

Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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BACKGROUND ARTICLES

EAST TIMOR'S HISTORY FROM SPICES TO CONFLICT

JAKARTA, March 1 (Reuters) - Indonesia invaded mainly Roman Catholic East Timor on December 7, 1975, after civil war erupted on the spice island following the withdrawal of Portuguese colonial authorities several months earlier.

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

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

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

Indonesia's President Suharto said later he could not tolerate "a Cuba in our backyard."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indonesia declared Indonesia its 27th province on July 17, 1976, seven months

after the invasion, having pushed Fretilin insurgents into the hills.

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

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

Up to 80 percent of Timorese abandoned, or were forced to leave, their homes during the fighting.

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

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

An Indonesian commission of inquiry on December 26, 1991, revised the official toll from 19 to "about 50" and said the protesters acted belligerently and showed liberation banners. Then armed forces commander Try Sutrisno, now Indonesia's vice-president, said in Jakarta a day after the killings:

"These ill-bred people have to be shot...and we will shoot them."

In November, 1992, Indonesia captured Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão. He was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of rebellion and possession of firearms in May, 1993. The sentence was later commuted to 20 years.

In November, 1994, on the third anniversary of the Dili massacre, 29 Timorese students climbed the railings of the U.S. embassy in Jakarta for a sit-in to demand Gusmão's release.

The break-in was only days before Indonesia hosted a summit of Asia-Pacific economic leaders at Bogor, near Jakarta.

The Timorese students later won asylum in Portugal, as did more than 70 other Timorese who broke into foreign embassies in late 1995 and early 1996.

XANANA A THORN IN INDONESIA'S SIDE

Hong Kong Standard, March 2, 1996

JAKARTA: José "Xanana" Gusmão, who has waged a 20-year battle for East Timorese independence from the hills and from prison, is a potent thorn in Indonesia's side.

Three years after being jailed following a controversial trial, he is in the news again with Portugal offering Indonesia a partial

reopening of diplomatic ties in exchange for his release.

In statements, recordings, occasional interviews and speeches, he has displayed a moderation out of step with his detractors' efforts to paint him as a dangerous radical.

He won East Timor's poetry prize in 1974 with a poem called *Mauberedias*, inspired by Portuguese poet Luis De Camões' epic, *Lusadias*.

Xanana did three years' compulsory service in the colonial Portuguese forces and later worked in the local government department of the colonial administration.

He married Emilia Gusmão in October 1969 and has two children, Nito and Zenilda, whom he has not seen since 1975. His wife and children live in Melbourne.

He tried to emigrate to Australia in 1974 and visited Darwin to work as a labourer. By then Portugal had begun to decolonise its tiny Asian possession and Xanana became caught up in the heady politics of the age, joining the largest party, Fretilin.

Xanana last saw his family when he left for the border with West Timor to take photographs in November 1975, a week before the invasion by Indonesian forces.

Jakarta still controls the territory, although its rule is not recognised by the United Nations. Indonesia says the territory was integrated into its archipelago 20 years ago.

On the death of guerrilla leader Nicolau Lobato on 31 December, 1978, Xanana, by now calling himself Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, took over the military wing of Fretilin, leading armed resistance to Indonesian rule.

In the period to his capture in November 1992, Xanana led a dwindling band of guerrillas harrying vastly superior Indonesian forces. During this time, some Timorese have accused him of taking part in executions and massacres, while others say he intentionally damaged Fretilin's network in the interior.

But it was his moderate line that remained uppermost when he negotiated a ceasefire with Indonesian commander Colonel Purwanto in March, 1983, triggering a break with the movement's radical guerrilla command. The ceasefire lasted three months.

He had acquired mythical qualities among local East Timorese by the time he was captured when Indonesian troops uncovered his hiding place in the floor of a friend's house on the outskirts of Dili.

In the following months Indonesia paraded its catch in the public eye, apparently believing it had broken both the man and the movement he had come to symbolise.

Jakarta was wrong on both counts. At his trial, Xanana was barred from reading his defence statement and a witness called to speak against him shouted slogans of support before being dragged from the court.

One diplomat showed prescience when he said after Xanana's capture: "He was a phantom who will now come to haunt the government by becoming a more tangible symbol of East Timorese resistance. They may have been better off with him free in the jungles than under the glare of publicity."

After a three-month trial Xanana was jailed for life in May 1993. In August of that year his sentence was reduced to 20 years and, within months, he was moved to a prison in Jakarta.

In March, 1994, Timorese inside and outside the country, arguing that through writings and recordings smuggled from jail he had regained an active role, renewed his leadership of the movement that had been frozen upon his capture.

At the same time he rejected calls for his exile until all political prisoners were freed.

EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

AI ON DETENTION & TORTURE AFTER SEPT. 95 RIOTS

THE SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1995 RIOTS: ARBITRARY DETENTION AND TORTURE

15 January 1996 AI INDEX: ASA 21/03/96

SUMMARY

In September and October 1995, East Timor experienced the worst disturbances since riots during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings in Indonesia in November 1994. The latest disturbances resulted in damage to property and injuries sustained by rioters and police. The response by the authorities included arbitrary detention, beatings and torture. At least 300 people were arbitrarily detained in the wave of arrests which followed the riots. Most of these people were released shortly after their arrests, but at least 43 are now believed to be facing trial for their alleged involvement in the riots. Amnesty International does not condone the acts of violence which occurred during the riots, but the organisation is concerned that the Indonesian security forces used the riots as a pretext to arrest individuals involved in peaceful pro-independence activities and that those now facing trial do not have full access to law-

yers of their own choice, and that their chances of a fair trial are remote.

Despite the authorities' denial that any of those arrested were tortured or ill-treated, Amnesty International received reports and testimony indicating that members of the security forces did torture and beat those detained in September and October. At the time that the authorities were denying reports of torture, one detainee was beaten and tortured by members of the army and the police and then released with a doctor's report saying that his health was good. Amnesty International has also obtained testimonies of East Timorese who sought asylum after entering foreign embassies in Jakarta, Indonesia from September to November 1995. Their testimonies reveal details of grave human rights violations, including arbitrary detention and torture during September and October 1995.

This document provides background to the riots, details about the practice of arbitrary detention and torture and concludes with recommendations to the Indonesian Government.

Background

In December 1995, East Timor marked 20 years of Indonesian rule. November 1995 was also the fourth anniversary of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, when soldiers fired on peaceful demonstrators. Indonesian authorities attempted to ensure that East Timorese were restricted in their ability to commemorate these anniversaries by increasing military surveillance, carrying out arrests prior to such events, and frequently interrogating well-known or alleged pro-independence activists. Independent observers stated that the authorities also attempted to prevent or disrupt any planned demonstrations by disseminating information about religious conflict and provoking disputes between pro-independence and pro-integrationist East Timorese.

Five days of intense rioting began on 6 September in Maliana, some 120km west of Dili, following local anger about government inaction over an insulting statement about the Catholic religion made by a prison official in Maliana. The prison warden, Sanusi Abubakar, has now been sentenced to at least four years in prison for insulting a religion. Independent sources allege that the military provoked the unrest by disseminating information about the statement. By 7 September news about the statement had spread to the town of Viqueque, where trading stores belonging to Indonesian migrants were burnt down. On 8 September, demonstrations broke out in six different locations in Dili. On 9 September, the Comoro Market was burnt down, while police and military continued to attempt to disperse dem-

onstrators in several areas around Dili. Police were reportedly injured during the disturbances. By 10 September, the demonstrators appeared to have dispersed, however tension remained as the security forces continued with their arrests. Along with riots in Dili, Maliana and Viqueque, disturbances were also reported in Liquiça, Maubisse and Suai.

Unrest flared again in Dili on 10 October, with clashes between those opposing and those supporting East Timor's integration with Indonesia. Groups of youths blockaded off sections of Dili. There were reports of sporadic shooting and the use of tear gas by the authorities. The disturbances lasted for four days and the clashes resulted in dozens of injuries. After the security forces had quelled the riots, the level of military surveillance of Dili was reportedly high with members of the security forces patrolling the streets and conducting house searches of those allegedly connected with the riots.

The disturbances were immediately followed by comment from the authorities that the riots were caused by religious conflict between the majority East Timorese Catholics and Indonesian migrants, most of whom are Muslims. Pro-government commentators supported this and highlighted the plight of Indonesian Muslim migrants to East Timor who fled after the riots. Many observers argued however that the authorities ignored the political motive behind the riots and disturbances, in order to generate sympathy for East Timor's integration into Indonesia, and to marginalise pro-independence sentiments. Independent sources also alleged that the military provoked the unrest in September and the subsequent rioting in Dili in October through the use of agents provocateurs, setting different East Timorese groups against each other and by attempting to exacerbate religious conflicts.

Arrests

At least 300 people are believed to have been arrested for their alleged involvement in the riots. Up to 43 are now thought to be currently facing trial. In September, at least 60 were reportedly detained by both police and military officers during one week alone. Arrests took place in Maliana, Viqueque, Dili and Manatuto. Up to 262 people were detained in October. On 20 October, the East Timorese Police Chief announced that 162 were being held by police for questioning while 100 had been released. The authorities have not provided an official list of those still detained and awaiting trial. Indonesian police authorities have stated that the group will be brought to trial under charges of destruction to property, assault and arson, probably under Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code. Am-

nesty International is concerned that all 43 do not have full access to their families and lawyers of their choice.

Amnesty International is concerned that the arrests which took place were arbitrary in that security forces arrested individuals who were known to be political activists not necessarily connected with the riots, and that those detained were often held beyond the legal limit without being charged. Some of those detained appear to have either had no involvement in the riots, to have been engaging only in peaceful activities or to have been arrested on previous occasions. Indonesian authorities have attempted to deny the political nature of any of the arrests. East Timor's police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto stated on 25 September that those arrested "have all done purely criminal actions, they are not subversives."

The organisation is further concerned that those who were detained were arrested in a manner which is in contravention of Indonesian law and international standards, were denied access to lawyers and that those still in detention are now facing the prospect of unfair trials. The arrests followed a similar pattern, with some or all of the following characteristics:

- detainees were arrested without warrants;
- detainees appear to have been frequently moved from one detention centre to another, including being moved from police to military detention;
- records of those detained were not kept by the authorities;
- detainees were not given, or provided with the opportunity to request, access to legal counsel of their choice;
- detainees were held beyond the legal 24 hour limit without being formally charged;
- many of those detained were subjected to intimidation, threats, ill-treatment, beatings and torture.

All of these practices are consistent with previous reports provided to Amnesty International concerning arrest and detention in East Timor, practices which are clearly intended to restrict pro-independence activities.

Two of those detained were brothers, both of whom were arrested in lieu of a third brother, who is known to the authorities to be involved in pro-independence activities. They were arrested on about 12 October in Dili. One brother was reportedly arrested from his home by both military and police officers and taken into police custody. The second was arrested from a street and allegedly beaten as he was being placed in a vehicle and taken to a local police station in Dili. On arrival at the police station, he was alleg-

edly tortured with electric shocks by both police and military officers. The two were reportedly held for one week and do not appear to have been given the opportunity to ask for independent legal counsel.

After one week, the third brother surrendered himself to the same local police station and his two brothers were released. He was questioned for a day in the presence of a priest who had accompanied him to the police station, and then released. One week later, members of the security forces came to his house in search of him. He was not at home, but later again surrendered himself to police custody. This time, however, arrangements were made to take him to the military intelligence unit (Satuan Tugas Intelijen - SGI) of the Sub-Regional Military Command for East Timor (KOREM 164/Wira Dharma). Fearing possible torture at the hands of the military at SGI, he escaped while being taken to the SGI headquarters. He fled East Timor shortly after.

In September, another man was arrested after he was suspected of involvement in a demonstration. He was allegedly arrested from outside the Dili Cathedral by officers from SGI and taken to a military detention centre in Los Palos, outside of Dili. He was detained for three days during which time he was beaten and questioned about other East Timorese involved in pro-independence activities. Another young East Timorese, was arrested around 8 October in Bidau by police and first detained at a local police station. He was then transferred to SGI where he was allegedly beaten and tortured, which resulted in two teeth being knocked out.

Torture

Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees in East Timor is routine and the detainees from the riots in September and October have not been exempted from this treatment. Amnesty International is concerned that attempts by the Indonesian authorities to restrict access for independent human rights monitors and journalists to East Timor exacerbates the risks for those still in detention. East Timorese who have experienced arrests and detention in recent years state that the authorities will frequently transfer individuals from police to military detention if the police are having difficulties extracting information or intelligence from detainees. While torture and ill-treatment is reportedly conducted by police, the methods employed by military officers, which routinely involve beatings and torture, are considered to be more effective in obtaining information.

One witness to the September arrests reported meeting an individual just released after three days in detention who had

bruises and dried blood on his face. Other witnesses reported seeing detainees with laceration wounds. East Timorese legislator Manuel Carrascalão reported that detainees he met with complained of having been beaten. Other reports included that of a female student injured by members of the security forces which resulted in a severe wound to her arm. Like other cases reported to Amnesty International, the woman was too frightened to seek medical treatment in hospital unless accompanied by witnesses. There were also unconfirmed reports that 11 female school students were arrested on 9 September and that two were raped by soldiers.

Another individual detained in early September by SGI was immediately hit after being placed in an interrogation room at SGI. He was told not to provide information to anyone, including human rights monitors, about the way he was treated or he would be killed. After being detained and interrogated for around four hours, he was released. Two days later, about 20 uniformed military officers came to his house searching for him. He was not there, and managed to flee East Timor shortly after.

Another detainee who was tortured was Tito who was arrested by military officers on 9 September in Bidau, Dili, despite the fact that he claimed to have had no involvement in the riots. Upon arrest, he was beaten with iron bars and fists. Then, as he was being taken to a military hospital, he was beaten again and soldiers stood on his throat and kicked him in the chest. The next day, he was beaten again and as a result his nose bled and he vomited blood. He was then taken to the Dili Police Headquarters, where, despite his condition, he was again beaten. The following day, 12 September, he was beaten again. He was then released that night.

On his release, Tito was given a certificate signed by a doctor at the Police Headquarters which stated that he was in good health. Witnesses who met with him after his release reported that Tito appeared to have been severely ill-treated in detention. His face was bruised, swollen and lacerated and both eyes were bruised. One hand was swollen and there was bruising on his body and he could not walk properly.

As in most cases of arbitrary detention in East Timor, Tito was arrested without a warrant. His family do not appear to have been provided with information about his whereabouts, nor did he appear to have been given access to a lawyer during his time in detention. He was not provided with a release form. Records of detainees are rarely kept in East Timor, so it is unlikely that Tito's detention will have been recorded.

KOMNAS HAM inquiry - a disappointment

Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia - Komnas HAM) travelled to East Timor to investigate reports of violations during the September riots. The Commission's findings disappointed many observers. Rather than focusing on the human rights violations committed by the security forces in East Timor, the Commission concluded that there were violations committed by one group in East Timor against another, believed to be a reference to attacks by the Catholic majority in East Timor against the Muslim Indonesian migrants.

The Commission's report stated that violations were committed by "one group in the community against another," including violations of the right to freedom of religion, personal safety, right to hold property, right to a decent living and freedom from fear. The findings made no comment on the large number of arbitrary arrests or on torture and ill-treatment by the security forces. The recommendations made by Komnas HAM in the Commission's findings did not relate to steps which could protect individuals from human rights violations committed by the security forces, including arbitrary arrest and torture, but rather focused on issues of inter-ethnic conflict within East Timor. Amnesty International does not condone any acts of violence which took place during the riots however the organisation is concerned that the Commission, a body for which the Indonesian Government receives increasing praise internationally, has in this case failed to seriously consider violations committed by the security forces.

The Commission's disappointing findings come at a time when Komnas HAM has announced that it will open an office in East Timor. Amnesty International considers that the Commission's current legal basis, the lack of clarity concerning its focus and its structure and working methods do not equip it to be an effective monitoring body for human rights violations in East Timor. This view is echoed by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions. In his December 1994 report on the Indonesian Government's efforts to investigate the fate of those killed and missing during the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, the Special Rapporteur stated:

"...the National Human Rights Commission is not the most appropriate mechanism to deal with human rights violations in East Timor. Its mandate, the means of action at its disposal and its methods of work are insufficient. Furthermore, it is not

trusted by the population of East Timor. In any event, it has not dealt with questions relating to East Timor. Consequently, the Special Rapporteur recommends that a commission for human rights in East Timor be created to monitor the situation of human rights, receive and independently investigate complaints, make recommendations to the competent authorities, and disseminate information about human rights."

[Commission on Human Rights, 51st session, Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Addendum report by the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye, on his mission to Indonesia and East Timor from 3 to 13 July 1994, E/CN.4/1995/61/Add.1, page 27]

Conclusions and recommendations

The human rights violations which occurred during and after the riots are consistent with an existing pattern in East Timor. They demonstrate a lack of willingness on the part of the government to allow peaceful pro-independence activities in East Timor, and to ensure that members of the security forces act in accordance with international standards relating to the protection of human rights.

In order to prevent the practices of arbitrary detention of political activists and torture and ill-treatment, Amnesty International urges the Indonesian Government to:

- ensure that there is independent and thorough monitoring of human rights in East Timor, by allowing independent domestic and international human rights monitors and international journalists access to East Timor;
- stop the practice of arbitrary detention of alleged political activists;
- ensure that those detained are released unless charged with a recognisably criminal offence;
- allow those in detention immediate access to lawyers of their own choice;
- maintain an open prison register;
- ensure that the recent reports of torture in detention are immediately and impartially investigated and that those members of the security forces found responsible are held to account;
- ensure that those charged for their alleged role in the riots are tried in accordance with international standards on fair trials.

Appendix

List of those believed to be awaiting trial for their alleged role in the September and October 1995 disturbances, Dili, East Timor

All these people are believed to be charged under article 170 - violence against persons or property and, as far as is known, they are believed to be detained at Polwil, Dili.

Fernando Soares, 19, Becusi, Dili
Tomas Ribeiro, 20, Motacelun Concelho, Viqueque

Filipe da Cruz, 18, Aiasa Bobonaro
Agusto Soares, 19, Becora
Francisco Soares, 19, Becusi
Pedro da Costa, 20, Lahane
Abel Antonio Fernandes, 22, Matadouro
Jimi Rui Soares, 23, Matadouro
Marcelino de Olivera, 19, Matadouro
José Manuel, 17, Matadouro
Tomas Ricardo, 17, Matadouro
Antoninho dos Santos, 15, Matadouro
Julio Carvalho de Olivera, 19
José Ximenes, Bairopite
Bobby Xavier, 23, Matadouro
José Carlos, Matadouro
José Manuel, 22, Lahane
Aleixo Cobra, 24, Dili
Donancio de Jesus Amaral, 20, Matadouro
Joaquim Manuel, 23, Matadouro
Antonio dos Santos, 20, Maubara
Francisco Xavier, 20, Matadouro
Adelino Cabral
Reinaldo, 17, Matadouro
Onorio M, 15, Matadouro
Domingos G
Cesario Cabral, Toko Baru
Estavilau, Bairopite
Eugino Pinto, Becora
José Galucho, Vilaverde
Elisario, Toko Baru
Mudico, Toko Baru
José da Cunha
Pedro Gomez
Domingos Pereira
Adrianus Periera
Manuel da Silva
Marcal da Silva
Manuel Sumbang
Augusto Corera
Jimmy Carlos Tilman
Adolfo de Araujo
Manuel Amaral

REPORT FROM OCTOBER VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

The following report was written by an ETAN/US activist who visited East Timor in October 1995. He wants to keep his identity private in order to be able to return. Although he is not on email, I would be glad to relay any messages.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US
cscheiner@igc.apc.org

MAKING INJUSTICE VISIBLE

December 1, 1995

When will the United States take a principled stand against the genocide of the East Timorese people? How long do United States citizens have to wait for our elected

leaders to speak with conviction and principle on the continuing disappearances, deaths and oppression of the East Timorese? How long shall we wait whilst East Timorese do not have a say on their future, economy or self-determination? I am not satisfied with President Clinton's weak statement "the people of East Timor should have more say over their own local affairs." What of the public silence of most of our elected officials in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on the ongoing nightmare in East Timor, this year?

In October of this year I visited East Timor for a short five day stay. Sadly I was rudely confronted within hours of my arrival to the daily brutality which the East Timorese have lived under twenty years. I spoke with local people: cab drivers, students, workers, marketing women, a businessman and an educator. Also, I interviewed and spoke with international relief workers, religious people and Indonesians. Near universally, everyone stated that "East Timor is a sad and very troubled place," and this includes the candid responses of several Indonesians.

Between 3:45PM through 5:00PM on October 12, I witnessed in Becora three Indonesian military patrols of ABRI (Indonesian Army) terrorize, trammel and tromp upon local people of East Timor and one West Timorese native. These military patrols, more appropriately 'terror goon squads,' broke into peoples homes, arbitrarily beat people, and shockingly shot at unarmed and non-provoking East Timorese youths. Reports soon following this day of terror, stated that between two and eight people were shot and killed. Numerous people spoke to me of family and loved ones, whom had disappeared or were wounded. Hundreds of youths hid out in the surrounding hills of Dili immediately following these days of terror in October.

It has recently been reported that numerous young people, mainly boys aged 15 - 22, **are still hiding** because of threats of interrogations, which oftentimes includes physical assault and/or torture. Unfortunately, the never ending 'disappearances' continues to this day of young people and community activists. Just recently, families of the boys have been arbitrarily interviewed and threatened on the community and dissenting activities of September and October, this includes grandmothers to young girls. This possibility was relayed to me on my final interviews on October 17 by the father of a local youth leader, and by an Indonesian military officer at the airport as I was leaving Dili.

It must be appreciated that my eye witness viewing of capricious shootings with American supplied M-16 weapons at

youths was only the most flagrant abuse of power by the Indonesian military. During the trammeling of Becora, while I was sheltered within a losmen(homestay), two Indonesian soldiers viciously beat the West Timorese manager whom was attempting to warn or advise the Indonesian troops of my presence. Regardless, they severely lacerated the man's face above his eye, so that his eye was nearly enucleated. The owner of the losmen with myself and others administered emergency medical care. The manager said the next day "You see the Javanese(an insightful comment by the wounded manager) do not care whom they beat up, and I partly agree with the integration of East Timor. The troops can be very bad; beating and raping people - they have a bad reputation and deserve it!" Later I learned that the manager was a 'mauhu' or a military intelligence informant, part of the Indonesian military's communities disruption campaign.

Several days later, I saw the Indonesian troops on an early morning jog through the community of Becora singing culturally offensive and ethnically patronizing ditties towards the East Timorese. I was later apprised that this psychologically harassing behavior has occurred for years. Additionally, the military maintains large numbers of uniformed troops throughout Dili and its environs along with smaller numbers of non-uniformed personnel and its growing coterie of mauhu(s). The troops oftentimes engage in maneuvers of large equipment, trucks, and armed carriers to intimidate the local populace. On several occurrences after Oct. 12, I saw fair numbers of ABRI trucks and sound vehicles haranguing the East Timorese on how wondrous Pancasila and Indonesia is on its 50th anniversary of merdeka (Liberation). Shamefully, much of this military largesse is supplied, aided, or sold by the US government.

An educator informed me at length on the Indonesian military intelligence's actions of purposeful de-stabilization of East Timorese communities. Discreet organizing of 'ninja gangs' and other agent provocateurs to disrupt and further inflame community dissent towards the Javanese and other economic oligarchies. The occasionally subtle organizing and allowances of youth groups to combat one another over perceived and real economic injustices, then the heavy-handed removal of protesters while calling aligned local journalists and sympathetic international press to write on the barbarities and incivility of the East Timorese. The undisguised and clumsy religious insensitivity of the Indonesian troops and personnel towards Roman Catholic rituals and symbols - thus provoking protests and hostile reactions towards Indone-

sian authorities. Finally, the development of a network of mauhu(s) throughout the nation, to further instill fear and terror into virtually every province of East Timor.

All taxi drivers whom included two transmigrants from Java, and market women uniformly stated their dislike to hate of the oppressive military troops. The transmigrant workers even expressed respect for East Timorese resistance to a very hostile occupying force, and dismay over the increased tension and the development of agent provocateurs and other military induced actions. The sole East Timorese businessman, I interviewed, expressed poignancy and reservation on his solitary position. I was later informed by the International Red Cross of his veracity and the unique position within the local community i.e. being one of the only, if not only, East Timorese businessman allowed in greater Dili.

Two young men from Flores stated their general solidarity with the East Timorese, for they had personally witnessed numerous incidents of brutal hostility through violence directed at the East Timorese. One individual was sixteen years of age and in secondary school(Roman Catholic) with East Timorese youths. One evening he risked retaliation from some family members for speaking candidly with me on the ongoing tensions, and the youth related insights into the actions of the East Timorese boys for demonstrating against Indonesian oppression and economic injustice. He introduced me to several youths, whom had chosen to stop and leave secondary education temporarily, and which some brave Roman Catholic priests and brothers were assisting on temporary sanctuary, food, and basic necessities. These young men were passionately opposed to further: torture, injustice, brutalities (including rapes of girls and youths), killings, and the Indonesian brutal black boot.

In my four trips to Indonesia since 1991, I have yet to witness the level of poverty which I saw in the environs of Dili, East Timor. Some people were hungry and nearly everyone was significantly economically distressed in comparison to four provinces of Indonesia I have visited extensively over the past years. The economic apartheid in Dili was particularly obvious, and at times the city looked near dead in comparison to the ten population centers of the Indonesian archipelago that I have traveled through during the past four years. Indonesia is a much reported thriving economy, however one would never sense it walking the streets of Becora, Comoro or Dili. The most obscene reality of this tragedy is the near total apartheid of the East Timorese, for they are not allowed in to the Indonesian economic

miracle. Why? If one ever needed a proposition on the necessity of self-determination, this awful reality speaks for the obvious. For a dismayed West Timorese businessman stated, "these people are probably right - they would be better off tending to their own destiny!"

Several Roman Catholic educators, missionaries, and priests stated their immense dismay at the world's ignorance or lack of support to the East Timor nightmare and genocide. The Roman Catholic church remains one of the only outposts of safety and refuge, though limited, to the Timorese during these years of hate, killings, and darkness. A few brothers and priests had extended assistance and spiritual solace to the protesting youths during the recent upheavals. A Roman Catholic sister remarked, "I have lived in Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Timor Leste, but this small area remains the saddest place on earth I have ever encountered!"

Finally, I sense a devolution on the limited stability of Dili and its surrounding communities. The ICRC (Red Cross) executive director, was shot at on October 12, and he was verbally berated and insulted for simply escorting Red Cross workers to their homes during the disruptions of that day. He and his assistant were inundated with requests from mostly women and some men to assist in locating loved ones and family. They spoke of the limited ability to locate people given the very tense situation in Dili, and the deteriorating attitudes of Indonesian authorities in being cooperative. They corroborated the information on the deaths, injuries, and assaults on the non-provoking people of East Timor, however they requested understanding on their limited ability to gather information on the many disappearances over these months.

When will the United States Congress listen to the voices of injustice crying out from East Timor, especially in view of our historical role in filling the Indonesian military larder! When will President Clinton show courage or character and speak to these horrors on his watch, especially in light of his pre-election statement of Indonesia's record on East Timor being "unconscionable!" When will we as stewards, sisters, and brothers of this great blue planet - say ENOUGH! This madness must END.

FOUR INDONESIAN TROOPS KILLED, NINE INJURED IN VIQUEQUE

*CNRM East Timor, National Council of
Mauber Resistance, 31 January 1996*

A report from the East Timorese Clan-destine Resistance, dated 15 January, just

received by CNRM, indicates that the Indonesian occupation forces (ABRI) have increased their military operations aiming to eliminate the East Timorese Falintil armed resistance forces in the operating mountains. This is leading to an increase in casualties. Four ABRI troops have been killed and nine injured recently.

At the same time in the villages, Indonesian military intelligence personnel (INTEL) have tightened security in all strategic points including the suburbs of Dili. Since last September under the supervision of the brutal Brigadier General Prabowo Sugianto, President Suharto's son in law, these forces have been receiving special training in the locality of Aileu.

In the current offensive campaign, ABRI troops are divided into groups of ten men who launch night time attacks. At the same time, INTEL members arrest, at their homes, anyone they suspect of supporting the Resistance. During day time ABRI troops hide in bushes near villages, in particular near the water sources, while INTEL personnel monitor villager movements, aiming to detect any incursion of the East Timorese Resistance fighters. While intensive military operations are conducted in the mountains, strict security controls are kept in strategic access roads in and out of villages and bigger cities. Movements of young people are intensively monitored, especially at night time. When the military find young people strolling at night, these are immediately arrested and beaten for no obvious reasons, and then sent home.

Report on some recent occurrences.

Lospalos

On 22 November at 5:00 am, the villagers of Rasa and Naulo were woken up by gun shot noises of an armed confrontation between Indonesian troops and East Timorese fighters. Neither side reported losses or injured. That evening, the Indonesian troops conducted house searches in those villages, fearing infiltration by Falintil members. The searches were carried out in a most intimidating manner.

On November 27, ABRI members ambushed a Falintil fighter, Luis dos Santos, between the two villages of Rasa and Naulo, also capturing a FKC rifle and bullets. Luis dos Santos is detained at military intelligence SGI headquarters in Dili.

Baucau

On 21 December 1995, a youth by the name of Duarte Belo was beaten mercilessly by a member of the battalion 745 until mouth he bled profusely from the mouth. No reasons were given for the brutal treatment.

On 26 December 1995, Kopassus (Special Forces) members stationed in the village of Loi-Lubo, Vemasse, organised a Christmas party in order to attract participation by local youths. By late night some Kopassus members created disorder and arrested Alfredo Sebastião da Costa, 25, from the village of Uai-Dare and Bento Pereira, 21, from Kaideno-Ossola, after accusing them of disturbing the party. The Kopassus members responsible are 2nd lieutenant Muhamad Hassan, and private Lorenzo.

On 2 January 96, the Indonesian military started annihilation operations in the areas of Baguia, Laga, Quelikai and Vemasse, constantly intimidating civilian population of these areas. An unofficial curfew from

5:00 pm to 5:00 am has been imposed by the local military officials.

At Baucau airport there are 4 helicopters and a jet fighter ready to provide assistance to the operational troops. Their registration are: Bell Helicopter HS 5070, Bell Helicopter HS 5075, Bell Helicopter HS 5078, Bell Falcon HA 5702, Sky Hawk A4.

Viqueque

In January, Falintil members in the Viqueque region shot dead four Indonesian troops and injured nine. The latter are now being treated at the Wira Husada Military Hospital in Dili.

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TROOPS CAPTURE EAST TIMOR REBEL

JAKARTA, Jan 23 (Reuter) - Indonesian troops on Tuesday captured a member of the Fretilin guerrilla movement fighting Jakarta's rule in troubled East Timor, the official Antara news agency said.

It quoted East Timor's military spokesman Captain Djoko Purwadi as saying Gusmão Olivio was arrested on Tuesday morning in a house in Bobonaro regency, 140 km (87 miles) southwest of the capital Dili.

He said a squad of 15 soldiers were involved in the arrest, seizing a gun and ammunition.

The agency said at least four members of the movement had surrendered to Indonesian authorities so far this year.

INDONESIAN TROOPS KILL SIX TIMORESE REBELS

JAKARTA, Jan. 29 (UPI) - Indonesian troops in the troubled East Timor province have killed six Fretilin guerrillas and captured two others, the official Antara news agency reported Monday.

Captain Djoko Purwanto, spokesman of East Timor's military district, said the six Fretilin guerrillas were shot dead after resisting arrest.

On Thursday, military forces shot dead one alleged guerrilla and captured two others in the Ermera district.

On Friday, another team shot dead five other rebels in the Viqueque district.

Purwanto said there were no victims among the government troops during the clashes.

It was not immediately known how many Fretilin remained in East Timor, but military authorities recently claimed there are fewer than 200.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, a few months after the departure of Portuguese colonists, and annexed the territory one year later, sparking widespread international criticism and local dissent.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's move and regards Portugal as East Timor's administrative power.

Indonesia currently maintains six military battalions in East Timor.

TIMORESE REBELS KILL TWO - ANTARA

JAKARTA, Feb 1 (Reuters) - Separatist rebels opposed to Indonesia's rule in East Timor have killed two local people and burned five houses in the western part of the troubled territory, the official Antara news agency reported on Thursday.

"At least 10 members of the Fretilin guerrilla movement operating in the western part of East Timor burned five houses and killed two people in Ermera regency, 65 km (40 miles) south of Dili on January 30," it said.

It reported from Dili, the East Timor capital, that the rebels killed a man named Domingos Martin with a dagger at his home in Asalau village and also another man, Jacob dos Santos, who had taken the 10 attackers to Martin's.

Antara gave no explanation for the attack. Police and military officers in Dili were not available for confirmation.

Antara earlier quoted Major-General Abdul Rivai, commander of the Bali-based Udayana military command whose jurisdiction includes East Timor, as saying on Wednesday that guerrillas resisting his forces should give up or "be finished off."

Antara quoted him as telling the guerrillas that they would still be eligible for a long-standing presidential amnesty if they gave up voluntarily.

Indonesia says it has killed 26 guerrillas and captured or accepted the surrender of

another 30 since April 1995. It estimates the size of the guerrilla force at below 200.

Diplomats said Indonesia had intensified its efforts to dislodge the guerrilla force, known as either Fretilin or Falantil, which has fought a dogged but largely symbolic war since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975.

Indonesia, which annexed the former Portuguese colony a year later, has sunk millions of dollars into winning over Timorese, but has faced smouldering resentment or outright civil unrest.

INDONESIA ARRESTS 27 REBELS IN 10 MONTHS

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuters) - Indonesia's military said Friday that 27 rebels fighting its rule in East Timor had been captured or surrendered in the last 10 months, the official Antara news agency reported.

"A total of 27 Fretilin members have been captured alive or given themselves up to the authorities from April to January this year," Capt. Djoko Purwadi, East Timor military spokesman, was quoted as saying Friday.

Speaking in the Timor capital Dili, Purwadi said the military had also killed 20 members of the movement and confiscated 28 guns and ammunition from the rebels during the same period.

"This means 193 rebels with 89 guns are still operating in forests and mountains," he was quoted as saying.

Troops captured seven Fretilin members Tuesday and Wednesday in Bobonaro regency, 87 miles southwest of Dili, and confiscated a gun, bullets, medicine and a camera.

East Timor's military commander Col. Mahidin Simbolon was quoted by Antara as saying Friday the military had told the rebels to give themselves up.

"If they do not want to peacefully surrender, the security forces will exterminate those who are operating in the forests and mountains," he said.

TIMORESE REBEL GIVES UP TO INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES

JAKARTA, Feb 3 (Reuters) - A member of the Fretilin separatist movement opposing Indonesia's rule in East Timor has surrendered almost a week after troops shot dead six rebels, the official Antara news agency reported on Saturday.

"Gilberto Diaz, a member of the East Timor rebel movement, surrendered on February 1 in Ililapa village in Lautem regency around 200 km (125 miles) east of Dili,"

East Timor military spokesman Captain Djoko Purwadi was quoted as saying on Friday.

Purwadi, speaking in East Timor capital Dili, said the 24-year-old Diaz decided to give himself up to the Indonesian authorities after he accidentally met his elder brother Tito da Costa who went hunting on January 28.

"In that meeting Gilberto expressed his desire to Tito da Costa that he wanted to surrender. Da Costa told him he could accompany his brother to the military commander on duty in the region (Ililapa) if he wanted to give up," Purwadi said.

Indonesian troops shot dead six Fretilin rebels in the former Portuguese colony on January 25 and January 26.

Purwadi was quoted by Antara as saying on Friday that Diaz was still in Ililapa for questioning.

Purwadi was earlier quoted by the agency as saying that 27 rebels fighting Jakarta's rule in East Timor had been captured or had surrendered in the past 10 months.

Antara reported on Thursday the rebels killed two local people and burned five houses in the Ermera regency, 65 km (40.6 miles) south of Dili on January 30.

General Abdul Rivai, commander of the Bali-based Udayana military command whose jurisdiction includes East Timor, said on Wednesday that guerrillas resisting his forces should give up or "be finished off."

Antara quoted him as telling the guerrillas that they would still be eligible for a long-standing presidential amnesty if they gave up voluntarily.

400 YEARS UNDER PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION, NO ELECTRICITY AT FATUBOSA

From Antara (Indonesian Government press service), via Indonesia Media Network, their translation.

Antara, Fatubosa, Aileu, 31/1 - For almost 400 years of being colonized by Portuguese, no electrical circuitry built by the colonialist country for the people in the Fatubosa Village, Aileu, East Timor.

"Today is marked in the history of the Fatubosa people that for almost 400 years of being colonized, there was no electrical circuitry built by Portuguese in Fatubosa. But after 19 years of integration to the Republic of Indonesia, electricity has been enjoyed by the Fatubosa people," said the Aileu's Regent, Suprpto Tarman in Fatubosa.

It was said by Suprpto Tarman at the opening of The Process and Development of Micro Hydro Electronic (MHE) or the elec-

trical generator water power at the two regions: Aileu and Ainaro, located at Dare, Mulo Village, Hatabuilico. The opening was held at Fatubosa Village, 60 km south of Dili.

The ceremony were attended by the Head of East Timor Regional Office of Manpower, Anton Setiyono, who gave MHE technological aid and the Ainaro's regent, Norberto Araujo.

According to Suprpto, by having the MHE, the Fatubosa people will mark in history that through integration the facilities supporting people's welfare is vastly noticed by the government.

Meanwhile, the Ainaro's regent, Norberto Araujo said, in the future the MHE technology should be transferred to other villages which have potentials in Natural Resources that could generate electrical power.

For villages beyond the capability of state-owned electricity power (PLN), the MHE technological aid certainly will help the villagers, he said.

"Having electricity power from MHE, students could study at night and it is a very valuable progress," he added.

New Job Field

Anton Setiyono, at the same opportunity said, that the existence of MHE is expected to bring a positive effect for the people of Fatubosa, Aileu, Dare, and Mulo Village. It is also expected to develop their potentials.

The development of the natural source would be valuable to solve life problems, especially manpower one.

The existence of electrical power at the village is expected to assist business development, such as home industry, handicraft, agricultural product process and many other services which finally will create a new job field, he said.

The MHE's Development Project Manager, Yosef Susanto SH reported that the MHE technology in Dili was tested for three months and at the same time it was repaired and completely running well.

For the Fatubosa Village it was a tapped construction and water canal of 1 km, an 18 m x 1 m basin, pipe construction of 16 inches diameter and 14 m long.

Turbine construction and alternator of 8000 watt and also electrical circuitry and it's equipment of 1 km long.

While in Dare, Mulo Village, Ainaro, the tapped construction and the 240 m water canal, the 10 m basin of 10 m long, 3.5 wide and 80m deep.

The pipe construction (3 pcs parallels) with the diameter 8 inches and 10.5 m long, equipped turbine construction and alternator of 5000 watt. ant/trans:tan

GOVT. TO ORGANIZE DOMESTIC TOUR FOR EAST TIMOR TEACHERS

Jakarta, ANTARA, 31 Jan – The government will organize a domestic tour for teachers in East Timor in an effort to improve their national outlook, a high-ranking official said here on Tuesday.

Secretary to the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare, Suyono Yahya, said the tour was intended to increase the teachers' knowledge about other parts of Indonesia so that their students would not feel alienated or estranged from the rest of the country.

"At first, the activity will be inviting junior and senior secondary school teachers to Jakarta for a study tour of development projects," he said after a coordination meeting of the office.

Suyono said the government would also implement a program to develop the University of East Timor.

SEVEN INJURED AS INDONESIA QUELLS TIMOR JAIL RIOT

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Jan 30 (Reuters) - At least seven people were injured when inmates of East Timor's Becora prison in capital Dili rioted on Tuesday, police and hospital officials said.

Colonel Andreas Sugianto, East Timor's chief of police, said the prisoners rioted for about one hour from 8.00 a.m. local time (0000 GMT) after what he called a misunderstanding between the inmates and prison officials.

"There was a misunderstanding between the prisoners and officials about prisoners from one block not being allowed to go to another block," Sugianto told Reuters by telephone from Dili.

Sugianto said the prisoners had thrown stones through prison windows, damaged buildings and set fire to property.

He said at least one prisoner had been shot in the incident in which a platoon of 30 armed riot police was called to help quell the disturbance using tear gas.

He did not say who shot the inmate.

An official at Dili's main hospital told Reuters seven people were being treated in the emergency section after the incident.

A senior justice department official overseeing the prison system was unable to immediately confirm reports by residents that guards had opened fire on the rioting prisoners.

"I am still waiting for a full report from my officials in the field (but) from what I've been told on the telephone there was a revolt by prisoners," the official, who declined to be named, said.

An official at the Becora prison in Dili's eastern suburbs declined to comment. Residents said there were about 200 inmates in the prison.

One resident said that the area around Becora market had been sealed soon after the riot.

The incident is the latest centred on prisons in the volatile territory where armed and political resistance to Jakarta's rule lingers.

In November 1994 a stabbing incident in the Becora jail involving two prisoners, a native of mostly Catholic East Timor and a migrant from mainly Moslem Indonesia, sparked days of rioting in Dili.

On January 16 a Moslem prison official was sentenced four years jail for insulting another religion while he worked at the Maliana prison west of Dili. The incident, last September, sparked sporadic rioting in a number of towns.

PRISON RIOT IN DILI

Diario de Noticias, 31 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged.

Lisbon – The head of East Timor's Justice Services (Servicos de Justiça de Timor-Leste), Benny Mataos, confirmed to LUSA that the riot which took place yesterday in the Becora prison, Dili, resulted in one death, several wounded and eight escaped prisoners.

According to Mataos, "one (prisoner) was shot and killed by prison security officers when he refused to obey orders not to set fire" to prison installations. A source contacted by LUSA in Dili identified the dead man as 25-year-old Herminio Soares. ...

The same source reported that "6 or 9" prisoners had been seriously injured, and were now in hospital, accompanied by a member of the ICRC in Dili.

ICRC chief in Jakarta, Henri Fournier, confirmed to AFP that members of organisation are monitoring the situation.

About 100 prisoners took part in the riot, which started in the morning after cells were opened... Mataos said that prisoners "attacked the prison guards," and that about half the rioters returned to their cells after warning shots were fired. However, 54 others disobeyed the orders and tried to get hold of the guards' weapons and escape.

Ten prisoners are reported to have escaped, but two were recaptured almost immediately by security forces.

TIMORESE KILLED IN DILI PRISON RIOT

Publico, 31 January 1996 Abridged Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – 25-year-old Herminio Soares was killed yesterday during a riot at Becora prison in Dili. ... A Timorese source contacted by the LUSA agency said there were two possible reasons for the riot: "Some say that there was a general uprising and the prisoners set fire to the prison, but there is also another version, according to which it was the soldiers themselves who sparked off the riot to 'get rid of' a few more Timorese"

There are about 250 prisoners, mostly Timorese, being held in Becora prison. They include about one hundred young Timorese accused of taking part in demonstrations against Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

The official version ... states that there was a riot involving about one hundred prisoners, which ended with one being shot dead and another six being admitted to hospital. Ten prisoners are said to have escaped, two of whom were quickly recaptured. At the time of going to print, there was still no further news of the escapees, in spite of the hunt underway and the searches being carried out by the police in houses in Dili.

ONE KILLED, TEN ESCAPE IN EAST TIMOR PRISON RIOT

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - One prisoner was killed and 10 escaped Tuesday after a riot in East Timor's main jail led to a mass breakout attempt, a justice ministry official said.

"It was a revolt with the purpose of escaping from the prison. About 100 prisoners were involved," said Benny Mathaus, head of the justice ministry's office in the capital Dili.

It was not clear whether the riot was linked to broader unrest in the former Portuguese colony, ruled since 1975 by Indonesia against a backdrop of lingering civilian and armed resistance.

Mathaus, whose department oversees the prison system, told Reuters the prisoners of Becora jail in Dili's eastern suburbs were being released for daily work activities when they rioted.

"They attacked the guards with stones so the buildings in the prison were severely damaged. The guards, of which there were only nine, were forced to shoot from above them," Mathaus said by telephone.

"One man tried to take a gun from a guard. He was given two warning shots and he did not want to retreat. He was shot to overpower him, not kill him, but the bullets severely wounded him and he died," he said.

He did not give any details about the dead man.

Mathaus said 10 prisoners escaped but two were quickly recaptured. The remaining eight, whom he said were mostly Timorese men, were still on the run nine hours after the breakout. He said 40 prisoners and six guards were slightly injured in the incident, and six people were admitted to hospital. The jail has 257 inmates, some of whom are political prisoners.

FOUR TIMORESE PRISONERS CAPTURED AFTER JAIL RIOT

JAKARTA, Jan 31 (Reuter) - Indonesian authorities have captured four of the eight prisoners who escaped after a riot in East Timor's main jail in which one inmate was killed, the official Antara news agency reported on Wednesday.

"Of the eight prisoners who escaped, one was captured and three gave themselves up," Benny Mathaus, chief of East Timor's justice ministry's office, was quoted as saying.

He said in Dili, East Timor's capital, that the number of prisoners who escaped after Tuesday's riot was eight and not 10 as reported previously.

Mathaus told Reuters on Tuesday that one prisoner was killed and 10 escaped after the riot which led to a mass breakout attempt in the Becora jail in Dili's eastern suburbs.

Antara quoted East Timor's police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto as saying on Wednesday that the four prisoners were seized on Tuesday night, just a few hours after the incident.

"A special team assigned to pursue the prisoners have captured four people," he was quoted as saying. He said police were still searching for the other prisoners.

It was not clear whether the riot was linked to broader unrest in the former Portuguese colony, ruled since 1975 by Indonesia against a backdrop of civilian and armed resistance.

Sugianto said the police were investigating the cause of the riot and added they had also questioned the prison guards to find out if the measures taken by them to quell the riot was in accordance with procedures. He gave no other details.

Antara quoted Mathaus as saying the body of Armindo da Silva Martins, 27, who was killed in the riot, was taken by the military helicopter to his hometown for burial on Wednesday.

Sugianto said Martins was shot because he tried to take a gun from a guard during the riot.

Mathaus earlier said 40 prisoners and six guards were slightly injured in the incident, and six people were admitted to hospital.

The jail has 257 inmates, some of whom are political prisoners.

In November 1994 a stabbing incident in the jail involving two inmates, a native of mostly Catholic Timor and a migrant from mainly Moslem Indonesia, sparked days of rioting in Dili.

AMNESTY CALLS FOR ENQUIRY INTO EAST TIMOR PRISON RIOT

Diario de Noticias, 1 February 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged.

Lisbon – Amnesty International (AI) yesterday called for an "independent and thorough" enquiry into the events surrounding a riot in Becora prison, Dili, in which, according to AI, about "200 political and common prisoners" are held.

TEAM SET UP TO INVESTIGATE DILI PRISON RIOT

Antara, 1 February

Dili, E Timor - East Timor authorities have set up a team to investigate the cause of Tuesday's riot in Becora prison here.

Benny J Matthaus, head of the local justice department, said Wednesday the team was made up of officers from the local justice service and police.

He said the team would collect field evidence to ascertain the cause of the riot, in which an inmate was reportedly killed and seven others injured.

Col. Andreas Sugianto, East Timor's chief of police, meanwhile, said the team would not only investigate the cause of the riot but also the way how prison officials handled the riot.

A total of 100 inmates were reportedly involved in the riot.

GUERRILLAS FACE NEW ARMY ONSLAUGHT

by Jeremy Wagstaff

JAKARTA, Feb 1 (Reuter) - East Timor guerrillas, waging a 20-year-old resistance against Indonesia, are facing growing pressure following fresh army determination to rout them by persuasion or force, Timorese sources said on Thursday. The official Antara news agency on Thursday quoted the commander responsible for East Timor, Major-General Abdul Rivai, as warning the guerrillas to accept a government amnesty or "be finished off."

About 200 guerrillas are resisting his forces.

"They are still our own brothers and they are therefore constantly called on to leave their forest hideouts. But if they keep ignoring the calls they will be finished off by

the security forces on any encounter in the forest," he said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, sparking a war in which up to 200,000 people were killed or died, mostly of famine, historians said. The United Nations still recognises former colonial ruler Portugal as Timor's administering power.

Military activity has remained small-scale in recent years as resistance switched to civil unrest, loosely coordinated between the ragtag guerrilla movement, exile leaders and a clandestine network stretching through the territory.

Jakarta has sunk millions of dollars into winning Timorese hearts and minds but has failed to dispel wide resentment.

Residents have long reported harassment of civilians suspected to oppose Indonesian rule but said that since late last year the military seemed also to be targeting the guerrillas, known either as Falantil or Fretilin.

"They are moving around in small units almost everywhere. They are going into the bush and spreading into the villages. Every village now has one or two military," one East Timorese, contacted by phone in the capital, Dili, said.

According to official figures, since last April nearly 30 guerrillas and their supporters have been captured or have surrendered, while another 26 have been killed in clashes.

Timorese sources say several Indonesian troops have also been killed in firefights.

The latest incidents occurred last week when troops shot dead six alleged guerrillas and captured one, along with a suspected clandestine activist, Antara news agency said.

Residents of East Timor confirm a significant increase in military activity in recent months, with some saying Indonesia has boosted the number of troops, including special forces.

The government says it has six battalions, or 5,000 men, in the territory but diplomats say there may be double that.

A spokesman for the Council for National Maubere Resistance, or CNRM, Timor's umbrella independence grouping which includes the guerrillas, acknowledged the guerrillas may be under pressure, but said they did not face defeat.

"Even if they do sustain some losses we are quite sure it will never be sufficient for their elimination. Maybe we might see a period of difficulty ahead but it's simplistic to assume the Falantil will be exterminated," the spokesman said.

Diplomats said it was too early to see a clear pattern in the heightened military activity.

Others quoted military officials as making it clear that they had lost patience with both the publicity stunts of the clandestine

movement and the pinprick disruptions of the guerrillas, and are newly determined to do away with both.

Intimidation of youths has cleared the towns of many clandestine activists, they said, either outside the territory – where many seek refuge in embassies – or to the hills.

"This doesn't seem to be much of a choice: either you go to Jakarta and jump over some embassy fence or you escape to the mountains," said one resident.

About 100 East Timorese youths have fled the country in the past 14 months by jumping into foreign embassies in Jakarta and gaining eventual refuge in Portugal.

INDONESIA SAYS SEEKS HUMANE END TO TIMOR REBEL WAR

Jakarta Feb 5 (Reuters) – Indonesia's military said they were seeking to end East Timor's lingering guerrilla movement through peaceful means rather than force, the official Antara news agency reported on Monday.

It quoted General Abdul Rivai, whose jurisdiction includes East Timor, as saying on Monday that development programmes were enough to encourage the rebels – known to Indonesians as Fretilin – to give up their 20-year-old war.

"Territorial operations done with a humane approach which is linked to development programmes will wipe out the presence of Fretilin in East Timor," he said in the Timorese capital Dili.

Antara gave no other details, but quoted Rivai as saying that by witnessing development taking place in the former Portuguese colony, the rebels would give themselves up.

Since its 1975 invasion Indonesia has tried to win over East Timorese but resentment remains widespread, helping to fuel a small but symbolic guerrilla opposition to its rule.

The report contrasts with earlier statements by Rivai and other military leaders, who have in recent months vowed to hunt down and wipe out the movement if it does not give up.

At least 28 rebels have been captured or surrendered in the past 10 months. Another 26 guerrillas and their supporters have been killed in the same period, according to official reports.

A report from Macau by the Portuguese news agency LUSA on Saturday appeared to confirm residents' reports of intensified military action against the movement.

A copy of the report was obtained by Reuters on Monday.

It quoted a report allegedly written in January by a guerrilla, Ayak Leman, as saying that Indonesian forces had launched a major assault on rebels in East Timor focused on capturing the movement's leader Konis Santana.

It quoted Leman as saying his guerrilla unit had lost contact since September with Santana, who has headed the 200-strong guerrilla armed wing since the capture of his predecessor Xanana Gusmão in late 1992.

The Bali-based Rivai said the rebellion could be ended by building roads and bridges for the East Timorese, Antara said.

Indonesia's 1976 annexation of East Timor has yet to be recognised by the United Nations.

INCREASED MILITARISATION AND WORSENING HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR CONFIRMED

East Timor Update from CNRM, Feb. 10.

The Indonesian news agency Antara reported on February 1 that the Indonesia's military commander in East Timor, Colonel Simbolon, had warned the East Timorese fighters (FALINTIL) to surrender or "be finished off." He also stated that the fighters will be qualified for amnesty if they surrender "because they are part of the Indonesian nation." It is well recorded that during the 20 years of Indonesian illegal occupation of East Timor, the Indonesian military has never honoured any of their previous promises of amnesty. Colonel Simbolon's public statement coincides with increasing military operations in East Timor since October 1995.

A respected observer who visited the territory recently recounts the "obviously crazy levels of military presence in East Timor." Between Fuiloro and Lospalos, in the eastern end of the territory, he saw three camps of Indonesian army, each camp containing 1 battalion. From Baucau to Lautem (still in the East) he witnessed 14 army trucks fully loaded with heavily armed soldiers. On his way from Dili to Aileu in the central region, in only 45km, he counted 5 military observation posts! In spite of this heavy military presence he said locals report that the Indonesians fear to go into resistance controlled areas which are quite significantly large in the eastern part.

In the eastern region he was told about five guerrillas being shot about ten days ago. He noted that this type of announcement by the Indonesian military usually signifies a major military engagement but that the Indonesian army will not report their own losses and may exaggerate losses on the Timorese side.

On February 5 he observed two large boatloads of soldiers on the Dili dock, fully armed. "They looked disgustingly impressive" he commented. His Timorese driver warned him, "these are the ones who conduct Ninja attacks. During the night, the suburb that has a blackout after 10:00pm is certainly under ninja cleanout operation." When they passed the suburb of Fatu-Hada at exactly 22:15pm, the lights went off indicating that an attack there could occur that night. At Kupang airport, he saw 80 soldiers in the adjoining military air base (with orange/rusty coloured berets) arriving from Dili and being transferred immediately into an Hercules.

He commented on his return about the growing Indonesianisation of East Timor, with more mosques and signs of Islamic activity. He also noted an increased Indonesian presence within the Catholic Church of East Timor and commented on Indonesian priests and nuns "flooding into the country."

This man who previously been to East Timor and is a competent observer of the local situation (but must remain anonymous) commented that, in his view, human rights were the worst they had been since February 1992 (immediately after the Dili Massacre). He said "It's ongoing - harassment, killings, and pressure in the cities and the mountains."

Whilst he was there a riot occurred at Becora prison (recently mentioned in the Australian press). He said that his information was that 47 Timorese were injured and hospitalised. One Armindo da Silva, 29, was killed. Information is that 8 prisoners escaped. Whilst Indonesia claims that they were recaptured, there are persistent rumours that some have escaped to the bush.

He received reliable information about the mistreatment of the youngest prisoner in Becora: this youth (who recently turned 15 in prison) is in very bad condition as a result of repeated bashing and torture.

There was a crowd of about two thousand at the inauguration of the new seminary in Balide-Dili, and a pro-independence demonstration took place there. A number of banners mentioned Xanana and there were "lots of raised fists." Indonesian bishops present called the demonstrators "hooligans, rascals and outlaws." The Indonesian military arrested three of the demonstrators two of whom were beaten badly before being dragged away.

When asked about the continuing resistance in spite of this onslaught he commented that it is "an extraordinary act of heroism" and that many people continue to be willing to risk their lives for their cause.

CNRM appeals to the international community and UN to stop the genocide in

East Timor. We urge the Australian government and the alternate government to use their good offices to help the initiatives of the UN Secretary General to put an end to the continuing saga of the East Timorese people.

FIGHTING AND KILLING CONTINUES IN EAST TIMOR

CNRM Media Release, Darwin, February 12, 1996

News to hand from East Timor confirms that regular fighting and killing continues.

On February 5, at Hato-Lia (western region), Timorese resistance fighters - FALINTIL- attacked members of the Indonesian battalion 711 and captured 3 green berets soldiers. One was released after being disarmed. The other two remain as prisoners.

That same evening in Laleia and Cairui (Manatuto Regency), there was an armed confrontation between Indonesian soldiers and Timorese fighters resulting in 2 Indonesian fatalities and 5 injured. One Timorese was killed.

Latest information is that the total number of casualties in the Becora prison riot, 15 days ago, has risen to 86, (more than previous thought). It is confirmed that one Timorese died in Hospital. One prisoner, José Joaquim, had an ear cut off. It is also confirmed that 10 prisoners escaped. Two have been recaptured, 8 remain at large (names are known).

This shows that, contrary to statements by the Indonesian army, and in spite of their increased military presence and activity, the East Timorese armed resistance remains an effective force.

CNRM calls on the International Community to increase pressure on Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor in order to stop this unnecessary waste of human life. We also call on the UN to ensure its own resolutions relating to East Timor are actioned, including its right to Self-determination.

AI UPDATE ON JOSÉ ANTONIO BELO

José Antonio Belo: An Update (AI index: ASA 21/01/96, February 1996)

Introduction

On 9 January 1995, 24 youths and students, including José Antonio Belo, were arrested after a peaceful demonstration at the University of East Timor in Dili, the capital of East Timor. While in detention, at least two of the group, and possibly others, were tortured and beaten. Sixteen were sen-

tenced to prison terms ranging from 18 months to two years and two months. They are all prisoners of conscience and Amnesty International is calling for their immediate and unconditional release.

In response to appeals on behalf of José Antonio Belo and the others detained with him, the Indonesian Government denied reports that José Antonio Belo was tortured and that he was not given a fair trial. Amnesty International considers that this information provided by the Indonesian Government is not accurate.

This update provides background to the arrests, details of the Indonesian Government's claims and Amnesty International's response to those claims.

Background

José Antonio Belo, a 24 year old student, and 23 other youths were arrested on 9 January at a peaceful demonstration at the University of East Timor in Dili. Belo and another detainee, José Pinto, were taken to the military intelligence unit (Satuan Tugas Intelijen - SGI) where they were beaten, reportedly to the point of losing consciousness.

They were then transferred to the District Police office in Comoro but Belo was taken back to SGI and held there until 13 January. Belo was denied food for two days and his arms and legs were tied up. He was then hung upside down overnight. When he was taken down he was beaten with sticks, wires and was reportedly subjected to electric shocks. While this was happening Major Laedon Simbolon, East Timor military spokesperson, denied that there was any reason to be concerned for the group's well-being:

"We take good care of them and feed them, just to let them tell us the truth about why they did the demonstration and who stood behind them." [Reuters, 12 January 1995]

José Antonio Belo was apparently subjected to torture because he was suspected of being the "mastermind" behind the peaceful demonstration. According to information received by Amnesty International, Belo was pressured to tell human rights monitoring organizations that he had not been subjected to ill-treatment or torture. He was also pressured to say that he did not want any further visits from monitoring organizations.

On 1 April, José Antonio Belo was reported to have been tortured again by jail officials at Becora prison until he vomited blood and received a wound on his neck. This treatment was apparently because Belo had "behaved badly" in the jail. There are unconfirmed reports that Belo was beaten again in September.

In March 1995 the trials of 16 of the demonstrators began at the Dili District Court. All 16 were charged under Article 154 of the Indonesian Criminal Code which states that "...the public expression of feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt toward the government" is punishable by up to seven years' imprisonment. Belo, who was accused of being the leader of the demonstration, was sentenced on 8 May to 18 months' imprisonment. Despite this accusation Belo unexpectedly received a lighter sentence than the other demonstrators (see Appendix I).

The Government's response:

Arrest and Trial

The Indonesian Government responded to appeals concerning José Antonio Belo and the other 15 tried and sentenced, with letters which denied the claims of torture and unfairness during the trials. The letters also justified the arrest and imprisonment of peaceful critics of Indonesia's rule in East Timor. In a letter from the Indonesian Embassy in New Zealand, the government stated:

"The demonstration of 9 January 1995 was engineered by an anti-Indonesian group, working with some foreign persons, with the intention of displaying an anti-integration attitude. Such a demonstration always develops into a riot that disturb[s] the peace, and so was the case with this one. The person concerned [José Antonio Belo] was detained not because he merely expressed his thoughts and opinions peacefully in public, but merely because such an activity has been purposely geared to becoming a riot which would attract foreign attention..."

Another government response alleged that José Antonio Belo "was the leader of the violence demonstration [sic] by showing banners...." [Letter from Embassy of Republic of Indonesia, Brussels 29 August 1995]

Amnesty International is not aware of any evidence being presented by the courts that the defendants were involved in violent activities or that the demonstration itself - which lasted less than five minutes - was violent. The organization considers that the imprisonment of José Antonio Belo and the other 15 demonstrators is yet another illustration of the Indonesian Government's unwillingness to tolerate peaceful dissent. Those who attract international attention to human rights violations in East Timor or demonstrate for East Timorese independence are at greater risk of lengthy terms of imprisonment.

Torture and ill-treatment

The letters from the Indonesian Government also denied the reports of torture and ill-treatment of José Antonio Belo:

"While he was being detained for interrogation he was treated humanely and he was given his full rights as declared in the Criminal Code. Apart from that, he was also visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Indonesian Human Rights Commission... There was no proof that Belo has experienced any torture or mistreatment." [Letter from Embassy of Republic of Indonesia, New Zealand, 14 September 1995]

Amnesty International received credible reports, including eyewitness testimony, of the treatment José Antonio Belo was subjected to in detention. The organization considers that torture of political detainees in East Timor is routine, a finding which was also reflected in the 1992 report of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on torture. Amnesty International continues to receive testimonies of detainees who have been beaten and tortured, including with the use of electric shocks and cigarette burns. Detainees also continue to describe being pressured into not informing human rights monitoring organizations of ill-treatment and torture.

Access to lawyers

The Indonesian Government denied the claims that José Antonio Belo was denied access to independent lawyers:

"I can assure you that whilst in detention, Mr. Belo was not harmed in any way whatsoever, and any report otherwise is simply baseless propaganda. Throughout his trial, Mr. Belo was accompanied by his lawyer, and was treated in accordance with Indonesian law and regulations. Mr. Belo was given a fair trial by an independent court, and had the benefit of counsel and all due process of law." [Letter from Embassy of Republic of Indonesia, London, UK, 29 September 1995]

Political trials in East Timor are routinely unfair. Detainees are frequently denied access to independent lawyers of their own choice, are threatened into withdrawing power of attorney from independent lawyers, are forced under duress to sign statements and are frequently hindered in bringing defence witnesses to the court. The courts frequently accept testimony extracted under torture or pressure.

In the case of José Antonio Belo and his 15 co-defendants, Amnesty International is concerned that lawyers seeking to meet with the detainees were initially prevented from

meeting with them. The group were also believed to have been denied access to their families for ten days after they were arrested. Information concerning the scheduling of the trials was withheld from the defendants and their families until immediately prior to the trials' beginning, making preparation for the trial difficult.

Despite claims by the Indonesian Government to the contrary, eyewitnesses reported that José Antonio Belo was not represented by lawyers but defended himself. At the time of the trials, the Catholic Bishop of Dili, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo stated that the group were on trial without lawyers: "People do not have the right to have a defence lawyer, they are in God's hands and have to defend themselves." [Radio Renascença, Portugal, 14 April 1995]

While the Indonesian Government continues to deny the claims of Amnesty International and others concerning José Antonio Belo and his co-defendants, the 16 remain imprisoned for their peaceful opposition to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. The organization calls again for their immediate and unconditional release as prisoners of conscience.

Appendix 1:

List of 16 East Timorese youths and students arrested and sentenced for demonstrating at the University of East Timor in January 1995 [,&]

name	age	sentence
Alexandrino da Costa	18 or 20	26 months
Alfredo Lopes	20-22	2 years
Bendito Salom	17 or 19	2 years
Carlos Bernes Barreto	20 or 24	26 months
Filomeno dos Santos	20	20-21 months
Ignacio de Jesus Santos	24	20 or 21 months
Ipolito da Silva (Hipolito da Silva)	17	26 months
João Manuel	19	20 or 21 months
José Hendriques	24	25 months
José Pinto	23	26 months
José Antonio Belo	24	18 months
Luis Tavares	17 or 18	26 months
Paulo José Amaral (Paulo Jorge Amaral)	21 or 23	26 months
Pedro da Costa (Pedro da Costa Apin)	19	26 months
Zito Lemos Barreto	21 or 23	21 months
Mario Pinto Ximenes (Mario Pinto da Costa Ximenes)	20 or 23	26 months

PORTUGAL, COME QUICKLY... AND LIBERATE US!

Diario de Noticias, 17 February 1996. By José Luis Ramos Pinheiro, Translated from Portuguese. Abridged.

Lisbon – Timor is an island surrounded by a lot of sea, and a lot of – too many – Indonesians. On landing in Dili, one's first and most enduring impression is one of being surrounded (...) by military, police, barracks, patrol cars, not forgetting the omnipresent red and white flag and the imposing eagle – symbol of the Indonesian State (...)

In the midst of the Indonesian apparatus, the Timorese appear along the streets of Dili. Their doleful gait contrasts with the wary look they give to foreigners and to everything around them. The Timorese soul reveals itself, gradually, when the “foreigner” turns out to be Portuguese. The soul – something that Indonesia can never imprison – is the best response to the fury of the force which, since 1975, has subdued the territory that is still, officially, under Portuguese administration.

Indonesia has set up a tight and elaborate security system throughout the island. The military component is clear to see to whoever walks around Dili or travels to the territory's interior.

While I was in Timor, the port of Dili was visited by an Indonesian naval warship which anchored alongside the other four, already there when I arrived. The men from the Resistance told me that it would be delivering yet another battalion of troops and many kilos of weapons.

In green camouflage outfits, with red headbands, the ‘ninjas’ commandos that are most feared by the Timorese. They are often the perpetrators of nocturnal manoeuvres in both cities and villages. They are also the best trained military corps to hamper the guerrilla's tactics.

During my travel outside Dili, I saw several vehicles transporting these ‘commandos of death.’ Their military trucks are to be seen along almost all the roads (which in recent years have been built by the Indonesians), forcing those travelling in the opposite direction to pull over to the side and stop.

Baucau airport, 150 kms. from Dili, was also engulfed by the military machine. Originally a civil airport, designed and built by Portugal, it has been transformed into a real air base for Indonesian military aircraft. They are used to bomb the mountainous areas which give cover to the guerrilla movement, and to set fire to the forests, a tactic employed during the so-called ‘clean-

sing operations.’ Each Indonesian battalion consists of 800 fully equipped men, and the number of Jakarta's troops currently in Timor must be around 20,000 men. Much to the disappointment of the Timorese, part of the Indonesian armed forces is made up of the territory's natives – 1,000 men. This component of Timorese serves two useful purposes from Indonesia's point of view: they are familiar with the terrain, and they represent a demoralising factor for the Resistance.

Abundance of Police

The police force is a decisive control mechanism in Indonesia's control apparatus. Those without uniforms are to be found mainly in Dili, and they are responsible for patrolling the streets of the capital. They can be seen on many of the city's street corners. The agents of Intel, Jakarta's secret police, leave their uniforms back at the barracks and mingle with the crowds, informing, surveying, controlling the movements of perceived suspects and, at when the time is right, making arrests.

At the door of my hotel there was always an available car and driver waiting to attend my transport needs. I would accept this ‘taxi service’ when I really needed to, but I usually refused the generous offer. They told me that the driver worked for the political police. I never managed to get confirmation of this, but once day there was a suspicious incident. I was invited by a Timorese woman to have lunch in her restaurant – one of the few, or perhaps the only ‘Portuguese restaurant’ there. I accepted the invitation. Just after entering the restaurant, ... the telephone rang. Intel wanted to know what the ‘foreigner’ was doing in the restaurant, who had invited him, and how long I was going to be there. When I had left the hotel to go for the Portuguese meal, I had turned down the offer of transport from my driver friend.

In the dead of night

While Intel often goes unnoticed during the day, at night it's completely different. Night starts to fall on Dili at about 6 in the evening. In spite of the cool breeze inviting them to stroll by the sea, the Timorese stay in their homes. A long time ago, fear of the night was introduced to East Timor by the Indonesians, and now a Timorese will only leave the safety of his home after dark in case of dire emergency. It is after nightfall that those whom the Timorese describe as agents provocateurs roam the streets, unleashing acts of gratuitous violence. In the city's strategic areas, at the main crossroads, and particularly at the points of entry to certain neighbourhoods, the Intel men are to be found. They huddle in groups, eyeing suspiciously anyone who dares venture out

at the extravagant hour of 10 or 11 p.m. A little later comes the magic Cinderella hour – their favourite time for raids on homes and arrests.

Tear gas is the calling card used by the Intel agents when they intend to barge in on the homes to which they were never invited. The customary scenes of violence follow, coupled with the dragging away of youngsters they accuse of conspiracy.

Once they are behind bars in secret police custody, the youngsters are subjected to all kinds of torture: burns with lighted cigarettes and beatings with iron bars are the usual treatment. In Timor, I spoke to several young people bearing visible signs of such ill-treatment. It's only fair repayment, say the Indonesians, for their protests, demonstrations and the bad company they keep.

Undermining the Catholic Church

Demonstrations by Timorese youth, like the one on 3 February during the inauguration of the new Dili Seminary, are now fairly commonplace in Timor but, in the view of Monsignor Ximenes Belo, the Indonesians try to reap benefits out of the unrest.

Some of the protests are actually orchestrated by the Indonesians themselves. On religious feast days, for example, rumours fly that a demonstration or violent protest is being organised. The Indonesian secret police, Intel, are said to start off these rumours, in order to split up the Catholic faithful, reduce the numbers taking part in religious celebrations, thereby undermining the authority and strength of the Catholic Church of East Timor.

The young Timorese with whom I spoke during my stay understand and respect the Bishop's reasoning, but find themselves in a dead-end situation.

Frustration among Timorese youth is one of the crucial problems today in the territory: time is passing, the occupation is intensifying, the lack of freedom is becoming unbearable. To escape, whether it is into the bush or via one of the foreign Embassies, seems a viable option. One long-time Timorese guerrilla fighter did not hide his disappointment with the students' exodus abroad: “In my opinion, the youngsters ought to grow up, become men, and go into the mountains to fight alongside the guerrillas. Running away won't solve anything.”

Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo does not go that far, but explains that, by leaving Timor, “the youngsters are leaving more room behind them for the Indonesians.”

One of the survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre confessed that without any help and with no future, the young Timorese could not bear to stay. This 22-year-old boy-man who, although outspoken, wished

to remain anonymous, asked for help, signs of encouragement and any kind of assistance from abroad (i.e. Portugal). In view of this young man, profoundly identified with the Resistance, all hope (possibly the last remaining hope) focuses on the Portuguese to turn the problem around: "Portugal has to return to Timor to finish the decolonisation process." Otherwise, he said, the Timorese will end up dying, a people vanquished by war, exhaustion and isolation.

Asserting his readiness to die fighting, this member of the Resistance remembered with sadness those who had fallen by his side at Santa Cruz. He too had been shot by the Indonesians, and showed multiple scars (in his arm, chest and legs) left by the bullets and the torture to which he had been subjected in detention. But the wounds in his soul would not heal, and they were causing more pain than any on his body.

Another young man, who had been involved in an aborted attempt to escape by boat last year and who now lives in semi-clandestinity, agreed to send a tape recorded message to Lisbon. In a steady, confident tone his message was as follows: "We want to appeal to Portugal to come quickly to our aid, and liberate us from Indonesia's oppression."

This young man sitting in front of me with a friend had experienced the treatment inflicted by the Indonesians on their prisoners. He showed me the marks of cigarette burns just next to his eyes, and the black scars on his arms and legs. Indonesia does not forgive the young people who try to escape.

The illusion of the metropolis

If Indonesian occupation has achieved anything, it has been to make the Timorese forget that Portugal abandoned the Timorese to fate in 1975, with Indonesia so menacingly close by. In fact, it was Portugal's departure and the in-fighting among the Timorese that served Jakarta as excellent pretexts with which to justify the invasion. However, 20 years on, the Timorese are still dreaming of the Portuguese illusion: "With the Portuguese we were free and it was with you that we learned the meaning of liberty - Portugal has to come back!" These were the words heard in the midst of a group of Timorese students. The older generation says the same thing. 79-year-old Alvaro Belo ... does not mind speaking his mind and being identified. In 1975 he was in favour of integration with Indonesia. Now, he says, it will not work, unless "the Indonesian military bring the 300,000 Timorese they murdered back to life." He too believes that Portugal is the last hope for the Timorese.

The appeal, the insistent appeal to Portugal, was made by people of all ages and

backgrounds. Apart from whatever happens in the future, the Timorese want to see more Portuguese, more often, in the territory. They say they miss seeing them, hearing the language, and that many Portuguese customs are disappearing. They tell stories, and remember the names of many Portuguese who once passed through Timor. They are curious to know what life is like in Portugal, and what the chances would be of working "there, in the metropolis." ... "If we are free there, nothing else matters much."

In the midst of the Indonesian storm, the Catholic Church is a flame which continues to burn. At the masses I went to the Timorese attendance exceeded all my expectations.

The concentration, the silence, respect, the fervour of the hymn singing, the long queues for Communion, all reflect an intensity of faith which the military regime has not been able to obliterate.

The Church in Timor also protects, defends, works, gives refuge, teaches, prepares and helps. Its presence there on the ground makes the Church one of the few bodies able to mitigate the abuses of the local authorities, by moderating, here and there, the desperate and almost suicidal behaviour of the younger Timorese.

The imposition of Indonesia's family planning programme in Timor, which includes resorting to forcible sterilisation of many Timorese women, is yet another challenge for the local priests. (...) The vision of Monsignor Ximenes Belo and the enormous respect which the Timorese feel towards him, make the Catholic Bishop one of Indonesia's favourite targets for criticism. ...

I accompanied Dom Ximenes and the Assistant Bishop of Lisbon, Mnsgr. Januario Torgal Ferreira, on some of their visits. The enthusiasm generated by the presence of the representative of the Church of Portugal mobilised crowds wherever they went. From young to old, they all wanted to see, hear and touch the Portuguese Bishop - the first to tread on Timorese soil in over 20 years.

In his homilies, or in the brief words he addressed to the people, translated into Tetum, Lisbon's Bishop and Secretary of the Episcopal Conference did not spare Indonesia. At every opportunity, he repeated the demand for respect for the rights of the Timorese to justice, peace and democracy, and the appeal for their human rights to be respected. He even compared the case of Timor to that of Bosnia. ... In the parish of Sao João de Brito, 40 kms. from Dili, over 7,000 Timorese took part in the mass celebrated by the Bishop on 4 February, and his words to the congregation were met with much enthusiasm. (...) When the 2-hour long mass was over, I left the Church. Outside, I

was surrounded by hundreds of Timorese who wanted to say hello. A handshake was not enough. Men, women carrying babies and many children all wanted to kiss my right hand. They knew I was not a priest. It was enough for them to know that I was Portuguese, that I had come from the metropolis.

José Luis Ramos Pinheiro is Information Director of Portugal's Radio Renascença

ANTONIO, FALLEN STAR

VICE-CHAIR OF THE EAST TIMOR PDI HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE MANUFACTURE OF HAND GRENADES

Tiras No.4. 22 February 1996, abridged

Amidst the celebrations to see in the 1996 new year, Dili police force received information that Dili port and the governor's offices would be blown up. The intelligence unit (intel) was immediately ordered to give chase to a suspicious red hardtop jeep. Three people were in the jeep, all with long hair. Now it is known - based on information given by a religious official - that the driver was Antonio Louis Soares, 25, vice-chair of the local PDI and a member of the local legislative assembly of Manatuto subdistrict. Meanwhile, it is strongly suspected that the two passengers were Konis Santana (who is said to be a replacement of guerilla leader Xanana Gusmão) and Mataruak, his assistant. "Unfortunately we were not able to arrest those two, and who knows where they ran away to," said an intel source.

At midnight the security forces raided Antonio's home in Lecidere Bidau, East Dili. There they found eight home-made bombs made from bottles filled with explosives, as is sometimes used by fishermen. It is said that they were of reasonable quality, no different from hand grenades used by ABRI. Later that day Antonio and ten members of his group were arrested.

The new year's eve incident didn't fully surface. Up to the beginning of this month, when Menpora Hayono Isman, who was on a trip to Dili, was upset to discover that the public was disinclined to believe the details of the incident. Then last week Regional Military Commander IX/Udayana Major General HA Rivai gave confirmation. "In East Timor, there are government employees and members of local regional assembly who are involved with clandestine groups," he said, citing Antonio Soares as an example.

Head of Dili regional police, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, added that information regarding the case will be handed over immedi-

ately to the local legal authorities for commitment to trial. "In the interrogation he confessed to everything he's done," said Andreas to Tiras.

After Antonio was arrested, the leadership of the East Timor PDI sent a report to headquarters in Jakarta. On January 8, JB Wiyandjono, a member of the East Timor legislative assembly, flew to Dili and gathered together the PDI leadership in the Resende Inn hotel. "In truth we wish to resolve this matter internally, bearing in mind how talented he is. However, the feeling is that that would not be ethical," said Gabriel da Costa. Wiyandjono warned that the presumption of innocence should be held firmly. "We hope that this incident will be thoroughly investigated, whether it is true or false," he said to Tiras.

However, it is obvious that this incident will remain in the background of his political career. Although only a lower secondary school graduate (SMP), Antonio is well-known for his intelligence and breadth of knowledge, and labelled a rising star among the ranks of the PDI. His popular appeal has led to people calling him the "Soekarno of the East."

KONIS SANTANA: U.S. HOLDS THE KEY

translated

Lisbon, Feb 27 (LUSA) - East Timorese resistance leader Konis Santana said in an interview to Portuguese radio station "Antena Um" today that the United States are the only world power holding the "key" to the solution to the East Timor problem.

In a tape recorded in the East Timorese mountains, Konis Santana answered questions by a journalist of Portuguese radio station RDP. Santana said that Americans are in a position to exert the pressure needed to resolve the Timorese problem. Santana remarked that the Palestinian question also had seemed impossible to resolve, however was indeed so.

Konis Santana defended the presence of representatives of the Timorese resistance in the negotiations in course between Portugal and Indonesia.

"The free choice for the future of the territory of East Timor can only be made by the Timorese," said Konis Santana.

KONIS SANTANA INTERVIEW

Translated, edited

Lisbon, March 5 (LUSA) - From the mountains of East Timor, guerrilla commander Konis Santana answered questions by a journalist, in a recorded interview aired in part by Portuguese radio station "Antena Um," and soon to be aired in full by RDP-

International reaching the Middle East and Africa.

Konis Santana criticized the United Nations for not being able to impose that Indonesia implement its resolutions, for making too many compromises, and thus benefiting Indonesia. "It is necessary that the negotiation framework be changed, for the round of conversations between Portugal and Indonesia have become simple routine," said Santana. "No relevant resolution has been made so far, and the Indonesians have used the negotiations to better their image in the international arena."

To Santana, "the great economic power of Indonesia has served to blackmail and press other countries, and to press even the UN to soften in its condemnation." On the other hand, Santana considers that the international community, and in particular western countries and the US, "have not pressured Indonesia as they should. Various countries of Europe, natural allies of Portugal, such as England, Germany, The Netherlands and France, maintain politics of complicity with the Indonesian regime, because of economic interests and Jakarta's geo-strategic importance." These countries, according to Santana, either directly or indirectly continue to feed the ambition and the arrogance of the Indonesian generals, who won't respect the UN resolutions, do not accept compromises, and will make no concessions.

"The solution for the East Timorese problem has yet a long way to go and we must accept the fact that there will be much blood shed and many killings," said Santana.

Santana says one must question the importance of the dialogue between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, and their capacity to impact human rights in the territory, "when horrible scenes continue to occur, when the crimes of terror and injustice, and the brutality, know no limits."

For Konis Santana, it is necessary that the NGOs and the international press, and the UN Human Rights Commission, gain free access to East Timor; and that the US pressure Jakarta to become more flexible in its position.

GIANT STATUE PROJECT HALTED

Jakarta Post, Saturday 2 March 1996

DILI, East Timor: The construction of a 25-ton statue called Kristus Raja (Christ the King) in Fatukama Bay has been halted due to a shortage of funds, Antara reported.

The project, which began in 1994, was expected to be completed in time for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of East Timor's integration into Indonesia on

July 7. President Soeharto is scheduled to inaugurate the giant statue then.

The news agency reported that the provincial administration, through decree no 977/303/IV.Keu/II/96, has decided to raise the necessary funds by deducting a portion of Christian civil servants' salaries for a year. The decree is effective as of this month.

Civil servants of the lowest level category of I, whose average monthly wage is Rp 60,000 (US\$26) will have their salaries cut by Rp 1,000 (43 US cents), while those of the highest category of IV with salaries around Rp 400,000 will have their wages cut by Rp 5,000.

Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares has recently stated that in order to complete the project, which is "the source of pride for local people, especially for Christians," every regent has to donate Rp 100 million.

The project has absorbed Rp 1 billion while the total cost is expected to reach Rp 2 billion.

JAKARTA TIGHTENS SECURITY IN DILI

Diario de Noticias, 20 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese

The Indonesian authorities have intensified security measures in the streets of Dili, capital of East Timor, so as to prevent any kind of protest action being taken while the (Intra-Timorese) meeting in Austria is underway.

"The situation is calm in Dili, but it could not be otherwise as there is a security agent shadowing every single Timorese," commented one Dili resident. The same source said that a ship transporting Indonesian troops docked last week in the Port of Dili. Their mission was apparently "to reinforce security during the Austria meeting."

TIMORESE ARRESTED IN FATUBERLIU

TAPOL report, 27 March 1996

Vireato da Costa Fernandes Pereira, a government employee in the administration department, in the sub-district of Fatuberliu, was arrested on 9 March 1996. He was taken from his home by Kopassus troops. His present place of detention is not known.

Vireato da Costa Fernandes Pereira is 37 years old. Vireato's wife is Teresa Fernandes Pereira; they have two children.

Vireato was previously arrested in 1986 for alleged involvement in the clandestine movement.

Information of Vireato's arrest was received by his younger brother who is now living in Macao.

MA'HUNO'S SON BEATEN TO A COMA

translated, edited

Sydney, Australia, March 30 (LUSA) - East Timorese leader Ma'Huno's 17 year-old son, named João Antonio Gomes da Costa, is in a coma at the Dili hospital, after being brutally attacked at his home by members of an Indonesian battalion.

According to the source, who asked to remain anonymous, the soldiers forcefully entered the youths home in Los Palos two days ago, during a military operation at the Eastern point of the territory. João Antonio was attacked when he came out of his home.

"He tried to defend himself with a knife and when he left the house he was brutally attacked by some 10 or 15 Indonesian soldiers who were there with the sole purpose of killing him," said a source close to the family. "He has numerous fractures and a head injury and he is in the hospital in a coma," added the same source.

This attack reflects the increase in military operations at the Eastern end of East Timor during the last few years.

José Antonio Gomes da Costa, better known as Ma'Huno, was arrested in 1992 by Indonesian soldiers, and was later sentenced to house arrest. Ma'Huno was in Dili when the attack occurred, and was informed by the Dili Hospital nurse that his son was in the hospital.

A Dili Hospital source told LUSA that the youth's condition is considered "very serious" and he is not expected to recover.

SUMAMPOUW'S BIGGEST BET (COFFEE)

Sydney Morning Herald, March 30 1995; David Jenkins. very slightly abridged.

It was the aroma of coffee that drew Robby Sumampouw to East Timor and set him up for life. It was the prospect of an even greater jackpot that persuaded him to invest \$90 million in a casino on Christmas Island, a tiny speck of Australia only 350 kms south of Jakarta. Now as he seeks to pump another \$50 million into Christmas Island, the Indonesian entrepreneur known as "Mr. Robby" is forging even closer ties with Australia. He has managed to get Gerry Hand, one of the Labor Party's leading critics of Indonesia's East Timor occupation, on his payroll. He has been approached by Kerry Packer [a leading Australian businessman], who would like to take over the management of his casino.

Robby Sumampouw is a gambler. He likes a challenge. He likes to back long shots. He likes to place big bets. So far, his bets

have paid off handsomely. Robby Sumampouw (Sung Fung Liang), the son of an Indonesian Chinese trader, who arrived almost penniless from Fujian province to the pre-war Dutch East Indies, is one of Indonesia's leading tycoons. He presides over a company with interests in textiles, paging systems, hotels, hospitals, casinos and canned food. He buys and sells, especially aromatic products: coffee, cloves, sandalwood. He is reported to have assets of more than \$210 million.

The Christmas Island Casino, in which he has a 90% stake, made a gross gaming profit of \$140 million in its first 15 months. Out of that it paid \$25 million in Australian gaming tax and \$1.5 million to the local community. The secret of this success is excellent connections. Robby Sumampouw is close to General Benny Moerdani, former Defence Minister. In 1990 he helped Tommy Suharto, businessman son of President Suharto, to establish a lucrative clove-marketing monopoly. He is close to Gerry Hand, who lobbied successfully for Indonesian high-rollers to have visa-free access to Christmas Island. He is close to Air Vice-Marshall Teddy Rusdy, who is associated with Moerdani's unrealized dream of setting up a pilot-training school north of Perth.

Kerry Packer, who missed out on his bid for the Sydney casino, has expressed interest in operating the Christmas Island casino should Sumampouw succeed in his efforts to oust the current operator, Casino Austria.

Robby, Benny, Tommy, Teddy, Gerry, Kerry. A world where business aptitude meets political clout. A world where a portly, publicity-shy Chinese trader is referred to in respectful, quasi-royal terms: The King of East Timor, The King of Cloves, The King of Christmas Island.

But wait. Something is amiss. The king has been having a rotten run of luck. His Australian operation, the jewel in the Sumampouw crown, has lost some of its lustre. In February 1994, Sumampouw submitted proposals for a string of additional developments on Christmas Island. He wanted to build 400 luxury houses and an 18 hole international; standard golf course on a site known as Phosphate Hill. He wanted to build a specialist private hospital to service South-East Asia, staffed with gynaecologists, eye specialists, tumour specialists and heart specialists. He wanted to build a school alongside the golf course where wealthy Asians could study English. He envisaged a duty-free boutique and a tote agency where gamblers could bet on Australian races. He was willing to write a number of large cheques to make it come true.

Two years have passed and Sumampouw is no nearer to realizing his dream. Canberra decided belatedly that its own 'expression

of interest' process was flawed and put the development out to tender - minus the key Phosphate Hill site that he had favoured.

'I have done business in Indonesia, in Singapore, in Malaysia, in Thailand, in Vietnam,' Sumampouw said in an exclusive interview. 'This is the first time I have had any problems like this.'

What has gone wrong? The problem may simply be the decision-making process. Christmas Island is administered by the Commonwealth Government using West Australian law. Developers have to run the gauntlet of the shire council, the local administrator and a raft of Federal Government Department, including the Dept. of Environment, Sport and Territories (DEST). There had been delays caused by red tape, by survey work and by the renegotiation of mining leases. According to DEST, the Phosphate Hill site is subject to a mining lease that runs for another six years.

But it may also be political. Robby Sumampouw suspects that the Keating Government got cold feet after reports in the Australian media after reports in the Australian media that he made his fortune 'on the back of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975.' He is concerned that the Howard Government may not be any more sympathetic. There is speculation in Canberra that Gerry Hand may no longer be much use as a lobbyist.

'Let's say that the money is from Tim-Tim,' said Sumampouw. 'Before we are in charge of the casino, the Australian Government checked my background. They checked not only my financial position but my character. They sent the police to check. Why change now? That's not fair. I put in my money, not a small amount. To my mind, it's not fair.'

Hand, who signed on as a consultant to Sumampouw 18 months ago and who is now his partner in a number of business ventures, echoes that view. "If you are going to own a casino, you come under intense scrutiny," he said, "He has cleared all that. I can understand his frustration. He's put forward a range of ideas but it's two years now and he hasn't been able to lay a single brick."

Nor is that all. In his 19 year association with Christmas Island, Sumampouw has been caught up in a series of wrangles with a series of contractors, architects and lawyers. His dispute with Casinos Austria, which centres not on the operation of the casino but on casino marketing and the management of the adjacent 5 star hotel, is now before the West Australian Supreme Court.

In Indonesian parlance, Robby Sumampouw is a *cukong*, an ethnic Chinese businessman who receives protection and business favours from a powerful

pribumi(indigenous) patron in exchange for a share of the profits. Born in Solo in 1944 he joined his father's trading business at 18. The family bought textiles in Jakarta and trucked them to Soolo. The year was 1962. Indonesia's economy was on the ropes. Margins were slim. After 2 years, Robby went into business for himself. At first, he kept afloat by buying and selling textiles. But the economy picked up under the New Order government and it was no long before Robby Sumampouw backed his judgment and placed his bets on new technology. In 1972, he established Indonesia's first telephone paging system, gaining Indonesia-wide rights from Motorola. The company prospered. Robby Sumampouw diversified. He established a textile factory in Solo. He built a private hospital. It began with 40 beds. It now has 180.

In December 1975, 'Mr. Robby' got his big break. Lt. Colonel Agus Hermoto, a former red beret communications officer who had lost a leg in the 1962 West New Guinea campaign, asked him if he would be interested in doing business in East Timor.

Indonesia had just invaded the Portuguese colony. The war was going badly. ABRI forces were badly led and equipped. Kostrad battalion 502 behaved with such brutality that it had to be pulled out in disgrace after only 10 days. Nor had Jakarta budgeted for a major military operation. The army was short of rice, flour, sugar and tinned food. The shops in Dili were empty. When Sumampouw expressed interest he was taken to see Major Gen. Benny Murdani, 43, a highly decorated parachute officer, whom he already knew socially. They met in a Jakarta nightclub.

Like Sumampouw, Moerdani came from Solo. Sumampouw was barely 31. But he was moving in important circles. Moerdani was head of army intelligence and de facto commander of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

At the meeting, on December 11 1975, an extraordinary deal was sealed. Sumampouw said that he had been told that the Indonesian army needed supplies. Moerdani said that was correct and asked what Sumampouw could do. According to Moerdani, who also spoke exclusively to the *Herald*, Sumampouw said that he and four or five other Indonesian Chinese businessmen were prepared to send a ship with \$US 1 million worth of merchandise to East Timor. The ship would carry flour, rice, sugar, Christmas trees, bunting, motor cycles and Land Rovers.

Moerdani recalled: "I said, 'What, one million dollars! You know how much that is? He said, 'Yes, I do.' I didn't believe it."

As it happened, the businessmen had done their homework. "They knew there

was coffee in East Timor and that a lot of it was stored and couldn't be sent out because of the war," said Moerdani.

"I said, 'I won't have one million dollars to pay you.' No, they don't mind. 'We know there is a lot of coffee in East Timor, maybe 5,000 to 6,000 tonnes.... Well, we send one ship with all these goodies before Christmas. And then after it is off-loaded we load coffee, as much as the ship can take. And we sail to Singapore to sell it ... If the proceeds come to more than 1 million dollars, we'll take only one million to pay for the goods. If it comes to less than one million, you don't pay us anything.' I said, 'Very generous! What do I owe you for this?' 'No, we just want to do something for the government.' I said OK. So, it started."

When Moerdani asked how long it would take for the ship to arrive, he was told 7 days. As it was happened, there was a slight delay. The ship arrived in Dili on December 23, 1975. In addition to civilian merchandise, it unloaded non-lethal military material: food, bicycles, tyres and jeeps. Moerdani was impressed. He introduced Sumampouw to Colonel Dading Kalbuadi, a red beret colleague who was about to assume command of all Indonesian operations in East Timor and Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, whom the Indonesians installed as the first East Timorese governor of the territory.

"The governor was happy with what he was doing," Moerdani said, "and a few months later he issued a letter authorizing Robby to sell coffee from Timor and provide general supplies for the armed forces. It became routine. This was a decision made by the governor and the military commander." Sumampouw was awarded a 20 year contract.

On the face of it, Sumampouw was on to a good thing. East Timor produced 5600 tonnes of coffee a year, 75% of it produced from the much sought-after *caffea arabica*, the rest a good quality *caffea robusta*. In a good year, the coffee crop grossed about \$US 8 million to \$US 9 million in 1975 prices.

Moerdani was also onto a good thing. Indonesia had not planned to invade East Timor when Repelita II, the 1974-79 Five Year Plan, was drawn up and there was no money to spare in the military budget. Nor could any be expected. Unlike the former civilian government of President Sukarno, which lavished money on the military, the military-backed Soeharto government had cut military spending to the bone. Moerdani had to fund his own invasion. He did it partly with the proceeds from the coffee. In effect, the people of East Timor were asked to underwrite their own subjugation.

"This was a bloody expensive operation," Moerdani said, "The whole Timor operation was prepared in less than a year. And you know our budgeting system. You have to plan five years in advance. So if you start something in the middle of Repelita, you don't have money for it. ABRI was squeezing everything. It's unthinkable that a Westerner would understand. If you tell this to the US Staff College they won't understand; the Australian Staff College, they won't understand. How can you mount an operation without money? But we did it. Because we had to."

There was one catch. Under the Portuguese, 30% of East Timor's coffee was grown by SAPT (Sociedade Agricola Patria e Trabilito) a government-sponsored cooperative. Another 60% was grown by Timorese small-holders. The coffee was exported by SAPT and 2 or 3 family-owned Chinese trading companies, including Sang Thai Ho and Lay Kiang Fu. The coffee in the Dili godowns did not belong to ABRI or Robby Sumampouw. Nor did the 11,000 hectare SAPT coffee plantation at Fatubesse which, after more than four years of neglect, was transferred to Sumampouw under a 20-year management contract. No compensation has been paid. No estates have been returned, except for those belonging to the family of Mario Carrascalão, the 3rd Jakarta-appointed governors.

Are the Portuguese entitled to complain that the Indonesians simply carried off their coffee? 'That could be right,' Moerdani acknowledged, 'As far as I know, Dading and the governor didn't have time to think about that.' Should compensation be paid? 'They want us to make a payment to them? Let them negotiate with the Government.'

When asked about the forced acquisition of smallholder plots, Moerdani said at the time of the takeover the Portuguese had not completed a survey of land ownership. Legally speaking, no individual Timorese had a plot of land at that time. While it is true that the Portuguese had not issued proper land registration documents outside of Dili, it hardly seemed an ideal way for the Indonesians to win the hearts and minds of their 'brothers' in East Timor.

Robby Sumampouw, who says that he has never once set foot in East Timor, leaving business there to his younger brother Hendro, did not fare as well as he had hoped.

East Timor was poor and underdeveloped. Security could not be guaranteed. Two of the companies trucks were ambushed and robbed, the drivers killed. As the war dragged on, coffee production fell to quarter of the pre-1975 level. 'After a year,' Sumampouw said, 'we wanted to pull out of East Timor.'

In the event, he was persuaded to stay on. As well as coffee, he now has interests there in sandalwood, marble production, real estate, civil engineering, retailing and warehouses. It is unfair, Sumampouw says, for critics to claim he was handed East Timor's major export industries on a platter. Unlike some Indonesian entrepreneurs, who simply rake off commissions, he worked long and hard in East Timor, rehabilitating neglected plantations, opening shops, establishing shipping links with the outside world.

Two years after the invasion, the Indonesian army again called on Robby Sumampouw. Tens of thousands of Vietnamese boat people were washing up on Indonesian shores. Jakarta was not pleased but it treated them humanely, unlike some of its ASEAN neighbours. Moerdani was put in charge of building a huge camp on Galang island, 80 km south-east of Singapore. By 1980, more than 50,000 Vietnamese had passed through the camp on their way to resettlement in third countries.

In Jakarta, officials of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees complained that they were obliged to deal exclusively with Sumampouw "for security reasons." According to the officials, the UN could have saved \$US 1 million in the first year alone had they been allowed to put construction and food supply contracts out to tender. Be that as it may, Sumampouw completed the camp in the required three months, flying in carpenters from Java. He won a UN commendation for his efforts.

Like a number of other cukongs, Sumampouw has achieved much in New Order Indonesia. Australia, he implies, is another matter altogether. "I'm not interested to continue with my Christmas Island proposals," he said, "My spirit is gone. I've been waiting too long. Maybe the Australian system and I do not cocok [are not compatible]."

The gloomy talk notwithstanding, it seems too early to deal Robby Sumampouw out of the action.

MARINE SOLDIERS FROM EAST TIMOR ARE VERY NEEDED

Dili, 4/9 (ANTARA) - The Marine Base Commander in Dili, East Timor, Lieut. Col. George Harry Rotti said, the marine soldiers from this area is still very much needed.

"In the duty of securing the territorial waters in 13 regencies in East Timor from disturbance and violations of the Sea Security, I think marine soldiers from East Timor is still very much needed," he said in Dili, Monday.

Rotti mentioned it to ANTARA on the "Cartenz" motor boat when sailing from Dili to Atauro Island which is around 27 miles away when asked for his response on how far the interest of the East Timor youth in entering the Indonesian marine corps.

The "Cartenz" motor boat sailed from Dili to Atauro in its transit to East Timor as the series of the Jakarta-Sorong (Irian Jaya) expedition, bringing a mission to introduce the spirit of "Cinta Bahari" (Love for Sea) in Indonesia.

According to him, ideally in the 13 regencies in the youngest province in Indonesia, it requires 13 marine posts in order to secure the waters in the area from all sorts of disturbances.

"But at the moment there is only one marine post in the Covalima Regency, while the Dili Marine Base with the lackness of means obviously cannot reach all the marine disturbance which can just appear anytime," he said.

In several regencies in East Timor, he said, there are several areas which are the most seriously affected by marine disturbances so that it need more intensive surveillance.

The Covalima Regency (Suai) and Lautem (Lospalos) are said by Rotti to be the most seriously affected areas.

Specifically in the Lautem Regency (Lospalos), the marine disturbance is very serious because territorially borders on the Australian waters.

"In such condition, I think marine soldiers from East Timor are still very much needed for the defense and security duties in the waters," he said.

Unknown

About how much the interest of the East Timor youth in entering the marine corps is, according to Rotti, it is not known for sure because all this time they have only done recruitments twice.

He added, even though how much the interest of the East Timor youth is not known yet for sure, but until now there are already around 66 East Timor youth joined in the marine corps.

"They are recruited by the Marine Force in 1977 and 1978," he said. In fact, he said, at the moment two East Timor women have entered the Air Force Women Corps. "With two women soldiers who are natives from East Timor, it shows that there is interest in entering the marine corps," he added.

Taken into Considerations

According to Rotti, with the condition, his department expects the leader of the Marine Headquarters can take into consideration in recruiting the East Timor youth.

"At least if there is a recruitment in the marine corps, they can give priority so that

the East Timor youth can be interested," he said.

Several marine soldiers in the Dili Marine Base who were asked for their comment said, in taking the test for entering the marine corps, they have to compete objectively with their colleagues from other provinces.

EAST TIMORESE YOUNG PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE

By Bill Mason, Greenleft, April 14

KIM COMERFORD and NICK EVERETT, from Brisbane ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor), recently travelled to East Timor. Over 10 days they were able to observe the impact of the 20-year occupation of this nation by the Indonesian regime and the continuing resistance by the East Timorese people. Following is their account for *Green Left Weekly*.

"Luta means struggle," exclaimed an East Timorese youth, pointing to the Fretilin emblem on his hat. This youth, and his friends, had taken enormous risks to provide evidence of the overwhelming rejection of Indonesia's annexation and continued repression of their country. "Any support for integration is a lie," he exclaimed. "We demand a referendum."

This meeting captured the sentiment of a whole new generation emerging in the struggle for the liberation of their country. From the capital of Dili, to the towns of Baucau and Los Palos and in the many coastal and mountain villages we visited, the determination to achieve independence was clearly evident.

A massive military presence was visible from the moment we crossed the border into East Timor. The occupying forces are estimated by East Timorese sources as 35 battalions, or 35,000 regular Kostrad and elite command Kopassus troops. This equates to more than one Indonesian soldier for 20 East Timorese.

The build-up of military forces continues. On March 25, we witnessed the arrival by sea of two more battalions of troops on their way to a temporary military camp at Heran, 10 kilometres east of Dili. Their arrival coincided with the conclusion of intra-Timorese talks in Austria. While these talks discussed the excessive levels of the Indonesian military presence, the regime was preparing for the possibility of more demonstrations.

The Indonesian government has two mechanisms for disguising the size of its military presence. Many military personnel perform their role in civilian clothes, providing a facade of integration into civilian life.

In addition, large numbers of military personnel are assigned to internal security tasks within the police force. These tasks involve demonstration control, usually in civilian clothes. In January 1995, the Dili special force police were given responsibility for internal security along with increases to staff levels in the form of transfers from the military, a policy that is now in place throughout the territory. We were frequently followed, visited and questioned by police responsible for internal security.

The military appeared more concentrated on the eastern side of the territory, with large numbers of troop carriers on the roads in and out of Los Palos and helicopters flying overhead. Indonesian troops are engaged in combat operations here against an estimated 500 East Timorese in the guerilla force called Falintil. These operations, which have continued since 1975, have made roads between Viqueque and Los Palos off limits to visitors. "There are no questions asked in this area; they just shoot," explained an activist in Los Palos.

A strong military presence was also apparent at Baucau, the headquarters of the troops garrisoned in East Timor and the site of the main Indonesian military air base. This site was formerly East Timor's international airport and was taken over for military purposes during the invasion in 1975.

Also visible was the legacy of 20 years of military operations. The scars of napalm, burning and bombing attacks could be seen in the injuries and trauma sustained by people in villages across the territory and mountain ranges, and farming land devoid of vegetation.

Marginalisation

In recent years the regime has sought to overwhelm the East Timorese people with waves of transmigrants. Indonesian transmigrants, 500 of whom arrived in East Timor by boat last month, now number well over 100,000. These transmigrants, often economic refugees from Java and Sulawesi, are given special treatment. They receive jobs denied to East Timorese school leavers and run most of the businesses in the towns and villages.

Many East Timorese, both school leavers and graduates, described the difficulty they found gaining employment. Banks and government departments were almost exclusively staffed by Indonesians, while East Timorese were given only the most menial tasks. Businesses, cafes, restaurants, buses, taxis and shops all employed predominantly Indonesians.

Transmigrants' homes, property and businesses have often been the focus of attack by frustrated East Timorese. Settlements we observed, constructed for trans-

migrants, were surrounded by huge fences and barbed wire. Clearly two societies exist in East Timor, with East Timorese being largely excluded from the formal economy and living a subsistence existence.

Indonesia often boasts of the developmental assistance it has provided East Timor. Our visit to Ermera gave us a first-hand impression of Indonesian "development." This mountain village is vital to the Indonesian-controlled coffee plantation industry. The PT Batara Indra Group and its subsidiaries, with close connections to the Indonesian army, control the coffee industry, including a 9000-hectare plantation at Ermera, the main department store in Dili and sandalwood oil production.

East Timorese work long hours in plantations to provide coffee for Indonesia's domestic market. While Indonesian plantation owners profit from this labour and prime agricultural land, East Timorese receive little reward and face long periods of unemployment between harvests.

Resistance

In Dili there is a climate of defiance. Walls of desolate and burnt-out buildings carried the words "Xanana my Hero," symbols of resistance such as clenched fists, and the names of clandestine organisations such as "Gamis" (poor boy), "RENETIL" and "Nhakretekt."

The young people are prepared to risk their lives in the struggle for independence. The youth are a major target for the military and security forces, and many youth face daily harassment, beatings, torture and interrogation.

On March 15, an activist informed us that a Dili youth had been arrested for suspected involvement in clandestine activities. There are many prisons in Dili. The Red Cross was able to help confirm where this youth was detained, but information on his condition was not released.

Throughout the country, East Timorese youth showed their rejection of Indonesia's annexation. One young man in a busy Dili street shouted to us, "Viva Timor Leste" and then disappeared on his push bike. In Baucau, high schools students cried out to us, "Twenty years too long," and all over East Timor children and youth greeted us with symbols of struggle and resistance.

The walls of the Baucau church still carry bullet holes from the January 2, 1995, massacre by Indonesian troops. In response to the killing of an East Timorese named Armanda Ximenes by an Indonesian migrant, 1000 unarmed protesters demonstrated at this church. Troops opened fire on the crowd, killing 25 people according to an East Timorese activist we met in this city. A nearby market, predominantly Indonesian

shops, and other targets had been burnt to the ground by East Timorese youths in retaliation.

On March 16, the day before we arrived in Los Palos, a demonstration was held at the market to protest against military intimidation of the church parish. The parish priest led discussions in the confrontation, taking a stand against the military.

While this action in Los Palos ended peacefully, troops in Ermera took harsh action against two boys who had made contact with Falintil. Both were shot dead on March 18 without legal proceedings.

The key role of youth in the resistance was highlighted by meetings with high school and university students who provided a picture of the clandestine network amongst youth. These organisations obtain funds, medicines and supplies for other sections of the resistance and are often responsible for getting information into and out of East Timor.

Dili University, in particular, has been a focus for continued harassment by security forces and some students have been killed in military raids.

Indonesian allies

A meeting in Dili with a youth activist who had recently returned from Jakarta provided evidence of growing links between Jakarta's East Timorese community and Indonesian activists in SPRIM (Indonesian People's Solidarity with the Maubere) and SMID (Student Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia).

Since the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, a large number of East Timorese youths have become exiles in Jakarta, while others have moved there to study. In collaboration with SPRIM and SMID, they organised the recent occupations in foreign embassies in Jakarta, assisting 170 East Timorese to flee to Portugal and Australia.

These actions were timed to coincide with the APEC summit and the anniversaries of the Santa Cruz massacre and the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, causing maximum embarrassment to the regime.

While in Jakarta, this activist had intended to flee through the Australian embassy, but was asked by Xanana Gusmão to return to East Timor. He regularly travels between Dili and the Falintil guerrillas, assisting the work of the clandestine movement.

The embassy protests are having a profound impact on the morale of the clandestine movement. "In these actions, our people showed an enormous will to fight Suharto," exclaimed one activist.

"The East Timor community in Jakarta is emerging as a catalyst in the Indonesians'

struggle for dignity and human rights," he explained. "More and more, Indonesian workers are beginning to organise, and to see the links with our struggle."

We met numerous people claiming links to the East Timorese who had participated in the embassy protests: brothers, sisters, parents and uncles. Many more had received news of these protests and support actions in other countries via short wave radio or Portuguese television broadcasts, demonstrating the strength of international solidarity.

A meeting with a number of youths in Dili, however, was the clearest demonstration of the vibrancy, strength and determination of the youth movement. Many had lost family in the invasion, in the massacre at Santa Cruz and in the continued armed resistance.

They described electric shock torture, beatings and long periods of detention without trial for their persistent demonstrations in the presence of foreign journalists in Dili. One youth had recently been released after six months in Becora prison, where he had sustained severe head injuries for his participation in a demonstration outside the Makota Hotel last April.

The most recent demonstration had been outside the Balide Seminary on February 3. SGI (special force police) captured and tortured 25 of the 300 East Timorese present at the demonstration. One of these, with whom we spoke, was still sick from electric shock torture he had received.

Discussions with these activists also focused on Australia's foreign policy. "We know of the Timor Gap Treaty and the security pact. We know the new prime minister, John Howard, will probably be the same kind of friend to Suharto as Mr. Paul Keating. But East Timorese know Australian people support our struggle," said one of these youth activists.

"When we hear of Australian demonstrations and protests, it gives us strength, and news of this kind of solidarity always increases our determination."

ABRI FACTION OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VISITS EAST TIMOR

Dili, 4/17 (ANTARA) - Several Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) faction members of the House of Representatives in filling its recess period made a visit for four days, April 14 to 17, 1996 to the East Timor province.

"The visit to East Timor is intended to seek for inputs on the implementation of the development in the region including the obstructions faced, in order to be forwarded

to the government in the assembly period," said ABRI faction member Big. Gen. R. Mudjadi in Dili, on Tuesday.

Mudjadi mentioned it in the meeting with the information line and board of the Journalists' Association of Indonesia (PWI) East Timor preparation branch in Dili.

In the event besides Mudjadi received inputs on the implementation of development at the local Department of Information Regional Office line, he also received the report on the activities and obstructions faced by the PWI East Timor preparation branch.

Meanwhile, the East Timor Head of PWI preparation branch T.H.E.S.P. Heri Yanto reported on the obstructions faced by the local PWI especially the permanent building for the local PWI secretariat which until now has not been realized.

Besides that, it was also reported about the preparations of the local PWI in its effort in sending local reporters contingent to participate in the National Reporters Sports Event (Porwanas) in Bandung-West Java on next May.

"If the local PWI can send a contingent to participate in the Porwanas, then the participation of the East Timor reporters contingent is the first time ever in the sports event for reporters in Indonesia," he said.

However, the effort to realize the dreams of the East Timor reporters to be able to participate in the Porwanas is obstructed by a classic problem; the absence of supporting fund to send the existing contingent.

Besides that, Yanto also explained about the working program of the local PWI, especially the effort to improve the human resources of journalists in the region.

About the inputs, Mudjadi besides promising to put forward the problem faced by the East Timor PWI preparation branch, in a hearing between the House of Representatives and the executives, also expects the board of the East Timor PWI preparation branch to always try to improve the development activities in the region.

RP 4.8 BILLION FOR COOPERATIVES AND SMALL INDUSTRIES IN EAST TIMOR

Dili, 4/23 (ANTARA) A many as six State owned Companies in the year 1996/97 will allocate funds of Rp 4.8 Billion for the cooperatives, non-village cooperatives, and small industries in East Timor.

The chief of Small Industry Development sector of the regional cooperatives and small industries offices of East Timor Muchtar Ali in Dili, on Monday said, the funds that are being provided come from six State Owned Companies in Indonesia, including PT Pertamina, BRI, and Telkom.

The determination of fund allocation for 1996 is based on the letter of the Director General for small industries and director general of State Owned Industries and the Finance Department is more compared to the allocation of 1995 which only allocated Rp 3.2 billion which helped activities of 55 cooperatives, 29 village cooperatives, and 526 small industries.

The capital aid for 1996/97 is enough, however, for the meantime, the Regional Cooperatives and Small Industries offices, have not determined the amount of cooperatives, village cooperatives, and small industries who deserve aid, he said.

He said, the aid from the State Owned Companies, are with an interest of four to six percent per year, in a period of three years.

Presently, the East Timor Regional Cooperatives Offices, are making an effort to guide 18 cooperatives who are still inactive and have not started activities as other cooperatives.

INDONESIA TO OPEN HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE IN TIMOR

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights will open a branch in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor next month, the official Antara news agency said Saturday.

Clementino Amaral, an East Timorese member of the commission, was quoted as saying a lawyer, Alex Refialy, would head the new office.

He said Refialy, a junior associate professor in the law faculty at Empu Tantular university, was a former head of the prosecutor's office in Singaraja, Bali.

The report gave no other details about Refialy's background.

Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor has been under close international scrutiny and criticism ever since it invaded the enclave in December 1975.

Jakarta annexed East Timor in July the following year in an act not recognized by the United Nations.

The U.N. Human Rights Commission Tuesday expressed its "deep concern" over reports of human rights violations in East Timor.

A statement from the chairman of the 53-member body, adopted by consensus, also called on Indonesia to investigate fully the November 1991 massacre of civilians by Indonesian troops in which up to 200 East Timorese were killed.

Jakarta has acknowledged only about 50 people were killed.

TIMORESE REPORTEDLY KILLED FOR RAISING FLAG

From BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, April 30, Full text

Source RDP Antena-1 radio, Lisbon, 1400 GMT 29 April, in Portuguese

Two Timorese have died in the last few days as a result of Indonesian violence. One of the victims is a relative of the jailed resistance leaders, Xanana Gusmão. Our correspondent in Australia, Antonio Sampaio reports:

Andre Sousa was a middle-aged Timorese and a former official of the Portuguese education services in Dili, capital of East Timor. He was killed after raising a flag which was at half mast following the death of President Suharto's wife. He was beaten up and shot. His body was wrapped in a plastic bag and taken to the military hospital in Dili.

His family was only able to recover the body after the Red Cross intervened. A source said that the police wanted to make the body disappear and had it not been for the Red Cross they would have succeeded.

BAUCAU RIOTS

LUSA, April 29. By Antonia Sampaio, Translated and summarized

Andre Sousa was beaten and then shot twice and killed by two security agents in Comoro, Dili, after removing the Indonesian flag from its half-mast position that showed mourning for Madame Suharto, and attempting to run with it – according to a source in Dili. Sousa's body was then wrapped in plastic and taken to the military hospital in Dili. Sousa's family recovered the body after the Red Cross intervened.

Andre Sousa's brother is married to Xanana Gusmão's sister, Manuela Gusmão. Andre Sousa worked for the Dili Education services during the Portuguese administration.

Another, unidentified Timorese man from Laleia and residing in Dili was killed in Baucau, leading to violent confrontations between youth and the military. The man was suspected of being involved with the resistance. His funeral will take place tomorrow. Telephone communications with Baucau have been cut.

These killings coincided with the visit of Australian ambassador to Indonesia.

YOUTHS STAGE PROTEST MARCH IN EAST TIMOR

Abridged.

Jakarta, April 28, Reuter – Hundreds of youths marched through the town of Baucau in the troubled territory of East Timor on

Sunday in protest against the killing of a youth by Indonesian soldiers, a resident said.

"They marched from the new town to the old part of the town. There could have been about a thousand," one resident told Reuters by telephone from Baucau, about 80 km (50 miles) east of the East Timor capital of Dili.

The resident said they were protesting against soldiers who shot and killed a youth three days ago. He did not know any other details about the shooting incident.

He said the crowd gathered for about three hours before dispersing without incident.

Colonel Andreas Sugianto, East Timor's police chief, told Reuters by telephone from Dili that a small demonstration had taken place after hundreds of people had gathered in Baucau for a church service.

He said between 30 and 60 youths waving banners were involved in the protest, adding he did not know what their banners said.

"We just dispersed them; they didn't break anything. There were no criminal actions. We just let them go home," he said.

There were no arrests, he added.

Australian Ambassador to Jakarta Allan Taylor is travelling in East Timor with a group of embassy staffers and journalists but Sugianto said he was not in Baucau at the time.

TIMOR TENSION HIGH AFTER PROTEST DEATHS

The Australian, April 30 1996. by Patrick Walters in Dili

ABC radio reports (30/4) from Michael Maher quote prominent East Timorese, Florentino Sarmiento as saying that violations by the armed forces are increasing, particularly in areas remote from Dili. Also reported that the Indonesian armed forces have said that they will soon try a soldier for the killing of Paulo dos Reis. ABC TV report (May 1) from Michael Maher shows demonstration by young people in Baucau, including some holding a large banner with Paulo dos Reis's name on it. Paulo was a student in Baucau. Also footage of young men on motor cycles riding into church festival reportedly to join protest.

Tensions remained high in East Timor yesterday following the killing of two East Timorese by the Indonesian military in the last week. The Australian Ambassador, Mr. Alan Taylor, making a farewell visit to the province had to drop plans to attend a church festival at Wailili near Baucau on Sunday because of the tense situation in Baucau which is 120km east of Dili.

Church officials advised Mr. Taylor that it would be prudent for him not to attend, fearing that the presence of the Australian delegation, could spark further problems.

On Sunday about 300 young East Timorese marched defiantly through the streets of Baucau shouting slogans in support of jailed East Timorese rebel leader, Xanana Gusmão, and calling for independence for East Timor. East Timorese sources said later that the military used tear gas to disperse the group.

The latest flare-up came 3 days after the military shot dead a high school student, Paulo dos Reis, in a village not far from Baucau. Sources said that the student had been interrogated by the military, under suspicion of having links to Fretilin guerrillas.

In Dili on Sunday a mentally handicapped man was shot dead after allegedly burning an Indonesian flag.

East Timorese protesting against the shooting of Dos Reis also demonstrated at a church festival held near Wailili, near Baucau on Sunday. Around 4000 people attended a colourful ceremony, celebrating the visit from Rome of the Superior General of the Salesian Sisters. Sources attending the event said that Bishop Belo managed to calm the protestors.

OMCT ALERT ON AFONSO GONÇALVES AND ANTONIO LUIS SOARES

OMCT: ARBITRARY ARREST/TORTURE

Case IDN/TMP 030596

The International Secretariat of OMCT/SOS Torture requests your urgent intervention in the following situation in EAST TIMOR.

Brief description of the situation:

The International Secretariat has received information from different reliable sources in East Timor on the following events.

On 30 December 1995, Afonso Gonçalves was arrested at Barrio Pite, Dili, accused of involvement in the manufacture of "Molotov Cocktails." In the police headquarters at Comoro, Dili, it is alleged that he was tortured during an interrogation to reveal the names of others involved. The information suggests, because of the torture, he implicated, falsely, the involvement of a friend, Antonio Luis Soares.

At 2.00 am the next morning, Mr. Soares was arrested by Security Police in Manatuto together with five boys (ages and identity unknown) living at his home. No arrest warrant was issued.

On 31 December during the day, 1995 an official warrant was issued for Mr. Soares, who refused to give any information without legal representation. His uncle, a Mr. Bosco, was brought to Police-headquarters in order to force him to convince the prisoner to answer questions. Mr. Soares, fearing for his uncles safety, agreed in writing to interrogation without legal representation.

One of the five boys was released, the same day the others, three weeks later. They are still required to report to Police Headquarters on a daily basis.

Afonso Gonçalves and Antonio Luis Soares are still in detention awaiting trial. It is not known whether they have access to independent lawyers and there is grave concern for their physical and psychological integrity.

Actions requested: Please write to the Indonesian Authorities urging them to:

- i. Guarantee the physical and the psychological integrity of the prisoners and give them immediate, unrestricted access to lawyers of their own choice;
- ii. open an exhaustive enquiry into the preceding allegations in order to annul all declarations made under torture and establish those responsible, bring them before a civil court and apply the appropriate sanctions provided by law;
- iii. In the absence of valid legal charges, order the immediate and unconditional release of Antonio Luis Soares and Afonso Gonçalves, if such charges exist, bring them before a civilian court and guarantee their full procedural rights;
- iv. guarantee at all times the full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms according to national laws and international norms;

Addresses:

Chief of Police East Timor, Lt. Col. Andreas Sugianto, Kapolda Timor Timur, Dili, East Timor (Indonesia);

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Alatas S.H., Menteri Luar Negeri, Jl. Medan Taman Pejambon N 6, Jakarta, Indonesia Fax 62 21 345 0517/360517;

The Secretary General of the National Commission on Human Rights, Prof. Dr. Baharuddin Lopa, Sekretaris Jenderal, Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi Manusia (KOMNAS HAM), Jl Pemuda N 104, Arawamangun, Jakarta Timur, Indonesia
Diplomatic Representatives in your country

Geneva 3 May 1996

Kindly inform us of any action undertaken quoting the code of the present appeal in your reply.

Ben Schonveld, Projects Manager
OMCT/SOS-Torture

Case Postale 119, Rue de Vermont 37-39,
Geneva CH-1211
Tel:4122 733 3140 Fax:4122 733 1051

ASYLUM-SEEKING CONTINUES

Editor's note: Many of the asylum requests have given rise to controversies in the countries whose embassies were entered. Some of this is found in the sections of East Timor Documents relating to those particular countries: Germany, New Zealand, Australia, etc.

CHRONOLOGY OF EMBASSY ASYLUM BIDS FOR EAST TIMORESE

JAKARTA, Jan 29 (Reuter) - The following is a chronology of recent break-ins at foreign embassies in Jakarta by East Timorese, mainly students, seeking asylum.

1993

June 23 - Seven East Timorese students enter the Finnish and Swedish embassies. Those in the Finnish mission leave the next day, while those in the Swedish embassy leave the building on July 2 after government assurances for their safety.

December 29 - The seven who broke into the Finnish and Swedish embassies in June fly to Portugal. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said they were allowed to go on humanitarian grounds.

1994

November 12 - As Indonesia prepares to host an Asia-Pacific economic summit, 29 East Timorese jump a fence into the U.S. embassy compound. November 12 was the third anniversary of the massacre by soldiers of up to 200 East Timorese in Dili.

November 24 - After 12-day sit-in in front of world's media, the 29 protestors leave for asylum in Portugal.

1995

September 24 - Five East Timorese youths enter the British embassy and ask for political asylum. They go to asylum in Portugal on September 29.

November 7 - Eight East Timorese run through the gate of the Dutch embassy and seek political asylum, only days before the fourth anniversary of the Dili massacre.

November 8 - Helped by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the eight leave for asylum in Portugal after little more than 30 hours in the Dutch embassy.

November 14 - Twenty-one East Timorese climb a fence into the Japanese

embassy shortly before the start of the annual Asia-Pacific economic summit in Osaka, Japan. The next day they leave for asylum in Portugal after Lisbon accepts them.

November 16 - Five East Timorese break into the French embassy and seek refuge in Portugal "or another country which could give them political asylum."

November 17 - The five in the French embassy leave for Portugal. Foreign diplomats fear speed with which recent asylum bids have been resolved will encourage further attempts.

November 20 - Four East Timorese enter French embassy. Portugal accuses Indonesia of encouraging asylum bids to remove opponents and ease internal pressure in East Timor.

November 21 - The French embassy four head for Lisbon on a now set route, with ICRC help. Alatas says the asylum bids are instigated from abroad. Lisbon calls such claims "absurd."

December 7 - On the 20th anniversary of Indonesian invasion of East Timor, 112 East Timorese and their Indonesian supporters enter the Russian and Dutch embassies as a protest against Jakarta's rule in East Timor. All leave under police escort within days. A last minute request by more than 20 Timorese for asylum is refused by the Dutch.

1996

January 10 - Two East Timorese women enter Australian embassy asking for asylum in Australia. They go to Portugal two days later.

January 12 - Five East Timorese men jump the fence of the New Zealand embassy leaving on January 15.

January 25 - Twelve East Timorese enter the Polish embassy asking for asylum in Poland.

January 29 - Four East Timorese youths enter the French embassy in the third such incident in three months, hours before the 12 in the Polish embassy are due to leave for Portugal.

POLAND SETS UP COMMITTEE ON TIMORESE REFUGEES

[This article has been excerpted.]

WARSAW, Jan 25 (Reuter) - Poland has set up a special committee to deal with the 12 East Timorese youths who scaled a fence and sought asylum at the Polish embassy in Jakarta, the Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman said...Thursday.

Pawel Dobrowolski told Reuters the committee, including representatives of

various ministries, was aware of the potential dangers facing the youths if they left the embassy.

Witnesses reported seeing plain-clothes military officials outside the embassy shortly after the youths entered.

Dobrowolski said the committee would strive to ensure the safety of all involved, adding...it was too early to talk of granting asylum.

"Considering the stormy history of East Timor we will strive to guarantee...no person involved in the incident is in danger or discomfort," Dobrowolski said.

He said Polish diplomats in Jakarta had some problems with communicating with the asylum-seekers because none of the 12 young men spoke English. He said they were behaving peacefully.

"...the initial problems have been overcome and the committee, which is in contact with authorities in Jakarta, will try to find a solution as quickly as possible," he said.

East Timor has faced continued unrest as Indonesian forces seek to subdue a restless civilian population and lingering guerrilla resistance in the mountains.

Residents of East Timor and diplomats say young people there have come under renewed intimidation in recent months as unidentified gangs believed to be linked to the military launch random attacks on individuals and groups in several towns.

The military...denied any involvement in such incidents.

Timorese sources said most of those seeking asylum were recent arrivals from East Timor, rather than long-term residents of Jakarta. The 12 men are the latest group from the troubled territory to seek refuge outside Indonesia after a wave of attempts since last September.

12 TIMORESE LEAVE POLISH EMBASSY FOR EXILE

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - Twelve East Timor youths, who jumped into Jakarta's Polish embassy last week left for asylum Monday in Portugal, hours after four more sought refuge in the French embassy, witnesses said.

The four youths - aged between 17 and 18 - entered the French embassy to seek asylum in Portugal in the third such incident at the mission in as many months, foreign ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl told Reuters.

"They are boys, not men, who are probably misinformed and have some illusion about the better living conditions in Portugal," Fadyl said, adding only one carried an identity card.

The 12 who entered the Polish embassy last Thursday by jumping the fence were due to leave for Portugal via Amsterdam

Monday under the auspices of the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

EN ROUTE TO LISBON

Diario de Noticias, 30 January 1996, abridged

The 12 Timorese who took refuge in the Polish Embassy in Jakarta arrive today, Tuesday, in Lisbon, said a Portuguese Red Cross spokesperson to the LUSA news agency.

As in previous cases, their journey was organised by the ICRC...

The ICRC delegate in Jakarta ...also said that, in addition to the refugees, 30 former civil servants of the Portuguese administration in Dili, who had requested repatriation some years ago, should also be arriving in Lisbon next Thursday. Their case had been delayed several times "due to bureaucratic formalities, but it will all be finally over this week," said the ICRC delegate.

12 MORE TIMORESE REFUGEES ARRIVE TO LISBON

Publico, 31 January 1996 Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon - Yesterday, the twelve Timorese who had sought refuge in the Polish embassy in Jakarta arrived to Lisbon. A further four, who had entered the French Embassy, arrived this afternoon. The recent wave of asylum seekers in foreign embassies in the Indonesian capital has led to a statement from the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, whose spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl appealed to Timorese "not to force their way into embassies as a way of leaving the country." Giving assurances that young Timorese "are not persecuted" in Indonesia, Fadyl said they were free to leave Indonesia if they wished to do so.

This assurance was refuted by the Timorese who arrived in Portugal yesterday: "The Indonesian Government is lying. They have said that before on other occasions, but when one wants to leave, they refuse to give authorisation," said Antonio Soares, spokesman for the group.

YET ANOTHER EMBASSY OCCUPATION (FRENCH)

Diario de Noticias, 30 January 96. Translated from Portuguese Abridged

Lisbon - Four Timorese entered the French Embassy in Jakarta yesterday, and requested immediate political asylum. The four Timorese, all quite young, entered the diplomatic premises peacefully at about 10 in the morning local time. ...

A French Foreign Ministry official told the LUSA agency some hours later that his

Government would seek to find "a humanitarian solution" for the Timorese who had sought asylum.

This is the third time since November 1995 that groups of Timorese seek refuge in the French Embassy in Jakarta. On both previous occasions, the Timorese (a total of 9 people) ended up by being flown to Portugal.

... Between September and November last year, over 50 Timorese sought asylum in different foreign embassies in Jakarta, and were later taken in by Portugal.

FOUR EAST TIMORESE LEAVE FOR PORTUGUESE EXILE

JAKARTA, Jan 30 (Reuter) - Four East Timorese youths who entered into the French embassy in Jakarta on Monday left Indonesia on Tuesday for exile in Portugal, airport officials said.

One official told Reuters the Timorese were on board a Dutch KLM plane bound for Amsterdam. An official at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said earlier the youths would continue their journey to Lisbon via Amsterdam.

Since September last year, 62 East Timorese have received asylum in Portugal after entering the British, Dutch, Japanese, French, Australian, New Zealand and Polish embassies. They all left for Portugal under the auspices of the ICRC.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and proclaimed it the country's 27th province in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

Foreign ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl told Reuters on Monday the four youths were aged between 17 and 18.

"They are boys, not men, who are probably misinformed and under some illusions about better living conditions in Portugal," he said.

29 EAST TIMORESE APPLY TO LEAVE FOR PORTUGAL

Kyodo, January 31, 1996

Some 29 East Timorese will soon leave for Portugal after sending an application to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) here to receive political asylum in Portugal, a committee source said Wednesday.

"I just met them at the Jakarta Theological Seminary and they said they had been staying in the seminary since a few days ago," the source said, adding a bus from the Indonesian Red Cross will bring them to Jakarta's Sukarno-Hatta International Airport.

The source quoted the young East Timorese men as saying they came directly

from East Timor to Jakarta with the purpose of seeking political asylum.

ICRC officials, however, have not been available to comment.

Sixty-six East Timorese have received political asylum in Portugal since last September after entering the Australian, British, Dutch, French, Japanese, New Zealand or Polish Embassies.

AI ALERT ON BOAT PEOPLE ARRESTS

EXTERNAL AI Index: ASA 21/09/96

UA 25/96 Arbitrary detention / Fear of torture 1 February 1996

EAST TIMOR 23 East Timorese

Amnesty International fears that at least 23 East Timorese youths, arrested on 20 January after apparently attempting to leave East Timor by boat, may be at risk of torture or ill-treatment in incommunicado detention.

On 24 January, Indonesia's official news agency, Antara, reported that 26 East Timorese were being investigated over their attempt to leave East Timor after they allegedly hijacked a fishing boat. The agency reported that the group had rented the boat, but then demanded that they be taken to Australia. Despite having hijacked the boat, however, the group then reportedly fell asleep, allowing the captain to change course and return to East Timor. The official version of how the group were then apprehended is not clear. Other sources allege that the boat was intercepted by the Indonesian Armed Forces at Tutuala on the east coast of East Timor.

Although Antara originally reported that there were 26 East Timorese, including five women, being investigated over the incident, it appears now that there are only 23 in detention. The names of 25 are known, but it is not clear which of those named remains in detention. Although it is not known exactly where the group are being held, it is believed that some are in Baucau and others have been taken to Dili. It is also not clear whether they are in military or police detention. Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP) states that only the police are authorised to carry out arrests and investigations, but this is routinely ignored in Indonesia and East Timor.

Amnesty International is concerned that the group appear to have been arbitrarily detained, for while the group have been accused by the authorities of hijacking a boat, it does not appear that they have been charged.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Since 1995, an increasing number of East Timorese youths have attempted to leave Indonesia and East Timor by boat or by entering foreign embassies in Jakarta, claiming that they are fleeing a continuing serious human rights situation. Those seeking asylum in the foreign embassies in Jakarta are accepted by Portugal, which still recognises East Timorese as Portuguese citizens. On 20 November 1995, up to 27 East Timorese who were attempting to travel by boat to Australia were arrested by military authorities. In December, the authorities stated that all but five of the group had been released, but Amnesty International has not been able to confirm how many remain in detention (see UA 263/95, ASA 21/58/95, 23 November 1995).

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/ express /airmail letters in Bahasa Indonesia or English or your own language:

- urging the authorities to allow the 23 East Timorese detained on 20 January 1996 immediate access to lawyers of their own choice;
- seeking assurances that they are being treated humanely in accordance with international standards;
- calling for their immediate and unconditional release unless they are to be charged with a recognisably criminal offence.

APPEALS TO:

MILITARY COMMANDER REGION IX/UDAYANA: (covers Bali, Lombok, Nusa Tenggara and East Timor)

Maj. Gen. H A Rivai [Salutation: Dear Major-General]

Pangdam IX/Udayana
Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Telephone: +62 361 228 095
Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
Ali Alatas S.H.
Menteri Luar Negeri
Jl. Medan Taman Pejambon No.6
Jakarta, Indonesia
Faxes: +62 21 345 0517/360 517

AI UPDATE ON NOVEMBER 1995 BOAT PEOPLE

AI FI263/95 EAST TIMOR RELEASES

EXTERNAL AI Index: ASA 21/14/96

16 February 1996

Further information on UA 263/95 (ASA 21/58/95, 23 November 1995) - Arbitrary detention / Fear of torture

EAST TIMOR At least 20 unnamed East Timorese

Of the group of East Timorese, detained as they were attempting to leave East Timor by boat on the night of 20 November 1995, reportedly to seek asylum in Australia, all but two have been released.

Replies to members of the UA Network, sent from the Ambassador's office at the Indonesian Embassy in New Zealand in late 1995 and early 1996, stated:

"I can confirm that 20 East

Timorese were detained by the security forces on 20 November 1995 at Viqueque, East Timor. However, I have to correct your statement that these people were detained because they were attempting to seek asylum in Australia. The facts are that they were detained because they hijacked a boat and threatened the lives of other people, which is a purely criminal act...

The suspects who are still being detained by the security forces, are being treated well and their rights attended to according to the criminal procedural law that is in effect in Indonesia. If strong proof is found that they have been involved in crime, they will be brought to justice according to the Indonesian criminal law.

This is my explanation. I hope it will give you a clearer picture of the case, and will straighten out the disinformation which is intentionally disseminated by certain parties."

In view of the pattern of arbitrary arrests of East Timorese suspected of opposing Indonesian rule, Amnesty International remains concerned that the group may have been arrested solely for attempting to leave East Timor in order to seek asylum. The organization is seeking clarification of the charges against the two who remain in detention. While it does not yet know the identities of these two, it has been informed that they are awaiting trial. Amnesty International is concerned that they may not have access to independent lawyers, and may still be at risk of ill-treatment.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please telephone or send telegrams/express/ airmail letters in Bahasa Indonesia or English or your own language:

- seeking clarification of the charges against two East Timorese who remain in detention, having been arrested with a group on 20 November 1995 in Viqueque;

- seeking assurances that they will not face any torture or ill-treatment in detention and that they have full and continuing access to lawyers of their own choice.

TIMORESE GATECRASH AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

The New Zealand Herald, 8 February 1996

JAKARTA, AAP - The Australian Embassy in Jakarta was placed on full security alert yesterday as officials interviewed nine East Timorese who invaded the grounds overnight.

An embassy spokeswoman, Joanne Eyre, said the seven men and two women scaled the two-metre-high perimeter fence about 11 pm. It was not yet clear whether they sought political asylum in Australia.

NINE TIMORESE ENTER AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

Jakarta, AFP, 8 February 1996

Nine East Timorese, seven men and two women, scaled the fence of the Australian embassy in Jakarta late Wednesday night. 'They are in our embassy now and we are currently engaged in preliminary discussions with them,' first secretary Alistar Cox said. He added that the embassy was 'still trying to ascertain what they wanted.'

An East Timorese source in Jakarta said Thursday that the nine were part of his pro-independence group and added that they were specifically asking for political asylum in Australia. The source said the nine were students at universities in Java, without giving further details.

STATEMENT BY ASYLUM SEEKERS IN AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

Translated and abridged in CNRM Media Release

Indonesia, 6 February 1996

To the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Jakarta

We the undersigned East Timorese youths, who are members of the movement fighting for the freedom of the East Timorese state and nation of East Timor, truly state that:

a. We, who issue this statement are indeed citizens of the non-self governing nation of East Timor.

b. Our right to freedom, as enjoyed by other nations (such as the Indonesian, Portuguese, Australian, and others), has been taken away from us and violated by the government of Indonesia since the invasion of East Timor by the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) on 7 December 1975. We

therefore reject the presence of Indonesia and ABRI in East Timor.

c. On the basis of the above, we strongly issue the following demands:

1. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the United Nations to remove all ABRI members from East Timor in accordance with standing UN resolutions on Indonesia [and East Timor].
2. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the UN to release Xanana Gusmão and all other East Timorese political prisoners, since these prisoners have not been treated in accordance with valid international legal norms.
3. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the UN to cease all forms of intimidation and discrimination towards the people of East Timor, both in East Timor as well as in Indonesia.
4. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the UN to stop divisive tactics in East Timor, which have fragmented East Timorese society since the 7 December 1975 invasion.
5. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the UN to immediately hold a self-determination referendum, in accordance with international practice and under UN supervision, in East Timor for the people to express their true wishes.
6. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the UN to observe, implement and respect the full contents of the All Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue declaration issued by all participants in Austria in May 1995.
7. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Indonesian government at the UN to lobby all Asia Pacific states so that they also get involved in the withdrawal of ABRI members from East Timor and the decolonisation and self determination process of the territory in accordance with UN resolutions.
8. We ask the Australian Federal Government to pressure the Portuguese and Indonesian governments at the UN to involve East Timorese CNRM Leader Xanana Gusmão and/or his diplomatic representatives in the tri-partite meetings on East Timor, since the basic problem of East Timor regards the people of East Timor.
9. We ask the Australian Federal Government to fully support the struggle of the Maubere people and all actions of politi-

cal groups in Australia which may contribute to the freedom struggle of the East Timor people.

We make this statement in full respect of international norms and principles as contained in the UN Charter and Universal Human Rights Declaration, as well as the CNRM Peace Plan, for the future of the East Timorese people.

We thank you for your attention.

Sincerely

Hermengildo Lopes, Spokesperson
Members: Aires Aparicio Guterres, Delta
Alves, Ana Paula FM de Jesus, Fausttino
Ximenes Martins, Fidel Alves, Amorin
Vieira, Florencio Amaral,
Sejar das Quintas.

EAST TIMORESE DENIED ACCESS TO AUSTRALIAN JOURNALISTS

ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor) media release, February 9

At 10am this morning the Public Affairs Officer of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia refused to allow Mr. Max Lane, *Green Left Weekly* journalist and columnist for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, to speak to any East Timorese currently in the embassy, seeking political asylum.

At 10.40am Mr. Lindsay Murdoch, Asian correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald* was also denied access to the East Timorese. He was told by an Embassy official that it was not possible to speak to them. The Embassy is taking the law and the lives of the East Timorese into its own hands. The Australian government is treating the East Timorese the same way as the Suharto dictatorship.

The nine East Timorese are in the Australian Embassy protesting the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and the Australian support for the occupation. They are demanding asylum in Australia. East Timorese activists who are in contact with the nine, state those inside the Embassy are prepared to douse themselves in petrol and set themselves alight if they are not granted asylum.

We have also been informed by East Timorese representatives of the activists in Jakarta, that the ET who entered the Embassy have done so prepared to set fire to themselves if asylum in Australia is not granted. The Embassy is denying this, however nobody is able to confirm directly with the East Timorese inside.

By denying the East Timorese the right to tell their story, the Australian government is rejecting all notions of freedom and fairness. This attack on freedom of speech is clearly politically motivated. As shown by the recently signed Defence Security Treaty,

the Australian and Indonesian governments are continuing to improve their economic, military and political ties. With a federal election approaching, the ALP government is obviously keen that no threat to this relationship emerges.

TIMORESE IN OZ AND FRENCH EMBASSIES

Translated, excerpts

Jakarta, Feb 9 (LUSA) - Two East Timorese sought refuge today in the French embassy in Jakarta, and expressed the wish to go to Portugal, according to the French embassy adviser Martine Dorance. "They expressed their wish to go to Portugal, but we don't know when [this will happen (?)]. Our staff is dealing with the issue," Wahyu Endah of the International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Jakarta told France Presse.

A group of nine East Timorese youths is in the Australian embassy since Wednesday. According to an unidentified source cited by France Presse, the youths wish to remain inside the embassy until the Australian elections take place, on March 2. The same source said the group's objective is to generate conflicts between the Indonesian and Australian governments. Embassy personnel refused to comment on these allegations, and embassy spokesperson Joanne Eyre said the youths remain in the embassy and that negotiations continue. The nine were part of the larger group that entered the Russian embassy in December.

The Australian Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Nick Bolkus, confirmed that the 7 young men and 2 young women requested political asylum, and stated that the case will be subjected to the normal bureaucratic processes in such cases. [comment: from previous situations, it seems that the "normal bureaucratic processes" consists in sending them to Portugal...] Bolkus guaranteed they will be treated well while in the embassy. "With these people it is too early to make an evaluation on what they intend. They will be treated well and the government will decide what actions to take after talking to them," the minister told journalist.

TIMORESE LEAVE FRENCH JAKARTA MISSION FOR PORTUGAL

by Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, Feb 10 (Reuter) - Two East Timorese men left the French embassy compound in Jakarta for political asylum in Portugal on Saturday, two days before the

French foreign minister was due to visit Indonesia.

The quick resolution of the fourth such break-in since mid-November contrasted with the still uncertain fate of the nine East Timorese in the nearby Australian embassy who on Saturday were preparing to spend a fourth night in the compound.

Witnesses said the two men left the French embassy in central Jakarta without incident soon after 5.05 p.m. local time (1005 GMT) in two vehicles belonging to the local office of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

"They left the compound in two vehicles of the ICRC followed by an embassy car," a witness said, adding: "There were some plain clothes police but there were no problems." An ICRC official said on Friday the two men had requested political asylum in Portugal as soon as possible.

Diplomatic sources said the French wanted the two men out of the compound in less than 24 hours, record time for such asylum bids, to avoid complications ahead of the minister's visit.

But a mechanical problem with the aircraft operating a regular KLM Royal Dutch Airlines service from Jakarta to Amsterdam, used by the ICRC to send all Timorese to Portugal, was cancelled on Friday, the source said.

The departure of the two came two days before French Foreign Minister Herve De Charette was due to arrive in Jakarta.

Plain clothes police outside the French embassy identified the men as L.M. Alves, 20 and Alberto N. Soares, 21.

Four East Timorese left for political asylum in Portugal on January 30 after entering the French embassy the day before.

Nine others entered the compound in two separate incidents in November and left for Portugal within 48 hours.

Since late September, 66 East Timorese who have entered foreign embassies in Jakarta have travelled to Portugal, East Timor's former colonial ruler, under ICRC supervision.

Joanne Eyre, Australian embassy spokeswoman, said the nine Timorese in the mission were set to spend another night in the compound as diplomats were still talking with them.

Embassy sources say the seven and two women entered the compound by climbing a side fence late on Wednesday night. "Seeing as I have no news of any further developments at this stage I must say it is very likely (they will spend another night in the embassy)," Eyre said.

She said the group had requested political protection from Australia and set forth a number of political demands in relation to East Timor.

Two East Timorese women who entered the Australian embassy in Jakarta on January 10 asking for asylum in Australia left for Portugal two days later.

Australia is one of the few Western countries that recognises Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975 after the Portuguese had left. The following year it proclaimed the territory its 27th province.

PORTUGAL OFFERS ASYLUM TO TWO MORE TIMORESE

Diario de Noticias, 10 February 1996.

Translated from Portuguese

Two more Timorese, who sought refuge yesterday in the French Embassy in Jakarta, will be arriving today in Portugal.

Since last September, 66 Timorese have arrived in Lisbon, after seeking political asylum in foreign embassies in the Indonesian capital. The method used is always the same. As a way of protesting against Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, young Timorese, mainly students, jump over the embassy walls and it is then that the process of requesting asylum commences, with the International Red Cross acting as mediator. In this last case, the process took only two days.

Another group of 9 Timorese has been in the Australian Embassy since last Wednesday. However, this group's aim is different. According to an unidentified source, quoted by AFP, the young Timorese in question intend to remain in the Australian diplomatic representation until 2 March - when elections will be held in Australia. It is a way, said the source, of trying to create a rift in the relations between the Indonesian and Australian governments.

The 9 Timorese are part of a larger group that scaled the walls of the Russian Embassy last December.

Embassy officials refused to comment on the reports, and would only say that the young Timorese were still inside and that negotiations continued.

Meanwhile, the Australian Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Nick Bolkus, promised that the seven boys and two girls would be well treated as long as they remained in the Embassy compound. He also confirmed that they had all asked for political asylum and that their cases were being processed through the usual bureaucratic channels. (...)

Resistance Suspicious

The representative of the Timorese Resistance for Asia, Francisco Nicolau, yesterday issued a statement in which he accused the Macao Group of the Timorese Resistance (GMRT) of having people who were

“regularly, publicly and notoriously in connivance with the blood-thirsty Indonesian regime.”

Francisco Nicolau, who is also Vice-Chairman of UDT, accused members of the GMRT of having financial interests in Timor, where they go on excursions escorted and protected by Indonesian secret service agents...

