonesia prepares to host President Clinton and 17 other leaders at an Asia-Pacific summit, international human rights and labor groups are calling attention to what they say is a pattern of abuses from one end of the world's largest archipelago to the other.

U.S. congressmen have joined labor and human rights activists in urging Clinton and other leaders to press Indonesian President Suharto to end a crackdown on independent labor unions and peaceful dissidents. But human rights and labor issues are not on the agenda for the Nov. 15 summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

In a report issued today, the London-based group Amnesty International charged that "the human rights situation in Indonesia has deteriorated in the run-up to the APEC summit." It said an anti-crime campaign that began in April "has broadened in recent months to affect government critics, labor activists (and) a variety of socially marginal groups."

Amnesty International expressed concern that the pre-summit crackdown had led to "serious human rights violations," including the arbitrary arrest and reported torture of political dissidents, the "unfair trial" and

imprisonment of labor activists and the "unlawful execution of alleged criminals." Hundreds of street vendors, squatters and prostitutes also have been arrested since the sweep began with the deployment of more than 15,000 soldiers and police in Jakarta, Amnesty said.

The charges followed a scathing 126-page report in September in which Amnesty blamed Suharto's government for "human rights violations on a staggering scale" over the last three decades. Although most human rights reporting on Indonesia has focused on East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, government counterinsurgency operations in the provinces of Aceh and Irian Jaya, as well as political repression on islands in between, have contributed to a "pattern of systematic human rights violations," Amnesty said.

The government angrily rejected that assessment, accusing the group of engaging in "counterproductive political campaigns" against Indonesia. At a government workshop on human rights last month, Suharto said certain "excesses" may occur as part of the development process and must be remedied, but he said Indonesia could not blindly follow Western human rights precepts that do not conform to "our national ideology." Independent Indonesian human rights campaigners said they were excluded from the conference.

In a joint letter last week, 76 members of the U.S. House of Representatives urged Clinton to use the APEC forum to "demonstrate that ... we will not tolerate flagrant violations of internationally recognized workers' rights."

Earlier, the Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions accused the government of trying to crush independent unions through trials of labor activists. The government says only one officially sponsored union is authorized to represent workers.

So far, at least 55 people have been put on trial on charges of inciting a strike in the north Sumatran town of Medan in April. More than 40 have received sentences of up to a year in jail. The strike resulted in a week of riots that involved as many as 20,000 workers and left three persons dead, including a factory owner.

On Monday, Medan labor leader Amosi Talambanua was sentenced to 15 months in prison for having encouraged workers to demand higher pay and set up their own union.

Among those currently on trial is Muchtar Pakpahan, 41, the chairman of Indonesia's largest independent union, who was more than a thousand miles away at the time of the Medan strike. He has been iden-

tified as a "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International, and his case has been taken up by several U.S. congressmen, who have urged revocation of trade privileges for Indonesia under the Generalized System of Preferences. Arrested in Jakarta in August, Pakpahan faces up to six years in jail if convicted.

With more than 188 million people, Indonesia ranks as the world's fourth-most-populous country. Its natural resources and abundant supply of cheap labor have helped attract foreign investment and spur robust economic growth. But low wages have fueled labor unrest, which the government is increasingly hard pressed to contain.

In one notorious case in May 1993, a 25-year-old watch factory worker and labor organizer named Marsinah was abducted, tortured, raped and killed after a strike in East Java. Authorities blamed nine civilian factory officials and one local military officer, but human rights groups charged that the civilians were tortured into confessing and that higher-level military men were involved.

Amnesty International also blames the Indonesian military for the deaths of 2,000 civilians in the north Sumatran province of Aceh during operations to suppress an armed separatist group between 1989 and 1993. In the eastern province of Irian Jaya, "hundreds of people have been extrajudicially executed" over the last 15 years in crushing an independence movement, Amnesty says.

As part of government efforts to "cleanse" Jakarta for the APEC meetings, Amnesty International says, dozens of alleged criminals have been shot in police custody in recent months. Police have typically said that the suspects were trying to attack officers or escape when they were killed, although some were wearing handcuffs.

CLINTON SET TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS

Jakarta Post, 5 Nov. 1994. Abridged. [Lead item on front page.]

US President Clinton and Indonesia's President Suharto will wrestle with human rights and labour issues when the US head of state makes a one-day state visit here next week. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Winston Lord said yesterday and apart from bilateral issues on economic and security affairs, the issue of human rights and freedom will also feature in discussion between the two presidents.

'We will discuss human rights, workers rights problems,' Lord said during a live

WorldNet dialogue beamed from Washington here yesterday evening.

Lord contended that the decision to raise such issues should not be surprising since the US remains consistent in its approach towards Indonesia.

President Clinton, to be accompanied by a large delegation which will include Hillary Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher, is expected to arrive here on 13 November to begin the longest visit to Indonesia by any American president. The four-day stay here marks a very rare occurrence because the US president seldom stays in any one country for more than two days.

Following the Bogor meeting, Clinton will make a one-day state visit where he will hold bilateral talks with Suharto.

Though preferring to stress the various areas of 'positive' cooperation between Jakarta and Washington, Lord acknowledged that 'we also have problems in the human rights area.' Nevertheless he noted the talks will be conducted in a highly amiable manner.

'These are issues consistently discussed with Indonesia in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect,' he said.

Throughout the hour-long satellite interview, Lord consistently exalted Suharto for his leadership in many fields from the economy to regional security to APEC, but not human rights.

Commenting further on the specific concerns the US would like to bring up with Indonesia, Lord cited the recent closure of a number of publications and East Timor as among them.

'We hope our Indonesian friends can make progress on some of these difficult issues which are problems not just for us but also for other countries as well,' Lord remarked

SUMMIT LIGHT SPILLS OVER ON TO EAST TIMOR

INDONESIA IS BRACED FOR WORLD ATTENTION ON ITS ANNEXED TERRITORY.

Financial Times, 8 November 1994. By: Manuela Saragosa

On All Souls Day at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timor capital of Dili last week, people paid tribute, in the Roman Catholic tradition, to their deceased family and friends. Near the chapel a large group gathered and, led by a local priest, remembered up to 200 independence demonstrators who were massacred there by Indonesian soldiers three years ago.

Further recollections of the massacre, official admission of which was slow to

emerge at the time, are the sort of thing the Indonesian government hopes will not take the gloss off its hosting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit next week.

President Suharto's government, notoriously sensitive about its annexation of the former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975, is hoping to win new international respect from the summit, due to be attended by representatives of 17 states.

However, US President Bill Clinton and others will be under pressure to raise human rights issues at the summit, and at least some attention is bound to be focused on East Timor.

East Timor was abandoned by its colonial administrators in 1975 when the region was plunged into civil war. Indonesia invaded because, the government claims, the civil war in the territory, which borders Indonesian West Timor, 'threatened seriously to disrupt the national development and reconstruction efforts in which Indonesia was engaged.'

East Timor was declared Indonesia's 27th province in 1976, defying resolutions passed by the United Nations which does not recognise Jakarta's sovereignty over the territory.

Sensitive to foreign criticism, Indonesian officials are keen to point out that the region receives more government development funds, per head, than any other. Under Portuguese rule the region's infra-structure and facilities were negligible. Today there are schools, a university, roads, bridges, health clinics, telecommunications facilities and electricity. Water supply is still a problem.

However, says an East Timorese professional, 'we never cried for development. We cried for freedom.'

Freedom is not on offer - a referendum is ruled out - but the Indonesian government has taken some steps to find a solution. Mr. Ali Alatas, foreign minister, met earlier this year, under United Nations auspices, with the leader-in-exile of the Fretilin independence group, Mr. Ramos Horta, and with Mr. Abilio Araujo, another former leader-in-exile who was ousted from the exiled movement by opponents last year.

More recently President Suharto announced he would meet Mr. Araujo although they would not discuss the status of the territory.

There has also been talk of granting autonomy or special status to East Timor but it is not clear what this means and statements have been non-committal. East Timorese are quick to point out that the north Sumatran province of Aceh and the sultanate of Yogyakarta in central Java are also accorded special status, but that this has not made any difference to the way the regions are governed.

Meanwhile the military makes clear it has no plans to leave. 'If we leave there will be more conflict,' says East Timor's military commander, Col. Kiki Syahnakri. However, he claims the number of armed guerrillas is dwindling - there are only 188 poorly-equipped Fretilin fighters left in the mountains, he says.

One East Timorese official says rape and murder by the military and police are daily occurrences in many parts of the region. Many of these cases, he says, go unreported and the perpetrators are not brought to trial. 'We are really suffering here,' he says.

Clashes between mainly Moslem Indonesians, who are given incentives to move to East Timor, and Roman Catholic East Timorese are common. Recently, two army officers were found guilty by a military court of desecrating the sacrament in a Catholic church and discharged.

The animosity is made worse by rising unemployment. The East Timor Provincial Capital Investment Coordinating Board says there were 16,308 unemployed people in the province in August 1993, but independent sources say the figure is much higher. There are complaints that all the best jobs go to outsiders. East Timorese say they have little control over their region's economy. The plantation and processing of coffee, the main cash crop, is dominated by the military, although a monopoly on production was lifted earlier this year.

Indonesian rule has increased the level of distrust among the population. Plain-clothed intelligence officers are ubiquitous. 'I don't even know whether my brother or sister is spying on me,' says an East Timorese professional who complains that Indonesian rule has sowed an atmosphere of fear among the population.

In the absence of a referendum, and with a continuing large military presence in East Timor, Indonesia's rule in the region will continue to attract criticism in the region. The APEC summit next week is likely to be seen by some as an occasion for that criticism to be loudly voiced.

INDONESIA RIGHTS RECORD WATCH

AP, 9 Nov. 94. Abridged

Jakarta, Indonesia (AP) - With President Clinton likely to bring up human rights issues during a visit next week, Indonesia is bracing for a rare burst of outside scrutiny.

About 2,000 reporters and media people are expected in Jakarta when Clinton and President Suharto meet Nov. 16, the day after a summit of the 17-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

"We will discuss the human rights problem, workers rights, recent closing of some magazines and East Timor issues," said Winston Lord, the U.S. assistant Secretary of State.

The APEC summit is the latest attempt by Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation, to show it is ready to play a larger part in world affairs.

But trouble remains with East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed a year later. Although Jakarta insists its hand-picked representatives in East Timor chose to align with Indonesia, the United Nations has never recognized the move.

A wave of correspondents are already arriving in Dili, the capital of East Timor, for the third anniversary of the Nov. 12 massacre of scores of unarmed civilians by Indonesian soldiers. ...

Once dependent on oil and natural gas exports for two-thirds of its foreign exchange earnings, Indonesia now is a center for textiles, shoes and other manufactured exports. Gross national product expanded at better than 6 percent on average over the last 10 years and average annual income doubled to \$700 per person.

This growth has a dark side, however. Critics fault the authoritarian nature of a government that was propped up in its early years by the military.

Washington has warned that trade privileges might stop unless the rights of the country's 76 million workers are recognized. On Tuesday, it criticized the conviction of a top union leader blamed for violence during a labor strike.

Muchtar Pakpahan, the chairman of Indonesia's largest independent union, was sentenced to three years in jail for violence in Medan last April that left three people dead and nearly 200 shops and factories damaged.

Indonesia does not recognize any trade union except the one controlled by the governing Golkar party.

"We believe that (Pakpahan) should not be held accountable for unintended violence in connection with protests over legitimate labor demands," the U.S. statement said.

In that riot, a Chinese factory owner was beaten to death....

The concept of a free press also remains a distant dream. Two magazines and a newspaper were banned in June, and foreign publications critical of the government have been delayed or withheld.

Suharto says his country is poised for economic takeoff, and as chairman of APEC, he is pushing for free trade.

Yet despite promises of economic reform, non-tariff barriers - including lucrative

monopolies tied to Suharto's children – are the norm, according to Western diplomats.

In his latest state-of-the-nation speech, Suharto called for political openness, but with restraint.

"Openness does not mean unlimited freedom, or worse still, the freedom to be hostile, to pit one party against another," he said.

INDONESIA RIGHTS ABUSE CITED

AP, 11 Nov. 94

WASHINGTON (AP) – As they prepare to play host to next week's 18-nation Asia-Pacific summit, Indonesian authorities are committing widespread human rights violations while trying to curb street crime and worker unrest, watchdog groups say.

President Clinton, setting out for Asia on Friday, promised to raise the rights issue with Indonesian officials.

Recent reports by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch-Asia highlighted a government effort under way since April to rid Jakarta of "economic and political criminals" to ensure an orderly environment for the summit.

The Amnesty International report alleged that dissidents have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and sometimes torture. A crack-down on labor activists and workers has included unfair trials and arbitrary imprisonment, it said. There also have been instances of unlawful execution of alleged criminals, the report contended.

The report by Human Rights Watch-Asia criticized the shutdown of three journals this summer along with a government effort to prevent nongovernmental organizations in Indonesia from voicing dissent.

An earlier study by the same group charged that Indonesia "remains a country characterized by arbitrary exercise of power at all levels of government."

The government acknowledges that soldiers have been used to rid the capital of criminals, but it adamantly denies that anyone has been killed or that any human rights have been violated.

And, in an apparent effort to mute criticism of labor practices, the government promised on Friday to intensify enforcement of safety laws and to prosecute offenders, among other measures.

U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, in Jakarta for the summit, called the announcement a step in the right direction but said more must be done.

Clinton has been under fire from human rights groups for not confronting Indonesian authorities more aggressively on rights issues.

In a statement just before he left for Asia, the president said he will use his meetings in Indonesia "to talk about the advance of human rights, worker rights and democratic values. We must continue to pursue this path with patience, persistence and determination."

Last week, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord said human rights, although a serious issue, is but one component of U.S. ties with Indonesia.

He said Indonesia has been a persistent opponent of Islamic extremism and has been a voice for moderation in Third World forums. He also said Indonesia has been at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace in Cambodia and elsewhere in Asia.

But rights groups contend that repression in Indonesia transcends other considerations. A report issued in September by Amnesty International USA charged that Indonesia's human rights record has been dismal since the accession to power of President Suharto in 1965.

Since then, it said, "hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, prisoners have been routinely and sometimes fatally tortured and thousands have languished in jails after show trials – all in the name of stability and order."

For almost two decades, Indonesia has been a frequent target of rights groups because of its invasion, conquest and annexation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. The perception of heavy-handed Indonesian rule in East Timor prompted Congress to impose limited military sanctions against Indonesia earlier this year.

Edward Masters, a former U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, said the progress Indonesia has brought to East Timor often is ignored.

"Despite its mistakes, Indonesia has done more to develop the barren, infertile region than Portugal did in four centuries,"

CLINTON URGED TO PUT PRESSURE ON JAKARTA

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Nov. 10 (IPS) - The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Thursday made an appeal to U.S. President Bill Clinton to use next week's APEC summit to put pressure on the Jakarta regime to set free a jailed Indonesian labour leader.

Mokhtar Pakpahan, leader of the independent trade union Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI) or Prosperous Workers Union of Indonesia was earlier this year convicted and sentenced to three years imprisonment for inciting protester in a mass workers' rally in Medan, in North Sumatra last Apr. 14 and 15.

"It is obvious that the Indonesian government wants to eliminate the free labour movement," Boudewijn Jonckheere of the Brussels-based ICFTU, said.

The ICFTU and the U.S. based human rights organisation Human Rights Watch/Asia have both said the trial and subsequent sentence was unjust and have called on President Clinton to raise the issue with Indonesian President Suharto.

Clinton will be among several government leaders attending next week's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit. It will be chaired by Indonesian President Suharto, who is currently holding the APEC presidency.

APEC includes the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) – Brunei, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore – along with Australia, the United States, Canada, New Zealand, China, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Papua New Guinea and Mexico. Chile becomes a full-fledged member on Saturday.

Human Rights Watch/Asia further urged Clinton "to withdraw tariff benefits under the General System of Preferences (GSP) unless Indonesia made progress toward improving respect for internationally recognised labour rights."

Executive director of Human Rights Watch/Asia Sidney Jones said: "By locking up an effective organiser, the Indonesian government may think it is going to prevent labour unrest from the upcoming APEC meeting through to the next elections in Indonesia in 1997."

Jonckheere said the ICFTU has written several letters to President Suharto protesting against the trial and subsequent conviction of Pakpahan. But the protest letters remained unanswered. "Pakpahan was not even in Medan during the riots," said Jonckheere, who has visited Indonesia earlier this year.

The April rally, which had been planned as a peaceful demonstration, turned violent. Human rights groups say the violence was instigated by paid thugs.

Human rights Watch/Asia said all the trade unionists had been doing was exercising their legitimate rights of freedom of assembly and association, and it accused the Indonesian government of using the trials as a pretext for destroying Pakpahan's SBSI independent labor union and silencing labour activists.

Three other labour organisers, not linked to SBSI, are still on trial for incitement in Medan. They are: Janes Hutahean, Parlin Manihuruk and Maiyasyak Djohan. All are expected to be sentenced before the APEC meetings begin.

Jones said the reaction of the U.S. government to the Pakpahan sentence would be a test of whether the Clinton Administration was willing to follow through with tough rhetoric on worker rights or back down, as it did on China and the Most Favoured Nations status issue – the latter in the interests of good commercial relations.

“If U.S. special trade negotiator Mickey Kantor, who will be with Clinton in Jakarta, does not renounce a resumption of the GSP, U.S. credibility in Asia on human rights issues is going to hit rock-bottom,” Jones said.

A spokesman of the Indonesian embassy in Brussels said that the Indonesian government next week will send a high-ranking official of the Department of Manpower to Brussels and other European capitals, who will put Indonesia’s case.

He added that Indonesia has an officially recognised trade union called the SPSP “and it would be better for the SBSI to join it for the sake of the interest of the Indonesian labourers.”

But according to the ICFTU, the government sponsored SPSP is towing the government line which is against strikes, higher wages and the right to freedom of assembly. “With this policy, the Indonesian government wants to please foreign investors,” Jonckheere said.

DISSENT JUST A RUMBLE AS SUHARTO BANGS APEC GONG

Reuter, 11 Nov. 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff

Jakarta – President Suharto beat Indonesia’s traditional gong on Friday to herald a hoped-for new free trade era, confident there would be no discordant notes from a hardy but muted opposition.

So far, at least, he has been proved right. Worn down by months, if not years, of intimidation, racked by internal divisions and a sense of the futility of challenging nearly three decades of Suharto rule, Indonesia’s dissidents have been noticeable by their recent silence.

They said plans for demonstrations during two weeks of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings had been ditched, largely because of thinly veiled government threats.

“Firstly, it’s true that the so-called pro-democracy movement is fragmented. It always has been. Secondly, security measures taken by the government have succeeded in intimidating potential disturbances from happening,” said Goenawan Mohamad, editor of the recently banned *Tempo* magazine.

Siti Musdalifah, general secretary of the besieged Indonesia Labour Welfare Union (SBSI), said she was summoned by military intelligence on Friday and told not to “take action” during the APEC meetings, which wind up with a November 15 summit.

The SBSI, whose leader Muchtar Pakpahan was jailed for three years on Monday for his alleged role in worker protests, has said it will not confront the government publicly during the meetings, which climax in a summit in the town of Bogor. “We know the risk is high if we do. Maybe they will kill SBSI openly if we stage any protests,” said one SBSI official.

The mood prevails elsewhere in Indonesia’s disparate dissident movement. Long used to the carrot-and-big-stick tactics of Suharto, most admit to being cowed by a renewed crackdown signalled by the closure of three weeklies in June.

Other newspapers were warned into line. Other sources of discontent, including labour, students and people in East Timor, have found themselves either jailed or bullied into silence.

At least 70 labour activists, including SBSI leader Muchtar Pakpahan, have been jailed for their alleged roles in April riots in the town of Medan. Australia and the United States have joined human rights groups in complaining about the sentences.

“It’s a kind of fear. Not only that, it is a sense of futility because even the press is no longer free to tell the truth,” said Goenawan, who hopes to host a party on Sunday to launch a collection of his articles, entitled “Sidelines.”

While delegates and hundreds of foreign journalists here for APEC are unlikely to see much evidence of such fear, this may be no accident. Not even subtle signs of defiance remain.

Posters welcoming APEC delegates to Jakarta, put up by the independent journalist association AJI, have been torn down. An exhibition of photographs illustrating the government’s moves against dissent has also been disbanded, dissidents said.

Dissident hopes that Western countries represented in APEC – the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia – might take up the cudgel on their behalf appear to have faded.

Diplomats said President Clinton, who arrives on Sunday and will stay on after the APEC meeting, was unlikely to accede to requests to meet leading activists, although Washington has said it will raise human rights as an issue during his visit.

But some dissent remained. East Timorese students vowed to publicize their territory’s struggle for independence. Lawyers on Friday lodged a suit against the government on behalf of nearly 1,000 read-

ers and 118 journalists saying they had been deprived of information by the ban on the weeklies.

But most remained cautious. Eros Djarot, editor of one banned magazine, said he was losing patience after its successor was held under indefinite suspension on procedural grounds.

“The arrogance of these authorities should come to an end. We have been patient for a long time. We don’t intend to be critical of the government but we love our country,” he said of efforts to publish – and keep open – a political magazine.

JAKARTA UNEASY UNDER MEDIA GLARE

By Johanna Son

Jakarta, Nov. 11 (IPS) - Indonesia has tried to use the flood of foreign dignitaries attending the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings to boost its international standing, but the world’s fourth most populous nation is finding itself the focus of much unwanted attention as well.

Indonesia has tried to propel itself into the limelight in recent years by heading the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and now APEC, eagerly showing off its booming economy and success in drastically reducing poverty despite having 190 million people.

But the country has come under close scrutiny in the run-up to the APEC meetings that began this week, and Jakarta has been feeling the pressure regarding its records on human rights and labour.

On Thursday, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans told his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas that the country’s human rights situation remained “poor.”

And Winston Lord, U.S. assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, says U.S. President Bill Clinton will raise the issues when he meets with Indonesian leader Suharto next week.

A summit of the leaders of the APEC member economies takes place Nov. 15.

Jakarta has been studiously ignoring comments like that of the Australian and U.S. officials, and instead stressing its successes. On Thursday, it unveiled the first locally designed and built airliner, hailing it as a symbol of a developing country’s leap into the arena of high technology.

An elaborate show marked the unveiling of the 50-seater N-250 commuter plane before hundreds of reporters in Bandung, West Java. Research and Technology Minister B J Habibie, also the chief proponent of the plane project, said a U.S. firm has already ordered 10 planes while eight are being reserved for a European company.

He added that a joint venture would be formed in the United States for the plane's 100 million dollar assembly plant there, with U.S. giant General Electric asking for 10 percent ownership.

In fact, the plane project has had steep costs, and has already used up 650 million dollars in state funds, including a controversial loan from the country's reforestation funds.

The APEC meetings are being used by different groups to say what otherwise could not or would not be read by thousands of delegates and members of the foreign press.

Evans had a long list ready during his meeting with Alatas, singling out Jakarta's closure of three outspoken publications in June, the imprisonment of a labour activist, continued military presence in East Timor and the government's 'clean-up operation' for the APEC meetings.

The Indonesian press had been enjoying increasing freedom until June, when Jakarta revoked the publishing licenses of the weekly magazines *Tempo*, *DeTik* and *Editor* for allegedly writing on issues "injurious to national interests."

Meanwhile, the U.S.-based Human Rights Asia released a statement saying the three-year jail term for labour activist Mukhtar Pakpahan was too "stiff" and was meant to kill Indonesia's labour movement.

Evans cited the same case Thursday, and the Indonesian Observer in its editorial said the sentence was "completely out of touch with reality and constitute an affront to the sense of justice of many people."

Human Rights Asia has asked the Clinton government to resume its review of Indonesia's labour practices, saying workers' rights should not take the backseat to economic concerns.

In 1993, Washington had threatened to withdraw Jakarta's trade privileges unless Indonesia improved its labour rights record and allow the formation of independent trade unions.

A 1993 report by the U.S. State Department said Indonesia practiced extrajudicial arrests and detention. It also said there were many cases of torture of those in custody, the use of excessively violent techniques in dealing with suspected criminals and ignoring legal safeguards against arbitrary arrest and detention.

These days, observers here say the Indonesian government's clean-up operation for the APEC meetings has been extended from tidying up the streets and buildings in the capital and the resort town of Bogor, where the conferences are being held, to cracking down on those critical of the government.

And while Suharto appears to have taken a more conciliatory position on the issue of

East Timor, critics say his moves are just part of efforts to brush up Indonesia's image because of APEC.

East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, a move that has yet to be recognised by the United Nations. Suharto has recently said he was willing to talk to exiled Timorese activists.

New Zealand Foreign Minister Don McKinnon, for his part, told Alatas that the situation in East Timor has improved based on the report of a group of New Zealand legislators who visited the disputed territory recently.

COST OF CONFLICT: REPORT SAYS FUTURE GRIM FOR EAST TIMOR

Karen Noack, AAP Nov. 17, 1994

LONDON – The future was grim for the indigenous people of East Timor who were unlikely to share in benefits from the economic development of the region, an international report has found.

The *Cost of Conflict*, published today by the UK-based foreign affairs think-tank Saferworld, looked at the price of conflict to people in seven trouble spots around the world, including East Timor.

For the East Timorese people, the report found, the destruction of their identity after their nation was annexed by Indonesia in 1975, and the mass murder and massive human rights abuses which followed, appears almost total.

It said the people remain traumatized, alienated and unhealthy by Indonesian standards, and unconvinced by the considerable investment Jakarta has injected.

"While East Timor has shown some improvement in its economic development, it is unclear the extent to which the indigenous population is benefiting," the *Cost of Conflict* said.

"Moreover, it is questionable as to whether future development of resources such as minerals and oil will ever benefit the population.

"With only a tiny percentage of the population reaching tertiary education, and a quarter of these never finding employment, the future indeed appears grim for the indigenous population of East Timor."

The report also said there had been little benefit so far for Indonesia, which had incurred heavy costs in its annexation of the former Portuguese colony.

"East Timor is more heavily subsidized than any of Indonesia's provinces, and while enormous profits have accrued to Indonesia's ruling elite through the activities of military monopolies, little concrete bene-

fit has accrued to Indonesia as a whole," it said.

"Moreover, the bitterness of the East Timorese toward Indonesia appears as strong as ever, as demonstrated by the popularity of the sporadic protests and (resistance group) Fretilin's continued popularity.

"However, Indonesia stands to gain from the exploitation of the Timorese oilfields, though it is still too early to calculate the returns these will produce."

Australia, on the other hand, has had some political fallout over its stand on East Timor, but has largely escaped any major economic or political damage from it.

The Saferworld report said the conflict in East Timor had cost Australia in terms of bearing the costs of caring for up to 5,000 East Timorese refugees.

"It has also made a grant of \$A250,000 in relief assistance for East Timor, implying the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty and effectively undercutting attempts by international organisations, such as the International Red Cross, to gain access to the territory," it said.

But it said the cost of care of refugees was far outweighed by the potential returns from the oilfields to be developed in the Timor Sea.

"The Australian government has had a fuller, more accurate knowledge of the East Timor situation than any other industrial nation with the result that, to some extent, other governments and other members of the UN have tended to look to Australia for guidance," the report said.

AI: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CONTINUE THREE YEARS AFTER SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

From Amnesty International, 12 Nov.

Three years after the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, human rights violations have continued unabated in East Timor belying Indonesian government claims that the massacre was an aberration and that it has taken significant measures to improve the situation since 1991.

The violations form part of a broader pattern evident over many years in Indonesia and East Timor and Amnesty International is urging governments now gathering in Jakarta and Bogor for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, to raise long-standing human rights concerns in East Timor and Indonesia during the meetings.

Peaceful advocates of East Timor's independence continue to be at risk of torture and ill-treatment, arbitrary detention, unfair

trial, and long-term imprisonment. Despite repeated government claims that access to the territory is unrestricted, East Timorese who speak with or pass information to foreign delegations are at risk; and the government continues to deny Amnesty International permission to visit.

While new violations continue, the government has failed to clarify the fate of most of the estimated 270 killed and 200 "disappeared" in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre. With few exceptions, those responsible for past violations have not been brought to justice.

Hundreds of pro-independence activists have been detained for brief periods in the past year, and several have been formally charged for their peaceful political activities.

José Antonio Neves, a leading pro-independence activist and a student at a theological institute in Malang, East Java, was arrested on 19 May 1994. He is currently on trial for seeking East Timorese independence and for distributing information about human rights violations and political developments in East Timor abroad and is charged under Article 106 which carries a life sentence.

If convicted José Neves would be regarded as a prisoner of conscience and would join some 30 other East Timorese prisoners of conscience currently serving sentences up to life imprisonment.

The government has invited foreign journalists in Indonesia for APEC to travel to East Timor. However, East Timorese who speak with foreign journalists are vulnerable to official reprisals and sometimes become victims of human rights violations.

Eleven young men who staged a small peaceful demonstration in Dili during a visit by foreign journalists in April 1994 were subsequently arrested. Six have now been tried and sentenced to terms of between 20 months and two years. Amnesty International considers all of those sentenced to be prisoners of conscience. Upon sentencing three of the six, a spokesman for the Dili court told the press that they were found guilty of "expressing anti-Indonesia sentiments in front of the public on April 14."

Faced with increasing international and domestic criticism of its human rights record, the Indonesian Government has claimed that it abides by the rule of law. However, the trial of the six peaceful demonstrators mentioned above did not conform to international fair trial standards or even to Indonesian law.

None of the six were accompanied by legal counsel, either during interrogation or during their trial. Defence lawyers have also expressed concern that they were not accorded proper facilities to appeal their sentences. Access to legal counsel and the right

to appeal are guaranteed under Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure.

And while the judicial system continues to be used to imprison the government's peaceful opponents, those responsible for past human rights violations in East Timor have yet to be brought to justice.

In October, a military court sentenced two Indonesian soldiers, Privates Bakhrol Alum and Nurcahyo, to prison terms of 28 and 20 months respectively, for desecrating a Catholic Church in Dili on 28 June this year. However, military personnel who beat and arbitrarily detained demonstrators protesting on 14 July against the incident in the church, have yet to be held to account.

The Indonesian Government claims to have conducted a full investigation into the 14 July incident, but details of such an investigation have not been forthcoming. However, Amnesty International has been able to clarify the fate of some of those reportedly arrested and ill-treated.

It has confirmed that dozens of protesters were beaten and twenty two people were detained during the demonstration. Of the 15 people arrested on 14 July, all but one were believed to have been released without charge by 16 July. One of the demonstrators, Jaime Martins, remained in detention until 14 October but it is not known whether he has been charged. The fate of Mateus Afonso, reportedly arrested and publicly beaten by security forces on 23 July after admitting that he was one of the organisers of the 14 July demonstration, remains unclear.

SIT-IN AT U.S. EMBASSY IN JAKARTA

EAST TIMORESE INVADE U.S. EMBASSY

Reuter, 12 November 1994. Abridged

[Our information is that the demonstrators consist of East Timorese workers as well as students. – TAPOL]

Jakarta – More than twenty East Timorese students carrying banners and chanting 'Free East Timor' invaded US embassy grounds in Jakarta on Saturday, demanding President Bill Clinton push to free jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão.

Clinton was due in Jakarta on Sunday for the APEC summit on Tuesday.

The students clambered out of taxis and scampered over the 2.6 metre iron fence into the embassy compound before security guards could stop them.

'We are calling for the release of our leaders,' one of the students told reporters.

The students, looking frightened and tense, unfurled banners and posters inside the compound calling on Indonesia to stop 'genocide' in the troubled territory.

The embassy is across a large park [Merdeka Square, Medan Merdeka] from the presidential palace and about three kms from the conference centre where hundreds of APEC officials from all over Asia and the Pacific are meeting.

Security was light when the students arrived outside the embassy, but dozens of riot police with shields and sticks swooped onto the scene when the embassy was invaded.

The students sat inside the compound and negotiated with Indonesian police and embassy officials.

The riot police were at first allowed into the compound but left when an embassy official told them: 'I don't want anyone to do anything.'

Irawan Abidin, Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman, said he had no knowledge of the incident but was check and would issue a statement later.

EAST TIMORESE WORKERS' AND STUDENTS' PETITION TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

Original Document, 12 November

The Honourable President of the United States of America, Mr. Bill Clinton

On behalf of the East Timorese student and worker communities, we come to you today, Mr. President, to present the following petition.

It is our wish, on this occasion of the Third Anniversary of the massacre of 12 November 1991, to remind the world that demands for a serious and independent investigation of the Santa Cruz slayings have gone unheeded purely and simply as a result of the West's economic relations with Jakarta and that a systematic violation of human rights in the form of the repression of students, persecution, intimidation, detention and torture continue in East Timor to this day.

Given that we are rapidly approaching the year 2000, set as the time limit for the total eradication of all forms of colonialism and oppression of Peoples;

Given that under your Administration, the United States has proven once again to the world its moral responsibility in relation to the defence of the universal principles of freedom, justice and peace with the successes it has achieved in the difficult Middle East peace process, in the prevention of a second invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and your

government's support of the restoration of democracy in Haiti;

We wish to remind you, Mr. President, of the 19 year old conflict in East Timor.

It is our hope that, in an effort to redress the error of President Ford who, during his stay in Indonesia just days prior to the fateful day of 7 December 1975, gave the green light to Indonesia's military invasion and occupation of East Timor, you will be prepared to make use of the great moral stature achieved by the United States of America through its condemnation of the violation of the fundamental rights of human beings and peoples to make the following demands of President Suharto:

1. The release of East Timorese Resistance Leader, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, and of all East Timorese political prisoners.
2. That the President of Indonesia, who has stated his preparedness to engage in dialogue with anti-integration elements, agree to the participation in such talks of the true representatives of the People of East Timor, including members of the four components of the Resistance: the East Timorese Church, CNRM, UDT and Fretilin.
3. That Jakarta grant access to an independent and impartial mission with the aim of conducting a serious investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre.

The Jakarta regime fails to acknowledge the universal nature of Human Rights, arguing that cultural considerations and those of a socio-economic nature must be taken into account. It is this understanding of Human Rights which the regime relies upon to justify its violation of the same in Indonesia. We therefore appeal to you, Mr. President, to remind President Suharto,

1. of the existence of elderly and incapacitated Indonesian political prisoners who should, as a matter of urgency, be granted amnesty;
2. of the existence of Indonesian political prisoners who after 30 years in jail continue to face the death penalty.

Finally, we appeal to you to exert pressure upon Jakarta,

1. to recognise the right of Indonesian workers to organise, to assemble and to freedom of expression,
2. to free union leaders Muchtar Pakpahan and Amosi whose "crimes" are their defence of the rights of Indonesian workers.

We firmly believe that the ethical concerns which have guided America's foreign policy in relation to other countries extend also to Indonesia, and thus we deposit great hope in the decisive influence which the United States of America is able to bring to bear in realizing a solution to the East Timor

case which constitutes a flagrant violation of universal principles and of International Law.

Jakarta, 12 November 1994

With the highest consideration,

On behalf of East Timorese students,

On behalf of East Timorese workers,

Here are the names and place/date of birth of the demonstrators who are from Jakarta.

Duarte Freitas*	Lospalos,
6.VII.1972	
Calisto D. Sarmiento	Manatuto,
9.XI.1965	
Germano F. Gomes	Dili, 1.VII.1972
Boaventura Abilio Moreira	Manatuto,
1965	
Angelo Menotti Soares	Baucau, 1969
Valerio José Trindade	Lospalos, 1972**
Antonio Ramos	Same
Luciano Valentino Conceicao	Lospalos
Egas Dias Monteiro*	Lospalos, 23 yrs old
Hermenegildo Lopes	
Camacho Hector Lopes	Lospalos
Antonio da Dilva Sarmiento	Soibada, 1974
Luis Maria Lopes	Maubisse, 15.IX.67

* Signatories on behalf of workers
 ** Arrested after being interviewed by Reuters

TAPOL SUPPORTS EMBASSY OCCUPIERS

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, has sent the following letter to President Clinton in Jakarta:

12 November 1994

To President Bill Clinton
 US Embassy, Jakarta. Fax: 62-21 386 2259

Dear President Clinton,

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, calls on you to instruct your Embassy in Jakarta to give protection to the more than two dozen East Timorese who are now inside the embassy premises.

We call on you to use your considerable influence with President Suharto to release the East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, and all East Timorese political prisoners being held by the Indonesian authorities, and to press him to enter into negotiations about the future of the territory with all the components of the East Timorese resistance, The Catholic Church, the CNRM, the UDT and Fretilin. The US government should also press for an immediate, independent and impartial mission to go to East Timor with the aim of conducting a serious investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre which occurred three years ago today.

We also urge that you take up with President Suharto the question of the immediate release for those political prisoners who have been held for nearly thirty years

and are now very elderly and incapacitated, as well as the release of trade union leader Muchtar Pakpahan and the many other union activists and workers who have been jailed this year in Medan and Pematang Siantar, North Sumatra.

Yours sincerely,
 Carmel Budiardjo

[Note – this is the first of hundreds of letters to the U.S. government from groups and individuals all over the world; almost none of them are included in East Timor Documents.]

TIMORESE PROTESTERS SAY THEY WON'T QUIT U.S. EMBASSY

Reuter, 12 November 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff. Abridged

Jakarta – Banner-waving East Timorese students invaded the US embassy compound in Jakarta Saturday to demand President Clinton's support to free jailed guerrilla leader. US officials told them to leave but they vowed to stay till their demands were met.

Twenty-nine young men seeking the release of Xanana Gusmão clambered over the 2.6 metre railings into the embassy parking lot where they squatted nervously saying they would go on hunger strike until they met US Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

'America is the only superpower in the world. We think the Americans can use their influence to save the situation in East Timor,' one demonstrator shouted.

Christopher is here for ministerial meetings to prepare for a summit of the 18-member APEC forum next week. Clinton arrives Sunday.

Embassy officials at first said the students could stay as long as they wished but three hours later ordered them out by the end of the day.

'We will escort you to the front gate but you must leave today,' security chief Bruce Tully said.

Christopher who pledged to raise concerns about East Timor with Indonesian authorities, said the US would not move forcefully against the protesters.

'We have no plans to throw them out,' he told reporters before rushing to Manila to link with Clinton. 'We are dealing with the situation with sympathy and understanding, as well as firmness.'

He said the US was seeking assurances from the Indonesian government about treatment of the protesters 'when and if they leave.'

The students – including one who had scaled the iron spikes in full view of the

police to join the initial wave of 28 – gave no sign they would back down.

‘We will not leave till our demands are met,’ one told reporters through the railings.

Several hundred police, some with automatic weapons, took up positions outside the compound.

The demonstration was a major embarrassment to President Suharto as he prepared to welcome leaders representing half of the world’s population.... He wanted to keep Indonesia’s human rights record off the agenda of some 2,000 journalists covering the event.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said ‘there is not much value’ to the protest which he said was clearly staged to embarrass the government before its APEC partners.

.....

The students ... told reporters forty friends had been arrested on their way to participate in the protest.

AUSTRALIAN TV COVERAGE OF EMBASSY SIT-IN

Nov. 12, Australia

Australia’s SBS has been giving extensive coverage of the East Timorese sit-in at the US embassy. The footage shows the Timorese inside the railings and some of them have been identified by friends abroad.

The inscriptions on the banners are in English, Portuguese and Indonesia. Some read:

In English: ‘Participation of Xanana Gusmão in conversations about East Timor’
‘East Timor is a natural member of APEC’

‘Stop free genocide in East Timor’
‘We need freedom’

In Portuguese: ‘No to London reconciliation (talks)’

‘Viva Timor Leste, Vive CNRM, Viva Falintil’

In Indonesian: ‘For peace in East Timor, free CNRM leader Xanana’ (Some words in this one could not be seen clearly

VOA: TIMORESE DEMONSTRATE AT US EMBASSY

Voice of America, 11/12/94. By Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: In Indonesia’s capital – Jakarta – a number of East Timorese dissidents have staged a demonstration at the US embassy. VOA’s Dan Robinson reports the demonstration occurred as ministers from the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) were concluding talks in Jakarta.

Reports say about 20-Timorese students climbed over the fence at the embassy before surprised security guards could stop them early Saturday.

Once inside they unfurled banners condemning what they call genocide in the former Portuguese colony, and demanding the release of jailed East Timorese independence leader, José Xanana Gusmão.

Dozens of helmeted riot police arrived on the scene, but reports say they left as embassy officials and police negotiated with the students.

A US embassy spokeswoman had no immediate comment about the incident, but said a statement was being prepared.

The student action was in open defiance of Indonesian government security measures for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) meeting in Jakarta.

The demonstration came on the third anniversary of the 1991 incident in which Indonesian troops opened fire on a funeral procession killing at least 50-people in the East Timor capital – Dili.

Timorese independence groups have urged President Clinton to raise the East Timor issue during talks with President Suharto.

TIMORESE BED DOWN AT EMBASSY

Reuter, 12 November 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff. Extracts only, containing new bits of information

East Timorese students demanding U.S. President Bill Clinton’s support for the release of their guerrilla hero invaded U.S. embassy grounds in Jakarta on Saturday and refused to leave until their demands were met.

The protesters rejected guarantees of safe passage if they left the embassy, their spokesman Domingos Sarmento Alves said.

“We did not come here for guarantees that we could leave the embassy freely. We came to demand the release of Xanana Gusmão,” Alves, a 30 year-old student of an east Java university, told reporters through the embassy gates.

With their protest threatening Clinton with some acute political embarrassment when he arrives here on Sunday for a high profile summit, U.S. officials had asked the 29 students to leave by the end of the day.

.....

An embassy official told Reuters the Indonesian government had given assurances there would be no arrests or reprisals if the demonstrators left the compound, and that these promises had been relayed to the students.

When the tropical night fell, nine hours after the occupation began, the protesters huddled in a group for Catholic prayers before the arrival of an Indonesian delegation hoping to persuade them to leave the compound. The students gave no sign they would back down and the officials, including ambassador at large Lopez da Cruz, left empty-handed 20 minutes later.

Plainclothes security officers mingled with uniformed police outside the embassy. Several hundred more, some with automatic weapons, were stationed a few streets away.

... (the protest) was another potential embarrassment for Clinton, already reeling from a mauling in mid-term congressional elections. Human rights activists have accused him of putting commerce before more humanitarian concerns.

STUDENTS SETTLE DOWN FOR FIRST NIGHT

Voice of America, 11/12/94. By Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: In a protest timed to coincide with the arrival of Asia Pacific leaders in Indonesia, a group of East Timorese demonstrators remains inside the US Embassy compound in Jakarta. VOA’s Dan Robinson reports the protesters are demanding the release of a jailed Timorese independence leader and want the United States to use its influence with Indonesia on the East Timor issue:

Twenty-nine students climbed over a fence surrounding the US embassy compound early Saturday. Refusing appeals from US officials to leave, they later settled down for the night.

Their demands include the release of jailed East Timor independence leader, Xanana Gusmão. In shouted remarks to reporters, a spokesman for the group said they insisted on delivering a written appeal to President Clinton to press the Indonesian government on the East Timor issue.

Before departing Jakarta for the Philippines Saturday, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the United States understands the concerns of the students. He said US officials had received certain assurances from Indonesian authorities:

“We have no plans, to use your phrase not mine, throw them out. We have been consulting with the Indonesian authorities and have been assured there will be no retribution taken. But we foresee a good outcome of this, and we are going to be dealing with it with a good deal of sensitivity and understanding.”

As night fell, a mediation effort by an Indonesian government official (ambassador at

large Lopez da Cruz) had failed to resolve the impasse.

Police were positioned around the embassy compound, along with local and foreign journalists.

Indonesian authorities took extensive precautions against just this kind of demonstration. Thousands of police and security personnel have been deployed during the APEC gatherings in Jakarta. At the same time, journalists have been allowed an unprecedented degree of access, including open travel to East Timor.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas Saturday dismissed the demonstrators as misdirected and described the demonstration as a public stunt aimed at embarrassing the government during APEC.

US officials say East Timor and human rights issues will be discussed in bilateral talks. But human rights groups accuse Washington of caring more about US economic interests with Indonesia and other Asian countries than human rights.

Saturday was also the third anniversary of the 1991 shooting of pro-independence activists in East Timor by Indonesian troops in which at least 57 people were killed.

DEMONSTRATORS STILL AT EMBASSY

Voice of America, 11/13/94. By Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: As Asia Pacific leaders gather in Indonesia for a summit, two incidents have diverted attention from economic issues to the issue of East Timor. In Jakarta, a group of Timorese independence activists remains inside the US embassy compound, while in East Timor there were reports of violent clashes between security forces and demonstrators. VOA's Dan Robinson reports from Jakarta.

For a second day, 29 East Timorese protesters remained inside an area of the US embassy compound, succeeding for the moment in stealing the spotlight from the Asia Pacific leaders arriving in Jakarta.

The demonstrators climbed over the spiked iron fence Saturday, and announced their demands: freedom for Xanana Gusmão, the Timorese independence leader serving a 20-year jail sentence, a government dialogue with all groups in the Timorese resistance, and withdrawal of Indonesian military forces from East Timor.

But as the leader of the group, Domingos Sarmento Alves, explained the main demand is to meet directly with President Bill Clinton, or Secretary of State Warren Christopher, to urge them to use America's influence on the East Timor issue:

"We have no intention to embarrass the Indonesian government, no not at all. But what we are trying to do is to show the world we have suffered for 19 years, and no one cares about us, that is why. Especially the governments, maybe the parliaments can talk, but most of the western governments they forgot about us."

A young man, Mr. Sarmento Alves says his group turned down an offer by US ambassador to Indonesia Robert Barry to meet with him as a representative of President Clinton.

In Jakarta Saturday, Secretary Christopher said US officials would not push the group out, and Indonesian authorities had given assurances they would not be harmed if they leave. He said human rights issues and East Timor will be raised in bilateral talks with Indonesia.

But, the protesters – who say they planned their demonstration only within the last week – call Indonesian government assurances untrustworthy. They have vowed to stay put, as Indonesian riot police carrying rattan sticks, and security agents, remain positioned outside.

Meanwhile, there were conflicting reports about clashes Sunday in the East Timor capital, Dili.

The reports, quoting witnesses, say several-hundred people rioted and clashed with police who responded with teargas. The incident appears to have been sparked by some kind of racial dispute in Dili.

Before the clash there were reports of at least one smaller, peaceful demonstration by activists marking the third-anniversary of the shooting of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops in 1991.

EAST TIMORESE ACTIVISTS ASK TO MEET PRESIDENT CLINTON

by Sukino Harisumarto

Jakarta, Nov. 13 (UPI) – Twenty-nine East Timorese activists holed up in the American Embassy in Jakarta have asked to meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton, who is scheduled to arrive in Indonesia on Sunday, an American official said.

The East Timorese, who climbed a high metal fence into the embassy compound Saturday, held posters Sunday demanding the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from their homeland, which has been under Jakarta's rule since 1975.

The embassy demonstration threatened to overshadow the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum this week in Jakarta, where Clinton and the leaders of 17

other Pacific Rim nations are scheduled to meet.

"We are ready to face any risk," said Domingus Sarmento Alves, a spokesman for the East Timorese in the embassy grounds. "We prefer to die inside here rather than die outside."

As the demonstration inside the embassy parking lot entered its second day, witnesses said hundreds of East Timorese youths rampaged through the island province's capital, Dili, throwing stones at riot police and chanting slogans demanding independence and the release of Xanana Gusmão, the jailed leader of the Fretilin armed resistance group.

"Viva Gusmão, Viva Clinton," chanted the East Timorese.

An official of the National Commission on Human Rights in Jakarta quoted contacts in Dili as saying one of the demonstrators was killed and two were injured during rioting Saturday and Sunday.

American Embassy spokeswoman Pamela Smith told UPI the 29 East Timorese inside the embassy compound had been given water by U.S. officials but had refused medical attention.

Two of the East Timorese were injured as they climbed over the sharp metal spikes that surround the sprawling, high-security embassy compound.

"They have asked to meet President Clinton or Secretary of State (Warren) Christopher when they arrive," Smith said. "We have told them they can meet with the president's representative, the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, but they have not replied yet."

On Saturday Christopher said the U.S. had no plans to expel the East Timorese from the embassy.

Smith said the U.S. government "had not put a deadline on their departure."

Alves told reporters standing outside the gates of the embassy that the activists had decided to enter the embassy grounds after some of the group's members were arrested by Jakarta police.

Police said about 36 East Timorese students were questioned but all of them had been freed by Sunday morning.

CLINTON FACES RIGHTS SIDESHOW AT ASIAN PACIFIC SUMMIT

by Paul Iredale (Reuter)

Jakarta, Nov. 13, 1994 – A group of tired East Timorese students put up a defiant stand in U.S. embassy grounds on Sunday for their guerrilla leader hero, posing problems for U.S. President Bill Clinton as he headed here for a trade summit.

Clinton was due in Jakarta on Sunday night from the Philippines for the Asia-Pacific trade summit, facing the prospect the embassy student stakeout would switch the focus onto human rights issues.

Scores of heavily armed riot police circled the embassy, across a park from the presidential palace and three kilometres (two miles) from a conference centre where officials of the 18-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum have been preparing for Tuesday's summit.

On Sunday morning, 24 hours after the students invaded the embassy grounds, the nearby park looked like it does on any Sunday. Children played with balloons, people walked through the area, and hundreds of others cycled through it.

The embassy incident and its eventual outcome in normally authoritarian Indonesia threatened to distract attention from the central aim of Clinton's visit – to lend support to ambitious plans for an Asian-Pacific free trade area by 2020.

For Clinton, already harassed by severe mid-term election defeats for his Democratic party in both houses of Congress, the protest could be an embarrassment to his human rights stance.

A police spokesman said 36 other East Timorese who had intended to join the invasion had been held at a Jakarta railway station. He said they would not be charged, but would be sent back home after questioning.

But an official said there would be no direct meeting with Christopher, nor with Clinton when he arrived.

"There will be no direct meeting but if you compose a statement we will pass it on to them," he said.

Christopher, who pledged to raise concerns about East Timor with Indonesian authorities, said the United States would not move forcefully against the protesters.

EMBASSY FAILS TO CLEAR COMPOUND

AFP, 13 November 1994. By Jim Dalla-Giacoma. Abridged

Jakarta – The US invoked the Vatican in a failed last-ditch attempt Sunday to persuade two dozen East Timorese protesters to quit the embassy compound here before US President Bill Clinton's scheduled arrival for an Asia-Pacific summit.

Domingus Sarmento Alves, a spokesman for the young demonstrators who climbed into the embassy's car park on Saturday and drew international attention to their cause, said the group stood by their demand to meet Clinton personally, and threatened to launch a hunger strike if this was not met.

"This afternoon, (US) officers wanted to transport us to the Vatican embassy. I don't know why but I rejected that," he said.

He added that the 29 had also turned down a meeting with Ambassador Robert Barry before Clinton was scheduled to arrive.

"We think this is perhaps a good idea that we have to consider but we think it more effective to deliver (our) petition to Mr. Christopher or Mr. Clinton."

The embassy demonstration coupled with an outbreak of rioting in the East Timorese capital of Dili on Sunday that left as many as four dead, has seriously embarrassed Indonesia, hosting an informal summit of the 18-member APEC in nearby Bogor on Tuesday.

Alves, speaking to journalists through the tall, spiked embassy fence, said he wanted to urge Clinton to act as mediator between Jakarta and the East Timorese resistance, just like the White House had done between Israel and the PLO.

As night fell, police erected a large Coca-Cola advertisement on the fence in a bid to prevent communication between journalists and Alves.

'WE LIVE LIKE IN HELL HERE – THE WHOLE OF EAST TIMOR IS JUST A JAIL'

*The Times (London), 14 November 1994.
By: James Pringle in Jakarta*

Domingos Sarmento Alves was one of 29 East Timorese protestors who scaled the steel fence round the United States Embassy in Jakarta on Saturday night and remained there yesterday, demanding justice for the people of the former Portuguese colony.

He shouted through the embassy railings to reporters: "We live like in hell in East Timor. The whole of East Timor is just a jail."

Protestors' rhetoric is often inflated, but not this time. East Timor has the look and feel of a rundown tropical gulag. Hundreds of demonstrators clashed yesterday with President Suharto's security forces in Dili, the tiny East Timorese capital, 1,200 miles east of Jakarta. The riots were in defiance of heavy-handed Indonesian methods of rule by fear and coercion.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the next year. "Arbitrary arrests and torture of suspected government critics have been routine in Indonesia and East Timor for years," Amnesty International said in a report in September. "There has been a dramatic escalation in this kind of harassment and intimidation."

As one of the few Western correspondents to visit East Timor recently, I can

testify to the sense of fear among the mainly Christian population. In every street in Dili there is an army post with a dozen troops to keep an eye on security in the vicinity. People look round fearfully before they speak. A handful of students who staged a demonstration were jailed for 22 months; in the past, they would have been tortured and probably killed.

There are vivid memories of the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery three years ago, in which between 150 and 200 people were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration, the hunted down the survivors. José Ramos Horta, who represents the unified East Timorese freedom movement abroad – the internal wing, whose leader, Xanana Gusmão, is in a Jakarta jail serving a 20-year term, is still conducting a low-level insurgency – says he wants self-determination for the Timorese, a withdrawal from the territory of Indonesian troops to be supervised by the United Nations, and the release of political prisoners.

For its part, Indonesia says that the Timorese chose integration (presumably this is a reference to the fact the Timorese once voted in local elections) and that the rebels represent the views of a small minority of its population. A total of 200,000 East Timorese, a third of the population, have died since the Indonesian invasion, most in the late 1970s.

The United Nations has never accepted the Indonesian takeover and still regards Portugal, the former colonial power, as the administering power, although it abandoned the territory a year after the 1974 Lisbon coup.

The most powerful of the original East Timorese liberation movements, Fretilin, had a strong left-wing tilt. It is still widely believed here that the former American President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger gave the nod for the invasion in 1975. "Vietnam had just fallen to the Communists, and Washington was worried about a domino effect," a diplomat in Jakarta said.

Fretilin itself did not help matters, with its left-wing rhetoric and its attacks on other liberation groups. There was a bloody struggle for power, giving some justification, in Jakarta's eyes, for the invasion "to restore order." But now the Timorese exile groups are more or less unified, East Timor is on the international agenda and Indonesia's record of human rights abuses is hampering its efforts to improve its international reputation.

TWENTY-NINE TAKE REFUGE IN EMBASSY LOT

AP, 14 Nov. 94

Jakarta, Indonesia (AP) – Domingos Alves grasped the steel bars of the fence that surrounds the U.S. Embassy.

"I'm free when I'm inside here," he said of the parking lot that has been his home for three days. "Out there, I'm in prison,"

Alves is one of 29 college students who jumped the 8-foot-high embassy fence Saturday to highlight the plight of East Timor – a former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year.

They have stayed in the parking lot ever since, hoping that President Clinton, in Jakarta for a trade summit, will support their calls for independence.

The students have little with them besides the clothes they wear. The tropical sun bakes the asphalt on which they sit during the day and sleep at night.

"The embassy gives us rice to eat and water to drink. But nothing else," Alves shouted through the bars Monday to journalists, who are kept five yards back by police barriers.

The parking lot is uncomfortable, but it's officially American soil and provides them sanctuary from local authorities.

Two dozen uniformed police stand watch outside the fence, prevented by international law from making arrests. Security agents in civilian clothes loiter nearby.

The students want Indonesia to grant self-determination to East Timor and free rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, who was captured in 1992 and is serving a 20-year prison sentence.

Occasionally the students chant slogans. Sometimes they hold up anti-Indonesian banners. Mostly they sit and wait.

EAST TIMOR PROTESTS EMBARRASS INDONESIA

Financial Times (London), Nov. 14, 1994.
By Manuela Saragosa

The issue of East Timor is threatening to take the gloss off Indonesia's hosting of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit, after rioting shook the East Timorese capital, Dili, this weekend and a group of East Timorese demonstrators climbed into the US embassy compound.

About 30 East Timorese protesters have been in the compound since Saturday morning and are demanding to speak to President Bill Clinton, who arrived in the Indonesian capital last night.

Meanwhile, two US journalists trying to enter East Timor without permission have been arrested by Indonesian police.

US officials and other APEC delegates have said the issue of East Timor and human rights in Indonesia will not be raised during the one-day APEC summit tomorrow. "This event is not the forum to discuss it," said Mr. Ali Alatas, Indonesia's foreign minister, said.

However, Mr. Clinton is expected to discuss it with President Suharto during his official visit after the summit.

In Dili at the weekend, East Timorese demonstrators took to the streets shouting political slogans. According to eyewitness reports relayed to Australian officials, one East Timorese was killed by an Indonesian but there were no deaths in the protest.

At the US embassy, East Timorese protesters are demanding that the Indonesian government hold a referendum in East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed a year later.

The embassy says it has been in contact with Indonesian authorities about the situation. "We've been consulting with the Indonesian authorities and been assured that there will be no retribution taken," said Mr. Warren Christopher, the US Secretary of State, in Jakarta on Saturday.

Reports indicate that the situation in Dili has calmed down but the sit-in by protesters could go on for days.

Photo caption: East Timorese riot police charge protesters in the streets of Dili yesterday (AP)

TIMORESE IN U.S. EMBASSY "WANT ASYLUM IN LISBON"

Lisbon, Nov. 14 (Reuters) - A group of 29 East Timorese protesters staging a demonstration inside the grounds of the U.S. embassy in Indonesia want asylum in Portugal, the Portuguese news agency LUSA said on Monday.

A Portuguese foreign ministry spokesman declined to comment on the report.

One of them, Domingos Sarmento Alves, told a LUSA correspondent in Jakarta: "If we do not manage to deliver our petition, we will seek political asylum."

"We want to go to Portugal because according to international law we are Portuguese...we ask the Portuguese government to be prepared for this eventuality," he added.

RIGHTS PROTESTS UNDERCUT INDONESIA'S STANDING AT ASIA-PACIFIC FORUM

New York Times, Nov. 14. By Andrew Pollack

Photo caption: Youths protesting Indonesia's human rights record set fire to a motorcycle yesterday during rioting in Dili, the provincial capital of East Timor, hours before President Clinton arrived in Jakarta for a summit meeting.

Jakarta, Indonesia, Nov. 13 — Disturbances in East Timor today and a two-day-old sit-in at the United States Embassy here have moved Indonesia's human rights record into the spotlight at a meeting of leaders of the Asia-Pacific region.

President Suharto has been hoping to call attention to Indonesia's economic progress and enhance its international standing as host of the meeting, at which the leaders of 18 nations are expected to issue a declaration setting them on the path toward free trade by the year 2020. But the presence of world leaders and hundreds of journalists has increased the risk that the Indonesian Government would receive unwanted attention for its suppression of labor movements, its censorship of the press, and its invasion and annexation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

This month also happens to be the third anniversary of a violent crackdown in which Indonesian troops gunned down scores of demonstrators in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Hundreds of young people rampaged through the streets there today, breaking windows and setting cars on fire.

"It was chaotic," Maj. Laedan Simbolon, an East Timor military spokesman, told Reuters. "Up to 1,000 youths armed with sticks, iron rods and stones were smashing shops, burning cars and hitting policeman."

The United States Embassy here had no comment on today's events in East Timor, saying it did not have enough information on what had occurred.

At the sit-in at the embassy, about 30 demonstrators prepared to spend their second night in the parking lot after having scaled a fence into the compound Saturday morning. The demonstrators, described as East Timorese students, are demanding that the Indonesian Government release the imprisoned leader of a guerrilla movement fighting for East Timor independence. They are also demanding to meet President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher, an embassy spokesman said. [Sic: They actually asked to meet with Clinton or Christopher.] But such a meeting is "out of

the question," he said. The embassy has, however, offered to have Ambassador Robert L. Barry meet with the protesters and convey their message to the President, an offer the demonstrators have not accepted.

The Indonesian Government has tried to play down both incidents. Willy A. Karamoy, a spokesman for the Indonesia Department of Information, said in an interview tonight that unrest in East Timor resulted from unemployment rather than from a desire for independence.

During the Portuguese colonization, Mr. Karamoy said, there was only one high school. After Indonesia took over in 1975, he continued, "we thought to support those people, to make those people clever, we built a lot of schools." But that just produced a large group of educated people with no job opportunities, since there is no industry in East Timor, he said.

"I think the Portuguese were right," Mr. Karamoy said. "Build one school and let everyone else be poor."

Mr. Christopher said on Saturday that President Clinton would raise the issue of human rights in talks this week with President Suharto at the meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

"I don't believe there's been a single meeting I've had with the Indonesians where those issues were not raised," Mr. Christopher said at a news briefing here. "But we put it in the context of a very healthy positive relationship with Indonesia."

But President Clinton is not expected to make human rights an issue at the meeting, which is supposed to be devoted to economic affairs among officials from the forum's 18 members, Australia, the United States, Canada, Mexico, Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia, Brunei, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and Chile. Washington has in the last year toned down its calls for human rights in an effort to establish better economic relations with the booming nations of East Asia.

In a speech today to the Pacific Basin Economic Council, a group of businessmen, Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown said that forging economic and business ties is a better way of improving human rights than the "feel-good policy" of holding a press conference and making bellicose statements, something that he said accomplished nothing.

"We are using commercial engagement to pursue non-economic goals as well as economic goals around the world," Mr. Brown said.

But critics say the Clinton Administration's "commercial diplomacy" is merely a choice of economics over human rights.

Human Rights Watch/Asia is to issue a report on Monday saying that the Asia-Pacific region is marked by "impressive economic growth rates and poor human rights records," and that the commercial diplomacy policy is pushing human rights concerns to the sidelines.

ASIA SUMMIT CLOUDED BY TENSIONS IN EAST TIMOR

RIOTS ERUPT IN PROVINCE, AND PROTESTERS OCCUPY U.S. EMBASSY IN JAKARTA

International Herald Tribune, Nov. 14, 1994, front page. By Michael Richardson

Picture caption: East Timorese demonstrators who occupied the U.S. embassy in Jakarta taking a rest from their protests Sunday after storming the compound a day earlier.

Jakarta — Rioting erupted in Indonesian-occupied East Timor, and Timorese protesters occupying a section of the U.S. embassy grounds here were refusing to leave Sunday only hours before President Bill Clinton arrived for an Asia-Pacific summit meeting.

The incidents ensured that human rights would remain on the agenda over the next few days despite the U.S. administration's hope of focusing on market-opening measures in the region to create more jobs for Americans.

The riots in the capital of East Timor, Dili, and the invasion of the embassy grounds in Jakarta by a group of about 30 Timorese students reflect continuing tensions over the status of the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year.

The takeover of East Timor by Indonesia has not been recognised by the United Nations or the United States.

Analysts said that the embassy occupation, which began Saturday, and the unrest in Dili that flared on Sunday were intended by Timorese opposed to Indonesian control to attract international attention as leaders from the United States and 17 other members of APED, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, gathered in Indonesia for an informal summit meeting Tuesday in the city of Bogor.

Indonesian and American officials sought to play down the trouble.

Major Laedan Simbolon, the Indonesian military spokesman in East Timor, said that protesters rampaged through Dili on Sunday, smashing shops, burning cars and throwing rocks at the police. But he added

that the disturbances had died down by midday.

Previous, unauthorized protests in Dili often have been harshly repressed. Major Simbolon indicated that on this occasion security forces had kept a low profile and said that no arrests had been made or shots fired. But he warned that if there was any further action, troublemakers would be arrested.

Major Simbolon said he did not know what had triggered the unrest, but residents said several hundred demonstrators had taken to the streets to mark the anniversary of scores of Timorese by Indonesian soldiers during a demonstration three years ago.

Others were protesting the killing of a Timorese man by an Indonesian, apparently in a trade dispute on Saturday, they said.

Protesters said that they planned to bury the man at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on Monday after a procession that would pass by the office of the East Timor governor. A similar funeral procession to the cemetery three years ago led to the killings that tarnished Indonesia's human rights image.

The U.S. Secretary of State, Warren M. Christopher, said that Washington understood the concern of the Timorese students occupying the embassy compound.

They were making a number of demands, including U.S. intervention to secure the release of the Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who is serving a 20-year prison term for actions against the state of Indonesia and illegal possession of firearms.

Mr. Christopher said that the United States would, as in the past, be "raising questions" about East Timor in bilateral meetings with Indonesian officials during a state visit Mr. Clinton will make on Wednesday after the APEC meeting.

But the secretary emphasized that America had much in common with Indonesia, including important trade, security and economic interests.

"So we will raise the questions as we have in the past, at about the same level of intensity as we have in the past," Mr. Christopher said.

The U.S. embassy said Sunday that despite assurances to the demonstrators from several senior Indonesian officials that there would be no arrests or retaliation as a result of their action, the group was still refusing to leave the compound.

Foreign minister Ali Alatas said that the Timorese in the embassy were "simply trying to embarrass" Indonesia.

Mr. Clinton and other senior administration officials have made it clear in recent days that the United States wants to concentrate on expanding its economic and commercial ties with Indonesia and other APEC members to take advantage of the

rapid economic growth in the Asia-Pacific region.

Washington hopes the Bogor summit meeting will produce agreement on working toward free and open trade and investment in the region by 2020.

In a speech Thursday setting the tone for his visit to Asia, Mr. Clinton asserted that U.S. economic engagement would help improve human rights.

"I don't think we have to choose between increasing trade and fostering human rights and open societies," he said. "Experience shows us over and over again that commerce can promote cooperation, that more prosperity helps to open societies to the world."

But a new report on human rights in the APEC region by Human Rights Watch/Asia, the New York-based advocacy group, says that commercial diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region is pushing human rights concerns to the sidelines.

TWENTY NINE EAST TIMOR YOUTHS REQUEST ASYLUM IN THE U.S.

Author: Kanazawa Katsuaki. Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Japan's main financial daily). November 15, 1994. Translated from Japanese, slightly abridged

The twenty nine East Timor youths, continuing since the 12th their sit-in in the grounds of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, requested on the 14th political asylum in the U.S.

The same day the Indonesian government said they were free to seek political asylum or to leave the embassy, so now attention is focused on how the U.S. will act.

The East Timor youths called on the Indonesian government to release Xanana Gusmão, the former commander of Revolutionary Front of an Independent East Timor (Fretilin), and asked to meet with U.S. President Clinton who is in Jakarta. The embassy offered to convey their requests to the president but the youths refused!

NOTE FROM JEAN INGLIS ON JAPANESE TV AND PRESS COVERAGE OF JAKARTA AND DILI INCIDENTS:

Both the Embassy sit-in and the Dili demo-riot have been covered with photos in the case of the newspapers and on the spot footage in the case of TV. Except for the above news piece, the contents are the same as has been reported in the news posted on reg.easttimor

Last night I was only able to watch two of the "in depth" (haha) feature type live coverage news programs from Jakarta. Both

happened to focus on "the other side" of Suharto's APEC show, with mentions of the banned newspapers, the lives of people in the slums and the fact that they are being kept out of sight, as well as the East Timor problem as personified by the youths in the Embassy grounds. A couple of not too subtle references to Suharto's "top down" style and self aggrandizing APEC goals were refreshing.

So far the only reference in the press to Japan raising the East Timor issue was a short item in the *Mainichi Shimbun* of Nov. 13 datelined Nov. 12 from Jakarta, under the title: Foreign Minister Kono Expresses Hope for an "East Timor" Settlement to the Indonesian Foreign Minister. It says that Kono, in a meeting with Alatas on the afternoon of the 12th expressed appreciation for Alatas meeting with (Timorese) opposed to integration and said he hoped to see a peaceful settlement of the issue. Alatas, after stating that "I think that something has to be done to get understanding on this issue," said, "Most information is coming from people critical of integration. I'd like Japanese Diet members to form their opinions based on what they actually see with their own eyes."

Since we in Japan expected that Kono would only raise the issue at the end of APEC, I would surmise that the Embassy incident created the push for Kono to bring up the issue earlier.

EMBASSY SIT-IN FORCES ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

International Herald Tribune, Nov. 15, 1994, front page. From dispatches

Photo caption on page 4: An Indonesian security officer trying to block a camera at the APEC summit center in Jakarta as two American journalists, Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, sought to organize a press conference about civil rights demonstrators in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

Jakarta – President Bill Clinton was dragged into the delicate issue of Indonesia's human-rights record Monday when students from East Timor, who have been holding a sit-in at the U.S. Embassy, called for American help in obtaining political asylum.

The sit-in, which began Saturday, coincided with the first full day of Mr. Clinton's visit to attend a summit meeting here of the 18-nation Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

Protesters here and in the East Timor capital, Dili, are trying to use the summit meeting to draw international attention to the situation in their home, a former Portuguese colony that Jakarta occupied in 1975 and annexed in 1976.

The East Timor issue and other human-rights matters turned into an unexpected public-relations headache for Mr. Clinton and his host, President Suharto. The White House had hoped this trip would raise the president's sagging political fortunes and focuses attention on the central role that economics plays in his foreign policy.

He denied suggestions he was backing away from human-rights concerns in pressing for more trade with Asia. He said he had raised the issue pointedly in a meeting with President Jiang Zemin of China, a session that U.S. officials said emphasized trade and security issues.

"We made it absolutely clear," Mr. Clinton said, "that in order for the United States' relationship to China to fully flower, there had to be progress on all fronts."

International human-rights groups have repeatedly condemned what they say is harsh repression of pro-independence moves in the majority Roman Catholic territory in Timor, including the 1991 killings of some 50 demonstrators in Dili by Indonesian troops.

The 29 protesters submitted a petition to embassy officials Monday calling for the release of about 100 East Timorese arrested over the weekend here and in Dili. They also demanded the release of the jailed resistance leader, José Xanana Gusmão, so he could take part in talks with Jakarta authorities.

They also demanded that the U.S. government help them obtain political asylum in Portugal.

Mr. Clinton said U.S. officials had discussed with Indonesian authorities and had received assurances that none of the demonstrators would be arrested.

At a news conference in the garden of the U.S. ambassador's residence, Mr. Clinton said he would "use whatever influence I have in positive way" to press for human rights reforms in China and in Indonesia.

Mr. Clinton also voiced sympathy for the students who had scaled the fence of the embassy and were occupying the embassy's grounds.

Mr. Clinton said that the United States had "no problem" with the occupation, and that he felt "comfortable" with an Indonesian assurance that no retribution would be exercised.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher went further, saying in a television interview Monday that the protest was "an opportunity to make our case for human rights here in Indonesia."

"We have been talking to the Indonesians about East Timor for a long time," he said.

In Lisbon, Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva said his government was willing to offer asylum to the 29 East Timorese, but he also pressed Mr. Clinton to take a

tougher line on the East Timor issue with Jakarta.

"We hope the situation in East Timor arouses firmer action by the international community," he said.

The Indonesian state secretary, Murdiono, said Monday that Jakarta had no objections to anyone seeking asylum in another country and pledged that no action would be taken against the protesters if they left the embassy grounds.

Demonstrations in Dili to mark the 1991 shootings turned violent over the weekend with some 1,000 youths rioting in the city.

More than 500 university students and young Timorese attended another protest rally in Dili on Monday that was largely peaceful.

In another incident Monday that embarrassed Indonesian authorities, two Western journalists were grabbed by security officers as they tried to organize a news conference on East Timor at the summit center in Jakarta.

The security men released the two, Alan Naim and Amy Goodman, after other journalists swarmed around them.

U.S. JAKARTA EMBASSY PROTESTERS PONDER OPTIONS

by Lewa Pardomuan (Reuters)

Jakarta, Nov. 15 – As Indonesian police cracked down on East Timorese rioters, student squatters at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta split over how best to continue a protest that has cast a shadow over a summit of Asia-Pacific nations.

The occupation of the embassy parking lot by 29 East Timorese students was entering its fourth day on Tuesday with divisions appearing between the tired and bedraggled youths.

Clinton, in Indonesia for the summit of the 18-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, told reporters on Monday the authorities had assured him the students would not be punished.

"We have been assured there will be no retribution against them in exercising their political expression," he said.

"I feel comfortable the commitment we have received will be honoured."

The United States, he added, "had no problem with these young people coming and expressing their views in our embassy grounds, and we've talked with them and worked with them."

An Indonesian military spokesman in Jakarta was quoted by national radio as saying the situation in Dili was returning to normal.

Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien raised the embassy incident and the rioting

in the capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, with President Suharto on Monday.

In Lisbon, Portuguese President Mario Soares appealed to Clinton to intervene on behalf of East Timorese dissidents.

Members of an Indonesian-appointed Human Rights Commission said after talks with the students at the U.S. embassy that eight would leave if they could be assured they would not be arrested.

The students told reporters Indonesian intelligence had threatened them with death if they left the embassy.

They also said they were no longer firm in their demand to meet Clinton or Secretary of State Warren Christopher but would accept talks instead with President Suharto or his foreign minister, Ali Alatas.

Defiantly, they threatened "harder steps" if their demands were not met, but said these might include a request for political asylum. While potentially awkward, that was unlikely to shake Indonesia's tough authorities, who appeared to be largely ignoring the protest.

"This is just a small problem. We are a big country," State Secretary Murdiono, a close aide to Suharto, told reporters on Monday.

EAST TIMOR STANDOFF IN DILI AND JAKARTA

by Sukino Harisumarto, UPI

Jakarta, Nov. 15 – While U.S. President Bill Clinton met with the leaders of 17 Pacific powers Tuesday, East Timorese protesters were locked in a tense standoff with Indonesian and American authorities.

"The situation is very bad today," said a Catholic priest in the East Timor capital of Dili. "There is a demonstration going on at the university and many troops are in the streets."

The priest, in a telephone interview from the office of Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo in Dili, 1,250 miles (2,000 km) east of Jakarta, said "five or six" East Timorese had been killed since the rioting began in Dili last Saturday.

"The trouble is continuing," he said. "The troops have taken many prisoners."

He said 20 East Timorese youths had taken refuge in Dili's main Catholic church because they feared being rounded up by Indonesian army and police patrols.

East Timor University was closed Tuesday and administrators said they did not expect it to reopen until next Monday.

All public transport in Dili was suspended, while banks and most private businesses were closed.

"We love the Indonesian people, but we will not accept the Indonesian regime," said Dominggus Sarmiento Alves, spokesman for the protesters at the embassy. "It is time for us to determine our own future."

A student at East Timor University said troops and riot police manned most of Dili's main intersections Tuesday.

"It's tense like yesterday," the student said in a telephone interview. "Most of the students support (the protesters) at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta."

TIMORESE PROTESTERS STILL HOLED UP

Jakarta, Indonesia (Nov. 15, Reuter) - East Timorese youths bedded down for a fourth night Tuesday in a corner of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta after putting their independence cause firmly on the agenda of President Clinton.

After four days of protest at the embassy and three of anti-Indonesian unrest in the East Timor capital Dili, Clinton said he would raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto during his state visit Wednesday.

Activists said they were increasingly concerned about the fate of the 29 and several dozen other Timorese, including about 35 detained on their way to the embassy protest.

They said the 35 had not been seen by family or friends since the police picked them up. Police said they had released them and sent them home to East Java.

The activists said they knew of seven in military custody and several more on the run.

In Dili, police said 16 people were in detention after the worst anti-government and ethnic demonstrations in years.

INDONESIA SAYS TIMORESE FREE TO LEAVE COUNTRY

By Muklis Ali

Jakarta, Nov. 16 (Reuters) - Indonesia said on Wednesday it was willing to allow 29 East Timorese, holed up in the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta for five days, to leave the country.

But the youths said seeking asylum overseas was only one of several options, and they still hoped U.S. President Bill Clinton would heed their calls to press Indonesia into releasing their guerrilla hero Xanana Gusmão.

"They're free to leave the country whenever they like, if they want to," foreign ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin said.

The 29, exhausted after five days under the tropical sun, were pleased by Clinton's

action in raising the issue of their troubled territory, invaded in 1975 by the Indonesians after the Portuguese left and annexed the next year, during a state visit.

"I truly appreciate the statement given by President Clinton but we want to see concrete steps to solve the problem of East Timor," Domingos Sarmiento Alves, spokesman of the students, told journalists through the embassy railings.

The Clinton team had initially sought to play down lingering human rights issues during the state visit, limiting discussions to a formal session with the government-appointed human rights commission.

His deputy Winston Lord held a brief lunch with a handful of local activists. Others turned down the invitation because they did not think it was a serious forum for rights issues.

Those that did attend said Lord and other U.S. officials with him seemed to be only going through the motions of discussing human rights.

"Everyone was in a hurry, and there did not seem to be any point. It was as if he was not really interested," said Goenawan Mohamad, writer and editor of the banned *Tempo* magazine.

The 29 dissidents said they were still considering accepting asylum in Portugal, Timor's former colonial ruler. Portugal is still recognised by the United Nations as Timor's administrative authority and has said it is ready to take them.

"This is one alternative. It's not a priority. A priority is to seek the release of Xanana," Alves said.

The local representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross here, Henri Fournier, said he had not been contacted about any asylum bid.

EAST TIMOR PROTEST CONTINUES AT US EMBASSY

Jakarta, Nov. 17 (UPI) – East Timorese activists holed up on the U.S. Embassy grounds in Jakarta for the sixth straight day said Thursday they have not decided what their next step will be if their demands are not met.

"No, we have yet to decide on further steps," said Domingus Sarmiento Alves, the leader of the 29 pro-independence demonstrators.

In addition to requesting a meeting with either U.S. President Bill Clinton or State Secretary Warren Christopher, the pro-independence youths are demanding the release of jailed East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

By the end of the trip neither Christopher nor Clinton had visited the students.

"We will stay inside here until Xanana has been released. This is our main struggle," Alves told reporters from inside the fence, adding that "seeking political asylum is only one of our demands."

Meanwhile, East Timorese governor José Osório Soares condemned foreign journalists visiting the region for what he called "unfair" reports.

Soares denied reports of alleged killings and other human rights abuses. "In fact a such notion are not true," he said.

Soares said the rioting that took place last Saturday was purely criminal, and had only served to provoke a group which favors the "resumption of descent in the province."

Indonesia's human rights groups expressed concern over the temporary occupation of the U.S. Embassy ground and the rioting in Dili, saying as long as the problems in East Timor are not taken seriously, the situation could worsen.

"The people of East Timor should participate in its right of self determination, as a leading principle," the rights groups said in a statement.

The groups have offered to facilitate a dialogue with the anti-integration East Timorese, "but our good intentions were rejected by the employees of the embassy and the security officials of Indonesia."

US EMBASSY DISCUSSES ASYLUM WITH EAST TIMORESE

Jakarta, Nov. 17 (Reuters) - U.S. embassy officials on Thursday discussed an offer of asylum in Portugal with a group of 29 East Timorese holed up in the embassy compound since Saturday, a U.S. spokeswoman said.

Pamela Smith said the East Timorese, who occupied a corner of the embassy car park in hopes of meeting President Clinton during his visit here, were considering the offer. Indonesia has said it would allow them to leave.

"Embassy officials discussed with the group the possibility of their departure for Portugal as offered by the government of Portugal...they're thinking about it now," she said.

VOICE OF AMERICA, 11/17/94. BY DAN ROBINSON, JAKARTA

Intro: US embassy officials in Jakarta have met again with 29 East Timorese who have staged a week-long protest inside the embassy compound in the Indonesian capital. VOA's Dan Robinson reports the

Timorese are considering an offer by Portugal to grant them political asylum:

In the words of embassy spokeswoman Pamela Smith, US officials discussed the possibility of the group's departure for Portugal, as offered by the government in Lisbon.

The statement says the Indonesian government has indicated it would facilitate the exit of the group from Indonesia. If the group accepts, US officials would work with appropriate international organizations to ensure a smooth departure and transit.

UNWELCOME GUEST AT SUHARTO'S PARTY

By Johanna Son

Jakarta, Nov. 17 (IPS) - The issue of East Timor was not supposed to rear its head this week, at least not while Indonesia was playing host to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings and to foreign leaders on state visits here.

But much like an unwanted guest, it nagged, elbowed and forced its way into the limelight. For a time, it threatened to steal the thunder away from Indonesia's well-prepared APEC party.

Unfortunately for Jakarta, the APEC meetings that attracted thousands of foreign journalists and officials from 18 Asia-Pacific economies coincided with the third anniversary of Indonesian troops' massacre of protesters in East Timor's capital of Dili on Nov. 12, 1991.

And while the last of Jakarta's honoured guests including U.S. President Bill Clinton have begun taking their leave, Indonesia remains under media glare as governments and activists watch what it will do next about East Timor and its people.

The fate of 29 East Timorese who scaled the fences of the U.S. embassy last Saturday and are still staging a sit-in is of immediate concern, although Jakarta has said it is willing to allow them to seek asylum in Portugal.

NGO sources say at least four East Timorese who tried to join them remain in detention here. The sit-in was supposed to have more than 70 participants, but only 29 got in the U.S. embassy compound.

Riots had also broken out in the East Timorese capital of Dili on the week-end, and human rights groups say up to 120 people have been hauled off to jail there.

East Timor, a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years, was annexed by Indonesia as its 27th province in 1976, but a resistance movement is still fighting integration. The United Nations has yet to recognise Indonesia's sovereignty in the territory.

Clinton himself said at a press conference here, "The people of East Timor should have more say over their affairs." In a 90-minute meeting with Indonesian President Suharto Wednesday, he raised the issues of military presence in East Timor, the November 1991 massacre and autonomy of the territory.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher also met with Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights. He noted that U.S.-Indonesia ties "can never reach its highest level if the people of the U.S. don't have confidence that there is an effort here to respect the human rights of all citizens."

The U.S. cut off military training assistance to Indonesia after the Dili incident. It has noted limited troop reductions and "greater, but not full" access to East Timor by visitors.

Indeed, two U.S. newsmen who witnessed the 1991 massacre in which more than 150 peaceful demonstrators were killed were stopped from reaching East Timor Saturday because Indonesian officials said they did not give "prior notice."

In the run-up to the APEC meetings, Jakarta had adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward East Timor.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas met with pro-independence East Timorese in October, while President Suharto says he is willing to meet with East Timorese leaders. Suharto's daughter has also put up a friendship society with East Timorese.

But activists here and abroad have remained unimpressed. Says a local activist, who requested anonymity: "People here are not easily convinced. We have to see what happens after the APEC summit. What happens in this case (East Timorese protests) should tell us something."

Peter van Tuijl of the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development said the emergence of the East Timor issue during APEC meetings show it remains Indonesia's exposed flank despite its economic growth and success in luring foreign investments.

"This is something that will continue to be an enormous obstacle" to Indonesia's efforts to boost its international profile as a major voice in the developing world, Van Tuijl said.

That view has been echoed by the media in Indonesia's neighbours, with Bangkok's Nation newspaper saying this week: "If Indonesia wants to emerge on equal terms with the world's most powerful economies, it has to adhere to international norms of human rights."

But the Indonesian government may not so easily play by other people's rules. Pressed by a New York Times reporter on how Indonesia would handle East Timor after the 18 APEC leaders met in Bogor,

Suharto brushed off the query: "If I were to answer that, I'd need much more time than I have now."

Still, even governments sympathetic to the plight of the East Timorese have been unable to snub Indonesia and the lucrative business opportunities it offers.

On Wednesday, U.S. firms signed 17 business contracts worth 40 billion dollars, including a 35 billion dollar deal between state-owned Pertamina and an affiliate of Exxon Corp. for a natural gas liquefaction project off Natuna.

The same day, Clinton defended U.S. ties with Indonesia: "We reject the notion that increasing economic ties and trade undermines the human rights agenda. We believe they advance together."

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans also raised the issue of human rights in a meeting with Alatas last week. But Australia has since signed a 5.5 billion dollar contract for coal supply and handling of an East Java power plant, the largest private sector contract involving Australian interests in Indonesia.

Evans says the rights of the East Timorese could be best protected by the *de jure* recognition of the area's integration into Indonesia and encouraging Jakarta to respond, not by "beating our guns and beating the wind to no discernible purpose."

Canberra recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1979. Australian officials say a drawdown in military personnel is expected in 1995, but analysts say military and intelligence officials in East Timor now move around in plainclothes.

TIMORESE REJECT ASYLUM

(AP) Nov. 18 1994

Jakarta, Indonesia - Twenty-nine East Timorese dissidents camped inside the U.S. Embassy grounds since last week rejected Friday an offer of asylum in Portugal and insisted on the release of a jailed resistance leader.

"We came here not for asylum but for the release of José Alexander Gusmão," said Domingos Sarmiento, a spokesman for the men who climbed the embassy gates on Saturday and have refused to leave since then.

Gusmão "is the only person who can represent us to deal with the Indonesian government for the independence of East Timor," Sarmiento told reporters standing outside the embassy's fence.

On Thursday, the U.S. Embassy had offered the protesters help in leaving for Portugal, which has already agreed to take them in.

Sarmiento said two U.S. officials spent five hours interviewing each of them about the asylum offer and taking their names and addresses.

On Friday, the government said it was unnecessary for the 29 dissidents to seek asylum as they would not be arrested if they came out of the embassy compound.

But "they are free to leave the country if they wish and if any country is willing to receive them," a release issued by the Foreign Office said.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF INDONESIA

The following is the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia concerning the demonstration in Jakarta and the incident in Dili, East Timor, issued in Jakarta on 18 Nov. 1994:

"The demonstration in Jakarta which was timed to coincide with the holding of the 1994 APEC Leaders' Meeting clearly constituted a provocation intended to embarrass the Government of Indonesia at a time when it was engrossed in an activity that was vital to regional and global stability and prosperity. The action by the demonstrators was an unfortunate attempt to distract attention away from the important achievements of the APEC ministerial meetings. Their action and the attendant publicity based on false reports that the Government of Portugal always tries to disseminate, serves nothing to resolve the East Timor issue.

In this case the Indonesian Government would like to emphasize that contrary to reports made by elements of the international press and further disseminated by the Government of Portugal, there were no riots in Dili. What happened was an outbreak of violence as a result of a quarrel of a personal nature between traders, one from Sulawesi and one from East Timor, which caused the death of a person. A small group of people, however, have tried to foist the incident as a political demonstration.

Moreover, it is not true that 41 people, as claimed by the Portuguese Government, were detained after the demonstration in Jakarta. The actual number of demonstrators is 36 and since they had no money for food and shelter, they were provided with food and drinks as well as a bus to take them back to East Java where they are resident.

As to the 29 demonstrators who are now in the US Embassy compound, it would be absolutely unnecessary for them to seek asylum as they are not being persecuted and the Indonesian Government has given assurances that they will not be arrested. They are free to leave the country if they so wish

and to any country that is willing to receive them.

In the face of such agitation and propaganda activities, the Government of Indonesia will not be distracted from its work in international forums and its development efforts in East Timor.

Indonesia remains committed to achieving an internationally acceptable settlement to the East Timor problem. Under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, we are engaged in a dialogue with Portugal in a common search for such a solution which we believe can only be achieved through dialogue, negotiations and confidence-building measures and not through publicity stunts that Indonesia's detractors have consistently resorted to."

TIMOR'S OPPORTUNITY

The Economist, 19 November 1994

Jakarta – The skeletons in Indonesia's closet rattled noisily throughout the APEC summit. The weekend before the summit was the third anniversary of the massacre in Dili, when Indonesian soldiers in East Timor shot dead scores of demonstrators. To mark the event, 29 Timorese who seek independence for the former Portuguese colony climbed the fence into the grounds of the American embassy in Jakarta and sat there throughout the summit. The summit meeting also took place against a backdrop of the most serious civil disturbances in Dili since the massacre. With the world's press watching, the Indonesian armed forces were unable to use their customary brutality against the stone-throwers on the streets of Dili or the slogan-shouting students at East Timor's university.

The demonstrations, both in Dili and in Jakarta, served their purpose. International television coverage of the summit was juxtaposed with pictures from East Timor and the American embassy compound. At APEC's closing press conference, President Suharto of Indonesia, who is not used to taking unscripted questions from journalists, was visibly discomforted by a question about East Timor. Bill Clinton raised human rights in his meeting with Mr. Suharto. Warren Christopher, the American Secretary of State, even appeared to welcome the embassy protest, remarking that it was "an opportunity for us to make our case for human rights here in Indonesia."

What will happen in East Timor now that the APEC show has moved on is uncertain. In recent months the Indonesians have held meetings with exiled East Timorese leaders, whom they had previously dismissed as unrepresentative terrorists. Mr. Suharto appears to have conceded little in

his meeting with Mr. Clinton. according to Indonesian reports he rejected any increased autonomy for East Timor. The soldiers there were on "development work."

As the Americans packed their bags, the Timorese demonstrators were still sitting in the embassy car park. Their rather hopeful demands for a meeting with Bill Clinton and for the release of the jailed Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, had not been met. Indonesia has promised they will not be punished for their actions. But a similar promise was made in the aftermath of demonstrations in Dili in April, and the protestors were subsequently jailed for 20 months. The embassy demonstrators are now considering an offer of asylum in Portugal.

'TO THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD'

By Max Lane, Green Left, Nov. 20

According to Sarkeke, one of the East Timorese students in Jakarta who did not make it over the fence into the US Embassy on November 12, the sit-in protest there is aimed at getting Indonesia out of East Timor. "We want our independence, we will not stop fighting until we get independence," he told me over the phone from Jakarta.

"Our compatriots are demanding, and we demand, that US President Clinton tell President Suharto to release the East Timorese resistance leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão and all East Timorese political prisoners, and that the Indonesian president talk to the true representatives of the people of East Timor, including the East Timor church, CNRM, UDT and Fretilin.

"Our compatriots are demanding to see President Clinton or [US Secretary of State] Christopher Warren so that they can present these demands directly. They have turned down an offer to see the ambassador."

The students also read out part of a statement they had written to be taken by an Indonesian delegation to an Australian trade union conference being held in Perth. They said that after two decades of suffering, "We have never received a serious response from our fellow humankind, and most especially not from those with power from the big nations, who are caught up in the race to focus on economic issues, ignoring our basic and essential human rights.

"The mass killings on November 12, 1991, at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, were hidden by the authorities in this country until exposed by the younger generation of the Maubere people. But the struggle is continuing with the current actions by our intellectuals in Jakarta and the courageous

resistance in East Timor itself. Are not these facts enough basis to involve the people's resistance in direct negotiations under the auspices of the UN, through the persons of the most charismatic of East Timor's leaders, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão and his comrades?"

Asked what he thought the embassy occupation had achieved, Sarkeke said that they key thing so far was to show that resistance to the occupation was continuing. "We want the world to know that the resistance continues. Long before APEC, we had the idea that this was a good time to make that clear to the world."

Independence

Santana, another East Timorese student joining the fight in Jakarta, scoffed at Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans' statement that Indonesia was considering reducing troop numbers. "The Australian government only ever listens to Indonesia. There has never been any evidence that Indonesia's so-called troop withdrawals have ever really taken place. And we don't want this autonomy people talk about either; we want full independence."

As I was talking to Santana, a voice interrupted: "More news from Dili. A 14-year-old boy, beaten up during a demonstration of 300 students on the Dili university campus, died in hospital on November 15. Fighting broke out when the students refused the military's order to disperse."

"This is why we are fighting," said Santana, "because all we get is torture and oppression from the Indonesian army; that is the reality. And we will fight to the last drop of blood."

The East Timorese students said that they also want Clinton to remind Suharto about the fate of several elderly, long-serving Indonesian political prisoners, some of whom have been under the death sentence for over 30 years. They have also asked him to exert pressure on Jakarta to recognise the right of Indonesian workers to organise and to free imprisoned labour union leaders.

The East Timorese students came from several universities and cities in Bali and Java. Ninety students left the East Javanese city of Surabaya for Jakarta in two separate groups late on the evening of November 11.

While waiting at the Jakarta railway station, one East Timorese was arrested by an officer of Army Intelligence. The remainder attempted to disperse, but other security forces were able to arrest 41 people. Thirty-six of these were sent back to the regional police headquarters in East Java. It is strongly feared that the other five are being held under tight security at the Body for the Coordination of National Stability (Bakorstanas).

Other students proceeded to the US Embassy in taxis and attempted to climb over the fence when they arrived. One was arrested and taken to Gambir District police station and beaten. Several others who were not able to get in escaped on a passing bus and regrouped. During the day, three more students attempted to get over the fence: one got in, one was arrested, and one escaped.

A number of other students have gathered in Jakarta to provide backup to those in the embassy, although barricades now prevent direct communication, and to help investigate what happened to the 36 students sent back to East Java. After being taken back to Surabaya in a military-escorted bus, they were released. However, news received by GLW on November 17 confirmed that they had been re-arrested.

Dili

In Dili, the situation has also been tense since November 12. Pro-independence demonstrations took place on November 13 and 14. More than 1000 students protested on November 13, following riots sparked by the killing of an East Timorese youth, Mario Vincente, in a fight with a Makassarese market trader.

The protest itself began when scores of students and youth staged a pro-independence demonstration. Reports from Dili say that the Indonesian military attempted to disperse the demonstrations with tear gas, but that the demonstrators fought back.

There are also reports of the Fretilin flag being raised in a number of towns.

On November 14, a further demonstration took place on the University of East Timor campus after three university students were arrested by Army Company 744. Clashes took place at the demonstration between students and riot police. Students refused to obey orders to leave the campus, and once again fighting took place.

As of November 16, GLW's sources state that 230 students were being held in Dili police headquarters. There are also reports of people being held in safe houses in Dili and in Viqueque and Colmera. Fifty students are in Wirahusada Army Hospital in Dili.

Five East Timorese are confirmed killed, although only one body has been returned to the family. A 14-year-old boy was reported beaten by soldiers on November 14 and died of his injuries on November 15.

A de facto curfew operates in many areas as a result of the many Indonesian troops on the streets. Shops and offices are only slowly starting to re-open.

On November 17, the military intensified house-to-house "inspections" and started to arrest "vocal" East Timorese.

Other measures taken by the occupation forces to avoid more demonstrations have included forcing the family of Mario Vincente to hold his funeral in Bobonaro, a town 50 km from Dili, so as to avoid any funeral processions that might turn into demonstrations. Sources also report that the ceremony for Vincente was not able to be carried out in accord with local customs.

PROTESTER HOSPITALIZED

AP, 11/20. Abridged.

Jakarta, Nov. 20, – Two East Timorese protesters left the U.S. Embassy Sunday, leaving 27 colleagues to continue their 8-day-old demonstration demanding that Indonesia release a jailed rebel leader.

One of the two had suffered a neck injury when the protesters scaled a 8-foot fence to enter the embassy grounds on Nov. 12, said Domingos Sarmento, a spokesman for the group. The other was accompanying him to seek treatment, he added.

"We called embassy officials and told them that one of our friends was seriously ill. We decided to let the embassy take our friend to the hospital after the embassy gave us a guarantee that nothing would happen to him," Domingos said.

He said he did not know where the injured protester, identified only as Armindo, 26, was taken, but added that five other protesters were suffering from fever and stomach aches.

An embassy vehicle was seen taking Armindo to a private hospital.

"Our condition is unhealthy. We have no permission to use the embassy toilet. We use only plastic. We sleep on the ground without blankets in the cold night and rain," Domingos said.