The statement went on to say that the same members take part in “international events orchestrated and backed” by Indonesia, and, when they are visiting Timor, “denigrate and tarnish the good name of the Portuguese State.”

MORE ASYLUM SEEKERS ARRIVE IN LISBON

Diario de Noticias, 13 February 1996. Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

Yesterday saw the start of Portuguese language courses for the young Timorese who have arrived to Lisbon over the past few months. For this reason, when two of their compatriots arrived there was not the usual pro-independence demonstration awaiting them at Lisbon airport. For the first time, there were no shouts of “Viva East Timor!” or “Viva Independence!” in the ‘arrivals’ area...

The two Timorese who arrived yesterday were Alberto Soares Noronha and Helder Liborio Luis Alves, both 19 years old. They said they had sought refuge in the French Embassy in Jakarta because Indonesian security forces were searching for them in Timor.

MORE TIMORESE SAID READY TO LEAVE THEIR HOMELAND

JAKARTA, Feb 16 (Reuters) - More East Timorese youths want to leave their troubled homeland to escape alleged harassment from the Indonesian armed forces, a parliamentarian said on Friday.

Sixty-eight East Timorese have since September found refuge in embassies in Jakarta before leaving for asylum in Portugal, the territory’s former colonial ruler and still recognised by the United Nations as the sovereign power.

A further nine youths from the de facto Indonesian province are hanging on in the Australian Embassy even though Canberra, one of the few government’s to recognise Jakarta’s control over East Timor, is unwilling to grant their request for asylum.

Manuel Carrascalão, an MP with the ruling Golkar party, told Reuters by telephone that a number of East Timorese youths had complained of widespread harassment in

recent months and many said they wanted to leave for foreign countries.

“I have received many calls from the Timorese youths and met with two youths who failed to enter the Japanese embassy in Jakarta this month,” Carrascalão said from the East Timor capital Dili, adding: “They have become worried about their safety.”

Carrascalão said the youths complained of being continuously spied on by military officials which made them feel their movements were restricted.

“Last week the military beat a number of youths returning from a party for unclear reasons. The youths complain that they live in terror and fear.”

Police and military were not immediately available for comment on Friday.

While some of the asylum-seekers want to draw attention to the problems in East Timor, diplomats believe others simply want to escape from the harsh life in their homeland.

TALKS BETWEEN AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, ASYLUM-SEEKERS CONTINUE

by Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

Jakarta, Feb 10 AAP - A group of nine East Timorese asylum-seekers has spent a third night holed up in the Australian embassy in Jakarta with embassy officials pessimistic about an early resolution of their fate.

Embassy spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said discussions between embassy officials and the seven men and two women were continuing, but that it seemed “unlikely” their fate would be known today.

The group, who scaled the embassy’s two-metre perimeter fence on Wednesday night, has asked Australia for political protection, and has made a number of political demands over East Timor.

The nine are among the latest in a wave of East Timorese alleging persecution by Indonesian security forces and wanting to flee Indonesia by invading foreign embassies in Jakarta.

Yesterday morning two more East Timorese entered the French embassy. The Reuters newsagency quoted an official of the International Committee of the Red Cross as saying they would travel to Portugal at an unspecified time.

Since last September, 66 other East Timorese have travelled to Portugal after forcing their way into a number of foreign embassies in Jakarta and seeking political asylum.

On January 10, two East Timorese women entered the Australian embassy, and were later granted refuge in Portugal. However East Timor activists in Australia claimed they had been coerced into going to Portugal.

Ms Eyre has declined to comment on statements by East Timor activists in Melbourne yesterday that the nine East Timorese in the Australian embassy had declined offers of asylum by Portugal, East Timor’s former colonial ruler.

The Australian government was yesterday non-committal about the asylum-seekers in its embassy.

In Darwin, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Minister Nick Bolkus said normal procedures would be followed in assessing the claims, free of any political interference.

“They will be treated comfortably on the way through and the government will make an assessment after the course of interviewing them,” Senator Bolkus told reporters.

The Indonesian government said the asylum-seekers in the Australian embassy in Jakarta had no valid claims of persecution, and were involved in a publicity stunt.

“Since they’re not under persecution, it’s all being done to attract the attention of our opponents - just for publicity,” foreign ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyil said.

“They have the freedom to go where they wish. There is no need to jump over the embassy fence and claim that they are being persecuted because they are not being persecuted.”

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975, and annexed the territory early the following year, in a move recognised by Australia but not the United Nations.

TIMORESE EMBASSY GROUP FAIL TO JUSTIFY POLITICAL ASYLUM

Reuters, Sunday 11 February 1996. Abridged

The nine East Timorese seeking refuge in the Australian embassy in Jakarta since they jumped over the perimeter fence last Wednesday had failed to provide enough evidence to justify political asylum, according to embassy spokesperson Joanne Eyer. “They have been told they can apply to visas to travel to Australia or to travel to Portugal,” she said.

There has been a wave of East Timorese seeking refuge in foreign embassies in Jakarta last September, during which time 68 East Timorese have left for Portugal. Two Timorese men left for Portugal on Saturday night after entering the French mission on Friday - the fourth break-in there since mid-November. Diplomatic sources say that although some of the cases in this new wave

of embassy break-ins can be seen bids to draw attention to the plight of East Timor, others are purely a means of escape.

NINE IN OZ EMBASSY REFUSE GOING TO PORTUGAL

translated, abridged, edited

Jakarta, Feb 13 (LUSA) - The 9 East Timorese who requested asylum at the Australian embassy a week ago, have refused the possibility of going to Portugal instead, a spokesperson for the International Red Cross revealed today.

"We have been in permanent contact with them, but as they refuse to go to Portugal, the Red Cross can do nothing in this case," he said, adding that "we are not interfering in the negotiations between the nine Timorese and the Australian government."

Australian diplomats in Jakarta told the nine that none of them had presented proof to substantiate their request for political asylum. They are given two alternatives: either they request an entry visa for Australia under the Australian immigration law, or they may invoke the Family Reunion plan in case they have immediate family members living in Australia.

The nine youths, having seen their request for asylum in Australia refused from the onset, went on hunger strike for three days, but on Sunday they finally accepted food.

RENETIL ASKS CANBERRA TO ACCEPT NINE

translated, abridged

Lisbon, Feb 13 (LUSA) - The National Resistance of East Timorese Students (RENETIL) sent a letter to the Portuguese government just a few hours after the Australian authorities announced that they will not grant political asylum to the group of nine who sought refuge at the Australian embassy in Jakarta.

The RENETIL letter is addressed to the foreign minister, Jaime Gama, who is currently visiting China. The letter appeals to the Portuguese government to put pressure on the Australian authorities to grant political asylum to the nine.

In the letter, RENETIL considers that East Timor "is an international question," which means that "any country has the responsibility to receive the Timorese if they request political asylum."

According to the RENETIL, the nine youths have been in hunger strike for five days, although this was interrupted after the third day. The youths have reportedly sealed their lips ("colado os labios" means literally to "glued their lips shut" but hopefully what is meant is that they are refusing to eat or talk), except for the group's

spokesperson, Hermenegildo Lopes. Lopes is threatening to set himself on fire.

The nine youths refuse to go to Portugal, and if Australia denies them political asylum they defy the Australian government to hand them over to the Indonesian authorities, taking responsibility for what might then happen to them.

The RENETIL letter also asks that Portugal and all member countries of the European Union put pressure on the Indonesian government to "stabilize the situation in East Timor to avoid the exodus of the youth from their birthland."

The RENETIL letter identifies the nine refugees at the Australian embassy as Hermenegildo Lopes, Aires Aparicio Guterres, Dela Alves, Ana Paula de Jesus, Faustino Ximenes Martins, Fidel Alves, Amarin Vieira, Florencio Amaral and Cesar Dias Quintas.

Note that Dela Alves is pregnant.

NINE EAST TIMORESE REJECT OFFER TO GO TO PORTUGAL

Media Indonesia, 14 Feb. 1996. Abridged

Jakarta (Media): Nine East Timorese youths who have been in the Australian embassy for the last seven days have said they do not wish to be flown to Portugal. They are asking to be given a visa to Australia, said ICRC representative Sri Wahyu Endah.

"It was routine for the ICRC to meet with the nine youths, but since they have shown that they are not inclined to go to Portugal, there has been no further development," said Endah.

On Monday the Australian embassy said that they were refusing the nine youths' request for asylum because they have no solid basis for asking for asylum. "It's very clear that there is no basic reason from the nine of them to fulfill their request," said Joanne Eyer of the embassy.

The nine youths who entered to Australian embassy to seek asylum are as follows: Ermenegildo Lopes, Cejar Diaz Quintas, Florencio Amaral, Paula Fonseca, Delta Guterres, Aires Aparicio Guterres, Faustino, Amarin Dieria dan Fidel.

"Visa requests are granted for two reasons, one for family reunions and two, based on a points system," said Paul Windsor from the Australian embassy immigration department.

The request for a visa for a family reunion is dependent on having family resident in Australia, and the points system is based on various criteria such as age, education, English language ability and skills.

Because the English skills and the low education of the nine East Timorese, their cases are very weak, and so there is not much chance of them obtaining permission to have temporary residence or full residence in Australia.

Endah added that the ICRC have already informed the youths of this situation, as well as passing on messages from the youths to their families in East Timor. "However, we don't consider it a waste of time enable the dialogue between the East Timorese youths and the Australian embassy," he said.

Because their request has been denied over these last three days, the nine youths went on hunger strike. They stopped their action on Monday afternoon.

According to Foreign Minister told Media that the Indonesian government remains firm in its approach not to give any attention to such requests.

ASYLUM SEEKERS ADMITTED TO HOSPITAL

New Zealand Teletext, 19 February 1996

Three East Timorese asylum seekers in the Australian embassy have been admitted to hospital, while four others remain on a hunger strike.

The youths entered the embassy two weeks ago seeking political asylum in Australia. Canberra rejected their request, and gave them the option of travelling to Portugal or applying for a visa in Australia.

Since last September, 68 East Timorese have left for Portugal after seeking political asylum at eight embassies.

THREE IN HOSPITAL WITHOUT PROTECTION

translated, edited, abridged

Jakarta, Feb 19 (LUSA) - According to the spokesperson for the Australian embassy in Jakarta, Joanne Eyre, in statements to France Presse, the three East Timorese [from the group of nine in the embassy] who were hospitalized Sunday, are not under protection from the Australian embassy, but the Indonesian government has verbally guaranteed that it does not intend to take legal or other measures against the three. However, she added, the Indonesian government explicitly admitted the group could be interrogated by the authorities.

The four East Timorese from the same group who were on hunger strike in the embassy stopped their strike today.

SUICIDE ATTEMPT: ET ASYLUM SEEKERS

CNRM Media Release, 19 February 96

East Timorese Jakarta Australian Embassy asylum seekers attempt suicide.

Student Resistance protest text

Three of the nine East Timorese youths at Australian Embassy in Jakarta have attempted suicide after the refusal of their asylum request by the Australian Government. One woman and two men are in a Jakarta hospital in a serious condition after the failed attempt inside the embassy.

The following is a translation from the Portuguese of a Protest Note addressed to the Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating issued by the East Timorese National Student Resistance RENETIL in Jakarta on 19 January.

National Council of Maubere Resistance
CNRM
National East Timor Student Resistance
RENETIL

The Hon. Paul Keating
Prime Minister of Australia
Canberra.

PROTEST NOTE

The National East Timor Student Resistance (RENETIL) protests with the greatest indignation, and strongly rejects the refusal of the Australian Government to grant political asylum to the nine East Timorese students Hermengildo, Cesar Dias Quintas, Delta Alves, Faustino, Paula Fonseca, Fidel Alves, Amorim Vieira, Aires Aparicio, and Florencio. These are still in the grounds of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, under its responsibility.

The refusal of political asylum so far has led to the attempted suicide by Paula Fonseca, Fidel Alves, and Amorim Vieira. They are currently in a critical condition in hospital in Jakarta. This refusal does not only represent a strong lack of respect for international norms, but points to an obscure desire by the Australian Government to assist in the extermination of the East Timorese people, as it tries to protect its economic interests in its dealings with the Jakarta government.

The National East Timor Student Resistance appeals to the international community to make a fair and impartial assessment of the policy of the Canberra government in relation to the refusal of political asylum to the above East Timorese students. It asks the UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali to question Australia's compliance with its obligations as a UN member.

Resistance, 19 February 1996

The Presidium of the Central Council,
L. Rama M.

CORRECTION FROM CNRM, LISBON, 21 FEB.

Based on information supplied by the East Timor Student Resistance RENETIL, we informed about the abduction by the Indonesian military from a Jakarta hospital on 19 February of five East Timorese students who had sought asylum in the Australian embassy.

The full details of the abduction, obtained soon after direct contact with those involved became possible once they were freed, has been released by CNRM from Darwin on 21 February.

However, our previous releases on this matter contain an erroneous reference to an alleged suicide attempt by some of the asylum seekers.

We regret that this information, conveyed through student sources in Jakarta, proved inaccurate. It arose from a misunderstanding as a result of the difficult communications situation at the time.

INDONESIAN MILITARY ABDUCTS HOSPITALISED ASYLUM SEEKERS

CNRM Media Release, 20 Feb. 1996

Five of the nine East Timorese asylum seekers from the Australian Embassy in Jakarta were abducted from the N.C.S. hospital in Jakarta on Monday night 19 February by members of the Indonesian military. Three of them had been hospitalised after a failed suicide attempt, since their original request for political asylum had been rejected by Australia. They went to the hospital in the company of two of their friends for support. All had agreed to leave the embassy to seek medical treatment in the understanding that they were under its protection. As has happened in Indonesia and East Timor on past occasions, members of the military entered the hospital to take the East Timorese away for questioning. Medical staff is usually too intimidated to oppose such abductions.

According to information received via Lisbon through the East Timor Student National Resistance (RENETIL), three students from the nine in the embassy had attempted suicide with pocket knives, which were confiscated by the embassy staff. The two men and a woman then tried to kill themselves by hitting their heads against a wall. According to RENETIL leader Carlos Silva Lopes, the version propagated by the Australian government that only one had attempted suicide and two

were suffering stomach aches as a result of their previous hunger strike, is false.

After questioning by the military, the five East Timorese are being kept in detention at military supervised East Timor centre in Jakarta (Perwakilan Timor Timur, Jalan Urip Sumohardjo kav 17, Jakarta Timur tel 819 1960) under the control of a Colonel Petrus. This move, in total violation of the protection agreement with the Australian embassy, is aimed at keeping the detained away from international media attention, in total disregard to the medical needs of the wounded.

CNRM deplores the irresponsible treatment yet once again given to East Timorese attempting to flee from Indonesian persecution by the Australian government, holding it responsible for the fate of the three wounded and their two companions.

TIMORESE IN AUSTRALIAN MISSION STILL IN STALEMATE

JAKARTA, Feb 20 (Reuter) - Talks on the future of four East Timorese in the Australian embassy in Jakarta remained in a stalemate on Tuesday despite the precedent of a quick fix at the Dutch embassy on Monday.

"It is logical to assume they will spend another night in the embassy," Australian embassy spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said on Tuesday.

Five of the nine East Timorese who originally entered the Australian embassy on February 7 left on Sunday after three were forced to seek medical treatment at a nearby hospital after not eating for two days.

They were accompanied by two others.

Eyre denied reports from Timorese sources that they had been involved in a suicide attempt. "That is not our understanding of events," she said.

Eyre said the three had been discharged on Monday. This was confirmed by a hospital official.

An official of the Jakarta delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said on Tuesday the Timorese were taken away by police for questioning after their discharge and then released.

Earlier on Tuesday, a Dutch embassy official said four East Timorese who entered their compound seeking asylum on Monday morning were flown to Portugal via Amsterdam on the same day.

The asylum-seekers departed in record time - the first in under 24 hours since a wave of embassy break-ins started in November 1994.

The Dutch official, who asked not to be named, said: "We had four East Timorese in the embassy. They entered at about 8.30 yesterday (Monday) morning (0130 GMT). We tried to solve this problem together with our own, the Indonesian and the Portuguese governments and they left yesterday (Monday) evening for Portugal."

The four young men left for Lisbon via Amsterdam on a scheduled evening flight under the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

"Their motives were political but they were not very elaborate," the official said.

It was the third time since early November that a group of Timorese had entered the Dutch compound and the second time that a group had left for political asylum in Portugal, the former colonial master of troubled East Timor.

On November 7, eight East Timorese burst through the embassy gates. They left for Portugal after 30 hours.

On December 7, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia's military invasion of East Timor, more than 50 Timorese and their supporters entered the embassy in protest at Jakarta's rule.

They all left under police escort three days later.

A request by more than 20 Timorese for asylum only minutes before they were ejected was refused by the Dutch.

The latest departures brings to 72 the number of East Timorese who have left for Portugal under ICRC auspices since September last year. Other embassies hit by the wave of asylum bids include the British, New Zealand, Russian, Japanese, Polish and French.

ASIET: 5 EAST TIMORESE OUT OF EMBASSY

Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor media release, 21 Feb.

ASIET has now communicated directly with the spokesperson for the five East Timorese, Ms Paula Fonseca, who left the Australian Embassy to be treated in a local hospital and has received a detailed account of their treatment in the Australian Embassy.

East Timorese Prisoners in Australian Embassy

East Timorese treated like prisoners kept 10 days locked in a space with no windows or access to sunlight, no mattresses or other bedding no contact with Embassy officials to discuss asylum or other issues for two days, and then asylum refused. No further discussion after that except to be given normal visa application forms which the East Timorese refused to fill, not allowed any

time outside in the grounds in the open air or sunlight not allowed to listen to radio broadcasts East Timorese own radio eventually confiscated refused permission to read any newspapers personal belongings confiscated, including glasses, make-up etc. Embassy personnel leave hospital abandoning sick East Timorese to be detained, while still sick in hospital, by Indonesian military who interrogated the East Timorese for nine hours.

ASIET Calls Demonstration

ASIET National Coordinator Max Lane said today that ASIET was calling a demonstration to picket Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and Shadow Foreign Minister Downer at 12 noon, Thursday February 29 at the Teachers Federation in Sydney. The demonstration is also supported by the East Timorese nationalist organisation, FRETILIN.

"Keeping East Timorese who are fleeing persecution by the Indonesian military in a locked room and denying them the right to even listen to their own radio is an outrage," said Lane, formerly posted on diplomatic service to Jakarta himself (1980-81). "Refusing to release to the Australian public the contents of the East Timorese political statement given to officials supposedly in the service of the Australian community is also an outrage." "While the East Timorese people continue to be persecuted in their own country, all those seeking political asylum in Australia should be allowed to come here," he added.

The names of the East Timorese who are now out of the Embassy are: Paula Fonseca, Florencio Amaral, Fidel Alves, Aires Aparicio Guterres and Amorin Dieria.

CNRM STATEMENT ON ASYLUM SEEKERS

21 February 1996 Full text

Statement by José Ramos-Horta On the East Timorese asylum seekers in Jakarta and the role of the two major Australian political parties

Sydney -- It is now two weeks since nine East Timorese entered the Australian Embassy in Jakarta and sought asylum. They followed the action of several hundred of their countrymen and women who in the last twelve months have fled East Timor. There are now more than 1,000 in Australian in a legal limbo. Over 100 are in the Portuguese enclave of Macau in China. Over 100 are in Malaysia in very precarious conditions. Several hundred left for Portugal in the last few years.

In each case, the embassies in question conveniently turned the asylum seekers over

to the Portuguese authorities. The Dutch Ambassador in Jakarta even invited the Indonesian security thugs into the Embassy. The Russians displayed an equally crude and insensitive attitude in a manner that is very revealing about the kind of people now in office in Russia. In both cases, the asylum seekers were detained and tortured.

The East Timorese are people profoundly attached to their ancestral land and tradition and are not of an adventure seeking nature. The island itself is their entire world and there they lived with nature and the universe for thousands of years in perfect harmony.

Apart from a serious mutiny in 1959 instigated by Indonesia, during the Portuguese colonial rule there was not one single case of East Timorese seeking asylum in the three foreign consulates in Dili. There were no asylum seeking in Jakarta or Australia. On the eve of the Portuguese carnation revolution in April 1974 there was not one single East Timorese political dissident in jail. If the Portuguese colonial rule had been as brutal as the Indonesian propagandists and their Australian apologists so often allege, thousands of East Timorese would have flooded the three consulates in Dili as they were never guarded or they would have crossed easily into West Timor.

Apologists for the Indonesian regime like Richard Woolcott, Gareth Evans and Paul Keating do not have the moral courage to point the finger at the real culprit and find it much more convenient to criticise Portugal, a small and old European country whose generous people have a profound sense of its historical and moral responsibility towards the East Timorese.

The case of the nine asylum-seekers once again illustrate the hypocrisy and cowardice of successive Australian governments in their attitude towards one of the most despotic regimes in the world. The coalition parties that were in power in 1975-1983 were the first to recognise de jure Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1978 and sought to silence any critic of the occupation in Australia and internationally. The coalition government of Malcolm Fraser went to extremes in banning East Timorese activists from visiting Australia. I had the honour of being banned from entering Australia between 1977 and 1983 because I was considered to be a threat to Australia-Indonesia relations. In the UN and other international fora both parties actively attempted to have the East Timor issue deleted.

The policies of servility and appeasement of the Suharto regime over East Timor and human rights in Indonesia itself have only convinced the regime in Jakarta that brute force pays off.

The on-going drama of the Western hostages held by the rebels in West Papua is another illustration of the brutal nature of the Jakarta regime and the moral bankruptcy of Indonesia's Western allies. The Jakarta regime and the West are the only ones to blame for the hostage drama in West Papua. Do not blame the impoverished, humiliated and persecuted people of West Papua whose land, forest and waters have robbed and destroyed by Indonesia's colonial expansionism and Western complicity.

Australia bears a direct responsibility for the tragedy of East Timor because of its active collusion with Jakarta in trying to suppress the aspirations of the East Timorese for too many years, because of the material support it provides the very same army that brutalises the people of East Timor and murdered six Australian newsmen.

The main opposition parties have offered no better hope for the East Timorese. Their policies are the very same ones they inaugurated way back in 1975 with disastrous results for the East Timorese people. Twenty years after the invasion and 200,000 dead, the coalition does not have the courage and sensitivity to change. Its official stand, well rehearsed by almost every single MP or candidate is to reiterate the policies initiated by Malcolm Fraser and Andrew Peacock of the de jure recognition of the illegal annexation. As a second thought it expresses "concern" about the human rights situation in East Timor. It proposes absolutely nothing new for East Timor and is silent on human rights and environment in the region.

A majority of ALP politicians did not have the moral and political courage to oppose the policies of their government under Bob Hawke and Paul Keating. The Timor Gap Treaty was allowed to pass, military training for Indonesian security personnel and other security arrangements are allowed to expand. No dissenting voice was heard in the ranks of the ALP or the Liberal-National coalition parties when the infamous Australia-Indonesia security agreement was signed behind the back of the Parliament and the Australian people. East Timor never deserved more than passing references in ALP National Conventions. While we are eternally indebted to the very few in the ALP who over the years have not forfeited their conscience for the sake of a job as a federal politician, the East Timorese cannot but denounce the silence of so many for so many years.

To these lonely voices in the wilderness of the two parties go our respect and eternal gratitude.

In a display of utter hypocrisy, the labour government led Australia into the Gulf

War some 20,000 miles away because as Bob Hawke said then "big countries cannot invade small countries and get away with it." Supreme hypocrisy.

Now when nine East Timorese seek Australia's protection via way of the Embassy in Jakarta, Australia's official reaction is that there are no grounds for them to fear persecution. The same half-truths and lies repeated ad nauseum for the past 20 years.

The CNRM holds the federal government morally and materially responsible for any harm caused to the nine asylum seekers. It will resort to all legal and diplomatic means to make it understood in Canberra that it cannot get away with impunity.

The CNRM commends the Portuguese authorities for their generosity and willingness in receiving any East Timorese who is willing to go to Portugal. However, the CNRM maintains that Portugal must seek a direct contact with each asylum seeker to ascertain their real wishes and to make sure that in deciding to go to Portugal they are not doing so under duress and coercion as it has happened in recent past. Portugal must also seek an official clarification from the governments concerned on their position on the legal status of East Timor and on Portugal's own status in regard to East Timor when and if they wish to discard the asylum seekers by dumping them in Portugal.

Few Australian academics, namely Ivan Shearer of Sydney University Law School, argue the government line that while the territory of East Timor and its wealth are Indonesian, the less valued human beings can be discarded and dump into Portugal.

Australia is the only country in the world to have extended de jure recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. However at the International Court of Justice hearings in the Hague in February 1995, it hypocritically stated that after all it recognised the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and that the legal status of East Timor remained that of a Non-Self-Governing Territory. Such being the case, the UN General Assembly Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) on self-determination are fully applicable to East Timor. However, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has already backtracked arguing now that the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination is on a par with the right of indigenous peoples in sovereign states which is to say they are entitled only to some measure of autonomy. In the versatile interpretation of DFAT, the people of East Timor do not have the right to determine its own future. This is to be determined by Indonesia.

The two major parties are locked in their 20 year old policies of servility and appeasement of the Suharto regime. They

show no desire to change and reverse course. The East Timorese are forced to hear their racist and patronising discourse that we should simply accept "limited autonomy" from a more benevolent Indonesia.

We believe that there can be and there has to be morality and decency in the international diplomatic discourse among states. We believe that international relations must be founded on certain norms and rules that respect human life and dignity because these are the prerequisites for peace, stability and progress. Regimes that trample upon human rights and the rule of law might survive for a certain period of time but the anger and hatred they sow can explode into uncontrollable violence. Hence, even adherents of state pragmatism should actively support human rights and the rule of law in every country.

I am not arguing that Australia should engage in a lone crusade against Indonesia and all the Asian dictators or that it repeats its "heroic" defence of international law as it did so promptly when the oil of Kuwait was put in jeopardy by Iraq.

What are we asking of Australia? What can Australia do?

Australia can withdraw the de jure recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor as the Fraser government did in regard to the Baltic States which were recognised by the Whitlam government as part of the Soviet Union.

The Timor Gap Treaty can be put on hold for a few years or at least a special trust fund should be established for the benefit of the East Timorese themselves.

Australia can terminate some of the most offensive aspects of its defence cooperation with Jakarta which allows Indonesian security thugs to be trained in this country.

In can enlist the support of New Zealand, Canada, the US and the EU for a joint diplomatic effort in pressuring Indonesia to begin serious dialogue with Portugal and the East Timorese resistance leaders.

And in the same way the South African apartheid regime released Nelson Mandela and worked with him a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa, Indonesia must be compelled to release Xanana Gusmão, the most credible and revered East Timorese resistance leader.

A genuine political autonomy for East Timor based on a complete demilitarization of the territory, release of all prisoners, repatriation of the thousands of Indonesian illegal migrants, transmigrants, civil servants, prostitutes and drug traffickers and other common criminals, and a UN-supervised election for a local Territory Assembly along the lines of the Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement would go a long way in addressing the concerns and aspirations of

the East Timorese and de-escalate the tension.

However, at some point, the people of East Timor will have to be consulted in a UN-supervised referendum on the final status of the territory.

So far only the small parties to the left have articulated a moral and principled stand on East Timor principled stand on East Timor. To those who believe that human rights, freedom and dignity of peoples are worth fighting for, to those who believe that Australia can make a difference in significant ways, to those who believe that the changes of the last few years have been possible only because of the will of the people in challenging the mighty military powers, I appeal to them to vote the small parties, do not vote Labor, do not vote Liberal-National coalition. We must all give the Democrats and the Greens a bigger share of power in the next federal parliament if we want a more open, more pluralistic and a more moral Australia.

José Ramos-Horta is the Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), an umbrella body linking all East Timorese resistance groups based inside East Timor and headed by Xanana Gusmão. Ramos-Horta is also a specialist in human rights law and recipient of three major International human rights and peace awards. In 1994 he was nominated and short-listed for the Nobel Peace Prize.

MILITARY GRILLS ASYLUM-SEEKERS, SAYS ASSOCIATE

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

Jakarta, Feb 21 AAP - Five East Timorese asylum-seekers who left the Australian embassy in Jakarta on Sunday night to attend hospital had been questioned by the military for nine hours yesterday, one of the group said today.

Paula Fonseca, 21, said the five had been questioned over their February 7 embassy break-in by officers at an Indonesian military (ABRI) base in Jakarta.

Ms Fonseca said the group had been released without charges, but that they feared they would be arrested again over their anti-Indonesian activities.

"We don't know where will go now," Ms Fonseca said by telephone from a suburban Jakarta house where the group is staying.

She also said four East Timorese still in the Australian embassy intended to stay there until granted asylum by Australia, or until after the March 2 Australian general elections.

The five were part of a group of nine East Timorese who asked for political asylum from Australia after entering the embassy on February 7 by scaling a two-metre perimeter fence.

The four East Timorese remained in the embassy building today, embassy spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said.

She said they were still eating normally, after two separate hunger strikes earlier in their stay at the embassy.

On Sunday night, the five attended a nearby hospital after one of them fell and cut his head in the embassy bathroom. Two others were suffering stomach problems related to the most recent hunger strike.

The other two left the embassy to conduct interviews over illegal actions like breaking into a foreign embassy.

On Monday, Ms Eyre said the Australian embassy had gained an assurance from the Indonesian government that the five would not be prosecuted over their entry into the embassy.

However she said the Foreign Ministry had said the group might be questioned over the incident.

FOUR TIMORESE LEAVE DUTCH EMBASSY IN RECORD TIME

JAKARTA, Feb 20 (Reuter) - Four East Timorese entered the Dutch embassy in Jakarta on Monday seeking asylum and were flown to Portugal via Amsterdam on the same day, an embassy official said on Tuesday.

As the asylum-seekers departed in record time - the first in under 24 hours since a wave of embassy break-ins started in November 1994 - four other East Timorese were considering their future after nearly two weeks in the Australian embassy.

A Dutch official, who asked not to be named, said: "We had four East Timorese in the embassy. They entered at about 8.30 yesterday (Monday) morning.

"We tried to solve this problem together with our own, the Indonesian and the Portuguese governments and they left yesterday (Monday) evening for Portugal," he added.

The four young men left for Lisbon via Amsterdam on a scheduled evening flight under the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

"Their motives were political but they were not very elaborate," the official said.

It was the third time since early November that a group of Timorese had entered the Dutch compound and the second time that a group had left for political asylum in Portugal, the former colonial master of troubled East Timor.

On November 7, eight East Timorese burst through the embassy gates. They left for Portugal after 30 hours.

On December 7, the 20th anniversary of Indonesia's military invasion of East Timor, more than 50 Timorese and their supporters entered the embassy in protest at Jakarta's rule.

They all left under police escort three days later. A request by more than 20 Timorese for asylum only minutes before they were ejected was refused by the Dutch.

The latest departures brings to 72 the number of East Timorese who have left for Portugal under ICRC auspices since September last year. Other embassies hit by the wave of asylum bids include the British, New Zealand, Russian, Japanese, Polish and French.

Three Timorese in the Australian embassy from a group of nine who sought political asylum on February 7 were admitted to hospital on Sunday night after not eating for two days. Australian embassy spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said on Monday two other members of the group were also at the hospital and that the four in the embassy foyer had started to eat again.

The nine East Timorese had been told by embassy officials that their cases did not justify granting asylum. Instead, they were invited to apply for visas to travel to Australia or Portugal.

Australia is one of a handful of countries that recognises Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

THREE IN DUTCH EMBASSY SENT TO PORTUGAL

translated

Jakarta, Feb 20 (LUSA) - Four East Timorese who sought refuge in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta on Monday, were sent to Portugal the same day, said Dick Den Haas, embassy diplomat, speaking to France Presse.

"Such expediency is only possible thanks to the collaboration by the Indonesian authorities and the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross," said the diplomat. Den Haas revealed that four youths entered the embassy, in the center of Jakarta, on Monday 8:30 AM local time. They left to the airport in the afternoon, and boarded a KLM regular flight to Portugal, via Amsterdam.

This was the third time, since November, that Timorese people seek refuge in the Dutch embassy in Indonesia.

FOUR EAST TIMORESE SITTING TIGHT AT AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, Feb 25 AAP - Four East Timorese asylum-seekers were set to spend a nineteenth night camped in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, an embassy spokeswoman said today.

Spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said the three men and one woman had shown no signs of leaving the embassy, which they entered with five other East Timorese on February 7 by scaling a two metre perimeter fence.

Australian officials have responded to the latest intrusion by erecting barbed wire on the fence to increase security.

Last Sunday, the other five left the embassy to attend hospital and were discharged on Monday but denied re-entry to the embassy.

One of the five said last week that the remaining four intended to stay in the embassy until granted asylum by Australia – or until after the March 2 Australian election.

The embassy has told the group they do not qualify for political asylum but has suggested they could apply for visas to Australia, or travel to Portugal, East Timor's former colonial ruler.

Since last September, Portugal has accepted 72 East Timorese who sought asylum in a string of Jakarta embassies.

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

ENTRY ATTEMPT AT PALESTINIAN EMBASSY

translated

Jakarta, Feb 27 (LUSA) - At least three Timorese youths attempted to enter the Palestinian embassy in Jakarta today, but were prevented to do so by the embassy guards, the Palestinian ambassador said.

"There were maybe three Timorese at the front gate, but our security didn't allow them in," said ambassador Ribhi Awad told France Presse, adding that the group left the site immediately.

PALESTINIAN EMBASSY IN JAKARTA EJECTS TIMORESE

[abridged]

Jakarta, Feb 27 (Reuter) – Guards at the Palestinian embassy in Jakarta ejected four East Timorese who jumped over the embassy wall in search of political asylum on

Tuesday, the Palestinian ambassador and Timorese sources said.

"They broke into the embassy, which is my house also, by jumping over the wall," Palestinian Ambassador Ribhi Awad said. "They were overwhelmed by security and within one minute they were out," he told Reuters by telephone from the building in Jakarta's residential Menteng area.

"My first impression when my secretary informed me about them was that it was the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence (organisation)."

"I only recognised they were from East Timor when they were chanting 'Long Live East Timor,'" Awad said. "They did not give me a petition, they did not hand over any letter."

Timorese sources said the four youths had intended to seek political asylum in Palestine, adding they were shocked by the embassy's rejection of their colleagues.

Awad said neither his staff nor the Timorese, who entered at 10.40 a.m. (0340 GMT), were injured in the brief scuffle but said a gate was damaged.

"We can't tolerate any trespassers. Those who try again will not be dealt with with mercy as this is a violation to the embassy and we can't tolerate these things," he said.

Australian embassy spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said on Tuesday that four East Timorese asylum seekers in that mission since February 7 were still contemplating their future.

Canberra has rejected a request for asylum, saying they can travel to Portugal or apply for a visa in a normal way.

INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT ON JAKARTA EMBASSY ASYLUM- SEEKERS

February 28, 1996

Since October, nearly 200 young East Timorese men and women have sought refuge in eight foreign embassies in Jakarta. Without exception, their well-founded requests for political asylum have been refused without serious consideration, and their only choice has been to go to Portugal, which has received more than 75 in the past four months.

The remainder have not yet succeeded in their efforts to escape East Timor and Indonesia. Dozens were arrested by Indonesian security forces outside the French, Japanese, and Thai embassies, while others were evicted from the Dutch and Russian embassies into the hands of the police. In the New Zealand, Dutch and other embassies, thugs and/or Indonesian military personnel have

entered the diplomatic sanctuary and physically assaulted asylum-seekers, in violation of international law and diplomatic immunity.

These young people are fleeing persecution in East Timor, where the repression continues to intensify. Before Indonesia's invasion in 1975, there was no tradition of emigration from East Timor – where, as Pacific people, attachments to land and family are very strong. But the military repression in their homeland is so brutal that they feel forced to flee, to live as exiles in Portugal, Australia, and elsewhere.

The latest wave is particularly alarming. These are desperate youngsters who have grown up under the Indonesian occupation and been exposed to Indonesian "education," but who have been driven to escape it by two decades of torture, killings, rape and disappearances. Unlike the East Timorese who sought asylum through the end of 1995, who were students studying in universities in Java for several years, the young men and women scaling embassy walls these days come directly from East Timor, abandoning their homes because the level of repression has now become impossible to survive.

The embassy asylum-seekers confront the international community with a new and alarming phenomenon, one which forces governments to make immediate decisions which will affect not only the future of the individuals' lives they hold in their premises, but the future of the nation of East Timor.

We call upon all governments with embassies in Jakarta:

1. to exert pressure on the Indonesian government to take immediate steps to improve the human rights situation in East Timor that gives rise to these desperate flights.
2. to instruct their embassies in Jakarta to treat any East Timorese who seek asylum with understanding, to protect their safety while they are in the embassy and to do everything possible to comply with their requests for political asylum. Under international law, countries which have signed the relevant treaties must duly consider all applications for political asylum, and embassy premises cannot be entered by Indonesian personnel without permission. Countries should accept their legal obligations and insist on their rights.
3. The circumstances and pressures placed on asylum-seekers to go to Portugal are unclear. Since these incidents are likely to recur until the repression in East Timor becomes less severe, a mechanism should be established for asylum-seekers to

communicate their wishes and make their decisions in a non-coerced manner. To facilitate this, Portuguese government officials should be able to meet with each individual asylum-seeker before he or she is sent to Lisbon, and to help the embassy and home-capital personnel determine if political asylum is requested and appropriate in countries other than Portugal. Since Portugal does not have diplomatic relations with Indonesia, the U.N. could help implement this. Asylum-seekers should also be given access by telephone to lawyers from the country in which they are seeking asylum.

4. Governments which ask the government of Portugal to accept asylum-seekers from their embassies should state publicly that they are taking this step because Portugal is the internationally-recognized administering authority over the Non-Self-Governing Territory of East Timor.
5. Every democratic country, including those whose embassies have not been approached yet, should accept its humanitarian obligation to assist Portugal, for whom support of increasing numbers of East Timorese refugees is becoming an economic burden. As numerous resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have stated, Indonesia's brutal invasion and occupation of East Timor creates an international responsibility. Accepting refugees is part of that responsibility.

Signers (list in formation):

- East Timor Action Network, USA
- TAPOL, U.K.
- East Timor Alert Network, Canada
- Comissão para os Direitos do Povo Maubere (CDPM), Portugal
- Watch Indonesia!, Germany
- Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET formerly AKSI), Australia
- East Timor Religious Outreach, USA
- Friends of East Timor, Western Australia
- International Platform of Jurists for East Timor, International / Netherlands
- British Coalition for East Timor, United Kingdom
- East Timor Independence Committee, Auckland, Aotearoa (New Zealand)
- Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor, International / Philippines
- Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia (PHILSETI), Philippines
- Initiatives for International Dialogue, Philippines
- Agir pour Timor, France
- Association de Solidarité avec le Timor oriental (ASTO), France
- Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Japan
- East Timor Relief Association, Australia

- Stop the Hawk Deal, U.K.
- Guerre et Pace, Italy
- Comitato Golfo, Italy
- Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia untuk Rakyat Maubere (Indonesian People's Struggle in Solidarity with Maubere People) (SPRIM), Indonesia
- Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (Student Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia) (SMID), Indonesia
- Persatuan Rakyat Demokratik (People's Democratic Union) (PRD), Indonesia
- Pusat Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia (Centre for Indonesian Labour Struggle) (PPBI), Indonesia
- Serikat Tani Nasional (National Peasant Union) (STN), Indonesia
- Jaringan Kerja Kesenian Rakyat (People's Art Network) (JAKER), Indonesia
- The American Reporter, International, WWW
- Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l'Amitié entre les Peuples (MRAP), France
- Cap Magellan, France
- Justice et Paix, France
- Reseau Jeunes solidaires, France
- Foreign Bases Project, USA
- War Resisters League, USA
- Tribal Act, France
- Coordinamento di Solidareita con il Popolo Timorese, Italy
- Komite Indonesia, Netherlands
- Delta Greens, New Orleans, USA

EAST TIMOR COALITION CALLS FOR GREATER ASSISTANCE

DARWIN, March 19 AAP - An international coalition of East Timor pro-independence groups has called on foreign embassies in Jakarta to give greater assistance to political asylum seekers from the disputed Indonesian territory.

Signatory countries to United Nations treaties should do "everything possible" to comply with requests for political asylum, and resist leaving former East Timor administrator Portugal to come to the rescue of asylum seekers, the group said in a joint statement.

Since October 1995, almost 200 East Timorese have entered foreign embassies in Jakarta, including the Australian, British, Japanese, Dutch, Polish, New Zealand, Russian and French embassies.

In the latest incidents, four East Timorese yesterday broke into the Polish and French embassies in Jakarta, hours before talks between East Timorese leaders were due to begin in Austria.

"The sad thing is that every time an asylum bid is made by these young East Timorese at foreign embassies in Jakarta, governments refuse to consider sympathetically the desperate plight of these men and women, and rely instead on Portugal to come to the rescue," a statement from Australians For a Free East Timor said.

The group of 17 non-government organisations (NGOs) from Australia, Asia and the United States presented a joint statement to the office of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Darwin yesterday.

The group called for mechanisms to be put in place to allow asylum seekers to communicate their wishes and make decisions without coercion or pressure from Indonesian officials.

They said embassies should allow UN representatives to meet with asylum seekers and negotiate through them with Portugal and should publicly recognise Portugal as the administrator of East Timor.

"Governments which ask the government of Portugal to accept asylum seekers from their embassies should state publicly that they are taking this step because Portugal is the internationally recognised administering authority over East Timor," the statement said.

"Every democratic country should accept its humanitarian obligation to assist Portugal for whom support of increasing numbers of East Timorese refugees is becoming an economic burden."

TIMORESE IN AUSTRALIA MISSION LIKELY FOR PORTUGAL

Abridged

JAKARTA, March 5 (Reuters) - Four East Timorese who have been holed up in the Australian embassy in Jakarta for nearly five weeks seeking political asylum are likely to ask to go to Portugal, a prominent human rights campaigner said on Tuesday.

Johannes Princen met the Timorese at the embassy on Tuesday and said after that the group were well and had already thought about going to Portugal, East Timor's former colonial power.

"I haven't received their answer if they want to go to Portugal, but they are thinking towards that direction. I told them they can go to Portugal and make any further decisions on where to go from there," he told Reuters by telephone.

Canberra has rejected their request saying they had not shown enough evidence why they should be granted asylum.

Princen, director of the Jakarta-based Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, named the remaining members as three men Faustino Ximenes, Sejar A Dias Quintas and Ermejildo Lopes and one woman Delta R. Alves.

A spokeswoman for the embassy, Joanne Eyre, said on Tuesday there had been no significant developments and the four were still considering their options.

FOUR EAST TIMORESE LEAVE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, TO STAY

abridged

JAKARTA, March 8 (Reuters) - Four East Timorese, whose request for political asylum was rejected by Australia, left Canberra's embassy in the Indonesian capital on Friday after holding up there for a month, an embassy spokeswoman said.

"They have left today on their own request to return to the Indonesian community. We have advised the Indonesian authority about it and recalled the assurance it has given that there will be no action to be taken against them for the unauthorised entry to the embassy," Joanne Eyre said by telephone.

She declined to give other details.

Eyre said on Friday Indonesia's assurance that it would take no action against the Timorese was given when the five youths left the embassy compound.

Canberra rejected the Timorese requests for asylum saying they had not shown enough evidence to support their case.

ASYLUM SEEKERS LEAVE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, March 8 AAP - Four East Timorese asylum-seekers today left the Australian embassy in Jakarta after camping there for just over a month, one of the group said.

The group left after they gave up any hope of obtaining political asylum from Australia, Ermejildo Lopez, 24, told AAP by telephone.

The group was now under the protection of the leading human rights' campaigner, Haji Princen, of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, Mr. Lopez said.

Mr. Princen said the Indonesian Foreign Ministry had given an assurance that the group would not be harmed in any way.

He said the group did not wish to go to Portugal, which has provided refuge to 72 other East Timorese who have sought asylum at a string of Jakarta embassies since last September.

"They will live in Indonesia," Mr. Princen said.

Mr. Lopez said the group was not sure where they would live, and were "quite worried" they would be arrested by Indonesian security forces.

Asked about their treatment in the Australian embassy, Mr. Lopez said the group was more concerned about having their right to political asylum recognised.

The Australian embassy announced soon after the asylum-seekers' entry that embassy staff had determined that their personal circumstances meant they did not qualify to have their asylum bids considered.

The embassy said it had suggested the group apply for Australian visas or travel to Portugal.

TIMORESE ENTER FRENCH AND POLISH JAKARTA MISSIONS AHEAD OF TALKS

by Jim Della-Giacoma, slightly abridged

JAKARTA, March 18 (Reuters) - Four East Timorese youths broke into the French and Polish embassies in Jakarta on Monday, a day before talks begin in Austria between East Timorese leaders at home and in exile abroad.

One of the break-ins, which involved two youths at the Polish mission, also coincided with the arrival of Polish Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in Jakarta on a four-day visit.

It was not immediately clear if those involved in the break-ins were seeking political asylum or seeking to draw attention to the troubled former Portuguese colony ahead of the dialogue in Austria between March 19-22.

It was the fifth such break-in at the French embassy in Jakarta and the second break-in at Poland's embassy since a wave of East Timorese asylum-seekers began entering foreign missions in the capital in late September.

Since then 72 East Timorese have left for Portugal under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross after entering various foreign embassies in Jakarta.

Some participants in the meeting in Austria, which will focus on social, cultural and economic issues rather than politics, said they expected only modest progress from it.

Indonesia, which rules the territory, has said that political issues should be left to the separate tripartite U.N.-sponsored meetings including the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers as well as the U.N. Secretary-General, which entered a seventh round in January.

The next meeting is to be held in June in Geneva.

But this week's talks will be the first since Indonesia's President Suharto and Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres met in Bangkok on March 1 at the inaugural Asia-Europe summit, and politics will surely be broached in private.

Guterres offered Jakarta partial diplomatic ties mainly in return for the release of

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timor resistance leader who began a 20-year jail term in 1993.

"Hopefully, we can come closer to an agreement on some issues to help development in East Timor," one participant, who asked not to be named, said in Jakarta on Sunday before leaving.

"But it will be a long process and the meeting is only a small step," the Austria-bound participant told Reuters.

The talks are known as the All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue (AETD).

In the first round of talks last June, 30 East Timorese leaders met in Austria and issued a declaration calling for respect of human rights and the preservation of East Timor's cultural identity.

Participants said the declaration had embarrassed Indonesia because of its reference to human rights. This meant that those living in East Timor would be restrained at this meeting.

"The meeting is also meant to create a conducive atmosphere for the success of the tripartite meeting so that East Timorese can contribute to development in East Timor," said Lopez da Cruz, Jakarta's ambassador-at-large for East Timor, last week.

TWO EAST TIMORESE LEAVE POLISH EMBASSY

abridged

JAKARTA, March 19 (Reuters) - Two East Timorese youths left the Polish embassy in the Indonesian capital Jakarta on Tuesday for asylum in Portugal after spending a night at the mission, an embassy official said.

They left for Jakarta's international airport about the same time as two other East Timorese in the French embassy left the compound in central Jakarta.

The four, believed to be in their twenties, entered the French and Polish embassies on Monday. The incursion coincided with the arrival of Polish Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in Jakarta and came a day before talks begin in Austria between East Timorese leaders at home and in exile.

TWO EAST TIMORESE LEAVE FRENCH EMBASSY

JAKARTA, March 19 (Reuters) - Two East Timorese youths left the French embassy in Jakarta on Tuesday for asylum in Portugal after spending a night at the mission, an embassy official said. She said they left for the airport in a car belonging to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which helps arrange the travel of Timorese asylum-seekers to Portugal.

The two, believed to be in their twenties, entered the French embassy on Monday on the same day that two other East Timorese

also seeking asylum broke into the Polish mission.

MORE TIMORESE ARRIVE IN LISBON

Diario de Noticias, 20 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Two Timorese, who had taken refuge in the French Embassy in Jakarta, and two others who had done the same in the Polish Embassy, left yesterday by plane for Portugal. A spokesperson for the International Red Cross (ICRC) said that one of the ICRC's vehicles had picked up the four Timorese and taken them straight to the airport, where they departed on a KLM flight, on route to Portugal via Amsterdam.

Since September last year, a total of 72 young Timorese have left for Portugal after seeking asylum in eight foreign embassies in Jakarta.

TIMORESE BOAT PEOPLE JAILED

The New Zealand Herald 19 April 1996

JAKARTA/AFP - Five East Timorese who attempted to flee to Australia in a wooden boat last November have been given nine months to one year jail sentences, Indonesia's official Antara news agency reported.

Judge I Made Nandu said the five were guilty of unlawfully taking control of the boat from its captain, an act punishable by a maximum sentence of seven years in jail.

The five were part of a group of 35 East Timorese who tried to leave Dili by boat for Australia in November 1995.

The boat was then stranded on a Viqueque beach, about 280km east of Dili, where they were arrested by the Indonesian authorities.

It was unclear whether the 30 others were also facing legal charges.

TIMORESE FORCED TO LEAVE GERMAN EMBASSY

summarized

Lisbon, April 16 (LUSA) - Eight East Timorese today entered the German embassy in Jakarta but were forced to leave by embassy security. They were detained for interrogation by Indonesian police.

According to the German embassy in Lisbon, the eight were part of a larger group who attempted to jump over the embassy fence at 1 AM.

After interrogation, two of the eight were released, but the whereabouts of the others is not known.

THROWN OUT, BEATEN AND ARRESTED IN JAKARTA

Publico, 17 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Nine Timorese have been unsuccessful in their attempt to take refuge in the German Embassy in Jakarta, where they had intended to ask for political asylum. Security agents detected their attempted entry and expelled the Timorese from the premises. Some were then arrested by Indonesian security forces.

According to eye-witness accounts quoted by Reuters, the refugees that failed to make their escape after being thrown out of the Embassy (it was still not known yesterday exactly how many had managed to escape arrest) were handed over to Indonesian soldiers who were guarding the Embassy premises outside. They were beaten there and then by the soldiers, and then led away to the Indonesian police headquarters.

Before attempting to enter the diplomatic mission, the nine Timorese, aged between 26 and 41, left a statement denouncing Indonesia's brutal repression in East Timor.

The attempted "invasion" of the German Embassy took place in the early hours of yesterday and was the most recent in a series of similar incidents. Since last September, 72 Timorese who took refuge in different western embassies in the Indonesian capital subsequently managed to travel to Portugal.

Timorese report to President Sampaio

Some of the recently arrived Timorese met yesterday with Portuguese President of the Republic, Jorge Sampaio. The Timorese recounted their experiences to the President, and the situation created by the incident at the German Embassy was also bound to have been discussed at the meeting.

EAST TIMORESE HANDED OVER TO MILITARY BY GERMAN EMBASSY

Amnesty Int'l News Service, April 17

Amnesty International was appalled at the expulsion today of eight and possibly nine East Timorese from the German Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, directly into the hands of military officers who beat, kicked and then arrested the group.

"This is the latest incident of foreign embassies in Jakarta failing to take action to protect the rights of East Timorese," Amnesty International said today.

"The group were handed over to the military, despite ample evidence they might be at risk of torture and ill-treatment."

The group entered the embassy around 2 am on 16 April, with the intention of seeking asylum. They were reportedly forced

out within minutes by embassy security guards and handed over to members of the Indonesian Armed Forces waiting outside. It is believed that the military had been watching the embassy from a nearby building. Plainclothes and uniformed military officers were then observed by eyewitnesses beating and kicking the East Timorese. One of the group was allegedly kicked while on the ground.

The group were all arrested and reportedly taken to the Central Jakarta military command. It is not known how many remain in detention, but it is believed that two may have been released later the same day. Amnesty International is concerned that those remaining in detention are at continued risk of further ill-treatment or torture. It is not known whether they have had access to medical assistance or independent legal counsel.

In December 1995, Amnesty International expressed concern that the Dutch and Russian Governments did not seek sufficient assurances from the Indonesian authorities for the safety of around 118 East Timorese and Indonesian protestors who were expelled from their respective embassies and then taken into police custody. The Dutch Government reportedly expelled around 26 East Timorese after they requested asylum. Some of those handed over were reportedly subjected to ill-treatment and ongoing harassment.

The latest embassy expulsions come as the human rights situation in East Timor is being discussed at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR) in Geneva. In the last two years the CHR has failed to act decisively on East Timor.

"This latest example of continuing human rights violations against East Timorese engaged in political actions highlights the need for the international community to take firm action and adopt a strongly worded resolution on East Timor," Amnesty International said.

In bodies such as the CHR the international community, including the European Union, has been seeking a consensus approach. Yet this has had a minimal impact on the human rights situation in East Timor and has allowed human rights violations such as torture, ill-treatment and arbitrary arrests to continue.

GERMAN PROTESTS AGAINST EMBASSY EXPULSION

Press Release From Watch Indonesia! - East Timor Group, PO Box 106107, 69051 Heidelberg and IMBAS, PO Box 60422, 60334 Frankfurt/M., Germany, April 17, 1996

[quoted in at least two major German dailies on April 18: On the "tageszeitung" front page, and the "Frankfurter Rundschau" page 3]

Protest against the expelling of nine East Timorese asylum seekers from the German Embassy ground in Jakarta - moral bankrupt of the German Federal Government's so-called human rights policy.

The German Embassy in Jakarta allowed its own Indonesian staffed security personnel to expel a group of nine East Timorese from the embassy grounds. The nine East Timorese had entered the embassy grounds at 2.00 AM on Tuesday night and asked for asylum. According to eyewitnesses' reports the refugees were directly handed over to the Indonesian military, and subsequently were beaten and kicked by the military.

Indonesia annexed East Timor 20 years ago violating international law. Although the international community never recognized the annexation, and despite the continuous violations of human rights and international law, the international community failed to demonstrate its political will to put pressure on Indonesia to find a just solution. It's because of this missing pressure that the Indonesian government may undisturbedly continue its political course.

We sharply condemn the expelling of the East Timorese. Considering the human rights situation in Indonesia and East Timor, such inhumane behavior is scandalous and is not at all a constructive step forward towards a political solution of the East Timor conflict. We value the expelling as just another concession of the German government to Indonesia's technocratic military regime. Our government's human rights policy is morally bankrupt.

Germany in particular should feel obliged to help people who are forced by circumstances to search refuge in foreign embassies. Seven years ago citizens of former East Germany fled into the West German Embassies in Budapest and Prague. In that situation it was a mere self-evidence to use all diplomatic means to beware these refugees from falling back into a situation where - for good reasons - they just had fled from. At that time the squatting of West German embassies was not only an impressive demonstration that let the world know the real situation in East Germany, but it was also

the beginning of the collapse of communism in East Europe.

We urge the German government to immediately ask the Indonesian government to unconditionally release the detained East Timorese, to ask for their safety and physical uninjuredness.

We also urge the German government

- to actively support the right to self determination of the East Timorese people to support and their demand for a referendum in international fora and against the Indonesian government,
- to influence the Indonesian government to ameliorate the human right situation in East Timor, so that the people there are no longer forced to flee into foreign embassies,
- not to expel East Timorese people who ask for refuge in the compound of the embassy, but to do everything possible to help these people and to support them in their struggle as Germany in particular is obliged to do according to its democratic principles.

It is important that strong protests are made from activists around the world. You may want to send protests to:

Bundeskanzler Dr. Helmut Kohl

Bundeskanzleramt
Postfach
D-53106 Bonn, Germany
Fax: +49-228-562357

Foreign Minister:

Dr. Klaus Kinkel
Auswaertiges Amt
Postfach 1148
D-53001 Bonn, Germany
Fax: +49-228-173402

German Ambassador in Jakarta:

Dr. Heinrich Seemann
German Embassy (Kedutaan Besar Republik Federal Jerman)
Jl. Thamrin No. 1
Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia
Fax: +62-21-3901757

UPDATE ON GERMAN EMBASSY ASYLUM-SEEKERS

From Watch Indonesia!, Germany, April 18. Excerpts

We have different reports, some saying the number of fence hoppers was eight, some saying it was nine. We cannot confirm which one is correct. It would be very important to know, in case the one missing is the one who is told to be dead.

By the way, some cable reports said, they were entering the embassy ground by passing the main door - which isn't possible, I guess, at least not at 1.00 AM.

And - by the way again - the German embassy in Jakarta is not like other embassies surrounded by a fence, but by a concrete wall that makes it look like a prison...

[...] It's interesting that the German Foreign Office does not reject that their intention was asking for asylum, although they couldn't formally appeal.

Yesterday the German government tried to blame the security personal which consists of local staff. The German Foreign Office said, the behavior of the security staff was not O.K., and meanwhile they were told so. It won't happen again, the Foreign Office said....

For us this statement is less than a weak excuse. The German Embassy and the Foreign Office are directly responsible for what their security personnel is doing. We blame Freeport McMoRan if their Satpam shoots on tribal people in West Papua, so how can we accept that the Satpam at the German Embassy acts on their own responsibility! Germany is trying to scapegoat the local staff for the Embassy's failure.

After so many foreign embassies in Jakarta have been entered by East Timorese it isn't possible that the German Embassy was not prepared for a possible incident at their own place. So, I'm sure, they did have a plan how to face such a situation. The only question is whether the behavior of the security personal was consistent with that plan or not. But in both cases, Germany is responsible.

Today the Foreign Office made another step forward: They called in the Indonesian Ambassador in Bonn and gave him a harsh lesson on the human rights violations committed by the military/police forces outside the embassy. Also the embassy itself complained at the Indonesian Foreign Office for the same reason.

Fine! After continuously ignoring the East Timor case and the gross human rights violations committed by Indonesia for the sake of good business relations, finally Germany blames Indonesia for torture etc. It's only a few weeks ago when the German government refused to make any kind of statement on the human rights situation towards the Suharto regime at the ASEM conference in Bangkok.

Only now, when the Germans themselves are accused for human rights violation (at least indirectly) they are brave enough to launch their protest towards Suharto's killing machine.

I guess it would be very positive if as many as possible people and organizations officially criticize the German foreign policy. If you can arrange protest notes to be send by prominent people or politicians it would be perfect. But not only from Portu-

gal or Ireland, ... we need a strong protest by people from strong countries.

EAST TIMOR LEADER TO LODGE COMPLAINT AGAINST GERMANY

LISBON, April 17 (Reuter) - An East Timor resistance leader said on Wednesday he was lodging a complaint against Germany at the European Court of Human Rights over the ejection of East Timorese asylum-seekers from the German embassy in Jakarta. Germany said the group had been thrown out by locally-employed Indonesian guards who had not informed German embassy staff before acting. It said it had been assured they would be released by Indonesian authorities who had seized them.

José Ramos Horta, a leader of East Timor resistance to Indonesian rule, told Portuguese radio TSF on Wednesday that a group of East Timorese who tried to enter the German mission compound in Jakarta earlier this week had been thrown out.

"The Timorese are Portuguese citizens, and therefore European Union (EU) citizens," he added. "We will take the matter to the court of human rights in Strasbourg."

Witnesses in Jakarta said nine East Timorese men were kicked and slapped by Indonesian soldiers after being handed over by guards at the German embassy on Tuesday. They were then arrested, according to a spokesman for a legal aid body.

Ramos Horta urged Portugal on Tuesday to lodge a formal protest with Bonn after the incident.

Foreign Minister Jaime Gama told the Portuguese news agency LUSA on Tuesday during a visit to Brazil that Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor, invaded by Indonesia in 1975, was willing to accept the nine Timorese.

Portugal has urged fellow European Union member countries, whose embassies have been the targets of a series of East Timorese break-ins in recent months, to take a sympathetic line with the asylum-seekers.

In Bonn, foreign ministry spokesman Martin Erdmann said the embassy's Indonesian security staff should have informed diplomats of the intrusion.

"Of course we do not approve of this conduct," he said.

"But I must add that during the attempt to get into the compound, no political demand or any other request of that nature was expressed. So it could certainly have been concluded that this was (just) a case of intruders."

Since late September, 72 East Timorese have left for Portugal after entering embas-

sies in Jakarta. This was the first time the German embassy had been involved.

Witnesses said there were nine people in the group which tried to enter the compound but Erdmann said there had only been eight, who had been taken into custody by Indonesian police.

He said two of them had been released shortly afterwards and the Indonesian government had assured Bonn the other six would be released by 1400 GMT on Wednesday.

BONN SUMMONS INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR IN TIMOR CASE

BONN, April 18 (Reuter) - Germany summoned Indonesia's ambassador to Bonn on Thursday to criticise the treatment of a group of East Timorese men who were beaten after they were ejected from Germany's embassy compound in Jakarta this week.

"The foreign ministry state secretary, Peter Hartmann, summoned the Indonesian ambassador today and protested against the brutal treatment of people from East Timor in front of the German embassy," a Bonn ministry statement said.

"He called on the Indonesian government to investigate the case thoroughly and hold the guilty parties responsible."

Ambassador Hartono Martodiredjo pledged to inform his government and to tell Bonn about the outcome, the statement said, but added the probe could take some time.

The German ambassador in Jakarta also lodged a protest about the case. Witnesses described the intruders as asylum-seekers but Germany has said they did not request asylum or indicate any political motive for entering the compound.

Witnesses in Jakarta said nine East Timorese men were kicked and slapped by Indonesian soldiers after being handed over by guards at the German embassy on Tuesday.

A Bonn foreign ministry spokesman said on Wednesday there were eight in the group and that they had been thrown out by locally-employed Indonesian guards who had not informed German embassy staff before acting.

The Indonesian government assured Bonn the group would be speedily released, he said.

Portugal has urged fellow European Union member countries, whose embassies have been the targets of a series of East Timorese break-ins in recent months, to take a sympathetic line with the asylum-seekers.

BONN PROTESTS TO JAKARTA

Publico, 19 April 1996. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Abridged. Translated from Portuguese,

Timor is the focus of attention on various latitudes. In Bonn, the German Government has asked for an explanation of what happened to the refugees expelled from its embassy in the Indonesian capital. In Jakarta, three Timorese sought refuge at the Dutch Embassy. In Lisbon, new methods of integrating refugees have been adopted. In Geneva, negotiations continue at the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), and the Timor issue could go to the vote.

Yesterday, the Indonesian Ambassador in Bonn was summoned to the German Foreign Ministry, while Germany's representative in Jakarta requested an audience with Suharto's diplomatic chiefs. The object of the two meetings was the same: Bonn wants a clarification of the "brutal" way in which 8 Timorese, expelled from the German mission in Jakarta in the early hours of last Tuesday, were treated by the local security forces.

According to the German authorities, the 8 refugees who entered the Embassy in search of political asylum were thrown out - without the knowledge of the Embassy staff on duty - by members of a private security firm that guards the building.

The fact is that, once out on the street, and right in front of the Embassy premises, the 8 Timorese were beaten by Indonesian soldiers and then taken to police headquarters, interrogated and later released.

The incident sparked off a series of reactions in various quarters: a request from Lisbon to the Bonn authorities for an explanation; a complaint lodged with the European Court of Human Rights by the Timorese Resistance against Helmut Kohl's government; a wave of indignation in the German press, and in Bonn the summoning of the Indonesian Ambassador, to whom video footage of the beatings was shown.

Meanwhile, the German Ambassador in Jakarta said that he had already spoken to the 8 Timorese who had been expelled from his mission. "They are all well, under the circumstances," Heinrich Seeman assured.

RESISTANCE LODGES COMPLAINT; PORTUGAL DEMANDS EXPLANATION

Publico, 18 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The Timorese Resistance overseas intends to lodge a complaint with the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg against the German Government. The complaint, which could also be taken to German

courts, is being formulated by José Ramos Horta, and concerns the case of the 8 Timorese who, in the early hours of last Wednesday, tried to take refuge in the German Embassy in Jakarta. They were thrown out of the diplomatic mission and subsequently arrested by the Indonesian police.

The incident led Lisbon to request the Bonn authorities for an explanation. Yesterday, the German Foreign Ministry spokesman said that his Government condemned the expulsion of the Timorese, blamed on members of staff of an Indonesian security firm which is said to have acted without the knowledge of the German diplomatic service.

Two of the eight Timorese arrested were released after being interrogated. The others were released yesterday from Indonesian police headquarters. News of the releases was relayed by an official of the German Embassy in Lisbon to a group of Timorese who were demonstrating there.

Yesterday in Geneva, where the UN Commission on Human Rights' annual session is underway, the incidents at the German mission in Jakarta were much commented on. However, they were not referred to by the Portuguese Ambassador Santa Clara Gomes at the meetings.

Speaking on behalf of the Portuguese delegation, attending this year with observer status, Santa Clara Gomes accused Jakarta of not complying with commitments it had undertaken in Geneva at previous sessions of the UNCHR.

(...)Meanwhile, the President of the European Parliament, Klaus Hansch, said he was willing to raise the problem of East Timor at the Europe-Asia inter-parliamentary meeting which commenced yesterday in Strasbourg. The meeting continues today, and whether Timor is discussed is now in the hands of the Portuguese Euro MPs attending.

TIMORESE HELD IN JAKARTA RELEASED

Diario de Noticias, 18 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The Timorese who were arrested on Tuesday after 'invading' the German Embassy in Jakarta were released, according to an official of the German Embassy in Lisbon. After meeting with a group of Timorese who had gone to the Embassy in Lisbon to protest about the expulsion of 8 of their companions from the Embassy in Jakarta, Clemens Betzel told the LUSA agency that the six Timorese still being held had been released. Betzel said that the case of these Timorese would be monitored in

order to avoid any reprisals on the part of Indonesians.

(Portuguese) Foreign Minister Jaime Gama (...) stated that Portugal has already expressed its willingness to receive said Timorese. Portugal "has been following the situation from the outset," he said, since the German Embassy stopped them from entering its compound.

FROM WATCH INDONESIA!, GERMANY, 21 APRIL 1996

According to information, Watch Indonesia! understands that the eight East-Timorese who tried to enter the German Embassy to ask for asylum have all been released from military detention. At present three of them are in a Jakarta hospital for medication, five others are in a students' "asrama."

After demonstrations of East-Timorese in front of the German Embassy in Lisbon, the Embassy gave an official statement saying that all eight Timorese may leave Indonesia to a country of their choice in the next few days. The International Red Cross is assisting the relevant negotiations. It is expected that they choose Portugal as their recipient country.

Three other East-Timorese refugees who had entered the Dutch Embassy already left Indonesia for Portugal.

PCP DEMANDS EXPLANATION

Publico, 19 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese

The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) wants Foreign Minister Jaime Gama to explain to the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee the Government's position with regards the violent way in which security guards at the German Embassy in Jakarta reacted to the 8 young Timorese individuals' request for political asylum.

The PCP argued that since Germany is a member of the EU it has a duty to act in solidarity with Portugal. The PCP wanted "clarification of the Embassy's role" in the "very serious incidents" and, in addition to calling for Jaime Gama's explanation, referred to the news that "the USA has resumed military aid to Indonesia, as well as the training of its armed forces."

THREE TIMORESE IN HOSPITAL

TAPOL Report, 22 April 1996

According to information given to East Timorese representatives in Lisbon by the German embassy and confirmed by Amnesty, three of the eight East Timorese who

tried to gain entry into the German embassy last week are still in hospital in Jakarta. They are recovering from serious injuries sustained when they were assaulted by Indonesian security forces outside the embassy premises.

After their arrest outside the Germany embassy, the eight Timorese were taken to KODIM, the local military command. From there, they were taken to a police command and later transferred again to KODIM, the Jakarta regional military command. Thereafter, it is understood that three were released and three were taken to hospital for treatment. The whereabouts of the other two is not clear.

GERMANY REGRETS INCIDENTS

Gama draws curtains over diplomatic row

Publico, 23 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The German Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel, apologised yesterday to his Portuguese counterpart, Jaime Game, for the "brutal treatment" to which 8 Timorese were subjected last week when they tried to enter the German Embassy in Jakarta. The beating of the 8 young men by Indonesian security forces and their subsequent arrest sparked off a diplomatic row between Bonn and Lisbon.

Yesterday, before the start of the meeting in Luxembourg between diplomatic heads of the Fifteen, and "given the importance of Portugal-German relations," (...) Kinkel met with Gama to clarify the matter. The German minister gave assurances that his government had carried out an exhaustive inquiry into the case, had lodged a complaint with the Indonesian authorities, and had made every effort to ensure that the Timorese involved in the incident were not kept in detention. Their release had actually been reported, but representatives of the Resistance movement in Portugal are still unaware of their whereabouts.

For his part, Jaime Gama put a lid on the matter and said there had been an improvement in the attitude of the Germans as a result of the incident. "The German authorities acted with rigor and thoroughness in a matter which started off in an uncoordinated way," said Gama. He also said that the Timorese Resistance had decided not to go ahead with the legal action against the German Government at the European Court of Human Rights.

Defeat at the Sub-Commission

Meanwhile, Portugal was unsuccessful in its attempts to get Marta Santos Pais and

Ana Gomes elected as specialists on to the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The elections were held in Geneva and, of the four countries who put forward candidates for the three available seats in the western group, it was Portugal that fell by the wayside.

Marta Santos, Sub-Director of documentation and comparative law at the (Portuguese) Attorney General's office and writer for the UN Committee on Children's Rights, and Ana Gomes, in charge of the Minister for European Affairs' office, managed to get 31 votes - just two less than the names put forward by the US. The specialists from Belgium and Norway held on to their seats. Contacted by Publico, Marta Santos admitted that it had been "a complicated election" in which the countries that already had specialists on the Sub-Commission won.

In the past, this UN body has focused considerable attention on the Timor issue, which in itself was a good reason for Portugal's interest in the elections. Nonetheless, Marta Santos was sure that the Belgian and (especially) the Norwegian specialists "have always defended the Timorese cause."

LETTER TO GERMANS

From Dr. Alan Cheney, USA

I've sent the following letter to several members of the German parliament, news media, and government offices. There's a gold mine of German URLs and email addresses at

<http://www.DocuWeb.ca/Germany/weblinks.html>

Some are in German only but many are in English

Forwarded letter:

Dear _____,

I am writing to express my utter shock and disappointment at the treatment of the East Timorese asylum seekers at the hands of representatives of the German government at the German embassy in Jakarta.

The German people especially should understand and respect the importance of safe treatment for asylum seekers at embassies. Not very long ago, German citizens from the former DDR successfully sought asylum at foreign embassies. What if those Germans had been forcefully expelled to face beating and kicking and arrest at the hands of thug police as happened in Jakarta?

Our family is a friend of Germany. We have visited Germany several times and this year hosted an exchange student from Hamburg in our home. But we were shocked and very disappointed at the conduct of the Germans at the embassy in Jakarta.

Thank you for listening.

Respectfully,
Dr. Alan Cheney & Family
St Louis, USA
chihowa@ix.netcom.com

RESPONSES (courtesies edited out)

From: "Joerg Tauss, MdB"
<Tauss@mdb5.bn.eunet.de>

20 Apr 96

I'm hearing from this problems the first time. I'll ask for it.

With kindly regards

Joerg Tauss Member of Parliament

From: W Philip Quimby
<74672.3117@CompuServe.COM>

Thank you for your message concerning the events in Jakarta. Truthfully, I must confess, that personally, I was unaware of these events.

I have forwarded a copy of your message to the German Consulates in Atlanta and Chicago, as well as to the embassy in Washington. Since the GACC is a private, non-profit representative of German Industry, we believe that these two official representatives of Germany in the United States are more appropriate recipients of this message of concern.

Should we be able to ever be of assistance to you in any commercial area, please do not hesitate to contact us or our Chicago office which is responsible for the midwest.

Sincerely,

W. Philip Quimby
Marketing Director, German American
Chamber of Commerce of the Southern
United States

From: Michael Lauer <ari-ane@rad.net.id>

Sorry to answer your E-Mail so late, but I just came back to Indonesia a day ago.

If you don't mind. I like to give you the answer in German [*Translation follows*]

Unfortunately what has happened in Indonesia is true. There is no excuse for it by the German Embassy, too.

The security personal which is responsible to save the embassy's outer area and which is hired by an Indonesian security firm clearly disobeyed the orders that were given by the ambassador and allowed Indonesian security forces to enter the protected embassy ground. As this incident happened at 2 am local time and no one of the embassy staff was informed on the Timorese's request, unfortunately nothing could be done by the embassy officials.

Of course, the embassy took some relevant measures against the firm to avoid the possibility of repeated encroachments and arbitrariness by the firm in the future. If some embassy official had been informed on the Timorese's request, of course we should

have answered their request in a positive way according to orders by the Ambassador and the German Foreign Office, and we should have given them protection and support.

This is not meant as and it cannot be an excuse, as the security firm was hired by the German Embassy, but it may be an explanation of the tragic circumstances which made possible an escalation to that extent,

With all the best
Michael Lauer

From: "Dr. Gerhard Friedrich, MdB"
<Friedrich@mdb2.bn.eunet.de>

Dr. G. Friedrich asked me to answer your mail.

It is true that in the night of 16 April 1996 at around 01.00 hrs local time an attempt was made by a group of eight East Timorese to force their way into the grounds of the German Embassy in Jakarta. A few of them succeeded. They were forced back by the Indonesian security staff at the Embassy and arrested by the Indonesian police called to the scene.

Two of the eight were released on 16 April while another six persons continue to be held by the police for questioning. The German Embassy in Jakarta has urged the relevant Indonesian authorities several times to effect the immediate release of those concerned and has sent an official letter to the senior police authority in this regard. The senior police authority has just informed the Embassy that those concerned are to be released on 17 April 1996 at 21.00 hrs local time.

According to the Indonesian security staff at the Embassy some of the East Timorese stated that they wished to apply for visas. They did not make or submit political statements or demands.

The main concern of the intruders is to draw attention to the issue of East Timor. In cases where the intruders wanted to emigrate to Portugal their applications were accepted by the Indonesian authorities. Such an application was not made in this case.

The security staff at the Embassy acted correctly in forcing back the intruders.

The following applies to asylum applications: As a matter of principle, applications for asylum can only be made in Germany and not abroad. If an application for asylum is also made abroad a residence title for exceptional purposes may be issued, if necessary in very special cases, "if, for reasons under international law or for urgent humanitarian reasons or for the sake of preserving the Federal Republic of Germany's political interest, an alien is to be granted permission to enter and reside in federal territory" (Art. 30, Aliens Act). It is not

apparent that these requirements existed in the present case.

Thanks to the involvement of the Federal Government and the International Committee of the Red Cross all those concerned were able to emigrate to Portugal on 25 April.

I do hope that this development will dispel your disappointment with what appeared in the TV-news and elsewhere and turned out to be at least an incomplete picture of what happened really. I hope you will visit Germany in the future as well.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Christian Stienen, subject specialist
– Dr. Gerhard Friedrich, MdB
CDU/CSU Fraktion, Bundeshaus HT
325, 53113 Bonn

From: stan eckert

<stan@mme.expo2000.de>

Since the Expo2000 is a non-political organization, we can not answer your request. We are not responsible for actions from German embassies or the German government. Maybe you should contact the "Deutscher Bundestag"- Pages for your request.

Yours,
the Expo Internet-Team

THREE TIMORESE ENTER DUTCH EMBASSY

Publico, 19 April 1996. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Translated for Portuguese, abridged.

In a separate incident, yesterday morning three Timorese entered the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta. The three refugees, who were part of a group of seven people involved in the attempt to "invade" the embassy, will be arriving tomorrow in Portugal - the destination of 72 other Timorese who, since last September, have sought refuge in western embassies in the Indonesian capital.

A DIFFERENT RECEPTION

The events that took place this week are an indication that the flow of Timorese to Portugal is likely to continue. Those who arrive in future, however, will benefit from the new forms of reception procedures, set out in a resolution adopted yesterday by the (Portuguese) Council of Ministers.

The resolution aimed to improve coordination between the various governmental departments involved - Social Security, Employment, Education, Health, Justice, Internal Administration, Foreign Affairs - and coordination of their activities with those of NGOs working with Timorese in Portugal.

The Government decided to create a permanent commission, to include represen-

tatives from all the ministries connected with the problem. A technical office of specialists will provide the commission with back-up.

The Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security, which is to appoint the Chairperson of the new commission, is responsible for organising, within the next two months, the setting up of "temporary emergency reception centres" which are to replace the boarding houses used up until now to house Timorese refugees arriving to Portugal.

TIMORESE LEAVE DUTCH EMBASSY FOR PORTUGAL ASYLUM

JAKARTA, April 19 (Reuter) - Three East Timorese youths who broke into the Dutch embassy in Jakarta left the compound on Friday for asylum in Portugal, an embassy spokesman said.

"The East Timorese left the embassy at 1630 (0930 GMT). They were accompanied by officials from International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to the airport to catch the KLM plane to Lisbon via Amsterdam," Dutch embassy spokesman, E.J. Schmidt, told Reuters by telephone.

The three youths scaled the Dutch embassy's gate on Thursday and sought asylum. Four others failed to clear the gate and ran off.

Since September, 75 East Timorese who have broken into embassies in Jakarta have received asylum in Portugal, the territory's former colonial ruler and still regarded by the United Nations as its administering power.

The Dutch embassy break-in came two days after nine East Timorese entered the German embassy compound and were quickly ejected. Witnesses said they were handed over to soldiers outside the mission's gates and were beaten.

While some asylum-seekers in the embassy break-ins have sought publicity for their opposition to Indonesian rule, diplomats believe others simply want to escape their homeland.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and proclaimed the territory its 27th province in 1976 in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

GOVERNMENT NETWORK HACKED BY FREE TIMOR SUPPORTERS

Jakarta, 8 February 1996, AFP (Abridged)

Computer hackers have broken into a major Indonesian government network known as IptekNet and left messages for a free East Timor, the head of the network told AFP Thursday.

'The hackers got in on Monday. Our technicians saw the messages and they said it was news about East Timor and now we have closed our IptekNet home page,' said IptekNet coordinator Finarya Legoh. She declined to reveal exactly what messages the hackers left.

IptekNet links 30 government institutions including the Department of Industry and Trade, the Institute of National Space and Aviation and the Indonesian Institute of Sciences.

Finarya said technicians were trying to track how the hackers got into the hope page, accessible only with a password.

The network was 'still secure,' according to Finarya, although it remains unclear whether the hackers have gotten any further into the strategic network. She declined to say how many people were using IptekNet but industry analysts said it could be up to thousands of civil servants and academics.

WHAT CORRUPTION DOES

*From: amokmar@amokmar.antenna.nl
(Amok Maritim), Feb. 12*

Korupsi

Indonesia is ranked on position 41 in a survey after corruption in 41 countries. This index is made by Transparency International (TI) and the University of Göttingen in 1995. This position is based on seven surveys on corruption by governments: three of the World Competitive Report of the Institute for Management Development in Lausanne (1992-1994); three of the Political & Economic Risk Consultancy Ltd. from Hongkong (1992-1994); and one of the Business International from New York (1980).

Corruption leads to wrong decisions according to the Dutch representative of TI Michel van Hulten. "The wrong supplier or wrong investment goods will be chosen, wrong spots for investments will be advised and the wrong price will be paid.

Sometimes the contracted goods or services are not delivered at all. This is harming

the economy even on a larger amount than given in the form of bribes. Corruption is about disturbances of the market which is unacceptable because of the disadvantages it is causing to the respective activity and/or the population."

In Indonesia, according to a Indonesian report, the functioning of an enterprise needed 8 till 10 % of payments to bureaucrats. (NRC-Handelsblad 30-01-96)

"On school I had learned during history lessons: the collapse begins on the top and not at the bottom. It starts with them who are high in society, who have the power and the money." (Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Corruptie*, Geuzenpocket 1992, p. 153. Original: Korupsi, 1995)

INDONESIA SAYS STILL NEEDS SUBVERSION LAW

Slightly abridged

Jakarta Feb. 14 (Reuter) - An adviser to Indonesian President Suharto defended the country's widely-criticised anti-subversion law, saying it was needed to counter subversion, a newspaper reported on Wednesday.

The Jakarta Post quoted the Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Board, Sudomo, as saying on Tuesday the law enacted in 1963 was still necessary because threats of subversion remained.

"If the law is abolished, what other laws do we have to prevent subversive activities?" he told reporters after a meeting with Suharto.

There have been calls from the House of Representatives and for many Indonesians for abolition of the law, known as the "Rubber Law" because of its flexibility to trap anybody critical to the government.

Opponents of the law saying it is used only to prosecute people who oppose government policies.

The law, which carries penalties that include death, has been used against many dissidents including Xanana Gusmão, serving a 20-year jail term for leading East Timorese separatists.

When serving as chief of Indonesia's internal security agency from 1974 to 1983, Sudomo froze student councils in universities and banned a number of newspapers when students took to the street in protests against Suharto.

Sudomo said Malaysia and Singapore were among countries that had the power to bypass legal procedures and detain people for the sake of preventing subversion.

BISHOP BELO'S NIECE ARRESTED IN PRIOK

From 'Hidang,' Jakarta 16 February 1996

An East Timorese student named Utilia Filipe Ximenes Alves, niece of Bishop Belo, was arrested on Tuesday at 11.30am by troops in civilian clothing in Tanjung Priok. She had just arrived back in Java from Dili by ship.

Utilia put up a fight when officers came to arrest her, insisting that she had done nothing wrong. She was returning from six months vacation in Dili. The armed forces took her into custody because they suspected her of planning to go to an embassy in the capital to ask for asylum. She is also suspected of supporting the clandestine movement.

Utilia insists however that she was returning to Java to complete her studies. 'If they were planning to arrest me, why didn't they do it in Dili?' she said. Despite her protests she was taken away. Nothing is known about what has happened to her since.

Security forces are very busy in Jakarta these days because of the many East Timorese youths and students who have been flooding to Java to seek asylum. Two recently entered the French embassy and were almost immediately flown to Portugal. But nine young people who entered the Australian embassy last week have refused to go to Portugal. They insist on going to Australia although the Australian authorities have rejected their request for asylum, arguing that their grounds for asking for asylum are not strong enough.

Security forces are having to cope with a large number of East Timorese who hang around outside various embassies, particularly the US embassy, hoping for a chance to scale the walls. Most of these young people have nowhere to stay in Jakarta and spend the nights outside shops, churches or newspaper offices.

They have told journalists that the prisons in East Timor are again full of political prisoners. It is hardly surprising that a riot erupted at Becora Prison a few weeks ago, which resulted in shots being fired at a number of political prisoners. One prisoner was shot dead. Among those wounded and still in hospital is José Soares Tailolo who was sentenced to nine years for murdering a member of the security forces in 1994. Another of the injured is Augusto dos Santos Moujino who was given a three-year sentence for unfurling a Fretilin flag in Liquiça two years ago.

Following the escape of five political prisoners and three criminal convicts during the riot, there are now 72 political prisoners

at the prison, along with 101 criminals. Some East Timorese have urged the authorities to separate the political prisoners from the criminals but the government does not recognise any of the prisoners as being political prisoners and treats them all as criminals.

MUI AID TO TIMOR MUSLIMS

Indonesia Media Network, Feb. 18

Accompanied by ABRI Chief of Staff of Social and Political Affairs Syarwan Hamid, Tomorrow the Indonesian Council of Muslim Scholars Sends Aid to East Timor

JAKARTA— Saturday (2/17) tomorrow the Chief of Staff for Social and Political Affairs of the Indonesian Armed Forces (Kassospol ABRI), Lieut. Gen. Syarwan Hamid will accompany the Indonesian Council of Muslim Scholars Chief KH Hasan Basri to hand over aid for the rehabilitation of places of worship that were destroyed by rioters early September last year in East Timor.

"God willing, we will depart on Saturday (2/17) with a special plane owned by H Probosutedjo and will return to Jakarta in the afternoon," said KH Hasan Basri to Republika at his residence Thursday (2/15).

Besides the Kassospol, according to the plan, Kyai Hasan Basri who will be handing over aid worth Rp 176 million for the restoration of places of worship in East Timor, will also be accompanied by Head of Muhammadiyah, Dr. M Amien Rais, Vice Chairman of the Islamic Da'wah Council of Indonesia (DDII) Hussein Umar, Muslim Entrepreneur H Probosutedjo, and also the Lesser Sunda Regional Military Commander A Rifa'i.

"According to plan, the group will fly from Jakarta and stop over in Bali where the Pangdam will join us to East Timor," he explained.

Basri further mentioned, as explained by the Head of MUI of East Timor regarding the damage that the Muslims of East Timor incurred in the Riot last September, that his office, through the coordination of several institutions such as Muhammadiyah, DDII, and Muslim Entrepreneurs lead by Probosutedjo, was able to collect the funds needed. "On behalf of the Head of MUI and the Muslims of Indonesia, we are very grateful for the funds that are needed to restore the mosques in East Timor."

Touching upon the preparation to receive the aid in East Timor, Basri who seems never tired in urging Muslims to help their fellow Muslims in East Timor, stressed that the security conditions in East Timor is now under control and is much better. "We have received information from the MUI branch

there, that they are ready to receive us. In fact the reception will be attended by the entire board of the Communication and Consultation Forum of Religious Figures and the Governor of East Timor, José Abílio Soares," he added.

In order for the aid from the Muslims of Indonesia to be put to good use, he stressed that he would invite all the managers of mosques, mushallas, Islamic study groups, and other Muslim educational institutions in East Timor to come to the reception. Therefore, "the aid will be handed over directly to the people responsible for the rehabilitation of the places of worship."

Asked why the handing over of the funds required the accompaniment of the Kassospol. KH Hasan Basri answered that the inclusion of the Kassospol in the handing over of the funds this coming Saturday, is regarded as an attentive and highly responsible act of ABRI toward matters in East Timor.

The inclusion of the Kassospol in the group to East Timor, according to Basri is a special request from the ABRI Commander Feisal Tanjung when he met with him last Friday (2/9). "It is not only a matter of sending the Kassospol with us to East Timor, the Commander also gave funds for the restoration of the places of worship in East Timor," he stressed.

Basri further evaluated that the realization of the handing over of the funds for the restoration of the mosques for the Muslims in East Timor near the Islamic Holiday, six months after the riot, is considered a wisdom of the Holy month of Ramadan. "Once again we should be grateful, that finally the Muslims of Indonesia can fulfill the wishes of their fellow Muslims in East Timor that have been hit by this calamity. Hopefully with this aid, the religious activities will go on as usual," he said.

Head of ABRI Information Center, Maj. Gen. Suwarno Adiwijoyo confirmed the departure plans of the Kassospol, Lieut. Gen. Syarwan Hamid to East Timor tomorrow. According to him, through the Kassospol, ABRI Commander gave funds for the Muslims in East Timor.

Adiwijoyo did not reveal the specific amount of the aid. However, according to him, the plan to give the funds has been mentioned during Probosutedjo's visit last week.

According to Adiwijoyo, the departure of the Kassospol to East Timor is not only to accompany Probosutedjo and the Chief of MUI. There are several matters that need to be coordinated between ABRI and the Regional Government.

'TIMOR' CAR TO BE PRODUCED BY TOMMY SUHARTO

Jakarta Post, 27 February 1996,

Summary only, with details from other Indonesian papers which have given extensive coverage of this.

A company, PT Kia-Timor Motor, jointly owned by Kia Motors Corporation of South Korea, PT Timor Putra Nasional and PT Indauda, both of which are owed and controlled by Hutomo (Tommy) Mandala Putra, the youngest son of President Suharto, is to start production of the first Indonesian car. The car will bear the name 'Timor.'

Kia has a 30 per cent share in the venture, with the rest in the hands of Tommy Suharto.

The car will be produced in two models - sedans with 1,500 cc engines, and a recreational jeep with 2,000 cc engines.

To mark the launching of the 'Timor,' ten prototypes of the model were donated to the President who donated the cars to the Jakarta police.

Around 80 per cent of the parts will be produced in Indonesia with the remainder imported from South Korea.

Exceptionally, the parts will be imported tax-free, giving the model a significant edge over a variety of models part-produced or assembled in Indonesia. It will therefore be able to sell at a price far below other cars on the market.

For these reasons, the 'Timor' is set to become the leading car in Indonesia, comparable to the Volkswagen in Germany.

With cars a leading status symbol, the ideological overtones of this choice of name is quite unabashed.

HUMAN RIGHTS GUIDE BOOK

Indonesia Media Network Editorial: Human Rights Guide Book

1 March 96

The guide book on human rights will be published by the Human Rights National Committee (Komnas HAM). This is a very exciting news following various alarming human rights offenses recently.

According to Secretary General of Komnas HAM Baharuddin Lopa, the book will be a public guide in comprehending and upholding human rights in Indonesia.

It is hoped that with the book, the people will be able to comprehend better, government officials too can have a clearer

guide. A directive is needed especially by those in the regional area.

Without the directive, the lower level apparatus will hesitate in taking actions which lead to the human rights offenses. With the more clear comprehension human rights, the hesitation to take action can be avoided.

Often happened that because of their hesitations, more people became victims. Because of their unawareness, the people do not speak up even though they are harmed.

Before, a similar kind of book had been published in a simple form, like the one written by Commander of Irian Jaya and Moluccas Regional Military Maj. Gen. Duniidja. The book that became a guide for the members in the Regional Military Command was complemented by many.

Duniidja's initiative is a progressive step.

It is hoped that Komnas HAM opens an opportunity for public to contribute suggestions and ideas for the book. That way the people's aspiration can be accommodated better.

New input, especially from the outside, must not be considered as a taboo. The guide book idea should be treated as a public treasure so that its realization is accelerated.

It will be more positive if the people's suggestions, Duniidja's Directives, and Komnas HAM's script, can be united as one book. Its wider and deeper content will make the people who are involved can participate farther in obeying it with full responsibility.

Because of its comprehensive content, the action can also be nationalized. A guide book that nationalizes reflects that there is a unity and coordination so that there is no sectoral, regional, or incidental handling of human rights.

So far, what people recognize as human rights violation is only the government and its apparatus. Because the government holds the power then the weaker party is considered as the mistreated. Actually, human rights violation can be committed by anyone.

The eviction against a group of small-scale traders by other society member, in East Timor for instance, is a human rights violation. The taking of hostages against civil citizens in Irian Jaya by the Free Papua Organization separatist movement is also a human rights violation.

It is hoped that besides being complete and detailed, the human rights guide book will also include concrete examples. A book which only contains ideas or concepts will be far from the reach of lower levels in the society. If that happens, human rights will be a strange thing to them. It is also hoped that this book will be a system which not only protect but also bind us together.

It is obvious that the guide book idea increases the value of Komnas HAM as a national asset.

DOMESTIC SITUATION CALLS FOR MORE SERIOUS ATTENTION

Kompas Online, 6 Mar 1996

Jakarta – Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces (ABRI) General Feisal Tanjung maintains that more serious attention needs to be directed toward the increasingly volatile domestic situation.

Speaking at a parliamentary working meeting on Tuesday (5/3), the General said the potential for conflict among the growing number of socio-political organization was a cause of great concern.

In particular Feisal Tanjung pinpointed the activities of separatist groups in East Timor and Irian Jaya who worked in collaboration with certain foreign parties.

When the chairman of the working meeting Marcel Beding, from the Indonesian Democratic Party Fraction (PDI), asked how long the East Timor and Irian Jaya problem would be allowed to continue, Feisal Tanjung said, We only need to look at England. The IRA problem has continued for over 100 years, the same is true in Spain. And then there is Italy plagued by Mafia and bandit activities. Japan and the United States are not excluded either.

In relation to the new left phenomena, ABRI's Chief of Staff for Political and Social Affairs Lieutenant General Syarwan Hamid said those who had witnessed the subversive activity which resulted in the 1965 Coup were familiar with such subversive tendencies.

By being cautious doesn't mean being continuously suspicious but simply to take preventative action against certain symptoms. These symptoms must be controlled so they don't erupt, he said explaining ABRI's early warning activities.

We have to learn from history so as not to be clinched twice by the same problem. ABRI is not seeing an ant as an elephant but rather taking preventative action. If ignored then the situation can be used by other parties, he said.

Election

During the meeting commission member Irfham Abdurrochim questioned the Commander in Chief of ABRI about the extent to which ABRI would guarantee an honest and just 1997 election. Feisal Tanjung, however, was reluctant to answer the question saying only that the election campaign was in the hands of the election organizers.

Speaking on broader international issues, Feisal Tanjung said political developments in Europe and Asia have influenced global relations and regional concerns. Regional stability is particularly volatile because of the ongoing Spratly and Paracel island dispute which involves China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, The Philippines and Brunei Darussalam, he said.

If these tensions continue then, of course, regional security will be disturbed, he said.

ARMED FORCES CHIEF: HUMAN RIGHTS ALONE CANNOT SOLVE NATIONAL PROBLEMS

March 10, 1996

Surabaya, 3/9 (ANTARA) - Indonesian Armed Forces Chief of Staff for Social and Political Affairs (Kassospol ABRI) Lieut. Gen. Syarwan Hamid stated firmly that the national problems cannot only be solved through law or human rights, but it has to be solved comprehensively.

"ABRI really appreciates human rights, as long as it is not concluded subjectively, but comprehensively," said the three starred general answering to question in the dialogue at the National Working Session (Rakernas) IV Indonesian National Committee of Youth in Surabaya, Friday.

After representing the ABRI Commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung to speak in the Rakernas, Hamid explained, ABRI often deals with dilemmatic conditions, between upholding human rights and being cornered or defeated.

"I once brought one platoon into the jungles of Irian Jaya to deal with the rebel groups there, but then my men died and only one or two left, Can you call it a violation of human rights we fire because we are in such a forced situation," he said rhetorically.

According to him, if he let the whole troops die and most of the residents in Irian Jaya become threatened, of course the national interest has to be prioritized than human rights.

"So, human rights issue has to be prioritized also, but if the situation demands then we have to prioritize national interest. Therefore, the national problems cannot only be solved through human rights but has to be observed comprehensively," he said.

People's Choice

Hamid stated that ABRI when in a forced situation will always choose the people's choice rather than only viewing the human rights issue narrowly.

"If we are faced to choose between human rights and the people, ABRI will certainly choose the people," he said.

When asked about the vocal standing of certain groups, Hamid said that whether vocal or not we still have the right over our nation and country.

"We also need to be vocal. What is important is that it has to be controlled, not letting it lead to awkward desires such as changing Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution or laws which have been approved," he added.

ARMED FORCES SHOULD NOT WORRY ABOUT THE GROUPINGS IN SOCIETY

Jakarta, 3/9 (ANTARA) - Former Speaker of the People's Consultative Assembly who is also the elder in the Army Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution said, Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) does not need to be concerned about the phenomenon of groupings in society grouping, which are trying to form their own strength outside the existing political system.

"In my opinion, ABRI does not need to worry," said Nasution to the press in Jakarta, Saturday, when asked about his comment on the statement of ABRI Chief of Staff for Social and Political Affairs Lieut. Gen. Syarwan Hamid (3/7) that ABRI is concerned about the phenomenon.

The phenomenon, said Nasution who was met briefly at his residence, has to be considered as ABRI spirit to increase the service to the people, in accordance with its function as the stabilizer and dynamizer which protects all the people.

The existence of various interests, desires, even complaints from the people, he said, is not something new because in 1945 ABRI formed a coordinating institution which was called the "People Liberation Army," to hear various aspirations of the people, because ABRI grows from, by, and for the people.

So, Nasution said, ABRI does not only depend on those who give orders nor only carry out orders from the rulers, but also has to be close with the people.

By doing that, he said, ABRI can accommodate the voice and aspiration growing in the society.

PAKPAHAN CALLS FOR REFERENDUM IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 15 March 1996, Abridged

The 20-year old dispute over East Timor will only be solved by referendum, a constitutional law expert told members of the

United Development Party (PPP) at the House of Representatives.

Muchtar Pakpahan, who is also leader of the Indonesian Prosperous Labour Union told the legislators there is no need for Indonesia to maintain East Timor's integration as long as disputes continue to cause economic and political problems for the country. Since much money has been poured into the province and given that many countries still do not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, Indonesia must take the brave step of ending the dispute by holding a referendum, he said.

The four legislators told Pakpahan that a referendum is not relevant to solving the problem.

According to Pakpahan, a referendum would also be consistent with the country's basic ideology, which includes freedom, peace and social justice.

Pakpahan also reported on the Youth Solidarity Group of East Timor conference in Lisbon which he attended on 23 - 24 February. The 400 participants were mostly East Timorese living in Portugal, including those who had just arrived from Indonesia. Similar meetings are being planned for Australia, the US, Ireland, Sweden, Malaysia and Britain this year, he said.

He told the legislators that the message he got from the meeting was that most of the East Timorese in Portugal are not anti-government. 'They said that they could not stand the military's cruelty towards the East Timorese people,' he said.

PAKPAHAN ON EAST TIMOR

From: Friends of East Timor WA, April 3

Recently a number of reg.easttimor conference items mentioned the views of Muchtar Pakpahan, Chair of the Indonesian Prosperous Labour Union (SBSI), on the question of East Timor. Muchtar has recently published a book Potret Negara Indonesia (Portrait of the Indonesian State), in which he details his position further. A quick translation of the relevant section is attached at the end of this item.

As head of SBSI, the largest independent trade union in Indonesia (which must be distinguished from SPSP - the government controlled labour organisation), Pakpahan was sentenced to three years gaol in November 1994 in an attempt by the regime to repress free trade unionism. He was released six months later pending appeal, after there was a local and international campaign by trade unionists and solidarity activists on his behalf. The harassment and repression of SBSI continues, however, and many organisers remained behind bars.

Muchtar's arguments will not be unfamiliar to reg.easttimor readers; what is impressive

is the courage of such an important figure stating them so clearly in an Indonesian publication. Like much of his labour and human rights advocacy in Indonesia, his analysis of the East Timor case is based on a fundamental belief in the principles of the Indonesian independence struggle, and the rights guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, which have been (illegally) overridden or ignored by the current regime. (see below)

Rob South Friends of East Timor (Western Australia) FOETWA is the WA affiliate to the Australian Coalition for a free East Timor

POTRET NEGARA INDONESIA (PORTRAIT OF THE INDONESIAN STATE)

by Muchtar Pakpahan Published by Yayasan Forum Adil Sejahtera, Jakarta, 1995, pp.112-115

East Timor

Until this time, the problem of East Timor has not been resolved. The case of East Timor has been absorbing energy and in the international world it has brought shame for Indonesia. Economically and politically is it beneficial for Indonesia to force East Timor to join with Indonesia? The point is, in the mind of the East Timorese there is still a feeling that says "First colonised by Portugal, then colonised by Indonesia." This group of people don't feel that there is an integration with Indonesia. In the international world there is an accusation, led by Portugal, that "Indonesia is the coloniser of East Timor."

The point is that this fact remains, and will still be there if the approach is as repressive as the last twenty years. There should be a new approach in accordance with the Preamble of the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 (UUD45). Everlasting peace and social justice is the principle, and democracy and the protection of human rights is the solution.

To resolve the East Timor problem completely, the East Timorese should be given the right to a democratic referendum, to decide whether East Timor should be integrated with Indonesia or get its own independence as a nation. There are four considerations I want to point out. 1. Principle of Ideology 2. Principle of Indonesia's Mission 3. Historical Approach 4. Fact

Now I will consider these one by one

1. Ideological Principle

In the introduction it was explained that the view of Indonesia in its relationship and association with the international world is in the framework of carrying out international security/order, which is based on independence, everlasting peace, and social justice

based on the Pancasila. For almost twenty years, we have tried to resolve the East Timor problem by military means, and it has not yet been resolved. From an ideological basis, there may be something that needs to be revised.

Our principle is independence, everlasting peace and social justice. After all this time, are we still holding on firmly to that principle, or have we already deviated from this basic principle. It looks like Indonesia is not willing to give independence to the people of East Timor, to determine themselves democratically through a referendum "Their own independence/freedom" or "integrated with Indonesia." The point is, everlasting peace has not been achieved in East Timor.

2. Principle of Indonesia's Mission

Indonesia's mission in the international world is to eradicate colonialism because, since independence is the right of every nation, any subjugation in this world is contrary to humanity and justice and must therefore be abolished.

In the international world, there are still nations which accuse Indonesia of colonising East Timor. But actually the case is that Indonesia has a mission to eradicate colonialism from the face of the earth. It is not a good feeling to receive an accusation of being an expansionist/aggressor [mencaplok - lit. 'swallow'] or a coloniser, when actually the case is that Indonesia has a mission to eradicate colonialism.

The other factor that is always being talked about in the international world is that the Indonesian army often acts inhumanely and arbitrarily. The case of Dili and Liquisa, besides others, is the proof that has been raised.

3. Historical Approach

Geographically East Timor is part of the Nusa Tenggara Timur island chain, part of the archipelago. Historically this archipelago is the Republic of Indonesia's territory. There were two choices that were brought up to find the meaning of the archipelago, the first one being the inheritance of Mataram/Majapahit, or secondly as an ex-Dutch colony. If we see it from the first choice, it means that Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines are still a part of the Republic of Indonesia's territory. If this is the case, in the current context, Indonesia would have to fight and conquer all of them. But wisely, we chose the second choice, which was as an ex-Dutch colony.

If the approach is based on history, all of the ex-Dutch colony will be a part of the Republic of Indonesia, which means East Timor is not included, because East Timor is an ex-Portuguese colony. But Indonesia would not close any options if the East

Timorese want to be part of Indonesia, in a democratic way.

4. Fact

The fact is there are still many East Timorese people who do not want to recognise the integration with Indonesia. They accuse Indonesia of carrying out an act of expansionism/aggression [pencaplokan - q.v.]. That percentage which disagrees needs to be determined in a proper and democratic way.

Based on these four items, it is correct that the people of East Timor should be given the right of self-determination through a referendum, to decide whether they want to be integrated with Indonesia or get their own independence. This referendum should be done under the supervision of the United Nations.

Indonesia should not be worried, because they have done something meaningful in East Timor. And if in the referendum the majority of East Timorese people choose their own independence, Indonesia should accept it with grace. Indonesia should be graceful in this, because Indonesia is a nation based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

I am convinced that through the referendum the East Timor case would be finally resolved. So let us muse carefully, objectively and cool-headedly, without jumping to conclusions.

TIMOR - INDONESIA'S MAIN PROBLEM

Diario de Noticias, 20 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese

According to an article yesterday in "Republika," a Jakarta newspaper, East Timor still constitutes a major problem for contemporary Indonesian politics.

The paper stated that the current differences "concerning the advantages and disadvantages of (Timor's) decolonisation" and with regard the territory's political status are obstacles to "the development process in general and to Indonesian diplomacy in particular."

The article went on to say that the Indonesian Government's programme had served to "weaken local values."

SUHARTO WARNS AGAINST INDONESIAN DISINTEGRATION

By Muklis Ali

JAKARTA, March 29 (Reuters) - President Suharto said on Friday there were limits to openness and deregulation in Indone-

sia and warned against any action that could lead to national disintegration.

Suharto, who has ruled the sprawling equatorial archipelago with a firm hand since the late 1960s, also called on the armed forces to ensure a smooth general election, set for next year.

"We must be aware that there are limits to decentralisation, deregulation and de-bureaucratisation, and to openness," he told a meeting of senior military officers.

Suharto, a former army general, said the "wholeness of the territory, the unity and cohesiveness of the people and the sovereignty of the nation" were the limits. "These have to be looked after so that they are not violated by anyone.

"This has to be stressed so that there is no one fishing in muddy waters, such as stepping up acts that could result in national disintegration, directly or indirectly," he added.

Suharto said the armed forces must guard against any "germ" that could endanger the unity and cohesiveness of the nation, the world's fourth most populous country with more than 193 million people.

He did not mention any specific regions or groups in his speech, which followed some of multi-ethnic Indonesia's worst street violence in recent years in remote Irian Jaya.

Separatist rebels in the province have held hostages since January 8.

Indonesia has also faced separatist groups in the troubled former Portuguese colony of East Timor and in Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra island.

The country's experiment with openness slowed in 1994 when the government banned three popular news magazines which were highlighting sensitive political issues.

On Thursday, Suharto said granting greater autonomy to regencies would not lead to disintegration of the archipelago, adding that the central government was committed to allowing them greater authority in managing their own affairs.

The political situation in Indonesia has been hotting up in the wake of next year's general election, to be followed in 1998 by the presidential election.

The government has been irked by the setting up of an independent election watchdog, comprising prominent government critics, before next year's general elections.

Suharto, widely expected to be appointed to a seventh five-year term as president in 1998, said it was the duty of all Indonesians, including the armed forces, to ensure that the elections are conducted smoothly and peacefully.

"It is our responsibility to safeguard the election," he said. "To safeguard the election

means to guarantee safety, orderliness and its smooth passage," he said.

He called on those involved in the supervision of the elections to carry out their duties responsibly, accurately and without reservations.

"Take firm action against anyone who violated the rules and protect those who deserved to be protected," he said.

Armed forces commander General Feisal Tanjung told the same gathering that various security disturbances, sparked by either domestic or foreign sources, had been overcome.

"Operation targets have been achieved, among others, in crushing security disturbances in East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya," he said

INDON PARTY BOSS SAYS TIMOR A NON-ISSUE

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent [abridged]

JAKARTA, April 12 AAP - As Australia's new Foreign Minister prepared to visit Indonesia next week, one of Jakarta's most powerful politicians has declared East Timor a non-issue.

Ruling Golkar party chairman Harmoko said there was "no problem" in the former Portuguese colony, and anyone suggesting the territory was not irreversibly integrated with Indonesia was "dreaming."

But Mr. Harmoko, the Information Minister, and a figure sometimes mentioned as a possible successor to President Suharto, said East Timor was no longer a matter for debate.

"East Timor and Indonesia have become inseparable," the official Antara newsagency reported Mr. Harmoko as telling a meeting of Golkar members in East Timor yesterday.

"Therefore anybody still trying to separate the region from the rest of the country would only be dreaming in broad daylight."

Mr. Harmoko said East Timorese people had greatly benefited from integration with Indonesia, in terms of the economy, society, culture and politics.

NIP THIS REBELLION (IRIAN JAYA)

A need for all sides to address Irian Jaya's problems

Editorial, Asiaweek, April 16

Until the middle of last year, few observers of Indonesian affairs gave much time to the vast province of Irian Jaya. Home to rich rainforests and a population of just 2 million, it was best known for photographs

of stone age tribesmen. The rebel Free Papua Movement (OPM) was considered so splintered as to survive only because of the safe havens across the border in Papua New Guinea. The rich mining operations of U.S.-based Freeport had aroused protests from environmental groups, but that didn't alter the fact that the copper mine, which is also Indonesia's biggest gold producer, was a substantial taxpayer and the motor for development in the region.

That picture changed last year when soldiers allegedly shot dead 16 OPM sympathizers in anti-Freeport protests at or near the mine. Indonesia's Human Rights Commission slapped the army over the incidents, and in January it jailed four of its men. While Freeport was not directly criticized, there were hints about collusion between the company and the military. In January, an OPM group kidnapped 25 wildlife researchers. With seven Europeans among the hostages, Irian was catapulted into world headlines. Then in March came riots at the Freeport site and in the capital of Jayapura, the latter incident underlining that Irian's problems are by no means confined to Freeport. A student-led crowd of 4,000 rioted when they were unable to receive the body of former OPM leader Thomas Wainggai, 59, who had died of an illness the week before in Jakarta's Cipinang Jail.

The Jayapura riot pointed to enormous dissatisfaction with the governance of the province. While Indonesia's right to rule in Irian is not contested by the United Nations, as in the case of East Timor, the country's own political scientists have warned for some years of the risk of Balkanization should the imbalances between eastern and western Indonesia not be addressed. It is a common theme in the east that little of the money contributed to Jakarta ever makes its way back home.

Added to the problems of development are the often heavy hands of bureaucrats and military leaders. Despite the Human Rights Commission's recent work, Irian is far from the attention of the national press and other institutions which might help to ensure a fair deal for residents. Aggravating this is a western-Indonesian superiority complex that tends to regard the Melanesians of Irian as simple folk who don't know administration. Not that the Irianese are always lords in their own villages. Tens of thousands of Javanese have been resettled in the province, partly to sanitize the land border with PNG, while other migrants have arrived independently to dominate commerce in the major settlements.

Not unlike East Timor, some local people have found themselves disenfranchised in their own land. Also not unlike East Timor, a heavy military presence has minimized

simple everyday freedoms that most Indonesians can take for granted. Like their fractious cousins in faraway Aceh, where natural gas produces solid export revenue, the Irianese can point to Freeport and the probability of more rich mineral sites as evidence that they are not getting a fair deal.

Yet it is unfair to blame most of Irian's troubles on Freeport. Last year it gave \$22.7 million to local community development programs, a sum that is set to rise this year to \$34.3 million. This is no small contribution to an area that already benefits from Freeport-related roads, airports and other facilities and a workforce that is a market for local produce. A strong element of cargo cultism makes it unlikely that the tribes will be easily satisfied with whatever Freeport can give them, and the company is considering putting management of its programs under locals so they can learn what is involved in developing a remote area.

Ultimately the answers to discontent must come from Jakarta. Irianese are demanding more autonomy in decision-making, particularly on budgets. So far, devolution of authority has been firmly resisted by Jakarta, which fears that a taste of autonomy may only create the desire for more. Yet if national cohesion is to be maintained, Indonesia one day will have to go some way toward defusing the resentments of those regions that feel neglected.

Greater responsiveness to local concerns would require, on the Irianese part, an effort to better articulate their wishes and accept more responsibility. They will need to recognize that it is only by working with Freeport and Jakarta that they can improve their lot. Calling for independence from Jakarta, and for Freeport to be shut down, are apt only to try the patience. With the eyes of the world on Irian Jaya, there's at least a reasonable prospect that Jakarta is in a mood to listen to grievances.

DPR MEMBER REGRETS DYSFUNCTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OFFICE

Dili, 4/24 (ANTARA) - One of the members of the House of Representatives (DPR) from the Development Faction Salvador Januario Ximenes Soares regretted the fact that the East Timor-based representative office of the Human Rights National Commission since its existence on January 1996 until now has not function yet.

"The dysfunction of the Representatives Office in the region reflects that the members of the Human Rights National Commission in Jakarta is still doubtful or in

other words do are afraid to realize it," he said in Dili on Tuesday.

He assumed that the Human Rights National Commission which until now has an independence position and always criticizes several social and human rights matters and even judge the DPR members, as political employees, are not capable of doing what is actually need to be done, especially when it concerns the human rights.

When asked whether there is a possibility that the undone realization of the representative office in the region is because of the pressure from certain parties, Soares said, that is possible, so that the human rights national commission in the region is still afraid to do their activities.

Unstable Yet

Soares pointed the possibility of the dysfunction is because the planning of the human rights national commission itself is not stable enough.

The representative office was founded on January 24, 1996, which received assistance in operational means from the East Timor Regional Government which was submitted in person by the Regional Secretary, Drs. Rajakarina Brahmana.

The official appointment was also attended by two members of the Human Rights National Commission; B.N. Marbun, SH and Clementino dos Reis Amaral from East Timor.

In the occasion, Amaral said that there will be three personnel who will be placed at the representative office; two from East Timor and one, who will be the head, from outside of East Timor.

"The important thing is that the personnel who are going to be placed have the ability and are neutral. The neutrality of the head of the East Timor-based representative office is what we prioritize on, from which ethnic the person come does not matter," he said.

The representative office will not only serve the reports or complaints on the human rights violations from the East Timorese.

"Our commitment is to serve everyone who feels harmed and that their human rights are violated without questioning their origin, religion and other primordial identities," said Amaral.

INDONESIANS JEALOUS OF EAST TIMOR HANDOUTS

Manchester Guardian Weekly, 28 April 1996. By John Aglionby in Jakarta

East Timor is beginning to give the Indonesian government headaches of a different kind, as accusations grow of government

favouritism towards the troublesome province.

Taxpayers are complaining that a disproportionately large amount of public money is being used to woo people away from support for separatist unrest in the former Portuguese colony, while more loyal areas are being neglected. Most provinces rely on central government for up to 70 per cent of their budgets.

The government spends more in state aid on East Timor, per capita, than anywhere but Irian Jaya, the Indonesian half of New Guinea. In the last financial year government spending stood at nearly \$100 per person in East Timor compared with \$28 for East Java, \$45 for Bali and just \$15 for West Java. Millions of dollars have been spent on schools, hospitals, roads and housing in the province.

But many East Timorese remain deeply hostile to Indonesian rule. Dozens have sought asylum in foreign embassies in Jakarta in the past 18 months or tried to enter Australia illegally by means of the hazardous sea passage. Indonesia is obliged to maintain a garrison of 6,000 soldiers in the province.

Open opposition of this kind fuels the bitterness in other areas, where people feel their loyalty to Jakarta goes unrewarded. "Attitudes to East Timor have started to change," said one political analyst. "Instead of accepting what the government does, people are beginning to question the large amount of aid given to the province. The new feeling is: 'Why should we give money to these people when they are doing nothing but always causing trouble?' Some people are even wondering whether we should give up East Timor, as it's proving to be so expensive to govern."

"There is jealousy emerging, particularly in eastern Indonesia," Pande Radja Silalahi, an economist, said. "The people there feel that they're giving more to Jakarta than they're receiving, and they point to East Timor as somewhere that is getting more than its fair share."

Resentment is particularly strong in East Kalimantan, an oil-rich province in Borneo which regularly generates more than 20 per cent of Indonesia's export earnings yet received less than 1 per cent of the country's \$128 billion development budget last year.

"The indigenous Dayaks are witnessing their resources being depleted without, in their eyes, being adequately compensated," said Mr. Silalahi. "In the past they have pointed the finger at the Javanese, but now attention is turning to the question of East Timor."

Hadi Soesastro, the executive director of the Indonesian Centre for Strategic and International Studies, believes the government

is caught in a dilemma. "In Jakarta there is a basic fear that if the youngest province is treated very differently from the rest of the country it will become very different," he said. "But how can equal treatment be applied to a province which doesn't share the nation's history and is economically so far behind other provinces?"

There is little evidence, however, that government policy towards East Timor is about to change. Resentment in other provinces may, in any case, be checked by a new regional devolution programme.

INDONESIA AIR SHOW (IAS) IN JUNE '96

From Martin Broek

The Indonesian armed forces rely on western arms, but have their own domestic arms industry too. Companies like PT Pal (small naval vessels, maintenance and repair) and PT Pindad (small arms and rockets) are two of the most important. The other one is IPTN (aircraft and helicopters), which is regularly mentioned on this newsgroup.

To strengthen the position of this company Indonesia is organising an air show, called the Indonesia Air Show '96. I have some information on this 'event,' but I am interested in more information, e.g. which companies will attend the show. The earlier mentioned address in reg.easttimor and reg.indonesia is mainly focussed on Australian business. If you have any information please let me know. I also will try to answer requests on information.

Background of IAS '96 [official information]

The year 1996 is earmarked as 'Tahun Dirgantara' which means the 'Year of Aviation' for Indonesia. After celebrating its 50th year of anniversary in 1995, the country will demonstrate to the world its development in aircraft technology through Indonesia Air Show '96 (IAS '96).

IAS '96 is the second air show to be held in Indonesia. The first one in 1986 was primarily targeted to introduce Indonesia's capabilities in the aviation and aerospace industry. However, in 1996, the country has grown to be capable to develop aircraft with its own local human resources, thus enhancing the continued effort of Indonesia to present its advancement in aviation internationally.

As indicated already in the year 2000, the economy of Asian countries will increase tremendously. Along with the high rate of economical growth, the demand of air transportation will undoubtedly also multiply.

It is projected that within the next 20 years, the annual traffic growth will be 7%

minimum and the share of global air travel will be 20%. Airbus Industries, Boeing, and McDonnell Douglas (MDC) are all forecasting that Asia Pacific carriers will account for nearly 4,000 new aircraft by the year 2014.

Considering this development in Asia, Indonesia comprehends the need to build commuter aircraft (actually not only for the region but also for her air transportation of its 27 provinces) as well as to supply airframe parts to other types of aircraft.

Leaders of this country realized that dependency on foreign technology will only place Indonesia in a disadvantage position. Therefore, in pursuing the long term objectives, Indonesians should be able to gain and develop their science and technology. In particular, aviation and aerospace technology. This can be seen through the presence of CN-235, N-250, assembly of NBO-105 Helicopters, NAS 332 Super Puma, NBELL-412 and other products.

It has become a tradition that each participating country in an airshow emerged with leading aircraft. In IAS '96 Indonesia will feature its latest commercial aircraft, N-250, built by the Bandung based state aircraft industry, IPTN.

Co-organised by PT. Produk Indonesia in co-operation with the National Committee of IAS '96

End official text

Facts:

The show will be held at June 22-30 on the Soekarno-Hatta International Airport in Jakarta. Soeharto will open the show.

The organisation expects 600 exhibitors from: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Indonesia (IPTN, Garuda maintenance Facilities, Gapura Putra Internusa), Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Russia, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, USA, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Taiwan, UAE, etc. Indonesia, UK, France and Australia will attend with their special 'aerobatic' teams respectively: Hang Biru (6 F-16's), Red Arrows, Golden Dream, Patrouille de France, Roulettes

Conclusion

Although the background information is on air transportation in the context of an Asian development towards traffic growth. The mentioned products of IPTN are foremost military aircraft, except the N-250. Stunt flying with military aircraft is painting even a more militarized picture. This airshow will be a civil/military one and needs to be followed very closely, because it will be a market place where people do business.

So if anyone can add information to this rudimentary information, please let me know. I just saw the message about the information on internet.

Indonesia Air Show additional information

From INTERAVIA Jan/Feb 1996, page 29, via Martin Broek

The Indonesia Air Show is a show on aircraft and isn't limited to military aircraft. Although it will be used to expose the Indonesian built military helicopters and airplanes, as well as foreign ones. According to the organisers 20,000 trade visitors, 600 exhibitors and 2,5 million public visitors are expected to attend.

The UK has demanded 1,200 sq. m, of total exhibit area of 20,000 sq. m., more than 10%. The UK is followed by French 700 sq. m, Germany, the USA and Australia, 600 sq. m each.

South Africa will attend IAS with the Rooivalk combat helicopter and from Russia fighters and transport aircraft shall give presence during the show. 14 stunt teams will do their aerobatic tricks. "unlike the situation at the Singapore Air Show, the flying display will not be limited by commercial air traffic," a report in Interavia tells us. Among the stunt teams are those from China and Taiwan.

According to the chief operations officer for the show, with a familiar name, Thareq Kemal Habibie the show "(...) has a definite political purpose - to build support for Indonesian aviation." When the 96 show will be a success the frequency will be change from every ten years to every three years, according to TH Habibie.

IAS will be another step in a money consuming prestige project and will be a market place for military aerospace equipment for governments and company's from all over the world.

DISINFORMATION FROM THE INDONESIAN SIDE

MULADI IN MATRA: EAST TIMORESE TERRORISM?

DIGEST from Gerry van Klinken, April 13

In the March 1996 edition of Matra (pp.14-24), the criminologist Prof. Muladi foreshadows the possibility that East Timorese will resort to international terrorism. Unfortunately, he does not go on to prescribe a solution. Prof. Muladi is rector of Diponegoro University in Semarang, Central Java, a member of the National Human Rights Commission, and a frequent

representative for the Indonesian government at UN human rights conferences. The interview, extracts of which appear below, was conducted by Arif Bargot Siregar and Arief A. Kuswardono.

Following discussion on East Timorese embassy fence jumpers, Muladi said:

'I think there is something unhealthy there from a national point of view. Of course East Timorese who are anti-integration may see it differently. Over there people value the International Committee of the Red Cross and Bishop Belo more than the Indonesian government apparatus. If anything happens, let's say a conflict with Indonesia, they run for cover there.... At some point, I think, a highly strategic problem will arise that will put an end to the whole conflict with a final decisiveness. It will burst like a boil. We have to wait and see how the boil develops.

Q: What form will this take?

A: It could be the determined attitude of East Timorese society. The strategic forces there at some point suddenly realize who the enemy is. As for Indonesia, I think we are ready for anything.

Perhaps most disappointed of all is ABRI. Let's say they succeeded in implementing integration, but then it turned out we were challenged with social and economic problems that remain unsatisfactory. ABRI's position has become difficult.

With the East Timorese running away overseas, a crystallisation will occur, it will become increasingly visible. What needs to be investigated is, how great is the potential of these East Timorese émigrés to replace Indonesia's existing foreign enemies? That includes a vigilance against terrorism.

Q: Is there any evidence of that?

A: There it is! The movements in Australia were pioneered by them. Also the demonstrations against Mr. Suharto, against the embassies, burning the Red and White flag. That is them - besides the East Timorese refugees from earlier times perhaps there are our Chinese who have run away there, assisted by the original inhabitants [Australian citizens], and the families of Australians killed in East Timor. It is not impossible they will do something even more negative. And we have to be ready. That includes a vigilance in the area of national aircraft flights and our interests overseas.'

DIGEST provides quick news summaries with comment. Contact: Gerry van Klinken, Indonesia Resources and Information Programme, publishers of 'Inside Indonesia' magazine, tel +61-7-3371 3854.

EAST TIMORESE CLAIM OVER PORTUGAL IS REALISTIC

Indonesia Media Network - 20 Apr 96

Dili, 4/19 (ANTARA) - The East Timorese claim over the cruelty and colonization of the Portugal government for 450 years which caused suffering and backwardness of the natives, was considered by a social observer in Dili realistic.

"The claim is necessary and realistic as a prove of stabilization of the integration values," said the Executive Director of the East Timor Development Studies Center "Duc in Altum Foundation," Drs. Antonio Castro da Silva, on Friday.

The estimation was forwarded to the press when asked for his comment on the claim of the East Timorese over Portugal which was done by the East Timor Regional House of Representatives and several fighters from the "1959 Viqueque Movement" last week.

Head of East Timor Regional House of Representatives, Antonio Freitas Parada, accompanied by several fighters from the 1959 "Viqueque Movement" last week, charged the Portugal government over the cruelty which was done through a joint statement.

The charges has already been registered at the Arbitration Court in Den Haag, Netherlands, on January 28, 1995; two days before the verdict of the International Court on Portugal's claim over the Celah Timor to Australia which was eventually denied.

[The verdict was actually in June, 1995. The court denied Portugal's case because Indonesia does not recognize the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. - Charlie, ETAN/US]

The charges was stressed again through a joint statement with reinforcement through the presence of several fighters from the 1959 Viqueque Movement which recently returned from their exile in Portugal.

The claim, according to Parada, was intended to make the international world aware of the standing, determination, and intention of the East Timorese which has been stated in the "Balibo Declaration" 20 years ago, which declared the intention in integrating with the Republic of Indonesia.

It was explained that if the claim of the East Timorese is accepted and approved, his people along with public figures will depart to the Arbitration Court.

According to da Silva, all this time the Indonesian government and those who are pro-integration seems to be defensive toward the claim of those who are anti-integration and Portugal.

"With the charges, an offensive effort is starting to show in order to balance the attack from the anti-integration group and Portugal itself," he stressed.

The charges, said the graduate from the Social and Politics Faculty of the Gajah Mada University-Yogyakarta, also prove that the integration has brought positive impacts to the people in the youngest province in Indonesia although it must be admitted that there are still a group of people who are questioning the matter.

When asked whether the charges will be responded by the anti-integration group and Portugal itself, in his opinion, that is certain.

"I think a response will certainly come up, but in stabilizing the integration, the charges which was submitted by the East Timor Regional House of Representatives is necessary and there must be people who have such standing," he said.

He stressed that all this time in balancing the accusation and criticism on the East Timor matter, an offensive diplomacy policy in several fields is necessary.

If we go on with the defensive diplomacy, Indonesia will always be a target of criticism and accusation through the statements of the anti-integration group and Portugal itself which we must admit has drawn the international press sympathy all this time.

"So, there must be an offensive effort in order to balance it," said da Silva.

WOMEN'S ROLE HAS IMPROVED RAPIDLY

Dili, 4/21 (ANTARA) - The women's role in the East Timor province in the last 20 years since the integration with Indonesia has rapidly improved and developed.

The opinion was enclosed by ANTARA in Dili, on Sunday, from the opinions of two women from two generations from the youngest province in Indonesia, when asked about their comment relating to the 1996 Kartini Day with their "emancipation" spirit in the context of the women's role in East Timor.

"The progress of women's role in East Timor in the last 20 years is very apparent and that is not fabricating because there are the facts," said dr. Candida Isabel Lopes - Head of the local governmental clinic in the West Dili Subdistrict.

According to the young doctor who is an East Timorese, the progress of women's role in the region is seen from the increase of number of East Timor "Kartinis" who hold the position in various fields, both in the governmental and non-governmental areas in this region.

She said, she experiences the progress herself because initially, the opportunity to receive educational until high school is very rare, let alone to be a master in various fields of science.

"There are some cultural limitations in the society which consider why women should go to school up to a high level," he explained.

According to Lopes who during the integration process of East Timor into Indonesia was still a little girl, the great number of women in the region who has become masters in various fields of science and able to play role in various fields of work proves the rapid progress.

She mentioned that at present, there are already many East Timorese women who have become members of the Regional House of Representatives, leaders of the local regional government bureaucracy and also famous entrepreneurs in Lorosae (Sunrise Land).

According to the graduate from the Udayana School of Medicine - Bali, the progress in the women's role does not necessary have to be measured by how many women representatives in various governmental formal fields.

"Because there are still many women in the villages who need to be improved so that they are able to develop and progress even more," he continued.

Women's Organization

In the context of increasing the women resources in the villages, according to Lopes, the role of the women's organization like the education for women program (PKK) can realize the expectations and wish of the women in the villages.

She referred to the health field where as much as 75 percent of the cadres in her working area are women. That shows that the women's role is very big, but it still needs to be improved.

Unfortunately, she said, all this time the management of the women's organizations like PKK is still identical to the wives of officials, whereas in the villages the women villagers are the ones who are supposed to be the members of the board because the organization is "owned" by the women in the region.

In a separated occasion, Maria Fernanda Lay - Head of Telecommunication Regional Office Dili Telkom Co. said that the progress of the women's role in the last 20 years in East Timor has not found any obstructions.

"I see the opportunity to progress is given equally to women in various fields in East Timor," he said.

To Lay who during the integration was a young generation, so far from what she has

seen and felt both structurally and mentally, there is no obstruction for the women in the youngest province to progress and develop in various fields of development.

"Only, such opportunities to progress and develop are often not used by the women in the region themselves," he said.

He suggested the young women generation in East Timor to always learn so that the big opportunity to be able to take part in the development in any field can be well used.

When asked about her comment on the women in the villages, Lay said that the work ethic of the East Timorese women is similar to the Balinese women.

"The East Timorese women in the villages are the backbone of the family and their work ethic is similar to the Balinese women," she said.

She also agreed that the women in the villages, through various efforts, must be more improved so that they can progress and develop more in accordance with the demands of the era.

RAFTY: THE EAST TIMOR QUESTION: AS I SEE IT

Article circulated on the WWW site of the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, at www.dfa-deplu.go.id/english/tonyraft.htm by Tony Rafty

Tony Rafty was a was correspondent who served in many theatres during World War II. At the time of the Japanese surrender to the Allies, Tony was assigned by his superiors to cover the situation in the East Indies.

Arriving in the city that was then called Batavia, he found a completely different picture that until his arrival had been, for one reason or another, kept secret. He found that a new nation had been created, the Republic of Indonesia comprising the whole of the Dutch East Indies proclaimed under the leadership of the nationalists. Soekarno as president and Moh. Hatta vice president.

Tony Rafty is credited with being the first foreign journalist to make the world aware of the existence of the Indonesian Republic and its proclamation on the 17th August 1945.

As a reward, Tony Rafty gained the confidence of President Soekarno who went the battle of Surabaya erupted travelled from Yogyakarta to that city in order to bring about a cease fire (which he succeeded in achieving), allowed Tony to accompany him in his private aircraft.

Charlotte Clayton

For 20 years I have marvelled at the manner the Australian press has, generally

speaking presented the so called Timor problem to the general public.

As a journalist, proud of my profession, I am appalled that the true story, especially the killing of 5 journalists in Balibo has never been reported accurately.

This correct record of that incident is not mine belongs to a colleague who was at Balibo. A colleague, a war correspondent now deceased who has gained the respect especially from his peer group. The person I speak of is Pat Burgess and this is his version of that fatal day at Balibo.

"Together with other journalists I was at Balibo and warned by Indonesian authorities in no uncertain term of the danger of being in an area where they expected cross fire between their troops and the Fretilin gorillas was to take place."

We realised how dangerous the situation was becoming and immediately prepared to vacate the zone. To our amazement five journalists (two Australians, two Britons and one New Zealander) refused to do so. When asked why, they replied that they would stay and film the crossfire. They were after headlines.

"With that they walked towards the surrounding mountains and soon after became victims of the crossfire."

Pat Burgess said that if they had heeded the Indonesians warning they would be back in their own countries this day.

Pat's summary of the killing at Balibo should be recorded and noted. This is after all an on the spot observation by a journalists well known and well respected. He could gain nothing by bending the truth and as a man of honour would never have done so.

But for reason that one can only conclude are based on vested interests some sections of the media prefer to listen to the words of James Dunn who has set himself up some sort of an authority on the communist Fretilin in Timor. Mr. Dunn, who having been the Australian vice consul during the Portuguese time in Dilli does nothing but bend the truth especially in the case of the killings at Balibo.

Unfortunately, Pat Burgess is now deceased when alive he was determines to have the truth told and would relay the happenings at Balibo to fellow journalists and other interested parties who cared to listen.

One of those occasions was a couple of years after the killings. It was at a lunch at the journalists' Club in Sydney where members of the press were present. The occasion was an informal one and Pat took the opportunity to relay in great detail the events leading up to the death of the five journalists. Since then I often ponder why it is that not one of those journalists ever called on Pat for official clarification in order to bring

his on the spot version to the general public. Or did they and for reason yet to be made clear, ignore Pat Burgess' on the spot version to the of the Balibo incident at the behest of the editorial staff scanning the headlines for the next issues?

With Pat Burgess account in mind I decided to pursue with a greater depth of interest other aspects of the Timor question and my findings are most alarming. The following I present for your consideration.

Firstly, why is it that when the killing is mentioned the reference is always made to 5 Australian journalists when it is recorded that there were only 2 Australian, the others were two British and one New Zealander? And why do we only hear the name of Greg Shakleton and not the others.

The widow of Greg Shakleton, Shirley is forever in the news as a strong Fretilin supporter. Why does not she heed the words of a respected and well known person such as Pat Burgess who was with her husband in Balibo and openly says that the bullet that killed her husband could well have been that of the Fretilin? She seems to embrace the Fretilin cause without question and one can only wonder why?

Secondly as recently as 14th October 1995 an article written by David Jenkins appearing in the Sydney Morning Herald states "That the journalists had been caught in cross-fire between Fretilin and Indonesian forces." Tut, tut Shirley Shakleton, believe me you have all my sympathy about the death of your husband, but really, do you have to be so blind not to see where the truth lies?

And how about the so called Massacre at Dilli. A massacre? Well the media certainly wanted the word to believe that was what it was. But to my mind it was a stage-managed performance by vested interests to further the gap between Australia and Indonesia.

For an instance. How come that a British cameraman, an American radio journalist and activists from Australia were all in centre stage when the "massacre" took place. So strategic were their placings on that day that those who have a vested interest in the issue were able to portray to television viewers the entire tragic incident and unfortunate loss of lives to the viewers appears as a "staged" box office film.

Take as an instance the church scene where an Army Major is stabbed by a member of Fretilin. An American journalists leads the worshippers from the church (why they, being nationals of the country needed guidance by an Americans nor disclosed) to a near by cemetery. The American journalist (a woman by the name of Anne Goddard) jumps up and down while all the time screaming at the military who now horrified by the stabbing to death of their superior

have began to fire on the crowds. Indeed all the actors were in place while the cameraman, also strategically positioned at a cemetery where the so called "massacre" takes place and the Australian activities everywhere ready to carry out their leading roles.

Stage three. Once inside the cemetery the British cameraman goes into action and a film that has since made for him a very pretty penny begins to record the "massacre." However the screening of this so called horror can only show people running and a man obviously hurt lying on the ground. If the incident was not so tragic it would be good material for a comic opera which portrays the indigenous people being saved by strong white Britons, an American and Australians. And the scene of foreigners leading the people out of the church. Indeed it is too ridiculous to contemplate. And that film tagged "Massacre at Dilli and the first screening in Sydney presented by Jane Wendt on channel nine."

On the first night, sounds of bullets could be heard as the scene unfolded. But the next night's television feature of the incident came without the sound of any bullets just the screeching noise of ambulances or fire alarms.

Why the faking of the sound of bullets and who was responsible for the dubbing? What happened to the bullets, Jana Wendt? The Australian Journalists Association went on record stating that as Jana Wendt was not a member of the AJA, no case could be brought and no further comment was forthcoming. In other words no action was taken although it is obvious that some where someone distorted the real facts.

Fourthly why is it that Australia is the base for the Fretilin? Why is that they find their strength in this country? Why do we not only allow this to happen and apparently encourage it to do so?

The latest episode in this on going Timor saga centred around the so called boat people. They claim that they will be jailed and even worse could happen if they are sent back to Timor but what real evidence do they have of this?

None at all. Only the words of the Fretilin that we all know is nothing more and nothing less than communist front.

Wade through all the pages of the material written especially by James Dunn and none of the above questions are ever answered. Al that the words of the persons writing convey are undercurrents that suggest we should fear the Indonesian and be on the alert for the danger they will bring to this country.

I close this article knowing that forever the five killed in Balibo will be recorded (for sensations sake) in the press as Australians. That Shirley Shakleton will forever grab

every opportunity to damn the Indonesians and that Immigration Minister Nick Bolkus will fail in taking a positive stand with the Fretilin Boat people. And that Brian Toohey will keep his eyes and ears closed to the true account of the killings as Balibo as told by Pat Burgess.

The communist Fretilin are having the last laugh and I for one resent that it is a laugh on a country that I love, respect and admire, Australia. The Fretilin openly boast that they can lead this country by the nose any which way they desire and I deeply resent the suggestion. Don't you?

SHIRLEY SHACKLETON RESPONDS

May 2, 1996

Mr. Rafty claims to know a great deal about me, yet during the passage of twenty years he has failed to contact me with information he claims is vital to an understanding of what happened to my husband and his colleagues at Balibo. At no time have I heard from him or from Mr. Pat Burgess which is astonishing given the claims Mr. Rafty alleges were made by Mr. Burgess. Many of these claims are just plain silly and some of them are quite mad.

Mr. Rafty seems determined to take umbrage on a number of points stated by him to be facts for which there is no evidence: in fact there are so many inconsistencies in poor Mr. Rafty's article that I find it hard to take his allegations seriously, but for the record I will try.

The answer to the first question directed at me is quite simple: I have not heeded the words of Mr. Pat Burgess because he never gave me the chance. Until now neither has Mr. Rafty! Though claiming particular knowledge of what happened at Balibo, his statements and claims only serve to deepen the mystery.

The first and obvious questions concern the following extract purporting to be evidence from Mr. Burgess:

"Together with other journalists I was at Balibo and warned by Indonesian authorities in no uncertain terms of the danger of being in an area where they expected cross fire between their troops and the Fretilin gorillas was to take place."

What were the names and nationalities of the "other journalists" said to have been "at Balibo"? It is a strange fact that no-one has ever made such claims before. I for one would like to make contact with these "other journalists," as any evidence they could give would be valuable.

What did Mr. Burgess think he was doing in Balibo and what did he think the Indonesians were doing there? What does Mr.

Rafty think Mr. Burgess was doing in Portuguese territory taking orders from the Indonesian military? Why would anyone give credence to what "Indonesian authorities" were telling them when the said "Indonesian authorities" had no business operating in territory that was not theirs?

Why didn't Mr. Burgess report the fact that the Indonesian army had crossed the borders and were firing upon Timorese? Doesn't this fact bother Mr. Rafty? Why doesn't he feel outrage at this obvious breach of the peace?

I can't help thinking that the use of the spelling "gorillas" may offer a clue to a hidden agenda; whether it is a Freudian slip or made deliberately, what kind of person let alone a journalist would make such a ridiculous spelling mistake? It is true that some Indonesians use the term *Orun Hutan* or *Orang-u'tan* as an insult to humans. As well as the name for members of the primate family of orangutans, they also say *Irang-Hitam* to denote blackman or a native of West Papua. These terms are used extensively in East Timor along with other regrettable forms of insult such as: "You Timorese are primitives, you've just come down from the trees."

I am sorry to say this, but I think it is just too much of a give-away - I suspect Mr. Rafty has learned to think like a particularly spiteful type of Indonesian (not at all characteristic of the majority of Indonesians) or he is a very poor journalist whose ready acceptance of the brutal Indonesian invasion of East Timor makes his point of view questionable.

Likewise, we have to ask ourselves what credence we can give to the following:

"To our amazement five journalists (two Australians, two Britons and one New Zealander) refused to do so (retreat). When asked why, they replied that they would stay and film the crossfire. They were after headlines."

Does Mr. Rafty mean that the journalists actually said they were after film of the crossfire? Unless it was dark there wouldn't be much to film. Perhaps they said that they wanted to film some action. In other words, they were doing their job. What kind of journalist would expect anything else from television crews reporting an undeclared war by a large powerful neighbour on a smaller weaker country? Only a fool would think that wasn't the kind of news that would grab headlines. In other words they were doing their job. If we are to accept Mr. Rafty's allegations, Mr. Burgess was not with the journalists in Balibo - "they (the journalists) walked to the surrounding mountains and soon after became victims of the crossfire."

How would Mr. Burgess know what happened once they were out of sight?

I am not suggesting any evil intent by Mr. Burgess, he may have been misinformed, but one wonders why he didn't ask the all too obvious questions. Given the time that has passed, I am forced again to wonder why he deprived me of this information? In fact, we don't know what he actually said, we only have Mr. Rafty's account to go by.

Mr. Rafty seems particularly irked by the Australian media reporting of the deaths (of five Australian journalists) yet he doesn't seem to care or has ever bothered to check the facts - all the murdered men were not journalists. Two were journalists, two were camera men and one was a sound recordist. Personally, I have always made these distinctions verbally, including the names of the murdered men and their respective television stations - but when it comes to recording such fine details in print it is extremely cumbersome, so I am not at all surprised that the shorter description of five Australians was more commonly used. This also gives the lie to those who complain that reporting of the Balibo murders and the invasion of East Timor were not well covered in the Australian press. By comparison to other countries it was. Before the Pilger documentary, and apart from Tapol, the reporting elsewhere was very poor indeed.

I am the widow of Greg Shackleton. From the first day when I heard an early morning newscast on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation that five journalists were missing in Portuguese Timor, I have asked the same question at every opportunity given me. I can do it in my sleep! "What happened in Timor? What happened to my husband and his colleagues? What happened to Roger East? What is happening to the people of East Timor?" I believe I have not only the right, but the duty to continue to do that and I believe that unless he can give good reason why I should not continue to do so, Mr. Rafty owes me an apology.

I really resent his suggestion that anyone and myself in particular, in trying to sort out this horrifying story has a "vested interest." I would like to know precisely on what evidence Mr. Rafty has based his allegations; if he has facts to contribute to this dreadful, I urge him to publish them now.

Here are some facts to be going on with. I am not, nor ever was a supporter of Fretilin per se. I am a supporter for the enfranchisement of East Timorese, personal political affiliations within their own country are no business of mine or of any other person. So many lies have been told about the killings at Balibo and about the invasion and

occupation of East Timor that this latest attempt to fudge the issue stacks up (whether it is meant to or not) as a badly flawed attempt at pro-Indonesia propaganda.

Another pointer to Mr. Rafty's agenda are his allegations regarding Max Stahl's presence at the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery. Mr. Rafty's conclusions are simply not true. Far from making Max "a pretty penny" it was the worst business deal he ever made. I persuaded Yorkshire Television to visit East Timor to ascertain the situation there, and I can report that the team led by Peter Gordon met up with Max Stahl who was visiting East Timor as a free-lance film maker and journalist. Max accepted Peter's offer to go on Yorkshire TV's payroll temporarily - Peter told me that he didn't want someone else nosing around. When Peter had to return to England to fulfil commitments there, he asked Max to stay and record the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation. When the delegation was cancelled, Max made arrangements to leave and it was a miracle that his flight out was scheduled for the day after the Santa Cruz Massacre otherwise he would have missed the greatest story of his career. Unfortunately, for Max the rights for his film were owned by Yorkshire TV who used it extremely well in newscasts all over the world and in their documentary "In Cold Blood." Oh, and by the way, Mr. Rafty makes many other mistakes - like naming the Santa Cruz Massacre the Dili Massacre - the latter took place in 1975 and should not be confused with the former.

I am running out of time - if what I have said so far has not caused the reader to seriously question Mr. Rafty's bona fides, nothing will, so I will conclude by thanking Mr. Rafty for this opportunity to set the record straight.

Let me assure you that I will continue to respond to every opportunity offered me in order to comment on the parlous state of affairs in East Timor. I believe that those of us lucky enough to be living in a democracy must damn Indonesia's presence in East Timor. In view of the distortions Mr. Rafty has published regarding me, I take it as a vote of confidence that I must be doing something right.

Shirley Shackleton

P.S. I think Mr. Rafty should be interviewed with his "evidence" by Mr. Sherman who is currently in England.

Comment from Jim Dunn

Pat Burgess was never at the scene at Balibo. I knew him well and he was not unsympathetic to the Timorese. I don't know this Rafty, but his information is nonsense. Burgess could not have advised

the newsmen. That I know because I was there at the time they were killed.

EUROPE-ASIA SUMMIT IN BANGKOK

THAILAND TO BAR TIMOR LEADER

BANGKOK, Jan 21 (Reuter) - Thailand has rejected an appeal by Thai human rights and pro-democracy groups to allow East Timor resistance leader José Ramos-Horta to enter the country during the Asian-European Summit in March, the *Nation* newspaper said on Sunday.

The paper quoted Forum Asia spokeswoman Chalida Tajaroenusuk as saying Thailand's decision stemmed from concern that Ramos-Horta's presence here during the March 1-2 summit could provoke an Indonesian protest and withdrawal of participation by President Suharto.

Foreign ministry officials were not immediately available for comment.

Thai human rights groups had sought foreign ministry approval to let Ramos-Horta lecture at a month-long diplomacy training programme of Thammasat University here.

"Our appeal to the foreign ministry was for Ramos-Horta to enter the country solely as an academic without engaging in any political activities, and we gave a guarantee to the government that he wouldn't meet any journalists or hold any press conferences on East Timor," Chalida said.

She said: "Unfortunately, the government doesn't trust assurances given by people's groups and human rights organisations. Once again, the country is bowing to the interests of Indonesia and this is dreadful."

GAC TO PREPARE FOR BANGKOK SUMMIT

By Jeremy Lovell

Brussels, Jan 29 (Reuter) - The General Affairs Council began begin its preparations on Monday for the forthcoming summit in Bangkok between the leaders of the European Union and 10 Asian nations, diplomats said.

There was some confusion on whether the ministers had agreed a statement on East Timor - an issue that the former colonial power Portugal wants cleared up before the March 1 and 2 summit with Brunei, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, South Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

Some diplomats said the issue had been blocked at the level of political directors and therefore not reached the Council.

Others said it had been agreed by the ministers and would be published shortly, while others again said it had been put on ice until some countries had dealt with the tricky issue of refugees in their embassies.

No one said what the disputed text contained, but last week diplomats said a text under discussion by political directors called for dialogue between Indonesia - which invaded in 1975 and is regularly accused of human rights abuses - and the local population, with the stress on observing human rights.

Still in the same region of the world, the ministers at Sweden's request informally discussed allegations that Chinese orphanages have killed children for years through a programme of starvation and neglect.

Sweden insisted that the EU take a "more direct approach," a Swedish diplomat said, without giving details.

Diplomats said the ministers agreed that foreign ministers should accompany their political masters to the Bangkok summit because the EU wanted the meeting to produce solid results.

They also ranged over a report agreed last week by the European Commission setting out the EU's shopping list.

It calls for strengthened political contacts both at bilateral and multinational level, much enhanced trade and investment, promotion of human rights, democracy, the environment and cooperation in regional security issues.

All the participants in the summit have been at pains to ensure that the meeting stresses the positive - politics, trade and economics - and skates cautiously over the more contentious issues such as human rights, democracy and social protection.

"The agenda is still open," one diplomat shrugged when asked how the issue of human rights would be included.

The political section of the summit will stress support for the World Trade Organisation, reform of the United Nations, nuclear non-proliferation and cooperation in security and the settlement of regional disputes.

The economic section will stress the need to wrap up a global package on liberalising telecommunications networks and maritime transport - two items left over from the Uruguay Round of talks under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

It will also urge the adoption of global rules for foreign investments and reinforced co-operation on rules for financial services.

Asia as a whole is the EU's largest trading partner, accounting for 23.2 percent of

the bloc's external trade in 1994, and its economies are growing rapidly.

There is already agreement that the summit will be followed by working groups and ministerial level gatherings, with a second summit tentatively proposed to take place in Britain in the first half of 1998.

EAST ASIANS SEEK TO AVOID CONTROVERSY AT EU SUMMIT

By Robert Birsel

PHUKET, Thailand, Feb 3 (Reuter) - East Asian leaders will discuss a range of political issues in a March 1-2 summit meeting in Bangkok with their 15 European Union counterparts but will not welcome "irrelevant," controversial topics.

Foreign ministers from the 10 Asian countries on Saturday wound up preparatory talks for the summit with broad agreement on their position and gave a clear signal to the European Union to tread carefully when raising topics such as human rights and labour standards.

"For this first dialogue to be successful I think both sides should realise you should not bring in controversial and non-relevant issues," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters.

"Controversial and non-relevant issues can be found on both sides, not only on the Asian side. I can think of 10 irrelevant issues that can seriously embarrass the European side but we're not thinking of raising them, but neither should they raise certain issues that are not relevant," he said.

Asked if he thought East Timor would be raised, Alatas responded: "I consider that to be a question of irrelevance."

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975, annexed it the following year and have been battling a band of East Timorese guerrillas since. There are persistent allegations of rights abuses by Indonesian authorities in the territory.

The United Nations still regards former colonial power and EU member Portugal as East Timor's administering power.

Asian countries attending the summit, the first between the two regions, include the seven-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) - Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam - as well as China, Japan and South Korea.

The meeting will focus on economic cooperation, including the expansion of trade and investment, but political and security issues will also figure in the talks.

Asian officials say they want to discuss the reform of the United Nations, the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical

weapons, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, as well as security in the two regions.

European diplomats say their leaders are also expected to raise social issues, including human rights and labour standards. Asians say they are willing to discuss such topics generally but European criticism should not be excessive.

Some Asian officials said they were opposed to a European suggestion to include a reference to the Vienna declaration on human rights in any final statement emerging from the summit.

"Then we have to talk about other declarations. Why refer to only one when we should be referring to ... the social summit in Copenhagen, when we should be referring to the population conference in Cairo, when we should be referring to the Beijing conference on women," a senior Malaysian official said.

"We cannot single out a particular declaration or convention in order to stress an aspect on a certain issue," he said.

Asian officials said they were very close to agreeing to proposals for the chairman's statement, which would be the summit's final declaration.

The Asian ministers are also looking ahead to future summit meetings with the European Union.

"We cannot view (the March summit) as a one-shot affair," Singapore Foreign Minister S. Jayakumar told reporters.

"We anticipate that there will be a second meeting in Europe in two years time and we're already talking about a third meeting to be held in Asia," he said.

EAST TIMOR AND THE ASIA-EUROPE SUMMIT

"Asia-Europe Summit must be a forum for the people" (The Nation, Bangkok) reprinted in The Daily Yomiuri, Tokyo, 10 February 1996 [abridged]

One clear message came out of the meeting of Asia foreign ministers in Phuket last weekend: If human rights are brought up at the Asia-Europe Summit in Bangkok next month, Asia will bite back. This was made very explicit by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who warned European leaders to stick to only "relevant issues" and avoid talking about human rights.

"For the first dialogue (Asia-Europe Summit) to be successful, controversial and nonrelevant issues should not be brought up," Alatas said.....

Indonesian Diatribe

Alatas' diatribe of course came about when he was asked about East Timor....

Indonesia brutally invaded the former Portuguese enclave of East Timor in 1975, and annexed it the next year...a valid act of self-determination has not been carried out. So when [Portuguese Prime Minister] Guterres is in Bangkok, he will bring up East Timor with Indonesia's President Suharto. Not to do so will be tantamount to political suicide by the new Portuguese leader.

In Europe, the political philosophy of governments of the people, by the people and for the people is still respected and adhered to. But sadly, that concept, previously held sacrosanct, has been disregarded by the ASEAN governments.

It is important to point out that certain positions taken by ASEAN governments do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of the citizens of their countries...

Vienna Declaration

The European countries have insisted that the principles of the Vienna Declaration, which came out of the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993 should be included in the chairman's statement after the summit. ASEAN states, together with China, have voiced strong opposition to this.

On the part of Thailand, it is indeed hypocritical that it toes the ASEAN line on the exclusion of principles of the Vienna Declaration after the Thai government adopted the full declaration in 1993.

Agreeing to the exclusion in the chairman's statement will be tantamount to Thailand's colluding with undemocratic regimes in the region that put profits first and their people last.

The Asia-Europe Summit is not the sole prerogative of governments and must be seen as a forum where the people can voice their views. The people's agenda must be there and Asian governments, besides talking about trade with their European counterparts, should also allow the discussion of human rights.

JAKARTA WORRIED BY TIMOR

*Diario de Noticias, 13 February 1996.
Translated from Portuguese*

The Indonesian Government is worried about the possibility of Portugal raising the question of East Timor at the Europe-Asia Summit, due to be held in the Thai capital, Bangkok, on 1 and 2 March. Their concern was obvious from the statements made by Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, during the visit to Jakarta of his French counterpart, Herve de Charette. Alatas proposed that "the controversial issues" should not be broached during the summit, "in or-

der to avoid the risk of failure of the historic meeting.”

Ali Alatas was speaking to reporters after a two-hour long meeting with Charette with whom, he said, he had discussed the East Timor problem, believing it to be “one of the issues which ought to be excluded from the summit.” The Indonesian Minister expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the meeting and said he had found his French counterpart to be receptive to Jakarta’s concerns.

Herve de Charette was in Jakarta to discuss political and economic co-operation between the two countries. He did not comment on his meetings with Ali Alatas, but a French diplomatic source said that the Paris Government is likely to agree to avoid controversial subjects which might jeopardise the Bangkok summit.

The Summit, which will be held for the first time, will be attended by the countries of the EU and members of ASEAN, plus Japan, South Korea and China. One of the aims of the meeting is to strengthen political relations and economic ties between the EU and South-east Asia. ASEAN currently consists of Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

PARIS-JAKARTA – WITHOUT PASSING THROUGH TIMOR

PACT OF SILENCE FOR EUROPE-ASIA SUMMIT

Publico, 13 February 96. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros (with AFP). Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

The visit to Indonesia by French Foreign Minister, Herve de Charette, which aimed to look at French investment in Suharto’s country and to intensify bilateral co-operation, has already produced some practical results for Jakarta. Yesterday, in a meeting with Charette, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas got France’s support for keeping the Euro-Asian summit “clean” of “controversial issues” like East Timor which, Jakarta argues, might lead to the failure of the Bangkok meeting. (...)

Charette’s readiness to offer his country’s support for the Indonesian proposal to keep the summit free from “controversial issues” is not surprising ... Addressing a group of businessmen who accompanied him on the trip, Charette said that France was “tragically behind” in the race to conquer the gigantic Indonesian market, but promised the “French government’s backing” to help them catch up.

France’s investment occupies 14th place (1,600 million dollars in 1995) on the list in which UK investors are well ahead (with

20,700 million dollars), and some way behind them are the Germans (with 5,000 million dollars). To catch up, Paris is betting on the renovation of political dialogue with Jakarta, which has recently been hard hit by Indonesia’s opposition to French nuclear testing in the South Pacific. Now that the tests are over, the time is thought to be right for greater political approximation, free of contention, and in which there seems to be no place for East Timor.

Not far from where Charette and Alatas sealed their pact of silence for the Bangkok summit, 9 young Timorese who, last week sought refuge in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, were nearing the end of their hunger strike. In contrast to the other Timorese who have recently undertaken a series of occupations of western embassies in the Indonesian capital and subsequently travelled to Portugal, this group is insisting on political asylum in Australia. The Australian authorities, however, have recommended they opt for Portugal, arguing that the granting of asylum by Australia is unlikely.

While there is still uncertainty about the future of these 9 Timorese, another two refugees arrived yesterday in Portugal, after passing through the French Embassy in Jakarta. (...)

Timor was also in the headlines yesterday in Macao, where Portuguese Foreign Minister, Jaime Gama, met a group of resistance representatives who are exiled there. During the meeting, which took place just before Jaime Gama left for Peking, the Macao Group of the Timorese Resistance (GMRT) presented the Minister with its own detailed plan for East Timor. The document (...) was recently presented in Hong Kong at a seminar on human rights in Asia, by Timorese lawyer Manuel Tilman, who is linked to the GMRT.

The plan, which includes a kind of indirect referendum in East Timor through the election of an assembly which would have authority to decide on the territory’s status, reveals signs of moving closer to Jakarta. For example, the document mentions the desirability of a Treaty of Free Association with Indonesia or, among the short-term measures, the need to promote diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Jakarta - a move that Indonesia considers to be a priority.

The GMRT’s plan includes, among other proposals, a proposal to create a UN representation in East Timor, and to set up a committee to co-ordinate the practical application of measures within the framework of the so-called intra-Timorese dialogue...

PARIS VOLUNTEERS TO MEDIATE BETWEEN LISBON AND JAKARTA

Diario de Noticias, 14 February 1996. Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – The French Government has offered to mediate between the Portuguese and Indonesian authorities on the question of East Timor. The news was made public yesterday by the French Foreign Minister, Herve de Charette, at the end of his two-day visit to the Indonesian capital.

He said that “our friends can always look to us for help to overcome their difficult problems, if they so wish.” The Minister was speaking to reporters on the last day of his trip to Indonesia, where he had meetings with various governmental authorities.

With regards the problem of East Timor, the Minister said that France’s position coincided with that of the EU. The Community’s position recognises Indonesia’s annexation in 1976 of the former Portuguese colony, following its invasion of the territory in December 1975.

It is thought that the issue of East Timor might be raised by Portugal at the forthcoming Europe-Asia summit meeting to be held in Thailand in March. The Indonesian authorities are going to great diplomatic lengths to avoid the subject being raised at the summit....

Herve de Charette announced that French President Jacques Chirac will have a bilateral meeting with Indonesian President Suharto in Thailand, for an exchange of views on issues of mutual interest.

COMMENT FROM TAPOL:

There must be something wrong here, with the text or translation. The EU countries have not recognised Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor.

LISBON ENVOY REJECTS FRENCH TIMOR HELP

[slightly abridged]

Macau, Feb. 14 (UPI) - Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama dismissed as “unnecessary” the French government’s offer to mediate between Portugal and Indonesia in the East Timor conflict, the Portuguese news agency LUSA reported Wednesday.

“The negotiations (over East Timor) are under way under the aegis of the United Nations. It is unnecessary to establish a new framework,” said Gama, responding to a statement made Tuesday by French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta.

He also suggested French involvement would be pointless since France belongs to

the 15-member European Union, which already has adopted a position on the issue.

"France is bound by the position of the European Union, which does not recognize the integration of East Timor into Indonesia," Gama said.

Gama made the remarks during the third day in a four-day visit to Beijing.

The issue could arise next month at a Bangkok summit that will bring together representatives of the European Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, China, Japan and South Korea.

French President Jacques Chirac and Indonesian President Suharto are scheduled to meet during the session, while Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres will be among the European Union leaders at the meeting.

PARIS DOES NOT WANT ANY CLASHES

Le Monde, Thursday, Feb. 15, 1996. Bangkok By Jean-Claude Pomonti, South-East Asia correspondent Translated from French [Other title in same issue: Paris supports Boris Yeltsin's policy]

Bangkok – Co-presidents for several years of the international conference which led, in October 1991 in Paris, to a peace agreement in Cambodia, French and Indonesian diplomats know each other well. Moreover Indonesia remains France's first trading partner in South-East Asia [translator's note: according to the statistics I have, this is completely inaccurate. Indonesia comes much behind Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand, which are in any case way behind Japan, China and Taiwan]. The first visit in Jakarta of the French Foreign Minister, Herve de Charette, which was completed on Tuesday, February 13, was therefore also devoted to preparing the first summit between the European Union and South-East Asia, to be held in Bangkok on March 1 and 2 and to which Jacques Chirac will participate.

At the end of his meeting with Mr. de Charette, Ali Alatas, his Indonesian counterpart, declared that France was in "complete agreement" that Bangkok's success should not be undermined by controversies. Meeting at the beginning of February in Phuket, South Thailand, the Foreign ministers of the Ten of East Asia - China, Japan, South Korea, Brunei, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam - have indeed firmly vowed that human rights issues or "social clauses" of international trade should not sour the debates when the dialogue between the EU and their region officially opens. Jakarta on its part wishes that the issue of East Timor is not raised,

which is apparently not the advice of Portugal, the former tutelar power of this territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

A cordial atmosphere

The French minister's visit in Jakarta, in the wake of a journey to China, confirms that the priority will be given in Bangkok to economic and commercial cooperation. On the issue of East Timor, Mr. de Charette only recalled his "faithfulness" to the EU's common stand of not recognising the annexation, and to point out that France was always ready, "if asked to," to "help its friends to solve their problems."

The cordial atmosphere of this two days visit, during which the French minister also presided a meeting of French ambassadors in the region, therefore seems to confirm that a consensus is emerging, on the European just as on the Asian side, to make the Bangkok summit a success. Jacques Chirac should want this more than anyone else, since he intends to take the opportunity of his first presidential journey to a region he knows particularly well to address from Singapore, on Feb. 28, a "message to Asia" before going the next day to Thailand's capital to participate the summit. With respect to this, Herve de Charette recalled Tuesday that the President of the Republic wished "France to be much more present in Asia."

PRESSURE GROUPS PLAN ALTERNATIVE ASIA-EUROPE TALKS

BANGKOK, Feb 20 (Reuters) - Representatives from more than 100 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) will meet before a summit of European and Asian leaders, organisers said on Tuesday.

The NGO conference, which will include human rights, farmers' and women's groups, is to be held in Bangkok on February 27-29. It aims to try to build a new relationship between the ordinary people of the two regions, the organisers told a news conference.

Government leaders and senior officials from the 15-member European Union and 10 east Asian countries will meet in Bangkok on March 1-2 to strengthen economic and political ties.

"The NGO conference will stress that people-to-people interaction must be fostered side by side with government-to-government dialogue between Asia and Europe," the conference organising committee said in a statement.

One of the issues to be discussed at the NGO conference is the human rights situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

The environment, labour and women's issues and problems encountered by small-scale commodity producers will also be discussed.

Thai authorities say they have a list of several people who will be denied entry to the country in the run-up to the Asia-Europe summit, including at least one exiled opposition leader from East Timor.

HOST THAIS SAY NO SENSITIVE TOPICS

By Rajan Moses

BANGKOK, Feb 22 (Reuters) - Thailand, which hosts the first ever summit of key East Asian and European Union countries next week, said on Thursday that sensitive issues such as child labour and East Timor should be avoided at the meeting.

Controversial issues should be discussed informally instead, Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa told a small group of foreign journalists in an interview.

The March 1-2 Asian-Europe summit (ASEM) will be attended by leaders of the 15-member EU, the seven-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and east Asian powerhouses Japan, China and South Korea.

It will be preceded by an informal gathering senior officials on February 29, hosted by Banharn, where the premier hopes to get some consensus on key issues.

Banharn made the remarks in response to a question on whether he planned to allow the summit to be a forum for sensitive issues such as the human rights records in some Asian countries, child labour, Indonesia's occupation of former Portuguese colony East Timor, unfair trade practices and nuclear testing by some big powers.

"As this will be the first meeting, I think non-relevant issues should be avoided and such issues would include, perhaps, the issue of East Timor, child labour and things like that," he said.

"We will discuss trade, human resource development and environment which are the same ones discussed in APEC," he added. "But they have to be discussed on their own merits and not linked to other unrelated issues."

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum groups countries ranging from the United States to Japan to Papua New Guinea.

Banharn said there would be no formal agenda at the meeting but the question of which issues would be relevant and what should not be raised would probably evolve at the informal on the eve of the summit.

Leaders are expected to use the summit to build fresh and solid commercial and po-

litical links between booming East Asia and the EU, diplomats and Thai foreign ministry officials said.

Strengthening of trade and investment ties, security and political issues and early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty are among the key topics expected to arise at the summit, they added.

Banharn said ASEAN member nations - Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Brunei and Vietnam - could use the forum to ask nuclear powers represented at the summit status to accede to a south-east Asian treaty calling for a nuclear-free zone in their region.

ASEAN, Cambodia, Laos and Burma signed the Southeast Asian Nuclear Free Zone (SEANFZ) agreement in Bangkok last December, but the world's nuclear powers, including France, Britain, China and the United States, have refused to accede to the pact.

Nuclear powers have reservations about some language in the SEANFZ and are due to hold further discussions with ASEAN to iron out differences.

Thai foreign ministry officials said the summit would not have a formal structure like APEC.

Given that, there would be no formal agreements on economic or political issues with specific target dates.

But in the liberalisation of trade and breaking of protectionist tariff barriers, any agreement reached would follow the same timetable as that set for freer global trade by the World Trade Organisation, they said.

Follow-up on issues agreed at this ASEM summit will, however be reviewed in the run-up to the next ASEM planned in Britain in two years' time, they added.

EU WANTS SENSITIVE ISSUES BROACHED

By Rajan Moses

BANGKOK, Feb 23 (Reuters) - The European Union sees the March summit of leaders with East Asia as a golden opportunity to thrash out sensitive political and economic issues, a senior official of the grouping said on Friday.

The charge d'affaires of the EU's mission in Bangkok, Daniel Descoutures, told Reuters it would not help both sides build an equal partnership if such issues were left out, as mentioned by host Thailand.

Among issues deemed sensitive and irrelevant by summit chairman and Thai Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa were those related to child labour, human rights, Indonesia's occupation of former Portuguese colony East Timor, unfair trade practices and nuclear testing.

The summit from March 1-2 will be the first between leaders of 10 East Asian nations and the 15-member EU.

Asia will be represented by the seven-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, Japan and South Korea.

ASEAN groups together Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

"You don't want to gather 25 heads of governments and deem some issues are so controversial that you don't want them to be mentioned," said Descoutures.

"We cannot preclude some subjects will not be brought up. If both sides want to build an equal partnership, a real listening is important," he said. "It will be a golden opportunity for all leaders and could defuse tensions."

Banharn told reporters on Thursday that sensitive issues should be avoided because this was the pioneer summit between the two regions. ASEAN member Indonesia has also said it does not want controversial topics raised at the meeting.

"The world is not perfect. We have to achieve a lot more. The Uruguay Round has been a major success. Now we look to the World Trade Organisation meeting this year to make the playing field more level," Descoutures said.

Discussions on nuclear test bans and the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone would figure prominently at the summit and at bilateral meetings between heads of government, he added.

"Nuclear non-proliferation will figure in the language in the final (summit) communiqué," he said.

On farm trade disputes and demands by Asians for greater access and lowering of tariff barriers for their commodities, Descoutures said agriculture was a special case for the EU.

The EU had agreed to dismantle some farm tariff barriers at the Uruguay Round and was in the process of revamping its Common Agriculture Policy and price supports for farmers.

"Agriculture is a special case and we need some time to reduce barriers. This is because agriculture cannot follow the industrial cycle because much depends on weather and some special circumstances," he said.

Descoutures noted that the EU was concerned that Japan was not liberalising its trade and markets as fast as it was expected to. "The EU's greatest trade deficit is with Japan and it cannot continue," he said.

On the political and security front, the EU was keen to see stability in the booming Asian region for mutually beneficial reasons. There were flashpoints in the South China Sea, in Taiwan and on the Korean Peninsular

that could erupt and reduce Asia's economic strength, he added.

EU WON'T PUSH HUMAN RIGHTS

Hong Kong Standard, 25 Feb 1996

<http://www.hkstandard.com/online/news>

BRUSSELS: The European Union has dropped attempts to ensure that human rights are included in a new political dialogue with Asia that will be launched by next weekend's summit of EU and Asian leaders in Bangkok.

The shift in the EU's stance reflects fears that treading on sensitive Asian toes over the issue could jeopardise the two-day summit's main objective of forging deeper trade and investment ties.

But it has been greeted with dismay by human rights groups who believe the EU has sacrificed democratic principles to economic greed and squandered a valuable opportunity to promote political reform in the world's most dynamic economies.

Officials preparing the summit have agreed that its closing statement, to be issued by the Thai hosts, will make no reference to human rights other than reaffirming the meeting's commitment to the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This marks a significant dilution of the position approved by EU leaders at their Madrid summit in December, when they called for the EU-Asia summit to launch an "open and wide-ranging" dialogue on values and codes on both continents.

The Madrid statement also said Bangkok should call for practical co-operation between the participants on the promotion of democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

In contrast to this approach, a theme of the Bangkok declaration will be that political reform is essentially an internal matter, according to a draft obtained by Agence France-Presse.

The text will say that dialogue should be based either on "mutual respect, equality and non-interference in each other's affairs," as the Asians have suggested, or on "mutual benefit and respect of sovereignty," as the EU would like.

Amnesty International approached all 15 EU governments in December in a bid to ensure that human rights would be an integral part of the political dialogue inaugurated in Bangkok.

But officials acknowledged they have failed to prevent the issue from being swept under the carpet. "We are extremely disappointed with the result of our efforts," ad-

mitted Brigitte Ernst, head of the group's Brussels office.

Ms Ernst pointed out that the EU had insisted on human rights being put on the agenda at last year's Euro-Mediterranean conference despite the presence of countries like Syria, yet appeared unwilling to risk offending China or Indonesia.

"It is difficult not to question whether it's Asia's economic power that explains the difference," Ms Ernst said.

Among the specific issues Amnesty wanted the EU to raise in Bangkok is the fate of 15 East Timorese arrested by Indonesian authorities on 12 January, whose whereabouts are still unknown.

Despite the efforts of officials to maintain a highly consensual tone, some discussion of sensitive issues at the summit is inevitable.

The EU wants to secure Asian support to put on the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) agenda the issues of creating rules that could help enforce international bans on child or forced labour and the right of workers to organise free trades unions. - AFP

EU MINISTERS AGREE ON BANGKOK PREPARATIONS

By Jeremy Lovell

BRUSSELS, Feb 26 (Reuter) - European Union foreign ministers on Monday skimmed through the final preparations, including a draft declaration, for next week-end's 25-nation, EU-Asia summit which will focus on trade and duck sensitive political topics.

"They rattled through the preparations. There was no substantial discussion on any item," an EU diplomat said.

The leaders of the EU, Brunei, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Vietnam and the Philippines, who will meet for the first time on Friday and Saturday in Bangkok, have been taking great pains to avoid any controversial topics upsetting their get-together.

A draft declaration, penned by summit host Thailand and to be finalised at a special meeting in Bangkok on Wednesday, covers all the less contentious bases in EU-Asia relations.

It tiptoes round a list of taboo subjects, such as human rights and child labour, that Asia has refused to discuss but which, for the sake of self-esteem, the EU has to mention at least in passing.

"There is a general agreement on the need to avoid confrontation," one EU diplomat said at the weekend. "They do not want to be too specific about anything."

Diplomats said the declaration for the summit was an uneasy compromise between

the Asian view that the meeting should stick to economic issues and the EU position that it should take in politics and security as well.

"The meeting recognises the need to strive for a common goal of maintaining and enhancing peace and stability, as well as creating conditions conducive to economic and social development," one quoted the draft declaration as stating.

The diplomat, who declined to be identified, said it vowed to create a Euro-Asia partnership for greater growth, to take up the issue of reforming the United Nations, strengthen arms control and disarmament and aim to conclude a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

But on the more contentious issues of Indonesia's occupation of former Portuguese colony East Timor, human rights, child labour and democracy, the draft contents itself with referring to a string of existing international declarations.

These range from the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the 1994 Cairo Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action for the fourth World Conference on Women.

On the trade side the 25 nations find rather more common ground.

"The meeting expresses its resolve to generate greater two-way trade and investment flows between Asia and Europe," an EU diplomat quoted the draft declaration as saying.

"The meeting...agrees to simplify customs procedures and standards conformance...It will also aim for the reduction of trade barriers to avoid trade distortion and create better market access thus encouraging trade flows between Asia and Europe," it adds.

The draft also declares full support for the World Trade Organisation that will have its first ministerial meeting in Singapore in December, agrees that senior officials and foreign ministers will meet regularly in future, and that businessmen should also get together to discuss mutual problems.

ASIANS STEER SUMMIT WITH EU AWAY FROM CONTROVERSY

By Rajan Moses

BANGKOK, Feb 26 (Reuter) - Asian leaders are working hard to steer their first summit with the European Union away from human rights and other touchy topics and focus it on less sensitive issues, officials and analysts said.

Asia wants to make this week's forum the foundation of a political and economic bridge between the two regions rather than allowing controversial issues to mar it, they said.

Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa of host Thailand made it clear last week that certain prickly issues such as Asian human rights and labour standards and Indonesia's occupation of East Timor were to be avoided at all costs.

This has forced officials of the EU, whose members had wanted to pick a few bones with Asia, to work behind the scenes to limit any potential damage, according to diplomats from both sides.

One of the biggest gatherings in Asia of heads of government in recent times, the Asia-EU summit meeting (ASEM) on March 1-2 will bring together leaders from economically buoyant East Asia and the 15-member European grouping.

Asia will be represented by the seven-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) plus China, Japan and South Korea. Most EU heads of government will attend.

Diplomats and analysts in Asia see freer multilateral trade, increased European investment, technology transfers and stronger commercial links as basic issues that need further discussion.

ASEAN, which groups Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines, Brunei and Vietnam, initiated the meeting.

ASEAN and other east Asian leaders have signalled they mean business by declaring they will be bringing with them their economics ministers in addition to foreign ministers.

Indonesia's expectations typify Asia's in general.

"Indonesia obviously wants to improve its economic relations, particularly in the area of investment, with Europe in the face of its declining non-oil exports," said Dewi Fortuna Anwar, political scientist at the Indonesian Academy of Sciences.

"But Indonesia wants to make sure there is no linking of political issues such as human rights and democratisation on the meeting's agenda, particularly by Portugal which wants to put the issue of East Timor to the front," she told Reuters.

EU diplomats in Bangkok said they doubted Portugal would succeed in raising the issue formally. "We (EU) are trying to kiss and cuddle Portugal so hard that they may not be able to move and raise the issue at the summit," said one.

Japan will find itself in an awkward position as it seeks to clear up misunderstandings about its protectionist market structure, Asian and European diplomats said.

"By playing a positive role in helping enhance relations and cooperation between Asia and Europe, Japan hopes Asian countries and the EU will increase their understanding of Japan," said Japan's deputy foreign minister Shunji Yanai.

East Asian nations have also complained about the EU's allegedly arbitrary anti-dumping laws and the need for greater access for Asian commodities and agriculture. These issues will be tackled at the summit, Asian foreign ministry officials say.

Some Asian diplomats have privately said they would not mind seeing the EU balance a strong U.S. regional presence and play a bigger role in helping to build confidence in dealings with nuclear giant China.

FEATURE - EU AND ASIANS FIGHT FOR PLAIN SAILING AT SUMMIT

By Jeremy Lovell

BRUSSELS, Feb 26 (Reuter) - There are so many taboo subjects for this week's summit between the leaders of the 15 European Union and 10 Asian nations that it has the potential to be a diplomatic catastrophe.

East Timor, human rights, Chinese orphanages, labour standards, social welfare and democracy are just a few of the subjects that, if raised as substantial issues, could wreck it.

The meeting in Bangkok on March 1 and 2 is supposed to launch a new era of diplomatic, economic and commercial cooperation between the EU and southeast Asia.

It is a relationship that has languished for years as the EU, Brunei, China, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam concentrated their attentions either inwards or on the United States.

That is why officials from both sides are working anxiously behind the scenes to tiptoe round as many of the potential diplomatic landmines as possible and tread lightly on others which prove impossible to avoid.

The Asian countries have made it clear that too forceful a mention of issues such as human rights would be totally unacceptable.

As far as the EU is concerned the message has been received loud and clear. But for the sake of face it cannot avoid making some mention of the highly sensitive issue.

"The Asian countries...tackle some sensitive points such as human rights, while hoping that the discussion of these sensitive issues does not overshadow the other issues, thereby compromising the atmosphere of the meeting," according to an internal European Commission document on the summit.

European Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan, who along with Commission President Jacques Santer and Developing Country Commissioner Manuel Marin will attend the summit, shrugged off any suggestion of potential rifts at the meeting.

"You are the first person to suggest that and I don't think it will happen...This is not the forum for that," Brittan told Reuters in an interview.

"The question of human rights has not been excluded from the dialogue and the heads of government will have to discuss it to the extent that they wish," he added.

Brussels-based EU diplomats were equally adamant that everything possible was being done to ensure smooth sailing at Bangkok.

"I get the impression that all efforts are being focussed on preventing any of the potentially divisive issues blowing this thing out of the water," one said.

"The Thais are working extremely hard...to make sure that the meeting spends its time on profitable areas," he added, noting that possible comments by former colonial power Portugal on alleged human rights abuses in East Timor by occupying-power Indonesia would be kept to a modest tone.

Likewise Swedish concern about reports of infanticide in Chinese orphanages is likely to be expressed in fairly general terms - the more so since Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson has cried off the meeting for domestic political reasons.

But diplomats agreed the hard work leading up to Bangkok could turn to ashes if some of the obvious frictions between the Asian participants raised the temperature of the meeting.

A number of the main potential clashes involve China.

Japan and South Korea have fallen out over territorial claims both have on a group of islands that lie between them - leading in one instance to the burning of a Japanese flag in Seoul.

The dispute has drawn in China whose fishing boats are accused by both sides of encroaching their territorial waters.

The seven members of the Association of South East Asian Nations agreed last December to set up a nuclear free zone.

France has defused some of the criticism it would have received had it not ended its nuclear test programme in the South Pacific and declared itself willing to sign a non-proliferation treaty, but summit invitee China has not.

Japan, the only country in the world to have suffered nuclear attack, has repeatedly urged China to end its test programme - but so far to no avail.

Japanese officials have said the issue would be raised at the summit.

Likewise, there is continued friction in the region over the Spratly Islands that are partly or wholly claimed by China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Taiwan and Brunei.

EU diplomats said there could also be some mention on the margins of the meeting of the rising tension between China and Taiwan.

Any of these and a host of other regional issues could torpedo the summit, but Brussels-based diplomats said diplomats would be on alert during the meeting to avoid this.

"This is what diplomats are trained for and paid for," one remarked.

"That is not to say that an unguarded remark on a sensitive issue could not rock the boat or worse...But everyone is very mindful of the importance of making this first-ever Euro-Asian summit work."

EU-ASIA MEETING TO TARGET BIASES

[abridged]

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Feb. 27 (UPI) - A top European Union official said Thursday that although it is not on the agenda, a goal of this weekend's EU-Asia conference in Thailand will be to break down misconceptions on both continents.

Leaders of the 15 EU nations will bring together the heads of state of 10 Asian countries for the first meeting of its kind.

Top priorities of the conference include improving political dialogue, reciprocal investment and cooperation in education, science and the environment.

EU External Relations Commissioner Manuel Marin told reporters that the problem of low European investment in Asia, which lags well behind that of the United States and Japan, is as much about image and communications as it is about trade policy.

"There are many clichés and stereotypes that stand in the way of constructive dialogue," Marin said.

But Marin said that doesn't mean European leaders won't feel free to bring up human-rights concerns. EU officials hope, however, to dispel the notion of Europeans as "arrogant" and "seeing ourselves as the center of the world," Marin said.

The question of whether European leaders would raise human rights concerns such as Indonesia's controversial East Timor situation or Chinese child labor has been subject to wide speculation.

Portuguese officials in Brussels said their prime minister, Antonio Guterres, would mention East Timor during his opening speech at the summit.

But EU President Jacques Santer said the purpose was not to complain about human rights.

"We don't want to be there as an ex-colonial power," he said. "By working together we hope to be able to say anything to each other, but first we must create the climate of partnership."

Marin and Santer both said EU national leaders will be free to talk about any issue they please during the summit but the EU representatives will stick to the positive, "what we share in common."

HUMAN RIGHTS LOOMS OVER ASIA SUMMIT

by John Hall

BANGKOK, Thailand, Feb. 27 (UPI) - Human-rights advocates warned Tuesday that delegates to the upcoming summit between Asian and European nations should [not] let commercial issues overshadow social problems.

"The ASEM meeting is a big step for Asian countries," said Thongbai Thongpao, Thailand's leading human rights lawyer. "It is better that they talk about human rights. Why should we avoid talking about the truth?"

He said he was dismayed by reports that European countries had dropped plans to raise such contentious issues as political repression in China and Burma and the military occupation of East Timor by Indonesia.

"Sometimes (the Europeans) only concentrate on economic issues that benefit them," Thongbai said. "They don't want to confront China, Singapore or Burma over human rights violations."

EU President Jacques Santer said the purpose was not to complain about human rights.

"We don't want to be there as an ex-colonial power," he said. "By working together we hope to be able to say anything to each other, but first we must create the climate of partnership."

In a statement issued Sunday, Amnesty International said it was "extremely disappointed" at the notion European leaders would back away from talk that could embarrass some Asian leaders.

Meanwhile, the Thai hosts of the summit have warned human rights groups against staging demonstrations that could disrupt the meetings at Bangkok's plush Sirikit Convention Center.

Concerned that human rights, labor standards and the environment are likely to take a back seat to forging business connections, about 100 representatives from non-government organizations on both conti-

nents began a three-day meeting Tuesday in Bangkok.

Speaking at the opening of the conference, Thai social critic Sulak Sivarak urged the leaders of both continents not to shy away from confronting the "very ticklish" human-rights issue.

"These rights are harmonious with the ethical systems of all world cultures and cannot be undermined by the opportunism of authoritarian governments, almost all of which claim to be democratic," Sulak said.

Sulak's speech was in sharp contrast to the frequently expressed sentiments of Singapore's senior statesman Lee Kuan Yew, who has urged Westerners not to apply their own standards of morality on Asia.

RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SEEK STRONG SUMMIT STAND

BANGKOK (Reuter, Feb. 28) - Human rights activists called on Asian and European leaders Wednesday to take a strong stand against human rights abuses but said they expected their pleas to fall on deaf ears.

Carmel Budiardjo, director of TAPOL, an organization campaigning against human rights violations in East Timor, said a firm stand could be a landmark in setting the tone for future work in southeast Asia.

She referred in particular to "bullying tactics" by Indonesia, whose rule of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is not recognized by the United Nations.

She was one of several speakers in a panel discussing Burma, East Timor and Northern Ireland as "urgent issues for Europe and Asia" at an Asia-Europe forum of non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The meeting of more than 350 representatives from 100 organizations has been billed as an alternative to a conference of leaders from 25 Asian and European nations on March 1-2.

After the NGO conference ends Thursday, organizers plan to present a summary of their discussions to Asian and European representatives before the Asia-Europe meeting (ASEM) begins.

At ASEM, leaders from the seven-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) plus Japan, South Korea and China will meet with counterparts from the 15-member European Union to discuss ways to strengthen economic and political ties.

But although Budiardjo and speakers from Northern Ireland and Burma all made pleas for governments to take note of the human rights problems in the different countries, they said they did not expect much in concrete terms.

"I don't think they will raise the issues at the summit," Burmese dissident leader Maung Maung told a news conference. "But

what people like us can do is try and use ASEM as a lobbying article against governments that are supporting the (Burmese) military regime."

Many Asian nations have pressured European countries attending the ASEM meeting not to bring up sensitive human rights or labor issues, but Budiardjo urged European nations to make their views heard.

"We should have no illusions about the European Union. Its several institutions go their different ways, particularly on human rights issues," she said.

"With Indonesia and its partners in ASEAN aided and abetted by its allies in the EU, the people of East Timor will have to rely on the deeply held moral and political commitment of governments."

Indonesia has said the East Timor issue was irrelevant to the leaders' summit, and it should not be raised. But Portugal has said it will not let the meeting ignore East Timor.

VOA: ASEM HUMAN RIGHTS

Voice of America, 2/28/96. By Vikash Jain, Bangkok

Intro: in Thailand (Wednesday), labor, human rights, and non-government organizations held a second day of a conference aimed at influencing Asian and European leaders holding a separate summit this week. As we hear from Vikash Jain, two groups staged a demonstration in an effort to send a message to the Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok:

Text: first, a group of about 20 women textile workers tried to enter the Bangkok hotel where the NGO/human rights conference is taking place. They were stopped by police who said the women had no place at the meeting of non-governmental organizations discussing labor issues.

The women were eventually allowed in, escorted by some NGO workers. Then, a second group of about 80 people wearing red head bands marched into the building.

They were members of "assembly for the poor," a group of farmers from central Thailand. Speaking through a translator, a spokesman for the group criticized Thailand's development policies and the Asia-Europe summit:

The poor people have been suffering. The indigenous people, the farmers, are going to suffer in the name of development from the north countries. On behalf of the assembly of the poor, we would like to condemn the agreements of the trade and any kind of security reason to avoid the problem of human rights abuse in any country, especially in Asia and Europe.

Asian and European leaders have agreed not to allow disagreements over labor stan-

dards and human rights to upset the inaugural Asia-Europe summit.

Another issue discussed during the NGO conference was the situation in East Timor. Among EU countries, only Portugal – the former colonial ruler of East Timor – has said it will raise the issue. Indonesia says East Timor is irrelevant and should not be raised during the summit.

Carmel Budiardjo, a human rights activist from Britain, says Indonesia should understand East Timor as an issue is still alive for many Europeans:

The Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas has spent a lot of time recently holding forth about the weekend's summit. One thing above all else has worried him. The prospect that human rights and in particular, East Timor, would be raised by some of the European union participants. By insisting as he has done repeatedly, that East Timor is a question of irrelevance for the summit, he has only succeeded in proving the contrary.

Portugal's prime minister, Antonio Guterres, has said when he attends the ASEM summit, he will not be prevented from raising the issue of rights for East Timorese people.

PORTUGAL DETERMINED TO KEEP ASIAN EYES ON TIMOR

By Richard Waddington, abridged.

Lisbon, Feb 26 (Reuters) - Despite rumblings from Asia, Lisbon will not let this week's ground-breaking Asia-Europe summit quietly ignore East Timor, the former Portuguese colony bloodily occupied by Indonesia 20 years ago.

But the Portuguese, for whom Timor remains an open political wound, say the March 1-2 gathering cannot pass off without some reference to the territory's problems, whether Asian countries like it or not.

The United Nations still sees Portugal as Timor's administering power and does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of the territory in 1976, one year after it invaded.

Some 200,000 people are believed to have perished in the years following the invasion, proportionally more than those who died in Pol Pot's Cambodia in the mid-1970s.

"We raise the issue at every international opportunity and we shall do so in Bangkok," said David Damião, spokesman for Prime Minister Antonio Guterres.

"Portugal cannot agree to a limit being put on its right to speak out," he told Reuters after some strong words from Asian countries about human rights issues such as

Timor being left alone in the interests of a successful meeting.

It would not be the first time that the issue of the territory, some 2,000 km (1,250 miles) east of Jakarta, has cast a shadow over relations between Asia and Europe.

Portugal's then foreign minister João De Deus Pinheiro, now an EU Commissioner, pushed a Manila meeting on improving trade between ASEAN and the EU to the brink of failure in 1992.

After accusing Indonesia of genocide during the occupation of East Timor, he threatened to block any accord unless there was specific reference to its rights record in the half-island.

Eventually a compromise was reached. But plans to upgrade a trade and cooperation pact between ASEAN countries – Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam – and the European Union are still on ice.

For Portugal, defending what it sees as the rights of the Timorese on the international stage is a way of assuaging its sense of national guilt.

Reports of continuing rights abuses by Indonesian forces and lobbying by Timorese exiles in Lisbon keep the issue at the forefront of domestic politics.

Diplomats in Lisbon agree that it would be inconceivable for government leaders to attend an international conference with Indonesia and keep silent on Timor.

Nevertheless, such is the importance of the meeting, both to the European Union as well as ASEAN members, that Portugal will not want responsibility for jeopardising its success, they say.

Portuguese officials admit that Guterres and Foreign Minister Jaime Gama will have to pull off a balancing act to keep both their domestic audience and Portugal's European Union partners happy.

"No decisions have been taken yet on how the issue (of Timor) will be raised. But clearly, we are not going to be an obstacle to success in Bangkok," said one Portuguese official.

PORTUGAL PM TO SPEAK OUT FOR TIMOR AT ASIAN SUMMIT

abridged

LISBON, Feb 27 (Reuters) - Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres said on Tuesday he would speak out for the rights of the East Timorese people at a summit of Asian and European leaders later this week.

"My voice will not be silent in defence of human rights," Guterres said before heading off to the summit in Bangkok on March 1 and 2 that will discuss improving economic and political ties between the EU and Asia.

"The issues of human rights and the rights of the people of East Timor worry me permanently," the prime minister added. In Jakarta, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Tuesday the East Timor issue was irrelevant to the Asia-Europe summit and should not be raised.

Asian leaders are working hard to steer the summit away from human rights and other touchy topics and focus it on less sensitive issues.

INDONESIA WARNS OF IRRELEVANT ISSUES IN SUMMIT

abridged

Jakarta, Feb 27 (Reuters) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Tuesday the East Timor issue was irrelevant to the Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok and should not be raised.

"It is clear Indonesia has stated that irrelevant issues such as East Timor should not be raised in the forum. There is another forum to discuss this problem," Alatas said.

"We, from the Asian side can also raise irrelevant issues, but it will only lead to the talks becoming unproductive," he told reporters.

Portugal has said it will not let this week's Asia-Europe summit ignore East Timor, the former Portuguese colony occupied by Indonesia 20 years ago.

"We raise the issue at every international opportunity and we shall do so in Bangkok," said David Damião, spokesman for Prime Minister Antonio Guterres.

"Portugal cannot agree to a limit being put on its right to speak out," he told Reuters.

Alatas said Indonesia's President Suharto had no intention of meeting Portuguese leaders in Bangkok.

INDONESIA SET TO ARGUE EAST TIMOR STANCE AT BANGKOK MEETING

The Jakarta Post, Feb. 28th 1996

JAKARTA (JP): Indonesia says it is prepared to answer questions about its policy on East Timor if European leaders raise the issue during a summit in Bangkok this week.

However, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas warned yesterday that raising the East Timor issue would only divert attention away from the objectives of the inaugural Asia-Europe summit, which is to enhance cooperation between the two regions.

He also expressed confidence that the matter would not be raised in the summit, at least not in the conference proper.

The minister was speaking to reporters shortly after accompanying his Ukrainian counterpart Hennadly Udovonka to pay a

courtesy call on President Soeharto at Merdeka Palace.

President Soeharto will be among the 10 Asian leaders who will meet with 15 European leaders in their first ever summit which will be held in the Thai capital on Friday and Saturday.

Although the two camps have already agreed on the summit's agenda, which covers economic and political cooperation, some European leaders are under pressure from their constituents to discuss sensitive political issues such as human rights. Portugal is believed to want to push the issue of East Timor, its former colony, at the forum.

Asian countries have warned that the inclusion of "irrelevant" and "controversial" issues could jeopardize the outcome of the summit.

"We are anticipating that possibility," Alatas said when asked if the East Timor question would be raised at the Bangkok summit. "That means we're prepared to deal with it (if it comes up)."

He emphasized, however, that there are other forums more appropriate to discuss the East Timor problem.

"If they insist on bringing the issue to the forum, which is intended to expand economic relations and political cooperation and discuss issues of common interests, then they will open the door to irrelevant issues. And the meeting won't achieve the desired result," he said.

Alatas contended that most, if not all, the participating countries have agreed that this is the best course. "They too want this summit to succeed." "But who knows what's in the mind of the Portuguese prime minister? We will see. Let's hope they will heed our firm appeal. I don't think it (the East Timor issue) will be raised, but if it is, then we will be prepared to deal with it."

Portugal will be represented by Prime Minister Antonio Guterres in Bangkok. His spokesman, David Damião, was quoted by Reuters as saying that Portugal intends to discuss the East Timor issue in Bangkok just as it has raised it at every international meeting. "Portugal cannot agree to a limit being put on its right to speak out," he said.

In Brussels, European Union foreign ministers on Monday agreed to postpone a statement on its position on East Timor until after this week's summit in Bangkok.

Portugal earlier urged its EU partners to adopt a position on East Timor before the summit to help offset domestic criticism that the issue was being swept under the carpet.

Alatas said President Soeharto, who will leave for Bangkok tomorrow, has lined up a series of bilateral meetings with some European leaders, but the Portuguese leader is not one of them.

AMNESTY: SUMMIT MUST INCLUDE STRONG COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS

From: Amnesty International, Feb. 27

This News Service is posted by the International Secretariat of Amnesty International,

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As 25 heads of state and governments gather in Thailand for the first Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), Amnesty International today called on the summit representatives to include in the agenda a firm commitment to human rights.

Governments attending the summit want the meeting to promote dialogue between Europe and Asia, particularly on trade and investment. However, any dialogue which does not include a recognition that the protection of civil and political rights is complementary to sustained economic growth and development would be a hollow one, the human rights organization said.

"Trade and human rights are not mutually exclusive," Amnesty International said. "Development is about the way people are able to live and participate in their society, not just about dollars. At the very least, all the governments present should reaffirm that human rights are universal and indivisible."

"In addition, ASEM governments should follow up this affirmation with concrete steps to ensure that human rights are respected throughout Europe and Asia. Previous international summits have included fine words, but these are not backed up by action."

The conference should lead to an ongoing dialogue, which enables ASEM states to address, monitor and act regularly upon specific human rights issues which come up, the organization said.

"Human rights concerns are not confined to one side of the Asia-Europe conference table," Amnesty International said. "Police ill-treatment is a problem from Germany to Indonesia and prisoners of conscience are in jail from Greece to China."

The organization urged governments at the summit to put aside previous arguments between Asian and European governments about the inclusion of human rights in strategies for regional cooperation and development, and take into account the wishes of the peoples they represent.

"This is not the West telling Asia what to do," Amnesty International said. "The demand for human rights comes from the people of Asia themselves. Governments

should listen to what the people in the region are asking for."

In preparations for the summit, governments have used perceived differences in cultural values as an excuse for not including human rights in their discussions.

"Try telling the mother of the young Indonesian woman tortured to death for her peaceful work promoting workers' rights, or the parents of all those killed in Tiananmen Square that their deaths can be somehow excused as part of an Asian cultural tradition," Amnesty International said.

The 1993 Vienna Declaration passed at the UN World Conference on Human Rights states that "all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated," and "the promotion and protection of all human rights is a legitimate concern of the international community." ASEM member states must use their previously stated commitment to upholding this Declaration as a basis for any regional cooperation and development, the organization said.

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) are also in Bangkok for a parallel NGO forum, and Amnesty International is calling on governments to recognize the crucial role played by NGOs in promoting close cooperation between the two regions. Many members of these NGOs are the targets of state repression; ASEM member states should ensure that they can carry out their activities without intimidation and with adequate protection.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH: DON'T IGNORE HUMAN RIGHTS

From: Human Rights Watch, 28 Feb 96

Human Rights Watch today urged Asian and European leaders gathering in Bangkok for the first ever Asia-Europe summit on March 1 to take joint action to protect human rights in the region, even as European leaders indicated that human rights issues would be downplayed at the twenty-five nation meeting. In a series of specific recommendations accompanying a twenty-six page report, Human Rights Issues for the Asia-Europe Summit, the international human rights organization calls on participants to:

- support the stationing of a United Nations Special Representative in Burma to monitor human rights.
- take joint action to ensure that the human rights situation in Cambodia does not deteriorate further. That action could include joint monitoring of the upcoming local and national elections and the protection of basic freedoms, such as free-

dom of expression, association, and assembly in the run-up to those elections.

- support protection of labor rights through ratification of key International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions guaranteeing freedom of association and banning forced labor.
- take joint action to curb the trafficking of Asian women to Europe and within Asia.
- support an arms trade "code of conduct" to control the sale and transfer of weapons to countries that seriously violate international human rights or humanitarian law or that do not fully participate in the U.N. Register of Conventional Arms.
- take all possible measures to ensure that the remaining Vietnamese asylum-seekers in Malaysia, the Philippines and Hong Kong will be protected from excessive use of force when protesting repatriation to Vietnam; forced registration for "voluntary repatriation"; and refoulement.
- take all steps to ensure that people detained for the peaceful expression of their views throughout Asia are released, with particular attention to China/Tibet, Indonesia/East Timor, Vietnam and Burma.

Human Rights Watch deplores reports that European officials preparing for the summit had already agreed that the closing statement, to be issued by Thailand, would make no reference to human rights other than to reaffirm support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Even worse, it said, was Belgian Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene's statement on February 26 that the paramount need was to avoid conflict and that the European Union leaders would not push issues which Asian countries considered sensitive, and that they would do nothing to offend their Asian partners. The meeting is expected to focus primarily on trade and investment.

"This summit represents an unprecedented opportunity to explore joint action to address some of the region's most intractable human rights problems," said Sidney Jones, executive director of Human Rights Watch/Asia. "To ignore these problems for fear of offending Asian leaders is an abrogation of responsibility at best and a capitulation to the call of the dynamic Asian market at worst."

Human Rights Watch noted that while increased trade between Europe and Asia could bring benefits to both, it also brings increased responsibility to address some of the human rights problems exacerbated by rapid growth and to ensure that political repression does not increase as Asian leaders confront demands from their own populations for change. "European leaders have to recognize that partnership with Asia does

not just mean more business deals – it also means an obligation to use their increased economic leverage to protect human rights," Jones said.

The Human Rights Watch report contains summaries of human rights concerns over the past twelve months in Indonesia/East Timor, Burma, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. Human Rights Watch is a nongovernmental organization established in 1978 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East and among the signatories of the Helsinki accords. It is supported by contributions from private individuals and foundations worldwide. It accepts no government funds, directly or indirectly. Its Asia division was established in 1985 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Asia.

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HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS ARE GLOOMY ON SUMMIT

International Herald Tribune, 29 Feb. 1996

Bangkok, Reuter – Human rights activists called on Asian and European leaders Wednesday to take a strong stand against human rights abuses but said they expected their pleas to fall on deaf ears.

Carmel Budiardjo, director of TAPOL, which campaigns against human rights violations in East Timor, said a firm stand could be a landmark in setting the tone for future work in southeast Asia.

She referred in particular to the 'bullying tactics' by Indonesia, whose rule of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is not recognised by the UN.

At an Asia-Europe forum of non-governmental organisations, she called policy on Burma, East Timor and Northern Ireland 'urgent issues for Europe and Asia.'

The meeting of more than 350 representatives from 100 organisations has been billed as an alternative to a conference of leaders from Asian and European countries on Saturday and Sunday (sic, Friday and Saturday).

But although Ms Budiardjo and speakers from Northern Ireland and Burma all made pleas for governments to take note of human rights problems, they said they did not ex-

pect much in concrete terms to arise from the weekend meeting.

Strengthening economic and political ties is expected to take precedence at the meeting of the leaders of the Association of South East Asian Nations plus Japan, South Korea and China, and their counterparts from the 15-member European Union.

'I don't think they will raise the issues at the Summit,' said Maung Maung, a Burmese dissident leader.

Many Asian countries have pressured European leaders attending the meeting not to bring up sensitive human rights or labour issues, but Ms Budiardjo urged European countries to make their views heard.

'We should have no illusions about the European Union,' she said. 'Its several institutions go their different ways, particularly on human rights issues.'

'With Indonesia and its partners in ASEAN, aided and abetted by its allies in the European Union, the people of East Timor will have to rely on the deeply held moral and political commitment of governments.'

[sic. This truncated sentence goes on to refer to the Portuguese and Irish governments. CB]

SPEECH BY CARMEL BUDIARDJO AT BANGKOK NGO CONFERENCE

Bangkok NGOs Pre-Summit conference, 27-29 February 1996

Dear fellow delegates,

I am very grateful to have been invited to address this important gathering on behalf of TAPOL. I warmly welcome the initiative to hold this pre-Summit meeting and am glad to be here in your midst.

For me, it is a special honour and privilege to be speaking here, in a Southeast Asian country, as part of the world solidarity movement for East Timor. Two years ago I was blacklisted by the Philippines government from attending the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor. But let me share a secret with you: I had never intended going to Manila for that meeting so they needn't have blacklisted me. Only one of us from TAPOL was planning to go. The fury unleashed by Jakarta against APCET and the Filipino Government's supine response revealed how much the Suharto regime fears the rising tide of solidarity with East Timor in what it treats as its own backyard.

Now, the wheels of ASEAN collaboration have again been cranked into motion with the decision by the Thai Government, in response to bullying from Jakarta, to prevent East Timor's leading overseas

spokesperson, José Ramos-Horta, co-chair of the National Council of the Maubere People (CNRM), to visit Bangkok because his visit would have coincided with the pre-Summit and Summit events. From this rostrum, I strongly protest against his exclusion and hope that this will be reflected in our final statement.

Fellow delegates,

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, has spent a lot of time recently holding forth about next week's Bangkok Summit. One thing above all else is worrying him, the prospect that human rights and in particular East Timor will be raised by some of the European Union participants. By insisting, as he has said repeatedly, that 'East Timor is a question of irrelevance' for the Summit, he has only succeeded in proving the contrary, that that tiny country which is still groaning under brutal Indonesian military occupation is extremely relevant to Jakarta's calculations regarding ASEAN's relations with the European Union.

Alatas has good reason to worry for this is an issue that has haunted ASEAN-EU relations for the past five years. The idea to convene next week's Summit evolved because of difficulties that arose several years ago between the two blocs over a new accord on economic cooperation, the so-called 'third-generation' economic cooperation accord, which also include political dialogue. Negotiations on this began in the early 1990s and when in 1992, the draft accord came up for approval at a ministerial meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Indonesia objected to the inclusion of a human rights clause. The EU had been in the process of renewing economic accords with many countries and regional blocs; in all cases, a human rights clause was included. The decision to include a human rights clause in all 'third generation' accords was taken by the EU in December 1991. In view of Indonesia's intransigence, Portugal exercised its veto - all decisions on such matters in the EU are taken by consensus - and the matter was dropped.

Naturally, quite a few of the European partners saw this as a serious setback to their business dealings with the countries of Southeast Asia. Some years later, during the German presidency, the German government initiated moves to renew discussions about the accord but it was Britain, more experienced than most in the art of the possible in diplomacy, advised against it, warning that it could only result in another deadlock. Britain suggested that the objectives of economic cooperation and political dialogue between ASEAN and the EU could best be achieved by convening a Summit between the two blocs, to be held on an informal basis, with an open agenda. The issues un-

der discussion would be political dialogue, economic relations and international issues. What now worries Alatas is that the informality of the occasion and the open agenda means that it will be up to the heads of government to decide the issues they want to raise. Despite all the wiles of some European countries, the problem of 'irrelevancies' like human rights and East Timor still dogs Jakarta.

The governments of western Europe have been told in no uncertain terms by Ali Alatas that any reference to East Timor during the two-day event could prompt a walk-out by President Suharto. Such is the importance the Indonesian Government attaches to the 'irrelevant question' of East Timor.

Nor should we run away with the idea that the fifteen members of the European Union are solidly behind Portugal on the question of East Timor. Far from it. True, none of the governments has formally recognised Indonesia's unlawful annexation of the country and, although they refrain from saying so loud and clear, they all accept the constitutional position of Portugal which is recognised by the UN as the administering power of East Timor. Yet it was not until last December, twenty years after the Indonesian invasion, and ten years after Portugal joined the European Community, that the EU summit meeting in Madrid for the first time included a paragraph on East Timor in its Final Communiqué. In January, the EU agreed to a Common Position on East Timor. However formal adoption was delayed after some members used the hostage crisis in West Papua as an excuse to shelve the issue for the time being.

Fellow delegates,

Our primary concern here today is the present situation in East Timor and its impact on ASEAN-EU relations.

In East Timor, repression has intensified over the past year and the activities of the resistance have become even more daunting. The problems raised by Indonesia's illegal occupation of the country have also shifted and become more complex.

Repression today is directed first and foremost against the younger generation. They call it 'shock therapy.' The security forces closely monitor the actions of young East Timorese. Disappearances have become a daily occurrence and people are picked up on the streets, beaten up for no apparent reason and left to die or make their way as best they can to their homes. A year ago, the Indonesian army identified the clandestine as the main obstacle to their efforts to rule the territory. As we know, the clandestine is composed of young East Timorese who have been educated in Indonesian schools but who have never been

taken in by the indoctrination pumped into them to make them 'good Indonesian citizens.' According to the army, the clandestine consists of about three thousand people, including East Timorese students studying in Java and Bali. This certainly understates the strength and size of the political resistance which probably includes most young East Timorese, whether or not they are organised and able to articulate opposition to Indonesian rule.

Canadian journalist John Stackhouse, [The Globe and Mail, 3 February 1996], after returning from East Timor, reports that a young man named Valerio Magno Ximenes, was beaten and left for dead while walking with friends along the beach in Dili. This was his third encounter with the dreaded special forces, Kopassus. Two weeks earlier security forces in Baucau beat two young men to death in Baucau. Relatives of Valerio said: 'Every day this happens. Everywhere. The military just go around and give this shock therapy to the young people.' 'Shock therapy' is familiar to the Indonesian ear. It was the term used by Suharto about the death squads that killed thousands of people in Indonesia in the mid-1980s. He justified the slaughter then as part of an anti-crime campaign. Today in East Timor, its purpose to stamp out resistance to Indonesian rule. They have not succeeded in the past, and they won't succeed now or in the future.

Members of the clandestine also confront violence and intimidation at the hands of hooligans who prowl the streets, picking on people at random. For some time, a gangster-type organisation Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth) has been active in East Timor. Now, a special band of thugs has been set up, Garda Muda Penegak Integrasi (Young Guards for Integration). It is the brainchild of Brigadier-General Prabowo Subianto, son-in-law of President Suharto, who was recently appointed commander of Kopassus. Prabowo has a long history of violence and political intrigue in East Timor.

In Indonesia, they call this kind of thing premanisme: preman are free-wheeling hooligans who help the security forces by adding a 'civilian' dimension to operations designed to intimidate pro-democracy activists. These are the people who hold pro-integration actions to pour abuse on East Timorese actions at various embassies in Jakarta. Para-military thuggery working hand in hand with the army has now become an established part of the system of repression in East Timor. By recruiting East Timorese as 'Young Guards,' it is as if conflict over integration with Indonesia is between Timorese and Timorese, not between the Timorese nation and the army of occupation.

Operations to destroy the clandestine movement includes provocation, splitting tactics and criminalisation. There have been numerous provocations against the deeply held religious beliefs of Timorese who, in their tribulations under the occupation, have turned in their tens of thousands to the Catholic Church for protection. Last September, a 'spiritual guidance' prison official spoke contemptuously about Catholicism during a talk in Maliana Prison. Disturbances rocked the town for days, and spread to other parts of the country. Young Timorese turned their wrath against Indonesian settlers who have flooded in, taking control of business, commerce and the local administration; the young people destroyed market-places and Indonesian-owned vehicles. The political message was clear: this was an outpouring of anger against the transformation of their country into an Indonesian colony populated by Indonesian settlers. But in Indonesia, this has been distorted and portrayed as a religious conflict between Timorese Catholics and Indonesian Muslims.

Some three hundred young Timorese were rounded up. Interrogators employed the many forms of torture to which young Timorese have become accustomed. At least 43 of those arrested are to face trial on charges of causing damage, an attempt to criminalise the resistance. Hundreds were held for short periods, tortured, then released, only to be harassed in their homes or hunted down by troops, police or thugs. In East Timor, release is hardly any better than remaining in custody.

A month later, pro-integration gangs incited members of the clandestine in Dili. In the ensuing street-battles, more people were arrested, some of whom now also face criminal charges.

Following the events of September and October, scores of young people have decided, in desperation, to flee to Jakarta and seek asylum in any embassy to which they can physically gain entrance. Seeking asylum at embassies is nothing new for East Timorese. But until last year, the asylum-seekers were East Timorese students studying in Java or Bali who had for years been part of the student resistance organisation, RENETIL. They organised their embassy actions to convey a clear political message while fleeing from persecution. The most sensational of these actions was the occupation of the US embassy by 29 East Timorese during the APEC Summit in November 1994. Today's asylum-seekers are fleeing from a level of repression back home that has become intolerable. As one Timorese observer told a foreign journalist: 'These days, our youngsters have two options, to flee to the mountains and join the

guerrillas or flee to Jakarta and seek asylum.'

A small number of Timorese have taken to boats, to seek refuge across the waters in Australia. A group of eighteen reached Australia after a perilous voyage last May. Two other groups of boat-people were less fortunate; they were intercepted and arrested.

So far, asylum bids have been made in the Australian, British, Japanese, Dutch, Polish, New Zealand, Russian and French embassies. Every time, governments have refused to consider sympathetically the desperate plight of these men and women, relying on Portugal to come to the rescue. Not one of Portugal's partners in the European Union has responded positively because they know that granting asylum means acknowledging that persecution is a grim reality in East Timor, placing their cozy business relations with Indonesian in jeopardy. Yet given that East Timorese are entitled to recognition as Portuguese citizens, it means that other EU countries are bound to accept them within their borders as well.

The Indonesian occupation is forcing East Timorese to become a nation in diaspora. Emigration has never been part of their tradition; the East Timorese, like all the peoples of the South Pacific, are deeply attached to land and the family. The longer the Indonesian occupation continues, the more this exodus will intensify, serving Indonesian designs to transform the population of their unlawfully-gotten colony.

Solidarity organisations are calling on western governments to instruct their embassies in Jakarta to treat all asylum-seekers with understanding and allow them to contact lawyers to assist them with their asylum request, and to allow Portuguese officials to meet asylum-seekers, with the help of the UN, to ascertain their true wishes. We also feel that governments which make use of Portugal as a convenient escape from embarrassment should state publicly that they do so in recognition of Portugal's status as the Administering Power of East Timor. We also feel that EU countries should share with Portugal the growing burden of receiving East Timorese who are desperate to leave their occupied country. They are, after all, victims of western failure to compel Indonesia to end its reign of terror in East Timor.

Besides their operations to quell the clandestine, ABRI recently announced, not for the first time, that it was launching all-out war against FALINTIL, the armed resistance. Guerrillas were offered the choice of surrendering or being wiped out. There is no reason to expect that ABRI will be any more successful than formerly in its drive against the guerrillas.

Fellow delegates,

This brings me to the key question of East Timor's relevance in the ASEAN-EU relationship. Friends often ask: why is it so difficult for the EU to adopt a clear stand in support of its member, Portugal on the question of East Timor? The legal aspects are indisputable: an act of naked aggression without a properly-supervised act of self-determination. Throughout twenty years of unlawful occupation, the people have never swerved in their opposition to Indonesian rule. Indonesian indoctrination has failed to win over the younger generation who have known nothing but life under the Indonesian jackboot.

I have followed with interest the recent debate over Asian values, western values and the universality of human rights as defined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Some argue that western values have no roots in the South where a different set of values based on respect for communal interests rather individual rights hold sway and that western governments are hypocritical in their human rights crusade; their true purpose is to further their own economic interests. Asian values as represented by authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia are the same values as western values advocated by multinational corporations and arms manufacturers.

We in the West have for years been exposing the hypocrisy of our governments, whether labour or conservative, social democratic or Christian democratic. But this is not because they use human rights arguments to impose their will on regimes guilty of gross and persistent human rights abuses. On the contrary. The problem is that they give only lip-service to human rights principles, whether individual or collective. In most western countries, business interests come first, second and last.

Apart from the ever loyal Portugal, there is only one shining exception to this grim balance sheet, the Republic of Ireland. Thanks to a brilliantly successful solidarity movement in Ireland, a country whose population is acutely conscious of its own tragic history and the evils of colonialism, the Irish government has become a firm champion of the cause of East Timor. Cynics will say that Ireland has hardly any business relations with Indonesia and no arms to sell. But I am quite sure that it is popular pressure and persistent media coverage that has forced the government to come out as forcefully. In Ireland, the government and the opposition are vying with each other to prove their worth as supporters of the people of East Timor.

Things could hardly be more different in Britain. The manufacture of weapons of destruction is the activity that keeps the British economy afloat. The export of

equipment for the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) is at the heart of the British-Indonesia relationship. Twenty-four Hawk ground-attack aircraft are due to be delivered to Indonesia shortly. This will go ahead despite the efforts of four brave women peace activists who penetrated the British Aerospace factory in Wharton last month and succeeded in virtually destroying one of these deadly aircraft; the women are now in remand, awaiting trial. I would like from this platform, to salute and congratulate them: Joanna Wilson, Andrea Needham, Lotta Kronlid and Angie Zelter.

The other major deal now being implemented is the delivery of between 120 and 140 Scorpion tanks and Stormer armoured personnel carriers.

Fierce controversy has raged in Britain over the use of Hawk aircraft in East Timor. Several East Timorese have testified that they saw Hawks in operation or on the ground during the 1980s but such testimony, dismissed as being biased, will not wash with the men at the Ministry of Defense whose job is to promote arms sales to any regime around the world, whatever their human rights record. In November, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, a British journalist, moments after he had been ordered to leave the country, saw two Hawk aircraft fly over Dili at a time of high security alert; it was 10 November, two days before the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. But the British government has dismissed O'Shaughnessy's evidence as well. According to Jakarta, no Hawk aircraft are being used in East Timor. In Whitehall, such denials are 'unbiased,' unlike eye-witness reports from East Timorese or a very well-known British journalist.

Recently, Britain was rocked by the government's decision to deport a Saudi human rights activist, Dr. Muhammad Al-Mas'ari, equipped with nothing more than a fax-machine. Britain's largest arms deal, worth more than \$10 billion, is with the despotic ruler of that oil sheikdom. No attempt was made by ministers to conceal the reason for the deportation: the threat from the Saudi government to switch the deal if Britain continues to harbour a troublesome individual. British Aerospace and lobbied hard for Dr. Al Mas'ari's deportation.

But its more than just a question of protecting lucrative arms deals. Britain recently overtook all other countries except Japan in total foreign capital investments in Indonesia. And although British overseas aid is due to be cut drastically, with the concentration on the poorer countries, it has just been announced that aid to Indonesia will continue to climb.

The visit of French Foreign Minister, Herve de Charette, to Jakarta this month

was the occasion for yet more bullying. De Charette quite shamelessly complied with a request from Indonesia to help keep East Timor off the agenda of the Summit, in order, in Alatas' menacing words, to avoid the risk of failure of this historic meeting.' For France, its all a question of helping French businessmen to catch up in the race to plunder Indonesia's resources and exploit its underpaid workforce, and the need to patch up recent quarrels over France's contemptible decision to conduct nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

We should have no illusions about the European Union. Its several institutions go their different ways, particularly on human rights issues. At the European Parliament, a democratically elected body, issues like East Timor and human rights get a thorough airing and win majority support. At least ten resolutions have been adopted by the Parliament, censoring Indonesia on a range of issues and calling for an arms embargo against the Suharto regime. But the resolutions of Parliament have no influence on the Union's policy. In 1992, the Parliament's Human Rights Sub-Committee on Human Rights conducted a hearing on East Timor and decided to send a delegation to East Timor to monitor conditions there. But Indonesia has refused to grant access, while arranging for two visits to East Timor by members of the Indonesian-sponsored European Parliament-Indonesia Friendship Society.

On the other hand, the Council of Ministers, which is where policy decisions are taken, meets in secret and is not accountable to the European Parliament. It is farther removed from democratic control than any governing body in Europe and its discussions and decisions are not open to public scrutiny. In this respect there is nothing to choose between the conduct and procedures of the EU and ASEAN.

With Indonesia and its partners in ASEAN aided and abetted by its allies in the EU, the people of East Timor will have to rely on the deeply held moral and political commitment of governments, Portugal for certain and also, hopefully, Ireland, to use next week's Summit to show the world that strengthening business ties between the governments of the two regional blocs must not stand in the way of a ringing indictment of Indonesia over its abhorrent occupation of East Timor. East Timor must not be sacrificed on the altar of crass profit. We call on these countries not to buckle under to the threats of Jakarta. A firm stand, taken here on Asian soil, could be a landmark in setting the tone for future solidarity work in Southeast Asia and showing the member states of ASEAN that bullying tactics will get Jakarta nowhere.

For NGOs North and South, the need is clear. We should call on the governments and civil society in Southeast Asia and Europe:

1. to support East Timor's just demand for an act of self-determination in keeping with international law;
2. to demand an immediate UN presence in East Timor to protect the population from the brutal repression which has been their tragic lot for more than twenty years;
3. to demand the immediate demilitarization of East Timor as the essential first step to improve the human rights situation there;
4. to call for support and understanding from governments around the world for young East Timorese who enter their embassies in Jakarta to seek asylum and protection from their Indonesian persecutors.

Love live the people of East Timor! Long live world solidarity with East Timor!

BANGKOK NGO CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations to the ASEM from The First Asia-Europe NGO Conference on the Future of Asian-European Relations

Bangkok 27-29 February 1996

OVER 350 women and men representing 100 peoples' organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) participated in the first Joint Asia-Europe NGO Conference with the theme "Beyond Geopolitics and Geoeconomics: Towards a New Relationship Between Asia and Europe" between Feb 27-29 in Bangkok. This conference was held as a parallel to the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) scheduled to be held March 1-2, between 10 Asian and 15 European heads of state.

The conference unanimously endorsed the parallel withdrawal of France from French Polynesia and New Caledonia supervised by the European Union (EU) and of Indonesia from East Timor under the auspices of ASEAN. The NGO meeting also called on the Asian go governments to reject the Multilateral Investment Agreement promoted by the European Union and the World Trade Organization. The conference also demanded that ASEM governments end repression and harassment of NGOs and end the climate of fear in which they currently operate in.

At the same time, the conference recognized the challenges confronting Asia and Europe and decided to work towards forging a shared vision and a common programme of

action between the two continent that goes beyond a narrow obsession with economic growth.

The participants were of the view that by centering relations on mere geopolitical and geoeconomic considerations, ASEM is primarily serving the narrow interests of dominant elites in the two regions.

It is in this context that the participants sought to put forward an alternative vision that would be people-centered, socially just, economically equitable, ecologically sustainable and politically participatory. Such a vision would embody respect for human rights and human dignity and nurture the spiritual, moral, intellectual and cultural lives of all individuals and communities in both the regions.

Towards this end, the conference urged transparency and accountability in the ASEM process. The participation of citizens in the decision-making process of governments in both continents should not be just limited to parliamentarians and business people.

Participants agreed that organizations of workers, women, indigenous and tribal communities, popular organizations and NGOs have to be also included. In this regard, the conference declaration expressed the desire to look forward to a continuing dialogue and to the establishment of the mechanisms that would facilitate this. This demands social commitment and political will on the part of governments of Asia and Europe.

As part of this process, the 25 governments should ensure that women's human rights are respected and promoted and that the benefits of economic development are shared more equitably.

The conference endorsed that respect for human rights should be central to Asia-Europe relations and emphasized that participating countries in ASEM are all signatories to UN summit declarations (Rio 1992, Vienna 1993, Cairo 1994, Copenhagen and Beijing 1995). As of such conference participants reminded the ASEM governments to remember their obligations and responsibilities under these covenants and give the utmost respect to the protection of human rights.

1. Towards Sustainable People-centred Social and Economic Relations

We support efforts to increase mutually beneficial trade and investment between Asia and Europe. But we are concerned that agreements such as the GATT Uruguay Round only serve to strengthen the economic power of already powerful economic actors. Northern powers push trade liberalisation while increasing protection of their own economies through the decisions of

multilateral institutions, unilateral trade sanctions and massive internal subsidies. Combined with the opening up of developing countries' agricultural markets as mandated by the WTO, subsidised American and European agricultural exports will further threaten small-holder agriculture in developing countries. For example, European Common Agricultural Policy involves major subsidisation of agricultural cultural exports and threaten small-holder agriculture in developing countries. In addition, within the EU, the top 20 per cent of farmers mainly benefit from such subsidies.

Contrary to the expectations generated by the United Nations summits, the process of globalisation and the dominant lifestyles have caused widespread social and cultural disruption, new economic chasms, ecological devastation and political disenfranchisement.

We are also concerned that European relations with Asia will focus predominantly on trade, and therefore on the fastest growing countries in the region, the ten countries invited to ASEM, and disregard other countries especially those in South Asia where poverty rates remain scandalously high. The EU should promote coherent policies in trade and development cooperation that take into account the inter-relationships within the region as a whole.

In addition, newly proposed investment agreements, for example under the WTO, would give foreign companies the right to enter all economic sectors. Governments would lose their right to regulate foreign investment. In the process, they would lose control over macroeconomic policies and ultimately over their country's natural resources. If such a WTO agreement were to be concluded, there would be disastrous consequences, especially for developing countries. Local farms, banks and other enterprises would not be strong enough to compete with multinational companies. Many of them would have to close down. Worldwide, vulnerable groups would suffer most.

Finally, we are particularly concerned that current patterns of trade and investment are increasingly based on the exploitation of women at work, in their communities and in their homes.

2. Democracy and Human Rights

We believe that respect for human rights should be central to Asia-Europe relations while the struggle for human rights can only be fought within the context of cultural and social realities in each country. We do not believe that cultural particularism can be used to justify violations of human rights or that such violations are 'domestic' affairs. Neither do we believe that accountability for

human rights violations is only an Asian responsibility. We oppose violations of human rights of the people of Northern Ireland and former Yugoslavia, as well as those of East Timor and Burma. In both Europe and Asia, the rights of migrant workers are systematically ignored and violated.

We believe in the universality of human rights as well as the indivisibility and interdependence of civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. Cutbacks in social expenditure have eroded the socio-economic rights of the poor and vulnerable in many European countries. Europe should also be held accountable for "trans-border human rights violations" resulting from its economic relations with developing countries. European investments help prop up military regimes, gross violators of human rights, in countries such as Burma and Indonesia.

Many governments in Asia should be condemned for systematic violations of human rights. Many have internal security laws which allow arrest without warrant, detention without trial and imprisonment of people for proscribed political beliefs. Formally democratic countries frequently ignore the social and economic rights of their people. Local communities of farmers, fisherfolk, indigenous peoples and urban dwellers are often deprived of their rights to land and livelihoods to make way for so-called development projects without proper compensation or alternative livelihoods.

Many governments systematically encourage the occupation of indigenous peoples lands and strip them of resources. Governments and multinationals must recognise and respect that indigenous peoples' identity and livelihood are based on their land and resources, and are related to their religious, cultural, linguistic and economic systems.

We oppose the cynical manipulation of workers' rights as an instrument of international competition in trade and investment. We demand the repeal of laws setting barriers to the organisation of unions and other workers' organisations. We support concerted international action against gross violations of workers' rights including child labour, strike bans, and the torture and imprisonment of labour organisers.

Migration, and specifically labour migration, is increasingly an integral part of the economies of sending and receiving countries. Between Asia and Europe, population mobility is significant yet basic information, details of problems and policy formula formulation remain inadequate. It is important to include on the agenda of the Asia-Europe Meeting: transnational migration, its problems (especially human rights violations of

women migrant workers), its prospects and impacts. Human trafficking is an integral, if unfortunate, part of labour migration. The numbers of people trafficked across national borders is growing, as is the network of traffickers who profit from the illicit trade. The illegal status of trafficked persons in host countries makes them more vulnerable to exploitation in manual, domestic and sexual labour.

3. Politics and Security

We welcome ASEM's attention to political and security issues. Wars and conflicts of all types in Asia and Europe victimise hundreds of thousands of civilians. Under these conditions, poverty eradication and economic growth are meaningless. We support all efforts to actively seek political solutions to armed conflicts with international mediation. The fundamental need for nuclear disarmament and regulation and reduction of the arms trade demand broad public discussion and the conclusion of transparent and equitable international agreements.

Anti-personnel landmines are a particularly insidious weapon of war whose legacy remains long after the conflict has ceased. Landmines kill and maim soldiers and civilians alike, resulting in ongoing costs of health care and rehabilitation, lost product productivity and waste of formerly productive farmland, along with great personal loss.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We call on each of the government leaders attending the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) to act on the following recommendations:

Human Rights

Government leaders must fully discuss human rights at the ASEM because these are the issues most relevant to the well-being of the people.

The role of civil society in promoting human rights, human dignity and spiritual values should be fully recognised by the governments.

Cooperation between Asia and Europe in the areas of human rights education and the development of human rights protection mechanisms should be given a high priority.

Food security is a basic human right and must be fully integrated into ASEM discussions, especially in preparation for the World Food Summit in November 1996.

All nations represented at ASEM should adopt specific legislation to eradicate discrimination against women.

European leaders should give a high priority to combating racism and xenophobia in their own countries.

Land and water rights of farmers, fisherfolk and forest people should be guaranteed and indigenous knowledge systems be recognised

in intellectual property rights regimes. Further, all governments must implement the recommendations of the Working Group on Indigenous People.

Exploitation of Children

All governments participating in ASEM should immediately enforce the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. In particular, they should consider ways in which laws and law enforcement mechanisms could be improved and strengthened in the fight against the commercial exploitation of children.

Governments should support the First World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children which will take place in Stockholm in August 1996.

Trafficking in Women and Children

Governments should adopt and implement minimum standard rules for the treatment of trafficked persons. Further, governments should fulfill their pledge made in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action to step up cooperation and concerted action by all relevant law enforcement authorities to dismantle networks in the trafficking of women and children.

States and intergovernmental organisations should provide extra protection to minorities/indigenous people who live in border areas and are therefore especially vulnerable to trafficking.

Labour and Migration

ASEM governments should reaffirm their commitment to human rights standards, and adhere to International Covenants and to ILO Conventions. Workers rights, particularly the rights to organise and collective bargaining, as enshrined in the basic ILO Conventions should be respected by governments and enforced upon all activities of TNCs. ASEM leaders should commit themselves to eradicate forced labour.

Governments should ratify and implement the provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and the Members of their Families and these principles should be reflected in bilateral agreements between labour sending and labour receiving countries.

An Asia-Europe Working Committee on Transnational Migration should be established which would include non-government representatives to consider economic, social, legal and health issues for migrants and the members of their families.

Social and Economic Relations

The WTO Ministerial Meeting in Singapore in December 1996 should be primarily concerned with the impact of the Uruguay Round. This should particularly focus on the impact on small farmers, on women, as

well as the impact of intellectual property rights on indigenous peoples.

Based on concerns about intellectual property rights, the WTO Ministerial Conference must begin renegotiation of the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) Agreement

ASEM leaders should oppose the introduction of a multilateral investment agreement into the WTO. Further, the liberalisation of telecommunications and maritime transport should be opposed.

Governments must urgently agree on effective protection of small farmers and their livelihood and take all necessary measures to reverse the negative consequences of the WTO Agricultural Agreement.

The European Common Agricultural Policy should be fundamentally refocused and reformed.

The trade in toxic waste and products between European and Asian countries must be stopped through the negotiation of a code of conduct, standards and other mechanisms.

Peace and Security

The ASEAN Regional Forum should be transformed into a Multilateral Security and Disarmament Conference for the Asia Pacific region involving all regional military powers to prevent an Asian arms race.

Conventional arms sales and production within and between Asia and Europe must be phased out.

Following the lead of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Malaysia, Norway, Philippines and Sweden, all other governments must impose a total ban on the production, use, sale and trade in anti-personnel landmines.

Governments should conclude the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. They should initiate the negotiation of a nuclear weapons convention which supersedes the Non-Proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons, commits the five nuclear powers to a rigid timetable for total nuclear disarmament, and provides for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

EU members should sign the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty and the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty.

The comprehensive decolonisation of the Asia Pacific region is an essential precondition for peace and security. The European Union should take responsibility for French decolonisation of French Polynesia; ASEAN for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesia from East Timor. ASEM countries should prevail upon the US to give independence to Micronesia.

Northern Ireland The conference condemns the inaction of the British govern-

ment over the last 18 months in relation to the conflict in the north of Ireland. The conference urges the British government to immediately enter into inclusive all-party negotiations which should lead to a comprehensive political settlement and include burning issues such as policing, release of political prisoners, demilitarisation of society and adherence to international human rights standards.

East Timor

The First Asia-Europe NGO Conference strongly condemns the shameless efforts of the Indonesian government to prevent any discussion of East Timor at the ASEM. We strongly protest against the decision of the Thai government not to allow East Timorese resistance leader José Ramos Horta to visit Thailand in order to attend this NGO meeting.

Further, we are deeply concerned about the continuing gross violations of human rights in occupied East Timor and calls for UN presence in the territory in order to protect the population. We believe that demilitarisation is an essential first step towards improving the human rights situation in East Timor. We firmly endorse East Timor's just demand for self-determination and welcome the growing movement of solidarity with East Timor in the countries of Southeast Asia and Europe.

We call for the unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão and all East Timorese political prisoners.

Burma

ASEM leaders must urge that the SLORC begin tripartite dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi and ethnic minorities; demand the release of all political prisoners and insist that the SLORC recognise the results of the 1990 elections.

Former Yugoslavia

ASEM leaders should ensure that the Dayton Accord is faithfully implemented. This includes protecting territorial integrity, ensuring that Sarajevo remains a multi-ethnic city, that refugees are safely returned, that human rights violations committed during the war are acknowledged and that the violators are brought to justice through the War Crimes Tribunal on Former Yugoslavia.

Notwithstanding the specific cases mentioned above, the Conference calls on European and Asian governments to reaffirm the overarching principles of decolonisation and the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination.

The Asia - Europe NGO Conference is organized by: Focus on the Global South (Thailand), Transnational Institute (The Netherlands), Asia House (Germany), Asian

Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (Hong Kong), Pacific Asia Resources Center (Japan), Pacific Campaign for Disarmament and Security (Japan), CIIR (Britain), Just World Trust (Malaysia) and the following Thailand-based organizations and individuals; Forum Asia, Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD), Thai Development Support Committee (TDSC), Project for Ecological Recovery (PER/TERRA), Assoc. Prof. Gothom Arya, Prof. Nikom Chandravithun, Dr. Teeranat Kanchana-aksorn, etc.

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TRILLION DOLLAR TRADE DULLS RIGHTS PRINCIPLES

By Angeline Oyog, Mario Dujisin and Teena Gill

PARIS, Feb 28 (IPS) - The economic imperatives alone ensure the European Union will not allow rights issues to block its longed-for dialogue with east Asia this week. But gestures of support for human rights are a European habit, one not easily suppressed.

Europe goes to the landmark summit in Bangkok on Mar. 1-2, largely on Asia's terms. "The summit is an event in itself, a recognition by Europe of the power of Asian economies and of Asia in its own right," said Jean-Marie Bouissou, research director of the National Foundation of Political Science, Paris.

While growth in Europe averages at about three percent, the Asian 'tiger' economies have maintained GDP levels of eight percent since the mid-1980s. By 2000 Asia is expected to account for half of the world's trade and one-third of the world's production.

"Relations between Asia and Europe have reached a turning point," says Juan Prats, Director General for External Relations at the EU's executive Commission. "The Bangkok meeting will give a strong impetus to a future Euro-Asian dialogue."

Entering the forum in the confident manner of 'tigers,' East Asian leaders like Thai Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa warn that "sensitive and irrelevant" issues like child labour, human rights and Indonesia's occupation of the former Portuguese colony East Timor, should not be raised at the Bangkok summit.

And at a recent pre-summit meeting in Jakarta, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said if the EU raised such issues, he could think of at least "ten issues that could be seriously embarrassing to the European side."

"Europe certainly has weaknesses with regard to the treatment of migrant workers, minorities, the aged, unemployed and victims of armed conflicts and displacement," noted Vitit Muntarbhorn, a law professor at Bangkok's Chulalongkorn University.

But the EU is undeterred. These questions are "difficult" but cannot be avoided in discussions with Asia, it says. "We are going to Bangkok with a constructive spirit," said a Commission spokesman in Brussels, but "we intend to bring up all areas of mutual interest." The question is, how?

"The sensitive subjects that cannot be raised during the official summit of heads of states and governments," said Christian Lechervy, a French specialist on Asia, "will be taken up at more discreet forums including the post-Ministerial meetings."

"What we would like to do is try to enhance the understanding in a correct and accurate way about the importance of this issue to both sides," said Shumpei Tsukahara, head of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry, in Thailand this month.

Yet Portugal's Prime Minister Antonio Guterres is still determined to raise the issue of Indonesia and East Timor at the summit. The French and British are voicing concerns about use of prison labour in China and child labour in other parts of Asia.

Resistance to placing trade ahead of rights is strong in Europe. "There exists in the EU a double standard in matters concerning human rights," noted former Portuguese president Mario Soares this week, condemning the attitude of the EU's "faceless technocrats."

"It is lamentable that the EU cannot have a single moral line; one that would require us to condemn Indonesia's invasion of Timor as we did Iraq's attack on Kuwait in 1991," he added.

"The truth is," added Joaquin Trigo de Negreiros, a Lisbon analyst, "that Germany, the United Kingdom and France are banking on capturing the gigantic markets of Asia, so have no desire to arouse the susceptibilities of Jakarta."

This is not quite so. Practices such as child labour, aside from being morally wrong, give child-employing nations a production cost advantage that Europe would like to rebalance.

Yet cynical advantage apart, Europe deploys a high-flown vision of union that requires its external alliances to be seen to be much more than a matter of cash transfers. Europe's left-of-centre political parties also insist that the grand European Union project must be more than just a unbridled triumph for free enterprise.

"The grandeur of the European economic scheme must be matched by a no less inspirational social vision," former Commission president Jacques Delors once told IPS. The EU expects no less from its external trade alliances.

But Trigo de Negreiros is not wrong either. Public concerns about labour or social rights have not stopped European private business from welcoming Asia open armed into the European and global trading environment.

Jean Pisani-Ferry, director of the Paris-based Centre for Studies on International Perspectives and Information (CEPII), notes there "is no real connection between the number of U.N. rights and labour conventions Asia ratifies and its integration into global trade as measured by its level of export growth.

"Except for the Philippines which has ratified seven of the nine basic U.N. labour conventions, the countries of east Asia stand out, both in terms of the low number of conventions they have ratified and in terms of their high levels of exports."

Françoise Lemoine, an economic analyst with CEPII, further cites the example of trade between China and Europe, which has increased trade in spite the unresolved issues of human rights between them.

China provided 16.5 percent of Asian exports to Europe in 1979, but despite the human rights outcry that followed the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, China's export share had increased to 18.1 percent by 1993. Similarly China's share of all Asian exports to Europe rose from 6.5 percent in 1979 to 23.4 percent in 1993.

The U.S. experience with China in this field is instructive for Europe, added Bouissou. Unilateralism without dialogue led the U.S. to fail in its efforts to square Most Favoured Nation trading status for China with its domestic concern for human rights.

"The EU's attitude of trying to start a dialogue with Asia must be contrasted with the U.S. attitude," said Bouissou. "Europe seems to have learned from the U.S. debacle."

Finally, a 1994 EU policy paper, Towards A New Asia Strategy, makes it clear that a failure of dialogue will only strengthen the hands of "those who view Asia as a threat rather than as a valuable partner" and raise the spectre of a trade bloc war.

As a result the issue of human rights will be raised, but diplomatically. In this the EU has the support of rights groups like the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

While it is extremely concerned about violation of workers' rights in nations like China and Burma, it notes that other countries in Asia are gradually granting more

rights to workers and it too does not want to see a "slanging match" in Bangkok.

Europe and Asia must develop a joint social agenda, argued the ICFTU's Stephen Pursey. "There must be discussions on social and labour issues," he said. "If not, this will hold up deeper relations between the two regions on trade and investment."

Asia bought goods worth over 100 billion dollars from Europe in 1994 while Asian exports to the continent were valued at 145 billion dollars.

As a bloc, Asians now account for 23.2% of the EU's total trade, ahead of the United States' 17.4% share. These bottom lines will speak volumes at Bangkok.

EUROPEAN, ASIAN NATIONS PLEDGE FRESH COMMITMENT TO FREE TRADE

CNN Web Page, (from AP), March 1, 1996

BANGKOK, Thailand (AP) – European and Asian nations worked Friday on a commitment to knock down trade barriers and stoke investment, highlighting Europe's eagerness to match U.S. economic involvement in Asia.

The first Asia-Europe economic summit – a two-day meeting between leaders of the 15 European Union nations and 10 of Asia's most robust economies – sought to renew Europe's interest in the world's fastest-growing market, as well as promote closer political, economic and security ties.

But human rights remained a divisive issue, with officials haggling over the wording of a rights passage to be included in their final declaration Saturday, the summit's final day.

China, criticized by many for suppressing dissent, wanted a reference to "non-interference in the internal affairs" of other countries, while the Europeans pushed for a reference to "the importance of fundamental rights."

"We think the emphasis (of the summit) should be laid on economic issues," said Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Chen Jian.

As the summit drew to a close, concrete and symbolic demonstrations of their desire to knock down trade barriers emerged:

Eager to gain entry to the World Trade Organization, China said it would soon announce a new round of tariff cuts. It gave no further details.

The Philippines said it would cut all tariffs to no more than 5 percent by 2003.

South Korea signed a trade and economic cooperation accord with the EU.

The EU and Asian nations said they will actively encourage contacts between their private sectors.

The summit was held against a backdrop of impressive trade figures. In 1994, Asia as a whole surpassed the United States as Europe's largest trading partner, with two-way sales reaching \$312.5 billion.

But Asia gets just 1 percent of European direct foreign investment even though it accounts for 23 percent of European trade. From 1979-1993, the EU invested \$2.5 billion in 3,000 Asian projects, less than half the investments by either Japanese or U.S. firms.

"Asia and Europe need to be more open with one another – in trade, in investment and in the exchange of technology know-how," summit host and Thai prime minister Banham Silpa-archa said in opening the summit at a sprawling convention complex in the center of Bangkok.

He called on EU nations to match the trade and investment links the United States has with Asia through the 18-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

EU External Trade Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan worked hard at the meeting to get Asian nations, especially South Korea and Japan, to make better market-opening offers on telecommunications services. There is an April 30 deadline on the issue in world trade talks.

Despite the summit's economic agenda, human rights questions loomed large.

In a surprise move, Portugal proposed normalizing relations with Indonesia if the government in Jakarta frees an East Timorese resistance leader from prison.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed the former Portuguese colony a year later. At least 100,000 Timorese are believed to have died in the years following the invasion, primarily from starvation.

The Europeans consider some Asian countries violators of basic human rights. Asians say the Europeans are making judgments based on their own cultural values.

AGIR POUR TIMOR LETTER TO FRENCH EMBASSY

Translated from French - Bruno

Agir pour Timor
22 bis rue Jouvenet 75016 Paris
tel/fax: +33-1-48 58 53 38
Paris, March 1, 1996.

To the French ambassador in Thailand

Your Excellency,

We have had knowledge of Mr. Herve de Charrette's [transl. note: the French Foreign Minister] statements about the situation in East Timor. France does not wish this prob-

lem to be touched during the current Bangkok summit between European Union and Asian countries.

We are revolted by this position and intend to let it be known.

To let human rights violations committed by Indonesia in the occupied territory of East Timor and on its own soil pass in silence, while one knows about them, is unacceptable from France. We think that France's place in the present world, and the greatness of its history of defence of human rights, force it to have another posture.

The international community must find an acceptable solution to the East Timor issue, and this passes imperatively through the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. As long as such a solution will not have been found, those countries which call themselves democratic and champions of human rights have the obligation to recall the problem as often as necessary, especially in their relationship with the oppressor country - in this case, Indonesia.

Does solving economic problems go, or not, in the sense of solving the problems of Humankind? History goes forward and we don't want summits like Bangkok to be, in a few years, remembered in the same way as tractations of the times of slavery.

We ask you to transmit this protest to the French delegation in Bangkok.

Respectfully yours,
AGIR POUR TIMOR
For the Collective
Alexandre Milheiro

CHIRAC IN BANGKOK, DEMOCRACY IN THE LOO

Anne Kerloch, *Charlie Hebdo*, March 6, 1996. Translated from French

[Note: *Charlie Hebdo* is a satirical weekly which made itself famous when de Gaulle died in 1970 by making its title page as "Bal tragique à Colombey: un mort," colliding de Gaulle's death in Colombey and the news of a fire in a dancing which had caused some 70 deaths the same week. It was closed down for the impertinence. It hasn't taken a wrinkle, with corresponding style. I'll do my best to render it in English... Bruno]

SEVENTEEN LANGUAGES IN THE EUROPE-ASIA SUMMIT AND NOT A WORD TO SAY "HUMAN RIGHTS."

While in Bangkok Chirac was learning how to display armlocks for the sake of photographers, to wear a white shirt without dribbling on it and to forget political prisoners who haven't made their communion, Wilson, an Indonesian trade-unionist, was visiting Paris to testify of the brutality

of a regime so highly praised by French businessmen.

Persecuted Chinese Catholics are lucky. Chirac thought of whispering Li Peng a couple of words about them. The others, political opponents in Singapore, tyrannized East Timorese, Peking dissidents, can get their stumps and fly-feeding wounds examined elsewhere. Beside the Vaticanese exception, Chirac hasn't come to Asia to talk democracy and dignity of the human being, but to get swaddled in silk and talk dough. Political prisoners had better not come than his hide in the middle of a meeting. When they are tortured, these nitwits shout so loud that one can't hear oneself signing contracts. All they deserve is a good market share in the face!

From Paris, Wilson followed the Bangkok summit on the radio, TV and in the newspapers. Wilson is an Indonesian trade-unionist, the General Secretary of the Indonesian Centre for Workers Struggles and Coordinator of "Solidarity with the East Timorese People." He is 27, has already been arrested three times, met quite a few electrodes during his stays in prison, and his political programme has everything to have the Indonesian government jolt of anger: abolition of the low-salary policy as a means to attract foreign investment, better working conditions, equality between men and women, ban on racial discrimination, freedom of union, ban on child labour, ban on military intervention in labour conflicts...

When Wilson saw the European countries go submissive in front of Asian dictators and the French president wave his arms about, shouting "Market! Capital! Trade! Export, export, export!" while forgetting the essential, he got a little upset: "There is a popularity-seeking and tactical talk from Asian tyrants. It's the one that consists of saying that human rights are not good for us, because they are not in our tradition. Europe lets do and prefers to discuss trade, Chirac the first. France has already sold lots of weapons to Indonesia, rifles, combat helicopters. And now the President wants to increase his arms exports to Asia. He's pushing us to war!"

Wilson describes Indonesia in the way Total executives or members of the French delegation don't like to see it: as a country mistreated by President Suharto and his merry khaki troop, cunning enough the cultivate a semblance of democracy: "There are three parties, but all three are pro-government. The military gets reserved seats in the Parliament, is all pervasive in the parties, in neighbourhood councils, in factories, where they mount guard and repress strikes. In Europe, the issue of East Timor [former Portuguese colony occupied by Indonesia since 1975] is better-known, but you have to understand that all Indonesians

suffer from this military and authoritarian regime, which was violent from the start. In 1965 there was the "big massacre." All those suspected of communist sympathies, or simply dissidents, were executed. More than one million people!"

But Indonesia is oil-rich, its work-force costs almost nothing and the army control ensures the stability which is the dream of every company eyeing up delocalization. So hush.

"It is true that Indonesia attract enterprises. But the weight of corruption is enormous: about 30% of investment goes into baksheesh! And you should not get illusions on political stability. The East Timor problem starts being felt, the government has to face inflation, social conflicts, poverty. People are fed up and opposition, democratic but also Islamic, gets more widespread. There are more and more demonstrations. Perhaps we shall get to it, to democracy!" That day, don't forget to thank Chirac.

EAST TIMOR IN THAI PRESS

Translated summarized, by P. Nogueira

Bangkok, March 2 (LUSA) - The proposal of Portugal's PM to Indonesian President Suharto regarding ET were the front-page subject of the three English-language newspapers of Bangkok.

The *Thailand Times* announces in front-page title that the proposal approximates Portugal and Indonesia closer to a solution for East Timor.

The dailies *The Nation* and *Bangkok Post* underscore also in front-page titles that Guterres' initiative prevented possible conflicts at the ASEM summit.

[.....]

Inside, *The Nation* also publishes an article on Carmel Budiardjo, of TAPOL [...].

Thailand Times also publishes an article about Mario Soares, whose term in Presidency terminates on March 9, after 10 years in function.

ASEM COVERAGE IN JAPAN

From Jean Inglis, March 4.

The *Asahi*, *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri* newspapers all reported the Suharto-Guterres meeting. The regional daily in my area also covered it (with a photo of the Nov. 14 break in at the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta). The *Asahi* of March 1 also carried a separate feature article by the Jakarta correspondent (with a photo of the Christ statue in Dili), centering mainly on an interview with Manuel Carrascalão that begins with him saying, "I would like the Indonesian president and the Portuguese Prime Minis-

ter to talk. Unless the two of them move, our destiny is not going to change.”

The rather extensive article in the *Yomiuri* of March 2 under the headline, “Portugal and Indonesia agree to normalization talks” and “The East Timor issue will still take time,” ends with comments by CSIS director Wanandi, who said that the top level meeting had “symbolic significance” and was an unexpected byproduct of ASEM. However the condition that Portugal set for opening of interest sections at friendly embassies, the release of political prisoner and Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão (serving a 20-year term) “had almost no possibility of acceptance by the Indonesian Government as it has repercussions for other political prisoners” (Wanandi), so that it seems that normalization will still take some time. (Translated by Jean)

The *Kyodo* article on the “Human Rights Gap” carried in my regional-based daily of March 3 was interesting for its mention of Japanese PM Hashimoto’s stance. The part excerpted here reports on the evening session on Feb. 29 when:

“there was a heated exchange at the one-hour informal meeting after dinner. When Chairperson PM Banham, in explaining the procedure for the meeting the next day touched on the points of agreement made with Italy, Portuguese PM Guterres, who was poised to bring up the issue of Indonesia’s (sic) East Timor (former Portuguese territory) at ASEM, strongly objected.

Apparently opinions close to Portugal’s were put forth by European leaders, but Japanese PM Hashimoto and German PM Kohl expressed support for the chairperson’s policy.

When PM Banham got this reaction, “Leave it up to the Chair,” he settled the issue by making the suggestion that “the two parties might try to deepen their mutual understanding.” When the meeting ended PM Guterres walked up to Indonesia’s President Suharto and shook his hand. They stayed behind in the room and started to talk.

Upon leaving the room the EU chairperson Santeel (sp?) said, “We have come to talk about the future, not the past. It’s better to leave issues that will cause conflict to the two countries to work out,” thus showing a position close to the Asian one.”

TIMORESE LEADER THREATENED

Publico, 7 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon – Timorese leader José Ramos Horta has been sent threatening messages for the second time via Internet.

On 29 February the CNRM’s electronic mail box contained the following message: “Dear Mr. Horta, Take care of yourself at the Asia-Europe Summit. Think twice before planning any action, because we too are planning action against you.”

Like the previous poison pen letter sent last January, the message was signed “Sparrow Unit” and sent by user Antonio Merlin – a false name which the Resistance associates with the Indonesian military.

Ramos Horta did not make it to Bangkok, where he was to take part in an NGO fringe meeting. He was refused an entry permit to Thailand.

GUTERRES OFFERS OUT TO SUHARTO

GUTERRES MEETS WITH SUHARTO

Translated excerpts

Bangkok, Feb 29 (LUSA) – The Portuguese PM, Antonio Guterres, today proposed to Indonesian President Suharto the opening of interest sections of both countries in “friend embassies” in Lisbon and Jakarta, in exchange for the release of Xanana Gusmão, and all other East Timorese political prisoners. Guterres proposed also that the UN be allowed to observe the human rights situation in East Timor.

This proposal was presented during a 20-minute meeting between Guterres and Suharto, that took place after the dinner offered to the heads of state participating in the first Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok.

Guterres told Suharto that this proposal will be made by the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Jaime Gama, in the UN-supervised talks underway between the two countries.

“I am hopeful that all that is happening right now will allow that such a proposal be accepted by Indonesia,” said Guterres, referring to international pressure over Indonesia. “And, if this happens, a very important step will have been taken towards the future of East Timor.”

“It is an strong political initiative, profoundly innovative, and we are convinced that it could resolve the situation that has been dragging for a long time without positive steps of significance in defense of the interests of the people of East Timor,” said Guterres.

Guterres said that from Suharto “there wasn’t a globally negative reaction, and there was openness for discussing the proposal in the appropriate institutional

framework.” “Evidently, this is not a decision that can be made during a brief meeting (...), it is something that needs to be worked on very seriously, by the diplomacies of both countries (...).”

The meeting between Guterres and Suharto took place by initiative of Thailand’s PM, presiding the summit, and of the Italian EU presidency. When the ASEM presidency proposed bilateral meetings, Guterres addressed Suharto and proposed that they talk, and the two convened right away. Guterres described the conversation with Suharto as “frank and open.” At the end of what was the first meeting between a Portuguese and Indonesian head of state since the 1975 invasion of East Timor, the two Foreign Ministers joined in.

“The first positive result of this summit is the realization of this meeting and the opportunity to formulate (...) an innovative proposal which I hope will be positive for East Timor,” said Guterres, emphasizing that “it would have been worthwhile to be here if only for this.”

Should the Portuguese proposal be accepted by Indonesia “we will have a completely new situation,” said Guterres. “Firstly, the Timorese resistance will have its leader in freedom, and he can then become an intervenor in the political process in a much higher capacity than what is possible today, from prison. Secondly, guarantees will be given for respecting human rights which will allow a political debate in East Timor of much different nature, which presently is not possible.

Guterres commented that should Jakarta reject “a proposal presented in good faith and which follows the logic which today the major international conflicts are following: a stepwise perspective,” then “Indonesia’s position will be viewed negatively by the international public opinion.”

Guterres said he admitted to Suharto “without complexes” that “Portugal has committed errors in East Timor during colonial times” and during the time when many Portuguese “gave priority to the fight for democracy in their own country” [referring to the period following the 1974 revolution that overthrew the Caetano regime].

“We don’t have complexes on this matter because the government I represent, and the political force that supports it has been on the side of self-determination and human rights all along” stated Guterres.

Portugal’s “duty of solidarity” with East Timor in Guterres opinion justifies that the Portuguese government “constantly take the initiative to seek that positive steps are taken in defense of the interests and rights of the East Timorese.”

MARIO SOARES REACTION

Lisbon, Feb 29 - Portuguese President Mario Soares considered that the PM's proposal to President Suharto is "quite important" if it achieves the release of Xanana Gusmão. Soares emphasized however that Portugal must not give up the fundamental objective which is the self-determination of East Timor.

Bangkok, Feb 29 - The coordinator of the [Lisbon-based] Maubere People's Rights Commission (CDPM), Luisa Teotonio Pereira, who participated in the NGO meeting of the last 3 days in Bangkok, classified the PM's proposal as "interesting," and said it was "important that this proposal was presented in an Asian country where there is a large awareness of the East Timor question."

"This proposal agrees with some of the recommendations of the NGO's, namely with respect to the release of Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners, and to the role of the UN in accompanying the human-rights situation in East Timor," said Luisa Teotonio Pereira.

Pereira considered that the opening of Portuguese and Indonesian interest sections in embassies in Lisbon and Jakarta "could be beneficial," it could also provide diplomatic dividends to Indonesia. "The UN presence in East Timor would eliminate the possibility of Indonesia profiting from this gesture," she emphasized.

EAST TIMORESE REACTIONS TO THE PORTUGUESE PROPOSAL

translated excerpts from text by A. Sampaio, Sydney

Sydney, March 1 (LUSA) - The Timorese resistance reacted with surprise to the Portuguese proposal. José Ramos Horta told LUSA he had been taken by surprise, particularly because there had been no consultation of the resistance. "However," he said, "the proposal has its merits, and could create a very important dynamic in the negotiation process."

Ramos Horta recalled a similar proposal had been presented [by Indonesia] in April of 1993 during the meeting in Rome between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers, and Portugal had counter-proposed the creation of a UN permanent mission in East Timor, which Jakarta rejected.

"Indonesia tries to portray Timor as a bilateral question between Lisbon and Jakarta," said Ramos Horta. "However, this new version by the Portuguese PM, being softer, is positive," he said, adding that it is necessary to have "creativity and flexibility in the Timor question."

Ramos Horta commented that even if Indonesia agreed to free Xanana, it would

require that he remain in exile, which Xanana would refuse. Ramos Horta considered that it would be useful to keep other possibilities in sight, such as reconsidering a visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor.

João Carrascalão, president of UDT, considered that should Indonesia accept Portugal's proposal, this "would be useful to the future of East Timor. However, to Carrascalão "to trade for Xanana's freedom is placing a very low price on Xanana Gusmão." "The Portuguese government should simply demand the release of Xanana without offering something in exchange, because his imprisonment is illegal," he said. Carrascalão expressed his longing for the "firm" approach of Durão Barroso. [Incidentally, Durão Barroso had commented earlier on Guterres' proposal, saying that it shouldn't be up to Portugal to come up with innovative proposals, but it should instead stay firm on its stand.]

Nevertheless, UDT issued a communiqué to "express the most lively support to the bold intervention by the Portuguese head of state."

PORTUGUESE PARTIES' REACTION

Lisbon, March 1 - The Portuguese Social Democrat and Communist Parties expressed reservations concerning the PM's proposal to President Suharto, because they thought the Parliament ought to have been informed beforehand. The PP Party expressed support for the PM's proposal.

Carlos Encarnação, of the PSD party, said before the parliament that East Timor is a national question, and that the members of parliament ought to have been informed of the proposal beforehand.

Encarnação called for an urgent meeting of the Commission that concerns East Timor (CEASTL), and requiring the presence of Foreign Minister Jaime Gama.

PORTUGAL SAYS INDONESIA MOVING ON TIMOR PLAN

BANGKOK, March 1 (Reuters) - Portugal said on Friday that Indonesia had instructed its senior officials to start moving on a proposal by Prime Minister Antonio Guterres to break an impasse over the disputed territory of East Timor.

Guterres told reporters President Suharto had not rejected the proposal, made early on Friday at a surprise meeting after the two attended an informal dinner on the eve of the Asian-European summit in Bangkok.

Suharto told him Indonesia's foreign affairs minister had been instructed to develop the necessary contacts on the proposal, he said.

The meeting between Guterres and Suharto was the first face-to-face encounter between Portuguese and Indonesian leaders since Jakarta invaded Lisbon's former colony, East Timor, in 1975.

The two countries have no diplomatic relations and have been at odds over the issue. The United Nations still recognises Lisbon as the administering power of East Timor.

Guterres had proposed to Suharto at their meeting that his country put Portuguese diplomats in a friendly embassy in Jakarta and allow Indonesia to do the same in Lisbon.

In exchange, Indonesia should free from jail East Timorese resistance leader José Xanana Gusmão "and his companions."

Guterres said Indonesia should also "guarantee respect for human rights" in the eastern half of the island of Timor, at the southeastern end of the sprawling Indonesian archipelago.

"At least it (the proposal) was not rejected and the President of Indonesia told me this morning that he gave instructions to his minister of foreign affairs to develop contacts... with this proposal," Guterres said.

"Things are now to be discussed, with U.N. secretary general supervision, by the two ministers of foreign affairs," he added.

Official Indonesian reaction on the proposal was awaited but an Indonesian diplomat, who declined to be identified, called the Portuguese move a positive step.

PORTUGAL'S TIMOR OFFER CARRIES RISKS

[abridged] By David Brough

Lisbon, March 1 (Reuters) - Portugal's offer of partial diplomatic relations with Indonesia in return for the release of an East Timorese resistance leader is a risky strategy that could backfire, local media and diplomats said on Friday.

"The proposal has multiple risks," Jorge Wemans, deputy editor of Lisbon newspaper O Publico, wrote in an editorial. "Indonesia could present the acceptance of interest sections (in friendly embassies) as Portugal's first step towards acknowledging the situation now prevailing in East Timor (Indonesian occupation)," he wrote.

"(But) If Indonesia says No, Portugal will have to get even tougher. The abandonment or freezing of bilateral meetings under U.N. auspices would be inevitable," he added.

One Western diplomat based in Lisbon said Guterres' direct approach to Suharto was good news for prospects of reaching a solution to the East Timor problem.

"We would applaud any move by Portugal to sort this thing out," he said.

But another diplomat expressed scepticism that the Indonesians would free Gusmão, who was sentenced to life imprisonment, later commuted to 20 years, after a controversial trial in May 1993.

"I can't see the Indonesians releasing Gusmão," he said. "Gusmão is too much of an emotive figure. Indonesia might be causing themselves far too much trouble and it wouldn't be worth it.

"Indonesia wants the whole thing downplayed, and the release of Gusmão would have the opposite effect. If he went into exile in Portugal, that would put him on a collision course with Indonesia."

Diplomats said Portugal and Indonesia faced difficult talks ahead over self-determination in East Timor. Guterres has compared the process to Palestinian negotiations for a separate state with Israel.

Prominent East Timorese gave a guarded welcome to Portugal's offer for partial diplomatic ties with Indonesia.

TEN MINUTE HISTORIC DIALOGUE

Kompas Online, Saturday 2 March 1996

Bangkok, Kompas: Secretary of State Moerdiono confirmed that President Soeharto had met and talked about East Timor with Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres for around 10 minutes after an informal dinner held by the Thai Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa on Thursday (29/2) at the Oriental Hotel, Bangkok.

After the opening of the Asia-Europe (ASEM) Summit Meeting, Secretary of State Moerdiono said that in an unscheduled meeting, the two leaders clarified their respective positions about East Timor.

Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, who accompanied Moerdiono, said that he private meeting between President Soeharto and the Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres was an important and historic matter, bearing in mind that this meeting was the first such meeting between leaders of the two countries in the last 20 years.

When the two leaders held their informal meeting, said Alatas, the Portuguese Prime Minister expressed his intention to raise the issue of East Timor, which had already been rejected as a topic for discussion in the ASEM Summit Meeting. The topic was rejected not only by Asian delegates, but also Europeans.

President Soeharto received Guterres' request well, and the two leaders spoke for more or less 10 minutes. The unscheduled meeting occurred after President Soeharto

greeted Guterres, who grasped the opportunity to discuss East Timor.

Antonio Guterres told reporters in his room at the Royal Orchid Sheraton, that in the meeting with Soeharto he suggested that Xanana Gusmão and his followers should be released and that human rights should be upheld in East Timor. In return, Portugal would open a government representation in Jakarta and Indonesia in Lisbon, represented by an ambassador from a third country.

He said that the two conditions represented the opening step to restore relations between Indonesia and Portugal and that request had already been made to Soeharto and Alatas.

Jusuf Wanandi, an observer of international relations from CSIS (Centre for Strategic Studies-Jakarta), who was in Bangkok, said that Guterres had no other choice but to talk about the East Timor issue directly with Soeharto.

"Initially he wanted to raise the matter of East Timor at ASEM, but all ASEM delegates rejected this. He had promised to raise the issue at the general election and because of that he had no other choice but to speak with Soeharto," said Wanandi.

According to Wanandi, the informal meeting between the two leaders was very useful in the opening new initiatives to resolve the East Timor issue.

Foreign Ministers Assigned

Secretary of State, Moerdiono, explained that during the talks, the two countries clarified their respective positions in respect of the East Timor issue. Indonesia considers the East Timor issue as already resolved, after the East Timorese people stated their desire to assert

their right to self determination, that is to join with Indonesia. "But we need to be realistic that in the international context, East Timor is still an issue," he said.

Moerdiono explained that the two leaders assigned the respective foreign ministers to meet and continue the discussion begun by Soeharto and Guterres.

Efforts to resolve the East Timor issue up until now have been made through tripartite meetings between RI foreign minister, Portuguese foreign minister and Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Up until now, seven tripartite meetings have been held, amongst which confidence building measures have been adopted. The eight meeting is scheduled for June 1996 in Geneva.

Ali Alatas stated that although the meeting between the two leaders was important for historic reasons, there was nothing new in the content of the discussion, particularly with reference to the opening of an interest of section, which was described by Guterres

as the opening of representations in the embassy of a third country.

According to Alatas, the suggestion put forward by the Portuguese PM (to open representations) had already been put forward at one of the tripartite meetings by Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

In contrast to Indonesia's stance, up until now, Portugal had always rejected this suggestion. "However, it appears that the new Portuguese foreign minister is a little more flexible. This is what was brought by the Portuguese PM, but in my opinion this is not Guterres' suggestion," said Alatas.

Alatas confirmed that in the meeting Guterres had asked for Xanana Gusmão to be freed. Alatas added that the President had not given any details about this request, except to say that he had given a brief explanation as to why Xanana Gusmão had been tried and sentenced.

Alatas said that Indonesia's attitude to the request to free Xanana Gusmão had to be placed in the context of the issue. "What is clear, is that Xanana Gusmão was arrested and sentenced and now is serving his sentence based on his actions, that is to carry out actions which are in contravention of our criminal code," he said. "So as far as we are concerned, it is a criminal matter,"

First Step

The Portuguese PM said that the condition to release Xanana Gusmão and his followers along with upholding human rights in East Timor would be a first step in the restoration of Indonesian-Portuguese relations.

He perceived that the meeting with Soeharto demonstrated a more open attitude on the part of Indonesia to discuss East Timor.

Guterres said, "In this morning's meeting, I also reported this meeting. I also expressed the hope that a break-through could be achieved in respect of the East Timor issue. Both sessions noted the issue in the conclusion of the Summit Meeting."

According to Alatas, Portugal's intention to discuss East Timor emerged after an informal dinner. When the head of ASEM, Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa asked about the agenda for the meeting and topics for discussion, "The Portuguese PM expressed his intention to raise the East Timor issue," said Alatas. According to Alatas, Portugal's aim was rejected by many delegates, including the head, Asian heads of state and several European states.

Because of that, at the end of the meeting, when Soeharto greeted Guterres, Portugal asked Soeharto to speak on the issue, and Soeharto agreed, said Alatas. "The two leaders spoke for around ten minutes. Both the Portuguese foreign minister and myself didn't know. We were elsewhere," he explained.

Meanwhile, Guterres said that he didn't feel there was pressure from the delegates not to raise East Timor.

"Many thought our aim was to make trouble, but we want to resolve the issue of the East Timorese people. Because this issue has reached stalemate, we feel a new proposal is needed in order to resolve the situation," he said, whilst repeating that Portugal had not changed its stance in respect of the rights of the East Timorese people to self determination.

In respect of the suggestion to open a liaison office, Guterres said that it would not take the form of full diplomatic relations. It was just a first step, which should be followed by permanent contact between the two states, and as a confidence building measure. At the moment Portuguese interests in Indonesia are represented by the Dutch ambassador in Jakarta.

"I believe Indonesia is not yet ready to take on board our proposal at this moment. And we will not go back on our principles (about the rights to self determination of the East Timorese people) said Guterres.

EAST TIMORESE CAUTIOUS ON PORTUGUESE INITIATIVE

by Jim Della-Giacoma

Jakarta, March 1 (Reuter) – Prominent East Timorese gave a guarded welcome on Friday to a conditional offer by Portugal for partial diplomatic ties with Indonesia, severed 20 years ago after Jakarta invaded Lisbon's former colony.

"The Portuguese prime minister is playing some sort of political game," Armindo Maia, vice-rector at East Timor University, said by telephone from the East Timor capital Dili.

"It does not have much relevance for the average person, only for academics and politicians," he told Reuters.

Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres said on Friday Lisbon was ready to open an "interest section" in a friendly embassy in Jakarta and accept a similar envoy in Lisbon.

"In exchange Indonesia should free Xanana Gusmão and guarantee human rights on East Timor," Guterres told reporters after a surprise private meeting with Indonesian President Suharto during the Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok.

"The Portuguese and Indonesian governments both have their own interests but I don't think the Portuguese should sacrifice the legitimate aspirations of the people of the East Timor by starting new relations with Indonesia," Maia said.

"Xanana himself had made statements that he wants to be last East Timorese to be

freed. I don't know if the Portuguese have consulted him on this issue," Maia said.

"I don't think he is willing to sacrifice the interests of the Timorese people just to be released," he added.

Clementino Amaral, an East Timorese member of Indonesia's official National Commission on Human Rights, told Reuters the reopening of diplomatic relations would be a positive step. "Reopening diplomatic relations would open the way to finish the problem of East Timor but the Portuguese should not put conditions on it," Amaral said from his home in Jakarta.

Amaral said Gusmão was properly sentenced under Indonesian law adding: "It is the right of the Supreme Court, government or President to decide if he should be freed."

He said human rights violations in East Timor were decreasing, adding the Commission would open a branch office in Dili in March or April as soon as a representative was found.

A diplomat who follows East Timor affairs said the proposal linking the prospect of better relations to Gusmão was more "shadow boxing" and not new.

"Portugal has a strong desire to see and to be seen as not having failed to raise the issue of Timor while not violating the understanding between European and Asian countries about what is not to be discussed at the summit," the diplomat said.

"But from the Indonesian perspective, releasing Gusmão is a big block in the road," the diplomat added.

In January, Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama said he would visit Indonesia if Jakarta allowed him to meet Gusmão.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Bangkok on Thursday launched a scathing attack on Portugal, accusing it of abusing human rights for four centuries as a colonial power in East Timor.

PORTUGUESE PROPOSALS SEEN BREAKING EAST TIMOR IMPASSE

Hong Kong Standard, March 2.

BANGKOK: Prime Minister Antonio Guterres has defused a possible row at the inaugural Europe-Asia summit by offering an olive branch to Indonesia's President Suharto over the troubled territory of East Timor.

Mr. Guterres told Reuters in an interview early on Friday, after surprise talks with Mr. Suharto, that it was the best opportunity for a solution since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony more than 20 years ago after Lisbon hastily decolonised.

It was also the first time since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975 that

leaders of the two countries, which have no diplomatic relations, had met face to face.

Mr. Guterres offered to put Portuguese diplomats in a friendly embassy in Jakarta and allow Indonesia to do the same in Lisbon. In exchange, Indonesia should free from jail East Timorese resistance leader José Xanana Gusmão "and his companions."

He said Indonesia should also "guarantee respect for human rights" in the eastern half of the island of Timor, at the southeastern end of the sprawling Indonesian archipelago.

"The proposal was not accepted. It was not rejected. It was agreed that it would should be discussed within the framework established by the United Nations," he said in the interview in his hotel suite overlooking Bangkok's Chao Phya river.

"I think it's good," said Yusuf Wanandi, executive director of Indonesia's Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

"It definitely breaks the logjam in the talks" between foreign ministers of the two countries at the United Nations that have been going on without success for years, Wanandi said in an interview at the summit venue.

"This is a new prime minister," he said referring to Guterres. "He can start anew. For the Portuguese, it's always been 'who lost East Timor.' If you have a new leader from a new generation who cannot be accused of losing East Timor, it's a lot easier to convince public opinion," Mr. Wanandi said.

Portugal and Indonesia have been at odds over East Timor since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony, then annexed it in defiance of the United Nations. The UN still recognises Lisbon as the administering power.

Indonesian officials did not react immediately to the proposal, which caught many at the summit by surprise. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was planning a news conference later on Friday.

One Indonesia diplomat called the proposals "a positive step."

Mr. Guterres said he went up to Mr. Suharto after the European Union leaders met their 10 Asian counterparts at dinner on Thursday and said: "I think there is a problem to discuss and he accepted."

"It was planned to be unexpected," Mr. Guterres said, adding that the informal atmosphere of the summit created an opening for him.

Mr. Guterres said he no longer planned to raise the matter at the plenary sessions, something that diplomats said could have upset the delicate harmony at this first summit between European powers and some of their former colonies.

He stressed Portugal had not abandoned its insistence that an act of self-

determination had to take place in East Timor as part of a final solution.

But he compared the process to Palestinian negotiations for a separate state with Israel. "It has to be done step by step."

Mr. Wanandi said that Indonesia could never agree to an act of self determination in the territory it calls its 27th province.

"It's not possible for Indonesia to entertain the possibility of self-determination," he said.

Indonesia's record in East Timor is viewed by critics as the worst blot on the human rights record of Mr. Suharto's 38-year rule of the world's fourth largest country.

Diplomats and human rights groups say about 200,000 people -- about a third of the territory's population -- were killed in a civil war that broke out after Portugal hastily decolonised the territory in 1974, the Indonesian invasion and an ensuing famine.

LISBON SEEKS JAKARTA TRUCE

Sydney Morning Herald, 2 March 1996. By Mark Baker, Bangkok

Portugal has made a dramatic attempt to end its dispute with Indonesia over East Timor, offering a partial restoration of diplomatic ties in return for the freeing of resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and pledges on human rights.

The Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Antonio Guterres, outlined the plan in a meeting last night with Indonesia's President Soeharto - the first meeting of the countries' leaders since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese territory in 1975.

Mr. Guterres proposed that the two government open diplomatic "interest sections" in friendly embassies in their respective capitals, that Xanana and other political prisoners be released and that Jakarta make commitments on improved human rights in East Timor.

He said Mr. Soeharto had neither accepted nor rejected the offer, but had agreed it should be discussed further by Indonesian and Portuguese officials at the United Nations.

Diplomats here were optimistic the plan could provide a first step to breaking the bitter deadlock between the two countries over East Timor - which the UN still recognises as a Portuguese colony.

The diplomats said Indonesia had two years ago raised the idea of opening reciprocal interest offices in Lisbon and Jakarta as a way of defusing tensions over East Timor.

Jakarta is believed to have been considering the possibility of releasing Xanana - who led the Fretilin guerrillas in East Timor for a

decade before being captured by Indonesian forces in 1992 and sentenced to life imprisonment - as a diplomatic bargaining chip.

But the Timorese activists predicted the initiative would found unless the Indonesians agreed to allow Xanana to return to live in East Timor, where he is revered as folk hero.

"He will never accept being sent into exile and we will never accept it," the resistance spokesman, Mr. José Ramos Horta, told the Herald.

Mr. Ramos Horta said it was essential there be an international presence in East Timor to monitor human rights conditions and to ensure that any of the estimated 100 long-term Timorese prisoners released were not victimised.

"We continue to insist that the United Nations has a presence in East Timor, or alternatively that the European Union be allowed to set up an office there," he said.

The meeting between the two leaders came on the eve of today's opening session of the first Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok, where Mr. Guterres had been expected to confront Mr. Soeharto over human rights abuses in East Timor.

Mr. Guterres said he had approached Mr. Soeharto during a dinner for the 25 leaders from Europe and East Asia.

A spokesman for Mr. Guterres said the two men had talked at their hotel for about 20 minutes, and their foreign ministers had held discussions later.

He said the proposals would be discussed by the Portuguese and Indonesian ambassadors at the UN ahead of a meeting in July of the foreign ministers - part of a long-running dialogue being sponsored by the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

ALATAS ON PORTUGUESE PROPOSAL

Bangkok, March 1 (LUSA) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, commenting on the proposal by Portuguese PM stated "I am not excluding any element to arrive at a solution, however I don't see how there can be a solution while Portugal maintains the same basic position."

Guterres had emphasized that Portugal maintains the objective of East Timor's right to self-determination. [...]

JAKARTA INTERESTED IN TIMOR OFFER

International Herald Tribune, 2-3 March 1996 Reuters, Bangkok

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas of Indonesia gave a guarded welcome Friday to Portugal's

proposals for ending the diplomatic standoff over East Timor.

Prime Minister Antonio Guterres of Portugal created a minor sensation at the inaugural Asia-Europe summit meeting here by walking up to President Suharto of Indonesia on Thursday and offering to restore diplomatic relations.

In exchange, Mr. Guterres proposed, Indonesia should free the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão and 'guarantee human rights' in the former Portuguese colony that Indonesia annexed in 1975.

Mr. Alatas, who has had fruitless talks for years with the Portuguese through the UN secretary-general's office, said Indonesia would look at the proposals and 'see in what context they were made and not brush it off the table.'

Portugal's offer to open 'interest sections' in friendly embassies in the two countries was a change of heart, Mr. Alatas said. In the past, Lisbon had 'totally rejected' the idea. But he said: 'If the quid pro quo is interest sections vis-à-vis the release of Gusmão...' He smiled and shrugged.

He confirmed that the proposals would be discussed at his next meeting with Portugal in June in Geneva. 'That's positive,' he stated.

Mr. Guterres said in an interview that it was the best opportunity for a solution since Indonesia invaded East Timor. The UN still recognises Lisbon as the administering power.

It was the first time since the invasion that high officials of the two countries had met. 'It was unexpected and unprecedented,' Mr. Alatas said.

Mr. Guterres said at a news conference Friday that Mr. Suharto had told him Mr. Alatas had been instructed to pursue the proposal. 'At least, it was not rejected,' he said.

Mr. Guterres said Portugal wanted an 'act of self-determination' as part of a settlement. Mr. Alatas said that if Portugal meant a plebiscite on the annexation, 'nothing much has changed.'

[According to Jakarta Post, 28 February, Ali Alatas, speaking just before Suharto's departure for Bangkok said the President had lined up bilateral meetings with some European leaders, but the Portuguese leader was not among them.]

PRESIDENT: NOT ONLY XANANA GUSMÃO

His followers could be released too

Jakarta, Kompas Online, March 15

President Soeharto said that not only Xanana Gusmão could be released but also

his followers if Fretilin members were prepared to come down from the hills of East Timor and surrender themselves. If this happened, the President maintained, Indonesia-Portugal diplomatic relations could be restored.

The President's message was conveyed by ambassador-at-large Lopes da Cruz at the President's residence in Jakarta on Thursday (14/3). Lopez da Cruz had relayed the results of the All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialog in Austria (16-22 March 1996) to the President.

In follow-up to President Soeharto's meeting with Prime Minister Guterres, more concrete steps had also been taken to establish an Indonesian Chamber of Commerce in Portugal and a Portuguese Chamber of Commerce in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, in relation to the release of Xanana, the President said that this could happen but it should not be restricted to just Xanana and must be supported by separatist groups in the jungle. Other should come out from the jungles and surrender. This means diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia could be restored. But if Xanana is released while there are still others in the jungles then this means that the problem is ongoing, quoted Lopez da Cruz.

The release of Xanana was mentioned during the unscheduled talks between Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres and President Soeharto during the Asia Europe Meeting in Bangkok. In the meeting Prime Minister Guterres said because of Portugal's concerns in the region, he requested the release of Xanana and his followers and an improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor.

Lopes said under the Constitution, Indonesia is obliged to uphold human rights. The President stressed, that the East Timor issue has been handed over to the foreign affairs ministries in both countries and discussed in a dialog among the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister, the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister and the United Nations Secretary General. Seven dialogs have already been held. The eighth is due to be held in June 1996 in Geneva.

Lopes said in the upcoming All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialog Uskup Belo would not be involved because of his Easter obligations.

SUHARTO WOULD RELEASE XANANA IN EXCHANGE FOR GUERRILLA SURRENDER

Publico, 19 March 1996. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Through his ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, Suharto has put forward a

proposal: he would release Xanana in exchange for the surrender of the armed resistance. In the view of the Portuguese Government, "there is no new element in this," and it is not even a counter-proposal. The Intra-Timorese meeting starts today in Austria.

Xanana Gusmão could be released if the Timorese guerrillas, who have been fighting against Indonesia's occupation of the territory, were to decide to surrender to the Jakarta authorities. However, this position, made public in the Indonesian capital by Lopes da Cruz before he set off for Austria to take part in the second Intra-Timorese meeting, did not cause much of a stir at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry. A Foreign Ministry source told *Publico* that "on the diplomatic level, there is no new element in this."

The condition imposed by Suharto on the release of Xanana, who is now serving a 20-year prison sentence in the Javanese prison of Cipinang, has emerged three weeks after an important meeting between the Indonesian President and the Portuguese Prime Minister. During that meeting ... in Bangkok, Guterres expressed willingness to consider closer bilateral relations (long awaited by Indonesia), if, among other conditions, the Timorese Resistance leader were to be released.

Indonesia's new position seems to have been meant, therefore, as a counter-proposal, but the Portuguese Foreign Ministry does not consider it as such. In Bangkok, Suharto said his reply would be transmitted later by his chief diplomat, i.e. wait for Minister Ali Alatas' reply (to the Guterres proposal). Indonesia's recognition that the Timorese guerrilla exists and is still active would seem the only relevant element.

The matter will undoubtedly be discussed by the 30 Timorese of various political tendencies who will be meeting for four days in the castle of Burg Schlaining. However, before the meeting started, Representatives of the Resistance overseas tried to dismiss the idea of any surrender. José Luis Guterres and Mari Alkatiri, of Fretilin, and UDT's João Carrascalão, made it abundantly clear ... that putting down weapons was totally out of the question.

(...) Jakarta's ban on all discussion of the territory's political status was largely ignored by the participants at the previous Intra-Timorese meeting, which even went as far as unanimously passing a document which referred to the "inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence" (UN resolution 30/37).

Jakarta quickly orchestrated a U-turn on the part of the delegation from Timor, whose leader, Lopes da Cruz, eventually reneged on some of the conclusions he had

supported in Burg Schlaining. Nevertheless, a precedent had been created, thanks mainly to the efforts of Ramos Horta (who will be attending the meeting which starts today, even though at one stage he offered his place at the table to a Timorese priest in order to reinforce the representation of the delegation from within Timor).

INTRA-TIMORESE DIALOGUE IN AUSTRIA

HORTA'S PLACE MIGHT BE TAKEN BY PRIEST FROM TIMOR

Second intra-Timorese meeting on 19-22 March

Publico, 22 February 1996 Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Ramos Horta might not be going to Austria late in March for the second intra-Timorese meeting. This key Resistance figure outside of Timor has admitted that he might give his place at the talks to a Timorese priest.

Horta, who emerged from the first edition of the intra-Timorese meetings as natural leader of the Timorese living in exile, is prepared to step down if Jakarta agrees to the inclusion in the delegation coming from within the territory, of a Catholic or Protestant priest who is "genuinely representative." (...) As likely candidates, Ramos Horta mentioned the name of Reverend Arlindo Marcal, head of the Protestant Church in East Timor, and two Catholic priests - Domingos Soares and Mario Belo.

The proposal has already been put to the UN which is sponsoring the meeting. First impressions from the UN are said to have been less than enthusiastic. According to Ramos Horta, there are fears in New York that Jakarta might take the opportunity to make other changes to the composition of the delegation from East Timor, getting rid of some personalities who turned out to be surprisingly critical of Jakarta at the first meeting. Such was the case of "liurai" (traditional chief) Guilherme Gonçalves ...

The intra-Timorese meetings are forums in which the voice of all political tendencies from the territory may be heard. (...) Jakarta only agreed to the UN sponsored initiative on condition that there would be no discussion of East Timor's political status. This formal taboo was largely ignored at the first meeting, at which the main protagonist was the territory's Catholic Bishop, Monsignor Ximenes Belo. The Apostolic Administrator

has already announced he will not be present at the second meeting.

BISHOP BELO, VATICAN, AND AUSTRIA

Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), 7 March 1996.

The Vatican has been asked to reconsider its decision to stop the bishop of East Timor, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, from attending the second UN-sponsored intra-Timorese dialogue, scheduled to be held in Austria in March. Belo played a key moderating role in the first meeting last year. Dis-mayed Timorese say they believe the instruction was made on the advice of the Holy See's apostolic pro-nuncio, Monsignor Pietro Sambì, because of last year's backlash against the predominantly Catholic Timorese for assaulting Muslim settlers.

ALL INCLUSIVE EAST TIMORESE DIALOGUE II TO BE HELD IN AUSTRIA

Dili, 3/12 (ANTARA) - It is confirmed that 15 Indonesian participants will take part in the All Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue (AETD) II which will be held in Schlaining, Austria, March 19-22, 1996.

One of the AETD participants from Indonesia, Florentino Sarmiento, explained to ANTARA in Dili, Tuesday, that the Indonesian participants in the second round of AETD as planned before are 16 persons.

"But one of the participants, Dili Bishop Mgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo, withdrew, and until now there has not been any replacement, so for the meantime only 15 will go to the dialogue," he said.

When asked who the replacement is, Sarmiento, who is also Head of ETADep, one of the non-governmental organizations in East Timor, said that there is a big possibility that it will be Diocese Vicar General Mgr. José Antonio da Costa, but that is also uncertain yet.

Responding to what is expected from the coming AETD II, Sarmiento said that at least they will have a better progress than the first AETD.

"Because the AETD is not the same as the tripartite meeting (between Indonesia, Portugal and UN Secretary General), even though both are initiated by the United Nations. So from the meeting, it is expected to provide some possible solution to problems relating to the East Timor issue in the international world," he added.

It is mentioned that the AETD is actually no more than a dialogue between members of East Timor society and those who are

abroad, without discussing any political matter.

Asked what if the dialogue is dragged into discussing political matters Sarmiento said that it is impossible because there is already a rule which has been agreed to by both parties.

Da Costa, who will replace Belo in the AETD II, said that his participation depends on the UN approval.

"I am willing to participate in the AETD in order to replace Belo if there is an approval from the UN, but until now there has not been any official letter sent to me," he said.

The AETD II participants from Indonesia are among others, Abilio José Osorio Soares, Francisco Lopez da Cruz, Salvador Januario Ximenes, Domingos MD Soares, Armindo Soares Mariano, Florentino Sarmiento and J. Piedade.

SOEHARTO ASKS EAST TIMORESE ABROAD TO THINK REALISTICALLY

Indonesia Media Network, 15 Mar 96

Jakarta (3/14) President Soeharto asked the East Timorese who live abroad to think realistically, objectively, pragmatically and with clear mind, as well as not caring only for their own interest.

Those who will participate in the All Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue (AETD) in Austria on March 19-22, said Ambassador-at-large for the special duty Lopes da Cruz, also asked by the President to think about the interest of the future generations.

"That is something to be taken into serious attention," said da Cruz after meeting the President at his residence in Jalan Cendana yesterday. To the President, da Cruz reported his plan to attend the AETD II.

Besides himself, the Indonesian delegation consists of 15 persons; East Timor Governor Abilio Carrascalão, Representative Salvador Ximenez, Human Rights Commission member Clementino dos Reis Amaral, who will come on their private capacity. While Bishop Belo because of the Easter preparation will not come and will be replaced by Mgr. José Anthony da Costa.

The coming AETD meeting according to da Cruz, will put the emphasis on economic and social cultural issues in order to create a conducive atmosphere and for the success of the tripartite dialogue (between Indonesia, Portugal, and the UN Secretary General). The dialogue will also be used to invite East Timorese who live abroad to come home and build the economy of East Timor.

About the participation of East Timorese who are now foreign nationals in the development of East Timor, the President said

that there is no problem. Indonesia already has a law on foreign investment. That way, they can participate in it without having any problem.

To da Cruz, the President also mentioned about his meeting with Portuguese Prime Minister during the Asian-European Summit Conference (ASEM) in Bangkok a while ago. According to the President, during the sudden meeting the East Timor referendum issue was not brought up. In the meeting that only took for about 10 minutes, Guterres only put forward the human rights issue and Portugal's request on the release of Xanana Gusmão.

Regarding Guterres' request to release Xanana, the President according to da Cruz did not answer directly. The President only said that it would be better if Xanana's followers come down from the mountains. If they do so, then there would be no more problem. About the release of Xanana, the President said that it can be discussed in the foreign ministerial level.

The implementation of human rights which was questioned by Guterres was answered by the President. Indonesia is also concerned about human rights violations, but that does not mean that Indonesia ignores the problem because in the constitution, human rights is deemed highly by Indonesia.

The follow up of the meeting between the President and Portuguese Prime Minister takes form among others by opening a Chamber of Commerce organization relationship of the two countries. From that concrete step, it is expected that the Portugal Chamber of Commerce opens a representative in Indonesia and vice versa.

Portugal TV

Asked about the presence of Portugal TV broadcasting which can be monitored through the satellite antenna in East Timor, da Cruz said that we do not need to be concerned. East Timorese who still understand the Portuguese language are only 1 % of the total population now.

According to da Cruz, the broadcasting of Portugal TV program is actually harming Portugal itself. Besides, technically, if East Timorese want to watch the Portugal TV, they have to change the position of their satellite antenna. "Generally the people in East Timor prefer Indonesian TV program because it is nice. The Portugal TV only have footballs," said da Cruz.

ALL-INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE ON EAST TIMOR TO CONTINUE IN AUSTRIA, 19-22 MARCH

UN Press Release, 18 March. SG/SM/5926

The following statement was issued today by the Spokesman for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali:

A meeting of the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue will be held at Burg Schlaining in Austria from 19 to 22 March 1996. The meeting, the second of its kind, was agreed upon by the Secretary-General and the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal at their last round of talks on the question of East Timor, held in London on 16 January. The first meeting took place from 2 to 5 June 1995, also at Burg Schlaining. As on the previous occasion, the Secretary-General was asked to facilitate the follow-up meeting, which will be attended by a United Nations observer. Thirty East Timorese of all political opinions will take part in the meeting in their personal capacities.

The meeting does not represent a parallel negotiating track and will not address the political status of East Timor. It is a forum for continuing the free and informal exchange of views to explore ideas of a practical nature that might have a positive impact on the situation in East Timor and assist in the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor.

DAILY PRESS BRIEFING OF OFFICE OF SPOKESMAN FOR SECRETARY- GENERAL

18 March 1996 [Excerpts]

Sylvana Foa, Spokesman for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, began today's noon briefing by saying that the Secretary-General spoke by phone this morning with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz. They discussed the status of the talks on Security Council resolution 986 (1995) – the oil-for-food talks.

She said that the second round of intra-East Timorese talks would be held in Burg Schlaining, Austria, from tomorrow until 22 March. (See Press Release SG/SM/5926 issued today.) The talks were not political talks, but were people-to-people talks, private groups and parties trying to find a solution to the situation in East Timor. There would be a United Nations observer taking part. "We expect about 30 East Timorese from all political walks of life to be attending and seeing if they can hammer out a solution."

SECOND ALL INCLUSIVE EAST TIMORESE DIALOGUE WITHOUT BISHOP BELO

Indonesia Media Network, 19 Mar 96

Vienna, 3/18 (ANTARA) - The second dialogue of East Timorese that reside in East Timor and outside Indonesia which was held in Burg Schlaining, Austria, on March 19-22, 1996 will not be attended by the Dili Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. "Bishop Belo has appointed his representative to attend," said an unnamed source in Vienna, Monday.

He said that the Second All-Inclusive East Timorese Dialog (AETD), being held in a mountainous town which can be reached two hours by land transport, will be attended by 30 participants.

The Indonesian delegates in the meeting which is acknowledged by the United Nations, include Ambassador Lopes da Cruz and the East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares, while the foreign delegates include José Guterres and João Carrascalão.

The Second AETD, like the first one held June 1-5, 1995, has no intentions of discussing the political status of East Timor, because this matter has been included in the Tripartite meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Portugal, and the UN Secretary General which has been carried out for seven times.

The AETD Forum, like the first meeting as recognized by the UN, who is attending as a "facilitator," is aimed at searching for various inputs in the effort to resolve matters concerning East Timor.

The First AETD Meeting brought forth an agreement of the need to preserve the East Timorese Culture, the improvement of the quality of Human rights, and the decrease in the number of the military in East Timor.

East Timor, which was under Portugal colonization for 450 years, on July 17, 1976 integrated with Indonesia, as a realization of the statement of the majority in the "Balibo Declaration." However, Portugal is still questioning the status of East Timor in various international fora.

In the Seventh Tripartite Meeting in London, on January 16, it was agreed that the next meeting will be held in Geneva, Swiss on June 29, 1996.

In the effort to find a solution to the differences which are still evident from the tripartite meeting, it was agreed to search for inputs from the East Timorese themselves, both living inside and outside Indonesia, in order to find the solution of the East Timor problem that can be accepted internationally.

The presence of Bishop Belo at the First AETD, according to several participants of the dialogue, has enlightened the atmosphere, especially after he leads the mass, even though before that there were a few rifts concerning the drafting of the final communiqué.

INTRA-TIMORESE MEETING STARTS TODAY IN AUSTRIA

Diario de Noticias, 19 March 1996. By Abel Coelho de Moraes. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Burg Schlaining, Austria – According to a member of the UN's Asia-Pacific Division, the agenda for the second intra-Timorese meeting 'is open, although the participants will probably try to raise again some of the issues discussed last year.' The UN official went on to say that "some such issues are mentioned in the final declaration, while others are included in the appendix which was not published." However, the agenda was being "left entirely to the participants," who, said the source, may wish to introduce new subjects or broaden others.

The UN diplomat was reserved in his comments on the possible outcome of the meeting, which is to go on until Friday: "its success, or otherwise, depends on them alone." Asked about the continuation of these intra-Timorese meetings, possibly in a different form given that several participants disagree with the present format of the meetings and their practical reach, the UN official clarified that before any changes could be made "in the format and group of participants" there would have to be "prior agreement between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, who would then discuss their decision with the Organisation's Secretary General."

The UN official also pointed out that the participants were taking part in their individual capacities and only at the end of the next meeting between Jaime Gama and Ali Alatas would it be known whether a further meetings would be scheduled and, if so, in which format. (...)

Better Representation

Many of those taking part in the Schlaining meeting are sceptical. There are those who would like to see changes to those invited. João Carrascalão, for example, suggested names that "would be more representative of all the Timorese." He was also in favour of "Protestants, UDT members remaining in Timor, university students, and women" being better represented. In his view, the format and composition of the delegations ought to change: there are participants who "arrive dumb and leave silent," both from within Timor and from the

“exterior.” The UDT leader also said that he thought the interest of the Schlaining meeting depended on whether “political issues” would eventually be discussed: “Talk about trade is only of interest to a limited group of participants.”

Another reason given for the scepticism among many of the Schlaining participants was the absence of the Bishop of Dili, Monsignor Ximenes Belo, even though he has sent the meeting a personal message via Father Antonio Costa.

According to José Luis Guterres, one of the Resistance representatives and the leader of the Fretilin overseas delegation, “these meetings could be nearing an end” because the people involved were “not representative” and because “none of the decisions reached were implemented.”