POLICEMEN GUARD INJURED EAST TIMORESE IN HOSPITAL

AP, 21 November 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – Plainclothes policemen on Monday guarded an East Timorese dissident who was injured while taking part in a pro-independence demonstration.

Arminto Freitas Fernandes, 26, was hospitalised Sunday for cuts on the neck when he scaled the fence of the US embassy along with 28 others on 12 Nov. to dramatize their demands.

Abilion Moreda (sp?), a protester who accompanied Armindo to the hospital, said he feared for their safety because of animosity between the Indonesian security forces and East Timorese. He said police were not

allowing anyone to visit Armindo except hospital staff and two US embassy officials.

Abilio said he was questioned Sunday night by one of the ten plainclothes policemen posted outside Armindo's cubicle. He said the policeman asked him if he still wanted to fight for independence.

"I told him I have not changed my position to demand the release of Gusmão and fight for independence of East Timor," Abilio told AP.

A hospital official said Armindo may be suffering from typhus, a tropical disease marked by high fever and headaches, transmitted by unclean water and food.

Another five protesters are suffering from fever and stomach aches. They are not allowed to use the embassy toilets and were using plastic bags to dispose of body wastes

EAST TIMORESE EMBASSY PROTEST TO CLIMAX ON TUESDAY

AFP, 21 November 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – 29 East Timorese who occupied the US embassy compound in Jakarta will announce Tuesday whether they will seek asylum abroad, their spokesman said Monday.

"We have made a deal and everyone agrees," the spokesman, Domingus Sarmento Alves told reporters through the compound fence, adding he hoped journalists would be admitted into the compound to hear the official announcement.

"We have made a decision and we will reveal it tomorrow." He refused to say whether the decision entailed accepting an offer of asylum from Portugal or staying in Indonesia

EMBASSY TIMORESE OPT FOR PORTUGAL

Reuter, 22 November 1994. By Lewa Paromuan, Abridged

Jakarta – East Timorese students holed up in the U.S. embassy in Jakarta for the past 10 days said on Tuesday they would accept asylum in Portugal because they were afraid for their safety in Indonesia.

A spokesman for the 29 youths, Domingos Sarmento Alves, told reporters through the embassy fence that their documents were being processed. He was not sure by whom and did not know when they would leave.

"It's a hard decision for us because we want to go back to East Timor. But based on our experience here, where Indonesian intelligence officers have continually been

threatening us, we feel we should leave (Indonesia)," he said.

The 29 scaled the embassy fence on November 12 to demand the release of their hero Xanana Gusmão. They also requested a meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton or other senior U.S. officials then in Jakarta.

Neither demand has been granted, but their action dominated media coverage of a meeting of regional leaders gathering in Jakarta. The East Timorese capital was also swept by a week of rioting and pro-independence protests.

Alves said that the group had decided to opt for asylum in Portugal as the best way of continuing their movement for the release of Xanana and wider peace talks between East Timorese guerrillas and Jakarta.

Portugal, which ruled East Timor until a few months before the Indonesian invasion in 1975, has agreed to take the 29 youths. Indonesia has said it would allow them to leave, and the United States has said it will help process their papers.

Two were ferried to hospital at the weekend for treatment of injuries inflicted during their dramatic invasion of the embassy compound in central Jakarta. Five others fell sick.

The group has been unnerved by what members say has been a barrage of insults and threats by more than a dozen plainclothes intelligence agents patrolling the compound outside the fence.

Alves said that he and his comrades were also confused by apparently conflicting statements by Indonesian authorities about their fate if they were to leave the embassy compound.

"Some have said we were free to go, some have said we would be arrested. We do not know what will happen if we try to resume our lives in Indonesia or East Timor," he said.

Armed Forces chief General Feisal Tanjung said on Saturday the 29 would be welcomed if they left the embassy.

Activists say several dozen other Timorese who tried to join the protest have been missing for more than a week. The military has denied any arrests.

Alves said that since Portugal is recognised by the United Nations as East Timor's administering authority they would leave Indonesia as Portuguese citizens. Lisbon has no diplomatic relations with Indonesia.

Portugal last year gave asylum to seven Timorese who sought refuge in the Jakarta embassies of Finland and Sweden, although the process took several months. The U.S. embassy was not immediately available for comment.

EMBASSY TIMORESE MAY LEAVE WEDNESDAY

AFP and Portuguese TV, 22 November 1994. Dateline: Jakarta and Lisbon Abridged

According to Portuguese TV, the 29 Timorese who protested at the US embassy in Jakarta will leave Jakarta Wednesday for Portugal. The TV's correspondent in Jakarta said the group's spokesman accused the Indonesians of intimidation after extra security forces surrounded the building when it was heard they would be leaving.

Sarmento said the group would only leave if one of their number was back from hospital.

"They will be leaving tomorrow and will be accompanied as far as Lisbon by the International Red Cross," the television added.

Meanwhile, according to Antara in Jakarta, Jakarta Police chief, Major-General Hindarto has said one of the 29 is wanted by the police for alleged involvement in a murder in Jakarta earlier this year. He identified the person as 'LML' and said the police had asked the US embassy to hand him over so that he could be prosecuted along with other Timorese suspects.

But the group's spokesperson denied that anyone had been involved in a murder. There was no immediate reaction from the embassy.

The case stemmed from a brawl between some East Timorese and an off-duty Indonesian soldier in civilian clothes

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR APOLOGIZED

Posted anonymously by the Indonesian Consulate in San Francisco

East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares Tuesday (Nov. 22) apologized to the nation for the behavior of a group of East Timorese who staged a protest at the American Embassy.

"On behalf of the people of East Timor, I apologize to the nation, and to President Soeharto, because their behaviour has tainted the nation," Abilio told reporters after meeting with the head of state at the State Place.

"At a time when we are hosting an international event, they should have upheld the good name of Indonesia," he said.

The other 28 were still at the embassy's parking lot as of Tuesday though a solution seemed imminent. The student have announced that they want to go to Portugal.

The group's spokesman said they were going to Portugal not as asylum seekers but as Portuguese citizen. Portugal had offered

had them asylum earlier. It was not immediately clear, however, how and when they will leave for Portugal.

The U.S. Embassy Tuesday was preparing the travel documents for the protesters with the ICRC.

Abilio said most of the protesters are "tramps," perhaps two or three are students but they never attended the class.

"Most of them are laborers who didn't make it at school, got frustrated and then escaped to the cheap world of politics," Abilio said.

The few student who took part in the demonstration are acting irresponsibly because they have got an opportunity to study but instead turned their back on the nation he added. (The Jakarta Post).

EAST TIMORESE PROTESTERS LEAVE EMBASSY FOR EXILE

Reuter, 24 Nov. 1994. By Jeremy Wagstaff

Jakarta – twenty-nine East Timorese protesters ended a 12-day sit-in at the U.S. Embassy on Thursday and left for exile in Portugal, hours after students clashed with security forces in the East Timor capital.

Witnesses said the 29 youths, whose invasion and occupation of the embassy carpark in Jakarta had grabbed headlines during a visit to Indonesia by U.S. President Clinton and other leaders, left the embassy in a red cross bus.

Their departure came as calm returned to East Timor's university in Dili following the latest in a string of clashes between students and security forces, witnesses said.

The security forces had barricaded hundreds of students and staff inside the campus in the capital Dili after East Timorese protesters showered police with stones, witnesses said.

Helder da Costa, director of planning, development and external relations at the university, said the students returned home later after their representatives held talks with local military commander Colonel Kiki Syahnakri.

"The military told the university not to hold any more demonstrations at the university compound. The students have all gone home and we hope that tomorrow the academic activities will resume," he said.

The fresh clashes on Thursday were sparked by the appearance of what students believed were plainclothes security officers on campus.

Angry students stoned nearby houses and security forces, who replied with several rounds of tear gas, effectively blockading more than 400 students and staff inside

the campus. At least one security official was injured by flying stones, witnesses said.

A delegation of students who tried to negotiate with officials was punched and kicked by riot police, da Costa said.

Indonesia has said it will prosecute 30 East Timorese for their alleged involvement in last week's riots and protests.

Amnesty International said in a statement made available on Thursday it was concerned about the fate of nearly 200 students involved in the Jakarta and Dili protests.

Timorese sources said that of at least 35 youths rounded up in Jakarta at the time of the embassy protest, most if not all had not been seen since – despite official claims that they had been released.

The protesters at the embassy, whose November 12 invasion led to the round-up of dozens of Timorese across Indonesia, left the compound with the help of embassy staff and the international committee of the red cross.

They had been given new clothes, and waved to reporters as they left, watched warily by Indonesian police. They were due to leave for Europe later on Thursday.

The official Antara news agency quoted foreign minister Ali Alatas as reiterating Jakarta's promise to allow the 29 to leave, despite one of them being wanted on murder charges.

"Our political decision is to let them all go," he said.

ETAN/US PROTESTS U.S. GOVERNMENT HYPOCRISY

Media Advisory from the East Timor Action Network/US, November 25, 1994

The 29 brave East Timorese who scaled the fence of the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta are now in Lisbon, after spending more than 10 days in a parking lot at the embassy. Their courageous and inspired action riveted world attention on the situation of their compatriots in East Timor, who have endured nearly 19 years of Indonesian invasion, occupation, and genocide.

High U.S. officials, including President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher promised the East Timorese and the media that they 29 could stay in the compound as long as they wanted to, and would not be pressured to leave. Nevertheless, U.S. personnel cruelly and deliberately made their visitors as uncomfortable as possible, and made it clear to them that they were unwelcome. Although we are relieved and gratified that the 29 have arrived safely in Lisbon, their treatment at the hands of American government personnel was abominable:

- They were given no water for two days. After that, they were only given white rice twice a day and nothing else – barely enough to prevent starvation.
- They were given no shelter from the rain and other weather.
- They were repeatedly exposed to death threats and other taunts from the hundreds of Indonesian military personnel just outside the Embassy fence.
- American officials strongly urged them to leave the compound, using a range of psychological pressure tactics.

As American citizens, we find these actions abhorrent, totally opposite to the statements of the President and the Secretary of State.

TWENTY-NINE IN EXILE AFTER PROTEST ENDS

Los Angeles Times, Friday, November 25, 1994. By Charles P. Wallace

Singapore—After holding out for nearly two weeks on the grounds of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, 29 protesters from the disputed territory of East Timor left Indonesia on Thursday for political exile in Portugal.

"Our political decision is to let them go," Foreign Minister Ali Abdullah Alatas said, according to the official Antara news agency. The government had earlier hinted that one of the group might be detained in a murder investigation.

The bedraggled protestors were given new clothes at the embassy and then taken in a Red Cross bus to the airport for the flight to Lisbon. As they left the embassy grounds, the protesters waved at journalists outside.

The group brought worldwide attention to their cause by scaling an iron fence outside the embassy on Nov. 12 as political leaders from Asia and America were arriving in Jakarta to hold regional trade talks.

The demonstrators, who remained in a parking lot adjacent to the main embassy, asked for a meeting with President Clinton or Secretary of State Warren Christopher to press their demands for the freedom of José (Xanana) Gusmão, leader of the East Timor independence movement, who is serving a 20-year prison term.

While no senior U.S. officials met with the group, Christopher said Clinton raised the East Timor issue in his talks with Indonesian President Suharto. But there was no progress reported in efforts to find a political solution to the problem.

East Timor is a former Portuguese colony that was seized by Indonesia in 1976 [sic], an annexation never accepted by the United

Nations. The territory has been the subject of numerous accusations of human rights violations by the Indonesian military.

As the protesters left the embassy complex, calm was reported returning to the university campus in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Security forces fired tear gas on the campus grounds Thursday after students pelted police with stones.

Dili has been in turmoil for two weeks, with frequent and violent clashes between Timorese protesters and Indonesian security forces. Most Timorese are Roman Catholic, while the Indonesians are predominantly Muslim.

The Indonesian government announced Thursday that 30 Timorese arrested during the unrest will be brought to trial for their involvement in the disturbances.

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said in a statement that it was concerned about the fate of 200 demonstrators reported missing in East Timor in the past two weeks.

[Article is accompanied by an AP photo showing Red Cross bus carrying protestors leaving the US Embassy compound.]

INDONESIAN "SPIES"

Expresso, 26 November 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Two alleged Indonesian Government spies were at Lisbon airport yesterday awaiting the arrival of the 29 Timorese who, on 12th November, peacefully occupied the US Embassy in Jakarta. Half an hour before the activists from East Timor left the plane, the two men, who refused to speak to journalists, were waiting around the arrival area.

The 29 young Timorese, shouting long live Xanana Gusmão and the Portuguese Government and carrying red and white carnations, were met by a battalion of reporters. However, they preferred not to make any statements at the airport, and to await the press conference organised for Monday, which will also be attended by the representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council, Ramos Horta. The spokesman for the group, Domingos Alves, just said that it had been "very difficult to leave Jakarta" because they feared that their families remaining in East Timor would suffer reprisals.

In the meantime, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry stated that the Government "saluted the courage and determination" of the young men in their battle for East Timor's self-determination. In a communiqué distributed late in the day, the Foreign Ministry expressed its hope that "respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms of

those imprisoned and detained during the recent events in Jakarta and East Timor would also accompany the Indonesian Government's consent to the departure of the occupiers of the US Embassy." Durão Barroso has expressed his readiness to receive the 29 Timorese.

AI: UPDATE ON 12 NOVEMBER PROTESTS

Amnesty International, 24 Nov. 1994

INTRODUCTION

In a report published on 15 November, Amnesty International expressed concern for the safety and fair treatment of 29 East Timorese who entered the US Embassy grounds in Jakarta on 12 November, and some 35 others reportedly detained by Indonesian security forces in Jakarta in connection with the protest.(1) It also expressed concern for the safety of at least 16 East Timorese detained following three days of rioting and clashes with security forces in Dili, the capital of East Timor, between 12 and 15 November.

After ten days in the US Embassy compound, the group of 29 decided on 21 November to accept the Portuguese Government's offer of asylum, and they were expected to leave Indonesia within a few days. The whereabouts of some 35 others detained by security forces on 12 November remains uncertain. Several were reported to have gone into hiding after being released, but there is concern that some at least remain in custody, either in Jakarta or in East Java. There is also uncertainty about the number, identity and whereabouts of those detained in Dili since 12 November. According to official sources 30 East Timorese were being held and facing trial as of 23 November. Amnesty International has obtained a list of some 125 people reportedly detained between 12 and 14 November, and is seeking clarification of their whereabouts. In view of clear evidence that some protesters were badly ill-treated in Dili, there is concern for the safety of all those still in custody. Finally, Amnesty International is concerned that some of those detained in connection with the protests and unrest may be tried and imprisoned for their non-violent political activities or beliefs.

Amnesty International welcomes the efforts to date of all parties involved - in particular the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the governments of Portugal, the United States and Indonesia - in facilitating the safe departure of the 29 East Timorese from Indonesia. It notes, however, that the Government of Indonesia has additional human rights responsibilities

in connection with the 12 November protests. It urges the authorities to work together with non-governmental human rights organizations, and foreign governments with diplomatic representatives in Jakarta, to:

- promptly clarify the name and fate of all those detained, however briefly, by its security forces in connection with the 12 November protests.
- clarify the precise charges to be brought against those detained in Jakarta and Dili in connection with the protests and unrest.
- release immediately and unconditionally anyone detained solely for their non-violent political activities or beliefs.
- conduct prompt and impartial investigations into all reports of ill-treatment, torture, and arbitrary detention, and ensure that those believed responsible are brought to justice.

Amnesty International welcomes indications that Indonesia's National Human Rights Commission is undertaking investigations into the fate of those arrested in connection with the 12 November protests in Jakarta and Dili. In the interest of allaying anxiety and uncertainty about their fate, it urges that the results of any such inquiry promptly be made public.

1. THE JAKARTA PROTEST

Twenty-nine East Timorese who entered the US Embassy compound in Jakarta on 12 November decided on 21 November to accept the Portuguese Government's offer of political asylum. While noting that the 29 had not entered the embassy to seek asylum, Amnesty International welcomes the measures taken to date in facilitating the group's safe departure from Indonesia.(2)

The decision to accept asylum appeared to be based in part on fear of retribution from Indonesian authorities. Announcing the decision, the group's spokesperson, Fernando Sarmento Alves, said:

"It's a hard decision for us because we want to go back to East Timor. But based on our experience here, where Indonesian intelligence officers have continually been threatening us, we feel we should leave (Indonesia).(3)"

An additional consideration was the fact that some of them were suffering from ill-health. Two of the 29 had left the embassy on 20 November to receive medical attention, and several others were reported to be ill after ten days living in a parking lot with only rudimentary sleeping and sanitary facilities.

The Fate of the Detained

The whereabouts of some 35 East Timorese reportedly detained in Jakarta on

12 November, and about 30 others who evaded arrest, remained unclear on 23 November. Some were believed to have gone into hiding after being released, but there is concern that some may still be in custody either in Jakarta or in East Java. Police and military authorities have denied having any of the group in custody.

Notwithstanding official denials, Amnesty International remains concerned for the safety of those detained, however briefly, in connection with the 12 November protest. It calls on the Indonesian authorities to cooperate with the National Human Rights Commissions and non-governmental human rights organizations in clarifying their identities and their current whereabouts.

Police authorities in Jakarta and East Java continue to claim that all of those detained on 12 November have been released and permitted to return to the towns in East Java - including Malang, Kediri and Jember - where they lived. On 21 November police authorities in East Java said: "We just recorded their identity and then let them go"(4) As of 23 November ten East Timorese were known to have returned home to Malang, but they remained in hiding for fear of arrest. The whereabouts of some 30 others who went to Jakarta from Malang remained a mystery. And of some 20 who went to Jakarta from the towns of Kediri and Jember, none were known to have returned home by 23 November. A lawyer from the Surabaya, East Java, office of Indonesia's premier rights organization, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), said on 21 November: "Their fate is not clear. The police always refuse to comment."(5)

Significantly, police statements about the East Timorese detainees appear to refer only to those who came to Jakarta from East Java for the protest. Yet at least some of those detained on 12 November are believed to have been residents of Jakarta. It is unlikely that they would have been returned to East Java, and so concern remains that they may still be in custody somewhere in Jakarta, possibly at the regional military intelligence headquarters, Bakorstanasda.

Military authorities have categorically denied that there were any arrests at all in Jakarta, and have told independent observers who have gone to Bakorstanasda headquarters in search of the detainees that they are not there. On 21 November, an unnamed military source dismissed Amnesty International's concern that some might still be in detention as "baseless."(6) However, Amnesty International remains concerned that some may be held at Bakorstanasda headquarters, or other military facilities in the Jakarta area.

Amnesty International also remains concerned for the safety of a number of East

Timorese summoned by military authorities in Bandung, West Java, and possibly other cities in Indonesia in the aftermath of the 12 November protest. Commenting on the military action against East Timorese, the Director of Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute (LBH), Adnan Buyung Nasution said:

"It seems to be happening all over (Indonesia). They are being summoned, interrogated, and asked to sign statements denouncing the actions of (who entered the US Embassy).(7)"

Among those about whom there is concern are three East Timorese students summoned by military authorities in Bandung on 14 November and asked to sign a statement on behalf of their student's organization (Impettu) condemning the actions of the 29 who entered the US Embassy. The students reportedly refused to do so on the grounds that Impettu is a non-political organization. Then, fearing possible retribution from the military, the three fled to Jakarta where together with a number of others they sought refuge at the LBH. Accompanied by LBH Director, Adnan Buyung Nasution, the students went to speak to a member of the National Human Rights Commission. Unfortunately, the Commission was unable to provide any concrete solution to their problem, and so they returned to Bandung where they remained fearful of retribution by the military.

2. UNREST IN DILI

The pro-independence protests and at times violent unrest in Dili, described in Amnesty International's earlier report, continued with only minor interruption until 18 November.(8) Foreign journalists who witnessed some of the violence first hand said that it appeared to have been deliberately provoked by men in plainclothes with the knowledge of the police.

On 15 November, a group of some 300 university students clashed with security forces at Universitas Timor Timur (UNTIM), after police tried to break up a pro-independence gathering there. The same day a group of some 50 high school students peacefully demonstrating near the Mahkota Hotel in Dili were reportedly surrounded by police. About 20 students fled into Catholic Diocese compound nearby, but the rest were said to have been detained for questioning at police headquarters, and some were reported to have been beaten.

On 16 November, security forces began to conduct house to house searches in Dili, reportedly arresting scores of people suspected of involvement in the unrest.(9) Arrests were also reported in smaller towns. Informed sources said that in three villages of Liquica - Maumeta, Dato and Lauhata - all the young people were detained for ques-

tioning. It was not known whether any were held after questioning. Describing the pattern of arrests, East Timor's Catholic Bishop, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, said "The military soldiers entered the houses and arrested young people without any kind of explanation." (10) He added that those arrested had been beaten and that some had been hospitalized.

Violence erupted again in Dili on 18 November as pro-independence protesters clashed with riot police and a group of pro-Indonesian demonstrators in plainclothes. The clash occurred in the vicinity of the Catholic cathedral in Dili, where some 300-400 East Timorese had gathered in the afternoon for a Catholic mass, unexpectedly cancelled by police authorities. With riot police surrounding the cathedral, and as a group of foreign journalists looked on, some of the East Timorese brought out banners and began to shout pro-independence slogans. Within moments fighting broke out as men in plainclothes attacked the protesters and threw their banners to the ground. At least two men from the pro-Indonesian side, whose names are not yet known, were said to have been badly beaten by pro-independence protesters.

Some journalists who were at the scene said that the group of pro-Indonesian supporters appeared to be working with the police, and suggested that the violence may have been deliberately provoked by members of this group.(11) They said that after the protesters began to wave their banners, a group of men in civilian clothes began to throw rocks into the crowd, causing some injuries. One said that those throwing rocks had been standing close to Indonesian riot police. Shortly after the hail of rocks began, riot police fired tear gas into the crowd, causing confusion and further injuries as hundreds of people ran for safety. Police authorities then ordered all foreign journalists who had not already fled to leave the cathedral compound. One journalist who was forced to leave described the scene:

"There were riot police everywhere - with batons, shields and heavy helmets and they began to surround the outside of the Cathedral. The last sight we got looked like a standoff with rioting continuing inside the cathedral grounds - the police outside the grounds.(12)"

The stand-off ended peacefully some two hours later. Following negotiations between Bishop Belo of Dili and the security forces, those in the cathedral were assured that they would suffer no retribution, and so returned home.

Indonesian military and police authorities sought to blame foreigners, and particularly journalists, for provoking the trouble. As of

22 November, four journalists had been deported on the grounds that they did not have proper credentials; and a Japanese television crew was under investigation, accused of encouraging East Timorese to pose with their pro-independence banners. An Australian national, Andrew McNaughton, was reportedly questioned for several hours about his links with pro-independence groups, before being deported. Announcing the decision on 19 November, Dili's police chief, Andreas Sugianto, said: "It is against the law to conduct political activities in other people's countries...He was involved in local politics and was in the midst of the demonstration... We will be deporting him today"(13)

Arrests in Dili

Uncertainty remains about the precise number, identity and whereabouts of the people detained since the start of the unrest in Dili. Amnesty International is urging the Indonesian authorities to clarify publicly the identities of all those still detained, the place of their detention, and the charges against them. It is also calling on the authorities to release immediately anyone detained solely for their non-violent political activities or beliefs.

On 15 November police authorities in East Timor said that of some 80 people detained only 16 remained in custody. The following day the Armed Forces Commander, General Feisal Tanjung, announced that 27 were being held, and on 21 November the military commander in East Timor, Colonel Kiki Syahnakri, revised the figure again saying that 22 East Timorese were in custody.(14) On 23 November, East Timor's police chief, Andreas Sugianto, said 30 were being held, eight of whom had been arrested the previous night.(15)

Independent sources have claimed that the number detained is significantly higher, and Amnesty International has obtained a list of 125 people said to have been detained between 12 and 14 November. Based on past experience, it is probable that many of those named on the list were released after questioning. Amnesty International is making the list available to independent observers and human rights organizations in the hope that it may assist them in clarifying the identity and whereabouts of all those detained.

Charges and Trials

Military and police officials have said that those currently in detention are being held on suspicion of committing criminal acts, including arson and assault, in the course of the unrest. Amnesty International does not condone such acts of violence and recognizes the duty of police authorities to bring those responsible to justice. However,

it remains concerned that security forces may have used the week-long violence as a pretext to detain well-known pro-independence activists whether or not they committed criminal acts.

This concern has been heightened by the claims of eyewitnesses that some of the violence may have been provoked by members of the security forces, or those working with them. Concern has also been heightened by official statements, including one by General Feisal Tanjung, to the effect that the unrest was provoked and exploited by pro-independence activists for political purposes.⁽¹⁶⁾ Similar accusations have formed the basis for the criminal prosecution and imprisonment of dozens of student activists, human rights advocates, labour leaders, and also East Timorese pro-independence protesters in the past year.

Excessive Force and Ill-treatment

Indonesian security forces acted with more restraint during the week of unrest in Dili than they had on previous occasions, such as the Santa Cruz massacre when up to 270 peaceful protesters were killed. This was a welcome development which may in part be explained by the presence of foreign journalists and television crews. Nevertheless, there was clear evidence that members of the security forces had used excessive force in dealing with the protesters, in some cases leading to serious injury.

A young East Timorese man, Domingos da Silva, who had assisted a German television crew was so severely beaten by plainclothes security officials that his face was "unrecognizable." The beating occurred when Domingos took the initiative of explaining to military authorities why had helped the German crew out of the chaos. A member of the German crew who directly witnessed the beating, provided Amnesty International with the following account of the incident:

"After filming this event, we desperately tried to get out...but this was impossible because there was a fence around the cathedral and soldiers surrounded the area. Our attempts were watched by a young Timorese, who offered to help us out of there are bring us safely back to our hotel. His only condition: 'Let us, after calm is restored, go together to the army headquarters and explain to the officers that I only helped you because of humanitarian and not political reasons.' We discussed this request several times and eventually agreed because the young man, who was terribly scared that the secret police had taken photographs of him, insisted. We approached the headquarters and

the young man tried to explain the case, assisted by us, to the officers. But from the first moment he did not have a single chance. After aggressive verbal reactions by the soldiers he was taken by plainclothes agents and severely beaten up and kicked by these terrible men, who really reacted in a fascist manner. After eight to ten minutes we succeeded to pull our bleeding companion out of the struggle and bring him, followed by a stone-throwing gang of agents, to our hotel. There we informed a Swiss doctor from the Red Cross, who is now taking care of him."

A correspondent for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) who saw Domingos as he arrived at the hotel, reported that:

"He has blood streaming down his back and one side of his face is so swollen it's unrecognizable. They thrashed the living daylight out of him - he owes his life to the German crew who seized him and dragged him away from the police as they were beating him.⁽¹⁷⁾"

Dozens of people were known to have suffered minor injuries in the course of unrest, and some had to be hospitalized. Given the clear evidence of ill-treatment in the case of Domingos da Silva, it is likely that at least some of those injuries were inflicted by members of the security forces using excessive force. This evidence further heightens concern for the safety of those still in custody.

4. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

The 12 November protests and arrests in Jakarta and East Timor evoked unusual public expressions of concern about human rights by a number of governments, including Canada, Japan, Portugal and the United States. Some governments, notably the United States and Portugal, also took concrete measures to guarantee the safety of the 29 who had entered the US Embassy compound.

US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, said President Clinton had raised human rights issues "in firm and forceful terms" in meeting with Suharto, adding that:

"The relationship between the United States and Indonesia can never reach its highest level if the people of the United States don't have confidence that there is an effort here to respect the human rights of all the citizens.⁽¹⁸⁾"

Later, US Government officials announced that they would consult with the group of 29 to determine whether they wished to accept the offer of asylum from

the Government of Portugal. After establishing that the 29 did wish to accept the offer, US Embassy officials worked closely with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to facilitate their safe departure at the earliest possible date.

A number of other governments have also spoken out about human rights issues and some have made efforts to establish the whereabouts of those still in detention. Amnesty International welcomes these initiatives, and notes that such direct intervention may have helped to prevent human rights violations. However, the danger of further violations remains, and concrete measures are need to prevent them. Amnesty International therefore urges governments with diplomatic representatives in Jakarta to continue with their efforts in order to guarantee the safety of others still detained in connection with the 12 November protests, and to ensure that those detained solely for their non-violent political activities or beliefs are immediately and unconditionally released.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The report is Indonesia & East Timor: The 12 November Protests, 15 November 1994 (ASA 21/53/94).
2. The group's concerns were detailed in a petition to US President Bill Clinton. A copy of the petition is attached to this report as the Appendix.
3. Reuters, 22 November 1994.
4. Reuters, 21 November 1994.
5. Reuters, 21 November 1994.
6. Reuters, 21 November 1994.
7. Reuters, 17 November 1994.
8. For details of the protests and unrest from 12 to 14 November, see Indonesia & East Timor: The 12 November Protests, 15 November 1994 (ASA 21/53/94).
9. Reuters, 17 November 1994.
10. New York Times, 22 November 1994.
11. BBC News Hour, 18 November 1994; SBS TV (Australia), 18 November 1994.
12. SBS TV (Australia), 18 November 1994.
13. Reuters, 19 and 21 November 1994.
14. Radio Republic Indonesia, 16 November 1994; Reuters, 21 November 1994.
15. Reuters, 23 November 1994.
16. Kompas, 17 November 1994.
17. BBC World Service, News Hour, 18 November 1994.
18. Reuters, 16.11.94

APPENDIX

Petition to US President Bill Clinton from East Timorese Protesters at US Embassy in Jakarta, 12 November 1994
[Included above]

APPENDIX

List of People Reportedly Detained by Indonesian Security Forces in Dili and Vicinity, 12 to 14 November 1994

	name	age	occupation	residence
1.	Olandino Pereira	50	farmer	Tasi Tolu Dili Barat
2.	Matias Lobato	17	student	Lahane Barat RT I/RW II Dili3
3.	Luciano da Costa	16	autotech	Caicoli Rt 5/RK 2 Dili Barat
4.	Afonso da Costa	28	"	Caicoli RT1/RK1 Dili Barat
5.	Domingos de Deus	38	servant	Lahane Brt.RT1/RW2 Dili Barat
6.	Leonel Sarmiento	46	soc.work	Colmera RT6/RK2 Dili Barat
7.	Adelino Sarmiento	21	pastor	Kaikoli RT1/RK1 Dili Barat
8.	Inacio Soares	17	student	Vilaverde RT2/RW2 Dili Barat
9.	Cancio Ximenes	17	soc.work	Bebonuk Comoro Dili Barat
10.	José Pereira	20	helper	Vilaverde RT3/RW2 Dili Barat
11.	Manuel Salsinha	20	farmer	Beto Timur Comoro Dili Barat
12.	Celestino de Jesus 16	"	"	Cacaulidun Dili Barat
13.	Vasco Lay	28	"	Caicoli RT2/RK2 Dili Barat
14.	Sixto Maya	17	"	Maloa Bairo Pite Dili Barat
15.	João Manuel	14	"	Lahane Barat Dili Barat
16.	Armando Freitas	23	salesman	Comoro Dili Barat
17.	Paulo Bonifacio Soares	20	employer	Vilaverde RT 18/RW9 Dili Barat
18.	Armindo Barreto	15	"	RT3/RW2 Dili Barat
19.	Ebet Melek N.Haran	21	helper	Kp.Baru Comoro Dili Barat
20.	Albano de Jesus	13	student	RT1/RW2 Bairo Pite Dili Barat
21.	Antonio Goncalves	13	farmer	Comoro Dili Barat
22.	Cristovao Mendes	18	student	Comoro Dili Barat
23.	Bernardo Almeida	22	soc.work	Surik Mas fatumeta Dili Barat
24.	Nelson de Sousa Gama	19	student	Perumnas Bairo Pite,Dili Barat
25.	Luis Pereira	23	salesman	RT3/RW3 Fatuhada Dili Barat
26.	José Soriano da Costa	30	soc.work	Lahane Barat Dili Barat
27.	Carlos Mali Ela	20	"	Vilaverde Dili Barat
28.	Ahmad Jainudin	16	helper	Fatuhada Dili Barat
29.	Mario Soares	21	farmer	Bairo Pite Dili Barat
30.	Roberto Ximenes	18	helper	Comoro Dili Barat
31.	Domingos de Fatima	19	soc.work	Manleuana Comoro Dili Barat
32.	Casimiro da Costa	21	soc.work	Rt4/RK2 Kaikoli Dili Barat
33.	Claudio da Conceicao	15	student	Fatuhada Dili Barat
34.	Anito Soares	17	"	RT1/RW2 Bairo Pite Dili Barat
35.	João Barreto	22	soc.work	RT2/RK3 Beto Timur Dili Barat
36.	Januario da Silva Belo	22	employer	Lahane Brt. RT2/RW1 Dili Barat
37.	Aleixo Soares	19	student	Bairo Pite Dili Barat
38.	Agustinho Soares	17	farmer	Becora Dili Timur
39.	Fernando Pereira	31	driver	Kuluhun Dili Timur
40.	Henrique Dias	16	student	RT6/RK7 Santa Cruz Dili Timur
41.	Nikodemus Tahu	39	salesman	Quintal Bot Santa Cruz
42.	Paulino Alves	20	soc.work	Motaulun Becora Dili Timur

43.	Antonio Fernandes	20	coll.stud.	Bemori Rt 16/RW14 Dili Timur
44.	Olimpio Antonio da Silva	19	student	Kuluhun RT2/RW1 Dili Timur
45.	Orlando Dias	18	farmer	Asrama 744 Becora Dili Timur
46.	Constantinus Nahak	23	"	Kuluhun Dili Timur
47.	Acacio da Silva	23	driver	RT7/RW3 Audian Dili Timur
48.	Mario de Jesus	13	soc.work	Kuluhun Dili Timur
49.	Antonio da Costa	23	farmer	Bedois Raimean Dili Timur
50.	Manuel Soares	30	soc.work.	Bairo Economico Dili Timur
51.	Silvestre da Costa	17	salesman	Audian Dili Timur
52.	Norberto de Carvalho	17	student	RT2/RW1 Bidau Dili Timur
53.	Agapito Baptista	19	autowork	Akadiruhun Dili Timur
54.	José Sabino	19	student	Becora Dili Timur
55.	Lino da Costa	20	autowork	Akadiruhun Dili Timur
56.	Bento Viegas	19	farmer	RT3/RW2 Metinaro Dili Timur
57.	Isolino da Costa P.	20	student	Bekusi Bawah Becora Dili Timur
58.	Luis Ximenes	26	farmer	Kamea Dili Timur
59.	José Lino Inacio	19	farmer	RT3 Lahane Barat Dili Timur
60.	João Silvestre	19	driver	Quintal Bot StaCruz Dili Timur
61.	José dos Santos	45	helper	RT2/RW1 Santa Cruz Dili Timur
62.	José de Almeida	18	helper	Metiaut Dili Timur
63.	Antonio da Costa	20	helper	Taibessi Dili Timur
64.	Clementino Lelo Mali	17	helper	Restaurant Rindu Alam Dili
65.	Afonso Amaral Freitas	19	student	Audian Dili Timur
66.	Lucio Neves de Araujo	21	soc.work	Becora Dili Timur
67.	Cesario Cabral	20	"	Bidau Dili Timur
68.	Aleixo de Araujo Alves	14	salesman	Atauro Dili Timur
69.	Recardino Martins	18	student	Bairo Economico RT3/RW3/RK1
70.	Manuel Soares	16	soc.work	Quintal Bot RT7 Dili Timur
71.	Domingos de Jesus	16	student	Mascarenhas Dili Barat
72.	Humberto Moniz	17	soc.work	Santa Cruz RT7 Dili Timur
73.	Jacob da CRuz	21	soc.work	Becora RT17 Dili Timur
74.	Agustinho Menezes	15	"	Quintal Bot RT12 RK13 Dili
75.	Felix Talo Mariano	21	soc.work	Bedois RT17/RW7 Dili Timur
76.	Edison Maia Freitas	20	soc.work	Baucau Desa Garuay
77.	Domingos Sousa	25	soc.work	Motaulun RT19/RK7 Dili Timur
78.	Juliano da Cruz	19	student	Becora Motaulun RT6 Dili Tim.
79.	Domingos Soares	17	student	Bairo Pite RT7/RK1 DiliBarat
80.	Raimundo Mariano	19	student	Becora RT4/RW12 Dili Timur
81.	Francisco Monteiro	19	autotech	Viqueque
82.	Agusto dos S.Souares	19	student	Asrama SMAN4 Hera
83.	Gabriel da Costa	17	soc.work	Hudilaran RT1/RK4
84.	Raimundo da Conceicao	24	soc.work	Kp.Marindir RT1/RK4
85.	Avelino Mesquita	18	soc.work	Lahane Barat RT5/RK3
86.	Sipriano da Conceicao	18	fisherman	Kp.Marindir RT1/RK4
87.	Elvis Pinheiro	25	soc.work	Hudi Laran RT1/RK4

88.	Francisco Soares	15	"	Manatutu
89.	Francisco Paulo	18	soc.work	Hudi Laran RT1/RK4
90.	Antonio da Silva dos R.	21	soc.work	Quintal Bot RT14/RK6
91.	Eusebio Carvalho	24	soc.work	Aimutin RT1/RW3
92.	Mateus Inacio	18	student	Quintal Bot RT7
93.	Francisco de Deus	14	student	Vila Verde RT7
93.	João Sequeira	19	farmer	Fatumetan RT1/RW11
94.	Simao Fernandes	18	farmer	Manleuana Comoro RT1
95.	Joaquim da Silva P.	26	student	Vila Verde RK10
96.	Antonio Barros	24	soc.work	Santa Cruz RT21/RK9
97.	Sebastião S.Sarmiento	15	student	Perumnas Bairo PT Blok E
98.	Francisco Pereira	20	soc.work	Becora RT23/RK5
99.	Yusuf Elo	19	soc.work	B.Formosa RT3/RK2
100.	Lourenco	19	soc.work	B.Formosa RT3/RK2
101.	Luis Castro	18	student	P.Senggol Bidau
102.	Antonio Joaquim	22	farmer	idem
103.	Armindo Mariano B.	29	sales	P.Becora
104.	João de Araujo	30	soc.work	Asgor Fatumetan
105.	Salvador Castro	23	sales	P.Senggol Bidau
106.	Mauricio da Costa	17	student	Lpg.Pramuka
107.	Jorge da Cruz	27	sales	Asgor Fatumetan
108.	Mateus Goncalves	23	soc.work	Lpg.Pramuka
109.	Amandio Tilman	28	soc.work	Asgor Fatumetan
110.	Agostinho Belo	19	student	Kuluhun Dili Timur
111.	Eduardo Maia	23	nurse	Perumnas B.Pite
112.	Antonio Fatima Lobo	21	soc.work	idem
113.	Francisco Ximenes	31	soc.work	Ainaro
114.	Anacleto Moniz	27	soc.work	Lospalos
115.	Marcelino da Costa	22	student	Liquica
116.	Nelson PEreira	19	student	Comoro RT4/RK8
117.	José Nilton da C.C.	20	student	Becora RT13/RK3
118.	João Paulo	29	soc.work	B.Pite RT3/RK1
119.	Tadeu J.da Silva	16	student	B.Pite RT3/RK1
120.	Avelino Correia Gajo	25	soc.work	Fatuhada RT3/RW3
121.	Juliano da Costa O.	18	farmer	Vila Verde RT6
122.	José Abril	17	student	Taibessi Debaixo
123.	Carlos kiik	16	student	Kuluhun
124.	Caetano da Silva	22	student	Kuluhun
125.	Rui Abel	25	farmer	Ailoklaran B.Pite

LET EAST TIMORESE PROTESTORS EXPERIENCE EXILE: ALATAS

Jakarta, Nov. 28 Kyodo

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Monday he expects 29 East Timorese students allowed to leave Jakarta last week for political asylum in Portugal will find that living in exile is not easy.

The 29 students left Jakarta for Lisbon on Thursday after a 13-day stay on the grounds of the U.S. Embassy, dramatizing their demand for independence for their territory.

Alatas said the fate of the East Timorese students will be similar to that of others who asked the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta last year for political asylum and are now in Lisbon.

Publico, a Portuguese newspaper, recently reported that the seven students say they have been deceived by the Portuguese government, have no jobs and are living in poverty.

Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to hold a fourth round of talks under the supervision of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Jan. 9, in Geneva.

In another development, Indonesian police Monday arrested an East Timorese civil servant suspected of leading protests in Dili, East Timor, over the past two weeks.

"There is a strong indication he master-minded the rallies," said the head of the East Timor Police, Andreas Sugianto, refusing to disclose the identity of the man.

Indonesia took over East Timor in 1975 after Portugal withdrew its colonial administration, annexing it the following year.

The territory's integration into Indonesia is not recognized by the U.N.

BBC INTERVIEW WITH EMBASSY PROTESTORS

Interview with Domingos Sarmiento Alves, spokesman for the 29 East Timorese students who occupied the grounds of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta during the APEC summit

"Newshour," BBC World Service, 29 November 1994

Transcriber's note: I took some liberties [shown in brackets] with Mr. Sarmiento's remarks to improve their readability, but believe the final version captures his intended meaning.

INTERVIEWER: The group of students from East Timor who staged a sit-in at the American embassy in Jakarta say they are determined to continue their fight against Indonesian occupation of their territory. The group, who've now been granted refuge by Portugal, spent almost two weeks inside the embassy in a protest to demand the release of Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the Fretilin guerilla movement which is fighting for the independence of East Timor. But, given that the Portuguese [sic] authorities are still refusing to release Mr. Gusmão, I put it to the students' spokesman, Domingo Sarmiento on the line to Lisbon, that their protest had been unsuccessful.

SARMENTO: We [were] successful enough to the world, [in showing that] the people of East Timor are still suffering, that there is a small country in this part of the globe still suffers. The right of the people of East Timor to self-determination [has been] denied for nineteen years. We want to remind the international community to pay attention to our case. I think we succeeded in this part, even though we didn't succeed in our demands, in releasing Xanana.

INTERVIEWER: Is the position of the resistance still that you wish to achieve autonomy, and hold a referendum on the future of East Timor, or might you be prepared to accept a special status for East Timor within Indonesia?

SARMENTO: We reject a special status within Indonesia. Actually, we want to [pass?] through autonomy and then have a referendum for self-determination.

INTERVIEWER: Is the resistance still committed to an armed struggle as a part of your opposition to Indonesian rule?

SARMENTO: As long as there is a popular resistance, we are going to resist. The resistance will never die.

INTERVIEWER: But it does seem that, nineteen years after Indonesia occupied East Timor, they are showing no greater willingness to leave the territory. How are you going to persuade them to change their minds?

SARMENTO: If they will apply the concepts of human rights and to fight for the rightness of human rights in the world, I think it will be possible to establish peace in East Timor.

MANY ARRESTED IN JAKARTA

AI: FEAR OF TORTURE FOR DETAINED PROTESTORS

News service 258/94

AI index: ASA 21\wu 24/94

12 November 1994 - for immediate release

Indonesia and East Timor: fear of torture for detained pro-independence protestors and those still occupying U.S. Embassy grounds

A group of East Timorese independence protestors arbitrarily detained by Indonesian security forces this morning could be in danger of torture and ill-treatment, Amnesty International said.

On the eve of United States (US) President Bill Clinton's arrival in Jakarta for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, and on the third anniversary of the massacre of 270 people in East Timor, at least 35 East Timorese students have been detained and some 29 more remain inside the US Embassy grounds in Jakarta. Amnesty International has obtained a list of 66 names of people who planned to take part in today's demonstration at the US Embassy, some of whom have been detained.

"The United States and other governments gathered in Indonesia for APEC should take concrete action to ensure that none of those currently detained are tortured or ill-treated, and that those inside the embassy compound will not be arbitrarily detained if and when they leave," Amnesty International said.

Indonesian authorities have given assurances that the protesters in the embassy grounds will not be harassed or arrested if they leave. But given the long-standing pattern of torture and ill-treatment of East Timorese activists by Indonesian security forces, Amnesty International urges the US and other APEC governments not to simply rely on such assurances.

Since 1990 thousands of East Timorese, most of them young people, have been detained without charge by military authorities for periods of a few days to several months for their real or alleged political activities. Many of those detained have been held incommunicado and tortured or ill-treated by their captors to extract confessions or political intelligence.

"Amnesty International's fears that those detained could be tortured and ill-treated are heightened by reports that some of those detained this morning have been transferred from police custody to a military

detention centre, where pro-democracy activists have been tortured in the recent past," the organization said.

Amnesty International is urging the US and other governments present at APEC to take concrete steps to ensure that those currently in detention and those in the compound are protected from human rights violations. In particular, the organization calls on them to:

Seek to visit those currently in detention, or ensure that they are visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross or other independent parties;

Seek details of the charges laid against the detainees; and

Ensure that all those detained are accompanied by lawyers of their own choice at every stage of the investigation, as required under Indonesian law.

BACKGROUND:

On the morning of 12 November, an estimated 30 East Timorese students attempted to enter the US Embassy in Jakarta. The group scaled the wall of the embassy grounds as police tried to prevent them. Once inside the embassy grounds, the students displayed banners in English and Portuguese calling for the US President to use his influence to free East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, currently serving a 20-year prison term.

One student, Valerio José Trindade, was arrested by police outside the embassy while being interviewed by a foreign journalist prior to attempting to gain entry to the compound. His current location is not known nor are details of any charges against him. Amnesty International urges the US and other governments at APEC to seek information about Valerio José Trindade's whereabouts and details of charges against him.

At least 35 other students are believed to have been detained at about 9am as they arrived at a train station in Senen, East Jakarta, en route to the US Embassy. The group were originally held in police custody but it is now believed they have been taken to the regional headquarters of the military Coordinating Agency for the Maintenance of National Stability, (Bakorstanasda) in Jakarta. Four of this group have been identified as Francisco Honario, João Quintiliano, Delio Nunes and Samuel Leke. There are reports that half of the students detained in Senen have been released, but some 20 may still be in detention and Amnesty International remains concerned for their safety while in detention.

The transfer of those detained to Bakorstanasda custody heightens concern about the possibility of torture and ill-treatment. In September this year, security forces de-

tained four men in Jakarta for releasing balloons with pro-democracy messages and subjected them to torture, including electric shocks, beatings and death threats, at Bakorstanasda headquarters under the supervision of high-ranking military intelligence officers.

The detention of the students occurs against a backdrop of serious human rights violations against government critics, labour activists and socially marginalized groups in the run-up to APEC. These concerns are covered in the Amnesty International report, "Operation Cleansing": Human Rights and APEC, published in November 1994.

CONCERN FOR FATE OF FORTY EAST TIMORESE

TAPOL Report, 13 November 1994

With attention focused on the twenty-nine East Timorese now spending their second night in the compound of the US embassy in Jakarta, the fate of the forty who came to Jakarta from East Java intending to enter the embassy is of particular concern.

They were apprehended as they alighted from a train in Jakarta and taken to the headquarters of Bakorstanasda, the military security agency in Jakarta, and held there for several hours.

Our latest information is that five are still under arrest: Aurelio Aries Tilman, Delio Nunes, Francisco Onorio Sarmiento, Samuel Leki and João Quintiliano. Their whereabouts are not known. When human rights activist, J.C. Princen inquired about them this morning at the Bakorstanasda headquarters, all he was told was that no East Timorese were being held there. He told TAPOL he has no way of verifying this independently.

The other thirty-five have been returned to East Java by truck under military escort. This clearly means that they have not been released and are likely to undergo intensive interrogation accompanied by torture, once they return to East Java, at the hands of the regional military command. As Poncke Princen stressed, out of sight of international attention, the military in the regions are likely to treat their captives with even greater severity. He said that the LBH was monitoring the situation closely and has alerted LBH-Surabaya to pay attention to their fate.

They have obviously been removed from Jakarta to reduce the pressure on the Suharto regime, now facing one of the most embarrassing diplomatic fiascos of Suharto's thirty-year rule.

We in TAPOL feel that special attention needs to be devoted to these East Timorese. In our letter to Warren Christopher today,

TAPOL urged the Clinton Administration to pay special attention to the fate of these forty East Timorese. We suggest that other solidarity groups also take action on their behalf

INFID LETTERS ON EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS DETENTION

INTERNATIONAL NGO FORUM ON INDONESIAN DEVELOPMENT

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email: infid@nusa.or.id

No: 112/INFID/1994

November 14, 1994

General Banurusman Atmosumitro
Commander-in-Chief, Police Department of
Republic of Indonesia

Dear General Banurusman:

In relation to the capture and deportation of 36 East Timorese students in Jakarta by the Police on November 12, 1994, and several other East Timorese students who the police are still searching for, the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) expresses concerns about the mentioned incident.

We strongly request the Police to take steps to guarantee the safety, the security and the tranquillity of the students. We also request that the Police respect the rights of the students as guaranteed by the "Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Acara Pidana" (KUHP) (Code on Criminal Legal Procedure) and "Undang-undang Dasar 1945" (The Constitution of 1945)

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Yours Sincerely,

Vice Chairperson, INFID Steering Comm.,
Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara

INFID Executive Secretary
Asmara Nababan

November 14, 1994

Major General A.M Hendro Priyono, Military Commander, Jakarta Raya

Dear Major General Priyono:

In relation to the capture and the detention of 4 East Timorese students on November 12, 1994 in Jakarta and the report that the students are still detained in the military detention center of KODAM Jakarta Raya (Kramat V). They are:

1. Quintilianonetto Mok (Malang)
2. Fransisco Honorio (Malang)

3. Samuel Leki (Malang)
4. Falerio ... (Jakarta)

International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) strongly requests that the Military Commander for Metropolitan Jakarta immediately release the East Timorese students, because the capture and detention is contrary to the procedures for the capture and detention as demanded by the Code of Criminal Legal Procedure (Kitab Undang-Undang Acara Pidana, KUHAP).

We also request that KODAM V Jaya respect the rights of the students as guaranteed by the Code of Criminal Legal Procedure (KUHP) and the Constitution of 1945 (Undang Undang Dasar 1945).

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Yours Sincerely,

RELEASE STUDENTS, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP TELLS JAKARTA

By Bob Mantiri

Brussels, Nov. 18 (IPS) - The lobby group Human Rights Watch-Asia is backing a call by the International NGO forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) for four East Timorese students to be released from military custody in Jakarta.

The Brussels office of the U.S.-based NGO said they also sought details on the whereabouts of some 40 others forcibly taken to East Java after the protests. It urged the Indonesian government to "release the 40 at once if they are still in detention."

INFID, a coalition of NGOs with interests in East Timor, said the four in Jakarta include three students who were studying in Malang, East Java - Quintiliahonetto Mok, Francisco Honrio and Samuel Leki. The fourth was identified only as Valerio, from Jakarta.

All were reportedly among those who planned to take part in the demonstration still going on at the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta.

"The students were exercising their legitimate right to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, and as such should face no punishment for their actions," it said.

Hundreds of East Timorese chanting pro-independence slogans clashed with Indonesian security forces and groups of civilians Friday in renewed unrest in the Timorese capital of Dili, local media reported here. Some 500 East Timorese protesters gathered around Dili cathedral compound in central Dili and clashed with Indonesian civilians before security forces used tear gas to disperse the crowd.

The disturbances were the first such incidents since three days of violent protests subsided Tuesday, the Indonesian occupied territory's worst since troops shot dead more than 200 mourners at a Dili cemetery in November 1991.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, shortly after Portugal withdrew its colonial administration, and annexed the territory of 750,000 people a year later. Over 200,000 are said to have died in Indonesian repression since then.

Heads of state who attended the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meet in Bogor, Indonesia this week, including U.S. President Bill Clinton, have pressed Jakarta to release peaceful protesters Human Rights Watch/Asia said.

"It should also ensure that all those arrested in Dili for their role in a second, violent demonstration on Sunday have immediate access to humanitarian organisations and to legal counsel of their choice," added the group.

"Without such guarantees, any general expression of concern for human rights in East Timor will be meaningless," it stated.

Human Rights Asia further urged President Clinton to place a call to East Timorese bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, in recognition of the important role he and the Catholic church in East Timor have played in defending human rights.

Bishop Belo has been an outspoken critic of Indonesia's policies in East Timor and has enormous credibility both inside East Timor and abroad.

"The U.S. embassy must guarantee that it will keep in close contact with the students when they do leave, to ensure that the Indonesian government fulfills its commitment," an official of Human Rights Watch-Asia in Brussels said.

Human Rights Watch-Asia said that it has been informed that Indonesian editors and journalists have received warnings to keep coverage of the East Timorese demonstrations to a minimum.

"Such restrictions are a violation of freedom of expression and increase suspicions that the government has something to hide. Full, investigative reporting by a range of different news publication of the demonstrations and arrests would ensure that all facts come to light," the official added.

Heads of state should raise concerns about curbs on the press during their bilateral meetings with Indonesian counterparts, the organisation said.

The Indonesian Embassy here refused to give any comments on the demands of Human Rights Watch-Asia. But one official however referred to "an earlier statement of the foreign ministry in Jakarta that no harm

will come over the students and that they will be freed soon after an investigation."

RIGHTS GROUP URGES RELEASE OF TIMORESE STUDENTS

New York (Reuter) 11/16 - An international human rights group has urged Indonesia to release four East Timorese students allegedly arrested for planning to take part in anti-government demonstrations during the APEC trade summit.

Human Rights Watch/Asia, in a prepared statement released Tuesday, also urged Indonesia to reveal the whereabouts of another 40 people who were prevented from taking part in the demonstrations Saturday.

The non-governmental watchdog group said it believed "the students were exercising their legitimate right to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, and as such should face no punishment for their actions."

It urged that any people in military custody "be immediately and unconditionally released."

AI: NOVEMBER 12 PROTESTERS IN DANGER OF TORTURE

Report from Amnesty International, 15 Nov. 1994

The 12 November Protests

Introduction

At least a dozen peaceful East Timorese independence protesters detained by Indonesian security forces in Jakarta since 12 November could be in danger of torture and ill-treatment, and some may later be jailed as prisoners of conscience. Twenty-nine protesters who entered the US Embassy grounds in Jakarta on 12 November, and remained there on 15 November, could face a similar fate if they leave the embassy compound. Meanwhile, at least 16 and possibly many more East Timorese detained following three days of rioting and clashes with security forces in Dili, the capital of East Timor, between 12 and 15 November, may also be in danger of torture and ill-treatment.

These concerns are based on a long-standing pattern of human rights violations by Indonesian security forces against East Timorese pro-independence activists. Since 1990 thousands of East Timorese, most of them young people, have been detained without charge by Indonesian military and police authorities for periods of a few days to several months for their real or alleged political activities. Many of those detained have been held incommunicado and tortured or ill-treated by their captors to extract con-

fessions or political intelligence. At least 30 East Timorese are currently serving prison sentences of up to life imprisonment for their non-violent pro-independence activities.

Amnesty International's concern for the safety and fair treatment of those recently detained has been heightened by the statements of Indonesian military and government officials in the days after the embassy occupation. The authorities have accused the protesters of attempting to tarnish the government's name and to win popularity by staging their demonstration during a meeting of heads of government of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) countries. On 13 November, the military commander for Greater Jakarta, Major General Hendropriyono, accused the East Timorese protesters of being insufficiently "patriotic," saying: "They...do not have any patriotism at all and they do not have any shame when their country is holding an international event." (1) In the past, such accusations have been sufficient grounds for the trial and imprisonment of peaceful East Timorese protesters. For example, East Timorese accused of "tarnishing the country's image" by staging peaceful demonstrations after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, are now serving sentences of up to life imprisonment.

The recent protests and arrests occurred on the eve of United States (US) President Bill Clinton's arrival in Jakarta for the APEC summit, and on the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in which some 270 people were killed by security forces in East Timor. They also occurred against the backdrop of serious human rights violations against Indonesian government critics, labour activists and socially marginalized groups in the run-up to APEC, documented in the Amnesty International report, Indonesia: "Operation Cleansing" - Human Rights and APEC, published in November 1994.

1. THE 12 NOVEMBER PROTEST

On the morning of 12 November, some 30 East Timorese students attempted to enter the US Embassy in Jakarta. The group scaled the fence surrounding the embassy grounds as police tried to prevent them. Amnesty International has obtained a list of 66 names of people who planned to take part in the demonstration, but only 29 managed to enter. At least 35 others were reported to have been detained before entering or reaching the embassy.

Once inside the embassy grounds, the 29 students displayed banners in English and Portuguese calling for the US President to seek the release of East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, to push for his

participation in peace talks, and to support a referendum on the political future of East Timor. In a written statement, the protesters said that they were seeking a meeting with President Clinton, who arrived in Jakarta in the evening of 13 November, and with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, to discuss their political and human rights concerns.

Following early statements that the 29 would be encouraged to leave, officials at the US embassy clarified that the group would be permitted to stay, and provided them with some food and other facilities. Speaking to journalists on 14 November, President Clinton said the US government "...had no problem with these young people coming and expressing their views in our embassy grounds, and we've talked with them and worked with them." (2) However, by the end of the day on Tuesday 15 November, the protesters had not met the President. The group apparently rejected offers of a meeting with the US Ambassador, and said that if their request to meet the President were not met they might be forced to ask for political asylum. A spokesman for the group, Fernando Sarmiento Alves, told reporters: "We are going to take harder steps if there are no positive developments, including consideration of political asylum." (3) Later reports suggested that the group might be prepared to accept a meeting with Indonesian President Suharto or Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Alatas, as an alternative.

Members of Indonesia's government-appointed National Human Rights Commission who visited the group at the embassy compound on 13 November, said that eight of the 29 had said they would leave the embassy if they received guarantees that they would not be arrested. However, the Commission reportedly failed to obtain such guarantees, and all 29 protesters remained in the compound at the end of the day on 15 November.

Arrests in Jakarta and Other Cities

Between 35 and 50 East Timorese are reported to have been detained in Jakarta shortly before and after the embassy protest, but the exact number, identity and whereabouts of those detained is still unclear. As of 15 November, local human rights monitors and relatives had been able to identify only about a dozen of them by name, and uncertainty remained about where they were being held.

Amnesty International is concerned that, because of this uncertainty, those still in police or military custody could be denied access to lawyers and subjected to torture or ill-treatment. It is also concerned that those regarded as the political "ring-leaders" may

later be tried and sentenced to prison terms for their peaceful political activities.

Some 35 East Timorese, most of them students from Surabaya and Malang, East Java, were reportedly detained in the early morning hours of 12 November in East Jakarta, before reaching the US Embassy. A number of this group were reportedly released after questioning the same day, but some were still thought to be in detention as of 15 November, including: Francisco Honório Sarmiento, and Samuel Leki, both university student from Malang; and [João] Quintiliano Mario Neto Mok, aged 27.

According to reports, members of this group were originally held in police custody before being taken to the regional headquarters of the military Coordinating Agency for the Maintenance of National Stability (Bakorstanasda) in Jakarta. These reports heightened Amnesty International's concern about the possibility of torture and ill-treatment. In September this year, security forces detained four men in Jakarta for releasing balloons with pro-democracy messages and subjected them to torture, including electric shocks, beatings and death threats, at Bakorstanasda headquarters under the supervision of high-ranking military intelligence officers.

Military authorities told a member of the National Human Rights Commission, and another independent observer who visited Bakorstanasda on 13 November, that no East Timorese were detained there, and that those from East Java had been sent back home. On 15 November, police officials announced that 69 East Timorese had been sent back to their homes in East Java and released.

However, independent human rights monitors reported that as of 8am on 15 November, or three days after they were detained, none of those who had been detained had returned to their homes in East Java, and that the whereabouts of most remained unknown. (4) On 15 November, a police spokesperson in Jakarta reportedly admitted that: "We don't know where they are." (5) The uncertainty about their whereabouts heightened concern that they might in fact still be in custody either in Jakarta or in East Java. Independent human rights monitors suggested that they might still be in the custody of police in Surabaya (POLDA Jawa Timur) or Malang.

One of those known to have been detained on 12 November was Valerio José Trindade, an East Timorese worker who lives in Jakarta. He was arrested by riot police outside the US Embassy while being interviewed by a foreign journalist prior to attempting to gain entry to the compound. His current whereabouts are not known nor are details of any charges against him. As he

is a resident of Jakarta, he would not have been sent to East Java with the others, and so is probably in police or military custody in central Jakarta.

Security forces are also said to have arrested at least 11, and possibly more, East Timorese workers and students from their homes in various parts of Jakarta on and after 12 November. The reasons for their arrest, and the place of their detention, were not known as of 15 November. However, it is likely that they have been held because of their real or suspected links with those who entered the embassy. Although these reports could not be confirmed, East Timorese reported to have been detained in Jakarta include people named as: Armindo Lopes, Alberto, Paul, Armando, Elias, Eduardo, Fidelis, Albertino, Avelino Tilman, José Caiola da Sousa, and Nelson Eduardo dos Santos.

Amnesty International has also received reports that East Timorese in other cities, including Bandung, West Java, and Denpasar, Bali, have been summoned by military authorities though not necessarily detained. Among those summoned are three university students in Bandung: Nelson E.S. Martin, a student at Universitas Pajajaran; Homen Gastao, a student at the Bandung Institute of Technology; and Lito Tilman. They were reportedly taken from their homes by soldiers of the West Java Regional Military Command (KODAM III/Siliwangi) at about 2pm on 14 November. Human rights activists said the three had been taken to the KODAM headquarters, where they had been asked to sign a statement, on behalf of an East Timorese students' organization, denouncing the actions of the group that had entered the US Embassy. Similar incidents have been reported from Denpasar, Bali, where according to unconfirmed reports, scores of East Timorese students have been summoned for questioning by military authorities since 12 November. Two students, Horacio Gonçalves da Costa, and Tede Branco, are said to have been detained by the military, but it was not known whether they remained in custody.

Amnesty International is urging the Indonesian authorities to clarify the identity of all those detained in connection with the 12 November protests, the place of their detention, and the precise reasons for their arrest. It is also calling on other governments to assist in obtaining such clarification, and to take concrete measures to ensure that those detained are neither ill-treated nor jailed as prisoners of conscience.

2. UNREST IN EAST TIMOR

Widespread unrest and at times violent clashes with security forces in Dili and smaller towns of East Timor between 12

and 15 November has resulted in a number of deaths, the destruction of property, and scores of arrests. Amnesty International does not condone these acts of violence and it recognizes the right of police authorities to detain and bring to justice those responsible. Nevertheless, it is concerned that those detained may be ill-treated or tortured, and that the authorities may use the violence as a pretext to arrest and imprison non-violent pro-independence activists.

The unrest was apparently triggered by the murder of an East Timorese trader, Mario Vicente, following a dispute with a trader from the island of Sulawesi, at the Becora market in Dili on 12 November. Within an hour hundreds of East Timorese had congregated to protest against the killing, but the protest quickly degenerated into violence, leading to the destruction of shops, houses, and vehicles. The unrest continued into the early hours of the morning and erupted again the following day. According to one report, early on 13 November, a group of some 40 demonstrators marched to the Mahkota Hotel where they displayed banners with messages like "Free East Timor" and shouted pro-independence slogans. There were unconfirmed reports that a crowd gathered in the Lecidere quarter of Dili, to lower the Indonesian flag and replace it with the flag of East Timor's resistance movement.

Police and military authorities reported that crowds attacked the homes and shops of non-Timorese migrants in various parts of the city, including Audian, Balide, Becora, Bidau Santana, Colmera, Kuluhun, Manleuana, and Santa Cruz. Describing the unrest, Police Chief Andreas Sugianti said: "The mob was wild. They were running after the police and throwing stones at them. If we were not wearing helmets, we might have been injured as well." (6) At the marketplace in Colmera, crowds reportedly clashed with police and Mobile Brigade forces. Security forces managed to disperse the crowds with tear gas, then as night fell soldiers reportedly began to carry out widespread arrests.

The violence flared again on 14 November. In one incident some 600 protesting East Timorese students hurled stones at riot police in the vicinity of the University of East Timor in Dili. According to another report, angry demonstrators attacked the Hotel Turismo in Dili, breaking windows and destroying property. Disturbances as well as pro-independence demonstrations were also reported from areas outside Dili, including Baucau, Ermera, Lospalos, Maliana, and Manatuto. On 15 November, a further pro-independence protest was reported at the University of East Timor. According to reports, some 300 students

demonstrated for nearly three hours, while police and army surrounded the campus. No violence was reported.

Arrests and Casualties in East Timor

Police authorities said on 14 November that they had arrested some 80 people in connection with the unrest and announced that those detained would be charged with criminal offences. Speaking to journalists, Police Chief Andreas Sugianto said: "They have been burning and throwing stones. These are criminal activities. We have arrested them because of these activities and we will charge them in court." (7) The following day, the police announced that all but eleven of the 80 had been released after questioning; the number in detention was revised to 16 later in the day. (8) However, in keeping with past practice, the military authorities did not clarify how many people were held in military custody, so the total number detained was unclear.

Independent sources claimed that, as of 15 November, the number detained was closer to 250, with about 100 arrested in the Colmera area, 80 in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, and at least 70 held following the clash at the university on 14 November. The sources did not know where the detainees were being held, and the number reportedly held could not be confirmed.

Police authorities said on 14 November that there had been no deaths during the three days of unrest and rioting, but that some people had been injured. Reports from independent sources, still unconfirmed, said that three East Timorese had been stabbed to death by Indonesian soldiers or intelligence operatives. One of those allegedly killed was Fernando (alias Nando), originally of Suai, but a resident of Kuluhun, Dili. He was reported to have been killed in Kuluhun by a member of Battalion 745 on 13 November. Two other men, who are said to have taken part in the unrest but whose names are not yet known, were reported to have been killed on the same day in the Laclubar and Santa Cruz quarters of Dili.

3. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

International reaction to the occupation of the US Embassy and the unrest in Dili, has demonstrated a degree of genuine concern on the part of several governments about the political and human rights situation in East Timor. Secretary of State Warren Christopher told journalists on 13 November that the US Government would raise its human rights concerns in meetings with Indonesian officials, a promise reiterated by President Clinton on 15 November one day before his bilateral meeting with President Suharto. (9) Canada's Prime Minister, Jean

Chrétien, told journalists that he had raised the recent developments in Jakarta and East Timor during a meeting with Indonesian President Suharto. In an apparent departure from past practice, the Government of Japan announced on 13 November that Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor would be taken into account in future deliberations about development aid to Indonesia.

Such expressions of concerns and promises of future action are welcome. However, in Amnesty International's view, they do not guarantee the safety and fair treatment of those currently detained unless they are backed by immediate and concrete measures. As of 15 November, there was little indication that the US, Canadian, Japanese or any other governments had taken any concrete action to secure the safety of those currently at risk.

One apparent exception was the Government of Portugal, though its options were necessarily limited by the fact that it has no diplomatic mission in Jakarta. On 14 November the Prime Minister announced that Portugal would grant political asylum to the 29 still within the embassy compound, an offer they were said to be considering seriously. The President of Portugal called on the US Government to ensure that those still in custody were humanely treated and accompanied by lawyers, and to seek clarification of the charges to be brought against them.⁽¹⁰⁾

The response of the US Government to these suggestions was somewhat disappointing. Officials gave no indication that the government intended to take any direct measures to ensure the safety of those detained in Jakarta, Dili or elsewhere. It was also unclear whether it would facilitate the safe passage to Portugal of the 29 East Timorese in the embassy compound. In fact, statements by President Clinton suggested that the US Government might instead encourage the East Timorese to leave the embassy. Speaking in Jakarta President Clinton said that the US Government had received and accepted assurances from the Indonesian government that the 29 would not be punished if they left the embassy:

"We have been assured there will be no retribution against them in exercising their political expression....I feel comfortable the commitment we have received will be honoured."⁽¹¹⁾

Given the long-standing pattern of torture and ill-treatment of East Timorese activists by Indonesian security forces, Amnesty International is concerned that such assurances alone do not provide an adequate guarantee of the safety of those inside the embassy compound. It therefore urges the United States, and other governments with

diplomatic representatives in Jakarta, to ensure that none of those currently detained are tortured or ill-treated, and that those inside the US Embassy compound will not be arbitrarily detained if they leave. More concretely, Amnesty International calls on governments to:

- Facilitate the safe passage out of Indonesia, of those East Timorese who wish to take up the offer of asylum by the Government of Portugal.
- Seek clarification about the identity and whereabouts of all those detained in Indonesia and East Timor in connection with the 12 November protests.
- Visit those currently in detention, or ensure that they are visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross or other independent parties;
- Seek precise details of the charges laid against the detainees, and urge that all those detained solely for their non-violent activities or beliefs are released immediately and unconditionally.
- Ensure that all those detained are accompanied by lawyers of their own choice at every stage of the investigation, as required under Indonesian and international law.
- Ensure that all detainees are granted regular and unhindered access to their relatives and to medical professionals.
- Seek clarification of the circumstances leading to the death of Mario Vicente in Dili on 12 November, and further information about the alleged killings of three other East Timorese by military forces on 13 November.

Footnotes:

1. Reuters, 13 November 1994.
2. Reuters, 14 November 1994.
3. Reuters, 14 November 1994.
4. Amnesty International has obtained a list of 12 East Timorese from Malang who were not arrested and who are currently in hiding.
5. Reuters, 15 November 1994.
6. Reuters, 14 November 1994.
7. Reuters, 14 November 1994.
8. Reuters, 15 November 1994.
9. Reuters, 15 November 1994.
10. Reuters, 14 November 1994.
11. Reuters, 14 November 1994.

APEC ECONOMICS

APEC: WHAT'S AT STAKE IN JAKARTA MEETING?

Green Left, Nov. 13

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, meeting on November 15 in Jakarta, will be discussing proposals for the removal of all barriers to free trade between the 16 participating countries by 2020, and possibly by 2010 for the developed countries of the group. JENNIFER THOMPSON of Green Left Weekly spoke to Dr. WALDEN BELLO, a senior analyst at the Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First) in California, currently touring Australia for Community Aid Abroad.

Question: Could you comment on how Asian economies will be affected generally by these APEC proposals of trade liberalization?

It's fairly clear that many of the Asia Pacific countries are very wary about this free trade vision or bloc that the United States and Australia have been pushing in the Pacific. I think that although Australia was initially seen as the father or mother of APEC, increasingly the United States has taken it over and really pushed very hard to establish a regional bloc that would be governed by free trade.

What people have seen APEC as, in the Pacific, is the Americans pushing their economic interests via the free trade agenda. That sort of agenda is meant mainly to support the re-penetration of the region by American corporate capital and by American goods so that the United States can gain a pre-eminence that it lost in the 1970s and 1980s. There is a fear that US capital, particularly in services, will become very big and that there would be a displacement effect by US goods and especially that agriculture would be dominated by US products.

This free trade agenda carries a lot of ideological implications that might lead to the dismantling of particular relationships, many protectionist, that were created between Asian business and governments. They fear that this rhetoric will dismantle these mechanisms that have been responsible for their growth.

Question: Your work has dealt with social and environmental problems in Asian countries. Can you describe some of these and their causes?

Generally the problem has been the development model that has been followed in the Asia Pacific. It is not a free trade model but

a very close relationship between government and business that's built around the state guidance of growth and protectionism of the domestic economy.

While there have been some positive aspects to this model, it has had a lot of negative consequences, including the decline of agriculture. Agriculture in Korea and Taiwan are on their last legs at this point. This is because agriculture has been used to fuel the growth of manufacturing industry through a transfer of resources from agriculture to industry.

You've had universal ecological degradation from Korea to Taiwan to Thailand, where the first stage of growth was based on the export of natural resources. This now makes the environmental problems of massive industrial pollution, and the third problem is increasing inequality of income.

The top 10-15% of these countries have cornered a larger part of the income than they did 20 or 25 years ago. The strengthening of political repression, particularly in countries like Singapore and Indonesia, goes against the notion that the income pie increases and that will mitigate class conflict. That's not happening.

At the same time, in many of these countries many people are starting to feel that they have a very fragile industrialisation process. They see the ecological devastation and that maybe this is buying present growth at the expense of future generations. I think there is this sense in Taiwan particularly that super-industrialisation has rendered the island unlivable, which continues to be manifested in high emigration from Taiwan to Australia, the US and Canada.

A lack of confidence in the future of the economy is pervasive in this region. There's also a sense that industrialisation is not guaranteed because of the massive technological dependence on Japan. Describing many of these economies, one could say that it's been very difficult for them to graduate from being merely labour-intensive assembly platforms for Japanese components using Japanese technology. The Taiwanese and the Koreans have woken up and said: Whoa, we are now more technologically dependent on Japan than when we began our industrialisation process 25 years ago.

Over the last few years, one very important thing has been the regionalization of the Japanese economy. The economies of the region have in many ways become integrated around the needs of the Japanese economy.

Question: How do you think this process relates to GATT?

Asia Pacific elites have been using business mechanisms that are to a great degree protectionist. GATT will make it easier for

American capital to become a major investment and trading presence again in the Asia Pacific. The Americans are behind GATT precisely because it opens up the Asia Pacific economies to them.

Among the more important provisions of GATT are those around intellectual property rights; that serves principally the interests of American corporations to check the cloning and unauthorized borrowing of their technology by Asian firms.

GATT also has a very strong services agreement which requires that countries give American and other foreign companies exactly the same treatment in those industries as is given to local investors. So GATT basically would have a very strong role in reasserting US corporate and trade presence in the Asia Pacific.

Question: There doesn't seem to be general agreement amongst the participating countries. Indonesia only recently has thrown its support behind the process, and Malaysia is opposing it outright. Can you talk about some of the differences?

I wouldn't put too much on Indonesia's role here. There's a lot of protectionist sentiment in Indonesia, and Suharto's just sticking up for free trade because basically he's hosting it plus he has this idea about his hosting APEC enshrining him as a big leader. Basically I think Indonesia's much more protectionist than free trader at this point, and after this conference I doubt that you'll have the Indonesians pushing for APEC to become a free trade area beyond just rhetoric.

Malaysia of course is very much against it, but everybody is except Australia, the US, Canada, Mexico and maybe Chile. Most of the Asia Pacific countries, although they do not articulate it as much as Mahathir, really want to slow down the process. They want to have a regional consultative forum, but they don't want to start putting down the rules of free trade.

I think that the most significant block to APEC is not the Malaysians; it's the Japanese. They really have a very different design: they have integrated the region through investment as opposed to trade, and APEC will not serve their interests. They're quiet and would much rather quietly sabotage the whole thing; they'll leave the railing to persons such as Mahathir.

Question: There hasn't been a lot in the Australian press about opposition to the proposals being put forward from community and worker groups. Can you comment on that type of opposition?

I don't think there has been that much grassroots opposition to APEC because the opposition has mainly been undertaken by business and government elites. Groups in

the Philippines are more concerned about things like GATT, because GATT is in its final stages of ratification. There's a much more critical movement in the Philippines around GATT than you have in Australia.

A number of community groups, grassroots groups and alternative groups in Indonesia and the Philippines and throughout the region are trying to establish a different design for trade that would counter the APEC vision. Many of the groups are concerned with human rights and governments using APEC to legitimize their human rights and political records. Resistance is more on how do you unmask the Suharto government and prevent it from using APEC to clean its bloody record.

VOA: APEC MINISTERS END TALKS

Voice of America, 11/12/94. By Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: Ministers from the Asia and Pacific region have ended two days of talks in Jakarta with a joint statement supporting steps leading to free trade in their region. However, as VOA's Dan Robinson reports, officials of the 18-member Asia Pacific economic cooperation forum (APEC) left the issue of setting a specific timetable for a new free trade plan to APEC leaders who meet outside Jakarta on Tuesday:

Indonesian coordinating minister for industries, Hartato, told a closing news conference it would be up to APEC leaders to decide exactly how to pursue the vision of free trade into the next century.

However, the ministers did endorse several steps aimed at trade liberalization.

They agreed on a set of voluntary investment principles to ease the flow of capital throughout the region. There were also declarations on the importance of the private sector as the main source of economic growth, and the need to develop human resources.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the United States strongly backs Indonesian President Suharto's call for free trade and expects Tuesday's leaders summit to build upon what was achieved in Seattle last year:

"We want to sustain the momentum begun at Blake island, continued in Bogor; momentum toward a Pacific community of shared values, shared prosperity and shared security interests. I feel the momentum is building in APEC to make it a more and more significant organization. I think we will pool our strength and come together in this region."

US commerce Secretary Ron Brown said US economic interests are bound up in the future of the Asia-Pacific region:

"APEC gives us a vehicle to advance the commercial interests of all of our nations and that is why we are so pleased with the results of our discussions."

APEC leaders are already arriving in Jakarta for Tuesday's summit. President Clinton arrives Sunday after a stop in the Philippines.

There have already been a number of pre-summit bilateral meetings. Saturday's news conference was dominated by other non-APEC subjects, including US trade disagreements with China, China-Taiwan relations, and the new world trade organization.

Secretary of State Christopher said the United States favors China's membership in GATT on what he called an appropriate and feasible basis.

President Clinton meets China's President Jiang Zemin next week. In translated remarks, China's foreign minister Qian Qichen predicted the talks would lead to further progress in relations:

"I believe the meeting between presidents Jiang Zemin and Clinton will be constructive and encouraging, and I believe following the summit meeting, the relations between China and the United States will make further progress."

The only hold out against a move toward a free trade area was Malaysia. That country's trade minister insisted her government was not the only one taking that position.

APEC: POLITICS GATECRASHING ON ECONOMIC SUMMIT

By Kunda Dixit

SINGAPORE, Nov. 14 (IPS) - Countries on both sides of the Pacific have been trying to use their summit in Indonesia this week to concentrate on economic and not political freedom, but try as they might politics seem to creep back in.

The most vivid reminder that freedom is more important than free trade for some in East Asia has been the high-profile protest sit-in by East Timorese in the U.S. embassy in Jakarta timed with the summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

The second APEC summit comes at the end of a year which has seen the beginnings of a convergence between the eastern and western rims of the Pacific on human rights and democracy.

In May, U.S. President Bill Clinton indicated that the bottom line was money when

he delinked the issue of renewal of China's Most Favoured Nation trading status with human rights in that country.

The move was welcomed in most parts of Asia - especially authoritarian over-achievers like Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and China.

Hong Kong, which lobbied hard for retaining the preferential trade status for China's exports to the United States despite its fight with Beijing on political freedom after 1997, was ecstatic.

Europe, which is watching APEC keenly, has seen the economic potentials of the world's fastest-growing region. It agreed with South-east Asian foreign ministers at a recent meeting in Karlsruhe not to let differences over human rights affect two-way trade.

Human rights advocates are dismayed that Clinton himself has come to Indonesia with a concrete economic agenda. And while the U.S. president has said he will discuss human rights in his one-on-one talks with other APEC leaders, activists say Clinton is willing to give issues such as East Timor and labour rights only lip service.

Analysts say this explains the desperate attempt by East Timorese dissidents to use the glare of international media during the APEC summit to publicize their cause.

Sidney Jones of the U.S.-based Human Rights Watch/Asia says the Indonesian government has "shot itself in the foot" in the run-up to the summit by clamping down on the press, labour activists and on East Timorese rebels.

"At least some of the visitors in Jakarta this week may begin to wonder whether legitimacy brought about by economic development is beginning to wear thin," writes Jones.

The attempt by East Timorese activists to use APEC to highlight their cause has been widely criticised by the official press in most East Asian countries except Thailand and the Philippines.

One notable exception is Hong Kong's South China Morning Post, which wrote a scathing editorial over the weekend titled 'Wrong Time, Wrong Place' saying the East Timorese were "misguided."

Western conservative academics and columnists in the region have found common cause with the autocratic architects of East Asia's economic miracle to argue once more that free trade and economic reforms automatically lead to greater political freedom.

Before flying out to Indonesia, Clinton gave a speech that echoed this line on 'constructive engagement,' which human rights groups say will strengthen the argument of countries like Vietnam, China and Burma to keep restrictions on dissidents.

Commenting on the East Timorese sit-in, the South China Morning Post said: "Hi-jacking a summit aimed at promoting regional economic cooperation can only work to undermine the good that APEC can achieve and there is no doubt that freer trade within the region will benefit Asian countries and their people."

"Attempts to foist such a linkage on to APEC, or any other regional forum, is doomed to failure," it added.

Another strong advocate of Pacific rim free trade is Singapore which takes a dim view of groups trying to politicize it. Singaporean leaders see their country as a perfect example of the model that works: sacrifice some personal freedoms for the common good.

Politics has also crept in with countries like Indonesia and Malaysia trying to use APEC as a prestige issue. Indonesian President Suharto, current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Saturday portrayed APEC as a North-South cooperation in action.

Malaysian premier Mahathir Mohamad who boycotted the first APEC summit in Seattle is still miffed that his proposal for a non-Caucasian East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) was superseded by APEC. He is the only APEC leader to openly oppose the APEC free trade zone proposal, even from the very start.

Said the Singapore Straits Times, in a barb that may have been aimed at Malaysia: "The APEC forum has been sidetracked into being a proxy battleground over which to wrest concessions or to prove nationalistic manhood."

But analysts say even Malaysia in the end will sign a document that will spell out a commitment to free trade. There is no reason not to: Malaysia like other countries in the region are moving toward tariff-free trade on their own.

Says Singapore's Minister of Trade and Industry Yeo Cheow Tong: "Investment flows in the Asia Pacific will continue to grow with or without (APEC)."

ASIAPACIFIC COUNTRIES NEAR AGREEMENT ON TRADE

By Andrew Pollack. Front page news article, The New York Times, Nov. 15. Only a few paragraphs near the end of long article are excerpted:

Despite Indonesia's efforts to show off its economic progress, the summit has also focused attention on the Government's press censorship, suppression of labor movements and continuing protests over its

annexation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975.

Nearly 90 protesters were reported arrested in clashes with security forces in East Timor on Monday, the second day of disturbances. Meanwhile, 29 East Timorese students, protesting Indonesia's policies continued the sit-in they began on Saturday morning at the grounds of the American embassy in Jakarta.

On Monday, two American journalists who had been arrested trying to enter East Timor tried to distribute leaflets in the Asia-Pacific conference press center announcing that they were holding a news conference. Security guards swarmed and tried to take away the leaflets, in front of the international press.

U.S. SIGNS DEALS AND PRESSES RIGHTS WITH INDONESIA

By Brian Bain

Jakarta, Nov. 16 (Reuter) - Indonesia, host of the landmark Bogor trade summit, signed business deals worth more than \$40 billion with the United States on Wednesday even as President Bill Clinton warned host President Suharto over human rights.

Suharto was basking in the afterglow of the Asia-Pacific summit - seen as a crowning achievement of his 27 years in power - when Clinton cautioned that Indonesia's rights record could be a limiting factor in ties with the United States.

Clinton, on a one-day state visit after the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit set free trade in the region by 2020 as its goal, raised the rights issue "in firm and forceful terms... he also made it clear that human rights could be a limiting factor" in relations. That report from Secretary of State Warren Christopher on the Clinton-Suharto talks did not affect the clinching elsewhere in Jakarta of 17 deals totaling more than \$40 billion between corporate America and booming Indonesia.

The top deal by far was the sealing of a natural gas project between Esso Indonesia, local arm of U.S. oil giant Exxon Corp., and Indonesia's state-run oil company.

Human rights and commerce have fought for centre stage since last Saturday when, as APEC officials finalised plans for the Bogor summit, a band of 29 East Timorese dissidents invaded U.S. embassy grounds demanding Clinton's help in securing the release of their guerrilla leader hero. They remained camped out in a car park on Wednesday, exhausted but defiantly refusing to budge.

LEADERS AGREE ON FREE TRADE FOR THE PACIFIC

NY Times 11/16/94, by Elaine Sciolino. Abridged.

BOGOR, Indonesia - Leaders of 18 Pacific Rim nations emerged Tuesday from a grand colonial-era palace to extol the benefits of open markets and investment in the dynamic Pacific region and to move towards creating the largest free trade zone in the world by the year 2020.

The leaders, whose nations represent more than half of the world's economic output, ended a day of free-wheeling talks with a "declaration of common resolve" that went far beyond the vague vision of their meeting in an Indian long house on a wind-swept island near Seattle just a year ago.

Both President Suharto of Indonesia, the host, and President Clinton said that the gathering Tuesday furthered the goals of the group, which includes countries from four continents with per capita incomes ranging from less than \$1,000 to \$30,000.

But the victory was undercut by three days of demonstrations in Dili, the capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia. Clinton said Tuesday that the people of East Timor deserved more basic rights, and that he would raise human rights issues in his meeting with Suharto on Wednesday.

"The people of East Timor should have more say over their own affairs," Clinton said.

Neither Clinton nor Secretary of State Warren Christopher would meet with the students who have been protesting at the U.S. embassy since Saturday. An embassy statement said other officials continue to "maintain contact" with them and provide them with rice, water and medical treatment.

Although Indonesian authorities promised not to seek retribution the squatters requested asylum in Portugal on Tuesday, and it was granted. They said that they would not leave the embassy grounds until Clinton left.

Christopher is to meet with Indonesia's official human rights organization on Wednesday, a group of both legitimate human rights campaigners and mouthpieces for the government.

The issue of human rights is so sensitive that journalists were instructed at a news conference in Bogor with Suharto to pose only questions relating to the economic forum. When asked how he planned to resolve the problem of East Timor, Suharto said there no time to answer the question.

Suharto, who has maintained authoritarian rule over the country for nearly four decades, kept the spotlight on trade. "In

Bogor, we have set the course and the direction of a future cooperation in the Asia Pacific area in particular and in the world in general," he said.

Clinton defined the success of the meeting in terms of what was in it for America, predicting that relaxing trade barriers would open new markets, make American goods and services more competitive, encourage sales abroad and create jobs at home.

HUMAN RIGHTS FORGOTTEN IN RACE FOR TRADE?

By Mario Dujisin

LISBON, Nov. 16 (IPS) - East Timorese resistance leader José Ramos-Horta, demanded Wednesday that the U.S. take a stronger lead in resolving the continuing crisis in East Timor, occupied by and later annexed by Indonesia 19 years ago.

Ramos-Horta told reporters here that U.S. President Bill Clinton take direct control over the issue from the U.S. State Department, which he said was "infested with pro-Indonesian bureaucrats."

On Wednesday Indonesia said it was willing to allow 29 East Timorese protesters, holed up in the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta for five days, to seek asylum in Portugal. Lisbon is still formally recognised by the United Nations as Timor's administrative authority and is says it will accept them.

But the youths said seeking asylum overseas was only one of several options, and they still wanted Clinton to back their call on Indonesia to release Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão.

The embassy standoff and three days of rioting in East Timor's capital Dili, 2,000 kilometres from Jakarta, have undermined the image of Indonesia's iron ruler President Suharto and his showpiece Asia-Pacific summit this week.

In Lisbon Ramos-Horta said the Dili protests and the occupation of the embassy demonstrated that "contrary to what the Jakarta regime claims, the Timorese do not support the annexation."

He appealed for more commitment "from countries which have influence in Indonesia, but whose human rights policy is determined by economic interests."

Clinton stayed on in Jakarta after the summit for a state visit after telling a press conference that his view was that the people of East Timor should have more say over their own affairs.

He also told Suharto when they met Wednesday that Indonesia's record on human rights could limit ties with Washington.

Despite this Indonesia signed 17 business deals worth over 40 billion dollars with U.S. corporations Wednesday. They included a giant natural gas project linking U.S. energy giant Exxon's local affiliate Esso Indonesia and Indonesia's own state oil company and telecoms deals with Motorola and AT&T.

Meanwhile Clinton's team turned down meetings with human rights groups except Jakarta's own approved Human Rights Commission. Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Winston Lord did meet with some local activists for a lunch that was boycotted by some activists who described the meeting as a purely token effort.

Amnesty International says that one third of East Timor's 650,000 inhabitants have died as a result of the occupation since 1975. Saturday also marked the third anniversary of the killing of over 200 Timorese protesters by Indonesian forces in Dili.

Ramos-Horta cited Germany, France, Britain, Spain, Holland, Italy and Denmark as states with "large interests" in Indonesia, like the U.S., Japan and Australia. But, he added, "press and public opinion oblige them not to go on concealing repression."

Speaking in Jakarta, Clinton told a meeting of 700 businessmen that "aggressive commercial diplomacy" designed to win contracts for U.S. firms did not undermine his commitment to human rights.

Clinton said he raised the rights issue "in every private meeting I've had not only in this region but around the world."

However U.S.-based group Human Rights Watch-Asia said earlier this week that the rush to share in the economic boom in the Asia-Pacific region had pushed human rights issues to the sidelines.

"Many of the 18 countries making up the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group are coming to the 1994 summit in Jakarta with impressive economic growth rates and poor human rights records," it concluded in a report released for the summit.

The group wondered if 'commercial diplomacy' can co-exist with principles of human rights. "If the answer is yes," it added, "it is clear that no government has quite figured out how."

But Ramos-Horta was optimistic about possible dialogue with Jakarta, based on a 10 year peace plan which calls for "immediate demilitarisation of Timor verified by the U.N., free elections for a Territorial Assembly, and a referendum on self-determination."

He stressed that such a calendar should not be interpreted as "separatist" or "putting in question the territorial integrity of Indonesia," he said.

"The resistance respects the territorial integrity of Indonesia as a former Dutch col-

ony, but demands that Jakarta in turn respect the territorial integrity of Timor as an ex-Portuguese colony."

Dili itself was reported quiet but tense on Wednesday. The rioting over three days was whipped up by news that an Indonesian immigrant had killed an East Timorese trader in a market brawl.

Human rights groups said up to 120 people had been jailed since the Dili unrest began Sunday. Another 27 people had been arrested in Jakarta, added Indonesian officials.

US AND INDONESIA ANNOUNCE \$40 BILLION IN JOINT COMMERCIAL PROJECTS

by Elaine Sciolino, *NY Times* 11/17/94

Jakarta, Indonesia - The United States and Indonesia on Wednesday announced \$40 billion in joint projects over the next decade, even as President Clinton warned President Suharto that the relationship between the two countries would never reach its full potential unless he treated his people better.

At almost the same time that Clinton was chiding the Indonesian leader for his country's inadequate human rights record, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown was witnessing the signing of 15 business deals that are part of the administration's campaign of commercial diplomacy and will mean jobs for Americans.

By far the largest project is a \$35 billion arrangement between Exxon and Pertamina, the Indonesian state oil company, to develop a huge offshore natural gas field.

Since May, when the administration discarded its policy of linking preferential trade benefits to China with an improvement in its human rights performance, the administration has argued that the best way to spread democracy and improve the way a country treats its citizens is through economics.

In his photo session with Suharto earlier in the day, Clinton was stone faced, but in a speech to American and Pacific businessmen he did not disguise his glee at the news of the business deals.

"I know that there is increasing wealth in Indonesia and throughout Asia, but where I come from \$40 billion is still real money - and we're grateful for the business," he said. The audience applauded.

Indeed, two cultural divides over human rights in Indonesia were on display Wednesday: one between Clinton and Suharto, the other between the foreign and economic policies of the United States

Clinton's meeting with Suharto in the opulent Jakarta Palace showed how resistant foreign leaders can be when the president of the United States comes in and suggests - however gently - how things should be done.

And the differences among Clinton's Cabinet officials as they sought to explain their messages underscored the tension between the administration's stated desire to export American values and the need to export American goods.

Meeting for more than an hour after a summit conference of 18 leaders from Pacific Rim countries, Clinton told Suharto that his treatment of his people would inhibit ties between the United States and Indonesia and rob him of the chance to flourish as a world leader, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said.

Christopher told reporters before meeting with Indonesia's government-appointed human rights organization that Clinton had raised human rights "in firm and forceful terms."

"The relationship between the United States and Indonesia can never reach the highest levels if the people of the United States don't have confidence that there is an effort here to respect the human rights of all the citizens," Christopher said.

Suharto, who has ruled the vast archipelago with an authoritarian grip since the mid-1960s, apparently was not moved.

When Clinton praised Suharto's dialogue with the people of East Timor, the former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia two decades ago, but said they needed more autonomy, Suharto balked, administration officials said.

"He believes that the Indonesian government is dealing with the issue fairly," a senior administration official said.

Over all, Suharto's remarks on human rights, the official added, "were along the lines that have been previously expressed by the Indonesian government."

Another senior official said: "Suharto didn't back down one inch. He gave well rehearsed answers that he is used to repeating."

CHINA, INDONESIA DEFEND RECORD

AP, Nov. 18, 1994

Jakarta, Indonesia - China and Indonesia, under U.S. scrutiny for human rights violations, said Friday that charges against them by the West were unfair.

Presidents Jiang Zemin and Indonesia's President Suharto shared the view during a meeting that focused on economic issues,

Chinese Presidential spokesman Chen Jian said.

Some industrialized nations "are using the question of human rights and environment as an excuse to restrict development in the developing nations," Chen told reporters.

He said the two presidents described the attitude "as unfair, not reflecting the reality and not conducive to economic development in the developing nations."

U.S. GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS

PRE-APEC WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING

Background briefing by senior administration officials. November 8, 1994, White House Briefing Room. [Excerpts]

Q What specific human rights concerns will the President raise with Suharto?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: First of all, let me put it in overall context. Our relationship with Indonesia in many respects is a strong one. Indonesia is an important country; it's one of growing economic importance; the largest Muslim country in the world. And Suharto himself has exercised constructive leadership in the (inaudible) movement – issues like Cambodia, even on North Korea.

But we do obviously have concerns about a process of opening and liberalization which seems to have receded. And the President, I'm sure, with Suharto, will raise concerns about issues of press freedom and worker rights and questions involving rights of the people in East Timor. I think all of those will come up in the meeting.

Q Is there – to follow up on that, is there any carrot and stick here? I mean, as with China now, has human rights been relegated to a totally different sphere in terms of our negotiations and dealings with countries like Indonesia, China and other places that have human rights problems?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: Now, there's a premise hidden in there about China, which I can come back to. We continue to be concerned about human rights in China and pursue and promote respect for human rights, and will do so in the meeting with President Jiang.

We have, where appropriate, taken actions with respect to Indonesia that we thought would be constructive. We have, for example, compared to the previous administra-

tion, restricted our arms sale policy so that we do not sell to Indonesia small arms or other munitions or things that could possibly be used in connection with human rights abuses. We have cosponsored, in the United Nations Human Rights Commission, for the first time, a resolution raising concerns about East Timor. This has come up in every meeting that not only the President had with Suharto – President Suharto – back in Japan in '93, but every other meeting that's taken place between Secretary Christopher and the foreign minister.

So it's something we press persistently and try to promote as much progress as possible.

CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY

Voice of America, 11/13/94. By David Borgida, Manila

Intro: President Clinton says his administration's foreign policy is not going to be weakened by Republican control of the next US congress. US officials traveling with the president on his Asia trip are reassuring regional officials there will be no abrupt changes in US policies. From Manila, White House correspondent David Borgida reports.

At a news conference winding up his visit to the Philippines, President Clinton assured regional leaders there is no reason to believe his policies will be reversed or changed dramatically by Republican control of the next congress.

"I do not expect it to have any impact on our foreign policy. The republican House and Senate leaders and I spoke, as you know, before I came – they expressed support for this trip and for our policy generally. But the foreign policies I have pursued – particularly the mission I am on now with regard to APEC – have enjoyed broad bi-partisan support."