Abilio Araujo, one of the organisers of the “reconciliation meetings,” was still hopeful: “We are going to go through the working document appended to the final declaration and extract points on which there is consensus: the cultural identity of the Timorese, respect for human rights.” At least, a declaration similar to that of 1995 would be possible, he concluded.

João Carrascalão contested the scope of both the final declaration and the working document. In his view, they refer merely to “secondary issues” and, anyway, “they were not going to be taken seriously by the Indonesians.” Carrascalão said he was in Schlaining to hear what had “changed in Timor as a result of the previous meeting.” The UDT Chairman said he was certain that nothing at all had changed. (...) In his view, last year’s meeting only served to “clarify the origins and significance of the so-called Balibo Document,” which was used as a pretext for Indonesia’s intervention in December 1975.

Unlike Carrascalão, Lopes da Cruz agreed with Araujo’s view. “It is possible to agree on specific measures on the socio-cultural and economic topics. There is a wide variety of issues which we can discuss” and the results of that discussion could then be put into practice. He pointed out, however, that the “scope for action in the intra-Timorese meeting” of those coming from Jakarta and Timor was “very limited.” He believed that the success or failure of a meeting of this type essentially depended on the “affirmations made.” Lopes da Cruz gave an example taken from the previous meeting. “How can you demand a reduction in the number of Indonesian battalions in Timor while, at the same time, saying that the armed resistance must be given support?” On that point, the view of President Suharto’s adviser was seconded by Abilio Araujo: “If we want demilitarisation, giving up the armed struggle is a pre-condition.”

“Release Xanana”

Xanana Gusmão is bound to be one of the central points of the Schlaining meeting. Lopes da Cruz did not wish to go into detail: “We are prepared to clarify further,” but it is known that Suharto has already given the go-ahead to the Foreign Ministers “to discuss the matter.”

Abilio Sereno, of the Fretilin Committee in Portugal, is of the opinion that the proposal put forward in Bangkok by (Portuguese Prime Minister) Antonio Guterres for the release of all political prisoners, including Xanana, ought to be discussed. “The essential factor for us is the release of Xanana, although things ought to be done in such a way as to avoid irritating Indonesia.” (...)

A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR MOST WANTED

Dili, 3/19 (ANTARA) - One of the participants of the informal meeting of the All Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue (AETD) has an opinion that the essence of this type of dialogue is how to approach a better future of the people of East Timor.

“What is longed for is how the future of the people of the East Timor can be steered toward a better direction,” said Domingos MD Soares, – one of the participants of the Second AETD – in Dili last week before he left for Burg Schlaining, Austria.

He expressed, in an interview with ANTARA, what he hopes of the AETD for the people of East Timor.

The Second AETD held in Burg Schlaining, Austria is scheduled to be held from March 19 to 22. Reports from Burg Schlaining mentioned the meeting has started, with 30 participants minus Bishop Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo who is being represented by the Vicar General Reverend José Antonio da Costa.

According to him, realization of a better future for East Timor province requires the participation of all East Timorese in the province.

The implementation, said the alumni of the Law Faculty at Airlangga University in Surabaya, is coordination and making use of every opportunity and working toward a better future.

Answering questions of whether those matters will be brought forth by the East Timorese who are attending the Second AETD, according to Soares, at least those are the facts being put forward, informed and given directly by the people whom he called are “acting here” (East Timor-ed) to those who do not know the situation.

“And I think this will bring about a huge impact for them (overseas East Timorese-ed) because we are not deceiving the people. That, I think is the most significant content of the meeting,” he stressed.

Commenting on whether it is on that basis that he is confident that the Second AETD will bring about more substantial results so as to accelerate the process of resolving the East Timorese issue in an international forum, Soares hopes that there will be a form of trust among East Timorese in Indonesia and those living abroad by bringing forth facts and information on what has been done in the area without any deceptions.

“I am confident that the result of what we’ve been doing here (East Timor-ed) can support our effort in gaining trust from each other,” he said.

UN Secretary General

The Second AETD, like the first, will still be attended by 30 people, that is 16 East Timorese from Indonesia and 14 others living abroad. The composition was determined by the Secretary General of the UN who suggested the meeting.

ANTARA record showed that the participants of the second AETD from Indonesia include the Special Ambassador FX Lopez da Cruz, East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares, Speaker of the Regional House of Representatives Antonio Freitas Parada, Representatives Salvador Januario Ximenes, member of the National Commission of Human Rights Clementino dos Reis Amaral, and Head of the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association (PPIP) who is also former first President of Fretilin who later recognized the integration Francisco Xavier do Amaral.

While the East Timorese abroad participating include José Ramos Horta, João Carrascalão, Mari Alkatiri, José Luis Guterres, Constâncio Pinto, and Abilio Sereno.

TWO HOT ISSUES COMMENCE INTRA-TIMORESE MEETING

The Liurai (traditional Timorese ruler) who stayed at home and the resolution.

Publico, 20 March 1996. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Abridged, Translated from Portuguese

The absence of Liurai Guilherme Gonçalves and the controversial reference to a UN resolution in the conclusions of the previous meeting dominated the kick off of the second edition of the broadened intra-Timorese dialogue, which commenced yesterday in the Austrian castle of Burg Schlaining. (...)

Ramos Horta, the most prominent member of the group of Timorese living outside the territory, demanded an explanation from Jakarta for the absence of Guilherme Gonçalves, the old Liurai who, at the 1995 meeting, took the Indonesian authorities by surprise by speaking out in favour of the Timorese people's right to independence.

Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's ambassador and leader of the delegation from within Timor, expressed his intention to review the point in the Conclusions of last year's meeting which mentions Resolution 30/37, adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1982, whose preamble refers to "the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence." (...) Less than 24 hours after adhering to the Conclusions of the first meeting held last June, Lopes da Cruz issued a note in which he reneged the first point containing the reference to the UN resolution. He alleged it had been introduced by Ramos Horta who, he said, had insisted on including the reference without clarifying the resolution's exact content.

Yesterday he used the same argument, and said he was determined to "put everything on clean plates," i.e. to review the Conclusions of last year, and eliminate the controversial reference to Resolution 37/30. (...)

...Referring to the absence of the Liurai from Atsabe, Ramos Horta did not mince words and spoke of the "pressure" brought to bear by Indonesia. Lopes da Cruz defensively said he was unaware of the reasons for the absence, and gave assurances that Guilherme Gonçalves did receive an airline ticket to travel to Austria.

Contacted by LUSA in Jakarta, the Liurai gave his version of events. He confirmed that he had received a plane ticket, but said it had only arrived twelve hours before the time of departure. Since he had no passport, he said it had been impossible to organise the trip. Unable to make it to Austria, Guilherme Gonçalves sent a message to the meeting, which Ramos Horta will read out in Schlaining.

The meeting will continue until Friday, when (Portuguese) Foreign Minister Jaime Game will be going to Austria to join up with the two delegations.

STALEMATE AT INTRA-TIMORESE MEETING

Diario de Noticias, 21 March 1996. By Abel Coelho Morais. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Burg Schlaining – Lopes da Cruz insists on altering the final declaration of last year's intra-Timorese meeting. The delegation from

overseas is prepared to go some way towards accommodating him but refuses to re-write 1995's Conclusions.

(...)

Before President Suharto's roving ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, will agree to preparation of a final Statement by the meeting currently underway, he wants to see part of last year's Statement revised. The revision in question concerns Paragraph 6 which establishes the intra-Timorese talks on the basis of UN Resolution 37/30, that embodies the right of peoples to self-determination. (...) Lopes da Cruz told journalists he was hoping that the other delegation would be "understanding." (...)

The delegation from outside Timor believed it was vital to reach an agreement on the matter and, above all, to prevent the intra-Timorese dialogue from collapsing. They were, therefore, willing to agree to the suspension of the meeting until after the next round of ministerial negotiations in Geneva (at which the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers could decide on the exact basis of the meetings), or until the UN Secretary General (in consultation with the two Foreign Ministers) had clarified what is to be the legal-diplomatic framework for the intra-Timorese meetings.

In the view of Ramos Horta, it was important to realise that "the collapse of the intra-Timorese dialogue would serve Indonesia's interests." (...)

João Carrascalão thought that "if there is no trust, it is not worth continuing," adding that "If they were not aware of the content of 37/30, then they should say so!"

(...) There was a strong belief among some members of the delegation of Timorese in exile that the intention of some participants from within Timor was clearly to put a stop to the talks process. (...)

In spite of the atmosphere, a report on human rights in East Timor by Clementino Reis do Amaral, member of the Indonesian human rights commission, was presented and discussed (...) and created further tension in the meeting room. Following this debate, the delegation from the interior announced that the Human Rights Commission's office in Dili, open since January, would be run by an Indonesian and that it was out of the question that a Timorese might be in charge of it. The justification given was that all Timorese able to do so were linked to the Indonesian state in one way or another (either through their jobs as civil servants or teachers), which would, therefore, put them in a very vulnerable position. The resistance did not accept this argument.

INTRA-EAST TIMORESE DIALOGUE ADOPTS DECLARATION; CALLS FOR CONTINUING TALKS

UN Release SG/2021, 22 March 1996

STADT SCHLAINING, Austria, 22 March (UN Information Service) – Concluding an all inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue at Schlaining castle, Austria, today, 29 East Timorese, representing a broad cross-section of political opinion from inside and outside the Territory, called for a continuation of the discussion, which was initiated by the Secretary-General in connection with his efforts to resolve the question of East Timor.

In a signed declaration, participants noted the "positive atmosphere" that had prevailed during the dialogue and expressed interest and readiness to continue the sessions in the same framework in order to consider practical measures conducive to settling the question of East Timor.

Adopted by consensus, the declaration expresses interest in the establishment of an East Timorese cultural centre in Dili to research the culture, language, customs and tradition of the Territory. It welcomes Portugal's support for East Timor University as well as practical training for East Timorese youth and proposes that Indonesia provide further opportunities for East Timorese to have a greater role in the administration of the Territory.

The 1996 "Burg Schlaining Declaration" pays special tribute to the "invaluable role" of the Catholic Church in East Timor and its positive cooperation with other religions.

Facilitated by the United Nations, the intra-East Timorese dialogue served to explore practical ideas that could have a positive impact on the situation in East Timor and assist in creating a conducive atmosphere for a solution of that question. The Government of Austria provided meeting facilities and accommodation for all participants. A number of other governments also extended financial support to this initiative.

BURG SCHLAINING DECLARATION, 1996

Via the UN, March 30

Guided by the terms of reference of the meeting as contained in paragraph 3 of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the fifth round of Ministerial talks in Geneva on 9 January 1995, the All Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue on March 19-22, 1996, herewith 1996 AIETD in Burg Schlaining, Austria,

Expressing their gratitude to the Secretary General and his staff for facilitating the All Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue in Burg Schlaining,

Expressing their appreciation and thanking the generous hospitality of the Austrian Federal Government in welcoming the participants for the second time,

Taking into consideration the Note to the Burg Schlaining Declaration of June 5, 1995 as contained in the Note of 6 June 1995 submitted by the participants from inside East Timor.

Recognizing the efforts of various East Timorese personalities who made possible the realization of 1995 AIETD.

Deeply conscious (sic) of the invaluable role of the Catholic Church in East Timor and commending its positive cooperation with other religions,

Taking note of all contributions by the participants of this meeting,

Bearing in mind the positive atmosphere that prevailed during the course of the 1996 AIETD.

The participants

1. Emphasize the importance of the presence of Mgr. José Antonio da Costa, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Dili, as personal representative of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB, Apostolic Administrator of Dili;
2. Again affirm the importance of ongoing negotiations between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the UN Secretary General with a view to finding a just, comprehensive, and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor;
3. Express their interest and readiness in continuing the AIETD, should it be requested by the UN Secretary General in the same framework in which this one was undertaken with a view to continuing the debate on the concrete and practical issues conducive to the confidence building measures aiming at helping the resolution of the question of East Timor;
4. Express their interest to the Governments of Indonesia and Portugal in the establishment of an East Timorese Cultural Center in Dili with the aim of undertaking research on the culture, such as language (including Tetum and Portuguese), customs and traditions of the East Timorese;
5. Welcome assistance from Portugal to help East Timor's human resources development by concrete measures, such as financial and technical support for East Timor University and practical training for youth in all areas of relevance to the needs of East Timorese people;

6. Encouraged by the substantial role of the East Timorese in the administration and development of East Timor, propose to the Indonesian government the provision of further opportunities for East Timorese to have a greater role in the administration of the territory as well as economic policy, trade and investment activities. The promotion of local small industries, such as handicraft and textile should deserve special attention;

7. Reaffirm the need to implement the necessary measures in the field of human rights in various areas, including the protection of women with a view to promoting peace, stability, justice and social harmony.

Burg Schlaining, March 22, 1996

Signatures: [not included]

AETD ENDS WITH SEVEN-POINT DECLARATION

Jakarta, 3/22 (ANTARA) - The Second All-Inclusive East Timor Dialogue (AETD) in Burg Schlaining, Austria, ended after producing a seven-points declaration. It was read jointly by Indonesian Ambassador at-large Lopez da Cruz and Ines de Almeida (Fretilin Australia), Friday, 11.30 AM local time.

The declaration among others asserts the need to establish an East Timor Cultural Center in Dili, whose function includes research on Tetum and Portuguese culture, as well as other East Timor tradition.

The meeting also agreed to prepare the next AETD, if the UN Secretary General considers that it is still needed to achieve comprehensive solution to the East Timor problem.

The Declaration also stressed the importance of the negotiation between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the good offices of the UN Secretary General in order to find the just, comprehensive, and internationally acceptable solution.

The Second AETD was held for two days, March 19-20.

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT COMMITS \$20,000 TO TIMOR

CANBERRA, March 22 AAP - The Australian government today committed \$US20,000 (\$A25,784) towards internationally sponsored informal talks on the future of East Timor in a sign of its commitment to a resolution of the issue, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer said.

Australia was committed to supporting the All Inclusive Intra-East Timorese dialogue, the second round of which was being held in Austria now, Mr. Downer said.

The funds would help participants meet travel costs.

"Although these talks are distinct from the dialogue between Indonesia and Portuguese foreign ministers being held under United Nations' auspices, they may provide an avenue through which the various East Timorese groups can begin to resolve their differences," Mr. Downer said in a statement.

"The Australian government supports any international effort to resolve the situation on East Timor in a way that is acceptable to all parties involved and hopes that the Intra-Timorese talks will assist the overall resolution of the East Timor problem."

JAPANESE FUNDS FOR INTRA-TIMORESE DIALOGUE

From Jean Inglis, April 4

On March 28 the Japanese Foreign Ministry announced that it was contributing \$100,000 to support the all-inclusive East Timorese dialogues.

The announcement said that "The Japanese Government, which supports the mediating efforts of the UN secretary general, hopes that a peaceful solution to the East Timor issue will be achieved through dialogue among the parties concerned on the basis of those mediating efforts, and hopes that this allocation of funds will contribute to efforts by the parties concerned toward a solution of the East Timor issue."

Though not mentioned in the announcement, it is known that both the Diet Members' Forum on East Timor and UN senior official Yasushi Akashi have requested the Foreign Ministry to financially support the intra-Timorese dialogues.

XIMENES BELO KEPT FROM MEETING FOLLOWING PRESSURE ON VATICAN

Expresso, 23 March 1996. By Mario Robalo. Abridged, Translated from Portuguese

UN Secretary General sees Indonesian diplomatic pressure as Vatican gross interference.

Schlaining, Austria – Boutros Ghali is going to ask the Indonesian Government for an explanation for the absence of the Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, at the intra-Timorese meeting which ended yesterday in Schlaining, Austria. A UN diplomatic source told *Expresso* that "the pressure brought to bear by Indonesia on the Vatican to prevent the Bishop's attendance" was considered by the UN Secretary General to be gross interference.

The matter will certainly be raised when Boutros Ghali meets Ali Alatas and Jaime Gama on 29 June. The same source revealed that "each Timorese attends these meetings in his individual capacity." The UN is aware, however, that "the Jakarta Government's behaviour is due to the fact that Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo is a father figure to the Timorese and that his presence at the meeting would guarantee a broad consensus being reached, as happened at last June's meeting." With regard to the business of the Luirai (traditional leader) Guilherme Gonçalves - also stopped from taking part in the intra-Timorese meeting - Boutros Ghali is apparently prepared to raise the matter for discussion.

When Ramos Horta, Xanana Gusmão's personal representative, revealed yesterday that "some important issues" had not been included in the Schlaining declaration, signed by the 29 participants, it was immediately understood that the meeting had not ended in the same festive spirit as last year's meeting. (...)

Sensitive issues

The inclusion of subjects which are sensitive for Jakarta was systematically blocked by the delegation led by Francisco Lopes da Cruz. The ambassador for Timor Affairs, appointed by Jakarta, even managed to prevent reference in the meeting's final text to the release of political prisoners and to demilitarisation of the territory. Furthermore, ideas put forward by the pro-independence sector - such as a commission composed of some of the participants at the meeting to visit the occupied territory, and the opening in Dili of a Pax Christi (Catholic Church human rights organisation) delegation - were rejected out of hand by the integrationist camp.

From the very first day, Lopes da Cruz was inflexible on the matter of the reference, in the final text of the last meeting, to UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30, which recognises "the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence" and reaffirms Portugal's "administering power" capacity. The pro-Indonesia delegation even went as far as to draw up a separate document rejecting the reference to the Resolution, arguing that its members had been tricked by Ramos Horta. Conflict between the participants subsequently spread, but the Timorese from Dili managed to get reference to the incident included in the final declaration.

The pro-independence sector's demands did not prevail, however, and it was also faced with some internal differences of opinion. Zacarias Costa, UDT's representative at the EC, João Carrascalão, party leader, Mari Alkatiri, who heads Fretilin external

relations, and Fathers Constâncio Gusmão and Francisco Fernandes, of the so-called "3rd way," were against the concessions being suggested by Ramos Horta and Fretilin's José Luis Guterres.

Ramos Horta conciliatory

In fact, Ramos Horta spoke of the need to reconcile positions with those of the pro-integration camp because the intra-Timorese dialogue was the only means of the Timorese having any say in the talks process between Portugal and Indonesia. However, the Resistance leader's representative rejected any possibility of consensus, affirming that "the hands of the pro-Indonesians are tied by the Jakarta authorities, who threatened them before they came over to Austria."

Only after 22 hours of debate was Ramos Horta able to secure the signature of the 29 Timorese present. Of the seven proposals put forward by the pro-independence delegations, however, only one was mentioned in the final text: a reference to the need to "implement necessary measures in the field of human rights." Even on this point, the pro-independence participants' demands were not fully met: in the final text there was no mention of the UN human rights delegation in Dili, and the dismantling of the "ninjas" (rapid attack troops who raid Timorese homes at night to make arrests). The delegation led by Lopes da Cruz would only agree to a request being made to Lisbon and Jakarta for the installation of a Timorese Cultural Centre in Dili, where "research in the area of culture could be carried out."

Lopes da Cruz the only winner

Reference is made in the final document to the need for Portugal to support youth training at the University of Timor, and there is even recognition that there are greater opportunities for Timorese to gain access to the territory's local administration, and that small industries are being promoted.

In the final press conference, Lopes da Cruz said he was "a satisfied man." "This battle has been won," he told *Expresso*.

Mari Alkatiri, on the other hand, added the words "with all reservations" under his signature. Later, the lawyer later said that it had been "the insistence of the participants" which had led him not to leave blank the space on the declaration that had been reserved for his name.

While the UDT leader stated that he felt as though he had a knife stuck into his back, Lopes da Cruz insisted on pointing out that the members of his delegation are mainly "civil servants (for the Indonesian state), and therefore people in a position to influence mechanisms for the benefit of the people." Ramos Horta said that the "conces-

sions" that had been made aimed to ensure that "the future meeting was not put in jeopardy." There are indications that the next meeting will be held in Norway next September.

THE PEOPLE OF TIMOR CANNOT TAKE ANY MORE

Expresso, 23 March 1996. By Rosa Pedroso Lima. Translated from Portuguese

According to Guilherme Maria Gonçalves, one of the Indonesian delegation's representatives to the Intra-Timorese Meetings, "The people of Timor cannot take any more." At the last minute, the Jakarta authorities blocked Guilherme Gonçalves' attendance at the meeting. He had been intending to speak out in the same way as he had done at last year's meeting, and demand self-determination for the territory. Indonesian did not like his previous intervention and so interfered with his travel arrangements for to Austria. According to the what Gonçalves reported to *Expresso*, Indonesia "sent military reinforcements to Timor and ordered a series of arrests to be made."

77-year-old Guilherme Gonçalves was the first Governor of Timor, appointed by the Indonesians. Twenty years later, his name surfaced again when he was chosen last year by the Suharto Government to be a representative of Indonesia at the first Intra-Timorese meeting. However, his statements at the meeting must have come as a real spanner in the works for Indonesia: he asked for "a single voice: independence in East Timor" and ended his intervention with shouts of "long live free Timor!"

When he got back to Jakarta, the former Governor was "interrogated by three members of the secret police." He told *Expresso* that, in the end, he said to them: "If they did not like it, they could arrest or even kill me, but that I would not go back on what I had said."

Guilherme Gonçalves had been preparing for the second meeting in Austria for a long time. "I intended to speak my mind again," he explained to *Expresso*, and "to denounce the atrocities and the killings" that, he said, continued to occur in the territory under Indonesian occupation. The Jakarta Government, however, put an end to his plans, delivering his airline ticket only the day before the flight "when it was then impossible to go," and his passport was kept confiscated until the meeting in Austria had ended.

He explained the reasons for his absence in a letter addressed to the UN Secretary General. In the letter the former Governor directly accused roving ambassador Lopes da Cruz of having blocked his departure in

order to prevent any possible recurrence of statements which "would be unpopular with many people."

With regards the situation in East Timor, Guilherme Gonçalves said that, in spite of all the international efforts, "the people are still suffering in all kinds of ways, and are oppressed, hated, harassed, and have to live with the killings and incredible abuses." He listed the complaints and asked "if the UN really does have the power to settle the problem of Timor." He also put forward a series of proposals for consideration by the UN. Gonçalves is in favour of the "urgent installation of a UN human rights commission in Timor" - not in Jakarta as is currently the case - and he proposed that Xanana Gusmão and Ramos Horta be invited to participate in the negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia.

CNRM ON SECOND EAST TIMORESE TALKS

Statement issued by the National Council of Maubere Resistance, 26 March 1996

The second All Inclusive East Timorese Dialogue, conducted under the auspices of the United Nations concluded in Austria last week. The modestly successful meeting brought together a total of 14 exiled representatives of the East Timorese Resistance and 15 East Timorese living under Indonesian rule in the illegally occupied territory. Participants were invited in their personal capacities. Indigenous East Timorese leader and former 'governor' Mr. Guilherme Gonçalves was prevented from attending.

The meeting's fair level of success was achieved despite strong Indonesian government attempts to cause disruption and a break-up. The East Timorese participants, restricted by the terms of reference imposed on the UN not to talk about the legal status of the territory, were nonetheless able to discuss the current situation in the territory, and exchange views on how the hardships presently faced by the people may be resolved and future improvements be sought.

A statement signed by all the participants was produced at the end of the 4-day meeting. The statement's main points include an expression of concern at the unsatisfactory current human rights situation in the territory, with special reference to the plight of East Timorese women; a request for Portugal government support for the setting up of an East Timor Cultural Centre in Dili; and a request for Portuguese financial and technical inputs to the East Timor University to assist with human resources development and research and teaching of the Tetum and Portuguese languages.

A statement of concern at excessive levels of Indonesian military presence in the territory, and the dismantling of extrajudicial coercive institutions created by the Indonesian military was discussed at length but could not be included in the final text.

Meeting participants from both inside East Timor and in exile regretted the absence of the Head of the East Timor Church, Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo, who played an important conciliatory role at the first meeting in June 1995. The Bishop was ordered not to take part in this meeting by the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta, as a result of the Vatican yielding to strong Indonesian government pressure. Vatican officials remained unmoved by both Portuguese and UN appeals to reverse this decision, despite the recent highly positive statements by Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, Head of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission of the Vatican, who recently visited East Timor and expressed understanding and compassion for the suffering of the East Timorese people under the current oppressive situation. However, Dili Diocesan Vicar-General Father José Antonio da Costa ably represented the East Timor Church in Bishop Belo's place, earning respect from all participants for his valuable contributions to the progress of the event.

Strong intimidating pressures by Indonesia on the participants resident in East Timor was evident. Firstly, there was the absence of Mr. Guilherme Gonçalves, who had strongly spoken against Indonesian excesses in East Timor at the previous meeting, and who denounced as a fraud the so-called 'Balibo Declaration' whereby some East Timor groups allegedly asked for Indonesian intervention in East Timor in 1975. Mr. Gonçalves was a signatory to the document, which Indonesia used as a base to attempt to legitimise its occupation of East Timor. Indonesia's East Timorese ambassador, Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, consistently attempted to misrepresent the nature of the meeting, trying to speak in the name of the Indonesian East Timorese as a group, causing much uneasiness among them. Nonetheless, the meeting's atmosphere was frank and open, revealing the underlying understanding existing among most East Timorese about the need for change to the current oppressive Indonesian presence in the territory.

Most participants conducted themselves with composure throughout the long sessions, listening with consideration to the views presented with much dignity by Ms Ines Almeida, a representative of the women of East Timor. Ms Almeida stressed the special hardships faced by women under the present military occupation and the urgent need to change unacceptable situation.

Under the difficult situation, CNRM's Special Representative, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, was able to play a central conciliatory role throughout the meeting, being a key factor for its success. This was widely acknowledged in the Portuguese media accounts covering the event. It was Ramos-Horta who managed to convince some reluctant exile participants to sign the meeting's statement, despite their initial reservations about its modest language on the existing situation in the territory.

The Indonesian media, reflecting pressures by the Suharto dictatorship to play a disinformation and manipulation role on behalf of the regime, and in particular to conduct a slander campaign against Ramos-Horta, reported that he had walked out of the meeting in an attempt to precipitate its failure. This was absolutely false as neither Horta nor any other participant walked out of the meeting at any stage. The prestigious Portuguese weekly, 'Expresso,' reported that Mr. Ramos-Horta worked non-stop for close to 24 hours on the last day to ensure the general consensus that led to the meeting's unanimous adoption of the statement issued.

The East Timorese Resistance is committed to the further continuation of the All Inclusive Intra East Timorese Dialogue under UN auspices, despite the obvious limitations of the present format imposed by the Indonesian pressures on the UN.

This Dialogue is the only forum in existence so far where the East Timorese people can make a tangible contribution to the ongoing dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under UN auspices, aimed at seeking a resolution of the East Timor conflict between Indonesia and the International Community.

HORTA: "THE FUTURE OF EAST TIMOR IS VERY CLOSE"

Publico, 30 March 1996. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese

Coming from the Austrian city of Schlaining, where he took part in the second Intra-Timorese meeting, and recently arrived to Geneva, where he will be closely following the progress of the UN Human Rights Commission, Ramos Horta spoke to *Publico* about the most recent developments of the Timor dossier. The CNRM's special representative confessed that it was not easy for him to sign the Austria meeting's final declaration - which omitted reference to many of the Resistance's aspirations - but he said he was hopeful about the latest initiatives taken by the Portuguese Government.

Publico: Was it difficult for you to sign the final declaration of the Intra-Timorese meeting?

Ramos Horta: It certainly was. If I had followed my emotions and convictions, obviously I would not have signed. But, from the outset, we were aware of the limitations imposed by the UN and we were expecting the enormous pressure brought to bear by Indonesia upon the members from the interior. It was, therefore, unthinkable that there could be a repeat of the declaration of June 1995.

Publico: Wouldn't it have been preferable, from the Resistance's point of view, to have refused the terms of this declaration?

Ramos Horta: No, not at all. That would only have led to the end of the intra-Timorese dialogue, which is the only forum, under the auspices of the UN, that the Timorese have in which they can make their own contribution towards the search for a global settlement for the problem of East Timor.

Radical positions, based on our personal convictions or emotional reactions, would result in the breakdown of the dialogue - and that would be playing right into the hands of Indonesia, which sees this type of meeting as not being in its interests.

Furthermore, the dialogue is important not just because of its possible conclusions but also because it enables direct contacts to be established between the most varied political tendencies and makes possible an atmosphere of trust between us. For my part at least, this is what I have tried to do. The future of East Timor is very close and we have to be prepared for it.

Publico: It seemed, at a certain point during last week's meeting, that an invitation was going to be made to some members of the Resistance abroad to visit East Timor ...

Ramos Horta: Yes, that's true...

Publico: We see from the Conclusions that the invitation never materialised. What happened?

Ramos Horta: Some of those among the delegation from outside Timor did not look kindly on an invitation made by the (pro-Indonesia) Governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares, and the terms proposed by Lopes da Cruz (Suharto's adviser and leader of the delegation from inside Timor). According to the members of the delegation from abroad who opposed the idea, acceptance of such an invitation would imply recognition of Indonesia's administration of East Timor.

I was prepared to accept, in as far as the invitation, made in the way it was made, would have fallen within the framework of

the intra-Timorese dialogue and our visit would, therefore, have constituted one of the series of the UN Secretary General's initiatives. The impact of a visit by us would have been very positive and, for that reason, I was prepared to agree to it.

Publico: Recently, the Timor dossier seems to be "moving" a lot more. Do you agree?

Ramos Horta: Yes, definitely. There have been leaps and bounds recently with regards the Timor dossier, given the unexpected and dramatic initiatives taken by Jaime Gama, who offered to go to Indonesia to meet Xanana Gusmão, and by Antonio Guterres who, during his historic meeting with President Suharto in Bangkok, offered to open interest sections in exchange for the release of Xanana Gusmão.

Publico: How do you think Jakarta will react to that offer?

Ramos Horta: I have it from a reliable source that Jakarta trying to come up with a graceful way of responding to the two initiatives. But the Indonesian Government is restrained by the power of the military. On one side, there are Suharto and Alatas who would like to make a few, more or less serious, concessions. On the other side, however, there are the hard-liners who will not agree to any concessions.

Publico: Given that scenario, is it possible to predict what will happen in three months time in Geneva when Jaime Gama, Ali Alatas and Boutros Ghali meet for another round of talks?

Ramos Horta: It is hard to say exactly what will transpire, but there a new positive element came out of Schlaining which will be on the negotiating table in June. I'm referring to our proposal that Portugal give its backing to the creation of a Timorese cultural centre in Dili, where both Tetum and Portuguese would be taught. There is also the idea of Portugal making contributions to the University of East Timor.

These are important issues. Portugal ought to insist on them - I believe it would get the support of the UN Secretary General - and it would be difficult for Indonesia to get around the proposals. These suggestions may not seem very significant at first glance, but they will lead to some very substantial implications in the long term.

A GOOD STEP TO HAVE INDONESIAN REPORTERS IN PORTUGAL

Indonesia Media Network, 3 Apr 96

Dili, 4/2 (ANTARA) - It will be a good step if Indonesian reporters or members of

the press were to be allowed to do a coverage in Portugal.

This was said by a reporter who covered the "Second All Inclusive Intra East Timorese Dialogue" (AETD) of the East Timor Province, Aderito Hugo da Costra from the daily newspaper 'Suara Timor Timur' (Voice of East Timor), in Dili on Tuesday.

"If there are members of the press from Indonesia that can do a coverage in Portugal, I think it will be good and advanced step," he said to ANTARA when asked of the possibility of it.

In the AETD II, in Burg Schlaining, Austria a while ago, in one of the press conferences, the Portuguese Foreign Minister said that his country believes in freedom of the press, therefore, reporters from anywhere around the world can do a coverage in his country.

However, several Indonesian reporters who covered the AETD II who applied for entry visas to visit Portugal through the Portuguese Embassy in Vienna did not get a confirmation of whether or not they can enter the country.

According to him, all this while, a number of reporters from the Portuguese mass media have been allowed to do a coverage in Indonesia, including East Timor, so it is time that there is a similar step taken by Portugal in letting Indonesian reporters do the same.

Especially, in the three party meeting, he said, there was a discussion of the possibility of visits of reporters from both Indonesia and Portugal.

So far, according to information, the number of Indonesian reporters that have been to Portugal amount to only one or two, meanwhile tens of Portuguese reporters have been in Indonesia.

In the trial of the ring leader of the Security Disruption Group of East Timor, Xanana Gusmão who is currently serving time in Cipinang Prison in Jakarta, not less than ten reporters from Portugal came and covered the trial proceedings.

CATHOLIC CHURCH ACTIVITIES

THE DAILY MARTYRDOM OF THE CHURCH IN TIMOR

by Father João Caniço, SJ

Article published 4 January 1996 in "Voz Portuguesa," weekly publication of the Diocese of Oporto, Portugal. Translated by José Barros Basto.

The image that I received of Timor upon arriving and when I led the Spiritual Exer-

cises for the Clergy and talked about the media to the religious leaders (besides visiting nine missionary stations outside of Dili) is the image of a church living in a spiritual fervor of faith and hope, even in the face of lack of human respect and lack of support from the political and social structures: a true daily martyrdom, lived in the faith in God. The sole request that they make of us, but they make it insistently, is that we pray for them: "Don't forget Timor! Pray for us always!"

The Timorese people, who co-existed for several centuries with the Christian religion, never knew what were needless deaths without justice or reason. They never experienced what it was to arrest, punish, assault, rape, or violate and rob solely on mere, unfounded suspicion. On the contrary, they always observed the right to be respected, without pain of death, and always left open the possibility of a defense, even up until the last moment.

Now, having been submitted to another type of civilization for the last 20 years, they are experiencing quite a different type of existence, a tragic and anguishing one, one that repeatedly removes any possibility for dialog in this inhuman conflict. It is not surprising that, quite suddenly, the proportion of Catholics has grown from 30 percent of the population in 1973 to 93 percent of the population in 1993, each one accepting the doctrine of the Gospel and the protection of the faith in God and in Our Lady. The missionaries are seen as big brothers to whom they confide their troubles and to whom they entrust their life and their death, waiting with great respect for the benefit of their counsel.

The priesthood vocations have augmented correspondingly. The number of schools under the direction of the Church grew greatly at the elementary school level, and, in a new step, more than a dozen complete high schools were constructed. The number of missions provided with priests grew by more than a half, and more missionary posts were created, with each little village and community constructing its own local chapel – a very positive reality. Moreover, shrines to Our Lady have spread all over the territory as the result of private initiatives. In regards to this activity, the Bishop of Dili, Mgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo, affirmed with undisguised joy that "Our Lady, in many regions of Timor, is our parish priest and bishop, brought about more by the Timorese than by the Bishop and the Priests."

The Christians of Timor hope for our prayers, but they hope also for our support, as Christians, and as Portuguese still officially responsible for their destinies. They know that Portugal has unfortunately not

acted as would be desired of their duty, but, even so, they continue to hope from us, even after 20 years of martyrdom, torture, and death, some gesture that would comfort them and give them hope of a solution, whatever it might be, but one that would attend to their rights.

The future of Timor is unforeseeable. On the one hand is the acknowledged right of the Timorese to exercise their own self-determination, on the other hand is the strong bloc that opposes it (Indonesia, along with the United States and Australia). This bloc, however, continues to commit very grave strategic errors, such as, for example, the lack of respect for human rights, which has made impossible any acceptance of integration by an important part of the Timor natives. These believe absolutely that the Biblical story of David and Goliath will repeat itself, one day, in their land.

INVITATION DIDN'T COME

Report from Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Feb. 1, 1996

Aloisius Nobuo Soma, Retired Bishop of Nagoya, learned today with dismay that Bishop Belo of East Timor had sent him an invitation to attend the inauguration of the newly rebuilt Catholic seminary in Dili, an invitation which was never received.

Bishop Soma, who as President of the Japanese Catholic Council for Justice & Peace established close links with both the present Bishop of East Timor, Bishop Belo, and with his predecessor, Monsignor Lopes, had expected to receive an invitation to the inauguration on Feb. 3. When none arrived, Bishop Soma decided to call Dili.

Bishop Belo told Bishop Soma that he had sent him an invitation and looked forward to his attendance. For his part, Bishop Belo was dismayed to learn that this good friend of the East Timorese church did not get the invitation.

The former Catholic seminary in Dare was destroyed by Indonesian bombing. Bishop Soma, who has visited East Timor and seen the great need for Timorese clergy, launched a fund raising campaign in Japan for the seminary three years ago.

Bishop Soma, who is also Honorary Chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor, was prevented by Indonesian authorities from entering East Timor last November to offer prayers for the victims of the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991.

He expressed the fear that the Indonesian authorities may have intervened this time to prevent Bishop Belo's letter from reaching him.

BISHOPS' TRIP TO TIMOR DELAYED

Diario de Noticias, 1 February 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged.

The departure, scheduled to have taken place yesterday afternoon, of a small group of Portuguese who were going to attend the inauguration of the new seminary in Dili on Saturday, did not take place after all.

The group includes Janeiro Ferreira, Secretary of the Episcopal Conference, Father Afonso Heredia, representing the Jesuit Provincial, and Father Simão, Provincial of the Salesians, the Order to which Bishop Ximenes Belo also belongs. Radio Renascença's Information Director, Ramos Pinheiro, is also one of the group.

Speaking to DN, Janeiro Ferreira said that he had, in the meantime, heard that the Indonesian Embassy in Madrid had received notification from Jakarta, which authorised the entry of the Portuguese. The passports were said to have left Madrid yesterday, and were on their way back to Lisbon... The Secretary of the Episcopal Conference appeared somewhat sceptical: "Now I will only believe it when I see them."

The DN learned that, if the visas are in fact issued, it will have been a quite rapid process, as some of them were only requested a week ago.

If Jakarta authorises the trip, the group will leave today ... and should arrive in Jakarta on Friday. However, the following flight to Dili only leaves on Saturday at around 6 am. As it is not a direct flight, the Portuguese will only arrive in Dili late that morning, when the inauguration ceremony will have ended.

The delay, according to the explanation given by the Indonesian Embassy in Madrid to the agency making the travel arrangements, "was due to bureaucratic reasons."

NEW SEMINARY INAUGURATED ON SATURDAY

Diario de Noticias, 2 February 1996. Translated from Portuguese Abridged.

10,000 IN DILI

The new Dili seminary, built with financial aid from Portugal, will be opened tomorrow. In addition to the official contribution, Suharto's daughter made a personal "substantial donation." The local diocese is expecting 10,000 people to attend the inauguration.

The Apostolic Nuncio, based in Jakarta, will inaugurate the new Dili Seminary on Saturday... The DN learned that the follow-

ing celebrities will be attending the ceremony: Bishops of Melbourne, Atambua, Kupang and Flores, as well as Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo. Januario Ferreira, Secretary of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference will also be there, along with the Salesian Provincial, the Jesuit Deputy Provincial, and the Director of Information of Radio Renascenca, representing the radio station which organised a fund-raising campaign for the construction of the building. Also expected to attend are Governor Osorio Soares, the Military Commander of East Timor, and the Director-General of the Section for the Catholic Religion - a department of the Indonesian Ministry for Religious Affairs.

SUHARTO'S DAUGHTER DONATES

The ceremony will begin with the unveiling of a plaque marking the event. Mass at 9 am will follow. Then there will be a lunch with an local folklore display. The Timorese clergy expect the "presence of 10,000 people." Two years ago, laying of the first foundation stone ceremony attracted the same number of people, "so we are expecting at least that number on Saturday," said a source from the Diocese of Dili.

The new seminary, which will be able to house 150 people, is located "on the way to the former headquarters, near the Santa Cruz cemetery," and was built with money from Radio Renascenca ("nearly one third"), the Patriarchate, the Indonesian Government, and the Provincial authorities, "about 100 million Rupees" (by law the Indonesian authorities subsidise and support the activities of the five main religions in the country: Islam, Catholic and Protestant Churches, Buddhism and Hinduism). Funds were also received from the "Christian communities in Australia, Germany, Japan, Holland, Belgium and the UK." The DN learned that President Suharto's daughter gave a significant personal donation towards the building of the Seminary. The Diocese of Dili would only confirm the "existence of two particularly substantial donations," but would not reveal the names of the donors. However, other sources confirmed that Suharto's daughter had contributed a "very substantial amount."

CHURCHES ON THE INCREASE

The diocese of Dili sees the new Seminary, which has "study halls, chapel and gymnasium," as a very important instrument for the training of those who are "more sensitive towards the problems of the people." (...) the number of faithful continues to grow and religious training is given mainly to Timorese. Only very rarely does an Indonesian appear. In spite of the transmigration phenomenon (i.e. the arrival to East Timor of waves of families from other islands), Catholicism still predominates in the terri-

tory. Official Indonesian figures for 1982-93 show that the number of Catholic churches in Timor, which by far outnumber any others, is now over 1,000. Trailing far behind in number are the Protestant churches and, in third place (with insignificant numbers in 1982, and somewhat greater in the 1990s) are the Moslem temples. Timor continues to be a Catholic enclave within the world's largest Moslem country.

EAST TIMORESE PROTEST AGAINST INDONESIA AT MASS

JAKARTA, Feb 3 (Reuter) - East Timorese youths attending a mass on Saturday to inaugurate a new Catholic seminary protested against Indonesia's rule in their troubled homeland but there were no reports of arrests, witnesses said.

"Those youths shouted anti-Indonesia slogans after the mass, before East Timor Bishop Catholic Carlos Belo gave his blessings. None of the youths were arrested," one nun who attended the inauguration of the Santa Maria Fatima seminary told Reuters from Dili.

Police in Dili, the Timorese capital, were not immediately available for comment.

The official Antara news agency reported from Dili that the youths shouted abuse in their Tetun language and displayed protest posters.

It was the first reported anti-Indonesian protest by East Timorese youths in the territory this year. Dili is often the scene of riots and protests against mainly Moslem Indonesia, which invaded the predominantly Catholic region in 1975 and proclaimed it its 27th province a year later.

The last riot was in October when at least two people died in fighting between rival gangs.

The seminary is located a few metres away from the Santa Cruz cemetery, where Indonesian troops opened fire on a pro-independence demonstration in November 1991, killing about 50 people. Human rights groups say 200 people were killed.

Antara reported that Bishop Belo regretted what the youths had done at the seminary.

"I regret it very much and do not agree with what you have done," he was quoted as telling the youths. Antara gave no other details.

ARRESTS AND SHOTS AT SEMINARY INAUGURATION

translated, summarized from various reports

Macau, and Sydney, Feb 3 (LUSA) - At least four Timorese were arrested today in

Dili during an anti-Indonesian demonstration in presence of the Catholic Bishops gathered for the ceremony of inauguration of the new seminary.

The security forces fired several shots attempting to stop other demonstrators who fled, some of which ran into the Santa Cruz cemetery, located near the new seminary.

"We don't know what happened to the young people who were chased by the police. Those that were arrested were taken to the command base, after passing through the police headquarters," said a source contacted by LUSA.

The incident took place at the end of the mass of inauguration of the new Dili seminary, attended by monsignor Pietro Sambì of the Jakarta 'Nuncio Apostolico,' and by several bishops invited by D. Ximenes Belo. The 'Provincial' of the Portuguese Salesianos priests, father Simão, two Indonesian, and an Australian bishop, and two personnel members of the Canadian embassy in Jakarta, witnessed the incidents. The secretary of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, D. Januario Torgal Ferreira, arrived too late for the inauguration ceremony, because of the delay in travel authorization by the Indonesian authorities. He arrived in the early afternoon and attended the lunch offered by Bishop Ximenes Belo. A dinner is planned at Bishop Belo's residence tonight, in honor of his 48th birthday today.

Witnesses told LUSA that about 200 Timorese youths held up banners and shouted 'vivas' to East Timor and to Bishop Ximenes Belo during mass celebration, which took place at the sports field of the seminary complex.

Bishop Ximenes Belo and the Dili Vicar-General, monsignor José Antonio da Costa, succeeded in "calming down people's spirits," appealing to the demonstrators not to shout during mass celebration, which was attended by 8,000 to 10,000 people.

"At the ceremony were hundreds of Indonesian commands in plain clothes who took note of the demonstrators to arrest them at the exit from mass. The people attempted to protect the group, but the security men beat people with batons and wounded some," said one of the witnesses.

Three of the four arrested were Sebastião Sarmiento da Silva, Apeu Bina Raja (pseudonym) and Paulo. The fourth, a scout, was also taken in by police, but his identity is unknown, according to the same witness.

Along the access streets to the seminary, in Balide near the Santa Cruz cemetery, were hundreds of policemen, in uniform and plain clothes,

Along the access streets to the seminary, in Balide near the Santa Cruz cemetery,

were hundreds of policemen, in uniform and plain clothes, with guns and radios.

Mass was celebrated in Tetum and in Portuguese, and there were speeches by Bishop D. Ximenes Belo, monsignor Pietro Sambí, East Timor governor Abílio Osório Soares, and the Dili council administrator Domingos Soares. It was announced that the seminary will be directed by a German 'religioso' [priest?], aided by a Dutch priest. The teachers will be two Timorese and four Indonesian priests.

João Nunes de Carvalho, a former primary teacher of Portuguese who remained in East Timor and is presently staff of the ET education services, will teach Portuguese language courses at the seminary, according to a source in Dili.

THREE ARRESTED IN DILI

From Hidang, Jakarta 4 Feb. 96

Last Monday, the Reuters office in Jakarta reported that Dili police, East Timor, had arrested three youths on suspicion of staging an anti-Indonesian demonstration on Saturday. The demonstration comprised of hundreds of youths who had gathered for a mass at a reception for the opening of a new seminary in Balide Dili, the Sominario Nosa Senhora de Fatima.

According to the Antara news agency, the youths had already been yelling anti-Indonesian slogans in Tetum, and handing out leaflets of the same tone. Some of the leaflets and posters demanded the release of Xanana Gusmão. Other posters said 'Viva Xanana,' 'Viva Timor Leste.' They were also protesting the Indonesian government's moves to stop Bishop Aloisius Soma from Japan attending the opening.

Amongst those who did attend were bishops from Australia, Portugal (Msgr. Januario Tegal), Atambua, Kupang, along with the Secretary General of the Jesus Covenant/Union (Serikat Jesus) in Portugal and the Vatican ambassador Mgr. Peter Sembie. 50 priests from every parish in East Timor also attended the mass, along with around 3,000 people, headed by Bishop Carlos Belo. The Bishop of Dili angered the youths by telling them that they should not be demonstrating at the place of a high mass. He said that their action 'demonstrated that they were uneducated and uncultured people who mixed religion with politics.'

According to a student, the youths, aside from knowing there were guests from overseas, were upset by the Indonesian government's handling of 105 prisoners in Dili prison, who the people perceive as political prisoners. One died, Armindo da Silva Soares Martins, a political prisoner. 7 political prisoners have suffered serious inju-

ries, and 21 lesser injuries. The prisoners suffering serious injuries are now being treated in the general hospital, Dili.

Most of the 205 people held in the prison were arrested in October last, when a disturbance occurred between Bobby Xavier's group and Alexio Cobra's group. The two East Timorese youth leaders were held in Kupang prison as political prisoners, but fighting broke out when they were freed when Bobby Xavier accused Alexio Cobra of being a spy. Alexio Cobra denied this.

Apart from the group from the October incident, there are prisoners from the regions, as well as 5 people who had managed to escape by boat to Australia. One of them is a woman who is also being held at Becora prison. Apart from them there are also political prisoners held who have been found guilty after a demonstration at the University of East Timor. Amongst them is Alexandro da Costa who is just 24 years old.

Alexandro who was sentenced two years and two months' ago, clashed with a guard. When Alexandro was being accompanied by the guard to the head of security's office, suddenly a group of prisoners began to throw things at the guard, thinking that he was going to beat Alexandro up. The guards' post, hall, and the polyclinic were attacked and the guards beaten. The main gate was attacked. Some took diesel fuel from the garage and managed to burn down a number of security posts. Shortly after, ABRI were called upon to deal with the situation. Then Armando who was at the front was shot. Moreover, he was due to be released this coming June.

THREE SAID ARRESTED AFTER EAST TIMOR PROTEST

abridged

JAKARTA, Feb 5 (Reuter) – Indonesian police arrested three East Timorese after a protest during last week's opening of a new Catholic seminary in the troubled territory, residents said on Monday.

Police were not immediately available for comment.

"I've learned that three youths have been arrested and are being questioned by the police after the protest," local parliamentarian Manuel Carrascalão told Reuters from Dili, East Timor's capital.

"One youth managed to escape by running to the nearby Santa Cruz cemetery," he said by telephone.

Witnesses earlier said about 20 East Timorese youths attending Saturday's opening of Santa Maria Fatima seminary shouted anti-Indonesia slogans after the Mass, which was led by East Timor Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo.

The official Antara news agency reported from Dili on Saturday that the youths shouted abuse in their Tetun language and displayed protest banners.

The seminary is a few metres away from the Santa Cruz cemetery, where Indonesian troops opened fire on pro-independence demonstrators in November 1991, killing scores of people.

Local aid worker Florentino Sarmento, who went to the ceremony, said on Monday police beat and seized youths at random.

"One youth whose task was to assist the bishop at the altar was captured after police mistakenly believed the robe he was holding was a banner. He was released later," he said.

It was the first reported anti-Indonesian protest by East Timorese youths in the territory this year.

POLICE SMASH EAST TIMOR PROTEST

*Sydney Morning Herald, February 5, 1996.
By Agence France-Presse*

Dili, Sunday: Indonesian police today violently broke up a pro-independence demonstration by young East Timorese during the inauguration of Roman Catholic seminary attended by several foreign clergymen, sources here said.

The demonstration, with scores of young people displaying pro-independence banners, took place at the start of the inauguration ceremony of the Nossa Senhora de Fatima seminary in Balide, Dili, according to a resident.

Several of the protesters were injured after police and soldiers broke up the demonstration, beating them with sticks and batons, and several were detained and taken to an undisclosed location, the resident said, quoting a witness.

Another source, who was close to the demonstrators, said at least three people were arrested and a gunshot heard as security pursued several demonstrators who ran off into the neighbouring housing area.

The East Timor police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, was not available to confirm the reports. Several foreign clergymen were at the ceremony, including Monsignor Pietro Sambí, the Vatican's apostolic pronuncio in Jakarta.

Meanwhile, a member of a pro-independence movement has surrendered to the military in Lautem district, according to press reports.

Captain Jok Purwadi, head of the Dili military command, said yesterday that Gilberto Diaz, 24 surrendered in Ilipapa village, Lautem district, about 200 kilometres east of Dili.

Captain Purwadi said Diaz was a member of Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, which has been fighting the Indonesian presence in East Timor since Jakarta sent its troops there in 1975. Jakarta unilaterally declared East Timor its 27th province a year later, but the United Nations and Portugal do not recognise the claim.

Diaz's surrender was brokered by his brother Tito da Costa, an Ilipapa villager, who met him during a hunting trip in the nearby jungle.

Captain Purwadi said Diaz was being debriefed in Ilipapa but that in line with the Government's policy to pardon rebels who gave themselves up, he would be released afterwards.

Over the weekend, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, indicated that Jakarta was unwilling to discuss the issue of East Timor at a summit of 25 leaders from Asia and Europe next month in Bangkok.

"Both sides should realise they should not bring in controversial and non-relevant issues," he said.

Asked if Indonesia would be prepared to discuss the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, Mr. Alatas said he considered the issue to be "non-relevant" to the summit, which is to be held in Bangkok on March 1-2.

Economics would be the main focus but eh Asia side was ready to discuss political issues, he said.

YOU ARE LIVING IN HELL

Publico, 5 February 1996. Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

Mnsgr. Januario Torgal Ferreira, delivers a homily in Dili in support of Timorese human rights.

"Without peace, freedom and justice, you are living in hell." These words are taken from the homily of the Auxiliary Bishop of Lisbon, Mnsgr. Januario Ferreira, delivered yesterday in Dili, Timor, where he said mass and addressed a large congregation of faithful. Twenty years after Indonesia's occupation of the territory, this was the first time that a Portuguese Bishop said mass there. Mnsgr. Januario, who returns to Lisbon on Tuesday, went to Timor to take part in the inauguration of the Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima, which took place on Saturday, and was marked by incidents which led to a police charge on demonstrators and to several arrests being made.

In the homily, quoted in a dispatch sent from Dili by the Director of Information of Radio Renascenca, José Luis Ramos Pinheiro, (also part of the Portuguese delegation present at the opening of the Seminary),

Dom Januario appealed for the restoration of democracy in the territory, referring to the fact that at the time of the Portuguese revolution in April 1974, the Portuguese "chose, by means of the vote, their own paths." For this reason, he appealed "that the Timorese be listened to on the question of their own future, and that they may express their own will."

All the Bishop's words were connected with the defence of the rights of the Timorese, even including a subtle allusion to the atmosphere in the territory being a kind of hell on earth. He explained that, for the Timorese not to live in that hell, they need peace, freedom and justice, which, obviously, they still do not have...

Meanwhile, since the incidents on Saturday, the Portuguese delegation has been surrounded by a tight security barrier of Indonesian soldiers, who fear further demonstrations.

DARWIN PROTEST AT SUNDAY INCIDENT

From Hugh Ekeberg, Feb. 5

A protest was held by five people outside the Indonesian consulate in Darwin yesterday the 5th of February to protest the incident in Dili on Sunday at the inauguration of the seminary.

Staff were late for work as a result of the protest, starting at 10AM instead of 8.30AM.

Photographs were taken of consular staff as they came to work and two of the staff protested that they were not interested in politics and simply doing their job.

Protesters pointed out that, that was no excuse when working for a mafia which continues to commit atrocities in East Timor and West Papua, not to mention Indonesia itself.

When one of the protesters started rattling the metal fence, three car loads of police rushed to the scene including Darwin's new regional superintendent Wernum and Casuarina CIB.

The protesters believe the over-reaction of police is a result of Indonesian government pressure to crack down on the increased protest activity at the consulate which is disrupting consular business.

The consul Colonel Widodo could not be contacted for comment.

No arrests were made.

INDONESIA POLICE RELEASE TIMORESE AFTER PROTEST

JAKARTA, Feb 6 (Reuter) - East Timor's police chief said on Tuesday he had

ordered the release of two East Timorese arrested after a protest during last week's opening of a new Catholic seminary in the troubled territory.

But he said one other Timorese youth was still being questioned.

"We have released two East Timorese but are still questioning another one," Colonel Andreas Sugianto told Reuters by telephone from the Timorese capital Dili. "We are still questioning one East Timorese because we found documents at his house."

Sugianto declined to give details. The East Timorese were held after the opening of Santa Maria Fatiman seminary on Saturday for allegedly showing anti-Indonesian attitudes.

The small demonstration, held in front of dignitaries invited to the seminary's inauguration, was the first reported protest by East Timorese youths in the territory this year.

Dili has often been the scene of riots and protests against mainly Moslem Indonesia, which invaded the predominantly Catholic region in 1975.

Witnesses said about 20 East Timorese youths attending the seminary's inauguration shouted anti-Indonesian slogans.

The seminary is a few metres (yards) from the Santa Cruz cemetery, where Indonesian troops fired at pro-independence demonstrators in November 1991, killing up to 50 people.

The United Nations still recognises former colonial ruler Portugal as Timor's administering power.

APPEAL FROM EAST TIMOR - "DON'T FORGET US!"

Diario de Noticias, 9 February 1996. By Abel Coelho de Morais. Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

WHOLESONE REBELLION IN TIMOR

The incidents during the inauguration of the new Dili Seminary were, according to Dom Januario Ferreira, a "healthy reaction from an oppressed society." The Secretary of the Episcopal Conference, brought back with him an appeal from Timor: "Don't forget us."

In the view of the Secretary of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, the protests against Indonesian presence in East Timor, carried out by a group of young Timorese during last Saturday's ceremony in Dili was "natural" and reflected the "healthy reaction of an oppressed society." The Bishop, who went to Timor with another two senior Catholic Church figures and Radio Renascenca's Director of Information, said he

found there an "extremely strong Catholic Church" which is most concerned with all the problems facing Timorese society. It is a society of "courage and resistance," in which the great majority of the population opposes the current situation.

Bishop Januario Ferreira brought back an "important message" from Timor. From his contacts with the people, a clear message emerged: "Don't forget us!." What they all asked the Bishop was that "Portugal and the Church do not forget us!."

Dom Januario Ferreira believed that Bishop of Dili Ximenes Belo "ought to employ a very special strategy"; his position was "complex."

The Portuguese Bishop did not wish to comment on how the Timorese clergy view the possible creation of a second diocese, and the possible substitution of Dom Ximenes Belo in Dili, but he suggested in this respect not all decisions had yet been made. The Holy See's decision, he said, was "a decision which may or may not be taken."

Portugal is still a reference point for many Timorese, especially for "middle-aged" Timorese. Throughout his trip, always in the company of the Bishop of Dili, ... the Portuguese Bishop was aware of the almost permanent presence of Indonesian soldiers in Dili and all the other places he visited, and also noticed (because of the particular way they dressed) that many civil servants were Indonesian.

With regards development in Timor, Dom Januario said he found a "very simple population" and a "territory in which there is still a lot to be done, in spite of the efforts made in the past by Portugal and in the present by Indonesia."

"It is necessary to find more ways of helping the Timorese," said the Portuguese Bishop, adding that "they ought to increase communication channels and the exchange of information between the governments." He also saw the need to give the greatest possible publicity to everything connected with the situation in Timor.

"A festive atmosphere"

Dom Januario referred to the "festive atmosphere" he found on his arrival in Dili. The delays in the issue of visas for his group, invited by Dom Ximenes Belo, meant that they only arrived in time for the last part of the ceremony, after mass had been celebrated. "We went to the ceremony directly from the airport," he said. When they arrived, Bishop Belo momentarily interrupted the speech being made by the representative of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, to welcome the Portuguese visitors. "Dom Ximenes Belo embraced me, and the Nuncio also rose from his seat to welcome me. I sat down between

the two until the end of the ceremony," said the Bishop.

TWO INDONESIAN AMBASSADORS MEET WITH BISHOP BELO

Dili, 2/9 (ANTARA) - Indonesian Ambassadors to the UN Nugroho Wisnumurti and to Great Britain Fanny Habibie, accompanied by the Director General of Political Affairs Department of Foreign Affairs Iksan Ibrahim held a meeting with the highest leader of the Catholics in East Timor Bishop of Dili Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo which took place at his residence in Dili, Friday.

The one and a half hour meeting was conducted in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and dealt with various aspects of the East Timor issue.

Wisnumurti told reporters after the meeting that Bishop Belo has given positive views and inputs relating to the importance of creating a better situation and condition in East Timor in the years ahead.

To achieve all that, according to Bishop Belo, we need a unified vision and perception from all parties, the civilian, military and Church leaders.

The Bishop's explanation in that meeting brought quite a positive impact on solving the East Timor issue. "Because the essence of solving this question is a peaceful and safe atmosphere," said Wisnumurti.

Wisnumurti and Habibie and entourage were in Dili, East Timor on a four day visit, January 8 to 11, 1996, looking for various inputs around the latest development in the province.

While in East Timor both ambassadors held meetings with several local government officials and public figures, among others were Governor of East Timor Abilio José Osorio Soares, Bishop Belo, Speaker of the East Timor Provincial House of Representatives Antonio F. Parada, and Commander of the East Timor Military Resort Command 164/Wira Dharma Colonel Inf Mahidin Simbolon.

The two ambassadors are scheduled to visit the Regencies of Aileu, Viqueque, Lautem, Baucau and Bobonaro, today (2/10).

LETTERS ARRIVE FROM TIMOR

BISHOP BRINGS BACK APPEALS

Diario de Noticias, 13 February 1996. Abridged. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon - Following a meeting with Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, Bishop Januario Torgal Ferreira, just back

from Timor where he attended the inauguration of the new Dili seminary, said that he had brought back with him correspondence containing appeals addressed to world leaders.

"The correspondence, which is to be delivered to some international figures, is very important with regards the (East Timor) problem," said the Secretary of the Portuguese Bishops' Conference. However, he would not be drawn on either the names of the addressees nor the name of the person who gave him the missives. He would only say that the person was a citizen of Dili, but was not Dom Ximenes Belo. (...)

POPE URGES DIALOGUE BETWEEN INDONESIA, EAST TIMOR

VATICAN CITY (Reuter) - Pope John Paul II Monday said East Timor, a contested province of Indonesia, was still waiting for proposals addressing its "legitimate aspirations" for recognition and urged dialogue to resolve the dispute.

The Pope made the remarks while receiving Portugal's new ambassador to the Vatican, Antonio D'Oliveira Pinto da Franca.

The Pope said "every party involved should give its just support to promote and support the dialogue already under way."

He added that the East Timorese "continued to wait for serious proposals which would permit the realization of their legitimate aspirations to see their specific culture and religion recognized."

POPE SENDS ENVOY TO EAST TIMOR

Vatican City, Feb 20 (Reuter) - Pope John Paul, who has appealed for a "just solution" to the contested Indonesian province of East Timor, sent the Vatican's justice and peace expert there on Tuesday on a pastoral visit, a spokesman said.

Chief Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls said in a statement that Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, head of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, had left Rome for Jakarta and would pay a pastoral visit to the diocese of Dili in East Timor.

Navarro-Valls added that Etchegaray, a Vatican-based Frenchman, would also meet Indonesian officials during the visit.

ET TO RECEIVE VISIT FROM HOLY SEE

translated, summarized

Vatican, Feb 20 (LUSA) - The President of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, cardinal Roger Etchegaray, left to

Jakarta today for a visit of over a week that includes a stop in East Timor.

The announcement was made just one day after Pope John Paul II received the credentials of the new Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See, Antonio Pinto da Franca. At the time, the Pope said that East Timor "remains awaiting proper proposals that permit realization of its legitimate aspirations, of having its cultural and religious specificity recognized."

Msgr. Etchegaray's visit to East Timor is of three days. He is scheduled to arrive in Dili on the 25th, and will inaugurate the chapel of the new seminary. The next day he is scheduled to visit Baucau, where he will be received by governor Antonio Soares and military commander Mahidin Simbolon. He leaves to Jakarta on the evening of the 27th and is received the next day by president Suharto before departing to Rome, via Bali, on the 29th.

CONFRONTATIONS & ARRESTS DURING ETCHEGARAY'S VISIT

translated, edited

Sydney, February 25 (LUSA) - An undetermined number of East Timorese was detained and others were wounded following confrontations at the Dili Cathedral, after a blessing by Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, local sources told LUSA.

According to a Dili resident, the confrontations occurred at the end of the ceremony, when the Timorese who attended were thrown rocks at. According to this resident, the attackers had been staying together at a house in Vila Verde and included "informers and plain-clothes soldiers."

According to another local source, "the military police once again provoked the Timorese to create problems. This happened especially because the Cardinal criticized the abuses of human rights in his speech, and this was not well received by the military." The same source indicated that at least one person is in serious condition for having been hit on the head by a thrown rock.

Cardinal Etchegaray witnessed part of the confrontations, however the arrests took place only after the Cardinal had left the Cathedral.

The situation in the area of the Cathedral remains tense, with a large number of both plain-clothes and uniformed soldiers patrolling the streets. "Many youths haven't yet returned home, therefore we don't know who was arrested and who is in hiding," said the same source.

Macao, February 25 (LUSA) - Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, visiting Dili, today assured that Pope John Paul II is following the problem of East Timor, and praised the work of Bishop D. Ximenes Belo in defense of the East Timorese people. The Cardinal said that John Paul II "carries East Timor in his heart and does not forget to pray for the Timorese people."

The Cardinal gave his speech in the early afternoon at the Dili Cathedral, accompanied by D. Pietro Sambí, Apostolic Nuncio of Jakarta, and by Bishop D. Ximenes Belo. The speech was delivered in French, and translated to Tetum by a priest of the Dili diocese.

According to a local source, the Cardinal's speech was "often interrupted by hand-clapping by the thousands of people in the Cathedral, especially when he made reference to East Timor, and to justice and peace," said a local source.

One of the most emotional moments was when the Cardinal embraced Bishop Belo, after praising his courage and determination in defense of the Timorese people.

At the end of the ceremony, as the Cardinal left the Cathedral to go to the Seminary to consecrate the new Chapel, instigators started throwing rocks at those who attended the ceremony, according to local sources. The same sources added that there was no justification for this, for "the ceremony took place with entire civility."

The Cardinal will visit Baucau on Monday. The Cardinal will be received by Indonesian president Suharto before returning to Rome, via Bali, on Thursday.

Cardinal Roger Etchegaray is the president of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, the highest dignity of the Catholic Church to pay official visit to Indonesia and East Timor since the visit by Pope John Paul II in 1989.

TURBULENT BLESSING IN TIMOR

Pope's Envoy's Visit to Dili Marked by Incidents

Diario de Noticias, 26 February 1996.

Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

New clashes in Dili. Stone-throwing in full view of the Pope's personal representative, resulting in various people arrested and injured.

The number of Timorese arrested and injured as a result of confrontations at Dili's Cathedral, following Cardinal Roger Etchegaray's blessing is unknown.

According to a Dili resident contacted by LUSA, the disturbances broke out after the Timorese were provoked by "informers and soldiers in plain clothes who had been at a house in Vila Verde." "When they entered the church, they started to provoke the

Timorese and started throwing stones at them," said the source. "So far, there has been no confirmation of the numbers arrested or injured."

According to a different Timorese source, at least one person was seriously injured after being hit by a stone on the head.

Roger Etchegaray, on a visit to East Timor, witnessed part of the confrontations, although the arrests took place after the Papal representative had left the Cathedral.

"Military Police then started to provoke the Timorese in an attempt to start trouble," said the source. "It all started because the Cardinal had spoken out against human rights abuses, and the military did not like it," he claimed. The climate around Dili's Cathedral remained tense for several hours, with a large number of plainclothes and uniformed soldiers patrolling the streets.

Ximenes Praised

Cardinal Etchegaray, Chairman of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission, assured the congregation that Pope John Paul II was closely following the problem of East Timor, and he praised the actions of Bishop Ximenes Belo in defence of the Timorese people. The Pope "carries East Timor in his heart and does not forget to pray for the Timorese," he said. (...)

"One of the most moving moments occurred at the end of the ceremony, when the Cardinal embraced Bishop Monsignor Ximenes Belo, after praising his courage and determination in defence of the Timorese people," pointed out one source, who asked to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals.

This is the first time since the Pope's 1989 visit that one of the Catholic Church's highest dignitaries has officially visited the world's largest (in terms of population) Moslem country.

Monsignor Pietro Sambí, the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta, publicly denied that the question of East Timor's status, and the possibility of its division into two dioceses, would be discussed during the envoy's week-long visit.

ETCHEGARAY STATEMENT ON LEAVING DILI

(Transcribed and translated from a FAX of AGENCIA ECCLESIA - Portuguese Catholic Church News Agency - by José A. Barros Basto — jbbasto@garfield.fe.up.pt)

It was a great joy for me to be able to accept the invitation of His Excellency, Bishop Belo to visit the diocese of Dili. I have been here in these days on a pastoral visit, first of all to bring the blessing and encouragement of the Holy Father to the Apostolic Administrator, to all his priests, to the religious and to all the members of the

Catholic community. In the spirit of harmony which should exist everywhere between members of different faiths and religions, I extend my greetings also to the members of all other religious communities.

Some foreign news sources attributed to my visit the task of examining the possible division of the diocese of Dili. I wish to make clear that I have received no mission of this nature.

As President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, I wish to reaffirm my conviction that there can be no **justice without peace** and that there can be **no peace without justice**. Respect for human rights is the only way in which justice and peace can be brought to live together. If these principals had always been respected in history, many lives would have been saved, much suffering and many tears would have been spared everywhere.

I am aware that an international political problem exists concerning East Timor. It is not my competence to enter into that question. As a friend, however, I wish to say to all these involved: believe in the power of dialogue, of dialogue among yourselves and of dialogue outside the country. And I express my complete encouragement, as the Pope himself has done on numerous occasions, for all the efforts of dialogue at present in course. Dialogue is difficult: it requires courage, patient and determination. Dialogue requires mutual respect and understanding by all the parts. It requires giving a space to all, especially to young people, to express their concerns. The way of dialogue is the most human way, and it is the most effective way for producing solutions which satisfy all concerned.

In such a dialogue there must be space for the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Timorese people to see their special cultural and religious identity recognized. With the Pope, I wish today to launch an appeal for courage to all friends and servants of peace.

Signed Mgr. Cardinal Etchegaray
Dili, 27 February 1996

CARDINAL ETCHEGARAY MEETS WITH PRESIDENT SOEHARTO

Indonesia Media Network, 29 Feb 96

JAKARTA, Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Vatican, expressed the need for a continuous dialogue between factions that are involved in the East Timor problems. "Believe in the power of dialogue," wrote the Cardinal in his written statements which he presented to reporters at President

Soeharto's residence in Jalan Cendana, yesterday.

Cardinal Etchegaray yesterday met with President Soeharto at Jalan Cendana. The Cardinal expressed his commendation on the relative peace in interfaith relations in Indonesia. To the President, he also mentioned that the Catholic church has been integrated into the Indonesian life.

After explaining briefly his conversation with the President, the Cardinal refused to answer the reporters' questions concerning the East Timor issue. But a delegate then handed out the Cardinal's written statement that was dated February 27, concerning the issue.

Cardinal Etchegaray admits that there are several foreign news agencies that considers his visit to East Timor as an investigation to find a solution to the problem in Dili Diocese. "I need to clarify that I did not receive such a mission," the Cardinal responded.

As we know, unlike the other Dioceses in Indonesia, until now the Dili Diocese has not joined the Indonesian Catholic Church Conference (KWI). This diocese, led by Bishop Belo, is still under Vatican's control.

As a President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, the Cardinal stressed that there is no possibility of justice without peace and there can be no peace without justice. "Concern for human rights is the only way where justice and peace can go hand in hand," said the Cardinal.

The Cardinal realizes that East Timor is still an international political problem. However, he stresses that he is not competent in handling that particular problem. As a friend, however, the Cardinal says, "I wish to say to all the parties involved: believe in the power of dialogue, dialogue among yourselves and dialogue with others."

As mentioned several times by the Pope, according to the Cardinal, to solve the problem of East Timor, a dialogue is needed. "Dialogue is difficult. It requires courage, patience, and determination," said the Cardinal.

Dialogues, he said, require both parties to respect and understand each other. Dialogues also give an opportunity to all parties especially the younger generation to express their aspirations.

"The dialogue alternative is the best and most humane way, and this is also the most effective way to reach a solution that satisfies all parties involved," said the Cardinal.

However, at the end of the written statement, the cardinal stressed that the dialogue must give a way the realization of the validation of the East Timorese aspiration that involves matters of cultural and religious identity.

EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR AND BISHOP BELO FULFILL INVITATION OF MUI ACEH

Indonesia Media Network, 26 Mar 96

Banda Aceh, 3/25 ANTARA - The Chief of the Aceh branch of the Indonesian Council of Muslim Scholars (MUI), Ali Hasjmy said that the East Timor Governor, Abilio José Osoro Soares and Dili Diocese Bishop Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo will go to Aceh to fulfill the invitation of the province's MUI.

In a press release received by ANTARA in Banda Aceh on Monday, explained that MUI has sent an invitation to the governor of East Timor and Bishop Belo to come to Aceh, and be the guests of MUI during their stay there.

The MUI chief of East Timor has asked for the verification of the invitation by phone and the Hasjmy confirmed that the invitation was from the Aceh branch of MUI.

"According to the East Timor MUI head via telephone, the two high officials of East Timor have agreed to come to Aceh to fulfill the invitation of the Aceh MUI, and the news of the said invitation has occupied the front page of the Dili newspaper," he said.

In the press release signed by the Aceh MUI chief, Prof. Ali Hasjmy did not mention the exact date the Governor and Bishop were scheduled to come.

Bishop Belo appreciates highly the invitation of the Aceh MUI chief and "I received many phone calls from Jakarta, saying that the step taken by Aceh MUI is very positive, including a call from a Catholic figure from Jakarta," said Hasjmy.

Besides that, Aceh MUI has also offered ten scholarships to students of East Timor to study in various faculties in Aceh, he said adding that the invitation to the Governor and Bishop Belo was repeated on March 17, 1996.

Ali Hasjmy who is the former governor of Aceh said, the Aceh MUI has also sent his greetings and thanks to Bishop Belo who has sent Eid Greetings to the Muslims of Indonesia.

"Besides that, we are also inviting the East Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares to visit Aceh as a comparative study and while in Aceh will be the guest of Aceh MUI.

TIMOR ON THE VATICAN AGENDA

Diario de Noticias, 29 March 1996. By Manuela Paixao. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER ANTONIO GUTERRES ASKS FOR GREATER PRESSURE TO BE PUT ON INDONESIA

Rome – The self-determination of East Timor ... was among the issues which Antonio Guterres discussed yesterday with the Pope.

Flying in the face of inflexible Vatican protocol, Antonio Guterres went over and spoke to awaiting journalists after emerging from his 40-minute audience with the Holy Father.

"We spoke about Africa and the peace processes in Angola and Mozambique, the importance of the Church's role in the implementation of democracy all over the world, but above all, we talked about East Timor. In a lot of detail. About Portugal's approach towards the Indonesian Government in Bangkok in initiatives to bring peace to Timor - initiatives which it will continue to take through the UN."

Guterres said he had spoken to the Pope about the need for "much pressure, so that Indonesia realises that it has to take significant steps forward - even though it might not start off with the right to self-determination, but with other measures which are vital to the well-being of the Timorese community."

(...) "I am not expecting to reach a comprehensive agreement with Indonesia in the short term, but I do want to continue our dialogue. It is essential that the international community brings pressure to bear on Indonesia, and there is no entity seen to have greater moral authority than the Vatican. This was, without a shadow of a doubt, the most important reason that brought me to Rome," said the Portuguese Prime Minister.

(...) Cardinal Sodano, the Vatican Secretary of State, later stated that "The Vatican defends the right to ethnic culture and religion in Timor. (...) The presence of the Holy See in Timor, with the recent visit of Cardinal Etchegaray, means that we have not forgotten Timor. The Timorese must realise that they are not alone, and the Bishop of Dili knows that." (...)

THE POPE IS IN A POSITION TO HELP

Diario de Noticias: What was the Holy See's view on the pressure needed to be exercised on Indonesia about East Timor?

Antonio Guterres: When I raised the issue of East Timor with Pope John Paul II, he referred to the recent visit of Cardinal Etchegaray. I think that the Holy See's determination was expressed in the words of Cardinal Sodano. The Holy See is in a delicate position, and we understand that. There is a Catholic community in Indonesia, but it has been increasingly speaking out in defence of human rights and the cultural identity of the Timorese. In that respect, everything that the Church does will be important in influencing Indonesia.

Diario de Noticias: How do you interpret the fact that there has been a change of attitude within the Church? (...)

Antonio Guterres: The degree of awareness of the East Timor problem among the international community has clearly been growing. This has been due to the struggle of the Timorese themselves, and what has been done by us, the President, the Government, the public. All that has been done has resulted in the international community becoming more aware of that the problem exists and needs to be resolved, and the Holy See becoming determined to play an important role in ensuring that the rights of the Timorese are eventually recognised.

VATICAN URGING XANANA'S RELEASE

Expresso, 30 March 1996. By Orlando Raimundo. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Turin – On Thursday, during a private lunch held at the residence of Portugal's Ambassador to the Holy See, Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Angelo Solano revealed to Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres that the Vatican had already begun to put pressure on Suharto to release Xanana Gusmão. The revelation emerged when the PM was explaining that the opening of interest sections in friendly embassies could only occur once Timorese political prisoners had been released. "Yes, yes, that is what we told them too," said the Pope's PM, emphasising each word, but without going into any detail.

Diplomatic sources suggested that the pressure referred to by the Cardinal may have been initiated during the visit of the Pope's special envoy, Cardinal Etchegaray, to Indonesia and Timor.

Cardinal Angelo Solano gave assurances that the Vatican does not recognise Indonesian occupation of Timor, and stated that proof of this was the fact that the Church of Timor is not answerable to the Indonesian Episcopal Conference, but directly to Rome. However, all that is in flagrant contrast to the extremely carefully worded public

statements. After the lunch with Guterres, the Vatican PM would only go as far as to say that he defended the "historic, cultural and religious identity" of Timor.

After the audience with Pope John Paul II, Guterres (...) said he had been "very impressed" by the Pope's knowledge about the situation in Timor. The head of the Catholic Church stated his support for defending human rights and the cultural identity of the Timorese. (...)

The shift in the Vatican's attitude towards Timor appears to be a direct result of an initiative taken by Guterres at the Euro-Asian Summit in Bangkok, when he put an entirely new proposal to Suharto. The "Osservatore Romano" dedicated a whole page to the matter and the Pope entrusted Cardinal Etchegaray with the mission. However, the Portuguese PM is realistic about the limitations of the Church's diplomatic initiative: "We have the Holy See's support, but not to the extent of ... forcing the Indonesians to agree to our demands for self-determination."

Guterres outlined for Cardinal Solano the step by step solution for Timor, inspired by the Israeli-Palestinian agreements: a Palestinian-type of autonomy as a first step towards self-determination. This transitory solution seems even to be acceptable to the Resistance, although none of them has actually expressed a view supporting it.

According to information given to Expresso by diplomatic sources in Rome, Portugal's ultimate objective is self-determination, accompanied by measures which would enable the emergence of the 8th Portuguese-speaking country.

(...) The fact that it is in Indonesia's interests to be on good terms with the Vatican (because part of the dominant elite is Catholic, and because of the Moslem fundamentalist threat) could prove useful to Portugal (as is the fact of East Timor being a Catholic enclave in the midst of an Islamic world).

BISHOP BELO VISITS PURA GIRINATA

Indonesia Media Network, 10 Apr 96

Dili, 4/9 (ANTARA) - The East Timor Catholic leader, Bishop Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Monday visited the Hindu sacred place of worship, Puri Girinata in the Taibesi village, East Dili subdistrict.

In the event, he was welcomed with the honor dance "Panyem Brahma" or also called as "Puspa Resti." The visit was intended to maintain good relationship with the board of the Indonesian Administrative Council of the Hindu-Bali religion (PHDI) in East Timor.

Bishop Belo when attending the celebration of Dharma Canti 1996 of the East Timor Hindu people at the Balai Prajurit Building in Dili, Saturday (4/6) said, he is looking forward in meeting with the board of PHDI in the area.

According to the Head of the East Timor PHDI for the 1997-2001 period who was recently installed at the same time with the celebration of the Dharma Canti, Drs. I Wayan Pudja Astawa to ANTARA in Dili, Monday, Belo's visit was an honor for the Hindu people as well as the PHDI board in the area.

"The Hindu people as well as the East Timor PHDI board is very grateful with Belo's visit. That shows that the spirit of harmony among religious people in the youngest province is smooth," he said.

In a dialogue in the meeting, the PHDI board asked for Belo's suggestions, but he said that is not necessary so he only gave his impressions. In his impressions, Belo as quoted by Astawa, said that almost all religions expect peaceful atmosphere.

"Bishop Belo suggested to always foster togetherness in the society life in East Timor to develop together," he said. In the dialogue was also discussed about the importance of always communicating among religious followers in the area through all kinds of coordinating institutions, including the Communication and Consultation Among Religious Followers Forum, said Astawa.

BELO MAKING WAVES AGAIN

Jawa Pos, 16 April 1996. Abridged

Rome: Bishop Belo has been making waves again. Italy's largest daily newspaper, 'Il Corriere Della Sera' published a special report last Sunday about East Timor which contained Bishop Belo's strong opinions about East Timor and Indonesia.

The article, which was full of insinuation and which put Indonesia 'into a corner' in the eyes of the world, certainly kept the Indonesian Embassies in Rome and the Vatican busy.

As was reported by Jawa Pos Italian correspondent, Wing Wiryanto, the article which was printed in the overseas news section was clearly very biased. Moreover, the whole article condemned Indonesia's policy of integration with East Timor.

The article, almost a whole page, included a map of East Timor, along with four photos. The four photos were of a young man on his knees, spreading his hands out as if in submission, one of the Bishop taking a service in a church, one of young people on the beach and one of the Santa Cruz grave yard,

where the bloody November 1991 incident took place.

Up until now, the two RI ambassadors in Rome and in the Vatican are taking steps to deal with this damaging news item. The head of information at the Vatican embassy, Nadjib Riphathkesuma, admitted that he had contacted Jakarta immediately.

"Aside from that, we are holding talks with the Rome Embassy on how to denounce that item. Because that newspaper is an Italian newspaper, it will be the Rome embassy which will give a reaction and take specific action," said Nadjib.

After having received confirmation from the Vatican embassy, Benson Rai explained that he had already taken swift action. "Earlier this morning (yesterday - ed) I called the ambassador to send a clarification to 'Il Corriere della Sera,' he said.

The article certainly came as a shock. According to the Jawa Pos, who have had a correspondent in Italy over the last three years, this is the first time that such an article about East Timor has been published.

The article was written by Ettore Mo Konon, a freelance writer who specialises in East Asia.

In essence, the article is mostly concerned with the upheavals which have taken place in East Timor and the reasons behind them. 70% of the article was taken up with an interview with Bishop Belo.

If the article is indeed the result of a direct interview with Bishop Belo, then it can be concluded that that is the essence of Bishop Belo's presentation. 'Slowly - slowly. Indeed integration is only one alternative. A Freedom of our identity is felt... But I see it is not so...' said Belo in the article.

Belo also mentioned a touching story about when he had just returned to East Timor in 1981 after having studied in a number of countries (including Rome - ed). "When I arrived in Wailacalma, my mother cried. Everyone cried. The Portuguese had just vanished, then..." said Belo.

The article also mentioned Belo's 'unhappiness' about Indonesia. Moreover, he talked of East Timorese integration with Indonesia as a process of 'Indonesiasation' and said the process of introducing a different religion to East Timor was seen as 'colliding' with the reality of the majority of the East Timorese and their religion.

In the last part, Belo also made a surprising statement about how he was not prepared to attend the celebration of the 20th anniversary of East Timorese integration, which it was stated in this article would be attended by Suharto

BISHOP BELO TO BE CONTACTED IMMEDIATELY

Jawa Pos, 17 April. abridged

Rome: Two Indonesian embassies in the Vatican and Rome will immediately give a clarification to the daily paper, 'Il Corriere della Sera' in respect of their interview with Bishop Belo which was published last Sunday about East Timor.

The Indonesian ambassador for the Vatican, R Suhardhono, and the ambassador for Italy, Witjaksana Sugarda, told the Jawa Pos that they had already divided tasks over the issue.

"We are ready to take up our right to reply to the Corriere della Sera, because the article put our government in a tight corner," said Witjaksana who left for the haj yesterday.

According to him, the embassy protest must immediately be sent as the article published in a very influential Italian daily. "I very much regret that article because it could give Italians the wrong impression about Indonesia. Moreover, up until now the Italian people have known a different Indonesia to the once depicted in that article," said Witjaksana.

Meanwhile, the RI ambassador to the Vatican, R Suharjono, confessed to being extremely surprised at Belo's comments. "As a citizen, Belo does have the right to express his views to whoever he wants, including the media," he said. However, he hoped that his views or comments would be based on a feeling of responsibility to the people and which would not result in restlessness."

According to Suharjono, Bishop Belo's opinions were harmful. "The reporter who wrote the article, Ettore Mo, is well known as a reporter who always writes about news and events with an antagonistic slant," he explained.

Moreover, according to him, Bishop Belo was known as a good leader of the Catholic people. "Every trip by representatives from Jakarta have been received by him. Could it be possible that he would not attend and meet with Suharto if he went to East Timor, as was written in the article," said Suharjono.

He added that the statue of Christ which was being built on the beach near Dili was for the most part based on a design idea by Belo himself. "Because of that, is it possible that he would claim that something which was his own idea could be used as a political instrument by the government," he explained.

When asked by the Jawa Pos whether when Belo visited the Vatican he was always 'well-behaved,' he said that although

Belo had visited the Vatican twice, that he had yet to visit the RI embassy there.

Because of that, Suharjono immediately contacted Bishop Belo in East Timor. "This was because we didn't believe Belo's opinions as depicted in the paper."

Suharjono and Witjaksana said that they had sent the article to Jakarta straight away. Witjaksana said that this matter had 'disturbed' Indonesian-Italian relations. As far as Ettore Mo is concerned, he said that the name of the reporter was not on the file of Italian citizens who had requested a journalist visa to Indonesia. "Moreover, his name is also not on the list of tourist visas," added Witjaksana who had also contacted Ali Alatas.

GIVE EAST TIMOR MORE AUTONOMY: BISHOP

Singapore Straits Times, April 20:

AFP. JAKARTA – East Timor bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo has called on the Indonesian government to consider giving the former Portuguese colony more autonomy, a press report said here yesterday. "This autonomy should cover culture, religion and matters that can be managed by the East Timorese themselves," the bishop said in an interview with the Kompas daily.

He said he believed the East Timorese had enough resources to become autonomous, and that the key to a peaceful settlement was accommodating the aspirations of the East Timorese.

East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in 1976. The United Nations still views Lisbon as its administrator.

The bishop said the government had not fully realised all the points contained in the 1976 law that declared East Timor Indonesia's 27th province, but he did not elaborate.

He said East Timorese should be able to provide their own input for policy-making in various fields.

In the past, he has justified his calls for a certain level of autonomy for East Timor by citing the territory's prevailing Roman Catholic tradition and the region's distinct cultural heritage.

East Timor is predominantly Roman Catholic while Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim nation, with close to 90 per cent of its 195 million people following Islam.

However, Indonesian President Suharto has said there is no question of according East Timor an autonomy exceeding that already granted to several Indonesian regions.

Three Indonesian provinces hold a special status – Aceh in northern Sumatra, Jakarta as the capital and Yogyakarta in Central Java.

The status, however, is more of a symbolic status and does not confer real autonomy.

FATHER MARSHALL: HARMONY AMONG RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN EAST TIMOR HAS NO PROBLEM

Dili, 4/30 (ANTARA) - East Timor Head of Synod Father AF Marshall stressed that until now the harmony among the religious communities in the region has no problem and tend to be better than before.

This was expressed by Marshall when receiving the visit of Australia Ambassador to Indonesia Allan Taylor and his group in Dili on Tuesday.

"Even though in the region, there had been several unrest which were aroused by religious matters, it was only the engineering of certain groups to ruin the harmony among religious communities which had been going well," he explained.

In his opinion, the situation is often used by irresponsible people to achieve their political goals.

Touching on the development matters in East Timor, Marshall said the condition is quite well. The development which is carried out in the region must be useful for the local people.

"Ideally, the development emerges from the lower society which is coordinated with the central government so that the development can really touch the interest of many people," he added.

He said that the economic growth in East Timor is quite well and has acceded the goal which had been determined by the central government.

In the meeting, Taylor also expressed his deepest sympathy toward the death of the First Lady, Madame Tien Soeharto in the age of 73 years old.

According to Marshall, Taylor considered Madame Tien Soeharto to have a great role in the development in Indonesia and her model ought to be followed.

"Allan Taylor also considered Madame Tien Soeharto as a First Lady who is very much loved by her people because of her simplicity and honesty, so it is not a surprise if the people of Indonesia are deeply sad by her death," said Marshall.

READERS DIGEST ARTICLE AND CONTROVERSY

READER'S DIGEST: HERO FOR A FORGOTTEN PEOPLE

It was unlikely destiny for the bishop of East Timor

Reader's Digest (Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand editions) March 1996. This is the article from the issue which Reader's Digest says was banned from newsstand sales in Indonesia. Italics in original.

by Paul Raffaele

Bishop Carlos Belo sighed quietly as he knelt in his chapel in Dili, East Timor, soon after dawn. *Oh God, he prayed, please spare my fellow Timorese more suffering.*

For 16 years, his island home had been under the heel of the Indonesian military, which had brutally invaded the former Portuguese colony. Now, on November 12, 1991, 2000 people were gathering to march to a nearby cemetery to protest the killing of a pro-independence activist by Indonesian intelligence agents.

Later that morning, the bishop heard bursts of automatic gunfire, then screams. Within minutes, dozens of young people were racing in panic toward his residence. "Hide us, or they will kill us!" shouted a teen-age girl in a blood-soaked dress.

"Come inside, all of you!" the bishop cried out, as more than 250 people crammed into his garden. He dispatched the wounded to Catholic clinics and then drove to the cemetery. Dozens of civilians, many ripped open by bullets, lay crumpled in the dust. Soldiers armed with assault rifles screamed obscenities at everyone in sight.

Then the bishop saw a trail of gore leading to a chapel. Despite his feat, he rushed inside, where he found several people—some beaten, others with gaping bullet wounds—lying in pools of their own blood. *Even if they threaten to kill me, the military will not stop me from exposing this terrible deed*, he vowed as he clasped his hands and prayed for the dead and dying.

In a remote land of the Malay Archipelago in southern Asia, a gentle people are stalked by terror. In the 20 years of Jakarta's iron rule, it is estimated that almost a third of East Timor's 700,000 native inhabitants have lost their lives as a result of the combined effects of the Indonesian invasion. Countless thousands have been tortured and raped. However, the embattled Timorese still cling to hope—embodied in the man they revere as the champion of their rights. It is

not a destiny many would have expected for Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo.

Carlos Belo was born in 1948 on a rice farm in Wailacalma, 100 miles east of Dili, the capital of the impoverished Portuguese colony. His widowed mother, a pious and reflective woman, introduced Carlos early to the thrill of books. A favorite volume recounted the life of the Italian priest Don Bosco. *Someday*, the small sturdy boy would think, *I, too will be a priest who serves his people*. Belo excelled in his Catholic schooling, and at age 20 left for Lisbon, Portugal, to begin his studies for the priesthood.

Turmoil came to East Timor in 1975, as Portugal prepared to cut its colony loose and new political groups, including the left-wing Fretilin party, vied for position. West Timor, a former Dutch colony, had become part of Indonesia when the latter became independent 26 years earlier, but Indonesia had no legitimate claim to the larger, eastern half, known to be rich in oil and natural gas. However, President Suharto, having witnessed an attempted coup by the left-wing military in his own country in 1965, feared the East Timorese resistance would seize control and spearhead wider subversion. In mid-1975, Indonesian troops began massing on the East Timor border.

Belo nervously monitored events. On December 7 he was in Macau for further religious training when thousands of Indonesian troops attacked East Timor. Jets and naval ships bombarded towns, and paratroopers gunned down unarmed civilians. Women and children were shot in the streets. Soldiers wiped out entire villages. The few thousand ill-equipped Fretilin fighters, along with other resistance groups, scurried to the mountains.

Indonesia quickly sealed the border between East and West Timor, and banned all news. The only word from Jakarta was that its soldiers had been "invited in" by the East Timorese to "restore order." the United States and many other Western nations remained largely silent. Portugal, however, immediately denounced the invasion, and the United Nations demanded that Indonesia withdraw its troops from East Timor without delay. President Suharto turned a deaf ear to all criticism, and on July 17, 1976, formally annexed the tiny nation.

Belo, convinced that he could serve his people best if he had the moral authority of a priest, pursued advanced studies in Portugal and then Rome. Meanwhile Indonesian troops sought to starve the East Timorese resistance by burning crops and slaughtering livestock. Jets strafed and napalmed the populated mountainsides. Soldiers herded almost half the East Timorese into camps,

where thousands died from disease or starvation.

Belo's exile ended when he was ordained in 1981 and given the post of rector of the Fatumaca seminary near Baucau, East Timor's second-largest town and by now headquarters of at least 10,000 troops. *At last*, he told himself upon arrival in East Timor, *I can share my people's sorrow*.

On the 70-mile drive from Dili, Belo had to halt a dozen military checkpoints. Everywhere he looked, soldiers strutted. After dropping his things off in Bacau, he traveled to his home village.

His aged mother clasped his hands when he entered the family's modest home. "The Indonesians have done terrible things to our people," she said. Over the next few days, Belo was horrified to find only women and children in some villages. Thousands of males had been forced into the Indonesian army to fight against the East Timorese resistance.

As aggrieved as he felt, he decided not to speak out. Better to accept Indonesian rule in the interests of peace.

This cannot be, a stunned Belo thought as he studied the telegram. Just two years after his arrival in Baucau, the Vatican had chosen him to be East Timor's new Apostolic Administrator—the leader of the Catholic Church in his homeland. Among his concerns was that he had been picked solely because he wasn't likely to promote dissent.

His fellow East Timorese clerics suspected even worse. "He's nothing but a puppet," they muttered in private. All 37 priests boycotted the installation ceremony. *They're convinced I'm an Indonesian stooge*, Belo thought glumly. Little did the others suspect the battle that was shortly to rage within him.

It was triggered by the courageous East Timorese who regularly slipped into Belo's home to tell him about atrocities. One secret visitor was a middle-aged woman who had pulled a shawl over her face to hide her identity from army informers. "The soldiers shot my son dead as he was walking across the fields," she whispered through stifled sobs.

Deeply moved, Belo placed a hand on her shoulder. "I'll seek justice for you," he promised.

At a reception the next morning, he approached Colonel Purwanto, the local commander of East Timor's occupation force, and told him the mother's story. Colonel Purwanto turned his back.

Before long, Belo lost count of the people who sought him out to report the disappearance, jailing, rape or murder of friends or family members. Belo confronted the local military commanders again and again, but was always dismissed.

The dwindling resistance force on the run, Jakarta tightened its grip on East Timor, luring in more than 100,000 Indonesian migrants with free land and jobs. Soon most shops were owned by the newcomers, Indonesian soldiers, bureaucrats and their families thronged in the streets. Military officers lived in the handsome waterfront villas. *Dili no longer belongs to us*, Belo realized.

East Timorese clerics shared his outrage but also saw cause for hope in Belo's willingness to expose atrocities. "Perhaps," they said, "he has the backbone for this task after all."

Belo was named bishop in 1988. This time at his installation ceremony in Dili, he was flanked by smiling East Timorese clergy. Unfortunately, the task before Belo remained critical. The military continued to torture, rape and kill innocent East Timorese.

The campaign of cultural obliteration was equally relentless. TV and radio were not broadcast in East Timor's lingua franca, Tetum, but in Bahasa Indonesia. East Timorese students had to sing the Indonesian anthem before lessons and perform Indonesian songs and dances at school concerts. Indonesian companies swarmed in from Jakarta as the government poured millions of dollars into infrastructure projects. Migrants from the mainland elbowed aside the East Timorese, whose unemployment soared.

When security forces arrested hundreds of East Timorese just before Suharto's visit in November 1988, an enraged Belo ordered that a statement be read from all pulpits. "We condemn the lying propaganda according to which abuses of human rights do not exist in East Timor," the message said.

When a village leader passed on army boasts that they would soon crush the bishop and the Catholic Church, Belo responded with a resigned smile. "One day the soldiers will kill me," he said.

In the fading light of February 6, 1989, Bishop Belo sat in his study, composing a letter to the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. "We are dying as a people," he wrote. He pleaded to the U.N. to conduct a referendum on independence in East Timor.

It was a desperate move, but Belo could see that much of the world had come to accept Indonesia's annexation. The United States, Britain, Germany, Australia and others were major arms suppliers to Jakarta.

Several weeks later, Archbishop Francesco Canalini, the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta, summoned Belo in a rage. "Keep out of politics!" the portly archbishop thundered. Late-night callers threatened to kill Belo.

But he remained boldly defiant, and the East Timorese admired this. By 1990 the number of Catholics in East Timor had surged from 30 percent of the population to 85 percent. Adherents of animism, whose religion was outlawed by Jakarta, resisted inducements to become Muslim and converted in droves to Catholicism.

The bishop became the hero of the young, yet Belo could not be sure they supported his message of nonviolence. He knew they were ripe for rebellion. It was in late 1991 that 2000 East Timorese gathered in the Santa Cruz cemetery to mourn their friend's murder—and fled, or died, in a hail of bullets.

Bishop Belo never felt more helpless than when he walked among the carnage in Santa Cruz cemetery, but his anguish was turned to cold anger by the arrogance of the soldiers. Inside the cemetery chapel, he was horrified to find six badly injured young men, coated in their own blood but still alive. "Bishop, help me, give me water!" one of them cried. The troops refused to let Belo fetch water.

Back at his residence, he learned how the onslaught began. Without warning, the Indonesians had opened fire at point blank range. A *New Yorker* reporter, in Dili under guise of a tourist, wrote that "men and women fell, shivering in the street... The soldiers chased down young boys and girls and shot them in the back."

The next morning, Belo confronted the military commander, demanding to see the wounded and dead. "Go to the hospital if that is your wish," the officer said with an indifferent shrug.

At the military hospital, the bishop moved tearfully among more than 200 injured East Timorese, most in their teens. Three days later, he returned to the hospital. Only 90 youngsters remained.

Belo got a first inkling of the likely fate of the missing wounded when a nurse paid him a visit. "I washed the bodies of 78 murdered East Timorese," he whispered. Later a medical aide told how he had seen military doctors giving lethal injections to some of the wounded.

A parishioner related that an Indonesian soldier he knew had confided he'd been forced to take part in the executions of dozens of injured. Trucks had taken them from the military hospital to an open mass grave in the hills, he said, where they were sewn into rice sacks. "The soldiers shot them one by one and pushed the sacks into the grave," said the distraught man. In all, more than 250 died in the massacre and its aftermath.

Belo helped smuggle two eyewitnesses to the massacre out of East Timor to Geneva, where they testified before the U.N. Human

Rights Commission. *Whatever it takes*, Belo vowed, the world will learn about this evil.

By 1993 the Indonesian military had weakened all East Timorese resistance and reduced the Fretilin guerrillas to a few hundred, but the atrocities continued. The bishop shared the grim details with journalists and reiterated his call for a U.N.-sponsored referendum.

Finally foreign governments were moved to action. The U.S. Congress passed legislation requiring the White House to bar the sale and transfer of lethal crowd-control equipment and small arms to Indonesia pending "significant progress" in human-rights conditions in East Timor. Australia's pro-Jakarta Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, began criticizing Indonesia's human rights record. Amnesty International issued a damning report of prisoner torture and ill-treatment.

Reacting to international outrage, Jakarta set up a 25-member National Commission on Human Rights to monitor abuses. When soldiers near Dili executed six unarmed civilians last year, the commission found the killings "unlawful," and a court martial jailed two for up to 4 + years. "It's a beginning," Belo told a Western reporter.

Telephoned death threats to the bishop increased, often to several a week, but the bishop remained defiant. Last year he received the John Humphrey Freedom Award, named for the Canadian who drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition to speaking out to the world, Belo continues to challenge Indonesia's attempts to co-opt the East Timorese youth. In his diocesan schools, he ordered that lessons be taught in Tetum up to six hours a week. He further arranged for Tetum textbooks to be published and smuggled into East Timor.

One Sunday early last year, several hundred East Timorese gathered in Bishop Belo's garden for Mass. "Christ suffered so much for us," he said. "But in his Resurrection we see our own hope for the time when we are at last free."

His sermon was a direct glimpse into his soul. For the bishop still trusts that freedom will come, that Indonesia will one day grant East Timor self-rule. But, like every East Timorese, he also lives with an abiding fear.

After the service he pulled aside a visiting journalist. "We beg the outside world not to forget us," he said softly. "If that happens, we are doomed."

BEHIND THE LINES (EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION)

"Meet Us at Ten O'clock Tonight"

Reader's Digest staff writer Paul Raffaele knew a challenge lay ahead when he received word that Bishop Carlos Belo, an outspo-

ken critic of Indonesia's rule of his homeland, East Timor, was offering his first-ever in-depth interview. It was up to the Australia-based Raffaele to figure out how to get into East Timor and stay long enough to chronicle Belo's 14-year struggle.

Ever since Indonesia's invasion of the remote island 20 years ago, most journalists have been barred from visiting East Timor, about 300 miles north of Australia. The few granted official access have had their movements severely limited by the Indonesian intelligence agency known as Intel. The reason is simple: Indonesia, the world's fourth-most-populous nation, doesn't want the outside world to know the true story of its brutal repression of the former Portuguese colony.

Raffaele started his journey on the lush Indonesian resort island of Bali, where he loaded his suitcases with hand-woven sarongs. When secret police there searched his bags as he boarded a plane for Dili, he, indeed looked like a garment buyer shopping for bargains. No one bothered to ask Raffaele if he was a journalist. But, just before takeoff, a flight attendant had a few passengers trade seats, settling an East Timorese in his 20s next to Raffaele. When the young man professed his longings for East Timorese independence and asked Raffaele his opinion, the veteran reporter sensed a trap. "I know nothing about politics," he said, fearing his companion might be an Intel agent.

Raffaele had been warned by East Timorese activists in Australia to be on the lookout for informers—at the airport, in his hotel, almost everywhere. The secret police, he was told, monitored Bishop Belo's movements, bugged his phone and kept his house under 24-hour watch. *It will be impossible to visit the bishop without being seen*, Raffaele quickly realized after reaching Dili. So he kept busy buying sarongs, and then revealed a true story to whose whom he told he intended to visit the bishop. "I'm related to Mary McKillop," he announced, referring to an Australian nun known to East Timorese Catholics. "I've brought two books about her life to present to the bishop."

Books in hand, Raffaele simply walked in the bishop's front door, and for several days over the next week learned firsthand the incredible details of Belo's life and of his people's courageous struggle for independence. He took care never to leave his notes in his hotel room. It turned out to be a wise precaution, for, each day, Raffaele found telltale signs that his baggage had been searched.

When he wasn't with the bishop, Raffaele wandered through streets of four East Timor towns, buying sarongs and observing

ordinary life. He attended Mass daily. Often only in churches would local people dare whisper to foreigners about the horrible human-rights abuses that plague their land. "My brother was shot dead by soldiers," one young man quietly told Raffaele. "My father was taken by Intel agents, and we haven't seen him since," a woman in her early 20s said through the tears.

As Raffaele waited to enter the confessional one morning, a boy approached him. "Meet us on the beach road at ten tonight if you want to hear more about our struggle," the boy murmured. That night a car whisked Raffaele to a clandestine meeting, where he heard appalling accounts of the torture, mutilation and murder the East Timorese have suffered at the hands of Indonesian security forces.

Raffaele's story of Bishop Belo and his people's struggle for freedom appears on page 29.

— The Editors

JAKARTA BARS READER'S DIGEST NEWSSTAND SALES

HONG KONG, March 19 (Reuters) - Indonesia has barred news stand sales of Reader's Digest's March edition, possibly due to a profile of an East Timorese Roman Catholic Bishop critical of Jakarta, a spokeswoman for the magazine said on Tuesday.

"There was no reference from the Ministry of Information as to why they were suppressing the circulation of the magazine," Liz Dingwall told Reuters in Hong Kong.

"We are assuming that it is because of a human rights article which describes Bishop Carlos Belo defending the rights of Christians (in East Timor)," she said.

Mainly Moslem Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and made it a province in 1976 in a process not recognised by the United Nations.

Bishop Belo has been outspoken about Indonesia's alleged human rights violations in East Timor, which is predominantly Roman Catholic.

Reader's Digest has a total of circulation of about 12,000 copies in Indonesia but the government would only allow the 2,343 subscriber copies of the March issue to be circulated. "The balance of newsstand copies is not allowed to go on the news stand," Dingwall said.

INDONESIA DENIES BANNING READER'S DIGEST EDITION

JAKARTA, March 26 (Reuters) - Indonesia on Tuesday denied banning the March issue of Reader's Digest.

"There is no ban imposed at all," Indrawadi Tamin, the information ministry's director of public relations, told Reuters by telephone.

Reader's Digest spokeswoman Liz Dingwall said in Hong Kong last week that Indonesia's information department had written to them saying the magazine had been barred from news stand sales.

Dingwall said the decision cut the usual circulation of the publication in Indonesia from 12,000 to 2,343 subscriber copies.

"There was no reference from the Ministry of Information as to why they were suppressing the circulation of the magazine," she said last week.

"We are assuming that it is because of a human rights article which describes Bishop Carlos Belo defending the rights of Christians (in East Timor)," she said.

But Tamin said on Tuesday he was unaware of such a letter.

"As far as I know there is no such letter," he said.

He said the March edition could be received by subscribers.

An employee at one bookstore said it did not receive the March edition of the publication.

Belo has been an outspoken critic of Indonesia's alleged human rights violation in East Timor which Jakarta invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year.

The Jakarta Post newspaper on Tuesday quoted from a letter from the magazine's local distributor N.V. Indoprom as saying it had limited the circulation because of financial problems. Last week the paper quoted an Attorney-General's office spokesman as saying he had been informed of the ban by the information ministry.

INDONESIAN GENERALS BAN READERS DIGEST MARCH EDITION

Matebian News, (Feb.-March 1996).

Indonesia's ban on news sales of the March edition of Reader's Digest, which contains a profile of Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo that is highly critical of Jakarta has attracted world-wide media attention. First put on its global newswire by Reuters last week, news of the ban has since been carried by the BBC World Service, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and

many major newspapers including "The Washington Times" and Portugal's "Publico."

The Jakarta Post on Saturday (23/3/96) quoted spokesman for the Attorney General's office, Pontas Pasaribu, as saying he was informed of the ban by the Ministry of Information but he declined to comment on the reason for the decision. Reuters, however, quoted Reader's Digest spokeswoman, Liz Dingwall, as saying that the magazine was, "assuming that (the ban) is because of a human rights article" about Bishop Belo.

The article, written by Paul Raffaele, is a profile of Bishop Belo and also an expose of Indonesian cruel stranglehold on East Timor. The article traces Bishop Belo's life, concentrating on his opposition to what the writer calls, "in a remote rule of the Indonesian military." Raffaele wrote that, "in a remote land of the Malay archipelago in Southern Asia, a gentle people are stalked by terror. In the 20 years of Jakarta's iron rule, it is estimated that almost one third of East Timor's 700,000 native inhabitants have lost their lives as a result of the Indonesian invasion. Countless thousands have been tortured and raped."

[summary of article removed, as full article is above.]

To stop their own people learning the truth about East Timor, Indonesia banned news stand sales of the edition containing the explosive article headlined, "Hero For Forgotten People." Faced, however, with international condemnation of their crude attempt at censorship, in the edition of Jakarta post of 26 March 1996, the Indonesian Government denied that it had barred local news stands from selling the edition. "There had been no ban imposed at all" stated Indrawadi Tamin, the Public Relations Director of the Ministry of Information. Indrawadi showed distributor the Jakarta Post a letter from magazine's Indonesian distributor claiming that it decided to limit the distribution of the March edition because of its financial difficulties, specifically, "a problem concerning its letter of credit with its bank."

The Jakarta Post, however, reported that this statement, contradicted the earlier statement by Pontas Pasaribu, the Attorney-General office's spokesman, who told Jakarta Post that "he had been informed of the ban by the ministry of information."

In a story carried by the Indonesian newsagency on March 25 last, Antara, Indrawadi Tamin also attacked the article's author, Reader's Digest roving editor, Paul Raffaele, claiming that Raffaele had never registered himself with the ministry for his visit to East Timor as required by Indonesian regulations. Indrawadi was further

quoted as saying "we regretted that a magazine with an international reputation as the Reader's Digest should publish such an article."

In the controversial edition, Raffaele admitted that he had indeed entered East Timor clandestinely, disguised as a sarong buyer to fool Intel, the Indonesian secret police. Raffaele wrote that this was necessary because "Indonesia does not want the outside world to know the true story of its brutal repression of the former Portuguese colony." Raffaele added that while in East Timor, he "heard appalling accounts of the torture, mutilation and murder the East Timorese have suffered at the hands of the Indonesian security forces."

2XX RADIO NEWS ON READER'S DIGEST BAN IN INDONESIA

2XX News Thursday 11 April 1996, excerpt

The conservative 'Readers' Digest' has been banned in Indonesia. Its March issue profiles East Timor's pro-independence Bishop Belo with sympathy.

Journalist Paul Raffaele claims that one third of the East Timorese people died as a result of Indonesia's 1976 invasion. Of the Bishop and his flock, the 'readers' Digest' article says; "...the embattled Timorese still cling to hope embodied in the man they revere as the champion of their rights." The writer focuses on the Bishop's stand against the military's repression, shrugging off the countless threats against his life and the round the clock surveillance.

Indonesia's information ministry was particularly upset at the global media attention given to the article from the ABC, the BBC, 'The Washington Post' and Portugal's 'Publico.'

NEGOTIATIONS AND COUNTER-OFFERS

HORTA: A ROAD TO PEACE IN EAST TIMOR

PARALLELS WITH THE ISRAELI- PALESTINIAN CONFLICT MAY HELP BRING A SOLUTION IN EAST TIMOR

Sydney Morning Herald, 25 January 1996. Opinion article by José Ramos-Horta, special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

At last week's London talks on East Timor, hosted by the UN Secretary-

General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and bringing together Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, and his Portuguese counterpart, Dr. Jaime Gama, the latter made an unexpected announcement.

He offered to fly to Jakarta for discussions with his Indonesia colleague if the Indonesian side would allow him to meet the East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, who is serving a life sentence in jail after a charge of a trial in May 1993.

This was the seventh round of talks between Portugal and Indonesia. Again no tangible progress was made and the basic demand of the people of East Timor for self-determination continues to be rejected.

Instead of scaling down its army presence in East Timor, Jakarta has increased the number of troops and there has been a dramatic deterioration in the overall human rights situation.

Dr. Gama's offer held the potential to break this impasse. But, caught off guard, Mr. Alatas responded that the two countries had no diplomatic relations.

Neither did Egypt and Israel when, about 15 years ago, the late President Anwar Sadat of Egypt made a dramatic journey to Israel. In fact there was a state of war between the two countries. Sadat was gunned down not long after his historic journey but his courage paved the road to peace in a war-torn region.

As I read the media coverage of the recent Palestinian election, I could not help but wonder why Indonesia hasn't shown the courage and wisdom of Israel. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is of far greater importance and complexity. On the one hand there are the East Timorese who were never part of the Dutch East Indies and to which the new Indonesia never laid any claims: on the other side is Indonesia alone. There are no other foreign parties to the dispute, as in the Middle East with its overlapping and conflicting interests pulling in different directions.

I also noticed the similarity between the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and an earlier peace proposal by the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM) in 1992.

In a speech to the European Parliament in Brussels, I outlined a three-phase peace proposal, starting with demilitarisation, release of prisoners, setting up of a UN human rights monitoring presence in East Timor, followed by genuine autonomy based on a UN-supervised elections for a Territorial Assembly. A referendum on self-determination after a period of five to 10 years would settle the question of the legal status of the territory.

This peace proposal remains valid. The Indonesian side has rejected it.

It was agreed in London last week that the UN Secretary-General would consult with Jakarta, Lisbon and the East Timorese in order to prepare a package of ideas aimed at a comprehensive settlement to the problem. The two foreign ministers would consider this proposal in the next round of talks in July in Geneva.

The East Timorese resistance will continue to display solid determination to pursue our goal of self-determination. At the same time, we will be flexible in exploring ideas aimed at achieving real peace and freedom.

Instead of mumbling an unconvincing excuse, Mr. Alatas should display the same courage and goodwill of his Portuguese counterpart and invite Dr. Gama to visit, and allow him to meet with the man the East Timor revere most, Xanana Gusmão.

Like Nelson Mandela, Xanana Gusmão can deliver peace if the other side shows wisdom and courage and enters into a serious dialogue with him.

Who knows, in five years from now, with President Soeharto departed from the scene and a new generation in power in Jakarta, free from the security culture that has dominated the country since its formation, Indonesia may even consider granting East Timor its independence.

SEARCHING FOR A SOLUTION TO EAST TIMOR

News & Views INDONESIA, Jan. 26, 1996. Published by the Indonesian Embassy in Washington.

The seventh round of United Nations-sponsored talks on East Timor was held in London on January 16. In preparation, Indonesia drew up a plan to better develop and preserve the socio-cultural heritage of the East Timorese people.

According to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, the substantive topics of the talks were the preservation of the Timorese heritage, bilateral problems between Indonesia and Portugal, and agreeing on a framework for the solution of East Timor.

Both Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart, Jaime Gama, indicated the meeting had been constructive. An official with the Indonesian delegation to the London meeting said Alatas appeared to get on much better with Gama than with his predecessor, José Manuel Durão Barroso. Gama appeared upbeat about the meeting, saying it was "frank, open and very clear."

According to Alatas, since Gama is new in his post as foreign minister, he should be given more time to study the East Timor issue.

The two foreign ministers agreed to meet again in Geneva on June 29, with UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali as mediator. Another Intra-Timorese dialogue is also in the works.

EAST TIMORESE LEADER APPEALS FOR RELEASE OF WEST PAPUA HOSTAGES

Press Release by the CNRM in Lisbon, 5 February 1996

José Ramos-Horta, special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, (CNRM) of East Timor, issued today, from Lisbon, a statement in which he appealed to the OPM leaders in West Papua holding several Western and Indonesian hostages to release them without further delay.

"I appeal to the OPM leaders to release the Western hostages and all others without further delay. My appeal is prompted by two moral imperatives: one, the hostages are innocent civilians. One of the hostages is a three-month pregnant woman. The longer she is held under duress and in harsh conditions, the more the risks are for her and her child. The civilian hostages cannot and must not be held by those struggling for freedom and dignity of the West Papuans as pawns in their struggle. Two, the struggle of the West Papuan people for freedom and dignity is no less valid than the struggle of the Palestinian people or the struggle of the Amazon Indians for their rights as a people, for their land and values. However, in the pursuit of its goals, the OPM cannot use the same methods that have been used by its adversaries, the Indonesian army. It must set an example of integrity and dignity, of compliance with certain fundamental norms such as respect for the well-being of civilians and non-combatants.. Therefore I am appealing to the OPM leaders to release their hostages immediately."

Mr. José Ramos-Horta, who is a member of the Peace Action Council of the Hague-based Un-represented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO), and has just been awarded the first UNPO Award, offered to travel to Papua New Guinea or West Papua to secure the release of the hostages. He offered his good offices to the Dutch and British governments several weeks ago but regrettably there has been no response from any of the parties in this hostage crisis. He reiterates his availability to the governments concerned, including Indonesia, and the OPM, and is prepared to travel immediately to Papua New Guinea or Jayapura in West Papua, to arrange for the safe departure of all hostages.

Speaking from Lisbon, Mr. Ramos-Horta made a direct appeal to the Indonesian government to continue to show restraint in using military force and to cooperate in facilitating his personal intervention which he believes can secure the safe release of the hostages: 'I can understand the feelings of the West Papuans better than most people and I believe I can secure the release of the hostages and spare the West Papuans a massive Indonesian military retaliation that will inevitably cause the death of many innocent people.'

JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA CHATHAM HOUSE ADDRESS

East Timor: The Struggle for Self-Determination and Its Future in South-east Asia

An address to The Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, London, 23 April 1996. José Ramos-Horta is the Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, underground umbrella organisation based in East Timor comprising all East Timorese groups opposed to Indonesia's occupation and led by Xanana Gusmão.

Professor Sir Laurence Martin,
Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

First of all, I wish to thank you, Sir Laurence, for your kind and generous invitation extended to me to address this most prestigious institution. I am particularly grateful for this opportunity to offer my views on the conflict between the people of my native country, East Timor, and the Republic of Indonesia, since the latter has had more a important person than me, with opposite views to mine, address this forum only three months ago.

I shall not use this forum to level attacks on the Republic of Indonesia or on the persons on whose behalf policies are carried out that profoundly affect my country and people. Nor shall I indulge in the role of judge of the actions of the government of Indonesia. I leave it to you and the international community to form your own judgment on the basis of the abundant written and visual material available from sources much more impartial than this person addressing you today.

I will try to the best of my ability to articulate the views of the man who should be here today as he is the real leader of our struggle and people. He is an outstanding man of courage, determination, generosity, tolerance, vision and statesmanship. Yet, such a man is in prison for no crime other than his ideas and vision of peace, freedom and dignity of his people.

I refer to Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the people of East Timor who remains virtually incommunicado in a prison thousands of miles away from his country in contravention of the 4th Geneva Convention. His trial in 1993 was universally condemned as a charade and was no more valid than the Dutch imprisonment and trial of the late President Sukarno, founding father of the Indonesian Republic. The actions of Indonesian leaders and indeed of many others never cease to intrigue me in that they emulate well the policies of their former colonial masters. The Dutch justified their presence in what is today's Indonesia as a civilising necessity to lift their backward colonial subjects. Today, we hear the same claims of a civilising mission in regard to the peoples of West Papua and East Timor by our new colonisers, the same ones who accused the Dutch of colonialism.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to set the East Timor conflict in its historical and geopolitical context for a better understanding of our struggle and tragedy.

You might recall a picture that made headlines in the spring of 1975. I refer to the picture of an American helicopter landing on the rooftop of the US Embassy in Saigon to rescue remaining diplomats, CIA operatives and few privileged South Vietnamese stooges as Saigon fell to the Vietcong. Cambodia and Laos followed. This picture illustrated better than a thousand words the ignominious American retreat from Indochina. For the leaders in Moscow it was the beginning of Russian expansion and influence, the execution of the Brezhnev doctrine.

In another continent, in the horn of Africa, the longest reigning US ally, emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, had been overthrown a year earlier by radical army of-fices. Further South, the Portuguese empire had collapsed and Marxist forces gained power in Angola and Mozambique. These events seemed to confirm Lyndon B. Johnson's domino theory which was the rationale for US intervention in Indochina.

It was in this geopolitical context that President Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, visited Jakarta in early December 1975 as part of an Asian tour to reassure Asian leaders that the US would continue to honour its security commitments in Asia.

The invasion of East Timor which took place within hours of Ford's departure from Jakarta was a mere footnote in the geopolitical events of 1975. Thousands of East Timorese who died in the days, weeks, months and years that followed were mere footnotes to the post-Vietnam and Cold Wars.

We were not unaware of the developments taking place in our region nor were we insensitive to the concerns of our giant neighbours, Indonesia and Australia.

In June 1974 I visited Jakarta, in my capacity as secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Timorese Social Democratic Association, that had just been created, less than a month earlier. I had the privilege of meeting with the then Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik. After our third round of talks, Mr. Malik addressed to me a letter which read in part:

"The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people of (East) Timor;

"...whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence can be assured that the government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and co-operation for the benefit of both countries."

In the course of our discussions, I conveyed to Mr. Malik our desire to develop close relations with Indonesia and our intention to seek membership in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the future after independence. In an effort to appease our neighbour, I went as far as proposing that our future diplomats and security forces be trained in Indonesia. Adam Malik's words were those of a statesman conscious of his country's lack of any valid historical claim to East Timor. He viewed the emergence of an independent East Timor as a natural outcome of the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire.

The following year, in April 1975, I again visited Indonesia and met with President Suharto's senior adviser, Gen. Ali Mortopo, to whom I reiterated our collective desire to develop friendly relations with Indonesia. Gen. Mortopo reassured me that Indonesia harboured no territorial ambitions over East Timor. However, we soon learned that the word of an Indonesian general or diplomat can be broken as easily as it is spoken.

The current boundary of the Republic of Indonesia is a product of the Dutch East Indies administration. West New Guinea was absorbed by the Republic not because of any reasonable historical, cultural, ethnic kinship or geographic continuity. The only link that justified its forcible annexation was West New Guinea's brief colonisation by the Dutch.

A strict respect for the colonial boundaries, as unfair as most might be, has provided some peace and stability and kept most of Africa, Latin America and Asia from disintegrating. Some ill-advised attempts to redraw the colonial map have led to war. Siad Barre of Somalia tried to do it in

1977 by invading the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. Somalia's problems of the last few years can be traced back to that fateful adventure. Argentina invaded the Falklands in 1982. However, here at least, that audacious military adventure had a positive side effect. The murderous military regime in Buenos Aires did not survive the humiliation of defeat and within months democracy was restored to that great country. World War II was started with attempts by the Third Reich to expand eastwards. This is also what President Suharto and his many generals, Ali Mortopo, Pangabeian and Benny Murdani, did in 1975.

During the Cold War, Indonesia justified its case for colonising East Timor with the bogus communist threat. Now that the Cold War is over, another argument has to be found and what better than the Yugoslavia scenario to scare off the rest of the world?

Twenty years after the invasion, the problem of East Timor has not disappeared. A video camera in the hands of a courageous cameraman recorded for the first time one of the many massacres that took place in my country. The massacre of 271 Timorese civilians in Dili on 12 November 1991 was not an isolated incident. It followed a well-documented pattern of gross and systematic human rights abuses in many parts of East Timor perpetrated by the members of the Indonesian armed forces with the full knowledge of, and active participation by, the highest ranking officers in the army. But I shall not elaborate any further on this and on the so many other cases of senseless killing in East Timor. Suffice is to add that the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Mr. Bacre Waly Ndiaye, of Senegal, a much more authoritative person than me, has detailed at length the circumstances surrounding the 12 November 1991 massacre in Dili and a widespread pattern of abuses. His report was preceded by an earlier one, that of the Special Rapporteur on Torture, Prof. Peter Kooijmans, of the Netherlands, who happened to be in Dili on 12 November 1991. His report on the torture practices in East Timor and in Indonesia was presented to the UN CHR in February 1992.

Allow me ladies and gentlemen, to elaborate now on the general principle of self-determination and its applicability in the case of East Timor.

The right of the people of East Timor to self-determination is widely recognised. Apart from Australia, the only Western industrialised country to have extended *de jure* recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, no other country has done so. I was pleased to hear in a meeting a year ago with Mr. Alastair Goodlad, a Minister in the Foreign Office, that the UK does not

recognise Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor. In Sweden, I met an old friend, Pierre Scori, Deputy Foreign Minister, who reiterated his country's support for the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. In September 1993 I visited a great little country, Ireland. I was always fascinated by its dramatic history, immensely rich and vibrant culture and seduced by its natural beauty. For me it was a personal pilgrimage to Ireland when I finally visited that country. I met with the then Foreign Minister, Mr. David Andrew, who stated his country's support for our right to self-determination. The EU members as a whole have not accepted Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor.

The UN General Assembly and Security Council have adopted a total of 10 resolutions on the question of East Timor all reaffirming this right. In its ruling of 30 June 1995 on the Case Concerning East Timor, Portugal Vs Australia, the International Court of Justice stated that the right of self-determination has an *erga omnes* character and that the people of East Timorese were still entitled to it.

From the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh to Bougainville in the South Pacific, from Sri Lanka to India, from Chechnya to Abkhazia, from the Ogoni in Nigeria to the West Papuans, millions of peoples seek to assert their most fundamental rights and if we attempt to find a common denominator for the problems I have just listed there is one: the right of these peoples to self-determination. Governments must be sensitive and wise to the basic demands of their own people. In most cases these demands are not for secession, they are about their survival as a people with a language and a culture, with their land and environment protected from rapacious multinationals. Only when these basic demands are not met there has been recourse to other forms of struggle with an escalation in their demands.

While self-determination in the decolonisation process of the non-self-governing territories almost always led to independence, this is not the case in most of the conflicts of today. Some groups demand full independence, others demand only some measure of self-rule. Hence, self-determination should not be equated only with independence or secession. Rather it should be an informed choice made by people that ranges from limited autonomy that guarantees their native languages, culture, social and economic rights to full independence.

I understand the legitimate concerns of some developing countries like Indonesia and India in preserving their national unity and territorial integrity. Many developing countries, Indonesia being a prime example,

experienced a traumatic nation building process with numerous attempts from within and without to undermine the unity of the state. Hence the security culture that permeates the military and the Indonesian ruling élite.

The exercise of the right of a people to self-determination never caused the fragmentation of a country. This has been largely the result of artificial arrangements imposed on the people. The break-up of Yugoslavia and the USSR does not lend credibility to the argument that self-determination is the cause of instability and war. Forced amalgamation of peoples without due respect for their history, culture, language, religion, the policies of population transfer practised by states as a means to consolidate that amalgamation, are the causes of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the USSR.

I do not hold the view that an independent state has to be homogenous, ethnically, culturally or religiously. Examples abound of multi-ethnic states that live in peace, based on shared concerns and destiny, on a degree of genuine political and administrative autonomy for each component, and of deep respect for each others heritage and aspirations.

However, the preservation of the territorial integrity of a country can be achieved only if those in power are sensitive to the basic demands and aspirations of the many indigenous peoples and nationalities that make up the country. Brute force might silence and keep dormant the dreams and aspirations of a people but the anger simmering for decades will inevitably resurface and break up the country.

The events of the last few months in West Papua illustrate my point. Ladies and gentlemen, if you have a chance I would advise you to see an excellent documentary by Claudio Von Planta on the West Papuan struggle, entitled *Rebels of a Forgotten War*. The documentary records the colonisation of West Papua by its new coloniser, Indonesia, and decades of brutalities and destruction of their environment and wealth, the threat to their survival as a people by a strategy of population transfer. The problem of West Papua will not go away and the West Papuans are learning to be more effective both on the home front and internationally and will pose an even greater problem for Jakarta than East Timor.

Yet, in spite of the problems of East Timor, Aceh and West Papua, Indonesia is fortunate in that it does not have the kind of powerful ethnic and religious movements that exist in India, Sudan, China, Sri Lanka or the Philippines, where, in some cases, there are powerful regional powers fuelling the conflicts for their own strategic interest. The conflict in West Papua has grown from

bad to worse since its annexation in 1969 because the anger in the hearts of the people stems from desperation at seeing their very existence threatened. But no outside force has ever offered that impoverished people any moral or material support. Indonesia must look in East Timor, in Aceh and West Papua for the roots of the problems it faces. Blaming outside instigators does not resolve the problem.

The Israeli-Palestinian peace talks and South Africa's transition to democracy give us renewed hope in that they demonstrate that seemingly intractable problems can be resolved if there is political will and vision by all involved. Our imprisoned leader, Xanana Gusmão, has proposed and reiterated time and again our very basic stance. We remain ready to enter into a process of dialogue with the Indonesian authorities, under the auspices of the United Nations, without pre-conditions, to explore all possible ideas towards a comprehensive settlement of the conflict. The head of the Catholic Church of East Timor, Bishop Ximenes Belo, a leading Nobel Peace Prize candidate, called for a referendum on the future of East Timor. Mr. Konis Santana, leader of the armed resistance, has reiterated his full support for the CNRM three-phase Peace Initiative.

Allow me, ladies and gentleman, to elaborate on this Peace Initiative. I began to reflect on this modest set of ideas in February 1989 when the then Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs asked us for some recommendations on how Portugal should proceed in the dialogue with Indonesia. Xanana Gusmão, leader of the resistance, gave his seal of authority after consulting with all his field commanders and political leaders in East Timor before it was formally presented to a meeting of the European Parliament in Brussels on 22 April 1992 and to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on 14 May 1992. The CNRM proposal remains valid as a modest contribution towards finding a solution to the conflict.

Phase One - Humanitarian phase

This phase which should take up to two years to be fully implemented, would involve all three parties working with the UN to implement a wide range of "confidence building measures," but would not deal with the core of the problem which is the issue of self-determination. This phase of the talks must focus on achieving:

- Immediate end to all armed activities in East Timor;
- Reduction of Indonesian troop presence to a maximum of 1,000 within a six-month period;

- Removal of all heavy weapons, tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft, long-range artillery;
- Immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners;
- Reduction by 50 per cent of Indonesian civil servants in East Timor;
- Stationing in the territory of UN Specialised Agencies such as UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO;
- A comprehensive census of the population;
- Establishment of an independent Human Rights Commission under the Catholic Bishop;
- Lifting of all Media control by the army;
- Freedom of political activities;
- Removal of restrictions on the teaching of Portuguese; a Portuguese Cultural Institute is set up;
- Appointment of a resident Representative of the UN secretary-general.

These are some of the ideas which I believe could be implemented immediately without loss of face for Indonesia. On the contrary, its international standing would improve significantly and its presence in the territory would be less resented, thus relieving a very tense situation.

Phase Two - Autonomy, 5-10 years

Phase Two, lasting between five and ten years, would be a period of genuine political autonomy based on ample powers vested in a local, democratically elected Territorial People's Assembly. The following ideas could be explored and effected:

- Political parties, including those advocating independence for East Timor, are legalised;
- The EU sets up a legation in East Timor headed by a senior Portuguese official;
- Elections are held for a Territorial Assembly. The UN to provide technical support and supervision of the entire process;
- Only Timorese identified as such may vote and be eligible;
- The Assembly elects a Governor of the Territory;
- The Assembly and the Governor have a 5-year mandate;
- The Territory may enter into trade relations with foreign countries, promulgate its own laws affecting investment, land ownership, property, immigration, etc.;
- Remaining Indonesian troops are withdrawn within three months;
- The Territory will have no army. A police force is trained by the UN and is placed under the elected governor;

- Further reduction of Indonesian civil servants;
- Portugal and Indonesia normalise relations.

At the end of the second phase, the autonomous status of the territory could be extended by mutual accord. Seven years would have elapsed since this Peace Initiative was effected. The East Timorese people, having enjoyed a period of peace and freedom without the presence of the most hated symbol of the occupation, the army, might accept to continue this form of association. Conversely, the changing generation, attitudes and perception in Indonesia might also result in Indonesia accepting as natural that East Timor becomes independent

Phase Three - Self-determination

If all parties agree that Phase Three should enter into effect immediately, then the UN begins to prepare a referendum on self-determination to determine the final status of the territory.

However, a referendum might not be necessary as in the cases of Namibia and Zimbabwe. It is required only when there is some doubt about the will of the people of the colonial territory on the issue of independence. In the cases of Namibia and Zimbabwe there was no question that the two countries should be independent. Instead of a referendum, internationally-supervised elections were held for a Constituent Assembly. In the case of East Timor, most observers believed in 1974-75 that the overwhelming majority of the people of East Timor favoured independence with close links with Portugal. The option of integration with Indonesia was never a serious one. However, the crucial factor here was what Indonesia wanted and not what the East Timorese wanted.

If in the next few years Jakarta considers it in its interest to let East Timor become independent, a referendum to determine the wishes of the people would become redundant. In this case, internationally-supervised elections for a Constituent Assembly should be held, regardless of the results, the East Timorese political contenders should form a government of national unity for a period of five years.

If God willing, East Timor becomes independent, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to share with you, our vision for our country's future and our role in the region.

East Timor is at the cross-roads of three major cultures: Melanesian which binds us to our brothers and sisters of the South Pacific region; Malay-Polynesian binding us to Southeast Asia; and the Latin Catholic influence, a legacy of almost 500 years of Portuguese colonisation. This rich historical and cultural existence place us in a unique

position to build bridges of dialogue and co-operation between the peoples of the region.

East Timor will maintain close ties with Portugal, a country which colonised us for almost half a millennium has shown an abiding commitment to our right to self-determination. Portugal and East Timor will be most valuable partners for ASEAN in its relations with the EU, Africa and Latin America.

The majority of the East Timorese residents outside the country are in Australia. We will offer ourselves as a bridge between Australia and the South Pacific island-states as well as between Australia and Southeast Asia.

We are conscious of our geography which compels us to co-exist with our neighbours in this part of the world. We will seek membership in ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum within days of our independence.

We will not have a standing army. For our external security, we will rely on a Treaty of Neutrality to be guaranteed by the permanent members of the Security Council. We will endeavour with the UN and our neighbours to declare the seas surrounding East Timor a Zone of Peace and work towards total demilitarisation of the entire East Asia and Pacific regions.

We will endeavour to build a strong democratic state based on the rule of law which must emanate from the will of the people expressed through free and democratic elections.

We will encourage a free and independent media as the voice of the people, a media that informs and educates, and we believe the media should be as independent as the judiciary. We also believe that there can be no foreign interests controlling the local media.

All international human rights treaties will be submitted to the Parliament for ratification. We believe that human rights transcend boundaries and prevail over state sovereignty. We will introduce into the school curriculum at an early stage the subject of human rights. We will actively work with like-minded countries, NGOs and the media to strengthen the UN human rights machinery. We will actively support the creation of an international human rights court and a penal court to try war crimes and crimes against humanity. We will seek the co-operation of UN human rights agencies as well as NGOs to assist us in our efforts to promote respect for human rights and the rule of law in our country.

East Timorese now serving in the Indonesian administration in East Timor, the security forces and police, should not fear an independent East Timor. They will be invited to stay on as their full and active involvement in running the country will be

necessary to insure a smooth transition. On day one of independence, we will proclaim a general amnesty and national reconciliation. To be true to ourselves, we will forgive our worst enemies.

Our society will not be based on hatred and revenge. Because of its credibility and standing over the past twenty years, the Catholic Church will be expected to play a major role in the healing process of our society. Our people are fortunate to have two outstanding men, Xanana Gusmão as the political leader, and Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, as the spiritual leader, whose combined moral authority and vision will guarantee that the people of East Timor will heal the wounds of the war and embrace each other and their neighbours.

East Timor is a relatively small country. But with an area of 18,889 km² and a total population of 700,000 (1974 figures), it is at least equal to, if not larger, in size and population, than some 40 independent states. It is four times the size of Brunei and 40 times larger than Singapore. It is potentially self-sufficient in most agricultural goods, meat and fish. It has large reserves of natural gas, manganese and oil.

The CNRM is developing a three 5-year national reconstruction and development plan for an independent East Timor with a projected budget of US\$1,500 million. We believe that a consortium of governments (US, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Canada, Portugal and the EU), UN agencies and other multilateral bodies, the private sector and regional development banks, can harness the needed financial and human resources.

We will channel our resources into food production in order to feed our people. We will seek the co-operation of UN Specialised Agencies such as the FAO, World Food Program, UNDP. However, all our policies will be a result of close consultation with the people in each region, town and village. In addition, in co-operation with the FAO and other international bodies, we will initiate a massive reforestation program to repair our badly damaged environment.

The invasion up-rooted thousands of people. Properties were abandoned, destroyed or sold at unfair prices. This situation will be redressed. A voluntary resettlement plan will be effected to allow the many tens of thousands of displaced East Timorese to return to their ancestral lands.

We believe in free education and health care for our people. The money saved from not having a standing army will be well used in these areas. At least 40% of our resources will be allocated to our best resource - our people - through massive investment in health, education and food production. With the co-operation of WHO we will seek to

eradicate malaria, tuberculosis and other preventable diseases within a decade.

It is estimated that over 100,000 Indonesians are now living in East Timor. Most are poor Indonesians who came to our country looking for a better life. We would not be true to ourselves if we were to turn our backs on our poor neighbours. Indonesian migrants in East Timor will be welcome to stay and with us build a better home for us all. They have brought with them the wealth of their culture which can enrich the whole community.

Ladies and gentlemen: this is in brief our vision for the future of our tortured country. For the past 20 years, our neighbours have turned their back on us. They should offer their Indonesian neighbours a word of wisdom, pleading with them to seize the olive branch we have been offering since 1974 when I met with Adam Malik.

Indonesia is mediating the conflict in Mindanao and is credited along with Australia for the peace process in Cambodia. Shouldn't we expect that the Indonesian government which has shown such willingness in mediating its neighbours internal problems show also similar vision in negotiating an end to its occupation of East Timor?

We are as determined as we are optimistic about our future. To Indonesia and our other neighbours in the ASEAN we are offering a hand of friendship and appealing to them to help us bring peace and freedom to East Timor. More pain and misery and loss of lives can be spared, more embarrassment in the international fora can be avoided if ASEAN live up to its responsibilities.

The EU, working with the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Indonesia's partners in ASEAN, can accelerate the on-going dialogue under the auspices of the UN secretary-general, give it some impetus and real substance. Occasional expressions of concern about the human rights situation in East Timor are no longer enough. The weapons the Western countries have provided the regime in Indonesia have made them accomplices in the on-going suffering. Hence our demand that they live up to their moral responsibility.

No country, no matter how rich and endowed with natural resources, is an island into itself. In an increasingly smaller world and competitive age, where modern electronic communications break the barriers of silence erected by dictators, Indonesia cannot continue to flout the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and the rule of law in Indonesia.

The next two to three years will witness a transition in Indonesia and the EU can encourage a peaceful, evolutionary transition with a discreet yet firm policy of pushing

for democratic reforms and rule of law in Indonesia and for a genuine act of self-determination in East Timor.

The world has changed dramatically in the last few years and the theorists of irreversibility and status quo have been discredited by the collapse of the USSR. Who would have thought it possible that the great Armenian people, persecuted for hundreds of years would regain a country called Armenia? The entire world conspired against the Eritrean people. Americans, Russians and Cubans all connived against that small nation. Today Eritrea is a shining example for the rest of the world. Two great nations, Israelis and Palestinians, who swore eternal hatred have shown courage and wisdom and begun a painful process of dialogue.

The movement for democracy, human rights and the rule of law is irreversible. Even in our tortured region, Asia, some extraordinary events without precedent are taking place. The events in South Korea are of enormous significance for democracy and the rule of law in the entire Asia region. The brave people of Korea who endured decades of dictatorship and occupation won the struggle for democracy not with guns but with their tenacity in fighting the troops in the streets of Seoul and Kwangju.

For the first time in the history of Asia, former heads of states and other leaders are being prosecuted for their crimes whilst in office. The people of South Korea are challenging the impunity of public office and the sacrosanct myth of national security interest which allows leaders to imprison, torture and murder with impunity. The South Korean struggle is being watched closely in Asia and is sending tremors to Thailand, Burma, China, Indonesia.

We are proud of our relationship with the brave people of Burma and I extend here our solidarity to the people of Burma and their elected leader, Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, in their struggle for democracy, rule of law and human rights. In July 1994 I spent almost two weeks in Mannerplaw meeting with leaders and representatives of all Burma's nationalities. I was overwhelmed by their hardship but also by their resilience and faith. I felt small in the face of their greatness. At a time when the ASEAN rulers are conniving with the SLORC regime to deny the people of Burma their legitimate victory, we must all stand up and redouble our efforts to restore democracy to Burma.

The peoples of Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, the democracy movements in China and Indonesia, are telling the rest of the world that the struggle for democracy and human rights is not an invention of the West or of Western NGOs. The

rest of the world owes the peoples of Asia a moral duty to stand by them.

Last but not least, for the prophets of doom, for those in government who counsel us realism, allow me to remind them of a news item in the ever reliable BBC a few years ago. It was sometime in early 1991 and I was driving from the small Swiss town of Nyon, to the Palais des Nations in Geneva, to yet another round of futility in a place where diplomats pretend to be too busy and important to listen to real problems of real peoples, but are always eager to give us advice on being realistic.

The BBC was telling us the story of a Soviet cosmonaut who had gone into space a few months earlier on one of those record-breaking missions in space. When he was blasted off from somewhere in the Soviet Union he carried a passport and a nationality granted to him by the mightiest and most feared military empire in the world. Once he completed his tour of duty for the pride of the socialist motherland he prepared the spacecraft for its return voyage to earth. But he no longer had a country to return to. The mighty empire had ceased to exist. He was forced to circle the earth a few days longer until people of good will on earth decided to which country he should go.

I hope one day to climb up to the Potala in Lhasa and visit my good friend His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama of Tibet and invite him to visit a free and independent East Timor. The Tibetan people deserve peace and freedom and the whole of humanity will benefit from the peace-making role that an independent Tibet can play. Thousands of years of a philosophy and religion that teach peace should be released from captivity into freedom and put to the service of the world.

With this note, I will end with renewed hope that no matter the level of brute force used against us, our dreams will never die.

God bless you all. Thank you.

UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN GENEVA

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER VISITS INDONESIA [AND E. TIMOR]

News & Views INDONESIA, a monthly publication of the Indonesian embassy in Washington DC, is now available on the World-wide Web. The URL is <http://www.newsIndonesia.com>. From the Jan. 26, 1996 issue.

At the invitation of the Indonesian government, U.N. High Commissioner of Human Rights José Ayala Lasso visited Indo-

nesia Dec. 4-8. The High Commissioner is mandated by a 1994 resolution of the U.N. General Assembly to engage in dialogue with all governments with a view to securing respect for human rights. In Jakarta, he met with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, as well as the ministers of justice and defence, officials of the supreme court, the government-sponsored human rights commission, and pertinent non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The Commissioner's tour included a two-day visit to East Timor where he met with Governor Abilio Soares and members of the local parliament, Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo and prominent East Timorese of various persuasions.

At a Jakarta press conference in the company of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Dec. 7, Lasso said he hoped Indonesia would soon ratify several conventions on human rights, to which Alatas responded that although Indonesia had been slow, "We are going to do it."

The U.N. Commissioner acknowledged the government's progress in addressing abuses: "Indonesia has taken the right path. I will be satisfied if all aspects of human rights are fulfilled." He also expressed appreciation for the formation of the National Commission on Human Rights and the exemplary job it has done.

Regarding the Commission's wish to appoint a program officer to Indonesia, Alatas said such an office could be in Jakarta.

The seventh round of the U.N. sponsored tri-partite talks to find an internationally acceptable solution to East Timor is scheduled for January in London between Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart under the continuing guidance of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.

SELF-DETERMINATION CONFERENCE IN GENEVA

From UNPO, March 12

CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION COMPARATIVE STUDIES ON EAST TIMOR, TIBET AND WESTERN SAHARA

Organised by Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO) in collaboration with National Council of Maubere Resistance of East Timor, the Tibetan Government-in-Exile and Polisario Front.

The distinct movements for self-determination of the three nations are relatively well-known. By organising a joint conference with leading international experts and looking at the similarities and differences of the three cases, the conference or-

ganisers wish to analyse some of the main problems in relation to the application of the principle of self-determination in the 1990s.

Date: 25-26 March, 1996 (during the 52nd Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights)

Place: Palais des Nations, United Nations, Geneva

Time: 13:00 - 15:00

Speakers:

Professor Richard Falk (Princeton University, USA)

Professor M.L. Sondhi (Jawahar Lal Nehru University, India; former Member of Parliament of India)

Senator Michael O'Kennedy (former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland)

Ajaan Sulak Sivaraksa (Thailand, 1994 Nobel Peace Prize Nominee, 1995 Recipient of Right Livelihood Award)

Mr. José Ramos Horta (Special Representative of the CNRM)

Kasur Lodi Gyari (Special Envoy of H.H. The Dalai Lama and President of the International Campaign for Tibet)

Mr. Fadel El Kaïd (Representative of Polisario Front)

The Conference will be open to all interested persons. It is intended and expected that many government- and NGO representatives attending the UN Commission on Human Rights will take part in the conference

Working languages: French and English

For more information, please contact: Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)

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UN HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM IN FINANCIAL CRISIS

By Stephanie Nebehay

GENEVA, March 14 (Reuter) - A top United Nations official said on Thursday that U.N. human rights programmes were suffering a financial crisis and more stable funding was needed to grapple with new emergency situations.

José Ayala-Lasso, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, also said he hoped the annual U.N. Human Rights Commission would approve fewer condemnatory resolutions in "ritualistic fashion."

He was speaking days before the 53-member forum opens a six-week session in Geneva on Monday to examine allegations of executions, torture and arbitrary detentions worldwide.

Burundi, Cuba, China, Iraq, and the countries of former Yugoslavia are expected to be among the main targets. Russia is expected to come under fire for its military intervention in Chechnya while Indonesia will be blasted for its occupation of East Timor.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights group, said in a statement that it would call on the Commission to take action "as a priority" against five countries: China, Colombia, Indonesia/East Timor, Nigeria and Turkey.

"These countries with abysmal human rights records continue to escape scrutiny by the Commission," it said. "The Commission is losing its credibility..." Amnesty added.

China, which last year foiled a Western attempt to censure its human rights record for the fifth successive year, is expected to conduct vigorous behind-the-scenes lobbying again.

"There are plenty of resolution drafts circulating already - China, Burundi, former Yugoslavia," said one diplomat.

U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will address the opening session on Monday.

Ayala-Lasso, a former Ecuadoran diplomat who took up the new post two years ago, said he would appeal for more regular funding in a report to the Commission next week.

"I will propose in my report...that with a (regular) fund of roughly \$25 million we could finance operations not only in Rwanda, Burundi and Yugoslavia, but above all be prepared to react efficiently and promote preventive action to contribute to the better protection of human rights in the world," he told a news conference.

He said the financial situation of his Geneva-based U.N. Centre for Human Rights had worsened, with its annual budget reduced to \$22.3 million this year from \$25 million last year.

"We are always financing our operations month-by-month. All of our programmes are affected by the lack of funding.

"For Rwanda, we have barely several weeks of funding."

Ayala-Lasso also announced that he would send an envoy to Moscow on Monday for talks with Russian authorities aimed at improving human rights in Chechnya.

The envoy, Fausto Pocar, dean of the law faculty at the University of Milan, would seek approval to open a U.N. office in the rebel region to monitor human rights violations.

The Commission last year issued a chairman's statement expressing concern over the "disproportionate use of force" by the Russian military and deploring grave

violations of human rights during the conflict, launched in December 1994.

It urged Ayala-Lasso to open a dialogue with the Russian government with a view to securing respect for human rights in Chechnya. Thousands of civilians, Russian servicemen and rebels have been killed in the nearly 15 months of bloodshed.

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BOUTROS GHALI CONFIDENT OF SETTLEMENT FOR EAST TIMOR

Capital, 15 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – UN Secretary General, Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, said he felt “encouraged” by the determination shown by both Portugal and Indonesia to reach a negotiated settlement for East Timor. In a report sent to the 52nd annual meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), to commence on 18 March, Boutros Boutros Ghali summarised the initiatives taken over the past year, which included the holding of two further rounds of bilateral negotiations between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, and also the first inter-Timorese meeting under UN auspices.

The report, made public yesterday in Geneva, is to be one of the working documents for the UNCHR which has East Timor on its agenda for discussion. The UN Secretary General states in his report that the confidence building measures agreed by the two parties had “created a favourable atmosphere for the talks.” The concrete issues which the two parties have agreed to discuss at the next round of negotiations, scheduled for 27 June in Geneva, include the defence of Timorese cultural identity and bilateral relations between Portugal and Indonesia.

According to the report, the Secretary General will continue his efforts to find a just and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor, and feels encouraged by the desire expressed by the two parties to reach a negotiated solution.

In an appendix to his report, the Secretary General states that over the past 12 months numerous reports and appeals have been received by the UN from NGOs from all over the world concerning human rights violations in East Timor. Appeals for a permanent UN presence in the territory have also been received.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REMARKS TO UNHRC

From Amnesty_International@io.org, 15 March 1996. News Service 56196

1996 UN Commission on Human Rights: Amnesty International calls on the Commission to take action on human rights violations in China, Colombia, Indonesia and East Timor, Nigeria and Turkey.

Amnesty International challenges the Commission to act to stop human rights violations. “There is no shortage of information. Year after year, the Commission is confronted with well-attested information from its own Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups, treaty bodies, governments and from non-governmental organizations. Yet the Commission still fails to take effective action,” the human rights organization said.

“Amnesty International refuses to give up on the Commission, which remains the international community’s main human rights body charged with the protection of human rights,” Amnesty International said today. “We call on the Commission to respond immediately to the flagrant violations of human rights in China, Colombia, Indonesia and East Timor, Nigeria and Turkey. The suffering of the victim demands nothing less.”

“Governments, whose votes are weighted in favour of political and economic considerations, have ignored widespread imprisonment of people brave enough to exercise their fundamental freedoms. They have remained silent in the face of endemic torture and ill-treatment of detainees by security forces, and extrajudicial and mass executions,” Amnesty International said.

The Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions has voiced his concerns about violations of the right to life in China; in 1993, the Committee against Torture reported patterns of torture in China and the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention has concluded that people in China have been arbitrarily detained in violation of international human rights standards.

“Rather than again abdicating its responsibility through “motions to take no action,” the Commission must examine China’s human rights record, adopt a resolution, and call on the Chinese Government to ratify and respect human rights treaties and allow the UN human rights protection experts access to the country,” Amnesty International said.

“This year the Commission has a responsibility to take action on the human rights situation in Colombia. It should fol-

low the recommendations of its own experts,” the human rights organization said.

The Special Rapporteur on torture and the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, after visiting Colombia in 1994, recommended the appointment of a special rapporteur, unless the situation improved radically. These special rapporteurs agree, in their reports to the Commission this year, that there has been no improvement in the human rights situation. Amnesty International joins these experts in calling for the appointment of a special rapporteur.

The Commission itself adopted a resolution on East Timor in 1993 which included a set of concrete recommendations to the Indonesian Government. Reports on Indonesia indicate that the human rights violations that take place in East Timor are a reflection of a pattern of violations throughout Indonesia.

The government’s failure to implement most of the recommendations in the Commission’s resolution was met only by statements from the Chairman of the Commission during its last two sessions. This year, Amnesty International challenges the Commission to examine whether the government has fully implemented the recommendations made in the resolution and Chairman’s statements and to take effective action.

The executions of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni prisoners are a dramatic example of the long-lasting and widespread pattern of disregard for human rights in Nigeria. The Nigerian Government is now particularly targeting human rights defenders.

Following the public outcry over the Ken Saro-Wiwa case, the international community was finally moved to act. In December 1995 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on Nigeria and invited the Commission to give urgent attention to the situation in this country. Amnesty International calls for the appointment of a special rapporteur to monitor the situation and to report to the 1996 UN General Assembly.

In Turkey violations of fundamental human rights has been a serious problem for many years. The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances declared in 1994 that it had received more allegations of “disappearances” from Turkey than from any other country for that year. The Committee against Torture reported in 1993 that torture was systemic in Turkey.

“The Turkish Government has given publicity to a series of cosmetic legal changes which have produced almost no improvement of the situation,” according to Amnesty International. “The Commission

should, as a minimum, urge Turkey to take immediate steps to address systematic violations of human rights."

"Inaction by the Commission must stop. The Commission must send a clear message to all states that no country, big or small, can avoid international scrutiny," said Amnesty International.

Finally, Amnesty International urges the Commission to take decisive action on the draft of the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders. Progress in the Commission's Working Group, which is drafting the declaration, has been blocked by Cuba, Nigeria, Iran and China; they have used the consensus rule as a veto power. These countries are more interested in protecting governments against the threat of human rights defenders than in protecting the rights of citizens and of those who work for them.

U.N. CHIEF SAYS ETHNIC WARS THREATEN HUMAN RIGHTS

GENEVA, March 18 (Reuters) - U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned on Monday that the world's ethnic and civil wars posed a greater danger to human rights than conflicts between states.

He also said United Nations human rights' programmes were being hurt by the world body's wider budget problems caused by some member countries not paying their annual dues.

Boutros-Ghali, addressing the U.N. Human Rights Commission, said internal conflicts in the post-Cold War were being fought by irregular forces rather than organised armies, making cease-fires and truces precarious and uncertain.

"Every day the United Nations has to confront internal conflicts, civil wars, partitions, secessions, ethnic clashes and tribal wars," he told the 53-member forum which on Monday began its annual six-week meeting to investigate rights violations worldwide.

"These new conflicts are also the most damaging to the rights of the human person, since it is often the populations themselves which are targeted, bombarded, tortured and subject to violence," Boutros-Ghali said.

The Commission will consider resolutions criticising a number of states, including Russia for its military intervention in Chechnya and Indonesia for its occupation of East Timor.

China, Burundi, Cuba, Rwanda, Nigeria, and the countries of former Yugoslavia will also come under scrutiny.

Delegates on Monday were due to elect a Latin American chairman, probably from Brazil, to succeed the outgoing Malaysian

chairman for the next year, according to U.N. sources.

Boutros-Ghali said the Commission's work reflected a wider commitment to human rights throughout the United Nations, ranging from peacekeeping missions to promotion of global economic development and democratisation.

"In defending human rights, violations must be denounced on a case-by-case basis wherever they occur," he said.

The U.N. chief also noted that the budget of the Geneva-based U.N. Centre for Human Rights, which finances stationing of monitors in countries including Bosnia and Rwanda, had been reduced as part of system-wide cuts.

"I am also profoundly concerned by the grave financial crisis which the organisation is experiencing and which directly affects the institutions, missions and programmes of the United Nations in the field of human rights," he said.

"But we all have a duty to continue our work," he added.

NGOS RAISE EAST TIMOR AT UNHRC

translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Geneva, March 21 (LUSA) - Two NGOs, France Liberté and Pax Christi, at the 52nd session of the UN Human Rights Commission, today, defended the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination, and criticized Indonesia for maintaining the occupation of the territory.

The spokesperson for France Liberté, founded by Danielle Mitterrand, asked Indonesia to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor and to withdraw its troops. She reminded the session that East Timor has already suffered twenty years of human rights abuses. She demanded that Indonesia respect the consensual declarations of 1992 and 1994, and that the political prisoners be freed, that arbitrary executions stop, and that prisoners receive adequate legal assistance. At the end of her intervention, the delegate preconized a boycott to arms sales to Indonesia and appealed to the International community to share with Portugal the task of receiving the Timorese refugees.

In an intervention on point seven, on the topic of peoples right to determine their own future, Pax Christi International considered extremely serious the situation in East Timor, stating that the Indonesian occupation has created a "regime of terror" in the territory. The spokesperson for Pax Christi, Alexandra Aula, stated that the Timorese have always manifested willingness for initiating dialogue, under UN aus-

pices, with the Indonesian government, without any pre-conditions.

UN RIGHTS BOSS CITES GRAVE VIOLATIONS IN EAST TIMOR

By Stephanie Nebehay

GENEVA, March 22 (Reuters) - The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala-Lasso on Friday cited allegations of "very grave" violations of human rights in East Timor and called for the situation there to improve.

But, in a report, he also expressed hope that his mission to Indonesia and East Timor last December could be a significant step towards cooperation between the Indonesian government and the U.N. on human rights' matters in East Timor.

The world body is negotiating the opening of a human rights office in Jakarta, according to Ayala-Lasso. He said he wanted his team to be able to go to East Timor "as often as necessary" and report back to him on human rights matters there.

"The situation of human rights in East Timor could and should improve: such an improvement must be an end in itself," he wrote in a report to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. "At the same time, it could influence positively the political dialogue," Ayala-Lasso added.

The United Nations still regards Portugal, East Timor's former colonial power, as the administering power in East Timor. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is sponsoring a new round of tripartite meetings on East Timor's future status with Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers in Geneva in June. Ayala-Lasso, who met President Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, said he had held "very frank talks" with Indonesian authorities.

He met jailed East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão at a Jakarta prison. After a controversial trial in 1993, Gusmão was jailed for life but Suharto later cut the term to 20 years. "Mr. Gusmão looked in good health and told the High Commissioner that he was as well as a person without freedom could be...He said that he would support any action that could be taken in order to improve the situation in East Timor."

In East Timor, authorities including the Governor described the situation as normal. Tensions were "created by criminals, mostly in Dili, not without outside interference," they said.

"Others felt that the situation was deteriorating, and that on the surface only there

appeared to be normal conditions of life. In their opinion, while the main problem was political, there were very grave violations of human rights in East Timor," Ayala-Lasso's report added. It did not identify the sources.

Amnesty International, the London-based international human rights group, has listed the Indonesia/East Timor situation as among its five areas for priority action at the U.N. Commission. "For more than 30 years the Government of Indonesia has imprisoned its peaceful critics," Amnesty said last week.

"Dozens have been imprisoned after unfair trials during 1995 both in Indonesia and East Timor...Disappearances continue to be reported and there are numerous accounts of extrajudicial executions of political and criminal suspects...The Indonesian Government continues to ignore recommendations made by the Commission," Amnesty said.

On Monday, the 53-member body opened its annual six-week session to investigate rights violations worldwide.

Last year it adopted a chairman's statement welcoming Indonesia's invitation to Ayala-Lasso but urging Jakarta to further investigate a November 1991 incident in Dili, in which up to 200 East Timorese demonstrators were killed by Indonesian troops. Jakarta acknowledges only about 50 people were killed.

Ayala Lasso said in his report Indonesian authorities had agreed to search for people missing since the incident and make available any new information to the U.N. rights chief.

FULL REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ON HIS VISIT TO INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR, 3-7 DECEMBER 1995

UNITED NATIONS – ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

E/CN.4/1996/112, 14 March 1996 Original: English

Commission on Human Rights, Fifty-Second Session; Items 3 and 21 of the provisional agenda

1. In a statement read out by the Chairman of the fifty-first session of the Commission on Human Rights on 1 March 1995, the Commission welcomed the undertaking of the Government of Indonesia to invite the High Commissioner for Human Rights to visit East Timor in 1995 and to submit his report to the Commission on Human Rights at its fifty-second session. The High Commissioner visited Indonesia and East Timor from 3 to 7 December 1995. He expresses his deep appreciation to the Government of Indonesia for the invitation, for the facilities provided during his stay and for the possi-

bility of meeting anyone he wished to meet. The present report is submitted pursuant to the request contained in the above-mentioned statement.

Visit to Indonesia and East Timor

2. During his visit, the High Commissioner met representatives of the Government, including the President of Indonesia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Defence Minister, the Attorney-General, the Minister for Women's Affairs and the Secretary of the Minister for Welfare, as well as the President and the members of the National Human Rights Commission, and representatives of academic and research centres, non-governmental organizations and the media. The High Commissioner also met Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the jailed East Timorese leader of FRETILIN, at the Cipinang Correctional Centre in Jakarta.

3. In his meeting with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ali Alatas, on 3 December 1995, the High Commissioner recognized the steps that the Government has already taken with respect to the promotion and protection of human rights: first and foremost the establishment of the National Human Rights Commission. He praised the cooperation of the Government of Indonesia with mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights, such as the invitations to the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions in 1994 and to the Special Rapporteur on the question of torture in 1991.

4. The High Commissioner handed over to the Minister a memorandum containing a list of issues that have been raised by thematic special rapporteurs and other mechanisms of the Commission and by relevant human rights treaty bodies. The High Commissioner said that he was not on a fact-finding mission but that part of his dialogue with Member States was to follow up on the recommendations made by United Nations human rights mechanisms and bodies. He stressed the importance for Indonesia of ensuring full cooperation with all the instruments and mechanisms of the United Nations human rights programme. He indicated his willingness to cooperate with the Government of Indonesia with respect to the realization of a national action plan for human rights, as well as the further promotion and protection of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor.

5. The High Commissioner requested that positive consideration be given by the Government of Indonesia to a number of concrete human rights and related issues. He made reference to the importance of ratifying international human rights instruments and emphasized the need for Indonesia to ratify the Convention against Torture and

Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Furthermore, the High Commissioner asked the Government of Indonesia to give international human rights NGOs full access to Indonesia and East Timor.

6. With respect to the incident that occurred in Dili on 12 November 1991, the High Commissioner asked the Government of Indonesia to pay compensation to the families of the victims. He stressed the need to continue the search for the disappeared and dead. Renewed efforts should be made in order to locate the graves and to return the remains to the families concerned, in cooperation with representatives of the East Timorese church and the local community. Finally, there should be a continuing investigation of the incident, as new elements emerged.

7. The High Commissioner requested the Government to consider the following additional measures, *inter alia*: (a) the transfer of a number of Timorese prisoners (Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Francisco Miranda Branco, Saturnino da Costa Belo, Jacinto Alves, Filomeno da Silva Pereira, Juvencio de Jesus Martins) from the Semarang prison in central Java to the Dili prison; (b) the repeal of the anti-subversion law; (c) an end to the transmigration of Indonesians to East Timor; (d) the reduction of troops in East Timor; (e) clemency for all those civilians convicted for publicly expressing political dissent or revealing facts relating to the incident in Dili and other more recent demonstrations. The High Commissioner also stressed the importance of enacting legislation that would ensure respect for the religious, cultural and historical heritage of the East Timorese population and would protect the use of the Portuguese language in schools.

8. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he was looking forward very much to developing a cooperative relationship with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights further to the Memorandum of Intent signed in 1994. The Minister recalled the steps taken by Indonesia since the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, such as the holding of regional and national workshops on human rights and the establishment of the national human rights action plan, focusing mostly on education and the dissemination of information. Mr. Alatas welcomed the High Commissioner's expression of support for the national action plan. He indicated that the High Commissioner's visit would be the beginning of a dialogue at the highest level on human rights matters, in keeping with the

Charter of the United Nations, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

9. The Minister appreciated the recognition of the efforts undertaken by his Government, particularly in terms of human rights education. He pointed out that the National Commission had proved to be active and independent. It had gone beyond the accusatory stage to help resolve specific problems, such as land disputes. Mr. Alatas stated: "Our advances in the field of human rights may be perceived as slow but they are certainly deliberate and will continue."

10. The Minister indicated that he was rather disappointed by certain reports of mechanisms of the Commission, which could be considered as being unbalanced and lacking in objectivity, as well as by the attitude of some NGOs, which would appear to be waging a political campaign against Indonesia. As far as the ratification of human rights conventions was concerned, he said that the national human rights action plan would contain a timetable for ratification, starting with the Convention against Torture. Indonesia had certain difficulties with the two International Covenants, particularly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

11. The Minister stressed that East Timor was mainly a political problem which influenced human rights issues. As far as the incident in Dili was concerned, the Government had recognized its responsibility and had investigated and punished those found guilty of crimes. In particular, two generals had been dismissed and eight military personnel had been punished. Responding to the High Commissioner's proposal to establish a United Nations human rights presence in East Timor, he pointed out that there were problems with the opening of a United Nations office in East Timor, but that a human rights presence could be established in Jakarta. The High Commissioner indicated that the staff concerned should not only work on technical cooperation programmes but should also be able to go to East Timor as often as necessary and report directly to the High Commissioner on human rights matters.

12. According to the Minister, the search for the persons missing after the 12 November 1991 incident was continuing. The payment of compensation to the families of the victims had been assumed by charitable organizations. While the transmigration programme would not apply to East Timor, there was nevertheless an influx of Indonesians into East Timor for three main reasons: (i) as local officials of the central Government; (ii) as experts in engineering, health and education; and (iii) as traders.

13. In his meeting with the National Human Rights Commission, the High Commissioner stressed the importance nationally and internationally of the work of the Commission. He encouraged the members of the Commission to continue their efforts for the promotion and protection of human rights and to urge the Government to take measures in order to avoid or redress violations of human rights. The High Commissioner pointed out that the Commission should be based on law, should have sufficient resources to act independently and should ensure that its recommendations were faithfully implemented by the Government.

14. Members of the Indonesian Commission mentioned that Indonesia was taking important steps in the field of human rights, which often were not recognized by the Commission on Human Rights. According to them, torture was being established as a crime in Indonesian law. The High Commissioner was informed of the Commission's plans to open an office in Dili to promote and protect human rights.

15. The High Commissioner pointed out that the National Commission should consider the possibility of investigating past events, like the 1991 Dili incident. In that connection, the High Commissioner noted that, in the Chairman's statements on East Timor, the Commission on Human Rights had clearly emphasized the issue of continuing investigation and that those statements had received the support of the Government of Indonesia also. The Chairman of the Indonesian Commission assured the High Commissioner that there was no rule which would prevent the Commission from investigating past violations; it would be ready to do so.

16. In his meeting with them, the Minister of Defence and the Attorney-General, expressed to the High Commissioner their support for the promotion and protection of human rights. The Minister for Women's Affairs and the secretary of the Minister for Social Welfare mentioned the progress made by Indonesia in the areas of health, education, development and the fight against poverty; the 60 per cent of the population previously living in poverty had been reduced to 16 per cent. Members of the Parliament confirmed that they were studying the ratification of human rights instruments, starting with the Convention against Torture.

17. While in Dili, East Timor, the High Commissioner had meetings with the Governor, the local Military Commander, the Police Chief, members of the local Assembly, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the rector of the University of Dili, human rights activists, the head of the Protestant Church, members of the so-called "Group of 1959,"

a representative of the Evangelical Church. He also met the leader of the boat people who had tried to go to Australia, Mrs. Maria F. Pereira, at the Police Centre. In addition, the High Commissioner met with the head and former head of the Dili office of the International Committee of the Red Cross. He visited a community development project at Ailieu and the Polytechnic Institute at Hera, in East Timor.

18. The High Commissioner received opposite views with respect to the human rights situation in East Timor.

19. The authorities, including the Governor, the military and police officials, stated that the situation was normal and that continuing efforts were being made for economic and social development. Tension in East Timor was created by criminals, mostly in Dili, not without outside interference. East Timorese who wanted to leave Dili or East Timor could do so. The boat people who had attempted to sail to Australia had been rescued in order to avoid a disaster because of doubts about the seaworthiness of the boat. Of the group of about 30 persons involved, only 5 were still being detained pending action by a judge. The Chairman of the local Assembly said how much the situation had improved in the past few years, particularly with respect to education and economic and social development. In his opinion, the Dili incident had been thoroughly and satisfactorily investigated by the Government. Similar views were expressed by a number of NGOs.

20. Others felt that the situation was deteriorating, and that on the surface only there appeared to be normal conditions of life. In their opinion, while the main problem was political, there were very grave violations of human rights in East Timor. Four years after the incident in Dili, many of the families of the victims did not know the fate of their loved ones. If those missing had been killed, then relatives should be told where they were buried and those responsible should be prosecuted and condemned. Even Indonesian human rights NGOs had limited access to East Timor. The detained East Timorese were allegedly tortured. They felt that the military authorities would organize everything, including required dissent, and would be responsible for creating a climate of fear and repression.

21. Maria Fatima Pereira, the leader of the 33 boat people who had attempted to reach Australia, confirmed to the High Commissioner at the Police Centre in Dili that only 5 individuals remained in detention and that they had not been mistreated. Asked about the reasons for her attempt to leave, she said that she wanted a better life for herself and her daughter.

22. The High Commissioner met Xanana Gusmão at the Cipinang Correctional Centre in Jakarta on 7 December. Mr. Gusmão looked in good health and told the High Commissioner that he was as well as a person without freedom could be. Mr. Gusmão asked the High Commissioner to convey a political message to the Secretary-General. He said that he would support any action that could be taken in order to improve the situation in East Timor in view of the fact that he was very concerned about the future of his people.

Conclusions

23. The High Commissioner had very frank talks with the Government of Indonesia on key human rights issues and considered that his visit was an important step for the promotion and protection of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. The High Commissioner recognized that progress has been made in the field of human rights in Indonesia, most notably through the establishment of the National Human Rights Commission. Furthermore, the Government of Indonesia expressed its determination to further the cooperation with the mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights and to continue to implement their recommendations. The Government publicly indicated that it would extend invitations to United Nations human rights rapporteurs and working groups "in due time."

24. The Government of Indonesia informed the High Commissioner that it had adopted a policy, to be elaborated in its national action plan, of acceding to United Nations human rights instruments on a priority basis. Ratification of the Convention against Torture had been set as the first priority.

25. While the High Commissioner took note of the accomplishments of Indonesia in the field of economic, social and cultural rights, he publicly stated that there were violations of human rights which had to be corrected. This was particularly true with respect to East Timor.

26. With respect to the 12 November 1991 incident in Dili, the Government of Indonesia agreed to continue the search for the missing. The Government would make available to the High Commissioner any new information on the Dili incident and the persons who were unaccounted for. The National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia for its part might decide to investigate the Dili incident if "new elements emerge."

27. It was agreed that the Memorandum of Intent between the Government of Indonesia and the Commissioner for Human Rights/Centre for Human Rights (signed on 24 October 1994) would be upgraded to a

memorandum of understanding. In this context, a human rights presence would be established in Jakarta within the United Nations office there. The mandate of this human rights presence is currently under negotiation between the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Government of Indonesia.

28. The situation of human rights in East Timor could and should improve: such an improvement must be an end in itself. At the same time, it could influence positively the political dialogue. In this connection, the visit of the High Commissioner could represent a significant positive step in terms of cooperation between the Government of Indonesia and the United Nations on human rights matters.

29. The High Commissioner is currently carrying out discussions with the Government of Indonesia on a memorandum of understanding. He will continue to do all he can for the better promotion and protection of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. He will support to the extent possible the realization of a national human rights action plan, as well as its implementation in cooperation with the various agencies involved. He will recognize progress where progress is achieved and will continue to address the problems of human rights in the most constructive and objective manner, in keeping with his mandate and the effective realization of all human rights.

UN RIGHTS CHAIRMAN SLAMS WESTERN HYPOCRISY

By Stephanie Nebehay

GENEVA (Reuters) - The outgoing Malaysian chairman of the U.N. Human Rights Commission slammed Western powers Friday for condemning abuses in some states while letting political or economic allies "literally get away with murder."

Musa Bin Hitam also criticized widespread stereotyped prejudice in the West toward "all things Islam and Muslim in this world." Such insensitivity had carried over into the main U.N. human rights forum.

He delivered the unusually stinging attack days before the 53-nation body opens its annual six-week session Monday.

China - which last year foiled a Western attempt to censure its human rights record for the fifth successive year - as well as Iran, Iraq and Sudan are expected to be among the main targets of Western criticism.

"The biggest obstacle to achieving understanding in the field of human rights is the political factor that is injected into discussions almost every time it arises at the in-

ternational fora," Bin Hitam told a news conference.

"We see double standards again and again. The word is...that if you want to abuse human rights make sure that you are the best of friends of the big powers that matter, then you can get away with it," he added.

Most delegations draw up a "hit-list" of countries for scrutiny at the Commission, the main U.N. human rights forum, according to diplomats. Resolutions are often watered down in horse-trading during behind-the-scenes negotiations.

Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, is expected to at least take a swipe at Cuba when she addresses the forum Tuesday.

Geraldine Ferraro, head of the U.S. delegation, will submit a draft resolution expressing concern about human rights abuses in Cuba and Sudan later in the session, according to a U.S. source who asked not to be identified.

Russia is set to come under fire for its military intervention in Chechnya, while Indonesia will be blasted for its occupation of East Timor.

Burundi, Rwanda, Nigeria, and the countries of former Yugoslavia will also come under scrutiny.

Amnesty International has announced it will call on the Commission to take action "as a priority" on five areas: China, Colombia, Indonesia/East Timor, Nigeria and Turkey.

"These countries with abysmal human rights records blatantly continue to escape scrutiny by the Commission," the London-based group said in a statement issued Thursday.

"Often their peers shy away from action because of their own perceived economic, military and political interests," it added.

"The Commission is losing its credibility."

UN HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING OFFICE IN JAKARTA

Publico, 6 April 1996. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon - Indonesia has already agreed to the setting up of a UN human rights monitoring office in Jakarta. The EU's draft consensual statement, to be submitted to the UN Commission on Human Rights, refers to this agreement and to free access to East Timor by UN officials. If Jakarta disagrees, the Timor issue could again go back to Geneva and be put to the vote.

Confirmation of the green light from Indonesia for installing an office in Jakarta for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the guarantee that UN officials could go to East Timor whenever they wish, without the need for Indonesian governmental authorisation, are the strong points in the draft statement which the EU will be presenting at the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), meeting in Geneva.

It is a proposed consensual statement, co-ordinated by the EU's Italian presidency with the active participation of Portuguese diplomacy which, in turn, closely liaised with the Timorese resistance while the document was being drawn up. It is not yet a final text, and can only become so once the agreement of the party it refers to (Indonesia) has been obtained. Therefore, Indonesia (who will have a place on the UNCHR this year) would first have to agree to the terms of the European proposal, and only then could the Commission's presidency take up the document as its own and present it in the form of a consensual statement.

This year's UNCHR meeting will end on 26 April and, as in previous years, negotiations on the statement on East Timor could well last until almost the end of the sessions. In what is always a difficult and intricate negotiating process, Jakarta's interests will be defended by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry's Director of Political Affairs, expected to arrive in Geneva early next week. Then, 'battle' will commence.

It should not be difficult for Indonesia to agree to a statement that mentions the installation of a UN office in Jakarta. Verbal assurances to this effect were already given by Minister Ali Alatas last year when he met the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights himself, Ayala Lasso. At that time, however, the response on the question of the UN representatives in Jakarta having free access to East Timor was not quite so clear.

Nevertheless, the EU, spurred on by Lisbon and the Timorese resistance, will be trying to go even further. Their aim is to get the statement to include an invitation to other high-placed UN officials - for example, the special rapporteur on torture, or the working group on arbitrary arrests - to visit the territory.

As they still try to digest the heavy after effects of the recent visit of the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights, and with the impact of the visit of the special rapporteur on summary executions still fresh in their memories (both were invited to visit Timor as a result of statements agreed with Indonesia in Geneva) Jakarta's diplomats are going to resist any further invitations being made, so as to avoid greater damage

being done to the regime's international image.

Two Alternatives

Faced with Indonesia's expected resistance, the EU (the official originator of the proposed consensual statement) will have two alternatives. It could either tone down the text in order to secure Jakarta's agreement, or toughen its position and abandon the proposed statement, substituting it with a proposed resolution, which would put the Timor issue to the vote at the Commission's plenary session.

The last time that happened was in 1993. Given the impossibility of reaching a consensual solution (rejected by Jakarta), a resolution was adopted, with the decisive support of the US. The result was: 23 votes for, 12 against. This was a crushing defeat for Indonesia, which it would not like to see repeated this year.

UN TO DISCUSS SITUATION IN TIMOR

Diario de Noticias, 10 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Lisbon - According to a UN spokesperson, the human rights situation in East Timor is to be reviewed on Monday 15th April, at the annual meeting of the UN's Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), being held in Geneva until the end of this month.

East Timor will be discussed under Agenda Item 10 which deals with violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Four young Timorese as well as Ambassador Goncalo Santa Clara, head of the Portuguese delegation, will address the meeting.

(...) Allegations made by NGOs of human rights abuses on the part of Indonesia, which are referred to in the UN Secretary General's report sent to the Commission in March, and other accusations, such as those contained in Amnesty International's latest report, will be reviewed during this session.

Amnesty International's 1995 Report includes reference to thirteen executions of civilians in East Timor by the Indonesian army, and about 200 politically motivated arrests in the territory. The AI Report also criticises the UNCHR for its passivity in the face of the persisting situation in East Timor, suggesting that the Commission ignored "serious violations committed by Indonesia."

The Becora prison riot in early February, and the subsequent police operations will also be discussed during the Geneva meeting.

AMNESTY REFUSES TO SPEAK AT UNHRC MEETING

summarized

Geneva, April 16 (LUSA) - Amnesty International created an incident today at the UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva, by refusing to speak on human rights violations.

AI's permanent UN representative, Isabelle Scherer, said AI decided "for the first time in its history not to make its oral presentation on human rights" by country, as a protest against the "prevalence of political and economic interests of humanitarian issues." Scherer considered that the time limit of five minutes imposed by the commission to the NGOs is insufficient and does not allow justice to the suffering of human rights victims.

Scherer justified AI's position by that despite AI's former denunciation of human rights violations in China, Colombia, Indonesia and East Timor, Nigeria, and Turkey, and despite "clear testimonies of serious violations there," the commission has not "taken effective measures regarding these countries."

NEGOTIATIONS AT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Publico, 16 April 1996. By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The clock's ticking away in Geneva: Indonesian diplomats and Italians (representing the Presidency of the EU) have just 72 hours in which to reach an understanding. They have been meeting since yesterday to negotiate a consensus declaration on East Timor at the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR).

The short space of time for negotiations has annoyed the Timorese Resistance. Ramos Horta, in Geneva to closely follow the Commission's sessions, would have liked the process to have started earlier. The problem is that the deadline for presentation of draft resolutions - the possible alternative if they fail to reach an agreed text for the declaration - is Thursday. This leaves very little time for the European Union, the official "mother" of the draft consensus declaration, to find the necessary co-sponsors for a document to be put to the vote at the Commission's plenary.

This scenario would appear to be favour Jakarta. Sensing that a draft resolution reaching the plenary would be weak, the Indonesian diplomats would be in a position to impose a very watered down consensus declaration.

All this, which serves to complicate the handling of the Timor issue at the UNCHR, has resulted from the procedure being inverted in 1993, the last year in which Timor was voted on in Geneva. (...) Because some of Portugal's partners in the EU did not like the idea of having to vote on a resolution against Indonesia, and having no choice but to do so, they had the procedure changed: from 1993 onwards, the base text would no longer be a draft resolution but a consensus declaration. This new procedure puts Jakarta's negotiators in a more comfortable position, as they no longer have hanging over them the threat of a draft resolution already fully equipped with its influential co-sponsors in the Commission.

EAST TIMOR CAUSES IMPASSE IN GENEVA

Diario de Noticias, 17 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The negotiations between the EU and Indonesia in Geneva on the text of a consensus declaration on East Timor made hardly any progress at yesterday's session. The negotiations are taking place during the 52nd session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, and involve the Portuguese, Indonesian and Italian delegations.

Although the head of the Portuguese delegation, Ambassador Goncalo Santa Clara Gomes, refused to comment on what went on at the meeting, LUSA learned that "little or no" headway had been made as the talks had come to a stumbling block - the definition of the form and mandate of the Human Rights Centre in Jakarta, and the way in which such a centre would monitor the situation in East Timor.

Ambassador Santa Clara met with one of the Resistance representatives present in Geneva, José Ramos Horta, who told LUSA that progress had not, in fact, been made due to Indonesia's "intransigence." Ramos Horta was in favour of a draft resolution being put to the vote and seemed confident that the outcome would be favourable.

UNHRC EXCERPTS

The following are excerpts from UN Press Releases (which are themselves paraphrases) from testimony given at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, as it relates to East Timor:

HR/CN/741 18 April 1996

Government representative statements

P. TORELLA DI ROMAGNANO (Italy), speaking on behalf of the European Union, said governments should be held accountable when violations took place. No

screen of domestic jurisdiction or national sovereignty could prevent the international community from identifying human rights violations and demanding that governments remedy acts that offended the conscience and values of humankind. ...

The European Union remained deeply concerned at the human rights situation in Myanmar, he said. The Union urged the State Law and Order Restoration Council to release immediately and unconditionally all detained political prisoners. The release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was an important first step, but she and her National League for Democracy colleagues continued to be excluded from the political process in Myanmar. The Union also continued to follow with serious concern the situation in East Timor, where, according to reports, violations of human rights continued to take place. The Union welcomed the cooperation the Government had extended to the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The Union urged the Government to implement the High Commissioner's recommendations. ...

HOWARD BAMSEY (Australia) said the Commission's ability to scrutinize human rights issues was a crucial test of its credibility. International activity on human rights had led to the realization and acceptance that international scrutiny of human rights abuses around the world was appropriate and desirable. Australia regretted that some governments - notably those of Cuba, Sudan and Iraq - had not cooperated with the Commission's mechanisms. Australia had also been distressed at the failure of the Nigerian military regime to observe internationally accepted human rights standards.

Turning to the situation in countries in the Asian and Pacific region, Mr. Bamsey said Australia was concerned about the situation in Myanmar, While Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and some other political prisoners had been freed, much remained to be done. In China, the observance of human rights was important for the strengthening of stability and continued economic growth. China had made considerable progress in economic and social areas but Australia remained concerned about the fundamental rights there, including the freedoms of speech and assembly, the right to a fair trial and religious liberty, especially within Tibet. As for the situation in East Timor, the Indonesian Government had made considerable efforts to improve the economy of the island. Nevertheless, Australia remained concerned about human rights problems there. Australia had also registered with the Papua New Guinea Government concern at the situation on Bougainville.

GONCALO DE SANTA CLARA GOMES (Portugal) said the deteriorating situation in East Timor justified the gravest

concern. During 1995, 17 prisoners of conscience had been brought to trial and sentenced to prison terms for organizing and participating in peaceful demonstrations. At least 35 Timorese prisoners were currently serving sentences of up to life imprisonment for their peaceful opposition to Indonesian rule in East Timor. According to practically all evidence available, the increasing presence of military forces strongly contributed to the tension prevailing in East Timor. The United States Department of State human rights report stated that the use of torture continued in detention facilities run by military intelligence in Indonesia. Military authorities continued the practice of detaining people without warrants, charges or court proceedings. Dialogue was the only route to peace and justice in East Timor.

PER HAUGESTAD (Norway) said the implementation of the peace agreement in former Yugoslavia required a determined effort by the parties to the conflict, as well as the support of the international community. Norway would provide economic assistance to a number of human rights organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. Meanwhile, the gross violations of human rights by the parties in the Chechen Republic, as well as the plight of innocent civilians, had given rise to growing concern.

Turning to the situation in Africa, he said democratic institutions and human rights seemed to be gaining a firm footing in most of the countries of southern Africa, including South Africa. Regarding Nigeria, however, Norway had been horrified by the brutal execution of author Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others by the authorities. In Kenya, harassment and arbitrary detention of opposition politicians continued. In Asia, the human rights situation in East Timor continued to give cause for concern. In Myanmar, although Aung San Suu Kyi had been released, the authorities had been unwilling to enter into a dialogue with her. Norway welcomed the steps taken by the Government of China to strengthen the human rights of the individual. However, there were reports of human rights violations in the country, including in Tibet. In Latin America, the situation in Colombia continued to be a matter of concern. Norway was also concerned over the human rights situations in Iran, Iraq and Guatemala.

MASAKI KONISHI (Japan) said violations of human rights in Afghanistan were widespread, as reported by the Special Rapporteur on the situation in the country. All States and warring factions must rally behind United Nations efforts to restore peace and stability in the country. In Colombia, the situation unfortunately had not improved in any significant manner, and

while Japan appreciated the Colombian Government's efforts to date, the authorities should go further. Japan also called once again upon Cuba to permit the Special Rapporteur to carry out his mandate in full, particularly by allowing him to visit. The situation there remained of matter of concern. A solution to the problems in Cyprus was still necessary, and Japan sincerely hoped that negotiations would be resumed between the two sides under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Japan also remained concerned about human rights problems in Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sudan, East Timor, the former Yugoslavia and Zaire.

NGO Statements

JOSÉ RAMOS HARTA (sic), of the Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples, said the Indonesian authorities had subjected him to various kinds of torture during his illegal detention. He had been able to leave the country only with the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Embassy of Japan in Jakarta, where he had sought refuge. Many of his countrymen from East Timor continued to suffer from repression by the authorities.

From UN press release paraphrases, April 18: HR/CN/743

AGUS TARMIDZI (Indonesia) said pontification, pressure, and condemnatory resolutions did not succeed in fostering human rights. Yet, in deliberation of item 10, some countries had made misleading and unsubstantiated references to the situation of human rights in East Timor, alleging, vaguely and selectively, that there were cases of torture, disappearances, arbitrary detentions, and summary executions. There had been riots, it was true, but those were not "peaceful," as claimed – and contrary to allegations, not 300 people but 96 had been detained, with most immediately released; only 20 remained in custody.

Indonesia had reduced military forces stationed in East Timor, and the remaining five battalions were involved in civic missions and in helping to rebuild infrastructure, he continued. Stern measures had always been taken to eliminate improper conduct by security forces. Indonesia, as a sovereign State, reserved the right to refuse access to organizations advancing human rights claims, but whose real purposes were political. Any attempt to link the human rights situation with resolution of the political question of East Timor was indefensible, and the Government rejected it.

INDONESIA ACCUSED AT THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Diario de Noticias, 18 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

The leader of the Portuguese delegation to the 52nd session of the UN Commission on Human Rights delivered a fairly strong speech against Indonesia, accusing it of continuing to violate fundamental rights in Timor. During his intervention, the Ambassador Santa Clara Gomes stressed the fact that "serious human rights violations" continue in Timor, namely in the form of massive emigration to the territory (from other parts of Indonesia) and heavy (Indonesian) military presence.

He went on to say that Indonesia was the source of the "general atmosphere of fear, mistrust and intimidation" in Timor. Between January and December 1995, 17 prisoners of conscience had been brought to trial and sentenced to imprisonment for organising peaceful demonstrations, and there were now 35 Timorese serving sentences of up to life imprisonment because they had expressed, in a non-violent manner, their opposition to Indonesia's occupation of the territory.

Quoting reports from "reliable witnesses," the diplomat said that Indonesia's strong military presence in the territory was prolonging the atmosphere of tension, which had been recognised by the former Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans.

UNHRC CHAIRMAN'S CONSENSUS STATEMENT

Tapol report, 23 April.

The following Consensus Statement was adopted at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva on 22 April. It is difficult to see how they could have produced a more minimalist statement than this. The Commission has surpassed itself in doing nothing for East Timor.

For those unfamiliar with the Commission's procedures, a resolution condemning the human rights situation could have been adopted but would have need support from sufficient countries to ensure its passage. In theory, a Consensus Statement is considered to have advantages over a resolution because it is adopted with the agreement of Indonesia and is supposed to be binding. Since the Santa Cruz Massacre in 1991, there have been three Consensus Statements - in 1992, 1994 and 1995 - to which we now add the 1996 Statement. (In 1993, a strongly worded resolution was adopted.) Apart from allowing the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to visit East Timor,

nothing contained in the earlier Statements has been implemented.

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR

Following consultations, I would like to make a statement announcing what has been agreed by consensus by the Commission on the situation of human rights in East Timor.

1. The Commission on Human Rights discussed the human rights situation in East Timor.

2. The Commission continues to follow with deep concern the reports on violations of human rights in East Timor.

3. The Commission recalls the undertakings by the Government of Indonesia to promote human rights in East Timor and those contained in Chairman's Statement at previous sessions on the matter. The Commission stressed the need to take further steps towards their implementation, including the early release of East Timorese detained or convicted and the further clarification of the circumstances surrounding the Dili incident of 1991.

4. The Commission notes with satisfaction the greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to international media and humanitarian organisations and trusts that it will be expanded further to human rights organisations.

5. The Commission welcomes the visit to East Timor of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mr. José Ayala Lasso, on 6 December 1995, and stressed the importance of this visit in the context of last year's Chairman's Statement. The Commission notes with satisfaction the understanding reached between the Indonesian authorities and the High Commissioner concerning the upgrading of the current MOI (Memorandum of Intention) on the technical cooperation in the field of human rights, signed in Jakarta on 26 October 1994, into an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding). In this context, it was also provisionally agreed to look into the possibility (sic, the wording could hardly be vaguer) of the High Commissioner assigning a programme officer within the office of UNDP (UN Development Programme) in Jakarta in order to follow-up the implementation of the technical cooperation agreement. This officer would also have regular access to East Timor.

6. The Commission welcomes the intention of the Government of Indonesia to continue to cooperate with the Commission on Human Rights and its mechanisms as well as its intention to invite a thematic rapporteur in 1997.

7. The Commission welcomes the result of the seventh round of the tripartite dialogue between the Foreign Ministers of

Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General on the question of East Timor, held in London on 16 January 1996 and encourages the Secretary-General to continue his good offices for achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.

8. The Commission welcomes the informal bilateral meeting between President Soeharto and Prime Minister Guterres during the ASEM in Bangkok on 29 February 1996 and expresses the hope that it will contribute positively to the ongoing tripartite dialogue. The Commission also welcomes the holding of the All-Inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue in Burg Schlaining, Austria, from 19 to 22 March 1996.

9. The Commission requests the Secretary-General to keep it informed on the situation of human rights in East Timor and will consider it at its fifty-third session.

UN RIGHTS BODY EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT EAST TIMOR

Geneva, April 23 Reuter – The United Nations Human Rights Commission expressed “deep concern” on Tuesday over reports of violations of human rights in East Timor.

In a statement from the chairman of the 53-member body, adopted by consensus, it also called on Indonesia to fully investigate a November 1991 incident in which up to 200 East Timorese demonstrators were killed by Indonesian troops.

Jakarta acknowledges only about 50 people were killed. The statement by the U.N.’s main human rights body urged Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to continue his efforts toward “achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of the East Timor.”

The United Nations still regards Portugal, East Timor’s former colonial power, as the administering power in East Timor. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it a year later.

“The Commission continues to follow with deep concern the reports on violations of human rights in East Timor,” it said.

The statement recalled Indonesia’s pledges to promote human rights in East Timor and stressed the need to take further steps toward their implementation, “including the early release of the East Timorese detained or convicted and the further clarification of the circumstances surrounding the Dili incident of 1991.”

The Commission welcomed the visit last December to East Timor by U.N. Human Rights Commissioner José Ayala Lasso. In his report published in March, he cited alle-

gations of “very grave violations” of human rights there and called for improvement.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONCLUDES ANNUAL GENERAL DEBATE

UN News Release HR/CN/748, 24 April 1996 [excerpts]

GENEVA, 24 April (UN Information Service) – With a flurry of final pleas for greater respect for the human rights of children, the Commission on Human Rights this evening concluded five weeks of general debate. It will spend the remainder of the week voting on draft resolutions and reviewing and adopting its report.

At the marathon meeting, the Commission also elected 13 experts and several alternate members to its principal subsidiary body, the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Reports before Commission

The Commission had before it the report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, José Ayala-Lasso, entitled, “Making Human Rights a Reality”; and a report on the High Commissioner’s visit to Indonesia and East Timor last December.

... The report of the High Commissioner on his visit to Indonesia and East Timor recalls that Mr. Ayala-Lasso met, among others, the President of Indonesia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Defence Minister. The High Commissioner also met Xanana Gusmão, the jailed East Timorese leader of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN).

According to the report, the High Commissioner had very frank talks with the Government of Indonesia on key human rights issues and considered that his visit was an important step for the promotion and protection of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. During his visit, the High Commissioner gave the Government a memorandum containing a list of issues that have been raised by thematic special rapporteurs and other mechanisms of the Commission and by relevant human rights treaty bodies. He stressed the importance for Indonesia of ensuring full cooperation with all the instruments and mechanisms of the United Nations human rights programme. He made reference to the importance of ratifying international human rights instruments and asked the Government of Indonesia to give international human rights non-governmental organizations full access to Indonesia and East Timor.

With respect to the incident that occurred in Dili on 12 November 1991, the High

Commissioner asked the Government of Indonesia to pay compensation to the families of the victims. He stressed the need to continue the search for the disappeared and dead.

The High Commissioner recognized that progress has been made in the field of human rights in Indonesia, most notably through the establishment of the National Human Rights Commission. Furthermore, the Government of Indonesia expressed its determination to further the cooperation with the mechanisms of the Commission and continue to implement their recommendations. The Government publicly indicated that it would extend invitations to United Nations human rights rapporteurs and working groups “in due time.”

The Government also informed the High Commissioner that it had adopted a policy of acceding to United Nations human rights instruments on a priority basis. Ratification of the Convention against Torture had been set as the first priority.

With respect to the 12 November 1991 incident in Dili, the Government of Indonesia agreed to continue the search for the missing. The Government would make available to the High Commissioner any new information on the Dili incident and the persons who were unaccounted for. The National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia, for its part, might decide to investigate the Dili incident if “new elements emerge.”

It was agreed that the Memorandum of Intent between the Government of Indonesia and the High Commissioner for Human Rights/Centre for Human Rights (signed on 24 October 1994) would be upgraded to a memorandum of understanding. In that context, a human rights presence would be established in Jakarta within the United Nations office there.

JAKARTA’S INTERPRETATION OF UNHRC STATEMENT

Jakarta Post, 29 April. Abridged

Indonesia says a statement by the UN Human Rights Commission acknowledged progress made by Jakarta in the territory, though it expressed some concerns. A senior official of the Foreign Ministry said the statement issued at the end of the commission meeting last Wednesday was ‘acceptable.’

Hasan Wirayuda who was part of the delegation at the Geneva meeting, said most points expressed either ‘satisfaction’ or ‘welcome’ towards various developments in East Timor. The ‘deep concern’ expressed in the statement was over alleged reports of

violations, he said. 'It did not make judgments on the situation itself.'

On the question of 'future presence of human rights organisations,' in East Timor, Hasan said this actually pointed to a technical cooperation programme in the field of human rights. The possibility of assigning a programme officer at the UN office in Jakarta is a follow-up to the Memorandum of Intent on technical cooperation in human rights signed last year and not meant to assume a monitoring role of human rights practices.

Hasan said Indonesia has agreed to invite a 'thematic rapporteur' instead of 'special rapporteur' from the UN to visit the country in 1997.

The 'thematic rapporteur' is issue-oriented and not designated to investigate a specific country, while the term 'special rapporteur' can imply a person who is assigned towards a specific country for gross human rights violations.

With regard to earlier reports suggestions that the chairman's statement called on Indonesia to fully investigate the 1991 Dili incident, Hasan said the statement merely stated the need for further clarifications on the circumstances surrounding the incident. 'This means that they (the commission members) have accepted our report, and just want further clarifications,' he said.

OTHER UN ACTIVITIES

DECOLONIZATION SUCSESSES HAVE CHANGED INTERNATIONAL LANDSCAPE

SAYS SECRETARY-GENERAL TO SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION

U.N. Press Release GA/COL/2954, 16 Feb. Excerpts

Special Committee on decolonization, 1996 1454th Meeting (AM)

Statement Delivered by Under-Secretary-General Chinmaya R. Gharekhan; Committee Opens 1996 Session, Discusses East Timor's Inclusion on Agenda

"You may rely on my complete cooperation in your efforts to achieve the goals set for you by the General Assembly," Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples this morn-

ing, as the Committee opened its 1996 session.

In a statement read out on his behalf by Under-Secretary-General Chinmaya R. Gharekhan, the Secretary-General praised the Committee and said that its successes since 1961 had changed the international landscape. In view of the recent aggravation of the financial crisis, he stressed the importance of cooperation between the Special Committee and the administering Powers and of regular contacts between the Committee and the representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The Committee decided to maintain the working group and the Subcommittee on Small Territories, Petitions, Information and Assistance. It also decided that the working group should continue to study ways and means of expediting the Committee's mandate. It decided to postpone for further consideration when the Committee as a whole and the working group would hold their meetings.

The Committee elected Alimany Pallo Bangura (Sierra Leone) as Chairman, Bruno E. Rodriguez Parrilla (Cuba) and Utula Utuoc Samana (Papua New Guinea) as Vice-Chairmen, and Farouk Al-Attar (Syria) as Rapporteur. Mr. Samana was appointed Chairman of the Subcommittee. Pending final approval from the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, it postponed appointing Rosyln Lauren Khan-Cummings as Vice-Chairman/Rapporteur of the Subcommittee.

On the subject of East Timor, the representative of Indonesia said that for many years the Committee had been dealing with a non-issue that should never have been before the Committee in the first place. Consideration of that item could undermine the ongoing talks being held under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

The representative of Portugal said the situation created by Indonesia in East Timor had not been recognized by the United Nations. The Committee had a very clear mandate on the matter, and it should continue to fulfil that mandate until the situation was successfully resolved.

Committee Work Programme

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples met this morning to elect its officers and consider its organization of work.

The Committee had before it a note from its Chairman (document A/AC.109/L.1841) which takes up subsidiary bodies, the allocation of items, the order of priority, recommendations of the Committee to the Assembly, and utilization of conference-servicing resources. The Chairman suggests

that the Special Committee maintain the working group as a steering committee, as well as the Subcommittee on Small Territories, Petitions, Information and Assistance. Annexed to the note is a list of matters pending for consideration by the Special Committee. They include East Timor, Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Gibraltar, New Caledonia, and Western Sahara. The Committee may also consider items on: Puerto Rico; American Samoa; the activities of foreign economic and other interests which impede implementation of the Declaration; military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in Territories under their administration; and implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the international institutions.

At its forty-third session in 1988, the General Assembly declared the period 1990-2000 the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. In 1991, the Assembly adopted as a Plan of Action for the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism the proposals contained in the annex to the report of the Secretary-General, dated 13 December 1991 (document A/46/634/Rev.1). The Plan, among other things, provided that the Special Committee should: prepare periodic analyses of the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration; review the impact of the economic and social situation on the constitutional and political advancement of Non-Self-Governing Territories; and, in order to review progress, organize during the Decade seminars in the Caribbean and Pacific regions, alternately, as well as at United Nations Headquarters.

During its fiftieth session, the Assembly requested the Special Committee to continue to seek the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration and to carry out the actions approved by the Assembly regarding the International Decade. In particular, the Special Committee was asked to: make proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism; continue to examine the implementation by Member States of resolutions on decolonization; continue to pay special attention to the small Territories, in particular through the dispatch of regular visiting missions; recommend steps to enable those Territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence; and enlist world-wide support for the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration.

As at 1 January 1996, the Special Committee was composed of the following 23 members: Afghanistan, Chile, China, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Fiji, Grenada, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Papua New Guinea, Russian Federation, Sierra Leone, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia,

United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. (The Government of Bulgaria decided to withdraw from the membership in the Special Committee as from 1 August 1995.)

Statement by Secretary-General

CHINMAYA R. GHAREKHAN, Special Political Adviser to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, speaking on behalf of the Secretary-General, declared open the 1996 session of the Special Committee on decolonization, and said that in the wake of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and the thirty-fifth anniversary since the inception of the Special Committee, the Committee's endeavours served as a reminder that the task of decolonization was not yet at an end.

Due to its untiring efforts, its successes had changed the international landscape, he continued. It was due to the Special Committee that many Member States had joined the United Nations. The unswerving devotion and relentless efforts of the Committee to ensure that the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories exercised their right to self-determination stood as a beacon of hope for the peoples of those Territories.

He said despite the immense and daunting task embodied in Chapter XI of the Charter and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), the Special Committee, at a time of increasing difficulty for the United Nations, had made an important contribution to the field of decolonization. There remained some 17 Non-Self-Governing Territories, all of which enjoyed the right to self-determination, with options that included independence, free association with another State or integrating with another State.

Not all were in the same category, he said. The great majority were small island Territories which suffered from various handicaps, including limited size, remoteness, vulnerability to natural disasters, lack of natural resources, as well as migration of skilled personnel. In recognition of that fact, the General Assembly had asked the Special Committee to pay particular attention to the small Territories in order to promote political, economic and social conditions conducive to the exercise of their right to self-determination.

It was of vital importance, he continued, that there be constructive cooperation between the Special Committee and the administering Powers and regular contacts between the Special Committee and the representatives of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in order to accelerate the process of self-determination. In that way, the Special Committee could keep itself informed of the situation in the Territories and work with

administering Powers in a spirit of cooperation to achieve the goal of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000. He urged all concerned, including the specialized agencies and institutions of the United Nations and various regional organizations, to provide all necessary assistance to those Territories. He called particular attention to the need for the support from all concerned for the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) in the execution of its mandate with regard to Western Sahara, the largest territory that remained on the Special Committee's agenda. Such support would be essential in order to overcome existing obstacles to the holding of a free and fair referendum in the territory.

He noted that, in 1995, the Special Committee had demonstrated a practical and flexible approach to its work. He regretted that the recent aggravation of the financial crisis obliged him to urge the members of the Special Committee to exercise maximum restraint and economy in use of its resources. In conclusion, he assured the Committee that he attached great importance to its work. "You may rely on my complete cooperation in your efforts to achieve the goals set for you by the General Assembly," he said.

Statements

REZLAN ISHAR JENIE (Indonesia) said that, for many years, the Committee had been dealing with a non-issue that should never have been before the Committee in the first place. Consideration of that item – the question of East Timor – did not contribute to the ongoing tripartite dialogue being held under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and such consideration could undermine those talks. Among the items under consideration were the preservation of the cultural identity of the East Timor people and bilateral relations between Indonesia and Portugal. Indonesia objected to the inclusion of the item on the agenda.

IVAN RAUL NUÑEZ LOPEZ (Cuba) said the work of the Committee must continue. In recent times, there had been an emergence of ideas, in terms of restructuring the United Nations, that would strip away some of the importance of the Committee, despite the fact that a great deal of work still needed to be done. There were territories where the feeling for independence was still alive, as in the case of Puerto Rico. The establishment of military bases and military activities there by the administering Power should continue to be examined.

So long as there were people calling for the exercise of their right to independence and as long as there was one petitioner that wanted to be heard by the Committee, there was a need for the Committee to exist, he

continued. Accordingly, there should be an increase of resources made available to the Committee. He would prefer to keep the sessions to hear petitioners in August. The Committee should keep intact the number of meetings, as well as the resources provided by the Secretariat.

ANTONIO NORONHA GAMITO (Portugal) said East Timor was a Non-Self-Governing Territory established by the General Assembly and had always been inscribed on the Committee's agenda. Each year, the Secretary-General requested Portugal to supply information on that Territory, a request that Portugal complied with as administering Power, despite the fact that it was hampered in fulfilling that obligation. The Assembly had not taken any decision that would lead the Committee not to inscribe the item on its agenda.

The decolonization of East Timor had not been completed, he said. He did not support altering the framework in which the question would be considered. His Government was committed to the ongoing efforts of the Special Committee in that matter, as well as those of the Secretary-General.

UTULA UTUOC SAMANA (Papua New Guinea) said that, given the mounting financial pressures on the United Nations, the work of the Committee was particularly crucial. In the interest of economizing and reorganizing, the United Nations must not undermine the integrity of its mandate and its responsibility to redeem the sacred trust of the peoples who looked to the Organization to serve their interests and their rights. To economize, the Committee could consider the possibility of integrating the work of the Committee and the Subcommittee on Small Territories. In addition, it should look at the list of the Territories under consideration and seriously consider whether it was going to be possible to meet the targets of the Declaration by the year 2000.

Mr. JENIE (Indonesia) said the representative of Portugal had failed to take note of the history surrounding East Timor. Portugal had abandoned East Timor, thereby utterly mishandling the decolonization process and relinquishing its responsibility as administering Power. The people of East Timor had achieved independence through integration with the people of Indonesia.

Mr. GAMITO (Portugal) said now was not the place or time to get into polemics on the question of East Timor. He thanked the representative of Indonesia for teaching him history. The situation created by Indonesia in East Timor had not been recognized by the United Nations. The Committee had a very clear mandate on the matter, as did the Secretary-General, which was why the negotiations were ongoing. The Committee

should continue to fulfil its mandate until the situation was successfully resolved.

FAROUK AL-ATTAR (Syria) said the work of the Committee must continue until it attained the goal of complete decolonization, an event which would be a great achievement for the United Nations. He hoped that the Committee would make important strides forward.

Mr. JENIE (Indonesia) said the last time the General Assembly had voted on the question of East Timor was in 1982. Proposed by Portugal, the resolution had not been supported by 90 members of the Assembly. The issue had first been brought before the Assembly in 1975, at which time the Assembly had adopted a resolution critical of Indonesia. The change in voting showed the increased understanding of the Member States regarding the question of East Timor.

Mr. GAMITO (Portugal) said the Committee should remain aware of the fact that there were several resolutions relevant to the question of East Timor. The Committee and the Secretary-General had specific mandates regarding East Timor.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT IN MACAU

[abridged]

MACAU, March 2 (UPI) – U.N. General Assembly President Diogo Freitas Do Amaral arrived in Macau Saturday, touting his native Portugal's initiative on settling the conflict in the troubled Indonesian province of East Timor.

The proposal, which was introduced at the Asia-Europe Meeting held in Bangkok on Friday and Saturday, calls for compromises from Jakarta and Lisbon and hinges on international relations and the fate of dissident Timorese leaders.

Calling the plan by Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres "very positive," Freitas Do Amaral said it could solve some of East Timor's woes. He made the remarks after meeting with Macau Governor General Vasco Rocha Vieira.

Freitas Do Amaral arrived in Macau early Saturday for a day-long visit, coming from New York via stopovers in Tokyo and Hong Kong. The U.N. General Assembly president is a former leader of Portugal's right-wing Social-Democratic Center (CDS) Party. In 1986, Freitas Do Amaral launched a failed bid for the Portuguese presidency. Freitas Do Amaral, who reportedly met with Macau leaders to discuss the enclave's reversion to Chinese rule in 1999, was on his way to Beijing.

GUINEA-BISSAU PRESIDES UNSC NON-ALIGNED GROUP

translated

Bissau, April 2 (LUSA) - One day after Guinea-Bissau took presidency of the UN Security Council Non-Aligned Group, foreign minister Delfim da Silva states that the East Timorese National liberation movement is an unfinished process that must be resumed. Da Silva says it is desirable that progress on the matter be made "for the benefit of uncluttering international cooperation with the countries in that region."

"Guinea-Bissau is the product of a National liberation movement and it's in this perspective that we view the East Timorese National liberation movement as an unfinished process that must be resumed," said Delfim da Silva.

Guinea-Bissau maintains diplomatic and economic relations with Indonesia. In 1994, then foreign minister Bernardino Cardoso defended that Guinea has always separated the political and humanitarian issues from the economic and diplomatic ones, considered "distinct."

In 1993, Guinea-Bissau offered to host Xanana Gusmão who was at the time sentenced to life in prison, later commuted to a 20-year sentence.

UN DECOLONIZATION MEETING ATTACKED

By Robert H. Reid

UNITED NATIONS (AP, April 30) – With the United Nations officially broke, the organization is spending \$150,000 on a meeting in far-away Papua New Guinea to discuss decolonization in a region where few see a problem.

The U.N. Decolonization Committee will hold the seminar in Port Moresby on June 12-14 to discuss the problems of decolonization in the Pacific islands, most of which don't want full independence.

The United States administers Guam and American Samoa, New Zealand administers Tokelau, Britain governs Pitcairn and the St. Helena islands and France is responsible for New Caledonia.

But only East Timor is agitating for independence. Indonesia seized the former Portuguese colony in 1976 and annexed it the following year. In addition, rebels on the island of Bougainville have fought a seven-year insurgency for independence from Papua New Guinea.

Given the lack of interest in the region for full independence, many nations are questioning the need for the decolonization meet-

ing, especially in light of the United Nations' financial troubles.

On Tuesday, the organization ran out of money from its regular operating budget, mostly because of delays by the United States, Germany and Japan in paying their arrears.

Chief U.N. financial officer Joseph Connor said he would borrow \$50 million from the separate peacekeeping fund to pay the bills. The United Nations already owes about \$1 billion to the fund, which reimburses member states participating in its 16 peacekeeping missions.

Member nations concerned about the financial problems have often cited the decolonization conference as an example of the waste – and of the difficulty of pruning operations that may have outlived their usefulness.

The decolonization committee was established soon after World War II, and emerged as a champion of peoples seeking independence from colonial powers.

But dozens of former colonies and territories are now independent, and many U.N. members ask whether the committee is still needed.

Nonetheless, U.N. officials say they have no authority to abolish or curtail the work of the committee unless the 185-member U.N. General Assembly authorizes them to do so.

The General Assembly, where every U.N. member has an equal vote, continues to finance the committee over the objections of the United States, Britain and France.

On Tuesday, the day the United Nations officially went broke, the undersecretary-general for political affairs, Marrack Goulding, said officials had asked the committee whether the Papua New Guinea meeting made sense.

Goulding said members of the committee responded that funds for the meeting had already been allocated, and questioned whether the U.N. Secretariat had the authority even to suggest "that they should not carry out mandated activities because of the financial crisis."

UN QUESTIONS DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE'S SEMINAR

By Evelyn Leopold

UNITED NATIONS, May 1 (Reuters) - With the United Nations teetering on the verge of bankruptcy, anger is rising against diplomats on a decolonization committee spending money to send officials to a seminar in Papua New Guinea in the Pacific.

Once a champion of national independence from colonial powers, the committee has had little to do in the past decade but is

regularly allocated funds by the General Assembly. The seminar, scheduled to take place in Port Moresby from June 12 to 14, is expected to cost about \$150,000.

And there is little Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali can do about it. Marrack Goulding, his undersecretary-general for political affairs, said U.N. officials had asked "whether in the present financial circumstances it made sense for them to have a meeting in Papua New Guinea."

In response, he said that some committee members questioned "the legitimacy of the U.N. secretariat suggesting to them that they should not carry out mandated activities because of the financial crisis,"

Committee chairman Alimany Pallo Bangura, Sierra Leone's ambassador, defended the meeting, saying the Papua New Guinea government "invited the committee to hold its seminar and we thought there was no reason why we should reject it."

A similar seminar was held in Trinidad and Tobago last year, he said, and this year the "Pacific territories should have an opportunity to communicate in effective ways."

But many diplomats are not so sure. The United States has not participated in the committee for years and Britain and France have stopped attending meetings.

One envoy argued that territories were not canvassed to see if their representatives would attend. Another said many of those planning to go were diplomats in New York and could just as well hold the meeting at U.N. headquarters.

Last year at the meeting in Trinidad in the Caribbean, committee members and the U.N. staff assigned to support it were said to outnumber the representatives of the territories.

"The sun never sets on some U.N. committees," said one Western diplomat, adding: "particularly not on this one."

Last year, the Russian delegate, Oleg Chtcherbak told the New York Times that the committee suffered from "some creative stagnation and loss of awareness of contemporary issues."

On the list of territories are the United States Virgin Islands, Guam and American Samoa. The British govern Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Montserrat, Pitcairn, St Helena and the Turks and Caicos Islands. Tokelau in the Pacific is administered by New Zealand and New Caledonia by France.

Most – but not all – of the territories have chosen not to be independent. But liberation movements are evident in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony occupied

by Indonesia, and Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony run by Morocco.

The Security Council is currently coping with Western Sahara. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has conducted negotiations on East Timor separately from the committee. Puerto Rico has also been a frequent subject for hearings with separatists sharply criticising the United States.

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

LETTERS IN THE BULLETIN

The Bulletin (Australian weekly) Dec 26-Jan 2 Letters to the Editor

TIMOR: AN ECONOMIC SOLUTION

Milton Osborne's article "The all-round view from Jakarta" (Bulletin, Nov 21) lacks a realistic perspective. It is not the East Timorese or their supporters that have lacked an appreciation of the point of view of the Suharto regime itself that rejects a solution that is not "creeping genocide" of the East Timorese people.

In reality it is not our empathic understanding that will drive the occupying regime out of East Timor but the cost to Suharto and Co outweighing the benefits. And the same goes for our own government's support for the illegal occupation.

Stephen Langford,
Secretary, Australia-East Timor Association,
Darlinghurst, NSW.

DON'T LEAVE OUT THE GAP

Re: "The all-round view from Jakarta" ...In particular the paragraph that states: "From an Indonesian point of view, East Timor is *pretty small beer* (my italics)... And its economic importance, even allowing the army's exploitation of its coffee production, is limited in comparison with major resource developments elsewhere."

The conspicuous absence of any comments relating to the East Timor Gap resources prompts a question that I would like to pose the author:

Does the rich Bayu-Undan gas and condensate discovery in the Gap, with possible reserves of several hundred million barrels of liquids and trillions of cubic feet of gas, quoted as "one of the hottest exploration addresses" (Australian Financial Review, July 28) ring a bell, perhaps?

Maybe Mr. Osborne could reword "just as any attempt to explain Indonesian policy on Timor in crude materialistic terms does not stand up to analysis" to "attempts can be made to explain Indonesian and Australian policy on Timor in crude oil terms."

Saskia Mulder, Manly, NSW

DARWIN: OZ MILITARY VISIT CONSULATE

From Hugh Ekeberg, Darwin, Feb. 12

A vigil was held outside the Indonesian consulate again this morning as part of a regular campaign to highlight the on going human rights abuses by ABRI.

As usual the consular staff were late for work.

Amongst the visitors to the consulate were Australian army and navy officers. The officers were very shy about their visit and attempted to find a side and back entrance to the consulate before opting for the front gate.

Photos were taken of the military people who attempted to hide their faces.

The vigil was ignored by police and ended without incident.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

An appeal for a national day of solidarity with East Timor has been issued by the Australian based leaders of the three components of the East Timorese resistance: José Ramos Horta, Special Representative of Xanana Gusmão; João Carrascalão, President of the Timorese Democratic Union; and Estanislau da Silva from FRETILIN.

The main slogans for the day will be Free East Timor! and No Australian recognition of the annexation! The second demand refers to the fact that the Australian government is the only government to give de jure recognition to Indonesia's take-over of East Timor. Jakarta's annexation is still not recognised by the United Nations. Jakarta's take-over was first given de jure recognition by the Fraser government in 1978 and then by the Hawke government on 18 August, 1983.

The national day of solidarity is proposed for 18 August, 1996 or the weekend of 18 August, 1996.

Initiators of the call are:

1. José Ramos Horta, Special Representative National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM)
2. João Carrascalão, President, Timorese Democratic Union (UDT)
3. Estanislau da Silva, Australian representative for FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor)
4. Gil Scrine, Australia East Timor Association (NSW)
5. Sister Kath O'Connor, Christians in Solidarity with East Timor

6. Max Lane, National Coordinator, Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor
7. Wendy Robertson, Resistance East Timor campaign

Sponsors as of February 7, 1996.

1. Jim Dunn, author and former Australian consul in Dili
2. Rodney Lewis, Dili trials observer for International Commission of Jurists and International Bar Association
3. Jenny Munro, Chairperson, Metropolitan Aboriginal Lands Council
4. Prof. Garth Nettheim, Human Rights Centre, Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales
5. Shirley Shackleton East Timor campaigner; wife of slain journalist, Greg Shackleton
6. Bill Tully, Secretary, Committee for an Independent East Timor (ACT)
7. Ellen Whelan, Editor, Pacific News Bulletin (published for NFIP)
8. Peter Slezak, Snr Lecturer, UNSW
9. Dr. Keith Suter, author on East Timor issues and President, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney
10. Moses Havini, Human Rights advocate, Bouganville Interim Government
11. Melbourne University Students Union
12. Student Supporters of East Timor (SSET), Melbourne University
13. Claire Moore, Queensland, Branch Secretary, Community and Public Sector Union (CPSU)
14. Catholic Workers (Queensland)
15. Sam Watson, Aboriginal film maker; Indigenous Peoples Party.
16. José Gusmão, CNRM Representative for Southeast Asia;
17. David Scott AO;
18. John Maloney, historian;
19. Wendy Lowenstein (writer);
20. Building and Construction Division, Construction, Forestry, Mining and Engineering Union (CFMEU) (SA);
21. Gareth Smith Canberra Program for Peace - CPP);
22. Barbara Meyer, CPP;
23. Yvonne Francis CPP;
24. Satendra Nandan, writer, Vice-President PEN (ACT);
25. Sara Dowse, novelist;
26. May Mackay, United Nations Association (ACT);
27. Chris Warren, Editor, News Extra (Canberra).
28. Committee for an Independent East Timor (South Australia)
29. Committee for an Independent East Timor (ACT)
30. Australia East Timor Association (Victoria) [in principle endorsement at this stage]
31. Australia West Papua Association (NSW)

The appeal issued by East Timor resistance organisations and the initial supporters included a call for the broadest sponsorship. We urge all East Timor supporters to

add their name to the list of sponsors and participants and to seek out further sponsors.

As soon as local open organising committees are formed as per the initiating call, participating local groups will publicise meeting times and venues.

ACADEMICS TARGET EAST TIMOR AS POLL ISSUE

SYDNEY, Feb 7 AAP - A group of 34 senior academics has called on the federal government and opposition to reverse their recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, saying anything less would make a mockery of Australian values.

The University of Melbourne academics say they are disappointed and frustrated with Australia's policy on East Timor.

An open letter, addressed to Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans, who used to lecture at the university, and his opposition counterpart, Alexander Downer, calls for a re-think of Australia's policy.

It was released by Democrats leader Cheryl Kernot and foreign affairs spokesperson Vicki Bourne during the launch of the party's foreign affairs statement in Sydney today.

The academics, all from the Law Faculty, say Australia's "softly softly" approach to the issue has achieved little.

It says that when combined with legal recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over the former Portuguese colony, Australia's approach creates an "uneasy hypocrisy which robs us of our credibility, and ignores matters of national conscience."

Dr. Roger Magnussen, a Post-doctoral Research Fellow, who wrote the letter on behalf of his colleagues, said Australia's recognition of Indonesian sovereignty was "immoral."

"Not one of our politicians would admit to believing in rape and torture and police harassment," Dr. Magnussen said in a statement.

"However, for 20 years both Labor and Liberal governments have recognised a sovereignty based on killing and repression."

COMMENT FROM HUGH EKEBERG, FEB. 10:

The Prime Minister Paul Keating has long argued against those in favour of the monarchy by saying they suffer a cultural cringe.

I believe that the betrayal of our values as a nation so as not to offend those we do business with and indeed to participate in the plunder of people who must endure the cruelty of their governments, is a greater cultural cringe.

In other words we are embarrassed to stand up for the values and principles in the international arena which enable us to work for a just and caring society.

COALITION WOULD BE CONSISTENT ON EAST TIMOR: DOWNER

CANBERRA, Feb 10 AAP - A coalition government would press Indonesia to grant East Timor a greater degree of autonomy, opposition foreign affairs spokesman Alexander Downer said today.

Mr. Downer said Australia had not shown consistency on the issue, with Foreign Minister Gareth Evans describing Indonesia's actions there as oppressive while Prime Minister Paul Keating had refused to raise the issue with President Suharto in case he retaliated with questions about Aboriginal human rights.

"We'd make it clear to the Indonesians that they need to lighten their rule in East Timor and grant East Timor a greater degree of autonomy," Mr. Downer said.

"The foreign minister has been saying that, but Mr. Keating has taken an erratic and inconsistent approach to the issue, and as a consequence of that, naturally enough, the Indonesians have come to the conclusion that the Australian government is only half concerned about this issue."

Mr. Downer said East Timor was an obstacle but the coalition would not tear up Australia's relationship with Indonesia over East Timor.

He said East Timor was a problem for Indonesia in its relationship with Australia, European countries and the United States.

He gave no guarantees that a coalition government would automatically accept East Timorese asylum seekers currently in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta.

"They will be fully assessed on the basis of their applications for asylum and they will be treated in the same way as people from any other country who make that application, but what the result of that assessment will be remains to be seen," Mr. Downer said.

He said the coalition would not attempt to portray the East Timorese as Portuguese citizens.

ET'ESE KIM JONG DENIED ASYLUM IN OZ

translated, edited excerpts

Sydney, Feb 13 (LUSA) - The Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) today denied refugee status to Kim Jong, an East Timorese man, on the basis that Jong is entitled to Portuguese citizenship.

The RRT's statement acknowledges that Kim Koe Jong would face possible danger of persecution if he were to return to ET. However, the Tribunal determined Jong cannot remain in Australia because he is entitled to Portuguese citizenship, and he may now be deported to Lisbon. This decision could result in the deportation of over 1,300 Timorese refugees in Australia who await a decision regarding their own requests for political asylum.

Today's decision will separate Kim Jong from his brother Kim Li who escaped ET with him, and was granted refugee status by the RRT in 1994. Liz Biok, a Timorese lawyer, told LUSA that the decision ignored the strong attachment already established by both brothers with the Timorese community in Australia, and the persecution by the Indonesian authorities suffered by Jong in East Timor, and suffered by his family after he left. Kim Jong's father, Fuc Tjo, was heard at the Tribunal, and revealed that his own father had taught survival tactics to Australian soldiers in ET during WW2.

Tjo and other 6 family members are part of the 1,350 Timorese whose asylum requests are being studied by the Immigration Ministry. Some of these requests have been rejected by the Ministry and forwarded to the RRT who should issue decisions on them during the next few months.

The Tribunal's ruling states that the decision regarding Kim Jong was partly based on a recommendation by the Australian government regarding the Portuguese citizenship law, based on an interpretation of this law by Law professor Rui Moura of the University of Coimbra. According to the UN Refugee Convention, citizens of a country with citizenship rights in a second country cannot request political asylum in a third country.

Tribunal Judge Paul Fergus marked that Kim Jong was born in East Timor in 1973, at which time Portugal "was still the colonial power there." Kim Jong said he will appeal of the Tribunal's decision, disputing the nationality ruling. "I am a Timorese, not an Indonesian. I haven't met a single Portuguese person. They left in 1975 and never returned. I don't know Portugal or the Portuguese language" said Kim Jong.

A spokesperson of the Immigration Ministry said this decision could affect many requests for political asylum by the Timorese refugees in Australia. "It is important to remember, however, that each case is analyzed independently" said the spokesperson, but adding that "every time a refugee has the right to Portuguese citizenship we will defend that the refugee is not entitled to political asylum."

Comment from Hugh Ekeberg

This decision by the Refugee Review Board is an insult to us all and must be fought hard. There are many ordinary people ready to go to jail if they are caught hiding the refugees.

This naked display of fear by the Australian government for what the future may hold if Indonesia is further offended by the refugee issue, is proof that they've never been serious about human rights.

The Prime Minister is running election campaign adverts push the image of himself as a strong visionary leader. Unfortunately he has yet to prove that his showmanship on the Asian stage is anything more than a bluff for the Australian people.

LEGAL EXPERT CRITICIZES REFUGEE DECISION

Press release from Fernand de Varennes, 14 Feb.

An expert in international law claims Australia will be violating its international obligations if it sends an East Timorese to Portugal against his will.

Dr. Fernand de Varennes, Lecturer of Public International Law at Murdoch University, was reacting to a ruling of the Refugee Review Tribunal published on February 13 which concluded that Mr. Kim Koe Jong, an East Timorese, had a right to Portuguese nationality and would have to be sent to Portugal - against his will - instead of being granted refugee status in Australia. The tribunal also concluded that Mr. Jong could not be returned to Indonesia because of the threat of persecution by the Indonesian government. The decision is the first time the Refugee Review Tribunal has denied refugee status to a person born in East Timor.

According to Dr. de Varennes, the Refugee Review Tribunal confused the right to seek Portuguese citizenship with actual possession of Portuguese nationality, and in the process has put Australia in the position of breaching its international treaty obligations.

He points out that under the present Civil Code and other statutes of Portugal, some East Timorese do hold dual Portuguese and Indonesian citizenships. This would be the case of individuals who have a Portuguese father or mother. However, Dr. de Varennes adds that Mr. Jong does not have a Portuguese father or mother, which is also apparently the situation of the more than 1300 East Timorese currently seeking refugee status in Australia.

"The decision is based on the incorrect assumption that Mr. Jong is a Portuguese citizen because he was born in 1973, before the Indonesian invasion," says Dr. de Varennes. "In fact, there is no Portuguese

law which states that all East Timorese during this period have Portuguese citizenship. What the Portuguese legislation does is recognise that most East Timorese, if they do not have a Portuguese father or mother, can ask for Portuguese citizenship and generally receive it. But unless individuals like Mr. Jong voluntarily request it, they are not, nor have they ever been, citizens of Portugal."

He states that even if for many if not most East Timorese - especially those born before 1976 - citizenship is almost a certainty, they still do not have actual citizenship until they voluntarily ask for it. If they are not citizens of Portugal, then Australia has under international law the obligation to determine if these people are real refugees as defined by treaties which Australia has signed and ratified. If they are refugees, Australia must ensure their protection. If they are not, then they should be sent back to Indonesia.

Dr. de Varennes admits that the Refugee Review Board could suspend Mr. Jong's case in order to give him the opportunity to seek Portuguese citizenship if he so wishes. He believes that in all likelihood, Mr. Jong would have no difficulty in obtaining it. However, he emphasises that Australia cannot force or pressure him and other refugee claimants to do so against their will. Mr. Jong has already indicated he has no intention of going to Portugal because "I don't know any Portuguese people. They left in 1975 and never came back. I don't know Portugal. I don't know the language."

Even if Australia were to approach Portugal and request it "protect" East Timorese like Mr. Jong, Dr. de Varennes believes that Portugal has no obligation to accept Australia's demand. "Portugal can legitimately insist that it will only consider the case of the East Timorese if they voluntarily request it. Under international law, Portugal has no further obligation unless the East Timorese already hold citizenship. Since apparently neither Mr. Jong nor any of the more than 1300 East Timorese currently seeking permission to stay in Australia hold Portuguese citizenship, until they apply for it, it is wrong to claim that international law permits them to be sent away to Portugal even if they are refugees."

He describes the whole matter as really very basic. "If Mr. Jong was already a citizen of Portugal, then yes it is true that Australia is permitted under international law to send him to that country. But since East Timorese such as Mr. Jong do not appear to be citizens of Portugal until they make a request, under the United Nations treaties Australia has signed, it has the obligation to protect Mr. Jong here, not ship him away on the first available plane to Lisbon, unless

he voluntarily chooses to go there or applies and obtains Portuguese citizenship."

Dr. de Varennes is an expert on human rights, minorities, indigenous peoples and ethnic conflicts. He has written extensively in the area and been published on these subjects in three languages, French, English and Spanish.

-30-

For further information:
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Email devarenn@murdoch.edu.au

LAWYERS CALL FOR AUSTRALIA RE-THINK EAST TIMOR

"The Guardian," February 14.

On February 7, former law colleagues of Senator Evans publicly called for a "re-think" on East Timor.

Thirty-four legal academics from the Law Faculty in the University of Melbourne wrote an open letter to Senator Evans and to Alexander Downer stating that "...it's time to ask what have we achieved with our recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor. Our recognition undermines our professed belief in the importance of fundamental democratic freedoms: freedom from police harassment, freedom from torture, and freedom of expression..."

"The constant danger is that, in East Timor, we are witnessing the creation of a Northern Ireland on our own doorstep. Military suppression will never achieve stability within our region.

"There may be limits to what Australia can hope to achieve. However, our current approach is poorly devised, and appears to have achieved nothing. It is unpopular in Australia. It has been safely sidelined by Indonesia. It makes a mockery of Australian values. It helps to perpetuate an already unstable situation in our immediate region. It reduces our capacity to play a useful role in the resolution of the East Timor issue in the future.

"For these reasons we would urge a re-consideration of the government's policy of recognising Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor," says the letter.

Regarding the proposed deportation of East Timorese refugees, the 34 lawyers say in their letter: "the comment that East Timorese refugee applicants enjoy the citizenship of Portugal and should be thus disqualified from applying for refugee status in Australia, is glaringly inconsistent with our argument before the World Court that Por-

tugal lacked standing even to bring its action against Australia based on our signing of the Timor Gap Treaty.

"Comments such as this underscore the perceived insincerity of government concern over human rights abuses in East Timor."

INQUIRY INTO DEATHS OF JOURNALISTS

The following advertisement appeared in several Australian papers on Feb 16th.

I have been asked by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to gather and evaluate additional information that may now be available about the deaths of Australian based journalists in East Timor in 1975. The journalists were Greg Shackleton, Tony Stewart, Malcolm Rennie, Gary Cunningham and Brian Peters who were killed at Balibo in October and Roger East who was killed at Dili in December.

Any person who has, or is aware of someone else who has, reliable information relating to these matters is encouraged to contact me by writing, as soon as practicable, to:

Mr. Tom Sherman, Locked Bag No 2,
Robert Garran Offices, National Circuit,
Barton ACT 2600 [Australia] or by fax to:
06 250 5980 (+61 6 250 5980)

Confidentiality will be respected.

Tom Sherman.

[from reports when this inquiry was established, Mr. Sherman is asked to report by some time in May]

GARETH EVANS UPSTAGED IN BRISBANE

ABC Radio National, 17th February 96.

Foreign Minister Gareth Evans was upstaged by protesters as he opened the election campaign for his colleague, Attorney General Michael Lavarche, in Petrie, 30km north of Brisbane.

The protesters called for a re-think of the government's policies towards East Timor and reminded the foreign minister of the sacrifice of the East Timorese who gave sanctuary to Australian commandos during W.W.II.

The Greens candidate for the senate, Angela Jones challenged Gareth Evans on East Timor and asked him if he was going to provide sanctuary for the nine East Timorese in the Australian embassy in Jakarta.

Gareth Evans answered that the matter must precede through the proper channels.

NORTHERN TERRITORIANS WANT EAST TIMOR TALKS

Northern Territory News, 18 Feb 96. By Andrea Allen

A survey by Community Aid Abroad found most believe the Australian Government should push for talks between Indonesia, Portugal and East Timor without pre-conditions.

The ballot held at the Parap markets yesterday asked people their views on overseas aid, bans on international landmines, East Timor and a code of conduct for Australian companies operating overseas.

Organiser Emma Ignjic said the questionnaire-style poll showed 82 per cent of the 80 respondents believed the Australian Government should stop sending military equipment to Indonesia as aid.

Most - 88 per cent - believed the top priority for overseas aid should be assisting people to meet their basic needs.

International ban:

Just over 94 per cent thought the Federal Government should call for an international ban on the production, trade and use of landmines. While a similar

number agreed that Australian companies should be bound by a code of conduct when operating overseas.

Ms Ignjic said the ballot was designed to see if the views of candidates in the upcoming federal election reflected the views of the community. She said: "We believe it's time to put overseas aid and justice issues on the electoral agenda.

"It's time politicians listen and act on what the community thinks."

PROTEST PLANNED IN DARWIN

From Hugh Ekeberg, Feb. 20

Human rights workers and members of the East Timorese community will hold a vigil at the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs in Darwin on Thursday 22nd of February to protest the disgusting treatment of the nine East Timorese seeking asylum in Jakarta.

We intend distributing news of their treatment at the hands of the Australian embassy, throughout the city on that day.

We invite the recipients of reg.easttimor to join us and protest at your local Australian embassies and consulates throughout the world. The submissive and servile nature of the Australian government's relationship to Indonesia is an embarrassment to us all.

INDONESIA & AUSTRALIA TO CO-DEVELOP MILITARY HARDWARE - ACADEMIC

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, Feb 25 AAP - An Indonesian academic believes that in the wake of the recent Australia-Indonesia security agreement it's "highly likely" the two countries will jointly develop military hardware in the near future.

The academic, Dr. Ikrara Nusa Bhakti, also said in today's Jakarta Post that Indonesia would look to Australian diplomatic efforts "to reduce anti-Indonesian sentiments" over issues like East Timor.

Indonesia and Australia signed the security agreement in Jakarta last December, requiring - among other things - each country to consult the other in the event of "adverse challenges."

In a comment article, Dr. Ikrar, researcher at the Centre for Political and Regional Studies, Indonesian Institute of Sciences in Jakarta, said the treaty was "very important" for both countries.

He said Indonesia "wants some benefits from Australia's advanced defence industry."

"It is highly likely that in the near future Indonesia and Australia will co-develop such military hardware as frigates and submarines which are very important for Indonesia as an archipelagic state," Dr. Ikrar said.

He said another key factor for Indonesia flowing from the security agreement was the prospect of Australian diplomatic help in countering anti-Indonesian sentiment.

"... Indonesia needs Australia's diplomatic support to reduce anti-Indonesian sentiment both in Australia and in the international forum regarding East Timor, Irian Jaya and other human rights issues," he said.

In the article, Dr. Ikrar pointed to an increasing number of Indonesian military officers visiting Australia as evidence of the closer military ties.

"... Australia is perceived as a friendly developed country, particularly for military training and technical cooperation.

"Since the early 1990s, Indonesia has faced difficulties in sending its military officers to the US, especially since the US government stopped its International Military Education and Training program for Indonesia in 1992.

"Since then, more and more Indonesian military officers have been sent to Australia," he said.

Dr. Ikrar said a key aspect of the agreement was that "it emphasises to the government and the wider Australian commu-

nity that Indonesia has never and will never be a threat to Australia's security."

NEW INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR DUE MARCH 10

CANBERRA, Feb 22 AAP - Indonesia's new Ambassador to Australia is due to arrive in Canberra shortly after the federal election.

Wiryo Sastrohandoyo was appointed last December to fill the ambassadorial post which has been vacant since July when Indonesia withdrew its first choice General Herman Mantiri.

An Indonesian Embassy spokesman here said today Mr. Wiryo was expected to take up his post on March 10.

Mr. Wiryo has been Indonesia's Ambassador to France for the past two years.

He had been expected to start his Canberra posting early in the New Year.

The embassy spokesman said the posting had not been delayed because of the election but because of the month-long Muslim fasting period of Ramadan, which only finished this week.

A career diplomat, Mr. Wiryo worked closely with Australian representatives on the Cambodian peace process.

General Mantiri's nomination was withdrawn after criticism here of his comment on the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor.

The senior military figure was supposed to have told the Indonesian magazine Editor in July 1992 the conduct of Indonesian security forces over the massacre was "quite proper."

SPY IN DARWIN?

From: Hugh Ekeberg, Feb. 24

There was a demonstration last Monday in Darwin by Australians for a Free East Timor where an army flag was partially burned and a letter of protest delivered to the consulate.

Later that afternoon the regular Monday vigil was also held.

With have learned from two completely different sources close to the Indonesian consular staff, that the Indonesian consul to Darwin, Colonel Widodo, was watching last Monday's demonstration from the back of a 'pool maintenance' van parked just inside the consular gates.

After being told of this, we could clearly recall the van being there and wondered it if it was on business connected to the consul's residence.

The consul remains very shy and has been seen driving different cars to maintain his anonymity. Never-the-less, his behav-

iour is extremely unbecoming and unprofessional as consul to Darwin and proves that we have to be sceptical of his diplomatic credentials.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SYDNEY, JUNE 1996

PUBLIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE EAST TIMOR: ITS FUTURE IN THE ASIA PACIFIC

Information, Perspectives, Debates and Future Scenarios.

JUNE 21-24, 1996 SYDNEY
AUSTRALIA.

A conference convened by:

School of Asian Studies, University of Sydney

Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney

Human Rights Centre, Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales

Oporto University, Portugal

A public education conference to inform the Australian community regarding developments in East Timor and to foster debate between different and conflicting perspectives on the future of East Timor in the Asia Pacific.

Important perspectives from:

- Australian government (an invitation will be sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs after the elections.)
- East Timorese political and social figures
- East Timorese youth and refugees
- several Indonesians outspoken on the East Timor issue
- intellectuals and community figures from the Asia Pacific region
- European and US parliamentarians
- Australian community and government representatives
- provisional speakers and topics

TOPICS INCLUDE:

- modern history of East Timor
- East Timorese political organisations
- East Timor - Indonesian relations
- the East Timor issue in Indonesia
- political change in Indonesia and East Timor
- East Timorese perspectives for the future
- Asia Pacific perspectives on East Timor
- East Timor and international law
- East Timor in the UN
- Australia foreign policy and East Timor
- East Timor and the Australian community
- the Indonesia-Australia-East Timor triangle
- diplomatic initiatives for the future
- conflict resolution and East Timor
- Portugal and East Timor
- US foreign policy, Indonesia and East Timor

- East Timor as an international human rights issue

SPECIALIST SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

- Dr. George Aditjondro, writer, researcher and analyst of East Timorese and Indonesian affairs.
- Prof. John Taylor, South Bank University, UK, Author: "Indonesia's Forgotten War"
- Prof. Peter Carey, Oxford University, UK, Author: "East Timor at the cross-roads."
- Dr. Michael Salla, Australia
- Prof. Barbedo Magalhães, Portugal
- Prof. Garth Nettheim, Australia
- Dr. Michael van Langenberg, Australia
- Pat Walsh, Australian Council for Overseas Aid
- David Scott AO, currently writing a book on East Timor and Australia
- Jim Dunn, Australia
- Max Lane, Australia and many others (all above speakers are confirmed)

EAST TIMORESE SPEAKERS:

José Ramos Horta, Special Representative for CNRM

José Luis Guterres, President, FRETILIN

Mari Alkatiri, FRETILIN

Roque Rodrigues, FRETILIN

Zaccariah de Costa, UDT

José Amaral, CNRM

and many others, including East Timorese direct from East Timor.

PROVISIONAL LIST OF INDONESIAN SPEAKERS/ ORGANISATIONS:

Invitations are being sent to the Indonesian Ambassador as well as a range of Indonesian organisations with different views on the East Timor issue. These include:

- National Human Rights Commission (KOMNAS HAM)
- Centre for Information and Development Studies (CIDES)#
- Indonesian Moslem Scholars Association (ICMI)
- Institute for Strategic and Defence Studies (LEMHAMNAS)
- Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
- Legal Aid Institute (LBH)
- United Development Party (PDI)
- Indonesian Democrat Party (PDI)
- Functional Groups Organization (GOLKAR)
- Nahdlatul Ulama (Moslem scholars association)
- Indonesian Council of Churches
- Indonesian Prosperous Workers Union (SBSI)*
- Indonesian Democratic Union (PRD)*
- Indonesian Centre for Labour Struggles (PPBI)*
- Students in Solidarity with Democracy in Indonesia (SMID)*
- Indonesian People in Solidarity with the Maubere People (SPRIM)*

Indicated in principle willingness to attend
* confirmed

There will also be a range of participants from:

- the Philippines
- Malaysia
- India
- Africa

Conference convenors:

Dr. Michael Van Langenberg, Head, Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University of Sydney.

Professor David Goodman, Director, Institute for International Studies, University of Technology, Sydney

Professor Garth Nettheim, Human Rights Centre, Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales.

Professor A. Barbedo Magalhães, University of Oporto, Portugal.

Max Lane, Conference co-ordinator:

REGISTRATION FORM

EAST TIMOR: ITS FUTURE IN THE ASIA PACIFIC

Public Education Conference

JUNE 21-24, 1996

Venue: University of Sydney and University of Technology, Sydney campuses.

Name

Address

..... Telephone

I enclose \$10 (concessional) \$25 for registration

Please note: Registrations after May 1 will increase to: \$15 concessional and \$30 for waged people.

Registrations are already coming in. Please register now to ensure a place.

Send this form to:

EAST TIMOR CONFERENCE,
Max Lane, Conference co-ordinator
Institute for International Studies,
University of Technology, Sydney,
P.O. Box 123, Broadway

KEATING CAMPAIGN HQ OCCUPIED

SYDNEY, Australia Feb 27(AP) – Protesters briefly occupied the campaign headquarters of Prime Minister Paul Keating today, accusing Australia of ignoring human rights abuses in nearby East Timor.

Police arrested four demonstrators at Keating's headquarters at the Sydney suburb of Bankstown, and the rest left when officers arrived.

Protesters accused Australia of overlooking Indonesian human rights abuses in signing a military treaty with the country last year.

The takeover was meant to highlight "the inconsistency of the prime minister's attitude to East Timor," the Australian East Timor Association said in a statement.

The group also objected to Australia's refusal to grant asylum to four East Timorese now camped in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta.

About seven people occupied Keating's headquarters for the March 2 national elections, and more demonstrated downstairs, protester Stephen Langford said.

EVANS HECKLED AGAIN

Northern Territory News, Darwin. 1 March

SYDNEY: A jostling crowd of demonstrators scuffled with police outside a public forum attended by foreign Affairs Minister Evans and Opposition spokesman Alexander Downer yesterday.

Shouting "Evans: A Butcher," the crowd of 30 East Timor and Tamil attempted to force their way into the Teachers federation building in Sydney but were ejected by police.

The reception for Senator Evans was not much warmer inside, with his speech drowned out by repeated shouts. Senator Evans struggled to speak over the crowd of hecklers, angrily accusing one woman of letting her raging hormones get out of control.

He told some members of the audience they were obsessed with East Timor and Bougainville issues.

DOWNER, EVANS FACE A VOLATILE AUDIENCE

The Australian, 1 March 1996. By Greg Sheridan, Sydney. Abridged.

"CONTROL your racing hormones!" Thus did Gareth Evans, Foreign Minister, respond to the first of the many interjectors in his address to the Australian Council for Overseas Aid foreign policy forum yesterday.

Perhaps he mistook himself, like the Prime Minister, for a "fading rock star," although it did not seem to be purely adulation that was sending the crowd's hormones into spin.

Nor did the interjectors have all the worst of the exchanges. Much of the interjecting, as usual, concerned East Timor.

Said Evans: "While I'm always given advice to be more confrontational with Indonesia, I'm rarely given any advice about how to advance the situation effectively."

Came the reply: "Resign!," followed by much laughter.

Comment from Hugh Ekeberg:

Readers might be interested to know that Gareth Evans has become more angry and

biting in his replies to criticism of the government's foreign policy, especially East Timor.

There is no doubt that the East Timor groups have become more well organised and have taken the initiative to attack the government hard where ever opportunities arise.

The East Timor issue is nearly always raised in media interviews with Gareth Evans and his anger is quite evident. He now rarely smiles and his delivery has noticeably hardened.

DARWIN MAN FINED FOR FLAG BURNING

Northern Territory News, Darwin, 1 March

A pro-Timor independence demonstrator claimed last night his prosecution for burning an Indonesia flag had been politically motivated.

Welder and boilermaker Peter McVean 40, a member of Australians for a Free East Timor, was fined A\$750 by Darwin Magistrates Court this week for setting fire to the petrol-soaked flag during a demonstration outside the Indonesian Consulate last year.

He was charged with committing a dangerous act which carries a maximum penalty of five years jail - after a policeman claimed the fire singed hair on his arm.

Magistrate Bruce McCormack said: "It is not the burning of the flag that is dangerous -- it is the circumstances of lighting it."

McVean claimed police had been under political pressure to "make an example" of the protesters.

He claimed the pressure had come from the Government, which may have been "leant on" by the Foreign Affairs Department.

McVean said: "The court case was political, I've got no doubt about that."

SUMMONSED

Three other pro-Timor campaigners, Rob Wesley-Smith, Vaughan Williams and Sally-Ann Watson, have been summonsed for allegedly burning Indonesian army flags outside the consulate on December 7th.

Chief Minister, Shane Stone said: "It's ridiculous to blame me for the actions taken by police and a magistrate because of the irresponsible activities of some demonstrators. And it's nonsense to suggest I would try to influence the police and judiciary."

DARWIN COUNCIL ATTEMPTS INTIMIDATION

I've sent this little news item to demonstrate the dangers of protesting alone in Darwin. - Hugh Ekeberg

March 3, 1996

Mr. Stuart Highway was harassed by Darwin City Council inspectors today for refusing to take down a Xanana T-shirt he had tied to a light pole in front of the Indonesian consulate.

Mr. Highway had arrived early for the weekly vigil outside the consulate to highlight human rights abuses in Indonesia and its colonies.

After Mr. Highway tied the shirt to the pole, inspectors from the council chambers nearby, came across the street and ordered Mr. Highway to remove the shirt or he would be charged with placing a hand bill on the pole without a permit.

Mr. Highway refused the order after being warned the penalty was \$50 per hand bill, up to a maximum of \$3500. One inspector left to get his charge book while a second inspector remained to guard Mr. Highway.

I arrived when the first inspector returned with his charge book and another book with the relevant legislation. The inspector read out the passages relating to hand bills and again ordered the T-shirt off the pole. I warned the inspector I was recording the incident on a micro cassette recorder for evidence.

Mr. Highway invited the inspector to test his interpretation of the law in court. The inspector told me to cease recording because he hadn't consented to the recording.

I again warned the inspector I would continue to record the incident as evidence for court. The inspectors then quickly left the scene with some face saving abuse but without laying any charges.

The lesson here is that if people protest alone, they are viewed as a target for intimidation by the authorities.

LABOUR DEFEATED IN AUSTRALIA

From Hugh Ekeberg, March 2

The Keating-led Labour government has suffered its fourth worst election defeat in history.

There will be a new Liberal government and it will be interesting to see how their foreign policy develops. Especially interesting will be their position on the Defence Treaty with Indonesia.

The Democrats hold the balance of power in the senate and they are outspoken in their support for East Timor.

The Liberals have never really said much on East Timor, seeing it as a problem too hot to handle, however the National party who are in coalition with the Liberals have many East Timor supporters including their leader and soon to be deputy Prime Minister, Tim Fisher.

Though the labour party ran for re-election on a great vision for Australia, many analysts believe it was corporate vision and not one the ordinary people could participate in.

EAST TIMOR, THE AUSTRALIAN MEDIA (IN SYDNEY) AND THE MARCH 1996 FEDERAL ELECTION

The following article was published by Matebian News, March issue, Number 10, 1996). If you want to receive MN regularly, please write to Ines Almeida, Co-ordinator, MN, PO Box 481, FAIRFIELD, NSW - AUSTRALIA 2165. Or you can telephone (61.02) 8915861 and/or fax to (61.02) 8912876. Subscriptions are accepted from overseas as well.

By Jeff Lee

Overall, the Federal election was fought on "domestic" issues. The media focused on the Keating-Howard leadership issue. Foreign affairs remained largely a non-issue during the elections. Liberal spokesperson on foreign affairs (now Foreign Minister) Alexander Downer did not identify any major areas of disagreement with the Evans position. His differences were only on the need to refine certain ALP regional postures, coupled with homilies like the need to not ignore existing ties with Europe and the US in our new economic and strategic engagement with Asia. As the Australian's foreign editor Greg Sheridan spelt this out in an article headed, "Foreign policy reveals a rare coalition of interests - Bipartisanship is the new world order for Australia's politicians" (Australian, 14.3.96,p.9). The only real breach was the Democrats and their foreign policy launch which made East Timor and reversal of 'de jure' recognition the central issue. Their media release received added spice with the inclusion of the statement by 30 legal academics from Melbourne Uni Law School opposing 'de jure' recognition. ABC Radio featured both events prominently.

For the whole duration of the election campaign neither Howard nor Downer would speak up for the Timorese refugees seeking political asylum in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta. Courting the 'red-neck'

vote in Queensland was obviously more important. AETA and other groups held vocal pickets over this issue during the election period which the media studiously ignored. One activist, Mr. Geoff McKee, relayed a continuous barrage of faxes, updates down loaded from the internet, he targeted the foreign editor desks of the daily papers and ABC. He rang them to complain about the media silence on the Jakarta Embassy issue, the Kim Jong case, the police attack during Cardinal Etchegaray's visit to Dili, etc. Those contacted included Greg Sheridan & Desmond Fregon (Australian), Chris Henning (Herald), Richard Dinnen (ABC). In frustration at this apparent media black-out on the Timor refugee crisis, a sit-in on Paul Keating's electoral office in Bankstown was staged as a media event. There were four arrests. Media coverage of the sit-in included a Reuters television report being shown on Portuguese television. Most news coverage did not clearly identify the issue. Refugees were not a popular issue in an election fought out on parochial racism and economic rationalism, (the latter dressed up as "the big picture" or "globalism").

In major article in the Weekend Australian in late January, based on a detailed interview of Keating by Sheridan, Keating stressed the "big picture" of global and regional initiatives where "national leaders" are of fundamental importance in the "modern, borderless world." This "big picture" was perceived by Keating, and endorsed by Sheridan, as one where the political leaders of nations are of primary importance. Hence the APEC leaders forum and Indonesia Treaty (where Keating's personal relations with Suharto were prominent) were identified by Keating as the Government's two best achievements in foreign policy. It was here that Sheridan, Keating and Suharto are one. Sheridan argued, "Keating believes, crucially, that he has won broad public support and acceptance of the treaty with Indonesia: 'I was exceptionally happy with it (public reaction to the treaty)...I got those polls a few months ago saying that 60% of people thought we should have a good relationship with Indonesia. I showed it to President Suharto. He's very happy about that, because for him, he wants to see a level of public trust and commitment. He's long term player, he's strategic thinker.'" The fact that Sheridan could run this bombastic tripe uncritically in The Australian demonstrates that his lame attempt at humour during the Evans RIAP public meeting, (28.2.96), where he described himself (and fellow journalists) as "objective" and "even-handed," without even a touch of sarcasm, was a case of hollow self-delusion or farce.

In early February demonstrations were held at Uni of Qld. during a joint foreign

policy address by both Downer and Evans and a foreign affairs forum organised by the Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA). Media coverage was parochial appearing on Brisbane editions of evening news and local press. Inside the meeting, Evans used a mildly supportive statement on Australia's UN diplomacy, made by CNRM's Ramos-Horta, to deceive his audience and deflect all criticism of the ALP East Timor record. (The Horta statement, 11.12.95, at the launching of the ETRA/Keith Suter booklet on the Timor Gap, claimed that Evans had improved his UN diplomacy on the peace negotiations). During the elections Evans, and the journalists covering his speeches, avoided any reference to the CNRM press release (19.2.96) which clearly criticised both major parties for failing to support East Timorese self-determination.

At the Evatt Foundation Breakfast (7.2.96) Evans argued the two women deported from the Australian Embassy in Jakarta had not been mistreated in a crude attempt to slur CNRM's account of the incident. (Note: the following day an article appeared in The Australian quoting the Red Cross denying the two were mistreated). He continued the "Portuguese citizenship" line on Australian refugee determination. Evans also opposed the suspension of Australian military aid to Indonesia by arguing that when the Dutch had suspended NGO aid, following the Dili massacre, the Indonesian reaction was to end all aid from The Netherlands to Indonesian NGO's. Thus Evans, by wrongly drawing direct analogy, claimed he didn't want a repeat of the Dutch suspension. Evans side-stepped the issue of the difference between military aid and NGO humanitarian aid.

The journalists covering the Evatt talk ignored the whole issue anyway. They focused on the key Evans' theme - the International Commission for a Total Ban on Nuclear Testing. Thus, a Keating think tank of retired politicians and generals, established as a propaganda tool for the ALP's so called "anti-nuclear" credentials in the lead up to the election, was deemed by the media more "newsworthy" than immediate human rights violations that Australian defence exports contribute to in East Timor, West Papua and Bougainville.

At the Liberal Party campaign launch (Ryde Civic Centre, 18.2.96) a demonstration by AETA members received lots of attention but only scant mention the following day (ABC-TV News). The protest was filmed by a number of overseas TV networks. Howard's policy speech says nothing on East Timor and the camera focus was on superficialities. Two days later (20.2.96), at a Research Institute for Asia & Pacific

(RIAP) address Liberal foreign affairs man Alexander Downer, (now the Minister), side-stepped the issues of military exports to Indonesia and Australian training of the elite corps of the Indonesian defence forces (Kostrad, Kopassus, etc.). He also invoked the Dutch NGO example used by Evans. He criticised the signing of the Indonesian Defence Treaty, but only because it had not been subjected to Parliamentary debate prior to signing. He rejected any demands to reverse 'de jure' recognition of Indonesia's claim to East Timor, claiming with a naive smugness, that it was a Liberal Fraser Government initiative that the subsequent ALP Governments had merely maintained. The Age newspaper coverage of this meeting (Age 21.2.96) referred to Downer being heckled by the audience over East Timor.

Not surprisingly, José Ramos Horta issued a press release on behalf of CNRM criticising both the ALP Govt. and the Liberal Opposition for their failure to support an act of self-determination for East Timor. The Horta statement had little impact on what was clearly a pre-set and contrived media agenda for the elections. (See David Bowman in 24 Hours February '96 on the media's failure to represent or mirror democratic opinion in Australia). The Daily Telegraph Mirror letters page was instructional. AETA letters bagging Evans appeared regularly to help undermine the ALP's lack of credibility. By the day of the election pro-East Timor letters are rejected. Now we find detailed letters supporting the Suharto anti-Timor solidarity line. By contrast, Sheridan in The Australian appeared to back the ALP. Yet "bipartisanship" gave him a win-win position for his pro-big business line.

Following his 'in-depth' interview with Keating with headings like "Keating takes cue astride world stage" and photos of Keating and Suharto almost arm-in-arm, (Weekend Australian, 27-28.1.96), Sheridan interviewed Evans. Under the heading, "The Foreign Affairs Minister we had to have," (Australian, 21.2.96, p.11), Sheridan maintained, "Evans has a serious claim to being ranked as perhaps Australia's most important and effective Foreign Minister of all (times)." In this feature article Sheridan listed at the top of the Evans overall achievement list as Foreign Minister, "the early work in restoring the Australian-Indonesia relationship from its 1986 nadir, the negotiation of the Timor Gap Treaty.... and lots of others Sheridan then claimed that in 1995 Evans had "mismanaged" the Mantiri affair but, this faux pas was later overshadowed with, "the Government's greatest foreign policy achievement of the year, the Australia-Indonesia Security Treaty." Sheridan notes this was "primarily the work of

Keating," although, "Evans was involved." He concluded that Evans was "one of the most effective and consequential foreign minister's Australia has had." Devoid from the whole piece was any mention of human rights. Indeed, where Sheridan hinted at the issue, he was critical - for example, his reference to Australia's "fruitless policy on Burma," a case where Canberra was criticised for not embracing a more open-slasher policy for Australian investors in Burma.

When faced directly with the issue of human rights, such as on Friday 23 February in Melbourne at the Community Aid Abroad "Taking Australia into Asia: Trade Investment & Human Rights" Conference, Gareth Evans slid around like only a politician could by arguing that their have been thousands of occasions where he has "privately" raised individual case of abuse with overseas leaders. The militant picket at the entrance to the conference and the hostile questions from the floor indicated that belief in the Evans sincerity line had worn thin. While media coverage for the East Timor issue ensued, nobody turned up to oppose the Downer rejoinder which had been switched, luckily for him, to the Saturday morning and away from the flare of protesters.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) sponsored a foreign policy forum with a panel of Downer, Evans, the Democrats and Greens at the NSW Teachers Federation hall (29.2.95). A well attended protest received coverage on SBS-TV, and limited exposure on Channel 7 and 10 television. After being verbally challenged by the audience on two previous occasions for his pro-Jakarta bias Greg Sheridan finally conceded in his column the following day that East Timor had become an election issue following the general hostility shown to both Evans and Downer on the issue. But coverage of this meeting was overshadowed by Liberal leader's Howard's address to the National Press Club the previous day where a "bipartisan" and "Asia first" (read investment not human rights) policy was stressed.

On Saturday 2 March, election day itself, the most "domestic" of elections had run its course. The international news pages, ABC Radio and ATVI News referred to the Portuguese Prime Minister's offer to restore full diplomatic relations with Indonesia, (at the EU-ASIA Summit in Bangkok), in exchange for releasing Xanana Gusmão to participate in the peace talks. In a press conference in Bangkok (reported on Radio Australia 2.3.96) Indonesia's Ali Alatas took a hard line arguing that Xanana Gusmão was "a common criminal" and would not be released. In the wash-up of the election and spurred on by events in Bangkok the Timorese Resistance representatives in

Australia went on a media offensive. On Monday 4th March SBS-TV ran interviews with Ramos-Horta (CNRM) Carrascalão (UDT) and da Silva (Fretilin) on their joint approach to the new Liberal Government to seek a change in policy on East Timor. SBS-TV filmed the three leaders being interviewed in Sydney by the Portuguese Language Program on SBS Radio, hosted Beatrice Miranda. This TV report also showed footage of the solidarity picket outside the ACFOA Teachers Federation meeting the previous Thursday.

Meanwhile former Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, issued two statements in the Indonesian press warning that the incoming Howard Govt. may prove to be "inwardly looking" and fail to complete the Keating Government's "Asian vision." This verdict was premature. Indeed, the Siagian view was strategically placed in the Indonesian media to goad the new Howard-Downer team into prostrating themselves before reactionary Asian leaders (such as Suharto), so as to re-establish their "Asia-literate" credentials and avoid the embarrassment of being shunned by regional dictators. José Ramos Horta pointed out to a recent AETA Meeting that former Liberal FM Peacock was outspoken in support of East Timor in 1974 but sucked up to Indonesia as soon as it was clear that Fraser would win the 1975 election. Will Downer repeat the process?

The first sign of this occurring was the gloating by Downer (Radio Aust. 14.3.96) that Malaysia's Mahathir's was condescending to offer brief chats at airport lounges with Downer (in Darwin) and Howard (in Brisbane on the return leg) during refuelling for his official visit to New Zealand. To make matters worse, Downer bragged how he sent Richard "pragmatist" Woolcott to Kuala Lumpur to secure this grovelling "coup" for Australian diplomacy. Indonesia received the same treatment from new Liberal Minister Parer the next day (ABC Radio 15.3.96). In a separate statement attacking the 12 peak environmental bodies who condemned the new Liberal Government's proposal to sell Australian uranium to Indonesia, (because the proposed nuclear power station is to be built in an earthquake zone with potential fall-out over Northern Australia), Parer claimed that Australia had no right to tell Indonesia where they could or couldn't build their nuclear plant. Parer included the usual cop-out (remember the French nuclear test anyone?) that if we don't sell the Indonesians our uranium "someone else will."

One can summarise from this trend that a Howard-Downer Government, despite sympathetic statements in favour of political asylum for Timorese in Australia

(ACFOA) Mtg. 29.3.96) that should be acted upon, there is more than a little evidence that they will be just a toady with Jakarta as their ALP predecessors. We are risking another spineless foreign policy based on profits and cash without due regards for human rights. The Australian media proved again that it lacks the depth of knowledge, political priorities or tenacity to place human rights concerns ahead of narrow economism in any electoral coverage.

HOWARD WIN SEEN AFFECTING INDONESIAN PERSONAL TIES

By Jim Della-Giacoma

JAKARTA, March 3 (Reuters) - Indonesia on Sunday predicted that warm relations with Australia would remain under its new conservative leadership but some analysts said the end of the Keating-Suharto special relationship could set back ties.

"The improvement in bilateral relations in the last couple of years has really depended on personal relations," Dewi Fortuna Anwar, a political scientist from the Indonesian academy of sciences (LIPI), told Reuters.

"There has been some institutionalisation with the signing of a security treaty and increasing trade ties, but all of these improvements centred on the great personal rapport between President Suharto and Prime Minister Paul Keating," she said.

"The overall framework will not change that much but it will take some more personal spadework, especially from the new leader (John Howard).

"But maybe it will never achieve the same personal warmth achieved by Keating with Suharto as it took a number of years as Keating has been involved in much regional networking such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum," she said.

Sabam Siagian, Jakarta's ambassador in Canberra from 1991-1995, was quoted by the Jakarta Post on Sunday as saying conservative coalition leader Howard, winner of Saturday's election, would strive to maintain good ties.

"The new government under Prime Minister Howard will share the same strategic view of his predecessor in the sense that Indonesia and Southeast Asia is an important area for Australia," Siagian said.

Australia's foreign minister-apparent Alexander Downer said on Sunday the nation would not turn its back on Asia but discarded Australia's claim to be part of the Asian region.

Keating had been criticised by some conservatives for bending over backwards to

foster relations with Jakarta. He said no country was more important to Australia and paid five visits.

In December last year he witnessed the signing of a historic security treaty between the two countries.

Siagian forecast a decline in the intensity of the relationship. "For one thing, the problem of the new government will be the lack of talented people so most probably the intensity of the relationship will suffer," he said.

He said some adjustment would be necessary as both countries had been heavily dependent on the close personal relationships between Keating and Suharto and Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas.

But he said he did not see East Timor causing a problem since it was the last conservative government of Malcolm Fraser that recognised East Timor as a province of Indonesia.

"Evans tended to be somewhat lenient to activist groups on Indonesian human rights and East Timor issues," Siagian said. Australia says it recognises Indonesian sovereignty over the territory that Jakarta invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year in an act not recognised by the United Nations.

Analysts have said the rapport between Evans and Alatas was an important factor in the 1989 Timor Gap treaty to allow joint oil exploration in the waters between Australia and East Timor.

DON'T LET E TIMOR ISSUE MAR RELATIONSHIP - INDONESIA

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, March 4 AAP - The Indonesian government said today it hoped the issue of East Timor would not dominate the Australia-Indonesia relationship under the newly-elected federal coalition government.

"It should not become the single issue in the relationship," foreign ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyl told AAP.

"It (the relationship) should cover the whole spectrum," Mr. Ghaffar said, but added that Indonesia expected the issue would inevitably be raised on occasions by the new government.

The coalition's likely choice as foreign minister, Alexander Downer, has stated that a coalition government would take a tougher line on human rights in Asia than the previous Keating government. One of the early foreign policy issues facing the coalition is the continued presence in the Australian

embassy in Jakarta - after 26 days - of four East Timorese asylum-seekers.

Embassy spokeswoman Joanne Eyre said today a decision last month that the East Timorese did not qualify to have their asylum claims considered resulted from advice from Canberra.

Indonesia's former ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, told the Jakarta Post newspaper yesterday that the last Australian conservative government, under Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, had supported Indonesia on East Timor.

He said it was Mr. Fraser's government which gave Australian recognition to Indonesia's sovereignty over the former Portuguese colony in the late 1970s.

Mr. Ghaffar said he did not expect the new government to significantly change the nation's links with Indonesia or its push into Asia.

Mr. Ghaffar said while the coalition government might look to strengthen ties with Europe, that did not mean a downgrading of the relationship with Indonesia and Asia.

"Nowadays, as we see from the Asia-Europe meeting in Bangkok, countries in Europe are getting closer to Asia, so naturally we expect Australia, as a good neighbour, would grasp the moment," he said.

Mr. Ghaffar said the Indonesian government hoped "past good relations" between Indonesia and Australia would be "continued and further enhanced" under the new Australian regime.

He said the Indonesian government did not expect any significant change from the John Howard-led government in terms of the bilateral relationship, or Australia's push into Asia.

"I don't think there will be a very substantial change as such," Mr. Ghaffar said he hoped that the long-standing issue of East Timor would not dominate the bilateral relationship.

"It should not become the single issue in the relationship," he said.

"It (the relationship) should cover the whole spectrum." Meanwhile, Indonesia's main newspapers have given front-page prominence to the Australian federal election after relatively low-key coverage of the election campaign.

The coalition's landslide victory hit the front pages of several papers yesterday, and stayed there today, with two newspapers - the leading daily, Kompas, and the business-oriented Bisnis Indonesia - running editorials on the subject.

One newspaper, Media Indonesia, carried a front-page story suggesting Mr. Howard would not form a relationship with President Suharto as close as former Prime Minister Paul Keating.

The paper quoted the deputy governor of the National Defence Institute, Professor Juwono Sudarsono, as saying he thought Mr. Howard would probably not form the same close links with Mr. Suharto as his predecessor.

TIMORESE URGE HOWARD TO BE FIRM WITH INDONESIA

Abridged

JAKARTA, March 4 (Reuter) - East Timorese on Monday said they did not envisage Prime Minister-elect John Howard making significant changes in Australia's policy on Indonesian-ruled East Timor but urged him not to be subservient to Jakarta.

"It's all right to be good neighbours but John Howard does not have to be subservient to Indonesia as was Paul Keating," said Armindo Maia, acting rector of the East Timor University. "Australia can play a more active role in resolving the problems in East Timor...without sacrificing Australian interests," he told Reuters by telephone from the Timor capital Dili.

Maia said he was sceptical if Howard, whose Liberal-National Coalition swept to power in Saturday's general election ending 13 years of Labor rule, would be brave enough to make substantial changes to Australian policy on East Timor.

The close personal relations between Keating and Indonesia's President Suharto have underpinned the warm ties between the two nations, which signed a landmark security treaty last December.

"Suharto and Keating were like father and son. Australia's relationship with Indonesia under Howard does not have to be like that," Maia said.

East Timor lawmaker Manuel Carrascalão said he did not expect any major changes in Australian policy on East Timor. "I don't think there will be fundamental changes," he said by telephone from Dili. "I think Australia needs Indonesia more than Indonesia needs Australia."

But he said East Timorese living in Australia could pressure the new government to deal with the territory's problems.

SUHARTO SAYS COMMITTED TO INDONESIA- AUSTRALIA TIES

JAKARTA, March 5 (Reuter) - Indonesian President Suharto has reaffirmed his commitment to ties with Australia after the conservative coalition's victory in Australia's general election, the official Antara news agency said on Tuesday.

Antara quoted Suharto as saying on Monday that Indonesia was committed to relations with Australia on the grounds that the two countries needed each other.

"Indonesia will strengthen its ties with Australia even though the latter will soon undergo a change of government based on the results of recent general elections," Suharto was quoted as saying by the ambassador to Canberra, Wiryono Sastrohandoyo.

Indonesia was waiting for an official statement from Prime Minister-elect John Howard on Australia's future policy towards Indonesia, Wiryono said.

Wiryono said Howard's conservative coalition was in power during the late 1970s when Canberra recognised East Timor as being part of Indonesia.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Tuesday that Australia's strengthening relations with Indonesia were expected to continue growing under the new conservative government.

Alatas said the relationship, which has at times been rocky, had been "institutionalised" in the past few years by the defeated Labor government of Prime Minister Paul Keating.

"We certainly hope that the very close relationship that has been developed ... by (outgoing) Prime Minister Keating and his team will be continued and strengthened in the future ..." Alatas told Australian Broadcasting Corp. radio in Jakarta.

The new Liberal-National government has said Australia's push for a greater role in Asia would not suffer under its leadership. In the run-up to Saturday's poll, Labor warned Asian leaders would not deal seriously with a conservative government.

Alatas said there was little difference in the foreign policies of the new government and its predecessor.

INDONESIA'S NEW AMBASSADOR HOPES SUHARTO TO VISIT

by Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, March 5 AAP - Indonesia's new ambassador to Australia Wiryono Sastrohandoyo said today he was hopeful that President Suharto would make his first visit to Australia in the near future.

"That would be the highlight of my posting in Australia," Dr. Wiryono told AAP in Jakarta today, as he prepared to take up the Canberra post next week.

The post has been vacant since mid-1995, after Jakarta withdrew the candidacy of General Herman Mantiri in the wake of an East Timor related row.

Dr. Wiryono said a presidential visit to Australia would have to be well-prepared to avoid a possible "debacle" dominated by anti-Indonesian protests.

"We have to think about it, and prepare for it. I don't like to be too definite about it, but it is definitely one of the things I would like to promote," he said.

"I think a presidential visit should be prepared well, and in preparing the visit, you have to take into account what would happen on the ground.

"If it only would become a visit that would become a debacle, I think we shouldn't do it."

Dr. Wiryono, 61, a widely-respected career diplomat, said he hoped the newly-elected coalition government would work to maintain and enhance the strong ties between the two countries.

"Well I realise that when a new government is established, we go into a situation of uncertainty," he said.

"But I think what has been established, is established. They are there (and) there is no use to destroy it.

"We of course would understand there are going to be some changes, but not I suppose in the basic sense."

"So at this point I can only express hope that what has been established will continue to be strengthened."

Dr. Wiryono said he believed the wounds of the "Mantiri affair" had healed.

"I think the affair was quite well handled. It was not damaging. I think the state of the relationship was strong enough to withstand this kind of unfortunate incident."

A TRIBUTE TO JASON PORTER OF CRYSTAL BROOK

Press release from AFFET, March 17

The Australians for a Free East Timor group in Darwin, N.T., are holding a seminar on Wed 20th March to update the appalling state of human rights abuses and the efforts to remedy this in relation to our immediate neighbour East Timor.

The seminar will be dedicated in part to the memory of an idealistic young Crystal Brook (S.A.) development economist Jason Porter, who was well known to us as a dedicated worker to eliminate poverty and injustice.

Jason visited Darwin twice during events marking the 19th and 20th anniversaries of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. On that first occasion he was arrested with 7 others of us, but his charges were later dropped. On the more recent occasion Dec 7th 1995 he helped paint military flags and

freedom banners which were used in the demonstration.

He then went travelling in Indonesia where 3 weeks later he met an untimely death as the reputed sole victim of a traffic accident, but his parents have been unable to get a copy to this day of the hospital report. Efforts to follow up with Australia's Dept. of Foreign Affairs have enhanced its reputation as far as helping Australians abroad as the "do FA Dept."

Jason's feisty Mum Rae Porter, well known worker at Port Pirie Tourism and Arts Centre, will attend the Darwin seminar, and we hope tell us more about Jason and also Foreign Affairs. She may be able to tell us how to deal with the South Australian reps in the new Howard government, Alexander Downer and Robert Hill, to make some progress towards reversing Australia's immoral de jure recognition of Indonesia's brutal invasion and occupation of East Timor and the resulting carnage of 40 per cent of the nation killed (over 300,000 people).

So highly was Jason Porter regarded by the SA Community Aid Abroad group and the SA Campaign for an Independent East Timor that they will be inaugurating on April 13th the Jason Porter Memorial Oration, which may be given by the famous Indonesian exiled academic Dr. George Aditjondro. Contact: Rob Wesley-Smith, Australians for a Free East Timor, ph832113

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY FOCUSED ON TIMOR WOMAN

Matebian News, Feb/March 1996

Ines Almeida from ETRA was invited to speak at an International Women's Day breakfast on Saturday 9 March at Sydney Town Hall, Australia, organised by the International Women's Development Agency (IWDA).

ETRA shared the speaking platform with Olfat Mahmud, a Palestinian woman who spoke about women's experiences of life inside refugee camps in Lebanon, and Gwen Lansbury from IWDA who talked about an IWDA project to end female genital mutilation in Tanzania.

Ceu Brites also represented ETRA at the event.

Despite the 8.30am start, 600 people attended the breakfast and heard Ines Almeida, speak about the situation on East Timorese women both inside and outside East Timor.

Ines' speech "Celebrating Women's Achievements - The Case of East Timor Women" - was warmly received. The audience was obviously moved as Ines outlined

the tortured and abuse women in East Timor experience on a daily basis under the Indonesian occupiers. On a more positive note, Ines spoke about the involvement of East Timorese women in the political process of achieving independence and what this meant for a free East Timor.

ETRA also had a stall at the breakfast and sold videos, books and posters as well as handing out information about ETRA and Matebian News. Below are extracts from Ines Almeida International Women's Day speech.

"Women's emancipation must necessarily operate in all forms precisely because woman, due to her nature and capability, has been an active player in all aspects of the society. Be it in the farms or in the public service, be it in education or health, be in the armed liberation struggles or at the negotiation tables,... in many ways, women are always present. And being present, inevitably, contributes to change.

In this century alone, Timorese women have suffered a number of wars that have shook our society as a whole, and the current Indonesian military occupation and colonialism makes it even worst for the people of East Timor to determine our own future.

The invasion of 7 December 1975 began with looting, indiscriminate killings, rape of thousands of women, and illegal imprisonment of thousands of people. Our people today live with constant fear and oppression.

Like every war, women not only become victims in the sense of losing their loved ones - close friends, husbands, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters - but they are also subjected to inhuman treatment including rape and other kinds of humiliation..."

Ines spoke about particular women who have become heroines to the resistance and are an example to all East Timorese in our struggle for freedom.

"Maria Gorete was only 15 when the Indonesian military invaded East Timor. She was a senior member of the OPMT (the Popular Organisation of the Timor women) and active in the clandestine network. She was captured, raped by an entire garrison of Indonesian troops and killed. Yet...she never disclosed any information about her comrades in the network. She died with pride and dignity, a dignity built upon the fact that she never betrayed her people and nation. Felismina dos Santos, is another Timorese woman currently serving 5 years and 8 months in Becora (Dili) prison because of her activities in the clandestine front. She was working for the (Indonesian) military intelligence and was found to be a member of the resistance network. Before she was captured, she saved many Timorese

lives by informing the resistance about the actions the Indonesian military was preparing to undertake.

These are some examples of how Timorese women have been active in the resistance to put an end to the Indonesian military occupation and achieve peace and freedom.

As Timorese women in East Timor, our aim in the context of the Indonesian occupation and barbarities, is to stay alive and be active within these constraints.

Outside East Timor, in the Timorese communities the reality is obviously different. The difference in realities relates to the fact that we are so spread around the world that each group will also exhibit different attitudes and views about political issues, including the issue of the emancipation of women.

As far as (party) policy is concerned, based upon resolutions passed in the last few years and based upon the reality, one can argue that there is no priority and program to enhance women's participation in the (Timorese) struggle abroad. Having said that, it is also true that, in general, there is no obvious nervousness towards women's activism in the international arena.

As activists around the world become more aware of the need to enhance the struggle for the emancipation of women, more demands are exerted upon the Timorese women abroad to become knowledgeable and outspoken.

A number of Timorese women have responded to this call but, in my view, more as a result of individual determination. Our politics like most of the Third World is still excessively male-dominated. The conditions...to break this cycle are yet to exist because we are fighting primarily a war of survival.

We are also conscious of what lies ahead of us. Our population statistics suggests that 53% of the Timorese people are women. Independence is a political process. Over the last 20 years alone, we have worked extremely hard to keep alive the flame of independence. It is brighter now than in the last decade. The involvement of the female population in the struggle for self-determination and independence is crucial.

We have seen around the world many examples of liberation movements coming to power and, soon afterwards, the women were sent back to the kitchen. But this is the future struggle.

In a way of evaluation, looking back to the Portuguese colonial rule and taking into account the barbaric occupation of the Indonesian government of East Timor, we have indeed reasons to celebrate women's achievements. We women have taken part in

all levels of the struggle on our own rights and terms. We suffered the consequences of our patriotism but we refused to sell our soul. Because in these 20 years of resistance and struggle for self-determination, we women of Timor have stood up to be counted."

INDONESIAN ACADEMIC TO SPEAK ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

By Max Lane, Green Left, March 17

Dr. George Aditjondro was the first Indonesian senior academic to speak out against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. He has also been an outspoken advocate of democratic reform and environmental policy in Indonesia. As a result, he came under much harassment from the regime, which climaxed in charges being laid against him. In exile, he now teaches at the University of Newcastle.

On March 22, Aditjondro will be speaking at a public meeting and dinner organised by ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor) on the theme "Australia-Indonesia-East Timor: Triangle of Oppression."

Speaking to Green Left Weekly, Aditjondro said, "We know how Gough Whitlam gave the green light to Suharto's invasion of East Timor, and how the Labor government arranged the Timor Gap Treaty. During Labor's period in office, some ALP left figures got into business arrangements with Indonesian businessman leeches from East Timor.

"The question now is whether under the new Coalition government there is going to be a change. The NT County Liberal Party government has invited many of Suharto's business cronies to invest. Will this be the model for Australia now?"

Aditjondro is also concerned about Indonesia's plans for nuclear power. "With Indonesia going nuclear, will the Coalition's ending of the three mines policy mean that Australian business will be looking more to Indonesia as a market for uranium? Will the Coalition be siding with the Suharto government or supporting the environmental movement in its campaign against this mad scheme?"

Aditjondro is also concerned that the Australian defence industry will see Indonesia's repression as a bonus. "Is it just going to be more profits for Australian business flowing from Suharto's war against the East Timorese?"

The dinner and public meeting will take place at 6.30pm, Friday, March 22, at Glebe Town Hall, St Johns Road, Glebe. Space is

limited, so bookings on (02) 690 1977 are advisable.

AUSTRALIA ENDORSES U.S. REPORT ON INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

by Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

The full text of the U.S. State Department report is in the U.S. section of this edition of East Timor Documents.

Jakarta, March 11 AAP - Australian officials have broadly endorsed a new toughly-worded United States' report which said accounts of extrajudicial killings, torture and disappearances in Indonesia increased during 1995.

A reliable source said today Australian embassy officials in Jakarta had reviewed - and concurred with - the US embassy's "Country report for human rights practices in Indonesia" for 1995.

"Australian officials believe the report is balanced, and makes its points firmly, but based on the available facts," the source told AAP.

"In the cold, hard light of day, there is very little to suggest an improvement in human rights overall," he said.

However he said the US report also gave "credit where it's due," including signs of a more independent judiciary, and greater restraint by the military in dealing with large demonstrations. The source said Australia had produced similar reports on human rights, but only for internal government use and not for public release.

The US report, released last Friday, said Indonesia continued to be ruled by an authoritarian government "despite a surface adherence to democratic forms," with no chance for the people to change its government.

It said the most serious human rights' abuses occurred over the "harsh repression" of dissident movements in the remote regions of Irian Jaya, East Timor and Aceh.

"The government continues to commit serious human rights abuses. "Reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture of those in custody by security forces increased," the report said. "Reports of arbitrary arrests and detentions and the use of excessive violence (including deadly force) in dealing with suspected criminals or perceived troublemakers continued," it said. On the positive side, the US embassy said the economic standard of living had improved markedly under the New Order Suharto government, with significant economic growth.

It also applauded the fledgling National Human Rights Commission on its independence, and willingness to criticise the government. The report said a number of court rulings in 1995 against government interests "may be a sign of nascent judicial independence."

These included the overturning of a conviction against labour leader, Muchtar Pakpahan, and the overturning of a government ban on the news magazine Tempo (now under appeal by the government). The report said while Indonesia withdrew two army battalions from East Timor in September, there had been "no noticeable decrease in military activity" and "troop levels remained unjustifiably high."

SUHARTO'S VISIT TO EAST TIMOR IN JULY

Release from: The Australian Coalition for a free East Timor (ACET), March 19

The Australian Coalition for a free East Timor (ACET), comprising East Timor support groups from around Australia, in a phone conference on Monday issued a call for a nation-wide day of protest on July 17. This day is the 20th anniversary of the date in 1976 when the Indonesian military regime formally incorporated East Timor into Indonesia as its 27th province. Press reports indicate that President Suharto will visit East Timor on that day to officiate at the unveiling of the large statue of Christ which is being constructed near Dili, East Timor's capital. Those reports also say that East Timorese civil servants have been levied for the cost of the statue as funds have run short.

ACET has called for the widest community support for this day to especially feature the continuing denial to the East Timorese people of an act of self-determination to freely decide their future. In over 20 years of brutal Indonesian military occupation, one-third of the population has died and as the Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Belo in Dili, frequently points out, this repression continues.

The shame for Australia is that our governments, both Labor and the Coalition, have recognised the Indonesian annexation and constantly excused the actions of the Indonesian military. This is a clear betrayal of the East Timorese people who gave us such unstinting support when Australia was threatened by invasion in the Second World War.

ACET sees this day as a 'National Day in Support of Self-Determination for East Timor' and calls upon the new Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer, to use his good

offices to have Australia's de jure recognition of the Indonesian annexation reversed.

Contacts: Christine Faithful (09) 350 5549 (Perth, Western Australia)

John & Pat Gandini (09) 361 4678 (Perth, Western Australia)

Rob Wesley-Smith (089) 832 113 (Darwin, Northern Territory)

NATIONAL WITHDRAW RECOGNITION DAY

August 25, 1996

WITHDRAW AUSTRALIAN RECOGNITION OF INDONESIA'S ANNEXATION OF EAST TIMOR!

The Australian government is the only government to give de jure recognition to Indonesia's take-over of East Timor. Jakarta's annexation is still not recognised by the United Nations. Jakarta's take-over was first given de jure recognition by the Fraser government in 1978 and then by the Hawke government on 18 August, 1985. The national day of solidarity will be held on 25 August, 1996.

Initiators of the call are:

EAST TIMORESE RESISTANCE LEADERSHIP

JOSÉ RAMOS HORTA, Special Representative National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM);

JOÃO CARRASCALÃO, Coordinator, Committee of the Resistance Diplomatic Front: President, Timorese Democratic Union (UDT);

ESTANISLAU DA SILVA, Australian representative for FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor);

Plus:

Gil Scrine, Australia East Timor Association (NSW); Sister Kath O'Connor, Christians in Solidarity with East Timor; Max Lane, National Coordinator, Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor; Wendy Robertson, Resistance East Timor campaign

Initial Sponsors Update

Leah Anderson, activist (Australia Services Union); Australian Aid to Ireland (S.A); Australia West Papua Association (NSW); Senator Vikki Bourne, Foreign Affairs spokesperson, Australian Democrats; Bob Brown, National spokesperson, Australian Greens; All Burma Federation of Students; Building and Construction Division, Construction, Forestry, Manufacturing and Engineering Union [CFMEU] (SA); Catholic Workers (Queensland); Claire Moore, Queensland, Branch Secretary,

Community and Public Sector Union (CPSU); Senator Christabel Chamorette, W.A Greens; Campaign for an Independent East Timor (CIET) (ACT); Campaign for an Independent East Timor (SA); Joan Cox-sedge, ex-member of Legislative Council, Victoria (ALP); John da Silva, Sara Dowse, novelist; Jim Dunn, author and former Australian consul in Dili; Bill Ethel, Secretary, WA Branch, Construction, Forestry, Manufacturing and Engineering Union [CFMEU]; Yvonne Francis, Canberra Programme for Peace; José Gusmão; CNRM Representative for Southeast Asia; Graham Haynes, (organiser - Meatworkers Union, WA); Moses Havini, Human Rights advocate, Bouganville Interim Government; Tim Kucera, Industrial officer, Meatworkers Union (WA); Hobart East Timor Committee; Rodney Lewis, Dili trials observer for International Commission of Jurists and International Bar Association; Wendy Lowenstein, writer; Humphrey McQueen, historian and writer; May Mackay, United Nations Association (ACT); John Malony, historian; Melbourne University Students Union; Barbara Meyer, Canberra Programme for Peace (CPP); Jenny Munro, Chairperson, Metropolitan Aboriginal Lands Council; Satendra Nandan, writer, former Minister in Fiji government; Vice-President PEN (ACT); Prof. Garth Netheim, Human Rights Centre, Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales; Domingos de Oliveira, Secretary-General, Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), Australian Representative, Resistance Diplomatic Front; John Pilger, writer and journalist; Dr. Stuart Russell, Faculty of Law, Macquarie University. David Scott AO; Shirley Shackleton, East Timor campaigner, wife of slain journalist, Greg Shackleton; Peter Slezak, Snr Lecturer, UNSW; Gareth Smith, Canberra Program for Peace - CPP; SPRIM - Indonesian People in Solidarity with the Maubere People (Jakarta); Dr. Keith Suter, author on East Timor issues and President, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney; John Tomlinson, East Timor activist (Qld.); Will Tracey, Industrial Officer, CFMEU (WA); Bill Tully, Secretary, Committee for an Independent East Timor (ACT); University Student Supporters of East Timor (USSET), Melbourne University; Chris Warren, Editor, News Extra (Canberra); Sam Watson, Aboriginal film maker; Indigenous Peoples Party; Ellen Whelan, Editor, Pacific News Bulletin (published for NFIP).

INDONESIANS SUPPORT NATIONAL EAST TIMOR DAY

By Max Lane, Green Left, March 17

SPRIM (Indonesian People in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Maubere People), has added its name to those supporting the national day of solidarity for East Timor. The action has been called to focus attention on the Australian government's legal recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

The Fraser Liberal government gave de jure recognition to Indonesia's take over on December 22, 1978. This was reaffirmed on August 18, 1985, by the Hawke Labor government.

SPRIM participated in the joint East Timorese-Indonesian protest actions at the Dutch and Russian embassies in December 1995. The actions were carried out on the 20th anniversary of Jakarta's invasion of East Timor.

In a message sent to Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET), one of the groups participating in the August 25 protests, SPRIM stated that its support was part of reinforcing solidarity between Indonesians, Australians and East Timorese.

The national day of solidarity was originally proposed for August 18. However, after the March 2 federal elections, a new call was issued by José Ramos Horta, special representative of CNRM, Estanislau da Silva from Fretilin, João Carrascalão from the Timorese Democratic Union, representatives of Australia East Timor Association (NSW), Christians in Solidarity with East Timor (CISSET) and ASIET for the actions to be moved to August 25.

Some solidarity activists had earlier expressed concern that ALP supporters, who may be rethinking their party's record and wish to join a campaign to reverse its position, might find it difficult to support an action on the anniversary of Labor's decision to reaffirm de jure recognition.

NEW AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND REFUGEES

Friends of East Timor WA, March 24

As earlier postings on reg.et indicated, the new Australian Government made commitments while in Opposition not to send any of the East Timorese in Australia to Portugal, including a direct commitment given by the now Foreign Affairs Minister, Alexander Downer MP to Friends of East Timor (Western Australia) in February.

Urgent pressure is needed to ensure that promises are honoured and there are no

deportations, particularly for those who have already been rejected by the Immigration Department or Refugee Review Tribunal. Time is short. While such deportations would no doubt create massive publicity, especially with the likely resistance from East Timorese and their supporters (especially in this case the Christian Sanctuary Network), the cost both in terms of human suffering and of resources of the East Timor network in Australia would be immense.

This issue can and should be resolved very quickly, so that we can get on with bringing pressure to bear on the Government on the more substantive and deeply-rooted problems of recognition of the occupation and provision of military and diplomatic support to the Suharto regime.

Australian (and other) groups and individuals should send urgent appeals to the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Alexander Downer MP; the new Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (note the change in portfolio name from the previous Immig. & Ethnic Affairs), Mr. Philip Ruddock MP; and to the new Prime Minister, The Hon. John Howard MP. If it's any help, feel free to use the attached letter (below) FOET sent to each of these people. Note that while we will be promptly taking each of these people to task on East Timor more broadly, we felt it important with these initial letters to concentrate exclusively on the refugee issue, so as not to allow them opportunity to avoid this issue in their replies in favour of any others raised in correspondence.

Regards, Rob South for Friends of East Timor (Western Australia)

FOET Letterhead
18 March 1996

Mr. Alexander Downer MP
Minister for Foreign Affairs Parliament House
CANBERRA ACT 2601

Re: Immediate Action needed on 1350 East Timorese applying for refugee status in Australia

Dear Mr. Downer,

Firstly, please accept our congratulations on the election of the Coalition to Government, and your appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs. We would also like to take this opportunity to formally thank you for meeting with members of Friends of East Timor (WA) on 21 February 1996 at the Perth campaign office of LPA candidate Dee Kelly.

As you would remember, one of the important issues raised at that meeting was in regard to the approximately 1350 East Timorese currently seeking refugee status in

Australia. You were at pains to point out that the Coalition's intentions in this particular matter were contrary to those of the previous Government's, in what was otherwise an area of broadly similar policy in relation to East Timor generally. You stated categorically that under a Coalition Government, Australian authorities, in assessing the claims of East Timorese for refugee status, would consider these claims solely against Indonesia, without reference to the dubious issue of Portuguese citizenship, an approach that would thus be in line with successive Australian Governments' stated views since 1979 that East Timorese are Indonesian citizens. You would remember that our members at that meeting sought clarification on this point to ensure that this was your intention.

We acknowledge of course that you have been consistent on this point since it first arose last year. We were heartened to read, for example, your strident criticism of the Keating Government's double-standard in this matter, in *The Australian* of October 12 1995, excerpted below:

"Portugal yesterday denied that the 1300 East Timorese seeking refugee status in Australia are automatically Portuguese nationals. Portuguese Ambassador Dr. Rui de Avila said the East Timorese could only qualify for citizenship if they expressed a desire to be Portuguese and met certain specific criteria. '... It is not an automatic umbrella that is there for them to be considered Portuguese since the moment they were born,' he said. ... He disputed the argument that East Timorese had dual nationality. Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Alexander Downer, ... said: 'The Government had been given this information by the Portuguese Government and has chosen to ignore it. ... The fact is Australia has never considered the people of East Timor as anything but Indonesian since 1979 - the latest claim by Mr. Keating that they are Portuguese is simply absurd and hypocritical.'"

We hope that you will therefore be able to act quickly to honour the commitment given by you on behalf of the Coalition, and ensure that no East Timorese currently in Australia or who arrive in Australia in the future should be deported to Portugal. However, the reprehensible policy of the previous Government on this matter has already been underway for some time. In particular, we wish to raise with you the case of East Timorese Mr. Kim Koe Jong, whose application for refugee status was rejected by the Refugee Review Tribunal on February 13 1996, despite the RRT acknowledging he faced 'a real chance of persecution' if he was to return to Indonesia/East Timor. This decision was, as you

know, a result of advice given to the RRT by the previous Government. Kim Koe Jong is currently appealing the decision to the Federal Court. An Immigration Department spokesperson announced publicly prior to the election that the decision could affect many of the East Timorese applications for refugee status being considered by the department, stating "Where we find a person is Portuguese as well as Indonesian national then we will argue that person is not eligible for a protection visa (refugee status)." (*The Australian*, 13/2/96). We therefore urge you to immediately intervene in this case and any others which may have arisen since then, in order to ensure that these East Timorese, if they meet refugee criteria solely in relation to Indonesia/East Timor, are allowed to remain in Australia as refugees. We are unclear as to what precise steps the Government will need to take to ensure this, i.e. whether this will require specific legislation or legislative amendments, but we are confident that your Government will be able to ascertain precisely and promptly what is required to ensure the promised outcome in this critical matter.