Earlier, an administration spokesman said there is strong interest by Asian leaders on the impact of last week's mid-term elections.

President Clinton said he is going to Indonesia to attend the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in an effort to continue to break down barriers to trade and investment.

CLINTON LEAVES MANILA

Voice of America, 11/13/94. By Deborah Tate, Manila

Intro: President Clinton heads to Indonesia for an economic meeting with Asian and Pacific leaders following a one-day visit to the Philippines. Mr. Clinton hopes the

summit will set a goal for free trade in the region. VOA White House correspondent Deborah Tate, who is travelling with the President, reports Mr. Clinton will also raise the issue of human rights with the leaders of Indonesia and China.

At a news conference at the conclusion of his day-long visit to Manila, President Clinton said he would discuss the human rights situation in Indonesia and China with those countries' leaders.

Mr. Clinton holds a bi-lateral meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, and will hold talks with Indonesian President Suharto during a state visit Wednesday.

"it is an important interest of the United States. We are engaging these countries in many, many areas across a broad range of areas. Human rights is particularly important, particularly now. It will be a point of discussion in those bi-lateral meetings."

Human rights groups have criticized Indonesia and China for – what they describe as – a pattern of human-rights violations. Rights groups, disappointed by Mr. Clinton's decision in May to retain trade privileges for China, despite reports of human-rights abuses, are concerned he will offer similar treatment to Indonesia.

Two days before Mr. Clinton's visit to Jakarta, East Timorese students entered US embassy grounds in Jakarta to protest alleged human rights violations by the Indonesian government in East Timor.

Protesters say they plan further demonstrations during President Clinton's three-day visit to the Indonesian capital.

During the APEC summit, Mr. Clinton hopes regional leaders will set a goal for free trade and investment by the year 2020.

The president begins his visit to Jakarta with a series of bi-lateral meetings with the leaders of China, Japan, Australia and South Korea. The talks are expected to focus on security matters, especially the US agreement with North Korea to freeze and dismantle Pyongyang's nuclear program.

Security issues topped Mr. Clinton's agenda Sunday in the Philippines. He expressed continued US commitment to the Philippines and the region's security.

The president also pledged to increase US business interest in the Philippines. The United States is already the largest investor in that country.

Philippine President Ramos assured President Clinton the Philippines would continue to support US and UN peacekeeping missions around the world.

CLINTON ARRIVES IN JAKARTA

Voice of America, 11/13/94. By Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: President Clinton has arrived in Jakarta, Indonesia to attend a summit of Asia-Pacific leaders this week. VOA's Dan Robinson reports Mr. Clinton arrived in a capital marked by tight security and a continuing protest at the US embassy by East Timorese students demanding to meet him.

Jakarta has probably never seen this kind of security – thousands of police and military deployed through this city of at least eight million.

Authorities have gone to extremes to guarantee Mr. Clinton's safety and that of other heads of state and government here for the Asia Pacific economic summit.

In a massive operation, streets have been cleared of beggars, prostitutes, and vendors. A two-day holiday was declared beginning Monday to reduce traffic congestion.

Mr. Clinton would like to concentrate on the main theme of his visit – the creation of free trade in the Asia-Pacific region.

As he arrived, however, a group of East Timorese students were refusing to give up a protest inside the US Embassy compound aimed at focusing attention on the East Timor problem.

One of their key demands is to see Mr. Clinton personally. But that is something US and Indonesian officials say will not happen.

FREE TRADE MEETING FIGHTS SHY OF FREEDOM

*The Sunday Telegraph, 13 November 1994.
By Philip Sherwell in Jakarta*

Article accompanied by colour photograph by Susumu Takahashi encaptioned: "Police pull a demonstrator away from the US embassy in Jakarta." General comment - *The Sunday Telegraph*, with its stablemate, *The Daily Telegraph*, (both owned by Conrad Black) is the flag-carrier of the British Right. It is, therefore good, that it carries this story in such detail - Jonathan, BCET

CLINTON TO AVOID SUMMIT CLASH OVER INDONESIAN 'REPRESSION.'

Baton-wielding Indonesian riot police were ordered out of the American embassy compound by an irate US official yesterday.

They were chasing East Timorese resistance demonstrators who had scaled spiked fences to enter the site. The high-profile protest was just the sort of confrontation which the Indonesians had feared would mar their staging of the prestigious Pacific Rim economic summit.

The demonstration marked the third anniversary of a massacre in an East Timorese cemetery when Indonesian troops shot down scores of unarmed protestors objecting to Jakarta's brutal annexation and occupation of the former Portuguese coffee colony in 1975.

In a smuggled letter, Xanana Gusmão, the jailed resistance leader, appealed on Friday for President Clinton to raise the fate of East Timor after he arrives in Jakarta this evening.

In preparation for the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) jamboree, Indonesia has been sprucing up its scruffy streets, but not its tarnished humanitarian record. Thousands of beggars, orphans, noodle vendors, prostitutes, transvestites and suspected crooks have been rounded up in the capital in 'Operation Cleansing.' But the crackdown is not just limited to the streets.

Jailed trade union leaders, intimidated academics, harassed journalists, the suppression of East Timor: they are the sort of issues over which a victorious Mr. Clinton promised to do battle with Asia when he took office two years ago.

But it is a subdued and humiliated President who arrives in Jakarta tonight. His priority is to use his trip to Asia to jump-start his stalled domestic programme, holding up an aggressive free-trade policy as a means to create new jobs back home.

So while key concerns on personal liberties will be raised in private one-to-one meetings with the Indonesians and Chinese, analysts predict the US will not force a showdown.

Indeed, the all-smiles visit to China this summer by Ron Brown, US commerce secretary, was a signal that Washington has already backed away from earlier attempts to link trade and personal liberty in its dealings with authoritarian regimes.

The Clinton administration has also twice postponed a review on extending Indonesian trading privileges, which it had threatened to end if labour rights were not improved. Little wonder then that the Indonesians are feeling so confident of riding out any criticism that only last week they jailed Muchtar Pakpahan, the leader of the country's unofficial trade union, for three years.

He was found guilty of masterminding workers' riots in the city of Medan last April. Pakpahan denied any involvement in the violence which erupted in the wake of strikes his union had co-ordinated. The sentence was strongly criticised by the US Embassy.

Indonesian academics have also been targets. A leading government critic, Dr. Arief Budiman, was sacked last month as a politics professor, while another, Mr. George

Aditjondro, has been interrogated over alleged offensive remarks about the government.

The Jakarta equivalents of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines remain closed, their licenses having been withdrawn following a series of articles investigating rifts within the Cabinet. Members of a new unsanctioned journalists' association are having trouble obtaining permission to cover APEC.

In East Timor, the former Portuguese coffee colony where up to 200,000 have died since annexation. Here Jakarta is showing small signs of flexibility as ideas of greater autonomy for the territory are floated, although it is unclear whether the suggestions are genuine or merely palliatives for international opinion.

Indonesia's veteran President Suharto sees Tuesday's summit, at the Bogor Presidential palace near Jakarta, as the crowning glory of his transition to world statesman. Already chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, he is now hosting the leaders of the fastest-growing economic region.

Although his government maintains tight control at home, there is pressure from the growing middle-class for greater political freedoms. Suharto gave some ground last year, then clamped down amid an unprecedented bout of public protests and open media reporting.

His foreign minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, has defended the country from charges by some Western governments and pressure groups that the world's fourth most populous nation is guilty of widespread abuses of personal freedoms.

"Our human rights concept is not individualistic, but relies more on the interests of the community, the nation and the state, which cannot be overlooked," he has said.

It is the convenient clarion call of regimes across East Asia, from the soft-authoritarian governments of Singapore and Malaysia to the repressive rulers of China and Burma.

But for now, Mr. Clinton appears willing to go along with the Asian consensus that APEC is not a forum for such discussions.

When the words 'free,' 'open' and 'liberal' are mentioned, it will be purely in the context of economics, as the Pacific Rim leaders discuss the creation of the world's most significant free trade agreement.

What will not be on the agenda is the thorny concept of democracy. In the 80-page report drafted by the APEC advisory body headed by the prominent American economist Fred Bergsten, the word does not appear once.

CLINTON BILATERAL MEETINGS

Voice of America, 11/14/94. By Borgida, Jakarta

Intro: President Clinton – following a series of bilateral meetings with Asian leaders in Indonesia – is defending his pursuit of world trade liberalization and his commitment to human rights. His comments came a day before the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting officially begins. From Jakarta, White House correspondent David Borgida reports.

In this steamy Asian capital, far from Washington, you would think the president might get a brief respite from his recent political woes as he focuses on opening regional trade markets. After all, he had just met with the Chinese president, the Japanese prime minister, the Australian prime minister, and the south Korean president.

But during a late afternoon news conference here, the president learned once again that domestic politics follows him, everywhere.

He found himself explaining with some force why he had come here to attend the APEC meeting – seeking a commitment from the 18 gathered leaders to set a date certain for opening regional trade markets.

“All these meetings today reinforced my belief that the United States is strong in the Asian-Pacific region, that we are getting stronger in this region, and that in so doing we are strengthening Americans – economically and in terms of our security. In short, we’re moving in the right direction, this is a good investment, we need to make the most of it.”

The president also found himself responding to critics who say his advocacy of human rights has been less than passionate. Mr. Clinton – who last year severed the US link between trade and human rights with China – discussed human rights with Chinese President Jiang Zemin and said further progress in the relationship would depend on human rights progress.

But – with demonstrators at the US embassy here protesting Indonesia’s alleged human rights abuses in East Timor – he was asked about the human rights situation here in Indonesia, frequently a target of human-rights monitors.

“I have met with President Suharto before – I have met with these other leaders before – wherever there is a clear human-rights problem I have tried to address it and will continue to do so and use whatever influence we can in a positive way.”

President Clinton says he has been assured by the Indonesian government there will be no retribution against the demonstrators. He says he is comfortable that commitment would be honored.

CLINTON NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE U.S. AMBASSADOR’S RESIDENCE

Excerpts 11/14/94

Q Mr. President, as you know, some students have taken over – or have occupied the parking lot of the U.S. Embassy here and are calling for the release of one of the leaders of the Timor human rights movement. They’ve asked to meet with you, sir. Has there been any contact between your entourage and these students? And how do you feel about their demands?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Well, first, the whole issue of East Timor has been of a concern to the United States, at least since I’ve been president. I’ve talked about it in the campaign of 1992. And we have raised it in our conversations with Indonesian leaders, and we will continue to do so. The context of the they’ve had insofar as I know them, have occurred in an appropriate way through our embassy there. But this is an issue which is a part of our dialogue with the Indonesians, and it should be.

...

Q Mr. President, the students – the protesters at the embassy are demonstrating in the best nonviolent American tradition, and we’re all going to move on, but they’re going to still be here and have to face the justice system. Are you going to send any signal to the Indonesian government this week that we’re worried about how they’ll be treated after we’re all gone?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: We’ve already done that, and we’ve already said that we had no problem with these young people coming and expressing their views in our embassy grounds, that we’ve talked with them, we’ve worked with them. And we have been assured that there will be no retribution against them for exercising their political expression and bringing their concerns to us. We have been assured of that, and I feel comfortable that the commitment we’ve received will be honored.

CLINTON URGES GREATER FREEDOM FOR EAST TIMOR

By Gene Gibbons

Jakarta, Nov. 15 (Reuters) - President Clinton on Tuesday publicly pressed Indonesia to ease its grip on East Timor, injecting a contentious note into a trade-related visit and talks he will hold with host President Suharto.

At a wide-ranging news conference that followed an agreement at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit to create the world’s largest free trade zone by 2020, Clinton also said last week’s U.S. political upheaval will not cause him to shift focus from domestic to foreign policy. Clinton’s comments on East Timor came at an especially sensitive time, as a band of 29 students from the former Portuguese colony embarrassed the Indonesian government during the APEC summit with a sit-in at the U.S. embassy here.

Asked if he believed that Indonesian troops should withdraw and allow East Timor self-rule, Clinton reaffirmed Washington’s position “that the people of East Timor should have more say over their own local affairs.

CLINTON PRESS CONFERENCE TRANSCRIPT

Jakarta Hilton, November 15, 1994, 7:10 pm. Only portions dealing with East Timor and/or human rights are included.

THE PRESIDENT: Good evening – or good morning, to the people who are watching this back in America. (Laughter.) At our meeting in Bogor today, the Asian Pacific leaders pledged to achieve free and fair trade and investment between our nations by the year 2020, with the industrialized countries reaching this goal by 2010. This agreement is good news for the countries of this region, and especially good news for the United States and our workers.

I want to thank President Soeharto for hosting for hosting this meeting and for his leadership in crafting the agreement. ... (first question:)

Q Mr. President, as you know, nearly two decades ago, the Portuguese withdrew from East Timor, and the Indonesian military moved in. Sir, do you feel East Timor deserves self-rule, and tomorrow when you meet with President Soeharto, will you ask him to withdraw his troops and allow East Timor to pursue democratic elections?

THE PRESIDENT: The position of the United States and the position that I have held since 1991, since long before I held this office, is that the people of East Timor

should have more say over their own local affairs. I have already spoken with President Soeharto about this in the past in our personal meetings, and it will come up again in our discussion tomorrow. ...

BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA

November 16, 1994, 12:40 P.M.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: Let me just first of all give you a readout on the bilateral meeting this morning between the two Presidents, and then just a few words on all of the – well, the whole trip so far together and what has struck me. And then we can do a few questions, until they get tough, and then I'll move on and get some lunch.

The two Presidents met this morning, I would guess, for something over an hour in the smaller meeting. President Clinton was accompanied by Secretary Christopher and Stanley Roth of the NSC staff and myself – a senior administration official. They, as I said, met for, I'd say, something over an hour and then met in the expanded bilateral meeting.

The meeting covered essentially five issues. The first was a discussion of the partnership – growing partnership – between the United States and Indonesia on international issues. The President spoke at some length about how struck he was by the leadership role that President Soeharto played in putting together the APEC meeting and bringing it to a successful conclusion.

Indonesia is the fourth largest nation in the world, the largest Muslim nation, the leader of the nonaligned movement; and the President emphasized how the United States and Indonesia working together can make a very powerful difference on various international issues, as has been seen in the last couple of days. ...

There was then a rather lengthy discussion of human rights and the situation in East Timor. The President spoke of the issue both in its own terms and its importance to Indonesia's international leadership position. ...

[the first few questions were on East Timor:]

Q What was President Soeharto's response on the subject of East Timor?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: He stated that he believes that the Indonesian government is dealing with the issue fairly. The President welcomed the facts that the Indonesian government has entered in in recent weeks, has entered into a

stronger dialogue with the leaders in East Timor about their being given more influence over their own local affairs, which is, of course, the American position of some long-standing, and also, that there has been a drawdown in Indonesian troops in East Timor.

They had discussed for a few minutes, I guess, the situation at the embassy. And the President said to President Soeharto, as he said publicly, that we welcomed the assurances of the Indonesian government that there would be no recriminations against the people from East Timor at the embassy if they leave peacefully. And I understand the talks are still going on between our embassy and those people.

Q On the demonstrators at the embassy, are there any developments in the efforts to get them to leave peacefully? And what would be – how important would you view it if Indonesia did not keep its commitment that there would be no recriminations? Is this something that could threaten our relationship with Indonesia if they were subject to arrest or other steps?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: I'm not aware as of an hour or two ago of any new developments, but the last I heard was an hour or two ago. And, as I said, the President reiterated to President Soeharto that we did welcome their assurances that there would not be such recriminations. So he has stated that now both publicly and privately.

Q Is it our assumption that as soon as we leave, they're going to leave? As soon as we leave the country, they're going to leave the embassy?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: We just don't know, and I can't speak for them.

Q On labor rights, did Soeharto bring up the American review under GSP and ask when it's going to be finished

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: No, he did not.

Q Did the President or anybody bring up the suppression of publications in Indonesia?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: Yes, the President did refer to, in his discussion of human rights, the question of the magazines as one of the issues that he raised.

Q What was Soeharto's response?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: I don't think he addressed that issues specifically in his general remarks on human rights, which were along the lines that have been previously expressed by the Indonesian government.

Q Did the President ask Soeharto to speed up the withdrawal of military troops from East Timor, and to move more swiftly in a more determinate fashion toward autonomy?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: I think in welcoming the actions they have taken so far, the President was implicitly encouraging that process to continue as rapidly as possible.

Q He didn't ask specifically, the way Evans did the other night?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: I think it was implicit rather than explicit.

Q Secretary Christopher has said that the relationship between the United States and Indonesia could not reach – what leverage do we have over Indonesia to raise human rights offenses?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: Did you hear the question? Secretary Christopher, you said, said – when was this? This morning – that our relationship could only – what was the word?

Q Could not reach its full potential—

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: Could not reach its full potential without continued progress on human rights. I agree with Secretary Christopher.

Q In real terms, what leverage do we have—

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: What leverage do we have in real terms? The President emphasized this morning what I think – I mean, obviously, we have a very wide-ranging bilateral relationship that, in general terms, prospers best as they make progress on human rights without specific linkages, rather as with China.

But the President emphasize this morning what I think is an important point, and that is that Indonesia has a tremendous potential in international leadership and that it's making progress on human rights will reinforce that international leadership as well.

I don't think I have to run through with you the various bilateral things that we've been doing on human rights, including the fact that now the President has raised it twice at each of his meetings with President Soeharto. We raised it in almost every bilateral meeting we have had. We sponsored last year for the first time a resolution on human rights in the International Human Rights Commission. We don't sell weapons to Indonesia that could be used for repression.

Secretary Christopher met this morning with the Indonesian Human Rights Com-

mission, which I don't have a readout on yet. It just took place. I think my colleague will have a readout on that – are you going to do that now? Do you want to come now and do it?

Q When did the meeting with the NGOs get elevated from the DCM lunch to a joint–

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: Yesterday or the day before. But let me – I think yesterday or the day before. My colleague could tell you.

Q And what was the thought process –

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: When did the meeting with the NGOs get elevated to Win's [Winston Lord, Asst. Sec'y of State for Asia] level? I think it was yesterday. I think yesterday. Do you want to come and –

Q Could I ask another question? Did the President raise specific individuals, like the recent conviction of the labor unionist, Pakpahan?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: He raised labor rights generally, but not the specific case. But we have spoken – as you know the State Department issued a statement on it. We've spoken about that many times.

Q So human rights was the dominant issue at this bilateral?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

OFFICIAL: I'd say that it – I'm not sure that it was the dominant issue. In terms of the amount of time in the meeting, I'd say that the discussion of APEC and the potential for the United States and Indonesia to work together on various international issues like North Korea and human rights had about equal time.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT

OFFICIAL: Okay, let me just do so – I'll be on background as a senior State Department official. I'll run through very quickly the hour and fifteen minute meeting that Secretary Christopher just held with – Secretary Christopher and Secretary Brown just held with the Indonesian Human Rights Commission.

Just a little bit of background to start. This is a commission that was established in June of 1993 by the government of Indonesia and is made up of people who come from academic walks of life, some who are NGO activists, some who are business leaders. It is sort of a broad membership selected by the Indonesian government to address formally questions of human rights. This is the group by which the United States government has a formal bilateral dialogue of human rights issues with the Indonesian government.

Both Secretary Christopher and Secretary Brown had some comments on the record at a photo opportunity at the beginning, and there was pool coverage of that, so you might want to pick up some of the quotes on that.

But the Secretary opened the discussion by reviewing sort of five key human rights issues that we have been concerned about. Some of them have already come up in the background briefing you have just had. The three – sure, my colleague is going to interview.

...

[A different] SENIOR STATE

DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Let me pick up. Secretary Christopher outlined sort of five issues that have been occurring in our human rights discussion with the government of Indonesia, some of which, as you've heard from your previous briefer came up in the President's meeting with President Soeharto. The Secretary discussed with the Commission members the closing of the three magazines in June, what the prospects were for reopening, several of the Commission members indicated that they had been stressing to government officials within Indonesia that the magazines should be opened.

He addressed labor leaders that continue to be arrested and imprisoned and raised specifically the case of SBSI leader Pakpahan. Third, they talked at some great length about a decree that is under consideration by the government of Indonesia that would effectively thwart some of the activities of nongovernmental organizations that are active – a decree that is under consideration by the government of Indonesia that would effectively thwart some of the activity of human rights nongovernmental organizations that are active here in Indonesia that would press human rights issues.

There is a great deal of concern within the human rights community here in Indonesia about the effect that that decree might have on their operational activity. The Secretary – both Secretaries asked a lot of questions about how this Commission was reviewing that decree, whether they're having an opportunity to make contributions to the legislative discussions within the Indonesian government about the decree. One Commission member indicated that they apparently are going much slower now on the promulgation of this decree, and he believed it was because the Commission and others had been raising criticisms about this decree.

Fourth, they discussed Operation Cleanup, as it's called, which has been a recent effort by the government of Indonesia to round up dissidents and detain them; and, last, they discussed at some length East

Timor, similar to the way it was discussed – as your previous briefer indicated.

In general, this commission – there were about nine members of the 15-member commission present. The meeting on their side was conducted by the deputy chair of the commission, itself. We've got some of the names, I think, on a list back there. But this was Dr. Miriam Budiardjo, who is the deputy chairman. The chairman of the commission happens to be out of the country.

The members of the commission reflected views that I would say ranged from being very aggressively activist, human rights oriented, affiliated with the nongovernmental community, to those who had represented views that I think were very familiar and very well rehearsed, because they sounded a lot like the responses that we frequently receive from the government of Indonesia when we raise these human rights issues.

Secretary Christopher also had with him Congressman Norm Manetta [sic, actually it's Mineta], and at an interesting point in the meeting, he called on Congressman Manetta to present a view from the American Congress. And Congressman Manetta was very forceful in saying that within the United States Congress there is very great concern about human rights issues in Indonesia, and that help from the United States Congress is much more difficult to achieve if the people of the United States do not see that human rights issues are being dealt with effectively in Indonesia.

Secretary Christopher, at that point, said maybe that will provide some good ammunition to the members of this commission as they raise human rights concerns in the internal deliberations of their own government.

In general, the conversation was about things like, do you have staff; how do you report within your own government to higher authorities; do you issue written reports – which, as it turns out, that they do; do you make recommendations on human rights concerns to your own government, which they do; how much do you think these recommendations are taken seriously within the government? There was various opinions on that. Some suggested that they did have weight; others saying that they were not quite so sure.

And I guess to wrap up, I would say that Secretary Christopher, as a result of the meeting, felt encouraged by several things. One that they are making written recommendations and a written report within the government of Indonesia; that they do have staffing; that they appear to have an ongoing structure that is capable of raising human rights issues; and that the members of the

commission who were there realized that they themselves cannot just be window dressing for discussions of human rights issues within the Indonesian government – that they need to be in a position to be true advocates on human rights issues.

But as a caveat, I would say that the Secretary also felt that it was not clear what real influence this commission could have as they address human rights concerns. And he noted to the members in concluding that the American people, if they see that this commission really can lead to real changes in the human rights climate in Indonesia, we'll have some greater confidence that this commission is an avenue by which the Indonesian government is getting more serious about human rights concerns. If things don't change, if there's no real change in the reality of the conditions that many face, then the commission itself will not prove to be effective.

That's a pretty good rundown. I would say – the Secretary, as you'll see in the remarks he made at the beginning of the meeting, has also instructed Assistant Secretary Winston Lord and representatives of the National Security Council and the National Economic Council to meet with representatives of a much wider range of nongovernmental organization activists. And that meeting, I believe, is going on now. It's an opportunity for us to hear more directly from those who are sort of on the front lines of the fight for greater human rights in Indonesia. And both Secretary Brown and Secretary Christopher will be getting a report on that meeting later on this afternoon.

Q Do the human rights activists seem to think President Clinton was doing a knock on the issue of human rights during his visit here?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: I think – within this group, these members of this commission, of which I would say one was clearly a person who is a nongovernmental organization activist, by and large the other members are academicians, there are some businesspeople, people who are within the human rights community in Indonesia, not all of them are what I would describe as being activists. That's really the meeting that's taking place now. But those who are clearly appreciated the Clinton administration's work on these issues. They were interested in many of the questions you're interested in – what type of linkages are there between commercial activity and our pressing of human rights. And I believe that the presence of Secretary Brown at this meeting, who was very persuasive in saying that we advance our commercial economic interests hand in hand with our human rights concerns because we

believe that the reinforce each other, I think that was a persuasive argument; and there seems to be great interest in that point.

Q Did they have any specific requests of Christopher or Brown or the U.S. government, and did either make any specific commitments to this commission?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: No, they weren't – this is a group that was more – I describe them as briefing the two secretaries on their work. We had, frankly, more questions for them than they asked of us. They were interested in the administration's overall philosophy on human rights, but they did not make specific requests of us. They were very keen on knowing how much we were going to press these issues, and they listened very carefully at the beginning during the photo opportunity when both Secretary Brown and Secretary Christopher indicated that human rights issues had been a vigorous part of the discussion that President Clinton had with President Soeharto today.

Q Did Soeharto request suggestion on how the U.S. might be more helpful on the human rights issue?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: They really didn't raise that kind of concern. This, to me, didn't seem to be the type of crowd that would do that. My suspicion is that we'll hear a lot more of that from some of the NGO groups that Assistant Secretary Lord is meeting with now.

Q Did the Deputy Chairman lend to discussions, is that correct?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: Yes –

Q Where was the Chairman?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: He's out of the country apparently

Q Is the United States at all uncomfortable with both the President and the Secretary of State leaving Indonesia while this demonstration continues at the Embassy?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: No, we believe that the Ambassador who's directed his embassy staff to be in close contact with this group has done a very good job. We will certainly be letting the demonstrators know that the subject of most concern to them – East Timor – was raised extensively in a variety of these meetings today, and we hope they will be satisfied that the United States government has pressed their concern at the highest level with the Indonesian government.

Q You mentioned the questions about the effectiveness of the commission itself. Are the commission's activities transparent

enough here that the press here is free to cover? For example, will their report be released to the public?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: Yes. They have a written report, they have a staff; although they expressed some concern themselves about a desire for more staff so they could do more reporting, and they do have a written report. They have access to the media here, but as you know from the issue that we raised concerning the magazines, that the ability to have a full and open dialogue on these issues within the context of the press here is somewhat problematic.

Q Were you given a sense from the commission members – they actually acknowledge and felt that this was a real serious problem that they had to deal with, or did they kind of gloss it over?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: Well, I mean, there were those who clearly have a perspective that's much more in tune with the government's thinking who are members of this commission, and there are those who sounded like they were much more vigorous advocates of the concerns of a lot of the nongovernmental groups that work on human rights here. It was a range of opinion, but they seemed genuinely committed to the notion that they are responsible for pressing these issues within the formal structure of the Indonesian government. They take that role seriously, and they understand that in a sense, they are on the line. If there's no improvement in the human rights conditions within Indonesia and they know that they will suffer some lack of prestige, then that's a point, frankly, that we made to them.

Q Don't you think it would undermine the group's effectiveness that the President has a relative on it?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: The question was, does it undermine the effectiveness of the commission that the group has a relative of the President, and there was an individual named Soeharto on the commission that – that person is no relation to President Soeharto.

Q Did the commission give Christopher any idea whether the human rights situation in Indonesia is getting better or worse, or about the same?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL: Well, they reviewed, as I mentioned, five very specific concerns that we had, which is an indicator that things are not satisfactory. In fact, there had been relatively more openness, more discussion of human rights concerns earlier in 1993, and there has been some troubling events that were reviewed by our side in our discus-

sions, particularly during this period preceding the APEC conference here.

But as a general assessment, the general assessment is one that they offered up in the report that they issued.

Q Could you just fold together your assessment, all these activities that we've been hearing about today and over the last couple of days in meetings with China against the charge by Asia Watch that the administration has capitulated to commercial diplomacy. Could you just tell us what all of this – what the message behind all this is?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Well, it's clear from the briefing that you just had on President Clinton's meetings today and from what you've heard from those of us who have been reviewing a lot of the additional bilateral discussions that have occurred within the context of APEC, the human rights is a very serious substantive element of our foreign policy, and that it works in tandem with our effort to promote and identify the economic interests of Americans abroad.

One reason why we place these human rights and democracy issues so high on our foreign policy agenda is because they reinforce our effort to expand our own economic opportunities abroad. We believe that societies that are liberalizing their economies will do so more successfully if they take into account the individual liberty, human rights, freedom of choice of their citizens.

In fact, they reinforce one another, as I said earlier. So it would be as highly incorrect to say that we opt for a commercial diplomacy strategy versus raising human rights because, frankly, the two of them cannot work without each other.

CLINTON-SUHARTO BILATERAL MEETING

VOA, Nov. 15. By David Borgida, Jakarta

Intro: President Clinton and Indonesian President Suharto have concluded their bilateral meeting in Jakarta – focusing on human rights and on cooperation on international issues. The meeting came as President Clinton was concluding his Asian trip built around the APEC summit and preparing for a few days of rest in Hawaii. White House correspondent David Borgida reports.

The one-hour meeting at the Presidential Palace included what a senior US official called a "lengthy" discussion of Indonesia's human-rights record – including its 19-year occupation of East Timor. About 30 protesters continue to occupy an area of the US embassy compound here, refusing to leave, in protest over Indonesia's policies in East Timor.

The senior US official says the two leaders discussed this for a few minutes. He notes President Suharto told President Clinton the Indonesian government believes it is dealing with the situation fairly. President Clinton – according to the US official – again welcomed President Suharto's assurance the protesters would not face any retribution.

Still, Secretary of State Warren Christopher says the bilateral relationship will not reach its full potential until the human-rights situation here improves.

But, the senior official pointed out the human-rights situation here did not dominate the talks. Considerable time was spent discussing the just-concluded APEC meeting and what the official calls Indonesia's "tremendous potential" in cooperating with the United States in international issues.

FOLLOW-UP

Voice of America, Nov. 15. By David Borgida, Jakarta

Intro: On the last full day of his Asian trip, President Clinton has met with Indonesian President Soeharto at the presidential palace in Jakarta. At the top of their agenda – East Timor and the agreement by APEC leaders to open markets for advanced countries by the year 2010, for developing countries by 2020. White House correspondent David Borgida is traveling with the President.

President Clinton was welcomed at the presidential palace for a round of bilateral talks with President Soeharto. The dress was formal – unlike Tuesday's APEC meeting, south of here. There were no batik shirts. It was strictly business attire.

And the mood of the talks was strictly business too, as President Clinton expressed his concern about the human-rights situation here. Also, there is the continued protest at the US embassy by demonstrators from East Timor. They want self-rule. President Clinton said Tuesday he is sympathetic.

"The position of the United States and the position that I have held since 1991 – since long before I held this office – is that the people of East Timor should have more say over their own local affairs."

The two leaders will also discuss how the APEC agreement will help their respective economies.

Then, for President Clinton, it is on to Hawaii later for a brief rest.

SUHARTO, CLINTON DISCUSS EAST TIMOR

By Sukino Harisumarto

Jakarta, Nov. 16 (UPI) – Indonesian President Suharto defended his govern-

ment's rule over East Timor during talks Wednesday with U.S. President Bill Clinton, claiming pro-independence protesters seeking asylum at the U.S. embassy "do not understand" Jakarta's integration policy.

During the fifth day of a sit-in by 29 East Timorese activists at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia's State Secretary Mardiono said Suharto had told Clinton that the 19-year occupation of East Timor by Indonesian troops had improved the human rights situation in the remote half-island.

Murdiono – Suharto's closest adviser, briefed reporters after a 90-minute meeting between the Indonesian president and Clinton.

"These young people do not understand the process of integration of East Timor into Indonesia," Suharto was quoted as saying. "They also have no experience to compare how the East Timorese people lived under the Portuguese colonial rule."

In the East Timor capital of Dili a Catholic priest reported that after four days of rioting things appeared calm, but police were conducting house-to-house searches for youths suspected to have taken part in the violence.

The priest said suspects were being pulled from their homes and beaten by police. "This is very scary," he said in a telephone interview given on condition of anonymity.

He said 20 young East Timorese men who had taken refuge in a downtown church had been escorted to their homes by priests because they feared being rounded up and beaten by army and police patrols.

Murdiono said Suharto gave Clinton a detailed explanation of East Timor's integration with Indonesia, arguing that human rights and the standard of living had improved steadily since Jakarta invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Suharto also reportedly told Clinton Jakarta's version of the so-called Dili massacre on Nov. 12, 1991, which the Indonesian president blamed on pro-independence agitators.

In regard to the continued Indonesian military presence in East Timor, Suharto told Clinton the troops were mainly engaged in development projects to improve the lives of the islanders.

Government officials said seven army battalions are stationed in East Timor to deal with development programs as well as an estimated 187 pro-independence Fretilin guerrillas.

Murdiono said Clinton asked Suharto about the revocation of the publishing licenses of three popular news magazines.

"What was banned was not the people's right to express their views," Suharto was quoted as telling Clinton. "The revocation of

publishing licenses was based on existing laws.”

CLINTON WARNS SUHARTO ON RIGHTS

By Carol Giacomo

Jakarta, Nov. 16 (Reuter) - U.S. President Bill Clinton warned President Suharto on Wednesday that Indonesia's human rights record could be a limiting factor in ties between the two countries, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said.

Clinton, on a state visit to Indonesia after the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, and Suharto spent about half of their bilateral talks on Wednesday discussing the rights issue, senior U.S. officials said.

“President Clinton raised the issue in firm and forceful terms,” Christopher told reporters before meeting Indonesia's government-appointed human rights commission.

Clinton “said he thought the United States and Indonesia had an opportunity to provide world leadership,” Christopher said.

“He also made it clear that human rights could be a limiting factor.”

He added: “The relationship between the United States and Indonesia can never reach its highest level if the people of the United States don't have confidence that there is an effort here to respect the human rights of all the citizens.”

Despite the rhetoric, the administration sent a mixed message on rights, refusing a top-level meeting with rights advocacy groups and stressing the importance of commercial engagement with Indonesia.

Christopher stressed “human rights is a fundamental part of American foreign policy” and said he hoped the meeting would help “advance the cause of human rights in Indonesia.”

Requests by the protesters at the embassy and rights groups to meet with Clinton and Christopher were denied.

A senior U.S. official said it was “probably not a good precedent” to allow the students to “force a meeting with the president or the Secretary of State by scaling the wall of the embassy.”

VOA: CLINTON SAYS HUMAN RIGHTS LIMIT U.S.-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

Voice of America, 11/16/94, Jakarta. By Ron Pemstein

Intro: President Clinton has told Indonesian President Suharto relations between the United States and Indonesia cannot reach

their full potential unless the Indonesian government respects human rights. Ron Pemstein reports from Jakarta, American officials held further consultations with Indonesians on human rights.

President Clinton has received assurances from Indonesian President Suharto government troops will be drawn down in East Timor, where demonstrations have been taken place against government control and human right abuses. US officials say President Clinton welcomed that assurance, as well as President Suharto's promise to allow residents of East Timor more influence over their affairs.

Students from East Timor – protesting Indonesian control – continue their occupation of the American embassy grounds for the fifth straight day. President Clinton thanked President Suharto for his government's assurances the students will not be harmed if they leave the embassy compound.

Later, at the American ambassador's residence here, the US Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce met with 24 members of Indonesia's quasi-governmental Human-Rights Commission. Those members – many of them appointed by the government – listen to citizen's complaints and make recommendations to the government.

A State Department official says Secretary of State Warren Christopher brought up five issues of concern to the United States. They are the cancellation of newspaper licenses; the arrest of labor leaders; a decree restricting non-governmental organizations; the “cleansing” operation in Jakarta that cleared opposition figures before the APEC summit meeting and rights abuses in East Timor.

Following that meeting, state department official Winston Lord met representatives of 20 non-governmental organizations –ranging from human-rights organizations to consumer and environmental groups. One group, the Indonesian Legal Aid Society, boycotted Mr. Lord's meeting, desiring a more formal appointment with American leaders.

Secretary of State Christopher told reporters he believes the human-rights commission is the more appropriate body for senior US officials to meet with. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown took part in that meeting at the Ambassador's residence, as he did in the president's meeting with President Suharto. Secretary Brown told reporters there is no contradiction between American economic interests here and its interest in promoting human rights.

“Our strategy of commercial engagement, we believe, is the most-effective strategy to have a positive impact on issues like human rights and

labor rights. We think there is nothing incompatible between commercial engagement and demonstration of concern for human rights or labor rights. Just the opposite is true. We believe that it is a complimentary strategy, in our judgment, we have a much-better chance of having a positive impact on human rights and worker rights if we are commercially engaged than we would have if we were commercially disengaged.”

In the meeting at the ambassador's residence, visiting US Congressman Norman Mineta – chairman of the Congressional Asia-Pacific Americans Caucus – told the Indonesian Human Rights Commission support for Indonesian interests in the American Congress will suffer if the American people do not see progress in human rights here.

CLINTON RIGHTS MESSAGE UNDERMINED

By Sid Balman Jr.

Jakarta, Nov. 16, UPI - Attempting to deflect criticism that the United States has gone soft on human rights, U.S. President Bill Clinton on Wednesday threatened to limit a blossoming economic relationship with Indonesia unless President Suharto improved treatment of his citizens, U.S. officials said.

But Clinton's message was undermined by his and Secretary of State Warren Christopher's refusal to meet with private human rights groups or with 29 students from East Timor who have been holed up in the U.S. Embassy here since jumping the fence earlier this week.

Clinton's message was eroded further by the way in which it was delivered. Clinton and Suharto made no public statement either before or after their meeting as is usually the case during a state visit. Instead, Clinton relied on Christopher, who along with Commerce Secretary Ron Brown met briefly with representatives of a government-sponsored human rights group, to carry the message.

“President Clinton (told Suharto) that he thought the United States and Indonesia have an opportunity to provide world leadership,” Christopher told reporters prior to the meeting. “But he also made it clear that criticism in the human rights field could have a limiting factor. “The relationship between the United States and Indonesia can never reach the highest levels if the people of the United States don't have confidence that there is an effort here to respect the human rights of all the citizens,” Christopher said.

Clinton, speaking later in the day to business leaders, brought up the question of whether his global trade strategies undermine human rights, but he did not mention the East Timor situation specifically.

"And I have said many times, and I will say again, I think it supports our commitment to human rights throughout the world," Clinton said.

"At the same time, we remain convinced that strengthening the ties of trade among nations can help to break down chains of repression; that as societies become more open economically, they also become more open politically."

"It's a complementary strategy," Brown told reporters. "We have a much better chance of having a positive impact on human rights if we are commercially engaged than we would have if we were not commercially engaged."

U.S. officials, who refused to be named, said Suharto told Clinton that "he believed the Indonesian government is dealing with the issue fairly."

Clinton and Suharto have been hounded by questions from reporters about Indonesia's human rights record. Suharto became so impatient with the barrage of inquiries that he dismissed a reporter's question about it Tuesday by saying he did "not have time" to respond.

CLINTON: BUSINESS & HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SEPARATE ISSUES

by Bill Tarrant, Reuter

Jakarta, Indonesia (Nov. 16) – President Bill Clinton said on Wednesday his aggressive commercial diplomacy aimed at winning contracts for American business abroad was not undermining his commitment to human rights.

He was speaking to some 700 businessmen in Jakarta after his Commerce Secretary Ron Brown witnessed contract signings between the United States and Indonesia worth \$40 billion.

But earlier in the day, a number of Indonesian rights activists boycotted an informal meeting between senior U.S. officials and non-government groups.

Clinton said he has brought up rights "in every private meeting I've had not only in this region but around the world."

"As societies become more open economically, they tend to become more open politically," he said.

In Jakarta on Wednesday, a letter signed by leading human rights groups, invited to a reception hosted by Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord, said the Clinton ad-

ministration was not serious about human rights.

"He (Clinton) didn't give time to debate and discuss seriously with the people who have been these last 20 years struggling for democratization and human rights in Indonesia. It seems he wants only to speak with the government," Adnan Buyung Nasution of the Legal Aid Foundation, told Reuters.

"These project signings are diverse in nature but have one thing in common: they show marked progress for American exporters pursuing business opportunities in Indonesia," Brown said. "What we are here to celebrate are major commercial achievements."

Clinton said Asia's burgeoning markets will be a force for democratization.

"Throughout this region we will see as markets expand and contact across borders and among people multiply, the roots of an open society will grow and strengthen, and will contribute to development, not instability," Clinton said.

"More Asians will learn that the more free and educated people are, the more they are able to be creative."

CLINTON ASSERTS HUMAN RIGHTS

BUT SOFT APPROACH APPEARS TO REFLECT PRIORITY ON PUSHING THROUGH TRADE DEALS

Gannett Westchester Newspapers, Nov. 17, 1994. From the Los Angeles Times.

Jakarta, Indonesia - President Clinton yesterday pressed Indonesia to clean up its human-rights record, but without setting deadlines or demanding remedies that could disrupt ties with the world's fourth largest country.

Fresh from a summit with leaders of 17 Pacific Rim nations, Clinton said that his administration would pursue improved human rights "with conviction and without apology." But while Clinton and his lieutenants urged better treatment of ethnic minorities, journalists and labor activist, they largely left it to the Indonesians to find their way to such a goal.

The softer approach appeared to reflect the administration's determination to assign a high priority to trade deals while avoiding costly confrontations over human rights. Last May, the administration decided to drop linkage between trade benefits and human rights in its relations with China.

Under renewed pressure from advocacy groups and Congress, Clinton laid out his human rights goals in a meeting with Indonesian President Suharto at his Merdeka

palace, then talked to a group of U.S. and Asian business people.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, meanwhile, met with a human rights commission appointed by the Indonesian government, while other U.S. officials held a partly boycotted meeting with local human rights groups.

Human rights have cast a shadow over the summit because of violent demonstrations in the disputed territory of East Timor and a five-day sit-in by Timorese students at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta. Clinton raised the Timor issue with his Indonesian hosts but failed to win any agreements to end the embassy protest.

A former Portuguese colony 1,200 miles east of Jakarta, East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in the 1970s and has been the site of frequent clashes between the predominantly Catholic population and Indonesian troops, who are mainly Muslim.

VOA: U.S. PROMOTES INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

Editorial, Voice of America, Nov. 23, 1994

The Voice of America presents differing points of view on a wide variety of issues. Next, an editorial expressing the policies of the United States Government.

President Bill Clinton recently joined seventeen other leaders in Indonesia for a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. In addition to multilateral talks, Mr. Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher met on a bilateral basis with their counterparts from other Asia-Pacific countries, including Indonesia. These talks dealt not only with trade but also with human rights.

The U.S. has long had a good relationship with Indonesia. But Mr. Christopher made it clear that relations "can never reach the highest levels if the people of the United States don't have confidence that there is an effort [in Indonesia] to respect the human rights of all the citizens." Among other things, the U.S. is concerned about abuses in the Indonesian province of East Timor.

Three years ago, Indonesian soldiers fired on demonstrators in Dili, the East Timor capital. Scores of people were killed, and many others are still unaccounted for. Last week, demonstrations were held in East Timor, and many people were arrested. Over the years, the U.S. has urged the Indonesian government to respect the rights of the people of East Timor. As President Clinton said, they "should have more say over their own affairs."

Another problem in Indonesia is lack of respect for worker rights. The government recently imposed prison sentences on a

number of labor leaders, including Muchtar Pakpahan, the head of Indonesia's largest independent labor organization. The U.S. deplores these unwarranted prison sentences. Mr. Pakpahan should not be held accountable for unintended violence in connection with legitimate labor protests. The U.S. is also concerned about restrictions on the Indonesian press. In June, the government shut down three influential magazines. The U.S. has urged the Indonesian government to respect freedom of the press and lift its ban on the magazines.

As President Clinton stressed, the U.S. "will continue to promote human rights with conviction and without apology." He said the U.S. Rejects the "notion that increased economic ties in trade and partnerships undermine our human rights agenda. We believe," said President Clinton, that "they advance together."

Anncr: That was an editorial expressing the policies of the United States government. If you would like to be heard on this issue, please write to editorials, voice of America, Washington, DC, 20547, USA. You may also send us a fax at (202)619-1043. Your comments may be used on the air.

EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

SPECIAL STATUTE FOR EAST TIMOR

Diario de Noticias, 29 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Ximenes Belo is negotiating a "special statute" for East Timor. He says, however, that he will not give up his fight for the territory's self-determination.

The Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, announced yesterday that, together with other Timorese and the Indonesian Government, he is attempting to define a "special statute" for East Timor.

In an interview with France Press, Dili's Bishop stated that "a special statute constitutes the best solution at the moment, and we are all discussing this: the Indonesian Government, the army, and I myself, with other Timorese leaders and the people in general."

Although Belo said it was too early to talk about the content of this "special statute," he said "we must discuss it in detail and together."

During the summer, East Timor's Governor, Abilio Osorio, who favours Indonesian occupation, spoke in support of a "special statute" for the territory, but never gave details of its content.

"I have been in favour of this idea for a long time and now, thank God, its beginning to gain support from both Timorese and Indonesian governmental authorities," said Ximenes Belo. The prelate added, however, that this does not mean that he has renounced self-determination for East Timor.

Catholic Church support

The Catholic Church, meanwhile, has indicated that it is prepared to give its backing to "talks between all the parties" in the negotiations for Belo's proposed "special statute." On Thursday, during a seminar, in which the ICRC took part, the Bishop of Dili explained the "Church's point of view" to the Indonesian officials posted to East Timor.

The Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta, Piero Sambì, said that "the Church is stimulating the dialogue between all concerned, since it is through dialogue that what is best for the people of East Timor and for Indonesia will be achieved."

SALESIAN BISHOP IN THE FOREFRONT TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS

WIDE SUPPORT FOR BISHOP BELO ONE OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE CANDIDATES

ANSMag (this is the 'in-house' journal of the Salesian Order to which Belo belongs), November 1994

DILI, East Timor (ANS) - Things do not go well for human rights in the island of East Timor. People still get killed and new victims continue to be added to the list of 200,000 caused by the Indonesian occupation. It was an almost forgotten land, until the Salesian bishop gave them a forceful voice.

Fr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, a 35-year-old (sic) native, was appointed Apostolic Administrator to the diocese of Dili in East Timor, May 1983. He was made Bishop in 1988. Initially considered as a collaborator, he confounded his critics by acting as an articulate and effective voice for those suffering under the heel of Indonesian oppression.

Bishop Belo accomplished this hard task, in part, by striking a careful but uneasy balance between an array of often irreconcilable interests: the Holy See, the Indonesian Catholic Church, the Indonesian government, army, security forces and other official groups and agencies, the armed resistance to Indonesian rule in East Timor, young people of East Timor in confrontation with the Indonesian authority, East Timorese collaborating with Indonesian rule,

and his own clergy in East Timor itself, not to mention others in the international arena.

The East Timorese population today is 800,000. At least 200,000 people are estimated to have perished as a consequence of the Indonesian invasion and occupation between December 1975 and the end of 1979. The United Nations has condemned the August 1975 (sic) invasion and Jakarta's illegal annexation of the territory in July 1976.

There are 674,000 Catholics and 72 priests to take care of their pastoral needs. In the territory there are 42 Salesians and 14 novices in 7 houses and 15 Daughters of Mary Help of Christians in two houses.

In a February 1989 letter to then United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Bishop Belo underlined the need for action by the world body, in the form of a genuine and democratic process of decolonization, in the form of a UN sponsored referendum, that could bring to an end the tragedy that has beset East Timor since 1975. "We are dying as a nation and as a people," Belo said. 5 Cardinals, 32 Archbishops and 1,359 other Church leaders signed the letter.

Later in 1989 during the October visit of Pope John Paul II to East Timor, Bishop Belo overcame myriad diplomatic problems to acquaint the Pope with the true situation in the territory. Amongst those who have publicly supported Bishop Belo are the United States Bishops Conference (24 July 1994), the Bishops Conference of England and Wales, Cardinal Clancy and Bishop Hilton Deakin from Australia, Cardinal Sin of Manila, Bishop Soma of Japan and Bishop Paul Moore, a retired US Protestant Bishop. He has received similar statements of support from the Catholic Bishops Conferences of Ireland, Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Japan, Portugal, Australia, the Philippines, Canada, the Netherlands. Others include Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development; European Christian Consultation on East Timor; Christians in Solidarity with East Timor (Australia), East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign and several groups.

The Portuguese government backs the Bishop and the Irish government is very supportive. "He has received statements of support from the U.S. Congress and friendly support from top levels of the Clinton administration here in Washington," says a Belo-supporter from Maryland, USA. "As for the rest, they make meaningless statements about 'silent diplomacy' and do nothing except make large profits from trade with the Indonesians," laments a spokesman for the London based British Coalition for East Timor.

"I would like to recommend Bishop Belo of East Timor for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize," writes Democrat member of US Congress from Ohio, Tony P. Hall. "Since my election to the United States House of Representatives in 1979, I have followed the tragic events in East Timor closely. Having met Bishop Belo, I believe that he is a tremendously inspiring spiritual and moral leader, comparable to the Dalai Lama and others who have received recognition from the Nobel Committee," affirmed the Congressman in his 25 January 1994 letter to the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

YOUTHS RAMPAGE IN DILI

AP, Nov. 12, 1994 [abridged]

DILI, Indonesia (sic) – Hundreds of angry youths clashed with riot police and rampaged through Dili early Sunday, demanding independence for East Timor.

As demonstrators spread throughout Dili burning debris, stoning police and breaking store windows, hundreds of riot police cordoned off the city, East Timor's capital.

The demonstrations began after a 7 a.m. Mass led by Bishop Carlos Belo, spiritual leader of East Timor's Roman Catholic majority. About 30 Timorese youths displayed banners and chanted in Portuguese "Viva Clinton" and "Free Timor," said Associated Press photographer Jeff Widener.

About three hours after Sunday's early-morning rally at a Roman Catholic church, hundreds of youths rampaged through Dili. At one point, about 150 Indonesian riot police charged a large group of protesters, but turned and fled when the youths stoned them and beat them with clubs.

About two miles away, at least 300 youths overran the Turismo Hotel, where many foreign reporters were staying. The protesters, armed with clubs and sticks, screamed, threw rocks and made off with bottles of beer and other items. They lit a car afire outside.

On Saturday in Jakarta – 1,500 miles west of Dili – 29 student protesters scaled an 8-foot fence wire to enter the U.S. Embassy grounds.

The incident angered Indonesia's government, which hoped the summit would allow the country to shake off its poor human rights image. "It was obviously designed to embarrass us," said Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Also Saturday, one Timorese was stabbed to death by a group of Indonesians and two Indonesian youths were killed in retaliation in Dili, the Portuguese news agency LUSA reported. Afterward, Indone-

sian riot police closed off main streets in Dili, the agency said.

Dissidents, mostly speaking on condition of anonymity, had said they were afraid a protest might provoke a military crack-down.

"Nobody can speak. No one can demonstrate. People feel the pressure of the military all the time," Belo, the bishop, said Saturday.

YOUTHS RAMPAGE IN EAST TIMOR

Associated Press, Nov. 13, 1994. Update to earlier article, abridged.

Thousands of East Timorese rampaged through the streets of Dili on Sunday, looting shops, burning cars and smashing windows in protests against Indonesian rule.

Irawan Abidin, director of information at the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, said he understood the violence stemmed from a brawl in a Dili market on Saturday that reportedly left three dead.

A chronic source of friction is the feeling among East Timorese that Indonesians are moving in, taking over businesses and jobs.

The riot followed a small, peaceful parade Sunday, demanding independence for East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia.

The peaceful demonstrators in Dili called on Clinton to help the people of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 as Portugal pulled out and annexed the following year. The United Nations never recognized the annexation, although the United States has.

"Clinton must help East Timor. We want human rights and independence," said one protester who spoke on the condition of anonymity. Demonstrators carried anti-Indonesian banners and the flag of the outlawed Fretilin rebel group, and demanded the release of Fretilin's jailed leader.

Their protest followed an early morning Mass of about 700 worshipers conducted by East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop, Carlos Filipe Belo, at his residence on Dili's palm-fringed waterfront.

The massacre anniversary passed without incident in Dili on Saturday. Only a few police and no soldiers were on the streets where it appeared to be business as usual. Commemoration of the massacre was limited to small and low-key church services. Few people visited Santa Cruz cemetery.

[From an earlier story:]

East Timor's recently appointed military commander Col. Kiki Syahnakri admitted in an interview that the army had made heavy-handed mistakes in the past, but laughed at accusations of regular human rights abuses.

"We are being watched by the army all the time," said one activist who spoke on condition of anonymity.

BBC ON DILI AND JAKARTA EVENTS

BBC World Service, Nov. 13th, 1300 hrs GMT. summarized.

Indonesian security forces have arrested 70 pro-independence demonstrators in Dili. Troops had used tear gas to disperse about 1,000 demonstrators who had thrown stones and caused widespread damage in protest at the deaths of at least 3 people in violence between East Timorese and Indonesian migrants. About 30 East Timorese students continue to occupy the grounds of the US Embassy in Jakarta demanding the release of Xanana Gusmão.

Antarik Saiwan (?) from AFP is in Dili. It is apparently quiet now but he told me what had happened earlier

"There were two public events - the first one in the morning in front of Bishop Belo's house. Shortly after the mass was over a group of 40-50 young East Timorese showed banners to foreign journalists & a picture of Xanana Gusmão. They shouted 'Viva East Timor,' 'Viva Vaticano,' 'Viva Bill Clinton' and things like that.

"A couple of hours after that event, more than 1,000 young East Timorese occupied a street in the middle of Dili and vandalized most shops and houses along the street which is mostly owned by non-local merchants"

Did the security forces use violence to stop the protest?

No - at first it is only riot police armed with shields and rattan poles. But some 40 of them were driven away by the demonstrators. They just ran away & saved their lives - because the demonstrators were getting wild.

Evaristo dos Santos is a student who didn't make it into the embassy but who also managed to avoid arrest and he is now in hiding. Here is how he outlined student demands:

"We did not come to Jakarta just to request political asylum from the Americans. We want to show the international community that the struggle of the East Timorese still exists. We want the Indonesian government to release our leader Xanana Gusmão and we want a referendum on self determination."

BBC's Jonathon Head summarizes various reports:

Demonstrators are reported to have attacked main hotel where foreign journalists were staying. Some of students who were arrested before getting into embassy had come from as far afield Surabaya & Malang.

Was this a major security lapse by the Indonesian Govt.?

Perhaps not - the Indonesian authorities did manage to arrest many of the students before they got into the embassy. It seems that only students who got into the embassy were the students based in Jakarta who knew their way around. It seems the rest were arrested and we hear that some of them may have been trucked off in military trucks to East Java. Some of the students also say that there might be about 20 more students that they cannot account for but who may still be in custody.

VOA: TIMORESE UNREST

Voice of America, 11/13/94. By Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: The East Timor capital – Dili – is reported tense following violent clashes between security forces and demonstrators. VOA's Dan Robinson is monitoring reports from Jakarta where, East Timorese independence protesters remain inside the compound of the American embassy demanding US help in pressuring Indonesia.

Reports reaching Jakarta contain conflicting accounts of what caused the violence, but it appears to have been sparked by a racially-motivated incident in Dili. Reports also conflict as to the number of people involved, ranging from several-hundred to one thousand.

Witnesses said protesters ran through the streets breaking windows and throwing rocks, bricks and bottles at riot police who responded with teargas. Dili police officials – reached by telephone – said they restored order.

The violence followed a peaceful demonstration Saturday – the third anniversary of the shooting of pro-independence activists in 1991 by the Indonesian military.

Meanwhile, in Jakarta 29 Timorese students remained inside the US embassy compound for a second day. They are demanding to see President Bill Clinton or Secretary of State Warren Christopher about the situation in East Timor.

Mr. Clinton arrives late Sunday to attend the summit of Asia-Pacific leaders Tuesday near Jakarta.

FRETILIN SAYS VIOLENCE IN EAST TIMOR BIGGEST SINCE 1975

by Gordon Feeney, AAP, Nov. 13, 1994

Darwin – This weekend's rioting in East Timor was the biggest violent uprising since the 1975 Indonesian invasion and was set to re-ignite any moment, the resistance group Fretilin said tonight.

"The police and armed forces are still driving around town making arrests and intimidating people," Darwin-based Fretilin representative Alfredo Ferreira said.

"The situation is not calm. It is very tense. At any moment the situation can explode again," he said.

A funeral of one East Timorese man killed in clashes with Indonesian authorities at the weekend was due to be held tomorrow or Tuesday "and could well cause more trouble," Mr. Ferreira said.

"At the moment there is no clear indication of how many people have been detained because of the chaos - and frankly I think they're too scared to give many details by telephone."

Mr. Ferreira said information received in Darwin late tonight was that more Indonesian police and soldiers had been used in the weekend crackdowns than during the so-called Dili massacre in 1991.

"This is the biggest violent uprising since the invasion. Even in 1991 people marched peacefully in the lead-up to the massacre.

"But this is a major act of defiance to the Indonesian authorities," he said.

Third anniversary demonstrations, planned to be peaceful, had boiled over into open defiance and violence, with the Fretilin flag flown in several parts of East Timor, Mr. Ferreira said.

Two sources in East Timor had confirmed that one East Timor man had been killed in clashes with police, and there were unconfirmed reports of a further two deaths, he said.

Mr. Ferreira said many Indonesian houses and shops had been burnt in sections of Dili.

The Associated Press and Agence France-Presse reported clashes between around 1,000 rioters and police, after a rampage in which shop windows were smashed and cars were burnt.

Mr. Ferreira said he understood the shops targeted in the rampage were owned by people from Java and Sulawesi, not by East Timorese.

FOUR REPORTED KILLED IN DILI

Portuguese radio, 13 November 1994

[The report of four dead is also given in the following AFP story from Jakarta.]

Violence in East Timor spread from the capital Dili to other towns tonight as four people were confirmed dead, Portuguese radio RDP reported, quoting what it described as reliable sources.

Indonesian riot police were brought into Dili to control pro-independence demonstrations there, the radio said.

It said at least four people were killed as young people demonstrating in the streets clashed with police. The number of protesters was increasing and the demonstrations were becoming violent, it said.

The radio's correspondent in Australia said "guerrillas" were trying to take control of the main streets in the town of Baucau.

He added that demonstrators had burned Indonesian flags in Baucau, Manatuto, Ermera and Maliana and replaced them with rebel Fretilin flags

TIMORESE RIOT AS APEC MEETS

The Sydney Morning Herald, 14th November 1994. By Lindsay Murdoch

Jakarta, Sunday: Thousands of East Timorese rioted in the streets of Dili today, deeply embarrassing Indonesia as it prepared to host a landmark economic summit of key Asia and Pacific leaders.

And in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, East Timorese protesters were held up tonight inside the United States Embassy, creating an immediate diplomatic headache for the United States President, Mr. Clinton, who is arriving here with Indonesia seeking to downplay issues such as human rights and focus world attention on regional trade.

Rioters in Dili were reported to have looted shops, burnt and smashed cars and shouted anti-government slogans only hours before national leaders, including Mr. Clinton, China's President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, and the Prime Minister Mr. Keating, began arriving in Jakarta.

On Tuesday, President Soeharto of Indonesia is due to host the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) summit, which will consider an ambitious plan for free trade across the region by 2020.

In Jakarta, 29 East Timorese protesters were refusing tonight to leave the grounds of the US Embassy after invading the building yesterday.

The stand-off will force Mr. Clinton to confront difficult human rights issues immediately.

He has pledged to raise human and labour rights when he meets Mr. Soeharto on Wednesday, despite the view held by many Asian governments that other nation should not interfere in another country's internal affairs.

US officials have said the talks with Mr. Soeharto will include repression in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

But Indonesian officials say Mr. Clinton risks alienating Mr. Soeharto, who adamant Western powers should not link trade and economic issues with human rights in development countries.

Mr. Soeharto's enthusiasm will be crucial in persuading Malaysia's Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, to agree to APEC free trade plan.

Malaysia remains the country most strongly opposed to setting a free trade deadline during a meeting of ministers of the 18 member APEC forum.

Analysts say the East Timor protests are a public relations disaster for Indonesia, which has for months conducted a campaign to silence critics and arrests potential troublemakers during the APEC talks.

The campaign was condemned by human rights groups, which accused Indonesian authorities of the violating civil liberties and executing criminals, Jakarta denied the claims.

The protesters at the US Embassy have asked to meet Mr. Clinton and the US Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher who is also in Jakarta for the APEC meeting.

The protesters' demands include the release from jail of the East Timor guerrilla leader José Xanana Gusmão and granting East Timor autonomy from Jakarta.

A protester said tonight he and 28 others would stay in the Embassy compound until their demands were met. He said they had been given water but no food.

The man said the demonstrators felt disappointed with Australia. "Not the people, the Government," he said. "They help Indonesia to violate human rights in East Timor. We hope other Western governments stop this and remind Australia it is wrong to recognise the invasion."

Mr. Christopher said he would raise East Timor with the Indonesian authorities and that the protesters would not be ejected from the Embassy. "We have no plans to throw them out," he said.

The protest angered Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, who said it was contrived to embarrass the Indonesian Gov-

ernment "while we are busy with the APEC meeting."

The rioting in Dili, capital of East Timor, came a day after the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, during which Indonesian security forces killed scores of unarmed protesters.

There are deep racial tensions in the town of 30,000 people, with the predominantly Catholic East Timorese unhappy about the presence of Muslim merchants from Indonesian provinces.

Witnesses said hundreds of soldiers and police condoned off the town as the demonstrations spread.

During one demonstration youth shouted "Viva Bill Clinton."

A demonstrator was quoted as saying: "Clinton must help East Timor. We want human rights and independence."

Demonstrators armed with clubs, rocks and bottles stoned police and soldiers, who used teargas to disperse the crowds.

At the height of the violence, about 150 riot police charged the protesters, but fled when youths stoned and beat them with clubs, journalists in Dili reported.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, who is in Jakarta, quoted an independent source as saying the Indonesian security forces were more tolerant than they had been in the past in their handling of the trouble. He said the violence appeared to have been triggered by cultural and racial issues. Senator Evans said it seemed nobody was killed as a result of the police or military's handling of the demonstrations.

In meetings with Indonesian Ministers since arriving in Jakarta, Senator Evans has pressed Australia's concerns about East Timor.

He said today these include that Indonesia cut back its troops in East Timor and give some degree of autonomy to the Timorese people. "It is an issue that is very much alive in the Indonesian administration."

PROTEST MARS START OF SUMMIT

Daily Telegraph Mirror, Sydney, 14 Nov.

East Timorese unrest today threatened to steal the limelight as President Clinton and other Asia-Pacific leaders prepared for a summit to create the world's largest free trade zone.

As heads of government from the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum focused on trade in the 21st century, protesters rioted in East Timor and students from the restive province made a defiant stand in the US Embassy in Jakarta.

The unrest brought political and human rights concerns, often thrust to the side by the region's governments as their young economies boom, on to centre stage.

Japan, usually reticent about pressing other Asian countries on human rights, said Indonesia's record would be taken into account in Tokyo's next aid package.

"Japan will consider aid on the basis of our... guideline on checking arms exports, human rights, promotion of democracy and environment," Japanese officials quoted Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama as telling Indonesian President Suharto.

The unrest in the province's capital of Dili was "chaotic," according to East Timor military spokesman Major Laedan Simbolon.

"Up to 1000 youths armed with sticks, iron rods and stones were smashing shops, burning cars and hitting policemen," Major Simbolon said.

Residents said hundreds of young people protesting against rule from Jakarta marched in Dili's central market place on the anniversary of the killing of up to 200 demonstrators by soldiers in the tiny territory three years ago.

A second and bigger demonstration took place over yesterday's killing of a Timorese by an Indonesian trader.

In Jakarta, 2000 km away, 29 defiant East Timorese students maintained their occupation of a car park in the US Embassy compound.

Demanding the release of their jailed guerrilla hero Xanana Gusmão, the students, who had scaled an embassy fence yesterday, said they would stay until they could meet Mr. Clinton or US Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Timorese activists allege widespread human rights abuses over many years in the former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian rule there.

The protests are sure to be embarrassing both to Indonesia, which had hoped the APEC meeting would help its world image, and to Mr. Clinton, who has try to steer a pragmatic middle course in foreign policy between human rights concerns and commerce.

Mr. Clinton supports plans for an Asia-Pacific free trade area by 2020.

ARRESTS BEGIN

Extracted and abridged from AP, 14 Nov.

(DILI, Indonesia) The Indonesian military said it had arrested 87 demonstrators in troubled East Timor as armed troops and

police confronted pro-independence protesters for a second day Monday.

Witnesses rejected the military's arrest figure, saying about 150 people had been taken into custody.

They said some had been hurt in small clashes with security personnel but exact injury figures were not immediately available.

Maj. Gen. Adang Ruciana, eastern Indonesia's military commander, said the majority of those arrested would be released after questioning.

Col. Kiki Syanakri, East Timor's military commander, described the situation as tense. He said the military would concentrate on capturing ring leaders of the protest.

Military presence ubiquitous

Witnesses said several hundred security personnel were guarding government buildings in the provincial capital, Dili, where rioting broke out Sunday.

Others said the bloodied body of an indigenous Timorese man, apparently killed in Sunday's clash, was found lying in a street early Monday.

However, the military said it knew of no casualties.

Police were blocking entrances to the city's university to stop outsiders from joining a campus demonstration by about 500 students who oppose Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese colony.

Police were guarding the house of the territory's spiritual leader, Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo, a strident critic of Indonesia who has called for calm.

Clinton on Human Rights

(Jakarta) President Clinton on Monday pressed for additional human rights improvements in China.

At a news conference in the garden of the U.S. ambassador's residence, Clinton said he would "use whatever influence I have in a positive way" to press for human rights reform, both in China and Indonesia.

He denied suggestions he was backing away from human rights concerns in pressing for more trade with Asia and said he raised the issue pointedly in a face-to-face meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin — a session that U.S. officials said mostly emphasized trade and security issues.

"The United States, perhaps more than any other country in the world, consistently and regularly raises human rights issues," Clinton said before the formal opening of the 18-nation Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC).

DOMINGOS SOARES INTERVIEWED BY BCET

In a telephone interview tonight (14 November 1994, 2430 hrs. GMT), Fr. Domingos A Soares called for East Timorese independence.

He said that Dili (where he is at present) was calm. When asked about the causes of the riots, he said 'It is not necessary [i.e. the riots against the transmigrants], independence is the problem.'

He spoke out against US support for integration: 'The US is important,' he said, 'they supported the integration. Now they must do something.'

Fr. Domingos was very laid back concerning the recent wave of arrests in occupied East Timor: 'It is normal,' he said, 'They always arrest people.'

I asked him about reports that Hawk aircraft had recently been used in East Timor: 'I do not know about this,' he said, 'I have not been there.'

He thanked the international community for their solidarity: 'Keep working. Do not let East Timor fade away.'

SITUATION UPDATE

From ETRA, Nov. 15, information obtained this afternoon (Sydney time) from Dili:

1. This morning, Monday, (14.11.94) at 10 AM, Indonesian troops raided Santa Cruz and arrested 80 (eighty) people. The same action was taken in Kolomera-Dili, approximately at the same time, where about 100 people were arrested. In the university campus of Kaikoli, many people were also arrested but the source could not put a number to it; the arrested people were taken in a military truck (UNIMOG, as it was known by the Portuguese), and taken to military prisons in Dili for interrogation.

2. Number of dead confirmed

Three people have been killed. One was Mario Vicente, 28 years of age, resident of Audian-Dili, and originally from Bobonaro. Mario Vicente is the uncle of a soccer player who escaped from Darwin in June 1991, while representing Indonesia in a soccer match in Darwin. Julio do Rego actually lived in the same house as Mario Vicente. The relatives of Mario Vicente, including his wife/widow, are today under extreme pressure by officials of ABRI to take his body to Bobonaro to be buried. According to our source, ABRI and INTEL are scared of a phenomenon similar to the funeral of Sebastião Gomes, on 28 October 1991, which led to the infamous massacre of Santa Cruz. The family is resisting this pressure, and

ABRI told them today, in no uncertain terms, that if the funeral is to take place in Dili, and there is to be a massacre, Mario Vicente's family will be held responsible for the massacre.

Yesterday, Sunday, at 4 PM, Indonesian troops launched an assault in Audian to capture and terrorise people. The number of people arrested is yet to be known.

Comparing to the weekend, today the military is patrolling the entire city with guns everywhere. Reinforcements arrived from the nearby towns in the East of Dili, such as Liquica and Ermera. No protests occurred in other parts of East Timor, except in the capital, Dili.

The second killing took place in Bidau, after the burning of the Passar Senggol-Bidau, the local market where transmigrants control every single business. The protesters moved away from the market before the military arrived. The military raided houses, filled them with tear gas, and ended up killing this young man by stabbing him with a knife. The identity of this person has not been released, and it is believed that his body has been taken away by the Red Cross. He is said to be originally from Laclubar. The third person killed is known as Nando (short for Fernando) and originally from Suai, and resident of Kuluhum-Dili.

Comment: Taking into account that for all practical purpose Dili is a big prison, APEC has become a window letting a light of hope - the media - coming through. The Timorese youth used this opportunity to alert the world about the tragedy of their people. And they succeeded!

VOA: TIMOR UNREST

Voice of America, 11/15/94, by Dan Robinson, Jakarta

Intro: As APEC leaders near the end of their summit, demonstrations continue in the East Timor capital, Dili. And, a sit-in protest by Timorese students at the US embassy in Jakarta is in its fourth day. VOA's Dan Robinson is monitoring these events from Jakarta:

Reports say several hundred students demonstrated at the university in Dili, shouting pro-independence slogans and waving banners. Police sealed off the university campus, creating an uneasy standoff.

Dili has been hit by three days of riots and protests sparked both by local ethnic tensions and efforts by pro-independence forces to draw attention to their cause during APEC.

Meanwhile, 29 Timorese students who jumped over an iron fence into a section of the US embassy compound last Saturday continued their protest. They have been

demanding to see President Clinton to discuss the East Timor problem.

Reports Monday said Portugal offered to grant them political asylum.

The US based human rights group, Asia Watch has expressed concern about the well-being of the protesters in Jakarta and Timorese arrested in the wake of the disturbances in Dili.

UPDATE ON DILI & JAKARTA

AFP and UPI, 15 Nov. 1994. Abridged

[Timorese sources in Dili said late this afternoon that 230 people had been arrested and about fifty people were in hospital.]

AFP, Dili – Some 300 students protesting Indonesian rule over East Timor demonstrated here for the third day running on Tuesday as an Asia-Pacific summit began near Jakarta.

Closely watched by riot police and armed troopers, the students chanted anti-Indonesian slogans and carried banners reading 'Viva Xanana' in support of jailed leader Xanana Gusmão.

Riot police with plastic shields stood guard on the streets outside the university campus but there was no violence and the students dispersed peacefully.

Disturbances in Dili over the weekend, which claimed at least one life (according to AFP, see other extracts from UPI), coupled with a sit-in by East Timorese protesters at the US embassy in Jakarta has seriously embarrassed Jakarta.

Dili military chief Colonel Sugianto Andreas maintained that the situation had calmed in the East Timorese capital "but we have 600 security men in the city to take care of any problems," he said. He said that 69 of the 83 young Timorese arrested on Sunday would be released on Tuesday. The remaining 14 suspected of masterminding the disturbances were being held for further questioning.

Most shops here were closed with people staying off the streets.

UPI, Jakarta

While Clinton met with the leaders of 17 Asia Pacific nations, East Timorese protesters were locked in an intense stand-off with Indonesian and US authorities.

"The situation is very bad today," said a Catholic priest in Dili. "There is a demonstration going on at the university and many troops are on the streets."

The priest, in a phone interview from Bishop Belo's office, said "five or six East Timorese have been killed since the rioting began last Saturday." "The trouble is continuing," he said. "The troops have taken many prisoners."

He said 20 East Timorese youths had taken refuge in Dili's main Catholic church because they feared being rounded up by Indonesian army and police patrols.

East Timor university was closed Tuesday and administrators said they did not expect it to re-open till next Monday. All public transport in Dili was suspended while banks and most private businesses were closed.

A student at the university said troops and riot police manned most of Dili's main inter-sections Tuesday.

"It's tense, like yesterday," the student said in a phone interview. "Most of the students support (the protestors) at the US embassy in Jakarta."

(In Jakarta) US embassy officials said they had no plans to evict the East Timorese but neither Clinton nor Christopher were expected to visit the embassy.

"We love the Indonesian people but we will not accept the Indonesian regime," said Domingus Sarmiento Alves, spokesman for the 29 at the embassy. "It is time for us to determine our own future."

AFP, Jakarta

29 East Timorese in the US embassy denied claims that some of them wanted to abandon the protest. "No-one wants to leave. We have come here with one voice to seek Xanana's release," their spokesman Alves told reporters.

One placard carried by a protester read: "It is time to admit your defeat in East Timor." The poster was made from a pizza box salvaged from the embassy garbage bin. Alves said that although he realised that he and the other protesters were "in great danger" the group would accept an offer of asylum by Portugal "only if there is no way out."

Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva said in Lisbon that his government was willing to grant asylum to all 29 in the US embassy and had informed Washington. "We hope the situation in East Timor arouses firmer action by the international community," he said.

RIOT-HIT EAST TIMOR CAPITAL RETURNING TO NORMAL

by K.T. Arasu

DILI, East Timor, Nov. 16 (Reuter) - East Timor's capital Dili was quiet but tense on Wednesday after three days of unrest, with shops reopening, cars and buses back on the streets and student gangs prowling outside the closed university.

The unprecedented rioting over three days was whipped up by news that an im-

migrant killed an East Timorese trader in a market brawl.

While a semblance of normality reappeared on Wednesday, residents said underlying problems remained.

"The murder of the trader seemed to be a catalyst in bringing to the surface the underlying resentment of East Timorese," Helder da Costa, director of planning, development and external relations at the university, told Reuters.

"Things are beginning to settle down, but the university will be shut until next Monday," da Costa said. The campus was the scene of anti-government demonstrations on Tuesday.

Students said up to 120 people had been arrested since the Dili unrest began on Sunday. In Jakarta, armed forces chief General Feisal Tanjung said 27 people had been detained in the past few days and would be charged with criminal behaviour.

Da Costa welcomed Clinton's promise to raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto but said there was a greater need for freedom of speech and activity in East Timor.

He also warned that a growing influx of immigrants from nearby Indonesian islands was pushing aside the local population, which he said was not business-minded.

"There should be a withdrawal of troops and also a check on immigrants. East Timorese are historically not good in commerce, so we have these immigrants come to Dili and take over the economy," he said.

Students outside the university gates in central Dili welcomed Clinton's remarks. They went further than diplomats had expected, but students felt he could have done more.

"He should have emphasised human rights violations and the need for East Timorese to determine their own future," one student said.

EAST TIMOR PROTESTS UPDATE

From CNRM Darwin, November 16

On 15 November in the morning more than 600 students from UNTIM – East Timor University – staged a demonstration inside the campus. They carried pro-independence banners, chanted "Viva Timor Leste! Viva Xanana!" and anti-Indonesian slogans.

Indonesian military and riot police cordoned off the University to prevent other Timorese from joining the protesters and at the same time waiting eagerly for the students to come out so they could arrest them.

Meanwhile, a group of secondary students from SMEA Dili marched toward the

University to support their fellow Timorese. When they arrived near Mahkota Hotel (former Hotel Timor built by Stanley Hoo), two trucks loaded with riot police surrounded them. Many fled, 20 managed to escape into the Catholic Diocese compound, and about 30 were arrested. The latter were taken to Polwil, the police headquarters, after being beaten, kicked and punched. The foreign journalists witnesses these barbaric acts and filmed them. The International Red Cross staff in Dili took the injured to the Military Hospital for treatment.

The police followed the 20 students who escaped into the Diocese compound but were stopped short at the entrance by the priests, who told them they were not welcome inside the compound. They stood guard at the entrance for about one hour and left when the foreign journalists arrived to film the event and to interview the students.

The priests called the ICRC staff to mediate with the military commander to allow the boys to go home without retribution. Once a verbal guarantee was given by the military, the priests drove the boys home one by one, but not before their names and addresses were written down by the ICRC so as to check their whereabouts later on.

Arrests in Dili continue. It is very hard to compile a concrete list of names in the present circumstances. The main reason is after the arrests the military send the people back home then re-arrest them the following day. This exercise continues. Also because arrests are made mainly at night time, many are taken away to other places inside East Timor, thus making it difficult to follow up. It will take many days to find out the real number of people arrested.

Nevertheless some names have been confirmed.

1) George Tailalak. Was arrested on the night of 14/11, released later the same night and re-arrested on 15/11 at 3:00 a.m.

George has a very interesting background. He is an orphan whose parents died during the War [not clear which war]. He is the nephew of Abilio Araujo. He was brought up along with his sister by Alianca Araujo, Abilio's sister.

George was forced to work as an agent to the local military intelligence, known as SGI. By that time Xanana was hiding in George's family home. George did a good job in helping Xanana's movements around Dili, helped by his knowledge of military intelligence "secrets." Many times he drove Xanana around Dili himself since he knew all the intel posts and their daily activities.

When Xanana was captured in George's family home, George fell from grace. He was tortured beyond imagination. Hung naked from the ceiling, his fingernails pulled out, he was tortured in many ways until he fell

unconscious many times. After this 'royal' treatment, the Intel reinstated him again as their agent. George continued with his unchanged 'double service' until two days ago.

Please advise the media, friends, supporters to ring SGI in Dili to demand for George's safety. SGI-DILI-COLMERA ph: +62-390-21248

Four other people were arrested on 13/11 and so far have not returned home:

1. Crimildo Fatima, age 20, resident of Taibesse
2. Ricardino, age 18, resident of Taibesse
3. Augusto Pinheiro, age 20, resident of Taibesse
4. Manuel da Silva, age 40, resident of Cai-coli

Other interesting developments emerged since the 12 November protests. Information from Dili from various sources suggests that Ahmad Alkatiri, the brother of Mari Alkatiri, had gathered a number of former Timorese prisoners at his home. Their names are as follows:

Antonio Gouveia, Alberto Almeida, Nuno da Costa, Abel Cabral, Abesi, Duarte, Marito Mota, Filomeno Araujo, Luis Conceicao, Armindo, Gil, José Luis, Vasco Gomes, Luis, Joaquim, José Manuel, Anastacio.

The motive of Ahmad's gesture is unclear as there are contradictory reports about it. Some say that Ahmad is collaborating with the military and using the boys to spy on their fellow Timorese protestors. Others say he is giving them shelter and protection. Advise the media, friends and supporters to ring Ahmad Alkatiri in Dili on +62-390-2107

Labut Melo, Gui Campos, João Campos and Manuel Boavida, the most infamous Timorese spies for the Indonesian military, were seen roaring through the streets of Dili in military uniforms, helping Intel to pick up protestors from their homes at night time.

Also advise the media and those concerned to ring the Indonesian military commander on +62-390-21699 or Dili Military Hospital on +62-390-21442/22702

ARRESTS IN DILI

Voice of America, 11/17/94. By John Pitman, Washington

Intro: An international human rights group says Indonesian security forces in East Timor have arrested more than 100 people suspected of taking part in pro-democracy demonstrations in the capital, Dili, earlier this week. VOA's John Pitman has more.

Amnesty International says police and military units targeted suspected dissidents

and others believed to have taken part in the demonstrations at East Timor university. The demonstrators had gathered to mark the third anniversary of a massacre of pro-democracy protesters by the Indonesian army in 1991.

Jeffrey Robinson, an Amnesty International researcher in London, says more than 100 people have been detained within the past week.

"The latest news we have from Dili is the names of 125 people detained between the 12th and 14th of November. Names of others arrested in recent days have yet to come in, but we have heard of house-to-house searches conducted in the area of Dili, but also in some outlying towns, such as Liquica. In some cases, all of the young men in a neighborhood have been picked up; in others it has been more selective."

A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy in Washington (Hupudio Supardi) confirmed that some arrests had been made in Dili, but said none of those detained had taken part in the campus demonstration. He said 89 arrests had been made in connection with a riot that broke out on November 12th between competing merchants in Dili. He said one man was killed in the two day disturbance, and several shops were burned.

He would not comment on the amnesty report.

Amnesty researcher Jeffrey Robinson says only about 25 people have been accounted for by the police in Dili. He says there has been no word on the whereabouts of the other detainees.

"The real concern is for those who may have been picked up by military forces who have not announced any numbers and traditionally do not make known the whereabouts of those detained. So those are the ones we are really worried about."

International attention has been focused on Indonesia's human rights record during the just-completed APEC summit in Jakarta. A group of East Timorese students have staged a protest inside the US embassy compound, and President Clinton raised the East Timor issue in his talks with President Suharto.

INDONESIA CRACKS DOWN ON TIMOR PROTESTERS

Reuter, 17 November 1994. By K.T. Arasu

Dili, East Timor – Indonesian security forces made house-to-house searches and arrested scores of East Timor protesters after days of unrest in the territory, residents and officials said on Thursday.

In Jakarta, East Timor students squatting in a corner of the U.S. embassy compound

were defiant in their demands for the release of their jailed guerrilla leader hero.

But they looked increasingly vulnerable as plain-clothes security officers outnumbered a dwindling posse of reporters outside.

Indonesia has reacted with public restraint over both incidents, but according to Amnesty International and other human rights groups it was acting behind the scenes to round up scores of Timorese after the protests.

"Amnesty is urging the Indonesian authorities to clarify the identity of all those detained in connection with the November 12 protests, the place of their detention, and the precise reasons for their arrest," it said in a statement obtained in Dili on Thursday.

The 29 East Timorese holed up on the U.S. embassy grounds said they still wanted guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão released and asylum for themselves in Portugal, which ruled East Timor until 1975. Portugal has offered to take them in, and Indonesia has said they can leave.

London-based Amnesty said that as of Tuesday, some 250 people had been rounded up, but added it had not confirmed the figure. It said scores of Timorese youths in several Indonesian cities allegedly linked to the embassy protest had been summoned by police, detained or had disappeared.

Amnesty said it feared many faced torture or harsh treatment.

Officials denied any round-ups outside East Timor. But officials in the territory vowed to find those responsible for the Dili protests, sparked by racial tension and long-simmering resentment over Indonesia's 19-year old rule of the territory after invading and annexing it.

"They burnt shops, cars and stoned other vehicles. Anyone found committing criminal activity will be punished in accordance with the law," East Timor Governor Abilio Soares told a news conference late on Wednesday.

Students and residents said that at least 120 youths had been rounded up since the protests, which subsided on Wednesday, began. They said some had been tortured. Police said some 80 people had been detained, but they denied accusations of beating them.

The Dili unrest and the Timorese students' dramatic invasion of the U.S. embassy during a ministers' and leaders' meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum has swung the spotlight on to remote East Timor.

President Clinton has called for greater autonomy for East Timor, and warned President Suharto during Wednesday's state visit that human rights could be a limiting factor in bilateral ties.

Dili's outspoken Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo on Thursday called on the military not to use force in investigating the unrest.

"Solve all and every question with a sincere heart and without force," Belo said in an open letter to East Timorese.

Life in Dili returned to normal on Thursday, as more shops – many of them damaged during the riots – reopened for business and public transport returned to the streets. Security presence was lower, but police still stood guard at Dili's university.

The university, scene of at least one pro-independence protest, has been shut for most of this week and will reopen on Monday.

The university students' military corps were seen turning away students who showed up at the campus.

EAST TIMOR CAPITAL HIT BY FRESH UNREST

by K.T. Arasu, *Reuter*, Nov. 18, 1994. [from several stories]

DILI, East Timor – Several hundred East Timorese chanting pro-independence slogans clashed with Indonesian civilians and security forces on Friday in the latest outbreak of unrest in the capital Dili, witnesses said.

East Timorese protesters gathered around the cathedral compound in central Dili attacked two men believed to be Indonesians, kicking and beating them before police intervened.

Some 500 youths then clashed with a group of Indonesian civilians throwing rocks, some of which hit foreign journalists. Police and security forces fired several canisters of tear gas to disperse the crowd.

"Indonesians are our enemy. Viva (long live) Xanana, viva East Timor," said one youth as he kicked one of the Indonesians.

It was the first such incident since three days of protests subsided on Tuesday. Police have blamed "unscrupulous elements" for the unrest, the territory's worst since troops shot dead more than 200 mourners at a Dili cemetery in November 1991.

A *Reuter* correspondent who witnessed the incident said the youths gathered outside the Roman Catholic cathedral in Dili, pulling out East Timorese banners and shouting and screaming pro-independence slogans.

They turned on the two Indonesians, beating them with sticks and chasing them around the cathedral compound, he said. One collapsed and the other was dragged away by the mob.

"As one was led away the other tried to walk, but as he did so he was continually whacked," the correspondent said.

A crowd of several dozen Indonesian civilians outside the cathedral gate then began pelting the East Timorese crowd with rocks and stones over a seven-foot (two-metre) wall.

Police fired tear gas on the mob, witnesses said.

Parishioners arriving to attend mass took shelter inside the cathedral. Some were hit by stones.

Troops protected a large number of foreign journalists who were caught in a hail of stones. The journalists were returned to their hotels and told not to go outside.

Witnesses said Dili remained tense on Friday, with security forces ringing the cathedral where several hundred protesters and parishioners took shelter. Gangs roamed the streets outside.

Indonesian police earlier accused foreign media, including a Japanese film crew, of fanning unrest in East Timor. They warned some 40 journalists in the territory to cover the earlier unrest that they should toe the line.

"We have rules, don't make us use them," Colonel Sugianto Andreas told the reporters. "Foreign journalists should not do anything to create a situation that is not peaceful, otherwise I will be forced to use the rules."

The past week's riots in Dili, some of them racially motivated, have been unprecedented. Hundreds of youths have, in separate incidents, stoned police, ransacked shops and called for independence from Indonesia.

Officials on Thursday said they were conducting house-to-house searches in East Timor for those involved in the protests. Amnesty International said up to 250 may have been detained in the territory as of November 15.

Andreas said 22 of the 131 people arrested in East Timor were still being held.

In Jakarta, the youths holed up in the U.S. embassy since Saturday said they were considering an offer of asylum from Portugal. They still demanded the release of Xanana Gusmão.

They said scores of intelligence agents outside the embassy gates had been taunting them, threatening to cut their throats.

"We are tired and hungry, but not complaining. This is to tell the world that something is wrong in East Timor," said spokesman Domingos Sarmento Alves.

The United States has offered to speed up the asylum process, but the 29 said they were still afraid of being captured by security forces before they reached safety.

The Foreign Ministry denied on Friday that any riots had taken place in Dili, blaming the violence on a traders' quarrel, and

dismissed the embassy protest as "agitation."

"In the face of such agitation and propaganda activities, the government of Indonesia will not be distracted from its work in international forums and its development work in East Timor," the statement said.

Indonesian police on Friday accused a Japanese film crew of fanning unrest in East Timor and warned other foreign journalists to toe the line in the riot-hit territory.

Dili police chief Colonel Sugianto Andreas told a news conference he did not expect further protests after this week's unprecedented rioting, but foreign journalists in the former Portuguese colony must not instigate further unrest.

He was referring to an allegation, denied by the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), that one of the television company's journalists gave protesting students banners to unfurl.

"We have rules, don't make us use them," he told about 40 foreign journalists in East Timor to cover the series of violent protests that broke out last Saturday.

"Foreign journalists should not do anything that can create a situation that is not peaceful," he added. "Otherwise I will be forced to use the rules."

In Dili, Andreas said an NHK journalist had given the students at Dili university a banner to unfurl before filming on November 15.

"The journalist gave the banner to the students who spread the banner before they began shooting," Andreas said. "We hope you don't do the same."

A spokesman for NHK Sydney correspondent Nobuhiro Habuto, who was in Dili during the alleged incident, denied this, saying a banner was thrust into his hands which he later threw away.

"It's nonsense," said the spokeswoman. "He is angry that the claims have been made and he has no idea why they made them."

EAST TIMOR PROTEST TURNS VIOLENT

(AP) Nov. 18 1994

DILI, Indonesia - Pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor bloodily beat men they accused of being government spies Friday at the capital's Roman Catholic cathedral.

The demonstrators were then attacked by an apparently pro-Indonesian crowd as they tried to leave the church grounds after riot police intervened, firing tear gas.

Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976 has divided the territory into groups that support and bitterly oppose Indonesian rule.

The violence erupted after the disputed territory's spiritual leader, Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo, a strident critic of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, canceled a scheduled late-afternoon mass.

More than 500 people, including students and families with smartly dressed children, had gathered for the service.

There was no reason given for calling the mass off, but rumors had swept Dili that a demonstration would be held.

After clergy announced the cancellation, some in the crowd shouted anti-government slogans and waved protest banners for about 20 minutes.

Some teen-age boys and young men, apparently students, attacked and clubbed several others in the crowd, accusing their victims of being government spies.

The victims were beaten until they were bloody and bruised. Some escaped after foreign journalists intervened.

Several of the journalists, from Australia, the United States, Canada, Sweden and France, were themselves punched and slapped.

An apparently pro-Indonesian crowd of several hundred people gathered outside the churchyard and hurled rocks and bottles over a wall into the grounds.

Truckloads of about 100 helmeted riot police arrived carrying batons and riot shields. They hurled several tear-gas canisters over the wall.

The crowd in the cathedral began to disperse, but as they left the gates, many were attacked by the crowd outside.

Several dozen people escaped by running through the church and out a back door.

The exact number of injuries was not immediately available. There were no apparent deaths.

Police Col. Sugianto Andreas said 22 people were being held for questioning over the incident Sunday, which he said was triggered by the murder of an East Timorese market vendor by a man from another island, Sulawesi, on Saturday night.

Earlier Friday, police in East Timor accused a Japanese television news crew of instigating a political protest, an accusation the network denied.

Andreas told a news conference the crew distributed anti-Indonesian posters and banners to university students and asked them to demonstrate outside the campus of East Timor University on Tuesday.

NHK spokesman Koichiro Shoda, speaking in Tokyo, said the accusation had "nothing to do with reality." The NHK correspondent on the scene said nothing of the sort happened, Shoda said.

MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION IN DILI

SBS TV political reporter Alan Sunderland in Dili Nov. 18th, 8.20 pm (in Sydney).

We've just heard that a massive riot is underway in Dili when at least 100 East Timor youths unfurled banners and clashes with police outside the Catholic Cathedral.

Alan Sunderland:

There was a mass scheduled here in Dili about 1 hour ago. There's been talk all week that the simmering resentment in the streets would finally result in a demonstration at the mass. At lunchtime today, the police decided without consulting anyone to cancel the mass. When we arrived at the Cathedral in Dili, there were probably 3-400 East Timorese, mostly young men outside the church. They were standing around silently for about half an hour - the media were there filming. Then all of a sudden, without warning, groups of them, out of nowhere, brought out Fretilin banners and starting yelling Fretilin slogans.

Now, immediately that happened, people in the crowd, who were obviously Indonesian supporters and who had obviously been put there by the police began attacking those who'd lifted up the banners - they were torn to the ground and immediately the few Western media who were there were caught up in a running series of battles, using fists and kickings and beatings as the two sides fought each other. There were people with numchuckas (sp ?) and there were at least 2 people that the Western journalists tried to shepherd to safety because we were very concerned that they were going to be beaten to death by the Fretilin supporters.

Now at the height of all of this, the police who had surrounded the outside of the church grounds & there were a large number of Indonesian supporters also outside - suddenly there was a hail of enormous rocks thrown in and we were caught right in the middle of the rock throwing. There were rocks hitting people, people falling to the ground and then at that point the tear gas.

The police began firing tear gas into the group. There was chaos - there were hundreds of people running everywhere. We were all caught up in the middle of it - a couple of the cameraman received minor injuries and were pushed and kicked and some were hit by the flying rocks - I was nearly struck by some of them - I ran as fast as I could out of the way and that stage the police then shepherded all of the Western media out - or rather yelled and screamed and forced us out of the cathedral grounds,

The situation now is that all of the Western media have been basically pushed and chased back from the streets around the

Cathedral. I can tell you that the protestors a few minutes ago were still inside the Cathedral grounds.

There were riot police everywhere - with batons, shields and heavy helmets and they began to surround the outside of the Cathedral. The last sight we got looked like a standoff with rioting continuing inside the Cathedral grounds - the police outside the grounds.

But I must stress two things - firstly that since we have left the area a few minutes ago we have no idea what the police intend to do, whether they intend to move in and take some stronger action. We are desperately trying to find out and let me stress that these are events that happened less than 30 minutes ago. This is the worse violence on the streets of Dili since the Santa Cruz massacre.

BBC ON DILI DEMONSTRATION

BBC World Service 'News hour,' Nov. 18. Phillip Short in Dili; Hugh Pricer-Jones in London.

PS: The demonstration started on the steps of the Cathedral - it was really because there was supposed to be a special mass commemorating Christian martyrs which was cancelled at the last moment. Several hundred young people gathered and at a pre-arranged signal they unfurled banners - there was frenzied chanting, calling for independence for East Timor & for the release of Xanana Gusmão & an end to what they called Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor.

The demonstration was peaceful until, suddenly, from the road that runs around the Cathedral grounds, there was a volley of rocks thrown by plain clothes police. This was the provocation which turned the whole thing violent.

Squads of riot police in full riot gear came up - they had obviously been waiting just close by. Tear gas grenades were fired & then the army moved in reinforcements.

HJ: I gather that a young Timorese acting as interpreter for a German film crew & therefore not a demonstrator was attacked by policemen?

PS: The police handled this extremely badly. A young man came up to the German crew and helped them find their way back to the hotel. When they got there he was worried that the police might have seen him and thought that he was somehow involved with the demonstration - so he said to them, 'Please will you come with me and I'll explain that I was simply helping you.' So with some reluctance they agreed and went with him. As soon as he started explaining plain clothes special branch people came and beat him. He's just come back to the

hotel. He has blood streaming down his back and one side of his face is so swollen it's unrecognizable.

They thrashed the living daylight out of him - he owes his life to the German crew who seized him and dragged him away from the police as they were beating him. They dragged him back here.

Now if the Indonesians mete out that kind of violence to people who were not involved in the demonstration, one can only too readily imagine what they do to people who were.

HJ: You said that plainclothes police actually provoked the violence by throwing rocks?

PS: That is what I said and that is what happened - they were obviously ready because the numbers of rocks that suddenly came flying over and one landed very close to me - these were quite big rocks, if they hit people they did quite a lot of damage - but the numbers of rocks that came can only have come in those numbers if a supply of those was ready and that people being ready to throw them.

I say plain clothes police - of course I can't prove that - but these were people in plain clothes who had been waiting around with the police and it's rather hard to believe that they were anything else but plain clothes police, who let off this volley of rocks, without provocation, without the demonstrators having done anything and that's what turned the whole thing violent.

ADDENDUM:

A later report adds that police surrounded the Cathedral for 2 hours. After negotiations by Bishop Belo with the police and army they were allowed to go home with promises of no retribution. Most left and went home.