As you would be aware, Friends of East Timor (WA) campaigns consistently in a number of areas, and we will undoubtedly be writing to you again in regard to other aspects of Australian Government policy on East Timor. We hope that we will be able to meet with you again in the future to discuss these issues further. However, our immediate concern remains the plight of those East Timorese seeking asylum in Australia. We believe that prompt Coalition action in line with your pre-election commitments in this matter would go a long way to ensure goodwill and continuing constructive engagement between your Government and those many Australians who support a just settlement for the long-suffering East Timorese people.

As this matter obviously concerns policy in a number of portfolios, most notably Foreign Affairs and Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, we are writing also to the Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Mr. Philip Ruddock MP, and to the Prime Minister, the Hon John Howard MP (copies enclosed).

Can you please advise Friends of East Timor (WA) in writing as soon as possible of your intended action concerning the East Timorese asylum-seekers. We reiterate that, given the progress of some of these cases, immediate action is required. Friends of East Timor can also be contacted on (09) 361 4678 or (09) 350 5549.

Yours sincerely,

Rob South
for Friends of East Timor (Western Australia)

cc: Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP

Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Mr. Philip Ruddock MP

STONE TO HELP NEW GOVT. IMPROVE INDONESIA TIES

By Gordon Feeney & Rohan Sullivan

JAKARTA, March 24 AAP - Northern Territory Chief Minister Shane Stone - due to meet Indonesia's President Suharto this week - will offer the new federal government NT expertise in dealing with Asia.

Mr. Stone is due to meet Prime Minister John Howard in Sydney tomorrow, ahead of Mr. Stone's scheduled meeting with Mr. Suharto in Jakarta on Wednesday, a spokesman for the Chief Minister said.

"We've got the expertise in dealing with countries like Indonesia, so we can offer that expertise to them (the federal government)," the spokesman told AAP yesterday.

Mr. Stone would be glad to pass on to Mr. Suharto any message from Mr. Howard, such as a reassurance of the federal government's commitment to the bilateral relationship, he said.

"He (Mr. Stone) would pass it on if Mr. Howard asked."

After the coalition election win, Indonesian commentators, including former ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, suggested bilateral ties would be less strong under the new government.

The message has taken hold widely in Indonesia, despite the new federal government's repeated assurances that Asia remained a key priority for Australia.

Last week, for example, a contestant in a television beauty pageant said she preferred former prime minister Paul Keating because he was more friendly to Indonesia.

Mr. Keating visited Indonesia six times as prime minister, and has a relatively high profile here.

Indonesian commentators have highlighted the coalition's traditional links with Europe and the United States, including its support for the monarchy.

Several other reports gave prominence to allegedly racist election campaign comments by coalition members.

If Mr. Stone did act to smooth the way for Mr. Howard, he would carry with him the NT ruling Country Liberal Party's long-standing credentials in Indonesia.

Mr. Stone himself had met Mr. Suharto several times as an NT government minister before taking over the NT leadership mid last year, the spokesman said.

Among a range of portfolios, Mr. Stone was NT Asian Relations and Trade Minister, before becoming leader. That role -

unique in Australia - has gone to Eric Poole, also due to meet Mr. Suharto.

Mr. Stone is probably Australia's only political leader with any competence in the Indonesian language. He's also well-known in the NT for his enthusiasm in wearing Indonesian batik shirts.

The NT has long claimed to lead Australia in forging links with the Asian region, especially Indonesia - citing its geographical proximity as a key advantage.

But in terms of trade, transport from Darwin to the far-distant Australian population centres has remained a problem, with repeated NT calls for the Alice Springs to Darwin rail link to be built.

At times, though, the NT's edge has been notable - though attributed by some to a very soft line on issues like East Timor.

In 1991, the NT was able to arrange a meeting with Mr. Suharto at a time when the Hawke Labor government was unable to do the same.

A 1991 memorandum of understanding (MOU) between Indonesia and the NT was designed to enhance economic and other links, focusing on Indonesia's less developed eastern provinces.

Announcing the trip last week, Mr. Stone said his talks with Mr. Suharto would centre on the \$300 million of trade between the NT and Indonesia, mostly with the eastern provinces.

"I have not had an opportunity to meet with President Suharto since I became chief minister. It has been suggested to me that now would be an appropriate time," Mr. Stone said in Darwin.

The leaders would also discuss the future of the 1991 MOU, Mr. Stone said.

The spokesman for Mr. Stone said the meeting with Mr. Suharto was expected to last about 30 minutes.

APPEAL TO COALITION - AMNESTY FOR EAST TIMOR ASYLUM SEEKERS

Australian Coalition for a free East Timor Media Release, 24 March 96

Calendar of East Timor Solidarity Days Released

1. The Australian Coalition for a free East Timor, The main coordinating body of the East Timor Solidarity groups across Australia, at a telephone hookup last Monday passed the following Request to the new Coalition government of Australia:

"That all East Timorese refugees and asylum seekers in Australia now, plus the few in Macau, totalling around 2,000 and bearing in mind the generosity of a previous government at the time of the Tiananmen

Square Massacre, as an act of grace, commonsense, decency and economic prudence by the new Australian government, now be granted permanent residency in Australia."

2. A Calendar of significant Days of Solidarity with East Timor has been agreed, as follows. This is an attempt to encourage coordination and unity, one of the main aims of ACET, and does not exclude any actions by groups supporting East Timor either planned or ad hoc. However we appeal to solidarity and funding groups and individuals to support our efforts.

ACET National Days of Solidarity for East Timor

23rd March "Ceasefire Day," the day Xanana Gusmão negotiated a ceasefire in 1983 with Indonesian Col. Purwanto. Shows it can be done.

"Peace - Let East Timor Speak"

17th May "National Day of Solidarity with East Timor and Xanana," the day Xanana Gusmão delivered (part of) his speech at his showcase trial in 1993. (1996 ETRA launches Xanana's speech as a booklet, there is a Xanana CD too) "Free East Timor - Free Xanana and all Political Prisoners"

17th July "National Day of Solidarity in Support of Self-Determination for East Timor," the day Suharto signed the Act 'annexing' East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province. (1996 Suharto to visit Dili and unveil statue of Christ)

Aims: "Reverse Indonesian 'Annexation' of East Timor" "All Indonesian troops out of East Timor Now" "Reverse Australia's de jure recognition of Indonesia's illegal 'Annexation' of East Timor"

17th August "Indonesia's Independence day - What about East Timor?" 17/8/45 declaration of independence read, but true independence and freedom is not achieved whilst Indonesia enslaves colonies and denies its own people freedom. "Free East Timor - Freedom for Indonesia"

16th October "Death at Balibo - Day of Commemoration" 16/10/75 at Balibo East Timor 5 Aussie jourmos murdered by Indonesian forces

"Tell the Truth"

12th November "Dili Massacre - East Timor National Day of Mourning" 12/11/91 Dili Massacre captured by world TV and media

"Stop the Killings - Stop the Genocide"

7th December "East Timor Invasion - National Day of Action" 7/12/95 Full scale invasion of East Timor by Indonesian armed forces

"Indonesian troops Out of East Timor"

Further info: Perth 09 3505549, 3614678 Adelaide 08 3710480 Darwin 089 832113

Sydney 02 5605563, 3104510, 7166354 ETRA 8912876 Melbourne 03 94897661

AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS WITH FRETILIN GROUP IN DARWIN

Canberra, 3/26 (ANTARA) - Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer in his visit to Darwin, North Australia, on Monday (3/25) has met with the Fretilin Group, who are fighting for the independence of East Timor, based in Darwin - one hour before seeing the Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammad. This was reported by the daily newspaper "The Canberra Times" on Tuesday.

This daily quoted the spokesperson of the group, who are involved in "The National Council of Maubere Resistance" (CNRM), José Gusmão, as saying that Downer in the said meeting stressed that he has ordered the Australian Ambassador in Jakarta to visit East Timor to observe the situation and the latest developments in the area.

According to Gusmão, CNRM appreciates Alexander Downer because he was willing to accept the delegation in the early stages of his leadership as the new Australian Foreign Minister.

However, he said, CNRM will continue to campaign in humiliating Australia and Indonesia if there is no ending to the -what he calls- human rights violations in East Timor, and the decrease in the number of military personnel in East Timor.

He said, during the meeting his party has requested the ruling Coalition Government to grant residency status to all the East Timorese, either those who are just entering or those already in Australia.

"We (CNRM) will give a chance to Mr. Downer to write down his policies concerning East Timor," said Gusmão.

Meanwhile, the head of CNRM, Rob Wesley-Smith also said his party will grant amnesty to the new coalition government, to issue their policies concerning East Timor in six months to one year before any protest continue.

In the meeting, Downer said, his government supports the United Nations initiative in sponsoring the meeting in Austria to discuss the matter of East Timor and helped funded the meeting in the amount of 26,000 Australian Dollars (20,000 US dollars) for the plane tickets of the delegation from Australia.

Downer also said, the government supports the international efforts that are aimed in solving the problem of East Timor by ways that are acceptable to all parties involved.

RESPONSE FROM AGIO PEREIRA, SYDNEY:

Points of Clarification

The above article shows how incompetent and unprofessional (corrupt?) many Indonesian journalists are. The article contains gross distortions which must be exposed. Following points for the time being:

1. Rob Wesley-Smith is NOT "the Head of CNRM." Rob Wesley-Smith is the long time ET activist living in Darwin, he is the secretary of the Australian Council for East Timor (ACET) and Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET).

2. The meeting was NOT of Fretilin at all. In fact, the leader of Fretilin was not part of the Delegation;

3. Mr. José Gusmão is the Southeast Asian Representative of CNRM and work closely with the solidarity in Australia, specially those based in the Northern Territory of Australia.

4. Mr. Alexander Downer did meet a delegation including José Gusmão and Rob Wesley-Smith to discuss a number of humanitarian issues, high in the agenda the situation of Timorese refugees in Australia. Hope to be able to receive full report about the meeting by José Gusmão and/or Rob Wesley-Smith very soon;

5. If you take not of the UN Media Release reference SG/2021, dated 22 March 1996, in the two very last sentences, the UN Secretary-General's office stated that "The Government of Austria provided meeting facilities and accommodation for all participants. A number of other governments also extended financial support to this initiative."

The contribution by Australia was not for those from Australia which were only two. In any case, two tickets from Australia could not have cost AUS\$20,000, unless it is around the world ticket in business class. Two business class ticket to Austria and return only cost around AUS\$10,000. It is obvious that the contribution by Australian government and all other governments as mentioned in the UN Media Release, was for the overall budget needed for this meeting.

The Indonesian journalist obviously wrote this article without an inch professional integrity, because the author did not even take into account the usual communiqué by the UN which is the normal practice of UN in issuing Media Releases after official and public meetings of this nature. Every journalist (specially those writing on international affairs) should be acquainted with this culture.

REPORT ON DARWIN MEETING WITH NEW FOREIGN MINISTER ALEXANDER DOWNER

some notes by Rob Wesley-Smith 28/3/96

A delegation of East Timor solidarity and East Timorese activists had a 40 minute meeting with new Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer on Mon 25th March 1996 when he came to Darwin to meet Dr. Mahathir. This was a surprise to many that he saw us so soon and at short notice, and the meeting was extremely friendly. My assessment is that he is keen to make an impact on improving the political and human rights scene in East Timor and reduce it as a 'problem' between Australia and Indonesia, but I doubt that this will extend to risking our friendly relationship with Suharto. The policies of the ALP in government and the new Liberal/National Party Coalition government are almost identical, except the Coalition says clearly that all East Timorese are Indonesian, (no suggestion they may be treated as Portuguese). Of course we stated up front that was an illegal and immoral position.

Delegation members were

Rob Wesley-Smith representing Australian for a Free East Timor AFFET PhFx 61 89 832113 PO B0x 2155 Darwin NT Australia 0801, or email at present maybe c/crocha@banda.ntu.edu.au and the Australian Coalition for a free East Timor ACET (c/member solidarity groups in each state, myself or secretariat in Perth Ph 61 9 3614678 or 3505549);

José Gusmão CNRM Darwin; and

Louisa Ferreira one of the 18 boat people who arrived in Darwin May 1995, were sent to Curtin airbase holding centre and in July released into the community on Bridging visas, with very restrictive conditions, which is their present status.

We met Alexander Downer, staffer lawyer Greg Hunt, Foreign Affairs John Dauth visitor and local Brendan Doran.

A letter was presented to Mr. Downer, see below. He had briefly seen this, and was conscious of many of the points in it. He cautioned that he was new in the portfolio, was concerned, he had heard many problem reports about East Timor and never heard a comforting one, he was sending the Australian Ambassador immediately to East Timor for a thorough update. We said he had more expertise facing him, would the Ambassador have his own interpreters and media etc. and that we did not necessarily share his confidence given that Alan Taylor was the same person who made a whitewash report into the deaths of the 5 Australian journalists at Balibo 16/10/75. He was prepared to accept

an update from one of our delegation in due course.

Refugees. The resolution of the Australian Coalition for a Free East Timor on 18/3/96 to ask the new government for an amnesty for East Timorese seeking residency in Australia, thought to be about 2,000, was presented, but although its not his portfolio responsibility, Mr. Downer predicted a firm denial of this idea. Louisa presented her case, and Mr. Downer read the details of her horror in the Dili Massacre an after, and was moved (but not enough it seems). José Gusmão presented (the late) Michele Turner's book *Telling East Timor*, and Mr. Downer quickly looked at his story and promised to read. Maria gave an account of her experiences of the war and needs, and pointed out its been going on for 20 years.

Mr. Downer said East Timor was an impediment to relations with Suharto e.g. Mantiri affair and flag-burning and please give him a year and half to see marked progress before turning nasty. We said that was too long, but we'd be nice for 6 months or so, and we do not care about Mantiri etc., we cared about the ongoing human rights violations happening every day in East Timor, with no Australian government for 20 years caring very much. We said that even dealing with Suharto on this matter was not really appropriate as his rule was illegal, and Australia supporting it was illegal and immoral, and the new government should look at that as a priority.

Supporting letters on this to the new government (c/ Parliament House Canberra ACT Australia) would be helpful I feel.

July 17th will be an ACET national and we hope international focus in support of self-determination for East Timor (20th anniversary of Suharto signing the annexation into Indonesian law). There are lots of other things he can do without just dealing with Suharto, e.g. funding activities. Mr. Downer has already given US\$20,000 to assist the recent (useless) UN sponsored intra-Timorese talks in Austria, a promising sign I guess. He also intervened to help mother of Jason Porter killed in Java to get a medical report, and has raised with Malaysian officials the outrageous case of Jacqueline Gillespie where her two children were kidnapped by a Malaysian prince and she has been denied all access since. By the way, this kidnapping was done with the active help of the Indonesian military, something the Australian government officials seem quite unwilling to deal with. However it is clear Mr. Downer will not take this matter far if officials cannot make progress.

In summary, a good start, but the record over the last 20 years is poor and it will take a sea change for much progress, and we want to see early action and results.

By Robert Wesley-Smith

Letter presented to Mr. Downer

Darwin East Timorese and Supporters of
a Free East Timor
Box 2155 Darwin
NT 0801
PhFx 089 832113 089 275478
Mon 25th March 1996

Mr. Alexander Downer
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Dear Mr. Downer,

Thankyou for seeing us at short notice so soon into your Ministership. We have noted your expressions of concerns over Human Rights issues in the region and in East Timor particular, and we hope and urge you to make a difference to a situation that could hardly be worse. We have also noted decisions already that have been welcomed, such as more support for Mrs. Rae Porter and Dr. John Flynn, and some other support.

The first basic human right denied the East Timorese has been and is the right to self-determination. This was stated at the recent International Court hearing in The Hague, leading to Gareth Evans saying Australia admitted that, but then sort-of redefined self determination as something that could happen under the present brutal and illegal Indonesian rule, which is clearly not possible. Do you agree?. And do you agree that the East Timorese have an as yet not exercised right to self determination? If so, what are the legal and moral bases for your party/government arguing that clearly all East Timorese are Indonesian? Will you actively support a genuine act of self-determination for the East Timorese? What to do about this given the recalcitrance of the Indonesian Military government is a matter for suggestion and debate, we know its not easy, but we will make some suggestions.

But the most immediate issue is to stop the current human rights abuses going on right now in East Timor, to get the Indonesian military out (to stop using East Timor as its Canungra), and to get relief of all kinds direct to the East Timorese people in East Timor.

We suggest you offer several Australian military field medical units to work immediately for an initial period of months in rural East Timor. Also provide medical supplies and expertise to the Catholic run clinics. Such services must be supplied direct, as if offered through the Indonesian military rulers then very little will get to the needy people, and the services will not be trusted.

The need is huge and not being filled at all to many, with TB and Malaria rife, many other diseases, and a growing AIDS problem caused by rapes by Indonesian military and their imported friends. Similarly there is a

huge need for support of orphans, which aid can be delivered through us. There are also needs for educational support, communications, access by all manner of NGO's and UN Agencies, and proper visits with their own interpreters and media by politicians of all persuasions.

An Australian government office should be established in Dili, it is hard for us to advocate a Consulate with its overtones of acknowledging the legitimacy of the regime.

Tell the truth, the whole truth. We want the Australian government to be much more forthcoming in telling the truth about what it knows of the invasion and brutal military occupation of East Timor in the last 20 years. Why is it that most information has to come from activist groups at their own expense? Open up government records, including the radio intercepts dealing with the slaughter of 6 Australian-based journalists in East Timor. Support a full Judicial Enquiry into their deaths. Counter Suharto's denial of freedom by censorship to protect his regime, e.g. he has just banned the Readers Digest!!

Provide some monetary support for Australian solidarity support groups such as ACET/AFFET/ETRA, allow tax deductibility for ETRA and other groups, support East Timorese National Council (CNRM) work and the utterly necessary international attendance at international fora by Horta and others, or for the fund raising for East Timor (e.g. AFFET 1975-95, 20 years of Shame Appeal), or provide a telecommunications allowance (myself and many colleagues are going broke over such needs). etc. We are carrying the shared responsibility. Be far more generous to refugees, and offer training here and overseas.

The governments of Australia during the last 20 years have followed the Woolcott line of putting 'Pragmatism ahead of Principle'; this line should be rejected in line with our UN obligations. We suggest you express views privately to Indonesia and publicly that Australia and West Papua are also Australia's immediate neighbours, we have a legitimate interest and obligation re their welfare, (they might even have been our legal responsibility if we'd stood up to Indonesian nationalistic bullying in the 60s and 70s). Gorton and McMahon gave support to the 1971 UN Declaration re cooperation between nations, yet we don't see it supported in practice. Evatt obviously played an honourable role in setting up the UN, yet Whitlam abused it in by supporting in 1975 and 1982 the naked aggression against East Timor, and it could be argued so have Keating/Evans. And even Malcolm Fraser who turned a blind eye to the East Timor invasion, denied medical supplies to East Timorese, and gave de jure recognition

to Indonesia in 1978, did reverse Australia's de jure recognition of the Russian occupation of the Baltic states over 30 years after the event, so why can't that be a precedent!

If Indonesia remains totally hardline, then announce by midyear a review of the position of Australia at the UN over the question of East Timor (and please also West Papua), given that our recent voting and rhetoric is in breach of the UN Charter, its Human Rights Declarations and International Law. We argue of course that really not for a day longer should Australia continue to recognise de jure the violent brutal illegal military invasion and occupation of East Timor. In general terms in the world of realpolitik then support for the holding of a valid act of self determination for East Timor might well follow along the conservative lines of the CNRM Peace Plan which is attached. Note that ACET has set 17th July as a major date for campaigning against Australia's de jure recognition of the Indonesian occupation.

Refugees/Asylum seekers. The Australian Coalition for a free East Timor (ACET), the main coordinating body for the solidarity groups, passed a request to your government to grant Residency Status to all those East Timorese presently in Australia or in hardship in some other SEAsian countries. Louisa here has been in limbo for nearly a year, and it is surely unconscionable to send her back to the Indonesian military thugs for their brand of abuse. The ACET Press Release on this matter is attached. The attitude of the Australian Embassy recently has been an utter disgrace and shame, and must change. Asylum seekers from the Dutch and Russian Embassies were tortured on their forced return to the Jakarta military.

Political Prisoners of Indonesia. Please upgrade Australian Embassy concern and action for the well-being of such people, of course including Xanana Gusmão, without whose active participation in the process it is hard to see a peaceful and decent outcome. Of course his trial was a farce and illegal anyway, see attachment by Greg Jones. Please also upgrade support for Australian travellers overseas or their families when accidents happen, particularly in those first few days, with many lessons to be learned from the experience of Rae Porter and family, friends of ours, and other examples including many thrown out of East Timor.

Military training of Indonesian soldiers here, we understand you do not intend to stop this. However at the least a compulsory and lengthy component of due process and international human rights delivered also by non-military and to be confronted with

East Timorese and West Papuans should be regarded as a minimum.

Military who have committed human rights abuses in East Timor should be tried as War Criminals. We want such a Tribunal in place.

These things can be done safely by your government without jeopardising Australia's own self-interest we believe. There are many other matters that could be touched on, but we would like to leave some papers and a book, and a copy of the aims of the ACET and of AFFET, which indicate a broad range of principles and aspects of concern. These aims follow.

The aims of ACET and AFFET:

1. Support genuine self-determination for East Timor, and the right of the East Timorese to Independence.
2. Campaign to end all Human Rights violations of East Timorese people.
3. Support the immediate and complete withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor and the release of all East Timorese political prisoners.
4. Promote the CNRM Peace Plan and any initiative for peace in East Timor that allows for genuine and early self-determination.
5. Coordinate with East Timor solidarity groups in Australia and elsewhere, including membership of APCET (Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor).
6. Inform and educate the Australian people on the political situation in East Timor, and in particular to reverse the Australian government's policy of recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.
7. Facilitate national and international campaigns against Australia's military, economic, and diplomatic support for the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.
8. Support social, cultural, political and development projects in East Timor which advance the well-being and human rights of the East Timorese people.

In closing, we feel a dramatic change in attitude and performance on many fronts by the Australian government is required, as we have genocide going on in East Timor, and also West Papua. We need to hope that you have the vision and courage to pursue this for the benefit of the people of our immediate region and SE Asia, for whom human rights are just as important as for the leaders and elites of these countries, or the people of the West.

Thankyou for your concern and time to meet us,

Yours sincerely,
Darwin delegation

Rob Wesley-Smith, (AFFET & ACET),
Maria Soares (CNRM)
José Gusmão (CNRM)
and Louisa Ferreira

Attachments: *Telling East Timor* by the late Michele Turner including the story of José and Fatima Gusmão; CNRM Peace Plan; Darwin Media Releases about torture details and news from October 1995; Recent news from East Timor 1996; Paper by Greg Jones on the Xanana Gusmão case; ACET Media Release 24/3/96 re Appeal for Amnesty, and Calendar of Dates; Poem by Bono and U2; Summary of ET Refugee cases, NSW AETA March 1996 Newsletter; Readers Digest article about Bishop Belo March 1996; AFFET 1975-95, 20 years of Shame Appeal

AUST AMBASSADOR TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia correspondent

JAKARTA, March 26, AAP - Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Allan Taylor, would visit East Timor to update the new Australian government on events in the troubled territory, a spokesman for Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer said today.

"It seemed sensible for the new government to get the ambassador, before he leaves, to take a look and give a reconnaissance," the spokesman said.

The East-Timor visit is set to be one of Mr. Taylor's last official duties in Indonesia, as he is due to end his posting in the next few weeks. No replacement has been announced.

Mr. Taylor last visited East Timor in March last year when he called on Indonesian authorities to reduce the heavy troop presence in the territory.

Since then, East Timor has been hit by serious rioting, inter-ethnic and religious disputes and an increased number in reports of human rights violations.

The date of Mr. Taylor's visit had yet to be confirmed, sources at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta said today. It was not clear whether reporters would be allowed to travel with Mr. Taylor. Mr. Taylor was today touring Central Java promoting Indonesia-Australia trade, and had been informed of the new government's request, the sources said.

Other Australian Embassy officials have made regular routine visits to East Timor over human rights issues and several major aid projects funded by Australia.

Mr. Downer announced Mr. Taylor's planned East Timor visit yesterday when he

met with several East Timor activists in Darwin.

The activists said later they were pleased with Mr. Downer's statements of concern over East Timor.

ASIET ACTION REPORT - FEBRUARY-MARCH

Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET) action reports: February-March, 1996

Protest against security treaty

ADELAIDE - A protest of 50 people was held on February 3 outside the Indonesian consulate, in opposition to the Indonesia-Australia Agreement on Maintaining Security. The action was organised by ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor) and the socialist youth organisation Resistance.

Speakers highlighted the fact that this treaty has little to do with maintaining - security - in the region, but rather is intended to ensure greater stability for investment by Australian companies in Indonesia and East Timor. The action concluded with an appeal for all who attended to support an August 18 national day of action which has been proposed by CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), Fretilin, Timorese Democratic Union and a range of East Timor and Indonesian solidarity groups.

Call for East Timor asylum

BRISBANE - Some 40 people protested outside Garuda Airlines here on February 9, calling on the Australian government to grant political asylum to nine East Timorese who occupied the Australian embassy in Jakarta the previous night. The action, supported by ASIET in Brisbane demanded that the Australian government withdraw recognition of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and cancel the security pact with Indonesia," Begg explained.

The protesters marched from Garuda to the City Mall, where police threatened to arrest Begg and other demonstrators when they occupied the centre of the mall to carry the message to passers-by.

ASIET emergency picket

MELBOURNE - Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor staged an emergency picket in support of nine East Timorese asylum seekers currently occupying Jakarta's Australian embassy. The picket at the GPO in Bourke Street on February 9 attracted around 25 people in pouring rain, to hear speakers including Ben Reid from ASIET, Chantal Wynter of Resistance and Democratic Socialist candidate for Melbourne Di Quin.

Evans confronted at NGO conference

MELBOURNE – More than 80 people gathered outside a Community Aid Abroad Conference on Asia on February 23, at which foreign minister Gareth Evans was giving an opening address, to protest against the Australian government's record on East Timor. Members of the East Timorese community, progressive candidates in the election and solidarity activists joined the picket, which was organised by University Students for East Timor, Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET) and Fretilin. Speakers included Irene Bolger, independent candidate for Batman, Sarah Nicholson from the Greens, Richard Grummett from the Democrats, who called for "a free East Timor by the year 2000," Susan Price from the Democratic Socialists, who pointed to the need to build a strong solidarity movement, Alana Kerr from Resistance, Jo Brown from ASIET and John Sinnott from AETA.

Brisbane speakers demand freedom for East Timor

BRISBANE – ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor) hosted a forum at the Resistance Centre on February 29 on "East Timor and Australian foreign policy." The forum included speakers from the Australian Democrats, Democratic Socialists, Australian Greens and Community Aid Abroad.

ASIET spokesperson Nick Everett highlighted the role of successive Australian governments in aiding the Indonesian regime's campaign of terror against the East Timorese people.

Australian Democrat Brisbane candidate and state president Andrew Bartlett gave an account from journalist Dan Peterson, who recently visited East Timor, and described efforts by the Democrats to provide a voice for East Timor's struggle within the parliament.

Democratic Socialist candidate Zanny Begg described the importance of using an election campaign to aid solidarity. Begg stated that support for self-determination is fundamental to a just foreign policy, which she described as "putting people before profits"

Australian Greens spokesperson Lou Gugenberger outlined the Greens' policy on East Timor, which calls for an "urgent referendum to decide East Timorese independence from Indonesia." All three speakers pledged the support of their parties for a National Day of Solidarity with East Timor, planned for August 25, which calls for the reversal of the Australian government de jure recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

ASIET organises picket against Evans and Downer

SYDNEY - On February 29, ASIET organised a picket against Evans and Downer who were speaking at a forum organised by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. Over 100 people attended the picket outside the Teachers Federation, including representatives from FRETILIN, Bougainville Freedom Movement, the Tamil community, Australia East Timor Association (NSW), and a range of other groups. Members of ASIET also participated in the questioning inside the forum.

Indonesians and East Timorese dialogue at ASIET Melbourne meeting.

MELBOURNE – On Friday March 15, 40 people attended an ASIET meeting in Melbourne to hear an eyewitness report by ASIET activist Vanessa Tanaja on the December 1996 joint -East Timorese-Indonesian sit-ins at the Dutch and Russian Embassies in Jakarta. An exciting and dynamic dialogue ensued between the East Timorese and Indonesian ASIET supporters about future tactics of working together. Future ASIET activities for Melbourne were discussed as well as preparations for the National Withdraw Recognition Day (August 25).

George Aditjondro speaks at 1996 ASIET Sydney launch.

More than 140 people attended a dinner and public meeting organised by ASIET at Glebe Town Hall with Dr. George Aditjondro as speaker. His topic was "Australia-Indonesia-East Timor: Triangle of Oppression," and he outlined the growing business connections between Indonesia and Australia and their impact on Australian and Indonesian

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TIMOR PROTESTER JAILED

By Bill Mason, Greenleft, April 14

BRISBANE - Jim Dowling, a long-time peace activist and member of the Catholic Worker group, was jailed for three months on March 22, for a peaceful protest with other Christian demonstrators at the Defence Force Headquarters in the city here last year.

Dowling had been charged along with Ciaran O'Reilly and Josephite nun Sr. Kay McPadden with "illegally remaining on a premise" under the Vagrancy Act.

The three dressed in black and lay on the office floor with the names of East Timorese

killed by the Indonesian military. They were appealing for an end to Australia's role in training Indonesian soldiers.

O'Reilly also received a three-month sentence, but had it reduced to two days on appeal. Sr. McPadden received a good behaviour bond.

"We were all shocked by the sentence," Dowling said. "We were expecting the maximum fine, which was only \$100. We had never heard of anyone getting a straight jail sentence for such a simple non-violent sit-in."

"The Indonesian military have been requesting the Australian government to deal more harshly with people protesting against their brutal military dictatorship. It appears the Queensland legal system is complying with their requests."

AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL POLICE OVERACTING?

8 Scrivener Street

O'Connor

ACT 2602

Friday, March 29, 1996

The Editor, The Canberra Times

The Australian Federal Police[AFP]-Indonesia Connection: A Case for the Australian Security & Intelligence Organisation [ASIO]?

Dear Madam,

The cultivation of an AFP officer by Indonesian Government officials raises issues of national security and the future of free speech and political protest in this country [CT, March 29, p1]. The investigative focus should not be on a police officer who "had displayed a serious error of judgment in accepting a gratuity," but on the Indonesians themselves, including one of Suharto's sons. Clearly, this was a top level Indonesian operation reminiscent of the ASIO penetration of New Zealand police HQ, "to obtain files on top police officers" [CT, December 6, 1993]. What were the Indonesians after when they visited the officer working with sensitive files in the Legal Services branch?

When Sean Kenan and I protested inside the Indonesian Embassy grounds on June 12, 1994 we were threatened with murder by one diplomat who screamed that we were in Indonesia now and called on AFP officers to shoot us. Later, he returned with an armful of rocks and threatened to stone us from our perches [decorative columns which we had climbed to the top of]. Finally he drew a commando dagger on us. When we later complained to the AFP about the threat of murder the Australian Government ordered the offender out of Australia. When Foreign Minister Ali Alatas visited Austra-

lia later that year he complained bitterly about Australian dissidents who were damaging the Indonesia/Australia relationship. He called on Gareth Evans to institute tough repressive measures against East Timor protesters like us.

How many other police and government officials have been similarly "cultivated" and how many other investigations have attempted to keep everything under wraps like the AFP? Independent Member of the Legislative Assembly, Michael Moore is right to call for a Royal Commission but this should be at the Federal level and ASIO, desperately trying to justify its post Cold War existence, should give this matter top priority. Or is it itself, part of a joint Australia/Indonesia intelligence operation to stifle the East Timor protest movement?

Yours sincerely,

Gareth W R Smith [Tel: 247 7429]

DARWIN: CONSUL CHALLENGED

From: Hugh Ekeberg, April 3

Three Darwin activists were joined by a survivor of the Dili massacre for their weekly vigil outside the Indonesian consulate today. The survivor was able to engage staff members as they arrived at work on a one to one basis on matters regarding Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and West Papua.

The survivor who studies English with five of the consular staff was able to name a quarter of the twenty odd staffers.

At 10am the activists noticed a mini bus being driven by consul Colonel Widodo with three other staff. The bus was driven through a property separate from the consulate. As the colonel entered the consulate through a side entrance, the activists were able to forcefully challenge him on human rights abuses and the activities of ABRI which he is a member.

The colonel was visibly upset after having been discovered and his anger was demonstrated by the quick response of two additional cars of Federal Protection Officers and a visit by city detectives.

One of the activists was interviewed earlier in the morning on talk back radio condemning his unlawful detention by police on Tuesday evening after they stopped and searched him in the street looking for East Timor posters. He was put in a paddy wagon and driven around Darwin for an hour for no reason and he refused repeated requests by the police who wanted to search his unit without a warrant.

This incident follows a one thousand dollar payout for an assault by police last year when he needed six stitches to the head.

Police said six people had been arrested in the past week for poster offences. The crack down is believed to be the result of pressure from the Chief Minister Shane Stone who is also police minister.

Shane Stone returned from Jakarta last week after talks with President Suharto. The Chief Minister made it clear he did not raise the East Timor issue with Suharto. Earlier this year Shane Stone praised Suharto and the new order regime at a Federal Court Judges Conference.

AMNESTY (AUSTRALIA) TIMOR LETTER

From: Friends of East Timor WA, April 6

FOET recently received a copy of a letter about East Timor sent by Amnesty International Australia in March to all its members here, and we thought it worthwhile to post the text up onto reg.et, as the case is powerfully and simply put, and may inspire those of us looking for new ways to write about the issue. We were also glad to see that Amnesty continue to highlight the case of José Belo and the UNTIM group, as this has also been a particular campaign focus for FOET. The letter is evidently an appeal for funds to further assist Amnesty's excellent work on East Timor. Unfortunately, we only received a copy of the text, not the donations page which must have been attached to the original. Those who want to donate to AI can of course contact their local AI office for more details. AI here in Perth said they had no problem with us posting the letter (below) up to this conference. The letter is a couple of pages - hope people think it's worth the bandwidth.

Rob South

for Friends of East Timor (WA)

FOETWA is the Western Australia affiliate to the Australian Coalition for a free East Timor (ACET)

The text was printed over powerful images of Indonesian security forces beating protesters outside Hotel Turismo during the 1990 US Ambassador's visit to East Timor

Amnesty International Australia

"I grew up in tears,
I live in tears,
I'll die in tears."

Dear Friend,

How did you feel at nineteen?

For most of us our youth remains a time when care is distant and the future beckons, flush with hope and promise.

At nineteen, the young Timorese man whose words I quote above has had hope wrung from him. His mother was raped by Indonesian soldiers, his father killed. His

brother has "disappeared." He has known no life other than life under the weight of the Indonesian occupation.

It is twenty years since Indonesia invaded East Timor and his experience is repeated thousands of times over.

Another generation of Timorese will also see their youth destroyed. They too will be witnesses to the torture, detention and possibly the killings of those close to them. They may well find themselves degraded and humiliated, spending long years in jail for simply speaking out or joining their peers in peaceful demonstrations. Young women will live under the additional threat of sexual abuse, rape and ill-treatment at the hands of the Indonesian military and security officials.

This will be their future, unless we help do something about it.

The Dili massacre is for many of us firmly imprinted in our memories. Who could forget those scenes filmed in Santa Cruz cemetery? Yet the situation remains unresolved. The human rights abuses continue unabated.

Among the hundreds of "incidents" and the thousands of individual cases, I will recount only one.

In January 1995 tensions in East Timor were ignited once again. On New Year's Day riots erupted. From Baucau independent reports emerged that the military killed at least two and wounded another fifteen people. On 9 January, students had mounted a peaceful demonstration at the University of East Timor in Dili. Five young people arrested by the military after the event, subsequently "disappeared."

Their fate remains unknown.

Twenty-four others were arrested at the demonstration itself. José Antonio Belo was one of them.

José was taken - with another detainee, José Pinto - to SGI, the military intelligence. There they were both beaten, reportedly to the point of losing consciousness, before being transferred to the District Police office in Comoro.

José Belo did not remain at Comoro. He was taken back to SGI. During the four days he was kept there, he was denied food and his arms and legs were tied. He was hung upside down overnight and, when taken down, he was beaten with sticks and wires. Further reports indicate he was also subjected to electric shocks.

At the very same time this was happening Major Laedon Simbolon, East Timor military spokesperson, denied that there was any reason to be concerned for the group's well-being: "We take good care of them and feed them, just to let them tell us the truth about why they did the demon-

stration and who stood behind them.”
[Reuters 12.1.95]

There is no polite way to put it. The Indonesian military torture and kill, leaving broken people in their wake and then they cover their tracks. They lie.

José Antonio Belo was tortured because he was apparently believed to have “mas-termined” what was only a peaceful demonstration. The “cooperation” of the Indonesian government with the International Committee of the Red Cross was not enough to protect him. According to information Amnesty received, he was pressured to tell the Red Cross that he was not being tortured or even ill-treated.

Amnesty uncovered other details including reports that on 1 April, José was tortured again - this time by officials at Becora prison. They meted out this treatment (resulting in him vomiting blood and sustaining a neck wound) saying José had “behaved badly” in the jail. Subsequent investigations suggest José was tortured further prior to his trial.

The trial itself started in May. It was blatantly unfair. José was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment. At least nine of the others arrested with him have now also been sentenced to terms of 18 months to two and a half years. All are prisoners of conscience.

Suffering and despair are the children of oppression. No organisation knows this better than Amnesty International.

For this reason, we must work to ensure that every single effort counts. Every time we initiate an appeal or send our researchers in to investigate, or confront heads of government face to face, another flicker of light penetrates the gloom.

For young people in East Timor as elsewhere Amnesty is as much a source of hope as it is an unerring advocate.

Our work is urgent and demanding. A moment lost can mean the difference between unleashing or restraining the torturer’s hand, between locating a detainee or adding her name to the “disappeared,” between holding a family intact or abandoning another child to despair.

In Australia Amnesty International knows that no time can be lost in taking the challenge to the newly elected Coalition Government.

East Timor is closer to the Australian coast than Sydney is to Brisbane.

For many older Australians there is a close emotional bond to the East Timorese going back to World War II. For eleven months from the Japanese occupation on 19 February 1942, the East Timorese people gave our soldiers food, water and shelter. They carried wounded soldiers over long distances to safety.

The commitment of the East Timorese is captured in the words of one returned airman, Rex Lipman:

“They looked after us; hid us in their oomahs; they lied for us and they died for us; and they were tortured for us.”

It is hard to imagine any other single issue on which the gap between Australian Government action and the will of the Australian people is greater than on the policy of accommodation with respect to East Timor.

Many East Timorese have sought asylum on our shores and in spite of the seemingly cold shoulder being given by successive governments, there has always been a welcome and warmth from the Australian community.

Its election to office offers the new Government under Mr. Howard the opportunity to explore new approaches. An effective policy will see the human rights of the East Timorese people given full weight in Australia’s evolving relationship with the Government of Indonesia.

For Amnesty International, as for many many Australians, the ongoing violation of human rights in East Timor is both real and symbolic. Failure to mount an effective response puts in question the credibility of Australian human rights policy in its entirety.

Amnesty International knows that much can be achieved. The most fundamental rights of all people must be protected. Australia does have a key role to play.

We also know that we cannot maintain our work - whether it be on East Timor or elsewhere - without your support. In the end, my appeal is that simple.

There are two crucial ways in which you can help right away.

Firstly, and most importantly, we remain in urgent need of your financial support. It is essential to our task.

With a new Parliament about to begin, this is a critical time. Your donation is one way to help Amnesty ensure human rights feature in future Government policy.

Equally critical is the need to remind the incoming Government directly of the community’s expectations.

Do please seize this opportunity by writing immediately to both the Prime Minister, Mr. Howard and his Foreign Minister. The note attached here outlines key issues you might raise.

Whatever your contribution might be, please do not wait to think it over. Don’t delay in completing the enclosed coupon and returning it to us.

We may not be able to change the past, but we can, we must do everything possible to ensure every young person can look with hope to the future.

Yours sincerely

/s/

Ced Simpson Campaigning Director

WIRYONO: WHAT AUSTRALIANS NEED TO KNOW

Indonesia Media Network, 8 Apr 96

Indonesian Ambassador Wiryono: Seven East Timor Historical Facts Need to be Known by Australia

SYDNEY – There are seven historical facts on East Timor which need to be transformed to the Australian people. There are, according to Indonesian Ambassador for Australia Wiryono S, tend to be obscured by the Fretilin group and its sympathizers.

“The tendency of obscuring the facts benefits Portugal and vilifies Indonesia,” said Wiryono to the participants of the Australian ICMI District Conference at the campus of New South Wales University, Sydney, Saturday.

The seven historical facts, according to Wiryono, are:

- * The background of the East Timor history is different from Indonesia because East Timor was a colony of Portugal, while Indonesia from Aceh to Irian Jaya is formerly the colony of Netherlands.

- * On August 1975, Timor Timur was abandoned by Portugal after a political turmoil among its people.

On November 1975, Wiryono continued, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik visited Rome and asked Portugal to return to East Timor to restore the local area. Indonesia along with Australia and Malaysia, back then, is willing to assist the Portugal force in order to uphold Portugal’s authority in East Timor, but it turned out that Portugal did not wish to return to East Timor.

- * When leaving East Timor, Portugal transferred all its military equipment and weapons to Fretilin. With such power, Fretilin unilaterally proclaimed the independence of East Timor, with that support it means Fretilin is the Portugal colonial henchman.

- * The vote comparison of the East Timor matter in the last voting in the UN in 1982, 50 supported Portugal and 48 supported the integration to Indonesia. Because of the almost comparable support, the UN General Assembly issued a Resolution number 32/30 which asked Indonesia-Portugal to discuss on the East Timor matter on a conference table.

- * The UN General Secretary, in 1987 sent an envoy to witness the implementation of the Indonesian election in East Timor, apparently the local people partici-

pated in the election. After the UN envoy made a report which the essence was that the local people were a part of the Indonesian nation.

The report of the UN's envoy was planned to be brought up in the UN General Assembly meeting and both Indonesia and Portugal had lobbied their friends to vote. But approaching the meeting, Portugal unilaterally threatened not to attend the meeting with an excuse of having pressures from its parliament members.

Once again Indonesia gave in and then received again Portugal's proposal, which would send its parliament member to East Timor. The result of the parliament's observation will complete the report of the UN's envoy which will be debated in the UN General Assembly meeting.

* The sending of the Portugal parliament delegation, both sides agreed to join each six neutral reporters who will be selected together by both countries. Indonesia appointed six reporters from western countries, among others were ABC-Australia, BBC-London, and Far Eastern Economic Review Magazine, on the contrary the list of reporters suggested by Portugal consisted of Australian reporter, Jill Jolliffe whose articles all this time had been hostile toward Indonesia.

Indonesia asked for Jill Jolliffe to be replaced by a more objective reporter, instead Portugal accused Indonesia of being disrespectful toward the freedom of press, therefore Portugal unilaterally "redone" the East Timor matter.

According to Wiryo, even though Indonesia was faced to that fact, but the effort in settling the matter was continued by the Indonesian and Portugal Foreign Ministers.

* One of the result of the effort was the implementation of the All Inclusive East Timor Dialogue (AETD) in Austria and until now has been held twice.

After explaining the seven historical facts, Wiryo then asked the Indonesian people in Australia – especially the ICMI members – to explain the chronology of the seven facts to anyone in Australia who wants to know about the East Timor matter.

According to the former Political General Director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, there are still several people in Australia who are taken in by the campaign of several Australian mass media which are against toward Indonesia and often twist the history of the East Timor integration.

"To those who are still against Indonesia, we respect them, but they too should accept the historical facts," said Wiryo.

He suggested that in explaining the matter, never begin with apologetic words. "There is a habit of some Indonesian people in beginning a speech, always apologizes

first to their interlocutor, whereas in the Western culture those words reflects weakness," he said.

The Australian ICMI leader Amin Hadi said, the District Conference which will take place until April 8, 1996 is participated by seven unit organizations in Australia, besides selecting a new board, also aims to formulate a central point of the working program in the development of human resources as well as increasing the quality of the relation of Indonesia-Australia.

DOWNER VISIT TO INDONESIA

ABC National Television News, 16 April 1996. Transcript

Foreign Minister Alexander Downer is putting Australia's case for greater access to Indonesian sea lanes during his current visit to Jakarta, but he says he won't be lecturing Indonesia on human-rights, from Jakarta, Michael Mahar reports:

"The Indonesian government has become accustomed to receiving Australian ministers, but for the past thirteen years, they've been of a labour variety.

Alexander Downer was the first minister from the new coalition government to visit the Indonesian capital and his trip has generated more than the usual amount of curiosity.

Following two hours of discussions, Mr. Downer emerge with his Indonesian counter-part, Ali Alatas to declare they've made a good beginning."

Downer: "This relationship is one that will get strong, broader, deeper as the years wear on."

Alatas: "We had a good conversation, a discussion, very constructive one, but also a very pleasant one, and a very friendly one I think."

Michael Mahar: "The Issue of East Timor took up much of these initial discussions, though Mr. Downer said Australia's new government wouldn't be lecturing Indonesia, he emphasised to Mr. Alatas that Australians want to see an improvement in the troubled former Portuguese colony.

Downer: "Clearly it is an issue of concern in Australia and I think it's well recognised in Indonesia, that it's an issue of concern.

INITIAL OBSERVATIONS OF DOWNER-ALATAS TALKS

From: Hugh Ekeberg, April 16

My initial observations of the Downer - Alatas talks, for what they are worth, give me reasons to doubt that the new Australian government will attempt to be any more

affective on East Timor than the previous Keating government.

It's becoming clear that Downer has gone to Jakarta in an attempt to extract significant favours for Australia.

Downer has requested that Indonesia allow a relaxation of shipping route restrictions so that Australian exports can pass more freely through Indonesian waters.

Downer has also asked for and got Indonesian support for Australia's admittance to the next Asia - European summit. Australia was excluded from the last summit after objections from France and Malaysia.

One has to conclude that the Australian government needs Indonesia on side and the Downer's protests over East Timor are no significant departure from the softly - softly approach of the previous government.

As an East Timor activist, I would have to conclude that the noises I'm hearing Downer make on East Timor are nothing but the usual whispers specifically designed for domestic consumption.

DOWNER VISIT REFLECTS AUSTRALIAN REAL STANDING

Indonesia Media Network, 16 Apr 96

Dili, 4/15 (ANTARA) - One of the young intellectuals from the East Timor province said that the visit of the Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer to Indonesia this week reflects and is also a prove of the actual policy of the country.

"I consider the visit of the Australian Foreign Minister to Indonesia and several other Asian countries as a reflection of the actual policy of Australia which still considers the Asian area very important," said Domingos M.P. dos Reis, SE, in Dili, on Monday.

The matter was mentioned to ANTARA when asked the comment on Downer's visit to Indonesia for four days which was scheduled starting April 15, 1996.

In the press conference with the "Foreign Correspondence Association" (AFC) in Sydney, last week, Downer said that the strategic plan of the Coalition Administration in its foreign political policy direction toward the Asian region and its environs is principally maintaining and increasing its relations with Indonesia.

Based on that fact, Downer made a decision to fulfill his trip abroad for the first time as a foreign minister to Indonesia and to Singapore and Thailand afterwards.

He also explained that to begin the cooperation stage of the two governments, around September-October 1996 there will be an Australian-Indonesian Ministerial Forum in Jakarta.

The forum is a mean for the two governments which is held every two years and is

aimed to discuss on important and strategic matters, improving the trade relations and tightening the existing relations.

According to Reis who is also Secretary of the East Timor Integration Upholder Young Guards (Gada Paksi), although there has been changes in the power of the parties in Australia, the country will still consider the Asian region including Indonesia important.

"Especially regarding to the economical interest, then Australia will think twice to shift its attention from the Asian region to another," said the Economy Faculty of the University of Indonesia-Jakarta graduate.

ALATAS INTERVIEW WITH DATELINE

Dateline, SBS Television, 20 April 1996

Paul Murphy: Foreign minister, thanks very much for talking to Dateline, now you've met own new foreign minister, Alexander Downer, what was discussed, how did you get on?

Ali Alatas: Well we had two sessions of wide ranging talks, a lot of issues, both bilateral issues, regional issues and issue of common concern and common interest. The wide range of items discussed indeed show how deep and how wide Indonesian - Australian relations of co-operation have become.

PM: So you don't expect any fundamental change at all with the new Australian government even though your personal relationship with Gareth Evans was so close and of course president Suharto with Paul Keating?

AA: No I don't think there will be any change, and I think and I'm confident that our relations will further strengthen and deepen on the basis what we have already achieved at a time when the Labor government was the government of Australia and when my counter part was Gareth Evans.

PM: Now human rights particularly in East Timor. Now Mr. Downer has made it quite clear that he wants to be constructive, does that mean that the new Australian government is going softer on that whole question of human rights in East Timor?

AA: Let me first say that I appreciated that minister Downer conveyed with us namely that ahh, on East Timor, he did not want the issue to overwhelm, these were his words, the entire relationship between Indonesia and Australia as I characterised, (is) wide and multi faceted. And secondly ahh, he wanted to have a constructive approach on what ever would come up in that ahh...

PM: What that does mean, is the new government soft peddling on human right in general, not just in East Timor but Irian Jaya, Aceh?

AA: No, I would not want to characterise it that way, I think this is a re-confirmation of what we believe is the right approach to this kind of thing namely, in the words again of minister Downer, not to hector or lecture, not not hectoring or engaging in public denunciations, but to talk quietly, government to government and person to person when ever a problem arises.

PM: Can you see, in the time of president Suharto and indeed, you as foreign minister any change in your policy to East Timor which might include some sort of autonomy?

AA: Well the situation in East Timor has evolved continuously over the years both in East Timor itself and within the context of our efforts to find a solution to it in the United Nations where the problem still resides. Ah as to autonomy as you refer, already now, the province of East Timor enjoys a wide autonomy, wider in fact in some aspects as compared to other provinces and we are willing to see whether again there are some further measures we can take and that we should take....

PM: What would they be?

AA: In order to ensure that.. in order to meet the clear fact that there are certain situations in East Timor which is different from other provinces, for one thing, they joined Indonesia much later than the other provinces.

PM: Would you withdraw troops?

AA: It's not a question of withdrawing of troops, I want to tell you that ahh, they are part of Indonesia and through out Indonesia troops are stationed as in any sovereign country so the terminology with draw troops conveys something, ah wrong perception. A reduction of troops has been one of the things discussed yet. There has been a perception as if there are too many troops in East Timor as compared to other provinces, now there is a reason for that, there has been some fighting in the past...

PM: Is the situation improving do you think?

AA: Definitely, definitely continuously improving. The trouble is I think with East Timor is that from time to time there is an incident, something that, that can occur in any place, but because it occurs in East Timor, it immediately gets the attention of the press because there is a very dedicated, a very devoted, zealous anti - Indonesian campaign going on waged by a small group of people.

PM: Do think that's also true of sections of Australian opinion?

AA: Yes unfortunately I must be very frank with you, there are in Australia certain groups of people starting with those who left East Timor, East Timorese who have left East Timor and who are some of them, the remnant of ah the so-called Fretilin party. Then there are also some NGOs who are active who always, we feel, are depicting the situation in East Timor an a very exaggerated fashion and some times, not really reflecting the real facts.

PM: I suppose foreign minister, the fundamental, in the relationship between our two countries, is you say you don't want to be lectured by Australia, and in fact even if we do lecture you, you don't have to listen do you, you don't have to act?

AA:(Alatas gets flustered) Well we listen to our friends we value the genuine views, the genuine and the friendly suggestions of friends, we are open minded to that. Ours is not a government that closes itself off, especially not to our friends.

PM: You can listen but you don't have to act do you?

AA: When we think it is inappropriate, of course we don't act.

PM: Foreign minister this program Dateline, recently ran a story on Freeport, the giant mine in Irian Jaya and allegations of human rights abuses by Indonesian troops including torture and murder, now (do) you condemn that, can you change that?

AA: Well there were two things there, one is the role of Freeport, you know this huge mining company, ah, involved there in Irian and the other is allegations of Indonesian troops being involved in human rights violations...

PM: One of the problems is the policy of transmigration, transmigrasi. Now how can you placate the locals who feel they are being ridden over?

AA: We don't placate the (get flustered again) the locals only, we involve them, so for example when ever we move people from Java to a certain location, before we even start, we negotiate with the local people, we ask for their own input, we ask them to join. We have a quota for the local people. If there are one hundred people being moved to a certain location, say in Kalimantan, Sumatra including Irian Jaya, then out of every one hundred for example, twenty five are local population, local so they are not being outside this program, they are being part of the program.

But like in any program anywhere around the world there are always, ah, groups, ah,

splinter groups, smaller groups who are not satisfied, they start talking, some of their complaints, their gripes are legitimate, we listen to them, we solve them.....

PM: And what about some of the excesses on the part of your troops?

AA: We take very strong measures, ah, the latest incident that involved the shooting the alleged shooting of fifteen, yes something to that effect, we immediately the ah court-martial the troops involved.

PM: Is that an indication of the tension in and around Freeport?

AA: Let us not forget that there are still the remnant of, they call themselves the OPM, Organisasi Papua Merdeka, Free Papua Movement. From time to time they rape villages you know they agitate the people to do certain things and then the armed forces, the armed troops there they react they chase them and sometimes there is a fire contact and so on. This is a continuing thing, but at a very low level, very low level.

PM: Foreign minister, why has Indonesia wanted nuclear power, you don't need it do you, you've got plenty of fossil fuels, plenty of oil, natural gas, geo-thermal, why do you want to go nuclear?

AA: It's precisely the case that we are still debating, whether we need nuclear power the debate is not final, no final decision has been taken. There are those who argue as you just mentioned we have enough other sources, why don't we exhaust them, ah, you know we have not fully exploited them, why do we move to nuclear power.....

PM: But why is that being considered?

AA: There is another view, that says, you know on the basis also of research and on the basis of calculations of prognosis, that even if we were to use what ever sources, we would at a given moment say in the year 2000 and beyond, reach a point where our consumption still out strips our sky for electricity, for power, for our energy, for our industrialisation. This group argues that it is better from now on to plan, because it takes a long loop time.

PM: But is minister Habibi belong...

AA: Yes to the second group of course.

PM: Yes indeed, if you do go down the nuclear road, would you buy Australian uranium?

AA: Well we will make that decision when we reach it, and let me also address some of the fears that have been expressed in Australia about the possibility that Indonesia would have a nuclear power plant in Java island and if it were to break down, what its impact would be in Australia. Of course we're aware of all the risks of a nuclear

power plant, that's why if ever we're going to take that step we're going to make sure that we get the best technology, the most sure fire combination of technology. ...

PM: What do you mean by that?

AA: Well we will go around the world and shop from the best. After all, nuclear power centres are every where in the developed world so one should not start a prejudicial position that only developing countries should not have it. Developed countries have it, in France there are fifty, they can also break down, why should it only break down in developing countries? And a final point, please when it breaks down, we should think of the millions of Javanese who are going to die, before theoretically the fumes of the clouds would reach Australia.

PM: Sure, you don't want a Chernobyl here, do you?

AA: No!

PM: And neither does Australia!

AA: Exactly, so I would ask Australian friends, again don't exaggerate and don't think Indonesia is oblivious to this. The one who would be victims would be Indonesians first and foremost.

PM: Our new prime minister Mr. Howard's, says he'd love to come here and Mr. Keating came here many times, do you think president Suharto will visit Australia?

AA: When minister Downer called on the president he did convey the hope that president Suharto would visit Australia. President Suharto, of course accepted the invitation, but he repeated what I think has always been his basic position, it should be well understood. He means it when he says, look a state visit between two countries two friendly countries, ought to be a sign to further consolidate, further strengthen, solidify the bonds of friendship, and not, and not cause these bonds of friendship in any way to be put to the risk of put ah ah negatively, how you say...

PM: Security worries, demonstrations?

AA: Something like that. So he said if such a risk exists then we should be wise enough and ah, wait for such a visit. It will not in any way affect the friendship relationship, but without a state visit, our friendship continues to flourish.

The president also said to minister Downer, look I personally don't mind ah demonstrated against, I have before. But I'm representative of Indonesian people and if something happens in a foreign country, the Indonesian people don't like, they might react and such a way which may adversely affect the relationship between that country and Indonesia and that's what I try to avoid

because that would serve no body's purpose, that would serve neither of us.

PM: Foreign minister thank you very much indeed.

AUSTRALIA TO FUND RED CROSS WORK IN E. TIMOR

JAKARTA, April 17 (Reuters) - Australia will give money to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to help fund its work in East Timor, visiting Foreign Minister Alexander Downer said on Wednesday.

Downer, in a statement on the last day of his three-day visit to Indonesia, said AUSAID, the Australian government's aid programme, would give A\$300,000 (US\$234,000) to the ICRC for its humanitarian work in the former Portuguese colony.

"The funding will support the ICRC Jakarta regional delegation, whose crucial work involves monitoring the humanitarian situation in East Timor," Downer said.

"I am committed to pursuing human rights issues internationally and AUSAID's support of the ICRC's work is part of this ongoing commitment."

Downer is the first senior member of Australia's new Liberal-National government to visit neighbouring Indonesia.

After meeting Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas on Monday, Downer said the East Timor issue should not overwhelm Australia's relations with Indonesia and advocated a constructive approach towards the issue.

But he said it was an issue Australians felt strongly about. Indonesia has been accused of human rights violations in enforcing its rule in East Timor.

Australia's former Labor government, which lost last month's general elections, recognised Indonesia's rule over East Timor, which Jakarta invaded in 1975 and took over the following year.

The United Nations has refused to accept Jakarta's sovereignty over the territory.

POSITIVE, AUSTRALIA'S INTENTION TO HELP FIGHT POVERTY IN EAST TIMOR

Indonesia Media Network, 19 Apr 96

Dili, 4/18 (ANTARA) - The Australian Government intention to help the program in fighting poverty in Indonesia especially in the East Timor province is considered by a local social matters observer as a right effort and a good step.

"If there is such effort from the Australian government, it is a right and great step

because as the youngest province in Indonesia, this region still needs many assistance," said Drs. Antonio Castro da Silva in Dili, on Thursday.

The Executive Director of the "Duc In Altum" Foundation East Timor Development Studies Center expressed that to ANTARA when asked about his comment on the intention and interest of the Australian government to help fight the poverty in East Timor.

The Australian government interest was expressed by the State Minister for National Development Planning/Head of National Development Planning Agency, Ginandjar Kartasasmita after signing the development cooperation script of the Government Sector Connection Program (GSLP) with the Australian Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer in Jakarta, on Tuesday (4/16).

According to Kartasasmita, for Indonesia the intention goes in accordance with the effort in fighting the poverty through the Left-behind Villages Presidential Directive Program (IDT).

To da Silva, the interest of the Australian government to help fight poverty in East Timor which borders on the "Continent Nation" can be understood in several context.

Besides because of the geographic closeness, said the graduate from the Social and Politics Faculty of the Gajah Mada University-Yogyakarta, from the historical point, he assumed that Australia has a "moral duty" to help the youngest province in Indonesia.

Referring to the Second World War history, when the Japan occupation soldiers were in the Timor island (west and east), the East Timorese helped all the necessities of the Australian soldiers including giving security protection.

"In a historical context like that, I guess the Australian government intention to help fight the poverty in East Timor is right and very great because at present the natives still need to be assisted both socially and economically in order to be more prosperous," he said.

Right Target

According to da Silva, if Australia's intention is realized, what need to be considered is how the assistance program for the poor people in this region can reach the right target.

"It means, the assistance really reach into the hands of the poor people who need it," he said.

He also assumed, the Australian government intention proves that any party which hold power in Australia still consider Indonesia as an important nation to the kangaroo land.

"If not, obviously Indonesia will not be visited for the first time by Downer, especially that there is a special connection to help East Timor with its program in fighting the poverty," said da Silva.

RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNS FOR EAST TIMOR

*By Joshua Wilson and Emma Webb.
Greenleft, April 21*

ADELAIDE - As part of its campaign for freedom in East Timor and an end to the Indonesian occupation, the socialist youth organisation Resistance held a speak-out in Gawler Place on April 12.

Passers-by stopped to listen to activists read out poems by imprisoned Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão and a copy of a 1995 speech by young East Timorese activist Nunu Santos.

The speak-out helped to attract people to a public meeting on East Timor which was held later that evening, jointly organised by Resistance and ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor).

Guest speaker Harold Moucho, the NSW Fretilin representative, gave an update on the struggle focusing on the leading role being played by women and young people. He stressed that while individuals in the Labor and Liberal parties claim to be friends of the Timorese, the policies of both support the Indonesian occupation.

He urged people not to rely on politicians, but to continue to build the East Timorese solidarity movement in Australia by publicising and participating in the National Day of Action on August 25 to end Australia's de jure recognition of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

Moucho also addressed students at Resistance's annual general meeting at Flinders University on April 11. He described the daily life of East Timorese students in their struggle against the Indonesian occupation and urged students to join the solidarity campaign.

AUST-INDON TREATY REFLECTS REGIONAL CONCERNS - INSTITUTE

By Don Woolford of AAP

LONDON, April 24 AAP - The "astounding" security agreement between Australia and Indonesia may reflect the two countries' irritation and frustration with ASEAN, an authoritative strategic survey said today.

The agreement was made as the Asia Pacific region started to look less miraculous and more vulnerable, the London-based

International Institute for Strategic Studies said in its 1995-96 survey.

Moreover, old-fashioned American gunboat diplomacy had proved more effective than emerging regional bodies like the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in defusing crises.

"Although Australia had long supported multilateral approaches to security, the agreement made very good geopolitical sense in Canberra, even though it affronted liberal opponents of Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor," the survey said.

"Australia's irritation at ASEAN's claim to a primary driving role within the ARF may also have played a part in its decision."

The survey said Indonesia's action was even more astonishing because of its importance in the Non-Aligned Movement.

"Yet, although one of the founders of ASEAN, Indonesia had from time to time been frustrated with its limited scope and constraining consensus," it said.

"It also felt uncomfortable within the ARF because of the evident greater importance of the US, China and Japan.

"...Although Indonesia took great pains to assert that the basic principles of its foreign policy had not been compromised, there can be no doubt the agreement, if not a full-blown alliance, represents a turning-point in the foreign relations of the republic which has never before entered into a formal security arrangement."

The remarks about the agreement were in the context of a wider and generally critical survey of the Asia Pacific region.

It said alarm bells rang loudly after China seized new territory in the South China Sea and then tried to intimidate Taiwan. Even Japan and South Korea revived an old territorial dispute.

"If any still dreamt that economic interdependence in East Asia was sufficient for peace and stability, they awoke from their reverie to find that only a robust demonstration of US naval power could keep a stable balance," it said.

"Where were the much-vaunted APEC, ASEAN and ARF when it was time to keep the peace?"

It was also a year of economic anxiety through the region. Stock markets in emerging countries slowed, Japan's economy continued to stagnate and China and Vietnam's economic reforms lost momentum.

Concern about succession politics in China, North Korea, Indonesia and even Singapore was accompanied by political scandals in South Korea and leadership struggles in Japan.

"Somehow, Asia appeared a less miraculous, and far more vulnerable, region in 1995-96 than had [rest of article missing].

AUST AMBASSADOR TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

JAKARTA, April 26 AAP - Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Allan Taylor, was tomorrow due to start a five day fact-finding mission to East Timor at the request of new Foreign Minister Alexander Downer.

Mr. Taylor was due to visit Australian aid projects, meet with political, religious and military leaders and visit outlying areas, an embassy spokesman said today.

A meeting with the outspoken head of the Roman Catholic church in predominantly Catholic East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo was among those scheduled, he said.

The trip was the third visit by Mr. Taylor to the troubled territory. In March last year, Mr. Taylor called on the Indonesian regime to cut the number of troops stationed there.

Over the past year, allegations of human rights' abuses have continued in the former Portuguese colony, with outbreaks of street violence attributed to inter-ethnic and inter-religious hostilities.

Although Mr. Downer requested the visit to update the new Coalition government on developments in East Timor, Mr. Taylor was due to make a routine visit at about this time.

"The ambassador goes roughly every year," The spokesman said.

"As with the previous occasions he'll be making official calls in Dili, but he'll also be going out to look at some of the projects that have received (Australian) aid funding," He said.

During a visit last week to Jakarta, Mr. Downer signalled that the new government would take a low-key approach to the issue of East Timor.

Mr. Downer said the Australian government wanted "constructive engagement" With Indonesia on the issue, and did not intend to "hector or lecture" over human rights' abuses.

Mr. Taylor had been travelling in Indonesia's eastern provinces, and spent ANZAC Day on island of Ambon, site of a war cemetery containing the graves of Australians who died in World War II.

Early today it was not clear whether foreign reporters would be permitted by Indonesian authorities to cover all or part of Mr. Taylor's visit.

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

Ongoing United Nations sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal are attempting to find an internationally acceptable solution to the 20-year-old dispute.

AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR TO MEET EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR

By Gordon Feeney, South-East Asia Correspondent

DILI, May 1 AAP - Australian ambassador to Jakarta Allan Taylor was due to meet East Timor's Governor Abilio Soares today amid continuing high tensions in the former Portuguese colony.

Mr. Taylor, on a five day fact-finding mission, has been told of the alleged shooting of two East Timorese youths by Indonesian soldiers in separate incidents over the past week.

The unrest, which saw a major street demonstration in the coastal city of Baucau on Sunday, forced Mr. Taylor to cancel his plans to attend a large Roman Catholic church festival held the same day.

Mr. Taylor yesterday raised the two alleged killings with East Timor's military commander Colonel Mahidin Simbolon.

Last Thursday, Paulo Dosreis, aged about 20 years, was allegedly shot by a soldier in an outlying area and on Sunday Andre de Sousa was also allegedly shot dead by a soldier on Dili's outskirts.

During two-and-a-half hours of talks Colonel Simbolon told Mr. Taylor that "human rights abuses are not our policy" and that any offender would be dealt with according to Indonesian law.

Mr. Taylor also raised the issue of possible political autonomy for East Timor, an option that has been raised repeatedly over recent years as a possible solution to the conflict.

The visit is Mr. Taylor's third to East Timor and, although routine, was requested by the new Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer so Mr. Taylor could update the new government.

Mr. Downer said in a visit to Jakarta last month that the new government did not want to "hector or lecture" Indonesia over East Timor.

Mr. Taylor has visited several church schools which have received ongoing Australian embassy financial support.

He was due to visit some Australian aid-funded projects today before returning to Jakarta tomorrow.

AUST AMBASSADOR ENDS EAST TIMOR VISIT

By Gordon Feeney, AAP South-East Asia Correspondent

DILI, May 2 AAP - Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Allan Taylor, was today

due to return to Jakarta after visiting East Timor, where he found no improvements on issues like human rights.

Ending a five-and-a-half day fact-finding mission, Mr. Taylor will now start to prepare a report on East Timor for the new Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer.

Mr. Taylor's visit was made amid heightened tensions caused by the alleged shooting by Indonesian soldiers of two East Timorese youths in separate incidents over the past week.

Last Sunday, he was forced to cancel attendance at a major Roman Catholic church ceremony due to fears his presence could provoke an angry outburst over recent events.

Speaking to reporters yesterday Mr. Taylor - on his third visit as ambassador - said the situation here had not changed.

"I think the basic issues related to all those situations (political, security and human rights) are the same as they have been for a number of years," Mr. Taylor said.

"They don't seem to be getting any better at the moment, but they are being addressed," he said.

Mr. Taylor said East Timor's problems were complex, and caused by factors like rapid development, the change from Portuguese to Indonesian rule and the unresolved political issues.

"There's no doubt in my mind that the issue of East Timor is one that's being addressed by officials both in the civilian side of the government and in the military."

Mr. Taylor said he raised the issue of the heavy troop presence in East Timor in his talks.

"It's certainly one of the issues that we've talked about, particularly with the military commander. He explained that there were five territorial battalions here and that troop reductions were on the cards.

"But he didn't go into any further details."

"I'm sure there's a political will to try and make the integration of East Timor work. I think there are people who are looking for ways in which the situation can be improved."

EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND

CULTUS GROUP TO SEARCH IN TIMOR SEA OIL FIELD

The New Zealand Herald, 10 Feb. 1996

A Cultus Petroleum-operated consortium has been offered an exploration block, AC95-3, in the Timor Sea, off Northern

Australia near the Jabiru oilfield. Cultus owns 18.75 per cent of Jabiru.

The managing director, Mr. Don Beard, said the consortium would benefit from expertise developed by Cultus in the Jabiru and Challis producing fields.

Winning the block involved a commitment to drill two wells and undertake seismic acquisition and reprocessing during the first three-year period of the six-year permit term, for an indicative expenditure of \$A11.2 million.

EMBASSY OCCUPIERS 'NOT AUTOMATICALLY BANNED'

The New Zealand Herald 31 January 1996. by Audrey Young

WELLINGTON - The Alliance says the Government gave it assurances yesterday that people seeking asylum by occupying New Zealand embassies are not automatically refused.

The leader, Mr. Jim Anderton, said the Alliance would support applications by five East Timorese refugees who occupied the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta to come to New Zealand if they still wanted to.

The men were flown to Portugal. One of them said embassy staff told them that New Zealand could not give them political refuge, but he said they still wanted to come.

Foreign Affairs officials later said no one seeking asylum through occupation of embassies was granted asylum.

Mr. Anderton and the Alliance immigration spokesman, Mr. Matt Robson, met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. McKinnon yesterday.

Afterwards, Mr. Anderton said he had been assured there was no absolute view that the embassy occupiers could not come to New Zealand. Had they pressed their case and refused to go to Portugal they would have had to be considered.

The Alliance wanted to get a written record of New Zealand's rules and conventions on granting asylum.

Mr. McKinnon said New Zealand was one of a number of countries that did not acknowledge any general right of asylum under international law and that was upheld by the International Court of Justice.

But he indicated that other East Timorese wanting asylum here would stand a better chance if they persisted with their claim.

"We will go through exactly the same process, in other words, we will give them protection, we will discuss with them what they want to do.

"If they are absolutely adamant that they don't want to go to Portugal, well it's going to take some time to resolve that kind of an issue but it is not beyond us."

NZ EMBASSY WARNED GUARDS

New Zealand Herald, 7 March 1996. by Audrey Young

WELLINGTON - The New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta warned armed Indonesian guards at the gate that East Timorese youths were about to seek asylum.

This has been disclosed in censored papers that detail the January incident in which Indonesian forces broke into the compound and a Timorese man's arm was broken.

The papers, obtained by the Alliance under the Official Information Act, showed that the embassy had put lives at risk, said the party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr. Keith Locke.

In a summary of the occupation, the embassy reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that it had been warned on the morning of January 12 that five East Timorese might be on their way to the embassy.

It had received previous warnings and as part of standard procedure it alerted Wellington embassy guards and staff and the Indonesian soldiers in front of the embassy. Two hours later, the five East Timorese rushed the embassy, three forcing themselves over the barbed wire fence and two over a gate railing.

Embassy staff learned from the five that 11 people had intended to invade the embassy, but the two groups had become separated. The five carried a written request for asylum, saying they would rather die in the embassy compound than be handed back to Indonesia.

New Zealand officials have maintained that the five did not press for asylum in New Zealand, and readily agreed to go to Portugal.

Mr. Locke said the documents showed that the embassy had a cynical attitude towards asylum seekers, who it clearly did not want.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. McKinnon, is overseas. The acting head of the South-east Asia division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Peter Bennett, could provide no information on how the embassy was forewarned.

He said it could not be assumed that someone who intended climbing the fence of an embassy was an asylum seeker.

SHOCK AT TREATMENT OF EAST TIMOR ASYLUM SEEKERS

ETIC Auckland Press Release, 7 March 1996

The documents obtained under the Official Information Act about the episode when

five East Timorese sought asylum in our Embassy in Jakarta expose our representatives as more concerned to protect themselves and the relationship with Indonesia than to assist the victims of persecution. Careful efforts were made to ensure that Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs accepted the 'send them off to Portugal solution.' The common understanding that the compound of an Embassy has an inviolate status is not referred to - instead the Government suggests that the Embassy forms part of host country territory.

'I see from the newly released documents that the Embassy staff had some prior warning that the asylum seekers were coming and that they took steps to inform the guards - including a uniformed Indonesian army officer,' said Maire Leadbeater speaking for the Auckland East Timor Independence Committee. 'This is a bit like the European Governments during the war who would not accept Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. If the young men had been delivered into the hands of the Indonesian military they would have experienced the same fate as others who have failed an asylum attempt - 'interrogation,' arrest, torture or worse. Surely this is not what New Zealanders want for those who turn to us in desperation?'

'We remain in touch with the five young men who continue to emphasise that they want to come to New Zealand. Since recent comments made by Mr. McKinnon indicated that the door was not totally closed, they are working through the complex process of making an application to come to New Zealand as migrants on humanitarian grounds. There is no New Zealand diplomatic representation in Portugal. The group continue to have faith in New Zealand's good will and support for human rights.'

'We stand ready to sponsor the young men and to arrange their accommodation in New Zealand with the help of other human rights groups.'

"Our committee is a signatory to an international statement which calls on government with Embassies in Jakarta to accept their international responsibilities to the growing numbers of asylum seekers, to ensure in the event of future occupations that the asylum seekers are not coerced but instead have access to independent lawyers from the embassy's home country.'

A public meeting to air these and other problems with the Government's asylum seeker and refugee policies is to be held in Auckland on March 27, 7.30, Methodist Mission.

(For further information: Maire Leadbeater: +64 9 849-3890, day: 828-5109.)

JAKARTA STAFF CRITICISED

The New Zealand Herald, 13 March 1996

WELLINGTON, NZPA - The East Timor Independence Committee says officials at the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta are more concerned with protecting themselves and New Zealand's relationship with Indonesia than helping victims of persecution.

A committee spokeswoman, Maire Leadbeater, said Ministry of Foreign Affairs papers about five East Timorese who climbed the embassy fence in January to seek political asylum showed that their coming was known about two hours in advance and guards and an Indonesian soldier were told.

She compared this to actions of European Governments during the Second World War who would not accept Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

"If the young men had been delivered into the hands of the Indonesian military they would have experienced the same fate as others who failed an asylum attempt - interrogation, arrest, torture or worse," she said.

TRIAL OF MANU CADDIE

From ETIC, March 24

Backgrounder:

Manu Caddie was photographed late last year burning an Indonesian flag outside the New Zealand Defence headquarters in protest against the NZ Airforce's involvement in military exercises with Indonesian forces.

Manu was visited by members of the Diplomatic Protection Squad and asked to go with them to the Police Station to answer questions about the flag burning episode.

On visiting his house whilst trying to find him they noticed a broken road sign over the entrance to his room with the name Manu Road. They returned early the next day with a warrant to arrest him, but once down at the police station he was interrogated about his involvement with the East Timor protest organisation.

The following report appeared in *The Dominion* newspaper for 21 March 1996:

Police warned against 'overkill'

The police were given a stern warning by the judiciary yesterday not to over-react or use 'overkill' tactics, especially if the issue was political.

Wellington District Court Judge Anne Gaskell gave her warning after finding East Timor Action group member Manu Caddie, 23, not guilty of the theft of a road sign worth \$55.

She earlier rejected a defence appeal for the case to be dismissed under the Bill of Rights provisions as an abuse of due process: the defence had alleged that the real intent of the three arresting officers, from the Police (Editorial error - should have been Diplomatic) Protection Squad, had been to investigate activities of the action group.

Caddie was arrested for the theft of the AA sign - marked Manu Road - near Tahape in 1993, where he and three companions said they found it broken on the ground near its pole.

The sign was seen by Diplomatic Squad member Bradley Adamson last September when he went to the house to interview Caddie about a protest action where an Indonesian flag had been burned. The next day, at 8am, three members of the squad arrived, questioned him, then arrested him for theft.

After Caddie later made a statement at the police station, the constable told him that he no longer had to stay, but began questioning him about the flag burning "and the defendant didn't feel he could properly leave."

According to the defendant, the police also asked detailed questions about the East Timor Action Group (and who was its 'leader' - added), though this was denied.

During the trial, defence lawyer, Victoria University lecturer John Miller, asked that the case be dismissed for breaches of the Bill of Rights, saying that the sign had clearly been "immaterial" in a police enquiry into the action group and the flag burning.

There had been unreasonable search and seizure and arbitrary arrest and detention, he said, each illegal under the Bill.

Countering, prosecuting police sergeant Jeff Agnew said there was no evidence that any police action had been illegal.

Judge Gaskell then ruled that neither the seizure nor any other aspect of police behaviour had been unlawful and the case proceeded. Dismissing the charge, she said that at most Caddie had been party to an offense. "If he had been charged as a party, the result might have been different.

But the prosecution and the police must take "this warning" from the case: "that in some circumstances their actions may be seen to have an element of over-reaction or overkill" when the matter could be dealt with differently.

This was particularly so, she said, where they wanted to talk to someone in relation to a political issue and "might be well advised to take a lighter-handed approach."

Declaring himself happy with the outcome yesterday, Mr. Caddie said that he had already taken steps towards a civil action against the police.

The page two article in bold type was accompanied by a photo of Manu holding a Fretilin flag!

NZ REFUGEE MEETING REPORT

Media Information from the East Timor Independence Committee

Public Meeting on Refugees and Asylum Seekers, 27 March 1996, Auckland, New Zealand

"That this meeting condemns the current treatment of refugees, refugee applicants and asylum seekers in New Zealand, especially the flouting of relevant United Nations Conventions to which New Zealand is signatory.

We are especially concerned about the delays which refugee applicants experience before their status is determined and we regard this treatment as a form of torture.

We are appalled that the New Zealand Human Rights Commission does not take an active role in refugee and asylum seeker issues and urge that its mandate be changed to include an active role in defence of the human rights of refugees and asylum seekers."

The above resolution was passed by acclamation at a well attended meeting organised by the East Timor Independence Committee.

There was lively debate about current practice and policy with respect to those who seek refuge in New Zealand in their fight from persecution. Although numbers of those seeking refuge status is gradually increasing at this time, there has been a striking fall-off in numbers over the past few years as New Zealand has put in place a stricter policy which includes measures to discourage potential refugees from seeking help at their point of arrival.

There was general feeling that New Zealand is evading its international responsibilities by making it almost impossible for those without comprehensive documentation to come here. Moreover, asylum seekers like those who entered the NZ Embassy in Jakarta have been informed that New Zealand does not have a policy of accepting asylum seekers who seek help in this way.

For further information or to contact any of the speakers: Maire Leadbeater, +64 9 849-3890 or 828-5109 day.

EVENTS IN ASIA

"HYPOCRISY BETTER"

Today, Manila, February 1996 reprinted in Daily Yomiuri (Tokyo), 12 February 1996, "excerpts of selected editorials carried by Asia-Pacific newspapers" from Kyodo News

What's this s— in yesterday's newspaper that "the Philippines, as a member of ASEAN, will have to support Indonesia on East Timor...."

Indeed, Indonesia has been a close friend of the Philippines, Indonesia has protected our sovereignty by refusing to allow insurrectionists to stage operations from its shores-unlike Malaysia, which armed and funded them. And the Philippines has been ever supportive of Indonesia's international initiatives. But in East Timor the problem is genocide and tyranny. It is the problem of a friend, but it is not a problem in whose Final Solution we should play a part.

On the East Timor question, we should be like the English during the gassing of the Jews in World War II. We can maintain a respectful silence rather than add fuel to the fire, so to speak, by applauding outside the ovens.

DAILY YOMIURI DISTORTIONS

This article is posted on reg.et on the specific request of a friend in Japan, who faxed it to us.

Our friend states: "This article is the second in what looks like some kind of series, and is quite disturbing, not only for the outrageous perspective on East Timor (analysis, ha!), but also for the general oversimplifications and lack of critical evaluation (i.e. extremely poor journalism). *Please note this is the same newspaper which stated that 4 (four) people died in the Santa Cruz massacre."

What appears to be particularly offensive is the equation of East Timor with "civil war." Our friend advises that any responses to this piece could be faxed to the newspaper responsible (Daily Yomiuri - English language paper in Japan) on +81 3 3279 6324.

- Christine Faithful, Friends of East Timor (Western Australia)

ASEAN CAUGHT UP IN GUESSING GAME

The Daily Yomiuri, Wednesday February 21, 1996, page 6. Column: "Eyeing ASEAN" By Kiichiro Harano, Yomiuri Shimbun Correspondent

BANGKOK - "Who will be next?" That is what is being whispered within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, a regional group that has gained the world's attention as an economic growth center.

The question is prompted by the advancing age of ASEAN leaders. Naturally, speculation is rife as to who will succeed them. The current leaders made ASEAN what it is today - a major force in international politics. In fact, it is the driving force behind a summit to be held in March among leaders of the 15 nations of the European Union, ASEAN, Japan, China and South Korea.

Attention is focused on Indonesia, a leading power in ASEAN, and Malaysia, which has pushed for an "Asian" approach in dealings with Europe and the United States. President Suharto, who has led Indonesia since 1965, is 74, while Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad is 70.

The two leaders have given no indication that they wish to retire, nor has anyone emerged to challenge them. But it cannot be denied that it is time for them to think about who will succeed them. The issue is cause for concern in the future, as it is generally felt that the "ASEAN economy" will function smoothly only if it maintains its present pace.

East Timor is a powder keg for Indonesia, posing the threat of civil war. The fact of the matter is that there is no guarantee that a post-Suharto government could contain it.

Some U.S. experts have cited Indonesia as one place where the succession issue will have a great impact on the future of Asia as a whole. They also point to China after the death of Deng Xiaoping and North Korea, where the succession process after Kim Il Sung's death has yet to be completed.

There is no rush in Indonesia's case. Parliamentary elections will be held next year, followed by a presidential election and an election for the presidency of the ruling Golkar party in 1998, when Suharto's current term expires. Suharto has not made it clear whether he will seek a seventh term.

However, names of possible successors have popped up and there is growing speculation concerning Suharto's strategy. It is certain that politics will take center stage in Indonesia in 1998.

Mahathir demonstrated the stability of his administration by again leading his party, the United Malays National Organi-

zation (UMNO), to victory in a general election last year.

Yet, some unusual things happened within UMNO last autumn to disturb Mahathir. In races for the leadership of local UMNO chapters, a large number of pro-Mahathir candidates were defeated by those supporting Deputy Premier Anwar Ibrahim. Anwar, who has been regarded as Mahathir's likely successor, thus emerged a winner. The development was viewed as a sign of political fluidity and sparked drops in stock prices.

UMNO reacted quickly. At its convention in November, UMNO called off a party presidential election scheduled for 1997 and pushed it back to 1999. Since the UMNO president holds the premiership, Mahathir was thus assured of staying in power until 1999.

The party apparently made the decision to patch up internal rifts, but it is widely believed that the race to pick Mahathir's successor has already begun.

Mahathir indicated last November that he might be thinking of retiring before 1999 when he said, "Certainly the time will come for someone new to lead the party. How soon, I don't know, but it will happen."

The succession issue raises the question of whether long-standing political systems will be able to continue unaffected by social change due to economic development.

Suharto has been at the helm for more than 30 years. His high-handed approach to leadership has resulted in the country being called "Suharto's Indonesia." Only three opposition parties have been officially recognized, and that is just one of many protective mechanisms for the Suharto administration.

On the other hand, economic growth has brought improvements in the standard of living and created groups in urban areas that seek the right to speak out on politics.

Indonesia stands out among the countries of Southeast Asia, where the tendency is to contain critical elements for the sake of development and economic growth, although the extent and methods may differ.

Southeast Asian nations contend that such steps are necessary to unify their people and raise living standards, and that they are based on "Asian values." They also argue that the advances that Southeast Asia has made stand as proof of the validity of those measures.

Europe and the United States are critical, however, saying it is all aimed at helping governments maintain power.

History has shown that when economic development expands the middle class, political reform is sure to follow. Thus, history poses a challenge to the leaders of Southeast Asia - will they be able to handle it?

COMMENT FROM GEOFFREY C. GUNN, NAGASAKI:

The notion that "East Timor is a powder keg for Indonesia, posing the threat of civil war (in Indonesia)" (Kiichiro Harano, *The Daily Yomiuri*, 21 February 1996) is possibly not as far out as Friends of East Timor (*Daily Yomiuri* East Timor Distortions, 27/2/96) would have us believe. That Indonesian democrats would one day slug it out with enemies of democracy and militarization over the issue of the illegal military occupation of East Timor, is not the remotest of scenarios. Still, poor journalism is poor journalism.

But if it was only the minuscule distribution *Daily Yomiuri* that offends! To wit, read the current issue of the prestigious US journal Foreign Affairs where intellectual guru Paul Kennedy (*Rise and Fall of the Great Powers/Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*), and collaborators, dismiss the East Timor case as that of a "separatist" issue.

While ambiguity and randomness seem to characterize the style of the *Daily Yomiuri*, the publication of Irawan Abidin's "What you don't know about East Timor, but should" in this newspaper (13 October 1994) - as Friends of East Timor remind us - is a matter that cannot be forgotten, indeed a dark day in Japanese journalism.

Attached is my albeit unpublished letter-to-the-editor (as faxed same day):

There is much irony in the juxtaposition of your 13 October (1994) editorial on Iraq and the op ed article in the same edition on East Timor by Irawan Abidin, Director for Information at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia. You write "Saddam insists that Kuwait is territory of Iraq" just as Irawan and Indonesia insists the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is a "province" of Indonesia. But just as the UN Security Council defends the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait against Iraqi claims and military blusters, so in defiance of ten UN resolutions Indonesia continues its armed occupation of East Timor since invading in 1975. While Irawan chooses to ignore the detail, it is a fact that until today the UN neither recognizes Indonesia's claims to sovereignty over East Timor nor the processes by which Indonesia "integrated" its small neighbor. While Irawan deplores the casualties of the short civil war of October 1975 otherwise provoked by Indonesia, he nevertheless chooses to ignore the horrific consequences of Indonesia's armed annexation and occupation of East Timor, leading to widespread human displacement, starvation, eradication of indigenous culture and population loss that many observers place at near one third. In

no way does Indonesian style development inside East Timor - which in any case primarily services the Indonesian military occupation and recolonization of the territory - atone or compensate for this major tragedy of the late twentieth century. Even more egregious is the claim by Irawan that only four people died in the 12 November 1991 "incident," facts even controverted by an official Indonesian "investigation." This is a brazen travesty of the truth and an insult to the memory of the more than 260 East Timorese youth, women and children included, killed by Indonesian troops in this first massacre inside East Timor to be recorded on video and shown on television networks around the world. It is also an insult to a truth-seeking media and public inside Indonesia. You write on Iraq that the international community must not succumb to the threats of a dictator in subverting Kuwait's sovereignty, so the international community-Japan included- should be urged to work help the UN, next holding talks on East Timor in Geneva on 10 January (1995), to seek an internationally acceptable solution for the territory and a solution acceptable to the East Timorese people. Indonesia must also be bound to observe various UN resolutions calling for respect of human rights in East Timor which, as UN Secretary-General Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali has termed, is the sin qua non to finding a peaceful solution. As they say, truth is the first casualty of war.

PIYF TAKES ALATAS TO TASK

From Pacific Indigenous Youth Forum, March 10

A regional youth body has challenged Indonesia's Ali Alatas recent statements on East Timor and West Papua.

The Pacific Indigenous Youth Forum (PIYF) corrected Alatas saying that: "Alatas will have to talk directly with the OPM in order to release the hostages who are being held in captive by the OPM rebels inside West Papua. You can not talk to the International Red Cross and the European Union to free the hostages because they not held as hostages by these two organisations. You can not deny the truth that the hostage drama is continually embarrassing for your government. Do not expect the International Red Cross team which in Papua New Guinea now to seek advise to release the hostages. Indonesia will have to talk to OPM. And by simply saying: "Indonesia does not recognise the OPM simply mean - Indonesia RECOGNISES the OPM." Your statement of non recognition is simply a lie.

In addition, Mr. Alatas when commenting on the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) said:

"The summit should not bring up controversial issues which are 'irrelevant' such as child labour and East Timor but he hoped issues such as UN reforms, nuclear ban and trade would dominate the summit."

As a response to that, PIYF backed by the Melanesian Solidarity (MELSOL) group said: "It is insane for Mr. Alatas to exclude East Timor and child labour in Indonesia to be discussed as 'issues of relevance' when British Hawk fighters have been purchased to terrorise an entire East Timorese nation and when children are forced to work in factories all across Indonesia especially with larger concentration of them (children) working in factories in Java."

PIYF Wewak representative, Daniel Bona Holonga is requesting Mr. Alatas to be realistic and matured in his comments on East Timor and West Papua.

Mr. Holonga has further invited Mr. Alatas to talk directly with the OPM and Fretilin on the future of West Papua and East Timor.

PIYF is a grouping of indigenous youth in the Pacific and Asian region formed at the 2nd World Indigenous Youth Conference in Darwin, Australia in 1993.

RECALL INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR TO INDIA

From George Aditjondro, March 20

The following is a letter sent recently by a fellow lecturer at Newcastle University (NSW, Oz) and a fellow social-justice activist in Oz to a major newspaper in India, appealing for a recall of the Indonesian ambassador to India, General Sahala Rajagukguk, an 'old acquaintance' of many East Timorese. - GJA

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
Michael Madhusudhan Furtado
Lecturer (Social Ethics)
Faculty of Education
Box 5 & 6
University Drive
CALLAGHAN NSW 2308
6th March, 1996

Mr. C.R. Irani,
Editor-in-Chief, THE STATESMAN.
Statesman House,
Connaught Circus,
New Delhi 110001, INDIA

Dear Sir;

I write to alert the readership of your esteemed paper to a matter that has been brought to my attention by a colleague of mine, Dr. George Aditjondro, whose residential status in Australia has been a cause

celebre, on account of his exposure of anti-democratic, human rights abuses in his native Indonesia.

I further write in fond recall of a newspaper, representative of a people and a culture that helped shape my earliest moral and political sensibilities particularly in regard to questions and issues of social justice and equality. My expectation, therefore, in penning this letter is that *The Statesman* has lost none of its verve in supporting and assisting with the development of a quality of political literacy in one of the world's great polities that is rarely to be found elsewhere.

My concern, as but one of the immense diaspora of Indians around the globe, is to alert my former compatriots to the dubious nature of some overseas emissaries that are foisted upon you, and who for pragmatic foreign policy reasons you may sometimes be forced to parley with. In similar circumstances in Australia, public opinion has responded with the rejection of such appointees.

I refer particularly to the Indonesian Ambassador to India, His Excellency General Sahala Radjagukguk. General Radjagukguk is widely known in Australia as the 'Butcher of East Timor.' For many years he was in command of the *penerbad* [Penerbang TNI/AD] Corps, the Indonesian Army's Helicopter Corps, whose task it was to "burn out the rats in their holes" in East Timor. Between 100,000 and 200,000 persons were killed in East Timor as a result of operations directed by him. Furthermore he is known to have profited immensely through the exercise of business patronage in East Timor and at great expense to the natural environment (Ref. G. Aditjondro, [*In The Shadow of Mount Ramelau*] *The Impact of the Occupation of E. Timor*, Indoc, Leiden, 1994).

In an imperfect world it ill-behooves one to bring to the public eyes issues too minor to warrant attention. However, in spite of her many problems and the contradictions and compromises that inevitably must be made, India is still the world's largest democracy, and in many senses an exemplar as such in the Third World.

Secondly, a false comparison is frequently drawn between the situation of Goa and that of East Timor. As an Indian of Goan extraction I exult in the liberation of that colony from the Portuguese. To heed the plight of the [East] Timorese is not to find a justification for Portuguese imperialism but to challenge the tacky and deceitful way in which the Indonesian military dictatorship tramples on the rights of its neighbour.

Finally I speak as a nomad within an Australian culture, which is so numerically

powerless as to jettison any ethicism in its dealings with its gigantic neighbour. Australia is too busy atoning for the sins of its racist past as well as far too interested in benefiting from entry to an unrestricted Asian market to allow minor matters of political morality to intrude upon her relationship with Indonesia. The casualties of this realpolitik are the many hundreds of Timorese refugees who regularly make it to our shores and who deserve our solidarity and our support.

I hope there is something that your readership can do about this.

AD MULTOS ANNOS!

Your sincerely,

Michael Maddhusudhan Furtado

Lecturer (Social Ethics)

email address: edmlf@cc.newcastle.edu.au

For further comments about this idea, please address yourself directly to the Editor-in-Chief of The Statesman, or to the author of this letter. GJA

CHINESE ATLAS "SEPARATES" TIMOR

Publico, 11 April 1996. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros, Translated from Portuguese

An official atlas recently published in Peking includes East Timor on a list of 101 autonomous administrative territories in Asia. On the Chinese map, Indonesia is described as a country with an area of 1,904,569 sq. kms., consisting of 26 regions. According to the area and number of regions stated in the atlas, autonomous status has been attributed to East Timor, which Jakarta considers as being its 27th Province.

In addition, the same map does not recognise Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara, Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus, or Indian authority over Sikkim. On the other hand, however, the territories of Macao and Hong Kong are presented as administrative regions directly subordinate to Peking, and Formosa also appears as an integral part of the People's Republic of China.

The atlas (...) should not be seen as a statement reflecting the Peking authorities' support for the Timorese cause. Since the last UN General Assembly vote (in 1982, when China's vote helped to get a resolution adopted, against the wishes of Indonesia) it has been the question of human rights that has brought East Timor into the limelight at various international forums. On that very issue China (which shares with Indonesia an uncomfortably high position on the list of countries accused of serious violations, and which is often confronted with frequent comparisons between the cases of East

Timor and Tibet), has appeared reluctant to subscribe to criticism of the Jakarta regime.

CHINA AND EAST TIMOR

From Geoffrey C. Gunn, April 3

Friends of East Timor might take heart that at least one member of the Security Council, namely China, remains categorical as to its position on East Timor (just as it remains categorical on Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau). From the Administrative Division Atlas of the World, China Geographical Services Press, Beijing, 1993, East Timor is listed as one of 101 administrative entities of Asia. The Republic of Indonesia is also listed as a country of 1,904,569 square kilometres comprising twenty-six (26) administrative divisions. In other words, according to this publication, China does not recognise Indonesia's claim to a 27th province. East Timor is not included in this publication as part of the Republic of Indonesia. There should be no doubt as to the official status of this publication as nothing passes for publication in China that is not official. Thus the atlas includes Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau as administrative regions of China. Goa, for example, is recognised as part of India, Sikkim is not. Neither is the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus recognised, nor the Moroccan occupation of Western Sahara. China is also consistent in its cartographic representation of East Timor's separate administrative status. All Chinese maps and globes recently inspected by this correspondent do not falsify on this question, but offer a correct delineation of East Timor right down to tennis-ball sized globes.

From Administrative Division Atlas of the World, East Timor is an administrative entity of 18,899 square kilometres with a population of 707,000 (1989). The population of the capital Dilly/Dili is given at 60,000. East Timor comprises thirteen administrative sub-divisions. Aileu, Ainaro, Baucau, Bobonaro, Cova Lima, Dilly, Ermera, Lautem (Lauten), Liquiça, Manatuto, Ocussi (Oecusse), Same, Vikeke (Viqueque). All place names come supplied with Chinese character equivalents.

Comment from David Webster

Personally, I'd be happier if the government of China didn't consider East Timor as a separate country, given its own genocidal occupation of Tibet and its apparent intention to use force against a small island neighbour (Taiwan). The governments of Indonesia and China have more in common than either would like to admit!

Comment from John Clark

David Webster is certainly right. We should never invoke the authority of a geno-

cidal regime like China's on behalf of the recognition of East Timor's independence. Our task is to oblige all nation-states to accept what is just, though we must recognize that they usually do so only when they perceive it as in their own narrow interest. The fight for justice for East Timor is inseparable from the fight for justice for Tibet and all other victims of oppression and genocide.

Reply From Geoffrey C. Gunn

Gratified that my post on China and East Timor has provoked some healthy lateral thinking on China's own behaviour towards the peoples it claims to be under Chinese administration. I suspect, however, the irony of the matter was carried in the original post and needed no amplification; witness Boutros Ghali in Beijing last week dismissing Taiwan as an "internal problem of China." But, let us not conflate questions of internal colonialism and fourth worldism with a classic third world question like East Timor, which, as one of the last cases of aborted self-determination on the UN log-book, begs instrumental solutions. This is not to say that our concerns for so-called internationally unrecognised states and peoples should be less (West Irian), but that the East Timor case is delicately poised at a crucial juncture in the process of UN mediation towards an "internationally acceptable solution." While many of our concerns for East Timor such as human rights abuses, status of women, militarisation, etc. are fourth world questions by definition and therefore link with our broader moral concerns for, say, the people of Tibet, etc., at the same time we should not dismiss the key question of East Timor's political status.

As Paula Escarameia has written in her aptly titled Harvard dissertation/ monograph, *Formation of Concepts in International Law: Subsumption under self-determination in the case of East Timor* (Fundação Oriente, Lisboa, 1993), "By reversing the causality [of the East Timor case] Indonesia managed to imply the dismissal of the political instances from dealing with it and to allocate the issues to humanitarian organizations" (p.144). And so Escarameia shows how over the years the East Timor question was shuffled between various UN committees to the point where the self-determination question was virtually relegated to the status of a human right, not a political right. This was undoubtedly a small triumph of Indonesian (and probably Australian) diplomacy in the 1980s, but, to use Escarameia's language, it owes to the courage of the East Timor people in incredible adversity that they have once again reversed the causality of the case and re-

couped in the international arena their claims for both human and political rights. Fortunately, Boutros Ghali has not pronounced East Timor an internal problem of Indonesia. Quite the reverse.

It may also be misleading to infer from the Administrative Division Atlas of the World that China considers East Timor a separate country much less recognises East Timor's independence. It is more the case that as a member of the UN Security Council China speaks the language of the UN Fourth Committee on Decolonization and treats East Timor accordingly. How politically correct are maps on East Timor in France, Russia, UK and the US?

The notion that that China should be dismissed because it is this or that regime does not one that occurs in UN councils. Neither is it a view shared by Portugal. In the context of the complex ongoing dialogue between Portugal and China over Macau, Portuguese Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Foreign Ministers are unfailing in their solicitations to China on the East Timor question at the highest levels. Rhetorically, at least, Chinese leaders have reciprocated concerns over East Timor to their Portuguese interlocutors. [after all China and Indonesia have a tiff over overlapping territorial waters in the Natuna islands. Remember Exxon's multi-billion investment in the Natuna oil deal is at stake here]. It would not be too far out to assert that some quid pro quo has been worked out between Portugal and China over East Timor in the course of the Portuguese-Chinese dialogue on Macau. On China, Macau (and Timor), read my book, or rather, get your local library to order; *Encountering Macau: A Portuguese City-State on the Periphery of China, 1557-1999*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1996 ISBN 0-8133-8970-4 (US\$54.95)

Reply from David Webster

Geoff Gunn's comments are much appreciated. I should add that I don't intend any disrespect by disagreeing with one point in those comments. As before, I'm making my own comments personally, not presuming to tell the East Timorese what their strategy should be.

The international legal status of Tibet and Taiwan, it could be argued, is precisely the same as that of East Timor, despite what the UN says. That's why I mentioned those cases, and not any of China's multitudinous violations of the human rights of people it has colonized.

Tibet has functioned as an independent country for most of its history, even sacking the Chinese capital on occasion. With the coming of Buddhism, it stopped its warlike policy and retreated into isolation, but was no less independent for that. It was con-

quered by China under the Ming dynasty, but broke away. It was also part of the Manchu empire, and the Mongol empire – both of which also conquered China. The association of Tibet and China as part of a single empire, however, did not make them the same country any more than Australia and New Zealand are the same country because they were both colonized by Britain. Under these various foreign rulers, Tibet maintained its own forms of government.

Following the fall of the Qing dynasty early this century, Tibet again regained its independence, with its diplomatic representatives travelling on Tibetan passports around the world. China's invasion in 1950 was clearly illegal under international law. The only reason Tibet did not make it on to the UN agenda then or in 1959 with the flight of the Dalai Lama was that it had no UN member governments willing to plead its case.

Taiwan has a similar history, being incorporated into China only during the Ming dynasty, then ruled by a local king, and finally becoming a Japanese colony before being handed to China in 1945. It was ruled from the mainland for just four years at this time. Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui speaks better Japanese than Mandarin, and Taiwanese have their own language as well. The legal fiction perpetrated by its KMT government explains why Taiwan has not asserted its own strong claim to independence.

Both Tibet and Taiwan can boast distinctive cultures with an awareness of themselves as separate entities from China, common linguistic and historical traditions, and defined territories.

The difference between these two cases and East Timor lies solely in their status at the UN – which is of course a significant strength for those campaigning in support of East Timor. However, supporters of East Timor do themselves no favours by isolating themselves from those campaigning for self-determination and human rights in other colonized nations. In this context, I was very happy to see José Ramos Horta recently appeared on a joint platform in Geneva with advocates for Tibet and Western Sahara, and that East Timor holds membership in the "Fourth World" association UNPO. Let's use the UN advantage East Timor possesses, by all means, but never forget that its struggle and that of Tibet are in fact one and the same.

JAPAN AND EAST TIMOR

From Geoffrey C. Gunn, April 20.

Further to my posts this month on map representations of East Timor in an official

Chinese atlas, I offer up the following from Japan. No great surprise, given the plethora of publishing houses and political interests in Japan, to note from a five minute perusal of atlases and guidebooks in my local bookstore, that a variety of representations of East Timor exist, running from a popular tour guide to eastern Indonesia which treats the boundary between west and East Timor as seamless, to a commercial world atlas that allows the reader to choose between Timor Timur and Higashi Chimoru (East Timor).

No such ambiguity exists or should exist in school atlases in Japan today, however, as anyone who knows anything about The Great Japanese School Textbook crises of the 1980s, would realise. Basically this concerned the struggle between individual authors supported by the militant Japanese Teachers Union (Nikkyoso), versus the Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbusho), over official Chinese and Korean objections, to see that school textbooks offered fair representations of modern history. So while some major victories for truth were won in this affair, so the need for vigilance should not be relaxed.

Friends of East Timor can take solace that the Monbusho-approved and therefore "officialized" atlases currently in usage in all primary schools and all junior high schools in Japan (sorry, I have not been able to check the standard "officialized" senior high school atlas) offer accurate, if minuscule, representations of East Timor's separate status. Thus in Tei Koku Shoin Atlas 402, first published by this company in 1991, and the single sanctioned atlas for use by Japanese pupils in year 4, 5, and 6 of primary school, East Timor, including the enclave of Oecusse, appears well delineated on a map of the Asia-Pacific. Different colour codes enhance the political separation of East Timor from Indonesia. The same applies for Tei Koku Shoin Atlas 702, first published in 1992 for use in Japanese Middle Schools (Junior High Schools), except that on one map East Timor (Higashi Chimuru) is identified as such using the kanji or Chinese character for East and the katakana for Timor. The same map also offers the maritime boundary between Australia and Indonesia as broken at a point which we could identify as the "Timor Gap." For the record, atlas 702 endorses the separate status of Western Sahara from Morocco. From other clues and other inferences, I think it is fair to suggest that the Monbusho-sanctioned representation of East Timor in these atlases cannot depart from that of Gaimusho (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

EVENTS IN EUROPE

CONFUSION OVER E.U. TIMOR STATEMENT

Brussels, Jan 29 (LUSA) - The foreign ministers of the European Union today vouched to condition their respective foreign policies to a juridic EU text containing criticism of Indonesia due to the situation in East Timor.

The text was approved by the fifteen member countries, therefore takes on the form of a "common position," only the twentieth such common positions approved since the writing of the Maastricht treaty. Jaime Gama revealed only that the text of a page and a half is "constructive, positive, and advanced."

However, "juridically, it is as if it didn't exist," the spokesperson of one delegation explained. It will remain in "stand by." The stand by is due to requests by the UK, The Netherlands, and Germany, for the council to delay a position of condemnation of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor until the British, Dutch and German refugees held by rebels in West Papua are released.

The "common position" will be approved juridically when the case of the European refugees is solved, said Gama. "We understand and accept this fully," he said, adding that "the fundamental has been achieved," which was to have the common position approved by the EU.

By definition, the "common position" is superior to a simple political declaration because, once released, it binds the member states to attach their foreign policy decisions to the principles of the position.

The text proposed for the "common position," that was submitted to the general affair council of the EU, included condemnation of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, and denounced the human rights situation in the territory. It also recommended a political solution to the Timorese problem, supervised by the UN, that should be acceptable to the international community and to the Timorese people.

Brussels, Jan 29 (LUSA) - [...] The reason for the hold on the public release of the EU "common position" varied among spokespersons for the various member countries' delegations to the EU council of general affairs that met in Brussels today. According to a spokesperson from the French delegation and another from the Italian delegation was that the hold awaited the outcome of the cases of refugees in western embassies in Jakarta. [comment: the refugees at the French embassy, the only remaining

in embassies in Jakarta, were sent to Portugal the next day, Jan 30, according to France Presse, cited by LUSA.]

The Portuguese foreign minister, Jaime Gama, offered a different explanation: that the "hold" is dictated by humanitarian reasons related to the European hostages (Dutch, British, and German) in West Papua. Gama explained that the juridic approval of the "common position" depends on its publication in the Union Official Journal.

In turn, the Dutch minister stated that the release of the "common position" was put in "stand by" so as not to affect the first EU-ASEAN summit taking place March 1 and 2 in Bangkok. The Dutch minister said this position was shared also by the UK, Germany, and the European commissarian (?) Leon Brittan.

DISCREET VICTORY FOR TIMOR

EU CONDEMNS JAKARTA BUT KEEPS DECISION QUIET

Diario de Noticias, 30 Jan. By Fernando de Sousa. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Brussels, 30 Jan. - The 15 have condemned Indonesia because of Timor, but the EU has kept officially silent about its decision until now. As far as is known, however, the EU has never before gone so far with regard its position on East Timor. It is especially surprisingly given the proximity of the forthcoming important EU-Asia meeting.

Yesterday in Brussels, the EU's Council of General Affairs approved a common position document supporting the efforts being made to find a political solution for East Timor and the re-establishment of respect for human rights in the territory. According to a Portuguese source, however, the document will only be officially made public when the current crisis in Irian Jaya (West Papua) is over. (A separatist group which opposes the Jakarta regime is presently holding several people hostage, including some Europeans.)

Meanwhile, there are other versions of the reasons behind the secrecy. A French Government spokesperson said that the Council decided to wait until the problems being caused by the Timorese asylum seekers in Jakarta embassies were resolved. The Dutch minister stated that the "common position" would have to be held on stand-by so as not to jeopardise the first EU-Asia summit, to be held in March in Bangkok.

Portuguese Foreign Minister, Jaime Gama, expressed satisfaction with the EU's position, and added that the document was

“quite positive and constructive.” He was also understanding about the reasons which led to the delay in the document becoming officially known, i.e. British and Dutch governments’ fears that its immediate publication could put the hostages lives at risk.

The common position carries more political weight than the statements adopted until now by the EU on East Timor. It has greater bearing on all the member-states, who it is supposed to serve as a guideline in foreign contacts and in positions they may adopt within the framework of international organisations. Even though the common position has not been officially made public, it is known that it includes former guidelines, such as support for the efforts being made under the auspices of the UN to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor. The insistence on re-establishing respect for human rights in the territory constitutes one of the constant fundamental elements of the Portuguese authorities’ political position.

The adoption of this common position follows the inclusion, for the first time, in the Conclusions of the Madrid European Council meeting, last December, of a reference to East Timor, reiterating support for the efforts to find a settlement. This document will also carry considerable political weight at the Bangkok summit between the EU and ASEAN, China and Japan.

The position will serve to show at the summit, which is to be attended by Indonesia, that the (Portuguese) Prime Minister has the backing of the whole EU on the question of East Timor.

PORTUGAL SATISFIED WITH EU'S COMMON POSITION ON TIMOR

Diario de Noticias, 31 January 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged.

Yesterday, a European Commission spokesperson in Brussels told LUSA that the question of East Timor could be brought to the EU-Asia summit, scheduled for 1-2 March in Bangkok. However, the initiative ought to be taken by Portugal. “The Portuguese PM or his Foreign Minister could raise the Timorese question,” said Manuel Marin’s spokesperson.

Meanwhile, Marin believes that both the EU and the Asian countries present “will avoid casting any shadows over the summit,” which should pave the way for a new economic and political EU-Asia partnership.

FRENCH MINISTER TO CHINA, HONG KONG, INDONESIA

By Jean Jolly

PARIS, Feb 6 (Reuter) - French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette leaves Paris on Tuesday for visits to China, Hong Kong and Indonesia focused mainly on promoting trade.

Aides said de Charette will be in China from February 7 to 11, make a brief stop-over in Hong Kong on February 11 before heading for a visit to Indonesia until February 13.

De Charette has described the region as “the new frontier of French diplomacy,” and said he wanted “to give a new boost to relations in all fields,” ministry spokesman Jacques Rummelhardt told reporters.

Rummelhardt said France had a trade deficit of 10.8 billion francs (\$2.16 billion) with China “and this does not correspond at all to France’s commercial ambitions.”

France has been involved in several major projects in China, including the Daya Bay II nuclear power station.

But there are fewer small and medium sized firms from France in China than from Germany and Italy, and both countries had more overall trade with China, he said.

Among projects de Charette would discuss with Chinese officials are construction of an underground railway system at Dalian, sale of several dozen European Airbus passenger planes, an airport in Shanghai and a joint project to build a 100-seater aircraft together with Chinese and South Korean firms, he said.

The possible construction next century of a high-speed railway line between Beijing and Shanghai would also be discussed, Rummelhardt said.

Rummelhardt was cautious when questioned about the sensitive issue of human rights in China, saying merely: “France considers human rights have a universal value.”

He was also careful about nuclear tests. France completed a final series of six nuclear tests in the South Pacific last week, leaving China as the only country still testing atomic weapons.

Rummelhardt said Paris believed a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty should be signed by the end of 1996.

Asked about tensions between China and Taiwan, he said Paris hoped that differences would be solved peacefully.

France has uneasily navigated between China and Taiwan for decades. Paris was one of the first major Western powers to offer recognition to Beijing in the early 1960s but it then found Taiwan a prime market for arms sales.

Rummelhardt said Indonesia, the world’s most populous Moslem country and the current president of the ASEAN group, was taking off as an economic power.

Trade between France and Indonesia was roughly balanced at over four billion francs (\$800 million) in each direction annually.

Indonesia’s main political problem was the annexation of formerly Portuguese Timor, a move Paris has not recognised, Rummelhardt said.

De Charette will be accompanied in his travels by a large delegation of French businessmen.

Before returning home, he will chair a meeting of French ambassadors to the region in Jakarta to plan strategy ahead of an Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok on March 1-2.

Further information on the Bangkok Summit is in its own section of this issue of East Timor Documents.

RECENT COVERAGE IN IRELAND

The Irish Times. 26 Feb 1996.

MINISTERS HOPES OF TIMOR SOLUTION

DUBLIN. Portugal’s Foreign minister, Mr. Jaime José Matos da Gama, has asserted the need to apply the same principles of democracy and human rights to East Timor as those being applied in Bosnia, writes David Shanks. Expressing optimism yesterday during his visit to Ireland that a solution would be found in East Timor, Portugal’s former colony invaded in 1975 by Indonesia he pointed to a joint EU position on the issue, which had been agreed but not formally adopted.

The Minister met the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Mr. Bruton, and the Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) Mr. Spring with whom he discussed EU enlargement among other issues.

HUMAN RIGHTS TO BE THE GHOST AT EU-ASIAN FEAST

An article by Paddy Smith, Brussels correspondent, of the Irish Times in today’s issues lists East Timor as one of the issues that the Asian nations don’t want discussed; the taboo subjects are human rights, child labour, child prostitution, democracy, Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor and Asian territorial disputes.

Emily O’Reilly wrote a long piece in last week’s edition of the Sunday Business Post on the Irish Peace process and the Scott report, he reference to Timor was as follows.

“The British export arms to some of the most barbaric regimes in the world. They

have sold Hawk fighter aircraft to Indonesia, whose campaign of near-genocide against the East Timorese. Many of those people would still be alive today if it were not for the actions of the British government."

PROTEST LETTERS TO THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT ON ARMS TRADE

March 8, 1996

Received from:

The Committee of 100
Peace Station
00520 Helsinki, Finland
tel:358 0 141336 fax:358 0 147297

The Finnish Government decided yesterday (7 March) to give an export license for the company Sisu to export 60 armoured troop-carriers to Indonesia. The deal is not confirmed yet, but it is an option when the company get permission from the government. Only three Ministers out of eighteen voted against (1 green and 2 left wing). The main government parties, socialist and conservative voted in favour. The government mentioned that for other European countries military exports to Indonesia are not a problem. But this not true, because Sweden, Portugal and Ireland do not accept this type of exports to Indonesia.

We want to ask for a worldwide protest against the Finnish Governments decision.

Please send your protest to the following fax numbers:

The Finnish Broadcasting Company, TV-News fax: + 358 0 1461476

The Commercial TV, TV-News fax: + 358 0 140160

Helsinki Sanomat (the Main daily newspaper), fax: + 358 0 605709

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Tarja Halonen fax: + 358 0 13415002

The Minister of Defence, Mrs. Anneli Taina Fax + 358 0 1613985

/s/

Kalle Sysikaski
Helsinki 8.3.1996

IRISH CALL FOR ARMS EMBARGO

From ETISC, March 10

The main party in the coalition which makes up the Irish government, Fine Gael, has called for an arms embargo against Indonesia at its annual conference over Indonesia's 'rape, torture and murder' of the people of East Timor.

IRISH UNION CONDEMNS OCCUPATION

The following motion was passed at the MSF (Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union) annual conference, 23 March 1996

This conference condemns the government of Indonesia for its illegal occupation of East Timor and calls on the Irish and British governments to actively pursue a policy of sanctions against Indonesia at European and United Nations level.

INDONESIA: THE VISIT OF THE POLISH PM

Timorese were granted asylum

Gazeta Wyborcza. (Warsaw). 19 March 96. Translated from Polish

The PM Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz has begun his visit to Indonesia yesterday with a meeting with president Suharto. A few hours earlier two refugees from East Timor broke into the Polish embassy in Jakarta and asked for asylum.

Yesterday morning the Timorese scaled the fence and got inside. The embassy staff refused to comment to journalists on the matter. It is known, however, that Portugal granted asylum to the Timorese.

Occupations of embassies from different countries in Jakarta are a daily occurrence and yesterday's incident has probably nothing to do with the visit of the Polish PM. Despite that, the Polish Foreign Office protested to the Indonesian authorities for not having guaranteed safety measures - at the time of the Timorese break-in the Polish PM could have been there. The Foreign Office spokesman Paweł Dobrowolski said, the chargé d'affaires of the Indonesian embassy in Warsaw was summoned to the ministry yesterday.

A first group of 12 Timorese got into the embassy in January. The refugees behaved themselves with calm and asked for asylum. After a stay of several days in the embassy premises, they left for Portugal.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia 20 years ago. The authorities there make use of drastic repression against the ethnic population, who offer active resistance to the invaders.

In the meantime, after a Sunday's rest on the island of Bali, one of the most famous resorts in that part of the world, the PM Cimoszewicz has begun a series of official talks with the representatives of the Indonesian government. The Indonesian secretary of state Murdiono said, Cimoszewicz intends to widen economic co-operation between Poland and Indonesia, above all in technological fields, in particular, in ship-building.

Both sides have underlined that the PM Cimoszewicz did not want to sign concrete deals during his visit but to 'make our partners aware of opportunities for co-operation.' The current visit of the Polish PM is the first official visit of such importance since almost 30 years.

So far, the Polish-Indonesian economic relations are limited to trade exchange, worth US\$140 million a year.

THE PM CIMOSZEWICZ IN INDONESIA

The Timorese and Polish interests

Trybuna, 20 March Page 6. Translated.

The PM Cimoszewicz arrived in the Indonesian capital Jakarta on Monday morning where he was cordially welcomed by president Suharto. In the afternoon local time, the PM met with Polish and Indonesian entrepreneurs.

According to Reuters, the Polish embassy in Jakarta was invaded by two East Timorese on Monday. The incident coincided with the visit of PM Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in the Indonesian capital, who was scheduled to conduct talks with the president of Indonesia Suharto on Tuesday. According to Reuters, the Polish embassy refused to comment on the incident. Reuters reminds that it is the second incident of that kind at the Polish embassy since January. It is not clear yet whether the Timorese asked for asylum. According to PAP (the Polish Press Agency) the Polish Foreign Office protested to the Indonesian authorities for not having guaranteed safety measures during the visit of the PM Cimoszewicz. The spokesman of the Foreign Office, Paweł Dobrowolski said that the Polish side has agreed to host the two refugees and the chargé d'affaires of the Indonesian embassy was requested to come to the ministry.

Polish diplomats pointed out that the last official visit on such a high level between Poland and Indonesia occurred at the beginning of the 1960s, that means, over 30 years ago. Only within the last few years a few diplomatic talks took place, a visit of the Foreign Affairs secretary Ali Alatas in Poland in 1993 and a conversation between Józef Oleksy and Suharto during a UN session last year.

The Polish-Indonesian economic relations are limited to simple trade exchange worth US\$140 million a year (Polish exports: US\$50 million a year, Indonesian imports: US\$90 million a year). Poland exports mainly machinery, chemicals, steel, powder milk and paper, while coffee and textiles are imported. Trade with the countries of that region is worth US\$1.5 billion a year altogether.

On the schedule of Monday's visit of the PM was also a visit to the National Museum, a monument for the heroes of the struggle for liberty and an official banquet.

During the ceremonial banquet the Indonesian president expressed the hope that the visit of the Polish PM will foster a closer friendship between the two nations, which will aid beneficial co-operation in the areas of trade and economy. The Polish PM said that his stay in Indonesia allows to assess what has impeded such co-operation in the past. Cimoszewicz pointed out that Polish businessmen are interested in exports of machinery and equipment in the mining, energy, shipbuilding, fishing, rail and air transport, agriculture and chemical sectors. Earlier, during talks with entrepreneurs, the PM invited the Indonesian businessmen to attend the Economic Forum 'Poland - South East Asia' to be organised in Poland in September.

Comments from Translator, George Frynas.

The visit of the Polish PM to Indonesia was widely covered in Poland, also on TV. The Timorese asylum seekers were not always mentioned though. Here are two most recent articles.

Note that *Trybuna*, the Polish daily closest to the current left-centre government, has focused on the beneficial trade relations between the two countries; while *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the biggest Polish daily and associated with opposition circles, has elaborated on the asylum seekers and the conflict in East Timor.

ARMS TRADE OF ITALY TO INDONESIA

From by IRES Toscana, Firenze Italy via martin@amokmar.antenna.nl (Martin Broeck), 27 March.

Although it is reported that Italy has an arms embargo against Indonesia (by the Amnesty International book POWER AND IMPUNITY; Human Rights under the new order, page 11) according to the politics of not selling arms to a country which violates the international conventions on human rights it has sold arms to Indonesia.

Next figures are given by the Italian authorization on arms exports 1991-1994: 1991 (1) 1992 (4) 1993 (1) 1994 (55).

Total for Indonesia (60 total is too low in original),

In 1994 Italy sold naval craft and torpedo's to Indonesia which can not be used according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs be used in repressive activities or against East Timor. The argument is becoming classical and giving a license to evade the arms

export legislation not only in Italy but in a lot of other countries as well.

BELGIUM ARMS FOR AID

Translation from De Morgen, 5 Apr 1996

In the Flemish daily paper De Morgen appeared a series of articles on Belgium development aid. The last one was about aid to Indonesia. journalist Douglas De Coninck found out that Belgium arms companies Cockerill and FN Herstal entered the market after active participation in these aid programs.

ALSO THE ARMS INDUSTRY IS GOING HUMANITARIAN

In our last edition of 'wasted billions' we look today at two development projects which did result in useful factories and tools. The Walonian companies who were delivering them, were aloud afterwards to sell arms and munitions.

By Douglas de Coninck

In 1993 secretary of development Erik Derycke (Socialist Party) visited Indonesia, accompanied by a big delegation. He was showed around by the local ABOS (Belgium Development Aid Department) to the showpiece of Belgium development projects in the country. In the past messages from the ABOS-section Indonesia haven't been always encouraging. There has been the failure of a machine tool company in Cilegon (De Morgen 22/11/95), there has been the wig plant on Bali (DM 2/4/96) and there has been the MICD-project (see below). But, the head of the section assured the state secretary, to show him something different at this time. The party is brought to Gresik, a small town in the eastern part of Java. Over there on a remote area, the building of an enormous thermodynamic power station started to provide the island cheap(er) electricity. The Belgium delegation didn't notice till then much about a lack of electrical power in East-Java. The industrialisation process is running full steam and nothing is showing that the needs of Indonesia are electrical energy.

Aid to Japanese

The excavation from which in 1994 an electricity power station must rise looks impressive. Belgium companies are managing the work, said the head of the section. Those companies are Tractebel Engineering International (TEI) and Cockerill Mechanical Industries (CMI). Tractebel is acting as consultant and is conducting a number of engineer studies. Also CMI has a supervising task, but is also aloud to sell steam-boilers worth 875 million Bf.

More then half of the CMI-order is financed by Belgium money. In 1991 Minister of Foreign Trade, Robert Urbain (Party Socialiste) was granting Indonesia a loan from state to state of 465 Bf. ABOS is adding on this amount between 1991 and 1993, in the framework of bilateral aid, 354 million. Of this amount 150 million (1991) is given to Tractebel for 'studies.' 100 million (1992) is given to CMI for 'additional deliverances' and 104 million (1993) again to CMI for again 'additional deliverances.' As a result 820 million Bf of development funds were flowing to the Gresik project. And is Indonesia not fulfilling its commitments according to a few additional Belgium loans, than it is possible that several hundreds of millions are added by the Delcredere [look like a credit service of the Belgium government] service.

The Belgium delegation has its doubts on the relevance of the project for the development of Indonesia. The amazement is changed in disconcert when it is becoming clear that the biggest part of the excavation is done by a Japanese builder. Tractebel and CMI are just sub-contractors of the Japanese group. Around Asia Japan is for years the most active donor country in the development aid sector.

That Indonesian companies do not have the know-how direct at hand to build a thermodynamic power station and that Belgium is giving a helping hand sounds reasonable. But that the Belgium development aid in Indonesia is crossing a pure commercial Japanese contract is less evident. "The Japanese were not that glad with the Belgium interference," one of the delegates of 1993 is remembering. "We are fitted to do it by ourselves, they told us."

Derycke, followed by others from the government and ABOS-officials are going to search in vain for forms 'of education of local workers.' The motive ABOS joint the project.

The more than 350 million Bf which flew from ABOS to CMI and Tractebel are granted by Minister of Development Andre' Geens (VU). One of his assistants is Johan Smets. Till his job as assistant on the department of Development Smets worked at Tractebel, more detailed for a department working on the prospects of projects in Asia. After the government period Smets returned to Tractebel. CMI is using in the '80's the services of Vital Lenaerts via the office of GIA. Vital Lenaerts is the son of the administrative-general Roger Lenaerts, expelled of office in October by the first chamber. He is also a former worker of Tractebel.

Cannons

The Gresik-contract was very profitable for CMI. In August 1994 the firm got the contract to deliver Indonesia another three steam-boilers, this time for the power station of Grati. This deal was worth 1.6 billion Bf.

Just after this followed an Indonesian order of a totally different kind. CMI isn't just building steam-boilers and locomotives (see also issue about Malawi and Zambia in DM of last Saturday), but also cannons. Since the late eighties CMI is in vain trying to enter the Indonesian arms market. A very profitable market, because the fight between the Indonesian army and the separatist movement [?] on the island East-Timor doesn't look to come soon to an end. Especially the 90mm cannons are well known worldwide by people skilled on arms. This cannon is made to fit it on light armoured vehicles and is in this way very useful weapon for small internal conflicts, like this on East Timor.

End 1994 CMI made several contracts with the Indonesian army for the delivering of 90mm cannons. [I only know about those to be fitted on Scorpions from England] In announcements made by CMI and/or the Ministry of Foreign Trade on the cannon-contract they have been saying that without doubt the contract would never have been fixed without the showed "goodwill in other sectors," by the Belgium Government. To put it different: the power station of Gresik was meant above all to clear the way for arms trade. The cannon-contracts of CMI are worth of more than 300 million Bf. At the moment negotiations are going on for the deliverance of more cannons.

To end: A positive sound. The Thermo-dynamic power plant of Gresik is just finished. It works.

MICD, or how the ABOS was used by FN

When last week came to light that the arms company FN Herstal is building an gigantic munitions plant in Eldoret, Kenya, we were saying that this contract had become possible by the helping hand of the Belgium ambassador in Nairobi. She searched since 1988 for Belgium financial support and knocked - in vain - on the door of ABOS. How absurd it may sound it shouldn't have been the first time that ABOS was used for the business of FN.

Clinic for ill machines.

On the 3rd of February 1970 a project started on Java called Metal Industries development (MICD). In the Indonesian highlands near Bandung, a small workshop was being build. In this shop tools for light metal industry will be maintained, repaired and overhauled. The project has the noble ambi-

tion to tighten the gap between light and heavy industry and the acceleration of the industrialisation process in small metal industries in Indonesia who's existence are threatened.

Indonesia has always been a specific case in Belgium foreign aid projects. For years the country was used as guinea-pig by persons on the governments of Development Aid and Foreign Affairs during the seventies. They constructed complicated methods to bring the interests of Development Aid and the Belgium industry in line. MICD is almost the first project in which this policy is used. Indonesia is the ideal country for this. Under the regime of General Soeharto the country escaped its international isolation, to play the card of free-market policies without restraint.

The first stage of the MICD project was from 1970 till 1975. ABOS was donating 66.2 million Bf for this. It was seen as "a success on a small scale." In Bandung two Belgium engineers were working. Their plant was seen by the Indonesians as a clinic for ill machines. They did go there with all their problems. The project was prolonged by four years en ABOS was donating a new amount of 133.8 million Bf. The number of Belgium personnel is expanded with eleven people, some of the private sector. MICD, so is argumented has got a lot of "goodwill" from the Indonesian authorities towards Belgium companies. In 1980 MICD started with the third stage. For another three years ABOS was donating 202.6 million Bf.

More than one billion

In silence ABOS was retreating from the project just before the third stage. ABOS doesn't stopped financing the project and was still sending co-workers, but was giving the co-ordination of MICD to a sub-contractor. Called: de Tijdelijke Vereniging Bandung 3 [Temporary Foundation Bandung 3].

Behind Bandung 3 was a mixed group of Belgium industries who were badly needing new export orders, like: Mercantile Beliard, Picart & Beer, Vinotte International, LVD Company and - last but not least - Fabrique National Herstal (FN). The biggest arms exporter of Belgium was taking control of the consortium and send most personnel to Indonesia, 14 experts.

Indonesia is ruled by Generals. FN has tried in vain to enter the Indonesian arms market in the past. This was changing after the take-over of the MICD-project. FN got immediately an arms contract worth 270 million Bf. More big contracts followed after the first. At ABOS it is denied that there is any direct connection between MICD and the arms transfers of FN to the Soeharto regime. MICD wasn't producing

arms - that's the last straw - no arms, but machines.

Without somebody caring about it the MICD contract was continuing till 1992. Over more than 20 years the workshop has used more than 1 billion of development aid funds. The concrete results are not clear. After an interpolation in the early eighties in Belgium parliament on the MICD affaire, ABOS had been doing a research after MICD. The research was positive in general: the money was well used. The research was done by a daughter company of FN Herstal.

EVENTS IN GERMANY

TANJUNG INTERVIEW: INDONESIA DEPLOYS EX- NVA-SHIPS AGAINST "INTERNAL DISTURBANCES"

Tagezeitung (German daily paper), 12 Dec. 1995. Translation from German.

Jakarta/Genf (taz/epd/AFP) - Yesterday Human Rights groups demanded for a arms embargo against Indonesia on the day of 20 years occupation of East Timor. Since the invading on December the 7th 1975 about 200.000 in the former Portuguese colony died, one quarter of the population. This was no reason for the Government to stop the selling of arms equipment.

The armed Forces commander of Indonesia, General Feisal Tanjung, has recently said in a interview with the Asian Defence Journal that the NVA-ships from Germany should be used by naval troops which will be deployed "against disturbances from within."

In Göttingen the Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker criticised the government in Bonn which has always justified the controversial deal with the argument that the NVA-vessels only will be used for defence of coastal waters. The Human Rights reporter of the Evangelic Church in Germany, Tim Kuschnerus, demanded stronger pressure on the government of Indonesia to negotiate with the East Timorese independent movement. In fact Jakarta is not so willing to lessen the repressive politics in the occupied East-Timor (...)

I think Tanjung has made a mistake to put his statement forward in the interview and the German government should not have welcomed his remarks on the NVA-ships. But his statement makes clear Western governments are just hiding behind formal words and fail - if they wish - to make clear what they think of the repressive character of the Indonesian military policy and, more

important put an effective ban on the use of weapons by the Indonesian military for what they see as their main task the repressing of the population of both Indonesia and East-Timor as well as other trouble spots, like West Papua.

The only answer is an international arms embargo against Indonesia because of this policy. Not only to a specific kind of arms but all types of arms, because that is the second hiding wall used by governments, 'our kind of weapons could not be used against the population.' But aircraft were used in Lampung February 1989 (Power and Impunity, AI, 1994), military trucks to override demonstrators in Tanjung Priok September 1984 (Indonesia; Muslims on Trial, TAPOL, 1987) and naval vessels to make it impossible for refugees to escape East Timor by sea in 1995.

Martin Broek Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam

GERMAN ARMoured VEHICLES TO INDONESIA

From the BUKO-Rundbrief Nr. 50, page 19
In the last BUKO Rundbrief are two articles on the export of Wiesel light armoured air transportable vehicles. Some photographs are illustrating the possibilities of this vehicle for transport to remote area's. Even an outsider can see the vehicle is very useful for internal repression. As it is fitted for street fights and fights in rough terrain it can easily be used for human rights violations in Indonesia, Aceh, West Papua and East Timor.

INDONESIA: GREEN LIGHT TO "WIESEL"-EXPORT

Andrea Kolling

The Defence commission of Germany approved the export of the airborne armoured vehicle 'Wiesel' to Indonesia, despite heavy protests from a great number of German NGO's. According to "Kieler Nachrichten" the office of Foreign Affairs stopped the export of the Wiesel Armoured vehicles last summer. The story is amazing: the reason was the human rights violations in East Timor. The Ministries of Economics and Defence have no second thoughts against this arms deal.

Seven armoured vehicles of MaK Systems-Gesellschaft from Kiel will be sent to Indonesia, as so-called Truppenversuchsmuster [samples for ABRI]. The seven tanks are only part of a bigger deal. It will be a 100 million Dm order, is said by the company, 30-40 jobs will be at stake. "The reason for these dismissals is Mr. Kinkel [Minister of Foreign Affairs]" the works

council said. This is the reason the Minister of Foreign Affairs is invited to Kiel. In front of the representatives of the Industrial Group of Defence Industry in Schleswig-Holstein ("Arbeitskreise Wehrtechnik der Industrie in Schleswig-Holstein") he is making propaganda - in connection with the elections for the government of Schleswig-Holstein - for more or less unrestricted Arms exports: "In [German-Indonesian] relations this deal is what is just behind the limit." "There are some limits, but we already worked on it." (Weser Koerier 13-02-96) and if there are any problems they can call him.

The Wiesel-armoured vehicles, flexible for internal use, are very useful for counter insurgency activities in jungle and streets. The combat weight of the light version of the armoured vehicle is four tons and it is surely useful for mountain terrain as well as deserts. It is not amphibious that is all. The Porsche design of the vehicle is fitted to be dropped with a parachute from a helicopter. In Indonesia it can be transported with Transall-Transportairplanes or with the NVA-ships both exported by Germany.

In 1970 the new social democratic government launched the start of the development of a light armoured vehicle to be transported by aircraft. In 1986 the first prototypes were delivered to the German army and since 1992 343 vehicles were sold to the German army.

It is possible to transport two Wiesels in a German army transport helicopter. The first ones were already tested in Somalia. The Wiesels are very useful for out of area operations and are an important part of the rapid reaction forces. The German army already has a rapid reaction force, the Indonesian army might just build one up.

A broad platform of human rights and peace movement NGO's ranging from the "Community of Evangelical Youth" till "Watch Indonesia!" were protesting against the export. As reaction on the EU-ASEAN meeting they were asking in an open letter directed to the German government not to approve the order and to stick to the Arms embargo suggested by the Western European Union.

At this moment the seven armoured vehicles are still on the company area of MaK and awaiting their transport to Bandung.

BUKO-CAMPAIGN IN KIEL

From the BUKO-Rundbrief Nr. 50, page 23

The discussion about the export of the Wiesel to Indonesia by the Kiel company MaK was the reason for an information campaign in the city of Kiel up north.

Topic of the demonstration was "arms exports and human rights in Indonesia." If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs haven't had

second thoughts - what a miracle, - because the human rights situation in East Timor, the export should have slipped through without problems. The conference organised by BUKO was co-organised by the Community for democracy and human rights, Watch Indonesia!, IMBAS, Timor und Kein Trupp, the campaign "Producieren für das Leben," the Friedenswerkstatt Kiel, der Bündnis entwicklungspolitischer Initiativen Schleswig-Holstein (B.E.I.), dem Dritten Welt-Laden Kiel, AVANTI und Gegenwind. (...)

30-40 committed persons attended the conference. (...) At the start of the demonstration Andrea Kolling of the BUKO-Campaign "Stoppt den Rüstungsexport!" told about the growing tension in Southeast Asia. Particularly mentioned was the strive of several Southeast Asian nations to become regional powers, the control of islands to win the rich oil and gas reserves and about sea lines across the South China Sea which are leading to an arms race. Andrea Kolling took the deliverance of 39 NVA-ships to the Indonesian navy as an example to show the close connection between German export interests and the support for dictatorial governments.

The peace researcher Martin Grundmann of the Institute for Peace Research from Kiel made clear that arms production in Germany was the first step to arms trade. He was pleading for more engagement in the area of conversion. The arms industry can only be stopped when social and environmental alternatives are offered. Alexander Flor of Watch Indonesia! spoke about the results of the military coup of 1965, which was the start of 30 years of military dictatorship, and the human rights situation in Indonesia. The military occupation of East Timor, the hatred against communists, the oppression of the press and the violent exploitation of workers were the main themes of his speech.

(...) We did not succeed to stop the export of Wiesels, but the demonstration organised by so many groups provided us with the courage to organise more pressure on the government. For following actions in relation to the Wiesel-samples, waiting on the MaK terrain for transport and - if not stopped - on the following exports are some groups - among others Timor und Kein Trupp - thinking about suitable actions.

For more information: BUKO
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EVENTS IN SWEDEN

SWEDEN TO SELL NAVY ARTILLERY TO INDONESIA

summary

Lisbon, LUSA, April 11 – The Swedish government has authorized, in late March, arms manufacturer “Bofors” to sell navy artillery to Indonesia, Swedish newspaper “Aftonbladet” announced today.

Bofors had been granted authorization to sell the cannons to Indonesia in 1993 by the conservative government, but sales were barred by the restrictive arms sales policies of the succeeding social-democrat government, which classified Indonesia’s actions in East Timor as “the most brutal and insensitive human-rights violations in the post-war period” in East Timor.

Bofors applied again in 1995, as a new Foreign Minister was elected, and when the new government presided by Goran Persson started functions last month, with Leif Pagrotsky responsible for arms exports, Bofors was given authorization to sell the cannons to Indonesia.

STOP THE CANNON DEAL WITH INDONESIA

Aftonbladet (Social Democrat evening paper). Opinion-page. 12 April 1996

By Henrik Westander and Jens Petersson, Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS). Full text, Translated from Swedish by the Swedish ET Committee

Comment: The report by the LUSA correspondent in Stockholm, mailed to the conference on April 12, was not quite correct.

It is not yet confirmed that the Swedish Government has taken any formal decision to issue an export-permit for new naval-cannons to Indonesia. Here is the full text of the article quoted in the report.

Jan-Erik

In the end of March (the Swedish arms-manufacturer) Bofors was notified that the company soon would get a permission to export naval cannons to Indonesia.

The cannons has been ready for shipment for some time, but the case has been delayed by the government.

The Social Democrats has supported the call of the European Parliament, for a complete arms-embargo against Indonesia, who is occupying East Timor. But despite a worsening of conditions in East Timor, Bofors now expects the government to approve further sales of cannons to Indonesia.

The Government must stop the deal!

In September 1993 the Bofors company received a go-ahead from the conservative coalition government, to give a tender concerning four naval cannons to Indonesia, worth 35 million SEK. The government was split over the issue. Minister of culture, Mrs. Birgit Friggebo, opposed the deal. And the Social Democrats (in opposition), who had given their approval, were very hesitant.

One year later, in October 1994, Mr. Mats Hellstrom was appointed new Minister of Trade with responsibility for the arms-trade (in the new Social Democrat government). He pursued a more restrictive policy, something which annoyed the arms-industry.

At the same time conditions worsened in occupied East Timor, an occupation described by the Social Democrats as one of “the most ruthless violations of international law in the post-war era.” During the economical summit (APEC) in Jakarta in November 1994, a series of protests was made against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. When the summit ended, the military and its death-squads started a wave of terror in East Timor.

“The events are part of a general stepping up of violence and worsening of the situation in East Timor,” said Foreign Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallen in Parliament (14 March 1995).

In November 1994 the European Parliament called on its member states to “stop all military aid and arms-trade to Indonesia.” And the Center Party and the Social Democrats both called on the Swedish Government to implement this resolution. (1) Now Sweden was a new member of the European Union, and our possibilities to influence the EU was often emphasized.

“Within the European Union we will now unite with for instance Portugal ... in order to try with united forces to increase pressure on Indonesia, Minister for Development Cooperation (also Deputy Foreign Minister) Mr. Pierre Schori, stated in Parliament on 16 February 1995.

“I think it is good that the European Parliament wants the arms-trade to be stopped,” Mr. Mats Hellstrom explained in an interview on 24 March 1995. He also promised that Sweden would raise the issue of arms-trade to Indonesia within the EU.

In June 1995 Hellstrom said he would have taken “a clearly restrictive position,” if Bofors had applied for permit to export cannons.

One week later Hellstrom handed over responsibility for the arms-trade to the Minister for Coordination Mr. Jan Nygren.

Probably it was now, in summer or early autumn 1995, that the Bofors company applied for permit to export three (according

to Bofors) or four (according to the tender) cannons to Indonesia.

At the same time the violent disturbances continued in East Timor. In September 1995 the European Parliament accepted a new resolution, which called on all member-states “to immediately stop arms-trade” to Indonesia.

Earlier the same year a number of East Timorese had managed to escape by boat to Australia. Indonesia increased patrolling around the occupied East Timor, and in November a new attempt was stopped by Indonesian gun-ships.

A great deal of the Indonesian ships are equipped with Bofors 40 mm and 57 mm cannons. That means that Swedish cannons can be used to stop fleeing boat people.

In November 1995, a high executive at Bofors was so sure about government approval, that he told SPAS that the company already had received an export permit for the new cannons.

But the issue was very sensitive. In December Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and the other heads of government in the EU, wrote about “the growing tension in East Timor.” And MP Mrs. Eva Zetterberg of the Left Party (Nov. 18), MP Mrs. Eva Goes of the Green Party (Nov. 21) and MP Mr. Lennart Rhodin of the Liberals (Dec. 14) criticized the current cannon deal in Parliament. Earlier the Center Party spokespersons on Foreign Affairs had also called for a stop of all military aid and arms-trade to Indonesia.”

Minister Mr. Jan Nygren now thought that it was politically impossible to approve the export of the cannons. When the issue was raised in the Parliament, he brushed it away. “The issue is not at the table of the Government,” as Mr. Nygren said to liberal MP Mr. Rhodin on December 14.

But in the end of March, when the new government of Goran Persson had been installed, with Mr. Leif Pagrotsky in charge of the arms-trade, the Bofors company was notified that the company very soon would get permission to ship the cannons.

The government position is that the situation in East Timor makes new arms deals with Indonesia impossible, but Bofors expects the export of the cannons to be approved, because they are said to constitute “follow up deliveries”

Is it really reasonable to continue selling cannons to an army of occupation, with reference to the approval of similar deliveries given by the conservative government 18 years ago?

The guidelines for arms-trade, issued by the Parliament in December 1992, states: “Permits should be issued for export of spare parts /.../ The same should apply to other deliveries, for instance of munitions,

which have a relation to previous export, or where it otherwise would have been unreasonable not to issue a permit."

Thus, the guidelines does not rule out export-permits for additional arms-systems, but they do not say either that such exports should be approved.

It is a matter of interpretation and judgment. And the government also stated that "the suggested guidelines for follow up deliveries does not imply a right of a buyer to be granted follow up deliveries, but every deal is to be dealt with separately, when the government is to take its decision."

If the government would listen to the Social Democrat Party congress, there would not be any export of cannons to Indonesia. The 1993 congress said that if a particular weapons-system has been delivered, it is also reasonable "that the government issues permits for export of spare parts, munitions et cetera, needed to make the system work." And export of new cannons is not needed to keep the old ones "working!"

When Mr. Mats Hellstrom assumed responsibility for the arms-trade, he criticized the conservative government for its generous application of the concept of follow up deliveries.

In an internal work-paper from early 1995, he stressed that the Government should base its concept on the more restrictive definition of follow up deliveries, laid down by the party-congress.

The position of Hellstrom annoyed the Inspection on War Materials (KMI). In a secret cipher cable dated 13 February 1995, the KMI had to admit "that the concept of follow up deliveries in the guidelines not necessarily will be interpreted in a way that allows delivery of further similar items."

Shall Sweden support the proposal for a total EU arms-embargo against Indonesia? Or shall we continue to arm the forces of occupation?

The answer would be easy: Stop the cannon-deal!

Box:

"The issue is not at the table of the Government," Minister of Coordination Mr. Jan Nygren said in December.

But in the end of March, when the new government of Goran Persson had been installed, with Mr. Leif Pagrotsky in charge of the arms-trade, the Bofors company was notified that the company very soon would get permission to export cannons to Indonesia.

Is it reasonable to sell cannons, with reference to the approval of similar deliveries given by the conservative government 18 years ago?, writes the arms-trade researcher Henrik Westander, and Jens Petersson, security policy investigator at SPAS.

Henrik Westander was recently refused to take seat in the Council for Arms Trade, appointed by the Government.

Illustrations: Photos of Mr. Westander and Mr. Peterson.

Remark: (1) The article mentions that both the Center Party and the Social Democrats has called for an implementation of the demands in the EU Parliament resolution of November 1994. The Social Democrats did however not submit any parliamentary motion on Indonesia/ ET in January 1995. Similar demands was taken up in the Social Democrat motion one year earlier (text below). In 1995, the EP-resolution was supported in motions from the Left, the Center and the Green Party.