The rock throwing started when students found a person that they thought was an informer and started to march him out of the Cathedral grounds. Phillip Short adds that after he was chased away from the Cathedral, he and another journalist made their back to their hotel through back lanes - people hid them in their houses when they thought the troops were coming and they thought they might take away our pictures,

SECOND ADDENDUM:

Philip Short reporting from Dili

There has been another violent confrontation between Indonesian security forces and several hundred pro-independence demonstrators in Dili, the main town of East Timor. It was the second such protest in less than a week.

The confrontation began when several hundred youths unfurled banners on the

steps of the Cathedral and broke into frenzied chanting calling for independence and the release of the imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão. Suddenly, rocks and stones were hurled at them, by men in plain clothes, apparently police agents, who had waited on the street nearby. As the demonstrators scattered, riot police moved in, firing tear gas grenades, backed up by troops. For about two hours there was a tense standoff. The demonstrators grouped on the Cathedral steps, the police and troops outside. But then, after the mediation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Dili, and assurances from the local police and army chiefs that there would be no retribution, they were allowed to leave. But that's no guarantee that they won't be punished later. After a similar demonstration in April a number of protesters were given 20 month jail terms

The potential for violence was shown graphically by what happened to a Timorese bystander who helped a German camera crew back to their hotel.

Fearing that the police might have seen him with them and that he'd later be accused of having been a demonstrator himself, he asked the Germans to go with him to a police post so he could explain what had happened. When they arrived, special unit officers set on him and beat him so severely that half his face became an unrecognizable mass of bruises. He escaped only because the Germans forcibly dragged him away with them to safety.

For some hours afterwards, no local doctor would come to treat him because they were too frightened of being involved.

ORDER RETURNS TO INDONESIA

AP Nov. 19, 1994

Dili, Indonesia - Order returned to the capital of East Timor Saturday after a demonstration exploded into a battle among pro- and anti-Indonesian groups and riot police.

East Timor police chief Col. Sugianto Andreas said between 60 and 100 anti-government protesters were cornered by police Friday on the grounds of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, which are surrounded by high walls.

They were allowed to leave after mediation by Bishop Carlos Belo, a traditional Timorese chief and Red Cross officials.

Andreas said no arrests were made after the protesters promised to end a week-long series of demonstrations.

Pro-government supporters, many of whom appeared to be settlers from other parts of Indonesia, gathered outside the

cathedral and threw rocks and bottles at the demonstrators.

At least two local men were badly beaten by anti-Indonesian demonstrators, who accused them of being government informants.

Exact numbers of injuries were not available.

TIMOR 'NORMAL,' 'NOT PERFECT'

Voice of America, 11/21/94. By Dan Robinson, Dili

Intro: Authorities in East Timor have defended their handling of recent unrest and repeated allegations foreign media reports have exaggerated the extent of problems there. VOA's Dan Robinson reports the comments by the military commander in Dili came as authorities continued a clamp down on foreign journalists going to East Timor.

In an interview with VOA and two other foreign journalists, East Timor military commander Colonel Kiki Syahnakri describes the situation in Dili as 95 percent back to normal. He says riots last week were the result of ethnic tensions. However, he says political forces opposing East Timor's integration with Indonesia took advantage of the disturbances to stir up further trouble.

Various reports last week by human-rights groups and Dili residents said as many as 120 people were rounded up in house-to-house searches after the rioting. Colonel Syahnakri denies such searches took place. He says 22 people charged with criminal acts, such as burning houses or looting, remain in custody and describe this as a police matter.

The military official also denies reports of human-rights violations in East Timor – saying overseas Timorese activists groups are spreading what he calls false information. However, echoing recent statements by government officials in Jakarta, he acknowledges that, in his words, human rights in East Timor are not 100 percent perfect. He says more remains to be done.

As the colonel was speaking, students at the nearby university of East Timor waited for classes to resume. Authorities shut the campus last week, after demonstrations opposing Indonesian rule. Classes did not resume Monday. University officials gave no immediate explanation and a visit by foreign journalists caused obvious concern among military security officials around the campus.

Dili remains calm, but authorities continue a clampdown on foreign-media access to East Timor amid complaints by the mili-

tary journalists have added to tensions in Dili. Two photographers for the associated press were ordered out Monday, along with reporter-photographers for Reuter and WTN. The government says they were not on a previously approved list.

Journalists have not been banned from Dili, however reporters say they are now required to obtain written permits with stays reported to be limited to two days.

UNIVERSITY FAILS TO OPEN

Voice of America, 11/21/94. By Dan Robinson, Dili, East Timor

Intro: The university of the East Timor capital, Dili, failed to open Monday, more than one week after it was closed in the wake of unrest. Meanwhile, as VOA's Dan Robinson reports, military authorities have defended their handling of disturbances that were triggered by local ethnic problems but also mixed with demonstrations against Indonesian rule.

University officials say classes did not resume as previously announced after consultations with Indonesian authorities. The university was closed amid riots caused by ethnic tensions as well as demonstrations at the campus and elsewhere against Indonesian rule. Those demonstrations coincided in part with the summit of Asia Pacific leaders, hosted by Indonesia.

In an interview Monday the East Timor military commander, Colonel Kiki Syahnakri, reiterated allegations that foreign journalists reporting on recent events made problems worse. Foreign journalists now in Dili are under constant surveillance. Four had to leave Monday because authorities said they lacked proper permits.

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP CRITICIZES REPRESSION IN EAST TIMOR

By Andrew Pollack, The New York Times, 11/22/94

Dili, Indonesia, Nov. 21 – About 135 East Timorese protesters against Indonesian rule were arrested last week, and many of them were taken from their homes and beaten by security forces, the religious leader of East Timor said on today.

"The military soldiers entered the houses and arrested young people without any kind of explanation," Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo said in an interview. All of those arrested were beaten, and two or three were hospitalized, he said. Twenty-two were still being held, he said. The police have acknowledged 80 or so arrests.

Bishop Belo's comments are likely to give new ammunition to overseas human

rights groups that have long condemned what they say is repression in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year.

The Bishop, who heads the most powerful institution outside of the Government in this predominantly Roman Catholic area, spoke as the capital city quietly began its work week after a week of sporadic protests and rioting.

The events last week called the world's attention to East Timor while President Clinton and other leaders were gathered in Jakarta, Indonesia's capital, for a Pacific region economic conference.

The protesters are calling for independence for East Timor.

Bishop Belo, 46, who is popular and well respected here, has been walking a tightrope for the last week, people who know him say. A native of East Timor and a fervent opponent of its annexation, he has been under pressure from the government of Indonesia and has been trying to restore calm.

In his sermon on Sunday, and in a pastoral letter last week, he appealed for restraint. But on Monday morning, he vented his frustration at the government and said it was an act of courage for East Timorese people to speak up.

Some people here, and some human rights groups abroad, say Indonesia has become more restrained in the last year.

People no longer suddenly disappear. Police confronting protesters use shields and tear gas but not guns. And the International Committee of the Red Cross has access to prisoners.

But when asked about these developments, and whether the Government has changed, Belo replied: "They are the same – the same attitude."

Col. Kiki Syahnakri, the military commander in East Timor, said in an interview on Monday that the people arrested last week were not political protesters but rather "criminals" who had engaged in a separate ethnic clash on Nov. 13 and had vandalized the shops of non-Timorese.

The commander said that in general, what has been reported about human rights abuses in East Timor is a "big lie," and that he had re-emphasized to soldiers last week that they should show restraint.

Bishop Belo conceded that ethnic tensions and unemployment have contributed to the unrest, and he condemned Timorese who engaged in the vandalism.

But the Bishop said that the fundamental problem is the lack of political self-determination. The solution, he said, would be a vote on independence. He said he could not predict the results, saying that there are

Timorese who favor integration with Indonesia.

The Bishop said that Clinton did not go far enough in his meeting with President Suharto of Indonesia about East Timor.

"He should be more direct," the bishop said. "He should say they should withdraw from East Timor."

TIMORESE WORRY WORLD WILL NOW FORGET THEM

*New York Times, Monday, Nov. 28, 1994.
By Andrew Pollack*

DILI, East Timor, Nov. 22 - This seems like a sleepy place, a dirt-poor region that the Asian economic miracle has left behind. Goats and pigs wander along the roads. Vendors in the open-air markets stack their potatoes and peppers in neat piles on the ground and snatch naps in the shade. Children and adults alike greet the relatively rare Western visitor with "Hello Mister," which seems to be as much English as people know.

"To the normal visitor who spends a couple of days here, it's not obvious that there's something going on," a resident said. "But if you stay a little longer, you see there is this resentment."

The resentment is to the repressive rule of East Timor by Indonesia, which invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it the next year. Last week, that resentment erupted into protests and rioting that coincided with the visit to Indonesia of President Clinton and leaders of other Pacific Rim nations for an economic conference.

For those who want independence from Indonesia, the protests here, and a sit-in by East Timorese students at the American Embassy in Jakarta, represented a rare opportunity to bring their plight to the world's attention.

"At least they got the message that something happened here," said Armino Maia, vice rector of the University of East Timor. "It's not as the Indonesians have been painting. There's something wrong here."

But now that an uneasy calm is settling back in East Timor, there is a concern that outsiders will again forget. And as dozens of foreign reporters who have visited here in the last two weeks leave, people are worried that protesters will see retribution from the police and the military.

Achieving independence, in the short term at least, seems a long shot. While there is international pressure on Indonesia to improve its human rights record in East Timor, there is less pressure to make the region independent.

A guerrilla movement for independence has dissipated to 189 people bearing 103 weapons, the Indonesian military commander here. The movement's leader, José Alexandre (Xanana) Gusmão, was captured in 1992 and is serving a 20-year prison sentence.

There have been some proposals to give East Timor greater autonomy, but President Suharto of Indonesia has said this will not happen.

Some East Timorese have come to accept being part of Indonesia, which has done more to modernize East Timor during its 19 years of control than Portugal did in more than four centuries.

"We now have the clash between the Timorese community itself," said Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, perhaps the most influential person in the predominantly Roman Catholic province.

With people afraid to speak freely, it is difficult to tell how widespread the antagonism toward Indonesia is. A referendum, which might answer the question, is unlikely to take place soon. Indonesia considers the case for Timorese independence closed and has vigorously suppressed dissent. Soldiers and policemen are everywhere, and visiting reporters are watched closely.

"We are afraid," said a student at the University of East Timor. "Around here there are many spies."

Human rights groups say thousands of people have been killed since Indonesia took over in 1976. Hundreds of people have suddenly disappeared. Torture has become commonplace.

"After interrogation, people were tortured and beaten and brought to trial and condemned without a just and formal trial," Bishop Belo, said in an interview.

At the University of East Timor, the resentment toward Indonesia is clearly discernible. "All of the people here have a strong desire for freedom," a student said. "If they make a referendum, that would be proof."

Last week, the military and the police, mindful of the foreign press, acted with some restraint, people here said. But they said there were abuses nevertheless.

Bishop Belo said 135 people had been arrested after three days of protests and riots, many of them dragged from their homes and beaten. But all but 22 were quickly released.

Still, those concerned with human rights say the abuses have become fewer since a massacre in November 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire on protesters, killing at least 50 and possibly more than 200 people.

Cases of people suddenly disappearing have become rare. The International Committee of the Red Cross has access to pris-

oners to check on their treatment. People here say Col. Kiki Syahnakri, the military commander, is accessible and reasonable.

Since October 1993, the number of troops here has been reduced by about 1,300, said Colonel Kiki, as he is usually called. There is one combat battalion with 800 troops, and seven civil battalions, with about 4,500 soldiers, that are ostensibly engaged in public works projects.

The commander said in an interview that reports of human rights abuses were exaggerated. "Human rights here are not perfect," he said. "But what's been reported now is a big lie."

He and other Indonesian officials maintain that the anti-Indonesian protesters are few. He also said the protests were egged on by journalists eager for a story.

"Daily life is 95 percent back to normal," the commander said.

But it is clear that it is not. A row of stores remained boarded up near where East Timorese had burned and vandalized businesses belonging to non-Timorese. The university, closed after the protests, had been scheduled to reopen Monday but was then shut for three more days.

East Timor, with a population of 800,000, occupies half of an island that is about the size of the Netherlands. It is closer to northwestern Australia than it is to Jakarta, which is about 1,300 miles to the west, and its climate is drier than the lush tropics of Bali.

Portuguese explorers in search of spices first came to this part of the world in the early 1500's and took over. But in 1975, after a military coup in Portugal, the Portuguese abruptly pulled out of East Timor.

Various political parties formed in East Timor, and a civil war broke out, with an avowedly Marxist party seeming to gain the upper hand. On Dec. 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor, saying it was necessary to restore order and to avoid having a Communist movement on its borders.

The next year, Indonesia made East Timor its 27th province. The Indonesian Government said the annexation was in response to a request by the East Timorese themselves, as expressed by an assembly established by the provisional government that took charge after the invasion. But pro-independence people say this expression of public sentiment was a sham.

Australia and some Southeast Asian nations now recognize East Timor as part of Indonesia. But the United Nations still recognizes Portugal as having jurisdiction. The United States does not contest the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, but maintains that there was no act of self-determination before the annexation.

Indonesia, which has 190 million people and stretches more than 3,000 miles from end to end, is made up of diverse ethnic groups. Granting independence to East Timor, some Indonesian officials say, would set off other independence movements that could destabilize the entire country.

Indonesian officials maintain that the unrest here is caused by unemployment, by ethnic clashes between Timorese and non-Timorese, or by religious tension between East Timor, which is mostly Roman Catholic, and the rest of Indonesia, which is predominantly Muslim. Such other tensions do exist and can become the spark of violence. But the anger almost always spills over into political protest.

The riots last week were set off by the killing of an East Timorese man by a trader from another island after a quarrel in the marketplace.

East Timor is the smallest and poorest of the 27 provinces in Indonesia. Per capita income is only \$120 a year, compared with more than \$600 for Indonesia as a whole, said Florentino Sarmiento, former director of the East Timor Association for Development and Progress.

Indonesia says the poor economy is not for lack of trying. The central Government has poured by far more investment per capita into East Timor than into any other province. All agree that Indonesia has done far more economically than the Portuguese, for whom East Timor was a neglected trading post of interest mainly for its rich, coffee plantations.

According to the Indonesian Government, when the Portuguese left in 1974, there were only 12.5 miles of paved roads in East Timor, all in the capital, Dili. There were only 47 elementary schools and only one high school, and 80 percent of the population was illiterate.

The problem is that almost all the huge investment, amounting to \$48.5 million in 1993 alone, has gone into the public sector. There is still no industry here. More than 80 percent of the people are farmers. The next biggest contributor to local economic output is the military, followed by construction.

What economic activity there is, Timorese complain, seems to be dominated by people who have come from other parts of Indonesia. By some estimates, more than 100,000 of the 800,000 people in East Timor are outsiders from other parts of Indonesia. Even jobs with the government, one of the biggest employers on the island, do not go to Timorese.

"When there are 15 places in one government office, they receive 3 to 4 Timorese," Bishop Belo said.

But those who argue for East Timorese independence say such concerns are second-

dary to freedom. "Is it a social problem, a religious problem?" said Mr. Maia, the university vice rector. "No, it's a political problem."

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Photo captions:

[Map:] In Dili, protesters seeking East Timor's independence from Indonesia fear official retribution.

A Roman Catholic priest gave Communion to East Timorese during Sunday Mass in Dili on Nov. 20. East Timor, which is mostly Catholic was invaded by Indonesia, which is predominantly Muslim, in 1975.

Timorese political refugees chanted slogans after arriving in Lisbon on Friday. They had been holed up in the American Embassy in Jakarta protesting Indonesia's annexation of East Timor before they were granted permission to leave the country.

Pull quote: "Calm returns to East Timor, but resentment and fear remain."

Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US:

This is perhaps the longest news article the New York Times has run on East Timor since 1975. Yet the history between 1975 and 1994 skipped over, with no mention of the 200,000 killed or the close partnership between the U.S. and Indonesia.

Since when is an Indonesian military commander an "accessible and reasonable," let alone accurate, source of information?

How many East Timorese has he arrested in the six days between when this article was written and when it was printed?

Letters to the Editor, anyone?

VOA FROM EAST TIMOR: VOICES OF DISCONTENT

Voice of America, 11/23/94. Background report by Dan Robinson, Dili, East Timor

Intro: In a series of reports, VOA correspondent Dan Robinson has been painting a picture of the social and political situation in East Timor, which has been under Indonesian control since 1976. The issue of East Timor was raised by President Clinton in his talks with Indonesian President Suharto in Jakarta. In his latest report, correspondent Robinson says – although the East Timorese recognize improvements under Indonesian rule – they yearn for more control over their own future:

At the university of East Timor in Dili, a student active in the pro-independence movement speaks cautiously to two journalists. He talks about aspirations for freedom and what he calls spreading violations of human rights by Indonesia's military:

"We hope so that the international community can help us – especially for people of East Timor to get freedom, to get liberty."

Earlier the same day, Indonesia's military commander in Dili – Colonel Kiki Syahnakri – tells journalists groups opposing integration are actually quite small. He denies allegations of human-rights abuses.

He says there are now only 189 actual East Timorese guerrilla fighters, limited to a few areas in the hills. Indeed, authorities showed journalists an old guerrilla captured in a recent clash who is receiving medical care in a Dili hospital.

Whatever the official estimates of pro-independence sentiment and strength, authorities clearly have a problem. Despite development efforts, the authorities appear to have failed to win the hearts and minds of East Timorese.

This is underscored during our visit to the university. Closed for nearly two weeks after recent unrest, it continues to be a flashpoint for demonstrations.

During our visit, tension fills the air. The military accuses journalists of stirring up trouble in Dili. Students and officials are afraid to talk for fear of being seen by soldiers outside the campus or by informers within.

Helder da Costa – director of planning and development – says the university was closed to prevent what he calls troublemakers, from mixing with the students who nonetheless see foreign media as a way to voice aspirations for greater freedom:

"The accusations are basically coming from the military authorities here. But, as a Timorese I perceive this is the right moment for the young people to express themselves because they have lived under such extreme circumstances for the last 18 years. The young people here know already, they have anticipated, it (East Timor) has been in the news, if the foreign journalists come to East Timor, so it is the right moment for them. Also, the students or young people perceive these journalists might express the aspirations of the Timorese people that something has gone wrong in East Timor for the last 18 years."

Mr. Da Costa and other local observers say Indonesian authorities have learned from past mistakes – notably the 1991 shooting of mourners at a funeral at nearby Santa Cruz cemetery.

Today, police and military carry no weapons and use shields and tear gas to respond to rock-throwing demonstrators. East Timor military commander Colonel Kiki Syahnakri says he frequently reminds his soldiers not to use unnecessary force.

When there is trouble, including arrests, Mr. Da Costa says authorities work with officials of the university, the church and the local international red cross representative:

"If there are any arrests or clashes between the young people and the military officers, the military are co-operative and give the international red cross or university management or to civilian leaders, the priests, they can go to the military barracks or military headquarters to check those who are arrested, beaten up, or captured so they can have a look."

But, despite the effort at image improvement by Indonesian authorities, it is clear that a great many Timorese still yearn for an arrangement that would give them – if not outright independence – a greater say in their own affairs.

LAND OF THE MAUHU

Voice of America, 11/23/94. Background report by Dan Robinson, Dili, East Timor

Intro: residents of the East Timor capital, Dili, say Indonesian authorities have been trying to improve their image in recent years – especially after the 1991 killings of Timorese by Indonesian troops. In November, Indonesian authorities allowed greater foreign media access to East Timor, in a move to demonstrate more openness during meetings of Asia-Pacific leaders. However – as VOA's Dan Robinson reports – Dili remains a place of suspicion and fear in which people are afraid to speak out about their problems, frustrations and hopes for the future:

Portuguese music actuality in and under

In a restaurant set amid palm trees off a dirt road in Dili, Portuguese music blares from a stereo. As a first-time visitor, I have come here with other journalists to meet some residents to talk about East Timor.

But a few minutes later, a police car arrives outside and its occupants – carrying portable transceivers – take up seats at a nearby table.

Earlier in the day, taking a walk along the Dili waterfront, I notice I am being followed by at least one person. And, on a visit to the university – then closed because of on-going tensions – students warn me about they call Mauhu – informers.

On the surface, Dili appears a serene place: the kind of unspoiled tropical paradise that would be attractive to tourists. In reality, for Timorese and visitors who are alert to this kind of thing, it can be a jolting experience.

Shocked by international reaction to the 1991 killings at Santa Cruz cemetery, Indo-

nesian authorities say they have tightened the discipline of military forces stationed in East Timor.

But – facing continued opposition from political forces opposing East Timor's integration – a seemingly-extensive intelligence network appears to be in place to monitor dissident forces, as well as foreign journalists.

Bishop Carlos Belo – outspoken critic of Indonesian rule – does not hesitate to condemn the security tactics which he says are the worst aspect of Indonesia's current policy in East Timor:

"This is now the main problem in East Timor, no? Everywhere, there are informers – in the church, in the school, in the government offices, in the streets, in the markets. So, it is the likes of the Gestapo."

Helder da Costa is head of planning, development and external relations at the university of East Timor. An outspoken critic of Indonesian rule, he must also deal with military authorities.

Mr. Da Costa says there is a greater need for freedom of speech and expression in East Timor, and – despite a few improvements – the security apparatus hangs heavy over people's heads:

"Whatever the political status here, for them (Timorese people) they really need freedom, so they can freely go everywhere. Because here, as a matter of fact as you gentlemen have experienced yourselves, whenever you go you are followed by guests – you know intelligence. So that causes many people here great antipathy, they feel less enthusiasm to participate in the development process. If they do participate, I would say they participate passively not actively as it should be."

The security tactics can be both annoying and amusing. At the Turismo hotel on Dili's beautiful sea-front, journalists wave to informers sitting under palm trees. Taxi drivers are assigned to keep track of journalists. One assumes phone calls – even those using a home country direct line in the lobby – are monitored.

In fact, surveillance begins even before arrival in Dili. Security officials monitor the travel of journalists all the way from Denpasar, in Bali. Upon leaving Dili – whether by choice or by order – the security system makes sure one has actually climbed on the plane.

Indonesian authorities maintain the intelligence network is actually quite small. Timorese describe this as absurd and say they are fed up. In the words of one resident: we are scared to speak up, but who else but journalists will raise these issues. So

we are committed to talk to you no matter what.

Bishop Carlos Belo plays a key role in efforts to prevent social, economic and political tensions from turning to violence in Dili. But he too speaks out strongly against informer tactics:

"Sometimes, we must talk in order to be heard, to be make these things known abroad. If there is total silence, we – all of us –, will go to die in this climate of oppression."

During a Sunday mass in which a foreign television crew and VOA were present, I am told there were likely quite a few informers there as the bishop delivered his homily urging peace.

Despite the warning, one Timorese comes up to me and says – in a strong voice heard by all: you are welcome, please talk to the Timorese and we tell you our true feelings.

YEARNING FOR FREEDOM

Voice of America, 11/23/94 background report by Dan Robinson, Dili, East Timor

Intro: Recently thrust back into the headlines because of ethnic problems and demonstrations against Indonesian rule, East Timor remains a troubled place. Indonesia has ruled out a referendum to allow East Timorese to decide their own political future, but is taking part in three-way talks with the United Nations and Portugal – set to resume in January. In the first of several reports, VOA correspondent Dan Robinson tells us East Timorese people are trying to keep their cultural and religious identity – despite growing social and economic frustration and a continuing desire to be free of Indonesian rule:

It is 5:30 in the morning in Dili. Already, about one thousand Timorese have gathered for an outdoor mass at the residence of Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo:

Bishop Belo is the most-influential figure in East Timor today. Speaking in Tetun – the lingua franca of East Timor that sounds very much like Portuguese – he urges people not to resort to violence, after three days of ethnically-based riots.

The riots were sparked by a dispute in which a Timorese was killed by an immigrant from Sulawesi. East Timorese have become increasingly angry over an influx of outsiders seen to be taking opportunities away from local people.

Crowds ran through the streets burning and looting – bringing on almost inevitably the latest round of political demonstrations against Indonesian rule.

In a VOA interview, Bishop Belo says the church delivers messages of morality, non-violence and tolerance:

“Our role is to preach the gospel and about the human, social situation this concrete situation in East Timor we can only preach about peace, justice and reconciliation and avoid starving and have good relations with everybody. Even sometimes there are political dimensions, but especially the moral, spiritual voice.”

Nineteen ninety five will be the 20th anniversary of Portugal’s departure from East Timor, which Indonesia annexed the following year, after intervening in a civil war.

According to human-rights groups, Indonesian rule has been a disaster for East Timor, resulting in the deaths of some 200 thousand people. The annexation has never been accepted by the United Nations, which still recognizes Portugal as the administering power.

Indonesia believes it saved East Timor from disaster. Key spokesmen such as foreign minister Ali Alatas say Portugal left its former colony in ruins. As Jakarta sees it, integration has raised – albeit more slowly than other parts of this vast archipelago – the living standards of East Timorese.

Indeed, this steamy tropical town, surrounded by hills, shows signs of the development realized under Indonesian control. Schools and hospitals have been built. Main streets are paved, although dirt roads are still common in many areas. There are public telephones – although many are out of order.

Dili’s former Portuguese identity is also still to be seen – an old Portuguese church, statues, cannons pointing toward the sea. Along the waterfront a gentle breeze – the only relief from stifling heat and humidity common this time of year.

As the sun begins to set, children shout as they splash in the calm ocean waters dotted with the rusting hulks of old ferry boats. A man carries a bamboo pole brimming with squid and fish tied with palm leaves.

For the most part, Dili has gotten back to business, with shops re-opened after the riots. But a drive around town reveals a number of businesses and houses burned or boarded up. On one street corner, a woman picks through charred ruins.

Despite its charm, Dili has gone through one of its worst times in recent memory. Amid smoldering resentment of Indonesian rule, social tensions have pushed above the surface.

With memories of the 1991 killings of East Timorese by Indonesian troops in Santa Cruz cemetery still fresh, Bishop

Carlos Belo and Indonesia’s local military authorities are in a difficult spot.

INDONESIA TO PROSECUTE TIMORESE FOR ROLE IN RIOTS

Seattle Times, Nov. 23

Dili, East Timor – Indonesia said today it would prosecute 30 East Timorese for their alleged involvement in riots and pro-independence protests that swept the troubled territory last week.

Indonesia’s hopes of presenting an open image at this month’s meeting of regional leaders in Jakarta were dashed by a sit-in at the U.S. Embassy and protests in Dili that were broadcast by the world’s media.

President Suharto said all East Timorese were welcome to leave for Portugal, the territory’s former colonial ruler, including 29 youths staging a protest in the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta.

“The more who wish to go, we will be grateful,” the official Antara news agency quoted Suharto as telling a foundation of independence veterans today.

Dili has been swept by unprecedented riots in the past 10 days, some ignited by racial tensions and some by political opposition to Indonesian rule in the territory.

RENEWED CLASHES AT UNTIM

Voice of America, 11/24/94. By David Butler, Bangkok

Intro: In East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia 18 years ago, there were more clashes Thursday between students and security forces. As David Butler reports from our southeast Asia bureau, hundreds of students were shut in by the security forces in their university in Dili, the provincial capital.

Thursday’s trouble began when a group of about one hundred protesters waving banners calling for East Timorese independence, clashed with riot police near the university. Students stoned a police post and nearby houses.

Baton-swinging police responded with several rounds of tear gas, forcing the protesters back inside the campus. The police then sealed off the university, trapping about 400 students and administrators inside.

Helder da Costa, director of planning, development and external relations at the university told the British news agency Reuter by telephone that the police had attacked a delegation of 10 students trying to leave the campus to negotiate an end to the confronta-

tion. The Reuter report quoted witnesses as saying Thursday’s demonstration was sparked by the appearance on the campus of what appeared to be plain clothed security officers.

The clash is the latest in two weeks of demonstrations and clashes in Dili – the worst violence in the territory since troops killed scores of protesters at a cemetery in Dili in November, 1991.

The current protests in East Timor began on the eve of the summit meeting of leaders of the 18 countries in the Asia Pacific economic cooperation forum in Jakarta. In that city, more than two thousand kilometers to the west of East Timor, 29 East Timorese dissidents who have been camping out in the grounds of the US embassy since November 12th, were preparing to leave Thursday for Portugal, where they have been offered asylum.

The protesters scaled the embassy fence. They demanded the release of the jailed leader of the East Timorese independence movement. Portugal abandoned East Timor in 1975. Indonesia annexed the territory the following year.

Several clashes in East Timor earlier this year were sparked by religious incidents. East Timor is largely Catholic while the rest of Indonesia is mostly Muslim.

HUNDREDS BARRICADED INSIDE EAST TIMOR UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

Seattle Times, Nov. 24

Dili, Indonesia – security forces barricaded hundreds of students and staff members inside their university campus today after a clash between East Timorese protesters and riot police, witnesses said.

Helder da Costa, director of planning, development and external relations at the university, said riot police had attacked a delegation of 10 students who tried to leave the campus to negotiate with the security officers.

“we can’t go out. Even our delegation cannot,” he said by telephone. “the campus is being surrounded by security forces.”

Military spokesmen were not available for comment.

Earlier at least 100 East Timorese students clashed with security forces on the campus of the territory’s university. Witnesses said at least one officer was injured.

It was the latest in two weeks of violent protests, most of them triggered by rising tension between East Timorese and Indonesian forces which have ruled the territory since 1975.

POLICE CHIEF SAYS MORE TROUBLE LIKELY

Reuter, 25 November 1994. Abridged

Dili – East Timor's police chief said on Friday he expected further trouble from opponents of Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony and warned of a tough police response.

"There will be more disturbances by anti-integration elements. Police will take firm action if they disturb the peace," Colonel Andreas Sugianto told reporters in the capital Dili.

Sugianto's warning followed clashes between students and riot police at Dili's East Timor university on Thursday, hours before 29 East Timorese protesters ended a 12-day sit-in at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta and left for exile in Portugal.

It also came ahead of the 19th anniversary on Monday of a declaration of independence by anti-Indonesia Fretilin guerrillas.

Sugianto made no mention of the Fretilin anniversary but urged East Timorese to report to the police any disturbance that took place in Dili or the surrounding areas.

Anetu, a spokesman for Fretilin leader Konis Santana denied the guerrilla group was behind last week's demonstrations, and instead accused the Indonesian government of staging them.

"A clandestine government group lead by a former government parliamentarian is responsible for the demonstrations," he told Reuters late on Thursday.

"Fretilin did not carry out the demonstrations, including the one at the cathedral (in Dili). We have no intention of disturbing Catholics. The church is a sacred place," he said.

Indonesia has said it would prosecute 30 East Timorese for their alleged involvement in last week's riots and protests.

A spokesman at East Timor university said on Friday classes had resumed and some 600 students were taking their examinations at the campus.

"The situation is very much under control now. I had a talk with the students this morning and urged them to remain calm and not get emotional," Armindo Maia, the university's vice-rector for student affairs told Reuters.

Maia said police were no longer stationed outside the campus and that Thursday's clashes were, according to students, sparked by the presence of plainclothes police near the campus.

Angry students stoned nearby houses and security forces, who replied with several rounds of tear gas, effectively blockading more than 400 students and staff inside

the campus. At least one security official was injured by flying stones, witnesses said.

Amnesty International said in a statement made available on Thursday it was concerned about the fate of nearly 200 students involved in the Jakarta and Dili protests.

Timorese sources said that of at least 35 youths rounded up in Jakarta at the time of the embassy protest, most if not all had not been seen since – despite official claims they had been released.

INDONESIA FAKES PRO-INDONESIA PROTEST IN DILI

Statement released in Darwin by the new coalition "Joint Movement for Self-Determination Referendum for East Timor" 25 Nov. 1994

Important and urgent information received tonight from East Timor indicates that the Indonesian security apparatus in Dili is taking a new fraudulent action against the population.

The people will be forced to openly indicate their support for integration or not.

Of course such a "poll" would have no credibility with the rest of the world...would it??

We remember that Australian governments apparently have accepted similar Indonesian staged and forced "polls" in Dili 31/5/76, and West Papua in 1969, where the results, at Indonesian gunpoint, allegedly favoured integration with Indonesia in both cases.

The real result is seen by the continued resistance to Indonesian rule by the whole populations to this day.

We demand that Governments around the world condemn such further violations of the dignity of the people of East Timor.

In particular, the Australian government and foreign minister Evans bear heavy responsibility for the Indonesians taking his advice. On Monday this week, in response to the call in Sydney by noted Indonesian human rights activist Dr. George Aditjondro for a free and fair referendum on self-determination for East Timor, Evans stated that Australia only support a poll if in fact the result was predetermined that East Timorese be forced to accept this brutal occupation by the Indonesian military.

Indonesian Campaign for a Referendum for Self-Determination for East Timor;
Dr. George Aditjondro

East Timor National Council of Resistance (CNRM); José Gusmão
Timorese Democratic Union (UDT);
Flavia Pires

Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET);
Rob Wesley-Smith

ENFORCED "SHOW OF SUPPORT" AT GUNPOINT

TAPOL report, Nov. 27

According to information received in Australia late on Saturday, 26 November, the following farce was enacted in Dili on that day. This is clearly intended to make the people of East Timor "pay for" the outstanding feat of the 29 East Timorese at the US embassy in Jakarta and the series of demonstrations and protests that occurred in Dili during the week commencing 12 November 1994 which so powerfully exposed Jakarta's claims that resistance to its occupation is supported by only a "handful" of people:

Population from all districts (expected to be 3,000 from each district) were forced to go to Dili to show support for integration in a public protest which started this morning (8 am Dili time) and ended at about 2 pm Dili time.

The military used sticks to beat Timorese protesting against this farce, and the situation has not return to normal as yet (late Saturday night).

EAST TIMOR POLICE ARREST FOUR DEMONSTRATORS

Reuter, 28 November 1994. Abridged

Dili – A handful of East Timorese demonstrators disrupted a 20,000-strong pro-Indonesia gathering on Saturday, minutes after a senior official warned that firm action would be taken against protesters.

Ten pro-independence demonstrators caused panic at the gathering outside Governor Abilio Soares' office by hurling plastic bottles into the crowd, sending many fleeing for cover.

"Police who were present at the gathering gave chase and arrested four of the demonstrators. The others managed to run away," one witness said. He said no one was injured.

A military official confirmed the incident but gave no details.

The crowd included, among others, the territory's military commander Kiki Syahnakri, police chief Andreas Sugianto and senior government officials.

It was the one of the largest gatherings in recent years to reiterate support for East Timor's integration with Indonesia, which invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it the following year.

The East Timor capital Dili has been rocked by a string of pro-independence demonstrations over the past two weeks in which some 150 people were arrested. Police said most had been released.

Governor Soares told the gathering just before the demonstrators acted that firm action would be taken against government officers and students who opposed integration with Indonesia.

"Students who carried out activities against the integration would be sacked from their schools. Government officials who opposed the government would also be sacked," Soares said.

"Parents should not regret if their children are sacked from schools or universities because I have lately seen activities opposing the government," he told the gathering.

Timorese youths have been at the vanguard of fresh protests against Indonesian rule in East Timor, which is not recognised by the United Nations.

Students at the East Timor university in Dili have staged at least three demonstrations in the last two weeks.

On Thursday 400 angry students clashed with police, who fired several rounds of tear gas after they were stoned. The clash, according to students, was sparked by the presence of plainclothes police near the campus.

MAU HUNO ARRESTED

RDP Radio, Lisbon, 28 November 1994

A former head of the East Timorese resistance Fretilin has been arrested, Portuguese radio RDP reported today, quoting an announcement by the organisation.

The radio said Mau Huno, who is currently secretary of Fretilin's executive, was arrested in Dili on Friday.

Fretilin said that in April last year, Mau Huno was arrested but not charged and that he was subjected to frequent questioning following his release. He has been living in Dili.

The organisation also reported that four East Timorese students were being held at the headquarters of the secret police in Jakarta, the radio said

TIMOR UNREST 'MASTERMIND' ARRESTED

The Sydney Morning Herald 29 November 1994. By Reuter, Agence France-Presse

Dili, Monday, Indonesian police have arrested an East Timorese public servant whom they suspect is the mastermind behind unrest that has rocked the trouble territory over the past two weeks.

Despite fear of further unrest on the 19th anniversary of East Timor's aborted declaration of independence, police said the capital was quiet today, with no signs of protests.

"We arrested the man (on Sunday night) and he is still under questioning," said the chief of the East Timor police, Colonel Andreas Sugianto.

Colonel Sugianto declined to reveal the man's identity and to which government office he belonged but said the public servant would face charges of "conducting political activities against the republic." Colonel Sugianto said there was a strong indication that the man masterminded the riots, adding that 30 other men were also under arrest for their alleged involvement in the incident.

Police earlier said that the men would face prosecution. The 30 included four demonstrators who disrupted a 20,000-strong pro Indonesia gathering on Saturday, Colonel Sugianto said.

Dili has been rocked by a string of pro-independence demonstrations which were followed by riots in which youths set fire to a market and ransacked dozens of shops.

Colonel Sugianto said police would not tolerate any more riots, adding that two battalions of police had arrived in Dili to prevent any chaos in the capital. "They are ready to take to the streets any time," he said.

Governor Abilio Soares said on Saturday that firm action would be taken against government officers and students who opposed integration with Indonesia.

Timorese youth have been at the vanguard of fresh protests against Indonesian rule in East Timor.

Meanwhile, in Geneva, a Timorese opposition leader said the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali would send a special envoy to East Timor.

Mr. José Ramos Horta said Dr. Boutros-Ghali's decision was a sign of concern about the situation in East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed a year later.

Mr. Ramos Horta said the envoy was likely to be Mr. Francis Vendrell, a UN official with responsibility for the eastern Asia Pacific region, who is expected to leave Lisbon on December 5 for Jakarta and then for Dili.

The UN Human Rights Commission is also set to examine the human rights situation in Indonesia at a meeting this week in Geneva.

Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign ministers will attend a meeting on East Timor under UN auspices on January 10, and Mr. Ramos-Horta said he hoped to meet both men privately then.

Mr. Ramos-Horta added that he had already held a private three hour meeting with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, "for the first time in 19 years," on October 6.

He welcomed the reported decision by the United States Congress to stop training Indonesian Army officers and to stop deliveries of F-5 aircraft and light arms to Jakarta.

Jakarta was severely embarrassed by anti-Indonesian demonstrations in East Timor and the occupation of the US Embassy in Jakarta by young East Timorese for two weeks at the recent Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum summit.

INDONESIA TO RELEASE EAST TIMOR DETAINEES

Reuter, 29 November 1994. Dateline: Jakarta Abridged,

Indonesia's army said on Tuesday it would release 30 youths arrested after two weeks of unrest in the troubled territory, despite earlier plans to prosecute the detainees.

The statement was made a few hours before foreign minister Ali Alatas said in Jakarta that Indonesia intended to go ahead with U.N.-brokered talks to explore a comprehensive solution of the 19-year old conflict.

"I remind you that in the latest meeting in Geneva, it was said that there was a possibility that we would start to talk about a comprehensive settlement. In what form, let us see," Alatas told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

He did not elaborate.

Indonesia has endured an embarrassing month of protests by East Timorese in the former Portuguese colonial capital of Dili and in Jakarta. Police earlier said they would go ahead with prosecuting 30 youths detained during the Dili protests.

Human rights groups and exiles say more than 200 East Timorese may still be in detention in Dili, and another 20 or more missing after round-ups in several Javanese cities.

During the incidents, some fired by racial antagonism and some by deep-seated resentment of Indonesian rule, youths set fire to a market and ransacked dozens of shops. Indonesian forces have dominated Timorese life since their 1975 invasion.

"We will soon release the men and return them to their respective homes," East Timor military commander Colonel Kiki Syahnakri told reporters. It was not clear why the military decided to release the alleged rioters.

Syahnakri said that the government would continue to detain a civil servant arrested on Sunday night on suspicion of masterminding the protests. He identified the man as Matias, an employee of the local office of the ministry of health.

"We believe he is not the only man in the case," he said.

Police, fearing further unrest, earlier shipped in two extra battalions and warned they would not tolerate any more riots. Officials said Dili had been quiet but tense since Saturday.

Indonesia's Alatas, who has as foreign minister faced the brunt of international concern over Jakarta's human rights record in East Timor, said he would go ahead with talks on the issue with his Portuguese counterpart in Geneva on January 9.

It would be the latest round of talks sponsored by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, secretary-general of the United Nations which still recognises Lisbon as the administering power in Timor.

Indonesia's leader Suharto has agreed to meet Abilio de Araujo, sacked as leader of the exile resistance movement. Alatas said no date had been set for the meeting and ruled out including José Ramos-Horta, who now heads the exile movement.

"Why should we give him (Horta) a chance to meet our president. It is enough he meet me at one time," he said. Alatas met Ramos-Horta in New York on October 7 for the first time.

XANANA ON THE JOB

XANANA'S STORY - WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

Publico (Special Feature Supplement), 16 Nov. 1994. Translated from Portuguese

NOTE FROM THE CDPM (Maubere People's Rights Commission), Lisbon: Today, 17 November, at the Timor Centre in Lisbon, the launch of Xanana Gusmão's autobiography will be taking place. To mark the occasion, following is the translated excerpt from the book, entitled "East Timor: One People, One Fatherland," published by the newspaper "Publico" in a supplement.

Some friends asked him for background for a biography. Xanana Gusmão offered them the story of his life, up to the time he became Commander of the Timorese resistance movement in 1981. In his prison cell in Cipinang, where he serves a 20-year sentence, he compiled memories of his childhood in Manatuto and Ossu, adolescent years in the seminary and later at Dili secondary school, the hardships of construc-

tion jobs and work as a civil servant, until the "fright" of 25 April 1974, which led him to emigrate to Australia - a move from which he was dissuaded at the last minute by his politically active friends. Then follows a description, full of hitherto unpublished data, of the most controversial chapter in East Timor's recent history: the hesitation over choice of political camp, the civil war of August 1975, the acts of vengeance, the inebriation with power, the obsession with betrayal that gradually possessed Fretilin leaders, the temptation to give up, sickness, arduous marches eastwards which just four guerrillas survived, dissidence ("my brothers were abandoning me"), the tough political apprenticeship by the light of beeswax candles. In his description of how José Alexandre Gusmão became Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, Commander of the Falintil and mythical figure of the Resistance, the 47-year-old Timorese leader presents himself as a kind of Fernao Mendes Pinto anti-hero. He writes in Portuguese, the language of his childhood to which this son of an "assimilated" schoolmaster (who "spoke of Salazar as if he had met him in Soibada") is still faithful today, like so many his compatriots, who brandish the language of Camoes and the Catholic faith like battle-axes in their fight against the occupation of their native country by Indonesia. The long text (excerpts of which *Publico* publishes today), was sent a few days ago to Portugal, and constitutes two chapters of the book "*Timor-Leste: Um Povo, Uma Patria*" (East Timor: One People, One Fatherland), which is to be launched by Editora Colibri on 17th November at 18.00 hrs. at Lisbon's Timor Centre (Espaco por Timor).

Childhood

I was born in Manatuto. My mother said it was either on the night of 20th or in the early hours of 21st June, in the scorching heat that matures the rice in the paddies.

By then, my sister Felismina, born two years earlier, was probably enjoying the delights of other children, in the warm afternoons of a coastal village: an earthen bowl of steaming chicken soup, with locust from the plains at harvest time, or with "balchao," or with seafood preserves whose aroma of algae would waft even into a child's dreams, amid stories of crocodiles and shrieks of fright at the sticky touch of dead octopus.

Father the schoolmaster father

My father subscribed to (or received) Catholic magazines, "Flama," "Noticias de Portugal" and others. He used to read, he really used to love reading. And I started to read with him... little tales. My mother used to tell stories about the Japanese occupation, about my grandparents, and my uncle, a brother of hers, a telephonist who had

managed to land himself a job in Dili, and he was to be our chance... to break away from that small world and, according to my father, become a good Portuguese. My father had accumulated "the benefits of civilization" which, although not many, had, nonetheless, allowed him to have several children, and clothe and educate them all.

By nature I was already a rebel, and the beatings of my education were just passing pain. My father had a part time job as inspector in Mr. Ricardo's cheese and butter factory. A happy childhood, full of presents... godparents and godchildren... and the schoolmaster. My father discussed the Development Plan with his own circle of friends... In the town, where there were few "assimilated" Timorese, he spoke of Salazar as if he had actually met him in Soibada. I admired my father, at the time. He bought a horse and off he went to some elections or other in Viqueque. He was not political, he had become an "assimilated" Timorese, and tried to sever the links between his children and a barefoot culture. My father was not proud (...)

My father belongs to a specific link in the chain of East Timor's colonial presence. At a particular time, the post war period, a handful of schoolmasters, earning a pittance, aided colonial power to recultivate a nation and, imperceptibly, reinforce the domination of cross and sword, side by side with the feudal authority.

Many is the time I witnessed prisoners at the administrative post being whipped as they groaned on the pebbled ground, out in the scorching sun with feet shackled. Sometimes, escaping with the sons of the "li-urais," school friends, I also saw orderlies or local people setting off in search parties, or returning with the "band" bringing back bloodied offenders who had not shown up for the forced labour on the roads, or the obligatory service as manual labourer in the homes of the colonialists, Chinese, and the "assimilated" Timorese.

"You are going to the seminary!"

One day, when I got home from school, I saw my mother weeping inconsolably. My uncle, the telephonist - and possibly my only hope of a future, because he owned a house in Dili where I could have stayed while continuing my studies - had died. After taking my 4th year exams, my worried father, who wanted his only son (there were seven of us) to be someone, said there was no alternative: "You are going to the seminary!" But I did not want to be a priest. I had never seen a Timorese priest and the white priests frightened me, and I hated them for beating us so much at school. But I had to go along with it. (...)

Just as in primary school, I was not a diligent secondary school student. The nightly saying of the rosary, and constant novenas and prayers ... used to send me to sleep! I remember that I never got over 13 marks (and rarely got that for behaviour) at the seminary. I was never allowed to join (even if I had wanted to) the Sons of Mary. I took my revenge when I left the seminary by stealing one of the big ribbons reserved for the heavenly-minded, usually earned one or two years before going on to the larger seminary in Macau.

The first rebellion

My mother saved some money, so I was able to return to Dili the following year to try night classes at the secondary school there and look for work. However, my 3 years at the seminary were not recognised as being equivalent to 3 years of secondary school since there were considerable differences in the studies in both places. I should have started again in the first year... but there were other needs to consider... In the morning I did typing in the health service. In 1964, after a year's practice and over 6 months of work without pay, there were vacancies for 15 office workers. I was confident. I managed to get 12th place, but they only took on four!

The first of life's disappointments!... The first feelings of rebellion! Why should women, mestizos, and sons of important people get preferential treatment?

Many of my colleagues, after one year at the seminary, joined the CSM. Not for me though, I did not want to be a soldier. I went back to Manatuto.

Free ticket

That difficult youth was not all without its brighter side... My passion for sport helped me to acquire a "passport" to all the social events and parties. The Union was known as the "indigenous property" of stray players, drunks, and "koremetan," and was effectively a free ticket into any wedding party or birthday dance in any neighbourhood... and we were smiled upon... to the strains of Abril Metan's eloquent violin, that delighted in seeing old couples return to the time of their youth, in the midst of a different restless youth that was busy stealing away their daughters at the dances, and throwing vengeful punches after the parties.

Emilia

In 1970, I got married in a registry office, after insulting the priests. Ever since 1968, Emilia had been forbidden by her father to continue our courtship. In 1969, he made her leave her home. Inexplicable... because I was just a soldier? Because I was poor?

Because I was native? Only he knew and only he knows.

"Whites out"

It was usual for people starting a family to gradually leave behind the chat out in the street, and spend more time at home. However, a certain Justino Mota, along with a few others, always had time for talking... and grumbling. Another group of young people also started to gather outside, and they could usually be found in the avenue, deep in society gossip. The Chinese and their smiling diplomacy and envelopes, bosses and their integrity and professional abilities or otherwise, governors and their policies, taxes and prices, the "terrorism" in Africa, day to day life in the civil service, etc., were all topics they liked to discuss. The simplistic wish that the whites would go away was also spoken about, but without the slightest thought to anything beyond that.

The fright of 25 April

25th April 1974 came along. Paradoxically, I was frightened. Independence? How? That Timorese elite was no elite, but rather a bunch of civil servants who, in their everyday conversations, sinned by saying "for all intents and purposes" and "considering that..." I was surprised at the feverish enthusiasm of many of my friends and colleagues. I heard about RH (Ramos-Horta - today Xanana Gusmão's spokesman) who had begun to make speeches in public. He was not an idol, but I admired his courage, and his image of "official" non-conformist had made him well-known and respected.

That freedom of choice crippled my ability to think straight. I opted for the easiest solution - to get out. I did not even want to imagine those people running Timor. I left for Australia, to find work and save up some money, perhaps to return some day.

Thanks for the beer

I sympathised with Fretilin, but I was overwhelmed by worry about a future in the hands of our incapacity. However, I gradually started to give way to my colleagues' continuous "attacks" upon me. Chico (Francisco) Lopes (then leader of UDT, currently adviser to President Suharto) tried to persuade me to join UDT. I thanked him for the lunch and beers we had at Hotel Baucau.

Confusion

I went to Moniz da Maia, as an apprentice electrical mechanic. My work mates were all Fretilin.

The political climate was now unpleasant. Hopes were dramatized by the exodus of the colonists, an army of long-haired soldiers crossed with "revolutionaries," the weakness of the government, dissatisfaction, and the general climate of instability. There

was a confusion of aspirations put forward by small circles, but they were gradually smothered as Fretilin gained ground. UDT clung with all its might to the traditional authorities, which had already lost the prestige stubbornly being attributed to them still. The civil servants were not arguing the future of Timor, they were more concerned about the possibility of having to live without money, and most of them joined up with UDT. To be a civil servant meant having social status. For some, it just meant maintaining the social status the family already had. For many, it meant promotion to a secure life, money every month, a promise of a pension and, who knows, the reward of some nice holidays, that not everyone gets.

The weak and unproductive civil service did not have much choice really! A few frustrated and racist individuals went over to Apodeti!

Contemptible freedom

Violence was triggered... action! I inwardly struggled between getting involved and keeping to the sidelines of it all. I opted for the latter.

It was not that I did not want to join in, but I could see that the situation could easily run completely out of hand. Lari Sina insulted colonialism, while protesting about the delays in getting paid. I tried to point out the contradictions of such attitudes. I was no longer greeted with closed fists. I was a "UDT infiltrator." My friends avoided me... eventually, I identified myself politically, in writing, and once again was greeted, and could greet others, with closed fist!

At first, friends and colleagues in the UDT continued to raise their hands and greet me. Then came indifference, and, finally, it became obvious that we were avoiding each other. This really was not what I had wanted. UDT parents, Apodeti uncles, Fretilin children. What contemptible freedom this was!

Fretilin, the only way

I made a conscious decision, on 20 May 1975, in spite of my elders shedding tears and crying "ukun rasik an." If I wanted to fight for my homeland, there was only one way to do so: to join Fretilin! I never had a membership card, and never asked if my friends had. I followed the political developments of the situation and of the parties. I came to no conclusions; I was troubled.

UDT's coup

(...) Night of 10 August. Without realizing it, the OPS (Organizacao Popular de Seguranca, Popular Security Organisation) had begun to trust me. It must have been nearly 19.00 hours. I received a message from the OPS: Alarico (A. Fernandes, who

was to become Minister of Information and later, surrender to the Indonesians) was in contact with Ponciano about an army uprising, and UDT was going to arrest our leaders. They were on their way, and members of the CC (Fretilin's Central Committee) were in danger.

We ran. We set up security along the road side. On the corner opposite the Santa Cruz cemetery, hooded figures were already emerging: Nicolau (N. Lobato, Fretilin's Vice-Chairman), Mari Alkatiri (today Fretilin's leader outside Timor), Carapinha, Hata, and others. Alarico jumped over into the cemetery and fired a shot as he fell. We rushed over to the headquarters. A quick meeting of the CC members present. Mari told me that UDT was planning a coup for that very same night, and that the CC members would have leave the city.

Beyond Becora, we heard shots being fired, and megaphones announcing the "revolutionary anti-communist coup." It came as no surprise to me. It was simply the logical and natural consequence... of that politics. That was all I knew.

The weapons the CC had for protection: a handgun, a hunting rifle, and two bombs made by the fishermen of Bidau. A temporary base: Mota Ulun. One line of communications, lookouts with fragile bamboo bows and arrows... Nicolau, Carvarino, Hata, Mari, Alarico Carapinha, etc.

The short, bald Staff Officer appeared ruminating threats. I looked at Venancio and the army baker. They were calm. Guido and Rogerio (R. Lobato, brother of Nicolau, later Minister of Defence, and currently in Portugal, where he is a supporter reconciliation led by Abilio Araujo) were there too. Then followed a quick interrogation, and a Portuguese officer and Rogerio painted a picture of the future for me: "The problem is communism!" "But I am not a communist!" "Some Fretilin leaders are! And Indonesia will not allow that, and will invade Timor." "We will respond to the war." "But you will be alone. Yes, you will have a few weapons, but you won't last for long. You won't have any spare parts, or ammunition!" "Then we'll use sticks and stones if necessary," I answered. He laughed, and said "If you meet up with the leadership of Fretilin, tell them that they had better talk with UDT."

(...) The dawn of a restless Sunday. As on previous days, the pervading calm tried to suffocate us with uncertainty. We hoisted the Fretilin flag and the Foho Ramelau (Fretilin anthem alluding to Timor's highest mountain) was comforting to hear, and momentarily allayed our fears. I was shouting helplessly at some soldiers from the detachment "Give us weapons....," when I was told I had visitors. I ran out. Pedro Melo

had brought my father, Emilia and the children to see me. We hardly had time to embrace... the lookout came to warn us: "Trucks full of UDT soldiers are coming!"

I told everyone to disperse. Two trucks stopped. Maggiolo (Gouveia, Lieutenant-Colonel and Chief of Dili Police) stepped down, brandishing a whip and sending sparks of anger into the air. Mouzinho (Cesar) shouted hysterically, while he beat a boy who dared to linger there. There were three of us, including Chico Horta. Maggiolo, eyes bloodshot, fumed: "Lower that flag! Take down that rag!" Motionless, I looked at him. João (Carrascalao) came over: "Gusmão, take down the flag!" "Take it down yourself, if you want to. This is our headquarters, and we have a right to hoist our flag here," I replied. He took it down, and the three of us were ordered into the trucks.

(...) Maggiolo (who had announced on the radio that he had left the Portuguese army and joined UDT in order to "save Timor") dragged our Fretilin flag along the road.

In Palapaco, "the armed forces of Captain Lino" (another Portuguese army officer who joined UDT) were being acclaimed... That was UDT... All familiar faces! The important ones and a retinue of assimilated Timorese... I was lucky to pass by unnoticed because, as I entered the building where my comrades were being held as prisoners, I wasn't punched as most of them had been.

Friends, from UDT, came to ask if I needed anything. Many waved to me from outside. A big consolation... from politics which we had not managed to avoid. I myself despised my brother-in-law when I saw him armed. It was hard to admit that we had come to this!

(...) As Fretilin's forces advanced, the UDT leaders became increasingly nervous. Maggiolo's red eyes were popping out of his head as he came in, growling threats, beating the air with his whip. "Look at this. That Arab Mari says he's going to destroy Dili... and build houses with "palapa"" He was ranting, perhaps frustrated, perhaps regretting the biggest blunder he had made in his life. Some of us implored: "I am not communist, I don't know anything."

The festive atmosphere, elation and shouts of victory of the first few days after my arrival, gradually waned and disappeared altogether. Outside, signs of any movement were sporadic and fleeting.

We were deployed cleaning the latrines. We had to clean up UDT's shit with our hands, with bugs crawling up our arms. Many, the same familiar faces. Some friends apologized to me. Some had apprehension, or shame, or sometimes fear written all over their faces. What contemptible politics! The

politics of quarrels, telling tales on each other, casting the first stone, of fists doing the talking, arrests, arming oneself, responding with violence.

Palapaco was being pounded by mortar fire. "Our side are now in Sang Tai Hoo and Casa Vitoria," "our side has occupied the docks;" I picked up and transmitted information to Sahe. (..)

Vengeance and corruption

Alarico and, later, Hermenegildo were real executioners. Frenzied thirst for vengeance. That hurt so much.

Just once, I went to visit the prisoners. Mouzinho was despondent, beaten. He asked me to look for his gold chain and give it to his mother. Maggiolo (who, with other prisoners, was executed by Fretilin in Aileu after the invasion) was quiet but sure of himself. I felt sorry for him but, at the same time, admired his attitude of still wanting to assert that he was who he was. Now, he was a different Maggiolo to the one I'd seen before, the frenzied Maggiolo, intoxicated with political hysteria. There he was, calm, head hung low, silent, perhaps feeling superior to his lamenting comrades.

Fernando Luz embraced me. Transformed. "Gusmão, I didn't kill anyone, I never gave orders to beat anyone. My hands are clean, I did my duty... you understand!" Years later, in Lospalos, they told me that he had even apologized for arresting... people!

Why is it that politics makes people become obsessed with crime, and gives them such an appetite for violence? (...)

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Dili became this threat. In the interior too, eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth... and it saddened us, because it threatened danger. A state of war, painful, uncontrollable! Members of the CC with three, four cars, trips to the beach with girlfriends. I saw box loads of "555" in Filomeno Paixao's house. I took a packet and left despondently (...)

(...) Xavier (X. Amaral, Fretilin leader, first chairman of the self-proclaimed Democratic Republic of East Timor, later imprisoned for "treason," currently in Indonesia, a supporter of integration) was (not) the chairman, he was just symbolic, like a flame when it has not completely extinguished, and stubbornly stays alight but doesn't shine! The sergeants were not satisfied. The military was distancing itself. The militias were almost out of control and wanted to impose rules. Rogerio Lobato was too proud, and the PM turned into an elite.

It must be the same in all coup d'état situations in third world countries. Excesses, corruption/privilege-seeking by politicians, discontent within the army, social disorder, and uncontrolled paramilitary forces.

Portugal is not coming back

There was general mobilization to defend the fatherland which had finally become free. Free from whom? No one knew for sure. From Portugal? From capitalism, imperialism? From colonialism? Or... from itself?

What had seemed might vanish, re-emerged in force, but it was apprehension that dominated the feelings of the people as a whole, because the real war was beginning, and it was calling their children to arms.

I was in charge of producing the paper "Timor-Leste" which, understandably, revealed the shortcomings and was, necessarily, responding to a specific political situation, in which a liberation movement that was too young and, perhaps, immature, had come out the winner.

A victory that had been too easy... and easily won success always has its drawbacks. (...)

(...) Portugal did not want to come back. I realised then, for the first time, that the decolonisation process was just a way of playing for time. What I also had not understood before was that we had been hurled into the pit of independence. What for UDT had been a headache, the precious escudo... for purchases, for me became of vital importance to the life of the country... which had come to a halt, groaning in blood, its backward tranquillity of Sunday markets in the interior, and the many shops of Dili... now closed, looted, broken into... because they were seen as the product of colonialism, imperialism, the exploitation of one man by another. Once, Emilia returned from attempts to put some order into the Education Services, and told me: "So many colleagues, relatives of CC members, have special cards and they go to the shops and just pick up cloth, and clothing..."

Independence disturbed

I was called one afternoon. We were at the home of Xavier Amaral. A few members of the CC, among them Nicolau, Hata, Mari. There was a need to make a unilateral declaration of independence and it would be made the following afternoon.

(...) If there was any joy, it was hidden in our hearts. It was a treasure that was hard to share. On people's faces, fear, reflecting the seriousness of the situation, and nobody asked about the future. They all had their feet firmly on the... grounds of the palace!

I filmed the act. Roger East (the Australian journalist working for Fretilin, who was killed by the Indonesians on the very day of the invasion, 7 December 1975) asked if he could launch it in Australia, but, stupidly, I said no. It was mine, a treasure, stolen from the future of our fatherland, a future in danger... with "whores" from Colmera occupy-

ing the bank's residences... satisfied with independence!

"While members of the FCC are driving around in their cars, and off to the beach with girls, doing nothing, my soldiers are dying at the border," shouted Rogerio Lobato during a meeting held just after independence! Although there was an element of truth in what he said, he shouldn't have generalized in that way. And I remembered getting a new car, taken from a Chinese individual by Leopoldo, which I exchanged two days later as I felt uneasy about driving it. Instead, I asked for an old vehicle that had belonged to the colonial government.

(...) Some days later, a message arrived. The first government was being formed. There were some new Ministers among us. Congratulations were tenuous expressions of solidarity. The atmosphere suddenly became heavier. "You, a Minister?," Antunes asked Sahe, Sera Key and Kruma in surprise. "Just let me touch the backside of a Minister!," he joked. There was a general feeling of disbelief, and that we were not quite ready to make our fatherland independent. That was a constant worry to me.

Indonesian invasion

We were awoken in Lois on 7 December by a strange incessant rumbling noise. It must have been about 3.30 or 4.00 in the morning. Heavy military aircraft were passing overhead, flying in an easterly direction, following the coastline.

That afternoon, we were told to go to the Command. "Indonesian paratroops have landed in Dili," Hermenegildo told us. A general silence ... the begged questions to which there were no answers. The following day, we were off in the old Land Rover through Railaco to Balibar, where Combat Management was located, with Nicolau in command. Whenever the Meriam and naval artillery allowed us to poke our heads out over a hill or out from behind a tree, we would look towards Dili.

Sebastião Sarmiento tried to aim at the ships anchored in the port. Eduardo dos Anjos brought out a huge pair of powerful binoculars. What we witnessed throughout those days was pillage. Bombardment weapons vomited flames over Dili's hillside, while cargo ships emptied the customhouse of its contents. They were loaded up with vehicles, load upon load, the cranes filled up those metal Indonesian bellies!

An interminable line of people streamed upwards. I saw no fear in their exhaustion. I saw resignation in their eyes, and anguish that must have been torturing their souls... but they smiled, as if that might somehow relieve their suffering. (...)

Mao and MRPP

May 1977. Meeting in Laline. Xavier, summoned several times, did not want to be there. He was quite happy in his kingdom, without any meetings. It was an historic occasion because Marxism was acclaimed.

There were changes: Domingos Ribeiro, João Bosco, Nascimento, seemed sincere about their political changeover. During that meeting, at which Nicolau and Joaquim Nascimento gave their coffee plantations over to the State, Hermenegildo Alves, an incorrigible drunk, said: "Any day now, the State will get my wife's gold earrings too." In the intervals at meetings, Eduardo dos Anjos, the inveterate Bohemian with whom I spent a good part of my youth in Dili, beer-drinking and partying, was still the attraction, telling endless anti-revolutionary jokes... which didn't amuse the DOPI (Department of Political and Ideological Orientation) in the slightest.

Sera Key tried hard to demonstrate he was a political theorist. He debated. In fact, he was the only one who livened up the meeting, until all the CPs (political commissars) were told to sit around the same table and organise the meeting. There was no more debate.

In late 1976, I had managed to get hold of the Thoughts of Chairman Mao, the only personal property I carried around with me. I read, and reread, trying to understand his simple way of describing such complex things. I tried emulate Sera Key, but not in order to debate. Through Mao's explanations, I tried to gain better understanding, because it was hard to spend hour after hour listening to dissertations on unknown concepts and glean anything from it. Hata asked me: "Where did you read all that?" "Don't think, Xanana, that we are all well-versed in theory. In Lisbon, I spent most of my time with the MRPP painting slogans on walls...!"

Revolutionary morality

(...) A resolution was passed allowing individuals, under certain conditions, to marry twice. Sera Key asked me to accompany him to Cribas, where his wife's family lived. "Are you going to get married?," he asked me. In Soibada, Laka and Solan, places full of young women, they had tried to change our attitudes towards free love. I had a serious talk about this with Sahe and Wewe, my very dear friends whom I shall always remember. And if, in the region where I was working, I managed to earn the trust of the elders and people on all levels, it was due to the puritanism that Sahe and Wewe taught me to practice.

"No. Before the meeting I received a letter from Emilia," I replied. "I am not getting married either," said Sera Key! A tough and

prolonged war... was ahead of us, we realised that.

(...) We all moved on to Unidade 1. Solan went because he was "fataluku" and wanted to be in his familiar surroundings again. Sera Key and Txay went to say their good-byes. Three nights in a row of modern dancing, at the headquarters. I was somewhat put out by this because, at my previous headquarters, I had never allowed such a thing.

Dances were only allowed on national days, and in places where there was a population. From Sahe I had learned discipline and self-sacrifice, and to avoid behaviour that might end up in a marriage. Activists bent on going around the villages, choosing modern rather than traditional dance were punished. (...)

(...) I did get married in 1978. The decision to face a long tough war had been taken. Would I be capable of keeping up the Puritanism which I prided myself on (because it had been an important factor in gaining political trust) in a region... as difficult as my previous area of activities had been?

No, that wasn't my motive! In the meantime, Ma'Huno (who succeeded Xanana after the latter's arrest, and is currently living in East Timor, apparently resigned to Indonesian occupation) was left to take care of his baby, after his wife died.

Betrayal and punishment

Sera Key told me about the atrocities committed in Aikurus. At first, he was horrified, but later convinced himself of the need for "revolutionary violence." All kinds of torture was practiced; burning coals were laid on top of people's stomachs, and they were left to rot... I could not believe my ears. Sera Key changed: he accepted it and was convinced of the need for it.

"You know your men. You know the situation in your sector. The most appropriate decision must be made by you alone." And I reminded him of the Aquiles affair, the violence used in the Baucau region, and how I had arrested a certain Adelino Carvalho, Fernando Sousa and some leaders (liurais) from Uatu Karbau. I reminded him of the three individuals from Iliomar, also involved in the Aquiles case, who, after being arrested in Baguia, were sent to Uatu Karbau to await their return to Iliomar. Francisco Hornay and his two companions cried as they begged not to be handed over to the PL, as they would be killed. I contacted the Secretary of the Iliomar zone (today a Commander) and insisted that the three should not be ill-treated before being turned over to some member of the CC. On the other side of the Uatu Karbau/Iliomar border, the three men were beaten and killed. I told him I disliked vengeance and that, in the region I superintended, I would go in person to attend cases of "reaction" and

"treason" so as to stop confessions being extracted by infliction of pain.

"But this is a problem that concerns national security," he said. Alfonso Savio was arrested. All the members of the former PL were called to Unit 2 headquarters in Matebian. Then Adao Amaral, José dos Santos, Pedro Sanches, Gil Fernandes, Raul dos Santos, Victor Gandara were all arrested. Sera Key, Ma'Huno and Txay were conducting the questioning. On the third day, I could let it go on no longer, and asked them to stop the interrogations for a meeting of the four CC members.

"I do not approve of this violence. I find it unacceptable that a member of the CC inflict torture in this way... and that Adao Amaral and José dos Santos die under torture. Just look at the physical and mental state of Pedro Sanches. When he is in pain he says yes. Afterwards, he admits that he said yes because he could not stand the pain any longer. I will not allow this to happen here in my unit. Take them and kill them in your own unit!"

Sera Key's decisions had never been questioned before. He looked at me, dumbfounded. The meeting was interrupted.

The long march...

(...) I returned to the west of Matebian, climbing the hill. Sad silence, desolation, grass spreading its cover over short-cuts and paths, struggling to smother the cabbages and potatoes, the only sign a human hand had ever been there. Every ridge, every stone, every brook and tree had witnessed such tremendous suffering. The seven of us marched on in silence. All the scenes of past months rushed back into mind. We could feel the voices of the dead, the same voices that cause that sensation of respect felt when entering a "lulik" house! Matebian was our Big Home. The fine rain and thick mist made us sweat beneath our uniforms.

(...) I ordered Commander Olo Gari to go to the centres to see if there was any sign of resistance. I took some officers and a company back east to take part in a meeting on the reorganisation of the forces.

Marching and fighting in the rain. I was already unwell, physically weak. By the time we reached south of Legu Mau we had run out of food. On the third day, two platoons deserted. The others looked at me, waiting for an order to turn back, clearly not prepared to put up with hunger and marches through unknown areas. I asked for five volunteers, and the six of us carried on marching. I was the only one who knew the terrain. All around, the countryside had changed, so different to when there had been people living there with their plots, animals, houses, villages.

We arrived to the Iliomar area. Only "Aibubur" (a kind of eucalyptus)!!! When we got back we had less than ten "kuan" (kind of white sweet potato) tubers to show for our unfruitful search. Commander Zei Moto, who had tried to hunt for something, had come back with a "hudi kain" (banana tree stalk). Removing it from the black water in my plate, I said to the Commander "We are all going to die if we carry on eating this mush that even pigs wouldn't eat." He looked at me pouring away the contents of my plate, swallowed up the remains of that black water tinged with purple, smiling, and winked his eye.

(...) In Iliomar (after confirmation came through that the Resistance leader Nicolau Lobato had been killed in combat, on the last day of 1978) the structural bases for an organised resistance were established, in an intimate bond between guerrillas and the people of the towns temporarily occupied.

It was also decided that I would go as far as I could to try to contact some member of the FCC. The sector was left in the hands of Ma'Huno, while Kilik and Bere Malay Laka took command of the forces. Another journey to the west of Matebian. Six weeks of kidney pain and daily fighting. I couldn't sit down, couldn't stay standing up, and I couldn't bear to lie down. I used to roll around on the ground as if possessed. How I cried! Many is the time I wanted to commit suicide. I couldn't stand that terrible pain, that horrible discomfort. I used to drink huge amounts of tea made from leaves, peelings, and roots.

The sympathy in the eyes of my warriors offended me. I would avoid the ineffectiveness of their words. I tried all possible and imaginary cures. I put up with hot tins and boiling steam from tubers and leaves heating my anus... The explanation was that I was suffering from a "woman's sickness." Vanquished, beaten, I carried that "cure" around in a "asa liki" (pouch). Not that I really believed that steaming remedy would enter through the intestines and warm up the kidneys!... I knew that I just needed to believe in something in order to keep on going...

In May 1980, I went to the mid-eastern region with 60 armed men. I gradually got better along the way... A difficult march. The forces west of Matebian, where there was still a lot of food, were not prepared to withstand hunger and fatigue.

Often, at nightfall, I would leave them down by some riverbank, because they refused to carry on to spend the night in a higher place. Only the "fatalukus," disciplined men, hand-picked by Dinis Carvalho, would follow me without a word of protest. I have bawled them out so many times, at meetings, showing them the way back. Then

they're too embarrassed to talk to me. As soon as things are back to normal, the complaining and lamenting starts again...

And towards leadership

The old men embraced me and cried! "Son, carry on the fight! Don't ever surrender! You are our only hope!" The guerrillas were moved by this, and swore to die for the homeland. After that, they were an example of abnegation, discipline, sincerity and solidarity to all the Falintil! They were all killed. Right now, there are only three or four survivors out of that group, which we baptized the National Unification Detachment.

Back in Remexio, Lo'o Susu continued south towards the border areas with his half. I stayed with the other half. I needed to prepare myself for the Conference on Reorganisation of the Fight, planned for between October and December.

After gathering more information supplied by Dili, I decided to take up leadership. Ma'Huno was more senior, a founding member of the ASDT. But I knew him well and thought it would be irresponsible to agree that he should lead the fight because he was a veteran.

I called Holly and Ko'o Susu. I explained the issues to them, asked for their views, and pointed out my reservations. "You can count on us to help in whatever way we can." They gave me their hands, and I squeezed them tightly as I felt the heavy burden of responsibility on my shoulders.

(...) I became the "Commander of the Fight" to all my warriors. For them, my decisions, and even just my words, took on a new importance, becoming "the Commander of the Fight's decisions" and "the Commander of the Fight says." And they did their duty, those brave selfless companions, knowing that they had been born to die under my command for their fatherland.

I took stock of the revolutionary process. At the meeting of the political committee in Aikurus, Hata took on responsibility for the ideological training of the FCC members, and I so much wanted to be involved... I remembered the nightly talks Sahe and I used to have in Makadike/Uatu Lari, in August 1977, when he would help me out with political theory, and we would prepare for the time when a revolutionary party would be formed. We would be Maoists. At least they were Maoists, and considered the CPs of the Soviet Union and Western Europe all social-imperialists. Sahe also admired the "purity" of the Albanian revolution and the internationalist militancy of the Cuban revolution. He asked me that night: "Would you agree join the party?" My ideas still muddled, I said no. He looked at me, shocked: "Xanana, I never expected this from you!"

Then I explained to him that I was prepared to be a militant but not a member of the CC... I wasn't ready!

Now, I still wasn't ready. But I had a duty to fulfill: to carry on the work of my predecessors. I could not conceive of liberating our fatherland without liberating our people. This was the prime objective!

I spent my nights studying by the light of candles made from the wax of those Timorese bees that, once, had been introduced to me as "our forces" by the "luliks" of Sananain, where we used to gather before attacking Manatuto (where we were chased out by tanks and mortar fire). I found those beehives on the same branches as before.

(...) Security was perfect. The total silence was a sign of solidarity from my warriors, who understood that if their "big brother" was tearing at his hair, it was because he was finding it hard to understand some concept or other; if he cried it was because he was asking himself "why did it all come to this"; if he asked for stronger coffee, it was because he wanted to spend the whole night studying; if he was up and walking around, it was because he was tired; if he asked for cigarettes, it was because he had smoked all his own...

"Why must it be me?" I did so much wish that at least one other member of the CC was alive on the two borders (...)

In prison, 13 years later

Ma'Huno arrived with the second column of officers. His salute took me by surprise. In a few months I had forgotten what he was like! At night, or in between my attempts to organise my thoughts about our revolutionary process and our war, I would go and spend some time with the personnel who, with one exception (Mau Hodu) were all from the far east.

I was saddened by their completely changed attitude towards me! My brothers were abandoning me. My companions were keeping me at a distance! I cried as I talked to them, and asked them please not to spoil me, not to let power go to my head, not to plant the seed of ambition in my soul, and not to kindle pride in my spirit, and satisfaction at being leader and Commander of the Falintil.

In March 1981, the I National Conference on Reorganisation of the Country. Today, in Cipinang, 13 years later, I am still learning with the same fighting spirit, with the same will to win, and with the same awareness that I am just serving my fatherland.

Cipinang, 30 September 1994
KAY RALA XANANA GUSMÃO

EAST TIMOR'S XANANA APPEALS TO CLINTON FOR HELP

November 11, 1994 REUTERS

Jakarta — Jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão has appealed to U.S. President Bill Clinton for help, asking him in a letter received in Jakarta on Friday to raise the Timor issue in meetings with Indonesian President Suharto.

Xanana, 18 months into a 20-year sentence for his role in guerrilla resistance to Indonesian rule, wrote in a three-page letter to Clinton that while he was grateful for Washington's past attention to East Timor, the United States could do more.

"I come to you now to appeal for your support in raising with President Suharto on the occasion of the APEC summit the need for Jakarta to display greater political goodwill in addressing the problem," he wrote on November 1.

Timorese exiles said the letter was to be delivered to the White House before Clinton's departure for Asia on Friday.

Clinton is due in Jakarta for a summit of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation leaders on Sunday after a stopover in Manila. He will make a state visit after the meeting.

Xanana, until his capture in late 1992, led a ragged band of guerrillas opposing Indonesia's invasion of the territory. Since then he has been a thorn in Indonesia's side as a symbol of East Timor's plight and a focus of international concern.

Xanana, 47, said that Indonesia's economic and strategic value had allowed it to become a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council next year despite failing to honour U.N. resolutions calling for it to withdraw from East Timor.

"It is this same importance which has allowed Indonesia to assume the role of host of the forthcoming APEC summit and which now stands in the way of a successful solution to the East Timor problem being found," he wrote from his Jakarta cell.

TEXT OF XANANA LETTER TO CLINTON*Original Document, Nov. 11, 1994*

Full text of the letter from imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão to President Bill Clinton. It was delivered to the White House by the Portuguese Embassy in Washington on November 10, in advance of President Clinton's departure for an economic conference in Indonesia and bilateral meetings with several heads of state, including President Suharto.

The three-page handwritten letter was in English.

CNRM - FALINTIL

The Honourable President of the United States of America

Dear President Clinton,

It is my honour to present to you my warmest compliments.

In an era in which the International Community has renewed its faith in and is making new efforts towards achieving a more just and equitable world in which peace and justice are the backbone of the freedom of individuals, societies and peoples.

In an era in which humankind expects from its world leaders a decisive vision aspiring to a future of progress, based upon the parameters of conservation of our planet and of cooperation and friendship among the people of the world;

We recognise fully the importance of the moral authority which the USA commands and must continue to command in the interests of guaranteeing world peace and in defence of the universal standards of freedom and justice. Mr. President, under your administration, the United States continues to honour the democratic traditions of a great nation, whose successes in international politics speak for themselves. The process of peace in the Middle East which has ended irreconcilable antagonisms, permitting the Arabs and the Jews to construct a climate of trust and the promise of peace and cooperation, attests to the great and unsurpassable efforts your government has made in response to the American nation's historical obligation to assure the people of the world that the end of the Cold War is truly the beginnings of acceptance of democracy and of peace on our planet.

Nevertheless, in this era of rapid technological advances which are rendering the world a smaller and less mysterious, human life unfortunately continues to be without value in many parts of the world, where peace is threatened by interests which violate universal principles and where ideological elites are usurping political power and

persisting in denying their people their most fundamental rights.

We denounce the aberrant philosophical belief of authoritarian regimes, specifically those holding power in Asia, such as Indonesia, China, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, according to which it is argued the Human Rights, freedom and democracy are relative in nature and must necessarily accommodate considerations of local culture. Such a philosophy is nothing more than the expression of a feudal mentality of domination and servitude on the one hand, and ideological alienation on the other.

The universality of problems affecting our planet centres upon human beings, a global sense of their existence, of their fears, of their suffering, of their will and of their struggles for survival. The universality of though which makes man an intelligent actor capable of seeking solutions for all humanity, prevails over the spiritual, emotional and psychological postulates characterizing man in terms of socio-economic materialism. Such regimes justify making the distinction between those two facts by pointing to the material unpreparedness of their citizens which in turn is defined as a specific cultural trait of these countries.

Civil and political rights are an inseparable part of the nature of humankind in its continuing struggle to understand the precise meaning of its existence, its relations with others and role within society.

Any spurt of economic or social progress recorded by nations such as Indonesia is the fruit of the repression of the Indonesian people themselves, and a consequence of the priority which is granted to the physical and material aspects of development, so applauded by western governments, but for which the people pay such a high price. There can be no justice at the socio-economic level without respect for the civil and political rights of the people and Indonesia is a real and living example of the conceptual arbitrariness of regimes built on the strength of repression.

It is a great shame that western nations or, more precisely the countries of the North, continue to allow the regimes of the South, advocating cultural differences to deny universal Human Rights standards in favour of economic development and at the expense of the lives of imprisoned and murdered workers, of the appropriation of farm lands, of the repression of Youth and any form of opposition, of the abolition of freedom of the press.

Honourable President,

We are profoundly grateful for the initiatives taken by your administration to remind Indonesia that cases of systematic violations of human rights in East Timor are unacceptable to the USA which in averting a

second invasion of Kuwait by Iraq has proved more than adequately to the world that it will not tolerate flagrant violations of International Law. Since last year marked 18 years of Indonesia's military occupation of East Timor, the USA has, under your administration, taken a much firmer stand in its refusal to allow the transfer of F-5 aircraft from Jordan to Indonesia, prohibiting the sale of small, non-lethal weapons, halting the military training of Indonesian officers under the IMET scheme, acting upon the resolution supported by your government and passed in favour of East Timor at the Geneva Human Rights Commission.

In addition, we are immensely appreciative of the pronouncements of Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and of the Assistant Secretary for East Asia, Mr. Winston Lord, both of whom have raised the problem of East Timor with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and other Indonesian officials.

We are profoundly grateful for the attention and concern you displayed in addressing the issue of East Timor with President Suharto at the "Group of Seven" summit in July 1993 in Japan, and at the APEC summit in Seattle in November of the same year. We believe, Mr. President, that justice will always be the motor for action and that freedom and democracy will continue to be the mainstay of US Foreign Policy, as has been amply demonstrated by your government's support of the restoration of democracy in Haiti.

Honourable President,

East Timor continues to be a territory under the responsibility of the International Community. The good offices of the Secretary General of the United Nations have been engaged with a view to reaching a solution to the problem.

In the sequence of peace processes which are occurring as a logical consequence of dialogue, the case of East Timor in turn faces a dialogue process and it is our desire to bring to an end the 19 years of suffering of the Maubere People. However, Jakarta, as ever, is wishing to impose its own law, its own definition of values, upon the world, just as Iraq did and has attempted again in relation to Kuwait. A clear parallel exists in the basic facts between the invasion and military occupation of East Timor by Indonesian forces and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. However, one colossal difference exists: one section of the international community supported Indonesia's policy, whilst Baghdad was taught a lesson for violating International Law.

Jakarta has been difficult in its handling of the East Timor question. The economic, military and, therefore, political importance of Indonesia in South-East Asia and the

Pacific region has allowed it to become today a member of the UN Security Council, in spite of its failure to honour the resolutions passed in relation to East Timor by this organ of the UN. It is this same importance which has allowed Indonesia to assume the role of host of the forthcoming APEC summit and which now stands in the way of a successful solution to the East Timor problem being found. Jakarta has shown itself to be intransigent in its attitude to the substance of the problem, whilst Minister Ali Alatas continues to focus his efforts upon drawing attention from the need for a plebiscite for the people of the territory.

CNRM, which I represent, has proposed a solution, in the form of a three-phase Peace Plan which will permit a climate of political stability, both within the territory and in relation to Indonesia, ahead of a referendum to be conducted under international supervision.

Allow me to remind you, Mr. President, of the existence of another striking parallel between the Gaza and West Bank Autonomy Plan and CNRM's own plan which aims at achieving a just and internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor problem. If, with the influence and laudable efforts of your government, Israel and Palestine have come to an understanding that it is time to lay down their weapons and to make Peace, bringing to an end a case defined as intractable and characterized by a wide range of complexities, we believe that the USA is capable of contributing decisively to the search for a solution to the East Timor problem, encouraging the Jakarta regime to engage in dialogue with the Resistance.

I come to you now to appeal for your support in raising with President Suharto, on the occasion of the APEC summit, the need for Jakarta to display greater political goodwill in addressing the problem, acknowledging the essence of the problem and the legal and political status of the territory of which the United Nations continued to recognise Portugal as the administering power.

With the highest consideration,

On the behalf of CNRM,
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, Commander of
Falintil

Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, 1 Nov. 1994

U.S. TIMORESE LEADER APPEALS TO CLINTON FOR HELP

by Farhan Haq

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 11 (IPS) - Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned leader of East Timor's resistance movement, is appealing to U.S. President Bill Clinton to press Indonesia to address the Timor crisis.

In a letter sent to Clinton Thursday by the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, Xanana appeals for support "in raising with (Indonesian) President Suharto...the need for Jakarta to display greater political goodwill."

The letter comes on the eve of Clinton's arrival in Indonesia to attend the meeting of the 18 Pacific Rim nations of the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, which is to begin Nov. 15 in the Indonesian town of Bogor.

Xanana, the commander of the Timorese resistance army called FALINTIL, asked Clinton to support the Timorese people's bid for political self-determination in his bilateral talks with Suharto next week.

"We believe that the U.S. is capable of contributing decisively to the search for a solution to the East Timor problem, encouraging the Jakarta regime to engage in dialogue with the Resistance," Xanana wrote in the letter made public Friday.

Calling it a "great shame," he complained that "the countries of the North continue to allow the regimes of the South, advocating cultural differences, to deny universal human rights standards in favour of economic development," at the expense of many lives.

Activists here believe the letter, written in English and sent from Xanana's cell in Jakarta's Cipinang Prison where he has been jailed since 1992, may truly anger the Suharto government with its detailed plea for assistance to Clinton.

Clinton has already promised Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva that he will discuss East Timor privately with Suharto, although he has resisted the idea of bringing the subject up in public at the APEC Summit.

The resistance movement led by Xanana has continued to fight for East Timor's independence, which the Pacific island state had nearly attained from Portugal when Indonesia invaded it in 1975.

One year later, Jakarta annexed East Timor and executed a brutal crackdown in which some 200,000 people - about a third of the nation's population at independence - were killed.

Recent indications from Washington signal that the United States, which barely recognised those massacres, remains deeply committed to Jakarta. Clinton's visit to Suharto and a recently aborted attempt to provide military training to Indonesian soldiers have drawn criticism from supporters of the Timorese.

Constâncio Pinto, a student activist who organised a protest crushed violently by Indonesian troops three years ago, told IPS the Clinton administration "is deeply concerned with the human rights situation, but

it never says anything about self-determination."

But Xanana compliments Clinton for other actions that display a more critical handling of Jakarta. These include its refusal to transfer F5 aircraft from Jordan to Indonesia, a prohibition against the sale of small arms to Jakarta and Washington's support for a 1993 resolution on East Timor at the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

A U.S. activist, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Xanana's praise gave the administration more credit than it deserved for several actions which it only performed under pressure from the U.S. Congress.

Pinto argued that what East Timor needs now is firm public support from Washington for self-determination, and approval by Clinton of the recent Indonesia-Portugal talks backed by the United Nations to resolve the crisis.

But he conceded it is probable that the APEC Summit may instead boost Jakarta's image by giving it an opportunity to show off what it claims are human rights advances both in East Timor and within Indonesia itself.

So far, of the nations attending the summit, only Canada, New Zealand, Japan and the United States have promised to bring up Timorese concerns at Bogor.

But Pinto added, "I don't think Indonesia will be successful" at refurbishing its international image "because the situation in East Timor has not approved."

XANANA SENDS MESSAGE FROM PRISON

By Max Lane, *Green Left*, Nov. 20

"November 12 reflected the tenacity of the struggle for freedom and justice. November 12 was the sound of the trumpet of Timorese youth announcing to the world their revolt against the denial of fundamental rights of the East Timorese people. November 12 was the sound of the trumpet announcing our repudiation of the complicity of the Western countries in the systematic violation of human rights in the territory. November 12 also stressed the willingness of the Maubere people to reach a negotiated solution, and appealed to the international community not to forget its responsibilities ..."

These words opened a message from Xanana Gusmão smuggled from Cipinang prison on the occasion of the third anniversary of the 1991 demonstration and massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

Xanana's statement repeated the East Timorese resistance's appeal to the United Nations to "embrace its responsibilities regarding the juridical and legal status of the

territory in tune with the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions." The UN does not recognise Indonesia's occupation but recognises Portugal as the administering power.

The statement also appealed to Portugal "not to ease its historical, juridical, political and cultural responsibilities demanded by its own Constitution."

Xanana called on Indonesia to "recognise the seriousness of the problem, the need for dialogue and the need to respect the substance of the problem." He appealed to the "international community" to influence Jakarta towards finding a just and lasting solution.

Referring to recent meetings between Indonesian representatives and pro-Indonesian Timorese led by Abilio Araujo, Xanana noted that even Bishop Belo classified Araujo as a "businessman." Xanana went on to reveal the extent of Indonesian financing of Araujo's recent travels in the US. Meanwhile, Xanana noted, Indonesian parliamentarian Salvador Ximenes had clarified the concept of the East Timorese resistance as comprising the church of East Timor, UDT, Fretilin and CNRM, without whose participation no solution could be reached.

Referring to a meeting in New York between Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas and the East Timor Resistance Diplomatic Coordination Commission, comprising CNRM special representative José Ramos Horta, Fretilin and UDT, Xanana expressed uncertainty as to whether this initiative was just "occasional rhetoric aimed at easing the criticisms against the violation of human rights in Indonesia, and, moreover, in East Timor, or whether it signals serious political good will" on the part of Indonesia.

Xanana went on to say the East Timorese would welcome any such "courageous gesture" by Suharto. "We firmly believe that it will take more years of suffering from our people before such an apparent show of good will becomes a reality."

Xanana also called for the unconditional release of all East Timorese political prisoners. He lamented that "For all that is taking place now, to the extent that even President Suharto declares his readiness to talk to 'anti-integration' personalities," East Timorese are being "imprisoned, tortured and sentenced to imprisonment, and more than 100 are buried in common pits ..."

Xanana ended his statement with words of appreciation for the legal action against an Indonesian general taken in a US court by the mother of Kamal, the New Zealander killed at the Santa Cruz massacre.

He listed the succession of military commanders in East Timor, saying that some were less assassins than others, "but all are assassins." The commanders change,

but "Only East Timor remains in its place, submerging in its geographic fate," said Xanana, commenting perhaps on East Timor's oil, "the prime condition which has caused it to sink in the complexities of economic relations, which turned it into an unpleasant question for Western hypocrisy, so well portrayed in the film *Death of a Nation*."

UN ENVOYS TO SEE XANANA

Voice of America, 11/30/94. By Yenni Djahidin, Jakarta

Intro: Two special United Nations envoys were scheduled to meet Wednesday with jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão. The envoys – Francesc Vendrell and Tamrat Samuel – held talks in Jakarta before leaving on a fact-finding trip to the East Timor capital, Dili. From Jakarta, Yenni Djahidin filed this report:

Indonesia's foreign ministry says the two UN officials would meet with the jailed Timorese rebel leader – serving a 20-year jail sentence on charges of inciting rebellion against Indonesian rule.

The meeting was expected to take place Wednesday, before the UN officials departed for Dili where they are scheduled to hold talks with East Timorese leaders – including Governor Abilio Soares and Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo.

Indonesia and Portugal have been participating in talks, under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali focusing on the future of East Timor.

The next round is scheduled to take place January ninth in Geneva, when Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas meets his Portuguese counterpart, José Manuel Durão Barroso.

After his meeting with the UN envoys on Tuesday, Mr. Alatas said he hopes the talks will move the parties a step closer toward a comprehensive settlement to the East Timor problem.

So far, the Indonesian government has ruled out a referendum in East Timor on Indonesian rule, and says independence for the former colony is out of the question.

Mr. Alatas Tuesday recalled Indonesian President Suharto has agreed to meet former Indonesian rebel leader Abilio Araujo – considered by Jakarta to represent conciliatory East Timorese abroad.

A former president of the Revolutionary Front For An Independent East Timor: Mr. Araujo headed a Timorese exile group in talks in London last October with a group of Timorese supporting Indonesian rule.

Mr. Alatas Tuesday ruled out talks with anyone who – in his words – still dreams for an independent East Timor, including

Timorese activist José Ramos-Horta who Mr. Alatas met once in New York.

The Indonesian government says it plans to hold a conference on East Timor. However, foreign ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin says no date has been set.

JOURNALISTS HARASSED IN INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

THE PRESS UNDER SIEGE: CENSORSHIP IN INDONESIA

Report from ARTICLE 19, The International Centre Against Censorship, Lancaster House, 33 Islington High Street, London N1 9LH, UK. Tel: 071 278 9292 Fax: 071 713 1356. November, 1994

[Excerpt, East Timor section only]

In East Timor, *Suara Timor Timur*, the only licensed newspaper in the territory, has been subjected to more direct intimidation for failing to toe the government or military line. In July a vehicle belonging to the newspaper was set on fire outside its offices in Dili. Reporters working for the newspaper said the incident represented merely the latest act of intimidation faced by the staff since the daily began publishing in February 1993. [*Jakarta Post*, 15 July 1994.] *Suara Timor Timur* has printed articles on a number of sensitive subjects, including demonstrations by pro-independence East Timorese. One of its journalists, Carolus Irawan Saptono, has recently been forced to leave his position and work for another part of the newspaper group on Java because he was deemed by the military to be too sympathetic to pro-independence groups in the territory. Other journalists working for *Suara Timor Timur* have received anonymous letters warning them about their reporting of certain issues.

Foreign publications, which must all receive approval from the Information Ministry prior to distribution, are also not immune to sanctions. Journals which contain articles regarded by the Indonesian government as politically sensitive may face temporary bans on domestic circulation or delays in distribution. In addition, foreign journalists have been restricted in their access to counter-insurgency areas, in particular East Timor. Journalists who do visit East Timor are kept under close surveillance throughout their stay, thereby clearly inhibiting their activities. Some journalists have been denied entry into Indonesia after publishing articles critical of government policy,

while others have had visa renewals denied or, infrequently, have been expelled.

I.F.J. CONDEMNS ABUSE OF MEDIA RIGHTS

Original document, 12 November 1994

The International Federation of Journalists, the world's largest organisation of journalists, with more than 350,000 members in 89 countries, today accused the Indonesian Government of "scandalous disregard" for democracy following actions against journalists, trade unionists and defenders of human rights.

In a statement issued today to coincide with the opening of the Asian and Pacific (APEC) summit of heads of states which meets in Jakarta on November 15, the IFJ accused the Indonesian Government of launching a "public relations smokescreen" to draw attention away from the country's continuous disregard for human rights.

The IFJ has written to President Suharto asking him to guarantee the rights of the IFJ's member organisation, the Indonesian (sic) Journalists Association, to allow independent media to circulate freely, and to lift all restrictions on the freedom of association for journalists and other groups of workers.

The IFJ has also asked the President to release the chairman and founder of Indonesia's largest independent trade union, the Indonesian Prosperous Trade Union (SBSI), Muchtar Pakpahan, who was jailed for three years on November 7 because of activities to organise some of the poorest workers in the country.

"We have seen in the past few weeks a scandalous disregard for democracy on the part of the Indonesian authorities," said Aidan White, IFJ General Secretary.

He said independent media had been closed down, professional journalists had been victimized and beaten up, and an effort to form an independent association of journalists was being threatened by the authorities.

"Freedom of association and freedom of expression are not makeweights in the struggle for democracy; they are the core liberties upon which a free society depends," said Aidan White.

"It is unacceptable for Indonesia's leaders to draw attention away from the systematic abuse of human rights within the country through an elaborate public relations smokescreen," he said. "The countries meeting at the APEC summit should take careful note of the violations of press freedom and of workers' rights which are now taking place."

The IFJ has admitted into membership the Association of Independent Journalists

which was formed recently in the aftermath of a Government crackdown on investigative journalism.

"The independent journalists of Indonesia are not isolated and will not be left at the mercy of the Government and their friends in the media," said Aidan White. "We shall mount an international campaign to ensure that all media and journalists of the world fully appreciate the limits of freedom being imposed by the Indonesian state."

Letters of protest from IFJ member unions in many parts of the world are being delivered to the Indonesian embassies to coincide with the opening of the APEC summit

U.S. JOURNALISTS DETAINED WHILE TRYING TO ENTER EAST TIMOR

From John Miller, ETAN/US, Nov. 12.

On November 12, Journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman were arrested as they attempted to cross into East Timor at Atambua. The pair were told that they were being detained on orders from Dili and were sent back to the military base in Kupang.

The Indonesian military's refusal to allow them to enter East Timor comes exactly 3 years after they were forced to flee Dili after being severely beaten while covering the 1991 Dili massacre. On November 12, 1991, at least 271 people were killed when Indonesian troops fired on a peaceful demonstration at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

According to a phone call from Nairn, they were detained at 11 am on Saturday November 12 (local time) by Lt. Gabriel Manek, who said he had orders to detain the two journalists. Lt. Manek said these orders came from Capt. Soronto of Korem, the military command in Dili.

The border post had their names on a card and they were brought to the local military base when they were asked to enter East Timor.

Nairn believes that their movements were being watched carefully. The orders to detain them arrived in Atambua as they were on a 6 am flight from Jakarta to Denpasar.

Nairn and Goodman's passports are being held, and they were to be sent back to the military base in Kupang, West Timor.

Nairn said that when they applied for their visas to go to Indonesia they were told that East Timor was open and that anyone can go. The Jakarta Post recently cited the fact that the pair had been granted visas as a sign of openness on the part of the Indonesian government.

Allan Nairn is a freelance journalist who writes for the New Yorker, the Nation and

others. Amy Goodman is News Director of WBAI Pacifica Radio in New York. Earlier this year, they won the prestigious DuPont-Columbia award for their coverage of the 1991 massacre.

UPDATE ON THE DETENTION OF ALLAN NAIRN & AMY GOODMAN

Nov. 12, 9 pm. Report from John Miller

A call was received from Allan Nairn at 11 PM EST Saturday November 12. He and Amy Goodman are now being held at the Kupang Military Base Komando (sp?) #161 in Kupang. They have been told they are under arrest and their passports have been taken from them by a Lt. Col. Sakur of military intelligence. They have also been told that a senior military intelligence official is on his way from Jakarta to question them. Lt. Col. Sakur said his orders came from a Mario, as senior intelligence official in Jakarta.

Nairn said that when they were originally brought to the military base they tried to leave and were physically restrained. A phone was also ripped from their hands when they tried to make calls. They eventually allowed to make a call to the U.S. Embassy and have made some other calls as well.

Nairn also said that one officer – when they said that they were told East Timor was open for journalists – told them that "East Timor is open but not for you." When asked what he meant, he said his mouth was closed; it was a secret.

Prior to this they were being held in a nearby hotel, and the U.S. Embassy had said it was an immigration matter, not a military one, and that they would be released to cover the APEC conference.

They have been detained 16 hours so far. Nairn said the phone number at the base is 62-391-220-60.

TWO U.S. JOURNALISTS BARRED

Associated Press, Nov. 13. Abridged.

Jakarta – Two American journalists say they have been barred from entering East Timor, despite Indonesia's insistence that the troubled province is open to foreign correspondents.

Indonesia said they failed to notify authorities in advance, unlike other journalists who were allowed into East Timor.

East Timor Action Network of the United States, an advocacy group, said Sunday it was telephoned by Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, who said they were arrested at the border between East and West Timor on Saturday and their passports seized.

In 1991 the two New Yorkers witnessed a government massacre in East Timor. They

were severely beaten and forced to flee. Their reports helped to highlight Indonesian human rights abuses, and they were banned from returning to the country.

But as Indonesia prepared to host a week-long gathering of Pacific rim nations, it made a gesture of openness by declaring that any journalist could visit East Timor, including Goodman and Nairn.

"They're making this grand show of openness by allowing these banned journalists back in," said John Miller, spokesman of the East Timor Action Network, in an interview from New York. "Then their true nature came out."

Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesman Irawan Abidin said he believed the two were detained because they failed to register the trip with authorities. He said this was a formality required of journalists traveling to East Timor during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meetings. [Earlier, Abidin had said "I don't understand why they were detained, there should not be any problem."]

Col. Kiki Syanakri, military commander of East Timor, confirmed he had detained the journalists, saying they attempted to enter the province illegally.

Miller said the two reported that an Indonesian official at the border showed them a card with their names on it, and said he was instructed to detain them. Miller did not know whether the journalists had registered for the trip.

The two were being held in their hotel Sunday, Miller said. He said Nairn reported that the journalists apparently were in no danger. [Comment: it was not "their" hotel, as it was in Kupang, which was not on their voluntary itinerary.]

The U.S. embassy issued a statement saying: "We urged the Indonesian government not to detain the journalists, but to permit them to cover all APEC events for which they received credentials."

It said it was told they were not being detained, and that an Indonesian immigration official was going to the site to resolve the case.

Goodman represents the non-profit WBAI Pacifica Radio in New York, and Nairn is on assignment for *Vanity Fair* magazine of New York.

NAIRN/GOODMAN FREED

From ETAN/US, Nov. 13, 1994

After 20 hours in custody, Nairn and Goodman were freed and allowed to return to Jakarta. They will stay there and cover the APEC meeting, summit, and surrounding events, and then see if they are allowed to return to East Timor. Both are in good health and spirits, if a bit tired (Allan has to ask everyone he speaks with on the phone what time it is where we are, and then what day it is where he is!).

ALLAN NAIRN INTERVIEWED BY BBC

BBC World Service, Newshour, 9pm, 13 November 1994

I spoke to Allan Nairn on his arrival back in Jakarta just a short time ago. I asked him for his version of what had happened.

AN: Well it seemed the Indonesian intelligence had us under surveillance. We were on a bus from western Timor into East Timor and we were pulled off the bus in Atambua, at the frontier with East Timor and in fact one of the people who was involved during the long period we were being questioned at intelligence headquarters said, "East Timor is open but not for you."

BBC: Did you have the correct documentation?

AN: We had been blacklisted after the massacre because of the fact that we reported on the massacre. But then for APEC, the Indonesian government announced that those on the blacklist would be allowed in and in fact we got all the necessary journalist visas, and were told we could go into East Timor with no problem. But then, when we tried, we were arrested.

BBC: You clearly have good contacts in Indonesia. What is your understanding about the morale of the protesters inside the American embassy?

AN: We just talked to them a few minutes ago inside the embassy and they're anxious about what is happening in Dili now, having heard the reports from there. They're very determined to stay and they're specifically putting the focus on US policy and on President Clinton, calling on Clinton to come out in favour of self-determination for East Timor and for enforcement of the UN Security Council resolutions which call on Indonesia to withdraw their troops from East Timor.

BBC: Does it look to you as though the protesters are fixing to stay for quite some time?

AN: Yes, it does. They appear very determined. They said they hadn't gotten food for a while though they got some late today, and they're under a lot of pressure from the

US embassy which is trying to get them to leave. The Indonesian military and police holding big sticks, are standing right outside and they would clearly be in terrible danger if they were put out.

BBC: What's the embassy's policy towards these people?

AN: The embassy has said that they want them out and they're clearly putting pressure on them to leave and it's not clear how far they will go, whether they will take security forces and physically expel them. The embassy has raised that prospect although they haven't said it specifically.

INDONESIAN SECURITY SWOOP AS AMERICAN JOURNALISTS CALL NEWS CONFERENCE

ETAN, Nov. 14, 1994

Jakarta – Two US journalists who told the world about the East Timor massacre three years ago were grabbed by security officers as they tried Monday to organize a news conference at the APEC center in Jakarta.

Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman had earlier been arrested by Indonesian intelligence men and detained for 20 hours as they tried to enter East Timor to mark the third anniversary on November 12 of the massacre in which they say 200 people were killed.

The two, who had been officially accredited by Jakarta as correspondents to the APEC meetings, returned to Jakarta from Kupang in West Timor to organize a news conference.

But as they distributed leaflets announcing a time for the conference, they were grabbed by APEC security officers, but freed as fellow journalists swarmed around them.

Correspondents and cameras immediately surrounded the pair, as security people tried to block cameras. The media protested and asked Nairn and Goodman what they had planned to say. The impromptu press conference then ensued. The gathering lasted about one hour.

They then went ahead with their conference amid a scrum of reporters, once again throwing attention off the APEC conference and on to Indonesia's human rights record.

Nairn told reporters that he and Goodman were arrested by Indonesian military intelligence as they tried to cross the border from West Timor into East Timor last week.

"We just got back last night after being held by military intelligence and decided to day to have a press conference to tell other journalists what happened to us," said Nairn.

"We were passing out these leaflets when Indonesian security came up to us. They started pulling us and other journalists arrived."

Goodman said they had not come to Indonesia to create a problem.

"The problem was created by the Indonesian security that is surrounding us," she said. "We were simply going to speak to the journalists who were asking us questions about what happened to us."

After it was over one Indonesian journalist in a warning told them "you are going to pay for that."

ALLAN NAIRN AND AMY GOODMAN STOPPED AGAIN

11 pm New York time, Nov. 15, 1994

Journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman were again prevented from entering East Timor.

They were forced off a through flight from Jakarta to Dili, with a stop in Denpasar, Bali. At Denpasar, they were taken away from the other passengers. Police officer Monir, who took them off the plane, said he was acting on orders from high up in the military. Although they were briefly physically restrained by the police, they managed to break away and get to the departure lounge.

They were physically prevented from reboarding the plane as it left for Dili. One hour later (11:20 am Wednesday), they were again prevented from boarding a second plane to Dili.

Although they are not under arrest, it was made very clear to them that they can travel anywhere in Indonesia *except* East Timor. They are no longer trying to visit East Timor, and will return to Jakarta today or tomorrow.

GOODMAN AND NAIRN EN ROUTE HOME AFTER VISITING EAST TIMOR

ETAN report, Nov. 22, 1994

Journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman are on their way home after 10 days in Indonesia and East Timor. Although they were arrested en route to East Timor on November 12, and forcibly removed from a plane headed there on the 15, Goodman and Nairn were able to enter East Timor covertly and spent several days there.

This was their third trip to the territory since 1990, and the described the level of police and military surveillance and threats as much higher than ever before. But, in a phone call from Singapore, Nairn said that a threshold has been crossed, and that the people of East Timor are energized and

emboldened to continue their struggle for independence in a more open an active way than they have before.

The pair will arrive in New York Wednesday afternoon, and will hold an airport press conference.

Their visit to East Timor was undetected by the authorities, and they left on their own schedule and power, as virtually all other foreign journalists in East Timor were being forced out or ordered to leave.

Both are based in New York. Amy Goodman is the News Director of WBAI-Pacific Radio, and Allan Nairn, a free-lance writer, was on assignment for Vanity Fair magazine.

SUITED TO A Q&A

INDONESIAN LEADER REQUIRES THAT ATTIRE — AND QUESTIONS — BE LESS THAN REVEALING

by Thomas W. Lippman (Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1994)

Now, how to keep those well-dressed reporters from asking questions that might embarrass the host - about human rights, say, or Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor? Easy. Issue an order.

In a memo to all delegations at the 18-member Asia-Pacific Economic Conference forum (APEC), the Indonesian Foreign Ministry set down the rules for Suharto's only encounter with the foreign press:

"Upon conclusion of the leaders' deliberations, President Suharto will hold a 30-minute press conference. Questions should be asked in English and addressed to the chairman only, not to any of the other leaders. In his capacity as APEC chair, President Suharto would like to take questions only with respect to the APEC process.

"The chairman will field only seven questions from the press corps. Each of the main geographic areas represented in APEC will be entitled to ask one question. The breakdown of questions has been determined as follows: the host country (1), North America, the United States and Canada (1), Latin America (1), Europe (1), Japan (1), China (1) and ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) excluding Indonesia (1), for a total of seven questions. Pool heads should determine ahead of time how these questions will be allocated."

It almost worked. All but one of the questions were bland, about "positive enhancement of the North-South dialogue" and such.

The exception came from a *New York Times* correspondent who asked Suharto how he plans to resolve the East Timor issue "once and for all."

Through his interpreter, Suharto said it would take too much time to answer that question.

AUSTRALIAN TO BE DEPORTED FROM EAST TIMOR

by K.T. Arasu, Reuter. Nov. 19, 1994

Dili, East Timor - An Australian was to be deported from East Timor on Saturday after one of the biggest pro-independence protests since a massacre by Indonesian authorities in 1991.

Dili police chief Colonel Sugianto Andreas said Andrew Naughtan, (sic, actually McNaughton) from Darwin in Australia's Northern Territory, would be deported for becoming involved in local politics and taking part in Friday's demonstration outside Dili's cathedral.

Andreas said Dili was calm with business returning to normal after being rocked this week by a series of violent demonstrations that refocused world attention on the Portuguese colony Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed a year later.

"He (Naughtan) was involved in local politics and was in the midst of the demonstration yesterday. We will be deporting him today," Andreas told Reuters.

Naughtan, among those seeking shelter in the cathedral and entered the territory on a tourist visa, said the East Timorese sang hymns to try and ease the tension.

"The situation inside the cathedral was very tense. Everyone was scared because we kept hearing loud noises outside the church. The East Timorese began singing hymns and praying as they waited," he told Reuters.

It was unclear on Saturday evening whether Naughtan, who entered East Timor on a tourist visa, had already been deported.

Meanwhile, 29 East Timorese youths marked the start of their second week holed up in the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta....

In Jakarta, Indonesia's Armed Forces Commander General Feisal Tanjung said on Saturday the authorities would welcome the protesters if they left the compound.

Andreas said police would not arrest any East Timorese involved in Friday's fresh protest in Dili. He said they had pledged to cease demonstrating.

"We are not arresting them even though they were doing criminal acts and breaking the law," he said.

The deportation order came amid fresh accusations from security officials that foreign journalists were fanning unrest in East Timor.

Dili's military spokesman Major Laedan Simbolon said there were signs foreign journalists helped ignite the protest.

"There are indications that some foreign journalists engaged in actions outside their journalistic function. They deliberately linked up with the protesters," he was quoted by the Antara news agency on Saturday as saying.

This follows allegations on Friday by Indonesian police that a Japanese film crew had stirred up trouble. The police warned foreign journalists to toe the line in the riot-hit territory.

According the AFP, however, McNaughtan was found "being beaten by several East Timorese youths who opposed the presence of foreign journalists in East Timor," according to immigration official, Yohannes Triswoyo in Dili, who told AFP he would be deported later Saturday to Bali.

He added that McNaughtan who arrived in East Timor on a two-month tourist visa on 16 November, had suffered no injuries.

Meanwhile, East Timor police chief Andreas Sugianto blamed foreign journalists for fueling protests in the enclave (sic). He added that they were investigating a foreign journalists found in possession of eight anti-Indonesian banners in his bag. "It is against the law to conduct political activities in other people's countries," he said.

[Comment: It seems the security authorities are looking for excuses to exclude all foreign journalists, perhaps on the specious grounds that they are unable to safeguard them physically. According to one report, there were 35 foreign journalists in Dili on Friday when the latest demonstration took place. - TAPOL]

INDONESIA TO DEPORT AUSTRALIAN PROTESTER

Jakarta, Nov. 19 (UPI) -

A priest at the Dili cathedral said rioting in the East Timor capital, was reported to have died down by Saturday, after hundreds of pro-independence demonstrators Friday beat two men who they accused of being "stooges" for the Indonesian government.

A statement issued by the foreign ministry Friday stated that Indonesia would continue searching for an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor dispute, but it also accused Portugal of trying to derail peace efforts.

The statement reassured that the protesters staging a sit-in at the U.S. embassy compound will not be arrested, adding that they are free to leave the country if they so wish.

The protesters, most of them East Timorese students who have been attending schools on the islands of Java and Bali, scaled over the U.S. embassy fences Nov. 12, and have been camped in the parking lot ever since.

By Saturday, the demonstrators had not yet decided what their next step would be.

Domingus Sarmiento Alves, the leader of the 29 pro-independence demonstrators, said the group did not go to the embassy grounds "for asylum but to demand the release of Xanana."

The foreign ministry denied that a political riot had taken place in Dili, the provincial capital of East Timor and it blamed the recent violence on a traders' quarrel.

"In face of agitation and propaganda activities, the government of Indonesia will not be distracted from its work in international forums and its development work in East Timor," the statement said.

INDONESIA BARS FOREIGN REPORTERS IN EAST TIMOR

New York Times, November 20, 1994. By Philip Shenon

DENPASAR, Indonesia, Nov. 19 - As the police struggled to restore order in East Timor after the largest anti-Government demonstrations in years, the Indonesian Government said today that it would temporarily bar foreign reporters from visiting the disputed province.

The move alarmed human rights groups, which have warned of a new, violent crack-down on dissidents in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and later annexed.

Order was restored today in Dili, the East Timor capital, after a week of demonstrations that embarrassed the Indonesian Government as it played host to a meeting of Asia-Pacific leaders, including President Clinton, who raised the issue of human rights abuses in East Timor in a meeting with President Suharto.

On Friday, hundreds of anti-Government protesters took to the streets in Dili in a noisy demonstration that turned violent when the protesters encountered a small group of stone-throwing Government supporters, most of them Indonesians from other parts of the country who had settled in East Timor. At least two people were reported seriously wounded.

A Government official said the move to ban foreign journalists was motivated by a concern that some of the reporters now in East Timor were inciting the demonstrators.

"The journalists are acting in an unjournalistic way," said the official, speaking on condition that he not be identified.

He cited the case of a Japanese television reporter who has been accused by the Indonesian police of giving an anti-Government banner to East Timorese students and urging them to unfurl it for the cameras. The reporter has denied the charge.

A spokeswoman for Amnesty International, Estrellita Jones, said by telephone from Washington today that the move to bar foreign reporters "is certainly most ominous." Without their presence, she said, the security forces would feel that they have "carte blanche" to detain and torture dissidents.

"We're already hearing reports of door-to-door searches and that people are being picked up and ill-treated or tortured," she said.

For years, foreign reporters have been barred from visiting East Timor without special passes, which are given only sporadically and usually after a long delay. But the Indonesian Government lifted most of the restrictions during the Asia-Pacific meeting, saying it wanted to demonstrate its commitment to openness.

The Indonesian Foreign Ministry has said the initial protests were not prompted by anti-Government sentiment, insisting instead that they started as a result of a violent quarrel between a group of traders - one from East Timor, one from the Indonesian island of Sulawesi - in which an East Timorese man died.

"A small group of people have tried to foist off the incident as a political demonstration," the Foreign Ministry said in a statement. "Indonesia remains committed to achieving an internationally acceptable settlement to the East Timor problem."

In Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, 29 East Timorese students remained today in the parking lot of the United States Embassy. They scaled the walls of the embassy last Saturday to demand the release of the jailed resistance leader José Alexandre Gusmão. They have so far rejected an offer of asylum in Portugal.

The Foreign Ministry said Friday that the demonstrators "are free to leave the country if they so wish and if any country is willing to receive them."

Letter to the Editor, New York Times, Nov. 20

Justice for East Timor

To the Editor:

Re "Anti-Indonesia Protest at U.S. Embassy" (news article, Nov. 13):

The issue of our embassy's security is not the story here, but Indonesia's documented slaughter, torture and starvation of

200,000 people in East Timor since 1975, one-third of its population.

The reason behind the demonstration by East Timorese students is the genocide visited on their people by the Indonesians with the tacit approval of and aid from the West, including the United States.

It is to be hoped that the United States would exert real pressure on Indonesia to end its horrific annexation, but we are left with "Washington has been cautious about calling too much attention to human rights in order to maintain economic ties."

As for Indonesian "assurances" that "there will be no reprisals against the students after they leave the embassy grounds," it would be interesting to follow up a year from now. If history is a guide, some or all may be dead.

ANNE MILLER
New York, Nov. 13, 1994

BRIEF OPEN WINDOW CLOSING

Voice of America, 11/20/94 by Dan Robinson, Dili, East Timor

Intro: After a brief period of openness coinciding with meetings of Asia-Pacific leaders in Indonesia, authorities have once again tightened restrictions on foreign journalists trying to visit East Timor. The clamp down follows incidents last week in the East Timor capital – Dili – which Indonesian authorities allege were made worse by the presence of foreign media. From Dili, VOA's Dan Robinson reports about shutting of the open window in East Timor.

Weeks before the high visibility meetings of the Asia Pacific economic cooperation group, Indonesian authorities announced there would be an unprecedented degree of access to the country, including East Timor. Indonesia's information minister Harmoko said in September Jakarta had – in his words – nothing to hide with regard to East Timor. He said reports by foreign journalists could help counter false accounts about East Timor, as long as they were based on what he called the facts.

Several-thousand foreign journalists descended on Indonesia for APEC. Many took the government at its word when it said those wanting to travel to remote East Timor would be allowed to do so. But, as APEC leaders arrived in Jakarta for their summit, two events occurred leading to what officials now acknowledge as a reversal of the previous open policy for East Timor.

First, there was the sit-in protest by 29 East Timorese students at the US embassy in Jakarta at an embarrassing time for the Indonesian government. Then riots broke out in Dili. Local-ethnic tensions or disputes

seem to have sparked the disturbances. But, a number of demonstrations by anti-integration protesters raised tension.

Because of foreign media coverage of both events, authorities have been making it harder for journalists to travel to East Timor, and are keeping a close watch on the movements of those already in Dili.

Indeed, despite receiving specific verbal permission in Jakarta the voice of America was told after arrival in Dili to be prepared for – as officials put it – problems that could force VOA's departure the next day. Written permission to remain was later granted.

Nobody wants a recurrence of last week's disturbances in Dili. They are described by residents as the worst in several years, as local disputes led to a number of houses and shops being burned or stoned. But, officials have taken to accusing foreign journalists of stirring up trouble – an allegation foreign reporters here firmly reject.

Surveillance, nothing new for those familiar with Dili, is accompanied by subtle pressures. Local officials ask repeatedly when journalists are due to leave.

Aside from the occasional shout on the street of "free East Timor," few people wish to be seen speaking to foreign media for fear of being spotted by government officials. This makes true feelings about recent events difficult to gauge.

The attention focused on Dili since last week has led one key figure in the community to stop speaking to foreign journalists. After Sunday mass, including a sermon in Portuguese, the outspoken Dili bishop Carlos Belo waved away journalists seeking his views of East Timor – saying he had no time to talk.

JOURNALISTS EXPELLED FROM EAST TIMOR

The China Post, Nov. 22, 1994.

Dili, Indonesia, Nov. 21, AP - The Government on Monday ordered four Western journalists to leave the troubled province of East Timor, where they were covering pro-independence demonstrations.

The journalists did not have the required work permits to be in the area unlike dozens of other journalists reporting on the events during the past 10 days, said Johannes Sri Triswoyo, head of the immigration office in Dili, the provincial capital.

In a rare show of openness this month, Indonesia issued work permits to foreign journalists to cover East Timor, a former Portuguese province that Jakarta annexed in 1976.

Triswoyo said the journalists told to leave are Associated Press photographers

Jeff Widener and Craig Fuji; Reuters photographer Jonathan Drake; and Australian Simon Beardsell, a cameraman with the WTN television news agency.

He said 38 of the 55 journalists who applied for permissions to cover East Timor had so far visited the province, where government troops have been often accused of human rights abuses while curbing the pro independence movement, when dozens of protesters were killed.

Hoping to improve its rights image, Indonesia invited foreign journalists to visit East Timor after they reported on the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum meetings earlier this month.

COMMENT FROM CHARLIE SCHEINER, ETAN/US:

Note the inconsistency between the two Indonesian claims:

1) The rioting is not political, but due to ethnic tension.

2) The rioting is exacerbated by the presence of foreign journalists.

Of course, if the unrest were caused by people wanting to get the world's attention to their situation, it would make sense to have demonstrations only if there was somebody who didn't know the situation (i.e. foreigners) there

to see them. So in a sense, Indonesia is correct. If they keep all the journalists out, the unrest might cease – or it might escalate into a full-scale revolution.

In either case, the reprisals and repression could be truly horrifying, but we on the outside wouldn't know about it. So please urge whatever media you have contact with to fight the press ban, both openly and by sending reporters and observers to East Timor with or without permits.

The "ethnic tension" claim deserves further examination. The unfortunate killing of a Timorese customer by an immigrant from Sulawesi last week is an example of how cheaply East Timorese lives are held by Indonesians. To call the response – which was both to this incident and to 19 years of invasion, genocide, repression and occupation – "ethnic tension" is to label all anti-colonial revolutions – from South Africa to the Dutch East Indies – as being caused only by ethnic friction. This would include the U.S. civil right movement, which was in part a response to lynchings and other examples of "ethnic tension."

FIFTH JOURNALIST EXPELLED FROM TIMOR

AFP, 22 November 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – Indonesia has expelled a fifth journalist from East Timor Tuesday, bring-

ing the tally of expulsions to five in two days of tightening media access.

The French journalist, named as a senior producer with Associated Press TV, François Touron, arrived in Dili Monday afternoon but was ordered to leave less than 24 hours later because he did not have the proper permit.

"He was warned by the Information Department not to go without permission," the army's spokesperson Major Simbolon told AFP by phone from Dili.

MEDIA-INDONESIA: CLOUDY FORECAST FOR PRESS FREEDOM

By Johanna Son

Jakarta, Nov. 22 (IPS) - Being a journalist in Indonesia requires not only a knack for writing, but also the ability to read the shifts in government policy.

Indeed, in a country where the government has lately been alternately blowing hot and cold over restrictions on the local media, journalists pride themselves for being much like weather forecasters who scan the skies for signs of changes in the climate.

"Now the weather is good," quipped a local journalist during the recent Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings here, explaining why local newspapers freely reported events like the East Timorese students who scaled the U.S. embassy walls and foreign leaders' criticism of Indonesia's human rights records.

Unlike in the past, when little about East Timor was said in media, the East Timorese protests were carried fairly prominently in local papers, and even landed on the front pages of some.

But few journalists interpret the recent improved weather as the onset of more openness in Indonesia, where the press is kept on a short leash. Just last June, Jakarta revoked the licenses of three outspoken publications and recently put a stop to a new magazine that looked suspiciously like one of those that had been shut down.

According to Philippine Press Institute associate director Vergel Santos, the common perception is that "the Philippine press is free, the Thai press is free enough, the Malaysian press could use more freedom, Indonesia is losing what little freedom and Singapore and Brunei are not free at all."

"We are a bit braver during this APEC meeting because so much international attention is focused here," said one senior reporter last week. "But after this, we will probably be more careful."

Gunawan Muhamad, chief editor of the hard-hitting Tempo magazine that was among the publications forced to close in

June, agrees. He says, "That was only a brief spell."

To survive in different types of weather, Indonesia's press has its own list of do's and don'ts - a system some have hit as self-censorship. Taboo topics include direct criticism of President Suharto and his family, a policy one writer likened to the off-limits rule some countries have of their monarchies.

Journalists also instinctively check out people or firms behind stories "to see if there is someone maybe close to the government whose role cannot be mentioned," explained one reporter.

At times, newspapers report on sensitive issues not when they break out, but when government responds.

For example, when the environment group WALHI sued Suharto in August for diverting 190 million dollars in reforestation funds to a state aircraft project, local papers carried little or no mention of the suit. But they reported on the rare challenge to Suharto's powers when his lawyers asked a local court to throw out charges.

Still, some dailies try reporting on sensitive topics by having academics write in a "theoretical manner" for the opinion pages.

A few journalists explain the government's hawk-eyed monitoring on the local press as an attempt to instill order in a relatively young republic of more than 180 million people who belong to 300 ethnic groups and speak 200 languages.

Writers who are appointed editors need the confirmation of the government, which also reserves the right to revoke publication licenses if the newspaper or magazine is "irresponsible."

Many have resigned themselves to accepting that serious, critical and investigative journalism on sensitive matters - including the uncertainties that Suharto's succession bring - can be taken up only the foreign press.

"It is very difficult, you know," says one senior editor. "You may think that things have changed, but one you make a mistake - what happened to Tempo and the others is stark proof of how the weather can change suddenly."

Media analysts here say the government tends to keep an even tighter watch on Bahasa papers, which have greater reach than the English language publications.

They also note that big business with close ties to the government as well as officials themselves are applying for publishing licenses, if not already churning out their own papers.

The new magazine Gatra, for instance, is said to be aimed at replacing Tempo and included some of the old magazine's staffers. But Gatra is partly owned by tim-

ber baron Mohamad Hasan, who is known for his ties to Jakarta officials.

Media insiders say Manpower Minister Abdul Latief is about to be granted a licence for a new publication, this time to take the place of Editor, which was shut down in June. And there is talk that Information Minister Harmoko may put up another publication.

Media veterans say press freedom in Indonesia will take "a long, long time" to emerge. But they are optimistic that young reporters who had protested the June closures and now formed an independent media group called Alliance of Independent Journalists may help hasten the pace.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

TIMORESE STUDENTS IN BALI SUFFER REPRISALS

Publico, 29 Oct. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon - The Federal Court of Boston in the US recently sentenced an Indonesian General to pay 14 million dollars to the mother of a young New Zealander, in compensation for her son's murder during the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991. The General, Sintong Panjaitan, moved to Boston after the massacre. When he learned of the court proceedings initiated against him in September 1992, he fled to Jakarta, where he took up employment as adviser to the Minister of Industry and Technology. The court action, brought under the Protection for Victims of Torture Bill, went ahead in his absence.

As soon as the news of the court ruling reached Bali, the island from which Panjaitan commanded the Indonesian military region in which East Timor was situated, the soldiers who served under him went out into the streets and mobilized the local people against Timorese university students resident there.

20-year-old Nene Lobato, João Candido and José Bento, both 29-years-old, were the main victims of the beatings, which occurred yesterday afternoon. The three students were taken to hospital, but were soon removed by a group of fellow students who feared that worse might happen to them while in the hospital.

According to reports received yesterday by Public from a Resistance source, the Timorese university student community (about 200) fears more violence over the next few days. The fact that Bali has traditionally been a base for RENETIL, the Timorese underground network's student

front, could also contribute to a further flare-up of violence.

In Boston, lawyers from the Constitutional Rights Center who assisted plaintiff Helen Todd in her legal action against General Panjaitan, are investigating how to bring about the payment of the 14 million dollars compensation. They could ask the US Administration to channel some of the money destined to fund the cooperation programme with the Indonesian armed forces to Helen Todd. She has already publicly announced her intention to give the "voiceless" mothers of the Timorese victims of the Santa Cruz massacre whatever compensation money she eventually receives.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian Government expressed its "surprise" at the Boston Court's ruling on Sintong Panjaitan. "The Boston Court never notified us about the trial," said a Foreign Ministry spokesperson in Jakarta, adding that the Suharto Government would have sent a representative to the US, had it known what was going on. Panjaitan's reaction to the verdict was to laugh, and describe the trial as a joke.

INDONESIA JAILS LABOUR BOSS, U.S. EXPRESSES REGRET

MEDAN, Indonesia, Nov. 7 (Reuter) - An Indonesian court sentenced prominent labour boss Muchtar Pakpahan to three years in jail on Monday after convicting him of inciting violence.

The sentence, handed down one day before the start in Jakarta of a major international meeting due to be attended next week by U.S. President Bill Clinton, drew quick condemnation.

The United States, through its Jakarta embassy, regretted the sentence. The Brussels-based international trade union confederation alleged the decision was "engineered."

Pakpahan was jailed for three years after the court in Medan, northern Sumatra, found him guilty of inciting worker violence which swept the area in April.

Human rights groups have accused the government of trying to crush his fledgling union.

The U.S. embassy statement said the sentence would be "one element" in deciding whether to suspend trading privileges granted to Indonesia.

"The U.S. government regrets Mr. Pakpahan's conviction. We believe that he should not be held accountable for unintended violence in connection with protests over legitimate labour demands," it said.

The sentencing of Pakpahan, one of more than 70 workers and activists charged for

their alleged role in April's rioting, comes on the eve of a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in Jakarta and nearby Bogor.

The climax of the 10-day meeting, which starts on Tuesday, will be an informal summit of the group's leaders, including President Clinton and his counterparts from China and Japan.

Three presiding judges, who took turns reading from a 100-page judgment, said Pakpahan had incited workers to strike and stage protests that led to the riots in which one person died.

"The court sentences you to three years in jail," chief Judge Victor Napipulah told Pakpahan before a hushed courtroom. Prosecutors had demanded four of a maximum six year sentence.

Pakpahan, who heads the effectively illegal Indonesia Welfare Labour Union, or SBSI, remained composed during the trial as hundreds of security officials ringed the colonial court building. There were no reports of incidents.

Pakpahan said he would appeal the decision.

The sentencing follows a months-long crackdown on Indonesia's disparate labour movement in the wake of the April riots. Most senior SBSI figures are now in jail, along with many activists working among the country's 80-million workforce.

Indonesia has defended its actions, saying that Pakpahan and others were criminals who had disrupted stability and triggered a hemorrhaging of foreign investment from the area.

Pakpahan's own organisation was quick to condemn the sentence, along with the Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

"The sentence has been engineered to break down the SBSI. But they will not be successful," Tohap Simanungkalit, a senior figure in the SBSI, told Reuters.

"There is a wind of change through Indonesia. Even if they jail so many activists, so many labour (people), still there will be more struggling for a more democratic life," he added.

An official of the ICFTU, who had one of its representatives covering some of the eight-week trial, said the sentence proved that Indonesia was out to crush any signs of union activity.

He said by telephone from Brussels that the ICFTU, which comprises 174 affiliates in 124 countries, would hold a meeting next month to discuss among other matters what steps to take over Indonesia's actions.

"Indonesia confirms what the ICFTU has been saying all along, namely that the SBSI has been submitted to a series of mock trials

in Medan as a signal to workers that independent ...

INDEPENDENT UNION LEADER RECEIVES THREE YEAR PRISON SENTENCE

Amnesty International International Secretariat, 1 Easton Street London WC1X 8DJ United Kingdom. 8 November 1994

On Monday the leader of the independent trade union, the Indonesian Prosperous Workers' Union (SBSI), Muchtar Pakpahan, was found guilty of "incitement" and sentenced to three years in jail. Pakpahan has indicated he will appeal the decision.

The verdict and sentence come in the week that Indonesia hosts the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings in Jakarta and Bogor - where Amnesty International has urged participating governments to consider the issue of human rights in meetings with the Indonesian Government.

The charges against Pakpahan and 10 other labour leaders and activists are linked to widespread labour unrest in Medan in April this year which included violent incidents. Amnesty International believes however that the charges were intended to intimidate activists and labour organisations from carrying out their peaceful activities in support of labour rights - activities which have increased in recent years. The prosecution did not allege that Pakpahan had urged others to commit acts of violence. Amnesty International considers Muchtar Pakpahan to be a prisoner of conscience. The 10 others charged with "incitement" may also be prisoners of conscience, held solely for non-violent activities.

Pakpahan was tried under Articles 160 and 161 of the Indonesian Criminal Code. Article 160 prescribes a maximum of six years' imprisonment for inciting others to disobey a government order or to break the law, and Article 161 prescribes a maximum of four years in jail for distributing written materials which do the same. Of the 10 others, six have already received sentences ranging from five to 15 months in jail.

Amnesty International is also concerned at the way in which Pakpahan's trial was conducted. Defence lawyers were not provided with a copy of his interrogation deposition, as required under the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure, there were restrictions on prison visits while he was awaiting trial and the defence were given limited time to prepare for the case. After being refused permission to bring expert witnesses before the court, Pakpahan's lawyers walked out of the trial.

There has already been considerable international criticism of the sentence, including from the USA Government and the In-

ternational Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). SBSI officials have stated that the sentence "was engineered to break down the SBSI." The Indonesian Government has defended the decision stating that Pakpahan and the other labour leaders on trial were "criminals who had disrupted stability and triggered a hemorrhaging of foreign investment." (Reuters 7.11.94).

For further details of the current labour trials and other human rights violations in the run-up to APEC, please refer to Indonesia: "Operation Cleansing: Human Rights and APEC," AI Index: ASA 21/50/94, November 1994.

SENSITIVE INDONESIA CALLED IN THE P.R. EXPERTS

by Dean Yates (Reuter), Nov. 13, 1994

Jakarta – For almost three decades the world has associated mainly Moslem Indonesia with East Timor, human rights abuses, its mercurial first President Sukarno and the resort island Bali. The sprawling archipelago under the iron grip of President Suharto has an image problem.

This was illustrated again on Saturday when 29 East Timorese youths focused world attention on the troubled territory of East Timor after invading the compound of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, demanding the release of a jailed guerilla leader.

Demonstrations in the East Timor capital Dili turned up the spotlight.

But, according to a 39-page report titled "Indonesia/APEC 1991 Communications Plan" from a U.S.-based public relations firm, Indonesia always knew it had an image problem.

The report, obtained by Reuters, carefully outlines how the government should face an onslaught of foreign journalists, especially from the United States, at the current Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum meetings.

"With the U.S and international media, it will not be possible to eliminate negative stories about Indonesia," said the September report prepared by Robinson Lake Sawyer Miller.

"The objective of this programme is to create a balanced (and therefore more favourable) picture that accurately reflects Indonesia," it added.

Sources said the government paid Robinson Lake Sawyer Miller more than \$500,000 for the report and additional material to be given to journalists during the summit.

The report starkly points out the negative stories for Indonesia; trouble in East Timor, lack of press freedom, government authoritarianism, suppression of worker

rights, human rights abuses and first family corruption and nepotism.

It even warned the government to avoid action in the lead-up to APEC that would incur negative media coverage.

The government took the advice to heart – in part. It gave foreign journalists information kits, with T-shirts and calendars, which try to explain its side of "negative stories."

But the government completely ignored Robinson Lake Sawyer Miller in avoiding action that may draw foreign media fire.

Last Monday it sentenced labour leader Muchtar Pakpahan to three years in jail. Last month it sacked a prominent U.S.-trained academic.

Journalists are under constant pressure not to report sensitive political issues. Activists and human rights lawyers have been under constant surveillance in the run-up to APEC.

The report urges the government to focus on its economic success story – which no one denies – and its process of nation-building in trying to unite an archipelago of diverse cultural, ethnic and linguistic characteristics.

It said the government should highlight the leadership of Indonesia, and especially Suharto, in various forums such as the 111-member Non-Aligned Movement which Suharto chairs, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and now APEC.

The report even gives the government some tips in dealing with the U.S. media.

"(The U.S.) media is overly interested in any bad news or conflict, whether about the summit, about Indonesia, or about Clinton-Suharto relations," it said.

"The media is eager to be critical of U.S. and Clinton policies and actions... therefore, the media is also eager to be critical of other government actions and policies," it added.

The names and titles of senior journalists working for influential U.S. media organisations are also listed.

In two decades, Suharto's Indonesia has reduced poverty, lowered its birth rates and raised living standards. Perhaps convincing a sometimes skeptical foreign media is still one of the greatest challenges that lie ahead.

INDONESIA'S MULTI-ETHNIC PRIDE

Voice of America background report, 11/15/94. By Ed Warner, Washington

Intro: While the leaders of the Asian-Pacific countries met in Jakarta, violence disturbed ever troubled East Timor, thus demonstrating the strains in the vast archipelago of Indonesia. VOA's Ed Warner discussed Indonesia's prospects – its strong

economy and shaky democracy – with two American scholars.

The continuing protests and military crackdown in East Timor have focused international attention on Indonesia's human rights practices. They are largely judged unacceptable. The regime of President Suharto, now 73, is viewed by many as too repressive and too long in office.

At the same time, under this less than perfect democracy, Indonesia has achieved one of the fastest rates of economic growth in the world – an average 6½% a year. This has lifted millions out of poverty and greatly increased health and literacy.

In the opinion of many, it has also helped bind together the far flung 13-thousand islands with their ethnic and religious mix that make up Indonesia. Robert Hefner, professor of anthropology at Boston university and assistant director of the institute for the study of economic culture, says Indonesians see themselves as the last great remaining multi-ethnic society. It's a matter of pride:

"They have something that the Soviet Union never did achieve; that is, they have at least the beginnings, the solid foundation for a national culture. There are regional tensions, but Indonesia has achieved a shared national language, which virtually the entire young generation of Indonesians speaks. That's an extraordinary accomplishment in a world in which language differences have frequently been politicized and have been the basis for severe political conflict."

Unity, says professor Hefner, exists with diversity. While the central government in Jakarta exercises often stifling control, as in East Timor, local culture continues to flourish in most places.

Benedict Anderson, professor of government at Cornell university, says Indonesia differs from other developing countries in that not many of its citizens choose to emigrate because of attachment to homeland:

"This tells you something. You can imagine (former Philippines President Ferdinand) Marcos settling down happily in New York with Mrs. Marcos. It's very hard to imagine Suharto, who has only a high school education, and his wife – not much better – settling down anywhere in the long run except back home. They're really home people."

Professor Anderson says Indonesia's biggest problem may be the discontent of the Muslim majority, which objects to the dominance of Chinese and other groups in business and politics:

"Although the country is nominally 90% Muslim, actually the Muslims have never had real political

power in Indonesia, and they're feeling this. I think the thing that is a bit worrying about the future is the possibility not so much of ethnic conflict but of conflict between committed Muslims and everybody else."

Professor Hefner says Muslim practices in Indonesia differ from those in the middle east, where political strife is endemic along with anti-western attitudes dating back to the crusades. He believes there's a tradition of tolerance in Indonesia:

"The most prominent people and the most prominent movements in Indonesia in Islam are remarkable for the verve with which they declare their allegiance to principles of democracy, human rights and religious tolerance and pluralism. In my opinion, they're not just doing that for strategic reasons. Those attitudes reflect genuinely held values on the part of the majority of Muslims in Indonesia."

Professor Hefner expects tolerance to be sustained as long as the economy continues to grow. In that event, he says, Islam in Indonesia could set an example for Muslims in other parts of the world.

INDONESIAN ACTIVISTS FEAR POST-APEC CLAMPDOWN

By John Owen-Davies

Jakarta, Nov. 15 (Reuters) - Indonesian activists fear increased government pressure after East Timorese protests diverted attention from this week's showcase Asia-Pacific talks, activists and diplomats said on Tuesday.

"There might be a clampdown on NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations). There are rumours about it happening after APEC," leading human rights activist Adnan Buyung Nasution, of the Legal Aid Foundation, told Reuters.

"The protests in Dili and Jakarta have been a profound embarrassment," one activist said.

A foreign diplomat said: "I think if there is going to be a post-APEC clampdown on NGOs, which is possible, it will apply to the whole country, not just to East Timor."

EAST TIMOR STUDENTS IN BANDUNG PERSECUTED

Radio Netherlands, 16 and 19 Nov. 1994

While international media spotlight following the APEC summit has turned to the Timorese sit-in at the US embassy in Jakarta and a new wave of protests in Dili, East Timorese elsewhere are in danger. At

least 15 East Timorese students in Bandung are afraid of persecution after refusing to issue a statement before the local parliament (DPRD, West Java) condemning the actions of their compatriots at the US embassy in Jakarta.

The students are studying at Pajajaran University Bandung and the Bandung Institute of Technology (UTB) and are members of the Timorese students organisation, Impettu.

On November 11 (sic), three Timorese students were summoned at night to the HQ of the Siliwangi military command of West Java at Jalan Sumatra, Bandung and questioned about their attitude to the Timorese protest at the US embassy. Later, early next morning, two other students were summoned. They were asked to consult their colleagues.

The harassment has continued since then. The military authorities in Bandung apparently already had a statement ready to counter the Timorese US embassy action to be presented to the local parliament during the APEC days. The Timorese students replied that they wanted to be left in peace because they were students and do not wish to be involved in politics since Impettu is a non-political organisation. (An Impettu statement, issued before the military summons, agreed with this, and was read out for the RN broadcast.)

In an interview with RN, however, they appreciated the right to free expression of their compatriots in Jakarta who are demanding the release of the jailed East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão. After all, they said, the (Indonesian) government has already recognised the existence of 'anti-integrasi,' referring apparently to President Suharto's recent statement that he is ready to meet with 'Timorese abroad.'

Failing to achieve their aim, the authorities started to threaten the students with arrest. The students decided to contact the Bandung chapter of the Legal Aid Institute, LBH, and travelled to Jakarta to seek protection from the government-sponsored human rights commission, Komnas-HAM. However, they were disappointed as the Komnas-HAM, instead of offering them protection, questioned them on their attitude to 'integrasi.' They later met with the director of the YLBHI, Buyung Nasution, but since the YLBHI could not provide them with hiding places, they returned to Bandung last Thursday.

Asked what they are going to do next, they said they did not yet know, adding that they were ready (sudah siap) to face the consequences from the local authorities. They said they would not exclude steps to seek asylum 'from any country.'

INDONESIAN PROGRESSIVES SUPPORT EAST TIMORESE

By Max Lane, Green Left, Nov. 20

Indonesia's largest independent national student organisation, Students in Solidarity with Democracy for Indonesia (SSDI), issued a statement on November 13 in support of the 29 students occupying the US Embassy compound. SSDI activists have been in contact with the East Timorese and providing support.

The SSDI statement criticised recent diplomatic initiatives of the Suharto government, including talks with pro-independence forces outside East Timor, as no more than maneuvers aimed at reducing pressure on Indonesia prior to the APEC summit meeting. There were no steps being taken to solve the problem, the statement said; instead there was more loss of lives among the East Timorese people.

Among the SSDI's demands on the Indonesian government were the holding of a democratic referendum of the East Timorese people under the supervision of the UN and other relevant international bodies, the freeing of Xanana Gusmão and freedom for national and international human rights organisations and the foreign and local press to report without restrictions or needing permission.

The SSDI statement, signed by Secretary-General Tri Fajar Marhaeni Dewi and international relations officer Bimo Nugroho, called for the struggle for the independence of East Timor and for democracy in Indonesia to be more integrated.

Other Indonesian groups have also been defending the East Timorese, including the Joint Committee for the Defence of East Timor and the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH). Eight East Timorese students have taken refuge in the LBH headquarters. LBH has issued a statement condemning the government's use of violence in dealing with dissent in Indonesia.

A delegation from Indonesia's new progressive national workers' organisation, Indonesian Workers Struggle Centre (PPBI), is now in Perth attending the Indian Ocean Trade Union Conference and has brought a statement from the East Timorese nationalists in Jakarta appealing for support in Australia. The PPBI will present the statement to the conference and ask it to support the East Timorese.

PPBI general secretary Dita Sari will speak in support of freedom for East Timor together with John Pilger and East Timorese community leaders in Sydney on December 2.

ABILIO ARAUJO TO MEET SUHARTO

ABILIO ARAUJO CRITICAL OF DURÃO BARROSO

Expresso, 22 October 1994. By Mario Robalo. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The Timorese leader, baffled by Portugal's "unbending position," disagrees with Foreign Office actions.

Abilio Araujo has little faith in the success of the "cross meetings" held earlier this month under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. He would like to see "trade channels" opened with East Timor, as a way of "maintaining Portugal's cultural influence" in the territory.

Describing the "cross meetings" as being "still-born" (i.e. non-starters), Abilio Araujo said he could not foresee "any chance of talks between Durão Barroso and Lopes da Cruz, because of Portugal's unbending position." His criticism is based on the fact that the Portuguese Foreign Minister "under-rated" his meeting on 4 October with President Suharto's itinerant ambassador by pointing out that it had only been important in so far that it had made possible the Alatas-Horta meeting, held two days later.

"The Portuguese Government should not express views on the importance of Timorese representatives. To do so is to attempt to determine the result of self-determination," said Abilio Araujo. This is the first time a Timorese leader has ever criticised Portuguese diplomacy on the Timor issue in such a vehement manner.

Ramos Horta's accusations

Abilio Araujo, who, with Francisco Lopes da Cruz, promoted the "reconciliation meetings," also complained that Portugal did not agree to the first "reconciliation meeting" (which took place on the outskirts of London on 15 and 16 December 1993) being held in Lisbon, as he himself had suggested to Cavaco Silva's government. He went on to argue that the Indonesian authorities would then have agreed to Dili being the venue for the second "reconciliation meeting" (held in Wales in September), "which would have constituted a significant concession by Jakarta, and a conquest for the Timorese cause." Furthermore, according to Araujo, such a move by Portugal would have underlined, in the eyes of the international community, Portugal's status as administering power of East Timor.

In the view of this Timorese leader, who continues to refer to himself as the Chairman of Fretilin, elected by the 1984 Congress (he was, in fact, expelled by the

party's Central Council in August last year), it was the Resistance faction that he leads which eventually managed to make some headway with the Indonesian authorities. He recalled it was only after the London "reconciliation meeting" that the seven students, persecuted by the Indonesian army, were allowed to leave for Portugal, and that a group of Timorese living in Portugal were allowed to visit East Timor in April last year. What the Indonesians got in exchange was last May's pilgrimage to Fatima by 50 integrationists led by Suharto's ambassador.

He denies the accusations, leveled at him by the Resistance generally, that he has "yielded" to the Indonesians. In the last edition of *Expresso*, Ramos Horta accused him of getting "finance" from Indonesia for the "reconciliation meetings."

"I pay my own travel expenses," Araujo stated. Referring to the reports about him being driven around in a car belonging to the Indonesian diplomatic corps when he met with Alatas in New York, he said that, because of the 3-hour delay in the flight from Rome, "it was necessary to arrive at the hotel in time, so that the Minister would receive Ramos Horta." With regard to the meeting with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, he said there had been "no giving way," and even points out that he was received as a representative of a section of the Timorese community opposed to integration.

The desire to be "a credible leader"

He went on to say that during the meeting he reiterated what the last "reconciliation meeting" demanded of the Indonesian administration: demilitarisation of the territory, release of political prisoners, an end to the wave of transmigration of Indonesians to East Timor, "Timorization" of the administration, and the introduction in schools of Tetum and Portuguese History, "even as an optional subject." Abilio Araujo stressed that "there will be no further reconciliation meetings as long as there is no sign that Indonesia agrees to these demands."

If the UN is promoting "cross meetings," what is the point of "reconciliation meetings"? Araujo argues that "the aim is to prevent - should the people opt for independence - the possibility that what is happening in Angola happens in Timor." He said that one way to narrow the gap between fellow citizens was to make it possible for them to be culturally different, even in their eating habits. To achieve this, Araujo is prepared to establish "trade channels with Timorese citizens," so that food-stuffs such as salted cod, wine, etc. can be sent into East Timor. However, he refutes Ramos Horta's allegations, which appeared

in *Expresso*, that he has set up in business with Lopes da Cruz.

While the "reconciliation meetings" are dependent on "signs of good will" coming from Indonesia, Abilio Araujo says that he now awaits the green light for a meeting with Suharto. He has already met "several times" with the President's daughter, and believes that "the change of regime will come from that family, and now it is time to show that he is a 'credible leader.'"

THERE SHOULD BE DIALOGUE WITH ALL EAST TIMOR ANTI-INTEGRATION GROUPS —XIMENES

Kompas, 5 November 1994.

Jakarta – President Suharto's readiness to meet the East Timor community overseas who are known to be anti-integration should be seen as a positive step towards resolving the East Timor question. Such a meeting should be held with all anti-integration groups, including the informal leaders in East Timor.

This is the opinion of Salvador Ximenes, member of Commission II of Parliament, in an interview with *Kompas* Friday.

Salvador said the government should take follow-up action after any such meetings so that the move makes a positive contribution to the resolution of the East Timor question. "If all that happens are meetings without a clear concept, it could be counter-productive," he said.

He said that President Suharto's readiness to meet anti-integration groups could be used by anti-integration groups for their own propaganda purposes.

All groups

He stressed that President Suharto's readiness to meet with anti-integration groups should relate to all groups outside as well as inside.

These remarks of Salvador are in tune with what Bishop Belo said in an interview with the BBC Friday morning. Bishop Belo even suggested that President Suharto should have a meeting with President Soares.

Salvador said that there were four anti-integration groups abroad: the Ramos-Horta group based in Australia and Portugal, the Abilio Araujo group based in Portugal, the José Guterres and Mari Alkatiri group based in Portugal and Mozambique and the João Carrascalao group based in Australia and Portugal. He said that meeting only one of the groups would not resolve the problem.

In his interview with the BBC, Bishop Belo said that a meeting with Abilio Araujo would not solve anything. "He doesn't rep-

resent the East Timor community, he's just a businessman," Belo told the BBC.

Salvador also expressed the opinion that it would be best to have meetings with all the groups simultaneously, including also informal leaders in East Timor such as Bishop Belo. Belo certainly knows a great deal about the problems being confronted by the people of East Timor as people always take their problems to him, said Salvador

INDONESIA'S SUHARTO TO MEET EX-TIMOR LEADER

Abridged.

Jakarta, Nov. 8 (Reuters) - Indonesia's President Suharto will meet with Portugal-based East Timor figure Abilio de Araujo, recently sacked as leader of the exile resistance movement, an Indonesian official said on Tuesday.

But the status of the former Portuguese colony, invaded by Indonesia in late 1975 and since annexed by Jakarta, will not be on the agenda, a senior official said.

Suharto, due to host a meeting of regional leaders including U.S. President Bill Clinton, struck a conciliatory note over East Timor last week when he said that he was willing to meet exiled East Timorese for talks. He did not say whom.

"The meeting will be held soon. He (de Araujo) will meet with the president based on his own will," Indonesian envoy for East Timor Lopes da Cruz told a news conference.

Da Cruz did not say when exactly the meeting would take place, adding that details about the event were still being discussed. It would be the first such meeting since Indonesian forces invaded the former Portuguese colony in late 1975.

The meeting would be reconciliatory in which the political status of the troubled territory would not be discussed, da Cruz said, adding it was not significant that Araujo or other exiles who might join the meeting recognised Indonesian rule over Timor.

Araujo led the exile movement until last year when he and his wife were ousted by opponents. He has since held two rounds of talks with pro-Jakarta Timorese under Indonesian sponsorship, including a round with Da Cruz in Britain last month.

Suharto said last week that such reconciliation talks should be continued and that more East Timorese need to be involved.

Other exiles have rejected the talks as a sham.

MEETING BETWEEN FRIENDS

"Timor Leste" (monthly CDPM bulletin) September 1994. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

The second "reconciliation" meeting held in London brought few surprises. It did, however, reveal the position of the various participants more clearly.

Although, to the less attentive, it may not have been obvious, a retrospective look at events will show that Indonesia has been forced, over the past few years, to make significant concessions on the diplomatic front. First it was made to admit what it had been denying for so long - that a conflict in East Timor actually existed; then, the not exclusively internal nature of the conflict; later, the need for a negotiated solution, and finally, that the Timorese are, in fact, an interested party in the negotiations. This is remarkable progress, achieved at the expense, and through the sacrifice of the Timorese themselves.

Given the now inevitable entry of the Timorese into the negotiations process, one of Indonesia's current strategic priorities is to create interlocutors, who are apparently on the Timorese side while sympathetic towards Indonesia, and to make them credible. The imprisonment of Commander Xanana Gusmão, the undisputed leader of the Resistance who is, for the time being, prevented from taking part in the process, facilitated this maneuver. The promotion of the "reconciliation" meetings serves the purpose of providing "alternatives" that may be useful to Indonesia in the future, and making those "alternatives" appear worthy of confidence to both public opinion and political decision-makers. The former Fretilin leader, Abilio Araujo, plays an important role in this scene.

Internal contradictions

We are usually presented with the view that the Indonesian regime is an example of solidity and monolithicism. Occasionally, distinctions are made between the "hawks" (invariably the military) and the "doves" (civilian sectors). In reality, however, the question of East Timor has now cut through Indonesian society to such an extent that far more complex divisions are being revealed.

It is possible, for example, that the venue chosen for the two meetings was not accidental, but rather linked to the fact that the Indonesian Ambassador to London is a brother of the Minister of Technology, J. Habibie - a Suharto protégé and confidant, and possible candidate for presidential succession. This would bear out the interpretation in certain circles that Minister Alatas

was either not involved in or actually against the meetings, seen as a personal project of Tutut Suharto (probably with his father's blessing).

Within the Timorese pro-integration elite itself there are differences of opinion as to the scope and usefulness of these meetings. Some local administration employees, who attended the first meeting, stayed away (or were kept away) from the second. There has been public criticism of the meetings, such as that from the DPR (People's Representative Assembly in Jakarta) member Salvador Ximenes who, although participating himself, said he was in favour of the meeting being open to all Timorese sectors, including anti-Indonesians. The absence of Father Francisco Fernandes, present at the December meeting, was also taken as a sign that the Church was distancing itself from the process.

Indonesia's trump cards

From the outset the Resistance totally rejected these meetings. In a message sent in September to the Australian solidarity movement, Xanana Gusmão reaffirmed this position, describing the meeting's protagonists as "Indonesian diplomacy's trump cards" and "Alatas' egg of the garuda" (mythological bird of Indonesian culture). Ramos Horta, leader of the CNRM abroad, also discredited the meeting, considering it a "non-event," and harshly criticising any possible UN presence.

However, the UN was there in London. The communiqué released by Boutros Ghali at the time clarified that the representative was there in observer capacity, that it was "the start of a series of consultations," and that the Secretary General "intended to seek similar consultations with other Timorese not present" at the meeting.

In summary, the UN did not totally dismiss the meeting (as the Resistance would have liked), but neither did it consider the meeting the ideal way to fulfill the requirements of Point 8 of the Communiqué from the Geneva Alatas/Barroso ministerial meeting of 6 May, which referred to intra-Timorese talks, without any discrimination. It seems that the UN has its own way of approaching the question. It remains to be seen how it will manage this difficult process of consultations in the future.

Thanks for the invasion!

The conclusions of the meeting itself are clearer than those of the previous one and erased any doubts about the position of the participants, especially the so-called "leaders abroad." In the midst of the final communiqué's rhetoric, there are references to the "tragic civil war of 1975" (the Indonesian invasion is described as "requested involvement") and the "appreciation" and

“encouragement” felt for Indonesia’s development policy and promotion of human rights.

There is no acknowledgment of the gravity of the human rights situation, no mention of the Santa Cruz massacre, and reference to free access to the territory for observers, humanitarian and human rights organisations is simply omitted.

On the other hand, pitiful appeals are made to Jakarta for “special consideration” to be given to local administration, and for studies which would contribute towards safeguarding cultural values introduced in schools.

When more daring “demands” are made, they turn out to be distorted and flinching. For example, when the release of Timorese prisoners is requested, the term “rapid” (which appears in the UN resolution accepted by Indonesia itself) has been omitted. A reduction to the military presence in Timor is mentioned. This would be interesting, except that the communiqué refers to “the continuation” of the current presence. (In a BBC interview that same week, the military commander of East Timor stated that no reductions are planned.)

PIJAR STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR TALKS

Published in Kabar dari Pijar (News from Pijar) No. 18, November 1994:

On plans for a meeting between President Soeharto and representatives of the resistance in East Timor.

To His Excellency, President Soeharto, Bina Graha, Jakarta

PIJAR (Pusat Informasi dan Jaringan Aksi untuk Reformasi, Centre of Information and Action Network for Reform) warmly welcomes and supports the plan for a meeting between President Soeharto, the leader and the one responsible for the New Order government, and representatives of the East Timorese resistance. We believe that it is important for the meeting to take place on the basis of equality between the two sides and in a spirit of paving the way to a just solution primarily for the people of East Timor, on a higher and more substantive level than a previous meeting that took place last month in New York with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

The Indonesian people have been criticised and humiliated for years on the international arena because of the unconstitutional act of the New Order government in invading and occupying East Timor. The attack in 1975 was launched in secret behind the backs of the Indonesian people; in the years since, the rights of the Indonesian

people have been continuously violated by denying them objective information about what really happened in East Timor.

As a result of the invasion and occupation, it is estimated that there have been hundreds of thousands of victims on both sides. Our tears as Indonesian citizens who are politically conscious and loyal to the Constitution are not only shed for the East Timorese martyrs who died during the invasion and occupation but also for the Indonesian soldiers who died in order to serve the ambitions, suspicions and misunderstandings of a small number of leaders of the New Order with regard to the East Timorese people. To this very day, nothing whatsoever is known about how many Indonesian soldiers have died from the time of the invasion up until the present stage of the occupation nor about the fate of the wives and the children of the deceased.

In this context, your meeting, President Soeharto, with representatives of the East Timorese resistance, is a belated first step that must be implemented by the New Order government to rehabilitate and restore the reputation of the Indonesian people whose 1945 Constitution recognises that “liberty is the right of all peoples and colonialism should be eradicated from the earth because it is in conflict with humanity and social justice.”

The New Order government cannot continue with its futile and contradictory efforts to convince the world that the East Timorese people accepted “integrasi” with Indonesia of their own free will. East Timorese resistance to the New Order’s occupation has been waged from the time of the attack by ABRI, the Indonesian armed forces, up to the present day, 19 years later.

The bloody tragedy of 12 November 1991 at the Santa Cruz cemetery is proof that the resistance of the East Timorese people is these days being waged not only in the interior but has spread among the common people in the occupied towns.

We want you, President Soeharto, to have a sincere and genuine meeting, and not just do something for the sake of improving your image for short term objectives. We feel that it is crucial that the representatives of the East Timorese resistance invited to the meeting should not only include Abilio Araujo and his group, but first and foremost the leadership of the CNRM - the side considered by the international community and recognised by the people of East Timor as legitimate representatives of the resistance of the East Timorese.

The representatives of the East Timorese resistance who participate as protagonists will not only be the defining point of the credibility of the meeting but first and foremost, it will serve as the measure of the

seriousness of the New Order government in seeking a peaceful resolution to the question of East Timor while at the same time paving the way to the rehabilitation of the good name of the Indonesian people.

Clear support for the freedom of the people of East Timor does not mean condoning separatism. On the contrary, it means upholding the 1945 Constitution, rejecting the possibility of yet more victims falling on both sides and paying tribute to the history of the independence struggle of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke.

Jakarta, 9 November 1994

Pusat Informasi dan Jaringan Aksi untuk
Reformasi

Rachland Nashidik, Chairman

EXILED FRETELIN MEMBERS TO MEET WITH SUHARTO SOON

Jakarta Post, 10 Nov. Slightly abridged

Jakarta – A group of East Timorese in exile opposing the integration of their homeland with Indonesia will soon have a meeting with President Suharto to thank him for his efforts to develop the territory, an official said.

F.X. Lopes da Cruz, Indonesia’s ambassador-at-large for East Timor affairs, told reporters on Tuesday that the delegation consists of anti-integration Timorese based in Portugal.

They will be led by Abilio Araujo, a leader of the Fretilin movement which seeks independence for East Timor, Lopes said.

Araujo, who was the economics minister of the East Timor republic proclaimed by Fretilin rebels, will probably be accompanied by Rogerio Lobato, Fretilin’s defence minister, Lopes said.

The announcement came only a few days after President Suharto said he would be pleased to meet with anti-integration East Timorese wanting to contribute to the development in the youngest province.

Lopes said it was Araujo who had (taken) the initiative to meet with the President.

“The date has yet to be set because we have to coordinate things with related parties such as our embassy in London and the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Society,” he said.

The Society, chaired by President Suharto’s eldest daughter Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana has twice held reconciliatory meetings in London with East Timorese living in Portugal, including Araujo.

Lopes said the talks between Araujo and Suharto would be strictly in the spirit of reconciliation and would refrain from touching on the province’s political status.

East Timor integrated with Indonesia in 1976 by the UN has not recognised it.

Lopes said Araujo would speak in a personal capacity since Indonesia no longer recognised the province's former political parties.

He said that informal reconciliatory talks between pro- and anti-integration East Timorese was expected to facilitate formal tripartite talks between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the UN secretary-general.

He said he was uncertain however whether Araujo would visit East Timor though said Araujo would be welcome if he wishes to do so.

"He (Araujo) used to be one of the most radical dissidents. His view changed after watching a video film about East Timor and (he) realised that the Indonesian government are sincerely helping the people," Lopes said

THERE'S NO POINT HAVING DIALOGUE WITH ARAUJO

The following interview of George Junus Aditjondro was published in the weekly magazine, Sinar, on 19 November 1994:

Q: What is your opinion of the President's willingness to enter into dialogue with East Timorese anti-integrationists?

A: This is a positive development following Foreign Minister Ali Alatas' meeting with the East Timorese leaders. I don't like to refer to them as anti-integration leaders. I prefer to describe them as leaders of the East Timor movement. It is much better for us to give them a positive designation rather than calling them anti-integration. The integration that was favoured by Apodeti has never happened in East Timor. Integration according to whom? There's a big difference between what Indonesia wants and what the East Timorese want. The East Timorese clearly don't want such a huge concentration of troops there.

Q: Do you regard the term anti-integration as objectionable?

A: Well, there's never been any integration, so what is there be 'anti' about? I prefer to talk about the East Timor movement. It's like the Non-Bloc Movement. That doesn't consist of individuals, it's a movement.

The East Timor movement has its leaders. I think it's a great mistake to regard Abilio Araujo as a representative of the East Timor movement. He was expelled from Fretilin because he engaged in secret diplomacy with Ali Alatas without the approval of his party.

It's quite wrong to see Abilio Araujo as a leader who should meet the President. I

think the only person the President should meet is Xanana Gusmão. The three representatives who met Foreign Minister Alatas in New York (the CNRM which was represented by José Ramos-Horta, the UDT which was represented by João Carrascalao and Fretilin which was represented by José Luis Guterres) all said that they were only representatives and not the top leadership of what they referred to as the resistance movement.

Q: So, what do you mean?

A: There's already been a meeting with José Ramos-Horta in New York and the meeting between Lopes da Cruz and the Portuguese Foreign Minister in Luxembourg. Now Abilio Araujo is going to meet the President in Jakarta. This is only evading the core issue, namely, that we have to acknowledge that a number of East Timorese want to be free. We can only know how many by holding a referendum. Indonesia should not behave like Morocco which has persistently boycotted a referendum in the Western Sahara.

Q: So, what do you think should happen?

A: Indonesia should get back to its own Constitution. I always stand by the Preamble of the Constitution: 'Independence is the right of all peoples and therefore, colonialism should be eradicated from the earth.' The challenge for Indonesia is to put the spirit of the Constitution into practice here in our part of the world.

When people were dealing with independence in Namibia, we gave our support. We supported the anti-apartheid movement by helping Nelson Mandela. But on the other hand, we have given Xanana Gusmão the 'Nelson Mandela treatment' by throwing him into jail.

These are double standards. We were born out of the independence struggle and we should not crush the desire of others to be free even though they are only a small nation.

Q: So what should happen now?

A: I think a good beginning has been made. Alatas has met Ramos-Horta and his colleagues in New York and Lopes da Cruz has said that the President wants to meet the leaders of the East Timor movement. I would like to call on the President to follow the example of de Clerk in South Africa by freeing Xanana Gusmão who is recognised internationally as the leader of the East Timor movement.

Just see: the European Parliament has given him an award that's something like the Nobel Peace Prize. The UN Association in Australia have given him their Human Rights Award. It was a magnanimous gesture on the part of de Clerk to free Nelson

Mandela and then, after contesting the elections, to enter into a government that is lead by Nelson Mandela.

Q: So?

A: This means that we should start holding talks with the East Timor movement. We should also start discussing the technicalities of the surrender of sovereignty. When the Netherlands withdrew from Indonesia, this was preceded by a process of negotiation.

These negotiations could be mediated by someone with authority in East Timor like Bishop Belo. But don't talk to an adventurer like Abilio Araujo as if he represents East Timor. This will only belittle the standing of the East Timorese.

Q: But it isn't possible any more to grant them freedom...

A: Freedom is not something that is granted; it's something that has to be fought for. A referendum is the way to do it, as is recognised internationally.

Did people in Afghanistan ever think that the Russians would withdraw? Did people ever imagine that the Americans would withdraw from South Korea? The longer we hold out there, the more unpopular we become not only with the East Timorese but also internationally.

Q: But the version up to now has been that they want to stay with us.

A: If that assumption is right, we shouldn't be afraid to hold a referendum. If it's true that the East Timorese want to stay with Indonesia, the Indonesian government shouldn't be afraid of a referendum.

Q: Would that resolve the question?

A: After the way we have treated the East Timorese during the past twenty years, I see the process of annexing East Timor as having been far more traumatic than in the case of Irian Jaya.

For instance, from the start, we did not recognise the economic structures in East Timor. Anyone with escudos, the Portuguese currency, found that their money became worthless. This didn't happen in Irian Jaya. The Dutch guilder was convertible into rupiahs so that people didn't feel cheated.

In Irian Jaya, we recognised the system of education that had been pioneered by the missionaries and also the Dutch government. That didn't happen in East Timor. Irian was not forced to become part of Indonesia by our sending thirty battalions. Take a look at the autobiographies of Benny Murdani, Soesilo Sudarman and Yoga Sugama. They all explain how the troops were used.

Q: Just suppose there were to be a referendum and the majority were to opt for staying with Indonesia - say, 60:40.

Would the 40 percent want to recognise the result?

A: That's a hypothetical question. I doubt whether 60 per cent would want to stay with Indonesia. They already know so much about Indonesia. For instance, would it be more efficient for them to use all the oil from the Timor Gap to develop East Timor or, if they were part of Indonesia, to have part of the proceeds deposited with the centre and then have to ask for a share? It would be far better for the East Timorese to use their resources to develop their country. And people from West Timor would be able to find jobs there.

If East Timor were to become independent and prosperous, this would have a positive influence on its neighbours. And the money would result in great abundance and prosperity.

Q: Are you saying that a referendum will not solve the question?

A: A referendum is the first step towards solving the question. But before we get to that first step, there must be the willingness to enter into dialogue, a willingness to hold negotiations between the Indonesian government and the top leadership of the East Timor movement

U.S. EDITORIALS AND OP-EDS

WHY NO INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY?

Editorial, Washington Post, Nov. 5, 1994

It has become the practice – and a good one – for the human rights groups to piggy-back on summits and big international conferences to press their special cause. Right now the focus is on the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting about to open in Indonesia. Its military-chosen government sees a prime opportunity to show off economic growth and foreign policy stability. President Suharto may hope the economic declarations coming out of Bogor will lend him the statesmanlike glow his predecessor Sukarno took on as a father of the nonaligned movement at Bandung in 1965. It is the right moment for the thousands of officials and onlookers to ask about the price that has been paid for the progress claimed.

In fact, Indonesia has committed what Amnesty International calls a “pattern of systematic human rights violations” over the years. The calling of the Bogor conference may have aggravated the offense: Independent labor unions and peaceful dissidents

have been swept up. In the last year, Indonesia has tiptoed up to, and then fled from, a limited experiment in political “openness.” Its return to a more repressive leadership style was marked by the banning of three unintimidated publications last June.

Whatever rationale for hard-line rule was invoked in more parlous times, there can be no good justification for President Suharto's reversion to authoritarian type now. Growth has created a middle class that is demanding the political privileges appropriate to a modernizing society. The banned papers were offering a check on official conduct and corruption – a high value in a country whose parliament is mostly a rubber stamp. The papers were also giving voice to Indonesia's newly threatened “non-government organizations.” These constitute the makings of a bottom-up civil society – again, a high value in a country where authority is commonly asserted from the top down.

The United States provided the secret support in the name of anti-communism that then-Gen. Suharto used to muscle aside President Sukarno in the 1960s. Later Washington enabled Indonesia, which it saw as a strategic partner, to illegally swallow the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which it holds and represses to this day. Their past closeness adds an edge of obligation to the plain American interest in seeing an important and friendly Asian country swing onto a democratic path. President Clinton, his Asian eye so far on commerce, has a chance to show he understands.

A CLINTON MISSION IN JAKARTA

Editorial, Boston Globe, Nov. 12, 1994

“East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are nonexistent.”

This description of Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor appeared in a recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia and was quoted in a letter to President Clinton initiated by Sen. Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, the outgoing Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Republican Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming and signed by 30 senators.

The senators asked Clinton, politely but firmly, to raise the issue of Indonesian repression on East Timor when he meets with Indonesia's President Suharto this Wednesday during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Jakarta. Because the Timorese have suffered genocidal horror since Indonesia invaded in 1975 – after receiving the green light from Gerald Ford and

Henry Kissinger – and since the horror continues, the letter from the senators and a similar letter from House members expressed an appropriate American desire to make up for past complicity in Jakarta's colonization of East Timor.

As the lawmakers suggest, Clinton should urge Suharto not only to cease the torturing and killing of Timorese but to begin serious negotiations, under UN auspices, with the aim of ending Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. There have been pro forma talks between Jakarta and Portugal, the former colonial master of East Timor, and another set of such talks is scheduled for January. Thus far these talks have accomplished nothing. Unless they produce a genuine commitment to Indonesian withdrawal, they will amount to little more than dilatory conversations between the present and past colonizers of a people not allowed to determine their own fate.

If Clinton wishes to undertake a diplomatic process leading to the decolonization of East Timor, he should seek Japan's assistance. Like the United States, Japan has guilt to live down in regard to East Timor. The Japanese also share with the United States an interest in cultivating a stable Asia unstained by the horrors of colonialism.

ATROCITIES ARE BAD FOR BUSINESS

Ending the Rape of East Timor Should Top the Agenda With Indonesia

Washington Post, Sunday Nov. 13, 1994
Op-ed by Paul Moore Jr.

When Bill Clinton visits Indonesia this week and meets with President Suharto in a state visit after the APEC conference, East Timor will be high on the agenda. Clinton has a unique opportunity to lay the groundwork for a diplomatic victory that could solve an enduring human rights crisis at the same time that it removes a sore point in our relations with the most populous country in Southeast Asia. A just settlement of the long-running occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is in the best interests of Indonesia and the United States.

Clinton might be pushing against an open door: Western diplomats say that Suharto, looking at his place in history, may want to find a solution to the morass in East Timor. In 1991 the Indonesian government was deeply embarrassed by British TV footage, shown worldwide, in which its army was seen massacring Timorese students. Helping to resolve this thorny issue could highlight Clinton's talent for leadership and mediation. It could end up being the kind of for-

eign policy breakthrough that Clinton helped facilitate in Northern Ireland.

While East Timor could not be more distant from the United States - it is located off the northern coast of Australia - the U.S. responsibility for its suffering is not. Indeed, the last state visit by a U.S. president to the Indonesian capital came in December 1975, on the eve of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. On that trip President Ford was accompanied by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

"Kissinger and Ford knew from U.S. intelligence of Indonesia's planned action (in East Timor), which violated the laws governing its purchase of American arms," according to an authoritative 1992 biography of Kissinger by Walter Isaacson. "But . . . the administration did nothing to stop the invasion," which proved to be "shockingly brutal." Most estimates place the number of dead as a consequence of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor between 100,000 and more than 200,000, or as much as a third of the population.

Indonesia has been helpful to the United States in many ways and the commercial opportunities between the two countries are great. East Timor is a clear-cut case where the United States, working with allies like Japan, needs to develop a carefully calibrated set of policies informed by the principle that decency and long-term commercial interests are not antagonistic.

The Clinton administration has already taken some action on East Timor, including positive votes on strong resolutions at the U.N. Human Rights Commission and a ban on certain small arms that could be used by Indonesian forces in East Timor. Clinton also raised the issue with Suharto when they met in July 1993 in Tokyo and encouraged U.N. talks later that year. Congressional Republicans, including staunch conservatives like Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.) and Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.), have also been calling on the Indonesian government to ease its grip on East Timor and accept U.N.-sponsored mediation.

The allure of huge new markets in Asia should not tempt the Clinton administration into softening its stand. Indonesian settlers are pouring into the East Timor; a morally questionable birth control program has been put into effect by the same Indonesian army that has decimated the population since the mid-1970s. The word genocide can be accurately used.

In 1989, I visited East Timor when the territory was open to travelers for the first time; it was the most repressive place I had ever encountered - and I'd been to South Africa, Nicaragua and the former Soviet bloc. My first meeting with East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes

Belo, revealed the palpable level of fear in the territory. He said absolutely nothing for the first 10 minutes; when he did finally talk he sought assurances that we would did not feel in danger. Later, he told me he was afraid that he would be assassinated. Since then, this quiet bishop, cut from the same mold as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, has been forced into the role of prophet against oppression. He calls for withdrawal of Indonesian troops and autonomy and, eventually, a U.N.-supervised referendum on the territory's political future.

At present, Indonesian military pride is at stake: having invested so much effort there, how to admit failure? Nonetheless, some top-ranking officers have begun to debate the issue. There is also the question of the military's investments in East Timor's natural wealth such as high-grade coffee, marble, rare sandalwood and, not least, oil.

Until the past few weeks, the Indonesian government has been intransigent as ever on East Timor. In early October, perhaps influenced by the imminent APEC summit, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas extended the velvet glove of diplomacy by meeting for the first time in New York with diplomatic representatives of the East Timorese resistance movement.

But there is still the iron fist. Aside from the continuing imprisonment of top leaders of East Timor's resistance and the torture and abuse of numerous others, one current case exemplifies Jakarta's stance. José Antonio Neves, a theology student, is now on trial a few hundred miles from where the APEC summit will be held, facing a sentence of 20 years to life in prison. A key offense: sending a fax from a commercial establishment on the island of Java for the leader of East Timor's guerrilla movement - hardly a crime worthy of a life behind bars.

Clinton has a chance to reverse the American legacy of 1975. He and our other Asian economic partners can negotiate not just another business deal, but take a major step toward advancing American principles of justice and human rights.

Paul Moore was the Episcopal bishop of New York from 1972 to 1989.

END INDONESIA'S IMPERIALIST RULE

By Benedict R. Anderson. The New York Times op-ed Sunday, November 13, 1994

ITHACA, N.Y. - When President Clinton visits Indonesia for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum this week, he should call for independence for East Timor.

An expansionist Indonesia, vast archipelago nation, invaded and annexed the neighboring former Portuguese colony in 1975. Since then, 200,000 people - out of a population of 700,000 - have died as a result of the fighting and of famine.

The United Nations considers Portugal the legal sovereign in East Timor. Mr. Clinton should make it clear that he is ready to cooperate with Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is overseeing talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal. The U.N. talks, initiated in 1983, long made no progress because of Indonesian stonewalling, but recent pressure has led President Suharto to declare that he is willing to meet with pro-independence leaders.

United States involvement in the problem would be appropriate, for the Truman Administration brokered the 1949 Round Table agreements by which the Netherlands acknowledged the sovereignty of Indonesia, which was proclaimed in 1945.

In 1995, Indonesians will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of their independence, while the East Timorese mourn the 20th anniversary of the occupation.

For nearly 20 years, Jakarta has tried to outdo its own former colonial rulers, the Dutch. Using far more ruthless methods, its military has gained control of most of East Timor without ending armed resistance; it has captured José Alexandre Gusmão (known as Xanana), leader of the nationalist guerrillas, and sentenced him to 20 years. In addition, imitating Dutch colonial policy in Indonesia, Jakarta has poured in funds to build schools and roads while appointing some East Timorese to administrative positions.

Still, Indonesia's goal of political legitimacy in East Timor is further off than ever. Like The Hague, Jakarta has discovered that the mix of development, schooling and repression only deepens and widens the nationalist tide it opposes.

This is why a frustrated President Suharto has referred to East Timor as "a pimple on Indonesia's face" and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas calls it "gravel in our shoes." East Timor's nationalists recognize that Jakarta cannot be defeated militarily.

What is needed is a new Round Table conference for a peaceful transition to independence. Though successive U.S. administrations have enjoyed close relations with Jakarta, all have refused to concede that it has legal sovereignty over East Timor. The U.S. also objects to human rights abuses in Indonesia: on the eve of Mr. Clinton's trip, Jakarta is trying Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the independent All Indonesian Labor Federation, on trumped-up charges of subversion.

In the Congress, where a broad bipartisan group has long expressed deep concern about the chronic human rights abuses in East Timor, there is growing awareness that they are the inevitable consequence of a colonial situation that only a political agreement will resolve.

Since the international uproar over the massacre of November 1991, in which perhaps 200 unarmed East Timorese were gunned down at a rally for independence in full view of foreign journalists, Indonesian intellectuals and students have become increasingly bold in sympathizing with East Timor's resistance.

The massacre, at Dili, East Timor's capital, damaged Indonesia's international reputation. (On Oct. 28, a Federal court in Boston awarded \$14 million to the mother of a 19-year-old human rights observer who was slain. She had sued the general responsible for the massacre, who had gone to Harvard to study but fled the United States when the case was filed against him.) For the first time since 1975, there is now open debate among Indonesian officials, some even calling for a total reappraisal.

In 1949, the Netherlands had to give up a vast colony it had ruled for centuries. Today, Indonesia must relinquish a territory the size of New Jersey it has ruled for less than two decades. President Clinton can help make this possible.

Benedict R. Anderson, professor of international studies at Cornell, edits the journal Indonesia.

INDONESIA'S EMBARRASSMENT

Editorial, New York Times, Nov. 15, 1994

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country. It is a diverse society, rich in both culture and natural resources and eager to take a respected place in the community of nations. So it is appropriate that the Indonesian city of Bogor is hosting the informal summit of the newly formed Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation alliance.

However, Indonesia's image has been marred by the perennially embarrassing issue of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975 and forcibly annexed. Anticipating world attention on the summit, 29 East Timorese students entered the U.S. Embassy grounds in Jakarta on Saturday and have refused to move. Rioting in Dili, the capital of East Timor, broke out over the weekend after the alleged killing of an East Timorese merchant by Indonesian soldiers.

By some estimates, 200,000 people died in the 1975 invasion, roughly a third of East Timor's population. Since then the Indone-

sian Government has maintained a huge military presence, encouraged migration of new residents from Java to swamp the native population, punished peaceful dissent and restricted access by outsiders.

In bilateral talks after the summit, Mr. Clinton is expected to raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto of Indonesia. It is not the only human rights issue he should raise. Equally important are repression of the trade union movement and oppressive policies elsewhere, notably Irian Jaya, Aceh and North Sumatra. Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the Independent All Indonesian Labor Federation, was sentenced to three years in jail on flimsy subversion charges last week.

Given Indonesia's authoritarian tradition and its aspirations for world respect, Mr. Clinton can make some reasonable demands in his meeting with President Suharto. The first priority should be to insure the safety of the students inside the embassy compound and other students still at risk.

He can ask that Jakarta drastically scale down its military presence in East Timor. He can push for more local control and unrestricted access by journalists and both international and domestic human rights organizations, and an end to human rights violations such as arbitrary detention and torture, forced birth control measures and violent repression of peaceful dissent.

A final and helpful gesture would be to make contact with Dili's Roman Catholic Bishop, Filipe Belo, who has spoken out courageously in defense of the Timorese people at a considerable personal risk.

Indonesia is not a monolith. The recent meeting between Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, and the East Timorese opposition leader José Ramos Horta is cause for hope. All these issues are the subject of intense debate within the country, and many Indonesians understand the danger they pose to its international standing. President Suharto must be encouraged to listen to those voices.

A WORD FOR JUSTICE AT INDONESIA'S TRADE SUMMIT

HUMAN RIGHTS: CLINTON'S VISIT COULD SHED LIGHT ON THE GENOCIDAL OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR.

By Mairead Corrigan Maguire. Op-ed, Los Angeles Times, November 13, 1994.

When President Clinton meets with President Suharto of Indonesia during the

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation conference this week, he should not overlook the haunting situation in East Timor.

It is normally extremely difficult to focus public awareness on the former Portuguese colony near Australia, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Perhaps one-third or more of a population of 700,000 have perished as a consequence of a harsh Indonesian occupation. But President Clinton's trip, which includes a state visit in Jakarta on Wednesday, provides a unique opportunity to highlight a tragedy that refuses to go away.

Nov. 12 marked the third anniversary of the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, where Indonesian troops killed hundreds of mourners and demonstrators at a funeral commemoration — a scene recorded by a journalist from British television. These shocking images were seen by millions of people throughout the world.

Immediately thereafter, a 26-year-old East Timorese student, Fernando Araujo, tried to contact Amnesty International to provide them with information about the Santa Cruz massacre. For this and other nonviolent acts, Araujo received a nine-year prison sentence.

Araujo was also charged with having discussions on how to bring East Timor to the attention of the international community. Still another charge involved sending a letter to former President Bush likening the Indonesian occupation of East Timor to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait — not an inaccurate comparison, but a dangerous one to make in Indonesia.

It is also perilous for courageous Indonesians who dare to speak out on the East Timor situation. Last month, I attended an international conference in Portugal with Dr. George Aditjondro, a respected scholar and environmentalist who has done firsthand studies on the Timor situation.

The last night of the conference, Aditjondro received a summons from the Indonesian police for interrogation about comments he made during a university panel discussion on the future of Indonesian politics. Amnesty International believes that this was an attempt by authorities to punish Aditjondro for his criticism of government policy on human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia and East Timor. In recent weeks, Aditjondro has been interrogated for many hours by police about the university panel discussion. After one five-hour session, he became ill.

President Clinton should intervene with Indonesian authorities with the aim of ensuring that such harassment is ended and that Araujo be released.

These two courageous individuals are only the tip of the iceberg. People further

down in society, lacking international networks of support, suffer much worse.

I have had my own experience with the lengths Jakarta will go to muzzle criticism. It pressured allies in the region, such as the Philippines, to prevent a conference on East Timor from taking place in June. Upon arrival in Manila for the conference, after 18 hours of travel, I was summarily deported by the Philippine authorities, under obvious pressure from Jakarta.

The Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo, has inspired me as he speaks out courageously for truth, justice and in defense of human rights in spite of death threats. The bishop is trying to find ways to end the conflict through support for dialogue under the auspices of the United Nations, in accordance with the principles of international law. He deserves the backing of the United States. As we have learned in my home country of Northern Ireland, it is only through all-inclusive dialogue and the cessation of all violence that we can begin to solve our problems together.

Mairead Corrigan Maguire is co-founder of the Northern Ireland Community of the Peace People and shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1976.

U.S. CAN HELP FREE EAST TIMOR

Op-ed, Boston Globe, Nov. 14, 1994. By Arnold S. Kohen

WASHINGTON - When President Clinton meets with President Suharto of Indonesia after the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit on Wednesday, he should take action to reverse a policy that has caused great suffering in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Unlike the conflicts in Haiti, Bosnia and Somalia, East Timor does not require American troops or military threats.

Instead, a timely diplomatic reminder from the United States, working with Japan, could give substance to negotiations underway at the United Nations. This Clinton can help provide.

Clinton's visit to Jakarta is the first by an American president since the fateful 1975 trip by President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who departed a scant 12 hours before Indonesia invaded East Timor. Kissinger did not object to the Indonesian assault on East Timor, which was carried out mainly with American weapons. The record suggests that this stance emboldened the Indonesian leadership, which otherwise may have thought twice about the international consequences of what was, and remains, an illegal invasion.

Catholic Church sources have detailed the grim results of this policy, which may have cost the lives of 200,000 people - one-third of East Timor's population. Repression continues. As I write, a theology student on trial faces 20 years to life in prison for offenses that include sending a fax for the leader of East Timor's armed resistance.

Three years ago, Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed mourners at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in East Timor, killing and wounding hundreds. An investigation conducted in 1993-94 by the British journalist who filmed the 1991 massacre concluded, on the basis of reports compiled by East Timor's church, that at least 500 people vanished, including those shot at Santa Cruz. The church and others insist that many of the wounded were deliberately murdered.

The mother of the sole foreigner killed at Santa Cruz Cemetery brought a lawsuit against the Indonesian general in command of East Timor, and on Oct. 27 was awarded \$14 million in damages by a federal judge in Boston. The decision, handed down here because in 1992 the general had resided in the area, is an example of what happens when the brutality of the occupation is subjected to a real legal system.

The Clinton administration has taken some positive measures on the issue, such as providing unprecedented US support for resolutions in the UN Human Rights Commission, and limiting sales of certain kinds of lethal weapons to Indonesia. US congressmen from both parties have long supported the cause of East Timor.

But there is a less attractive side to the US policy: the strong tendency of some career State Department officials to act as advocates for the Indonesian government's point of view on East Timor.

The Catholic bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo, recently told me about the Timorese fear of the Indonesian government's aggressive birth-control policy - a policy that is viewed benignly by US State Department experts on the region. For good or ill, the views of these mid-level officials often determines American policy on a day-to-day basis.

Whatever the merits of this program in the Florida-sized Indonesian island of Java, where there are more than 100 million people, East Timor, the size of New Jersey, was under-populated even before the 1975 invasion. Eerily, the birth-control program is enforced by the same Indonesian army that decimated East Timor's population in the first place.

Belo also worries that the massive influx of Indonesian settlers appears designed - as in Tibet - to marginalize the East Timorese in their own country. State Department

officials respond that this is unintentional. But East Timor's church and other observers call this a well-planned government policy.

The bishop calls for genuine withdrawal of Indonesian troops to help create peaceful conditions, so that a free election under United Nations supervision may be held. The fear is that traditionalist US policymakers, anxious to avoid offending Indonesia's military rulers, will downplay East Timor. As in 1975, this could embolden Jakarta and convince it that public relations gestures, not concrete change, are sufficient.

Clinton must not let that happen. It necessary, the president and his top advisers should overrule career bureaucrats who inherited an inhuman policy from Kissinger.

Arnold S. Kohen is a journalist.

GRUBBY LITTLE SECRET

**WHAT'S MORE IMPORTANT:
SAVING A LIFE OR MAKING A BUCK?**
Editorial, USA Today, Nov. 15, 1994. [USA Today is the largest-circulation paper in the United States.]

At the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum this week in Indonesia, the buck comes first. Indeed, even some of President Clinton's advisers want him to soft-pedal touchy human rights issues. And so far, he's been all too silent at least in public.

The reason is as simple as it is grubby: The Pacific Rim offers a huge market for U.S. goods and services. Discussing human rights could upset potential trading partners, many of which have human rights records that would make Adolf Hitler grin.

Take, for example, the host, Indonesia.

It unlawfully took over the island of East Timor 18 years ago and slaughtered 200,000 of that island's 700,000 people. When a conference was planned to talk about abuses, Indonesia threatened trade sanctions against the host country, the Philippines, to kill it. When newspapers investigated abuses, they were closed.

One can only applaud the courage of the 29 East Timor protesters who climbed the U.S. Embassy fence in Jakarta and of the hundreds of other East Timorese who took to the streets to attract world attention.

Yet APEC negotiators prefer news about a possible free-trade area among all Pacific nations.

Just imagine that. And look at some of the partners:

- > The murderous regime of Myanmar, formerly Burma, which massacred pro-democracy demonstrators.
- > Cambodia's government and opposition Khmer Rouge, both of which kill civilians

and attack ethnic Vietnamese who've lived within Cambodia for centuries.

- > China, whose government continues to jail political dissidents and rape Tibet.

Trade is important. And trade sanctions are usually awkward tools for transforming another nation's behavior.

Clinton found that out when he attempted to tie trade with China to an improving human rights record. China said forget it; faced with losing markets to others and influence in China, Clinton backed down.

But while trade sanctions rarely make sense, neither does granting special trade favors to countries that deny people basic rights. Nor is silence acceptable when confronted with rights abuses.

President Clinton should tell potential trading partners in Asia exactly what the U.S. stands for - and what it will not stand still for. They can't deny human rights and expect gifts in return.

Favors or silence, however profitable, only make the U.S. complicit in murder.

VOA: U.S. EDITORIALS ON INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

U.S. Opinion roundup, Nov. 16. By Andrew N. Guthrie, Washington

This week's Asian Pacific Economic Conference summit in Indonesia has focused considerable editorial attention on the Suharto government and its questionable human rights record. In addition to commenting on the achievements of the conference, several American newspapers are questioning why more was not done to tie trade concessions to human and civil rights in Indonesia, along with Indonesian-occupied East Timor, and elsewhere in Asia. Now, here is ____ with a sampling of comments in today's US opinion roundup.

We begin our cross-section of US editorial opinion with a Scripps Howard news service column from *The Dallas Morning News*, filed by the Singapore journalist Jon Chua. Now a resident of Illinois, Mr. Chua says a real lack of human rights progress has marred Indonesia's "economic miracle."

"Indonesia illustrates why free trade requires an open society. Suharto, the former general turned president, has ruled Indonesia with an iron hand since the late 1960s and forbids dissent at all levels. His military has brutally crushed political movements opposed to his dictatorial rule. More than 200,000 people died as a result of Indonesia's invasion and annexation of independent East Timor in 1975. Struggling to live with a minimum wage of two dollars a day, Indonesian

workers have tried to develop an active labor and human-rights movement. But with the president and the military behind them, Indonesian employers do not take protest lightly. The army is routinely deployed to break up strikes. Free trade cannot prosper where people are not free politically. By dodging the human rights issue, President Clinton and the other leaders meeting in Jakarta this week are scuttling their economic goals."

The New York Times has some specific suggestions for what might be accomplished in talks between President Clinton and President Suharto.

"He [Mr. Clinton] can ask that Jakarta drastically scale down its military presence in East Timor. He can push for more local control and unrestricted access by journalists and both international and domestic human rights organizations, and an end to human rights violations such as arbitrary detention and torture, forced birth control measures and violent repression of peaceful dissent. ... All these issues are the subject of intense debate within the country, and many Indonesians understand the danger they pose to its international standing. President Suharto must be encouraged to listen to those voices."

The Boston Globe takes its criticism one step farther.

"East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are nonexistent.' this description of Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor appeared in a recent report by human rights watch Asia and was quoted in a letter to President Clinton initiated by Senator Claiborne Pell ... The outgoing democratic chairman of the senate foreign relations committee ... And signed by 30 senators. ... As the lawmakers suggest, [President] Clinton should urge Suharto not only to cease the torturing and killing of Timorese but to begin serious negotiations, under UN auspices, with the aim of ending Indonesia's occupation of East Timor."

The Washington Post says due to American involvement in the past with Indonesia, this country holds an obligation to try to improve the situation now.

"In the last year, Indonesia has tipped up to, and then fled from, a limited experiment in political 'openness.' its return to a more repressive leadership style was marked by the banning of three unintimidated publi-

cations last June. ... The banned papers were offering a check on official conduct and corruption - a high value in a country whose parliament is mostly a rubber stamp. [end opt]...the United States provided the secret support in the name of anti-communism that then-general Suharto used to muscle aside President Sukarno in the 1960s. Later Washington enabled Indonesia, which it saw as a strategic partner, to illegally swallow the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which it holds and represses to this day. Their past closeness adds an edge of obligation to the plain American interest in seeing an important and friendly Asian country swing onto a democratic path."

And finally, a column from *The Boston Globe* by Arnold Kohen, who has recently returned from a trip to East Timor, and who tries to give the conflict a historical perspective.

"[President] Clinton's visit to Jakarta is the first by an American president since the fateful 1975 trip by President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who departed a scant 12 hours before Indonesia invaded East Timor. [Mr.] Kissinger did not object to the Indonesian assault on East Timor, which was carried out mainly with American weapons. The record suggests that this stance emboldened the Indonesian leadership, which otherwise may have thought twice about the international consequences of what was, and remains, an illegal invasion. The fear is that traditionalist US policy makers, anxious to avoid offending Indonesia's military rulers, will downplay East Timor. As in 1975, this could embolden Jakarta and convince it that public relations gestures, not concrete change, are sufficient. [Mr.] Clinton must not let that happen. If necessary, the president and his top advisers should overrule career bureaucrats who inherited an inhuman policy from [Secretary] Kissinger."

With that commentary by journalist Arnold Kohen, writing in *The Boston Globe*, we conclude this sampling of US editorial opinion on the human rights situation in Indonesia and East Timor.

INDONESIA'S PEBBLE

Editorial, Wall Street Journal, 17 Nov.

That pebble in President Suharto's shoe has been making itself felt again. On Sunday night, just before Bill and Hillary Clinton

were to arrive, about 30 East Timorese scaled the U.S. Embassy fence in Jakarta. Several hundred of their brethren back in Dili went on a rampage, smashing cars and shops.

It doesn't seem at all clear that this will mar Mr. Suharto's APEC success, though it certainly has captured the attention of the media swarm that has descended on Jakarta. But it does raise anew the question of whether Indonesia would be better off shaking out the pebble, for its own sake as well as East Timor's.