THE GOVERNMENT MUST STOP THE CANNONS TO INDONESIA

Aftonbladet (Social Democrat evening paper). Opinion-page, 21 April 1996. Full text, Translated from Swedish by the Swedish ET Committee

Sweden shall not export arms to Indonesia, which occupies East Timor, in violation of international law.

According to Amnesty International, about 200 000 people has died because of the Indonesian occupation. The disturbances in East Timor continues, and has even got worse during the last two years. In December 1995 the chiefs of governments in the EU wrote about "the increased tension in East Timor."

Indonesia has stepped up its patrolling around the occupied East Timor, and in November an attempt to escape was stopped by Indonesian gun-ships. Bofors has, according to themselves, applied for permit to export more naval-cannons to Indonesia. Will further Indonesian ships be equipped with Swedish cannons?

In September 1995 the European Parliament approved a resolution, calling on all member states "to immediately stop the arms-trade" to Indonesia.

The Swedish Government should follow the recommendation of the European Parliament.

We demand that the government stops the plans of Bofors to export cannons to Indonesia.

Signed:

- Magnus Jiborn, Chairman, Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society
- Jan-Erik Forsberg, Chairman, Swedish East Timor Committee
- Thord-Ove Thordsson, General Secretary, Swedish Christian Council
- Inger Segelstrom, Chairman, Social Democrat Womens League

- Niklas Nordstrom, Chairman, Social Democrat Youth League
- Berndt Ekholm, Chairman, Christian Social Democrats
- Kristina Hansson, Chairman, Center Party Youth League
- Ingbritt Irhammar, Chairman, Center Womens Union
- Birger Schlaug, Spokesperson (party leader), The Green Party
- Gudrun Schyman, Party leader, The Left Party
- Peter Brune, General Secretary, Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation
- Kerstin Greback, General Secretary, WILPF Sweden

Illustrations:

Photos of Mr. Jiborn, Mrs. Segelstrom, Mr. Nordstrom, Ms. Hansson, Mr. Schlaug and Mrs. Schyman.

Photo of Indonesian riot-police. Text: "Riot police clamping down on East Timorese demonstrating for peace and freedom. Around the coast of the island, the army of occupation is patrolling the waters - with Swedish cannons."

1994 SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARLIAMENTARY MOTION

Here follows the full text of the Social Democrat Parliamentary motion on Indonesia and East Timor, submitted to the Swedish Parliament on January 25 1994. In September 1994 the SD won the General Election, and formed a government. Two of the MPs who signed the motion are currently ministers in the Foreign Office (Mrs. Lena Hjelm-Wallen, Foreign Minister and Mr. Pierre Schori, Deputy FM and Minister for Development Cooperation)

The Swedish Government must now be reminded of its commitments, in case they should contemplate an opening up of the arms-trade to Indonesia.

SOCIAL DEMOCRAT MOTION TO THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT ON INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

Motion no: 1993/94:227 Submitted on 25 January 1994

Peace and development, democratization and respect for human rights are of vital significance for an improvement of the situation in Indonesia.

The annexation of East Timor by Indonesia is, however, unacceptable and in violation of international law. A just and lasting peaceful solution, regarding East Timor, cannot be reached, without the participation of the representatives of the people of East Timor. It is important, that the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali invites independent personalities of the highest standing, from East Timor, to participate in

the talks between the representatives of the governments of Indonesia and Portugal.

Indonesia must withdraw its ten military battalions from East Timor. As a first step, Indonesia should immediately make substantial reductions in their military and police presence.

An arms embargo against Indonesia is called for, as long as East Timor's right to self-determination is not guaranteed, and serious violations of human rights continues. In this context, it is of importance to observe that the government of the United States already has taken a sharpened attitude on this matter.

Recommendations of an arms embargo against Indonesia have also been made in several resolutions, passed by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe has further recommended, that member states should apply pressure on Indonesia with a view to stop all exploitation of East Timor's natural resources and assets, and also to initiate humanitarian help to the people of East Timor. Sweden should comply with these resolutions, and bring all bilateral accords, contracts and understandings currently in force, into agreement with the resolutions.

An immediate improvement of the human rights situation is urgent, both in Indonesia and East Timor. Arbitrary arrests and secret detention of arrested persons is widely occurring, for instance in connection with US Congress visits last year.

It is vital that all political detainees, as well as political prisoners; including opposition leader Xanana Gusmão are released through a general amnesty. All types of political discrimination must cease. Thus, it is of importance that all Indonesians and East Timorese currently in exile are allowed to return freely to their home countries.

According to Amnesty International, there is a large number of prisoners sentenced to death in Indonesia, who have been in death-cells for a very long time; among them one prisoner who has been in prison for 28 years, and whose appeal for clemency has not yet been considered.

It is of the greatest importance that a democratization of the society in Indonesia and East Timor is achieved. This process must include a guaranteed freedom to form political parties, freedom of expression and the press and the right to build a free and independent national organization of labor unions.

Sweden should spare no efforts, in order to press Indonesia to sign and ratify the International convention on human rights.

There are a number of measures which Sweden should undertake:

1. A more active international position, on Sweden's behalf in order to obtain a solution of the East Timor question.

- Sweden should, both in International forums and bilateral contacts, openly and clearly act for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory of East Timor, and support the right of the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination.
- Sweden should, within the framework of the United Nations and its agencies, act in order to guarantee the safety of the East Timorese people through a permanent presence of the United Nations in East Timor.
- Sweden should make its position clear in the UN General Assembly, that Sweden firmly supports East Timor's right to independence, and is set to vote for it; if the question once again is brought up for discussion in the General Assembly.
- Sweden should actively work for the participation of the Timorese in the UN talks.
- Sweden should, like Portugal and France, demand the release of Xanana and that he is allowed to represent the people of East Timor at the UN talks.

2. Stop Swedish arms export to Indonesia

- The Swedish Government should, because of the serious and widespread human rights violations in East Timor and Indonesia, not issue any permits for new arms exports to Indonesia.
- The Swedish Government is to pay heed to the Resolutions No 966 and 470 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, regarding an arms embargo against Indonesia.
- The Swedish government should, in different international forums and through bilateral contacts, work for the implementation of the Council of Europe Resolutions No 966 and 470.

3. Increased aid to independent movements for human rights, humanitarian assistance etc., in East Timor.

- Sweden should, in accordance with the recommendations in the Council of Europe resolution of 28 June 1991, give humanitarian aid to the people of East Timor through an increased appropriation of 10 million SEK. This humanitarian aid should be channeled through independent channels to benefit projects under the aegis of the Catholic Church. The financing of this appropriation can be done through the increase of the Government appropriation for worldwide democratization, suggested in a motion by the Social

Democrat Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee Group. This motion proposes an increase of this appropriation by 45 million SEK.

- Sweden should, under the appropriation for democracy and human rights, support the human rights work carried out by the East Timorese liberation movement CNRM, and its included organizations.
- Sweden should, through its aid under the appropriation for democracy and human rights, support education and social projects run by the Catholic Church in East Timor.
- Sweden should, under the appropriation for special programs, support the cultural work performed by the cultural foundation Fundação Austronesia Borja da Costa and other organizations close to the CNRM. The vital role played by the Catholic Church for the cultural survival in East Timor, should also be taken into account.
- Appropriate channels for aid can be created through Swedish voluntary organizations, church aid agencies and labor unions, all of which currently are involved in these issues.
- Sweden should, like the US, work forcefully for an improvement of labor rights in Indonesia. The link between union-rights and trade agreements, made by the US within the framework of the GSP-system, should be seen as an example worth following. Sweden should; within the framework of its bilateral contacts with Indonesia, work for an strengthening of labor rights in Indonesia.

4. Indonesia, East Timor and economic policy

- The Swedish government should follow the recommendations in the Council of Europe resolution 966 of 28 June 1991, to "urge countries which have economic links with Indonesia to bring pressure to bear on Indonesia to halt all violation of human rights and all appropriation of East Timor's natural resources and assets."
- Since East Timor, according to the UN definition, never has been recognized as Indonesian territory; and Indonesia hence does not enjoy the right to sign international accords regarding East Timor, the Swedish government should immediately demand a re-negotiation of the Agreement on Promotion and Protection of Investments, between Sweden and Indonesia (dated 17 September 1992), so as to exclude East Timor from this agreement.

Signed (all are SDP):

Pierre Schori
Mats Hellstrom
Maj. Britt Theorin
Karl-Erik Svartberg
Nils T Svensson
Viola Furubjelke
Kristina Svensson
Berndt Ekholm
Bengt Silfverstrand
Hans Goran Franck
Lena Bostrom
Sonia Karlsson
Stig Alemyr
Alf Eriksson
Sture Ericsson
Lena Hjelm-Wallen

SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ARE "BEHAVING LIKE TURNIPS"

*East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign
Press Release 25th April*

The East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign has accused the Swedish Government of "acting like turnips" following its decision to resume the sale of weapons to Indonesia and has decided to hold a vigil outside the Swedish Embassy, Dawson Street Dublin on Friday 26th April between 1 pm and 2 pm to protest over the resumption of arms sales.

The co-ordinator of the ETISC, Tom Hyland, said :

"The Swedish Government continues to pay lip service to the plight of the people in East Timor. On the other hand they express their supposed concern for human rights of the East Timorese and yet at the same time have no moral difficulty in supplying weapons to the very people who are carrying weapons to the very people who are carrying out the human rights violations."

Hyland went on : "If would be safe to say that Swedish Government is 'behaving like turnips,' indifferent and their heads stuck in the sand. Supplying weapons to the Indonesian Government, a Government that Amnesty International describes as 'casual about mass murderer,' is highly irresponsible. The resumption of arms sales sends all the wrong signals to the Indonesian military who will interpret this latest development as an indication that the Swedish people are behind them in their repression in East Timor and indeed in Indonesia itself."

This week the United Nations Commission in Geneva expressed its concern over the continuing human rights violations in East Timor. Hundreds of Timorese have been engaged in occupying foreign embassies in Indonesia in an attempt to gain political asylum, while others have fled by boat to Australia.

More information contact 01 6719207 (day) or 6233148 (evening).

LETTER FROM EAST TIMOR IRELAND SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN TO THE SWEDISH EMBASSY IN DUBLIN

The Swedish Ambassador
Swedish Embassy
Dawson Street
Dublin 2

26th April 1996

It was with a great deal of sadness that we have learnt that Swedish government has decided to resume weapons sales to the Suharto regime in Indonesia.

You are no doubt aware that since General Suharto seized power in Indonesia, an estimated 1 million Indonesian citizens have died at the hands of the Indonesian Military. The regime that your government has decided to arm is described by Amnesty International as "casual about mass murderer."

In 1975, Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Since that time proportionately more people have died there than in any other conflict since the Nazis Holocaust. In excess of 200,000 souls, a third of the population have died at the hands of the Indonesian government. The UN has issued ten sanctions resolutions calling on Indonesia to Withdraw. All have been ignored.

The decision by the Swedish government defies belief, particularly from a government that prides itself on its moral stance on human rights.

Our campaign will vigorously oppose the sales of weapons from Sweden to Indonesia and we will continue to focus public attention here in Ireland on any further weapons from your government to the Suharto regime.

Yours sincerely,
Tom Hyland

CANNONS TO INDONESIA

Arbetaren (left-wing/ syndicalist weekly), 26 April 1996, By Ulf B Andersson. Translated from Swedish by the Swedish ET Committee, Full text

Stockholm – "I don't think it is possible to stop this delivery. Soon Bofors will send three naval-cannons to the Indonesian navy. This is a so called follow up delivery," said arms-trade researcher Henrik Westander at a seminar in Stockholm on 20 April, arranged by the Swedish East Timor Committee and the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society.

Swedish arms trade to Indonesia is a tragicomic chapter in history. When the military regime in Jakarta 1975 invaded the Portuguese colony East Timor, to stop the

independence movement, the outside world protested. But despite reports telling about a genocide, a conservative Swedish government in 1978 gave its approval to arms trade, and Minister of Trade Mr. Hans Blix (liberal) explained that the Swedish guidelines did not permit arms trade to states at war, or states with internal armed disturbances. But East Timor did not fit in to these categories, as it was a "disputed territory."

When Social Democracy returned to power in 1982, Minister of Trade Mr. Mats Hellstrom acted as a restraining factor as far as arms trade was concerned. Bofors however kept up its pressure, and scored a success when Minister of Finance Mr. Kjell-Olof Feldt went to Jakarta in 1984 to shake the hand of General Suharto, the man who led the slaughter on hundreds of thousands of communist sympathisers in the coup 1965, and who was holding East Timor in an iron grip.

Portugal has, together with Ireland pushed for the EU to take a critical position on Indonesia, and both the Council of Europe and the European Parliament have adopted resolutions calling for an arms embargo against Indonesia. These are demands which the Social Democrats in opposition, and their spokesman on foreign affairs Mr. Pierre Schori, have adopted.

"If the cannons are allowed to be exported, the last droplet of credibility on this issue will evaporate from the Social Democrats," says Jan-Erik Forsberg, outgoing chairman of the Swedish East Timor Committee.

But it is not Sweden alone who sells arms. Carmel Budiardjo, who received last years 'Alternative Nobel Prize,' talked about the responsibility of the British Government: "In November a British journalist saw Hawk-planes over the East Timor capital Dili. Despite this, twenty-four new planes will be delivered in May."

Many organizations have protested against this, and earlier this year a women's ploughshare group went into a factory and destroyed one of the Hawk-planes. Among the women of this group was a Swedish woman, Ms. Lotta Kronlid.

"They are still detained and are threatened by a long prison sentence," reminded Carmel Budiardjo.

CARMEL BUDIARDJO VISIT TO SWEDEN

From: Jan-Erik Forsberg, Swedish East Timor Committee, April 29

1995 Right Livelihood Award Winner Mrs. Carmel Budiardjo visited Sweden in April on the invitation of the prestigious

Raoul Wallenberg Human Rights Institute in Lund (south of Sweden).

Lectures on the current situation in Indonesia, West Papua and East Timor, were held at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute and the Institute for South East Asian Studies, in Lund on 16-17 April.

On 18 April, Mrs. Budiardjo spoke at Stockholm University, invited by the Centre for Pacific Asian Studies.

On 20 April, the Swedish East Timor Committee, the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, the Swedish Council for Reconciliation, WILPF Stockholm and the Christian Social Democrats in Stockholm arranged a public seminar on Indonesia East Timor and the International Arms Trade; where Mrs. Budiardjo was one of the speakers.

URGENT ACTION: STOP SWEDISH-INDONESIAN DEAL!

In addition to the message of Jan Erik Forsberg of the Swedish East Timor Committee (23 April 96) is this call for action on the possible export of cannons from Sweden to Indonesia.

NEW ARMS TO INDONESIA FROM SWEDEN

The Swedish arms-company Bofors has applied for export of three cannons for the Indonesian marine.

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society has strongly opposed this deal. Still we fear that the Swedish government within short will (or in fact already has) granted the company the right to export them.

We now ask you to help us!

You can:

1. Send us your name and your organisations name and we will put you on the list of organizations that are supporting our demand for the deal to be stopped.

2. Send an email to the Swedish government yourself. The address is regeringen@sb.gov.se and you should start the text with "to Leif Pagrotsky" who is the one in government in charge of arms-trade. Please let him understand that you are afraid that a decision to export these cannons destroys the hope that Sweden would push for an embargo on the EU-level.

3. Demonstrate and/or send petitions to the Swedish embassy in your country. We will ourselves have a demo in Stockholm (outside the parliament) on Friday at 1500.

Keep us informed on any action you take and thank you for the support!

Jens Petersson

Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society
PS. It might be useful to know that the authority who has prepared the governmental decision is calling the deal a "follow-on-delivery" in order to make it less controver-

sial, we guess. We (and many with us, including the congress of the Social Democratic Party, who's in government now) has several times said that it should be impossible to use the label "follow-on-delivery" when it really is new cannons that are being sold!

URGENT APPEAL TO ALL EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY GROUPS AND EAST TIMORESE ORGANISATIONS

Swedish East Timor Committee, May 2.

The Swedish Government is currently shifting its policy on arms trade to Indonesia.

Sources/leaks in government offices has now confirmed that the Government has already decided to issue an export-permit to the arms manufacturer Bofors, for three (or four) naval cannons to the Indonesian Navy. The decision was taken at the meeting of the Government on 18 April.

No official confirmation has been given, neither by the Minister in charge, nor Bofors.

This constitutes a major change - in reality a betrayal - of policy.

BACKGROUND:

For ten years up to now, no new export permits for arms-sales to Indonesia were issued by Swedish governments - because of the intense debate on arms-trade in the 1980's (the sales to Indonesia, the Bofors bribery-scandal in India, and the systematic smuggling to countries officially banned from arms export).

Since 1994 the Swedish Social Democrat government has been committed to a policy of support for the cause of East Timor:

- No new arms-deals with Indonesia.
- Action in international fora, such as the UN and the EU, for the right to self determination of the ET people, for the release of Xanana and Timorese participation in the UN-talks process.
- 10 million SEK in aid for the promotion of Human Rights in East Timor.

The implementation of this policy has been weak and faint-hearted, but the 1994 motion has still been referred to as the "basis" for the policy of the government. If the government now shifts policy on the arms-trade, nothing remains of this policy. In practical terms the position of the Swedish government will hardly be any different from the German and the British governments.

This shift in policy coincides with the reshuffle of the Social Democrat cabinet by the new Prime Minister Mr. Goran Persson,

and the appointing of the Minister in charge of arms-trade, Mr. Leif Pagrotsky.

APPEAL:

We are now appealing to all solidarity groups and East Timorese organizations to protest at your nearest Swedish embassy, or consulate.

- On Friday 26 April, SETC and SPAS (Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society) organized a protest outside Parliament in Stockholm.
- At the same time a protest was made at the Swedish embassy in Dublin by ETISC.
- Peace and anti-arms trade groups in Finland issued a sharp protest in Helsinki, which was reported in Swedish national media.

We are now hoping for your support in multiplying these initiatives.

WE SUGGEST:

- Petitions to the Swedish ambassadors/consuls. Ask to meet him/her in person. If possible - try to bring supporting Members of Parliament, representatives of the Churches, NGO's etc.
- If possible - back this up with a picket/demo/ meeting outside the embassy
- And of course - the media.

Sweden is not used to see protesters at their embassies around the world. Such events would immediately shake up the Foreign Office, and would NOT pass unnoticed by the government. Neither will critical reporting in foreign media. Pressure from the outside will also help us to bring the issue to the attention of our domestic media here.

SOME POINTS FOR A STATEMENT:

- Appeal to the Swedish Government to REVOKE its decision to issue export permits for new Bofors naval cannons to the Indonesian navy.
- Stress that the same cannons are likely to be used against fleeing Timorese boat-people, as the Indonesian navy is increasing its patrolling around East Timor.
- Appeal to the Swedish Government to remain firm on the policies laid down in the Social Democrat policy-motion on Indonesia / ET in the Swedish Parliament, January 1994. (Full text of this motion has been posted on reg.easttimor).
- Call on the Swedish Government to link up with Portugal and Ireland, in support for a European arms-embargo to Indonesia, in line with the resolutions of the European Parliament.

FAX AND PHONE NUMBERS:

Swedish Foreign Office, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Lena Hjelm-Wallen.
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The Swedish East Timor Committee
Phone/fax: +46-8-648 3193, or on e-mail at
janerik@forsberg.pp.se

Please send us brief reports on your activities.

NEW STRATEGY SHALL BRING COVETED POST

The formula of Jan Eliasson on how Sweden shall regain a seat in the UNSC

*Dagens Nyheter. 2 May 1996, By Torbjorn
Petersson Abridged Translated from Swedish*

Comment: Here they are. The real-politik motives that leads the Swedish Government to sacrifice ideals, commitments and the interests of the East Timorese - and also the Indonesian - peoples. Building an alliance in the United Nations WITH AUSTRALIA, and AGAINST PORTUGAL, it will prove impossible to "link up with Portugal in pressing Indonesia" (the promise of Deputy FM Pi-erre Schori, March 1995). Anything that could be seen as a support for the Portuguese position on East Timor could now risk this 'cooperation' with Australia. The whole official policy of the Swedish Social Democrats on East Timor, laid down in motions in 1991 and 1994, is of course incompatible with this new relationship. So, it has to go. To keep the de-facto ban on new arms export to Indonesia, would not only have meant that Sweden had challenged Indonesia, something that could have endangered bilateral trade-relations. It should also have been interpreted as a support for the Portuguese calls for an EU arms-embargo. So, it has to go, too.

Jan-Erik, SETC.

New York – Three well-formulated propositions, which can save the future of the UN.

A portion of bitter self-criticism for the UN to swallow immediately.

A tactical cooperation with Australia.

A gentleman's behaviour, garnished with the vast network of contacts possessed by cabinet-secretary Jan Eliasson.

That's how Sweden shall recapture a seat in the UN security Council this fall, when Australia, Portugal and Sweden will compete over the two seats at stake. (...)

Three and a half years ago, Sweden failed, when New Zealand instead was voted in on the SC. This time preparations have been more profound - the campaign has been going on, in silence, for one and a half year - and certain lessons have been drawn from the setback in 1992. (...)

What has Sweden learned from the failure last time? That it is difficult to be voted in on the SC as a fourth West-European country. Western Europe has two permanent members of the council, Britain and France.

Beside that, there are two seats where European countries can be voted in. If these seats are taken by two countries in Europe, more than 25 percent of the UNSC is made up of countries in Europe, despite the fact that only 7-8 percent of the world population lives there. That was an important reason why Sweden lost last time. Many countries in the UN General Assembly preferred to see New Zealand on the UNSC, than another European country.

Thus, it is hardly any coincidence that Sweden this time has established a sort of cooperation with Australia, one of the other two candidates, in the hope to be attractive as the European alternative before Portugal. The two countries are helping each other in convincing certain member countries about their merits. This is in order to have them placing their second vote (every country has two votes) on Sweden or Australia, respectively.

"It is not very appreciated by the Portuguese, but the cooperation is not as close as they are contending. Much are about personal relations, says Jan Eliasson, who describes one part of the struggle for votes as a bargaining, where apples are traded for pears. That can involve agreements on candidates to different committees or courts, there's always something to trade for services.

"These are things I would never have contemplated making use of, earlier when I worked at the UN. We did not involve in such things before, but now we do, although we are lagging behind other countries in this field. And we try to act in a gentlemanlike way in this campaign, and not to speak badly about our competitors.

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

PORTUGUESE STATE TELEVISION BEAMED INTO EAST TIMOR

LISBON, Jan 28 (Reuter) - Prime Minister Antonio Guterres on Sunday pledged to support East Timor in its fight for self-rule in the first satellite broadcast by Portuguese state television into the territory. Launching the RTP state channel's satellite venture into Asia, Guterres said in a speech in the Timorese language Tetum: "It is necessary to support your wish for freedom, your

right to auto-determination and your fight for respect for human rights."

He said in the broadcast by the Asiasat 2 satellite: "You can count on my help, within my possibilities. All peoples have the right to be free, to choose their own destiny."

The prime minister said: "To defend the rights of the Timorese people is not just an obligation of all of us, the Timorese and the Portuguese, but it is also a duty of the international community."

Lisbon is still regarded by the United Nations as the administering power in East Timor despite Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the territory.

Portuguese language broadcasts by RTP-International could be seen for the first time on Sunday across Asia, which means its programmes can now be seen around the world.

RTP-International's programmes beamed by other satellites can already be seen in the Americas, Europe and Africa.

The Portuguese news agency LUSA quoted reactions to the broadcast from residents of the Timorese capital Dili.

"We're listening right now to the Portuguese national anthem with a great deal of emotion," it quoted one resident, Manuel Carrascalão, as saying at the start of the broadcast.

"From now on, we're closer to Portugal and this is a historic moment full of joy," he said.

INDONESIA QUERIES PORTUGAL'S SATELLITE TV MOTIVES

JAKARTA, Jan 30 (Reuter) - Indonesia has questioned Portugal's motives in launching a satellite television service to Asia, including its former colony of East Timor, the Jakarta Post newspaper reported on Tuesday.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was quoted as questioning Portugal's motive in launching the service as U.N.-sponsored talks on East Timor, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year, continue.

"I can't understand why, in the middle of the trilateral talks which are designed to create a better atmosphere for a solution (to the East Timor question), the Portuguese government is in fact continuing an incessant campaign which is not helping," Alatas was quoted as saying.

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The trilateral talks under the umbrella of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali were last held between Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart Jaime Gama in London on January 16.

The eighth round of talks is set for June 28 in Geneva.

Lisbon is still regarded by the United Nations as the administering power in East Timor.

ALATAS CALLS FOR RI-PORTUGAL INTELLECTUALS' EXCHANGES

Jakarta, ANTARA, 31 Jan – Foreign Minister Ali Alatas Tuesday called for efforts to promote Indonesia-Portugal intellectuals' exchanges to strengthen social and cultural understanding between the two peoples.

"I also spoke of the need to organise Indonesia-Portugal intellectual' exchanges at the seventh tripartite meeting (between Indonesia, Portugal and the UN Secretary General) in London recently," he said at a function here to mark the second anniversary of the Portugal-Indonesian Friendship Association (PIFA).

A photographic exhibition about East Timor and the launching of a book about East Timor's integration with Indonesian also marked the anniversary celebrations of the association chaired by Mrs. Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana.

Present at the function were Mrs. Rukmana, Deputy Governor of Indonesia's National Defence Institute (Lemhanas) Yuwono Sudarsono, Indonesian Ambassador at Large for East Timor Affairs Lopez da Cruz, legislators and other senior officials.

Alatas said the idea of implementing intellectuals exchanges between Indonesia and Portugal were not to replace the cultural mission exchanges which were also being planned.

"We are going ahead with our plan of sending cultural missions to Portugal although we should find the proper time," according to Alatas.

According to Alatas, intellectuals' exchanges would generate ideas needed to strengthen understanding between the two nations.

"The exchanges are needed because certain groups of people continue to try to damage relations between Indonesia and Portugal, particularly in relation to the East Timor issue," he said.

"I also hope that PIFA will be able to do its share in helping to solve the East Timor problem," he said, adding that the association should strengthen its cooperation and coordination with other agencies in implementing its mission.

Meanwhile, PIFA Chairperson Siti Hardijanti Rukmana said Indonesia and Portugal had been having social and cultural relations for a long time.

She said PIFA was founded to strengthen social and cultural cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

"PIFA's task is to promote friendship between the two nations through social and cultural approaches on the basis of mutual understanding," according to Mrs. Rukmana, who is the eldest daughter of President Soeharto.

EAST TIMOR-INDONESIA SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OPENS IN LISBON

CNRM National Council of Maubere Resistance MEDIA RELEASE, 23 Feb. 96

A three day international conference on East Timor and the Indonesian pro-democracy movement was opened on 22 February in Lisbon. Participants from Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, various European Union member countries, Japan, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, and the US gathered with representatives of a broad range of Portuguese organisations and sectors at the Oporto University organised event.

Among the delegates to the 'Indonesian Youth Solidarity -- Hope for East Timor' conference are prominent Indonesian independent trade union leader Dr. Muchtar Pakpahan, activist Wilson of the Indonesian Peoples Solidarity with East Timor movement, and Yenni Damayanti.

The ecumenical character of the international support movement for East Timor is underlined by the presence of Moslem leaders from Malaysia and Mozambique who will join Catholic religious and Protestant members in a public session on 'Muslims and Christians in Solidarity with East Timor' on Friday.

The conference was opened by organiser Professor Antonio Barbedo de Magalhaes at a session chaired by Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres with the attendance of Foreign Minister Jaime Gama. Prime Minister Guterres said in his address that on this important occasion, "Indonesian and Portuguese people can exchange opinions on

the best way to act against the violent dictatorship oppressing the people of East Timor and of Indonesia."

Besides helping to further raise international awareness about the plight of the East Timor nation, illegally occupied by Indonesia in defiance of UN resolutions, and the ongoing resistance of the East Timorese, this conference is helping to strengthen the growing links between the Indonesian pro-democracy movement, a variety of sectors of Portuguese society, East Timorese Resistance members, and international supporters.

Having experienced long decades of Fascist dictatorship and ruinous colonial wars in the past, the Portuguese people can well understand the present Indonesian situation, and the broader context of the East Timor conflict.

Professor Barbedo de Magalhaes said that "the youth of East Timor and Indonesia are working towards a future of freedom, peace and cooperation, by jointly struggling against the Suharto dictatorship for democracy in Indonesia and the right of self determination for East Timor."

INDONESIA & TIMOR: TWO PEOPLES, ONE STRUGGLE

International Conference debates the involvement of Indonesians in the Timorese cause.

Publico, 23 February 1996. By Filipe Santos Costa. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – "We are neither adversaries of Indonesia nor of the Indonesian people, but only of Indonesia's dictatorship which is violating human rights in both East Timor and Indonesia itself, and is standing in the way of self-determination that is the right of all peoples." Although this position, expressed yesterday by Portugal's Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, is not new, it sums up perfectly the feelings of those participating in the international conference on "Indonesian Youth Solidarity, Hope for East Timor," organised by the Days for Timor, of the University of Oporto.

For three days, activists from Portugal, Timor, Indonesia, and from countries as far flung as Ireland, Egypt and Colombia are meeting in Lisbon to mark what could signify a turning point in the Timor issue - the involvement of Indonesia's youth in the struggle for Timor, like in the incident last December when the Dutch Embassy was "invaded," - it is really a struggle for their own liberation from President Suharto's regime, as the presence in Portugal of Indonesian student and union activists proved.

Wilson, one of the young men who took part in the "assault" on the Dutch Embassy,

admitted yesterday that "Everything in Indonesian society is changing." There is a new generation that is prepared to fight and not just close its eyes, as in the past, to the arrests and oppression." Jenni Damayanti, a young Indonesian girl, came to Portugal to say the same thing: "For 30 years we have let the regime (Suharto's) silence us, persecute us and kill us, without so much as a complaint. Now, it's time to react."

Democratisation in Indonesia and self-determination in East Timor are ending up being two parallel processes. "When we started to realise what was happening in our country, we discovered that the regime which was oppressing us was killing in East Timor," said Jenni Damayanti, at the Conference's opening session. She went on to explain that because "whoever defends Timor is imprisoned as a traitor," there are actually many more people who are sympathetic to the occupied territory's cause but who are afraid to speak out - unlike in Timor. She went on to thank "the Timorese who fought and who have taught, by their example, how to fight."

The Indonesian activists taking part in this conference intend to return to their country, and all run the risk of being imprisoned. Nevertheless, this possibility did not seem to worry them unduly - "What is most likely to happen is that we will be interrogated, but they probably won't imprison us," said Wilson, adding: "And, if we were arrested, it would be a good contribution to the campaign for Timor!"

He was, in fact, already familiar with the inside of Suharto's jails as he had been arrested on 3 occasions. The last time was after the Dutch Embassy action: Wilson, like the other Indonesians of the group, was arrested but not tortured. Their Timorese companions, however, were not so lucky.

(...) Prime Minister Antonio Guterres and Foreign Minister Jaime Gama listened as the fresh impetus given by their new Government to the Timor dossier was praised...

Two points were highlighted: the mention of Timor which Portugal managed to get included in the final communiqué of the EU's Madrid conference, and the willingness of Jaime Gama to go to Jakarta to meet Xanana Gusmão. The recent wave of Timorese refugees into Portugal was not forgotten. Lisbon's doors are open, said Guterres, while pointing out that "the issue is not the right to become an exile in a democratic country, but the right (of the Timorese) to live freely in their own country."

(...) In the view of Irish MP, David Norris, the Lisbon Government could help the Timorese refugees in Portugal to become ambassadors of the Timorese cause: "there's

no one better suited (for the job) than they themselves," remarked the Irish politician.

REFORMS OR REVOLUTION - PAKPAHAN

Indonesian Trade Unionist speaks in Lisbon about the evolution of regime in Jakarta

Publico, 27 February 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon - Indonesian lawyer and trade unionist, Mochtar Pakpahan, is sure that the military regime in power in Jakarta will soon have to agree to implement democratic reforms, or otherwise find itself faced with "a revolution" on its hands.

Leader of the SBSI, a key trade union in Indonesia, Pakpahan went to Lisbon to take part in the international seminar on East Timor and Indonesia, held last week end. Yesterday, on the invitation of the commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM), and accompanied by a representative of the (Portuguese TU) CGTP, Pakpahan responded to questions put by reporters....

According to the trade unionist, the army's interference in labour relations was more in evidence in the past than it is today, and arrests and torture have also been decreasing over recent months. Nevertheless, he pointed out that there is still a very long road ahead in this respect.

Until 1995, 243 trade union activists, including Pakpahan himself, had been imprisoned in Suharto's jails. (Pakpahan's most recent term in prison lasted for 10 months.) About five thousand workers had lost their jobs just because they were members of an 'independent' trade union - i.e. one which did not belong to the Government controlled official union.

He also exemplified anti-democratic practices employed by the Jakarta regime, referring to President Suharto's prerogative to appoint one hundred MPs...

While Mochtar Pakpahan emphasised the link between the trade union movement and the democratisation process in Indonesia, Fernando Loureiro of (Portugal's) CGTP highlighted the link between the evolution of the regime in Indonesia and the "struggle of the people of East Timor."

For more on Pakpahan's view of East Timor, see the "Events in Indonesia" section of this issue of East Timor Documents.

RAMOS HORTA HOPEFUL

Publico, 12 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese

Timorese Resistance leader José Ramos Horta, said yesterday that he was hopeful

that the former Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Jaime Goulart, who he was visiting in Ponta Delgada (Azores) would live "to see Timor's day of freedom." Speaking after his meeting with the 88-year-old prelate who is bed-ridden, Ramos Horta said he thought that the next two to three years are going to be "decisive" for the Timorese cause, because of the international dimension the problem has taken on, and also due to Indonesia's domestic situation. Ramos Horta was visiting the former Bishop of Dili, who was head of the diocese for over 30 years.

EAST TIMOR ON A NEW INTERNATIONAL CATALOGUE OF PHONE CARDS

From CDPM, March 15

The 1996 edition of "Cartoes Telefonicos de Portugal, Macau, Timor e PALOP," just published, apart from Portugal, Macau and the African Portuguese-speaking countries, also includes East Timor. This A5-format, colour-printed catalogue is a multi-lingual edition in Portuguese, English, French, German and Spanish languages, which covers the existing public and mobile telephone cards in the above mentioned countries.

The author is José Martins, a well-known expert in philately and cardophily. Orders (30 US\$/each, P&P included) can be placed to the editor, APCCT - Associacao Portuguesa de Coleccionadores de Cartoes Telefonicos (P.O. Box 21269, 1131 LISBOA Codex - Portugal; Fax n.: 351-1-815 18 44).

For the first time "Cartoes Telefonicos de Portugal, Macau, Timor e PALOP" includes East Timor, a non-self determined territory, illegally occupied by Indonesia since 1975. The catalogue, mostly intended for the international market has a printout of 2,000 items and an estimated number of more than 50,000 collectors will be aware of its existence world-wide, through specialised press.

INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DISPUTES LISBON

JAKARTA, March 25 (UPI) - Indonesia's Foreign Minister denied Monday that a resumption of diplomatic ties between Indonesia and Portugal awaited Jakarta's initiative.

Ali Alatas told reporters that this suggestion, made recently by Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama "was not quite accurate."

The state-run Antara news agency recently quoted Gama saying that Portuguese

Prime Minister Antonio Guterres and Indonesian President Suharto agreed at the Asian-European leaders summit in Bangkok early this month that the next move toward improved relations would be Jakarta's.

Alatas disputed that version of events, saying the two leaders "agreed only on their willingness to discuss further ideas."

"What was agreed upon between the Indonesian President and the Portuguese Prime Minister is that the foreign ministers of the two countries would discuss the issue further," Alatas said. "I ought to hear in detail what and in what context such an idea is to be implemented."

Portugal severed diplomatic ties with Indonesia shortly after Jakarta invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1976.

The United Nations still does not recognize Indonesia's move and regards Portugal as the East Timor's administering power.

The Portuguese foreign minister told the news agency that normalization of ties with Indonesia should be done in tandem release of jailed East Timor's resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

PIFA CHIEF: "IT WON'T BE LONG BEFORE RAMOS-HORTA RECOGNIZES INTEGRATION"

Dili, E Timor, Apr 8 (ANTARA) - Chief of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA) Manuel Macedo believes that it will not be long before anti-integrationist José Ramos-Horta finally recognizes the integration of East Timor with Indonesia.

Macedo told a press conference here Monday that when this time comes, Ramos-Horta will not even ask for a referendum in the former Portuguese colony.

Ramos-Horta now lives abroad, mostly in Australia and Portugal.

The PIFA Chief referred to Abilio Araujo—formerly known as a staunch anti-integration leader—who has openly acknowledged that integration is the best choice for the East Timorese.

East Timor, which occupies half of the Timor island, was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years.

It formally integrated with Indonesia in 1976, a year after the majority of its people exercised their self-determination rights by issuing the Balibo Declaration.

Some people, mostly of the leftist Fretilin security disturbance group, have always claimed that a proper self-determination process has not taken place in East Timor, hence, their demand for a referendum.

The integration process however has been officially recognized by a number of countries including members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Australia.

"Even Araujo now believes that the integration has stood the test of time. He accordingly rejects the holding of a referendum in East Timor," said Macedo.

He also said that in a recent meeting with Araujo, the former anti-integrationist noted that the East Timorese in 1975 made the best choice regarding their future.

Macedo further said that Portugal itself underwent an integration process with the European Union.

"And like the East Timorese, we all believe that joining the European Union is their best choice," he said.

He acknowledged that in his home country, he is known as pro-integrationist.

"Nevertheless, I did not adopt this stance at once. I had to study the history of East Timor before making a decision (on which stance to adopt)," he said.

MACEDO: HORTA EXPLOITS ASYLUM-SEEKERS

Dili, 4/9 (ANTARA) - Manuel Macedo, Head of the Portugal Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA) stressed that the East Timor youth who "leaped over the fence" of several foreign embassies in Jakarta to go to Portugal was only exploited by Ramos Horta.

"The East Timor youth who requested political asylum to Portugal by 'leaping over the fence' was merely because they wanted to go for free. They were only exploited by Ramos Horta," he said to the press in Dili, last week.

According to him, the East Timor youth who only became victims of Horta's exploitation, as soon as they arrived in Portugal faced a very heavy social situation.

"By exploiting their departure situation (the East Timor youth-red), Horta obtained some fund," he said.

He said, the life of the East Timor youth after arriving in Portugal was very bad. The subsidy given by the Portugal government for 10 months was actually not enough for one month.

"They lived together in one room which can only accommodate 8 to 10 people and did not get any job," he added.

Macedo admitted that there are some of the East Timor youth who "leaped over the fence" and are now in Portugal, because of the hard economic and social life situation, contacted him to help them come back home to Indonesia (East Timor).

By that request, he said he will discuss it with the Indonesian government in Jakarta because regardless of whether the East

Timor youth with all their behavior can be accepted or not, they still refuse to be Indonesian citizen.

Different

Macedo stressed that in the condition where the East Timor youth who had been exploited by Horta experience a horrible life in Portugal, the life of the anti-integration figure is in fact in the contrary.

"Horta recently bought an apartment in the most expensive and elite location in Portugal, called Lapa," he said. The Lapa area, he said, is the place where big and rich Portugal entrepreneurs live.

Macedo also said that there are none of the East Timor youth who were helped by Horta, even the East Timor figures in Portugal were not helped.

"Instead PIFA was the one who helped and gave subsidy to the East Timorese and there are some who can already finish their study in law," he said.

Challenged

Macedo said, the press is also "challenged" to see the reality in Portugal. "You (the press-red) are challenged to be able to see and write the reality which is happening in Portugal," he said.

In Portugal, he said, there are also starves and poverty which are unfortunately not published by the Portugal media RTP International so that the people in East Timor can see.

Every year, he said, there is one factory which is closed down and there are around one million people who are jobless, there are even laborers who did not receive their salary for six months.

Referring to the "1959 Viqueque Movement" fighter case, Evaristo da Costa who lived years in Portugal and now is already in Indonesia, it was explained that all this time there is no attention from the Portugal government. "They did not get proper housing so that it encouraged da Costa to come back to East Timor," said Macedo.

BISHOPS FOR TIMOR - PORTUGUESE EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE

Publico, 15 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, abridged

Portuguese Catholic Bishops today commence their Spring plenary assembly...

Publico learned that although no Timorese representative will be attending, the current Chairman of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (PEC), João Alves, will today be calling for the urgent resolution of the problem, without forgetting the

“recognition of the Timorese people’s inalienable right to self-determination.”

PRES. SAMPAIO MEETS EAST TIMORESE YOUTH

From Amilcar Dias, pascamil@telepac.pt, Lisbon, April 16.

This afternoon, Jorge Sampaio, President of the Portuguese Republic received in audience, at his official residence in Lisbon, a group of East Timorese youth representing those recently arrived in Portugal. The Timorese youth delegation was accompanied by Luis Cardoso, vice-representative in Lisbon of the Timorese Resistance, Pascoela Barreto from CNRM and Carlos Lopes from RENETIL. Luisa Teotonio Pereira from the East Timor solidarity group CDPM (Committee for the Rights of Maubere People) was also present.

President Sampaio talked with the delegation for almost an hour and a half. So he had the opportunity to listen details about the kind of daily life - school, jobs, food, etc. - the people have nowadays in their illegally occupied homeland of East Timor and the abuses of occupation authorities, namely Indonesian military (ABRI) forces.

GOVERNMENT WANTS TO IMPROVE ASSISTANCE TO TIMORESE IN PORTUGAL

Council of Ministers approves new measures

A Capital, 18 April 1996. By Carlos Torres. Translated, Abridged

Lisbon – Difficulties in social and educational integration and in finding employment and housing are the main problems facing the Timorese community in Portugal. However, the government is intent on “improving” their “reception and integration” by implementing a series of measures, adopted by the Council of Ministers this morning. The measures will lead to greater assistance with employment, housing and health.

The Inter-Ministerial Committee which put forward the proposals argued that, in addition to improving reception mechanisms, it was “essential to develop all the various aspects of social integration, particularly with regards health, education, professional training, employment, housing and assistance with legalisation procedures.”

Within the next two months, the Committee will also be putting forward “draft legislation on social benefits available to people with Portuguese nationality, who have come to Portugal either alone, with families or in groups.”

Economist Eduardo Graça, Co-ordinator of the Inter-Ministerial Committee and currently chairman of Inatel, told *A Capital* that it was “necessary to have a good reception mechanism for Portuguese emigrants, lacking their own means of support, returning to Portugal - not just Timorese, who are Portuguese too.”

Given the fact that recently Timorese have been arriving in Portugal every month, after “invading” foreign Embassies in Jakarta to escape Indonesian repression in Timor, the (Portuguese) Government decided to create, within two months at most, “temporary emergency reception centres,” whose terms will have to be regulated by the Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security.

According to the resolution passed today by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, (...) the length of time an individual may stay in a temporary reception centre “shall not exceed 12 months.”

One of the greatest difficulties faced by Timorese arriving to Portugal is the language, as most only speak Tetum, the Maubere language.

Portuguese Language Courses

To facilitate their integration, the Government is going to “organise Portuguese language courses for young Timorese” and facilitate official recognition of studies they have already completed.

The aim is for the young people arriving in Portugal to become fully integrated within the education system and to prepare the way for admittance and integration of children and youngsters in teaching establishments.

The Government hopes this resolution will enable the Ministry of Qualification and Employment to provide the Timorese with “personalised support with regards careers information and guidance, vocational training, and with the process of actively seeking employment”

The Ministry of Employment must, therefore, set up the “necessary links with job centres and vocational training centres in the area,” and establish “co-operation agreements with NGOs regarding suitable vocational training courses.”

The Ministry of Justice will be responsible for “providing legal assistance to the Timorese who need it” and facilitating access to relevant government offices and registries, so that they may quickly obtain identification documents.

The Ministry of Health is to “concentrate the activities of health centres in such a way that any medical assistance necessary is available to the Timorese from the time of their arrival and for a maximum period of 12 months.”

The resolution passed today is the result of efforts made by the Inter-Ministerial Committee, created on 23 November 1995 by Resolution 53/95. The Committee’s mandate was to present proposals for developing policies “to improve the reception and integration of the Timorese community in Portugal.”

The Council of Ministers also decided “to create a permanent committee to deal with the reception and social integration of the Timorese community,” to be appointed by the Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security.

The permanent committee will consist of representatives from the Ministries of Solidarity and Social Security (to chair the committee), Foreign Affairs, Internal Administration, Justice, Education, Health, and Employment.

Within the next 3 months, the permanent committee is to present to the Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security “a proposal for inviting applications to carry out an in-depth study of the socio-economic situation of the Timorese community living in Portugal.”

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS PASS ON CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS TO INDONESIA

Expresso, 27 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Lisbon – Portuguese diplomats working within the (Portuguese) Foreign Ministry, suspected of being involved in passing on information to the Indonesian regime, are being investigated by the Policia Judiciaria (PJ). Suspicions about the leak of information were substantiated after a search by the PJ on 15 April of the house and office of Manuel Macedo, Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association.

Manuel Macedo was found to be in possession of various Foreign Office documents stamped “secret” or “confidential.” Some of the documents date back to the 1976/77 period. The PJ also confiscated a considerable amount of correspondence between Foreign Ministry departments and members of the Timorese resistance and other sectors and organisations that oppose the Indonesian regime.

Manuel Macedo confirmed that his house and office had been searched, but said that “anything that might have been confidential is now public knowledge.”

The Expresso learned that Manuel Macedo used to put together dossiers and then send them, sometimes with personal messages attached, to Suharto and other senior regime officials. In one such message, refer-

ring to the information he was enclosing, Macedo told one of the generals that he was about to receive "the best present of his life." It was, presumably, information concerning the movement of members of the Indonesian opposition, which had been gathered from information leaked to Macedo from diplomats working within the Foreign Ministry.

Given the extent and importance of the documents confiscated, the case has been handed over to the PJ's Anti Corruption, Fraud and Economic Crime Department. It will be early next week before details are known about the extent and involvement of Portuguese diplomats in a case which could turn out to be one of espionage and treason, - crimes which Manuel Macedo might be involved in.

According to a police source, Macedo's movements were under surveillance for some time but there may now be a basis on which to start investigating the activities of the individual who, in some circles, is believed to be Indonesia's pawn inside Portugal.

Strangely enough, it was Manuel Macedo himself who brought upon himself the investigation by the PJ. During an interview on Portuguese radio, he claimed he was in possession of a large number of documents that could be embarrassing for a lot of people. Following his statements, the Foreign Ministry lodged a formal complaint with the Attorney General, who in turn initiated enquiry proceedings on 27 November last year. The huge amount of documentation found at his home proved that Macedo was, in fact, speaking the truth.

THE INTERNATIONAL PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

INDONESIA WANTS TO INVEST IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Capital, 15 March 1996. Translated from Portuguese, Abridged

Businessman Manuel Macedo, President of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, said yesterday that he had met with Guinea-Bissau's Head of State to discuss possible Indonesian investment in the country.

Macedo reported that his one-hour meeting with João Bernardo "Nino" Vieira had been "fruitful" and that he would soon be going to Indonesia to talk about investment potential in Guinea-Bissau with the Jakarta authorities.

With regards the recent proposal of Portugal's Prime Minister on the Timorese question, which was put to President Suharto in Bangkok, Manuel Macedo had reservations. Although he agreed with the idea of opening interest sections for Portugal and Indonesia in the respective capitals, he thought that the release of Timorese Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, and other Timorese political prisoners, "ought to be given a lot of thought." He argued that such releases would only be justified when full diplomatic relations had been restored between the two countries.

EAST TIMOR DISCUSSED IN CAPE VERDE

translated from the Portuguese, abridged

Cidade da Praia [Cape Verde Islands], March 21 (LUSA) - The president of Foundation Amílcar Cabral, Corsino Fortes, today invoked East Timor at the opening of the colloquium "What States, what Nations are in construction?." Fortes stated that, although not among the five participant countries, "East Timor is in our minds."

"It is urgent that we deepen the concepts of Nation, State, Citizenship, Democracy, and the concept of a new African society" as a "guarantee of freedom from oppression and poverty," said Fortes.

Present at the session were Cape Verde's Prime Minister and government members, the President of Cape Verde's National Assembly, parliamentarians, diplomats, representatives of political parties and international organizations, intellectuals, researchers, many students, and a few European invitees. Ana Maria Cabral, wife of the historic leader Amílcar Cabral, was also present.

This colloquium was suggested, ten years ago, by Angolan sociologist Mario de Andrade, later deceased, and who was honored and remembered today.

Writer Vasco Cabral [from Guinea-Bissau] recalled the historical past and the fight by "the five" [African countries formerly colonized by Portugal] for liberation from Portuguese colonialism, invoking Amílcar Cabral, Mario de Andrade, Agostinho Neto, and Samora Machel.

"Life has proven to us that the seed of dreams sometimes blooms and even yields fruit," said Vasco Cabral, adding that the fight is one of "hope, not utopia," and that free countries "are the only masters of their own destiny."

The Cape-Verdian PM, Carlos Veiga, also invoked Amílcar Cabral, and Mario de Andrade, whom he credited for the introduction of the multi-party system in Cape Verde's Constitution.

GUINEA-BISSAU PRESIDES UNSC NON-ALIGNED GROUP

See article in UN Section of this East Timor Documents

EAST TIMOR WOULD LIKE TO JOIN THE PORTUGUESE SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Translated from Italian, April 15. An Italian newspaper printed this article from Noticias, a Mozambican Daily

An East Timorese delegation will participate next week in Maputo to a meeting of the foreign affair ministers of the Portuguese speaking countries, namely: Mozambique, Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde and Guinea Bissau, Sao Tomé, Principe, and Portugal. During the meeting, the Timorese delegation will ask to be admitted as observers to the Portuguese speaking community (PSC). The news was relayed by the Fretilin secretary of Foreign Relations, Mari Alkatiri. This confirms what we anticipated yesterday in our newspaper when we stated that Fretilin would ask to join the PSC as an observer. Alkatiri explained that, as contemplated by the accords among all parties of the Timorese resistance, the ET delegation participating to the meeting will be made of Fretilin members.

The accords state that each of the parties is allowed to act as a full fledged representative of ET in the international arena. This explains why the delegation will represent ET and not just Fretilin.

105 MPS FOR TIMOR IN BRAZIL

Publico, 17 April 1996. Translated from Portuguese

Lisbon - Portuguese Prime Minister, Antonio Guterres, had a meeting yesterday with representatives of the Commission for East Timor, which was set up by 105 Brazilian MPs from all political parties. Aldo Arantes, a member of the Commission, said after the meeting that they are very determined to see "that this movement grows."

The existence of such a commission in Brazil is particularly significant given the country's good relations with Indonesia. The various initiatives already taken on the East Timor issue have included a ceremony at which solidarity with the Timorese people's struggle was expressed, and pressure brought to bear on the Government to take a stronger stand on the question.

PORTUGUESE "COMMONWEALTH" MOVES CLOSER

by Iain Christie

Maputo, April 19 (Reuter) - Portugal's bid to unite former colonies in an international brotherhood similar to Britain's Commonwealth was boosted on Friday when six of them agreed to push ahead to create an alliance.

After two days of talks in the Mozambican capital Maputo, foreign ministers of the seven countries agreed on the founding principles and aims for a proposed Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, or CPLP.

Mozambique badly hurt Portugal's pride in November last year when it joined the well-established Commonwealth - the first state with no historic ties to the British Empire to do so.

New Zealand's Prime Minister Jim Bolger, hosting the summit where Mozambique joined, said it was welcomed as "a unique and special case" because it had helped so many of its neighbouring Commonwealth countries to gain independence.

The ministers from Portugal, Brazil and five African states - Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe - said in a communiqué their declaration would be approved by their heads of states at a summit in Lisbon in July.

They also said they would continue joint efforts at the United Nations and elsewhere to defend the right to self-determination of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia two decades ago.

EVENTS IN BRITAIN

PROTESTERS TO HAMMER ON DOORS OF ARMS DEALERS & COURTS

Norfolk and Lancashire citizens at magistrates courts to stop the delivery of British Aerospace Hawk war planes to Indonesia.

Press Release from Stop the Hawk Deal, 30 January 1996

On Tuesday 30th January 1996 at 2.20 p.m. a group of Norfolk citizens will go to Norwich Magistrates Court in an attempt to get a summons for the arrest of Ian Lang M.P., the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, for conspiring to aid and abet acts of Genocide as defined in the Genocide Act 1969; they will also be attempting to get an

injunction to stop British Aerospace from delivering the Hawks.

Meanwhile at St Lytham St Anne's Magistrates Court three women are facing charges - of illegal entry and criminal damage - for completely disarming a Hawk yesterday. The fourth member of the East Timor Ploughshares, Angie Zelter, is speaking on behalf of the Norfolk group and has publicly stated her commitment to disarm the Indonesia-bound Hawks - so risking arrest at any time.

For three years people all over the country have been opposing this arms deal between the government, British Aerospace and Indonesia in whatever ways they could. But now the Hawks are about to fly out at a rate of two a month for the next year. Only one day after the latest Ploughshares act of disarmament, today sees local actions in London (outside BAe HQ noon), Lytham (Magistrates court) and Warton (BAe test site) - as well as Norwich where 40 co-informants will lay information before the court. They will show that the Department of Trade and Industry has conspired with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Prime Minister's Office and with the Directors of British Aerospace and the Indonesian government and military in approving the sale of 24 Hawk aircraft.

All these politicians, civil servants, and BAe Directors are fully aware that a third of the East Timorese population have been killed in the last 20 years of Indonesian occupation and that Hawk aircraft sold previously have been seen bombing East Timorese villages. British made Hawks were seen as recently as November 1995 flying low over Dili (the capital of East Timor). All those involved in the Hawk deal are fully aware that there have been 10 UN resolutions calling on the Government of Indonesia to withdraw all its forces from East Timor and calling on all states and other parties to co-operate with the UN to achieve a peaceful solution to the existing situation and to respect the right of the East Timorese to their independence.

Ian Lang, the Minister legally responsible for the decision to issue a license to BAe to export the 24 Hawk aircraft, is the one ultimately responsible for aiding and abetting the genocide in East Timor. The government are blatantly disregarding their own rules and guidelines which seek to ensure that countries with terrible human rights records should not receive arms. Ordinary people now feel they have no recourse but to go to their courts to see that the judiciary will control the illegal and unethical conduct of the government and the arms industry - or to take disarmament into their own hands.

Angie Zelter comments: "Murder and Genocide are not excusable, either morally

or legally, on the grounds that they provide jobs for British people. Yet this is what is underlying the provision of arms to Suharto's regime. The Genocide Act is part of British law and it is time it was used to prevent our Government and Industry implicating ordinary British workers in the horrific killings and repression committed by the Indonesian state. British people need and want jobs but only those that are socially and ethically justifiable."

She further states: "Ploughshares activists are accountable for their acts of disarmament - we want to see a government accountable for their acts of armament and to take responsibility for their part in genocide."

For more information please contact Angie Zelter on 01603-631007 or on fax 01603-666879. Or contact East Timor Ploughshares Support on 0171-249 6949 or tel/fax 0171-923 9511.

REPORT FROM STOP THE HAWK DEAL, JAN. 31

Three women (Jo, Andrea & Lotta) disarmed an Indonesian-bound Hawk fighter at British Aerospace Warton, near Preston Lancs. UK, in the early hours of Monday 29 January. They have been arrested and charged with burglary and criminal damage (initial estimates of £A31 million). They used household hammers on the nosecone, wing, cockpit, front fuselage and rear fuselage of a Hawk bound for Indonesia. They even used BAe's phone to inform the Press Association of their actions! Apparently, BAe security didn't know anything until the PA rang the factory for comment.

This is the 56th ploughshares action worldwide, and the 3rd in Britain. Ploughshares actions are inspired by the biblical phrase "to beat swords into ploughshares" - they are acts of nonviolent disarmament in which the activists take full responsibility for their actions: in this case waiting to hand themselves to BAe security.

BAe are due to deliver 24 Hawk jets to Indonesia during 1996. Indonesia illegally, and brutally, invaded East Timor 20 years ago. Since then over 200,000 East Timorese have died as a direct result of the on-going occupation. It is widely believed that BAe Hawks from previous deals have been used in the suppression of East Timorese citizens who have called for people worldwide to take whatever action they can to help their struggle for independence.

UPDATE FEBRUARY 1:

After giving evidence for 2 hours the magistrates refused to issue a summons for Ian Lang and refused to grant an injunction against British Aerospace.

UPDATE: FEBRUARY 2:

The 3 women who disarmed a Hawk 100 at British Aerospace on Monday morning have been placed in custody for a further 7 days (i.e. until Thurs. 8 Feb) whilst police attempt to track down a fourth member of the group.

The 3 women are at the following address and would appreciate letters of support (particularly detailing any vigils or actions in support of the cause) and any of the useful items listed below. (Perhaps you should ring their support group on [UK] 0171 249 6949 before sending a toothbrush for Andrea COs she might end up with hundreds of them!)

Visits can be arranged by ringing the number given but please check with the support group first if you can visit anytime - this is to help ensure as many people as possible can visit as often as possible.

HMP Prison Risley 617 Warrington Rd Risley, Warrington WA3 6BP Tel: 01925-763 871

**UPDATE FEBRUARY 7, 1996:
ANOTHER ARREST!**

The fourth member of the "Seeds of Hope - East Timor" ploughshares group, Angie Zelter, was arrested on her way to a public meeting in Preston on Tuesday (6Feb) evening. She has been charged with conspiracy to cause criminal damage and will appear in Lytham magistrates court with the other 3 women sometime on Thurs. 8 Feb. It is expected all 4 will be refused bail and remanded in Risley prison until the committal hearing later in the year.

PUBLIC MEETING The public meeting, called by Preston Coalition for East Timor and the Manchester-based Stop the Hawk Deal, went ahead without Angie. Members of these groups had spent the afternoon preparing for entering into dialogue with the invited workers. Unfortunately, however, no British Aerospace workers nor trades unions turned up.

THE VIDEO The meeting watched a copy of the video left behind by the women in the Hawk hanger. The video includes clips from various television programs, including interviews with East Timorese exiles giving eye-witness accounts of BAe Hawks from previous deals in action in East Timor. Each of the women also give personal statements, explaining their intentions and reasons behind them. (Copies of the video are available - tel [UK] 0171 923 9511.)

HAWKS INTO DOVES CAMPAIGN LAUNCH After the video, a member of the support group outlined the thinking behind ploughshares and then launched the "Hawks into Doves" campaign. This is a campaign of continuing nonviolent direct at the meeting, 2 women (and several supporters) went to BAe Warton and, in front of police and BAe

security, cut 20 holes in the fences as a stark reminder to the 20 years of illegal Indonesian occupation of East Timor. There were no arrests.

**EAST TIMOR AND CHRISTIAN
FIGHTERS FOR PEACE**

"The Guardian," newspaper of the Socialist Party of Australia, February 14th, 1996.

On January 29, three women - Lotta Kronlid, Joanna Wilson and Andrea Needham - were arrested and charged with burglary and criminal damage (initial estimates of A\$31 million) after they had entered the British Aerospace (BAe) military site at Warton, Lancashire, and used household hammers to completely disable an Indonesian-bound Hawk warplane. The women then used BAe's phone to inform the Press Association of their actions.

The three women are members of the radical Christian peace organisation, Ploughshares. Inspired by the biblical injunction to "beat swords into ploughshares," they take direct non-violent action against war. The action at Warton is the 56th ploughshares action worldwide and the third in Britain.

"The Guardian" spoke to Ciaron O'Reilly, a Ploughshares activist who was gaoled for 15 months in the USA for taking action against the Gulf War. Ciaron is now involved in the East Timor campaign here in Australia.

"We are a radical pacifist Christian group and I've been involved in non-violent direct actions against the preparations for war for over 15 years," said Ciaron.

"I spent a year in prison in the United States during the Gulf war and was deported back to Australia a couple of years ago.

"When we say 'radical Christian,' our understanding of the word 'radical' is that it has the Latin origin meaning 'return to the roots.'

"We see Christianity as implicitly pacifist and anarchist.

"We attempt to return to those roots when the church was illegal, in confrontation with the empire. Now it seems to be collaborating - has been for the last 17 centuries - and we attempt to rediscover the radical nature of Christian practice."

Hawk fighter disarmed

Ciaron spoke of "the three women in England last week [who] infleshed the prophecy of beating swords into ploughshares" by disarming a Hawk fighter "already marked with Indonesian markings, ready for export to the Suharto dictatorship to be used on the people of East Timor."

Hawk fighters flew very low over Dili on the anniversary of the Indonesian invasion in December - they are a kind of "glamour" aircraft for the Indonesian airforce.

"What we are saying is that this war on Timor could not have been sustained for 20 years without western complicity.

"Right from the very early days, both Ford and Kissinger were in Jakarta, giving their blessing to the invasion a day before it occurred.

"It is the selling of arms to Indonesia and the training of Indonesian troops in places like Australia and the United States that has sustained the war against the people of East Timor.

"In Australia we've attempted to engage this non-violently by acts of direct action against some of the mining companies that have been benefiting from this great armed robbery of the East Timorese.

"In Brisbane we've been very active against the Petros mining company that is presently headquartered in Brisbane but plans to open offices in Dili soon.

"We've also been active against the training of Indonesian troops," said Mr. O'Reilly.

Refugees and sanctuary

Recently the Department of Immigration sought advice from the Federal Government on what to do with the 1,200 Timorese who had overstayed their visas as well as a small group of people who came by boat last year seeking refugee status.

The advice of Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has been that they should all be deported to Portugal.

Ciaron O'Reilly maintains that this solution constitutes "a second exile." He points out that "these people are from this region, indigenous to this region and to send them to Europe would be a double exile from their homeland.

"Our response is in the radical traditions of our church, in the form of a practice called 'sanctuary.'

"Most recently sanctuary was practiced in the USA during the wars in Central America. Many Guatemalan and Salvadoran people fled north during the 1980s, away from the US-sponsored 'low-intensity' conflict in their countries.

"Some of them were deported straight back by US Immigration and killed, some virtually just after they'd landed.

"Some Christian churches in the United States declared Sanctuaries in defiance of the government, in defiance of their war policies in Central America.

"That was a fairly large movement throughout North America and quite an effective one.

"So we basically said to the government that you should offer these people sanctuary and if you fail to do so then we will break the law and hide these people out.

"It's taken off in Australia quite well – a number of churches in Queensland, NSW, Victoria, WA and South Australia have declared sanctuary.

"About four religious orders have also declared sanctuary, and a bishop in Western Sydney has also declared sanctuary.

"We are hoping that other community groups and trade unions will also make this declaration.

"It looks like the government has postponed the deportations until after the election. We expect the crunch to come following the election and we are prepared to be civilly disobedient, to break the law and hide these people out – with the hope and the demand that the government will reverse its policy.

"The Suharto dictatorship has made it very clear to the Australian Government that they expect East Timorese seeking refuge here to be deported. For Australia to offer them refugee status would be an admission that their human rights had been violated in Indonesia.

Australia's complicity

"We see these deportations as just another extension of how Australia has supported the war on the Timorese people.

"They've done it economically through our mining companies and the Timor Gap Treaty, they've done it militarily by training Indonesian troops here and offering to sell small arms to the Indonesian Government, they've done it diplomatically by covering up and opposing UN recommendations against the annexation of East Timor, and now they are doing it in the area of immigration.

"So it's a kind of total war against these people and with the defence pact signed in December we see that the military are stream-lining themselves to be prepared to defend these mining corporations whether they be in the Timor Sea, in the highlands of West Papua, in PNG or on the island of Bougainville.

"It looks like this defence pact is a stream-lining of protecting the exploitation of indigenous people to our north. It's imperative that we begin to understand that and to resist it non-violently here in Australia."

Ciaron observed that in WW2, Australian troops had been offered sanctuary by the East Timorese. "The Timorese took a much larger risk than we'll probably be asked to take," he said.

"Now is our historic opportunity to return that favour. I believe that it's only through non-violent action in the first world that we can slow down these wars in the third world, because they've been supplied and armed from countries like ours."

Note: The three arrested women in Britain would appreciate messages of support. As they are likely to be moved from one place to another, the following address may be used for sending messages to them: Ploughshares Support Network Jigsaw Box, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford, England.

HOUSE OF COMMONS MOTION

No.49 Notice of Motions:13 Feb. 1996 1507

413 ARMS TO INDONESIA

Mr. Ken Livingstone

That this House condemns the continued denial of the rights of the people of East Timor by the Indonesian government; notes with concern the fact that, in spite of 10 UN resolutions over the past 20 years, Her Majesty's Government continues to support the genocidal actions of the Suharto regime including by the morally and legally reprehensible provision of export licences allowing British Aerospace to sell Hawk jets to Indonesia, believes that the Scott Inquiry team should be asked to investigate the role of the British Government in allowing sales which are contrary to international and national guidelines; and finally calls for the immediate cancellation of the delivery of the Hawk jets and all other weapons to Indonesia until such inquiry has taken place.

INDONESIAN SEEDS OF HOPE INTERVIEW

*Forum Keadilan No.23, 26 February 1996
(The women were interviewed by the BBC
World Service)*

WAR PLANES

Hawk jets which will be sold to Indonesia were damaged by a group of people. The reason: they will be used to oppress the people of East Timor. Is this just a joke?

The incident took place in a military hanger belonging to British Aerospace, on Monday morning 29 January. Some people created a disturbance there. The perpetrators, three women from the organisation Seeds of Hope: East Timor Ploughshares. The women didn't just manage to infiltrate the Hawk factory, but - as they conveyed to the media by telephone - they also damaged the fuselage and several component part which were to be exported to Indonesia. The damage they have caused is estimated to be somewhere in the region of Rp 3.5 billion.

"We are satisfied because part of our aims have been achieved," said Lotta Kronlid, one of the three women. According to this gardener from Oxford, her organisation

has proof that these war planes are used in military actions by ABRI in East Timor. "Because of that, we demand that the Hawk fighter planes should not be exported to Indonesia," said Lotta.

They admitted that they had to resort to damaging (the planes) because the British government has not heeded their protest. "The British government is like a deaf person, even though we often make protests," said Joanna Wilson, a friend of Lotta who works in Kirkby.

The local authorities arrested them on charges of criminal damages, but the Seeds of Hope group will not give in. "Even though we have been arrested, there are others who will continue our efforts," said Angie Zelter, another member of the Seeds of Hope. Indeed, on February 6, a number of NGOs supporting human rights and a number of MPs had a meeting. The press were present, having been invited, and at that meeting a declaration was issued, which among other things demanded that an emergency debate be called to stop the sale of the Hawks.

Apart from that, the declaration also prohibited the sale of arms to Indonesia and formed an internal investigation team in parliament to investigate why the U.K., which has ratified the International Convention on Genocide, is violating the stipulations which prohibit the U.K. from selling arms to countries which are considered to be oppressive. A group of MPs who attended also promised that they would raise the issue at the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

The Hawk which was damaged by the Seeds of Hope isn't the first Hawk to have been bought by Indonesia. In 1978, Indonesia also bought a number of these fighter planes. In June 1993, Indonesia signed a contract for another 24 Hawks, at a value of 500 million. It appears that those older planes were seen by John Pilger, a British journalist, while he was in Dili.

John Pilger, it is said, was able to record the Santa Cruz Incident for a programme, Death of a Nation. Another journalist, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, from the Independent, says he has seen a number of Hawks in East Timor. "All of that has been recorded," said Ricarda Annette Steinbrecher, another activist opposing the sale of the Hawks to Indonesia. According to her, the MPs who issued the 'anti-Indonesia' declaration, saw Indonesia as being one of the top violators of human rights, along side Nigeria amongst others. Is that all true? The Indonesian government regretted the damage cause. According to RI Defence Attaché in London, Colonel Sudrajat, the action represented a lack of understanding of the facts. "They have not witnessed this themselves. They

only obtain information from others," said Sudrajat. According to him, Indonesia has already offered them to visit Indonesia.

Moreover, apart from that, "We have already asked the British Embassy in Indonesia to have a look for themselves, whether there are Hawk jets used in East Timor," he said. In other words, he wanted to indicate that it was all a fraud. "It's only a joke," said Sudrajat to BBC journalist, Arya Gunawan, in London. Moreover, he was emphatic that he was prepared to meet with John Pilger. Sudrajat explained, Death of a Nation was engineered.

According to Sudrajat, it is easy to see proof that Death of a Nation was contrived. "It's obviously contrived. A montage. There is even a British flag on the fuselage of the Hawk. That's a British Hawk, not an Indonesian one," he said. Apart from that, he said that the Hawks bought under the first contract were two-seaters, which means that they are used as training aircraft, not fighter planes.

The training planes are based in Lanuma Iswahyudi, Madiun, East Java. "And those planes can only travel short distances," he said. Which means, clearly, that technically there is no way they could reach Dili. According to Sudrajat, only in the second contract are the one-seater planes ordered, which are used for ground attack.

Indonesia, said Sudrajat, is leaving the issue entirely in the hands of the U.K. government. "As far as Indonesia is concerned, the order for the Hawks is in order, under a legal document. Of course we don't need permission from organisation which are not happy with it," said Sudrajat.

HAWK IS HAMMERED IN PLOUGHSHARE ACTION

by Emily Johns, *Peace News*, March 1996

On 29 January, Lotta Kronlid, Jo Wilson and Andrea Needham disarmed a Hawk fighter aircraft destined for Indonesia. The East Timor Ploughshares action took place at the British Aerospace (BAe) factory at Warton, Lancashire, where 24 Hawk aircraft are being completed for delivery to the Indonesian airforce sometime this year.

The women used ordinary hammers to disarm the control panels in the cockpit, the radar transparent nose-cone and the bomb pylons. They then spent several hours singing and rejoicing before contacting BAe security via the press. The three are now on remand, facing charges of burglary and two million pounds-worth of criminal damage.

A fourth member of the Women Disarming for Life and Justice group was arrested on 6 February for conspiracy to commit criminal damage. Angie Zelter announced at

a rally outside parliament that she would disarm a Hawk with the hammer she was holding. She was arrested later that day on the steps of Preston Town Hall where she was about to address another rally. Angie had earlier attempted to obtain a warrant for the arrest of Ian Lang MP, the British Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, for conspiring to aid and abet acts of genocide as defined in the 1969 British Genocide Act. The application was rejected by the magistrate but two MPs have vowed to pursue the action with the Attorney General.

The women have written an extensive document describing the history of the collusion between the British government, the weapons manufacturers and Indonesia; explaining how international law has been contravened; and detailing the evidence concerning the use of Hawks since 1978. They have also made a video explaining their action. These items were placed on the Hawk they disarmed, and so form part of the evidence from the "scene of the crime." It is hoped this will ensure that the trial they face will be as political as possible.

This was an 11th-hour action. The plane was tested, painted and ready to fly. The delivery of this particular plane has been delayed, but there are 23 others ready to go. The women are appealing for a new "Hawks into Doves" initiative to try to block this weapons deal through the courts and through parliament before it is too late.

The East Timor Ploughshares Support Group can be contacted c/o 55 Queen Margaret's Grove, London N1 4PX. You can also write to the prisoners c/o this address. Copies of the video and document are for sale, and women are available to speak at meetings.

HAWKS OFF EAST TIMOR WEEK OF ACTION

Mon 25 to Sun 31 March

CALL TO ACTION

What's it all about?

Over 200,000 East Timor civilians have died at the hands of the Indonesian military who invaded 20 years ago. British Aerospace (BAe) sold Hawk fighter aircraft to the Indonesians in the 1980s and these aircraft have been seen in action in East Timor – as recently as last November a respected British journalist reported Hawks menacing civilians in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

BAe are about to export another 24 Hawks to Indonesia who, it is widely believed, will use them to resolve the "thorn in their side" (East Timor). To protest about the imminent departure, and to put pressure on the government to cancel the export li-

cence, various groups in the North West are organising vigils or demonstrations - we hope you will join us.

How can I get involved?

There are a variety of activities planned for the North West. Vigils or demonstrations will be held at each of BAe's military sites - see below:

There will also be the third BAe Warton Peace Camp, from 12 noon on Friday 29 March until late afternoon on Sunday 31 March. The peace camp will include leafletting the workers, nonviolent direct action, tents and lots of camp fires. Everybody is welcome to come along for a day, an hour or for the entire weekend. Please bring everything you need, except food (for which donations will be requested). Contact STHD on the number below for more information.

A sponsored cycle ride from BAe Brough will be arriving at BAe Samlesbury in time for the vigil on 29 March. Cyclists are invited to join in the last leg to Warton. Sponsorship forms and more details from Stuart on 0161 226 1122.

HAWKS OFF EAST TIMOR WEEK REPORT

Press release from: Manchester Area Resource Centre, April 3

PEACE CAMP CLOSES BRITISH AEROSPACE FACTORY

Actions highlight BAe Bloodbath in East Timor

Protesters against British Aerospace's sale of Hawk fighters to Indonesia halted production of Hawk aircraft at British Aerospace Warton factory this weekend by holding a peace camp and taking several nonviolent direct actions. The peace camp was from Friday 29 until Sunday 31 March outside BAe Warton where the Hawks are assembled and tested. As a result, British Aerospace were on high alert and closed the runway for the entire weekend [1].

The 20 peace protesters from all over the country had a weekend of fun and actions, which included:

- vigil and leafletting workers on Friday evening
- "die in" outside the factory gates on Saturday: 6 activists "died" and fake blood was poured onto them in a bloody scene to represent how the Hawks are used in East Timor [2]. The activists laid in front of the main gates for over 30 minutes.
- fake blood was poured over the large "British Aerospace - Warton" sign outside the main entrance to signify the East Timorese blood that will be shed by the Hawks.

- despite the high security level, five protesters, with banners, entered the factory at various places on Sunday afternoon. They intended to process across the site with banners calling for the Hawk deal to be cancelled immediately and to play frisbee on the runway.
- another vigil was held on Sunday evening to mark the end of the peace camp.

One of the organisers, Dr. Michael Bane, said: "A few workers and most of the local residents were completely on our side and wanted to know how they could help put pressure on British Aerospace to stop the Hawk deal before the planes are used to commit genocide in East Timor. The weekend was un-natural with BAe's cleaners following us everywhere but we believe that our actions got the point across that British Aerospace are getting the blood of innocent civilians on their hands by selling these fighters to Indonesia."

This was the third peace camp at War-ton. Larger and longer peace camps throughout the summer are currently being planned.

There were no arrests at the peace camp. The only incident came when British Aerospace tried to prevent a protester from driving by misleading the police by suggesting that he had been drinking. The protester was breathalysed and found to be well under the limit. However, the police refused to arrest the BAe security for wasting the police's time.

DONATIONS TO HELP COVER COSTS ARE ALWAYS WELCOME: cheques should be payable to "Stop the Hawk Deal" and sent to our 'office' at 6 Mount Street, Manchester M2 6NS.

Notes to Editors

1) The peace campers were informed by various sources that BAe had taken on 100 Group 4 security and 100 of their own security plus an unknown number of their own cleaners just for the weekend because of the peace camp. An inside source also told the campers that the airfield had been closed for the weekend.

2) Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. Since then 200,000 people have died as a direct result of the ongoing Indonesian occupation. Indonesia have used BAe Hawks from an earlier deal to repress the East Timorese and it is very widely believed that the 24 Hawks now being assembled and flown to Indonesia will also be used to attack East Timor civilians.

UK HAWK PROTEST TRIAL UPDATE

Manchester Area Resource Centre, April 17

The 4 women charged with criminal damage for disarming an Indonesian-bound Hawk aircraft made their first Crown Court appearance today to enter their plea (presumably NOT GUILTY). They will be back at Crown Court within a couple of weeks to set the date of the trial proper.

The trial has now been moved from Preston to Manchester. Dates, and details of support actions/meetings/work-for-people-to-volunteer-for will be available soon.

INDONESIA AMBASSADOR ATTACK'S HORTA'S CREDENTIALS

Comment on a discussion on East Timor held by the Royal Institute of International Relations (Chatham House) on 23 April 1996, from Indonesian Foreign Affairs Department home page (www.dfa-deplu.go.id/english/editor.htm)

Mr. Ramos Horta is scheduled to speak at the Royal Institute of International Relations (Chatham House) on 23 April 1996 with a speech entitled "East Timor: Morality and Pragmatism in International Relations." In his lecture, Horta will be accompanied by Dr. Peter Carey of Trinity College, Oxford, an anti-Indonesian English scholar and who recently published a book entitled "East Timor at the crossroads."

The lecture is sponsored by Dr. Peter Carey, who is also a member of Chatham House. Dr. Carey attended the lecture by Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs in Chatham House last January and had the opportunity to ask tendentious questions about East Timor.

The purpose of this Horta-Carey's lecture is to boost Horta's public stature in England, and to try to influence intellectual groups and 'thinktank circles' in London, especially in the issue of East Timor.

Ramos Horta is described in the leaflet of Chatham House as "Dr. Ramos Horta" and was the "Minister for External Affairs, East Timor, 1974-75." This term intends to give impression to the public that as if East Timor was once an independent state.

Embassy of Indonesia
London, 6 March 1996

Professor Sir Lawrence Martin
Director the Royal Institute of International Affairs
Chatham House
10 St. James Square London SW1Y 4LE

Dear Sir,

The Indonesian Embassy has learnt that Mr. Ramos Horta is scheduled to speak at your prestigious institution on 23 April 1996.

I am writing to you because, quite frankly, we are extremely puzzled as to why, in the leaflet from Chatham House, Mr. Ramos Horta is referred to as "Minister for External Affairs, East Timor, 1974-75." This title description is factually incorrect and intellectually indefensible, and can set a very misleading precedent. It suggest that you have possible been unwittingly taken in by Mr. Ramos Horta's propaganda.

As you know, in 1974 and throughout the first half of 1975, East Timor was still administered by Portugal, the colonial ruler who had intended to decolonize East Timor through a referendum. At that time, the authorities directly responsible for East Timor's foreign affairs were the Portuguese Foreign Minister (who was definitely not Mr. Ramos Horta) and the Portuguese Minister for Overseas Territories – both of whom were members of the Portuguese Government, and both based in Lisbon. These were the undisputed facts. Mr. Ramos Horta was not in Government, be it in Lisbon or in East Timor; he was working as journalist for a local paper in East Timor, and was part of a political group outside the Government called Fretilin. This was also the true state of Affairs. Therefore, any reference to Mr. Ramos Horta as "Minister for External Affairs, East Timor, 1974-75" is quite puzzling and cannot possibly be substantiated with factual evidence.

Mr. Ramos Horta might perhaps argue that, during the course of the civil war, his political group, the Fretilin, did manage to seize the town of Dili for a few months in mid-1975, and unilaterally declared the "independence" of East Timor. It was then that the Fretilin set up a "cabinet" in which Mr. Ramos Horta was designated "Foreign Minister." At this time, a coalition of East Timor's other political parties—UDT, Apodeti, Kota and Trabalhista—also formed their own Provisional Government to oppose the Fretilin. It is important to note that the so-called "Fretilin government" did not have any legal or international legitimacy whatsoever. Portugal, Indonesia (and ASEAN as a whole) and Australia did not recognize this government. In fact, the Fretilin government was not recognized by the UN and the international community in general, and that situation is still the same today.

Thus, while we expect Mr. Ramos Horta, a very imaginative propagandist, to actively propagate his pretentious self-awarded title to others, we certainly do not expect your

respected institution to be taken in by it so easily.

I must also state that Mr. Ramos Horta's description of himself as "Minister for External Affairs" is something quite new. To date, he has presented himself mainly as a "special representative of the CNRM" (an organization which he created and a title he also awarded to himself). We enclose writings of his interviews with the CNN, the International Herald Tribune, the Far Eastern Economic Review and a paper which he presented in Geneva in 1991—none of which described him as former Minister for External Affairs of East Timor. Nor did Mr. Ramos Horta use this title of "Minister for External Affairs" when he was in the company of prominent East Timorese Dialogue, held in Austria last year, to be followed up this year in late March. This is because he knew full well that all the East Timorese figures in that forum would simply find such a title amusing. Clearly, what Mr. Ramos Horta is now trying to do is to engage in opportunistic public posturing, and he is conveniently using your institution to do so. This is what we would like to caution you about.

I would very much like to hear your response regarding this matter in very near future. Until then, and thanking you for your kind attention, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
(Ambassador) J.E. Habibie

Copy to: Professor J.E. Spence, Director of Studies

ETIC (NEW ZEALAND) RESPONDS TO LETTERS

The self-interested nature of Indonesia's letter to the Institute of International Affairs concerning the Peter Carey-sponsored lecture featuring José Ramos-Horta should be obvious to anyone.

When a nation finds it to be in its interests to shut someone up, and devotes considerable time and energy in attempting to do that, one has to ask what they are afraid of. In this case, it is the truth.

The truth is that Indonesia invaded East Timor on December 7, 1975. At that time, the Portuguese were not in residence, and an act of self determination in the form of an election had previously taken place. This election gave the mandate of the people to Fretilin, Mr. Ramos-Horta's party, to form a government.

Indonesia considers the Fretilin government to be illegitimate because it did not have U.N. recognition. Neither, to this day, does Indonesia's brutal regime! The crucial difference is that Fretilin had (and still has) the support of the people of East Timor, whereas Indonesia clearly does not. If the

Indonesian invaders wish to dispute that, let them hold a genuine plebiscite in East Timor. They won't because they would lose!

Indonesia attempts to prevent Dr. Ramos-Horta from speaking because he says what the people of East Timor (those who have survived the Indonesian invasion, that is) would say, if they got the chance!

Indonesia's continued brutal occupation of not only East Timor, but also West Papua, Aceh and the South Moluccas demonstrates with increasing clarity that Indonesia, once the victim of a colonial power, has become in turn an imperialist aggressor.

The attempt to muzzle Dr. Ramos-Horta will not alter this fact, but with luck, it will make people more aware of it.

WARWICK UNIVERSITY CHANGES BAR NAME TO XANANA'S

Monday, 6 May, Time: 6pm

Place: University of Warwick, Xanana's Bar

ASSET (Association of Students in Solidarity with East Timor) is hosting an evening to celebrate the renaming of Warwick University's bar to "Xanana's" and to remember Xanana Gusmão who is currently serving a 20 year sentence.

ASSET welcomes everyone to attend the opening of Xanana's bar which will be a ceremony to unveil the sign and a short series of speeches. Following this there will be a full Students' Union event (1,000 capacity) devoted to raising awareness about East Timor.

For more info contact Sarah at:
hyuze@csv.warwick.ac.uk

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

F-16 FIGHTERS TO INDONESIA: ACTION NEEDED

*From Peace Action Washington Report,
January 11, 1996*

The debate continues within the Clinton Administration regarding the potential sale to F-16 fighter jets to the Suharto military government in Indonesia. At first, the Administration was looking to sell Indonesia F-16s that were first sold to Pakistan, but denied to them because of the Pressler amendment. However, a recent sale of British Hawk fighter jets to Indonesia may have changed Indonesia's qualitative needs.

While the Suharto government still wants F-16s to further bolster its military regime, it has reportedly asked for a more advanced model of the F-16 fighter, rather than the older variety that they would get from the Pakistan transfer. The Clinton Administration has been publicly silent on this issue for some time, perhaps because of divergence of opinion within the Administration itself.

Now that the sale of ATACMS to Turkey has gone through Congress without a fight, NOW is the time to begin to pressure Clinton to not transfer the F-16s to Indonesia. U.S. weapons have already been used by Indonesia in the slaughter of East Timorese citizens on numerous occasions. Allowing Indonesia to have these sophisticated fighter aircraft only further solidifies Indonesia's brutal military regime, and further legitimizes both the government, and their occupation of East Timor, in the eyes of the international community. Given that the Arms Export Control Act has again proved meaningless to prevent arms sales to human-rights abusing nations, we must appeal to the President DIRECTLY and tell him that selling arms to dictators and human rights abusers is unacceptable. Please Contact the White House immediately and register your protest to this proposed transfer.

Letters to the Editor of your local paper on this subject are also recommended. If you have a letter printed, be sure to send it both to the White House, and to the Peace Action National Office at 1819 H Street, NW, Suite 420, Washington DC, 20006.

INDONESIA BACKING AWAY FROM EARLIER PLAN TO PURCHASE PAKISTANI F-16S

*Inside the Pentagon (a trade publication),
January 25, 1996. Full text.*

The Clinton administration is still scrambling to find a third country willing to buy the 20 F-16s originally purchased by Pakistan after word that a leading candidate for the aircraft, Indonesia, now may not be willing to accept the older models, according to congressional and defense industry sources tracking the issues.

Indonesia is still "exploring the deal," said Lora Lumpe of the Federation of American Scientists. "There is a stigma attached to the older equipment," she added.

One defense industry official said the administration is struggling to make the best offer - one that will not only substantially cover the \$640 million Pakistan paid for the aircraft, but one that will also be low enough so as to not prompt the Indonesians to seek newer fighters, perhaps from another country.

In November, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ARBI) (sic) established a team to study the purchase of the U.S. F-16s. The administration has not been made aware of any decision by the ARBI, according to sources close to the negotiations.

ARBI Commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung explained during a Nov. 8 interview on Indonesian radio that his country "ideally should have four squadrons of sophisticated jet fighters." This amounts to about 64 aircraft. Currently, Tanjung said his country has only 12 "sophisticated" fighters. But money, of course, is the major issue blocking the sale of more planes from the United States to Indonesia. According to Tanjung, "the promotion of the people's welfare will remain the main priority of the development plan although sophisticated armament is needed."

But another issue making the sale of F-16s to Indonesia even more difficult is the United States' concern about alleged human rights violations in that country. Natalie Goldring of the British American Security Information Council told Inside the Pentagon on Jan. 22 that Indonesia's human rights record was a little better than Syria's or Saudi Arabia's but worse than Nigeria's, which has come under significant criticism in recent months.

In July 1993, U.S. concerns about Indonesia's violations of human rights were such that officials blocked the transfer of 16 Jordanian F-5s to Indonesia for upgrade. With such a precedent, Goldring wonders whether the United States is now lowering its human right standards in order to get the older F-16s "off their hands."

NO ARMS TO DICTATORS!

CLINTON EYES F-16S TO INDONESIA DESPITE OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR

Peace Action Education Fund Action Alert February 1, 1996

Back in November, the Foreign Operations Appropriations conference committee approved an amendment by Sen. Hank Brown (R-CO) that would permit the United States to release \$368 million worth of military equipment, including missile technology, to Pakistan. This 'compromise' amendment was passed after Lockheed-Martin was unable to deliver F-16 fighter jets it sold to Pakistan because of the Pressler amendment that forbade such a sale due to that nation's pursuit of nuclear weapons. The Brown Amendment recommended that the Clinton Administration find a third party to buy the F-16s that Pakistan already paid for. According to several

sources, it looks like the nation of choice is Indonesia. This decision is being made despite the fact that Indonesia is a military dictatorship, has illegally occupied another nation, and has used U.S. weapons to commit gross violations of human rights.

If we are to stop this sale, now is the time to begin to pressure President Clinton. U.S. weapons have already been used by Indonesia in the slaughter of Timorese citizens on numerous occasions. Allowing Indonesia to have these sophisticated fighter aircraft only further solidifies Indonesia's brutal military regime, and further legitimizes both the government, and their occupation of East Timor, in the eyes of the international community.

In the past, grassroots pressure led by advocacy groups such as the East Timor Action Network have successfully gotten Members of Congress to champion the cause of the Timorese people. These efforts have led to some progress, such as the banning of military training to Indonesia and a moratorium on small weapons sales to the Suharto military regime. But this action on the part of the President threatens to unravel any progress made on this important issue.

ACTION: Please read the attached Briefing Paper F-16s to Indonesia, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. This will give you all the background material you need to construct a good letter or phone call. Then:

1: Write or call your Senators and House Member. Using the materials you have, explain to them why the transfer of F-16s to Indonesia must be stopped. Ask them to write a letter to President Clinton urging him to suspend any weapons sales to Indonesia until rapid progress is made toward the total withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. Be sure to ask for a prompt reply, and ask them to include a copy of their letter to the President in their response.

WRITE: Your Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510 (202) 224-3121
Your Representative, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 (202) 225-3121

2: If you have time, cc a copy of your letter to President Clinton, or give him a call and tell him not to sell the F-16s, or any other military equipment, to Indonesia.

President Bill Clinton, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500-0001 Phone 202-456-1111, FAX: 202-456-2461 e-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

For more information about this subject, or to get an East Timor information packet, please Contact the East Timor Action Network, PO Box 1182, White Plains, New York 10602. Phone (914)428-7299, Fax

(914)428-7383, e-mail cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

F-16S TO INDONESIA: ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

Peace Action Education Fund Briefing Paper, Feb. 1996

BACKGROUND

"I did not meet one Timorese person who hadn't had a relative who had been tortured, or killed whilst under Indonesian occupation. I didn't meet one Timorese who could say that their family way intact." -- Simon de Faux, Australian nurse testifying before the UN Decolonization Committee, July 11, 1995.¹

Little more has to be said of the Indonesian military regime's 20 year occupation of East Timor. In 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor with the tacit approval of the United States. At that time, the U.S. doubled the Suharto military regime's military aid, and made sure that the United Nations resolutions condemning the invasion were not implemented.²

In 1990, an Indonesian arms intelligence official confirmed that the Suharto regime had taken the lives of at least 200,000 East Timorese, or approximately one third of the entire population of that nation.³

During this entire period, the United States has been one of the principal arms merchants to Indonesia. After its initial surge in arms sales after the invasion, arms sales and military training kept a steady pace throughout the 1980s. Even after the 1991 Dili massacre, where Indonesian soldiers used American M-16s to gun down more than 200 Timorese civilians, U.S. arms manufacturers have profited from over 250 military sales to the Suharto regime.⁴

RECENT US POLICY TOWARD INDONESIA

U.S. policy toward the Indonesian government and its occupation of East Timor can be characterized as 'divided.' Many of the different branches of the U.S. government have had different, and often conflicting policies. Disagreements within Congress or the Executive branch have led to policy shifts, reversals, and general ambiguity. Here is a look at some of the policies that are currently being perpetuated in Washington.

CONGRESS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT: A LITTLE BIT PREGNANT

After supplying the Suharto military regime with over one third (\$560 million) of all its weapons imports during the 1980s, Congress finally began to respond to public pressure on Indonesia in 1992. In the wake of the Dili massacre, activists fighting for

human rights and self-determination convinced Congress to cut off the International Military Education Training (IMET) program for Indonesia.⁵ Some members of Congress pushed the President to cut off all military aid and arms transfers to Indonesia. However, opposition on the part of the Bush and subsequently Clinton Administrations to make any unilateral or multilateral efforts toward truly restraining the Indonesian military made it very easy for the Suharto regime to continue receiving many U.S. and European arms.

In 1994 the human rights situation in East Timor had deteriorated to a state in which the U.S. State Department could no longer sit idly by. Armed with new evidence of U.S. weapons being used to torture and execute East Timorese civilians, members of Congress pressured the State Department into banning the sale of small arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia.⁶

While the Clinton Administration mentioned the East Timor situation to Indonesia during negotiations, attempts to restrain major arms sales or to attempt to influence our allies to take similar positions were virtually non-existent. The United States' continued relationship with the Suharto regime both economically and militarily made it very easy for Indonesia to continue to fill the gaps in its U.S. procurement with weapons from other nations. This time, Indonesia merely purchased its small arms from Germany, France, and Britain.⁷

In 1995, Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck told a joint hearing of two House International Relations subcommittees that the Indonesian human rights situation, 'which began deteriorating in late 1994, worsened further in January this year with reports that security forces had executed six civilians while suppressing suspected separatist activity,' in East Timor.⁸ Ironically, this was at the same time that Joint Chiefs of Staff vice chairman Admiral William A. Owens announced that the Clinton Administration was seeking to resume IMET training for Indonesia. The Administration plan, which would be part of an Asia-Pacific security and training strategy at the cost of \$281.5 million in 1996, was brought to Congress as part of the 1996 Foreign Aid Authorization bill.⁹

While some Representatives, such as Jack Reed (D-RI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Frank Wolf (R-VA), and Patrick Kennedy (D-RI), argued for an extension of the IMET ban, their attempts ran into a new obstacle. New Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chair Sonny Callahan (R-AL) argued that the resumption of IMET training was 'specifically designed to help improve human rights practices of the military.' In this case, ideology might have taken a back seat to self

interest in that IPTN, Indonesia's leading aircraft company, began setting up manufacturing operations in Mobile, Alabama – the heart of Callahan's district.¹⁰ Rep. Kennedy accurately pointed out the glaring flaw in Rep. Callahan's argument, 'The repression is too severe for us to hold any hope that it can be tempered through education and training. IMET is designed to support democracy and military professionalism, and we cannot support what does not exist.'¹¹

While U.S. military training was not permitted to the Indonesian military in 1996, the fact that non-military forms of IMET were allowed as part of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill (H.R. 1868) showed that there was no commitment on the part of the new Congress to push the limited regulations on Indonesia any further, and, indeed, it seemed that a rollback on these limitations was beginning.

The fact that there was no consistent, forthright policy toward the Suharto regime even as the East Timor situation continued to worsen was proof that Congressional and State Department policies toward Indonesia did nothing but solidify its military relationship with other governments in addition to the United States.

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION & THE MILITARY: COMMERCIAL ENGAGEMENT AND COZY BEDFELLOWS

When running for President, candidate Bill Clinton was asked about East Timor and responded, 'We have ignored it so far in ways that I think are unconscionable.'¹² But on October 30 1995, Suharto arrived at the White House for a 'private' meeting with the President. The audience that welcomed the dictator was Vice President Gore, Secretary of State Christopher, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Shalikashvili, Commerce Secretary Brown, U.S. Trade Representative Kantor, National Security Advisor Lake, and many other high-level Administration executives.¹³

The group of officials symbolized President Clinton's reversal of his stance on Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. Instead of taking an aggressive posture toward this brutal dictatorship, he instead decided to embrace a concept coined by Commerce Secretary Brown, known as 'commercial engagement.' This theory states that pursuit of a close economic relationship with a nation, and compelling it to open its markets, will make it more open to pressure from its financial partners to improve human rights and other domestic issues. So, after a cursory discussion of East Timor, the group sat down with Suharto and discussed business.

Meanwhile, U.S. military officials were building closer and closer ties with the Indo-

nesian military. On a visit to Jakarta in September of 1995, Admiral Owens said that 'The development of military cooperation between [Indonesia and the United States] is very important.' And that he would, 'personally do my best so that the Congress and Senate take a favorable position,' on continued and enhanced military aid to the Suharto regime.¹⁴ As to the East Timor situation, the Admiral merely stated, 'From our standpoint in the [U.S.] military it seems when an issue is raised affecting the military's involvement in East Timor that appropriate action has been taken to address those concerns.'¹⁵

In all, both the military for strategic reasons and the Clinton Administration for economic reasons have chosen to turn a blind eye toward the suffering in East Timor, and the brutal military regime that dominates Indonesia. A senior Administration official who deals with Asia policy said of Suharto simply, 'He's our kind of guy.'¹⁶ It's no wonder that the Clinton Administration turned to Indonesia when it's little F-16 fighter jet problem came up.

F-16s TO PAKISTAN, NO, TO INDONESIA

In 1993, the State Department took one more step toward curbing Indonesian armaments, this time in the arena of large arms. In direct response to the Dili massacre, the State Department refused Jordan's petition to sell U.S.-made F-5E fighters to Indonesia. While this blockage hampered its attempt to increase the size of its air force, and aggravated the U.S. arms manufacturers that brokered the deal, the lack of international governmental pressure on Indonesia made it fairly simple for the Suharto regime to buy Hawk fighters from Britain.

At the same time, however, the Clinton Administration was suddenly stuck with 28 F-16 fighter jets that Lockheed-Martin had originally sold to Pakistan for \$656 million. The Pressler amendment, however, passed by Congress specifically forbade the transfer of major military equipment to Pakistan due to its pursuit of nuclear weapons. Pakistan had already given Lockheed-Martin its money, and the Clinton Administration had already approved the deal before realizing that it would not be able to send the F-16s to Pakistan, and they would have to come up with the money to repay Islamabad.

The F-16s sold to Pakistan are an older model of the jet, and are currently stored in Arizona (see box for more details on the F-16). The Clinton Administration needed a cash-rich nation to purchase their hardware. Thus, a new policy was born. According to the Financial Times, the U.S. was to outline 'various options' for the Indonesian armed forces to buy the F-16s.¹⁷

These 'various options' were delivered because after preliminary discussions, Indonesia was not very interested in the older model planes. In November, they did begin to hint that they could be enticed to accept them if they did not have to pay cash immediately.¹⁸ Indonesia expressed an interest in new F-16s instead. The Aerospace Industries Association (the primary lobbyist for the arms export industry), which sensed that the Clinton Administration was about to fully reopen the profitable Indonesian market, sprang into action. Immediately, the AIA's chief spokesman Joel Johnson began to espouse their traditional rhetoric regarding war planes and human rights abuses. Mr. Johnson said that the Clinton Administration should have no problem selling the F-16s to Indonesia because 'F-16s are not used in crowd control.'¹⁹

The Indonesian military continues to be interested in the purchase of F-16s, even after buying additional Hawk aircraft from Britain in January 1996. The Clinton Administration is also considering selling the older F-16s to Thailand, in order to open up Indonesia for the purchase of newer, more expensive models.

This selfish policy on the part of the Clinton Administration, furthered by the profiteering AIA, would symbolize a total abandonment of the U.S. espoused values of democracy and human rights in our policy toward Indonesia and East Timor. Resuming the sale of attack jets to the military regime of Indonesia will have tragic results on several fronts:

* The fact that the United States would provide sophisticated military equipment to Indonesia makes the brutal dictatorship stronger by giving it the capacity to better enforce its hold on power, and increases the Suharto regime's legitimacy in the eyes of the international community. This will give Indonesia even more confidence that it can continue its occupation of East Timor without fear of international sanction or vilification.

* The hundreds of millions of dollars that will be spent on F-16s could be used to increase the standard of living for the growing underclass of Indonesian people, many of whom make only \$2-3 per day working at Western-owned manufacturing companies like Nike or Reebok.²⁰ Speaking of the East-Asian arms spiral, Scott Nathanson, Arms Trade Campaign Coordinator of Peace Action Education Fund, likened Indonesia's purchasing of arms while impoverishing the population to the head of a homeless shelter using the funds intended to feed the shelter's inhabitants to buy himself a BMW because, in so doing, he would prove that he ran a very successful shelter.²¹

* The AIA's claim that major armaments are not used to commit gross violations of human rights is wrong. In East Timor, Hawk attack aircraft, quite similar to F-16s, have been routinely used in bombing raids. Eyewitnesses in East Timor who saw the Hawks in action reported that 'they fly in low... and attack civilians, because the people hiding in the mountains are civilians. Four of my cousins were killed in Hawk attacks near Los Palos.'²² There is little doubt that American weapons, both large and small, will be used to continue this oppression as long as the United States and the international community allow it.

* During the first seven years of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, the United States provided 90% of all the weaponry for Indonesia, leaving little doubt that both major and small U.S. arms were used extensively during the most brutal period of East Timor's history.

RECOMMENDATIONS

While the Clinton Administration has promoted the F-16 sale to Indonesia, the fact that it has not yet been completed suggests that there may be some disagreement within the Administration on this policy. Instead of easing arms transfers restrictions on the Suharto government, President Clinton could work to prevent the same kind of human suffering that prompted U.S. troops to enter Bosnia. Here is a list of recommendations.

- Immediately renounce any intention to sell any F-16s to Indonesia.
- The President should either ask Congress for a rescission package of \$656 million out of unnecessary military programs to repay Pakistan for its purchase of the 28 F-16s they bought but were not allowed to have, or simply instruct Lockheed-Martin to refund Pakistan's money and return the F-16s to Lockheed-Martin's care.
- Establish a moratorium on all military support to Indonesia.
- End the 'commercial engagement' policy and condition continued economic cooperation with progress on the Indonesian government's exit from East Timor.
- Actively pursue an international ban in the United Nations Security Council on all military assistance or transfers to Indonesia.
- End all arms sales to dictatorial and/or human rights abusing regimes as a step toward ending the global weapons trade.

Endnotes

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9. LUSA Wire Service; 'IMET for Indonesia in 1996?.' March 16, 1995.
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16. Sanger; 'Real Politics: Why Suharto is in and Castro is Out.'
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Written by Scott Nathanson, Arms Trade Campaign Coordinator. Thanks to the Ruth Mott Fund and the Compton Foundation for their support. January 1996.

INDONESIA PLANS TO BUY 28 F-16 FIGHTER JETS FROM U.S.

Singapore Straits Times web site, March 7, 1996

JAKARTA – Indonesian armed forces commander General Feisal Tanjung said yesterday his country was negotiating with the United States to buy more F-16 fighter planes.

He was speaking a day after disclosing in parliament that the US had restored funding for training Indonesian military officers,

reviving a programme that was halted in 1992.

"Yes, we are negotiating to buy F-16s from the United States. I am not in the capacity to negotiate but the ministries of planning and research and technology are," Gen. Feisal told reporters yesterday.

He said the US government last November offered Indonesia 28 F-16s made by Lockheed Martin Corp.

"We hope we can buy all 28 planes that were offered, but if not, nine is okay. It depends on the financing," he said.

He said the F-16s were needed to safeguard the Indonesian archipelago.

He said a high ranking US military official would visit Indonesia in May to discuss the F-16 sale and other issues.

Indonesia's air force has more than 80 combat aircraft, including 12 F-16s.

Gen. Feisal told a parliamentary commission on Tuesday that the Pentagon had given the green light to reopen an International Military Education and Training programme with Indonesia.

Washington suspended funding in 1992 after Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners in East Timor in 1991. Witnesses said up to 200 people were killed.

Major-General Syamsir Siregar, head of the military intelligence agency BIA, told the same parliamentary hearing Indonesian officers would take specialised programmes in defence management and post-graduate studies.

INDONESIA WANTS F-16S, LOAN

Jakarta-April 9-FWN/UPI- Indonesia is interested in purchasing a number of sophisticated U.S.-built F-16 fighter jets to back up its existing fleet, a report said today.

Ginandjar Kartasasmita, state minister of national development planning, said negotiations for the purchase are currently under way.

"Basically, the Indonesian government accepted the offer made by the U.S. government to buy nine F-16 fighter jets," Kartasasmita told the Suara Karya daily newspaper.

"But the problem is related to the funding source for purchasing the fighter jets, taking into consideration our limited development budget, including in the military sector," he said.

Kartasasmita said the Indonesian government hoped to find competitive funding and soft purchasing conditions, meaning at a low rate of interest.

An Indonesian Cabinet minister has said Indonesia would consider the offer if the United States could give Jakarta a loan.

Kartasasmita said the U.S. offer was made by President Bill Clinton to President Suharto in October when the Indonesian leader visited the United States.

The United States suspended an international military training program and F-16 sales to Indonesia in 1992 for a number of reasons, including human rights violations in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

In 1993 Washington refused to allow Jordan to sell four U.S.-made F-5 jets to Indonesia, citing the same reason.

It was recently reported the United States offered its F-16s at a cost of \$13 million each while Indonesia wants to pay no more than \$9 million each.

A high-ranking military official revealed the country needs four squadrons of F-16s—for a total of 64 planes—to guard Indonesia's vast archipelago.

Indonesia is currently awaiting the arrival of a number of advanced British Aerospace Hawk 100 and 200 fighter jets.

EAST TIMOR ABUSES CANNOT BE IGNORED

HON. ROBERT A. UNDERWOOD (D-Guam) in the House of Representatives Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. Speaker, over a decade ago, Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor. While this issue is usually only discussed in this body during the anniversary of the annexation or invasion, I would like to take this opportunity to point out recent reports which uncover the nature of Indonesian rule over East Timor in recent years.

Since the invasion, it is estimated that over 200,000 people have died out of a population of 700,000. To maintain order in the territory, Indonesia stations 5,000 troops in East Timor. These troops have been used to intimidate the local population into an illegal occupation, one which the United Nations has refused to recognize.

The Indonesian Government has consistently been cited by human rights groups such as Asia Watch and Amnesty International for their abuses in East Timor. In their annual report last year, Amnesty International pointed to the fact that at least 350 political prisoners, many of them prisoners of conscience, were held, including some 40 sentenced during the year. Hundreds of people were arrested and held without charge or trial. Torture of political detainees and criminal suspects was common, in some cases resulting in death. Several people were extrajudicially executed, and scores of criminal suspects were shot and killed by police in suspicious circumstances. The fate of possible hundreds of Acehnese and East

Timorese who 'disappeared' in previous years remained unknown.

The political dynamics in East Timor seem to be shifting with a younger generation emerging, many of whom were born after the invasion and annexation, and social and economic strains taking their toll. Media reports indicate that the nature of their dispute with Indonesia has become more emotional and protests have become more spontaneous. In a recent news report from the Sydney Morning Herald, rioting last fall has taken East Timor into a new phase. Local people and diplomats said previous unrest in East Timor had been largely politically organized, but recent disorder has been more widespread and spontaneous, reflecting the anger of Timorese buckling under economic and social strains.

Mr. Speaker, while this issue has faded from the headlines and is not a hot topic in Congress, I believe we should be mindful of the abuses in East Timor and the changing political environment.

WORKERS, ACTIVISTS PICKET TRAILMOBILE

UPIU Press release, February 16, 1996

For more information, contact: Mark Brooks, United Paperworkers Int'l Union, 615/834-8590

Chicago - Two causes joined together in a spirited picket line today in front of the Amoco Building in downtown Chicago. The demonstrators united to protest Trailmobile Corp., which is headquartered in the building, and which has locked out 1,200 workers from its plant in Charleston, Illinois.

"We're here to show [Trailmobile CEO Edward] Wanandi that we are going to be on his case until he ends this immoral lockout and gives us a fair contract.

We're in this picture to stay until that happens," said Gary Collins, the president of United Paperworkers (UPIU) Local 7591 which represents the locked-out workers. Trailmobile locked out the workers Jan. 21, just days after the workers had overwhelmingly rejected a concessions-laden contract offer. The company offer would have continued a four-year wage freeze for three additional years and also contained significant work-rule concessions.

Joining the Charleston workers on the picket line were Chicago-based activists from the East Timor Action Network, which was formed several years ago to protest the continued occupation of the tiny island-nation of East Timor by the military government of Indonesia. The family of Trailmobile CEO Edward Wanandi, whose conglomerate the Gemala Group owns

Trailmobile, has had long-standing ties to Indonesia's military.

"We are proud to join this demonstration in support of the UPIU workers," said Brad Livingston [actually Simpson], a member of the East Timor Action Network. "Wanandi's behavior is no surprise to us. His family has supported Indonesia's military butchers for the last 20 years as the military invaded East Timor and committed massacre after massacre. What is happening in East Timor is, literally, a crime, and the Wanandis' hands are not clean."

The picketers carried banners calling for an end to the Charleston lockout and for an end to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Later, union members distributed leaflets describing the Wanandi family's close ties to the Indonesian military throughout the village of Lake Forest, where Edward Wanandi maintains a residence.

The same day, teams of locked out workers distributed the leaflets at the Midwest Truckers Association trade show in Springfield, Ill., and at Trailmobile's other manufacturing plant in Jonesboro, Ark.

For more information, contact: Mark Brooks, United Paperworkers International Union, 615/834-8590

U.S. LABOR DISPUTE RAISES EAST TIMOR

NEW YORK, (Apr. 15) IPS - A three-month lock-out of 1,200 union workers in Illinois by an Indonesian-owned trailer manufacturer now includes a debate on the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

On Jan. 21, the Chicago-based Trailmobile Corporation locked out 1,200 members of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) in Charleston, Illinois.

But the dispute has also raised questions about the company's Indonesian owners, particularly Edward Wanandi, chairman of Gemala North America and owner of Trailmobile.

The union has charged that the Wanandi family was tied to the Indonesian plans to invade East Timor in December 1975. Human rights groups say that some 200,000 Timorese, roughly a third of the territory's population, were killed in the ensuing years as Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony.

On Feb. 16, Trailmobile workers picketed the firm's Chicago headquarters, passing out handbills alleging Wanandi involvement in repression in East Timor and Indonesia. In turn, Edward Wanandi has demanded a letter of apology from the union for passing out the handbills.

"There's definitely a connection between the way they treat workers here and the way they treated the Timorese," argues

Mike Lewis, the chairman of the UPIU local bargaining committee in Charleston, Local 7591. He adds, "I don't think they're going to get an apology...not from me, anyway. If we had done anything illegal or wrong (by producing the handbills), he would have taken us to court."

The Wanandi family has long been linked to 1975 invasion. In a 1994 documentary by the British Broadcasting corporation (BBC), Australian journalist John Pilger tied Indonesia's Strategic Studies Institute, a think tank founded by Edward Wanandi's elder brother Jusuf, to the invasion, called "Operation Komodo."

John Miller, New York coordinator of the East Timor Action Network, says that Jusuf and another Wanandi brother, Sofjan, benefited from their ties with Indonesia's military elite, with Sofjan receiving tourist development concessions for East Timor.

"In Timor, you don't get a prominent business concession unless you're hooked in with the military or with President Suharto's family directly," Miller claims.

Trailmobile officials deny any connection between Edward Wanandi and the North American outfit and the charges against the family and the larger Gemala Group. One official, speaking on condition of anonymity, refused to comment on the Timorese charges but said the U.S. firm was not linked to the controversy.

"Trailmobile is owned by an individual, Edward Wanandi, and is not owned by the Gemala Group," he says. The company, he adds, is not aware of the Gemala Group's or Wanandi family's histories.

But the locked-out workers and UPIU contend that the company's history of labor relations in the United States is negative.

Since 1989, when Gemala first bought Trailmobile Canada's Toronto-based parent company, the firm's labor record has included mass layoffs of workers, and lock-outs and firings when workers disagreed with wage cuts, the UPIU argues.

In 1992, Trailmobile Canada began a two-year lock-out of 20 Canadian workers who refused to accept a 24 per cent wage cut. Those workers have since been returned to their posts.

The Charleston lock-out began after Local 7591 workers voted overwhelmingly to reject Trailmobile's demands for a new labor contract, including a three-year wage freeze. A previous contract, according to the UPIU, had already frozen wages for four years.

Three days after the workers voted to approve the union's right to strike, workers showed up at the Charleston factory only to find the doors locked and guarded. The company has since hired non-union "scab" workers as replacements.

The Trailmobile spokesman counters that the lock-out is "entirely legal" since the union rejected the contract. "Just as a union has a right to strike when there is no contract, the company has a right to lock workers out when there is no contract," he argues.

The spokesman denies the lock-out is part of a strategy to weaken the union. He accuses the 1,200-member work force in Charleston of lighting acetylene bombs and performing other acts of sabotage during the dispute.

"It's too dangerous to operate under those conditions," the spokesman says.

But Lewis notes that, just last month, Trailmobile told the UPIU that at least 300 members will be laid off, even after the lock-out is resolved. Despite community help in providing funds and shelter for the locked-out workers, he adds, times are tough for the Charleston employees.

The union has filed charges with the federal National Labor Relations Board, accusing Trailmobile of bargaining in bad faith. The Trailmobile spokesman says the company will continue to negotiate in good faith, although he could not say when the firm would meet next with the UPIU.

"I have nothing against Indonesian people, Chinese people, African people - they're just hard-working people like we are," Lewis says. But he says the Charleston dispute has soured him on foreign conglomerates, as much as on their U.S. equivalents: "They buy up our companies, our land, and treat our people like dirt."

MOYNIHAN AND THE COLUMBIA SPECTATOR

Email from: Anurag Chander Jain <xc@columbia.edu>, Feb. 24. This article was submitted and refused by the Columbia (University) Spectator daily newspaper.

"FUCK OFF." SENATOR MOYNIHAN'S ODE TO EAST TIMOR by Anurag X.C. Jain

"One of the prerogatives of power is that you can get away with anything, and will be protected by your peers, hence by the doctrinal system generally. There are mountains of evidence on that."

-- Professor of Linguistics and Media Analyst Noam Chomsky, email, Feb 24/96

NOTE: The Columbia Spectator (spectator@columbia.edu) refuses to print this editorial because of a conflict of interest. They claim that since I wrote the first article on Feb 20 Moynihan Speaks of International Law, printing this editorial (retroactively) effects the perceived objectivity of

my first news article and thus there would be a conflict of interest. The Columbia Spectator is claiming that by not printing this editorial they maintain their journalistic integrity. They won't explain to me how they maintain this integrity, they just tell me this rule has always been (though it doesn't apply to certain areas, like Sports) a rule that everyone abides by. I have spoken to former editors of the Columbia Spectator and I have even spoke to David Halberstam, a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist who gave a speech to the Columbia Spectators new Board on Feb 19- they both urged me to explicitly state that my editorial was a result of research and not a matter of bias. If I did this, both argued, there would be no conflict of interest. They did maintain, however, that the Spectator has editorial privilege.

The Columbia Spectator maintains that Halberstam and former editors can have their opinions, but the fact is you wrote the first article and now we won't print your editorial. They maintain that I have a bias - or rather this editorial illustrates that I did have a bias when I wrote the first article on the Senator's lecture. They are adamant about not-printing this editorial. Moreover, they are not willing to rework the editorial in any way to tell the story of the Senator and his hypocrisy.

I should add that I originally wrote the editorial below as a news piece, but the Editorial Page Editor (who was originally afraid of libel) told me to make it more aggressive. Enclosed at the end of this editorial is a copy of my original article. I challenge anyone to explain or justify the Spectators position (or the Senators, for that matter). *The Columbia Spectator's* email address is listed above, mine is xc@columbia.edu.

On February 19th Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan gave a speech at Columbia University and I covered it in my February 20th article "Moynihan speaks of international law" for the Columbia Spectator. Moynihan championed for a "Law of Nations" as a code that "commands compliance of all states including our own." He argued that such a measuring stick would provide a moral (and legal) awakening to uphold world "standards" and avoid another "Auschwitz or Hiroshima."

Given the Senator's position it seemed strange that Scott Palagrino, a civil rights and media activist, would suggest that Moynihan should be "brought in front of a war crimes tribunal" for his role in a series of events that led to the genocide of 1/3 of a nation, as he did when he stood up to ask his question that night. Over the past week I have researched Palagrino's question and the Senators speech, response, and his other writings.

As the United States' representative in the United Nations the Senator had the opportunity to condemn the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor, but he did not. My research into the Senator's words and actions has led me to conclude Moynihan's reputation as a humanitarian and his speech on the "Law of Nations" was insulting. He is not only guilty of acting out of geopolitical motivation, but he is a hypocrite for attacking that same policy.

In 1975 the nation of Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor, a former Portuguese state on the brink of independence. The invasion ended in the deaths of over 200,000 of the 700,000 population.

Moynihan's answer to Palagrino was a frightening one. "I was only carrying out orders," he said jokingly. Equally frightening was the crowds laughter.

In his 1978 book, *Dangerous Places*, Senator Moynihan discusses the fall of East Timor ("a place of no great importance") in greater detail than the time permitted on the night of the speech. He quotes *The New York Times'* declaration that "by any definition Indonesia [was] guilty of naked aggression." He goes on to state that on December 22 the Security Council unanimously approved a resolution calling for the full withdrawal of the Indonesian military from East Timor. The Senator even sites East Timor's casualties as proportional to those "experienced in the Soviet Union during the Second World War."

Senator Moynihan adds that after a 3 to 4 week period "the subject disappeared from the press and from the United Nations."

Three years later, on January 26, 1978, the Australian government became the first to formally acknowledge that "Indonesia had sovereignty over East Timor." Since then the UN security council has repeatedly condemned Indonesia, but has taken no action.

However, in the short and somewhat sketchy recounting of this history that emerged from the heated exchange between Palagrino and Moynihan, my initial feeling of curiosity at the accusation first became confused by the speed with which the events transpired and then further by the crowd's response of levity at Palagrino's accusation and the Senator's answer.

Having amusingly offered "I was only carrying out orders," the Senator then went on to elaborate on his decision to not-object to Indonesia's actions. East Timor was rallying for independence and the Chinese insisted on it, said Moynihan. The Indonesians disagreed and they invaded.

"I was instructed not to object. And I did not," said Moynihan. "Arrest me if you will." This response also met with laughs

from the crowd. This man, who had just given a lecture about the necessity of an international body of law to prevent the cruel and unnecessary genocide had just admitted to his own guilt. He permitted the deaths of people in a country which he considers "of no great significance." Yet he will argue that US intervention in Iraq was not a matter of oil supply, but instead a legal transgression.

As he pointed out early on in his speech, Moynihan had been one of the Senate's most fervent critics of the "Reagan doctrine" of intervention based on "geopolitical rather than legal grounds."

Senator Moynihan emphasized that interventions such as in Iraq and Bosnia had foundations in international law rather than in personal interest. President Bush presented Desert Storm as a response carried out under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, titled "Actions with respect to threats to the Peace, Breaches of Peace, and Acts of Aggression."

Moynihan stated that Desert Storm "was essentially a unilateral action by the US...all entirely according to law, specifically, for example, Article 51 of the Charter recording the inherent right of individual or collective self defense."

In these instances International law was cited as essential to bringing an end to the horrors of extermination. "Never forget. Never again. What was it we were never to forget?" asked Moynihan, quoting former Reagan Secretary of State, George Schultz in reference to the Holocaust. The Senator offered the answer, "the genocide in Bosnia."

If the government and people like the Senator argue that Iraq is a breach of international law we believe them. We want to stop crimes against the innocent and we have faith in the actions of our leaders to decide when action is right or wrong. What makes the Senator dangerous is his ability to choose which areas are worth mentioning (Iraq, Bosnia and more recently Cuba) and which aren't (East Timor). We begin to believe the illusion of an international law that protects the innocent regardless of wealth, power, or other geopolitical factors.

What the Senator failed to highlight in his response to Palagrino was that through military attack, forced starvation, and murder, in 1975, the invasion and annexation of East Timor resulted in the death of 1/3 of the population. In November 1991, over 250 East Timorese were killed while peacefully demonstrating for their independence. Indonesian soldiers fired U.S. made M-16 rifles at the unarmed crowd. The US has failed to intervene in East Timor and it has failed to support its sovereignty. When we take this into consideration Moynihan's argument

that intervention in Iraq and Bosnia are legal and not geopolitical seems confused. If Moynihan really believed what he spoke of on Feb. 19 he would try to help East Timor. Moynihan was the US representative to the UN at the time and did not object to Indonesia's aggressions though that same year he won the Human Rights Award from the International League of the Rights of Man. He didn't care then, he doesn't care now.

On the evening of the speech at Columbia, Palagrino stood up and quoted the Senator's own words about East Timor from *Dangerous Places*: "The US wished things to turn out as they did, and worked to bring this about. The department of State desired that the UN prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

I find it a scary notion that a man that allows the death of hundreds of thousands of people can be considered a humanitarian by his peers and the Columbia community. Other than Palagrino no one voiced opposition to any of the Senator's comments. People believe that the Senator's "Law of Nations" is a reality and that the US acts "unilaterally" to end aggressions. East Timor is an excellent example of a state that is continually oppressed because it isn't considered important by people like the Senator or anyone in power.

Over the past week I have researched the Senator's comments, both in his book and his speech. In addition, I wrote MIT Professor of Linguistics and well known media analyst Noam Chomsky about the Senator's speech. He responded, "He takes pride in implementing the crimes and rendering the UN utterly ineffective in deterring them, rightly expecting to be lauded in humane and elevated circles for his principled stance in contributing to a massacre that he compares to the Nazis. The case of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is crucially different: the State Department wanted a different outcome, and he takes equal pride in supporting that position, eliciting the same praise, for the same reason."

However, as was stated earlier, for various reasons the impact of the Senator's call to "Arrest me if you will," failed to register with its' audience members during the speech itself. Palagrino was the only one to cite the Senator's contradiction. Even after the speech, few were sympathetic to Palagrino, most people simply accepting, as a given, that the Senator was an honorable man.

Afterwards, I went up to the stage to watch Palagrino confront the Senator about his comments again. Once at the stage I saw the Senator and Palagrino shaking hands.

"Senator, my name is Scott Palagrino and I was wondering what you thought of my question? Would you be willing to debate Noam Chomsky?" And the Senator replied: "Palagrino... fuck off. I mean Chomsky - fuck off. Chomsky? Isn't he a linguist?"

These comments are what inspired my research and this article.

That linguist Moynihan so colorfully refers to had this to respond. "For properly educated people to understand these words would be virtually impossible, though I doubt that high school students would have much difficulty with them."

Presently we are witnessing International Law evoked by the US over Cuba's shooting down of two Cessna planes from the Miami group Brothers to the Rescue. Cuba claims the act was in defense of their own airspace. The US contends the planes were over international waters.

Cuba is accusing the Security Council of bowing to the demands of the US. Cuba accuses the council of acting in a biased manner and subordinat[ing] to the interests of the big powers. It added: The Security Council... has become a dependency of the US State Department. They accused the council of becoming a kind of universal high court to judge any country which disobeys its designs. (Feb. 28, Cuba says UN Council Tool of Washington, Havana, Reuters, 5:38 PM)

Evoking international law is an effective tool of manipulation. It helps us feel, as a nation, that all our countries aggressions, defenses, and swearing are right and just, when any High School student, if they heard the facts, could see it for the lie it is.

MOYNIHAN SPEAKS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

by Anurag X.C. Jain

This is the original article from Tuesday Feb. 20, Columbia Spectator, Front Page

In a speech discussing international law, New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan spoke at the Lionel Trilling Seminar, held yesterday in Low Library and attended by approximately 100 people.

Professor of Practical International Diplomacy at the School of International and Public Affairs Jack Matlock Jr. moderated the discussion between the speakers, which included Moynihan, Professor Richard Epstein of the Chicago School of Law, and Sir Brian Urquhart, Former Under Secretary General of the United Nations.

Moynihan discussed the return to a law of nations, which is a set of laws which all nations adhere to.

With the onset of the Cold War this ideal expired. Even the earliest days there was a definite feel that there was not one world,

there were two: Soviet and non-Soviet. Moynihan said.

In 1988 Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the United Nations asking for a political and legal standard of international law by which all countries would abide, Moynihan said.

According to Moynihan, at the time of Gorbachev's address, Washington was no longer interested in developing an international standard.

They didn't feel bound to enforce international standards on other countries nor did they feel bound to them themselves, Moynihan said.

Moynihan said the Cold War led to the deterioration of faith in the ideal of a law of nations.

From the annals of history, nothing will compare to the fading in the US of a law of nations, Moynihan said.

Striving for an international law has been one of the founding principles of the United States, Moynihan said.

Epstein commented on Moynihan's speech, noting that an understanding of international law requires an understanding of domestic law.

If we dishonor the most instinctive sentiments of law in our own backyards how can we hold them up to an international standard? Epstein said.

According to Urquhart, there is a law of nations and there is not a law of nations.

The law of nations is embodied in the UN; however there is no international legal system, no policing force, nor any sovereign, said Urquhart.

A controversy arose when Scott Palagrino, a civil rights and media activist, asked Moynihan about his political involvement in Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, a country in Southeast Asia, 20 years ago.

The US aided in the killing of 200 000 of [East] Timor's 700 000 person population. Senator you were an Ambassador to the UN at the time and supported the Indonesian invasion... you should be put in jail for war crimes, Palagrino said.

Moynihan responded facetiously, saying he was only following orders.

Moynihan explained the complicated political climate surrounding East Timor and his limited involvement in the invasion of East Timor.

David Lee, CC 98, said he particularly liked the opposing views and perspectives presented by the different participants.

Professor Epstein provided a legal perspective on the relationship between domestic and international law, Sir Brian provided an international diplomatic point of view, and Moynihan liked US foreign policy with the law of nations, Lee said.

US STATE DEPARTMENT 1995 REPORT ON INDONESIA

Indonesia Human Rights Practices, 1995

By US Department of State, March 1996

The Indonesian political system, despite a surface adherence to democratic forms, remains strongly authoritarian. President Soeharto (now in his sixth 5-year term), a small group of advisers, and the military dominate the political life of this heavily populated developing country, whose people come from hundreds of different cultural, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. The Government requires allegiance to a state ideology known as "Pancasila," which includes belief in a Supreme God, a just and civilized humanity, national unity, democracy, and social justice. It has used Pancasila as a justification for restricting the development of opposition elements.

Under a doctrine of "dual function," the military is given special civic rights and responsibilities, including unelected military seats in Parliament (DPR) and local legislatures, in addition to its defense and security roles. The 450,000-member armed forces, including 175,000 police, consider the maintenance of internal security as their primary mission. They have traditionally acted swiftly to suppress perceived threats to security, with a vigor that has often led to human rights abuses. Some military leaders have raised questions about the validity of this "security approach." There continued to be numerous, credible reports of human rights abuses by the military and police, although they exhibited some restraint in controlling crowds and demonstrations.

In contrast to its restrictive political system, Indonesia has an increasingly open and deregulated economy. Although still a poor country, the economy continued to expand, especially in manufacturing, with gross domestic product expected to increase by 7.2 percent in 1995. The continued economic growth has produced steady gains in living standards for much of Indonesian society. The number of people living below the poverty line has fallen from over 60 percent of the population to under 15 percent. Widespread underemployment persists, however, as do corruption and influence peddling.

The Government continued to commit serious human rights abuses. The most serious abuses included harsh repression of dissidents in East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya. Reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture of those in custody by security forces increased. Reports of arbitrary arrests and detentions and the use of excessive violence (including deadly force) in dealing with suspected criminals or perceived troublemakers continued. Prison

conditions remained harsh, and security forces regularly violated citizens' right to privacy.

The Indonesian people continue to lack the ability to change their government. The Government continued to impose severe limitations on freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and association. It suppressed efforts to develop a truly free trade union movement, but encouraged some developments that appear to open the door to greater flexibility within the registered trade union federation. Labor organizations trying to compete with the official trade union federation were subject to continuing harassment and intimidation. Elements of the armed forces continued to be responsible for the most serious human rights abuses. Military leaders in some cases showed willingness to admit publicly abuses by military personnel and take action against them, including in a brutal incident in East Timor. Punishment, however, rarely matched the severity of the abuse. The judiciary, while still largely subservient to the executive branch and subject to widespread corruption, made several significant decisions against government interests that suggested somewhat greater judicial independence.

The Government continued to exert strong pressure against antigovernment critics, independent journalists, and labor activists. These constraints, however, did not completely dampen dissenting voices in the public and the media. Many human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) remained active, and the Government tolerated wide press coverage of some sensitive issues. The Government announced a phasing-out of a discriminatory symbol on the identification cards of ex-political prisoners and their families, and some easing of restrictions on the right of free assembly both beginning in early 1996. The government-appointed National Human Rights Commission displayed increasing independence, spotlighting abuses and occasionally taking positions at variance with government policies and actions.

On East Timor, no progress was made in accounting for the missing persons following the 1991 Dili incident or the 10 other Timorese that disappeared in 1995. Troop levels remained unjustifiably high. The armed forces used excessive force in making arrests following anti-integration rioting in Dili in October. The Government reimposed restricted access to the province by foreign journalists.

In Irian Jaya, tensions with indigenous inhabitants seeking greater autonomy or independence led to violent repressive measures by military units, resulting in deaths and other human rights abuses documented by several sources, including the

National Human Rights Commission, the Catholic Church, and NGO's. Security forces reportedly killed 16 or more civilians throughout Irian Jaya between mid-1994 and mid-1995.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killings

Historically, politically motivated extrajudicial killings generally have occurred most frequently in areas where separatist movements were active, such as East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya. Security forces continue to employ harsh measures against separatist movements in these three areas. Security forces in East Timor killed six unarmed civilians in Liquisa province in January. The military court-martialed two soldiers for this killing (see below). There were also several other mysterious killings in East Timor; the limited evidence available suggests some of these too could also be cases of summary execution by security forces, though at least seven are attributed to East Timorese insurgents. There were credible, detailed reports from church and NGO sources that security forces killed 16 or more civilians in Irian Jaya between mid-1994 and mid-1995. Knowledgeable sources report at least two unconfirmed instances of security forces in Aceh province killing civilians without justification.

There were reports that security forces killed members of insurgent groups in armed clashes, including five Aceh Merdeka supporters in Aceh as well as a number of alleged armed opposition members in East Timor. Insurgent groups also attacked and killed security forces.

The Government withdrew two army battalions from East Timor in September, but there has been no noticeable decrease in military activity in the territory. After October riots in Dili, some antiriot units were reinforced. The Government offered a general amnesty to members of the Timorese resistance who surrender their arms, and it was reported to have released some who were apprehended rather than put them on trial. A similar policy was applied to several leaders of the Timorese Clandestine Political Movement.

The police often employ excessive and sometimes deadly force in apprehending suspects or coping with alleged criminals. In response to protests that the methods used are unjustifiably harsh and amount to execution without trial, police generally claim that the suspects were fleeing, resisting arrest, or threatening the police. In North Sumatra, for example, 45 shootings by police, including 3

deaths, were reported by mid-August. Accurate statistics were unavailable, however.

In the past the authorities almost never took action against police for using excessive force. However, there is some indication that this situation is improving, although action taken by the authorities is still not commensurate with the gravity of police abuses. Among a number of disciplinary actions taken by authorities, three policemen were reported to be facing court-martial in Padang, West Sumatra, on charges of deliberately striking a motorcyclist with their car during a chase in April, although the trial had not begun as of late August. In June a military court-martial sentenced an army second lieutenant to 4 and 1/2 years in prison and a private to 4 years for killing six unarmed, bound civilians in Liquisa Regency, East Timor in January. In October military authorities arrested a second lieutenant and three privates suspected of killing civilians in Irian Jaya (see above), and planned to court-martial them beginning in January 1996. Seven policemen were detained in Aceh Province on suspicion of torturing a suspected rapist and causing his death in late July. In Northern Sumatra, at least two civil cases of alleged excessive force on the part of police officials, in one of which the victim died, were settled out of court through monetary compensation.

b. Disappearance

There were credible reports that security forces abducted five civilians in Dili, East Timor, in January. The Government did not respond to repeated requests from the National Human Rights Commission and from foreign governments to clarify the fate of these persons. At least five other persons disappeared in East Timor under circumstances suggesting possible involvement by the security forces, and some credible sources believe they have been executed. Indonesian NGO's documented reports of at least four civilians who disappeared after being detained by military forces in Irian Jaya at the end of 1994. The whereabouts of those abducted are not known, and credible sources believe they are dead. Security forces did not acknowledge the abductions, but announced that they were investigating the Irian Jaya reports and related charges of military killings and torture in that province. Since their investigation of the Liquisa incident in East Timor in January, security forces have become less willing to provide information or to undertake investigations about new cases of concern. Security forces in areas of conflict sometimes hold suspects incommunicado for periods of time before acknowledging their detention. This appears to have become more frequent in East Timor during the latter part of 1994 and early

1995, before easing somewhat later in the year. Suspects are also frequently held for substantial periods of time without formal charges being brought.

The Government made no new efforts to account for the missing and dead from the November 12, 1991 military shooting of civilians in Dili, East Timor. Of those still listed as missing in a report the military gave to Human Rights Watch/Asia, no additional cases were resolved during the year.

Government spokesmen implied that their failure to locate those missing was primarily due to those persons wishing to evade detection. Many knowledgeable observers, however, continued to believe that most of the missing are dead and that some members of the armed forces know where their bodies are located.

c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

The Criminal Code makes it a crime punishable by up to 4 years in prison for any official to use violence or force to elicit a confession, and it establishes pretrial procedures to give suspects or their families the right to challenge the legality of an arrest or detention. In practice, legal protections are both inadequate and widely ignored, and security forces continued to employ torture and other forms of mistreatment, particularly in regions of security concerns such as Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor.

In August NGO and church sources provided eyewitness accounts to the National Human Rights Commission of over 40 victims of alleged torture by military personnel in Irian Jaya in late 1994 and early 1995. According to these sources, methods of torture employed included kicking with heavy boots; beating with fists, sticks, stones, and rifle butts; starvation; shackling thumbs, arms and legs; taping eyes shut; stamping on hands; and forcing victims to stand for prolonged periods while bearing heavy weights or to kneel with an iron bar in the knee hollow. In East Timor, torture increased in frequency beginning in November 1994, and included electric shocks, mock execution, severe beatings, and burning with cigarettes. Following complaints, this problem appears to have eased in the case of the provincial police, but continued or worsened in detention facilities run by military intelligence.

Police often resort to physical abuse, even in minor incidents. Prison conditions are harsh, with violence among prisoners and mistreatment and extortion of inmates by guards reportedly common. The incidence of mistreatment by prison officials drops sharply once a prisoner has been transferred from police or military custody into the civilian prison system, and prison

conditions generally have improved in recent years. Sporadic cases of ill-treatment have been reported in East Timorese prisons. Officials have publicly condemned police brutality and harsh prison conditions and occasionally instigate disciplinary action, including transfer, dismissal, and trials leading to prison. Such actions, however, are an exception to the rule of general impunity. Political prisoners are usually mixed with the general prison population, although in the Cipinang Prison in Jakarta high-profile political prisoners are segregated. In 1995 the Government allowed the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit prisoners in Cipinang in Jakarta and also granted access to prisons elsewhere in Java, Sumatra, Aceh, and other provinces as well as East Timor. The Government also has allowed the ICRC to organize family visits to political prisoners. Authorities allowed visiting diplomatic officials or NGO representatives to visit East Timor prisoners of their choosing on at least two occasions.

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

The Criminal Procedures Code contains provisions against arbitrary arrest and detention which are routinely violated. The Code specifies the right of prisoners to notify their families, and that warrants must be produced during an arrest except under specified conditions, such as when a suspect is caught in the act of committing a crime. It also authorizes investigators to issue warrants to assist in their investigations or if sufficient evidence exists that a crime has been committed. Despite these requirements, authorities sometimes make arrests without warrants. Security forces reportedly arrested members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists in March before formal warrants were issued (see Section 2.a.). The number of persons detained at least temporarily without warrant by security forces in East Timor increased during late 1994 and 1995.

The law presumes defendants innocent and permits bail. They or their families may also challenge the legality of their arrest and detention in a pretrial hearing and may sue for compensation if wrongfully detained. However, it is virtually impossible for detainees to invoke this procedure, let alone receive compensation, after being released without charge. In both military and civilian courts, appeals based on legality of arrest and detention are rarely, if ever, accepted. The Code also contains specific limits on periods of pretrial detention and specifies when the courts must get involved to approve extensions, usually after 60 days. In areas where active guerrilla movements exist such as East Timor, Irian Jaya, and Aceh, people are routinely detained without war-

rants, charges, or court proceedings. Bail is rarely granted, especially in political cases. The authorities frequently prevent access to defense counsel and make it difficult or impossible for detainees to get legal assistance from voluntary legal defense organizations. The authorities routinely approve extensions of periods of detention. In addition, suspects charged under the 1963 Antisubversion Law are subject to special procedures outside the Criminal Procedures Code which allow, for example, the Attorney General the authority to hold a suspect up to 1 year before trial. He may renew this 1-year period without limit. Special laws on corruption, economic crimes, and narcotics are similarly exempt from the Code's protections.

The Agency for Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security (BAKORSTANAS) operates outside the Code and has wide discretion to detain and interrogate persons thought to threaten national security. It is impossible to state the exact number of arbitrary arrests or detentions without trial, particularly in Aceh and Irian Jaya. In 1995 authorities released at least 64 supposed Aceh Merdeka supporters who were being held without trial, bringing the total number of accused Aceh Merdeka supporters released since 1990 to around 1,000 persons. Many had been held incommunicado without knowing the charges against them; some had been held for over 2 years. The authorities often require those released to report back at regular intervals, but in May 1996 former detainees were relieved of this obligation. In East Timor, military authorities continued the practice of detaining people without charges for short periods and then requiring them to report daily or weekly to police after their release. About 100 people were detained without charge during demonstrations and outbreaks of violence in Dili around the time of the November 1994 Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings. Detentions continued during further disturbances in December 1994 and January 1995. The authorities eventually charged and sentenced some of these detainees for involvement in civil disturbances or antigovernment protests, including at least eight East Timorese who received prison sentences of 12 to 30 months. Five other East Timorese, widely considered wrongly accused, were sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment for involvement in mysterious nighttime incidents of harassment, beating, and fear-mongering by persons termed "ninjas." More than 200 persons were arrested in additional disturbances in September and October 1995. Authorities have announced that several dozen will be put on trial.

The Government does not use forced exile.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The Constitution stipulates the independence of the judiciary, but in practice the judiciary is subordinated to the executive and the military, and in many cases procedural protections, including those against coerced confessions, are inadequate to ensure a fair trial.

A quadripartite judiciary of general, religious, military, and administrative courts exists below the Supreme Court. The right of appeal from district court to high court to Supreme Court exists in all four systems of justice. The Supreme Court does not consider factual aspects of a case, only the lower courts' application of law. A panel of judges conducts trials at the district court level, poses questions, hears evidence, decides guilt or innocence, and assesses punishment. While there were some significant exceptions in 1995, initial judgments are rarely reversed in the appeals process, although sentences are sometimes increased or reduced (both the defense and the prosecution may appeal).

In January the 3-year sentence of independent Labor leader Muchtar Pakpahan was increased by the high court to 4 years, but the Supreme Court later overturned his conviction (see below). The sentence of Amosi Telaumbanua, another union leader, was raised from 15 months to 3 years (later reversed by the Supreme Court, see below.) Defendants have the right to confront witnesses and to produce witnesses in their defense. An exception is allowed in cases in which distance or expense is deemed excessive for transporting witnesses to court. In such cases, sworn affidavits may be introduced. However, the Criminal Procedures Code does not provide for witnesses' immunity or for compulsory process of defense witnesses. As a result, witnesses are sometimes too afraid of retribution to testify against the authorities.

In cases tried under the 1963 Antisubversion Law, trials in absentia are permitted and public access generally requires advance approval by the military. The courts commonly allow forced confessions and limit the presentation of defense evidence. Defendants do not have the right to remain silent and can be compelled to testify in their own trials. The Criminal Procedures Code gives defendants the right to an attorney from the moment of their arrest through the investigation and trial. The law requires that a lawyer be appointed in capital cases and those involving a prison sentence of 15 years or more. In cases involving potential sentences of 5 years or more, a lawyer must be appointed if the defendant desires an

attorney and is indigent. In theory, destitute defendants may obtain private legal help, such as that provided by the Legal Aid Institute. In practice, however, defendants are often persuaded not to hire an attorney, or access to an attorney of their choice is impeded. The military held five alleged Aceh Merdeka members, who were sentenced in early 1995 (see below), for up to a year without access to attorneys; the authorities did not allow them to choose their attorneys, and those appointed by the court could not see the defendants until just before the trial.

The Supreme Court theoretically stands coequal with the executive and legislative branches, but it does not have the right of judicial review over laws passed by Parliament. The Supreme Court has not yet exercised its power (held since 1985) to review ministerial decrees and regulations. In 1993 Chief Justice Purwoto Gandasubrata laid out procedures for limited judicial review. Judges are civil servants employed by the executive branch, which controls their assignments, pay, and promotion. They are subject to considerable pressure from military and other governmental authorities. Such pressure often determines the outcome of a case, and was widely suspected of being behind an attempt by the Chief Justice to thwart the implementation of a Supreme Court ruling against the government of Irian Jaya in a land compensation dispute. Corruption permeates the legal system. In civil and criminal cases, the payment of bribes can influence prosecution, conviction, and sentencing. To address judicial corruption, the Government doubled judges' salaries in 1995.

Several important court decisions against the Government in 1995 may be a sign of nascent judicial independence. In February the Supreme Court commuted the 1993 sentence of an Acehnese serving 5 years for subversion and ordered his release. It also upheld the appeals court's quashing of the conviction of the alleged mastermind in the 1993 murder of labor activist Marsinah and overturned his conviction. It also reversed the remaining eight civilians' convictions as well for insufficient evidence, indirectly vindicating charges by the National Human Rights Commission and some NGO's that their confessions had been coerced. In May the Supreme Court provisionally released convicted labor leader Muchtar Pakpahan pending a decision on his appeal under a seldom honored provision of the Penal Code, and later overturned his conviction. It also reversed the high court decision that increased Amosi Telaumbanua's sentence from 15 to 36 months (see above). An administrative court in Jakarta found in favor of the plaintiffs, employees of the banned periodical *Tempo*, in their civil suit against

the Minister of Justice for revoking Tempo's publication license in 1993. The High Court unanimously upheld this decision in November, stating that the ministerial regulations permitting publications to be banned were in conflict with press freedoms contained in the Constitution. The Government has appealed the High Court ruling to the Supreme Court.

The Antisubversion Law, which carries a maximum penalty of death, makes it a crime to engage in acts that could distort, undermine, or deviate from the state ideology or broad outlines of state policy, or which could disseminate feelings of hostility or arouse hostility, disturbances, or anxiety among the population. The excessively vague language of this law makes it possible to prosecute people merely for peaceful expression of views contrary to those of the Government. In Aceh province, authorities sentenced at least five accused Aceh Merdeka supporters under the Antisubversion Law to 6 to 20 years in prison (see Section 1.e.).

The Government does not make available statistics on the number of people currently serving subversion sentences or sentences classified as felonies under the so-called Hate-Sowing or Sedition laws. President Soeharto granted clemency in August to three former high officials, Subandrio, Omar Dhani, and Sugeng Sutarto, who were serving life sentences in connection with the abortive Communist coup in 1965. Six prisoners convicted of subversion in past years remained under death sentence. In August the authorities announced that two of them, whose appeals for clemency were denied by the President, were soon to be executed, but the executions had not been carried out as of year's end.

Different sources estimate the number of people serving sentences for subversion in 1995, including members of the banned Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), Muslim militants, and those convicted of subversion in Irian Jaya, Aceh, and East Timor, at between 250 and 350. Scores, and possibly hundreds, more were believed to be serving sentences under the Hate-Sowing or Sedition laws. Some of these persons advocated or employed violence, but many are political prisoners who were convicted for attempting to exercise such universally recognized human rights as freedom of speech or association or who were convicted in manifestly unfair trials. The courts sentenced three members of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and a fourth underground journalist to prison terms of 20 to 36 months under the Hate-Sowing articles (see Section 2.a). In September a court sentenced a well-known psychic to 7 months in jail under the articles for blasphemy against

Islam in a closed academic seminar in April (see Section 2.A.). In February a district court in Malang, East Java sentenced José Antonio Neves to 4 years in prison on charges of sedition for advocating East Timorese independence and accusing the army of human rights violations in letters to international organizations.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

Judicial warrants for searches are required except for cases involving suspected subversion, economic crimes, and corruption. However, security agencies regularly make forced or surreptitious entries. They also intimidate by surveillance of persons and residences and selective monitoring of local and international telephone calls without legal restraint. Government security officials monitor the movements and activities of former members of the PKI and its front organizations, especially persons the Government believes were involved in the abortive 1965 Communist-backed coup. These persons and their relatives sometimes are subject to surveillance, required check-ins, periodic indoctrination, and restrictions on travel outside their city of residence. Their legally required identification cards carry the initials "E.T." which stand for "Ex-Tapol," or former political prisoner. This readily identifies them to prospective employers or government officials and subjects them to various forms of official and unofficial discrimination. The number of persons bearing E.T. on their identification cards totaled 1,352,896 in 1992, according to the Government. The Government announced that it would phase out the use of E.T. in the process of introducing a new type of identification card beginning in early 1996, while leaving other forms of monitoring and control in place.