The world was a different kind of mess when Mr. Suharto sent in the troops in 1975. Then it seemed the lesser of two evils what with the likelihood that the Soviet Union would try to exploit whatever instability was left in the wake of the retreating Portuguese empire. Since then, it has become a point of Indonesia's national honor to make a success of "integration." If Indonesian troops were to march out again, the argument goes, it would invite other separatist brushfires and then a great polyglot nation could self-destruct.

With due respect for a troubled, sometimes bloody past, this may give too little credit to the past 30 years. Even a great number of Timorese have all along favored integration with their big, prosperous neighbor, though they have hardly been ardent in expressing their support. The proponents of Timorese nationalism have the advantage of being passionate, of course, and the young in particular aren't inclined to be tempered by practicalities. So while some form of quasi-autonomy granted by Jakarta might quell the independence urge, it also might not. And then East Timor would continue to get in the way of more important business.

For it seems clear that if Indonesia's progress is to continue, it needs to loosen up. The army must begin to move aside politically so civilian interests can contest more openly to set the agenda, and Jakarta must relax its centralizing hold over the economy to spur development and allay the legitimate gripes of the provinces. There isn't much disagreement among civilian experts on these points.

Some in the military, though, frequently use the old Soviet Union as an analogy to emphasize the country's potential to fracture and thus the need for the military to stay on top of politics. We doubt that many in the ABRI, as the armed forces are called, really want to be likened to the Red Army, which was an army of occupation.

Mr. Suharto certainly knows that his legacy won't be made by a successful APEC summit or a happy ending for East Timor, but by bequeathing Indonesia a stable, prosperous future. Some recent straws on

the wind suggest that Jakarta is trying to scale back its military commitment in East Timor and to open channels to Portugal, the Catholic church and the Timorese. At this point, these may be little more than fumbblings. But if Mr. Suharto eventually concludes that getting rid of the East Timor albatross is a necessary step on the road to modernity, we could only applaud him.

INDONESIA'S OPPORTUNITY LOST

Editorial, The Washington Post. Nov. 24

What an astonishing performance by the military-run government of Indonesia. Here it had, in the big Asia Pacific economic summit earlier this month, a marvelous occasion to showcase its formidable economic and social achievements as a modernizing Muslim state. But it acted in a way that left a lingering impression of an uptight police regime.

This result, contrary to the Suharto government's intentions and interests, flowed principally from the issue of East Timor. That's the former Portuguese colony that Indonesia annexed just as it was going independent in 1975. The Indonesians thought that, by their huge repressions conducted out of international view, they could turn a quick snatch into an accomplished fact. They failed to anticipate the pressures that could be generated by a network of activists working in a context of growing international awareness of human rights. This is how an obscure half-island territory like East Timor, which few could locate on a map, finds a place on the global political agenda.

To greet President Clinton and other world figures arriving for the recent economic summit, students and others organized demonstrations in Jakarta and in East Timor. The authorities responded with restraint while their guests were still in country and, it is now reported, with ferocity once they departed. This is the latest show of retrograde conduct by a country that yearns to be hailed for its place on the cutting edge of enlightenment in the Pacific.

Like American presidents before him, Bill Clinton categorizes East Timor as a human rights issue and urges Indonesian attention to it on that basis. But it is not simply a human rights issue. The United Nations has ruled, and every impartial analyst has agreed, that the invading Indonesians never permitted the people of East Timor a valid act of self-determination. Instead, the former Dutch colony simply grabbed the former Portuguese colony. Its witting patron in this act of colonialism was the United States, which valued Indonesia's weight in the Cold War's geopolitical scales.

No doubt powerful Indonesia can hang on to tiny East Timor indefinitely. Indonesia's friends should ask it why it would want to. That would be inconvenient for the United States, which announced \$40 billion worth of deals with Jakarta during Mr. Clinton's trip. It would be the right thing to do.

RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN INDONESIA

Editorial, The Boston Globe, Nov. 25, 1994

At the Asian economic conference in Jakarta, President Clinton kept a promise to raise the issue of human rights abuses on East Timor with Indonesia's President Suharto. Clinton also welcomed 29 East Timorese who came onto the grounds of the US Embassy in Jakarta to protest Indonesia's annexation of their land in 1976 – an annexation still not recognized by the United Nations.

Clinton's expressions of solicitude for the people of East Timor were commendable, but Suharto's regime has since demonstrated that its brutal treatment of the Timorese has not changed.

Indonesia must not be allowed to draw a curtain over occupied East Timor, where, in the aftermath of peaceful demonstrations, young people are being hunted and tortured by Suharto's army and security forces.

The leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, told The New York Times that in recent days Indonesian soldiers have "entered houses and arrested young people without any kind of explanation." All those arrested were beaten, Bishop Belo said, and some were beaten so badly they had to be hospitalized.

The dragnet and beatings followed a violent attack on peaceful demonstrators that a BBC reporter described as a police provocation. Speaking from Dili, the capital of East Timor, the BBC's Phillip Short reported Monday: "The demonstration was peaceful until, suddenly, from the road that runs around the cathedral grounds, there was a volley of rocks thrown by plainclothes police. This was the provocation that turned the whole thing violent."

Suharto's regime has made the preposterous claim that foreign journalists incited Timorese to protest the occupation that wiped out an estimated 200,000 of the 700,000 people who lived in East Timor in 1975. Ominously, Jakarta has begun to expel foreign journalists from East Timor, as it did after the 1975 invasion.

Clinton should demand that journalists not be expelled and that a sufficient number of human rights monitors be allowed into East Timor to protect the Timorese.

POST-APEC REPORTS

EAST TIMOR ANNEXATION NOT RECOGNISED BY U.N.

By Bill Tarrant, Reuter, Nov. 18, 1994

Jakarta – Indonesia invaded mainly Roman Catholic East Timor on December 7, 1975, after civil war broke out in the spice island following an abrupt withdrawal by Portuguese colonial authorities.

Indonesian troops, landing at Dili harbour from 20 naval ships, toppled the leftist Fretilin party which had established a de facto government and issued a proclamation of independence.

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

The invasion took place days after a visit by U.S. President Gerald Ford. Indonesia's President Suharto said shortly afterwards he could not tolerate "a Cuba in our backyard."

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

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

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

Japanese and Australian troops fought fierce battles on the Portuguese half of the island during World War Two, in which up to 60,000 East Timorese were killed. The Allies feared Japan would use the island as a base to launch an invasion of Australia.

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

After a military coup toppled the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974, the new leftist government sought to discard the remnants of the Portuguese empire. It hastily withdrew from the colony, sparking civil war.

Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province on July 17, 1976, after pushing Fretilin insurgents into the hills. The United Nations has never recognised the takeover and has called for talks between Indonesia and Portugal and a referendum in the territory.

Fretilin guerrillas mounted regular attacks on Indonesian troops for years after the invasion from their hideouts in the mountainous interior. Up to 80 percent of the

East Timorese abandoned, or were forced to leave, their homes during the fighting.

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops killed up to 200 unarmed demonstrators, marching to the grave of a Timorese activist killed by troops several weeks earlier.

An Indonesian commission of inquiry on December 26, 1991, revised the official toll from 19 to "about 50" and said the demonstrators acted belligerently and displayed liberation banners.

Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno, now Indonesia's vice-president, told parliament in Jakarta a day after the killings: "These ill-bred people have to be shot...and we will shoot them."

On November 20, 1992, Indonesia captured Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão. He was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of rebellion and possession of firearms in May of 1993. The sentence was later commuted to 20 years.

Last Saturday, third anniversary of the massacre, 29 East Timorese students climbed the railings of the U.S. embassy in Jakarta and began a sit-in to demand Gusmão's release.

Anti-Indonesian demonstrations broke out on Sunday in East Timor and continued until Tuesday, embarrassing President Suharto as he hosted 18 Asia Pacific leaders at an economic summit in Bogor. They flared up again on Friday, with police firing tear gas at up to 500 protesters.

SOME THINGS LINGER: TIMOR PROTESTS OUTLAST APEC SUMMIT (FEER)

Far Eastern Economic Review, 1 December 1994. By John McBeth in Jakarta

The APEC dignitaries went home, the Timorese protesters occupying the American Embassy accepted political refuge in Portugal...but, for Indonesia, the East Timor issue refuses to go away.

The Portuguese colony it annexed in 1976 was the scene of further disturbances as delegates left Jakarta following the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. In the capital, meanwhile, the embassy hold-outs said on November 22 they had agreed to be "repatriated." They and the Portuguese avoided using the word "asylum" so as not to imply recognition of the annexation.

The 29 protesters, one of them hospitalised, are part of a 78-strong group that had planned to take part in the occupation. Western diplomats say they are still worried about the well-being of at least 40 who were detained before the occupation began on November 11; the Indonesian authorities say this group has been released. In East

Java, another 80-90 Timorese were reportedly rounded up for questioning.

The protesters had swarmed over the embassy fence in an action that guaranteed Timor would be at centre-stage throughout the summit. Among their original demands was a meeting with American President Bill Clinton and the release of Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão from prison in Jakarta.

In Dili, military authorities blamed visiting foreign journalists for sparking an incident on November 18 in which a group of Indonesians threw stones at about 150 Timorese demonstrators outside Dili Cathedral. A week earlier, riots had broken out in the provincial capital after a native Timorese was knifed to death in a quarrel with a Sulawesi trader.

During bilateral talks with Clinton following the APEC meeting, President Suharto is said to have rejected suggestions that East Timor might be given a special administrative status. This proposal had been mooted as a way of resolving an issue that far from fading from the headlines now seems to be moving back to prominence.

Analysts reserve judgment. They note that, as much as Clinton wanted to encourage the process of reconciliation that seems to have emerged in recent months, Suharto wouldn't want to be seen as bowing to United States pressure by disclosing a change in policy. Significantly, in a rare meeting with foreign reporters some days later, Indonesia's armed-forces commander, Gen. Feisal Tanjung, declined to comment on the autonomy question.

Clinton was reportedly "firm and forceful" in addressing human-rights concerns during his hour-long meeting with Suharto. Still, at a press conference and again during a speech to American businessmen and members of Suharto's cabinet, he signalled a shift in approach that has not gone unnoticed. "We remain convinced," he said, "that strengthening the ties of trade among nations can help to break down the chains of repression."

Indeed, the Americans were chortling over the signing of 17 agreements and memorandums covering US\$40 billion in U.S.-Indonesia investments.

For their part, Indonesian human-rights activists made few friends by boycotting a lunch with Winston Lord, the American assistant Secretary of State, after they had been refused a meeting with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Lord, an influential player in Asian affairs, is said to have been furious.

EAST TIMOR RISES UP

John Pilger, *New Statesman and Society*, 25.11.1994

A sustained uprising has engulfed Dili, the capital of East Timor. For the first time since November 1991, when more than 200 peaceful demonstrators were shot by Indonesian troops, young East Timorese have staged a series of audacious demonstrations. At the time of writing, there has been one a day for a week, in which crowds have beaten back riot police. Scores have been "arrested"; several are reported killed, though this is unconfirmed.

At the same time, 27 East Timorese continue to occupy the grounds of the American embassy in Jakarta, calling on President Clinton, who was in Indonesia last week for APEC (the Pacific trade conference), to demand the release of Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned resistance leader. The East Timorese scaled the embassy's 20-foot spiked railings. As a spectacle of incorrigible bravery, the silhouette of a slight young man poised defiantly on the spikes joins the memory of those who stood against tanks in Tiananmen Square.

Clinton did speak up for them, perhaps the first American president to raise the subject of East Timor with the dictator, Suharto. He said he told Suharto to "loosen the ties" with the Portuguese colony that Indonesia seized in 1975 and has since occupied in defiance of ten United Nations resolutions, and at a cost of 200,000 lives. But then Clinton and his entourage were gone, having received assurances "that the protestors would not be harmed if they left the embassy."

It can be safely assumed that these "assurances" are as worthless as those given to the British government that British Aerospace Hawk aircraft would not be used for "repression" in East Timor. Certainly, the Jakarta police have assiduously videotaped every protester inside the embassy, and nothing has been heard of 40 others who were caught before they reached the gates.

What is so stirring about these events is that a resistance which, until recently, most people knew nothing about, now has much of the world watching. And perhaps many of the journalists who came to Indonesia for the APEC circus, and have at last directed their cameras and pack instincts at East Timor, should ask themselves where they have been until now. (And is it not time that the Guardian correspondent dropped reference to the "remarkable successes," economic or otherwise, of one of the century's most barbarous regimes?)

In my reckoning, East Timor will have freedom, or a large measure of it, within a

few years. Suharto craves respectability and the East Timorese know that, if they fail to push now, the regime's transmigration and birth control policies will erode their majority in their own country. What distinguishes revolt today is that it is led by the very young people whom the Indonesians were convinced they had "socialized." It also cuts against the collusive cynicism of the brokers and barkers of western power who dismiss the rights of 'shirt-pocket countries' as irrelevant to "globalization" (imperialism). Above all, it reveals the great worth of international solidarity.

Like black South Africa before it, East Timor now commands a worldwide movement. Of course, the network of exiles and foreign groups has been there for many years, with the resistance "foreign minister" José Ramos-Horta travelling tirelessly between the UN, Europe and Australia, and with Noam Chomsky, Arnie Kohen and Charlie Scheiner in the US, Tom Hyland in Ireland, the remarkable Carmel Budiardjo in Britain, and Agio Pereira, Gil Scrine and many others in Australia and Portugal.

Soon after the invasion in 1975, East Timor was assigned to media oblivion. Until Max Stahl's film of the 1991 massacre in Dili was shown, hardly anyone had heard of it. Stanford's in Covent Garden, reputedly the best map shop in the world, could not find a proper map of it for me. All that has changed in a very short time. The death of a third of the population - a "moderate" estimate according to the Indonesian academic George Aditjondro - and the suffering and heroism of the survivors have become a touchstone for those in the west who are no longer prepared to accept the indecency of their governments' complicity.

There is certainly something about the East Timorese experience that moves people. Wherever my film, *Death of a Nation*, has been shown, often on home-recorded videos, audiences have been in the hundreds and more. German television has yet to show it; but the film's informal distribution has already reached a national audience. When *Death of a Nation* was originally broadcast, British Telecom recorded 1,000 calls per minute to the Helpline number shown at the end of the programme. Following its showing in Ireland and New Zealand, East Timor became a national issue, with a parliamentary majority in both countries calling for justice. I asked Dick Spring, the Irish foreign minister, why this was so. "Whenever the Irish speak about suffering of this kind," he said, 'we preface our remarks with 'historically speaking.' East Timor has all the ingredients we understand: it touches us deeply."

This wave of support has reached East Timor through radio and clandestine chan-

nels. "After the years of silence, Bishop Carlos Belo told me recently on the telephone from Dili, "We still can't quite believe it. The young are very aware of it. When foreign delegations come, young people take incredible risks; but now they know people on the outside are listening..."

This is not to say that the resistance can win militarily. But Jakarta's anxiety to rid itself of "the pebble in our shoe" is being expressed in increasingly desperate acts. According to the guerrilla leader, Konis Santana, heavy bombing has resumed and since the beginning of August British-supplied Hawk and American supplied Bronco aircraft have attacked the eastern region, mounting an average of six sorties a day.

"Some of these raids," says Ramos Horta, "seemed to be almost random without the pilot aiming specifically at guerrilla targets, but at any remote hamlet. On 23 September, in the area between Kelikai and Baguia, a missile [fired by a Hawk] destroyed a group of six houses. There were no survivors observed among some 30 inhabitants, mainly women and children. Because there are no large concentrations of resistance forces, the Hawks are used to intimidate villagers with low-flying and target practice."

The controversy over whether or not the Hawks have been used in East Timor has been manufactured, says Mark Higson, the former Foreign Office official who gave evidence to the Scott inquiry. "Far from them being mere trainers," he said, "everybody [at the Foreign Office] knows they are for offensive purposes" and that pretending otherwise "is the same fiction we maintained over arms to Iraq."

The issue of the Hawks has two burning fuses for the British government. In the wake of the High Court's ruling that Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd acted unlawfully in the Pergau dam affair, an even bigger aid-for-arms scandal beckons, involving 2-billion worth of arms sold to Indonesia, principally Hawks. That the Hawks have been terrorizing a region which the UN Security Council regards as illegally occupied means that the British government is in violation of the UN Charter and UN resolutions, giving grounds for action against it at the World Court.

In fact, Hawk "trainers," loaded with missiles, cluster bombs and cannon pods, have been deployed in East Timor since August 1983, when the Indonesians broke a three-month ceasefire. According to Agence France Presse, 20,000 troops were used in that offensive. Two Hawks were used regularly in the Ainaro-Maubisse triangle, the Lauten-Los Palos-Tutuala corridor and the Matebian mountain range. Eyewitnesses, whose evidence has been dismissed as "spu-

rious" by the Foreign Office, have grown used to the distinctive shape of the British aircraft attacking them, in the same way that the people of Kent came to recognise types of German aircraft in their skies.

The Foreign Office and the Indonesians have collaborated for years to keep East Timor out of the news. A London based Indonesian "journalist," Dino Patti Djalal, writing in the servile Jakarta Post, derided the evidence of the East Timorese in my film who witnessed British aircraft in action. "The locals," he wrote, "still have difficulty identifying models of automobile [sic] let alone jets." Such is the almost racist contempt the Jakarta elite has for the East Timorese. Unbeknown to the Post's English-language readers, this man is not a correspondent at all, but third secretary at the Indonesian embassy in London and son of the director of political affairs in Jakarta. Much of his material is supplied by the FO.

The other day I received a letter from the daughter of a former cabinet minister in a Labour government. She described the kind of institutional lying "that my father hated" and which, she wrote, allows British governments to deceive friends and enemies alike, as well as the people of this country. This "culture of lying," as Mark Higson described it to the Scott inquiry, may be losing its currency as scandals consume this government, many of them linked to arms deals with tyrants. And there is now on the TV news, belatedly, the rebellion of a people against whom British lies and British weapons have been used, year upon year, and who are serving notice that they intend to remain memorable until independence is theirs.

REPORTS ON EAST TIMOR NOT YET NEUTRAL

The Jakarta Post Nov. 29, 1994. By Bilveer Singh, a senior lecturer in political science at the National University of Singapore.

This article has been distributed widely by the Indonesian Dept. of Foreign Affairs.

Even though the East Timor issue is closely connected to Portugal's domestic politics, the western media prefers to ignore it. Journalists seldom ask what really caused the problem.

This has been seen repeatedly over the last 20 years, in particular whenever a flare-up breaks out in East Timor, be it on Nov. 12, 1991, or on Nov. 12, 1994, just before the APEC leaders conference.

The roots of this phenomenon date back to April 25, 1974, when a military coup in Lisbon, Portugal, overthrew the Caetano regime, kicking off the decolonization proc-

ess in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and East Timor.

While analysts, local and foreign, have certain vested interests in pursuing a particular line, what cannot be denied, and what history bears out, is that the East Timor problem arose from the sheer irresponsibility of a colonial power, Portugal.

After 400 years of rule, which kept the colony one of the most backward pieces of territory in Southeast Asia, Lisbon decided to decolonize East Timor.

In this effort, it sought Jakarta's cooperation. Lisbon's dilemma was that in East Timor there were three different political parties, formed immediately following the April 1974 coup in Lisbon. One, Fretilin, wanted independence. Another, Apodeti, wanted independence through integration with Indonesia. The third, UDT, was unsure what to do.

Jakarta's position was simple; it supported the decolonization of East Timor but preferred that Lisbon provide the same opportunity to all three parties. If this was done, Jakarta would accept the final decision.

Unfortunately, something which Portugal and the majority of western journalists prefer to ignore, Lisbon reneged on this understanding.

Instead of being fair to all three parties, Lisbon, under a leftist regime, sided with the Fretilin, a small left-wing party formed by young people who had studied in Portugal. Fretilin also contained many elements of the dreaded colonial army.

UDT, which consisted mostly of government officials and the traditional elite, remained undecided on where it stood. Apodeti, on the other hand, was made up of East Timorese freedom fighters, who had a clear vision of where they were going. They were kept on the defensive, with many leaders exiled or executed.

Lisbon's support of Fretilin led the other two parties to revolt against it and hence, the outbreak of the civil war.

Lisbon's failure to be even-handed and its unabashed backing of the Fretilin were the principal causes of the initial bloodshed in East Timor following the Lisbon coup. This policy greatly shaped the course of events thereafter.

This is something that is conveniently ignored by most analysts and observers whose every efforts seems to be focused on reinterpreting history, if not rewriting it.

What is worse, at the peak of the civil war, the Portuguese colonialists packed and fled, leaving the East Timorese to fight it out. If no force had intervened (a similar case was India's intervention in East Pakistan in 1971, when the Pakistani Army was brutalizing the Bengalis), the well-armed

Fretilin forces would have massacred the followers of UDT and Apodeti.

It was in these circumstances that Indonesia was forced to intervene and fight a bloody war to bring the country to peace.

No war anywhere, limited or total, is pleasant. The Americans found this out in Vietnam, Lebanon, Somalia and Kuwait. In the same way, the military conflict in East Timor, or what is left of it, has never been pleasant. The question is, which policy is one going to uphold on the basis of what moral values? The irresponsible behavior of the Portuguese as a colonial power that led to the East Timor problem, or the Indonesian effort to bring about peace and development in the country? This could be debated for a long time to come.

What the ASEAN countries have decided is that Indonesia was forced to undertake an unpleasant mission, and that it has done well. The support Jakarta has been receiving from the ASEAN countries in the United Nations or other forums emerges from the fact that the ASEAN countries are aware East Timor would have been far worse off without Indonesian intervention. No ASEAN country would have endorsed a "Cuba" on Indonesia's doorstep. Their stance is not so different from that of the United States, which has penalized Castro all these years.

The West enjoys picking up issues related to human rights, which countries elsewhere can understand because this is part of the western cultural ethos. The problem, from the ASEAN point of view, however, is the totality of the issue.

It is in this context, that the statement on East Timor, made by Singapore's Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong, prior to the Bogor conference, becomes understandable. In the words of Goh, the problem was "media hype." In his view, one should look at Indonesia from the broader perspective of its achievements rather than nit-picking. American society is not the same as what its various cults represent. In the same way, East Timor is not what the media makes it out to be, sensationalists as they are. The country has an obvious law and order problem and, as is the case anywhere else, force has to be resorted to at times.

When Goh was asked to comment on the East Timor issue, the western media was very busy with what it dubbed "East Timor Revisited," brought about by the presence of 29 East Timorese youths in the compound of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, and the street riots in Dili, where one person died in inter-ethnic clashes between the Bugis originating from South Sulawesi and East Timorese. In response Goh said: "We have to look at Indonesia as a country and

look at the achievements of the Indonesian government over the last 28 years.”

He felt that “if we were to do an objective study, we must come to the conclusion that President Soeharto has brought much prosperity for the people.” He also felt that counter to the western media’s habit of combing for trouble-spots, “we should not focus on one particular dot, but should focus on the total picture, the achievements of Indonesia.”

Indonesia, in Goh’s assessment, “has been united for the last 28 years, its per capita has gone up by five or six times. That is remarkable.”

Thus, when one analyses that totality of the Indonesian situation, the problem in East Timor pales into insignificance.

More important, what is often missed is that the majority of the East Timorese are at home with their integration with Indonesia. Integration has brought about prosperity which they had not seen for more than 400 years.

In many ways, East Timor has had far more development aid and infrastructure pumped into it than has gone into West Irian, a territory integrated into Indonesia in 1962. The result, if anything, is that some sort of an envy factor is emerging between the two territories.

It is in this context, that the East Timor issue should be assessed and analyzed.

Every country has problems, as can be seen in Germany, which is feeling the weight of the burden of its recent unification. Yet, the media focus on that country is not on its blatant racism; rather, various justifications for its people’s actions and policies are forwarded. Elsewhere, as in the case of East Timor, condemnations is in vogue.

While all agree that there are problems in East Timor, the media, with its negative, one sided reporting, has done more injustice than justice for the East Timorese. Instead of feeding the false expectations of a small group of East Timorese, the media should be forward looking and talk of undertaking change within the constitutional framework of Indonesia.

The peace and development achieved in East Timor should be appreciated rather than sidelined as a footnote. In the post-Cold War era, East Timor deserves sensible and sensitive treatment from the West, rather than sensationalism that is not serving, and never will serve, anyone’s interests.

RESPONSE TO BILVEER SINGH

Hello SEASCAL readers. I am compelled to respond, if only briefly, to the recent article that was posted on the SEASCALINFO line. I found the appearance of Bilveer Singh’s article somewhat surprising, in the sense that such blatant

apologist propaganda is often more appropriate for places like the NY Times or Time magazine. However Bilveer brings up some interesting points that need addressing! :

1) Bilveer states that Portugal is to blame for the historical dynamic that has led to “civil war” (a term he uses in contrast to many of those in and outside of East Timor on the issue of whether this is a war or a rebellion).

He points his scholarly finger at Fretilin as the principal root of this evil. Ironically it was the Fretilin party that did not seek “integration” with the superior economic and military force in Indonesia. They were the true seekers of independence. He, however, refers to Apodeti as the party that sought “independence through integration with Indonesia.” Excuse me but is Bilveer getting paid by the Indonesian government? Did the person who put his ridiculous article on the net get paid too?? Please explain to me how East Timor could possibly be “independent” when it is to be absorbed into the national atmosphere of Indonesia (?) (-a country that tries very hard to assimilate it’s island populations for the purpose of natural resource extraction (profit) and for political control.

2) “Integration has brought prosperity which they [East Timor] had not seen for more than 400 years”

Hahahahaha. Excuse me while I attempt to stop laughing at such a blatant modernist and western perspective!! What indeed has Indonesia’s occupation and blatant political/economic control over East Timor brought those residents of East Timor? Why are hundreds of young people revolting? Just brat kids perhaps? Sorry folks, but Indonesia, with the help of Bilveer Singh, is simply rationalizing its colonization of a region that had been colonized previously.

Indonesia is a country that has, not unlike many “western” nations, attempted to spread its political and economic power base by expanding its realm of influence. Assimilation, economic restructuring, privatization of community (or “unclaimed”) land, the export of natural resources, appropriation of profits by foreign corporations and Indonesian insiders (gov’t and military)... the list goes on and on. It is ironic that Bilveer Singh accuses the world of seeing the issue of East Timor through the eyes of a western perspective... ironically it is he, who has been educated to believe that modernizing is good, bringing technology to the “natives” is progressive, and economic growth is some sort of natural, universal law... it is his western eyes that refuses to see the real issue. What do the people in East Timor want? They want (or at least enough do so that the issue should be addressed seriously) to be independent, to

control their own political dynamics, to determine the fate of their lives, their resources, their social development. Indonesia... you have shown your intolerance for deviation, for independence, for anything not Jakartian for decades... and Bilveer Singh, please do not insult our intelligence with your modernist, western-oriented babble. I get enough of that via the corporate media here in the U.S.

My apologies to any of those who I might have offended. I simply thought it necessary to respond to Bilveer’s article in an emotional manner.

Thanks for reading.

Paul Slusher

EVENTS IN THE UK AND IRELAND

MP NICHOLLS DEFENDS JAKARTA AGAIN

Letter to the Editor, The Times of London, 8 November 1994

From Mr. Patrick Nicholls, MP for Teinbridge (Conservative)

Sir, The Reverend P.W.H. Davies (letter, November 2) cites Bishop Belo, leader of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, as saying that the apparent improvements in the human rights situation there, resulting from a reduction of the uniformed military presence on the streets, “disguises a worsening of conditions.”

Although the bishop, in a taped interview with a third party (Jonathan Humphries’ letter, October 11), claimed that any improvements were only slight, the other non-government sources to whom my delegation from the All-Party Anglo-Indonesian Parliamentary Group spoke during our recent visit, put it higher than that. When we asked the bishop what, practically speaking, was the way forward, he said he thought that it probably lay in the exploration of special status for East Timor within Indonesia.

Bernard Levin’s attack (“Stop excusing tyranny,” October 25) heaped vulgar and venomous abuse on someone he has never met on a subject which he does not appear to know. There is no need for me to draw attention in any detail, yet again, to the wholly unsubstantiated casualty figures in East Timor since 1975; even those most opposed to the government whom my delegation met freely admitted that they are completely unreliable.

Mr. Levin implies that the group was not all-party because no Labour MP was present. The group’s vice-chairman, the Labour MP David Young, had accepted the invita-

tion, only declining at a later stage because of constituency obligations. The second Labour MP, who had originally expressed an interest in going, was also unable to accept.

We were able to raise the subject of human rights with everyone, from the President downwards. Everyone we met, including the dissidents and Bishop Belo, made the point that they were pleased that we had come to Indonesia to see for ourselves.

Mr. Levin concludes that he can do nothing but write words. He could do better than that. He could look at all the evidence, instead of accepting uncritically every calumny heaped on Indonesia. He could try to understand something of the history of the country about which he writes and finally he could reflect on whether the cause he seeks to advance is best served by dashing off articles of such bias and bile.

Yours faithfully,

PATRICK NICHOLLS, MP

House of Commons, November 3

PASS NOTES NO. 520: PRESIDENT SUHARTO

The Guardian, 10 November 1994

For those who don't know Pass Notes is a regular Guardian feature. It is a satirical and irreverent, though often tellingly accurate, sketch of a person in the news, in the form of a dialogue.

Age: 73

Occupation: President of 13,700 islands and 180 million people making up (not always voluntarily) the giant petro-Muslim state of Indonesia.

Claim to fame: Uncontested holder of Best Little Housekeeper in the South Seas award.

A handy chap with a Hoover then?: And his grateful people obviously agree! His 'New Order' government is almost 30 years old.

Latest sanitation coup: Has been a busy-bee disinfecting Jakarta for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit next Tuesday so Bill Clinton et al aren't troubled by unsightly litter.

He calls it: 'Operation Cleansing.'

Jealous human rights groups who never wash as white call it: A crackdown involving arbitrary political arrests and hit-squad killings.

Come, I won't hear a word said against him: Funny, neither will he. Closed three gutsy little weeklies this year for their candor about elite pocket-lining.

Sigmund Freud asks: Unt ven did zis interest in order first manivest itself?

Pass Notes answers: Age 19, when he joined the army, becoming obsessive at 44

(typical mid-life crisis time for ambitious brigadier-general's who find themselves conveniently commanding army strategic reserves).

Which produced: His famous Year of Scouring Dangerously. Led forces in supposed counter-coup (October 1965) against supposed communist coup against President-for-life Sukarno. Went on to supervise the greatest bloody autumn-to-spring cleaning of all time, massacring at least 500,000 pinkos.

Hell for the carpets. But at least he saved the Prez-for-Life's bacon: Er, actually he stashed the old megalomaniac tidily under house arrest, and set up his 'New Order' to end corruption, oppression and national bankruptcy. By March 1968 those nasty red stains were gone and this modest Javanese son of the soil was President. Not for life, mind you, just ever since.

What a guy!: Yet he's content to be just plain 'babak' (father) of the nation. Politics, he says, should take place in a family-like atmosphere.

The First Family does its bit? And how. Wife Tien and most of the six kids work hard at income redistribution schemes. In-laws and cronies help, too.

But wait, what about the killings in that place he annexed in 1975-76, East Timor? What do UN human rights investigators know about getting out that really stubborn pro-independence grime?

Most likely to say: 'Scrubba-dub-dub, three troublemakers in a tub. Hush-a, hush-a, they all fall down.'

Least likely to say: 'I've had enough.'

A TERRIBLE INJUSTICE BY THE INDONESIAN ARMY

Letter to the Guardian (UK), From: James Gibbons. 10 November 1994

Almost exactly three years ago I heard my stepbrother had been shot by the Indonesian army, during a peaceful demonstration in East Timor.

My parents were visiting me in London at the time. For a few hours there was hope that 20-year-old Kamal, a political science student in Sydney, Australia, had survived. But after seeing them off at Heathrow, I learned that Indonesian soldiers had left him to bleed to death in the street after shooting him at close range.

A Red Cross worker found him feebly waving his New Zealand passport. It was too late when they got him to hospital. His body joined those of more than 200 people killed when troops opened fire on the defenceless crowd in Dili, the island's capital.

In the weeks that followed I also learned that his death was part of a pattern of mili-

tary repression by Indonesia which human rights groups claim has seen the killing of more than 200,000 Timorese - a quarter of the population - since 1975.

Grief at the inexplicable loss of one of the friendliest and gifted people I have had the privilege to know, became deep anger.

I did everything I could to publicize the atrocity. I managed to get extracts from his Timor diaries published here and in Portugal. I stood in front of the Indonesian embassy at Grosvenor Square holding placards and staring bitterly at its grand facade. But no one who could make a real difference wanted to know. It seemed to me that the publicity sparked by the massacre had achieved little more than to embarrass the Indonesian government.

But three years to the month of Kamal Bamadhaj's death, a court decision has effectively put the credibility of American law behind the words of condemnation since heaped on Indonesia by governments, human rights groups and ordinary individuals all over the globe. General Sintong Panjaitan, who was in charge of the army in East Timor at the time of the massacre, has been ordered by a US federal court to pay \$14 million in punitive damages and for causing pain and suffering to my family.

My stepmother and Kamal's estate are unlikely to see the money. The general, now a senior adviser to the Indonesian Minister of Technology, was not in court and reportedly rejects the accusations. He has no assets in the US, and as long as he stays out of the country he is beyond the law.

But the real significance for me, and I hope for every other person aware of the profound misery forced on the Timorese people by the Indonesians, is that my stepmother, Helen, has won a symbolic victory whose value cannot be counted in dollar notes.

There are thousands of Timorese mothers who would dearly love to do what she did, but cannot. Now each of them knows that in the eyes of an impartial observer and representative of American law, they have suffered, and continue to suffer, a terrible injustice at the hands of the Indonesian army.

It cannot bring their children back, but it is a step towards weakening Jakarta's deathly grip on their would-be nation.

James Gibbons, London W12

MAGUIRE TO ANNOUNCE NOBEL PRIZE NOMINEE

East Timor Massacre To Be Marked At Belfast City Hall

The Peace People, Belfast, Northern Ireland. News Release, Nov. 10

Mairead Maguire of the Peace People today (Saturday 10 November) announced that she has written to the Nobel Committee in Oslo to nominate Bishop Carlos Belo of East Timor for the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize.

Mrs. Maguire was speaking at a special press conference in Belfast City Hall - organised by the Peace People, Amnesty International and the East Timor Solidarity Campaign to mark the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

Mrs. Maguire, in her nomination letter to the Nobel Committee, commended Bishop Belo - who has been the leader of the Roman Catholic Church on the island for the last ten years - for "his courageous spiritual and moral leadership of the East Timorese people in these days of deep sorrow caused by the brutality of the Indonesian invasion and aggression. Bishop Belo has inspired me as he speaks out courageously for truth and justice in spite of death threats."

She continued, "I think the Nobel Prize is at its best and most effective when given to people who, in the spirit of King and Gandhian nonviolence, work at great personal risk to uphold human rights and democracy. They give light in a dark world where poverty, violence and cruelty dehumanizes so many people."

Mrs. Maguire, who was joint winner of the 1976 Nobel Peace Prize has been a tireless campaigner on behalf of the people of East Timor. Earlier this year the Northern Irish peace and human rights activist was the subject of a Philippine Presidential banning order and was subsequently deported from the Philippines while attempting to attend an international conference on East Timor.

The small South East Asian island was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975 after Portugal ceded its colonial control. Since the invasion over 200,000 people - a third of the total population - has died at the hands of the Indonesian military.

Contact Patrick Corrigan at the Peace People (0232 663465) for any further information. The Peace People is a Northern Irish peace movement dedicated to nonviolence and human rights at home and abroad.

DUBLIN PICKET TO MARK EAST TIMOR KILLINGS

Irish Times, 11 Nov. 1994

Bobo, Liam O'Maonlai of the Hot House Flowers, the Nobel peace prize winner Mairead Maguire and Archbishop Desmond Tutu are among a list of personalities who have recorded messages of sympathy for East Timor, to mark the third anniversary of the killing of more than 270 civilians by Indonesian troops at a cemetery in the capital, Dili.

The messages will be broadcast tomorrow at a benefit concert in Portugal, which was the former colonial power in East Timor, and the concert may be shown at a later date on MTV.

In Dublin, each of the state's main political parties will take part in a picket tomorrow outside the British embassy to mark the killings and to protest at the continuing sale of British arms to Indonesia, which has occupied East Timor, an island 400 miles north of Australia since 1975.

A Fianna Fail MEP Niall Andrews, a Labour MP Joe Costello, Liz McManus MP. Of the Democratic Left, Fine Gael MP Nora Owen, Michael McDowell MP. Of the Progressive Democrats and Green Party MP Trevor Sargent will address the picket.

Members of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign will begin an overnight vigil at 5 p.m. outside the embassy.

UK IN SECRET £2 BILLION ARMS BID

The Observer, 13 November 1994. By: Michael Durham in Jakarta and Hugh O'Shaughnessy in London

Aid money goes to Indonesian regime despite massacres

Exclusive

Britain is assembling a huge arms deal with Indonesia, in defiance of international calls for a weapons embargo because of the country's appalling human rights record.

The secret deal is worth an estimated £2 billion. Coming soon after renewed pledges of British aid, it has added weight to reports that Britain is conducting aid-for-arms diplomacy with Indonesia. British military equipment sold to Indonesia in earlier deals has been used to suppress bloody uprisings in East Timor.

The Observer has also learnt that more than £16 million of British aid money has been promised for a road project which will financially benefit the family of Indonesia's dictator, General Suharto. Trafalgar House, a British construction company, is building

the 35-mile toll road between Jakarta and Bandung with a company owned by Suharto's daughter, Tutut.

A new arms row will cause acute embarrassment for Indonesia on the arrival of US President Bill Clinton in Jakarta today for a regional summit. Suharto has worked hard to keep human rights off the agenda at the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum, which starts on Tuesday.

Last night 29 East Timorese bedded down in the grounds of the US embassy in Jakarta in protest at Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, in which a third of the population was killed, promising to stay until the East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, was released from prison.

It emerged last month that British Aerospace will sell Indonesia 16 new Hawk jets, in addition to 24 announced in 1993. Also the Observer can reveal that Britain is working hard to reach agreement on a huge range of other military equipment. According to sources in London and Jakarta, Indonesia's 'shopping list' includes armoured personnel carriers, medium-range ballistic and air-defence missiles and naval patrol vessels, together with the construction of a big new naval base at Bandar Lampung, Sumatra. Britain is understood to be ready to meet all these requests, as well as pushing to train Indonesian troops denied access to US training programmes because of the human rights issue.

On a visit to Jakarta last month, Field Marshall Sir Peter Inge revealed that Indonesia was close to signing a contract for British-made Scorpion light tanks. Local sources say Indonesia is interested in buying up to 140 Scorpions, which are suitable for use in rugged terrain. General Feisal Tanjung, head of the Indonesian armed forces, said further arms purchases from Britain were 'likely.'

Sources say that a Memorandum of Understanding between the two governments is being prepared, with British Aerospace named as lead contractor, although this is denied by both the Ministry of Defence and BAe.

Paul Beaver, a specialist in South East Asia and editor of 'Jane's Sentinel,' a defence publication, said: "There is every indication that Indonesia will enter into a significant Memorandum of Understanding with the UK for major defence systems. Indonesia is always on the look-out for technology transfer from the West and any deal will almost certainly involve a degree of barter, such as mineral or logging concessions. In Thatcher's day Malaysia was number one. Now it's Indonesia."

Allegations that Britain has used its overseas aid budget to clinch a deal follow last week's High Court judgment against Doug-

las Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, over the Pergau dam affair in Malaysia. The World Development Movement, which mounted the successful court action, said there was 'compelling evidence' of a link between aid and arms in Indonesia. "It is painfully clear that British Ministers see aid as one more bargaining chip when arms negotiations reach a sticky point," said Harriet Lamb, the movement's campaign officer.

The movement also claimed that sales of 80 British-made Vickers tanks to Nigeria's repressive regime had been negotiated in 1990. British aid to Nigeria rose from £6.3m in 1988-89 to £67.7m in 1989-90, but the Overseas Development Administration denied there was a link.

Stephen Byers, the Labour MP for Wallsend, who has asked questions in Parliament about British aid projects in Indonesia, said he would raise the Indonesian affair in the Commons. "This would appear to be a repeat of the Pergau dam affair where aid, arms and trade are interlinked, contrary to the Government's own rules. I will be seeking a clear statement from the Foreign Secretary."

MAKING A KILLING WITH BRITISH AID

The Observer, 13 November

Michael Durham in Jakarta reports on the power plant project which has more potential to embarrass the British Government than the Pergau Dam fiasco *[This long and important article is accompanied by one of Steve Cox's photos of the Santa Cruz massacre, under which is the caption: "Collateral damage: The massacre of civilians in East Timor has failed to blunt the British appetite for arms deals linked to aid."]*

The main street of Samarinda, East Kalimantan, in what used to be known as Borneo. It is a typically Asian riverside vista. Warehouses, shipping agencies and cheap hotels range along the waterfront, next to an enormous mosque. Opposite longboats and cargo ships ply the Mahakam River and its muddy delta.

Few tourists reach this sweaty, provincial outpost in the Indonesian jungle. Lately, however, Samarinda has begun to see more visitors. Even in the remote backwoods, there is business. Logging, gold prospecting and coal mining have all taken off, usually backed by Western money.

Factories, sawmills and smelters have sprouted. But the next Western-backed project promises to be more controversial than most. On a patch of virgin jungle, Rolls-Royce, the British engineering company, will shortly start work on a 60 million

pound gas power station. It was ordered by the Indonesian Government and will be paid for by British aid.

Britain says it will be just another aid project. But to skeptics the Samarinda Power Station is already another Pergau Dam - a colossal white elephant and, allegedly, a massive 'sweetener' to the Indonesian Government.

Its real purpose, they claim, is to promote a behind-the-scenes deal between the two countries. And there is one class of goods above all that Britain is desperate to sell to Indonesia: arms.

As in neighbouring Malaysia (and revealed earlier this year in the Pergau Dam affair), British aid, trade, arms and corruption are inextricably linked in President Suharto's Indonesia.

The world's fourth largest nation, with 180 million people - and potentially one of Asia's richest - Indonesia is desperate to update its armed forces. Its army is ill-disciplined and poorly equipped. Its navy, with 13,700 islands to watch over, is in a pitiful state. Its airforce, while growing, is embryonic.

For years, Indonesia has acquired bits and pieces on the world market, including British-made jets and armour. Last year it acquired 37 second-hand east German warships; one nearly sank in the Bay of Biscay.

But there is one powerful reason why Indonesia has trouble buying modern arms in the West: its human rights record. Since 1967, when Suharto was installed as President, Indonesia has not been a democracy.

It is a dictatorship supported by ruthless violence. In Jakarta and Sumatran villages, foreign-made tanks and armoured personnel carriers have been used to crush dissent. And in 1975, President Suharto's tanks rolled into East Timor, an inoffensive island nation formerly ruled by Portugal. Up to 200,000 East Timorese, a third of the population, died in the war that followed.

In 1991, several hundred young people were killed in East Timor's capital, Dili, when the army opened fire on a peaceful demonstration. Since then, many countries, including the United States, have tightened arms sales embargoes on Indonesia.

But Indonesia's army, and its energetic Minister for Research and Technology, Dr. Rudy Habibie, have responded by trying to buy from Europe. According to defence sources, the Indonesians have been shopping in European capitals for jet fighters, light tanks and armoured personnel carriers, light artillery, ballistic and air defence missiles, naval patrol vessels and a brand-new naval base at Bandar Lampung in Sumatra.

One European country has taken the lead in negotiating a deal, worth an estimated two

billion pounds, to supply all those needs. That country is Britain.

There is good reason to believe that Indonesia's arms-buying offensive began in the mid-Eighties, at about the same time that Margaret Thatcher was clinching a deal with Malaysia which later became notorious as the Pergau aid-for-arms affair.

She went to Indonesia in 1985 and fell in love with the place. As she recounts in her memoirs: "It was on the final day of my stay in Indonesia that I realised that I had become an internationally known figure... As I got off the aeroplane I was met by girls throwing rose petals on the ground in front of me and then all they way from the airport by crowds five to six deep along the road crying 'Tacher, Tacher.'"

The arms-buying effort picked up momentum in the early Nineties, as Indonesia began to make headway with companies such as British Aerospace. Today it has become imperative for it to be in place before next year's celebrations of 50 years of independence from Dutch colonial rule. One Jakarta defence source said: "Yes, the Indonesians are buying fast. They are keen to get their hands on lots of shiny new kit in time for the independence parades. And we are ready to let them have it."

But on what terms? According to groups that monitor relations between the two countries, Britain and Indonesia have been conducting covert aid-for-arms diplomacy over the past three years. Indonesia's interest in buying weapons has been matched only by Britain's generosity in giving aid - notably to Samarinda Power Station.

Compared with some poorer countries, Indonesia has always scored well in the aid stakes, despite its appalling human rights record. Since 1980, Britain's aid to Tanzania, the world's second poorest country, has remained at a constant low. Aid to Indonesia, which is far from impoverished, has shot up. It began rising spectacularly in 1991. This was the year that arms-aid diplomacy really took off, according to groups such as the World Development Movement, which on Thursday won a High Court case against Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, over aid to Malaysia.

In June 1991, Dr. Habibie, a favourite of General Suharto and a key in the country's nascent aerospace industry, visited London. He is believed to have held talks with Alan Clark, the then Minister for Defence Procurement, and visited John Major. During the visit, he reached an outline agreement to buy Hawk aircraft from British Aerospace, fitted with Rolls-Royce engines. The Indonesians had already bought several dozen Hawks during the Eighties. Fitted with missiles, they were used to attack East Timorese villages.

But it was not to be a straightforward deal. Negotiations over the new Hawks evidently proved difficult and dragged on for two years without a firm agreement.

Britain turned up the pressure. In September 1992, the first of many high-profile trade delegations left for Indonesia, led by a government minister, Lord Strathclyde. In January last year, Richard Needham, the Trade Minister, was in Jakarta promising that Britain could become Indonesia's gateway to Europe. He has been back four more times since then.

Negotiations were clearly progressing behind the scenes. Two months later, in March 1993, Norman Lamont, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, promised a big increase in export credit for Indonesia. But the key that appeared to unlock the negotiations came in April 1993, when Douglas Hurd, visiting Jakarta, remarked that aid did not have to be dependent on human rights. He announced a 65 million pounds concessional loan for a new power station at Samarinda. It was by far the biggest aid donation to Indonesia for 20 years.

A week later, Dr. Habibie was talking wildly and publicly in Jakarta of buying a hundred planes from Britain. Two months after that - after two more ministerial visits from Britain - British Aerospace formally announced that Indonesia had ordered 24 aircraft, an order worth 500 million pounds and hundreds of jobs in Britain.

If the 65 million pounds aid for the Samarinda Power Station was the price of securing the Hawk deal for Britain, a cynic might argue it was money well spent. But is it even justified in terms of aid - as a project which supposedly benefits the economy of an emerging nation?

Samarinda will not be Indonesia's biggest power station. At 60 megawatts, it is a comparatively modest proposal in a remote part of Indonesia's gold-and-coal belt in east Kalimantan. But several aspects of the project have alarmed environmentalists and other pressure groups.

In July, it was announced that the construction contract had been won by the Rolls-Royce Industrial Power Group. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Rolls-Royce will supply all the engines for Indonesia's new Hawk jets and has a long-standing agreement with Indonesia to transfer technology in connection with civilian aircraft engines. But more curious is the technology that Rolls-Royce will employ at Samarinda. The company will install two gas turbines powered by RB211 engines, derived from what it says is 'the world's most reliable aircraft engine.' It is Rolls-Royce's first power project in Indonesia, and the only one using an aero-derived engine.

Rolls-Royce insists the technology is tried and tested. But within the power industry it is regarded as nothing short of experimental, unproved in such an extreme climate and allegedly unsuited to a remote location.

Gatot Prawiro, a manager in a Jakarta company in the power generation field, said: "It is very unusual. But Rolls-Royce were in on the project very strongly. Dr. Habibie was behind them, because they are coming in with the technology for him."

There are other complaints about Samarinda's value. Thinly populated Kalimantan, like some other parts of Indonesia, already has too much electricity. It lacks transmission lines. And, quite apart from displacing more of Kalimantan's indigenous Dayak people, the project will, in the long-term, help speed the deforestation and pollution of one of South-East Asia's last remaining rainforests. As Tapol, a London-based human rights group, has pointed out, that will benefit nobody more than the international logging and mining companies.

One of the biggest factories to use Samarinda's power will be the Kelian Gold Mine, on a tributary near the town. Kelian has already been involved in a pollution scandal and clear-felling of rainforest, which has forced the relocation of 400 Dayak families. It is largely owned by CRA, an Australian company, and the British mining giant RTZ. The Kaltima Prima Coalmine, jointly owned by CRA and BP, has been the subject of similar complaints.

Most of the big logging done by the Kalimantan Group, owned by Bob Hasan, a close friend of Suharto. For like most other large ventures in Indonesia, Samarinda will help to support Indonesia's ruling elite - the relative, business associates and cronies of a dictator who has amassed one of the world's largest personal fortunes.

The greed and nepotism of Indonesia's 'First Family' is the stuff of legend. It is common knowledge in Jakarta that the Suharto family and a few hangers-on have used their position to amass fabulous private wealth, on a scale probably even grander than the Marcos family in Manila. Suharto himself is thought to be worth 10 billion pounds, with the rest of the family making do with another 10 billion pounds. Hardly a single large foreign investment has arrived without the greasing of a Suharto palm. There is now evidence that British aid money may be finding its way directly into the First Family's bank accounts.

Suharto and four of his six children control a large slice of the nation's wealth. His daughter, Tutut, 45, controls more than 60 companies, with near monopolies on everything from toll roads to broadcasting. Her brothers - Sigit, 43, Bambang, 41, Tommy,

31, and Titik, 29 - have carved up many other aspects of economic life, from banking and film distribution to plastics manufacture and internal air flights.

Over coffee at a Jakarta hotel owned by Tutut, one journalist commented: "The children are a big problem. They're greedy. They are trying to get into everything, and one day that will be a big headache. When this blows up it will make the Marcos family look like child's play."

"They have got their hands stuck to everything," said a diplomat. "You can't do anything in this country without a brown envelope. Most of it goes to one of the children. Everything becomes much more expensive because of the add-ons, and that is even more true of defence deals where the sums are so much higher."

Aberson Sihalohe, an outspoken opposition MP, explained angrily: "Everything depends on the President. Foreign investors who want to make business here have to make their approach as effective as possible, so they take local partners with direct access to the highest authority. Those local agents are usually companies belonging to the First Family."

Scores of British companies, building everything from power stations and bridges to chemical plants, have effectively gone into forced partnership with one or other of Suharto's children. "The local company doesn't do anything. It just gets commission. How much depends on the price for the contract. That means that everything here costs twice as much," Sihalohe said.

In at least one case, large sums of British aid money are involved. Last month Trafalgar House, the British conglomerate and a large contributor to the Conservative party, reached an outline deal to build a 35-mile toll road from Cikampek, near Jakarta, to Padalaran, near Bandung. It will cost an estimated 400 million pounds. Britain has offered Indonesia 16.85 million pounds in aid towards the road, an offer that has yet to be taken up, and has already given 1.7 million pounds for technical studies.

In a classic case of economic 'cronyism,' one of Trafalgar's partners in the scheme is PT Citra Lamtoro Gung, the major company controlled by Suharto's daughter, Tutut, who has a 30 per cent stake in the road. Last week a spokesman for Trafalgar House defended the arrangement. However, the deal has raised eyebrows in the British community in Jakarta.

"There is definitely British aid money going into projects with presidential family connections," one British aid worker said. "It is surprising that this being done so obviously. In the past, we have been very careful not to allow British aid to get in-

volved with the First Family. I think it shows that attitudes must be changing.”

After six years of negotiations between Trafalgar House and Indonesia, the toll road deal was finally struck during the latest visit to Jakarta in October by Needham. Only a few days earlier, the British Field Marshall, Sir Peter Inge, had met his Indonesian counterpart, General Feisal Tanjung. Afterwards, Tanjung was asked at a press conference if Indonesia would be buying British arms. “Yes, lots,” he replied.

At the bottom of the article there is a map of Indonesia - East Timor, I am glad to say, is shaded to differentiate it from Indonesia. There are photographs of Suharto and family and some brief bio-data, which now follows - Jonathan

Indonesia's 'First Family': The Wealthy Connections

Suharto: Personal fortune of the 73-year-old ruler was estimated at 10 billion pounds in 1989. His wife, Tien, the daughter of a Javanese sultan, is known as Madame Fi-Fi, because she always wanted to go fifty-fifty, demanding a half share in any business deal she was associated with.

Tutut: Suharto's eldest child at 45. She combines money-making and jet-setting with love of politics. Her principal company, Citra Lamtoro Gung, runs deeply unpopular toll roads; other interests range through wood pulping, educational TV, radio, publishing and pharmaceuticals. She is vice-president of Golkar, the party of government.

Sigit: The dictator's eldest son is 43, and a partner with his younger brother, Tommy, in the Humpuss Group, a huge manufacturing and trading conglomerate. His entrepreneurial drive is blunted by a passion for gambling. He is a partner with BP in a giant polyethylene plant.

Bambang: 41 and Suharto's most successful son in business. His firm, Nusantara, owns hotels, coal mines, property, paper mills. He made a fortune out of a monopoly on the import of plastics; he got a monopoly of the trade in oranges in Kalimantan but lost money when his excessive greed caused farmers to revolt.

Titik: Suharto's second daughter, 36, is married to the commander of the Indonesian equivalent of the SS. She figures as one of the country's biggest taxpayers. One of her companies has joined British investors in a 400 million pounds project to build a mammoth cement works in Sumatra.

Tommy: Aged 31, he is in love with fast cars. His business interests are concentrated in his Humpuss Group, one of Indonesia's biggest firms. He started Hum-

puss when he was 23 and it prospered with profitable contracts with nationalized companies. Today it is a conglomerate of transport, farming and petrochemicals.

MPS PLAN ATTACK ON HURD OVER AID

The Times (London), 14 Nov. 1994. By Arthur Leathley, Political Correspondent

Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, will face a concerted assault this week over allegations that Britain's aid budget is targeted at countries buying British defence equipment.

Labour and Liberal Democrat leaders are gearing up for a fierce Commons debate on alleged aid-for-arms deals after new revelations surrounding defence contracts with Nigeria and Indonesia.

Mr. Hurd, accused by the High Court last week of acting unlawfully in granting aid for the Pergau in Malaysia, will be pressed to explain in detail Britain's arrangements for distributing overseas aid.

Opposition MPs yesterday accused the Government of overlooking some of the poorest countries but distributing aid to wealthier nations. Labour seized on reports that Indonesia, one of the main beneficiaries of British aid, is planning a contract worth billions with Britain to buy planes, tanks and missiles.

Robin Cook, Labour's shadow Foreign Secretary, will lead the charge during a Commons foreign affairs debate on Thursday. Mr. Cook said yesterday there was a disturbing pattern of big rises in aid to countries after they had placed big arms orders.

Menzies Campbell, Liberal Democrat foreign affairs and defence spokesman, said: “Far too many of these matters are decided behind closed doors with no proper parliamentary scrutiny or accountability.”

Sir David Steel, the former Liberal Democrat foreign affairs spokesman who led demands for an inquiry into Pergau, said: The record of arms sales to Indonesia is quite indefensible.” He pointed out that half of Britain's European partners had banned weapons sales to Indonesia because of its human rights record.

LONDON DEMONSTRATION

Report from the British Coalition for East Timor, 13 November 1994

12 November was a dull, wet day, as most of them are, here in the hub of Empire.

Wet it may have been, but outstanding the results. At midday, the coalitional Anti-Hawks campaign held a demo outside the Indonesian embassy in Mayfair's Grosve-

nor Square. Some 200 people heard John Pilger, Jeremy Corbyn MP, et al, denounce the Jakarta dictatorship.

In the evening, about 50 people turned up for a memorial service for the victims of the November 12 massacre: Bruce Kent addressed this gathering.

And then, Sunday, and the world is on fire - radio reports, CNN, email, people 'phoning, all tell of the drama in the US embassy compound and the riots on the unsafe streets of Dili. The Observer, a major UK Sunday paper, circulation about 500,000, reveals sleaze in British dealings with Indonesia. Taken with last week's court judgment against the UK Foreign Secretary over the Pergau Dam, this is news indeed.

We are at a crisis point and, internationally, we must now act as we have never acted before, push as we have never pushed. For, it is my belief, that if we can mobilise, with substance, NOW, then the suffering of the martyred and forgotten people of East Timor can be ended soon.

We must all write; to our governments; we must 'phone the US Jakarta embassy (62-21-360-360); we must haunt our media, glean as much space as we can; nothing is too little, nothing is insignificant.

Go for it.

Jonathan Humphreys

HAWK AIRCRAFT ARE BEING USED IN EAST TIMOR

ALL BRITISH WEAPONS SALES TO INDONESIA MUST STOP

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release, today, 14 November 1994

New evidence has come to light this evening that British manufactured Hawk warplanes are being used at present in East Timor in an all-out push by the forces of occupation to end the armed resistance there.

The revelation came from José Ramos Horta, co-chair of the East Timor resistance movement, the CNRM, speaking from Lisbon on Channel 4's News at Seven today. He said that two types of aircraft, US-supplied Broncos and UK-supplied Hawks, have been in use for several weeks in bombardments across the country to destroy guerrilla bases. At least two Hawk aircraft have been used in the central region of the country, he said, quoting information just received from the leader of the armed resistance in the territory, Konis Santana.

Reports in the Indonesian press in the past few weeks have indeed confirmed that the Indonesian army has been engaged in

operations against the resistance, claiming the capture or killing of several members of the resistance. For its part, the resistance army, FALINTIL, has reported clashes in which several Indonesian troops have been killed.

There have been past sightings of Hawks in East Timor during the 1980s by East Timorese. One witness stressed that the population are well aware of the shape of the Hawk and the distinctive sound of its engine.

Twenty Hawk aircraft were supplied to Indonesia by British Aerospace in the early 1980s. In June 1993, a deal worth 500 million for the supply of 24 Hawks was announced and last month, Chief of Defence Staff, Sir Peter Inge, announced during a visit to Jakarta that a deal for a further 16 would soon be concluded. Indonesia has shown an interest in purchasing altogether one hundred more Hawks.

TAPOL vigorously condemns the supply of Hawks which is enabling the Indonesian armed forces to continue its war of aggression against East Timor. It demands the cessation of negotiations now under way to supply Indonesia with up to 2 billion worth of weaponry. It calls on the British Government to halt all further sales of military equipment to Indonesia and to enforce an arms embargo against the military regime.

For more information, contact Carmel Budiardjo or Liem Soei Liong on 081 771-2904.

PICKET AT US EMBASSY, DUBLIN

Press release from East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, Nov. 15

As 29 East Timorese students continue their sit-in the grounds of the United States embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, the East Timor Ireland solidarity campaign will place a solidarity picket consisting of 29 Irish citizens on the US embassy in Dublin.

The picket will take place on Wednesday 16 November between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m.

The East Timorese entered the US embassy to mark the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in which the Indonesian army killed over 270 East Timorese. ETISC fears that the East Timorese may face the fate as the mourners killed at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

President Bill Clinton is in Indonesia to take part in the Asia Pacific Economic Conference. Prior to his election, President Clinton described the west's response to the genocidal occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces as "unconscionable."

Tom Hyland, co-ordinator of ETISC commented; "President Clinton carries the moral responsibility to use all the powers of his office to end the illegal occupation of East Timor."

More information Dublin 6233148

HORTA: BRITISH GOVERNMENT COMPLICIT IN GENOCIDE

BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE AND DEFENCE ESTABLISHMENT ARE GUILTY OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

Statement from José Ramos-Horta, CNRM in Lisbon, via British Coalition for East Timor, Nov. 16.

1. ON BRITISH COMPLICITY AND HYPOCRISY

Statement on British arms sales to Indonesia by José Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance - CNRM

The 12 November 1991 cold-blooded murder of 271 East Timorese civilians at the Santa Cruz cemetery, the killing the same day of 200 more as documented in Central TV's 'Death of a Nation,' in The Sunday Times, and major media around the world, and the recent uprisings in Dili and elsewhere in the occupied territory of East Timor, are only the tip of the iceberg of the East Timor struggle and tragedy.

Over 200,000 East Timorese have died since the occupation in 1975. In fact we hear the death toll is much, much higher. Entire villages have been wiped out. Entire tribes of indigenous peoples have been obliterated. This is genocide even in the context of the narrow definition of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide.

British complicity with the Indonesian military dictatorship goes back almost 20 years when two British journalists were murdered at Balibo. The British Foreign Office did everything to cover up the murder of its own nationals.

Ever since, the British Foreign Office has consistently engaged in a pattern of cover-up, deceit, distortion, omission, half-truths and outright lies to protect its narrow selfish interests.

A country that went to war in 1982 with Argentina over the 'right to self-determination' of some 2,000 colonial settlers in Malvinas has done everything to suppress the same right of the East Timorese people. The comments to John Pilger by former Defence Secretary Allan

Clark that he does not care what 'one set of foreigners are doing to another' and that he cares more about the killing of animals (he is a vegetarian) than the killing of East Timorese human beings reveals the underlying racism behind the official British attitude towards East Timor. Andrew Young, former US Ambassador to the UN, once said, 'the British invented racism.' Maybe he was right, judging from Allan Clark's comments. But official Britain has also invented hypocrisy, or at least perfected it, from the original French, into a high form of statecraft.

In 1992 at the UN Commission on Human Rights, the British delegation went out of its way to exert pressure on Portugal, its oldest ally in the world (Portugal and the UK have a 600 year-old treaty alliance), to compromise on a resolution on East Timor. The British chief of mission in Geneva even threatened to withdraw British sponsorship of the EU draft resolution if Portugal did not acquiesce to British demands for a much softer and absolutely useless one. The British preferred not to require Indonesia to account for the more than 521 missing and to call the massacre an 'incident.' As it turned out, only the courage of the Portuguese Foreign Minister, José Durão Barroso, who stood up to his arrogant 'ally' forced the British to back down.

2. ON THE USE OF HAWK AIRCRAFT IN EAST TIMOR

I want to make it clear that Hawk ground attack/'trainer' aircraft fitted with missiles have been used in East Timor regularly since 1983. Hawk aircraft were first used in East Timor in the Summer of 1983, more precisely in August 1983, when the then Indonesian armed forces chief, Gen. Benny Murdani, announced a new military offensive after a three-month ceasefire negotiated by Xanana Gusmão, Leader of the East Timorese Resistance and the East Timor Indonesian army commander, Col. Purwanto. The ceasefire was unilaterally broken by the Indonesians who thought they could wipe out the resistance with the new aircraft they acquired.

The 1983 offensive involved 20,000 Indonesian troops according to AFP, quoted in the New York Times. Two Hawk aircraft were used daily for almost six months. Hundreds of civilians and guerrilla fighters were killed during that period. The Hawks, armed with missiles, were used in three main areas of East Timor: in the Same-Ainaro-Maubisse mountainous triangle in the centre of the country, in the Lauten-Lospalos-Tutuala corridor in the far east and in the Matebian mountain range between these two.

In 1983 the resistance forces operated in company sized units numbering 100 each or

more. The Hawk aircraft were decisive in forcing their dispersal into much smaller units between 1983 and 1986. Together with the Bronco aircraft and the French-supplied Allouette and Puma helicopters, Hawk aircraft were responsible for the death of hundreds of civilians between 1983 and 1986.

During the months of August and September 1994, two Hawk aircraft carried out at least six bombing raids in the Eastern region of East Timor. Hawks and American supplied Broncos are stationed at the Baucau airport built by the Portuguese in the '60s and capable of receiving commercial aircraft up to Boeing 707s. Since the invasion of East Timor in 1975, the civilian airport has been converted to a military base.

In the last three months, Hawk aircraft have again been used extensively mostly in the eastern region with an average of six sorties a day, each bombing raid lasting ten minutes with the launching of two missiles each.

Some of these raids seemed to be almost random without the pilot aiming specifically at guerrilla targets but at any remote hamlet. On September 23 1993, at precisely 1115, in the area between Kelikai and Baguia, a missile hit a thatched roof house setting it on fire and destroying the whole group of impoverished houses. There were no survivors observed amongst some 30 inhabitants, mainly women and children in this typical East Timorese hamlet.

Because there are no large concentrations of Resistance forces (the resistance forces operate in very small groups of half a dozen or less and only rarely converge for a major attack which may involve forces of up to 50), the Hawks are used to intimidate villagers with low flying and targeting practice on poor villages.

3. CALL ON PORTUGAL TO TAKE THE UK TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The National Council of Maubere Resistance calls on Portugal to take the British Government to the International Court of Justice and the European Human Rights Court on the following grounds:

Grounds for action in the International Court of Justice

- i. The UK Government is in violation of the UN Charter and relevant Security Council resolutions on the question of East Timor by providing economic, financial and military assistance to Indonesia which enables it to pursue the war of aggression in East Timor. British support to Indonesia hinders the exercise of the right of the people of East Timor to self-

determination which is explicitly recognised in Security Council resolutions 384 (1974) and 389 (1976).

- ii. The UK Government is in violation of the UN Charter and international law by participating in the continuing violation of the territorial integrity of East Timor, a territory under Portuguese Administration.

Grounds for action by Portugal against the UK in the European Court of Human Rights

- i. East Timor is a non-self-governing territory under Portuguese administration. This is the accepted international legal status of East Timor. East Timorese are by law citizens of Portugal and of the European Union.
- ii. The human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian security forces against the East Timorese are aided and abetted by the British Government and other members of the EU (Germany, France, Spain and Italy) which provide arms to Indonesia.

For all of the above, the CNRM calls upon the Government of Portugal to initiate legal action against the British Government in the International Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights.

EASTERN FIST

INDONESIAN CANNOT AFFORD AN OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR

Editorial The Times (of London), 17 November 1994

Two occupations have this week stolen the attention which President Suharto of Indonesia had reserved for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. The first, an act of despair, is the occupation of the grounds of the American Embassy in Jakarta by 29 Timorese students; the second, an occupation as old as some of the protesting students are, is of East Timor itself, shackled to Indonesia since 1976 as that country's "twenty-seventh province."

Given the guest list at the APEC forum, it was unlikely that human rights in occupied East Timor – or in Indonesia, for that matter – would be accorded a prominent place on the agenda. But, although the politics of trade prevailed in the end over the politics of rights, "firm and forceful" criticism has come from one quarter that should matter most to General Suharto, the administration in Washington.

Recent riots by students in Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor, suggest that the Timorese remain as alienated from Indonesia as they ever were. General Suharto has sought to convince his critics abroad that his

administration has now adopted a more emollient approach to the Timor question. He has pointed repeatedly to the fact that Ali Alatas, his foreign minister, renowned for describing the "twenty-seventh province" as "like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes," had talks in New York earlier this year with José Ramos-Horta, the exiled Timorese leader. What he has failed to point out is that Mr. Alatas refused firmly to discuss the status of the territory with Mr. Ramos-Horta.

General Suharto has said also that he would consider "very soon" the grant of autonomy or special status to the Timorese. He has failed to point out that what is meant by autonomy in the lexicon of his administration bears no relation to the concept as understood in a democratic society. Senior spokesmen for his government have stressed that "the autonomy in East Timor has to be the same as the autonomy in other provinces."

The Timorese are not impressed by these empty palliatives. Nor should others be. In the 18 years of their vassalage to Jakarta, over 200,000 have been murdered by the Indonesian armed forces. The Timorese have witnessed also the illegal occupation of their lands by some 100,000 Javanese, the imposition of an alien language and systematic assaults on their culture and religion. Yet while these measures are harshest in occupied East Timor, General Suharto's government has also abused its powers in the 26 other provinces of the unwieldy archipelago: newspapers are banned arbitrarily, union members are imprisoned and counter-insurgency campaigns in Aceh and Irian Jaya have led to a disconcerting pattern of human rights violations.

It is the Timorese, however, who command immediate attention. Their subjugation only serves Jakarta ill. The cost to General Suharto of holding Dili is more than merely financial; it is, most tellingly, a drain on the dwindling fund of good will which the General has with his democratic allies in the western world. Indonesia cannot afford to persevere with an occupation which saps it politically, retards its modernity and offers nothing but opprobrium in return

SEND RIGHTS MONITORS TO EAST TIMOR NOW

Press Release from BCET, Nov. 18, 1994

The British Coalition for East Timor has written to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary General of the United Nations, to ask that he send a team of human rights monitors to East Timor immediately.

The letter points out that the situation in East Timor is increasingly volatile. There

have been both riots and large demonstrations over the past week, and protests against the Indonesian occupation of the territory are continuing. Earlier today, a peaceful demonstration of several hundred Timorese was attacked first by men, suspected by foreign journalists on the scene of being police agents, throwing rocks and stones; then by police and troops, who fired tear gas into the crowd.

"We expect that soon there will be further, perhaps very bloody, reprisals against those who have been demonstrating during and after the APEC summit," the letter continues. "I am sure you are only too well aware of the frequency of torture, 'disappearance,' and extrajudicial execution in East Timor. Only the presence of independent foreign observers can protect the Timorese at this time. It is of the utmost importance that the United Nations send monitors right away."

The British Coalition for East Timor has reports from within the country and from Amnesty International indicating that hundreds of Timorese are already under arrest, and that Indonesian authorities are conducting house-to-house searches in a "clean-up" operation against anyone even faintly suspected of being a dissident. We are also extremely concerned about the fate of the twenty-nine students in the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta, and the approximately fifty arrested in and near Jakarta.

"For a few days, the eyes of the world have been on East Timor," says Maggie Helwig, a spokesperson for the Coalition. "But as soon as the journalists and the politicians have left, we know there will be reprisals against those Timorese who have taken such brave actions to express their desire for self-determination. The world owes it to these people not to abandon them to the hands of the military."

For more information, contact: Maggie Helwig, 071-252-7937

Dear Mr. Boutros-Ghali;
Fax 1-212-963-4879.

We ask you, as a matter of extreme urgency, to send human rights monitors to East Timor immediately.

As you are no doubt aware, the situation in East Timor at the moment is extremely volatile. There have been riots in the streets, and large demonstrations. Only a few hours ago, several hundred students protesting peacefully at the Cathedral in Dili were first attacked with rocks and stones by men suspected by foreign journalists of being police agents; then surrounded and tear-gassed by police and troops.

We have reports stating that several hundred Timorese have been arrested. We ex-

pect that soon there will be further, perhaps very bloody, reprisals against those who have been demonstrating during and after the APEC summit. I am sure you are only too well aware of the frequency of torture, 'disappearance,' and extrajudicial execution in East Timor. Only the presence of independent foreign observers can protect the Timorese at this time. It is of the utmost importance that the United Nations send monitors right away, and that you exert pressure on the Indonesian government to allow NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch access to the territory.

We are also afraid that the large number of journalists currently in East Timor could soon be compelled to leave. We ask that you press the Indonesian government to keep the territory of East Timor open to journalists as well as to other international observers.

Further, we are concerned for the fate of the twenty-nine Timorese students in the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta, and the approximately fifty who were arrested in and near Jakarta this week. We ask you to continue to monitor their situation and to do all you can to ensure that they are not harmed.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. Please inform us of any action you may take.

In peace,
Maggie Helwig,
British Coalition for East Timor

To All Solidarity Groups

Please read the press release and the letter, and send a similar letter from your organisation, as quickly as possible. It is really urgent to get international observers into East Timor and to try to keep journalists there. Otherwise there could be an even more serious crackdown than is already going on.

STOP THE HAWK DEAL INFO

From Tricia via Michael Bane, 18 Nov. 1994

Here follows a summary of some actions in the UK which have happened recently in protest at BAe's intentions to sell Hawk ground attack aircraft to Indonesia.

SAT 12th NOV. - the 3rd anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili when Indonesian troops shot and killed over 270 peaceful protestors - marked the start of a campaign to stop the Hawks leaving Britain for Indonesia. Various groups, including Campaign Against Arms Trade, Pax Christi, ARROW, and Stop the Hawk Deal took part in a national day of action. Below we

give reports from those actions initiated by Stop the Hawk Deal.

BAe BROUGH

A vigil was held outside BAe Brough where the wings for Hawks are made. About 15 people braved the downpour to hold banners, placards and candles.

There were students from Hull University Peace Group, local Quakers, members of Hull Amnesty and some representatives from Hull Trades Union Council and from the Manchester-based Stop the Hawk Deal.

After the various media calls between 11am and 11:30am, we waited for the start of the lunch-time rush of workers leaving the site. Unfortunately, most left by car and were very unreceptive to accepting one of our delightful leaflets from our friendly distributors. However, a few did take leaflets and were seen to read them as they drove away. We also learned that there were some BAe workers from the site who definitely wanted to work on more socially-useful projects.

During the debrief (and dry-out) in the local pub, with the head of security nonchalantly eating chips on a nearby table, there was talk of the different groups working together, of a public meeting to discuss diversification issues, and of acts of direct disarmament. All in all, it seems that the head of security is going to have more on his plate in the future than luke-warm chips!

All in all, a wet but successful day.

WARTON

After an intensive day of training and planning on Nov. 11th, at which the majority of activists for the 12th took part, about 50 of us made the journey to BAe Warton for a rainy mass trespass. 5 affinity groups had planned to enter the site at different times and places, starting with a women's group who entered near the runway at 10:15am. We planted 20 crosses, with names of East Timorese killed 3 years ago in the Santa Cruz massacre - the number of crosses was chosen to represent the 200,000 killed since the invasion. We also planted large white poppies with messages to BAe to "Stop the Hawk Deal" and to "Remember the Santa Cruz massacre." We also planted daffodil bulbs in an attempt to convert the site to one with life and beauty. After 15 minutes of planting and merriment several Group 4 security

guards approached us and removed our crosses and poppies. So we replanted them again, while one of us read out East Timorese testimonies about the day of the Indonesian invasion. Eventually, we were all escorted into a BAe bus and driven off the site - no arrests.

The factory got much busier come mid-day, with the 5 affinity groups, plus 2 or 3

other groups who'd just joined us for the day, all going over and under the fences: BAe seemed to have decided to keep the day low profile, as everybody was escorted off the site once inside, and nobody was even threatened with arrest. We were flattered to have a helicopter buzzing around overhead tracking our every move...

In all, about 35 people went onto the site, several going in 2, 3 or even 4 times. One group planted a large cross next to the runway, others carried banners, and one group at the end of the day entered some buildings and offices where they left messages for the workers to stop their murderous business.

There was also a large vigil of 30 to 40 people outside the main gate between noon and 1pm. when several press people turned up to report on the action.

By 4:30pm, the remains of some wet and tired activists decided a good day had been had by all, and headed off home having left the crosses and white poppies from the women's group next to the main gate.

MINISTER PLEDGES PROBE ON INDONESIA PLANES

Press Association, 22 November 1994. By Alison Little, Parliamentary Staff

London – Defence Procurement Minister Roger Freeman pledged in the Commons to investigate claims that British-built Hawk aircraft were being used to bomb civilians in East Timor. But he said at question time that he could find “no evidence” to back the allegations.

He told the House that over the last 20 years assurances had been received from the Indonesian government that it would not use the aircraft against civilians.

Labour's Jeremy Corbyn (Islington N.) pressed: “Since the illegal occupation took place of East Timor, over 200,000 East Timorese people have been killed by the forces of the Indonesian government. Information has now been published by the Timorese people that Hawk aircraft are indeed being used to bomb them and their positions. Isn't that evidence enough to stop any further arms sales to this appalling regime which has committed such a blood-bath against the Timorese people?”

Mr. Freeman: “The House would share with you the view that any repression of the civil population in East Timor is to be regretted and representations have been made to the government by the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd. As regards the allegations, if you would forward them to me for my personal attention, I will certainly investigate them.”

Chris Mullin (Lab. Sunderland S.) branded Indonesia as “an odious tyranny” and claimed a “huge arms deal” was being negotiated.

Mr. Freeman denied knowledge of any “huge arms deal” other than the already announced 1993 contract for supply of further Hawk aircraft

PURCHASE OF TANKS FROM THE UK BEING PROCESSED

Kompas, 18 and 21 November 1994. Abridged

Comment: Note that ABRI talks about the suitability of the Scorpion for use in Indonesia. This has nothing to do with Indonesia's right of defence as argued by Ministry of Defence ministers, who always speak of Indonesia's right to defend itself as defined in Article 51 of the UN Charter, in justification for arms sales to Indonesia.

Jakarta – General Feisal, commander of the Indonesian armed forces, confirmed that Indonesia was purchasing a squadron of Hawk aircraft from the UK as well as a battalion of Scorpion light tanks.

He told a press conference that these purchases would replace equipment that had become obsolete. “This won't increase the strength of the armed forces but is replacement for equipment we have been using for 30 to 40 years,” he said.

Major-General Bantu Hardjijo said the armed forces budget was relatively small, around Rp. 500 billion a year, accounting for 6.9 per cent of the national budget, much smaller than in other countries.

He was not able to say how many tanks would be purchased for a battalion. If the Scorpion is purchased, a battalion will amount to 50 tanks. [Kompas 21 November]

Referring earlier to the Scorpion tanks, during a press conference in Jakarta, General Feisal said the deal to purchase the Scorpion would be signed very soon. But the agreement would not include the purchase of more Rapier missiles.

He said that the Scorpion tank was ideal for the natural conditions and field of combat in Indonesia. He said that the tank is very popular in the world market and its effectiveness has been proven in the Malvinas and in the Middle East. [Kompas, 18 November]

PATRICK NICHOLLS WRITES TO THE GUARDIAN

The Guardian (London), Letters Page, November 21

While the exchange of letters posted as responses to the topic was going on, Patrick Nicholls had to resign as vice-chairman of the Conservative Party after an anti-EU rant in which he referred to the French as “a nation of collaborators.” Given that Mr. Nicholls has set himself up as a sort of one-man disinformation ministry for the Indonesian government, this is particularly ironic.

I see that John Pilger has once again sought to impugn my integrity in leading an All-Party Delegation to Indonesia, while grossly misrepresenting the Indonesian government (Letters, November 4).

Of course, with Mr. Pilger for an enemy, who needs friends? There are, however, a number of points that need to be made.

Mr. Pilger criticised the delegation as not being truly all party. In fact, the group's vice chairman, the Labour MP David Young, had accepted the invitation, only declining at a late stage because of constituency obligations. The second Labour MP, who had originally expressed an interest in going, was also unable to accept. Neither suggested that their reason for not coming was that they wished to boycott such a trip. Indeed why should they? Taking part in the work of an all party group does not imply uncritical acceptance of the policy of a country's government.

Mr. Pilger repeats yet again the wholly unsubstantiated claim that 200,000 people have died in East Timor, the clear implication being that they have been killed by the Indonesian armed forces.

The assertion that 200,000 Timorese have been killed does not begin to stand up to even the mildest examination. Quite simply no one knows the true figures. Even Mr. Pilger should know that in a civil war it is notoriously hard to come by reliable figures. There is no reliable census on the population as a whole. The extrapolations to arrive at 200,000 rely, in part, on the estimates of “liuraies,” village headmen, collated by the previous colonial administration.

Mr. Pilger also blames me for the way I may have been quoted in the Indonesian press by himself quoting selectively from the Indonesian press! It has been my experience that it is difficult enough to be quoted accurately in the UK press where one has none of the problems of a different language and culture. I think I need say no more than that.

I will not comment on Mr. Pilger's suggestion that I misrepresented what Bishop Belo said to me. [Note that Nicholls has

finally worked out the correct spelling of Belo's name!] Others were there as well and I am not in the business of lying.

Mr. Pilger lambastes Indonesia's parliamentary structures as being no more than a front for a brutal military regime etc. In a great variety of ways, Indonesia is very different from the UK. It is therefore hardly surprising that its structures of government are different as well. The fact is that it works for Indonesia. It has raised, and continued to raise, the condition of its people and has produced a degree of social stability that even from someone like Mr. Pilger should command respect.

Mr. Pilger's thesis, in short, amounts to this. I and the other members of the group are fools, knaves or liars as are diplomats, dissidents if they disagree with him and when President Clinton said in Jakarta that he was "comfortable that the commitment he had received that there would be no retribution against the East Timorese occupying a US parking lot would be honoured," he too had been duped.

In short, Mr. Pilger is right and everyone else, as he might put it, can go to hell.

Patrick Nicholls, MP
(Con, Teignbridge)

BRITAIN'S DUTY TO HELP END TORTURE AND KILLING IN EAST TIMOR

Guardian, Letters Page November 23

In his letter published on November 21, Tory MP Patrick Nicholls describes the claim that 200,000 people died after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor as "wholly unsubstantiated."

But the head of the Catholic church in East Timor from 1977 to 1983, Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopez, told the Irish Times a few months after he was forced to leave because of his outspoken denunciations of human rights violations: "Since the Indonesian army invaded the country in 1975, the population of 680,000 has been reduced about 200,000. About 60,000 were killed and about 140,000 died as a result of starvation caused by economic disruption and inability to grow food." Unlike apologists for the Suharto regime, the church has nothing to gain from inventing figures. Patrick Nicholls shows himself to be an apologist when he says: "In a great variety of ways, Indonesia is very different from the UK. It is therefore hardly surprising that its structures of government are different as well." No one is suggesting that all structures of government must be identical: only that they should have in common a basic commitment to political and civil rights.

Indonesia does not fulfill this obligation, as a number of events over the last six

months have demonstrated. In June, the Suharto government suppressed the country's three major political weekly newspapers. Last month, one of Indonesia's leading academics, George Aditjondro, was hauled before the police in Yogyakarta and questioned for 15 hours about a lecture he gave criticising the anti-democratic political structures under President Suharto's New Order.

Earlier this month, Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the SBSI, the country's first independent trade union, was jailed for three years. His organisation of workers in defence of their rights was described as "incitement." Amnesty International's just-published report on Indonesia and East Timor makes a devastating attack on the government of Indonesia for its suppression of peace and rights of assembly, and observes that arbitrary killing and widespread torture continues.

In his January 1992 report, the UN special rapporteur on torture concluded that torture was common in East Timor.

British policy towards Indonesia must change dramatically: we must support self-determination for the people of East Timor and bring pressure to bear to end the continued systematic violation of human rights. Turning a blind eye to oppression, as Patrick Nicholls seeks to do, will contribute nothing to the quality of life of the Indonesian people.

Ann Clwyd MP,
Shadow Foreign Minister

DEFINING DICTATORSHIP

Guardian Letters Page November 23

Patrick Nicholls attacks John Pilger for suggesting that 200,000 people have died in East Timor under Indonesian rule. Just how many people does he claim have died, or does he deny the deaths of thousands? He also describes Indonesia as a country with a parliamentary system "that works for Indonesia." Would he please supply us with his own definition of a brutal dictatorship?

Gerry Merriman, London SW15

NICHOLLS' DELUSIONS

Guardian Letters Page, November 25

Patrick Nicholls MP is under serious delusions about the nature of the Indonesian regime (Letters, November 21). The roots of the Suharto military regime are criminal, having emerged in the mid-1960s following a systematic campaign of mass slaughter of political opponents in which at least 500,000 people were killed. A decade later, the regime applied a similar military solution to a political problem by invading East Timor, an illegal and brutal act which has resulted in at least 200,000 deaths according to the most reliable estimates which Mr.

Nicholls refutes. In the mid-1980s Indonesian security forces killed around 4,000 political opponents in Indonesia itself. In Aceh province thousands more were killed in the late 1980s and 1990s.

Indonesian military officers have often been quite open about their task of eliminating opposition to the regime. The commander in Aceh province – where the regime is fighting an insurgency with methods similar to those employed in East Timor – once noted that "If you find a terrorist, kill him. There's no need to investigate .. If they don't do as you order them, shoot them on the spot, or butcher them." The commander of the armed forces and Vice President, General Try Sutrisno, recently commented on the massacre of hundreds of protesters in Dili, East Timor in November 1991: "In the end, they had to be shot. These ill-bred people have to be shot ... and we will shoot them."

One need only consult the documents of Amnesty International and other human rights organisations to discover the real nature of the Indonesian regime. Patrick Nicholls, however, appears to prefer to take seriously President Clinton's comment that he was "comfortable" with a "commitment" from the Indonesian regime. The reality is that the US has been a longstanding ally of, and apologist for, Suharto; declassified documents show that the CIA helped it conduct the slaughters in the mid-1960s; US arms helped Indonesia conduct the war in East Timor; and basic diplomatic and economic support continues under the Clinton administration.

Speaking recently at a banking conference in the US, Clinton spoke of the economic "opportunities" Indonesia presented to the US, at the same time as noting that the country was a "partner" of the US. It follows that if Patrick Nicholls is prepared to accept the word of the US president on Indonesia, he is also prepared to peddle the Indonesian regime's own propaganda.

Mark Curtis, London N6

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY

Guardian Letters Page, November 25

Contrary to the assertion by Patrick Nicholls, there exist quite accurate census figures for East Timor before the Indonesian invasion. These were compiled by the Catholic Church and give a figure of 688,711 in 1974. Since we know that the population was growing at an annual rate of 2.2 per cent, the figure for 1975 would have been close to 700,000. Six years later, the Indonesian government published statistics showing 567,000 inhabitants (including several thousand Indonesian settlers) in the former Portuguese colony. Even if we accept a halving of the annual growth rate due to the

intensity of the fighting, that still leaves 170,000 unaccounted for by 1981. Considering that many more Timorese perished in the infamous "fence of legs" operations launched by the Indonesian army to flush out the remnants of the Fretilin guerrillas, a total of 200,000 deaths would not seem wide of the mark. To this day the Timorese component of the population still has not recovered to pre-1975 levels, one of the few areas in the world to have experienced such an absolute population loss.

In his anxiety to whitewash Indonesian genocide, Mr. Nicholls proves himself a good deal less honest than Indonesian government officials themselves. Just over a year after the invasion, Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, boasted that "perhaps 80,000 people might have been killed [in East Timor] ... It was war ... Then what is the big fuss?" (Sydney Morning Herald, April 5, 1977). More recently, the newly appointed Governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, admitted that "it was probably true" that between 100,000-200,000 people had died as a direct result of the conflict in East Timor (Economist, April 23, 1994). Many of these perished in the bombing attacks in 1977-78 when napalm and chemical defoliants were used against civilian targets in the mountain areas, attacks which were made possible by Western-supplied counterinsurgency aircraft now being replaced by British Hawk jets.

When eventually a new generation of Indonesians comes to power in Jakarta and the Timorese are at last allowed to decide their own future in a referendum denied them by Indonesian aggression and Western duplicity in the mid 1970s, it will be left to history to judge the actions of Mr. Nicholls and his friends. That judgment will not be kind.

(Dr.) Peter Carey, Tutor in Modern History, Trinity College, Oxford

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

SWIMMING FOR TIMOR - DAY OF SOLIDARITY

CDPM (Maubere People's Rights Commission), 4 Nov. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – On 12 November, during a Day of Solidarity with East Timor organised to mark the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, hundreds of people will be swimming 227 kilometers at the Grandola municipal swimming pool.

For eight hours, participants from sports clubs from all over Portugal will swim continuously until they complete a total of 227 kilometers. This distance is symbolic of the

total distance between different points in East Timor, at which some of the most important acts of Maubere resistance to Indonesian occupation have taken place.

This Day of Solidarity, jointly organised by the Grandola Swimming Club and Repcon (Joint Representation of Timorese Resistance), has the backing of the Assembly of the Republic's Chairman, Mr. Barbosa de Melo, the Bishop of Setubal, Mnsgr. Manuel Martins, and Dom Duarte Pio de Braganca, who have all agreed to be on the Commission of Honour.

Other events have also been planned to run concurrently with the swimming on 12 November in Grandola, between 10 am and 6 pm. There will be a show, in which Timorese cultural groups, Alentejo choral groups, and singer Carlos Quincas will be taking part, as well as various activities intended to spread information about East Timor, its people, and their struggle against Indonesian occupation.

For further information, please contact: Clube de Natacao de Grandola, telephone: (931) 224133, fax: 069 51292, or the Joint Representation of Timorese Resistance: telephone (1)3977141.

TROJAN HORSE (U.S. AMBASSADOR IN LISBON)

Publico Editorial, 13 Nov. By Vicente Jorge Silva. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The recently appointed US ambassador to Portugal, Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, had the misfortune to commence her mandate here with a statement in which she acknowledged Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. The comment was made in passing at a lunch at the American Club, and in fact all Mrs. Bagley did was to repeat what is Washington's official position on the matter, in spite of the current Administration's criticism of Jakarta's human rights record. In addition to being a gaffe not very friendly to the host country, the Ambassador's statement was yet another sign of the political dilettantism which has dashed the hopes held in Bill Clinton's presidency, and explains the electoral defeat of the Democrats this week.

The US position on East Timor is an example of inconsistency and duplicity, especially if we consider the much cited example of Kuwait. The double standards used, according to the particular US interests involved, to evaluate situations could be explained by the narrow cynicism of "real-politik." The problem is that the US is constantly at pains to justify its positions morally and in the name of a new international order which, to be effective, just and re-

spected, cannot limit itself to selfish defence of mere national interests.

To be consistent the US cannot accept as a fait accompli the forced annexation of a territory by a foreign army, especially when such has been formally rejected by the international community. If Portugal maintains its statute of administrative power of East Timor, then in terms of law and ethics, a country which is putting itself forward as guarantor of new international order (as the US is doing) cannot recognise any legitimacy in Indonesia's occupation.

What happened yesterday in Jakarta (Timorese demonstrators entering the grounds of the US Embassy) constitutes an incident of very strong political significance. It is not the first time that international repercussions have resulted from a blow to the heart of Indonesian power by the Timorese Resistance. However, it is the first time that a blow has been struck with such accurate political timing and had such media impact, coinciding with the APEC meeting. In spite of the tragic difficulties experienced by the resistance in East Timor's interior, the proof that the flame of rebellion still burns is this Trojan horse within the fortress of the US and the dictatorship's hypocritical interests. Indirectly, however, Mrs. Bagley has already been given an appropriate response.

CDPM APPEALS TO SOARES

Publico, 14 November 1994. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The CDPM (Commissao para os Direitos do Povo Maubere) appealed yesterday to the President of the Republic to "convey to US President Bill Clinton its concerns for the safety of the five Timorese detained in Jakarta at the headquarters of Bakorstanas, a security agency under military control, and for the 36 Timorese who were escorted yesterday from the Indonesian capital by the army."

The CDPM said that "following the peaceful occupation of the US Embassy in the Indonesian capital by a group of Timorese workers and students, 41 young people from different parts of East Java were taken away from the railway station by security forces. Five were taken to the headquarters of Bakorstanas." The CDPM fears for their well-being given that "it is widely known that Indonesian security forces routinely inflict both physical and psychological torture on detainees."

The Commission is equally concerned about the fate of the other 36 detainees, taken out of Jakarta. For the CDPM, "the intentions of the authorities are clear: to move them away from the attention of jour-

nalists and foreign delegations currently in the capital for the APEC summit, thereby alleviating pressure on Jakarta's military command, which can allege that to give information or take action on this matter would be to act outside its jurisdiction. In the meantime, the young Timorese detainees, isolated in different cities in East Java, will be left entirely at the mercy of local military leaders."

Note: The CDPM also appealed to the Portuguese Government to take all necessary actions to ensure the safety and release of all the Timorese - Portuguese citizens under international law - detained in the above incident, as well as those arrested during incidents in Dili.

PORTUGAL'S SOARES PRAISES CLINTON TIMORESE EFFORT

PRAGUE, Nov. 16 (Reuters) - Portugal's President Mario Soares on Wednesday praised U.S. President Bill Clinton for possibly securing free passage from Indonesia for dissident students from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The Indonesian government said on Wednesday it would allow the 29 students to leave the country after they staged a five-day sit-in at the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta to protest about Indonesia's treatment of East Timorese.

"If that news is correct, then I would say 'Bravo President Clinton.' He did what we were expecting," Soares told a news conference during a state visit to the Czech Republic.

"The free world was waiting for a face-to-face with the dictator whose name is Suharto, and there is no doubt that Suharto is a dictator," Soares said.

Soares had written a personal letter to Clinton on Monday asking him to intercede with the Indonesian authorities on behalf of East Timorese dissidents.

TIMORESE CALL FOR UN INTERVENTION

By BARRY HATTON

LISBON, Nov. 14 (UPI) - The leading East Timorese resistance spokesman in exile on Monday urged the United Nations to send a special envoy to the territory immediately in an effort to cool mounting protests against Indonesian occupation of the former Portuguese colony.

"Only the presence of a UN special representative in East Timor over the next 48 hours can calm down the people and cool the situation," José Ramos Horta said on Lisbon radio TSF.

Horta said that apart from demonstrations in Jakarta and the East Timorese capi-

tal Dili, Indonesian troops were using force to suppress protests inside East Timor.

"Confrontations are taking place out of the view of the international community. Civilians armed with sticks and stones are confronting Indonesian troops, and there have been deaths," Horta said.

Horta appealed to U.S. President Bill Clinton to take his talks with Indonesian President Suharto beyond the question of human rights abuses in East Timor.

"There is an opportunity to tackle the wider East Timor problem. The first step must be the demilitarization of East Timor under UN supervision," Horta said.

URGENT APPEAL TO UN

From CDPM - Maubere People's Rights Commission - Lisbon, 15 November 1994. Translated from Portuguese

The CDPM and Peace is Possible in East Timor - with the backing of 44 organisations, including Portugal's two largest labour unions (CGTP and UGT), academic associations, National Youth Committee, Free Xanana, Free Timor Committee, 12 November Association, National Federation of Teachers, and various Christian movements - are sending the following Urgent Appeal to the UN Secretary General. The organisers of this initiative hope to continue to gather signatures for the appeal, from individuals and organisations, until the end of November.

His Excellency, Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali,
Secretary General of the United Nations

Your Excellency,

The protests currently occurring in Jakarta, Dili and other places stem from a situation of intense and prolonged suffering. The demonstrators are expressing their unequivocal repudiation of Indonesia's occupation, and the resoluteness of the Timorese to fulfill their right to self-determination, recognised by the UN. They acclaim Xanana Gusmão as their chief representative and demand the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Given the systematic practice of terror, and the Santa Cruz massacre perpetrated by Indonesia's Armed Forces three years ago, it is feared that the conclusion of the APEC Summit and exodus of the foreign journalists will bring a new wave of even greater repression to Timorese in both Timor and Indonesia.

We are, therefore, appealing to Your Excellency, to :

- send, as a matter of urgency, a Special Representative to East Timor, and arrange for permanent UN representation in the territory;

- make every possible effort to secure the unconditional release of all Timorese political prisoners;
 - ensure that Timorese representatives, especially Xanana Gusmão, play a full part in the negotiations that are underway, under the auspices of the UN.
- With our highest esteem,
(signatures)

TIMOR PRESSURE GROUP URGES UN TO SEND ENVOY

Reuter, Nov. 17, 1994

Lisbon - An East Timor pressure group on Thursday asked U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send an envoy urgently to East Timor to defuse the standoff between pro-independence protesters and Indonesia.

"We call on Your Excellency to send a special representative to East Timor urgently and to rapidly establish a permanent presence in the territory," said a letter sent by the Lisbon-based Commission for the Rights of the Timorese People.

The letter also called on Boutros-Ghali to press for the unconditional release of Timorese political prisoners and to involve figures such as jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão in U.N.-sponsored talks with Indonesia on the future of the former Portuguese colony.

Gusmão's spokesman in Portugal José Ramos-Horta told daily *Diário de Notícias* on Wednesday that the U.N. should establish a permanent presence in the half-island north of Australia with a view to eventually holding a referendum on its future.

In Lisbon, a foreign ministry spokesman said Portugal would accept 29 East Timor students who have been holed up in the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta since Saturday to demand the release of Gusmão.

"We are ready to carry out the repatriation (of the students). The process is underway," the spokesman said.

He told Reuters that "like any other repatriation" the government would pay the costs of bringing the protesters to Portugal, which considers it is still the legal administrative power in East Timor.

"THE INVISIBLE FRIEND" CAMPAIGN

Press Release from Free Xanana, Free Timor Commission, Lisbon. 18 November 1994. Translated from Portuguese

The Free Xanana, Free Timor Commission will be marking the second anniversary of Commander Xanana Gusmão's arrest by launching a campaign called "The Invisible Friend," which aims to help Timorese po-

litical prisoners. Dozens of secondary schools scattered throughout the country are to take part in the initiative by "adopting" one of the Timorese prisoners on the list supplied by the Commission.

During the 5-month campaign, which starts on 20 November and finishes at the end of the second school term, pupils and their teachers will be sending letters to three prisons (Cipinang, Semarang and Kupang), in which the few Timorese prisoners whose imprisonment has been acknowledged by Indonesia are currently being held. Even under Indonesian law, these Timorese have some rights, including the right to receive correspondence. Given the Commission's past campaign experience (e.g. last year's postcards for Xanana, and the flowers sent on his birthday last June), it is safe to say that some of the letters will probably reach their destination.

At least, the campaign will make the Indonesian prison authorities aware of how important the issue is in the eyes of public opinion, and thereby help to keep in check the arbitrariness and violence of the prison guards. Coordination with various Indonesian human rights NGOs has been established for the campaign and, in the future, this cooperation could extend to other kinds of support (such as sending books, newspaper subscription costs, etc.) and include Indonesian political prisoners too.

The campaign is to be launched at Lisbon's Timor Centre (in front of Portugal's parliament building) on 20 November. Between 15.00 and 19.00 hrs. The public will be able to choose prisoners for "adoption" from the available lists.

BACKGROUND TO THE "INVISIBLE FRIEND" CAMPAIGN

It is unacceptable that a person may be sentenced to life imprisonment solely for expressing his/her beliefs in a non-violent manner. However, this is precisely what happens in East Timor, where imprisonment is not the worse fate that may befall an individual: many Timorese disappear without trace. At least in prison a person's whereabouts are known and there is relative "security."

Given our special legal, political and historical ties with the Timorese, and the very strong affective bonds between the two peoples, we Portuguese are bound to seek the release of these unjustly treated human beings. The 20th November marks the second anniversary of Xanana Gusmão's arrest, the event which led to the creation of the Free Xanana, Free Timor Commission. For the past two years, the Commission's activities have focused on solidarity work with Timorese prisoners. Various public

actions were also initiated, including the present "Invisible Friend" campaign.

The international status of the East Timor issue has altered. On the diplomatic level, Indonesia has been forced to admit, implicitly or explicitly, that Timor poses a serious problem which cannot be resolved by means of military action exclusively, but whose settlement can only be reached through negotiations, with the participation of the Timorese and involvement of the international community.

Thanks to the struggle of the Timorese, and pressure from public opinion (both international and within Indonesia itself), the way in which Indonesia is dealing within its own borders with the issue today is quite different to its approach a few years ago. Even though the repression persists openly and with impunity, today there are Timorese who have been brought to trial and sentenced under Indonesian law, while for so many years prisoners were summarily executed without any form of trial.

Even in Indonesia's dictatorship, the whereabouts of those prisoners are known and they have some, albeit theoretical, rights, such as to receive and send correspondence. Prison life is nonetheless harsh, and prisoners are forced to put up with ill-treatment, isolation, ill-health, very inadequate food, etc. Prison guards usually have to be bribed before they will do any kind of "favour."

Aims of the Campaign

Given the present situation, we think that the time is right to see just how willing the Indonesians are to make "concessions." The main aims of "The Invisible Friend" campaign are to:

- involve young people in a solidarity learning exercise
- contribute towards practical improvements to the difficult conditions faced by prisoners
- encourage establishment of links with Indonesian society
- help draw greater attention to the East Timor issue: the media will be involved to give coverage to the campaign

How to adopt an "Invisible Friend"

The Free Xanana, Free Timor Commission has drawn up the attached list of Timorese political prisoners. They are all people about whom some reliable information is available (e.g. name, name of prison, length of sentence, etc.) and which has been confirmed by the Indonesian authorities. The campaign will focus on these few "privileged" prisoners, because there is little or no information available on the other hundreds or thousands of cases.

The idea is simply to write a letter to a Timorese prisoner - even a few lines of encouragement and support for a friend in a difficult situation. We are hoping for an enormous wave of letters to this group of prisoners from secondary schools, involving teachers and pupils, (with the backing of their school boards).

One or more classes in each school will choose at least one prisoner, who they will adopt as their "Invisible Friend." Care must be taken to vary the selection, so that, for example, Xanana is not chosen by everyone. It will be up to teachers to decide on the "handle" to use; the initiative could be approached through subjects such as Geography, Portuguese Language, History, Media Studies, Politics, etc.

The campaign will run nationwide. Dozens of schools throughout the country have already been contacted. It will officially start on 20 November and last for five months (to roughly around Easter holiday time). So that pupils do not start to lose interest, schools should ensure that their mailings are organised during, for example, one or two weeks. They will also have to fit in with other school activities.

Please let us know the name(s) of the Timorese you have "adopted," and the date(s) chosen for your mailings. We need this information for publicity purposes.

What do we hope the Campaign will achieve?

Given the nature of the Indonesian prison system, is it reasonable to expect that letters sent by post will reach their destination?

There is no definite answer to this question. However, based on the experience of previous campaigns (e.g. the November 1993 postcards to Xanana, and sending of flowers on his birthday last June) we believe that there is a good chance letters will arrive. A lot depends on the prevailing mood of the prison authorities, but its success mostly depends on how far-reaching the campaign is, its duration, and how much coverage it receives. For this reason, publicizing the campaign is vital, not just through the media (schools themselves will be responsible for regional and local media coverage), but through the UN (the UN Information Centre in Lisbon should be informed about the initiative). Our contacts with Indonesian human rights NGOs will also help to disseminate news of the campaign throughout Indonesia itself.

Whether or not letters are actually received by the prisoners themselves, they will still get to hear about the campaign, and this alone is bound to raise their spirits. This kind of initiative always puts the Indonesian authorities in an embarrassing

spot, and inhibits the activities of prison authorities.

We realise how important feedback is, especially for the young people taking part. Although we cannot make any promises, we will try to obtain some response from the prisoners themselves.

Contact:

Lena Santos

Commissao "Liberdade para Xanana, Liberdade para Timor"

Rua Pinheiro Chagas 77, 3:E
1000 Lisboa, Portugal

Tel. (1) 352 87 181; Fax. (1) 353 40 09

LIST OF EAST TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Seventh December 1994 will mark the nineteenth anniversary of the invasion of East Timor.

It is believed that about 200,000 Timorese (one third of the territory's population) died as a result of the war, starvation, massacres, torture and inhumane treatment suffered at the hands of the Indonesian occupation forces.

Thousands of Timorese have been imprisoned over those 19 years, solely because they wanted their country to be independent. Many had no trial at all. However, those who were tried were brought before military tribunals and/or courts at which they were given no opportunity to freely defend themselves against the charges against them. For many Timorese, just having taken part in the peaceful protest at Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991 was enough reason to be given heavy prison sentences.

The Timorese prisoners indicated below are being held in degrading conditions, far away from their families and friends.

Cipinang Prison, Jakarta :

address: LP Cipinang
Jl. Raya Bekasi Timur
Jatinegara
Jakarta Timur, Indonesia

Xanana Gusmão

48-years-old. Arrested on 20 November 1992. Accused of rebellion and possession of firearms. Sentenced to life imprisonment. Sentence later commuted to 20 years.

Fernando Araujo

25-years-old. Arrested on 24 November 1991. Accused of taking part, on 19 November 1991, in a peaceful protest in Jakarta. Sentenced to 9 years imprisonment.

Albino Lourdes

Age and date of arrest not known. Accused of belonging to Fretilin. Sentenced to 17 years imprisonment.

Marito Mario Nicolau dos Reis

Age and arrest date not known. Accused of Fretilin membership. Sentenced to 17 years imprisonment.

João Freitas da Camara

36-years-old. Arrested 19 November 1991. Accused of taking part, on 19 November 1991, in a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Kupang Prison :

address: LP Kupang
Jl. Adicpto Penfui
Kupang, NTT, Indonesia

Boby Xavier

19-years-old. Arrested on 28 October 1991. Accused of involvement in the Motael Church incident, in Dili on 28 October 1991. Given a 2 year prison sentence.

Carlos dos Santos Lemos

30-years-old. Arrested 27 November 1991. Accused of taking part in the Santa Cruz protest. Sentenced to 8 years imprisonment.

Bonifacio Magno Pereira

34-years-old. Arrested 11 November 1991. Accused of being one of the organisers of the Santa Cruz demonstration. Sentenced to 6 years imprisonment.

Semarang Prison, Java :

address: LP Kelas I
Semarang
Jawa Tengah, Indonesia

Francisco Miranda Branco

40-years-old. Arrested on 6 December 1991. Accused of being one of the organisers of the Santa Cruz protest. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves

33-years-old. Arrested in November 1991. Accused of taking part in the Santa Cruz protest. Sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Filomeno da Silva Pereira

33-years-old. Arrested November 1991. Accused of taking part in the Santa Cruz demonstration. Sentenced to 5 years and 8 months imprisonment.

Juvencio de Jesus Martins.

Age not known. Arrested November 1991. Accused of taking part in Santa Cruz demonstration. Sentenced to 6 years and 10 months imprisonment.

Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha

28-years-old. Arrested 24 November 1991. Accused of taking part in the Santa Cruz demonstration. Sentenced to life imprisonment.

Saturnino da Costa Belo

Age not known. Arrested 30 November 1991. Accused of taking part in the Santa Cruz demonstration. Sentenced to 9 years imprisonment.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

UN REGISTER ON ARMS: INDONESIA

UN Register of Conventional Arms

The UN-register of conventional arms is seen by the European Union as a way to decrease the tensions in the region of South-east Asia. Moreover it is the only way of decreasing this tension which the European Commission proposed in the policy paper "Towards a new Asia strategy" they published at July 13, 1994. Therefore the need to improve the register's coverage and efficiency is essential and dialogue with many of the Asian countries is going on, according to the EC. The information is given by the countries themselves on a voluntary basis.

The information about Indonesia for 1993 was not very encouraging in this respect:

UN Register of Conventional Arms: Indonesia (A/49/352, page 27) Calendar year 1993 Date of Submission: 7 July 1994

Almost no information is included, except for one entry on 14 German warships: 3 Parchim (Corvette), 2 Frosch (Landing Ship Tank), 9 Condor (mine sweeper).

This information is absolutely not complete and not correct. For example: the major British sale of arms took place in June 1993 when British Aerospace was awarded a 500 million contract to sell 24 Hawk fighter/trainers to Indonesia." The only mentioned deal was about 14 instead of 39 German ships.

PICKET AT INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN NETHERLANDS

Today, 16 November 1994, a demonstrative picket-line was held in front of the Indonesian embassy (in The Hague, Holland) in support of the struggle in East Timor. One of the causes for this demonstration were the tumultuous reactions on the American president visiting Jakarta. East Timorese people occupied the American embassy in Jakarta, and in East Timor four people were killed during the peaceful third commemoration of the bloodbath in Dili.

The demonstrators demanded the release of all arrested people, as well as the release of the imprisoned leader of the East Timorese resistance-movement, Xanana Gusmão. Of course they also demanded the

withdrawal of all Indonesian troops out of East Timor.

At the picket-line a representative of the East Timorese resistance-movement, Mr. J.A. Dias, told the crowd about the most recent happenings. The bloodbath in Dili was also commemorated on Java, where the participants got into a lot of trouble with the Indonesian authorities. A speaker of the Purnama Organization demanded action from the Dutch government on behalf of the independence of East Timor. A speaker of the Moluccan Youth Organization demanded amongst other things that President Suharto keeps his promise to initiate a dialogue with representatives of the East Timorese people.

Participating organizations were the Purnama Organization, the Moluccan Youth Organization, Front Demokrasi Indonesia, Papua-organizations and the East Timor Committee.

(The loads of policemen and -women had a quiet afternoon.)

EAST TIMORESE TAKE INDONESIA'S MADRID EMBASSY

Information supplied by Rui D. Melo. This is based on television news that was only shown in Portugal and Spain, and is a summary of an RTP report. I don't know the exact number of people involved nor can I say what happen to them.

During the events in Dili and Jakarta performed by East Timor people, a group of East Timorese refugees in Portugal and Spain joined and invaded the Indonesian embassy in Madrid, Spain. (There is no embassy in Portugal, as the two countries do not have diplomatic relations.)

This group managed to enter the building itself before they could be stopped. They painted the walls with insulting messages to Indonesia ("Free Xanana," etc.) and also with graffiti (mainly flags). This event managed to wake up Spain for the East Timor problem. Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez was asked by reporters about sales of war material to Indonesia and he confirmed the selling.

More from: jota@mujave.inesc.pt (João Pedro Martins)

I have some more info, as I saw it on TV... it seems the Spanish police used violence against the Timorese involved. The Spanish PM was as the time in Portugal in the "Cimeira Iberica" with the Portuguese PM, and he refused to discuss any action against Indonesia (I think the words were something like "business is business").

SPANISH POLICE ATTACK TIMORESE

Publico, 19 November 1994. By Filipe Santos Costa, Translated from Portuguese.

Lisbon – The 27 Timorese students who staged a protest on Thursday at the Indonesian Embassy in Madrid are to ask the Portuguese Foreign Ministry to request an explanation from the Spanish authorities for the violent way in which the police cleared them out of the Embassy. For the same reason, the group of students, who were expressing solidarity with their compatriots at the US embassy in Jakarta, are going to lodge a complaint with the Spanish Embassy in our country.

While in Oporto, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva met with his Spanish counterpart, Felipe Gonzalez, at the Iberian Summit, the 27 Timorese held a press conference to denounce their treatment: "We never expected that in a democratic country violence would be used at the request of the Indonesian Ambassador," said Celio Gusmão, a spokesman for the students, who had both wrists bandaged.

Many of the students, who are currently living in Portugal, backed up their story by showing marks left on their bodies by "the brutal attack," to which they fell victims in the Embassy gardens, far from the eyes of journalists, who had meanwhile been moved on. This is why the police violence subsided as soon as the students reached the street, where there were witnesses - Esquerda Unida deputies, friends of the students, and Spanish journalists. But the precautions did not stop there. A Radio Nacional de España journalist, who was in the middle of a live radio broadcast on the incidents at the Embassy, was "invited" to stop the broadcast, and a photographer's negatives were confiscated by the authorities.

According to the young Timorese, the police operation, which included anti-terrorist and anti-riot forces, was out of all proportion, considering that all they wanted was to meet with Suharto's Ambassador, on condition that journalists were present. The Ambassador would not agree to this condition. They were ordered to leave the premises as they were "invading Indonesian territory." The Timorese were ready with their answer: "You get Indonesia out of our territory, and we'll be out of here the next minute."

There were "four or five police for every one of us," "I cannot understand why the Spanish police attacked us inside the Embassy," said Celio Gusmão, adding that "the violation of human rights and the violence that is happening in Indonesia and Timor was mirrored in Spain."

The students are now worried that their identities could be revealed by the Spanish authorities to the Indonesians. This could result in reprisals against the students' friends and relatives who are still in Timor.

EU PARLIAMENTARIANS WANT AID TO JAKARTA TO END

By Debra Percival

STRASBOURG, Nov. 17 (IPS) - A call for the suspension of European Union development aid to Indonesia and a ban on arms sales to the country by European Union governments was made by European parliamentarians here Thursday.

The measures should remain in place as long as the Indonesian government continues its illegal occupation of East Timor and continues to repress the East Timorese people, read the resolution drafted by centre and left parliamentary groups – and subsequently adopted by the whole assembly.

But it is unlikely that EU policy makers – the European Commission which holds the development aid purse strings and the 12 European governments – will follow the parliament's wishes.

"We are waiting to see what events will bring in East Timor," European Commissioner, Antonio Ruberti, told the chamber.

In July, EU foreign ministers issued a statement urging Indonesia to respect human rights and religious freedoms and to allow non governmental organisations (NGOs) to operate freely in East Timor.

"This is the only way to create the necessary conditions to tie up with what the United Nations is trying to do," said Ruberti on Thursday.

The resolution adopted by parliamentarians condemned the behaviour of the Indonesian armed forces and security services in East Timor.

On the third anniversary of the Dili massacre, it calls for self determination of the East Timorese and the immediate release of East Timor resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão.

"Member states must stop military support and the European Union must suspend all actions as long as Indonesia is illegally occupying and repressing East Timor," said Portuguese liberal, Carlos Costa Neves during Thursday's debate.

Fellow Portuguese member of the United Left, Sergio Ribeiro said: "The European parliament can no longer be accomplices to the Indonesian government in genocide."

German green European parliamentarian, Wilfried Telkamper, deplored the 11-fold increase in arms sales to Indonesia between 1992 and 1993.

He said that Germany alone sold one billion dollars worth between 1990-1993 – and Britain is allegedly linking development aid to arms sales.

Thursday's resolution called on the European Union to take "firm and immediate measures" to solve the East Timor problem with negotiations between Indonesia, Portugal and the East Timorese, leading to "free and fair elections" in East Timor.

The resolution also asks the European Commission to "investigate fully the alleged link between aid and arms from Britain and to propose a regulation that would prevent such linkage in future."

Telkamper says that an article in the EU's new Maastricht Treaty which reads that the Commission can "take useful initiatives to promote the coordination of development policies in member states and their development aid programmes," empowers the Commission to carry out such an investigation.

EU RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

The European Parliament adopted the following resolution on East Timor on November 17 1994:

The European Parliament:

A. having regard to the violent repression by the Indonesian army of occupation against Timorese demonstrators who, in Dili, were marking the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre and fighting for self-determination and for human rights,

B. whereas the repressive measures resulted in several deaths, with measures needing to be taken to prevent further fatalities,

C. having regard to the peaceful demonstration within the US Embassy by students protesting against Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor,

D. having regard to its previous resolutions on East Timor and on human rights violations by the Indonesian dictatorship and Indonesia's refusal to comply with the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council,

E. regretting the fact that the human rights situation in Indonesia has been exacerbated by 'Operation Cleansing' in the run-up to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit which ended yesterday,

F. regretting the fact that some EU member states, especially the UK and Germany, are still selling arms to Indonesia,

G. whereas the Indonesian army plays a dominant role in suppressing the populations of East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya and is at the same time a powerful political force within Indonesian society,

1. Condemns once again the behaviour of the Indonesian armed forces and security services and expresses its concern at the atmosphere obtaining in East Timor, with the manifest and continuing refusal of the population to accept integration with Indonesia;

2. Expresses its support for the people of East Timor and calls for the recognition of its right to self-determination and independence, as well as for the release of Xanana Gusmão and all political prisoners;

3. Pledges its full support for the recommendations to the Government of Indonesia set out in the Amnesty International report entitled "Power and Impunity";

4. Urges the Council of the EU, under the CFSP, to take firm and immediate measures to help solve the problem, based on negotiations, under the aegis of the UN, including representatives of the East Timor resistance movement and by means of a free and fair referendum, and calls on it to inform Parliament of its actions;

5. Urges the Member State governments to halt all military aid and arms sales to Indonesia, and urges the EU to suspend all economic cooperation measures with the Indonesian Government for as long as it persists with its illegal occupation and repression;

6. Calls on the Commission to investigate fully the alleged link between aid and arms from the Government of the United Kingdom and to propose a regulation that would prevent such a linkage in future, as permitted under the EC Treaty (Title XVII, Article 130x), which allows the Commission to "take any useful initiative" to promote the coordination of the development policies of the Member States and their development aid programmes;

7. Calls on the members countries of the APEC meeting in Jakarta to condemn Indonesia's stance on Jakarta [note: this is clearly incorrect, presumably meant to say "stance on East Timor"]

8. Reiterates its view that a parliamentary delegation should be sent to East Timor;

9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the UN Secretary General, the Governments of Portugal and Indonesia, the member countries of APEC and to the unitary structures of the Timorese resistance movement.

A ROW ABOUT FINNISH ARMS TRADE TO INDONESIA

From The Committee of 100, Helsinki, Finland, 18 November 1994

The licenses for the Finnish companies to export arms to Indonesia were yesterday

withdrawn by the Minister for Forest and Agricultural Affairs Mr. Mikko Pesölä (the Center Party). His formal reason was to ask more explanations.

The companies are Vihtavuori oy (=stock company) which aims to export 200 000 blasters of the hand grenade and Nokia Telecommunications which aims to export measuring instruments for the aiming systems of field artillery. The value of these orders is less than 20 million \$US.

The decision of the licenses is secret and therefore official information is not to be obtained. But as far as we know the Minister for Defence Elisabeth Rehn did not want to give the license now it is public because it may weaken her possibilities to be elected as the directing manager of the UN body UNICEF. She was supported at her viewpoint by the chair of her party, the minister for Traffic Mr. Ole Norrback according to the decisions of the party.

Minister Mikko Pesala is ready to propose the decision to be made about the deal only when the publicity hanging over the matter will not exist for to long.

It is quite generally estimated that the arms trade from Finland to Indonesia is connected to the Indonesian pulp and paper industry with which many Finnish companies collaborate. The most well known of the companies are Jaakko P Ahlström, Tampella, Outokumpu and Rauma Repola.

The arms transaction was yesterday put forward at the parliament by MP Eila Rimmi (The Left Union). The Minister for Foreign Trade Pertti Saloainen answered that similar type of export to Indonesia has been exercised also before. According to the minister the circumstances in Indonesia has not been changed from those days.

INDONESIA SEEKING WEAPONS FROM BRITAIN, GERMANY

by John Owen-Davies, Reuter, Nov. 19.

Jakarta – Indonesia is negotiating with Britain and Germany to buy arms and equipment to develop a modern military machine, senior armed forces officers said on Saturday.

"We are getting some procurements from Europe, especially from Germany and Britain," Armed Forces (ABRI) Commander General Feisal Tanjung told a news conference for foreign reporters.

He said Indonesia was negotiating with Germany but did not say for which kind of military vehicles.

Talks with Britain were for 50 Scorpion light tanks and more Hawk jets.

Foreign military sources said orders for Scorpions, at a cost of \$750,000 apiece,

could eventually approach 100 and that Indonesia wanted a further 16 Hawks.

Indonesia last year ordered 24 Hawks – eight 100 Series, two-seater trainers and 16 200 Series, single-seat fighters at a total cost of \$760 million from British Aerospace.

“The basic concept is not to enlarge the force level but to develop a professional, effective and modern ABRI,” another senior officer said.

Tanjung denied recent media reports that the military was unhappy with 39 aging East German warships it bought in a deal struck by civilian Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie.

“We think these ships are most suitable, given the geographic conditions of the Indonesian archipelago. They are designed for short cruising. We are happy with them,” he said.

ABRI, which includes national police, has a total force of 430,000 in a multi-ethnic Indonesian population of 188 million, and covers an area stretching across 5,000 km (3,125 miles) – the distance between New York and San Francisco.

“Compared with the big population and the vast territory, this figure can be considered the smallest in the world.

“Conventionally, it is almost impossible (for ABRI) to perform its overall mission,” one of the senior officers said.

Foreign military sources say ABRI, forged through fighting alongside civilians to oust Dutch colonialists in the 1940s, has suffered because of weak junior officers, poor military skills in the lower ranks and questionable equipment maintenance.

Britain and Australia, Indonesia’s southern neighbour, are believed to be offering additional military training to fill gaps left by a shift in United States’ policy.

The U.S. Congress wants to link sales and training to Indonesia with the issue of human rights in East Timor, scene of fresh rioting in the last few days.

SAINT MERRI EXHIBITION IN PARIS

Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor, Nov. 21

Saint Merri church in Paris near Centre Georges Pompidou is a centrally-located parish, well-known among human rights activists. An exhibition on East Timor is shown there from Nov. 11 to Nov. 27. This exhibition, a project of the campaign “Four Months for East Timor,” was first planned for June before the CGI meeting, but could not take place then for technical reasons.

The exhibition is now a project of Forum Timor, supported by Amnesty International and ACAT (Action des Chrétiens pour l’Abolition de la Torture). It consists mainly

of 8 panels and maps prepared by Agir pour Timor, supplemented by some other material. Panels are thematic and show legended photos and maps. The themes are:

- The Indonesian army
- Transmigration
- East Timor under the Indonesian yoke
- The East Timorese
- East Timor
- an untitled “traditional” panel
- The Church, the refuge
- Timor in the international context

Other posted material includes an Amnesty leaflet on their current campaign, an article from “La Porte” of August 1993 entitled “On torture a Timor-Est,” the Four Months campaign poster, featuring a blank television screen and the legend “Doit-on voir des images insoutenables pour denoncer l’inacceptable?” and a poster on East Timor as a Vietnam film (see separate item).

A table with other material is (wo)manned every day from 4pm to 6pm by people from ACAT, Amnesty International and Agir pour Timor. Material includes:

AI: - the booklet “Une population sous haute surveillance”

- La Chronique, Nov. 1994 (the French section’s monthly, two articles on Indonesia and East Timor this month)

- the booklet “Indonesien et Timor oriental: pres de trente ans d’impunité”

ACAT: Courrier de l’ACAT

Peace is Possible in East Timor:

- Je suis Timorais
- Santa Cruz
- Apres Santa Cruz

Agir pour Timor: some bulletins

Four Months campaign: some bulletins

Book of Gabriel Defert: *Timor-est, le Genocide Oublié*

EU PROTESTS AGAINST JAILING OF UNION LEADER

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Nov. 22 (IPS) - The European Union Tuesday criticised Indonesia for the jailing of a trade union leader in contravention of the rules of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) – of which Indonesia is a member.

Muktar Pakpahan, who leads the unrecognized trade union SBSI (Sejahtera Buru Serikat Indonesia), was sentenced to six years imprisonment in Jakarta last October.

He was accused of having incited anti-government demonstrations in Medan, South Sumatra, last April, which was bloodily suppressed by the police.

But according to Amnesty International and the Brussels-based International Con-

federation for Trade Unions (ICFTU), Pakpahan, was not in Medan during the riots.

ICFTU said that with his imprisonment the government is trying to prevent his organisation getting more support from the millions of workers who are badly paid.

The German EU presidency in a statement issued Tuesday during the meeting of EU transport ministers said that “by virtue of Indonesia’s membership of the ILO, it has undertaken to give effect to the principles laid down in the ILO charter.”

“Workers and employers organisations shall have the right to draw up their constitutions and rules, to elect their representatives in full freedom, to organise their administration and activities and to formulate their programmes,” the statement said.

“The public authorities shall refrain from any interference which would restrict the right or impede the lawful exercise of trade unions,” it added.

The statement further said that workers and employers organisations shall not be liable to be dissolved or suspended by any administrative authority.

The European Union appealed to the Indonesian authorities to refrain from any restrictions of these rights and to take further steps towards establishing a “general climate, including the freedom of expression, in which labour organisations can work freely and independently.”

Future EU members Sweden and Norway backed the statement.

EVENTS IN AFRICA AND ASIA

STATEMENT BY ARCH- BISHOP DESMOND TUTU

ON THE NOVEMBER ANNIVERSARY
OF THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE IN
DILI, EAST TIMOR

Original document, 9 November 1994

On March 21 1980, the atrocities of Sharpeville happened. The world was outraged and from that time on the world decided it had to do something and today apartheid has ended.

On November 12, 1991, the outrage outside the cemetery at Santa Cruz happened. The world must be outraged and the world must take action.

East Timor must become free.

MURAYAMA LEFT EAST TIMOR UP TO KONO

Nov. 15

At the press conference Japanese Prime Minister MURAYAMA Tomiichi gave in Jakarta before returning to Japan Tuesday night a reporter from Time magazine asked him if he had raised the issue of East Timor with Suharto. Murayama said that the issue had been raised at the level of the foreign ministers. His answer to the question, which he began by mechanically mouthing the "position of the Japanese Government on the issue," namely that Japan regards Indonesia as effectively governing the territory and that Japan is watching the negotiations under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, was made in a guarded tone as if he had been strictly ordered by handlers from the Foreign Ministry not to deviate from what he had been trained to say.

TIMORESE MEET WITH JAPAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

My hat goes off not only to the 5 speaking tour "trouper," but also to the folks in Tokyo who got the ever-cautious Foreign Ministry to meet with João and Aviano. – Jean Inglis

Mainichi Shimbun, Nov. 26, 1994. Translated from Japanese, Abridged. Reporter: Fujita

A photo shows the two Timorese evidently entering the Foreign Ministry. Caption reads: "Mr. Faria (right) and Mr. Dias visited the Foreign Ministry to testify about the massacre incident"

Titles: "People were killed with medicine at the hospital"

...Right after the 'Santa Cruz Massacre' Two East Timorese Give Testimony at the Foreign Ministry

Five East Timorese are visiting Japan, including Mr. Aviano Faria (24) who survived the 'Santa Cruz Massacre Incident' in East Timor in November 1991 when Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of people. Concrete testimony was given that "wounded from the incident who were taken to the hospital were poisoned (a second massacre)." Mr. Faria and another East Timorese visited the Foreign Ministry on the 24th to tell about what happened at the massacre. This was the first time that East Timorese have visited the ministry to give an account of the incident. Their testimony is likely to have an influence on the attitude of the Japanese Government, which has hitherto been wishy washy on East Timor's human rights issues.

Mr. Faria avoided the bullets when the troops opened fire because he was shaded by a tree, but he was beaten by a soldier. At the hospital that he was taken to he witnessed wounded being killed by being hit with rocks or by being made to take a poisonous substance. Mr. Faria said that he was able to save himself by saying that he had "infiltrated the demonstrators as a spy for (Indonesian) intelligence."

At the time of the incident Mr. João Dias (26) was working at that hospital and was ordered to administer pills to the wounded who had been brought in. He gave the pill to a person who then went into great pain, so he became frightened and hid the pills. He testified that most of the wounded who were given the pills by other hospital workers died.

At the foreign ministry the two met with Ishida (second name may be Minoru or Makoto or other, Jean) and others of the Second Southeast Asia affairs bureau. They asked that "the Japanese Government urge the Indonesian Government to improve the human rights conditions and to begin talks aimed at independence for East Timor." Mr. Ishida said that he would "convey what we have heard to the relevant departments."

TIMOR GAP OIL LEGALITIES

WORLD COURT TO OPEN TIMOR GAP CASE IN JANUARY

The Hague, Nov. 7 (Reuters) - The International Court of Justice said on Monday it would open public hearings on January 30, 1995 into a challenge filed by Portugal against Australia over an oil exploration agreement off the coast of East Timor.

Portugal is challenging Australia's right to conclude the Timor Gap treaty, signed in 1989 with Indonesia, since the United Nations recognises Portugal, and not Indonesia, as the ruling authority in East Timor...

The treaty, designed to exploit possible oil reserves in the 23,550 square mile (37,680 sq. km) offshore Timor Gap area between Australia and Indonesia, allows Australia to prospect the area for oil and gas for over 40 years.

Experts estimate potential oil reserves in the gap could be at least one billion barrels.

Portugal, which filed its challenge in February 1991, said at the time that Australia had caused "particularly serious legal and moral damage to the people of East Timor and to Portugal," which would become "material damage" if the exploration of resources

were allowed to go ahead. The public sittings, to hear both sides' arguments in the case, are expected to last three weeks until February 17, the International Court of Justice said in a statement.

AUSTRALIA TO BECOME LARGEST SEA EMPIRE WITH OCEAN CLAIM

Seattle Times, Nov. 10, "Around the World" section:

CANBERRA, Australia – In a move that may irk neighboring Indonesia, Australia plans to officially lay claim to a huge offshore territory nearly twice the size of its mainland.

Australia next week will claim economic sovereignty, under the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, to 5.7 million square miles of ocean and sea bed. This claim would give Australia the world's largest sea empire.

The U.N. convention will divide up about 35 percent of the world's oceans among 123 countries. The claims give exclusive economic rights to everything in the water, animate or inanimate, and everything in the sea bed below.

Australia's most contentious undersea border is with Indonesia, which is disputing Australia's claims north of Christmas Island and off the north coast of the mainland, which includes the oil-rich Timor Gap.

WHY WE WILL LOSE TIMOR ACTION: EX-JUDGE

The Sydney Morning Herald, 15 November 1994. By Debra Jobson

A retired judge believes Australia will lose its case when it argues in the International Court of Justice in January that Indonesia has sovereignty over East Timor.

As world attention returned to East Timor following weekend rioting in Dili, Mr. Ernest Lambert, a former Family Law Court judge who has studied the vexed legal situation of East Timor at length, believes Australia does not have "much chance at all" of proving to the court that the Timor Gap treaty was valid.

"I'd be a bit concerned if I were one of the petroleum companies that have taken up an option under the agreement," Mr. Lambert said. "Of course, Australia can thumb its nose at a judgment of the International Court of Justice, but whether Australian people would want to do that is another question."

Portugal had complained to the International Court that the agreements Australia entered into with Indonesia relating to mari-

time boundaries and access to oil resources in the Timor Gap were null and void.

Mr. Lambert—who has been analyzing East Timor's position in international law since he retired in 1990—said Australia would have to argue against some firmly established legal principles. It must prove that Indonesia validly gained sovereignty over East Timor before it invaded in December 1975.

The United Nations has consistently rejected Indonesia's argument that a petition approved by a 37-member "People's Representative Assembly" constituted "a valid act of self determination" by the East Timorese to accept Indonesian sovereignty, Mr. Lambert said.

East Timorese protesters in Darwin yesterday removed and defaced a photograph of the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, during their angry occupation of the Department of Foreign Affairs office, writes Gay Alcorn.

About 35 protesters called for Senator Evans to resign because he was "unable or unwilling to acknowledge the true extent of the problem of East Timor."

In a statement of demands, the group also called Australia to withdraw its recognition of East Timor as part of Indonesia and for a royal commission to inquire into the role of Australian parliamentarians and public instructions in the invasion and its aftermath.

A spokesman for the protesters, Mr. José Gusmão (a cousin of jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmão), said he had learnt on Sunday night that there was now a "massive build-up" Indonesian troops in East Timor, that 250 people had been arrested and that there was "fear and terror that there is to be another massacre."

PROTEST PLANNED AGAINST THEFT OF EAST TIMOR'S OIL

On December 7, 1994, members of the East Timor Action Network (ETAN)/Texas and others will picket Houston's Wyndham Warwick hotel, the site of the "First Energy Indonesia Outlook" conference. The peaceful protest, highlighting Indonesian and Australian expropriation of East Timor's oil resources, will begin at 8:30 am and last until after the lunch break.

East Timor recently came into public awareness when 29 young East Timorese men climbed the fence of the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta, upstaging the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum which had brought President Clinton and other heads of state to the Indonesian capital. Their 12-day protest, which kicked off several days of unprecedented uprising in East Timor itself, reminded people around the

world that more than 200,000 East Timorese have been killed during nearly two decades of Indonesian occupation. With the expulsion and departure of all foreign journalists from East Timor, hundreds or thousands may be arrested and tortured in the military crackdown which has already begun.

"Indonesia has a knack for callous anniversaries," said Gordon Banner, coordinator of ETAN's Texas chapter. "The APEC Conference was on the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, when Indonesian soldiers shot into a peaceful funeral procession, killing more than 250. And now they are holding an energy conference 19 years to the day after Indonesia invaded East Timor. The people of East Timor cannot forget that brutal invasion and the genocidal Indonesian military occupation that ensued, and neither will we."

Among the topics to be discussed at the Energy Outlook Conference, which is sponsored by the Indonesian government and U.S. oil and mining companies, is East Timor's oil reserves, located beneath the Timor Sea. The "Timor Gap" zone, between East Timor and Australia, is one of the world's largest undeveloped oil fields. Five years ago, Australia and Indonesia signed a treaty—currently being challenged by Portugal in the World Court—to divide it up, and several companies are doing exploratory drilling, including Chevron, USX Marathon, and Oryx Energy. A few wells have already struck oil.

The East Timor Action Network was founded following the November 12, 1991 massacre in Dili, East Timor's capital. ETAN/US supports self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with UN resolutions and international law. ETAN/Texas is one of about a dozen local ETAN groups across the United States.

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA AND AOTEAROA

UPDATE ON ET SEMINAR SERIES AT NORTHERN TERRITORY UNIVERSITY

From George Quinn, Nov. 8.

Halfway point has now been reached in the Northern Territory University's current series of public seminars on the political economy of East Timor. Papers have now been presented by Max Lane (editor of *Inside Indonesia* and translator of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Bumi Manusia* quartet), Rawdon Dalrymple (former Australian am-

bassador to Indonesia, the USA and Japan), Gerry van Klinken (Ph.D. candidate Griffith University) and Armindo Maia (first deputy Rektor, East Timor University, Dili). Attendance at the seminars has ranged from 40 to 80, representing NTU academics and students, the local expatriate East Timorese community, local Indonesian students, federal and NT government officials and the general public.

Each paper has been followed by up to an hour of discussion. Highlights of these discussions have been

- the advantages and disadvantages of ET's participation in the "rupiah" economy,
- the meanings and usefulness of the term "poor" when applied to contemporary ET;
- the meanings of "autonomy" and "special region" in the context of the Republic of Indonesia;
- the policy and impact of transmigration in ET, and more.

Future speakers in the series are Daniel Kameo and George Aditjondro (Satya Wacana University), Hadi Susastro (CSIS) and Mario Saldanha (NTU).

The papers presented in the seminar series will be published by the NTU's Centre for Southeast Asian Studies in mid 1995. For further information about the series contact George Quinn [e-mail g_quinn@banks.ntu.edu.au] or Mario Saldanha [not yet on e-mail but you can fax Mario on 61-89-466897 or ring him on 61-89-466771]

NOTES ON ARMINDO MAIA'S PAPER

NOTES (non-authorised) by Rob Wesley-Smith BRurSc. after the historic presentation by East Timorese academic and vice-rector of Dili University Armindo Maia on November 3, 1994.

(The papers should be published early 1995 by NTU East Timor Studies Project - tel: 61 89 466771; fax: 61 89 466897; contact: Mario Saldanha)

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN EAST TIMOR: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

Summary of paper:

Rural development is NOT the same as agricultural development, but is defined as: improving the living standards of the mass of the people living in rural areas and making this self-sustaining Portugal failed to develop East Timor, and much visible signs appeared only by the end of the 1960's, mainly in Education and Health. The Portuguese basically did not intervene with village life, whereas the Indonesian approach is to

have soldiers everywhere in numbers. The Indonesians define 3 periods after their occupation from December 1975: as October 1976 - March 77 "Restoration," to March 78 "Consolidation," and to 1992 "Stabilization" (I think I got that right but it sounds so ridiculous!) After 1980 they started programs in areas under their control, but also concentrated people in urban areas under their control. This was very difficult for mountain people with loss of land, access, animals and culture etc. Also migrants took land from which the East Timorese had been excluded. Timorese have special relationships with THEIR land, but this is not accepted by Indonesia. Their programs could not be implemented well due to their lack of the Tetun language and cultural knowledge, so they recruit cadres, 2500 by 1995, but the issue remained: how to increase Timorese participation? With the intensive military presence participation is from fear. After 18 -19 years of Indonesian occupation, 70% of villages are classified as "poor," and should be entitled to special funds. But only a trickle trickles down. Need more political will or soon East Timor will not belong to the native East Timorese.

Discussion:

Transmigrasi was often to lands abandoned at the time due to war. G. Aditjondro has written about this. No compensation is paid. Many of the migrants in the rice growing Maliana area are now rather involved in business. There is no counting or control of arrivals. Is there encouragement by the Government for East Timorese to take positions of responsibility in Administration and Business? Governor Abilio Osorio Soares proposed that East Timorese predominate in the Public Service junior grades 1 and 11 but there has been no progress (others do not want to make way). After 1985 scholarship holders are not required to return to Dili. There is massive unemployment including 30-40 East Timorese graduates without jobs. Question about how the thousands of troops fit in, and does the Catholic Church tend to support a culture of dependency? There are East Timorese battalions (744 and 745), but these are not fully trusted by the Indonesians. There are lots of other troops with mixed origins. The Catholic Church is very conservative, and in general has not been so interested in the social problems of poverty, though some priests have been, and a lot of effort in education including rural, and of course resources are limited. Development so far has been physical with roads bridges and schools, and now it must be the human resources. People are traumatized. AIDAB is trying to design its rural development program with the people

and Armindo is more optimistic about this approach, it should work better than force.

Someone asked where East Timor could get development money if Indonesia did not supply it. Mainly, "people need to command their own lives." Many have said "take your developments back and let us be FREE." Assets include Oil and Coffee, and José Gusmão stated that the profits from coffee exploitation can be seen in the new Christmas Island Casino. And there is tourism. Mario Saldanha pointed that the critical importance of how the available money is used. (I see lots of parallels with the Australian Aboriginal development scenes.) An appropriate land tenure scheme is still being developed.

PREVIOUS SPEAKER: some notes...

The speaker on the previous evening was Gerry van Klinken, who compared the Ruth McVey model of Separatism with the East Timor reality, and found differences. Two decades of suffering has created nation wide consciousness and unity, often well articulated by Bishop Belo. East Timor is still the poorest province, with no economic growth. Need to look to the future to open meaningful dialogue. Rudini insists there will be no special autonomy for East Timor. The Australian role has been worse than doing nothing, so Evans should butt out. The term "Conflict Resolution" does not appear to be part of Australian foreign affairs vocabulary. "Reconciliation" is used by Indonesia and supporters for bringing East Timor into the fold, and is a code word for the "London talks, but José Gusmão emphasised that reconciliation between East Timorese occurred in 1983 under the leadership of Xanana Gusmão.

The first two speakers in this series were Max Lane and previous Australian Ambassador Dalrymple. The next two expected are Daniel Kameo and George Aditjondro both due on November 24, 94. The NTU and Dr. George Quinn are to be congratulated for this focus on East Timor at last. In my view it has been a long time coming, but it must continue and expand.

VOA: NEW ZEALAND MPS CONDEMNATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Voice of America, 11/9/94. By Trevor Henry, Wellington

Intro: A New Zealand parliament delegation to East Timor has unanimously condemned Indonesia's handling of human rights in the former Portuguese colony. Trevor Henry reports from Wellington the delegation made its views known to New Zealand foreign minister Don McKinnon, as

he left for Jakarta for the Asian-Pacific Economic Conference.

The delegation visited East Timor last week, at the invitation of the Indonesian government, after New Zealand legislators signed a petition protesting alleged human-rights violations in the territory.

The leader of the delegation – junior minister Roger McClay – says although the delegation had not recommended cutting off trade or withdrawing from military exercises with Indonesia the human rights imbalances were obvious. Mr. McClay says it was difficult to talk to ordinary people in East Timor who were constantly looking over to their shoulders and never able to speak their own minds.

The foreign minister Don McKinnon has responded by promising to raise the members' concerns with the Indonesian government later this week when he's in Jakarta for the APEC meeting. He's due to meet the Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas.

Mr. McKinnon says a constructive effort is needed in East Timor involving local people as well as the Indonesian authorities. But the delegation told him it would not be helpful for outsiders to attempt to impose a solution.

He announced the New Zealand government will give 100 thousand dollars to East Timor to help improve conditions. He says the aid will go to church and non-government groups for small practical projects.

THOUSANDS RALLY FOR A FREE EAST TIMOR

By Arun Pradhan, Green Left, Nov. 13

Thousands of people rallied across Australia on November 12 to commemorate the killing of more than 300 peaceful protesters in Dili three years ago. Protesters in 11 cities showed that they would not accept the Australian government's support for the Suharto regime's occupation of East Timor.

In Sydney, Sujatha Fernandes and Holly Doel report that 1000 people attended a march and rally which met outside St Mary's Cathedral, where a mass had been held for those killed in the Dili massacre.

After street theatre from the East Timorese Cultural Centre and music from the Solidarity Choir, Harold Moucho of Fretilin described the impact of the invasion. Besides the outright killing of more than one third of the East Timorese population, he pointed to the forced sterilisation programs, systematic rape, torture and political assassinations and imprisonments that continue to occur. Thanking the Australian people for their solidarity, Moucho told the crowd, "to Aksi, AETA and Resistance, your solidarity

will be written in the books of the East Timor struggle.”

Sam Lazzaro from Resistance and Alico Santos from Fretilin Youth addressed the role of young people in the struggle. Lazzaro spoke about what young people in Australia can give to the struggle, since they are not tied to the past and don't have illusions in the Labor Party. She encouraged people to become active in the solidarity campaign by joining groups such as Resistance.

Other speakers included Helio Tavares from UDT, Linda Pillay from the Australian East Timor Association and Max Lane from Aksi (Indonesian Solidarity Action). The rally concluded with a message from Xanana Gusmão, who said, “The struggle continues on every front ... to resist is to win.”

After the rally about 80 people went to the Resistance Centre for an emotional toast given by Brian Deluz from UDT and Harold Moucho.

Ben Reed writes that more than 1000 people gathered at Melbourne's city square. Speakers included Abel Guterres of CNRM. Street theatre after the speakers graphically recreated the events of Dili and highlighted Gareth Evans' complicity in covering up the massacre.

The protesters then marched to the Garuda airlines office, where speakers from UDT, Fretilin, AETA and Aksi called for ongoing support and solidarity.

People in Perth may have been surprised to see a plane flying over the city carrying the message, “Indonesia out of East Timor, freedom now!.” Some 800 people continued this demand, rallying at All Saints Chapel and marching through the streets to Forrest Place.

Anthony Benbow reports that protesters held crosses representing the hundreds of people killed in Dili. The marchers initially remained silent out of respect for those who had died before people broke out into chants such as “Free East Timor, no blood for oil!” and “shame, Evans, shame.”

Gordon Macintosh, former ALP senator and representative of Friends of East Timor, Christabel Chamarette from the WA Greens and several East Timorese in exile addressed the rally. Other speakers included people from the trade union movement and the Catholic Church.

In Darwin, Tom Kelly reports that activities commemorating the massacre began at 8am on Friday with 200 people gathering outside the NT parliament. Speakers included Didge McDonald, representing the Northern Territory Trades and Labour Council, Labor MLA John Bailey and José Gusmão representing CNRM.

The crowd chanted, “Free East Timor,” “Free Xanana” and “Indonesia out,” beating

drums and waving placards and East Timorese flags as they marched to the Indonesian Consulate. A line of police and wooden barriers met the protesters, denying them access even to the footpath adjacent to the fence.

When a delegation attempted to deliver a letter protesting against the Indonesian invasion and ongoing atrocities in East Timor, they were blocked by police. The delegation refused an offer by police to deliver the letter on their behalf. José Gusmão explained that this was because they didn't like seeing Australians playing a role subservient to the Indonesian regime.

The evening of November 12 was marked by a mass at St Mary's Church in Darwin.

Russel Goldflam from Friends of East Timor in Alice Springs reports that more than 100 people gathered there, with many East Timorese coming from as far as Warburton. Lea Dee Almeida, women's officer for Fretilin NSW, addressed the crowd before a wreath-laying ceremony. The names of 373 people killed in the massacre were read out, followed by prayers from Catholic and Anglican priests.

“Stop the killing, stop the treaty, free East Timor now!,” declared a demonstration of 400 people in Brisbane, reports Nick Everett. The demonstration started with a rally at King George Square. Participants heard speeches from Aksi, Resistance and the Catholic Church, as well as a speech and performance by the East Timorese community.

Communications union Secretary Ian MacLean described the debate on East Timor at the recent ALP National Conference and read out the policy unanimously adopted at this conference. Other speakers noted the absence of any reference to self-determination in this policy. An Aksi speaker described successive Australian governments supporting the Indonesian regime.

The rally, led by the East Timorese, stopped in the Queen Street mall for street theatre and more speakers, gaining a positive response from passers-by. It then proceeded to Albert Park, where participants were entertained by local performers and a platform of speakers from the Aboriginal community, Bougainville, Green Left Weekly, the Community and Public Sector Union, Amnesty International and a number of political parties.

Despite drizzling rain and the distraction of the Grand Prix, Andrew Hall reports that 150 people rallied in Adelaide.

John Heard, from Christians in Solidarity with East Timor, called for Australians “to stand in solidarity with the people of East Timor regardless of economic and political interests.” Mon Ayco, a Filipino cultural

worker, expressed solidarity and called on workers to unite in struggle.

The theme of union solidarity was also taken up by Paul Noak from the AFMEU. He said “the struggle here is the same as in Indonesia ... increased labour market deregulation here is like the situation in the Third World where workers are able to be exploited.” Noak also spoke about Gough Whitlam, as the idol of the Labor Party left, who gave permission to the Indonesian invasion.

Andrew Hall from Aksi described the importance of linking struggles within Indonesia for independent trade unions and political activity or a free press. He stressed the need to campaign against all who oppress the people of East Timor - whether Suharto, the Indonesian military or the ALP and ACTU. The movement should seek to force the Australian government to withdraw recognition of the Indonesian annexation, to recognise the resistance organisations as legitimate representatives of the East Timorese people, and to end all defence cooperation with Indonesia.

A speaker from Campaign for an Independent East Timor, the main organisers of the day, spoke of Australia's shameful greed for East Timor oil, and compared the situation in East Timor with that of Kuwait and the Gulf War.

Thanks was given to Australians for their support to the East Timorese, with particular thanks given to Green Left Weekly and Resistance for their role.

In Canberra, according to Sam Wainwright, a lively Green Left Weekly East Timor Freedom Now Dinner was attended by 70 people. Speakers included Bill Tully from CIET, Reihana Mohideen from the Democratic Socialist Party and Alison Dellit from Resistance.

Karen Fry and Catherine Wardley in Newcastle report that 30 people attended a candlelight vigil, organised by the Asian International Solidarity Network, on November 11. Speakers included members of Amnesty International, Resistance and AISN.

A similar vigil was organised in Hobart on November 12. Katrina Dean relates that 30 people attended a ceremony there, which had a speaker from Amnesty International.

Steven Jones from the East Timor Relief Association in Townsville reports that 40 people gathered in the mall for a memorial service conducted by Bishop Benjamin from the Catholic Church. Frank Costanzo from Pacific, a local peace group, described the history of the invasion and Australia's destructive role in East Timor.

From the mood of the commemoration events across the country, it is clear that the campaign will grow and continue to hound

both the ALP government and the Indonesian regime. With resistance still strong within East Timor, it is up to us to maintain solidarity and pressure until East Timor is free.

DILI MARTYRS REMEMBERED

DEMAND EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE!

From "The Guardian" weekly published by the Socialist Party of Australia, Nov. 14.

The 247 East Timorese men, women and children massacred by Indonesian soldiers on September 12, 1991 in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery were remembered in protests in many parts of the world last weekend. The demand for East Timor's independence rang out.

Bravest of all, hundreds of East Timorese gathered outside the home of Bishop Belo in Dili to mark the third anniversary of the massacre.

By Dr. Hannah Middleton

The crowd, carrying banners and shouting slogans in support of independence and human rights, fought Indonesian military forces and police in the streets of East Timor's capital in an outburst of fury against the Indonesians who have taken over their country.

In Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, 29 East Timorese protesters are camped in the grounds of the US Embassy after scaling the fence during a courageous protest on Saturday. Other demonstrators were manhandled by police before being taken away, reportedly to a military camp.

US officials state that they will not evict the protesters who say they have been given water by Embassy staff but no food.

The Indonesian Government is infuriated by the protests which erupted just as US President Clinton, Prime Minister Keating and other leaders were arriving for Tuesday's APEC meeting.

A major crackdown on dissent failed to prevent the East Timorese students from staging the protest which attracted the attention of the world's media, in Jakarta for the APEC summit.

The protesters are demanding independence for East Timor and the release from jail of Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão.

One demonstrator criticised the Australian Government, saying it is helping Indonesia "to violate human rights in East Timor" and that Canberra "is wrong to recognise the invasion."

Protests around Australia

Street marches and church services to remember the Dili martyrs took places in all major Australian capitals on Saturday.

At many of the actions, the names of those murdered by the Indonesian troops three years ago were read out and crosses bearing their names were carried through the streets,

Thousands of people joined the demonstrations which called on the Australian Government to withdraw recognition of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and to put real pressure on Indonesia to end its appalling human rights crimes against the East Timorese people.

Many speeches and banners demanded an end to Australian military aid and training for the Indonesian military and that no Indonesian troops be allowed to participate in the Kangaroo war games across Australia's top end next year.

On Friday night, demonstrators in Brisbane broke into the office of the Australian oil company, PETROZ, which is involved in exploiting Timor Gap oil and poured blood on the boardroom table. On Sunday, the Indonesian Consulate in Melbourne was graffitied with slogans demanding freedom for East Timor.

Hundreds of thousands killed

The notice of a protest at the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra last Tuesday quoted the report of Amnesty International on Indonesia and East Timor. The report said:

"Hundreds of thousands of civilians have been killed, their mutilated corpses sometimes left in public places to rot; prisoners have been routinely tortured, some so severely that they have died or suffered permanent injury; thousands of people have been imprisoned following show trials solely for their peaceful political or religious views; scores have been shot by firing squads, some after more than two decades on death row."

The call went on: "Our protest expresses solidarity with the people of East Timor and, indeed, with the struggling masses of Indonesia who suffered what Amnesty describes as "one of the worst massacres of the 20th century. In less than one year between 500,000 and one million were killed" when the Suharto regime seized power [in 1975].

- We condemn the silence of the Australian government and the international community to the crimes against humanity of the Suharto regime.
- We demand that Australia makes an offer of political asylum to the East Timorese students now occupying the US Embassy in Jakarta.

- We demand that Australia vigorously pushes for a UN sponsored referendum in East Timor so that the people may decide their own future.

You can send an urgent message to the Ambassador, US Embassy, Jakarta calling upon him to obtain a written guarantee from the Indonesian government that there will be no retribution against the Timorese demonstrators now in the US Embassy and to provide them with food and medical assistance. A message of solidarity to the Timorese demonstrators could also be sent, requesting the US Ambassador to deliver it. The Jakarta fax No. is: 62-21-386.2259

SEA FLARE THROWN IN PROTEST

The Daily Telegraph Mirror, Sydney, 14 November 1994

A flare was thrown on to the roof of the Indonesian Consulate during a protest, police said yesterday.

More than 60 people gathered outside the Consulate in Moroubra yesterday and today to protest what they claim are human rights violation by the Indonesian Government.

In the otherwise peaceful demonstration the crowds sang and chanted, holding banners urging the Australian Government to intervene in Indonesia.

A Maroubra police spokesman said police had been informed they had planned to storm the Consulate and raise an East Timorese flag.

"Aside from a sea flare being thrown on to the roof, there were no problems at all," the spokesman said.

"The flare was quickly extinguished and there was no damage."

In Melbourne, six people who were arrested after entering the Indonesian Consulate grounds would be charged on summons with trespass and criminal damage, police said.

EVANS: EAST TIMOR TROOPS OUT NEXT YEAR

By Tom Anderson (UPI)

SYDNEY, November 15, 1994 – Indonesia will start pulling out troops from East Timor next year, Australian Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans told parliament Monday in Canberra.

Evans said he received assurances to this effect from his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas, during talks the two ministers held in Jakarta in advance of a summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

"Indonesia will start pulling out troops from East Timor next year," the Evans told the Australian parliament.

"It looks like it is going to flow through next year," he said.

"We had all hoped that it might be rather sooner than that," Evans said.

He said the Indonesian government recognized the validity of arguments for political autonomy for East Timor.

"The Indonesian government realizes that the problem is an intractable one.

"It is not going to go away unless some efforts of reconciliation of this kind have occurred," Evans said.

DILI MURDERS OUR CREDIBILITY

IT IS TIME FOR AUSTRALIA TO STOP PUSSYFOOTING ABOUT WITH INDONESIA OVER HUMAN RIGHTS

The Australian, 15 Nov. 1994. By Garrie Gibson (Federal Labor MP for Moreton)

Three years ago, almost to the day, Indonesian soldiers open fire on a group of peaceful protesters as they entered the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. official details of the incident vary, but what was clear was that, regardless of the number killed, the actions taken by the military were far in excess of any reasonable response.

After an outcry from the international community, the Indonesian Government said those responsible for the incident would be punished. Of the soldiers who face trial, the most severe punishments were prison sentences, all of which were less than two years in duration.

Those who had participated in the protest march received more severe penalties. Eight people received sentences ranging from five years to life imprisonment.

Since the Dili trials, human rights have continued to be violated. In September this year, Amnesty International released a report examining human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor. Australia's foreign minister, Senator Gareth Evans, argued strongly against the report, suggesting it was more a "campaign document" than a balance exploration of the state of human rights in Indonesia.

However, it is important, regardless of any alleged deficiencies in the report, to consider what is suggested in it.

Recently, consider media coverage was given to President Suharto when he announced his intention to improved human rights standards in Indonesia. Time will tell whether this is political rhetoric or whether it will translate into real change.

While the potential positives should not be understated, any installment of individual

rights will do little unless accompanied by some recognition of collective rights. It is this issue that will be the ultimate test for Indonesian Government.

The 1975 takeover of East Timor by Indonesia was in violation of international law. The General Assembly of the United Nations stated in 1976 that East Timor could not be considered integrated into Indonesia because the people had not been able to exercise their right to self-determination.

If the situation is to improve there must be recognition of the need for collective representation and rights, as well as access to individual rights and freedoms.

Australia has the opportunity and the responsibility to take a much firmer line with Indonesian Government to progress with greater autonomy and freedom for military harassment for the East Timorese.

Our Government has consistently argued that Australia is much better placed to influence attitudes and policies about human rights by being a friend rather than a strident critic of Indonesia.

The past five years have seen little evidence of much success by Australia in forwarding the progress of real reform in Indonesia, particularly in East Timor, Aceh or West Irian. Arrest and detention without trial, torture, death and destruction of property continue to be the hallmarks of Indonesian administration in East Timor. Ask the families of those killed at Santa Cruz or subsequently imprisoned whether Australia has achieved anything for the rights or freedom.

Despite our significant achievements across the international stage or in advancing disarmament, peacekeeping and global security, our nation has little credibility and human rights while we continue disregard the most blatant examples of abuse of such rights in our own region.

The struggle of East Timor will not go away until their rights and freedom have been returned. Australia has the moral and political obligation to honour its commitment to the international instruments on human rights by forcing the pace of change within Indonesia.

The bloodshed at Santa Cruz remains a stain on our nation that will not fade until our government stands up for what we believe and espouse.

NO PEACE IN EAST TIMOR

Editorial, The Sydney Morning Herald, 15 November 1994

Three years after the Dili massacre, renewed disturbances in the East Timorese capital have shown yet again the hollowness of Jakarta's claims to authority in the for-

mer Portuguese territory. Nineteen years after the Indonesian invasion, there is no peace in East Timor. Fortunately, these latest disturbances so far have been met with comparative restraint by the Indonesian authorities. No doubt that is because they have occurred when the eyes of much of the world are on Indonesia, as host of Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit beginning in Bogor today.

The Dili police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, attempted yesterday, to minimize the significant of the weekend disturbances. "This thing can happen anywhere in Indonesia," he said, "even in Jakarta, because the conflict was between ethnic groups." The very truth of that observation, however, only serves to underline the seriousness of the situation in East Timor. Early accounts of the disturbances in Dili do defer to conflicts between local Timorese and outsiders. From the Timorese perspective, however, such conflicts simple emphasise the plight of Timorese who say they are being swamped by non-Timorese coming to the island under government resettlement programs. For Timorese, such programs threaten their cultural distinctiveness and so, in the long term, their very survival.

Although ethnic clashes are not unknown elsewhere in Indonesia, in East Timor they are given a distinctive edge by the province's disputed status. The Australian Government might have accepted Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, but the United Nations has not. It still recognises Portugal as the administering authority in East Timor, and has begun to show more interest in the question of East Timor's disputed status. That is enough to keep alive Timorese hopes. The most optimistic hope looks to international support for an act of self-determination which would lead to East Timorese independence. A more modest hope is for international pressure to force Jakarta to concede East Timor's right to autonomy. Even that would imply great change.

If it were to be "a just, comprehensive and internationally accepted solution to the question of East Timor" to use the words of the agreed purpose of the UN-sponsored talks between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal which began in 1992- it would necessarily mean an end to the military confrontation between the Indonesian armed forces and Fretilin guerrillas. It would also mean an end to Indonesian policies of forced integration and cultural annihilation which have so far been pursued, under military rule, with only negative results.

The latest disturbances in Dili are by no means just another internal Indonesian affair, a clash between two ethnic groups." They were accompanied by demonstrations

protesting against the Indonesian presence in East Timor. And, least there be any doubt, they coincided with the protest at the United States Embassy in Jakarta, where the 29 demonstrators staging a sit-in have demanded the release of the Timorese guerrilla leader Mr. Xanana Gusmão and the granting of autonomy for East Timor. None of these manifestations if likely to lead to immediate change. But they are indications that the issues of East Timor's international status cannot be resolved without a change in Indonesia's fundamental policies towards legitimate East Timorese aspirations.

KEATING SAYS WILL NOT LOWER FLAG ON HUMAN RIGHTS

CANBERRA, Nov. 17 AAP - Prime Minister Paul Keating today defended his decision not to raise concerns about East Timor with Indonesia during the APEC summit.

Mr. Keating told parliament the APEC trade agreement was the main focus of his visit; he had raised human rights concerns many times before.

"I've raised the issue forthrightly and fully on a number of occasions," he said.

"I don't think it's my responsibility every time I fly into Indonesia to go through a litany of issues on (East Timor).

LABOUR (ALP) SHAMED BY EAST TIMOR INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

By Wendy Robertson, Green Left, Nov. 20

The thousands-strong protests in Dili and the 29 East Timorese students occupying the US Embassy in Jakarta have again focused international attention on the plight of the East Timorese under Indonesian occupation. This campaign has been joined by international solidarity actions at a time when Western governments, particularly of the US and Australia, are relying heavily on the Indonesian government to assist them to push the economic integration of the Asia-Pacific into the US/Australian economic sphere.

The absurd claim by foreign minister Gareth Evans that the actions in Dili involved only 100 people hardly encourage belief in other statements by him, for example that there are moves in Indonesia for a sharp cut in troops in 1995 and that "autonomy" is still on the agenda. The day after Evans' meeting with Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas, the latter clearly stated there was no way that Indonesia would consider troop

reductions or any "special" status for East Timor.

These admissions followed only days after Evans' foreign relations debacle over the issue of arms sales to Thailand when he publicly retracted earlier statements on Thai involvement in support for the Khmer Rouge. The events underline the difficulties the Labor government faces in trying to put a human face on its basic policy of guaranteeing business interests in the region.

On the defensive last week, Keating said, "In Australia's case, we are doing something tangible in seeking to develop East Timor and the whole province, to try and make economic opportunities, employment and living standards better in that part of Indonesia." Such claims need to be understood in the context of the Labor government's support for a regime which "develops" by means of daily wages of less than A\$2 per day, enforced by military repression of independent trade union activity.

The Suharto dictatorship also guarantees access to resources such as the oil reserves in the Timor Sea, being jointly exploited by Australian oil companies and their Indonesian counterparts, which are directly linked to the Suharto family regime. These conditions help to explain why more than 120 Australian companies are active in Indonesia.

"Australians today and especially young people support the East Timorese struggle for self-determination. We have no faith in the ALP's public position of sympathy for East Timor and aim to build an independent campaign to involve and mobilise huge numbers of young people in solidarity with East Timor," said Natasha Simmons, Resistance national coordinator. "We identify with the young people of East Timor who are leading the fight for their liberation.

"We support the demands of the Timorese to free Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão and all other political prisoners in Indonesia and East Timor, including the 220 people arrested in Dili last week. We support the call for international recognition of the legitimate representatives of the East Timorese people - CNRM, FRETILIN, UDT and the East Timorese church - and for a full, independent investigation of the Dili massacre."

AUSTRALIAN ACTIONS FOR EAST TIMOR

Green Left, Nov. 20

Fifty people participated in a speak-out for East Timor in Brisbane on November 18, reports Nick Everett. The event was held to support the demands of 29 East Timorese students inside the US embassy in Jakarta

and to highlight the repression of demonstrations in East Timor.

Speakers from the East Timorese community, Aksi - Indonesia Solidarity Action, Resistance and the International Socialists, as well as a number of individuals, spoke of the failure of the APEC conference to bring any closer an end to the occupation of East Timor.

A candlelight vigil will be held in Brisbane to mark the anniversary of the 1975 invasion on December 7.

In Melbourne, to chants of "Freedom for East Timor," "Suharto is a butcher," "Gareth Evans is a pig," around 200 lively protesters wound their way from the GPO to Garuda airlines and back.

The November 18 demonstration was organised by Fretilin, UDT, AETA and Resistance in solidarity with Timorese protesters in Dili and Jakarta.

A vigil is being maintained at the US Consulate, 533 St Kilda Rd, Melbourne.

Around 200 people gathered at Town Hall Sydney on November 19 in an emergency rally called in solidarity with the East Timorese protesting in Dili and the students occupying the US embassy in Jakarta.

Speakers from Fretilin, UDT, Aksi, Resistance and the Democratic Socialist Party addressed the need to continue the solidarity campaign and condemned the role of the ALP in backing the Indonesian occupation. The crowd then marched to the ALP headquarters chanting "ALP, BHP, Out of the Timor Sea."

UPCOMING CONFERENCE: PEACEMAKING INITIATIVES FOR EAST TIMOR

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT ANU, CANBERRA

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, ARTS FACULTY

July 10-11, 1995

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Department of Political Science and the Arts Faculty, Australian National University will be hosting an international conference on the theme of "PEACEMAKING INITIATIVES FOR EAST TIMOR." Contributors will be asked to consider the conceptual, ethical and legal dimensions of peacemaking, and what this entails for the conflict in East Timor - soon to enter its twentieth year. More specifically, contributors will be discussing practical solutions or schemes of action for achieving peace in the territory of East Timor. Abstracts of ap-

proximately 200-250 words are required by March 26, 1995.

Please send abstracts and requests for registration forms to:

Conference on Peacemaking Initiatives
for East Timor
c/- Sharon Merten Department of Political
Science, Faculty of Arts,
Australian National University
ACT 0200 AUSTRALIA
Fax: +61-6-249 5054
Phone: +61-6-249 2659

EVENTS IN CANADA

TIMORESE SEEKS ASYLUM IN CANADA

Publico, 21 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese

A Timorese student, Isabel Gathost, who is currently in Canada on an exchange programme for young people, has requested asylum from the Canadian authorities. Isabel Gathost was working as a reporter on "Suara Timor Timur," a newspaper edited in Dili. Indonesian Foreign Office spokesman, Irawan Abadim, had no comment to make on the asylum request, reported by Associated Press, other than that was unaware of details of the case. Canadian officials also stated that they had no concrete information on the Timorese student's request.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO RAISE TIMOR AT APEC

Publico, 27 October 1994. By J. Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – José Ramos Horta, special representative of the CNRM (Mauvere Resistance National Council) was given assurances by the Canadian Prime Minister that he would raise the question of East Timor at the November summit meeting in Indonesia of APEC, hosted by Suharto. Similar assurances had already been given by the Japanese and US governments.

Ramos Horta traveled from Ottawa to New York on Tuesday, to resume his meetings with UN officials. The subject on the agenda was, once again, the extended meeting between Timorese of different positions, which was agreed at the May meeting between Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers and the UN Secretary General. The meeting of Timorese should take place before the next round of negotiations, scheduled for 6 January in Geneva.

The extended meeting between Timorese (on which the UN is currently concentrating

all its efforts) will also be the main item on the agenda of a meeting between the three forces of the Resistance aligned with Ramos Horta's position. The leaders abroad of the CNRM (Ramos Horta), UDT (João Carrascalao) and Fretilin (José Luis Guterres) are going to discuss the matter in Sydney, at a meeting which will be held in early December.

This preparatory meeting for the extended meeting must take place between 7 and 10th December so that Boutros Ghali's envoy Francesc Vendrell can attend. Later, he is to go from Lisbon to visit East Timor.

The race against time will then start. With the meeting between the two ministers and the UN Secretary General scheduled for 6 January, less than a month remains to organise the extended meeting between Timorese (at which, for the first time, the groups of Ramos Horta, Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz will be sitting around the same table). If that meeting does not take place, an essential paragraph of the Declaration made following the 6 May negotiations round will not have been fulfilled.

The requirements set out in another paragraph of the same Declaration have already been met: Minister Barroso met with Lopes da Cruz, Minister Alatas with Horta and Araujo.

Ramos Horta continues to insist on the participation of the UN in the extended meeting. He would like to see the meeting promoted and organised by the UN, and neither Abilio Araujo nor Lopes da Cruz would be likely to object.

However, the same unanimity does not exist on the role "reconciliation" plays on the way to the extended talks. The co-stars of the "reconciliation" meetings, Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz, see "reconciliation" as a kind of embryo of the extended meeting. Ramos Horta, on the other hand, regards "reconciliation" as no more than one of Jakarta's maneuvers. Curbing the effects of this bitter disagreement over the extended talks could dictate the success of the initiative.

CANADA URGED TO LINK TRADE WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AT APEC

APEC statement by solidarity groups, Nov. 10, 1994

Dear Prime Minister Chrétien,

This month, the annual Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit meetings will convene in Jakarta, Indonesia. We Canada-based solidarity groups are gravely concerned that the APEC summit, and the trade promotion missions leading up to it,

are focused exclusively on trade. We are not opposed to trade, but we believe that the promotion of human rights is at least as important as the promotion of trade between APEC member economies. The rights of the people that live in these countries should carry more weight than the profits to be gained from increased trade with "High-growth Pacific Rim economies."

We understand human rights to be more than simply political and civil rights. Human rights also include the economic, social and cultural rights of groups and individuals, the right to self-determination and the right to democratic development. We reject the concept of human rights put forward by some Asian governments, which states that the Asian conception of human rights does not include the rights of individuals. We equally reject the view put forward by some Western governments that human rights includes little more than the rights of individuals. Human rights are universal and indivisible.

In this, we stand with human rights organizations based in Asian countries, and recall the 1993 and 1994 Bangkok declarations of Asian human rights groups, which stated that "the advocacy of human rights cannot be considered to be an encroachment on national sovereignty."

The current pattern of trade and development in Asia is having many adverse effects on the peoples of Asia. The direction now being taken by APEC governments, Canada among them, is only increasing these trends. Canada has traditionally claimed to champion human rights throughout the world. When the Liberal Party was campaigning to become the government in 1993, it stated its position on international human rights very clearly: "We will support democracy and human rights worldwide and reaffirm Canada's will to help the world's poor." Since coming to power, however, you and your government have downplayed the promotion of human rights in favour of the promotion of trade, abandoning promises to link the two. The recent trade mission to China is just the most recent example.

At the APEC meetings, Canada has an opportunity to change all that. The summit will be attended by many of the top human rights violators in Asia. APEC was founded to promote trade, but it must now begin to promote the exchange of ideas, not simply the exchange of goods. We ask that Canadian representatives at the APEC meetings take the chance to link trade and human rights clearly and loudly, focusing as much on the promotion of universal human rights as they do on the promotion of trade.

1. Canadian representatives should consider carefully the multiple examples of how human rights are being adversely affected

by the existing trade and development models in the APEC region. Instead, Canada should be seeking to foster the development of civil society within the Asia Pacific, building protection for human rights into evolving APEC mechanisms before agreeing to further economic integration.

2. Canada should develop a code of conduct for Canadian corporations operating in other parts of the APEC region, that would force them to consider the effect of their ventures on local people and the environment.
3. Canada should also push for common standards such as a code of rights for workers that is especially sensitive to the rights of women workers, and an ecological code of conduct.
4. Canada should be promoting people-centered development and not providing money or lending its support for projects that benefit governments of big economic interests at the expense of local people. We ask that Canada consider advancing concrete aid to those NGOs that are genuinely independent from their governments.
5. All APEC meetings and bilateral meetings should be opened up, rather than held behind closed doors. Canada should also ensure that independent human rights organizations are allowed to meet freely in Jakarta during the APEC meetings, not prevented from meeting as they were during the last major international meeting in Jakarta. Canadian representatives should meet with independent Asian NGOs while in the region.
6. Canada should link its aid and trade explicitly to human rights. Countries that violate human rights on a regular basis should be subject to economic sanctions as a last resort, with Canada taking the moral leadership to impose these sanctions if necessary.

Yours sincerely,

- Jack Lakawich, for the Canada Asia Working Group
- Rigzin Dolkar, for the Canada Tibet Committee
- Michael Craig, Benson Lin, for the China Human Rights Group
- Bush Gulati, for the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma
- Sharon Scharfe, for the East Timor Alert Network
- C-S Su, for the Formosan Association for Public Affairs
- Y-S Columbus Leo, for the World United Formosans for Independence
- Jina Hahn, for the Young Koreans United of Canada
- Macks Marcellano, for the Philippine Solidarity Group

• Stuart Wulff, for the South Pacific Peoples Foundation
cc. Andre Ouellet, Roy MacLaren, Raymond Chan, all federal members of Parliament, APEC embassies and consulates in Canada

1991 LETTER FROM JEAN CHRÉTIEN

Text of a letter received by an ETAN member from Jean Chrétien when he was leader of the opposition.

December 18, 1991

Dear _____,

Thank you for your letter regarding the situation in East Timor.

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.

Progress towards respecting human rights in much of the world is the direct result of pressure from western democracies. I believe Canada's relations with the world must be influenced by Canadian values: respect for human rights and the rule of law; attachment to individual freedoms and to democracy; and the protection of the weak and the poor.

We have pressed the government to take decisive action that would send a clear message to the Indonesian government. The recent announcement by the Conservatives to suspend \$30 million in aid is a step in the right direction. Needless to say, we will continue to urge further action. To that end, 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.

I appreciate your concern on this matter. Please be assured that I will continue to monitor the situation closely.

Sincerely
Jean Chrétien

ETAN/CANADA LETTER TO CHRÉTIEN

BY FACSIMILE: 62 21 571-2251

November 13, 1994

Dear Prime Minister Chrétien,

I am writing to you on behalf of the East Timor Alert Network/Canada, an national

organization of Canadians who are concerned about the ongoing genocide in East Timor. I am writing to you on just hours before your meeting with President Suharto to implore you to raise the issue of East Timor and human rights violations.

As I am sure you are aware, on Saturday, November 12, 29 East Timorese students carrying banners and chanting 'Free East Timor' marched to US embassy grounds demanding President Bill Clinton push to free jailed guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão. However, it must not be forgotten that forty of their friends, who were to accompany them, have been arrested. Five are still under arrest and their whereabouts are still unknown. We urge you to call upon the Indonesian authorities to release them immediately. The other thirty-five have been returned to East Java by truck under military escort. This clearly means that they have not been released and are likely to undergo intensive interrogation accompanied by torture, once they return to East Java, at the hands of the regional military command. As human rights activist Poncke Princen stressed, out of sight of international attention, the military in the regions are likely to treat their captives with even greater severity. We appeal to you to make the strongest possible representations to the Indonesian authorities to release them immediately and allow them to return to their homes unmolested. They have obviously been removed from Jakarta to reduce the pressure on the Suharto regime, now facing one of the most embarrassing diplomatic fiascos of Suharto's thirty-year rule.

When José Ramos-Horta, the Special Overseas Representative for East Timor, met with officials from Foreign Affairs in Ottawa on October 24th, he did so with the opinion that Canada was a country that was indeed concerned with the human rights violations occurring in East Timor. He noted that Canada had an enviable international reputation on the issue of human rights, and asked the officials at the meeting to convey to you his request that you raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto while you are in Indonesia as part of APEC.

In 1991, as Leader of the Opposition, you wrote the following to a member of ETAN: "The Liberal Party of Canada firmly believes that we should not turn away from any area of the world where violations of fundamental 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 measures to safeguard the rights of the people of East Timor. Progress towards respecting human rights in much of the world is the direct result of pressure from western democracies. I believe Can-

ada's relations with the world must be influenced by Canadian values: respect for human rights and the rule of law; attachment to individual freedoms and to democracy; and the protection of the weak and the poor. ... Needless to say, we will continue to urge further action. To that end, 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."

It has been almost 19 years since Indonesia illegally invaded East Timor; in that time, over one-third of the population of East Timor has been killed. It is obvious that in the case of Indonesia, increased trade has not improved the human rights situation. As Canadian trade and investments in Indonesia increase, so does the death and repression in East Timor continue to grow. I am well aware of the strong economic ties that Canada shares with Indonesia. However, regardless of the financial benefits from such a relationship, it is wrong for Canadians to profit from repression.

Therefore the East Timor Alert Network urges you to make the following appeals to President Suharto:

1. That the 29 East Timorese inside the US Embassy compound be protected when they leave the US Embassy;
2. That the Indonesian government account immediately for the missing five Timorese now in jail;
3. That the thirty-five who were released from jail today be released immediately and allowed to return to their homes unmolested;
4. The release of East Timorese Resistance Leader, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, and of all East Timorese political prisoners;
5. That the President of Indonesia, who has stated his preparedness to engage in dialogue with anti-integration elements, agree to the participation in such talks of the true representatives of the People of East Timor, including members of the four components of the Resistance: the East Timorese Church, CNRM, UDT and Fretilin;
6. That the Indonesian government grant access to an independent and impartial mission with the aim of conducting a serious investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre; and
7. We also urge that you take up with President Suharto the question of the immediate release for those political prisoners who have been held for nearly thirty years and are now very elderly and incapacitated, as well as the release of trade union leader Muchtar Pakpahan and

the many other union activists and workers who have been jailed this year in Medan and Pematang Siantar, North Sumatra.

The diplomatic tactics of the Canadian Government in the past have not worked; now the Canadian government must take a stronger stance on human rights. Yesterday, over 400 people gathered on Parliament Hill with one single request: that you send a clear message to the Indonesian government from Canadians that human rights violations against the people of East Timor will not be tolerated. Failure to do so will only make the Canadian government complicit in the worst case of genocide since World War II.

Sincerely,
Sharon Scharfe National Coordinator
East Timor Alert Network/Canada

NOV. 12 ACTION IN OTTAWA

Report from Sharon Scharfe, ETAN / Ottawa, Nov. 13.

ETAN/Canada had an incredibly successful March in Solidarity for East Timor on November 12 in Ottawa. There were over 400 participants and has since had national coverage on every television station. As part of the planning, the streets that would be used were closed down, enabling the marchers to use the city streets instead of being restricted to the sidewalks. When I arrived at the Indonesian Embassy, the staff were handing out large documents, that gave the official Indonesian version of what happened in East Timor, beginning with discounting the 200,000 dead, videos, and copies of the statement made by Fransisco Xavier Amaral at the UN Decolonization Hearings in July, 1994.

The March started at the Indonesian Embassy (accompanied by no less than 14 police officers), where Kerry Pither explained the significance of the day which was followed by a moment of silence.

From the Embassy we marched to the Human Rights Monument where we had a re-enactment of the Dili Massacre, with the reading of Tri Sutrisno's statements. 400 people lay on the ground for a few minutes, with 271 crosses, with the names of the Massacre victims raised.

From there we marched to the American Embassy where a letter was read by Sharon Scharfe and then presented to the American Embassy (see letter that follows). The protesters were not allowed to stand in front of the Embassy, so they stood across the street, at the foot of Parliament Hill. I was escorted across the street to the US Embassy by four Ottawa Police officers and met by a further five RCMP officers. The RCMP acted as the intermediary between

the group and the Embassy, as the Embassy would not open its doors. The protesters were asked to phone the US Embassy continually throughout the week, until they received reassurances that the Timorese inside the US Embassy in Jakarta would be safe, that those who were arrested would be released, and that Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman would be returned safely to the US.

From there we marched to Parliament Hill, where we laid the crosses on the steps. A representative of Amnesty International made a statement; a letter from Abé Baretto Soares was read; and Kerry Pither read the letter from Jean Chrétien on East Timor that he wrote while in opposition to a member of ETAN (see below) and made a call to all those in attendance to phone and fax Foreign Affairs on Monday and Tuesday to register their concern about APEC. A fact sheet was handed out, asking those who write and call to ask:

1) Ask why the only "clear message" being carried by these ministers is that Canada will conveniently overlook the Suharto regime's genocidal policy in East Timor and human rights abuses in its own country.

2) Ask why our governmental representatives are ignoring Canadian values by promoting trade and legitimizing the Suharto regime.

3) Most importantly, demand that Jean Chrétien and these ministers raise these concerns PUBLICLY WHILE ON THIS VISIT, NOT BEHIND CLOSED DOORS. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien: Phone (613)992-4211; Fax (613)995-3456

Andre Ouellet, Foreign Minister: Ph:(613)995-8872; Fax:(613)996-3456

Roy MacLaren, Trade Minister: Ph: (613) 995-4702; Fax:(613)996-8924

Embassy of the United States
Wellington Street, Ottawa, ON

Dear Ambassador Blanchard,

Today we march in solidarity with the people of East Timor. While we have different backgrounds, we are all concerned about the gross human rights violations being perpetrated by the Indonesian military against the people of East Timor.

We ask you to contact President Clinton in Jakarta and ask him to instruct the US Embassy in Jakarta to give protection to the more than two dozen East Timorese who are now inside the embassy premises. Several hundred police, some with automatic weapons, have taken up positions outside the compound. Also, the students have told reporters that forty friends had been arrested on their way to participate in the protest.

We also want to raise our concern regarding the arrest in East Timor earlier today of two US journalists, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman. The Indonesian military's refusal to allow them to enter East Timor comes exactly 3 years after they were forced to flee Dili after being severely beaten while covering the 1991 Dili massacre. On November 12, 1991, at least 271 people were killed when Indonesian troops fired on a peaceful demonstration at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. Nairn said that when they applied for their visas to go to Indonesia they were told that East Timor was open and that anyone can go. The Jakarta Post recently cited the fact that the pair had been granted visas as a sign of openness on the part of the Indonesian government. We call on the US government to ensure their safe return to the US.

We call on President Clinton to use his considerable influence with President Suharto to release the East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, and all East Timorese political prisoners being held by the Indonesian authorities, and to press him to enter into negotiations about the future of the territory with all the components of the East Timorese resistance, The Catholic Church, the CNRM, the UDT and Fretilin. The US government should also press for an immediate, independent and impartial mission to go to East Timor with the aim of conducting a serious investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre which occurred three years ago today.

Sincerely, [signed] Sharon Scharfe,
on behalf of March in Solidarity for East Timor

RIOTS SEND ANGRY MESSAGE TO ASIA-PACIFIC SUMMIT

Ottawa Citizen, Nov. 12.

Begins with a CP Photo of the 271 crosses laid on the steps of Parliament Hill, with the Marchers in front of the Peace Tower. Caption: "Demonstrators on Parliament Hill mark third anniversary of Dili Massacre in East Timor with wooden crosses Saturday."

AP, DILI – Hundreds of angry youths clashed with riot police and rampaged through Dili early today, demanding independence for East Timor.

As demonstrators spread through the East Timor capital, hundreds of riot police cordoned off the city.

The demonstrations began after a 7 a.m. mass. About 30 Timorese youths chanted in Portuguese: "Viva Clinton" and "Free Timor."

President Bill Clinton is scheduled to attend the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-

operation Summit that begins Tuesday in Indonesia.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976. The United Nations never recognized the annexation.

There was also a protest in Ottawa on Saturday, with demonstrators marking the third anniversary of the Dili Massacre by placing 300 wooden crosses on the steps of Parliament Hill. The group was also protesting Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's planned visit to Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, on Monday.

In Jakarta, 29 student protesters scaled a fence and entered the U.S. Embassy grounds on Saturday.

The protesters said they want Clinton to put pressure on Indonesia during the economic summit.

Chrétien will be attending the summit and Canadian officials said he will try to open a dialogue on human rights with Indonesia.

INDONESIA DESERVES CRITICISM; CHRÉTIEN SHOULD RAISE HUMAN- RIGHTS CONCERNS

Editorial, Montreal Gazette, Nov. 13, 1994

Prime Minister Chrétien arrives in Indonesia today to attend a summit meeting of the Asian-Pacific Economic Co-Operation group, of which Canada is a member. His visit is part of an Asian tour – the highlight of which was last week's visit to China – designed to expand trade ties with some of the world's fastest-growing economies.

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country, and its economy has been growing at an average annual rate of about 6 per cent in recent years. As oil-producing Indonesia becomes more prosperous, it offers a tempting market for Canadian exports. It also offers investment opportunities.

But Indonesia also has a terrible record of human-rights abuses. When Mr. Chrétien meets with Indonesian President Suharto tomorrow, he should not shy away from expressing Canada's sorrow and disdain. But Canadians should do more than preach. They should also take care not to get involved in business transactions that would make them complicit in those abuses.

In Indonesia, the leaders of independent trade unions are subject to intimidation and harassment. All too often, workers lack any legitimate way to win redress for their many grievances. While it is understandable that wages and working conditions in developing countries are not as favourable to workers as those in industrial countries, that does not excuse coercive efforts to keep wages and working conditions artificially low by inter-

fering with workers who try to exercise their right to free association in independent trade unions. It is wrong for Canadians to benefit from repression. And doing so also forces Canadian workers to compete with unfairly produced goods.

To their credit, a group of 74 members of the United States Congress have called on U.S. President Bill Clinton to use his talks with Indonesian leaders to discuss what the congressmen termed "severe labor-rights violations" there. Mr. Clinton is expected to raise such concerns.

For his part, Mr. Chrétien should press the Indonesian government to allow independent trade unions to operate according to international norms. And he should also speak up about various other human-rights abuses. There is a long list: – A pre-APEC-meeting crackdown started out earlier this year as a campaign against street crime – including the use of death squads, according to Amnesty International – but has ended up as a broad campaign against political opponents of the government. Three publications were closed in June after having printed articles that were embarrassing to the government. Political activists, academics and independent journalists have been harassed. Some dissidents have been detained, and in some cases, tortured. – The government has published a draft decree designed to prevent grass-roots organizations and associations from criticizing the authorities. It is expected to implement the decree once the APEC meeting is over. – For nearly two decades, Indonesia has carried out a horrible campaign of repression in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that it took over by force in 1975. The United Nations does not consider Indonesia's presence in East Timor to be legitimate.

Words alone may not change much. But silence is uncomfortably close to acquiescence. Ottawa should do what it can to promote human rights in Indonesia, as elsewhere.

NOTE: The Montreal Gazette also ran on its front page a reprint of the NYT article of today; as well as a front page article in its

PM IGNORES RIOTING, SIGNS TRADE DEALS

Ottawa Citizen, Nov. 14, 1994 Front Page

Jakarta – Rioting in East Timor moved Indonesia's human right record into the spotlight as Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced trade and investment deals today worth nearly \$850 million.

Chrétien is one of the 18 Pacific rim leaders visiting Indonesia for a summit meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

The leaders, who meet tonight and Tuesday, will try to come up with a timetable for achieving free trade among members. But their talks could be overshadowed by protests against the Indonesian government over human rights.

On Sunday, thousands of youths rampaged through the streets and clashed with police in the East Timorese city of Dili. A couple of dozen East Timorese protestors climbed over the fence at the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta on Saturday and have refused to leave.

They want U.S. President Bill Clinton – also attending the summit – to help an imprisoned dissident from East Timor, a territory 2,000 kilometres from Jakarta that Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Diplomats said Indonesian authorities are dealing with the protests with kid gloves because the country is playing host to the conference. Normally, security forces deal much more harshly with East Timorese and other protests against the government.

Chrétien planned to raise the subject of human rights with Indonesian President Suharto today. He was expected to take much the same approach as in China – raise the subject, but not ask about specific abuses or threaten to tie trade or development aid to progress on human rights.

Chrétien made no mention of human rights at a breakfast meeting today of some 400 Canadian and Indonesian business leaders. He said Canada has fixed its sights on Asia as the target for future economic and trade development.

"I challenge you, the Canadian business leaders and the Indonesian business leaders, to make your mark on this country," he said.

Two-way trade is currently in balance at about \$1 billion a year.

Canada's investment and contract package was dominated by plans by P.T. International Nickel of Indonesia, a subsidiary of Inco Ltd., to spend \$800 million to expand the output capacity of its Sulawesi Island plant by 50 per cent by the year 2000.

In the hope that Indonesia might one day buy CANDU reactors, the Atomic Energy Control Board of Canada is to provide basic nuclear reactor training to officials from the Indonesian nuclear agency.

Sidebar provides the following "facts":

Recent history: The Portuguese were colonial rulers of East Timor until 1974. Against the wishes of Australia and Indonesia, in August 1975, the left-wing Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor, or FRETILIN, took control. FRETILIN declared independence on November 28, 1975. On December 7, Indonesian forces invaded.

Human Rights: Within three months, Indonesia admitted, more than 60,000 civilians were dead. In 1976, Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province. Amnesty International reported mass arrests, torture and disappearances. Human rights groups claim that as many as 200,000 people, from a total of 650,000, may have been killed by ...

NEW CANADIAN BUSINESS INITIATIVES IN INDONESIA

Summary of news releases from the Prime Minister's Office, Ottawa, Canada, November 14, 1994, and media coverage, from ETAN/Canada

Total Canadian trade and investment deals worth almost \$1 billion were announced by PM Chrétien at a breakfast in Jakarta:

Atomic Energy Control Board of Canada: up to four Indonesian government officials will be taught a nuclear regulatory course, funded through CIDA's Industrial Cooperation Program and the Major Suppliers Group, a Canadian nuclear industry group. PM Chrétien was quoted as calling this the first step towards selling Indonesia CANDU reactors. It was diversion of CANDU technology that led to India exploding a nuclear bomb in 1974.

Bata Corporation, Toronto: Bata will invest \$11 million in a second factory in Indonesia, expanding its Indonesian shoe production by over 50 per cent. Bata currently employs 7,800 people in Indonesia, at plant that opened in the 1930s.

Canadian Aviation Electronics, St-Laurent, Quebec: CAE, a top Canadian military contractor, will supply flight simulator equipment to Garuda Indonesian Airlines.

Canadian Exporters' Association, Ottawa: An expansion of an office opened in the spring by the association will see Canadian representatives stationed in Indonesian government ministries to promote Canadian investment and trade. The new Canada-Indonesia Business Development Office will be funded by CIDA's industrial co-operation program.

Hughes Canada, Richmond, British Columbia: Hughes will supply a \$20 million air traffic control system for Jakarta's airport, with funding from the Canadian Export Development Corporation (EDC).

International Nickel Company of Canada (INCO), Sudbury, Ontario: INCO will invest an additional \$800 million in its nickel mining complex in Soroako, Sulawesi, expanding capacity by 50 per cent.

Trenton Works Ltd., Trenton, Nova Scotia: With EDC Funding, Trenton will supply 80 coal railcars to the Indonesian state railway, valued at \$15.4 million.

NEW CANADIAN AID TO INDONESIA

CIDA will spend \$30 million over the next five years on three new bilateral aid projects to Indonesia:

Women's Support Project, Phase II: The Indonesian Women's Ministry will be funded to develop programs on violence against women, access for women to higher job levels, etc.

McGill University and Islamic Higher Education Development Project, Phase II: McGill will be funded to improve teaching methods and research and management capabilities of the Indonesian Islamic educational system, including bringing teachers to Canada.

Community Development in East Timor: CARE Canada will be funded for four years to help improve health, access to safe drinking water and sanitation in 15 rural communities affecting 13,400 people. The Timorese or Indonesian NGO partners are not named.

CANADIAN PM BALANCES HUMAN RIGHTS, \$1B IN TRADE

By Bob Cox, The Canadian Press Front Page Ottawa Citizen, November 14, 1994 (Second Edition)

NOTE: Canadian media coverage has been absolutely incredible today. East Timor has been on the front page of every major Canadian newspaper, first item on every newscast (some stations broadcasting it every 10 minutes), most radio stations ... Far beyond our wildest expectations. Earlier this evening, David Webster appeared on a prime time talk show on the issue; tomorrow at noon, Kerry Pithers will appear on the CBC news at noon. The article I'm reprinting below basically summarizes the latest happenings with regards to Canada and East Timor at APEC. (I won't post all of the articles from today; there are quite literally just too many!) – Sharon Scharfe, ETAN/Canada

Jakarta – Prime Minister Jean Chrétien tried to find a compromise between trade and human rights today as he plunged into a meeting of Asia-Pacific leaders.

After overseeing contract signing for \$1 billion in trade and investment between Canada and Indonesia, Chrétien met Indonesian President Suharto privately and told him of Canada's concerns about human rights abuses in Indonesia, particularly in East Timor.

Chrétien, in Indonesia for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, told Suharto that Canada wants good trade, but also good dialogue on human rights, said a senior official.

The prime minister told Suharto he had seen TV footage of violent protests in East Timor and that Canadians are concerned about the situation in the territory, which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

It appeared Chrétien took the relatively tough stance on human rights after facing criticism for not pressing such issues more while in China on a trade trip prior to the APEC conference.

U.S. President Bill Clinton has warned China and Indonesia that trade relations won't be completely normalized until respect for rights improves.

Suharto said the East Timor demonstrations during the weekend were instigated by East Timorese independence advocates after an unrelated killing of an East Timorese man.

Officials announced that Max Yalden, head of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, will visit Indonesia next year.

In addition to the East Timor riots, a couple of dozen East Timorese protesters are occupying the U.S. embassy compound to protest the imprisonment of a dissident from East Timor.

The 18 APEC leaders are trying to come up with a timetable for free trade among members as diverse as the United States, Japan, Canada and China.

The prime minister earlier oversaw the signing of contracts for \$1 billion in new trade and investment links between Canada and Indonesia.

The biggest: INCO, of Sudbury, will invest \$800 million to expand its Indonesian mining operations.

The leaders were to meet tonight for dinner and spend Tuesday together at Bogor Palace, about 60 kilometres from Jakarta.

Suharto asked Chrétien to lead discussions on economic cooperation.

ETAN: CANADA SELLS ITS SOUL – FOR \$1 BILLION

NEW TRADE DEALS WITH INDONESIA CALLED COMPLICITY IN GENOCIDE

EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK News Release, November 14, 1994

Demonstration: Liberal Party headquarters, 10 St. Mary St., Toronto (at Yonge, between Bloor and Wellesley) Wednesday, November 16, 12:30 p.m.

Canada has betrayed its commitment to international human rights by announcing \$1 billion in new trade deals with Indonesia, according to a group working for human rights in East Timor and Indonesia.