The Government has in recent years significantly reduced its transmigration program, which moves large numbers of people from overpopulated islands to more isolated and backward ones. The program is criticized by human rights monitors who say that it not only sometimes violates the rights of indigenous people but also those of some of the transmigrants who claim that they are duped into leaving their home villages without any means of return.

Section 2 Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

Government restrictions on press freedom continued, following the revocation of the publishing licenses of three well-known newsmagazines the previous year. In May former employees of Tempo, one of the banned periodicals, won a lawsuit against

the Minister of Information in administrative court contesting the revocation; the Government lost its appeal of the decision to a higher court, but has appealed to the Supreme Court.

Although the Constitution and the 1982 Press Law provide for freedom of the press, the issuance of publishing licenses under a 1984 ministerial decree is one method the Government uses to control the press. Other means of control include regulation of the amount of advertising permitted and of the number of pages allowed in newspapers. Authorities continued in some cases to issue instructions, more or less subtle, to local journalists on what they could print. The practice of telephoning editors to caution against publishing certain stories—the so-called telephone culture—continued. In August the Attorney General warned in a press conference that newspapers carrying speculative stories about the rumored existence of a Soekarno-era Revolution Fund risked criminal charges. Authorities also warned editors to end coverage of the Minister of Information's alleged public misreading of Koranic verses, which had caused a public outcry, and temporarily banned the Sunday edition of a Jakarta daily newspaper for carrying stories on sensitive subjects. Self-censorship continued to be another publicly acknowledged brake on free expression. In Medan, coverage of sensitive issues such as work stoppages and peasant protests against land clearance operations has remained at a low level since the press banings of June 1994.

In March the Government struck against two of the unlicensed underground publications which had appeared in defiance of government attempts to limit free and open news reporting. Police arrested the editor of "Kabar Dari Pijar" and three persons associated with the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), which publishes the underground bulletin "Independen." They were tried and sentenced for sowing hatred against the Government (see Section 1.e.). AJI was formed to work for press freedom in 1994 by journalists outraged by the Government's revocation that year of the publication licenses of three periodicals.

The government-controlled Association of Indonesian Journalists (PWI) expelled 13 AJI members, and the Government threatened licensed periodicals with sanctions if they employed journalists not affiliated with the PWI. Active opposition to the new government press measures still continued, however. Independen and a number of other unsanctioned journals continued to publish, providing critical coverage of controversial issues to a limited audience mainly in major cities. Vigorous debate on a number of sensitive topics such as corruption, collusion, the

role of the first family in business, and lack of government accountability for funds expended rebounded during 1995, particularly in the English language press. However, major Indonesian language newspapers remain cautious in covering controversial subjects and the statements of prominent critics of the Government.

While public dialog is more free than it was a number of years ago, the Government continues to impose restrictions on free speech. Bandung authorities prohibited noted poet W. S. Rendra from reading some of his poems at a fund-raising event, although he had been allowed to read them earlier in Surabaya. In March the authorities withdrew permission for "recalled" Unity Development Party (PPP) legislator Sri Bintang Pamungkas to address a seminar on economics at Garut, East Java. Pamungkas was one of two legislators withdrawn or recalled from Parliament by their parties (the other was from the government-controlled GOLKAR organization—see Section 3) for their outspoken criticisms of the Government. The police also investigated Pamungkas on various charges related to his alleged involvement in protests against President Soeharto during the President's April visit to Germany and at year's end were trying him on charges of insulting the President during a speech he made in Germany. In April Medan police briefly detained and questioned but did not charge eight student protestors for allegedly slandering President Soeharto. In May the Jakarta office of the Directorate of Social and Political Affairs, which together with several other government entities must give approval for theatrical performances, blocked a permit for a workers' theater group to perform a play in the capital about exploitation of factory workers. In September Jakarta police prevented a different group from staging another play on a labor theme for which authorities had already granted permission.

The electronic media remained more cautious in their coverage of the Government than the print media. The Government operates the nationwide television network, which has 12 regional stations. Private commercial television companies, many with ownership or management ties to the President's family, continued to expand. All are required to broadcast government-produced news, but many also produce public affairs style programming that borders on news.

Over 600 private radio broadcasting companies exist in addition to the Government's national radio network. They are all required to belong to the government-sponsored Association of Private Radio Stations (PRSSNI) to receive a broadcasting

license. The government radio station produces "National News," which is by law the only radio news broadcast in Indonesia, and it is relayed throughout the country by the private stations and 49 regional affiliates of the Government station. By law, the private radio stations may produce only "light" news, such as human interest stories, and may not discuss politics. In practice, however, many broadcast interviews and foreign news as well. However, government pressure resulted in one talk show on the private station SCTV being taken off the air for covering sensitive subjects.

Foreign television and radio broadcasts are readily accessible to those who can afford the expensive technology, and satellite dishes have proliferated throughout the country. The Government makes no efforts to restrict access to this programming, and has proclaimed an "open skies" policy, although more and more signals are being scrambled by broadcasters for commercial reasons.

The Government closely regulates access to Indonesia, particularly to certain areas of the country, by visiting and resident foreign correspondents and occasionally reminds the latter of its prerogative to deny requests for visa extensions. The Government requires a permit for the importation of foreign publications and video tapes, which must be reviewed by government censors. Importers sometimes avoid foreign materials critical of the Government or dealing with topics considered sensitive, such as human rights. Foreign publications are widely available.

Special permission is necessary for foreign journalists to travel to East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya. The Government organized at least one group journalist trip to East Timor. Approval for individual trips by journalists to the province, and for travel outside Dili (the capital), became more restrictive, with a number of journalists repeatedly requesting permission, without success, to visit the province.

While the law provides for academic freedom, constraints exist on the activities of scholars. Political activity and discussions at universities, while no longer formally banned, remained constrained. In September a court sentenced a psychic to 7 months in prison for remarks he made about the prophet Mohammed in an academic seminar, but it provisionally released him from custody the next day.

Scholars sometimes refrain from producing or including in lectures and class discussions materials that they believe might provoke government displeasure. Publishers sometimes refuse to accept manuscripts dealing with controversial issues. On occasion the Government bans publications and

books outright. In February the Central Java government ordered a new edition of the book "Cerita Dari Blora," by the prominent Indonesian novelist and former political prisoner Pramoedya Anata Toer, which had been banned in 1976, withdrawn from bookstores, and in April the Attorney General ordered the withdrawal of his book "Nyani Sunyi Seorang Bisu" from sale. Most of Pramoedya's works are banned in Indonesia.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

The Constitution provides for freedom of assembly and association. The Government places significant controls on the exercise of this right, but announced an easing of the restrictions which are still not promulgated. Until 1995 public meetings of five or more persons, as well as academic or other seminars and marches and demonstrations, required permits from the police and several government agencies. While obtaining such approval was usually routine, the authorities occasionally arbitrarily and inconsistently withheld permission or broke up peaceful gatherings for which no permit had been obtained. The press reported 5 instances of authorities denying permits and 26 cases of dispersing unauthorized meetings in the first 8 months of 1995. In January a 1-day seminar on the Antisubversion Law at the Jakarta office of the Legal Aid Foundation, in which members of the National Human Rights Commission participated, narrowly averted being closed by the police, who remained on the premises in force during the session. Authorities in Jakarta and Semarang broke up May 1 International Labor Day demonstrations by students protesting government labor policies, and arrested 13 demonstrators in Medan who were protesting government investigation of prominent dissidents accused of taking part in demonstrations against President Soeharto in Dresden. The East Java government repeatedly denied permission to the head of the PDI party to meet with party chapters and hold public rallies in that province. In June Jakarta authorities forcibly dispersed an unauthorized seminar on Islam and charged its organizer with holding a public gathering without a permit. If convicted, he faces a maximum 4-year sentence.

In response to growing public criticism of the permit process, including from the National Human Rights Commission, the Government in June dropped the permit requirement for university approved on-campus scientific seminars. On August 30, the Government announced that regulations requiring permits for other types of meetings would be liberalized by the end of the year, to take effect in early 1996. In December the Government promulgated regulations

governing public gatherings which stipulate that gatherings which are social, cultural, religious, or scientific in character—as well as activities held in private premises—do not require a permit from or advance notification to the police. Seven days prior notice must be given to the police before sociopolitical organizations hold political meetings, and for any meetings which will discuss political issues or which aspire to influence public policy. Such meetings will not, however, require permits. Permits are still required for public festivities, fairs, carnivals, parades, and rallies. Such events are assumed to have been authorized at least 3 days prior to the scheduled date for the event. The new regulations do not govern activities considered to be demonstrations.

The 1985 Social Organizations Law (ORMAS) requires the adherence of all organizations, including recognized religions and associations, to the official ideology of Pancasila. This provision, which limits political activity, is widely understood as designed to inhibit activities of groups seeking to make Indonesia an Islamic state, revive communism, or return the country to a situation of partisan ideological division. This law empowers the Government to disband any organization it believes to be acting against Pancasila and requires prior government approval for any organization's acceptance of funds from foreign donors, thereby hindering the work of many local humanitarian organizations. Nevertheless, a significant number of organizations, including the independent labor organization Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI), continue to be active without official recognition under this law (see Section 6).

In the past few years, NGO's have proliferated in such fields as human rights, the environment, development, and consumer protection. In general, the Government has given them rather wide latitude to pursue their aims, including public criticism of government policies and in some cases lawsuits against the Government. The Government seems to have quietly shelved a 1994 draft presidential decree similar to the ORMAS Law that would have brought the more than 700 NGO's under more stringent controls. However, there remain limits on certain types of NGO activities, and authorities reacted forcefully against certain NGO's participating in labor demonstrations or publishing unlicensed newsletters. The Government reacts particularly negatively to NGO leaders and others who criticize its policies when abroad.

c. Freedom of Religion

The Constitution provides for religious freedom and belief in one Supreme God. The Government recognizes Islam, Catholicism,

Protestantism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, and permits the practice of the mystical, traditional beliefs of "Aliran Kepercayaan." Although the population is overwhelmingly Muslim, the practice and teachings of the other recognized religions are generally respected, and the Government actively promotes mutual tolerance and harmony among them. However, some restrictions on certain types of religious activity exist.

Because the first tenet of Pancasila is belief in one Supreme God, atheism is forbidden. The legal requirement to adhere to Pancasila extends to all religious and secular organizations. The Government strongly opposes Muslim groups which advocate establishing an Islamic state or acknowledging only Islamic law and in the fall announced large scale questioning and several arrests of people in Central Java alleged to advocate the establishment of an Islamic state. There are government procedures for banning religious sects in Indonesia. Among those prohibited are Jehovah's Witnesses, Baha'i, and in some provinces the Messianic Islamic sect Darul Arqam. The Government closely monitors Islamic sects considered in danger of deviating from orthodox tenets, and in the past has on occasion dissolved such groups.

Violence between rival factions in the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (HKBP), Indonesia's largest Protestant church, continued in North Sumatra throughout 1995, with at least one fatality. In early 1993, citing a threat to civil order, the northern Sumatra regional military commander intervened in an internal leadership dispute which broke out within the HKBP the previous year, appointing a new bishop and helping the new bishop's supporters take over church property. Civilian and military authorities have called the dispute an internal church matter that should be resolved by the HKBP members themselves. For the most part, only supporters of the former bishop have been prosecuted for acts of violence despite evidence that members of the opposing faction engaged in violent acts as well. In late 1995, however, authorities for the first time took action against some partisans of the new bishop as well.

High level officials continued to make public statements emphasizing the importance of respect for religious diversity in the country, particularly following incidents of religious tension in areas such as Flores, East and West Timor, and parts of Java. Lower level officials, however, are frequently alleged to be reluctant to facilitate and protect the rights of religious minorities. There was an outbreak of religion-based violence in East Timor in September and October. In early September, Timorese burned markets and damaged several

mosques following reports that an Indonesian official made derogatory comments about Catholicism. The official in question has been sentenced to 4 years, 10 months in prison. Several Protestant churches were also burned in September, sparked by the celebration of a religiously mixed marriage. Clashes in mid-October between security forces and groups of youths led to extensive damage, at least 2 deaths, and 151 arrests. There has been an Islamic backlash on Java calling for the defense of Muslims in East Timor. Property was destroyed and members of the Chinese community harassed in separate incidents in Pekalongan and Purwokerto, Central Java, following incidents in which Chinese individuals were believed to have insulted Islamic traditions.

The law allows conversion between faiths, and such conversions occur. Marriages between persons of different religions are allowed. The Government views proselytizing by the recognized religions in areas heavily dominated by one recognized religion or another as potentially disruptive and discourages it. Foreign missionary activities are relatively unimpeded, although in East Timor and occasionally elsewhere missionaries have experienced difficulties and delays in renewing residence permits, and visas allowing the entrance of new foreign clergy are difficult to obtain. Laws and decrees from the 1970's limit the number of years foreign missionaries can spend in Indonesia, with some extensions granted in remote areas like Irian Jaya. Foreign missionary work is subject to the funding stipulations of the ORMAS Law (see Section 2.b.). Indonesians practicing the recognized religions maintain active links with coreligionists inside and outside the country and travel abroad for religious gatherings.

d. Freedom of Movement within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

Although in 1993 the Government drastically reduced the number of people barred either from entering or departing Indonesia from a publicly announced figure of 8,897 "blacklisted" people to a few hundred, such restrictions still exist. The Government banned ousted Parliament member Sri Bintang Pamunkas from traveling abroad while investigating his earlier activities in Germany (see Section 2.a.). The Government has appealed a State Administrative Court decision in December that the ban is illegal. Novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer was unable to travel to the Philippines to accept a literary award from the Magsaysay Foundation. The Government also restricts movement by Indonesian and foreign citizens to and within parts of Indonesia. In addition, it requires permits to seek work in a new loca-

tion in certain areas, primarily to control further population movement to crowded cities. Special permits are required to visit certain parts of Irian Jaya. The military carried out security checks affecting transportation and travel to and within East Timor sporadically in 1995, and it occasionally imposed curfews in connection with military operations. The authorities require former political detainees, including those associated with the abortive 1965 coup, to give notice of their movements and to have official permission (see Section 1.f.) to change their place of residence.

In past years the Government admitted large numbers of asylum seekers from Indochina. Only a relatively small number now remain, and the Government continues to work with Vietnam under a tripartite Memorandum of Understanding signed in 1993 with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to repatriate peacefully the remaining asylum seekers to Vietnam.

Section 3 Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

Citizens do not have the ability to change their government through democratic means. The 1,000-member People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), which is constitutionally the highest authority of the State and meets every 5 years to elect the President and Vice President and set the broad outlines of state policy, is controlled by the Government through the appointment of half its membership. The remaining half come from the National Parliament (DPR), 80 percent of whose members are elected. In 1993 the MPR elected Soeharto to his sixth uncontested 5-year term as President. Legally, the President is constitutionally subordinate to the Parliament, but actually he and a small group of active duty and retired military officers and civilian officials exercise governmental authority.

Under a doctrine known as dual function, the military assumes a significant sociopolitical as well as a security role. Members of the military are allotted unelected seats in the DPR. In 1995 the Government legislated a reduction in the number of these seats from 100 to 75, or 15 percent of a total of 500, effective 1997. The military will continue to hold an unelected 20 percent of the seats in provincial and district parliaments, and to occupy numerous key positions in the administration. The other 85 percent of national and 80 percent of local parliamentary seats are filled through elections held every 5 years. All adult citizens, except active duty members of the armed forces, convicted criminals serving prison sentences, and some 36,000 former members of

the Communist Party, are eligible to vote. Voters choose by secret ballot between the three government-approved political organizations, which field candidate lists in each electoral district. Those lists must be screened by BAKORSTANAS (see Section 1.d.), which determines whether candidates were involved in the abortive 1965 Communist coup or pose other broadly defined security risks. Critics charge these screenings are unconstitutional, since there is no way to appeal the results, and note that they can be used to eliminate critics of the Government from Parliament.

Strict rules establish the length of political campaigns, access to electronic media, schedules for public appearances, and the political symbols that can be used. The Government permits only three political organizations to exist and contest elections. The largest and most important of these is GOLKAR, a government-controlled organization of diverse functional groups which won 68 percent of the seats in the 1992 elections. The President strongly influences the selection of the leaders of GOLKAR. The other two small political organizations, the Unity Development Party (PPP) and the Democratic Party of Indonesia (PDI), split the remaining vote. The law requires all three political organizations to embrace Pancasila, and none of the organizations is considered an opposition party. Government authorities closely scrutinize and often guide their activities. Members of the DPR and the provincial assemblies may be recalled from office by party leaders. In 1995 both GOLKAR and PPP recalled legislators who were considered too outspoken.

GOLKAR maintains close institutional links with the armed forces and KORPRI, the association to which all civil servants automatically belong. Civil servants may join any of the political parties with official permission, but most are members of GOLKAR. Former members of the PKI and some other banned parties may not run for office or be active politically. The DPR considers bills presented to it by government departments and agencies but does not draft laws on its own, although it has the constitutional right to do so. The DPR makes technical and occasionally substantive alterations to bills it reviews. In practice, it remains clearly subordinate to the executive branch, but recently it has become more active in scrutinizing government policy, and exercising oversight of government budgetary expenditures and program implementation through hearings at which members of the Cabinet, military commanders, and other high officials are asked to testify. The DPR has also become increasingly a focal point of appeals and petitions from students, workers, displaced farmers, and

others protesting alleged human rights abuses and airing other grievances.

While there are no de jure restrictions on women in politics, only 55 out of 500 members of the DPR are women; 2 women are Cabinet members.

Section 4 Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

While various domestic organizations and persons interested in human and worker rights operate energetically, some, such as the unrecognized trade union SBSI (see Section 6.a.) and the Alliance of Independent Journalists, faced government harassment including police raids on their offices, surveillance by police or military intelligence, interrogations at police stations, or cancellations of private meetings.

The Government considers outside investigations of alleged human rights violations to be interference in its internal affairs and emphasizes its belief that linking foreign assistance to human rights observance is unacceptable.

The ICRC continued to operate in East Timor, Irian Jaya, and Aceh, and to visit prisoners convicted of participation in the abortive, Communist-backed coup in 1965, convicted Muslim extremists, and East Timorese prisoners.

While receiving wide support for its work from the Government in Jakarta, the ICRC continually faced difficulty in implementing its humanitarian program in East Timor during 1995. The ICRC no longer maintains an office in Irian Jaya but visits that province from Jakarta several times a year. The ICRC also visits Aceh regularly, but the Government has not approved the ICRC's request to open an office there. The Government facilitated the visit of U.N. Human Rights Commissioner José Ayala Lasso to Jakarta and East Timor in December. Travel to East Timor by foreign human rights NGO's has not been approved. Indonesian human rights organizations are able to visit East Timor, but have not been authorized to open offices there.

The government-appointed National Human Rights Commission, in its second year of operation, became increasingly active in examining reported human rights violations and continued to show independence and a willingness to criticize government actions and policies. The Commission's report of its investigation of the January 12 killing of six East Timorese in Liquisa charged that the military forces involved tortured and murdered the suspects, calling into question the military's original contention that they were killed in a fire-fight. The Commission also sent investiga-

tive teams to Irian Jaya in August and September, and found evidence to support NGO and church reports of the torture and killing of civilians by security forces in that province, as well as security police responsibility for disappearances of civilians. Lacking enforcement powers, the Commission attempts to work within the system, sending teams where necessary to inquire into possible human rights problems and employing persuasion, publicity, and moral authority to highlight abuses, make recommendations for legal and regulatory changes, and encourage corrective action. The Commission has yet to occupy its own permanent facilities and continues to have very limited staff support. Although the Government appointed the original Commission members, the Commission fills vacancies in its ranks independently by internal election.

Section 5 Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Religion, Disability, Language, or Social Status

The Constitution does not explicitly forbid discrimination based on gender, race, disability, language, or social status. However, the Constitution stipulates equal rights and obligations for all Indonesian citizens, both native and naturalized. Chapter 4 of the 1993 Guidelines of State Policy (legal statutes adopted by the People's Consultative Assembly) explicitly states that women have the same rights, obligations, and opportunities as men.

Article 29 of the Constitution grants Indonesians the right to practice their individual religion and beliefs.

Women

Violence against women remains poorly documented. However, the Government has acknowledged the problem of domestic violence in society, which some say has been aggravated by recent social changes brought about by rapid urbanization. Longstanding traditional beliefs that the husband may "teach" or "control" the wife through several means, including violence, also contribute to the problem. Although women's groups are trying to change the law, rape by a husband of a wife is not a crime in Indonesia. While police could bring assault charges against a husband for beating his wife, due to social attitudes they are unlikely to do so. The Government provides some counseling, and several private organizations exist to assist women. Many of these organizations focus mainly on reuniting the family rather than on providing protection to the women involved. In 1995, the first drop-in center for battered women was founded in Jakarta by an NGO. There are no battered women's shelters. Many women rely on extended family systems for assistance in cases of domestic violence.

Rape is a punishable offense in Indonesia. Men have been arrested and sentenced for rape and attempted rape although reliable statistics are unavailable. Women's rights activists believe rape is grossly underreported owing to the social stigma attached to the victim. Some legal experts state that if a woman does not go immediately to the hospital for a physical examination which produces semen or other physical evidence of rape, she will not be able to bring charges. Some women fail to report rape to police out of fear of being molested again by the police themselves.

By law, women are equal to and have the same rights, obligations, and opportunities as men. However, in practice women face some legal discrimination. For example, in divorce cases women often bear a heavier evidentiary burden than men, especially in the Islamic-based family court system. Although some women enjoy a high degree of economic and social freedom and occupy important midlevel positions in both the public and private sectors, the majority of women do not experience such social and economic freedoms and are often disproportionately represented at the lower end of the scale. Although women constitute one-quarter of the civil service, they occupy only a small fraction of the service's top posts. Income disparity between men and women diminishes significantly with greater educational attainment.

Women are often not given the extra benefits and salary that men receive that is their due when they are the head of household, and in some cases do not receive employment benefits for their husband and children, such as medical insurance. Despite laws guaranteeing women a 3-month maternity leave, the Government has conceded that pregnant women are often dismissed or are replaced while on leave. Some companies require that women sign statements that they will not become pregnant. Women workers also have complained of being sexually victimized by foremen and factory owners.

Women workers in manufacturing generally receive lower wages than men and also are more likely to be hired only on a daily basis. As a result, they are less likely to receive benefits legally mandated for permanent workers. Unemployment rates for women are approximately 50 percent higher than for men.

Women disproportionately experience illiteracy, poor health, and inadequate nutrition. However, women's educational indicators have improved in the last decade. For example, the number of girls graduating from high school tripled from 1980 to 1990. Several voluntary private groups work actively to advance women's legal, economic, social,

and political rights and claim some success in gaining official cognizance of women's concerns.

Children

The Government is committed to children's rights and welfare, but is hampered by a lack of resources to translate this commitment into practice. A 1979 law on children's welfare defines the responsibility of the State and parents to nurture and protect children. However, implementing regulations have never been developed, and the law's provisions have yet to go into effect. The Government has made particular efforts to improve primary education, maternity services, and family planning. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that more than 1 million children drop out of primary school every year due mainly to the cost of supplies, uniforms and other expenses, in addition to the professed need for the children to supplement family income. Thousands of street children living in Jakarta and other cities sell newspapers, shine shoes, help to park or watch cars, and otherwise earn money. Many thousands more work in factories and fields (see also Section 6.d.). NGO's criticize government efforts to help these children as inadequate.

Child prostitution and other sexual abuses occur, especially cases of incest between stepfathers and stepdaughters, but data on their incidence are lacking. Some child care experts believe it to be low. While there are laws designed to protect children from indecent activities, prostitution, and incest, the Government has made no special enforcement efforts in these areas. A separate criminal justice system for juveniles does not exist; however, the Department of Justice is drafting legislation to establish a special court system and criminal code for juveniles. In 1995 media attention focused on the case of a 9-year old who was arrested for theft and held with adult offenders by police. The child was also allegedly beaten by police during interrogation. Police officials admitted that juveniles are often imprisoned with adult offenders.

Female genital mutilation (FGM) occurs in some parts of Indonesia. There are no statistics available; the only information available is anecdotal. In Java, it usually takes place within the first year after birth and is performed either at a hospital or by a local traditional practitioner or "dukun," especially in rural areas. Usually a small section of the tip of the clitoris is cut or a small incision is made in the tip of the clitoris with the purpose of drawing a few drops of blood. Total removal of the clitoris is not the objective of the practice, although it does occur if ineptly performed.

Parliament members asked Department of Health officials to investigate the incidence of FGM after the U.S. human rights report came out 3 years ago. They informally contacted the heads of gynecology and obstetrics departments at Jakarta hospitals who reported no evidence of health problems due to FGM.

People with Disabilities

No national law specifically addresses the problems or status of the disabled, nor do they receive special programs or attention. However, during 1994 the Ministry of Social Welfare began drafting regulations on treatment of the disabled partly based on the Americans with Disabilities Act. In 1994 President Soeharto gave his approval to submit these new regulations to the Parliament; however, the draft is in the Cabinet Secretariat being readied for submission in early 1996. Virtually no public buildings or public means of transport are designed specifically for access by the disabled. They face considerable discrimination in employment.

The Constitution includes the right of every citizen to obtain an education. In 1989 the Government issued regulations covering education for the mentally and physically disabled. However, the regulations do not grant a right to public education for disabled children. While there are some public schools for the disabled, the Government supports the concept that education should be provided by the community in the form of NGO-run private schools that may receive some public funds.

Indigenous People

The Government states publicly that it recognizes the existence of several indigenous population groups, and that they have a right to participate fully in political and social life. Critics maintain that the Government's approach is basically paternalistic and designed more to integrate indigenous people more closely into Indonesian society than to protect their traditional way of life. Human rights monitors criticize the Government's transmigration program for violating the rights of indigenous people (see Section 1.f.).

Where indigenous people clash with development projects, the developers almost always win. Tensions with indigenous people in Irian Jaya, including in the vicinity of the Freeport McMoRan mining concession area near Timika, led to a crackdown by government security forces, resulting in the deaths of civilians and other violent human rights abuses. These abuses (see Section 1.b.) were documented by the National Human Rights Commission, the Catholic Church, and NGO's. In its reports on these incidents, the National Human Rights

Commission did not indicate that the Freeport company, which operates a large copper and gold mine in the province, was responsible for the human rights abuses in the area. Freeport has denied any involvement in the abuses; some NGO's believe further investigation is warranted. Human rights monitors have expressed concern about the practices of some logging companies which recruit indigenous people for work. According to Human Rights Watch/Asia, this activity in Irian Jaya has separated these people from their traditional economies. Most civil servants in local governments in Irian Jaya and other isolated areas continue to come primarily from Java, rather than from the local indigenous population.

National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities

Indonesians exhibit considerable racial and ethnic tolerance, with the important exception of official and informal discrimination against ethnic Chinese, who comprise about 3 percent of the population. Since 1959 noncitizen ethnic Chinese have been denied the right to run businesses in rural Indonesia. Regulations prohibit the operation of all Chinese schools for ethnic Chinese, formation of exclusively Chinese cultural groups or trade associations, and public display of Chinese characters. Since August 1994, firms working in the tourist industry are allowed to produce Chinese-language brochures, programs, and similar material for Chinese-speaking tourists. However, Chinese-language publications, with the exception of one government-owned daily newspaper, may neither be imported nor produced domestically. Private instruction in Chinese is generally prohibited but takes place to a limited extent, and since 1994 has been allowed to train employees in the tourism industry in functional Mandarin. State universities have no formal quotas that limit the number of ethnic Chinese. The law forbids the celebration of the Chinese New Year in temples or public places, but its enforcement was limited in 1995. Chinese New Year decorations were displayed in public shopping areas in major cities.

East Timorese and various human rights groups charge that the East Timorese are underrepresented in the civil service in East Timor. It is difficult to confirm or deny the charges as there appears to be no registry of the birthplace of civil servants, who can be transferred anywhere. East Timorese have expressed concerns that the transmigration program (see Section 1.f.) could lead to fewer employment opportunities and might eventually destroy East Timor's cultural identity. However, these concerns probably were exaggerated. In the last several years, informal migration to the province has

sparked socioeconomic tension in urban areas, proving an even greater concern than the formally sponsored transmigration program. In mid-1995, East Timor's provincial government instructed its officials to limit the stay in the province of non-Timorese seeking jobs to a maximum of 3 months. It is too early to assess how well these new measures have been implemented.

Section 6 Worker Rights

a. The Right of Association

Private sector workers, including those in export processing zones, are by law free to form worker organizations without prior authorization. However, government policies and current numerical requirements for union recognition constitute a significant barrier to freedom of association and the right to engage in collective bargaining. The Department of Manpower uses a regulation that requires that a union be set up "by and for workers" to deny recognition to groups which include people it considers nonworkers, such as lawyers or human rights activists, who are involved as labor organizers. Until 1994 only the government-sponsored All-Indonesia Workers Union SPSI could bargain on behalf of employees or represent workers in the Department of Manpower's labor courts. A 1994 regulation provides that workers in a single company with more than 25 employees can join together as a "plant-level union" and negotiate a legally binding agreement with their employer outside the SPSI framework, although the Government encourages these plant-level unions to join the SPSI. Over 900 plant-level unions existed by December.

There is a de facto single union system, the SPSI and its 13 federated sectoral unions. The SPSI maintains international contacts but is not affiliated with any international trade union organizations except the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Trade Union Council. The SPSI completed in 1995 a transformation from a unitary (centralized) to a federative (decentralized) structure. Its 13 industrial sectors are now registered as independent unions and are the only unions recognized by the Department of Manpower. The Minister of Manpower has stated that any unions which are formed should affiliate with the SPSI federation, and that the Government will not recognize any unions outside the federation. The Government's stated policy is to improve effectiveness of the recognized SPSI unions rather than to allow the formation of alternative organizations.

Two other labor groups, Setia Kawan (Solidarity), also known as Serikat Buruh Merdeka (SBM, Free Trade Union), and Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI, Indonesian Workers Welfare Union), have

been organized but are not registered. Setia Kawan, founded 4 years ago, is now essentially moribund.

The SBSI, created in 1992, claims that it has formed the necessary number of factory-level units to meet the legal requirements for registration as a labor union, but its most recent request (in November 1994) for registration as a trade union was denied. The Department of Manpower has also blocked SBSI attempts to register with the Department of Home Affairs as a social organization under the ORMAS Law. The Government considers the SBSI to be illegal. Although the Government has not disbanded it, it has continually harassed the SBSI, especially after large-scale labor demonstrations, which SBSI helped to organize in Medan in April 1994, degenerated into anti-Chinese rioting. The Government arrested a number of the Medan SBSI leadership and its National Chairman, Muchtar Pakpahan, and tried and convicted them of inciting violence in connection with the riots, charges which the International Labor Organization (ILO) and many international observers believed were unjustified. This view appears to be correct. All the others have now served their sentences and have been released. The Supreme Court overturned Pakpahan's sentence (see Section 1.e.). It is widely believed that the Government's actions against the SBSI leadership were intended to discredit or destroy the organization. Government harassment of SBSI, including disbanding its meetings and training seminars, continued throughout 1995.

Because of past Department of Manpower regulations, many SPSI factory units are led by persons who have little credibility with their units' members because they were selected by employers. A new regulation states that employees must only notify their employer that they wish to form a union and that they may proceed if they do not receive a response from their employer within 2 weeks. Despite this new provision, strikes continue to occur because employers attempt to prevent the formation of union branches. These strikes are invariably successful, and the formation of an SPSI unit follows shortly thereafter. However, workers who are active in the formation of the union are frequently dismissed and have no practical protection by either law or government practice.

Civil servants are not permitted to join unions and must belong to KORPRI, a non-union association whose Central Development Council is chaired by the Minister of Home Affairs. State enterprise employees, defined to include those working in enterprises in which the state has a 5-percent holding or greater, usually are required to

join KORPRI, but a small number of state enterprises have SPSI units. Teachers must belong to the Teachers' Association (PGRI). While technically classed as a union, the PGRI continues to function more as a welfare organization and does not appear to have engaged in trade union activities such as collective bargaining.

Unions may draw up their own constitutions and rules and elect their representatives. However, the Government has a great deal of influence over the SPSI and its federated unions. The new head of SPSI is a member of Parliament for GOLKAR, and many members of the executive council are also members of GOLKAR and its constituent functional groups. These persons have been given positions in the new federated industrial sector unions. The Minister of Manpower is a member of the SPSI's Consultative Council. Numerous regional SPSI officials also are GOLKAR members, sometimes serving in regional legislatures. According to credible reports, the Government interferes in the selection of SPSI officers, especially by placing retired military officers in mid-level SPSI positions. The Government has stated that it will cease the practice of placing military officers in union positions and eventually will remove officials with significant GOLKAR connections. The Department of Manpower supported the SPSI in its successful resistance to an attempt by the regent of Kudus, Central Java, to name a retired military officer as SPSI district head.

Under the Criminal Code, police approval is needed for all meetings of five or more people of all organizations outside offices or normal work sites, though the Government late in 1995 announced its intention to relax this regulation (see Section 2.b.). This provision also applies to union meetings. Permission is routinely given to the SPSI but not to rival organizations such as the SBSI which was prevented from holding several meetings over the last few years, including its first congress in 1993. In April police curtailed an SPSI third anniversary gathering in Jakarta. The Government may dissolve a union if it believes the union is acting against Pancasila, although it has never actually done so, and there are no laws or regulations specifying procedures for union dissolution.

In 1994 the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions lodged a formal complaint against Indonesia with the ILO, accusing the Government of denying workers' right to set up unions of their own choosing, harassing independent workers' organizations, and of taking other actions contrary to ILO standards on freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining. In considering this complaint, the ILO's Com-

mittee on Freedom of Association declared in April that "legal impediments negate the right of workers to establish organizations of their own choosing" and deeply deplored "the seriousness of the allegations, which led it to believe that the general situation of workers in Indonesia has not evolved but is still characterized by serious and worsening infringements of basic human and trade union rights and violations of freedom of association principles in law and practice."

While Pancasila principles call for labor-management differences to be settled by consensus, all organized workers except civil servants have the legal right to strike. While state enterprise employees and teachers rarely exercise this right, private sector strikes are frequent. Before a strike can occur in the private sector, the law requires intensive mediation by the Department of Manpower and prior notice of the intent to strike. However, no approval is required. In practice, dispute settlement procedures are not followed, and formal notice of the intent to strike is rarely given because Department of Manpower procedures are slow. These procedures have little credibility with workers, who ignore them. Therefore, sudden strikes tend to result from longstanding grievances or recognition that legally mandated benefits or rights are not being received. While strike leaders are not arrested for illegal strikes, they often lose their jobs and have no legal recourse for reinstatement. The number of strikes has decreased significantly since the latter half of 1994, reversing a trend of the previous few years. Government actions to raise and more vigorously enforce minimum wage rates may be partly responsible.

b. The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively

Collective bargaining is provided for by law, and the Department of Manpower promotes it within the context of the national ideology, Pancasila. Until 1994 only recognized trade unions—the SPSI and its components—could legally engage in collective bargaining. Since early 1994, new government regulations also permit unaffiliated plant-level workers' associations to conclude legally binding agreements with employers, and some 24 had done so by mid-1995, according to government figures. Agreements concluded by any other groups are not considered legally binding and are not registered by the Department of Manpower. The majority of the collective bargaining agreements between the SPSI units and employers are negotiated bilaterally. Once notified that 25 employees have joined a registered SPSI or independent plant level union, an employer is obligated to bargain with it. In companies without unions, the

Government discourages workers from utilizing outside assistance, e.g., during consultations with employers over company regulations. Instead, the Department of Manpower prefers that workers seek its assistance and believes that its role is to protect workers. There are credible reports that for some companies, consultations are perfunctory at best and usually with management-selected workers; there are also credible reports to the contrary from foreign companies. Over half of the factory-level SPSI units have collective bargaining agreements. The degree to which these agreements are freely negotiated between unions and management without government interference varies. By regulation, negotiations must be concluded within 30 days or be submitted to the Department of Manpower for mediation and conciliation or arbitration. Most negotiations are concluded within the 30-day period. Agreements are for 2 years and can be extended for 1 year. According to NGO's involved in labor issues, the provisions of these agreements rarely go beyond the legal minimum standards established by the Government, and the agreements are often merely presented to worker representatives for signing rather than being negotiated.

Although government regulations prohibit employers from discriminating or harassing employees because of union membership, there are credible reports from union officials of employer retribution against union organizers, including firing, which is not effectively prevented or remedied in practice. Some employers reportedly have warned their employees against contact with union organizers from the unrecognized SBSI organization. Charges of antiunion discrimination are adjudicated by administrative tribunals. However, because many union members believe the tribunals generally side with employers, many workers reject or avoid the procedure and present their grievances directly to Parliament and other agencies. Administrative decisions in favor of dismissed workers tend to be monetary awards; workers are rarely reinstated. The provisions of the law make it difficult to fire workers, but the law is often ignored in practice.

Commenting on antiunion discrimination and restrictions on collective bargaining in the context of ILO Convention 98 on the right to organize and bargain collectively, the ILO's Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations' June report expressed deep concern that "in spite of the direct contacts mission that went to Indonesia in November 1993, the discussion within the present committee last year, and the technical advisory mission that went to Indonesia in January 1995, much progress was yet to be achieved to ensure in law and

in practice the full application of the convention."

The armed forces, which include the police, continues to involve itself in labor issues, despite new regulations promulgated in 1994 to prohibit military interference when there is no threat to security. There is some evidence that the incidence of such military involvement has decreased since 1994, but not all observers share this perception. Workers charge that members of the security forces attempt to intimidate union organizers and strike leaders and have been present in significant numbers during some strikes, even when there has been no destruction of property or other violence. Members of military intelligence attended and monitored trade union education seminars run by the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) and an AAFLI-SPSI sponsored seminar on democratization, even though these programs were approved by the Department of Manpower. An AAFLI-SPSI program on legal aid for industrial disputes approved by the Department of Manpower, which the military command in Surabaya halted in 1993, was never allowed to resume despite government assurances to the contrary. Military officials occasionally have been reported present during negotiations between workers and management. Their presence has been described as intimidating by plant-level union officials. A military officer was among those convicted in connection with the Marsinah murder case.

Labor Law applies equally in export processing zones.

c. Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor

The law forbids forced labor, and the Government generally enforces it. However, there are credible reports of teenage children being forced to work under highly dangerous conditions on fishing platforms off the coast of northeastern Sumatra. These platforms are miles off shore, with access controlled by the employers, and in many cases the children are held virtual prisoners on the platforms and forced to work for up to 3 months at a time for well below the minimum wage. According to knowledgeable sources, hundreds of children may be involved. The local government has done little to address the problem.

d. Minimum Age for Employment of Children

Child labor exists in both industrial and rural areas, and in both the formal and informal sectors. There are an estimated 2.7 million working children between the ages of 10 and 14, according to a 1994 report of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The number of out-of-school children age 7 to 15 who are economically active may be as

high as 6.5 million, according to a 1989 study, and the number would be even greater if those who have not left school are included. Indonesia was one of the first countries to be selected for participation in the ILO's international Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), and it signed a memorandum of understanding with the ILO on May 29, 1992 to guide collaboration under this program. Recommendations for an action plan were developed at a national conference in Bogor in July 1993. During 1995, 30 government labor inspectors received ILO-sponsored training on child labor matters under the IPEC program. However, enforcement remains lax.

The Government acknowledges that there is a class of children who must work for socioeconomic reasons, and in 1987 the Minister of Manpower issued regulation per-ol/men/1987, "Protection of Children Forced to Work," to regulate this situation. This regulation legalizes the employment of children under the age of 14 who must work to contribute to the income of their families. It requires parental consent, prohibits dangerous or difficult work, limits work to 4 hours daily, and requires employers to report the number of children working under its provisions. It does not set a minimum age for children in this category, effectively superseding the colonial-era government ordinance of December 17, 1925, on "Measures Limiting Child Labor and Nightwork of Women," which is still the current law governing child labor and sets a minimum age of 12 for employment. The 1987 regulation is not enforced. No employers have been taken to court for violating its restrictions on the nature of employment for children, and no reports are collected from establishments employing children.

Act No. 1 of 1951 was intended to bring into force certain labor measures, including provisions on child labor which would replace those of the 1925 legislation. However, implementing regulations for the child labor provisions have never been issued. Thus the child labor provisions in the 1951 Act have no validity.

e. Acceptable Conditions of Work

In the absence of a national minimum wage, area wage councils working under the supervision of the national wage council establish minimum wages for regions and basic needs figures for each province—a monetary amount considered sufficient to enable a single worker to meet the basic needs of nutrition, clothing, and shelter. While Indonesia has succeeded in dramatically lowering the level of poverty throughout the country, the minimum wage rates until recently have usually lagged behind inflation and even the basic needs figures.

The Government raised minimum wage rates in 1994 and again on April 1. There is no national minimum wage. The minimum wage varies from province to province. In Jakarta it is about \$2 (RP 4600) per day. While in certain provinces the new rates are still below the provincial basic needs figures, the Department of Manpower estimates that, on the average, minimum wage rates equal 108 percent of the basic needs figures, up from 97 percent as of August 1, 1994. The Government announced in November that further increases would take effect April 1, 1996. There are no reliable statistics on the number of employers paying at least the minimum wage. Independent observers' estimates range between 30 and 60 percent. The Department of Manpower increased the number of labor inspectors and announced a scheme of "blacklisting" offending companies, but enforcement of minimum wage and other labor regulations remains inadequate, and sanctions too light. The Department of Manpower has drafted a revision of a basic labor law that would raise statutory fines, which have been devalued by inflation, to more appropriate levels. Some observers believe increased government pressures on employers and memories of the 1994 Medan riots have improved minimum wage compliance somewhat.

Labor law and ministerial regulations provide workers with a variety of other benefits, such as social security, and workers in more modern facilities often receive health benefits and free meals. The law establishes 7-hour workdays and 40-hour workweeks, with one 30-minute rest period for each 4 hours of work. The law also requires 1 day of rest weekly. The daily overtime rate is 1 1/2 times the normal hourly rate for the first hour, and twice the hourly rate for additional overtime. Regulations allow employers to deviate from the normal work hours upon request to the Minister of Manpower and with the agreement of the employee. Observance of laws regulating benefits and labor standards varies from sector to sector and by region. Employer violations of legal requirements are fairly common and often result in strikes and employee protests. The Ministry of Manpower continues publicly to urge employers to comply with the law. However, in general, government enforcement and supervision of labor standards are weak.

Both law and regulations provide for minimum standards of industrial health and safety. In the largely Western-operated oil sector, safety and health programs function reasonably well. However, in the country's 100,000 larger registered companies in the nonoil sector, the quality of occupational health and safety programs varies greatly. The enforcement of health and safety stan-

dards is severely hampered by the limited number of qualified Department of Manpower inspectors as well as by the low level of employee appreciation for sound health and safety practices. Allegations of corruption on the part of inspectors are common. Workers are obligated to report hazardous working conditions. Employers are forbidden by law from retaliating against those who do, but the law is not effectively enforced.

ETAN COMMENT ON U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT

From Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

As in the last few years, the report is exceptionally good considering that it comes from the U.S. government. It will be useful in campaigning and helping to prove that things in East Timor and Indonesia are as bad as groups like AI and ETAN say they are.

Of course, the major problem is that U.S. policy doesn't reflect its findings - we continue to sell arms, train soldiers, provide bilateral and multilateral economic aid, and encourage U.S. businesses to trade with Indonesia, all of which serves to support the Suharto government and its gross violations of human rights. I won't go into details.

However, there are a few specific points or omissions in the report that could be strengthened. Some of my comments have to do with Indonesia as well as East Timor.

Paragraph 3 states that under 15% of the people live "below the poverty line." I don't know whose poverty line they use, but this seems intuitively to be way off. There are vast numbers of workers paid at or below minimum wage. The report itself mentions "widespread underemployment" in the next sentence.

In paragraph 5, the report correctly points out that "Punishment [of military personnel responsible for human rights abuses], however, rarely matched the severity of the abuse." It is also important to note that the *victims* of human rights abuses are often arrested, tortured, tried, and sometimes sentenced after abuses occur.

The last paragraph of the introduction, on Irian Jaya, has been superseded by events. I don't know if your testimony will include events that have occurred in 1996, but the recent riots in Freeport company towns and in Jayapura (following Thomas Wanggai's suspicious death in prison) show the widespread level of discontent and long-term abuses that people are rebelling against. The report pointedly avoids mentioning Freeport-MacMoRan (perhaps because it is a U.S.-based company), even though its operations have been directly implicated in many of the abuses in West Papua.

The first paragraph under 1(a) twice uses the word "separatist" to refer to movements in East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya. "Independence" would be a more appropriate word for ET and IJ, as these territories were forcibly annexed by Indonesia after it was created. Were the Kuwaitis called "separatist" after being invaded by Iraq?

Under 1(d), the end of the fourth paragraph refers to East Timorese wrongly accused of involvement with the "ninjas." What is omitted is that the Indonesian military, probably with government support, created the ninjas and actively supported their violations of human rights. When the government tried to frame some East Timorese for these crimes, the frame-up fell through, but the actual people responsible were never even named, let alone brought to justice.

In 2(a), second paragraph, there is a brief mention of Kabar Dari Pijar, whose editor, Tri Agus Susanto, was arrested and sentenced to several years in prison for printing an article critical of government policy on East Timor. In fact, the whole organization was raided, and the Executive Director of PIJAR (Rachland Nashidik) had to go underground and then into exile to avoid prosecution.

Two paragraphs later, in the discussion of charges against Sri Bintang Pamungkas, the report doesn't indicate that the charges against him for organizing the German anti-Suharto protests were eventually dropped, as they had absolutely no basis in fact. However, he is now being tried on insulting the president based on a tape recording of a meeting he spoke at, where he repeated a question from the audience. Sri Bintang himself never insulted the president - his trial is an attempt to intimidate dissent.

Such intimidation takes another form when military or government spokespeople accuse prominent dissidents of being "communists," as was done against Sri Bintang, exiled academic George Aditjondro, labor leader Mochtar Pakpahan and others. The following is from the November 2, 1995, FEER:

"After weeks of warnings about a communist threat by President Suharto and other senior officials, [army chief of staff, Lt.-Gen.] Soeyono on October 17 bluntly accused the independent trade-union leader of being a communist. Pakpahan, the general charged, was following in the ideological footsteps of his father, a dirt-poor farmer who died when his son was 11.

"The general used the same brush to tar self-exiled academic George Aditjondro and internationally recognized author Pramodya Anata Toer, naming them as figures behind the so-

called “formless organizations” – a term associated with the outlawed Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

“Soeyono’s accusations set off alarm bells among Indonesian intellectuals, who fear that the government is increasingly portraying its political opponents as enemies of the state.”

Given the bloody history of Indonesian anti-communism, such charges are extremely serious threats.

An example of the press censorship referred to in the fourth paragraph from the end is the banning this week of newsstand sales of the March, 1996, issue of Reader’s Digest. It is assumed that the reason for the banning is that the magazine includes a profile of Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of East Timor.

Finally, I think the last paragraph, about latitude for NGO’s, is not accurate. Although some NGO’s are allowed to function openly, there are clearly a number of subjects which they are not allowed to take up. The treatment given to PIJAR is one example. As with the press, self-censorship under the threat of prosecution or violence is a powerful tool to limit dissent.

JOHN SHATTUCK ON HUMAN RIGHTS

USIS Report, March 8 [Indonesia/East Timor relevant excerpts], EPF505

TRANSCRIPT: SHATTUCK FOREIGN PRESS CENTER BRIEFING

(Cites continued abuses in China, Burma, E. Timor) (5280)

Washington – Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck noted positive human rights developments in Asia and other areas of the world, but cited “familiar patterns of abuse occurred” in many areas, including Burma, China, East Timor and Irian Jaya, and North Korea.

In a briefing at the USIA Foreign Press Center March 7, Shattuck, who heads the Bureau for Democracy, Labor and Human Rights, said that despite positive steps such as the release Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese government “continues to be extremely repressive in the way in which it treats the people of Burma.” He expressed satisfaction with the Japanese government’s halt of new economic assistance to Burma and hoped Japan would continue to seek improvements on human rights issues in its dealings with Burma’s rulers.

Shattuck said that “widespread and well-documented abuses in violation of international norms” continued in China as well. The United States intends to join other countries in sponsoring a resolution on the

human rights situation in China at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva, he said. Following an unofficial transcript of the briefing:

(begin unofficial transcript)

FOREIGN PRESS CENTER BRIEFING WITH JOHN SHATTUCK, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEMOCRACY, LABOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Foreign Press Center, the National Press Building, Washington, DC

SHATTUCK: Thank you very much. 1995 was a year that produced significant progress toward resolution of some of the world’s most catastrophic human rights crises.

The Dayton accords ended the fighting in Bosnia, which, for the first six months of this year, was the source of continuing massive crimes against humanity. At the heart of the Bosnian peace agreement is a framework of commitments aimed at promoting justice and prosecuting war crimes, without which peace cannot be secured. Central to the peace strategy in Bosnia were the 10 human rights missions that the United States conducted this year to spotlight the atrocities. Other conflicts which had spawned major human rights violations also moved closer to resolution this year – this past year. Halting steps were taken towards peace in Angola, in the Middle East and Northern Ireland, despite continuing terrorist attacks on the very process of peace itself. In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in Latin America and in parts of Asia and Africa, new democracies consolidated their movement towards more open civil society, and a few experienced peaceful transitions of power, second-, third-, and fourth-time elections.

... Indonesian security forces in East Timor and Irian Jaya were responsible for significant abuses, although the government was willing in some cases to prosecute those charged with abuses.

Outposts of unreconstructed totalitarianism remain in Iran, Iraq, Cuba and Libya.

Severe human rights problems persist in North Korea despite progress on some other issues under the agreed framework.

These are some of the points made in 1995 human rights reports, annual reports of the State Department. The full reports of course are now publicly available. And I would be happy to answer any questions that you may have.

Q: Mr. Shattuck, thank you very much. I’m (name and affiliation inaudible) Indonesia. And your report doesn’t mention any improvement of the situation of human

rights in East Timor, as well as the attitude of the Indonesian government towards East Timor. Could you elaborate what is your (position?) about that? And also, I wanted to ask about the – what the U.S. – what will be the U.S. position on the (resolution?) of East Timor at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva? Thank you.

SHATTUCK: Well, I had last year – about April of last year a very wonderful and, in many ways, moving trip to East Timor – I was the first assistant secretary of state for the United States to travel to East Timor – and also an extended trip in Indonesia and very extensive discussions with the government of Indonesia and the military and the authorities on East Timor, as well as many non-governmental organizations.

We were pleased during the course of this year to see that some of the very serious and longer-term problems that have plagued East Timor in the area of human rights were addressed at least in part by the government of Indonesia. First there were several prosecutions of military people who had engaged in human rights abuses, killings and disappearances. And that was, as far as I know, the first time that issue of impunity had been addressed very explicitly in the East Timor context.

Second, there were some troop withdrawals from East Timor so that the situation could become somewhat less tense, and the people of East Timor could, hopefully, breathe more freely on the subject of security and their ability to express themselves.

But let me be very clear that we continue to see the situation in East Timor to be serious and that there are continuing human rights abuses, and the very heavy presence of a large number of Indonesian troops on the Island of East Timor makes it very difficult for Indonesian citizens who live on East Timor to actively participate in their own governments and their local government situation. At the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva we will work closely with the European Union and the – particularly the government of Portugal, on the East Timor situation. Last year there was a chairman statement issued by the chairman of the Human Rights Commission, which the United States supported, and if that occurs again, we will again support such a statement....

Q: Toshi Kimura (ph), Yomiuri Shimbun in Japan. (Ambassador?) – your report suggested that there was (impact?) some arguments, especially in the Asian countries, that they were without any improvement of the living standard – (inaudible) we cannot see – we cannot see the amelioration of human rights issues (in

underdeveloped?) countries. I wanted to ask you whether you find any discrepancies with other countries like Japan in an approach to – vis-à-vis, for example, Burma or China – with regards to its official development aid?

MR. SHATTUCK: We see the value – very important value for itself and for human rights – of economic growth. There's no question about it. Economic growth can contribute significantly to the prospects for human rights and democracy.

On the other hand, economic growth is not, in and of itself, the answer to human rights and democracy improvements, absent the will – the political will – to bring about such improvements. So while it can take you up to the edge, it can't take you over the edge.

We have had extensive discussions, of course, with other governments about this and, certainly, good discussions with the government of Japan, which is a very close ally of the United States.

I would like to note that – that Japan has had discussions with us on the subject of Burma. And I am pleased to note that Japan is not proceeding with substantial new economic development assistance to Burma at the moment, because Burma, as I think all countries who are concerned about human rights agree, has not progressed on the human-rights and democracy fronts, and continues to block the will of the people of Burma and their – through the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi – continues to block them from really getting access to their political system and continues to be extremely repressive in the way in which it treats the people of Burma.

So I think the United States has had good discussions with Japan on this subject.

And I hope that Japan continues to understand the importance of seeking improvements in the human rights situation in Burma.

U.S. REVIVES INDONESIAN MILITARY TRAINING SCHEME

Reuters, March 5. Slightly abridged

It is not clear if Tanjung is referring to the limited military training aid passed by Congress last year (so-called Expanded IMET is limited to areas such as human rights and civilian control of the military) or to a new administration request for Fiscal Year 1997 that would mean restoring all IMET. Since the original ban on IMET, the administration has repeatedly requested that all restrictions on IMET be lifted. Since the ban, Indonesia has purchased some of the training that once came as aid. – John M. Miller/ETAN

JAKARTA, March 5 (Reuters) - The United States has restored funding for training Indonesian military officers, reviving a controversial programme halted in 1992, the official Antara news agency said on Tuesday.

General Feisal Tanjung, commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, told a parliamentary commission on Tuesday that funding for the International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme has been restored.

"The Pentagon has already given the green light to re-open again the IMET programme this year," Tanjung told legislators.

"Because of that the Indonesian military will send officers to the United States," Antara quoted him as saying.

Washington suspended IMET funding in 1992 after Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners in East Timor in 1991. Witnesses said up to 200 people were killed.

The last IMET funding Indonesia received was \$2.4 million in 1992. The scheme is administered as an aid programme under the U.S. State Department.

Major-General Syamsir Siregar, head of the military intelligence agency (BIA), told the same hearing the IMET funding under the 1995/96 U.S. budget was slightly different than the programme suspended earlier.

Antara quoted Siregar as saying Indonesian officers would take specialised programmes in defence management, post-graduate studies and law.

"These programmes will start in August 1996. However, we will send the officers before this," he said.

The report gave no further details.

CONGRESSIONAL LETTER ON EAST TIMOR BILL

The following letter was sent by two Representatives to all other Congresspeople late month. Please encourage your Congressional Representative to co-sponsor their legislation, H.R. 2746. The co-sponsors as of mid-April are:

- Patrick Kennedy (RI)
- Nita Lowey (NY)
- Nancy Pelosi (CA)
- Peter DeFazio (OR)
- Robert Andrews (NJ)
- Robert J. Torricelli (NJ)
- Jack Reed (RI)
- Chris Smith (NJ)
- Richard W. Pombo (CA)
- Ronald V. Dellums (CA)
- James Oberstar (MN)
- Robert A. Underwood (Guam)
- Tom Lantos (CA)
- Neil Abercrombie (HI)
- Sherrod Brown (OH)
- Eleanor Holmes Norton (DC)
- Barney Frank (MA)
- Louise Slaughter (NY)
- John Conyers (MI)
- Tony Hall (OH)
- Thomas J. Manton (NY)
- Carlos Romero-Barcelo (Puerto Rico)
- Elizabeth Furse (OR)

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515
March 22, 1996

Support Human Rights

Co-Sponsor the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act

Dear Colleague:

On November 12, 1991, as many as 270 civilians were massacred when the government of Indonesia opened fire on a peaceful East Timorese procession to a cemetery in Dili. There was no warning given to those at the rally. Many prisoners were taken to open pits, where they were shot in the back. In the weeks after the massacre, dozens of witnesses, were killed some while recovering from wounds in a hospital.

During twenty years of occupation, Indonesia has carried on a brutal war against the people of East Timor, killing almost one third of that nation's population. Religious freedom, political liberty, and self-determination are denied to the people of East Timor. And yet Indonesia continues to receive aid from the United States.

The most recent State Department Country Report on Human Rights confirms what international observers have been saying – the situation in East Timor has not improved:

"The most serious abuses included harsh repression of dissidents in East

Timor... (N)o progress was made in accounting for the missing persons following the 1991 Dili incident or the ten other Timorese that disappeared in 1995... Security forces in East Timor killed six unarmed civilians in Liquisa province in January... There were also several other mysterious killings in East Timor; the limited evidence available suggests some of these too could be cases of summary execution by security forces."

Congress must respond. On the twentieth anniversary of the invasion we introduced the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act. This bill simply says – US aid to Indonesia cannot and will not be used to violate the human rights of the people of East Timor. If it is, the aid will be stopped. To accept anything less as a condition for aid would violate our principles and undermine the effectiveness of US foreign assistance.

United States foreign aid can be a powerful force for good. The effectiveness of that aid should not be diluted by its use as a tool of subjugation.

Here – where the evidence is so clear and so compelling – providing US aid on the condition that it not be used to carry out an unjust occupation, will send a clear and unmistakable message to Indonesia: you must cease violating the human rights of the people of East Timor. If you would like to cosponsor the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act, please call Garry in Congressman Kennedy's office at 225-4911 or Matt in Congresswoman Lowey's office at 225-6506.

Sincerely,
Patrick J. Kennedy Nita M. Lowey
Members of Congress

BACKGROUND ON EAST TIMOR AND US POLICY

Briefing paper from the East Timor Action Network/US, April 14, 1996

The Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor ranks as one of the great atrocities of this century. It has claimed the lives of 200,000 Timorese* - one-third of the original population. It has been done in defiance of the UN Security Council, which has twice called on Jakarta to withdraw "without delay." And it has also, sadly, been done with the help of the United States. Indonesia launched its 1975 invasion hours after President Ford left Jakarta. The U.S. then doubled Indonesia's military aid, blocked the United Nations from taking effective enforcement action, and continues, to this day, to send new arms. Right now,

the United States has offered to sell F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia.

The human rights situation remains serious in East Timor and Indonesia itself. This year's State Department Country Report on Human Rights Practices says: "The most serious abuses [by Indonesia] include harsh repression of dissidents in East Timor.... Reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture of those in custody by security forces increased." Increasing numbers of Timorese are traveling to Jakarta and entering foreign embassies in an effort to flee repression in East Timor.

In recent years, a bipartisan movement in Congress and at the U.S. grassroots has set out to reverse our government's mistaken course. Since the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Cemetery massacre - in which Indonesian troops armed with American M-16s gunned down more than 200 Timorese civilians - Congress has taken a series of initiatives which have begun to shift the direction of U.S. policy.

After the massacre, 52 Senators (led by Malcolm Wallop R-WY and Claiborne Pell, D-RI) wrote to President Bush, calling for the U.S. actively to support implementation of the UN resolutions on East Timor "with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory." (It was the first of a series of bipartisan House and Senate letters reaffirming support for self-determination.)

In October 1992, after a series of statements by Indonesian officials indicating that the massacre was an act of policy,** Congress voted to cut off Indonesia's IMET military training aid. The cutoff amendment was initiated by Reps. Tony Hall (D-OH) and Ronald Machtley (R-RI), and had crucial backing in committee from Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Rep. David Obey (D-WI). The cutoff was opposed by the State Department, the Pentagon, lobbyists for the Indonesian military, and some U.S. firms.

In March 1993, under pressure from Congress, the State Department reversed its traditional pro-Jakarta stand and cosponsored a successful resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission criticizing Indonesian abuses in East Timor.

In July 1993, again under Congressional pressure, the State Department blocked a transfer of U.S. F-5 fighter planes from the government of Jordan to Indonesia, citing human rights as one of the reasons. The Jakarta Post editorialized that the blockage of the F-5 deal "resounded like [a] sonic boom" in Indonesia.

That same month, President Clinton, in response to a letter from 43 Senators, raised the Timor issue in a meeting in Japan with Suharto, the Indonesian dictator. During his

campaign Bill Clinton said that the U.S. approach to East Timor has been "unconscionable." In September 1993, at a press conference, President Clinton turned aside the argument that pressuring Indonesia on East Timor and human rights would have an adverse impact on U.S. business. He said, "The United States does have a very strong position on human rights, and I think we should... (b)ut that has not undermined our... commercial relationships... with countries that we think are making an honest effort to shoot straight with us and to work with us... We have questions about the issues of East Timor... but we have had good contact with Indonesia." (In fact, U.S. companies have no investments in East Timor. Though U.S. weapons firms might indeed be hurt by a ban or cutback on weapons sales, it would not affect U.S. companies in Indonesia which are engaged in other lines of business. Their relationship with Jakarta is one of mutual profit - a basic fact unaffected by Timor policy.)

In September 1993, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously adopted an amendment by Sen. Russell Feingold (D, Wisconsin) which conditions major arms sales to Indonesia on human rights improvements in East Timor. The amendment was a compromise version worked out after extensive negotiation with the White House, the Pentagon, and the State Department. Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R, Kansas) said that the amendment will "get strong support from the entire United States Senate [and] send a very important message to Indonesia about our concerns regarding human rights."

The Feingold amendment sent political shock waves through Jakarta, though the authorization bill containing it never reached the Senate floor. At the same time, although the administration had signed off on the compromise amendment, some individual officials – notably Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord - mounted a campaign to keep the Feingold amendment from being attached to another legislative vehicle.

Early in 1994, in the wake of the Feingold amendment, the State Department imposed a ban on the sale of small and light arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia. The ban represents the first time that such an across-the-board prohibition has been imposed on any type of weapons sale to Indonesia. And the small arms ban sets an important precedent: it represents tacit acceptance on the part of the State Department of the principle that withholding weapons sales can advance human rights.

Now the issue becomes: what kind of sales should be withheld? And, why, if Jakarta's armed forces continue to defy the Security Council, should the U.S. provide them with any weapons sales at all? Since

the 1991 massacre, the State Department has licensed more than 250 military sales to Indonesia. The items sold have ranged from machine guns and M-16s to electronic components and communications gear and spare parts for attack planes. Every shipment sends the political message that the Indonesian armed forces and their illegal occupation of East Timor still enjoy U.S. government support. The U.S. should end those sales and inform the UN Secretary General that it is now willing to support enforcement of the Security Council resolutions. This would mean supporting the call of Catholic Bishop Belo of East Timor for a UN-supervised referendum in which the Timorese would freely choose their own political status.

In its version of the Foreign Aid Appropriations for FY 1995, the House of Representatives sought to renew the ban on IMET and close a loophole under which Indonesia continued to purchase some of the same training. The committee report accompanying the bill expressed "outrage" that the administration "despite its vocal embrace of human rights" allowed the purchase of training.

In July, the Senate put into law the prohibition on the sale of small arms. A few weeks before, the Senate had voted down an effort to ban the use of US-supplied lethal arms in East Timor. The proposed provision in effect restated the US-Indonesia treaty signed in 1958 which restricts the use of US-supplied weapons to "legitimate self-defense" and strictly forbids their use for "an act of aggression." The appropriations bill, as finally agreed to by both houses of Congress, continued the IMET ban and prohibited small arms sales to Indonesia.

The 104th Congress has also acted. In February 1995, a bi-partisan group of nine Senators urged President Clinton to support a resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission calling for specific steps to improve the human rights situation in East Timor. It said "We believe that the U.S. relationship with Indonesia should enable us to effectively press our concerns with the Jakarta government." Members of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in the House of Representatives sent a similar letter expressing concern about "the lack of progress on human rights and the perpetual reports of torture and other serious abuses."

Last year, even as Congress partially restored IMET, it continued to make clear that it does not accept the human rights conduct of Indonesia's military. The foreign aid appropriations limited IMET to the "expanded" version which purports to focus on human rights and civilian control of the military.

The final version of the FY1996 State Department reorganization bill would have extended the small arms ban to include helicopter-mounted equipment. The ban would remain in effect until the Secretary of State certifies significant progress on human rights in East Timor and in Indonesia, including compliance with UN human rights recommendations, significant reductions in Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor, a degree of local political control for East Timorese, and Indonesian cooperation with the UN Secretary General. Although the bill has not become vetoed law, the State Department has agreed to abide by the small arms ban.

In October 1995, bi-partisan groups of legislators from both houses sent letters to President Clinton before he met with President Suharto. The Senate letter stated, "Violence in the territory has been on the increase as well, especially since the APEC Summit in Jakarta last November... [D]uring the Summit protestors were detained and, by most accounts, tortured at the hands of Indonesian soldiers. Other reports of deaths of protestors at the hands of the Indonesian soldiers have continued all year."

In a report released in December 1994, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions, noted "... the conditions that allowed the (1991) Santa Cruz killings to occur are still present. In particular, the members of the security forces responsible for the abuses have not been held accountable and continue to enjoy virtual impunity... access of victims of human rights violations to the judiciary or to non-governmental organizations has not improved." In March, 1996, after a visit to East Timor, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala-Lasso cited allegations of "very grave" human rights violations.

The situation in East Timor is worse than any time since 1992. Since last fall hundreds have come to Jakarta, attempting to escape the human abuses by gaining asylum in embassies. The political issue in East Timor is a very basic one: the people simply want – and are entitled to – the right to vote in a UN-supervised referendum, in which they would be given the right to choose whether they want to be independent or become part of Indonesia. This has been endorsed by East Timor's Bishop Belo and also by the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organization of the East Timorese underground resistance. The Secretary-General's office has expressed interest in moving toward such a referendum, but they have indicated that they are waiting for a political green light from Washington.

* The death toll estimate was first published by Amnesty International and was confirmed in 1990 by the Indonesian army intelligence chief for Timor, and in 1994 by the Indonesian-appointed governor.

** Gen. Try Sutrisno, now Indonesia's Vice President, said: "Such people must be shot and we will shoot them." Gen. Herman Mantiri, the new regional commander for East Timor, said that the massacre was "quite proper" since "They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government."

HOUSE AUTHORIZES PARTIAL IMET TRAINING FOR INDONESIA

Report from Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US. With attached AP story and Congressional Record transcript. April 18, 1996

On Tuesday, April 16, the House of Representatives authorized Expanded International Military Education and Training (E-IMET) aid for Indonesia for Fiscal Years 1996 and 1997. This is one step in providing the aid; the funding still has to be appropriated. Although this had been done for FY96 (which started in October 1995), it is yet to be passed for FY97.

Congress terminated all IMET for Indonesia in 1992, in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. The ban was reaffirmed in 1993 and 1994. In 1995, after the Republican party took control of both House, Congress restored non-military training aid, while continuing to outlaw military training. Indonesia's leading aircraft company, IPTN (run by a close Suharto crony) had announced plans to build a factory in Mobile, Alabama, the home district of Rep. Sonny Callahan who chairs the Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

The 1995 position was continued by this week's vote. The allowed training, called "Expanded IMET," is misnamed; it actually means limited IMET, and includes training in human rights, civilian control of the military, and similar non-military activities.

The vote Tuesday caught virtually everybody by surprise, including many members of the International Security Committee which had ostensibly approved the bill the day before. Most Representatives learned of it when it appeared on the House agenda the morning of the vote, under a "suspension of the rules" procedure. Under this procedure, a bill cannot be amended, but must be passed by a 2/3 majority. The IMET provision was one paragraph in a 56-page bill which included many pork-barrel incentives which made it difficult for pro-East Timor members to vote against it (including the gift of an ocean surveillance ship to Portugal). This procedure is supposed only to be used

for non-controversial matters; many Representatives objected to the abuse of process.

However, no roll call was requested and the bill passed on a voice vote. It now goes to the Senate.

The provision of E-IMET is a compromise; the bill prohibits unrestricted (military) IMET for Indonesia. Nevertheless, it is not the right signal to be sending Indonesia a month after the U.S. State Department reported a worsening situation in East Timor. The State Department is requesting \$800,000 for E-IMET for Indonesia for 1997, an increase of \$200,000 from this year.

ETAN will continue to press Congress on various measures relating to human rights and self-determination for East Timor. Our main focus this year will be on weapons sales. The vote Tuesday came in the midst of our annual Lobby Days in Washington; ETAN activists held more than 80 meeting with Members of Congress and their staffs this week. A more extensive report will be forthcoming soon.

HOUSE VOTES MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA

Associated Press, April 16, 1996. Extraneous material removed.

WASHINGTON (AP) A foreign-assistance bill passed by the House Tuesday would resume funding for military training in Indonesia despite what the U.S. government considers major human rights abuses.

"The Indonesian government continues to engage in some of the most oppressive and racist activity in the world" in its treatment of the people of East Timor, said Rep. Barney Frank, D-Mass.

Added Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y.: "A State Department report last month says the government (of Indonesia) continues to commit serious human rights abuses."

Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fla., said a recent visit to Indonesia indicated to him that the human rights record is improving. "We saw firsthand there are not these huge breaches of human rights, he said.

Despite the protests, the bill was passed by voice vote.

The bill does not allow funding for lethal training, said Rep. Lee Hamilton, D-Ind. He said the Clinton administration supports restoration of training authorization because it would foster greater respect for civilian control of the military and improve efforts to slow narcotics operations.

The training program "is the kind of program designed to be used in a country like Indonesia about which we have some human rights concerns," said Rep. Doug Bereuter, R-Neb.

Congress voted in 1992 to suspend military training for Indonesia, but the money was restored partially in subsequent legislation.

The training program for Indonesia is only one provision of a "housekeeping" measure designed to streamline U.S. foreign aid and arms export programs.

Another provision authorizes the sale of seven surplus ships to Egypt, Mexico, New Zealand, Taiwan and Thailand; the lease of a tank landing ship to Taiwan; and the gift of an ocean surveillance ship to Portugal.

The bill now goes to the Senate.

TEXT OF THE PROVISION OF THE LAW CONCERNING IMET FOR INDONESIA:

H.R.3121

To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions under those Acts, to authorize... (Passed by the House)

CHAPTER 2—INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING

SEC. 111. ASSISTANCE FOR INDONESIA.

Funds made available for fiscal years 1996 and 1997 to carry out chapter 5 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2347 et seq.) may be obligated for Indonesia only for expanded military and education training that meets the requirements of clauses (I) through (iv) of the second sentence of section 541 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2347).

HOUSE FLOOR DISCUSSION FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECORD PAGES H3429 - H3433 APRIL 16, 1996

[Only portions dealing with IMET for Indonesia are included. These constitute most of the time spent discussing this bill on the House floor.]

Barney Frank, D-MA

In general, this is good legislation. As someone who represents a large number of Portuguese-Americans who are proud of the very strong, thriving relationship between our two democratic nations, I am pleased to see through the efforts of my colleagues the needs of the Portuguese Navy have been in part accommodated.

But I am severely disappointed that this legislation continues a pattern of rewarding the Government of Indonesia, which continues to engage in some of the most oppressive and racist activities in the world in their maltreatment of the people of East Timor. Indonesia's record in East Timor is one of the great moral failings in the world, and

unfortunately it is a further moral failing that the rest of the world stands back and allows the people of East Timor to be so oppressed.

I understand that this is military and educational training. Theoretically just for civilians, in ways it is supposed to help. But you know when you are in East Timor being oppressed, when you are being killed or imprisoned by this brutal regime, the fact the people doing the killing and the Indonesians are a little better educated in civic values than they otherwise might have been is no consolation. I regret very much that this legislation continues that practice.

Last year I offered an amendment to strike from the foreign operations appropriations bill all aid to Indonesia. The Committee on Rules did not allow it. I want to announce now that I and others intend to insist this time on our right to at least vote on that. It is bad enough that this Congress goes along with rewarding the brutal actions of the Government of Indonesia, but to deny us even a chance to vote for it implicates our own procedures in that unfortunate aspect, although obviously murder is a lot worse than our being able to vote. I am sorry it is not included here, and I pledge we will do everything we can to end the practice of rewarding the Indonesian Government until and unless it stops its brutalization of the people of East Timor.

Patrick Kennedy, D-RI

Mr. Speaker, I would like to concur with my colleague from Massachusetts [Mr. Frank], in that this bill should not be on the Suspension Calendar as it relates to the inclusion of an enhancement for Indonesia for the same reasons my colleagues just spoke.

Indonesia has proven itself to be someone with no respect and regard for the human rights of the East Timorese in the application of their Government in East Timor. They have systematically used their Government to oppose the East Timorese. They have terrorized, brutalized, they have killed demonstrators in broad daylight in front of international cameras. They will go to no end to show that they are not worthy of the recognition that this enhancement gives them.

The whole idea of the enhancement is to say, 'Well, we will work with you.'

But understand, we will work to support democratic efforts. But if there are no democratic efforts being undertaken, it is a little presumptuous for us to think that simply by our recognition of East Timor through this enhanced IMET that we are going to replace what is not there. That is the problem with enhanced IMET.

My former colleague, Congressman Ron Machtley, was successful in revoking IMET. It was a good thing that this Congress recognized it. Nothing has changed. Indonesia still oppresses these Timorese, and that is why this is not the time for us to be renewing IMET. That is why, Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman can obviously tell, there are people like myself, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. Pelosi], the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. Lowey], and others, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Frank], who know this is not an issue where we should be debating it on a Suspension Calendar. We have no problem debating this as a bill on the floor itself, and that is the way it should come before us.

Mr. Speaker, this bill contains provisions, as the gentleman from New York said, which we all support. I would be the first to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. Gilman] for the inclusion of the hydrographic vessel that goes to Portugal. But that is the proper role for a suspension bill. The IMET is not. So while I support that endeavor that the gentleman has put into the bill, this I have to object to.

Nita M. Lowey, D-NY

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the provision in this bill that authorizes international military education and training [IMET] assistance for Indonesia.

In 1992, we voted to end all IMET assistance for Indonesia because of that country's abysmal human rights record and their continued oppression of the people of East Timor. Despite the lack of improvement in Indonesia's human rights record, and the opposition of myself and many of my colleagues, a modified IMET program was approved for Indonesia in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1996.

When this provision was added to the foreign aid bill last year, we said we would monitor the human rights situation in Indonesia very carefully and act accordingly this year. Well, the State Department's Country Report on Indonesia was released last month, and according to the report, 'The government continued to commit serious human rights abuses.'

So what do we do a month after this report came out? We attempt to slip reauthorization of IMET for Indonesia into a supposedly non-controversial bill that is being considered on the Suspension Calendar. This is an unacceptable way to legislate.

Mr. Speaker, in the past we have debated this issue extensively. Last year, I offered an amendment to the foreign aid bill to prohibit this assistance from going to Indonesia. There is significant opposition in Congress

to Indonesian IMET. That doesn't sound non-controversial to me.

A month ago, the State Department said that in Indonesia 'reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture of those in custody by security forces increased.' Not decreased. Not stayed the same. Increased. Should we really be authorizing IMET assistance for this government now when they have not addressed these critical human rights issues? I don't think so.

Indonesia's policy in East Timor is about the oppression of people who oppose Indonesia's right to torture, kill, and repress the people of East Timor. It is about the 200,000 Timorese who have been slaughtered since the Indonesian occupation in 1975-200,000 killed out of a total population of 700,000. It is about genocide.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a non-controversial issue, and should never have been brought up under suspension.

Lee Hamilton, D-IN (ranking minority on International Security committee)

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Chairman Gilman for his leadership on this bill. He has proceeded in a very constructive and bipartisan way. The first part of the bill, an amendment of security assistance authorities in the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act, has indeed been developed on a bipartisan basis under Chairman Gilman's leadership. He has already spoken in some detail about the bill, and I do not want to repeat his presentation.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to speak to two issues that have come up by our colleagues. One is expanded IMET for Indonesia. The issue of expanded IMET for Indonesia is troubling to some Members of this House. The administration strongly supports the provision in this bill which exactly tracks the Foreign Operations Act for this fiscal year. The bill would not allow IMET assistance for traditional purposes. There would be no lethal training.

This bill allows military education and training in Indonesia only for very specific purposes: To foster greater respect for and understanding of the principle of civilian control of the military, to improve military justice in accordance with internationally recognized human rights, and to improve counter-narcotics cooperation. The purpose of this so-called expanded IMET is solely to give the United States a better handle in trying to alter the behavior of the Indonesian Government and the military which, of course, is the strongest, most influential institution in the country.

Second, Members interested in arms control have raised questions about this bill, as well. I believe this bill will help improve Congress' oversight of the arms export con-

trol process. The bill gives the Congress an additional 20 days' advance notification of arms export commercial licenses and co-production agreements. It will give Congress the same window on these transactions as it now has on government-to-government sales.

For the first time, it will give the Congress the ability to offer resolutions of disapproval on third-country transfers and on co-production agreements. For the first time, the Congress will require the executive branch to establish a comprehensive end-use monitoring system on government-to-government arms transfers. For the first time, Congress will put a genuine meaningful cap, \$350 million, on the transfer of excess defense articles in a fiscal year. The existing ceiling, \$250 million, has just too many loopholes in it.

Mr. Speaker, it is correct that this bill raises thresholds on arms notifications, for example, from \$14 million to \$25 million on arms sales. The last time thresholds were raised was 1981. So this change is basically in response to inflation.

According to the Department of Defense, this change in the past year would have resulted only in some four or five fewer notifications to Congress per year out of a few hundred, I might say, each year, and all of them to NATO countries.

The bill eliminates grants of international military education and training for wealthy countries. The bill gives the administration more flexibility in the use of limited assistance funds through increases in drawdown authorities and changes in the authorities on anti-narcotics and antiterrorism assistance programs. For example, this bill will enable the President to use assistance funds to work with Israel on research and development efforts to combat terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I also want to commend the chairman, Mr. Gilman, and the administration, particularly the Navy, on the second part of the bill on naval ship transfers. The Navy has heard the message about the committee's opposition to large numbers of grant ships transfers. The bill before us returns to the traditional pattern of ship transfers. Eight ships in this package are sales, one is a lease, and one to Portugal is a grant. Portugal, of course, is a NATO ally since the beginning of NATO, has provided the United States access to facilities since the 1940's, and last year renewed that access agreement in the Azores.

This package also includes the sale of three 1970 vintage Knox-class frigates to Taiwan and the lease of one transport ship to Taiwan. This is part of our longstanding policy under the Taiwan Relations Act to provide defense articles to Taiwan. I strongly support these ship transfers.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support the overall bill. I urge the adoption of H.R. 3121.

Nancy Pelosi, D-CA

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California [Mr. Lantos] for yielding this time to me and for his leadership on issues, international issues as well as others, that come before this House. I have great respect for the chair of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Gilman], and our ranking member, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hamilton].

I rise today to express concern about a couple of the provisions of this legislation, H.R. 3121. I do not believe that the bill before us should be on suspension calendar because it covers a great deal of territory and with a minimal amount of debate and consideration on the floor.

My two concerns, one I share with many of my colleagues, is about the enhanced IMET to Indonesia for 1996-97 and my concern about arms control. I listened very attentively to the remarks of the ranking member, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hamilton], and appreciate the assurances he has given about the increased ceiling in terms of the weapons, the sale, amount of the weapon sales, and the increased discretion given to Congress to intervene in those sales, and I accept his explanation, and I look forward to getting more information that is contained in the bill.

But I would, for the record, like to express concern about the international military and education training for Indonesia for 1996 and 1997. Our colleagues have said that this legislation tracks the Committee on Foreign Operations legislation. Well, it does for 1996.

Many of us on the committee, and I serve on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, do not think that Indonesia should be getting any IMET. We recognize that there are those who believe that this enhanced IMET for the purposes of fostering civilian control in the role of an army and a more democratic country, et cetera, I do not know if I have defined Indonesia that way, but nonetheless this IMET, enhanced IMET, could be useful. And in that spirit of cooperation we accepted the compromise proposed graciously by our chairman, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Callahan], with the understanding that it was only for 1996 and the program would be carefully monitored. We accepted the compromise but remain convinced nonetheless that Indonesia should not receive IMET funds.

Now we see before us, in the bill before us, extending the IMET for 1997 despite the fact the record shows continuing serious human rights abuses by the armed forces in

Indonesia that several of our colleagues referenced specifically in East Timor. We will continue the debate on this important issue as the Committee on Foreign Operations considers fiscal year 1997.

I mentioned my concerns about the arms sales and think there could be dangerous consequences, but, as I say, accept the explanation extended by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hamilton]. While the notification process may be considered cumbersome by some in the bureaucracy, congressional oversight helps insure that the taxpayer dollars are well spent.

Again, I am concerned the bill was placed on suspension calendar with little information to many Members. Passage of the bill does not reflect wholehearted support for some of the provisions it contains; I guess that is a rule of life around here. But I do want to very strongly convey to our chairman that this does not track the foreign ops bill for 1996-97. The foreign ops bill only gave enhanced IMET for 1996, and I hope that the gentleman would join with us in monitoring how that enhanced IMET funding is spent.

[other issues deleted]

Cynthia McKinney, D-GA

Mr. Speaker, as a mother and a woman of conscience, I am concerned about U.S. transfers of arms around the world and the impact that those transfers will have 10-15 years down the road, particularly on my son and the other young people of America.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express concern about portions of H.R. 3121 that would reduce congressional oversight on arms sales to foreign countries.

Current law governing congressional oversight of arms sales is already feeble—this bill only makes a bad situation worse. On numerous occasions, our soldiers have been sent into war situations where they have had to face hostile forces armed with American supplied weapons.

I am sure everyone recalls Panama, Iraq, Somalia, and Haiti where our fighting men and women were sniped at and killed by weapons we supplied to those countries before they turned belligerent.

Mr. Speaker, while there are provisions in this bill which I strongly support—such as narcotics control, refugee assistance, and POW/MIA recovery efforts—I cannot in good conscience allow this bill to breeze through this body without careful deliberation.

Every year, the weapons we sell overseas are used against innocent civilians, refugees, political dissidents, and, yes, American soldiers. As the legislative branch, we have the right and responsibility to oversee the transfer of weapons to foreign governments.

This does not mean we cannot supply our allies with the tools to defend themselves, it simply means that we should provide a sobering second thought when the administration is about to approve the transfer of lethal American weapons into the hands of foreign governments.

This bill, Mr. Speaker, would increase the threshold at which Congress must be notified for arms sales, from \$200 to \$300 million. That means the administration would be able to sell \$100 million more in guns overseas before Congress must be notified.

Moreover, the bill authorizes the resumption of international military and education training for the Government of Indonesia. Mr. Speaker, it is well known that Indonesia has an atrocious human rights record, especially with regards to the people of East Timor.

For those of my colleagues who aren't aware, the people of East Timor have been subjected to near-genocide, simply because of their opposition to the multinational mining interests who want to expropriate their minerals.

Mr. Speaker, measures such as these should not be dealt with so lightly under the suspension calendar, and Congress should not be so willing to hand over its limited oversight authority to the administration.

While I want to support the good measures in this bill Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that my conscience will not let me vote for a bill that will reduce congressional oversight with respect to the sale of weapons. Moreover, I cannot support a bill which will authorize the use of American tax dollars to train the repressive military of Indonesia.

As a mother and as a woman of conscience, I urge my colleagues to oppose this regrettably tainted bill.

Doug Bereuter, R-NE (Chair, Asia subcommittee)

I would say to my colleagues, the gentleman from Massachusetts, the gentleman from Rhode Island, the gentlewoman from New York, and the gentlewoman from California, if it is not absolutely clear, we are not authorizing IMET for Indonesia. We are authorizing E-IMET, or extended IMET, and not, as one of the gentleman said, enhanced IMET. And, even 'extended IMET' really does not convey what the program is, for it is quite different than the original IMET program. The Extended IMET program is the kind of program exactly designed to be used in a country like Indonesia where we do have some human rights concerns which are in part related to East Timor.

*[Actually, it is called EXPANDED, not EXTENDED or ENHANCED, in the law
— ETAN.]*

Now, let me say first of all that the enhanced IMET program, or E-IMET, is strongly supported by the administration. If you listen to CINCPAC sources, as people in the State Department, the Defense Department generally and other parts of the administration, it is clear that this administration, the previous administration, are supportive of extending the 'Enhanced IMET' program to Indonesia. It moves us closer to a positive defense relationship with Indonesia, and, more importantly, it is specifically geared, as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hamilton] said, to dealing with a country that has human rights problems that trouble us a great deal. The E-IMET program is to foster greater respect for the principles of civilian control of the military. It is to improve military justice and military codes of conduct in accordance with internationally recognized human rights. It is to contribute to responsible defense resource management. It is to contribute to cooperation between the military and local police in the area of counter-narcotics.

This is the full scope of the E-IMET program. It is very different than the IMET program, about which objections have been expressed here today.

Now, let me say that I, despite the fact that I believe that Indonesia is playing a very important role in Southeast Asia, that it is strategically located and is a country that has played the key, positive role in trying to resolve the Spratley Islands dispute in the waters off Southeast Asia, despite that, I would not be able to suggest to my colleagues that we ought to approve the traditional IMET authorization. But there is this to be said for what is happening in Indonesia:

There are substantial signs of greater judicial independence, there is NGO activism in the last 12 months, there is a human rights commission that has been established, primarily because of outside interests, the human rights community, and the United States of America. Human rights practices remain certainly imperfect, but the E-IMET program is specifically designed primarily to push Indonesia and other countries toward better human rights practices.

So I think that, in fact, our colleagues should feel very good about authorizing 'Enhanced IMET' program for Indonesia. And by the way, it is identical to the existing law in the foreign operations appropriation bill as well as the authorization bills passed by both the House and the Senate.

Mr. [Clay] Shaw [R-FL].

Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to be in the debate on this particular issue until I heard the questions of what I consider to be tremendous exaggerations as to what is going

on in East Timor. I had the privilege of visiting East Timor for several days just a few months ago, along with Congressman Johnson and the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Archer. We saw firsthand the fact that there are not these huge breaches of human rights, and we did not see these breaches of human rights as referred to.

As a matter of fact, one of our Members went and spoke to a Catholic priest, and, by the way, most of Indonesia is Muslim, this is mostly Catholic. As a matter of fact, there is the second largest statue of Jesus in the entire world being constructed—in process of being constructed—in East Timor.

I went to a Catholic priest who actually favored independence, but he verified the fact that the human rights record was certainly improving and that he did not see these tremendous violations of human rights.

Mrs. Nancy Johnson, R-CT

I think it ought to be also in the record that the government of East Timor is a Timoran, well respected by the people of that island, and Indonesia has a way of sharing the benefits of mining and timber throughout the islands of Indonesia. So development money is coming in, and not only are they beginning to deal with the terrible economic problems of this island, but they are beginning also to deal constructively with the human rights issues.

others who added comments in the Congressional Record

Jack Reed, D-RI

Mr. Speaker, I recognize the importance of the issues that the House of Representatives is addressing today as it considers H.R. 3121.

However, I must object to certain provisions of H.R. 3121 and the manner in which it has been brought before the House. This measure authorizes enhanced International Military and Education Training [IMET] for Indonesia, which is committing flagrant human rights abuses against the people of East Timor.

More than 20 years ago, Indonesian troops invaded the small country of East Timor, beginning a storm of violent occupation and repression that continues today. I believe that we must stand with the East Timorese against these unconscionable acts, and I am concerned that by providing enhanced IMET to Indonesia, we may send a dangerous message to the leaders of that nation.

In addition, by bringing H.R. 3121 to the floor under suspension of the rules, we will not have a full and open debate on IMET and Indonesia's aggression against the East Timorese. The suspension calendar should

be reserved for non-controversial legislation. In my opinion, H.R. 3121 does not meet this test.

I regret that this afternoon, the House is not giving these issues the attention they deserve. In the months to come, I will continue to work to assist the long-suffering people of East Timor, and I urge my colleagues to join me in this effort.

Tony Hall, D-OH

Mr. Speaker, while I support the majority of the provisions in H.R. 3121, which makes various technical amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act, I strongly oppose the section which authorizes the resumption of International Military and Education Training [IMET] funds for Indonesia.

I have been protesting the human rights abuses in East Timor for some time now. Last December marked the 20th anniversary of Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Recently, the situation on the ground there has been getting worse not better. It is sobering to reflect that over the last 20 years at least 100,000 and perhaps more than 200,000 people have been killed out of a population of less than 700,000. While the vast majority of these deaths took place before 1980, harsh repression continues. The world witnessed this first hand when the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in which the Indonesian military killed over 200 unarmed individuals was recorded by journalists.

Congress banned IMET funding for Indonesia to protest human rights abuses in East Timor. The situation has not improved and the U.S. Congress should not change this policy. It is my hope that we can prevent the funding of IMET for Indonesia in the appropriations process.

[The bill was passed on a 2/3, non-recorded vote.]

FROM YOUR OWN HOME: LOBBY FOR EAST TIMOR

From ETAN/US, April 22

In mid-April, more than a dozen East Timor Action Network members converged on Congress for our third annual Lobby Days. We met with nearly a hundred Senate and Congressional staffers (and some Representatives and Senators), informing them about issues relating to East Timor and United States policy, and encouraging them to support East Timorese human rights and self-determination.

There is a new energy in Congress, with Members and aides educating themselves and working to end two decades of U.S. support for the brutal Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

YOU CAN BE PART OF THIS!

Join the East Timor Action Network in urging Congress to end all U.S. military aid and arms sales to Indonesia. The U.S. government should send a strong and unambiguous message that the illegal Indonesian occupation and the escalating level of human rights violations are totally unacceptable.

Last month, the U.S. State Department issued its annual reports on human rights. The report on Indonesia said that its political system

"remains strongly authoritarian. ...

There continued to be numerous, credible reports of human rights abuses by the military and police. ...

"The most serious abuses include harsh repression of dissidents in East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya. Reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture of those in custody by security forces increased.

"On East Timor, no progress was made in accounting for the missing persons following the 1991 Dili incident or the 10 other Timorese that disappeared in 1995. Troop levels remained unjustifiably high. The armed forces used excessive force in making arrests following anti-integration rioting in Dili in October. The Government reimposed restricted access to the province by foreign journalists."

And on and on, detailing cases of arrests, killings, and other criminal activities to support Indonesia's illegal and genocidal 20-year occupation of East Timor.

Yet, the Clinton Administration is trying hard to sell F-16 fighter warplanes to the Indonesian regime. And restrictions on military aid and other weapons sales which have been in effect for several years could be overturned.

Congress will only help East Timor if they hear from us.

They hear from the arms industry and Indonesia's corporate lobby all the time.

Many in Congress are still uninformed about East Timor and need to be familiarized with the issues. Others, supporters of human rights and East Timor in both parties, should be thanked and encouraged to take further action. And there are supporters of Indonesia who need to know the political and human consequences of their blind support for Indonesia's genocidal occupation.

Call or write your Senators and Representatives. Urge them to support further restrictions on US arms sales and military aid to Indonesia, and to co-sponsor the Kennedy-Lowey bill "East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act," H.R.2746.

To contact Congress: call the Capitol Switchboard, (202)224-3121. Write U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510 or your Representative at House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. Many Congressmembers can be contacted by e-mail. For a current list try the World Wide Web:

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1007/> or

<http://ast1.spa.umn.edu/juan/congress.html>

Please let us know of any responses you receive from Congresspeople.

**U.S., PORTUGAL TALK
HUMAN RIGHTS**

WASHINGTON, April 29 (UPI) – Secretary of State Warren Christopher praised Portugal's support of peace agreements in the Balkans and Angola during a meeting Monday with the Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama.

In brief comments to reporters before a working lunch, both Christopher and Gama said they would be discussing the situations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and southern Africa as well as conditions in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony claimed by Indonesia.

"We have interests around the world that we will be talking about, where we are working together, in places like Angola and Mozambique and our joint concern with the human rights situation in East Timor," Christopher said.

Gama said the two were seeking ways to bring "peace and stability" to Angola, which has been torn by nearly constant civil warfare since it gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

Portugal helped broker a second peace agreement for Angola that was signed in November 1994. An earlier agreement had broken down in 1992 when rebel groups disputed the results of a general election that year.

The United States, which first recognized the formerly communist Angola government in 1993, is supporting a large U.N. peacekeeping operation to separate the country's two armed groups and help demilitarize the society, including widespread mine clearing operations.

In Mozambique, Portugal's other former colony in Africa, a 1993 peace agreement and subsequent U.N. peacekeeping operation successfully ended that country's long-time civil war and a freely elected government has maintained control there for two years.

The United States, Portugal and several Asian countries have recently stepped up efforts to seek a solution for East Timor,

where a pro-independence movement has been brutally suppressed by Indonesian authorities.

A peace plan was proposed in 1994 for a phased withdrawal of Indonesian troops and a referendum on Timorese independence. But there has been little progress in implementing the proposals and independence activists continue to clash with Indonesian forces.

Indonesia invaded the eastern half of the island in 1975 and claimed it as a 27th province although the annexation was never recognized by the United Nations, which still considers Portugal the administrative power for the island.

COMMENT FROM MARIZA CABRAL

This is such misleading reporting! If I didn't know any better, here's what I would have inferred from these two paragraphs:

There is a (possibly small) independence movement in ET which the (legitimate) Indonesian government has been suppressing. The United States government have "stepped up efforts" to defend this oppressed faction. One of such steps, led by the US government in cooperation with Portugal and "several Asian countries" has been to propose a peace plan in 1994... (not the CNRM, which isn't even mentioned). Indonesia was receptive to the US-et-al-proposed peace plan, however has been facing difficulties with its practical implementation. Perhaps withdrawing the troops and conducting a referendum, as demanded by the peace plan, is difficult when the "activists" choose to continue "clashing" with the forces of law.

Certainly there is relative freedom in ET if independence "activists" can afford to continue "clashing" with Indonesian forces. "Clashing" is so much different from being chased down and murdered, isn't it? Unlike Angola, which "has been torn by nearly constant civil warfare since it gained independence from Portugal in 1975" (this part is true, of course) East Timor has a few remaining "human rights" problems.

**US D.O.D. ON IMET
FOR INDONESIA**

**WALTER SLOCOMBE ON 1997 U.S.
SECURITY ASSISTANCE**

Congressional testimony, April 30. excerpts.

Washington – U.S. security assistance acts as "a critical force multiplier," a leading Defense Department official says, because it helps to ensure that Washington has the "crucial support of friendly countries" when U.S. military power must be engaged.

Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Walter Slocombe told Congress April 30

that such "crucial support...including operational support and backing from capable military organizations," enables the U.S. military "to effectively deter and defeat challenges" to U.S. national security.

In an appearance before the House Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, the Defense official noted that U.S. military assistance programs not only shape the allied military forces which may fight effectively alongside their U.S. counterparts, but they also help "achieve our international democratic agenda."

Military assistance programs, he explained, encourage the development of viable cooperative defense arrangements making direct U.S. intervention "less likely."

Following are excerpts from Slocombe's text as prepared for delivery:

Of great importance to our regional strategy in PACOM is our IMET program with Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world. Indonesia is an increasingly influential regional and global actor. It is strategically located astride major international sea lanes. Our military forces enjoy solid professional relations with Indonesia's military. It is through engagement of Indonesian defense and other governmental officials in training and education programs that we can promote professionalism and influence practices. To maximize the potential of IMET for Indonesia, we are requesting full reinstatement of the IMET program in FY97, beyond E-IMET programs – which are important – to include the full program of professional military education. In a period during which we seek to broaden our efforts to build relationships with the armed forces of the region, increase joint exercises, and enhance access to service facilities for our forward-deployed forces, IMET programs are invaluable.

EVENTS IN CANADA

CANADIANS BOOED FOR BURYING HEADS IN SAND

by Stephen Dale

OTTAWA, Jan 29 (IPS) - Pressure from within Canada will likely force Ottawa to retreat from a policy that places trade considerations well above human rights concerns.

A recent 'Team Canada' trade mission to Asia brought Canadian leaders under pressure to address the rights of workers and minorities in countries where Canadian firms do business.

"My impression is that human rights concerns turned out to have a greater significance than the Prime Minister anticipated," said Edward Broadbent, president of the Montreal-based International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

The diplomatic junket, led by Prime Minister Jean Chretien, followed one to China that focused solely on trade matters.

"This time, the rights issue was brought up by people who came into the spotlight and by reporters who were covering them," Broadbent told IPS. "The third phase, I hope, is that human rights will be officially part of the agenda."

Chretien and the six provincial leaders who accompanied him had hoped the trip would provide an opportunity to show voters at home how aggressively they were trying to forge trade links in the booming Pacific Rim region.

Though they returned with almost two billion U.S. dollars' worth of business contracts and commitments for another 4.5 billion dollars in business, their photo opportunities were often seized by individuals concerned about the poor and oppressed.

In India, a 13-year-old Canadian boy named Craig Keilburger upstaged Chretien when he held an emotional press conference with Indian child labourers, forcing the Prime Minister to address the issue of child exploitation which he had so far managed to avoid.

After meeting with Chretien, Keilburger remained adamant that the Prime Minister was shirking his responsibilities.

"I had hoped that, during the meeting, he would have made more of a commitment on the issues and said, 'I will do this and I will do that,'" the 13-year-old told a reporter at the scene.

In Ottawa, the national leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Alexa McDonough, said Keilburger's presence in India highlighted his own commitment as well as the solidarity of Canadian workers. She told IPS that the boy, who had hoped to raise some seven thousand U.S. dollars from Canadian trade unionists, left the first union hall he visited with 15 times the amount.

"It struck a very responsive chord amongst working people who themselves are feeling the pressure of wage rollbacks and massive downsizing," said McDonough. "This issue of international labour rights means something to Canadians."

'Team Canada' also came under major attack during a stop in Indonesia.

As the team landed in Jakarta, Canadian members of parliament, feminist and labour leaders called a press conference here to denounce Canada's soft approach to Indo-

nesian policies on labour rights and on East Timor.

"Mr. Chretien should publicly demand that they respect U.N. resolutions and that they cease human rights violations and get out of East Timor," said Warren Allmand, a member of Chretien's own Liberal party back-benches.

Although Chretien reportedly raised East Timor at the end of a 15-minute discussion with Indonesian President Suharto, he did not address the issue of worker rights.

Broadbent contends that this is an inadequate response to a situation where workers have been tortured and killed for independent union activity.

"Not only is the vile behaviour of Indonesia in East Timor something that should have been put on the agenda, but certainly some concern ought to have been expressed for the basic denial of organisation rights for the people of Indonesia," he told IPS.

And there are signs the government may have been stung by the intense criticism.

One week after the team's return, a cabinet shuffle saw foreign affairs minister Andre Ouellette replaced by Lloyd Axworthy, who as opposition foreign affairs critic, was a champion of human rights.

Canada did take a leading role last year in pushing the Commonwealth to punish Nigeria for the execution of writer Ken Saro-Wiwa. But critics say such examples of leadership only point out the growing inconsistencies in Canada's policy.

"It seems clear that when the economic and commercial price is greater, the issue of rights slides down the scale of priorities very rapidly," said Roy Culpeper, president of the North-South Institute here.

Culpeper says the government's argument that Canada lacks the leverage to deal with large and economically strong countries "doesn't address the possibility of multilateral action, which is exactly what Canada did with Nigeria."

So why can't Canada take the same approach with China and Indonesia?

"It's because there's too much at stake economically, which is a sad commentary on our view of human rights as just another factor in the equation," lamented Culpeper.

Chretien calls his policy one of "constructive engagement," based on the idea that increased trade and prosperity will create a broader middle class that will not tolerate rights abuses.

But Culpeper notes that Chretien's version of "constructive engagement" is out of line with the Canadian tradition.

"In our history in South Africa, 'constructive engagement' meant something quite different," he said.

"We didn't close our embassy in Pretoria, but we used the opportunity to have a

dialogue with the opponents of the apartheid system and we provided assistance to the ANC (African National Congress). The South African government didn't like that, but it seems to me you should expect to have some conflict if you are truly committed to human rights."

ENVOY'S VISIT FRIGHTENED HER, TIMOR REFUGEE'S MOTHER INSISTS

Canadians to check if Dili family was intimidated

The Globe and Mail, Toronto, January 31, 1996, page A1. By John Stackhouse

DILI, East Timor – The family of an East Timorese refugee and activist living in Canada were "terrified" by the recent surprise visit to their Dili home of Indonesia's ambassador to Canada, despite the envoy's claim that his was a "social visit."

Speaking through an intermediary, the family of Bella Galhos, an East Timorese student living in Ottawa, said the envoy visited their modest bungalow in the East Timor capital with only ten minutes' warning and left them with the strong impression they should encourage the young woman to return home.

Bella Galhos' mother, Teresa, a primary school teacher and single mother of six, said the ambassador's visit had left her "terrible scared." She said Ambassador Benjamin Parwoto arrived with five cars and "a lot of motorcycles," and scores of people gathered outside her home during the 30-minute visit.

A *Globe and Mail* reporter who visited East Timor last week sent questions to Mrs. Galhos through a local development worker. Foreign journalists are strictly forbidden to travel to East Timor, and authorities strongly discourage Dili residents from speaking about political issues to the few foreigners in the capital.

Mrs. Galhos said an Indonesian press report saying she was not intimidated by the visit was inaccurate. "I was not directly threatened by the ambassador, but I felt very terrified by so many people with cars, radios and uniforms who were with him," she said. Mr. Parwoto's aides, she added, asked "some awful questions," including the identity of her daughter's boyfriend in Dili.

Mrs. Galhos said she was worried that her daughter would be arrested if she returned.

Bella Galhos has criticized the Indonesian government in Canada, and has become a considerable embarrassment for Mr. Parwoto.

Speaking from Ottawa, Mr. Parwoto said the Galhos family was "lying" if they said

he had tried to frighten them. "It is not my habit to intimidate people. No one seemed worried. They laughed. They smiled. It was a very amicable situation."

He said his visit to the Galhos residence was a modest one, with four other people accompanying him in two cars, although he added a third unidentified car also stopped at the house during the visit.

After the meeting, Mr. Parwoto gave Mrs. Galhos 150,000 rupiahs (\$80) "out of pity," adding: "It is really as very, very poor family." Mrs. Galhos lives in a small three-bedroom house with five of her six children and one grandchild.

Canadian government officials worry that the visit itself was enough to intimidate the family. "I think the department [of Foreign Affairs] will be looking at whether such a visit by an ambassador falls into the realm of appropriate behaviour," department spokesman Colin Stewart said.

Mr. Stewart said Foreign Affairs plans to raise the issue with Mr. Parwoto once it receives a report from two Canadian diplomats who have been dispatched to East Timor to assess conditions there. They met Mrs. Galhos yesterday.

Mr. Parwoto visited the Galhos family on Jan. 20, less than 48 hours after Prime Minister Jean Chretien left Jakarta for Malaysia on his Asian trade mission. Mr. Chretien and his trip to Indonesia were strongly criticized by East Timor activists in Canada because of the low profile given to the disputed status of the territory.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it a year later, a move that has not been recognized by the United Nations.

Bella Galhos, 23, refused to return to Canada in 1994 after she had completed a student-exchange program in Canada. Since then, she has spoken out against the Indonesian government for the East Timor Alert Network, which investigates and reports on human-rights abuses in East Timor.

During Mr. Parwoto's visit to Dili, he apparently tried to encourage the Galhos family to persuade Bella to return, and personally vouched for her safety. "She is a clever girl, she is intelligent," Mr. Parwoto said from Ottawa. "She can do better to serve her country."

Mr. Parwoto said the family asked him whether Bella would be safe if she returned to Dili. "I said, 'I cannot promise you that, but I'll do everything possible that, if she does come home, she will be safe.' Maybe I can write a good letter, tell the people here that she is a good girl."

One of Bella's fellow university students, José Antonio Belo, returned to Dili from a student-exchange program in December, 1994, and was arrested a month later for

allegedly participating in an antigovernment rally. He has not been released.

Mr. Parwoto flew to Dili for a 24-hour visit to "see for myself what was happening there" by meeting church officials, development workers and civic officials. He said the unplanned visit to the Galhos home was arranged by a local journalist who had attended high school with Bella.

After visiting the Galhos family last Wednesday, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross reported the family was not in danger. "I don't think there is any real threat for the family," said Henri Fournier, head of the ICRC mission in Indonesia. "If she [Mrs. Galhos] has any problems later on, she can contact us."

In Dili, intimidation remains a common commodity, scooped out nightly by truckloads of soldiers in riot control gear who roam the streets and new gangs known as ninjas (a reference to their masks) who storm houses and beat government opponents, mainly university students.

The crackdowns have reached such levels that dozens of Timorese youths have recently sought refuge in foreign embassies in Jakarta.

"It's a small half-island, and the Indonesian soldiers are everywhere," said Carlos Philippe (sic) Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor. "There is no other way, just escape."

Two boatloads of young Timorese set sail for Australia last month but were caught offshore by authorities and jailed. All 21 potential refugees were arrested, and seven remain in custody.

CANADA PROTESTS INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR'S ACTIONS

OTTAWA, Feb 2 (Reuters) - Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy said on Friday he had protested to Indonesia's ambassador a visit the diplomat paid to the mother of a Timorese woman who has taken refuge in Canada.

"We have sent a note to the ambassador stating that his actions were inappropriate," Axworthy, a liberal who just took over the foreign ministry portfolio last week, told reporters.

He sent the letter on Thursday to Ambassador Benjamin Parwoto, who on Jan. 20 visited the home of Teresa Galhos in East Timor, which Indonesia seized in 1975 when Portugal left.

Galhos' daughter Isabel has been outspoken against Indonesian repression of East Timor and the human rights violations reported there, since she became a refugee in Canada last year.

Isabel says Parwoto tried to quell her protests by threatening her mother into convincing her daughter to move back home.

Canadian diplomats subsequently visited the mother to get her version of the story in light of Indonesian denials.

The question of human rights and in particular East Timor developed into a major issue during a trade mission Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien to Indonesia from Jan. 16 to 18, shortly before Parwoto's visit.

Indonesia has strongly rejected Isabel Galhos' accusations that Parwoto's visit was undertaken to intimidate her mother.

A spokeswoman for the Canada-based human rights group East Timor Alert Network said Axworthy's letter was not enough.

"It's a slap in the face for the ambassador. It won't change anything," said Kerry Pither. "The ambassador should be recalled. That's the least that can be done."

Axworthy said Parwoto would be allowed to stay in Canada for the time being: "We will continue to see if any further action needs to be taken."

INDONESIA CALLS IN CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

Reuter, Jakarta, 7 February 1996. Abridged

Indonesia's foreign ministry on Wednesday said it deeply regretted Canada's handling of accusations that an Indonesian official had intimidated the mother of an East Timorese woman living in Canada. Foreign Ministry spokesman Ghaffar Fadyal said in a statement that Canadian Ambassador Lawrence Dickenson on Wednesday had been called to the foreign ministry and given a protest in writing.

"The Indonesian government is very concerned about the activities of various parties in Canada concerning human rights and East Timor which could disturb the relationship between Indonesia and Canada," Fadyal said, outlining the protest statement.

"It's regrettable that the visit of Ambassador Benjamin Parwoto to East Timor on January 19 has already been misreported by the Canadian media," he said.

Human rights activists in Canada have claimed Parwoto visited the home of Teresa Galhos in East Timor asking her to put pressure on her daughter Isabel, now living in Canada, to stop unspecified anti-Indonesia activities.

Isabel Galhos, an East Timor university English student, did not return from an exchange programme in Canada in 1994. Fadyal said in his statement the visit took place but it had been exaggerated by the Canadian media. He denied there was any intimidation or pressure.

INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR WARNS ACTIVIST'S MOTHER ENDANGERED BY PROTESTS

[The following story was moved Feb. 8 by Canadian Press. It contains a crudely-veiled threat that is also an extraordinary admission by an Indonesian ambassador: that Jakarta does in fact take reprisals against dissidents. Nothing new of course, but it's the first time I've heard a diplomatic representative make such a claim. It should also be noted that Ambassador Parwoto asked for the interview with CP that led to this story, although he later tried to stop the report.]

— David Webster, ETAN/Toronto

By Diane Rinehart

OTTAWA (CP, Feb. 8) — An East Timorese activist living in Canada has endangered her mother by causing a diplomatic spat between Indonesia and Canada, says the Indonesian ambassador to Canada.

Benjamin Parwoto said Bella Galhos's mother, who lives in Indonesian-occupied East Timor, was safer before Galhos accused him of intimidating her mother during a visit last month.

"By saying (the visit was threatening), Bella Galhos keeps her mother in more danger than before," Parwoto said in an interview Wednesday.

Parwoto said he worries the diplomatic uproar will cause those who want East Timor to be integrated with Indonesia to take things into their own hands.

"People who are pro-integration, they may try to do something to her mother. I am worried," he said.

"Now the people in Jakarta know what happens to me. That is why I'm afraid (for her). Hopefully nothing will happen."

Canada has officially protested Parwoto's visit, saying it could have been interpreted as an intimidation tactic to stop Bella Galhos from criticizing Indonesia.

"Ambassador Parwoto's visit to Mrs. Galhos was inappropriate because his action left itself open to the interpretation that it was an attempt to put pressure on a Canadian resident," said Foreign Affairs spokesman Colin Stewart.

Indonesia retaliated Wednesday by calling in Canada's ambassador to protest the diplomatic note given to Parwoto.

Galhos is a member of the East Timor Alert Network, a human rights group.

Amnesty International says the Indonesian military organizes vigilante groups made up of civilians to spy on, report, or kill suspected rebels.

The government then blames "pro-integration" forces, the East Timor Alert Network says.

Kerry Pither, a spokeswoman for the network, said Parwoto's remarks are threatening and Canada should have him recalled to Indonesia.

Galhos agreed.

"The ambassador is just trying to silence me," she said.

Parwoto denies that he meant the remarks as threats. Later Wednesday, he asked that his remarks not be reported, although he did not deny making them.

Stewart said Canada will seek clarification from the Indonesian government about Parwoto's remarks, but is not asking for him to be recalled.

"We see these comments as unfortunate and clearly open to all sorts of interpretation."

Parwoto said his visit to Galhos's mother came at the suggestion of an Indonesian journalist while he was visiting East Timor to investigate allegations about the ill-treatment of the East Timorese.

He said there was nothing intimidating about the visit, and he has asked the regional commander of the army to keep an eye on her mother for her own safety.

INDONESIA-RIGHTS-CHRONOLOGY

OTTAWA (CP) — A chronology of the diplomatic dispute between Indonesia and Canada:

Jan. 18: Prime Minister Jean Chretien and members of his Team Canada trade mission leave Indonesia. Indonesia's ambassador to Canada, Benjamin Parwoto, is in Jakarta for the trade mission.

Jan. 19: Parwoto goes to East Timor and later visits the mother of Bella Galhos, an East Timorese refugee living in Ottawa who has criticized the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Jan. 23: The East Timor Alert Network accuses Parwoto of threatening Galhos's family.

Jan. 25: Indonesia confirms Parwoto made the visit but says it was a private visit, not initiated by the government.

Friday, Feb. 2: Canada gives Parwoto a diplomatic note protesting his visit with Galhos's mother.

Wednesday, Feb. 7: Indonesia calls in Canada's ambassador and protests the diplomatic note given to Parwoto. In an interview, Parwoto says he did not intimidate Teresa Galhos, but says her daughter's actions are endangering her among groups that support East Timor's integration with Indonesia.

CANADIAN MP SUPPORTS BELLA GALHOS

New Democratic Party MP Bill Blaikie (Winnipeg Transcona) sent to following letter to Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy (Winnipeg South) on Feb. 27.

Dear Mr. Axworthy,

RE: ISABEL GALHOS' SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

It is my understanding that on February 1, 1996, the Canadian government filed a note of official protest to Benjamin Parwoto, Ambassador of Indonesia, for his actions of intimidation towards East Timorese dissident Isabel Galhos and her family.

However, despite this protest, Ambassador Parwoto continues to make threats in the Canadian media, intimating that there could be negative consequences for Ms. Galhos and her family if she continues to speak out against the Indonesian government and the situation in East Timor.

As NDP foreign affairs and international trade critic, I call upon your government to protest to the government of Indonesia the continued intimidation of this resident of Canada and her family in Indonesia, and demand his recall to Indonesia.

I fail to understand why your government would wish to strengthen ties with a government that continues to so brazenly demonstrate such an oppressive attitude towards human rights.

Sincerely,
Bill Blaikie, MP
Winnipeg-Transcona

UNIVERSITY OF BC STUDENTS BACK TIMOR

Report from ETAN/Toronto

The Alma Mater Society (AMS) of the University of British Columbia, representing over 30,000 students, voted overwhelmingly on Feb. 28 to condemn the occupation of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony in Southeast Asia that was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975. UBC is one of the largest universities in Canada, and is located in Vancouver; the AMS is its student government.

The AMS passed the resolution in conjunction with a visit to Vancouver by Prof. Noam Chomsky, who it described as "a strong proponent of the liberation of East Timor." Its debate on East Timor was preceded by a presentation by Elaine Brière of the East Timor Alert Network.

FIG LEAVES FOR FASCISTS TANGO

From Frank, Canada's satirical political magazine, March 13, 1996

NB Jean Crouton is Frank's name for PM Jean Chretien. Byron Muldoon is former PM Brian Mulroney – the name given to him accidentally by President Ronald Reagan on their first meeting. Comments in [square brackets] are added by poster.

Jean Crouton's response to critics who wanted to know why Canada's Liberals were so eager to befriend Indonesia's murderous government was a \$300,000 CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency] grant to the nation's human rights commission. In preparation, a group of selfless Canadian human rights apparatchiks, sponsored by Ted Langtry, CIDA's Indonesian obergruppenfuhrer, visited the country in December.

Canadian Human Rights Commission director of program development, Charles Theroux, was joined on the junket by Yves Lafontaine, head of Quebec's human rights commission, Ruth Selwyn and René Plat-evort of the Montreal-based Canadian Human Rights Foundation, Ottawa U's Tim Colby and the inevitable Erroll Mendes, director of the university's frequent flyer program, in the Centre for Human Rights

Ottawa U. academics are not alone on this gruesome gravy train. UBC, Simon Fraser, Guelph [note: this is outdated – years of protest at Guelph led to the cancellation of this program] and Dalhousie have shared more than \$150 million in CIDA funds, intended to assist Indonesia's military rulers create their island nirvana and Canadian academics to escape the winter cold.

Not all universities have been so easily bought. U. of T. [Toronto] voted to bar CIDA Indonesia money.

Those who fled the December snows have developed a marked reticence about the trip, referring inquiries to CHRC flak-catchers. Contacted by FRANK, Human Rights Foundation grand fromage Ruth Selwyn, refused to say why she was playing footsie with the generals' flunkies. Indeed, she even refused to confirm that FRANK was even talking to Ruth Selwyn.

The Indonesian Human Rights Commission, which is to receive such generous support from Canadian taxpayers, has features which appeal to dictators everywhere.

The commission is appointed by and accountable to Suharto, a Pol Pot role model. The head of the commission, Ali Said, is a military officer, intimately familiar with the corruption of the Indonesian justice system,

having previously served as attorney general and minister of justice.

(A year and a half after the commission's establishment, Jakarta's military commander, Maj.-Gen. Hendro Priyono, asked what lay in store for protesters at the forthcoming Asian Pacific Economic Conference [sic] replied: "I'll cut them to pieces.")

Byron Muldoon's Tories vetoed all arms sales to Indonesia. Before Crouton's visit, the Liberals authorized the resumption of arms sales, including military aircraft.

Ottawa's changed policy is not unconnected to the problems of Atomic Energy of Canada, which hopes to sign a \$4-billion deal to flog its clapped-out Candu reactors. AECL's head honcho, Robert Nixon, who supplements his AECL sinecure with a \$70,000 pension from the province, is a close Crouton buddy. AECL, which has not actually sold a reactor since Ceaucescu keeled over, maintains an office in Jakarta. Nixon, a little long in the tooth for foreign junkets, dispatched VP Alan Pilkington on the recent trip.

If AECL fails, questions will be asked about how long Canadian taxpayers can be expected to pony up for AECL's army of nuclear boffins with nary a prospect in sight.

CANADIAN MP ASKS SUHARTO ABOUT EAST TIMOR

From David Webster, E TAN, April 4

On a recent visit to Jakarta to attend a meeting on sustainable forestry, Canadian MP Charles Caccia raised the issue of East Timor with Suharto. He asked specifically for information on Indonesia's response to the Portuguese initiative at the ASEM conference in Bangkok. Suharto's response was as follows:

"The last Asia-Europe summit, in a meeting in Bangkok, actually, was a summit to lay a solid foundation for the closer co-operation between the two continents based on partnership, so that all participants agreed that bilateral and sensitive issues should not be raised on such a forum. But nevertheless, since Portugal has the duty, the task of raising the question between Indonesia and Portugal, he used that opportunity, so I also gave him the opportunity, the Prime Minister of Portugal, to raise the question and discuss it on a bilateral basis."

Not much, but I suppose raising East Timor in an open forum once again helps.

TIMOR ACTIVIST SAYS OTTAWA TRYING TO GAG HER

Toronto Star, April 7, 1996. By Shawn McCarthy, Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA – An East Timorese refugee says the federal government appears to be working with the Indonesian government to silence her protests against the brutal occupation of her homeland.

Bella Galhos is an outspoken opponent of Indonesia's 20-year occupation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

Recent events have left her convinced the Canadian government wants her to soften her protests.

"They're the ones who want me to calm down and they don't want to hurt their relationship with the Indonesian government," Galhos said in an interview.

"Everything is the economic interest, that's all that matters. It doesn't matter that the innocent are suffering."

In February, Indonesian Ambassador Benjamin Parwoto said the life of Galhos' mother, Teresa, could be in danger because of Bella's outspoken opposition to the regime.

Parwoto had visited the elder Galhos in East Timor, along with police, to warn her about her daughter's activities, prompting a complaint from the Canadian government.

However, Ottawa says Canadian officials – as well as some from the International Red Cross – later visited Galhos' mother and found she was not fearful. In a letter to a Galhos supporter, L.A.K. James of the Foreign Affairs department said those officials reported that the elder Galhos "was not living in terror and did not fear for herself or her family."

He added that "she told the (Red Cross) representative that she was not very happy with all the attention she was receiving and she wished Isabel would calm down a bit."

Burt a church worker – who secretly visited Galhos and smuggled out a written appeal – told a different story.

In a letter to Galhos, the church worker – who can't be named to protect her security – said she met with the mother and Galhos' uncle three times.

"Your mother emphasize to me that she fully supports your activities in Canada," the church worker said.

The letter also suggested her mother "does feel scared and very concerned about her safety and that of your family."

Galhos said she found it impossible to believe the suggestion from the Foreign Affairs official that her mother wanted her to "calm down."

"My mother would never say that," she said. "We have been fighting for 20 years for the liberation of my country."

However, officials at Foreign Affairs said they were simply relying on the information from their representatives in Indonesia and had no other agenda.

Department spokesperson Colin Stewart rejected the notion that Ottawa would attempt to silence Galhos to smooth commercial relations, noting that Canada protested strongly against the ambassador's visit to her mother.

"It's part of the ideology of the group that Bella is associated with that Canada is talking less tough on human rights due to trade relations," Stewart said. "But we believe we can maintain a serious dialogue on those issues, and at the same time have a healthy trade relationship."

RESOURCES

ET BOOK REVIEWED IN JAPAN TIMES

The East Timor Project - An Anthology: Essays on the Political Economy of East Timor, Vol. I., edited by João Mariano de Sousa Saldanha, Monograph Series No.3/95, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Territory University, Casuarina, 1995, 91pp.

reviewed in Japan Times (Tokyo) (6 February 1996) by Jeff Kingston under rubric "East Timor problem won't go away" along with cartoon by "Best" of the South China Morning Post (Hong Kong). Much abbreviated:

"East Timor continues to be a serious blot on the record of Indonesia's New Order government. President Suharto has clung to a policy of toughing it out, waiting for integration. This policy has not worked.

....The recent demonstrations of East Timorese in Jakarta and at the 1995 APEC conference in Osaka ensured that the 20th anniversary of Jakarta's invasion of East Timor would continue to merit international attention.

....This volume of essays is an attempt to get beyond the polemics of accusation and justification and take a hard look at possible scenarios.....

....This project is a welcome sign of progress in the debate over East Timor and its future disposition. The sober analysis of political, economic and administrative issues is a useful contribution to our understanding of current realities. The fact that East Timor has become a subject of sustained academic analysis is further proof that Jakarta is

wrong to assume that this is an issue embraced only by human rights crusaders and will quietly retreat from international consciousness.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC'S SKEWED MAP OF EAST TIMOR

Below is a letter that Constâncio Pinto and I sent to National Geographic regarding its map of East Timor in the February 1996 issue, followed by National Geographic's response.

– Anthony Arнове

February 6, 1996

To the Editor:

The Cartographic Division's map of Indonesia in your February 1996 issue contains a serious error, one that effectively accepts Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor.

The map, accompanying the article "Irian Jaya: Indonesia's Wild Side," lists only the island of Timor, failing to note the division of the island into East and West Timor. The division of the island into West (Dutch) Timor and East (Portuguese) Timor was formalized in 1913, but Portuguese influence in East Timor extends back to 1515.

East Timor was a Portuguese colony until 1974, when the Portuguese revolution opened the possibility for East Timorese independence. East Timor declared its independence on November 28, 1975. On December 7, 1995, Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor, beginning a brutal occupation of the country that has resulted in over 200,000 deaths.

Although Indonesian President Suharto declared the official "integration" of East Timor into Indonesia in July 1976, East Timorese have continued to resist this annexation and are struggling for the right to self-determination.

National Geographic does a great disservice to its readers and to the people of East Timor by accepting Indonesia's skewed map of Timor.

Constâncio Pinto United States Representative,
National Council of Maubere Resistance

Anthony Arнове Graduate Student,
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Reply from National Geographic

From: Ngsforum@aol.com

It is the National Geographic's map policy to show de facto situations.

Thus, if a state claims and controls an area, we show that area as part of the state.

We feel that it is only through this system that we can produce reliable maps that have lasting reference value. This depiction has nothing to do with our government's policies, or whether we like or dislike a particular situation.

We have shown East Timor as part of Indonesia. East Timor was forcibly occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and officially annexed on July 27, 1975. One month later, Indonesia proclaimed East Timor as the province of Loro Sae.

Thank you for taking the time to write. Your message will be circulated among our senior editorial staff

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Comment from Chuck Albertson, ETAN/Seattle:

This explanation of National Geographic's "policy" is bullshit, and we ought to respond to it. If you take a look at NG's Atlas of the World, for example, you'll see the following:

1. On the map of Northwestern Africa, there is this annotation next to Western Sahara: "Western Sahara, formerly Spanish Sahara, was divided by Morocco and Mauritania in 1976. Morocco has administered the territory since Mauritania's withdrawal in August 1979. The United Nations does not recognize this annexation, and Western Sahara remains in dispute."

2. On the map of Southern Africa, the South African "independent homelands" of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Vendt are outlined, and the annotation reads: "Declared independent by South Africa. Thus far no other country has recognized these homelands as separate nations."

3. The map of Scandinavia (mind you, I have the 1990 edition of the atlas, so this one is a bit dated) notes that "[t]he United States does not recognize the 1940 incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union."

4. The map of the Middle East (again, this edition came out around the time of the Gulf War) shows Kuwait with its recognized boundaries, but with this annotation: "On August 2, 1990, Iraqi military forces invaded Kuwait."

Clearly, National Geographic's "de facto boundary" policy is applied on an "a priori" basis.

Comment from Mariza Cabral:

A person who collects those orange magazines of *selected* pictures, stories, and maps, notes that the February 94 issue included a world map with "de facto" boundaries throughout the world and no notes, with the single exception of a note that the boundary between India and China was disputed. Tibet was part of China, Western Sahara was followed by "Mo-

rocco" in parenthesis, East Timor was part of Indonesia and so on. So this is nothing new with the maps that come with the magazines. I'm curious: does anybody know when was the last time an article referring ET appeared in N.G.?

From Greg Knehans, ETAN/San Francisco, Feb. 14

I thought I'd share the following dialogue I had with National Geographic yesterday. My first message:

Dear Editor,

My attention was recently drawn to the map that accompanied the article "Irian Jaya: Indonesia's Wild Side," in the February issue of National Geographic. The map shows the nearby island of Timor, with no indication of the fact that the island is divided into East and West Timor. I know you are at least passingly familiar with the basic history of East Timor, so I will not repeat it to you. I will instead address points that were brought up by you in a response to a letter by a friend of mine. You wrote:

"It is the National Geographic's map policy to show de facto situations.

Thus, if a state claims and controls an area, we show that area as part of the state. We feel that it is only through this system that we can produce reliable maps that have lasting reference value."

"We have shown East Timor as part of Indonesia. East Timor was forcibly occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and officially annexed on July 27, 1975. One month later, Indonesia proclaimed East Timor as the province of Loro Sae."

There are a number of problems with this position. First of all, there are two states that claim the territory of East Timor; Indonesia and Portugal. However, only the claim of Portugal is recognized as the legitimate claim by the vast majority of other states (including the US), as well as the major international organizations such as the UN and the World Court. This would indicate that, at the very least, the area should be shown as disputed territory. Also, calling Indonesian control "de facto" misrepresents the reality of East Timor. There is overwhelming evidence that the East Timorese reject Indonesian rule. One prime example of this is the fact that the Indonesian army still has to carry out massive yearly offensives against the armed resistance, who continue to control areas of the interior, despite receiving no aid from abroad. In this, and in many other ways, the Indonesian hold over the island is shown to be only firm in places, overall weaker than is understood, and in areas of the interior, virtually nonexistent. Finally, it does a great disservice to the East Timorese, who have suffered so

horribly in the last twenty years and resisted so valiantly, to consign them to cartographic oblivion. To not give East Timor so much as mention in your map hardly seems to me the way to "produce reliable maps that have lasting reference value."

Prof. Greg Knehans
Dominican College

They replied, rather promptly, thus:

I understand your points well. Your friends letter also noted that we use de facto whether or not we like situation. However, the reality of East Timor at this time and for the past 20 years is that Indonesia controls the province, not Portugal or the people of East Timor. Debate beyond that is political, and we are not a politically-oriented organization.

Thank you for writing. I will see that your comments are circulated among our Cartographic staff.

I then replied (Thanks to Chuck from ETAN/Seattle):

Dear Editor,

Thank you for your prompt reply to my message. I would like to respond to the last point in your reply, that debate beyond the question of who has de facto control is "just political," and NG is "not a politically-oriented organization."

I would like to know if this is a recent policy, and if it is carried out consistently. I ask because in NG's Atlas of the World from 1990, the following annotations are made:

1. On the map of Northwestern Africa, there is this annotation next to Western Sahara: "Western Sahara, formerly Spanish Sahara, was divided by Morocco and Mauritania in 1976. Morocco has administered the territory since Mauritania's withdrawal in August 1979. The United Nations does not recognize this annexation, and Western Sahara remains in dispute."

2. On the map of Southern Africa, the South African "independent homelands" of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Vendt are outlined, and the annotation reads: "Declared independent by South Africa. Thus far no other country has recognized these homelands as separate nations."

3. The map of Scandinavia notes that "[t]he United States does not recognize the 1940 incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union."

4. The map of the Middle East shows Kuwait with its recognized boundaries, but with this annotation: "On August 2, 1990, Iraqi military forces invaded Kuwait."

It would seem that these are precisely political annotations that go beyond questions of de facto or military control and into questions of legitimacy.

I do not have a recent NG atlas on hand, so I do not know if such annotations are no longer used.

Thank you for your time.

Prof. Greg Knehans
Dominican College

Their (rather lame) reply to this was:

I apologize if my last message was misleading. We do occasionally include notes to clarify the situation over disputed territory. This is an attempt to give readers additional information, but it is not something we can do in every instance. For example, in our atlas, there are no notes for Cyprus or Tibet, two other hotly contested areas.

—I haven't yet asked them why they are incapable of making a notation in the case of East Timor.

Comment from CDPM - Lisboa, 10 February 1996

Just a brief message to all the East Timor/West Papua solidarity groups, people concerned with these problems and readers of this conference. The February National Geographic magazine includes two articles related to West Papua ("Irian Jaya" and "Irian Jaya People of the Trees") and a map of Indonesia.

On our point of view, the mentioned articles have inaccurate and biased points of view concerning the on-going freedom and self-determination fight of the West-Papua people. Moreover, the included map (more or less, 80 centimeters long) signs unequivocally East Timor as part of Indonesia. Urgent protests are needed.

As far as this weekend "Expresso" reports, the Portuguese Government and CNRM are going to send formal protest. CDPM is also going to send one. We invite everybody to read the magazine and do the same.

CDPM protest letter

Comissão para os Direitos do Povo
Maubere (CDPM)

Commission for the Maubere People Rights
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Lisboa, 10 February 1996

Dear Forum Editor,

Though, the main Indonesian focus on the February National Geographic Society Official Journal issue (Vol. 189, No2) is related to "Irian Jaya" and "Irian Jaya People of the Trees" articles, we are mainly addressing you on account of the included Indonesia Double Supplement map.

We consider that the first of the above mentioned articles is inaccurate and biased, concerning the stated points of view related

to the West Papuan people on-going freedom and self-determination fight. We conclude that Mr. Thomas O'Neill preparation was not well targeted and the information sources missed to provide (or underestimated) important background political aspects on that nearly 30 years long-lasting fight. Therefore and regrettably, the final draft of this article did not reach the level of accuracy and information quality that millions of worldwide N.G.S. magazine readers seek and are used to.

Above all, we want to present our protest on account of the Indonesian Double Map Supplement publication. This map contains serious misinformation and biased errors concerning East Timor hence we think that you are not correctly informed.

East Timor was a former Portuguese colony. On 1975, Indonesian forces invaded it (with the secret support of some western countries like the U.S., Australia and U.K.) in the aftermath of Portugal withdrawal from its colony. Since that time, several countries (Portugal included) and the most important Human Rights N.G.Os (like Amnesty International or Asia Watch) have documented a pattern of gross and persistent Human Rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory. These include frequent extra-judicial execution, torture "disappearance," political imprisonment and unfair trials.

The illegal occupation of East Timor lasts already for 20 years and was never recognized by the U.N. The latter already has urged Indonesia to withdraw from the territory, in several Resolutions and Declarations approved by bodies, like the General Assembly. According to the UN terminology, East Timor is a non-decolonized territory (still) under Portuguese administration.

It is estimated that 200,000 out of 650,000 East Timorese (by 1975) - one third - is already dead and were victims of the brutal occupation and the unknown war, what has leaded neutral observers to the idea of an on-going genocide. Comparatively, the above cited figures put the East Timor genocide as one of the 20th century biggest along others like the Second World War Jews genocide.

We must not forget that all this happens in one of the longest remaining dictatorships of our time - Indonesia - ruled by a bloody dictator that already has the power for nearly 30 years - Mr. Suharto.

And yet, the big majority of the international media "has thrown" the East Timor issue to the shameful darkness of our time ignorance. We do not want to conclude that N.G.S. Official Journal is included on that kind of media.

In the name of truth, we urge you to make the vital corrections and re-print, as soon as possible, the published map.

Yours,
By CDPM,

Luis Manuel Moreira da Silva Reis

From Mariza Cabral:

In case anyone is interested enough in National Geographic's reasons... Here's an exchange with them that shows their inconsistency. You refute their reasons as illogical, they present new reasons that contradict their original statement. The original statement they had sent me was similar to what they sent other people, about their policy and the "lasting reference value" of their maps. Note the reference to reverting to Portuguese control (sic), when I had said "should East Timor become an independent state."

Dear National Geographic:

Thank you for replying to my letter. However, your reply is unsatisfactory. In particular, the following statement is counter to logic:

"Thus, if a state claims and controls an area, we show that area as part of the state. We feel that it is only through this system that we can produce reliable maps that have lasting reference value."

The reference value of a map is the value of the information it contains. If your map had contained a note stating that East Timor was illegally invaded in 1975 and remained a non-self-governing territory, the value of this information would be **added** not subtracted from the reference value of the map.

As for this value being **lasting**: That East Timor was illegally invaded in 1975 is historical fact, therefore of everlasting value. On the other hand, your map will be of no value should East Timor become an independent state in the future.

I would appreciate your response to the above two paragraphs.

Thank you.

Mariza Costa Cabral
Department of Civil Engineering University
of Washington

Their reply

Since Indonesia is in control of East Timor, that is the primary fact about the region that our readers must have. The basic question that must be answered is who controls access into the area, and, for now, it is Indonesia that grants visas to visit East Timor.

You are correct that a note mentioning the recent history of East Timor would only add information. We do add these notes on some maps but not in every instance. Should the province revert to Portuguese

control, we would update our maps accordingly.

jar

From ETAN/Canada

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FORUM Editor

National Geographic Magazine
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Dear Sir,

It has just been brought to our attention that your maps are marking East Timor as a province of Indonesia. As someone who still treasures my childhood National Geographic Atlas, I was not aware that your maps had incorporated this cartographically inaccurate change.

As you know, Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, and declared East Timor to be its 27th province in 1976. However, 20 years of military occupation does not make the annexation legal.

The United Nations has affirmed in numerous resolutions that East Timor is a non-self-governing territory. East Timor is the largest country still on the agenda of the UN Decolonization Committee.

The Indonesian annexation of East Timor is not recognized by the governments of Canada, the United States, or any government in Europe. Its status under international law is clear: it is a non-self-governing territory under an illegal occupation. The international legal equivalents are Kuwait under the brief Iraqi occupation, Israel's occupied territories, and Western Sahara under Moroccan occupation. This has been affirmed most recently by the World Court.

It is a severe affront to the people of East Timor, and to the international community and international law, for the National Geographic Society to unilaterally recognize East Timor as part of Indonesia.

Mistakes are made, and you have made one. However, mistakes can be reversed. For instance, Canada's newspaper of record (the Globe and Mail) has begun to by-line stories "Dili, East Timor" rather than "Dili, Indonesia." Its published maps once marked East Timor as part of Indonesia; they now show a clear dividing line, even in the case of stories about other areas.

If The Globe and Mail and other respected publications can recognize their error, surely the National Geographic Society, with its excellent reputation for accuracy, can do the same.

The East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) suggests that future Society maps show

East Timor as a separate country, in line with its status under international law. As a minimum, the territory should be marked as one in dispute. ETAN is a national association of Canadians founded in 1987 by the Canadian Council of Churches.

Yours sincerely,
David Webster

East Timor Alert Network

From Ale Panconesi, Berlin

To: ngsforum@nationalgeographic.com

Tue, 5 Mar 1996

Dear Sirs,

I was dismayed to hear that in your geographical maps the territory of East Timor is shown as being part of Indonesia. As you should know, this is completely inaccurate. East Timor has been a Portuguese colony for centuries until it was invaded by Indonesia on December 7, 1995. The invasion brought to a grinding halt the almost fulfilled aspirations of the East Timorese to independence.

The occupation has been declared to be illegal by the United Nations about a dozen times in several resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly, starting from resolution 384 of December 22, 1975, and resolution 389 of 1976.

With the shameful exception of Australia, NO western country has recognized the annexation of East Timor.

Besides the United Nations, other official bodies such as the European Parliament have repeatedly and consistently declared the occupation to be illegal.

You may consult, for instance, resolution B3-1714 of December 17, 1992, resolution B3-0381 of March 11, 1993, and resolution B3-0294 of March 10, 1994, of the European Parliament, which can be found in the Official Gazette of the European Community.

It might be of interest for you to know that the Indonesian invasion has resulted in the extermination of about one third of the population namely, about 200.000 people. Such estimates are accepted as accurate by organizations such as The Roman Catholic Church, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and by western diplomats, the CIA, and many western journalists.

You may double check these figures plus other information concerning the routine use of torture, mass killings, forced sterilization and other methods in the dossier "The Power and Impunity" by Amnesty International, 1994, and "The Limits of Openness" by Human Rights Watch/Asia, September 1994.

I hope you will rectify this embarrassing situation for your justly famed institution as soon as possible.

Best regards,

Alessandro Panconesi
Informatik, Freie Universitaet Berlin
14195 Berlin, Deutschland

The reply was like those above. Ale wrote back:

Dear Mr./Mrs. JAR,

Thank you very much for your prompt and courteous answer on the East Timor issue. Your reply compels me to pursue the matter further.

In your reply, which I enclose below for your convenience, you state that

"It is the National Geographic's map policy to show de facto situations. Thus, if a state claims and controls an area, we show that area as part of the state."

This raises two points.

The first is, why do you choose such a narrow interpretation of "de facto"? If you want to give complete and informative maps showing the de facto – i.e. the real – situation, you should at the very least indicate that the territory is under dispute.

The second, perhaps more substantive point, is the following: the policy you state implies that any maps of the Persian Gulf region produced by National Geographic for the period roughly going from august 1990 to February 1991 must unequivocally show that Kuwait was part of Iraq. As you certainly recall, Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, quickly overcome the Kuwaiti resistance and formally annexed Kuwait as one of its provinces within a few weeks.

Hence I would like to file the following formal inquiry with National Geographic:

1. has National Geographic produced maps of the Persian Gulf region during or relative to the period of Iraqi's annexation? If so, could you please tell me which publications show them?

2. If maps were produced, was Kuwait shown as part of Iraq?

3. If no maps of the region were produced, could you please state that, as a matter of consistency in applying your policy, had National Geographic produced maps of Kuwait during the Iraqi annexation, it would have shown Kuwait as part of Iraq?

Many thanks,
Alessandro Panconesi
Informatik, FU Berlin
14195 Berlin
Deutschland

**PHOTO OF RIOT
POLICE IN DILI**

From Hugh Ekeberg, April 1.

A photograph has been obtained from video footage taken by an 'Australians for a

Free East Timor' activist who filmed the November the 12th riots in Dili 1994 at the Cathedral.

The photo in the "Images" part of the East Timor web site (address below), shows Indonesian Riot Police about to charge. From within their ranks are plain clothes police or Ninjas or agent provocateurs throwing rocks toward the camera.

The photo shows that the police, far from "keeping order," are out to fight the Timorese.

Two ASIET activists who were recently in East Timor, said that where ever they went, locals are calling out political slogans in public. People on bicycles and mopeds are crying out, as they pass foreigners, "Viva Xanana, viva Timor-Leste."

They said graffiti and murals are also becoming more wide spread. The content is full of defiance and declares solidarity with the student and armed resistance.

East Timor Daily News:
<http://www.ozemail.com.au/~ekeberg/>

EAST TIMOR PHOTO SITE

From: Hugh Ekeberg

If people are interested in some very fine and beautiful photographs of East Timor as well as Kurdistan, Mexico and Sri Lanka, check out the "Angry Planet" web site.

This is an independent photo and news agency in Norway specialising in trouble spots. Their East Timor photos are from August 1995.

The site is located at:
<http://www.wave.no/angry/>

REG.EASTTIMOR WEEKLY SUMMARIES CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please note that the weekly summaries of this conference are now updated at a new address:
<http://shell.ihug.co.nz/~calliope/Nettalk.html>

NEW XANANA T-SHIRTS!

Friends of East Timor (WA) are pleased to announce the release of a new T-shirt, featuring Xanana Gusmão. The front contains a large photo of Xanana with the caption FREE XANANA! On the back is written: FREE ALL EAST TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS. Down the arm of the long-sleeve shirt is: VIVA TIMOR LESTE.

These shirts have been professionally produced to be used in conjunction with the ACET-initiated May 17 campaign to raise the profile of Xanana and all East Timorese political prisoners.

The T-shirts are a heavy 100% cotton with a two colour print. They are available in both long and short-sleeve; sizes Medium, Large, and Extra Large. Colours available are: white, grey, and oatmeal.

The long-sleeve shirts are available for \$A25, plus postage. The short-sleeve shirts are \$A23 - or \$A18 each for orders over 10. We encourage other solidarity groups to use these shirts for their own fund-raising.

For further information and postage rates, e-mail: woodruff@uniwa.uwa.edu.au

PHOTO EVIDENCE OF TORTURE IN TIMOR

Publico, 11 April 1996. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros, Translated from Portuguese

TIMORESE RESISTANCE DIVULGES PHOTOS OF THE RESULTS OF THE INDONESIAN ARMY'S HANDIWORK

Lisbon – Yesterday, the Timorese resistance made public a series of photographs depicting four Timorese, accused of belonging to the armed resistance movement, being tortured by the Indonesian army. The photos show the Timorese, who are tied up and blindfolded, being beaten with sticks, stamped on and given electric shocks. Blood stains can be seen on the walls and on the bodies of the victims. Other photos show several bodies - presumably the same young men who were being tortured - being buried together in a pit.

The photographs, which were sent by the guerrilla leader Konis Santana, were made public yesterday by José Ramos Horta, special representative of the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance). According to Ramos Horta, the photos were taken by Indonesian soldiers in January 1995 in Ainaro prison, about sixty kms. from Dili. This is, apparently, common practice with the Indonesian military, who then keep the photos on file. In this case, however, the photos ended up being bought from the soldiers by members of the resistance.

Ramos Horta added that the photos are said to have been taken about two months after the 29 Timorese scaled the fence that surrounds the US Embassy in Jakarta, when he Euro-Asian summit was being held in the Indonesian capital, attended by Bill Clinton. The reprisals carried out by Suharto's men for this "invasion" only began to be felt in January this year - when the photos of torture and murder are said to have been taken.

So far, neither the torturers nor the Timorese have been identified because the victims appear blindfolded and the faces of the Indonesians are not shown. For this reason, the pictures cannot be used as evidence of torture inflicted by Suharto's

troops on Timorese detainees. However, the testimonies of four young Timorese, who left (Lisbon) yesterday for Geneva, should not go unnoticed at the UN Commission on Human Rights.

EAST TIMOR TORTURE PHOTOS

On 18 April 1996, the East Timor Human Rights Centre released photographs to the Australian media showing four Timorese youths being tortured by the Indonesian military.

The nine gruesome and explicit photos show the four blindfolded Timorese actually being tortured. One youth is being beaten with an iron bar and kicked in the neck, another is being strung up with a rope after being beaten, a third is receiving what appears to be an electric shock, and a fourth is being held on the ground, probably after being beaten.

There are obvious blood-stains on the walls, on the victims and around the site of the mass grave and it is evident that the victims underwent extreme suffering at the hands of the Indonesian military.

It is presumed that the photographs were either taken by the Indonesian military for their records, or as a Indonesian "souvenir" of their exploits. There are also photos of torture victims being buried in a mass grave. The victims are probably the same youths depicted in the torture photos who died as a result of the tortures.

The photos were received from reliable contacts in East Timor, whose identity cannot be disclosed, for obvious reasons. The photos came from the Ainaro district, about 100 km to the south of Dili, the capital of East Timor. As there was heavy military activity around Ainaro in January 1995, it is believed that that photos were most likely taken in Ainaro at that time.

The East Timor Human Rights Centre is continuing in its efforts to identify the torture victims and to establish when and where the tortures took place. The Centre will also send the photos to Amnesty International and the United Nations, calling on them to investigate the tortures depicted in the photographs.

The East Timor Torture Photos can be found at
<http://www.peg.apc.org/~etchrmel/photos.htm>.

Regards,
Maria Brett
Director, East Timor Human Rights Centre