"Jean Chrétien has sold Canada's soul," said David Webster of the East Timor Alert

Network, a grassroots national organization founded in 1987 by the Canadian Council of Churches. "By making new deals with the Indonesian regime at a time when human rights are at their worst level in years, Chrétien is sending a message that Canada's silence can be bought."

The network was criticizing an announcement made in Jakarta during the Prime Minister's visit of several new contracts between Canadian corporations and Indonesia. Inco will be expanding its nickel mining operation in Soroako, on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, by 50 per cent. The \$800-million (US \$500-million) expansion will make Soroako the third-largest producer in the world. The expansion comes hard on the heels of layoffs over the past several years at Inco's Canadian operations in Sudbury and Thompson, Manitoba.

"In effect, Canadian jobs are being exported to the low-wage investors paradise of Indonesia, where workers earn an average of \$1.40 per day," Webster said.

In addition, Bata Shoes is expected to announce a new factory near Jakarta. ETAN has concerns about the human rights and environmental practices of both Inco and Bata. Inco razed a large area of rain forest and displaced indigenous people to build its mining complex, while Bata has called in the Indonesian army to break up at least one strike in its Indonesian factories.

ETAN is particularly concerned about the sale of flight simulator equipment to the Indonesian national airline by CAE Electronics. In the past, Canadian aerospace technology designated as civilian has been diverted for military purposes. Another special concern is a preliminary nuclear cooperation agreement between Canada and Indonesia, which may be the first step to Indonesia buying a CANDU nuclear reactor. Indonesian environmental organizations are adamantly opposed to their government acquiring nuclear technology.

"The East Timor Alert Network is not opposed to trade," Webster said. "But we believe that human rights should carry equal weight in Canadian policy. In a year when Indonesia has banned trade unions and newspapers and killed civilians in East Timor, and within days of protests for human rights in East Timor and by East Timorese in Indonesia, these contracts send the worst possible message to the Indonesian dictatorship."

There will be a demonstration at Liberal Party headquarters in Toronto this Wednesday, November 16 at 12:30 p.m. Liberal headquarters is located at 10 St. Mary St., on the northwest corner of Yonge & St. Mary (between Bloor and Wellesley).

For more information: David Webster (416) 531-5850 or 963-4434

CANADIAN EDITORIAL OPINION

From ETAN/Canada, November 16, 1994

As elsewhere, East Timor has overshadowed the APEC summit in most media coverage in Canada. Unlike the Canadian Prime Minister's trade mission to China last week, where the dollar value of trade deals with a repressive regime was hailed as a boon to the Canadian economy, the East Timorese protesters have shifted the focus of media attention from business to human rights. (At least one commentator this week said ETAN was soft on Indonesia, an unusual position for us to be in!)

The PM barely mentioned human rights in China; in Indonesia he felt compelled to mention in during and after his meeting with Suharto on Monday. A selection of excerpts from Wednesday's editorial opinions in major central Canadian newspapers follows.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, TORONTO: HOW TO MOVE AN AUTOCRAT

(The Globe styles itself Canada's national newspaper, and is the only one distributed coast to coast. Although it is not the largest circulation paper in the country, it is probably the most respected, particularly among the business community. This lead editorial is accompanied by a cartoon showing a general leading PM Chrétien past buildings with names like Indonesian Manacles Inc. saying "Jobs Jobs Jobs.")

In the debate over how to influence autocratic foreign governments, two schools of thought contend. One argues that democratic countries should apply direct pressure for change. Another says they should coax the offending governments into the international trading system, thus exposing them to the liberalizing currents of the outside world. In fact, both are correct. For proof, look at this week's meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Indonesia....

The result should be a boom in Pacific Rim trade and communication that cannot fail to influence the behaviour of the forum's less democratic members.... Democracy is infectious, trade a wonderfully efficient carrier.

In certain countries, though, the bug will travel slowly.... Here is where democratic pressure comes in. Democratic countries that trade with undemocratic ones can use their status as trading partners to urge quicker progress towards democracy.

In Beijing last week, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien missed a God-sent opportunity to do so.... Contrast that with this week's experience in Indonesia. Several leaders of APEC countries – including, it must be said, Mr. Chrétien – raised the issue of human

rights with the meeting's host, President Suharto. In particular, they spoke up about Indonesia's repressive behaviour in the former Portuguese territory of East Timor. Combined with the courageous protests of East Timorese activists, who defied authorities by demonstrating in East Timor and camping out in the American embassy compound in Jakarta, these efforts put human rights (as The Globe's correspondent put it) "front and centre."

Direct pressure may not work right away. General Suharto may even crack down on Timorese dissidents once the meetings are over – a reaction that all democratic APEC governments should be on the watch for. In the long run, though, the protests of foreign governments will tell, especially now that Gen. Suharto and his critics are APEC colleagues. It is hard enough to be told by outsiders that your behaviour is not up to snuff, harder still when the barbs come from members of your own club, where liberal economics are almost sure to change political society for the better.

MONTREAL GAZETTE: USE APEC DEAL TO ADVANCE RIGHTS

(Quebec's only English-language daily, which ran a strong editorial – INDONESIA DESERVES CRITICISM – posted earlier.)

As a medium-sized country, Canada generally has more influence in groups than in one-on-one dealings with big countries....

But as an APEC free-trade deal takes shape, Canada should do all it can to make sure it includes provisions on labor standards and for human rights. Not only are human-rights abuses morally wrong, they can also affect trade, for example when workers' wages are held down by abuses of their right to free association in independent trade unions. Mexico's blemished record made many Canadians wary of joining NAFTA. And Mexico's record is much better than those of some APEC countries.

Indeed, much to the chagrin of the Indonesian government, the APEC summit has helped to focus attention on various human-rights abuses there. Supporters of East Timor's right to self-determination have also taken advantage of the international spotlight; East Timor was illegally annexed by Indonesia in 1976 and its people have been subjected to appalling abuses, including massacres.

Prime Minister Chrétien rightly raised the issue of human rights in his talks with Indonesian President Suharto. He should do the same during his visit to Vietnam, which starts today....

The more business Canada does with Asia, the more human-rights practices there

become our business. Mr. Chrétien should keep speaking up.

LE DEVOIR, MONTREAL: A SECOND CHINA

(Le Devoir has a small circulation, but it is considered the newspaper of the Quebec intelligentsia. In domestic politics, it takes a strong Quebec nationalist stand. My apologies for the shoddy translation job.)

Indonesia, where the leaders of 18 dynamic Asia-Pacific countries have just visited, is a sort of second China. The fourth-largest country in the world by population, it looks irresistible to investors. SNC-Lavalin, Bombardier, Cascades, Pratt & Whitney are present there. Canada counts a lot on trade with this country, with commerce exceeding \$1 billion in 1994. But Indonesia is an authentic dictatorship....

But between the dessert and the cheese courses at a sumptuous (APEC) banquet of the heads of state and government, south of Jakarta, a question came to trouble the Indonesian hosts – President Suharto at their head – of this grand economic pow-wow: the Timorese had just reminded the world of their existence, by demonstrating in Jakarta and in the streets of Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony.

The Timorese? Timor? But what is that? ... Timor is one of the worst denials of international justice allowed to go on, one of the cases of decolonization not yet resolved. In human terms, the recent history of these lusophone Christians immersed in a Muslim ocean constitutes a true "forgotten genocide."

This small half-island lost in the incredible Indonesian archipelago (18,000 islands and islets), invaded in 1975 by the powerful army of Jakarta, was the site in the 70s of one of the worst massacres of modern times. One third of the 700,000 inhabitants were exterminated.... In November 1991, again, a demonstration for independence was crushed in blood.

Diplomatically, Indonesia – with the Timorese "thorn in the foot" – is one of the concrete examples of the perverse links between commerce, diplomatic relations and human rights....

For this society in Montreal, it is not good business to let it be known that helicopters made here are used in massacres of civilians in Java and in Timor....

Indonesia is a dictatorship, intransigent like all dictatorships. But it pretends to civilize, modernize, develop. It exploits Timor, it builds roads – this was never done by the Portuguese.... Its Islam is not aggressive. Briefly, it has "modernist" ambitions – without believing for a second in democracy.

Perhaps the Timorese will never recover the independence it tasted for a few days in 1975. But to continue to say and to repeat that the current status and treatment of the Timorese is a disgrace to humanity, that can perhaps force realpolitik to give way, if only a little, to morality.

From Richard Gwyn's op-ed column in the TORONTO STAR, the largest-circulation newspaper in Canada:

To get involved in the so-called Asia-Pacific community, we've had to junk some of our own community values.... Do we from now on only lecture small, weak countries – like Haiti – about human rights and democracy? ...

It's self-deceiving to pretend that those who pay for the contracts don't call the political tunes. It's equally self-deceiving to pretend that the interconnecting links of trade and investment make the Asia-Pacific community into a real community....

Even the Asian member countries, despite their cultural similarities, never can agree on anything except that none should ever interfere in another's "internal affairs."

Hence their failure to apply any sanctions against their local equivalent to Haiti – the brutal military regime in Burma. Hence their failure to criticize Indonesia's repression in East Timor (uncomfortably similar to China's in Tibet). Hence the silence in Beijing and Tokyo, even in Seoul, largely, about North Korea's nuclear program, so that all the words and actions had to come from Washington....

To call Asia-Pacific a region rather than a community isn't just a clever verbal distinction that makes no practical difference.

It's a way of ensuring that all of today's excited talk about how Canada now belongs to a new, economically booming community doesn't deceive us into pretending that we're not tossing overboard many of our own community values – human rights, democracy, environmentalism – in order to do business with our "fellow" members.

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

CIA ADMITS BACKING SUHARTO REGIME

Publico, 31 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese

According to the Los Angeles Times, the US Government has acknowledged for the first time that it carried out large-scale undercover operations in Indonesia during the

1950s, to curb the communist influence seen in Sukarno's country.

According to a 600 page report published this month by the Secretary of State, the Eisenhower administration secretly helped the anti-communist rebels who opposed Sukarno.

In 1958, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles concluded that the first President of Indonesia could not be trusted and was vulnerable to "communist thinking."

The CIA, therefore, started to secretly supply and support the military anti-communist rebels in the islands of Sumatra and Sulawesi while, officially, the US kept up its normal relations with the Jakarta authorities.

In 1959, when it became apparent that the rebellion would get nowhere, Washington turned its support to the Indonesian Army, in the hope that the country's military leaders would counteract Sukarno's alleged communist leanings.

The report mentioned in yesterday's Los Angeles Times only refers to activities until 1960, and reveals no evidence that the US was involved in the 1965 coup that brought General Suharto to power.

WHERE DID HUFFINGTON'S FORTUNE COME FROM?

California Senate candidate's wealth came from an Indonesian company – run by the oppressive army

Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 7, 1994. By Caleb Rossiter and Alan Kronstadt. The same article appeared in the San José Mercury-News a few days earlier.

MICHAEL Huffington is making national headlines by spending \$25 million of his own money to win a seat in the Senate.

But is it really his money to spend?

Looking at where it came from, we think not. We think it belongs to the people of Indonesia, and that it was taken from them at gunpoint by military dictators who teamed up first with Mr. Huffington's father, and then with Huffington himself.

This partnership in the natural gas business was a winner for both parties. Huffington got rich enough to overwhelm political opponents with television ads; the dictators were able to finance troops who repressed demands for human rights. The losers in this deal were 200 million Indonesians, who continue to suffer under brutal military rule – and American taxpayers who subsidized the deal through the World Bank.

The key to Huffington's wealth is Huffco, the production company his father, geologist Roy Huffington, formed with Texas investors after discovering natural gas in Indonesia in 1968. In 1971 Huffco formed

a partnership with Pertamina, Indonesia's state-owned energy company. When Roy Huffington sold Huffco to a Taiwanese consortium in 1990 it was worth an estimated \$650 million. Michael Huffington, who was vice president and vice chairman of Huffco from 1978 to 1990, took his \$70 million cut and ran. He first ran for the House of Representatives, spending a record \$5.4 million to win a seat in 1992. Now, in his Senate race, he's setting more records.

So what's the problem?

What's wrong with this? After all, most countries have a state-owned energy company, which forms partnerships with foreign firms and share profits from natural resources. But as we learned while conducting research for our recent report 'Financing Repression,' the Indonesian Army controls large sectors of the economy, including Pertamina and the primary industries on East Timor. Indonesia invaded in 1975 and still occupies it in defiance of the United Nations. Top officers serve in the management or state-owned and even private businesses, and skim off money both for their private profit and to pay and arm troops. The troops are used to attack workers bargaining for pay raises, and to close newspapers that write about the military.

Pertamina was directly controlled by the Army from its establishment in 1968 until 1988, when a civilian head was appointed. Yet Pertamina's profits continue to be channeled to the Army through the payment of "directors' fees" to generals. A spokesman for Huffington told us that "one can't say at any given time what kind of government there is" in Indonesia. It is unlikely that Huffington didn't know how crucial Pertamina was to the armed forces and how important they were to keeping order so Pertamina and Huffco could operate.

Huffco administrators certainly knew something about the need to control dissent in Indonesia. The company illegally exported shock batons, billy clubs, and handcuffs to Indonesia in the 1980s, as reported by the Wall Street Journal and confirmed in Commerce Department documents. Huffco admitted the violation and paid a \$250,000 fine. In his recent appearance on 'Larry King Live,' Huffington claimed these items were exported to Huffco's own employees for their security, and not to the Indonesian armed forces or police.

Principle, or profit

In fairness, the Huffingtons are not the only ones who have turned a blind eye to Indonesia's military. The World Bank has loaned Indonesia's dictators \$13 billion over the past decade. The energy sector has more of these funds than any other, so Huffco and the Indonesian military were subsidized

by taxpayers in the United States. The US continues to vote for World Bank loans to Indonesia at the rate of \$1.6 billion a year, despite a recent law requiring that countries report their military budget and military holdings in the economy which Indonesia does not. The administration continues to sell weapons to Indonesia, but it did recently turn down a proposed sale of F-5 warplanes on human rights grounds. Interestingly, Huffington's rival, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D), has fought hard, but so far unsuccessfully, on behalf of a Torrance aircraft company to reverse that decision.

When Michael Huffington ran for Congress in 1992, he lambasted his rival in the primary, Robert Lagomarsino, for backing the sale of surveillance equipment to China's dictators after the Tiananmen Square massacre. How does Huffington square that principled stance with his own personal profiting from an alliance with Indonesia's dictatorship?

From our perspective, money taken from the Indonesian people, in a theft subsidized by the American people, is now being used to fund a Senate campaign that is "a spiritual quest." We'd like to see Huffington's campaign coffers impounded as illegal plunder, and held in trust for Indonesia until it becomes a democracy.

Caleb Rossiter and Alan Kronstadt are, director and research, assistant, respectively, at the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy in Washington.

INTERCHURCH SERVICE REMEMBERS CURRENT STRUGGLE IN EAST TIMOR

New York Conference Linkage Edition - United Church News, A Publication of the United Church of Christ. Vol. 10, No. 10, December 1994. [Abridged]

Over 80 participants at an interfaith service in November in New York City, called on President Clinton to include self-determination for the people of East Timor in his recent discussions with the Indonesian Government. The service, held at the Chapel of the Church Center for the United Nations, commemorated the more than 200 peaceful mourners killed by Indonesian soldiers in 1991 as they gathered at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor.

Held for the third year, the service provides an opportunity for members of the U.S. faith community and U.N. diplomatic missions representatives "to express solidarity with Christians in East Timor," said interfaith service organizer Max B. Surjadinata, minister of Mount Vernon Heights UCC and long-time opponent of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Participants urged support of the Catholic

urged support of the Catholic Church in East Timor, which calls on the Indonesian government to reduce troop levels and co-operate with the U.N. Secretary General, Portugal and the East Timor resistance movement in negotiating a settlement.

Mr. Surjadinata is familiar with occupation forces. Born in Indonesia, his father was imprisoned and executed by Japanese occupational forces during World War II. He is dismayed that his government has become an occupation force by imposing Islamic culture and customs on the mostly Catholic East Timorese, while detaining residents for political reasons. He points out that little is known about the situation because Indonesia has imposed a total news blackout. He says over one third of the population since 1975 has been killed by the military.

Few churches world-wide have spoken out about the issue, he says. Among those who have is the California-Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, who has called on the President of the U.S. and U.S. Congress to take steps to halt U.S. military aid and assistance, economic aid and weapons sales to Indonesia.

For further information on the East Timor situation and ways for churches to support resolution of the conflict, or copies of the worship service, contact Mr. Surjadinata at (914)668-7987.

ACTION ALERT FROM THE EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/US

November 14, 1994.

EAST TIMORESE SEEK REFUGE AT US EMBASSY DEMAND THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT SELF-DETERMINATION.

THERE MUST BE NO REPRISALS AGAINST THEM OR THEIR FRIENDS.

On the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, several events highlight the need for the U.S. and Indonesian governments to deal seriously with human rights and self-determination for East Timor. Although most of this Action Alert is concerned with the students encamped on the U.S. embassy grounds, a number of other incidents have heightened the tension and focused more attention on East Timor and human rights.

President Clinton arrived in Indonesia Sunday for bilateral meetings, followed by Tuesday's APEC trade conference and by a bilateral meeting with Indonesia's President Suharto on Wednesday. Indonesia is receiving unprecedented attention from the international press. To their chagrin, the coverage

goes beyond stage-managed events. The thousands of journalists in Jakarta this week cannot but notice that they are in a military dictatorship which tramples on the human rights of its own citizens and brutally and illegally a neighboring country.

Although some of the media coverage is excellent, it often distorts the essential nature of East Timor as a separate country invaded by Indonesia. Use the opportunity to write letters to the editor, stressing that there more than conventionally-defined "human rights" at stake.

Twenty-nine East Timorese peacefully protest inside U.S. embassy compound

Early in the morning of Saturday, November 12, East Timorese students and workers arrived at the U.S. embassy compound in Jakarta. Jumping out of taxis from various directions, they climbed the 8-foot spiked fence surrounding the compound, unfurling banners and shouting slogans for independence. Forty-eight hours later, they remain peacefully on a parking lot inside the compound. Indonesian soldiers and police have not threatened them with arrest, and will not without U.S. permission. The U.S. currently has "no plans" to remove them, and Warren Christopher has expressed "sympathy." Sunday, they received some food and water for the first time.

The protesters are East Timorese resident in various parts of Indonesia. In addition to the 29 who made it into the compound, about 49 others were arrested at the railroad station and elsewhere in Jakarta before they got to the Embassy. Although some of these have been sent far from Jakarta under military escort, where they could be maltreated or worse. Fourteen are unaccounted for and could be "disappeared."

The East Timorese in the embassy parking lot are calling for self-determination for East Timor and the withdrawal of Indonesian troops. Their written petition to President Clinton is more limited, asking him "to make use of the great moral stature achieved by the United States of America through its condemnation of the violation of the fundamental rights of human beings and peoples to make the following demands of President Suharto:

1. The release of East Timorese Resistance Leader, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, and of all East Timorese political prisoners.
2. That the President of Indonesia [talk with] ... the true representatives of the People of East Timor, including ... the East Timorese Church, CNRM, UDT and Fretilin.

3. That Jakarta grant access to an independent and impartial mission with the aim of conducting a serious investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre."

They also asked Clinton to "remind President Suharto" about long-serving, elderly Indonesian political prisoners, some of whom continue to face the death penalty after 30 years in jail, and to "exert pressure upon Jakarta" to recognize the right of Indonesian workers to organize and to free imprisoned labor union leaders.

Although the demonstrators have not yet requested political asylum in the United States, U.S. officials have stated that the embassy "as a matter of law and practice" did not grant asylum in Indonesia.

Indonesian government representatives have offered them "safe passage" and no prosecutions, but the Timorese are understandably skeptical. On the same day the Timorese climbed the fence, Indonesian officials violated their promise of openness of East Timor by arresting two American journalists (see below). The 19-year occupation of East Timor is replete with broken promises and broken bodies.

The students, who have vowed not to leave until their demands are met, are asking to meet with Secretary of State Christopher or President Clinton. They turned down a meeting with U.S. Ambassador Barry. Sunday evening, the military erected barriers to make it harder for them to speak with the media.

Please contact the U.S. and Indonesian governments (below) and make the following points:

1. The requests that the demonstrators are making of President Clinton are eminently reasonable and should be met. They do not require the United States to do anything at variance with stated policy to support human rights in East Timor and Indonesia, and to encourage dialogue among all parties concerned to resolve the political situation in East Timor. They carry no economic or military cost, but merely ask the President to use his influence and moral authority to pressure President Suharto do to things he should be doing anyway. Although it is not in the demonstrators' petition, ETAN continues to urge President Clinton to include self-determination as well as human rights in his discussions with President Suharto.

The East Timorese chose the United States because Washington has a special responsibility to help end 19 years of crimes committed against East Timor. In addition to approving the 1975 invasion and

providing most of the weapons used to kill one-third of the East Timorese population in the ensuing genocide, the leader of the "New World Order" has the economic and political clout, and the moral obligation, to encourage Indonesia to do the right thing. The demonstrators ended their petition to Clinton with:

"We firmly believe that the ethical concerns which have guided America's foreign policy in relation to other countries extend also to Indonesia, and thus we deposit great hope in the decisive influence which the United States of America is able to bring to bear in realizing a solution to the East Timor case which constitutes a flagrant violation of universal principles and of International Law."

2. Indonesian military and police must not enter the embassy compound, although reporters and attorneys should be able to communicate freely and privately with the Timorese. American officials can mediate any negotiations between the Timorese and the Indonesian government. The Timorese should be made as comfortable as possible during their stay, which could be prolonged. Water, food and sanitary facilities should be made available. They are guests on American territory and should be treated as such.
3. If any of the demonstrators asks to leave Indonesia, the United States government, working with the International Committee of the Red Cross, should ensure that they can do so safely. Under international law, East Timorese people are Portuguese citizens. Since Portugal and Indonesia do not have diplomatic relations, and since the protestors are in an American facility, the United States is obligated to transport them to a third country where Portugal can assume responsibility.
4. All 49 East Timorese arrested en route to the demonstration must be freed and fully accounted for. They have done nothing that could be considered a crime – they only tried to peacefully appeal to the conscience of the government of the United States. No reprisals should be taken against them or any of the participants in the demonstration.

The Embassy sit-in was the first of several events in the last two days which have forced the APEC leaders to pay attention to East Timor and human rights. This backdrop includes:

Peaceful protests and disorder in Dili, East Timor

On Saturday, November 12, there were quiet observances of the anniversary of the

massacre. Sunday began similarly, with a 700-strong Mass. Afterwards, several dozen marched peacefully, carrying Fretilin flags and banners calling for independence and for the support of President Clinton.

After the organized march, around a thousand young East Timorese "rampaged" through the streets of Dili, attacking property owned by Indonesians. Cars were burned, shops, hotels and houses stoned. Demonstrators threw rocks and bottles at riot police, who responded with tear gas. There are unconfirmed reports of one or two deaths from police actions. By evening, the military had imposed a curfew and restored order. The trigger for the riot may have been a fatal argument, but the causes are deep-rooted.

Contact the Indonesian government and ask that no reprisals be taken against East Timorese blamed for the uprising, and that threats or random or targeted military revenge be prevented. The East Timorese have justified grievances, both against the occupation and against the economic control of their country by Indonesian military and migrants, which will not go away with a military crackdown. The violence against Indonesian property is an understandable demonstration of repressed anger and terror from nearly two decades of genocidal occupation. It cannot be stopped without addressing the underlying situation.

U.S. journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman prevented from entering East Timor

On the afternoon of November 12, journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman were arrested as they attempted to cross from West Timor (Indonesia) into East Timor at Atambua. They were taken back to Kupang and held for 20 hours before being sent to Jakarta and released. It is still unclear what the charges against them were, as different officials, and different times, have changed the story.

The arrests mark three years after the pair was forced to flee East Timor after being severely beaten during the Dili massacre, when more than 271 East Timorese people were killed by Indonesian troops firing on a peaceful demonstration. The New York-based reporters' award-winning documentation of the massacre helped to reawaken international awareness to the ongoing genocide in East Timor.

Although they are now free to cover the APEC conference, Nairn and Goodman are planning to go to East Timor after the conference to cover the situation there. When the Indonesian Consulate in New York issued their journalist visas last week, they were told that East Timor was open for all foreign journalists. The Jakarta Post re-

cently cited their visas as a sign of government openness, but a military officer told them yesterday that the East Timor is open "except for you." ("Openness" does not include Indonesian journalists: many publications have been banned and many reporters barred from covering the APEC events.)

Please contact the Indonesia government and ask that Nairn and Goodman should be allowed to travel freely throughout Indonesia and East Timor, as has been promised to all foreign journalists during this period. The should not be followed, and their interviewees must not be arrested or threatened.

Contact names and phone numbers: U.S. Government

President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher can be reached care of Ambassador Robert Barry, United States Embassy, Jakarta, Indonesia. Tel: 011-62-21-360-360. Fax 011-62-21-386-2259.

The U.S. State Department switchboard is 202-647-4000, fax 202-647-9519. The White House comment line is 202-456-1111. The Congressional switchboard is 202-224-3121.

Contact names and phone numbers: Indonesian Government

The Indonesian Embassy to the United States

Ambassador Arifin Siregar, 202 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036. Tel: 202-775-5200. Fax: 202-775-5365

Consulates-General of the Republic of Indonesia:

3457 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90010. Tel: 213-383-5126. Fax: 213-487-3971

5633 Richmond Ave., Houston, Texas 77057. Tel: 713-785-1691 Fax: 713-780-9644

Two Illinois Center, Suite 1422, 233 North Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60601. Tel: 312-938-0101 Fax: 312-938-3148

1111 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94133. Tel: 415-474-9571 Fax: 415-441-4320

Five East 68 Street, New York, NY 10021. Tel: 212-897-0600 fax: 212-570-6206

U.S. ACTIVISTS SUPPORT EMBASSY DEMONSTRATORS

NEW YORK, Nov. 14 (IPS) - U.S. activists supporting East Timor's struggle for self-determination Monday called on Washington to protect a group of Timorese demonstrators who breached the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta.

The U.S. offices of the East Timor Action Network (ETAN) called on the U.S. government to ensure that 29 East Timorese students and workers who broke into the Jakarta compound would be protected from reprisals by Indonesia.

ETAN also warned that some 49 other Timorese failed to breach the compound's security and that 14 were unaccounted for and may have been 'disappeared' by Indonesian security forces.

"We expect the embassy to protect the demonstrators and their supporters whether they remain on embassy grounds or leave," said Charles Scheiner, the U.S. coordinator of ETAN.

The demonstrators want U.S. President Bill Clinton, who is in Bogor, Indonesia for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit meeting, to pressure Indonesian President Suharto to meet with East Timor's resistance leaders.

They are also pleading for Clinton's help to release jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and other Timorese and Indonesian political prisoners.

Indonesia invaded East Timor, then a Portuguese colony on the verge of independence, in 1975 and annexed it a year later. Some 200,000 Timorese were killed in Jakarta's ensuing crackdown.

Scheiner said the United States "bears special responsibility...for the suffering in East Timor over the past 19 years. It has actively assisted Indonesia's occupation of East Timor by approving the invasion and providing most of the weapons used to kill one-third of (its) population."

Clinton promised before arriving in Indonesia that he would broach the matter of East Timor privately with Suharto this week, while other APEC governments – notably Canada, Japan and New Zealand – also discuss the issue.

But the Timorese cause, which has attracted scant media attention in recent years, gained a big boost from the highly visible protest going on now in the Jakarta U.S. Embassy.

Embassy officials said they had no plans to remove the demonstrators, while U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said he was "sympathetic" with their cause.

John Miller, a spokesman for ETAN, said, "This should be a wake-up call for President Clinton."

TIMOR NETWORK SAYS CLINTON STATEMENT REPRESENTS A STEP FORWARD

EXPRESSES FEARS FOR EMBASSY PROTESTERS

PRESS RELEASE from ETAN/US, Nov. 15.

The East Timor Action Network (ETAN) said today that President Clinton's recent statement calling for greater autonomy for East Timor represents a step forward in U.S. policy, but does not go far enough.

"For a long time the U.S. government has said that it is willing to raise human rights for East Timor. President Clinton has now said that the political structure of East Timor is on the table," said John M. Miller of ETAN.

"However, this falls far short of letting the East Timorese exercise their right to hold a referendum on their future status, allowing them to end 19 years of brutal military occupation."

ETAN also expressed concerns about the safety of the 29 East Timorese protesters now camped at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta, as well as the 49 who were arrested on their way to the embassy.

"We understand that the U.S. embassy has threatened to put them out and into the hands of the Indonesian military once President Clinton leaves Indonesia and the international press corps packs up," said Charles Scheiner, national coordinator of ETAN.

"This runs counter to assurances given by President Clinton and senior administration officials," Scheiner added. "The U.S. government is responsible for anything that happens to the East Timorese. The U.S. should insure safe passage to Portugal, where the government has offered political asylum."

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian rule over East Timor because the East Timorese have never been allowed to vote on their status as required by the UN Charter and resolutions.

At his press conference on the evening of November 15 in Jakarta, President Clinton said in response to a question:

"The position of the United States and the position that I have held since 1991, since long before I held this office, is that the people of East Timor should have more say over their own local affairs. I have already spoken with President Suharto in the past in our personal meetings and it will come up again in our discussion tomorrow."

ETAN/US was founded following the November 12, 1991 massacre of over 271 people in Dili, East Timor's capital. ETAN/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the UN Charter and pertinent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Toward that end ETAN envisions a limited period of autonomy leading to an internationally supervised referendum on independence.

US CONGRESSMEN SUPPORT EMBASSY STUDENTS

Press Release from offices of Representatives Tony P. Hall and Frank R. Wolf

November 15, 1994

Contact: Michael Gessel (Hall) 202-225-6465
David Whitestone (Wolf) 202 225-5136

Congressmen Press Clinton on Safety of Demonstrating East Timorese Students, Call for Specific suggestions on Eve of Meeting With Indonesia's Suharto

WASHINGTON – Reps. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio) and Frank R. Wolf (R-Va.) called on President Clinton to insist on involvement of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and independent lawyers to help guarantee the safety and well-being of the 29 East Timorese students conducting a sit-in in a parking lot at the United States embassy in Jakarta. The Congressmen also expressed concern for other East Timorese people detained in recent days, including 40 others arrested in Jakarta and dozens more detained in protests in East Timor itself.

"All non-violent detainees should be immediately released," said the two House members in a joint statement. "All detainees should have access to lawyers of their own choosing. The ICRC should be allowed to visit the detainees without delay."

Clinton, currently in Indonesia for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, will meet with Indonesian President Suharto during a state visit in Jakarta on Wednesday, November 16.

"The Indonesian government should know that the outside world will be closely monitoring the fate of these people after the APEC summit is over," said Hall, who has led Congressional efforts on the human rights situation in East Timor since the 1970s. "Given the long history of neglect of East Timor, we can't just rely on vague assurances."

Before the APEC meeting, Hall and Wolf organized a letter to Clinton, signed by 67 House members, which said that an "authentic resolution of the East Timor situa-

tion would be in the interest not only of overall U.S.-Indonesian political and economic relations but also in the interests of Indonesia's international relations more generally."

"The East Timor issue has already cast a shadow on the APEC summit. That is a dramatic demonstration of the need for a resolution of the East Timor situation," Hall and Wolf said.

Wolf said, "Even though the controlling party in Congress has changed, Congress's attention to these issues will not. The U.S. Congress will continue to speak out strongly against human rights violations of the East Timorese."

Hall added, "The Administration must use the meeting with President Suharto to press the Indonesians to respect human rights of the East Timorese and allow the East Timorese to determine their own future."

"The United States shouldn't be conducting business as usual with Indonesian leaders while their forces are conducting their usual business of oppressing the East Timorese people," Hall and Wolf said.

SEVEN ARRESTED IN PROTESTS IN SAN FRANCISCO AND WASHINGTON

Press release from ETAN/US, Nov. 16.

Police arrested seven demonstrators today as they attempted to discuss East Timor policy with officials at Indonesian diplomatic sites in Washington, DC, and San Francisco, CA.

Five people, including several clergy, were arrested at Indonesia's San Francisco consulate when they tried to discuss the demands and safety of the East Timorese now camped at the U.S. Embassy to Indonesia in Jakarta.

In San Francisco, two dozen people demonstrated outside the consulate while five asked to come inside to discuss the fate of the Jakarta protesters. They climbed over the fence, when Indonesians diplomats refused to let them inside the consulate grounds. The protest, organized by East Timor Religious Outreach, also supported the demands of the East Timorese for self-determination and freedom for political prisoners.

Arrested in San Francisco were Steve Kelly, a Jesuit priest; Ken Butigan, an instructor at the Franciscan School; John Chamberlain, Methodist Minister; Adrienne Fong, a lay leader at First St. Johns Methodist Church; and Dale Lovett of the East Timor Action Network/San Francisco. (For more information about the San Francisco demonstration contact: Rev. John

demonstration contact: Rev. John Chamberlain, (415)731-4760 or (415)474-6219.)

Both the San Francisco and Washington groups demanded that the safety of the 29 demonstrators at the U.S. Embassy in Indonesia, as well as other East Timorese detained in recent days, be guaranteed. At least 40 others were arrested in Jakarta and hundreds more seized in protests in East Timor itself.

TWO ARRESTED IN EAST TIMOR PROTEST AT INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, DC

PRESS RELEASE from ETAN/US, November 16, 1994

Two demonstrators, encouraged by 15 supporters, were arrested today for kneeling in front of the entrance to the Embassy of Indonesia to the United States. The protesters were calling for an end to Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

Brad Simpson, 22, and Art Laffin, 40, were taken away by Washington, DC police officers at 12:50 pm.

The protesters, echoing demands of East Timorese youth camped at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, called on the Indonesian and United States governments to arrange an internationally-supervised vote by the East Timorese. They also demanded that both governments guarantee the safety of the 29 demonstrators at the U.S. Embassy in Indonesia, as well as other East Timorese detained in recent days, including 40 others arrested in Jakarta and dozens more seized in protests in East Timor itself.

Before the demonstration, Art Laffin of ETAN/DC said "conservatively speaking, 200,000 East Timorese people have been killed as a result of Indonesia's illegal invasion, many by U.S. supplied weapons. The killing has to stop."

The embassy is located at 2020 Massachusetts Ave. in Washington.

PROTESTS IN S.F., JAKARTA HIGHLIGHT HUMAN RIGHTS

Indonesia: East Timorese face brutal repression from Suharto's regime

By John Roemer, SF (San Francisco) Weekly, November 23, 1994

As he struggled over the eight-foot black iron fence at the Indonesian consulate on Columbus Avenue last week, the Rev. John Chamberlain thought about the frightened East Timorese people had met on a recent trip to that distant South Pacific island.

Despite harsh repression by the Indonesian army, East Timor resistance fighters are struggling to turn the world's attention to their cause. They scored a publicity coup November 12 when 29 of them managed to

scale a similar fence at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta on the eve of President Clinton's arrival for an economic summit.

Their action inspired Chamberlain and other local clerics from the East Timor Religious Outreach to imitate their protest. Five were arrested when they refused to leave the Indonesian consulate grounds on November 16. "I didn't want to impale myself on the spikes, though that would surely have made a dramatic news story," Chamberlain said. "I do want to raise the visibility of this issue."

It's an uphill battle. Indonesia has kept the lid clamped down tight on the former Portuguese colony it invaded and annexed in 1975. Despite United Nations resolutions condemning the move, the authoritarian regime of Indonesian President Suharto continues to insist that East Timor is now part of the vast archipelago nation.

Indonesian consul general Ahmad Fauzie Gani confirmed that the demonstration in San Francisco had been reported to Jakarta. He said it was the first time that arrests have occurred on the grounds of the consulate. "They entered into our territory," he explained. Asked about the prospects for East Timorese independence, he was dismissive. "I don't think so," he said.

Home to the fourth largest population on earth, Indonesia is also the world's biggest Muslim nation. East Timor, which for 300 years was a colony of Portugal, remains Catholic. The East Timorese cause got a macabre boost in visibility three years ago when Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital.

Videotapes of the bloody scene - in which more than 100 were killed - were smuggled out of the country. The tapes, showing dying Timorese reciting the rosary in Portuguese, were played and replayed on television in heavily Catholic Portugal and recalled the ex-colonial cultural ties linking the widely separated lands. Eventually, public outrage over the massacre spurred efforts by the Lisbon government to promote East Timor's independence.

The movement spread to the U.S. in part through Portuguese American communities and in part via persistent advocates in the East Timor Action Network. Non-Catholic religious leaders like Chamberlain - who was joined in his vault over the consulate fence by a Jesuit priest and others - have also taken up the cause.

Chamberlain returned from a fact-finding trip to East Timor only days before the protest. He saw a virtual police state with a terrorized populace afraid to interfere when armed troops dragged suspected resistance members away. Torture and "disappearances" are common. An estimated 200,000 people have been killed by the Indonesian

army since the 1975 invasion. The figure constitutes a third of East Timor's pre-invasion population.

"I've been to El Salvador and Nicaragua during the worst of their troubles and I never saw a level of fear and repression as bad as in Timor," Chamberlin said. "It's just staggering, and it makes any conversation extremely difficult. You don't know who might be listening in."

Chamberlin described the island as a tiny tropical backwater with beautiful beaches backed by high, rugged mountains. Dili, the capital, was home to some 11,000 people before the Indonesian invasion. Since Jakarta instituted a policy to dilute the native population with "transmigrants" from other islands, the city has grown to 100,000 — mostly non-Timorese who control the economy and all institutions, with the exception of the local Catholic hierarchy.

The only authority not under Suharto's thumb remains Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo, the outspoken Catholic leader who, in a brief conversation with Chamberlin, emphasized the long-term danger to eventual Timorese independence posed by the transmigrants.

Bishop Belo has said that the best option for East Timor would be a referendum held under U.N. auspices so that the natives could freely choose independence or integration with Indonesia. But if a future plebiscite were manipulated so that transmigrants were allowed to vote, the results would favor Jakarta.

"Until there is a vote, the place will remain a tinderbox," said Chamberlin. "The people have been reduced to silence and smoldering rage. There is no work for the youth. They tell you they want to talk and they know they'll be picked up afterwards by the army and they just don't care."

While in Jakarta on November 15, President Clinton called on the Suharto regime to allow East Timorese more of a say in their own affairs. In San Francisco, East Timor Action Network members were exultant.

"This is a qualitative leap forward from previous U.S. demands for improved human rights in East Timor," said ETAN leader Anne Treseder. "It gets to the heart of what we're seeking - self-determination."

But in an ominous development November 19, the Indonesian government announced that foreign reporters would be barred from East Timor. Human rights groups feared the move meant a new, more violent crackdown would be hidden from the world.

LAWMEN GATHER TO PROTECT INDONESIANS?

United Methodist Review, December 16, 1994 The Cal-Nevada UM Connection, Social Action

[This article also appeared in the Winter 1994-95 issue of Sequoia, the journal of the Northern California Ecumenical Council. The events described took place on November 16, 1994.]

By Bob Forsberg

The State Department had three security officers in plain clothes. The San Francisco Police Department had eight or more officers present. The Indonesian Consulate had one security guard and about half a dozen other staff people who eventually emerged from their doubly secure gates and heavy wooden doors. What occasioned all this gathering of busy officials from their other duties?

It was the quiet presence of about two dozen church folk, with signs reading "Free East Timor!" and "Protect the 29 Students in Jakarta." Would that have made you nervous?

Despite the sign on the front door saying "Office Hours - 9 to 5 daily," nothing happened when they rang the bell on the outside of the eight-foot black metal gates. Several people who came to get urgently needed visas were also frustrated by the lack of response to the bell.

We could see people inside, peeking out, but no one answered the bell. Finally, after about a half-hour or so, a number of the group climbed over the gate and stood in the open-air vestibule area in front of the wooden doors, where another bell went unanswered after many tries also.

Apparently, it was the presence of these five people, Father Stephen Kelly, a Jesuit; Pastor John Chamberlin of First St. John's UMC, along with two parishioners, Adrienne Fong and Dale Lovett; and Ken Butigan, a teacher of non-violence for justice, that caused the sidewalk and street gathering of police, State Department, and consular staff.

Officer F. Machi was the first to arrive. His question was: "What are you doing here? What do you want?" They explained to him what the group had hoped to say to the Consul, that they were concerned about the 29 East Timorese students taking asylum in the U.S. Embassy parking lot in Jakarta, and the four dozen other students who had been arrested at the railway station, many not heard from since.

They wanted the Consul to phone his government superiors to express the concern of U.S. citizens that the visit of our President to Indonesia fore the Asia Pacific Eco-

nomie Cooperation forum should not be one more occasion for the Indonesian government to ride roughshod over human beings as they did in their UN-denounced invasion, using US-supplied weapons and supplies, of the former Portuguese island colony of East Timor. There Indonesians killed more than 200,000 people, more than a third of the population. It was a greater slaughter proportionally than Pol Pot's in Cambodia.

Sequoia news magazine documented in Summer 1994 the efforts of the Indonesian lobbyists in Washington and the military contractors who sell weapons to Indonesia to keep the slaughter in East Timor out of the American media. But increasingly there are 'more and more journalists who are asking questions and challenging the Indonesian government to respect human and to allow an election in East Timor.

Many church people have also lifted up this issue: Bishop Melvin Talbert, the California-Nevada annual Conference, the Presbytery of San Francisco, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA, among others. Concern about retaliation against Indonesian Protestant churches and missionaries has been a strong factor regarding church action critical of Indonesia.

The five "fence-climbers" were finally able to speak briefly with the Indonesian vice-consul, but he then gave the signal to the police to arrest them for trespassing on the Consulate property.

A paddy wagon arrived, took the five away, and they were released with a citation at the police station.

They found out later that 50 or more people gathered the same day at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington. Two of them were arrested.

There are echoes here, one can hope, of the arrests of quiet, non-violent protestors at the South African embassy in Washington, DC that preceded the glorious day of elections that brought Nelson Mandela to govern that nation today.

Groups or individuals who wish to get more information about the East Timor situation can contact the East Timor Religious Outreach group at 1600 Clay St., San Francisco, CA 94109. The phone is (415) 474-6219.

Bob Forsberg is acting editor of Sequoia magazine and a member of the San Francisco Presbytery Peacemaking Committee.

ACTION UPDATE FROM THE EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK

November 19, 1994, Abridged

EAST TIMORESE CONTINUE TO SIT- IN AT US EMBASSY PROTESTS ROCK EAST TIMOR!

Recent events have thrust East Timor to center stage. Over the past week, East Timorese youth have seized the opportunity presented by the APEC summit and President Clinton's trip to Indonesia to demonstrate that they are determined to be free. Twenty-nine East Timorese remain camped at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta, and East Timorese youth have engaged in often angry protests in Dili and elsewhere in East Timor. They have captured the world's attention and challenge us to intensify pressure on the U.S. and Indonesian governments to deal seriously with human rights and self-determination for East Timor.

With the departure of heads of state and the international press corps, the East Timorese people face as serious a threat as at any time in their tragic history. Your action now can save many lives!

The East Timorese broke through Indonesia's stage-managed APEC extravaganza, shattering its carefully crafted image as a nation engaged in orderly development of benefit to all. Instead, their actions revealed a military dictatorship that tramples the human rights of its own citizens and brutally and illegally occupies a neighboring country.

President Clinton went to Indonesia for four days, intending to pay lip service to human rights. Faced with the embassy protests and upheaval in East Timor, he inched U.S. policy a few steps forward. At a press conference he said that "the people of East Timor should have more say over their own local affairs," and he discussed this with Suharto. This is the first time a high U.S. official has raised the question of East Timor's political status in even such a moderate way. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that Clinton "made it clear that human rights could be a limiting factor" in the US-Indonesia relationship. The first test will be how Indonesia responds to the current crisis.

East Timorese continue their peaceful protest inside U.S. embassy compound

Early on Saturday, November 12, 26 East Timorese students and workers climbed the spiked fence surrounding the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta, unfurling banners and shouting slogans for independence. A week

later, they remain peacefully inside the compound, intent on continuing their protest until resistance leader Xanana Gusmão is released. "He is the only person who can represent us to deal with the Indonesian government for the independence of East Timor," their spokesperson said.

The U.S. has "no plans" to remove them. President Clinton has said that "we have been assured that there will be no retribution against them for exercising their political expression and bringing their concerns to us ... I feel comfortable that the commitment we've received will be honored." Others are not so certain and are concerned for their safety.

The protesters remain on a parking lot in difficult conditions. They have received limited food and water and have no shelter or sanitary facilities. They have been allowed to meet with no one but embassy officials and are forced to shout to the press across the fence and a cordon of Indonesian military.

Portugal has offered them transportation and political asylum, and the Indonesian and U.S. governments have said they will cooperate with this. The demonstrations have so far refused this offer.

In addition to the 29 who made it into the compound, about 50 others were arrested in Jakarta before they got to the Embassy. Some of these have been taken far from Jakarta, where they could be maltreated. Others have been released, while some remain in custody or have been re-arrested. Although we do not have reliable information as to their location or condition, many remain in Indonesian military hands, subject to torture or worse.

... Clinton responded to the pressure generated by their protest by mentioning human rights and East Timor publicly and with Suharto. Clinton should follow up by assertively involving the U.S. in finding a solution that respects East Timorese self-determination and actively supports human rights for the people of East Timor and Indonesia. The protesters are not asking for military intervention, but simply for Clinton to further press President Suharto to do things he should be doing anyway.

Peaceful protests and disorder in East Timor

On Saturday, November 12, there were quiet observances of the anniversary of the 1991 massacre in Dili. Sunday began similarly, with a 700-strong Mass. Afterwards, several dozen marched peacefully, carrying Fretilin flags and banners calling for independence and for the support of President Clinton.

After the organized march, around a thousand young East Timorese "rampaged" through the streets of Dili, attacking property owned by Indonesians. Cars were burned, shops, hotels and houses stoned. Demonstrators threw rocks and bottles at police, who responded with tear gas. There are reports of several deaths from police actions. By evening, the military had imposed a curfew. The trigger for the riot was the killing of an East Timorese man by an Indonesian transmigrant in a personal argument, but the causes are deep-rooted.

The rioting continued on Monday and Tuesday. At least 260 people have been arrested. The University in Dili has been closed. The military is going house to house seizing people for questioning. Demonstrations and arrests have also taken place in other parts of East Timor. After several days of quiet, disorder erupted anew on Friday, when plainclothed police threw stones at soldiers and journalists to inflame a peaceful protest into a riot.

The East Timorese have justified grievances which cannot be cured by military repression. Violence against Indonesian property is an understandable demonstration of repressed anger and terror from nearly two decades of genocidal occupation. It cannot be stopped without addressing the underlying situation.

U.S. journalists prevented from entering East Timor

In a show of openness, Indonesia invited banned journalists to come to Indonesia during APEC. Allan Naim and Amy Goodman were granted visas and told they would be able to travel anywhere, including East Timor. In 1991, Naim and Goodman were forced to flee East Timor after being severely beaten while more than 271 East Timorese were killed by Indonesian troops firing on a peaceful demonstration. The New York-based journalists award-winning reporting of the massacre helped to reawaken international awareness to the ongoing genocide in East Timor.

On the afternoon of November 12, 1994, Naim and Goodman were arrested as they attempted to cross from West Timor (Indonesia) into East Timor. They were held for 20 hours before being sent to Jakarta. On Tuesday, the pair tried to fly from Jakarta to Dili, after notifying Indonesian authorities. They were forced off the plane in Bali, and told that they can go anywhere in Indonesia except East Timor.

Protests in the U.S.

On November 16, activists committed nonviolent civil disobedience at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington and their Consulate in San Francisco in support of the students at the US Embassy in Jakarta. Last

week, memorial services, public meetings, and demonstrations took place around the U.S., and hundreds of people called or wrote President Clinton to urge him to support East Timor. ETAN encourages all to keep up the letters, phone calls and other protests. East Timor is at a turning point.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Urge President Clinton and U.S. officials to:

1) support self-determination for East Timorese. The U.S. should be actively involved in finding a solution that respects East Timorese self-determination and supports human rights for the people of East Timor and Indonesia.

2) fully protect the rights of the 29 demonstrators at the Embassy compound. The Timorese should be made as comfortable as possible during their stay, which could be prolonged; they are guests on American territory and should be treated as such. They should have access to food, water, sanitary facilities and shelter. They should be allowed to meet privately with media, attorneys and human rights activists. If any of the demonstrators asks to leave Indonesia, the U.S. government, working with the International Committee of the Red Cross, should ensure that they can do so safely.

3) press Indonesia to account for and free the 49 East Timorese arrested en route to the demonstration. No reprisals should be taken against them or any others involved in the demonstration.

4) send observers to East Timor to help protect people there from reprisals by the Indonesian military, and to make it clear to Suharto that the U.S. will not tolerate provocations or escalations of violence by Indonesian troops.

Urge the Indonesian government to:

1) start serious negotiations leading to a referendum on self-determination with the legitimate leaders of East Timor, including Bishop Belo of the Catholic Church and Xanana Gusmão of the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

2) fully account for and release anyone arrested for involvement in the U.S. Embassy demonstration or in the protests in East Timor. Their must be no reprisals against East Timorese. Threats and random or targeted military revenge must be prevented.

3) Stop all arrests, torture, and intimidation against people of East Timor, and allow international human rights observers, journalists, and others freedom to travel to and within East Timor to verify that rights are respected.

Use the Media

1) Urge the media to continue covering events at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta and in East Timor, and to keep journalists in East Timor to report on activities of the Indonesian military and provide some safety for the people.

2) Although some of the media coverage has been excellent, it often distorts the essential nature of East Timor as a separate country under military occupation. Write letters to the editor and call radio talk shows, stressing that more than conventionally-defined "human rights" are at stake.

Demonstrate

December 7 is the 19th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Demonstrations are planned for Washington, DC; New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Houston, and other cities. ETAN can help you organize a protest or educational event in your community that day.

ACTIVITY IN LOS ANGELES

From ETAN/LA, Nov. 27

The level of activity in Los Angeles has been high during November and coming up to December. Actions focused on the Third Anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre, continuing until December 6/7 which correspond to the International Human Rights Day and the Anniversary of the Invasion of East Timor by Indonesian forces.

On November 10, 25 UCLA students and faculty commemorated the Santa Cruz massacre by viewing the film footage, "Cold Blood" - Amnesty International's selection as Human Rights Video of the year - and discussing the future actions required to bring about self-determination in East Timor.

The 14th of November, over 20 demonstrators gathered at the Indonesian consulate to show solidarity with the East Timorese students who had scaled the walls of the American Embassy in Indonesia, and keep alive the memory of the hundreds fallen in the Santa Cruz Massacre in 1991. A letter was presented to the consulate from the organizers of the demonstration (enclosed below).

The demonstration was covered by the Korean Daily News and Pacifica Radio, KPFFK. The interviews with the organizers played the next day, November 15th.

Also on November 14th, Dr. Lisabeth Ryder represented the East Timor Action Network in a Human Rights panel at Occidental College, sponsored by the Amnesty International student chapter at Occidental College. The panel included Michael Davis, Regional Director of Amnesty International,

as well as representatives from Human Rights Watch, and the UN Association. Sixty students and faculty of Occidental College attended.

December 2nd, the Border Art Workshop of San Diego is sponsoring a showing of East Timorese Art and a presentation by representatives of the East Timor Action Network.

Finally, on December 6th, ETAN/LA will be both commemorating the anniversary of the illegal invasion of East Timor and celebrating Human Rights Day. In the evening, the Human Rights Coalition at UCLA has sponsored a Candle Light March for Human Rights Day and has asked that a representative of the East Timor Action Network come and speak on the current human rights situation in East Timor.

14 November 1994

Mr. Sudjono Haridadi
Consul General
Consulate of Indonesia
3457 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90010

Dear Mr. Haridadi:

We have gathered today at the Indonesian Consulate to commemorate the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre. We are here to pay our respects to the memory of the hundreds of East Timorese slaughtered by Indonesian troops on that day and of the over 200,000 East Timorese who have died as a result of the 1975 Indonesian invasion and ongoing occupation of the former Portuguese colony. At the same time, we remember the well over 15,000 Indonesian soldiers who have died in Your Government's immoral and illegal campaign to subjugate East Timor.

The events of the last few days—in Jakarta and in Dili—demonstrate the absolute bankruptcy and failure of Your Government's policies in East Timor. We call upon Your Government to take the courageous path of reversing its colonial project in East Timor. A good beginning would be to enter into immediate negotiations with all elements of the East Timorese resistance and to allow for an internationally-supervised plebiscite on self-determination to take place in the territory.

We look forward to the day when the people of East Timor, Indonesia, and the United States live together in a world of peace, absent of repression, militarism and exploitation.

We would greatly appreciate if you would convey our sentiments to President Suharto and Foreign Minister Alatas.

Please accept our most cordial and respectful regards.

For the East Timor Action Network of
Los Angeles,
Dr. Lisabeth Ryder and
Matthew Jardine, Co-Coordination

FEINGOLD WRITES CLINTON

Russell D. Feingold, Wisconsin
United States Senate, Washington, DC
20510-4904
November 18, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I congratulate you on your success during the APEC Summit in Indonesia this week.

As you know, despite President Suharto's program to "cleanse" Jakarta of any "undesirables" prior to the Summit, East Timorese activists risked their safety to speak out for human rights during your visit. Twenty-nine East Timorese students sought refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, while hundreds of protestors demonstrated in East Timor. The Indonesian security forces responded with restraint during your visit, but since you have left there are reports that scores of students in Dili have been rounded up, detained, and, in some cases, beaten for their protests.

East Timor's message has been one which is basic to American values: they want protection of their fundamental human rights such as self-determination and freedom of speech, association, and religion.

I hope you will urge President Suharto not to punish those who voiced opposition to Indonesian policy in East Timor during your visit. President Suharto must understand that if he wants the praise that comes with hosting an international economic conference, then he must accept the condition that in the community of nations basic human rights should be respected.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Russell D. Feingold, United States Senator

UPCOMING NEW YORK EAST TIMOR EVENTS

DEMONSTRATION TO FREE EAST TIMOR

Wednesday, December 7, 4:30- 6:30 pm
Indonesian Consulate, 5 E. 68 St. (at 5th Ave.), Manhattan

On the nineteenth anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, we will peacefully picket the Indonesian embassy in Washington and Indonesian consulates around the U.S. Join us!

The situation inside East Timor is very grave. With the expulsion and departure of

all foreign journalists, the military is taking revenge against the East Timorese for spoiling their APEC party. Although the 29 who sat in at the U.S. Embassy compound in Jakarta are safe in Portugal, dozens more were arrested in Jakarta, and hundreds in East Timor, subject to torture, jailing, and worse.

Report from East Timor and Indonesia

Sunday, December 11, 2:00 pm
A.J. Muste Memorial Institute
339 Lafayette St. (cor. Bleecker), Manhattan

Journalists Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn will speak on their recent trip during the APEC summit, including their arrest, banning from East Timor, and subsequent secret visit there.

Also, planning meeting for future ETAN activities.

Please Help

Your contribution is needed to support our work. Please make checks payable to ETAN. Tax-deductible contributions for ETAN's educational work can be made payable to WESPAC Foundation.

US ASSURES RI OF MORE ARMS SALES

Jakarta Post, 18 November and Kompas, 21 November 1994. Abridged

Jakarta – Armed forces chief General Feisal Tanjung said yesterday that the US has assured (us) that it will continue to supply Indonesia with arms in accordance with previous commitments.

Washington has agreed that no issue, not even East Timor, would obstruct its arms sales to Indonesia, General Feisal told reporters yesterday. His remarks came only hours after US President, Bill Clinton concluded his state visit to Indonesia. Human rights and East Timor featured prominently in his agenda of talks with President Suharto.

General Feisal said Indonesia is now waiting for delivery of a number of weapons from the US based on previous commitments. "They include a number of F-5 fighters through Jordan," he said.

Washington last year blocked Indonesia's plan to buy the second-hand US-built F-5s from Jordan, citing the human rights situation in Indonesia as the reason. The US Congress also succeeded in pressuring Washington to end military training for Indonesian officers as punishment for Indonesia's handling of East Timor affairs.

Kompas reports General Feisal as saying:

"These purchases of military equipment are past deals awaiting implementation. The

equipment includes several squadrons of F-5 fighter aircraft covered by a tripartite deal involving Jordan, the US and Indonesia.

He said Clinton had given an undertaking that whenever the equipment is needed it will be supplied because the contracts have already been signed and both sides are well aware of their rights and obligations.

Feisal also responded to questions about arms deals with the UK, saying that this would include the purchase of Scorpion tanks, as a follow-up to the purchase of 24 Hawk aircraft. He could not say how many tanks would be purchased.

RESOURCES

BOOK ON XANANA

Publico, 27 October 1994. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – The first book dedicated to the Timorese Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão is to be launched on 17 November at the Timor Centre in Lisbon. The 350-page book, entitled *Timor-Leste: um Povo, uma Patria*, will be presented by Ramos Horta, the special representative of the CNRM (Mauere Resistance National Council).

In addition to many photographs, interviews, and documents (letters to other members of the Resistance, the defence statement he was prevented from reading during his trial in Dili, etc.), the volume includes an autobiographical text which Xanana Gusmão sent expressly for this publication from his prison cell in Cipinang, where he is serving a 20-year sentence. The 40 type-written pages Xanana managed to pass through Indonesian security cover his life up to 1981, the year in which he became leader of the resistance to East Timor's occupation.

See the Xanana section of this edition of East Timor Documents for a translated excerpt from the book.

TECHNOLOGY FOR THE RESISTANCE

Expresso, 29 Oct. By Ivo Dias de Sousa. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

Lisbon – Portugal ought to do something to achieve a greater flow of information from East Timor, free from Indonesian control. The Indonesian authorities to all in their power to curtail the release of any news which might cause them embarrassment, such as the video footage of the Santa Cruz massacre.

Usually, information from East Timor has to be passed from one person to an-

other, involving great personal risk to the carriers. This is the situation in a day and age in which technological progress has enabled advanced systems of communication to reach every corner of the globe.

A greater flow of uncensored information from Timor would enable wider international coverage of the views of the Resistance, thereby making the Indonesian lobbyists' job much harder, especially in the US and Australia.

Portugal could contribute, through its Government or other institutions, by supplying the Timorese Resistance with via satellite telephone equipment, video cameras and recorders, computers, modems, and other equipment in order to break through the information blockade.

CHOMSKY DOCUMENTARY AVAILABLE ON VIDEO

On November 15, more than two years after its theatrical launch, the internationally acclaimed documentary film *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* by Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick will be released on home video in the United States.

Manufacturing Consent can be ordered in the U.S. by calling 1 800 MANU CON. In Canada call 1 800 668-6322.

A companion book to the film which includes a complete transcript of the film, key excerpts from Chomsky's writings and interviews, historical and biographical material, filmmakers notes, a resource guide and more than 270 stills can be obtained by calling (212) 564-3730 in the U.S. Please call 1 800 656-9523 in Canada.

Funny, provocative and surprisingly accessible, *Manufacturing Consent* explores the political life and ideas of Noam Chomsky, world-renowned linguist, philosopher and activist. In an energetic collage of new and original footage, archival gems, imaginative graphics and illustrations, the film highlights Chomsky's incisive analysis of the media.

As a boy during the Depression Chomsky ran his uncle's newsstand in Manhattan. Today he is a fiercely outspoken critic and one of America's leading dissidents. Chomsky focuses on the theory and practice of propaganda in democratic societies where, he argues, populations are subjected to more subtle forms of ideological control. He reveals how mainstream news coverage of world events mobilizes public support for the "special interests" that dominate society through a process he calls the "manufacture of consent." Drawing on wide-ranging and persuasive examples, including a comparative study of the media coverage of Cambodia and East Timor in the

mid-seventies, he shows us how information is "filtered" to serve the agendas of those with power. As protection against such manipulation, Chomsky encourages us to undertake a course of "intellectual self-defense" and to strive to make the media more democratic. He sketches out a vision of a new society where citizens will actively participate in social and political life.

While the film has been broadcast on numerous foreign networks, no U.S. broadcaster, including national and regional PBS, has agreed to televise the film. In Canada, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation only accepted to accommodate the film after an intense lobbying and letter-writing campaign. A similar campaign is now underway in the U.S. Please write to: Mary Jane McKinven, PBS News and Public Affairs Director, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314.

DANISH MAGAZINE

Danish magazine to publish a special issue on East Timor. KONTAKT is a Third World magazine published by Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke. KONTAKT will soon publish a special issue on East Timor with articles by Noam Chomsky, Jim Dunn and many others. This special issue will be the first of its kind in Danish. The Editor of KONTAKT is Alex Frank Larsen.

The guest editor of the special issue is Torben Retboll. The price of the special issue is 35 D.Kr.

Address:
Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke
KONTAKT
Borgergade 10-14
DK-1300 Copenhagen K, Denmark
Telephone 33 32 62 44 Fax 33 15 62 43

APCET VIDEO AVAILABLE

To obtain a copy, please contact Gus (APCET-Manila), e-mail iid@phil.gn.apc.org. Length: 15 minutes. Title: "Breaking the Silence." Cost: \$25.

PROGRAM ON EAST TIMOR AVAILABLE FOR PUBLIC RADIO STATIONS

"East Timor: A Case of Genocide" is a one-hour radio program based on a talk given by journalist Allan Naim in Portland, OR last April. It has been recently updated and is being distributed as part of the Alternative Radio series. The program give the history of East Timor and U.S. involvement, and describes how a grassroots popular movement has helped to begin to change U.S. policy.

The program will be available on the NPR satellite free of charge for public radio stations to download, record and broadcast. Please encourage your local public radio station to use it:

Tuesday December 13, 1994 14:00 to 14:59 ET NPR Channel 6

Allan Naim is a New York-based freelance journalist who has travelled to East Timor three times, and has written about it for the New Yorker, the Nation, Vanity Fair, and many newspapers.

For more information about East Timor:

East Timor Action Network, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602, 914-428-7299 fax:914-428-7383
email:cscheiner@igc.apc.org

For more information about Alternative Radio:

David Barsamian, 2129 Mapleton, Boulder CO 80304.

Tapes and transcripts of the program are available from either address.

REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS ON EAST TIMOR

REVIEW ESSAY: RECENT BOOKS ON INDONESIA'S OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR AND THE EAST TIMORESE STRUGGLE FOR SELF- DETERMINATION

by Matthew Jardine, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 26, Nos. 1-2, January-June 1995, pp. 119-127.

For subscription information, contact BCAS at 3239 9th Street, Boulder, CO 80304-2112, USA; phone, (303)449-7439; or Email, doub@csf.colorado.edu.

McMillan, Andrew. *Death in Dili*, (Rydalmere, NSW, Australia: Hodder & Stoughton Pty Limited, 1992), 235 pp.

Taylor, John G. *Indonesia's Forgotten War - The Hidden History of East Timor*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1991), xiii + 230 pp.

Turner, Michele. *Telling: East Timor, Personal Testimonies 1942-1992*, (New South Wales, Australia: New South Wales University Press Ltd., 1992), xxii + xvi + 218 pp.

Endnote numbers contained in [].

East Timor is the site of one of the great genocides since World War II. Out of a population of about 700,000 at the time of East Timor's brief independence, about 200,000 people have died as a result of the Indonesian invasion and the ensuing war, politically-created famine, and the ongoing

occupation.[1] From the time of the Indonesian invasion of 7 December 1975 until January 1989 Jakarta kept East Timor closed. Apart from official foreign delegations, some international aid workers, and a limited number of journalists, few were able to enter the territory. On 27 December 1988, the Indonesian authorities accorded East Timor open territory status following a one-day visit in November to the territory by Indonesian President Suharto. Jakarta was keen on encouraging foreign and “domestic” (Indonesian) investment in its “twenty-seventh province” as well as presenting an image to the outside world of normalcy in East Timor. On both accounts, Jakarta has largely failed in its objectives. The ongoing resistance by the East Timorese people to Indonesian hegemony and the concomitant political instability in East Timor as well as the relative poverty and isolation of the territory have prevented the influx of private capital.[2] In terms of international opinion, the “opening up” of East Timor has not helped to suppress the image of the brutal nature of Indonesia’s illegal occupation of the territory.

Since January 1989, a number of Western tourists, researchers, human rights investigators, journalists, and foreign dignitaries have visited the half-island. The East Timorese people have taken advantage of the presence of the visitors to publicize their plight. The October 1989 visit of Pope John Paul II was such an occasion. The nationalist movement greatly embarrassed Jakarta when dozens of pro-independence youths demonstrated at the end of the Pope’s mass in Dili – the capital of East Timor, resulting in a violent reaction by the Indonesian authorities. Similarly, the pro-independence march to Dili’s Santa Cruz Cemetery on November 12, 1991 took place during the visit of Peter Kooijmans, the United Nation’s Special Rapporteur on Torture.

The march ended in the Santa Cruz Massacre in which the Indonesian military killed over 250 East Timorese men, women and children at the end of the peaceful demonstration. The presence of Western journalists and a video of the massacre have resulted in intensified Western public interest in East Timor and official scrutiny of Indonesia’s occupation of the former Portuguese colony. At the same time, there has been a significant rise in the amount of written material on the former Portuguese colony, including a number of books that, while approaching the issue in very different manners, all contribute to our understanding of the East Timor situation.

Among the books on East Timor, John Taylor’s *Indonesia’s Forgotten War – The Hidden History of East Timor* stands out as certainly among the most engaging and com-

prehensive works, covering the society from pre-colonial times through the post-invasion era. Taylor, Principal Lecturer in Social Sciences at the South Bank Polytechnic in London and editor of “Timor Link” for the Catholic Institute of International Relations, has long been associated with the issue of East Timor. His most recent book on East Timor is meticulously researched and serves as an excellent introduction to the history of the territory as well as a valuable resource for scholars on the former Portuguese colony.

Although the book was published in early 1991 and therefore does not include the Santa Cruz Massacre and the important developments since, Taylor’s work is a “must read.” Taylor provides a detailed analysis of the growth of East Timorese nationalism and the birth of local political parties in the 1974-1975 period. He also offers a thorough account of Jakarta’s destabilization campaign aimed at laying the foundation for the full-scale Indonesian invasion. Taylor provides considerable documentation of the incredible suffering brought on the East Timorese people by the ongoing “Indonesianization” of the territory. Rather than painting a picture of simple subjugation, however, Taylor describes the East Timorese population’s amazing endurance and traditional (and novel) forms of social organization that have enabled it to survive not only the onslaught of Indonesia, but also the brutality of the Japanese occupation in World War II and Portuguese efforts to subjugate the territory. In terms of Portugal, Taylor includes the post-war era when the returning colonial authorities often had to employ brutal methods and forced labor to reassert their authority and to rebuild the colonial infrastructure which lay in ruins due to the Japanese occupation and Allied bombings of the principal towns.[3] As late as 1959, there was a serious revolt against Portuguese authority in the eastern area of the colony in the Viqueque region which the Portuguese quickly and violently suppressed, killing possibly hundreds of East Timorese.[4]

Taylor provides compelling analyses of Indonesia’s various military campaigns against FALINTIL, the military arm of the Resistance, and Jakarta’s population control methods. He also examines the East Timorese Catholic Church, showing how it has evolved from a conservative, pro-Portuguese perspective to an institution that helps produce and sustain East Timorese resistance and nationalism. Taylor’s concluding chapter, in which he speculates on a variety of future scenarios for East Timor and Indonesia, is especially thought-provoking.

On the international scale, Taylor offers a good deal of important information and valuable analysis about the factors that have served as the basis for the West’s aiding and abetting of Indonesia’s annexation of the former Portuguese colony. Focusing on the United States, Australia, and the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) – until recently a consortium of donor countries to Indonesia through which economic aid to Jakarta was channeled, Taylor documents how the world’s capitalist powers have supported Indonesia’s subjugation of East Timor in the pursuit of profit.[5] At times, however, Taylor’s analysis is a bit cursory.

In dealing with the motivations of U.S. foreign policy, for example, Taylor stresses the political economic importance of Indonesia, but argues that it was the strategic location of East Timor (situated on the Ombai-Wetar straits – the quickest and safest route for American nuclear-armed submarines to pass between the Pacific and Indian Oceans) that was primary.[6] By making such a distinction between geopolitical and political-economic concerns, Taylor implies that the two are somewhat unconnected rather than integrally related.

In any case, however, U.S. concerns about control of the Ombai-Wetar straits were a minor factor at best in informing the U.S. decision to support Suharto’s annexation of the former Portuguese Timor. U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia has long been concerned with maintaining access for U.S. capital to the resources, labor, and markets of the region and, more specifically, Indonesia, what Nixon called “by far the greatest prize in the Southeast Asian area.”[7] Washington’s active support for Jakarta’s imperial ambitions in East Timor was principally a reward for Suharto’s long time cooperation with U.S. political-economic and geopolitical objectives in the region. East Timor in and of itself was of relatively marginal concern to U.S. policymakers; Indonesia is what mattered. Jakarta’s staunch anti-communism, its general support for U.S. and Western foreign policy, strategic location, its wealth of natural resources and a business climate that made it very attractive to Western capital virtually guaranteed U.S. support for Indonesia’s designs on East Timor.[8]

Indonesia’s Forgotten War has ample footnotes (which are a little sloppy in a few places in terms of the dates), an extensive bibliography and a chronology of major events from 1974-1991 and thus provides an excellent resource for further independent research. John Taylor’s style is very accessible and engrossing, so much so that he leaves the reader begging for more. Given that so much has transpired within [and

around] East Timor since 1991, we can only hope that Taylor will update *Indonesia's Forgotten War* with another edition.

While John Taylor at times makes use of first-hand accounts, Michele Turner's *Telling: East Timor, Personal Testimonies 1942-1992* is solely a compilation of such personal narratives. *Telling* contains the oral histories of numerous people associated with East Timor over the last 50 years, only a small selection of the "hundreds" of interviews that Turner conducted over a ten year period.

The author divides the interviews that comprise *Telling* into three sections, each of which she prefaces with information that helps to link the various interviews and place them within the larger context of East Timorese history. The first section deals with the Second World War (1941-August 1945) when 20,000 Japanese troops occupied Portuguese Timor, spending much of their time pursuing several hundred Australian commandos who inflicted high casualties on them. The majority of the Australians fled the island after one year. Small Australian intelligence groups along with East Timorese trained in Australia, however, operated in the territory until the end of the war. Interviews with former Australian soldiers and East Timorese elites, many of whom worked with the Portuguese administration, dominate. The second (and the briefest) section is entitled "Thirty Years of Peace, August 1945 to August 1975." It covers the time from the return of the Portuguese administration to the beginning of the East Timorese civil war between the two major political parties, FRETILIN (the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) and the UDT (Timorese Democratic Union). The final section deals with the horrific experiences of the East Timorese since the beginning of Indonesian aggression in East Timor (at the end of the UDT-FRETILIN war). While the vast majority of the interviews are with East Timorese in exile in Australia, there are also a few with former Australian commandos from the World War II era as well as one with Robert Domm, the Australian lawyer and syndicalist who made headlines after visiting and interviewing Resistance commander Xanana Gusmão in his mountain hideout in September 1990.

Telling is a valuable contribution to the body of research on East Timor. While there have been a number of first-hand accounts of life under the Indonesian occupation, they have never been organized in such a systematic and comprehensive a fashion. Especially novel is the inclusion of testimonies from Portuguese Timor's ethnic Chinese population which is largely invisible in much of the literature on East Timor. Al-

though the Chinese were a tiny proportion of the population, they played an important role in the development of Portuguese Timor, dominating commercial activity. In the early days of Jakarta's war to annex East Timor the Indonesian military specifically targeted ethnic Chinese, killing hundreds.[10]

The section on the Japanese occupation of Portuguese Timor also provides new insight into the situation in the territory at the time. Through the oral histories, Turner reconstructs the painful experiences of the East Timorese during the war (about 60,000 East Timorese lost their lives as a result of the occupation[11]). Turner includes a number of accounts that describe how the Japanese military brutally tortured East Timorese, especially those suspected of aiding the Australians. Frequently the victims died. Although a relatively common aspect of the Japanese occupation, Turner points out that Australians were also quite capable of brutality. Although the vast majority of the population was sympathetic to the Australians, there were those who cooperated with the Japanese, often under coercion. In such situations, the Australians "routinely killed Timorese suspected of betraying them" (p. 5). As Alfredo Pires, the son of a colonial official and a Timorese mother describes: "There was a saying in that war, that for punishment the Japanese were bad, very cruel, but for justice the Australians were worse. The Japanese may torture, punish, try to get you to tell, but it is not certain you will die, but if the Australians suspect you, you're dead" (p. 38).

Turner's intended audience is clearly an Australian one. According to Turner, Australia, the only country in the West that has given de jure recognition to Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony, owes the East Timorese a great debt: "For a people who liked us and responded so bravely to the perils of our soldiers in a time of threat, the East Timorese have good reason to feel betrayed" (p. xv). In a number of interviews, there is a good deal of Australian slang that makes the reading a bit arduous at times for non-Australians, but also adds a certain authenticity to the accounts. While the North American reader might find the emphasis on Australia somewhat excessive (in the first section), the highly personal nature of the interviews is quite engrossing.

The final section, and by far the longest – about 60 percent of the book – is the most moving as numerous East Timorese in exile attest to the atrocities they themselves have experienced and their fellow East Timorese continue to endure. Turner avoids overwhelming the reader with account after account of atrocity to the point of numbness. Instead, the structure of the section pro-

vides the audience with a rather comprehensive understanding of the hardships of the 19-year Indonesian occupation and the complex ways in which it has affected Timorese society. Nevertheless, it is impossible for the reader not to empathize with the horrors that have befallen countless East Timorese such as "Jorge," who was forced to join the Indonesian military (ABRI) as a young man in Dili. As a member of the army, "Jorge" was compelled to kill his fellow East Timorese. He also lost many of his friends who were killed by the Indonesian military. Seeking revenge, "Jorge" and some of his fellow East Timorese ABRI soldiers would go out at night and kill the East Timorese informers who would cooperate with the authorities by identifying individuals who cooperated with the Resistance. Now in exile in Australia, he fears that he is going crazy.

"I don't know how many people I killed. I have been killing since I was eighteen. It upsets me when I think about these things, that's why I spend all the weekend and nights at the pub. When I drink I become calm and things don't worry me. There is no one I can talk to about it. Other Timorese, a few talk with me but many are scared of me. Some think I am a crazy man (p. 171)."

In most accounts of East Timorese history, including the post-war era, the role of women is not very evident. Although the majority of the interviewees in *Telling* are men, Michele Turner includes the testimonies of a significant number of women, especially in the final section. By doing so, Turner provides the reader with insight not only into the gender-specific types of suffering many East Timorese women have endured at the hands of Indonesian soldiers, but also into the important role that women have played in the resistance to Indonesian domination and in the construction and reproduction of East Timorese nationalism. Especially moving is Fatima Gusmão's account (pp. 128-146), in which she describes the more than three years that she and her husband spent in the mountains with FRETILIN fleeing the Indonesian military and recounts the death of three of her children.

Also noteworthy is the mention of the presence of U.S. personnel (most probably military) in East Timor in the years following the Indonesian invasion. "Edhina" reports that "[a] lot of Americans came to Dili when I was there" (p. 111). "Lourenco" talks about "the Americans who were often in Dili talking to the Indonesians" (p. 116). Most probably, given the extensive links between the U.S. and Indonesian militaries, such personnel were acting as military advi-

sors; this is certainly an issue worthy of further investigation.[12]

If there is a notable flaw of the book it is that a number of important voices are not heard in *Telling*. By relying on interviews with individuals in Australia there is a built-in bias to the collection. In the section dealing with life under the Japanese occupation, for example, there are no interviews with Japanese veterans of the occupation.[13] The East Timorese interviewees seem to come most often from the more privileged sectors of the colonial society – either the indigenous East Timorese elite or “civilizados” who achieved relative status under the Portuguese system.[14] Thus, Portugal – whose behavior in East Timor was often quite harsh – gets off rather lightly. Given the difficulty of getting out of East Timor, either in the aftermath of the civil war or since the Indonesian invasion, clearly those with greater financial resources and higher social status have been more often able to negotiate an exit. In this sense, Turner cannot be blamed for the lack of representativeness of the interviews. Nevertheless, there are some noteworthy omissions in the oral account of East Timorese history from 1942-1992, especially regarding Portuguese brutality and East Timorese resistance to Portuguese colonization in the post-war era.

Interviewees in *Telling* often make references to specific places within East Timorese territory. While the book does contain a map of East Timor, many of the mentioned places do not appear on the map and Turner does not provide the reader with clues as to where they are located. Thus, it is sometimes difficult for the reader to have a spatial sense of the unfolding history. Nevertheless, Michele Turner more than succeeds in giving the reader an overall sense of the arduous history of the half-island over the last fifty years and in providing a human face to the tragedy and heroism that have come to be associated with East Timor.

Unlike the work of John Taylor and Michele Turner, Andrew McMillan's *Death in Dili* is part travelogue and part serious analysis. Through the intermixing of personal anecdotes, oral and documented histories, press reports and political analysis, the author tells the story of East Timor, focusing on the time since the outbreak of World War II. Like Michele Turner's *Telling*, *Death in Dili* is primarily intended for an Australian audience. The book is full of Australian slang and McMillan's style is at times irreverent and sarcastic. Nevertheless, it is among the most readable and accessible books on East Timor.

McMillan's interest in East Timor began in January 1990 when he and his partner, Jenny Groves, decided to travel to Dili from Kupang (West Timor) as part of their trek

through the archipelago. While sitting in the garden of Dili's Hotel Turismo during their first full day in the territory, the couple suddenly found themselves in the midst of a pro-independence demonstration aimed at U.S. Ambassador John Monjo who, unknown to the Australian visitors, was on a “goodwill visit.” After a 40-minute dialogue with the demonstrators, Monjo left the group of 80-90 youths, abandoning them to the savage beatings of the Indonesian soldiers brought in to break up the demonstration. At least two youths died as a result of their injuries.

Grove, a professional photographer, took pictures of the incident and, along with McMillan, quickly fled East Timor and returned to Australia. The couple immediately publicized the photos and the story throughout the world. This chance encounter with the plight of East Timor led McMillan to go to Geneva where he testified before the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights and to participate in the March 1992 Peace Mission of the Lusitania Expresso, a ship of Portuguese origin that tried to sail from Darwin, Australia to Dili so that an international group of students could lay flowers at the Santa Cruz Cemetery to honor those killed in the November 1991 massacre. While the Indonesian navy prevented the ship from landing and forced it to turn back to Australia, the mission brought a considerable amount of publicity to East Timor.

Written in part like a novel, *Death in Dili* is certainly not an academic account of East Timor, nor is it meant to be. That said, McMillan provides a rather thorough narrative of East Timorese history since the beginning of World War II, including life in Portuguese Timor in the post-war era and the UDT-FRETILIN civil war. It is a shame that McMillan did not do a better job footnoting. There is much valuable information in the book for which McMillan does not provide citations. While *Death in Dili* is an excellent book for newcomers to the subject of East Timor, the poor footnoting makes it difficult for the reader to use the book as a springboard for further independent study.

For the more serious student of East Timor, *Death in Dili* provides a considerable amount of valuable anecdotal information such as McMillan's critical account of the Lusitania Expresso, Pope John Paul II's visit to Dili, and the recounting of many of the events that made up the East Timorese “intifada” of which the John Monjo demonstration was part. McMillan also renders numerous examples of the hardships that the East Timorese population has had to endure under the yoke of Jakarta's colonial enterprise.

Andrew McMillan does not hide the fact that his book is a cry for justice for the people of East Timor and a calling upon the West to end its complicity in one of the great crimes of the late twentieth century. “As I write, I have a feeling that we're all looking down the barrel of a gun. While our governments condone the sort of behaviour that's been seen in East Timor over the last couple of decades, and continues to unfold day by day, none of us can afford to sleep too peacefully” (p. 233).

Like the work of John Taylor and Michele Turner, McMillan's *Death in Dili* is clearly driven by righteous anger. In the cynical politics of the “New World Order,” in which the West continues to sacrifice the human rights and self-determination of the East Timorese for the natural resources and generally hospitable investment climate for international capital in Indonesia, such deep-felt moral indignation is most welcome. While each of the three books is quite different, taken together they make a valuable contribution to our collective comprehension of and empathy for East Timor.

A number of photos accompany the essay. The captions of the photos follow.

Photo 1: A man at the grave of his younger brother who reportedly died a few weeks after being wounded at the Santa Cruz Massacre by the gunfire of Indonesian soldiers on 12 November 1991. The young man's family smuggled him out of Dili into a small town in the mountains where the family tried to cure him by way of traditional medicine. For fear of being discovered having been present at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, the family did not want to take him to any hospital. According to a lab technician at the Dili hospital and a survivor of the massacre, Indonesian soldiers killed survivors of the massacre at the hospital. The soldiers “crushed the skulls of the wounded with large rocks, ran over them with trucks, stabbed them and administered – with doctors present – poisonous disinfecting chemicals as medicines to ‘finish off’ scores of wounded demonstrators in the wake of the massacre.” Max Stahl thinks that anywhere from 50-200 wounded died in this manner.[15] All the photos accompanying this review essay are courtesy of Matthew Jardine, and unless otherwise noted they were taken by Matthew Jardine in July 1992.

Photo 2: A Catholic church in coffee-rich Ermera, with coffee beans drying in the foreground. Traditionally conservative and aligned with the indigenous and colonial elite during the Portuguese era, since the invasion the Church has taken a

stance more in line with the needs and wishes of the East Timorese majority. The Church is the only pre-invasion institution not eliminated by Indonesia, and it has emerged in a number of ways as the public face of the massive resistance to Jakarta's occupation. Church-related activities often serve as the venue for pro-independence demonstrations and a number of clergy have spoken out against Indonesia's occupation and in favor of East Timorese self-determination. As the Church has become increasingly identified with the pro-independence struggle, it has become the object of deep Indonesian suspicion and sometimes repression. Whereas only one-third of the population was Catholic in 1975, today the figure stands at about 90 percent. Full churches throughout East Timor attest to a level of support that is a direct challenge to Indonesia, something which the Indonesian authorities are very aware of.[16]

Photo 3: Indonesian soldiers marching on "Integration Day" in Dili, 17 July 1992. Integration Day commemorates the day in 1976 when President Suharto signed the law formalizing East Timor's "integration" into the Republic of Indonesia and the former's status as Indonesia's twenty-seventh province. According to the Indonesian government, President Suharto signed the law in response to a petition requesting integration from the "Provisional Government of East Timor" and an "on-the-spot assessment" by an Indonesian government delegation that the East Timorese strongly desired integration.[17]

Photo 4: Young boys in Baucau. An important component of Indonesia's colonial project in East Timor is the construction of an Indonesian identity among the East Timorese, especially the youth. While force is the most component of Jakarta's efforts to annex East Timor, it is ultimately the East Timorese hearts and minds, not simply the bodies, that must be conquered. Jakarta hopes that the Indonesian education system will soon eliminate the nationalist ideas of the East Timorese. The state school system is completely Indonesian and neglects any information about East Timor that does not correspond to Jakarta's official version of East Timorese history. The occupation's educational system also emphasizes the teaching of Indonesian (the only language allowed in schools) and Pancasila – the five ideological pillars of the Indonesian state. Jakarta's efforts to "Indonesianize" East Timor has a certain missionary and racist zeal to it. As Colonel Kalangi, at the time the Provincial

Secretary of East Timor and the former military commander of the region stated in 1982, "It is the new Indonesian civilization we are bringing. And it is not easy to civilize backward people." [18]

Photo 5: A young boy at the Santa Cruz demonstration, 12 November 1991. This boy was among the first killed by the Indonesian soldiers. On the banner is the image of Xanana Gusmão, until his November 1992 capture in Dili by the Indonesian military, the head of FALINTIL and the CNRM. On May 21, 1993, an Indonesian court in Dili sentenced Xanana Gusmão to life imprisonment, although the sentence has since been commuted by Suharto to 20 years. Throughout East Timor and the world, Gusmão is the symbol of East Timorese resistance and nationalism, and many have compared him to Nelson Mandela. This photo is by Steven Cox, and it is reprinted here courtesy of TAPOL.

Photo 6: Nino Konis Santana, since April 1993 the Commander-in-Chief of FALINTIL, the guerilla army of the East Timorese resistance. As head of FALINTIL, Santana is one third of the tripartite leadership of the CNRM (the National Council of Maubere Resistance). The CNRM is the coordinating body of all diplomatic, political, and military aspects of the East Timorese resistance; it serves as the umbrella group of all East Timorese political parties, groups and organizations within East Timor and abroad dedicated to the goal of national self-determination and thus leads the struggle against the Indonesian occupation nationally and internationally. This photo by FALINTIL and was taken in early 1992.

ENDNOTES

- [1] See Asia Watch, *Human Rights in Indonesia and East Timor* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1989), p. 253 and "A World at War – 1983," *The Defense Monitor*, publication of the Center for Defense Information, (Washington, D.C.), Vol. XII, No. 1, 1983.
- [2] See, for example, "Few Investors Take Up Invite to East Timor," *Australian Financial Review* (reprinted from *Asian Wall St. Journal*), 10 June 1993.
- [3] See Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*, p. 14. As a member of the Australian War Graves unit who visited the territory in 1947 observed: "After centuries of colonial rule the natives are as backward and helpless as ever, forced labor under the whip goes on from dawn to dusk, and the Portuguese colonists, including those exiled from Salazar's Portugal, maintain

the same attitudes and live with the same mixture of civility and brutality as they had 350 years ago" (Glen Francis, "Slavery in Timor," *The Observer* [Sydney], Vol. 3, No. 22, 29 October 1960, p. 12). Osmar White, an Australian journalist who visited the colony in 1963, noted that in all his travels throughout Asia, "I have never been so sensible of fear-paralyzed hostility as I was in Timor" (Osmar White, "Timor – Island of Fear," *The Herald* [Melbourne], 2 April 1963).

- [4] "Estimates of deaths varied between 160 and 1000, but all reports agreed on the brutality with which the Portuguese put down the revolt—villages were burnt, families killed and most of the leadership were executed. Fifty-eight Timorese were exiled to Angola and Mozambique after having been told that they were being sent for trial in Lisbon" (Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*, p. 21). The circumstances surrounding the revolt are quite complicated and not altogether clear. Also see Jill Jolliffe, *East Timor - Nationalism and Colonialism*, (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1978), pp. 48-49 and Dunn, *Timor—A People Betrayed*, (Milton, Queensland: The Jacaranda Press, 1983), pp. 33-34.
- [5] In the aftermath of the Santa Cruz massacre, countries such as Canada, Denmark, and the Netherlands suspended aid to Jakarta. In reaction to what Indonesia called Dutch interference in Indonesian internal affairs, the Indonesian Government disbanded the Netherlands-chaired IGGI which was replaced by the World Bank-chaired Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI). The move by Jakarta was an effort to detach human rights issues from the question of aid, a strategy that has thus far turned out to be successful. Currently, Japan is, by far the biggest grantor of economic assistance to Indonesia. Out of the US\$5.1 billion pledged for Fiscal Year 1993-94, Japan committed US\$1.44 billion.
- [6] To a certain degree, the security of the Ombai-Wetar Straits probably did somewhat inform the U.S. decision to allow Indonesia to takeover East Timor. (See Michael Richardson, "Fraser given blunt warning at Washington talks: 'Don't anger Jakarta'—US protecting Indon channel for its N-subs," *The Age* (Melbourne), 3 August 1976, p. 1.) Nevertheless, apart from a couple of minor such references, there is little in the historical record to indicate that U.S. policymakers were seriously preoccupied with any potential threat that an inde-

pendent East Timor might present to the security of the Ombai-Wetar Straits.

- [7] Richard M. Nixon, "Asia After Viet Nam," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 1, October 1967, p. 111. Nixon argued in favor of bombing North Vietnam to protect Indonesia's "immense mineral potential" (quoted in Peter Dale Scott, "Exporting Military-Economic Development: America and the Overthrow of Sukarno," in Malcolm Caldwell [ed.], *Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia*, [Nottingham: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for Spokesman Books, 1975], pp. 209-261). Prior to Nixon, President Eisenhower invoked the security of the former Dutch East Indies as one of his principal justifications for U.S. intervention in French Indochina. See "Why the U.S. Risks War for Indo-China," *U.S. News & World Report*, 16 April 1954, pp. 21-23. Also see excerpt of 1953 Eisenhower speech in Julie Southwood and Patrick Flanagan, *Indonesia – Law, Propaganda and Terror*, (London: Zed Press, 1983), p. 19.

- [8] In January 1976, a U.S. State Department official explained: "(i)n terms of the bilateral relations between the U.S. and Indonesia, we are more or less condoning the incursion into East Timor. The United States wants to keep its relations with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, non-aligned nation – a nation we do a lot of business with ('Aid to Indonesia Doubled as U.S. Shrugs off Timor,' *The Australian*, 22 January 1976). For an understanding of the analytical context in which U.S. policymakers decided to support Indonesia's annexation of East Timor see United States Congress, House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations, Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1976, Part 2, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 528.

- [9] In 1954, out of a total population of about 450,000, there were 3,206 Chinese living in East Timor (Helio A. Esteves Felgas, *Timor Portugues*, [Lisboa: Ministerio do Ultramar, Republica Portuguesa, 1956], pp. 344-345). According to John Taylor, Chinese (including mestizos) made up about 2 percent of the post-war population (Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*, p. 16).

While a number of ethnic-Chinese were not involved in commercial ventures, Chinese merchants owned and ran 397 of the colony's 400 retail outlets by the late 1960's (ibid.). At the time of independence 12 Chinese-owned businesses handled about three quarters of East

Timorese import and export trade; Portuguese firms controlled the rest (Gerald J. Telkamp, "The Economic Structure of an Outpost in the Outer Islands in the Indonesian Archipelago: Portuguese Timor 1850-1975," in P. Creutzberg, *Between Peoples and Statistics – Essays on Modern Indonesian History*, [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979], p. 80).

- [10] "The Chinese population of Dili was singled out for selective killings. Five hundred were killed on the first day of the attack" (Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*, p. 69). Out of the 2,000 people killed in Dili in the first two days of the Indonesian invasion, 700 were ethnic Chinese (McMillan, *Death in Dili*, p. 67). In the towns of Maubara and Liquica "the entire Chinese population was killed" (Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*, p. 70).

- [11] Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*, p. 14.

- [12] According to an October 1966 CIA report, about 2,800 Indonesian army officers received training in U.S. military schools, most of them between the years of 1960 and 1964. Since the invasion, over 2,600 Indonesian military officers have received military training in the U.S. under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. (See Carmel Budiardjo, "Indonesia: Mass Extinction and the Consolidation of Authoritarian Power" from Alexander George [ed.], *Western State Terrorism*, Cambridge [U.K.]: Polity Press, 1991, p. 184. Also see Charles Scheiner, "No U.S. Military Aid to Indonesia in Fiscal Year 1993," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 24, No. 3, July-September 1992, p. 51.). In an April 6, 1979 research paper entitled "Notes on the Current Situation in East Timor," author and former Australian consul in Dili James Dunn asserts that U.S. military personnel was present in East Timor in the late 1970's (see *East Timor News* [Sydney], 3 May 1979). In mid-1978 FRETILIN claimed that U.S. military advisors were participating in Indonesian military offensives and that one such advisor was killed in the area of Remexio (near Dili). In a recent letter to the author, Dunn stated that he is "convinced" of the veracity of his earlier claim; however, he is not at all sure as to the reasons for the presence of U.S. military personnel in the territory.

- [13] There is, however, a small excerpt from a 1987 statement to the U.N. Decolonization Committee by Iwamura Shouachi who served for more than two years in Japanese-occupied Portuguese Timor

during the war: "It is painful to speak today of the sacrifices and burdens we forced upon the East Timorese, a people who had nothing to do with the war. We ordered village chiefs to mobilize people en masse for road construction. And the people, obedient to their chiefs, gathered at these construction sites to work without receiving food or compensation. Because of food shortage people died of starvation every day. Food for Japanese soldiers and horses to transport ammunition were confiscated from the people, and some of the troops under my command raped Timorese women. Yet after the war, the Japanese government paid no war reparations to East Timor, because, it said, Portugal was not an Allied country" (p. 52).

- [14] *Civilizados* were indigenous East Timorese assimilated to modern society (for example, literate and Portuguese-speaking) and eligible for Portuguese citizenship (Donald E. Weatherbee, "Portuguese Timor: An Indonesian Dilemma," *Asian Survey*, Vol. VI, No. 12, December 1966, p. 684).

- [15] Max Stahl, the British filmmaker who captured the video images of the Santa Cruz Massacre in 1991, interviewed this lab technician during a return visit to East Timor in late 1993. The quote is taken from Max Stahl, "Dili, the Bloody Aftermath," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 February 1994. Also see Max Stahl, "Indonesians Fed 'Death Pills' to the Wounded," *The Sunday Times* (London), 13 February 1994.

- [16] "The church, the priests, and the religious are the three factors which threaten East Timor's integration with Indonesia," once stated Colonel Prabowo (then a major), Suharto's son-in-law and at the time a regional military commander in East Timor. (Quoted in Taylor 1991, p. 157.)

- [17] See Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia. Decolonization in East Timor, no date—but after March 1977.) For information regarding Indonesia's staging of the events used to justify Suharto's signing into law East Timor's integration, see Taylor 1991, pp. 73-74 and James Dunn, *Timor – A People Betrayed*, Milton, Queensland: The Jacaranda Press, 1983, pp. 298-301. For discussion of the legality of Indonesia's claim that the East Timorese have already exercised their right to self-determination, see Roger S. Clark, "The 'Decolonization' of East Timor and the United Nations Norms on Self-Determination and Aggression," *Yale Journal of World Public Order*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Fall 1980, pp. 2-44.

[18] Quoted in Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, *The War Against East Timor*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1984, p. 98.) For discussion of Indonesia's educational system in East Timor, see Taylor 1991, p. 129 and Budiardjo & Liem 1984, pp. 109-113.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE COMPUTER NETS

In light of the recent emailing from the Indonesian embassy in Washington, I thought folks might be interested in some email addresses the Indonesian government uses in the US. These have been confirmed by Willyantino in Houston. If anyone learns of others, we should share them.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

kjrihoutx@aol.com

74764,2664@compuserve.com

wyl@sam.neosoft.com “are operated by the same person – Willyantino is MIS for the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Houston. The Internet account (wyl@sam.neosoft.com) is most likely to be checked daily. I'm filling the position for Information and Cultural affairs in the Consulate for the time being, where I'm responsible to report, reply, and counter-attack any media coverages concerning Indonesia mostly those that are published in the 12 states that the Houston office cover : New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Puerto Rico, and the US Virgin Island.”

74107.3326@compuserve.com the Consulate General in Los Angeles

74454.1513@compuserve.com John Mahakena is Consul for Administration Affairs in the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in San Francisco.

indonsia@dgs.dgsys.com Akhmad Helmi at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington.