

EAST TIMOR

The Inside Story

Dec/Jan

15



Friends of East Timor Dili Massacre Commemoration Rally, Perth, 12 Nov. 1994

Photo courtesy of the Sunday Times, 13/11/94

"On March 21 1960, the atrocities of Sharpeville happened. The world was outraged and from that time on the world decided it had to do something and today apartheid has ended. On November 12, 1991, the outrage outside the cemetery at Santa Cruz happened. The world must be outraged and the world must take action. *East Timor must become free.*"

(Statement by South Africa's Archbishop Desmond Tutu on the 1994 anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre)

NEWSLETTER OF FRIENDS OF EAST TIMOR (WA)
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Midnight Oil Sings for East Timor

■ Harbourside Brassiere hosted thirty of Australia's best bands at the Sydney launch of the internationally acclaimed CD **All in the Family**. A standing ovation greeted **Peter Garrett** when he said 'OK, We will do it for the right reason' referring to **Midnight Oil's** first appearance in Australia for three years. **Angelique Kidu** gave it all for East Timor with a traditional African call and response. And many stood in respectful silence when Michael Thomas from **Weddings Parties Anything** rendered Rascist Friend, and **Archie Roach** and **Ruby Hunter** Wept in the Forrest.

Mushroom Distribution Services produced All in the Family three months ago to create **Oan Kiak Education Scholarships** for orphans in East Timor. It was successfully launched in Melbourne by Catholic Bishop Hllton Deakin - notorious for his political stance on **self determination for East Timor** - as he leapt from a helicopter into the heart of metropolitan Brunswick Street. Sales have astonished the music industry both in Australia and overseas - Japan, Sweden, Ireland, Germany, the USA, New Zealand, Singapore, Canada, Portugal and Macau.

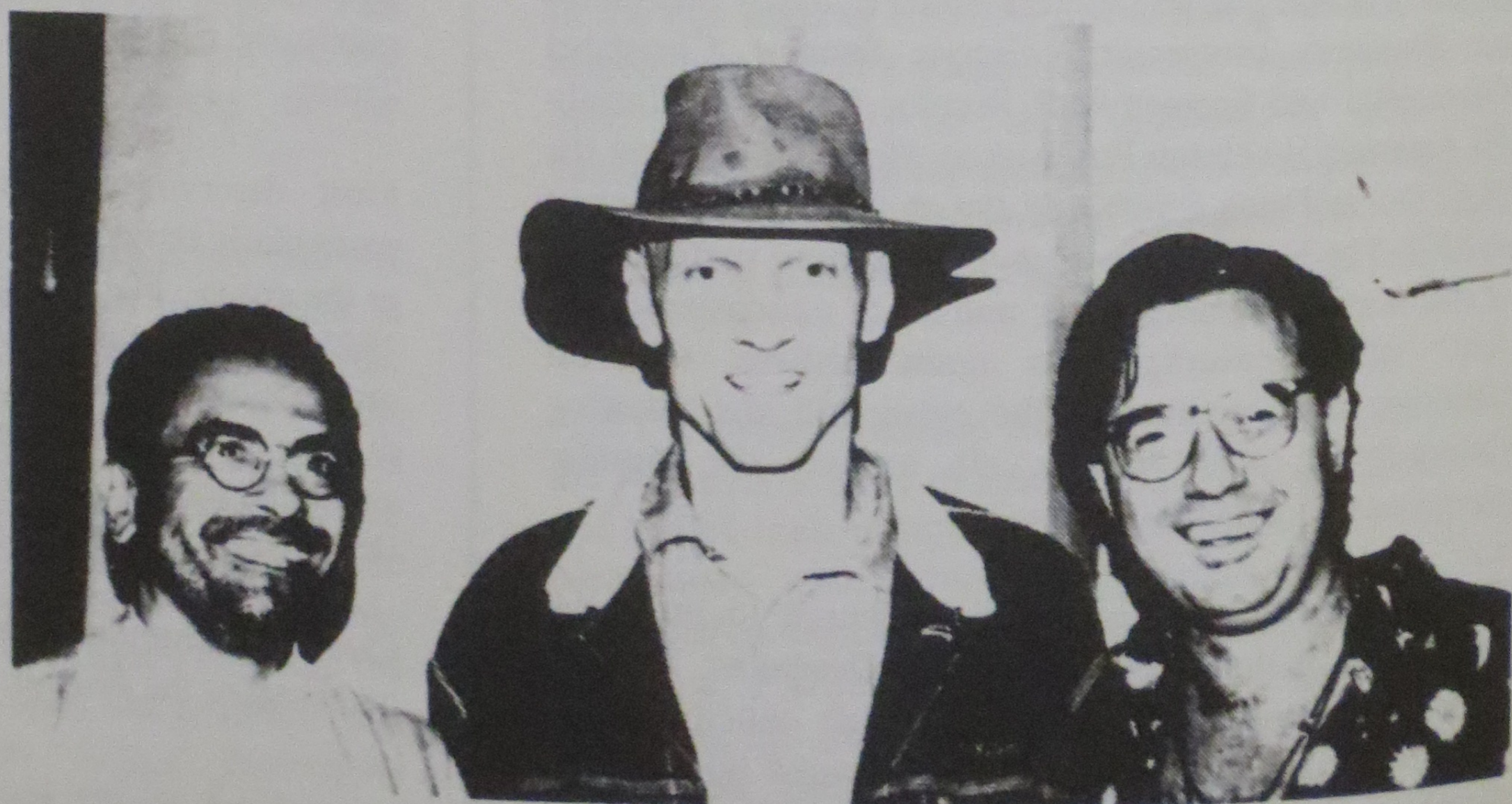
Bands like **Midnight Oil, Crowded House Frente!, Not Drowning Waving, Things of Stone and Wood, The Killjoys, The Blakeyed Susans, Tiddas, Archie Roach, Painters and Dockers** front the Cd which also includes the new single **Cry Freedom, Quito** a ballad about a Timorese musician shot by Australian police three years ago, and **Oan Kiak** - the only recording of a traditional Timorese melody by an indigenous custodian. All in the Family is a must for every household which has a CD player and which wants to personally contribute to East Timor's future.

Australian anthropologist Patsy Thatcher was in East Timor last month to finalise the scholarship infrastructure. Before leaving she received a fax saying that **...ten little boys and girls had lined up outside a catholic priest's door in the mountains with pencil in hand 'ready to start their scholarship'...** She delivered a CD player and ten copies of All In The Family - a gift from students at **Bunbury Catholic College** in WA - to the youth in East Timor who were astonished that so many Australian musicians cared or even knew about their suffering and deprivation.

Australian rock identity **Paul Stewart** - who made the CD and initiated the Oan Kiak Scholarships - joins East Timor's **Jose Ramos Horta** for the international launch of All in the Family in **Portugal, Macau and America in November 1994**. At the same time three other major contributions to the East Timorese struggle for Self Determination and Peace Talks will be promoted - **Xanana Gusmao's** collections of writing and poetry, the 1994 publication **Ten Days in East Timor and the Case for Talks** by David Scott AO, and a social justice education kit for secondary schools compiled by Australian **Catholics In Solidarity with East Timor** ■ ■ ■

■ East Timor's Jose Ramos Horta, Midnight Oil's Peter Garret, and Paul Stewart of Painters and Docker's at the Harbourside Brassiere during the Sydney launch of All in the Family.

Available through
Friends of East Timor
or your local record
store.



Soldier's diary tells of war in the field

REPORTS BY MICHAEL CASEY

INDONESIAN Army documents smuggled out of East Timor reveal a far bigger level of military engagement in the province than Jakarta has admitted.

The West Australian has obtained the possessions of an Indonesian soldier believed killed in October by East Timorese resistance fighters.

They include a battle map, the agenda for a secret command meeting in Dili, a diary of military notes, a list of supplies and photographs of Indonesian soldiers in the forests of East Timor.

After close analysis and cross-referencing, *The West Australian* is convinced the material is authentic.

The battle map, pertaining to a region in the east end of Timor, contains a coded attack plan involving units from eight battalions moving against more than 100 resistance targets.

The code for one of the battalion units is "Passus", which suggests the involvement of troops from Indonesia's crack anti-insurgency force, Kopassus.

Kopassus troops were trained in Perth this year by the Australian Army's Special Air Service regiment.

The program drew criticism from many East Timorese expatriates, who claimed Kopassus soldiers were guilty of the worst atrocities committed during Indonesia's 19-year occupation of East Timor and were directly responsible for the genocide of 200,000 people.

According to East Timorese familiar with the Indonesian Army's tactics in their homeland, the circles on the map represent either the camps of the resistance army Falantil or civilian villages providing assistance to the guerillas.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has claimed there are only five battalions deployed in East Timor, all of them engaged solely in development projects such as road-building.

But Jose Ramos Horta, a spokesman for the coalition resistance movement the National Council of Maubere Resistance, said the group's intelligence showed there were 20,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor. This figure comprised 13,000 Indonesians from outside East Timor and 7000 ethnic East Timorese conscripts.

With about 1000 men per battalion, the presence of eight battalions in one small part of the island showed how understated Mr Alatas's claims were, Mr Horta said.

An agenda and instructions for a meeting of high-ranking officers in Dili in April also came with the documents. Involving more than 100 personnel — most of them colonels — the meeting was to be a full evaluation of the previous 12 months' operations in East Timor.

The points of reference for the meeting were divided between the intelligence operation, the combat operation, the "territorial" operation, the "social and political" operation and the "peace and order in society" operation.

A list of military supplies, which was also given to *The West Australian*, shows that for each patrol, each man in seven platoons from Battalion 431 was given only four magazines and 90 rounds of ammunition for his M-16 automatic rifle.

Resistance sources claimed the limit on ammunition was to reduce the opportunity for Falantil fighters to arm themselves with the weapons of dead Indonesian soldiers. Despite far-greater firepower and troops outnumbering their enemy by 20 to one, the Indonesians were still pessimistic about their survival chances after 19 years of fighting.

This was because the resistance fighters were supported overwhelmingly by the local population, the sources said.

The photographs belonged to Sgt Budianto — believed to have been killed by resistance sniper fire — who was second-in-charge of a platoon within Battalion 431. His snapshots are of soldiers engaged in combat practice in scrub and forest settings, of army helicopters and of off-duty leisure activities in a mountain camp.

Sgt Budianto's diary, which was also recovered, is a series of military notes in hand-written Indonesian focusing on guerilla tactics.

It describes eight ambush and counter-ambush attack plans, listing code names for soldiers in the troop and setting out separate roles for the group's scouts, assistants and leaders.

According to the notes, platoon members are instructed to rely on the local people for information about the movements of the enemy.

The diary includes basic notes on the culture of the East Timorese people and a list of translations between Tetum and Indonesian for such words and phrases as "gun", "surrender" and "bring water".

It also appears from the notes that the soldiers were given a brief psychology lesson, perhaps to help them either understand the enemy or, as the Americans sought to do in Vietnam, to win the hearts and minds of the local people.

The details of military briefings in the diary reveal the soldiers were neglecting to cover their footprints and were not paying attention to those of the enemy. They were told to go to the toilet in groups of two or three.

They were not aggressive enough when they heard gunfire and they needed to fight boredom in the forest. They had to be brave, strong and resilient.

They were not to oppress the local population and they were to pay attention to the "matters of women".

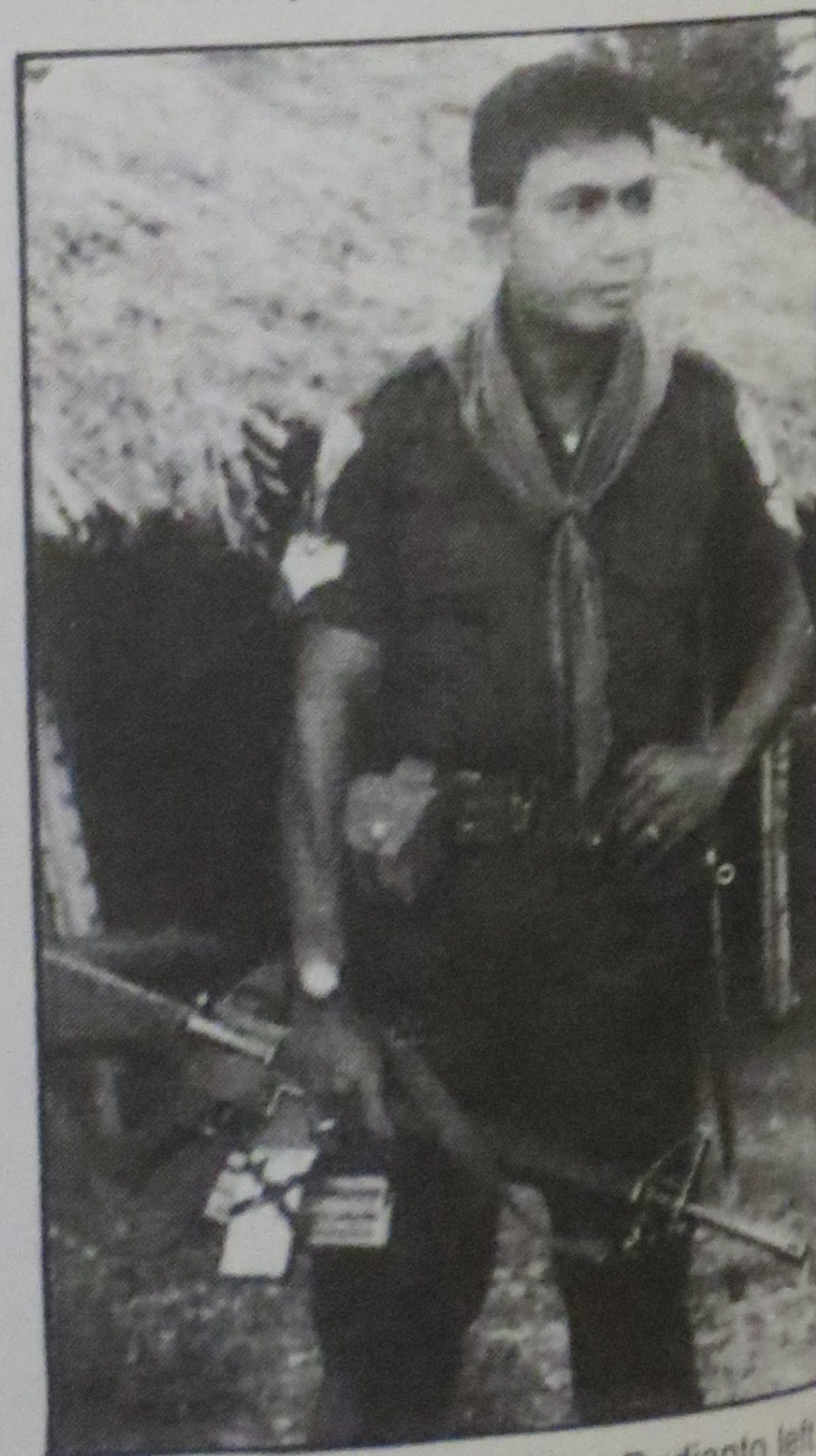
The soldiers were told to remember "guerilla warfare has high risks", to "try to merge with nature," to avoid well-known tracks and, above all, to pray.

Mr Horta said the apparent death of Sgt Budianto was a powerful example of the futility of the drawn-out war Indonesia had waged in East Timor.

"How come this young man — him and so many others — are still dying 19 years later? Yet the world allows the Indonesian regime to continue this war," he said.

"It is not only the East Timorese who have been killed, but of course we suffered the most. Also young Indonesian soldiers, who in fact have nothing to do with East Timor.

"It is just unacceptable morally that this war should continue. It is not to the benefit of the Indonesians, let alone to the benefit of the East Timorese people."



Legacy of death: Sgt Budianto left details of the fight in East Timor.

Confli claim

LIKE any soldier in war, Sgt Budianto lived with him men a life to which he would return.

His personal — his photographs — unposted letters — striking for their familiarity.

And while they have taken on political significance, the picture they present is that of a politician of a political nature of the brutal war, but of a soldier and a friend — a man with a family of him.

The politics of war. A man who has been any fiance or friend that life cut short.

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Sgt Budianto's photographs could show any young soldier's tour of duty in place. They reflect the cost of war.

There are many of people still with their weapons, the staged battles, empty again, a lesson of more.

Like all who fight a foreign war, Budianto left his behind. This emphasised the loss of two photos in his one of Tutik with a friend, other of two women, perhaps.

Tutik wrote the back of the photograph she had. Budianto, urged "keep the picture of him lest it be lost by the forest."

Before his death, Budianto wrote that were not one to his one to Tutik. lack of emotion these letters concerned well-being of.

His letters reveals little of the nature of the

Conflict's brutality claims another life

LIKE any soldier, in any war, Sgt Budianto carried with him mementos of a life to which he hoped to return.

His personal belongings — his photographs, diary, unposted letters — are striking for one reason: their familiarity.

And while they now have taken on a wider political significance, the picture they present is not that of a political actor, nor of a necessary victim of the brutal reality of war, but of a son, a fiance, and a friend — a young man with a full life ahead of him.

The politics seem irrelevant. A man who could have been anybody's son, fiance or friend has had that life cut short.

To the resistance, he was an intruder, who did not have any right to be there. But it should be clear, even to thousands of East Timorese whose loved ones have been killed by soldiers like Sgt Budianto, that he too is a victim of a war that only Indonesia can end.

Sgt Budianto's photographs could be those of any young soldier on a tour of duty to a foreign place. They especially reflect the comradeship of war.

There are photographs of people standing with their weapons ready. But the staged bravado seems empty against the hard lesson of mortality.

Like all who leave to fight a foreign war, Sgt Budianto left loved ones behind. This is poignantly emphasised by the inclusion of two non-military photos in his collection — one of Tutik, his fiance, with a friend of hers, the other of two different women, perhaps sisters.

Tutik wrote a note on the back of the photograph she sent Sgt Budianto, urging him to "keep the photo close to him lest it be blown away by the forest wind".

Before his death, Sgt Budianto wrote two letters that were never posted — one to his parents, and one to Tutik. Despite a lack of emotional content, these letters show a man concerned about the well-being of his family.

His letter to Tutik reveals little about the nature of their romance.

But one line, which was crossed out, began: "if you really care about me..." and in another, he suggested that when he returned home, the two of them should meet in Madiun, in East Java.

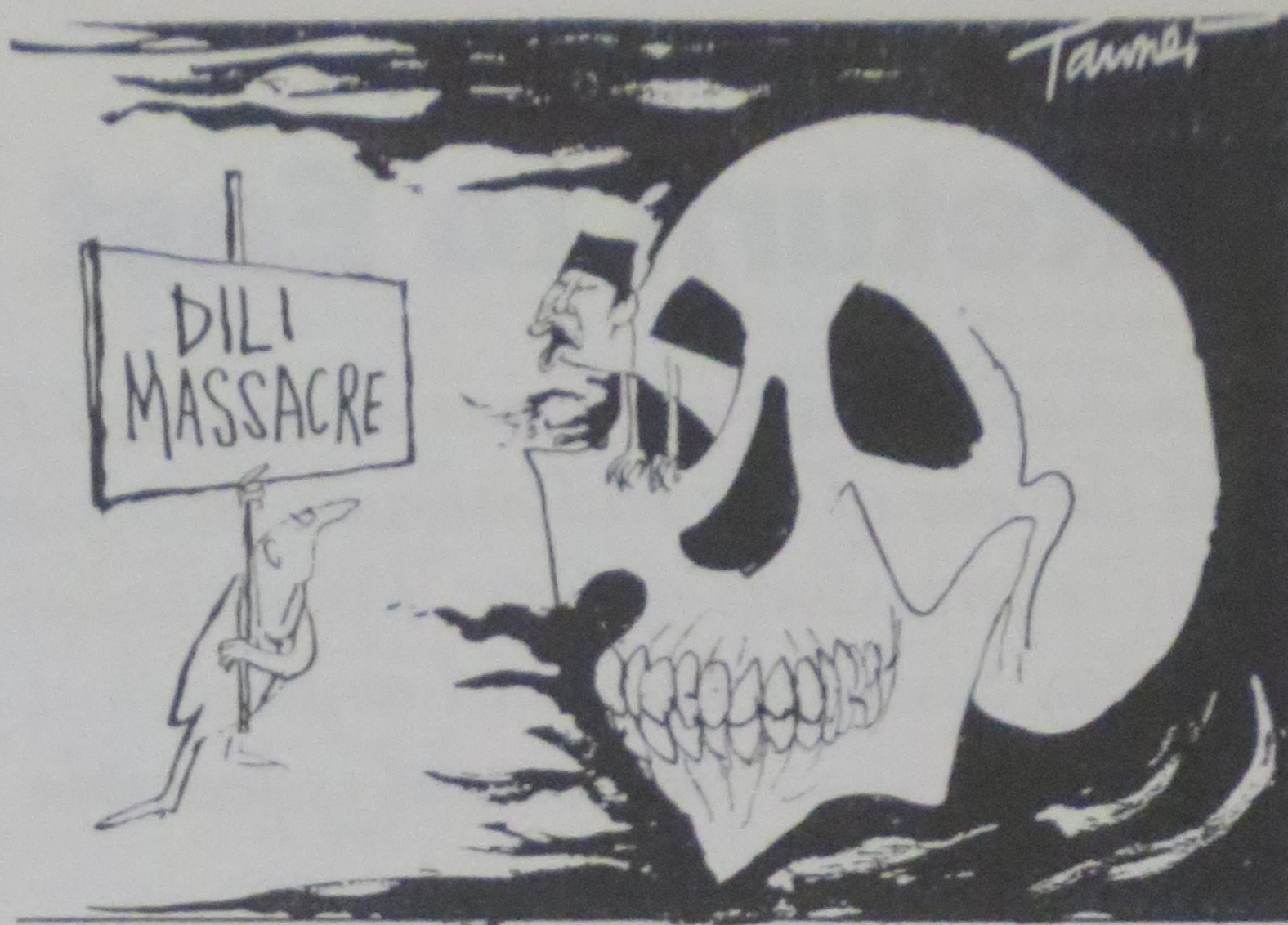
All these belongings have been removed from their original context. They now form part of a collection of documents with a specific political importance.

The records of Sgt Budianto's activities in East Timor have become evidence with which the East Timorese independence movement can call Indonesia's bluff. They have entered the world of international diplomacy.

With Sgt Budianto emerging as a pawn in this political battle, *The West Australian* has been faced with a moral dilemma.

But the decision to tell his story has been made in the knowledge that the human side to it is the most important.

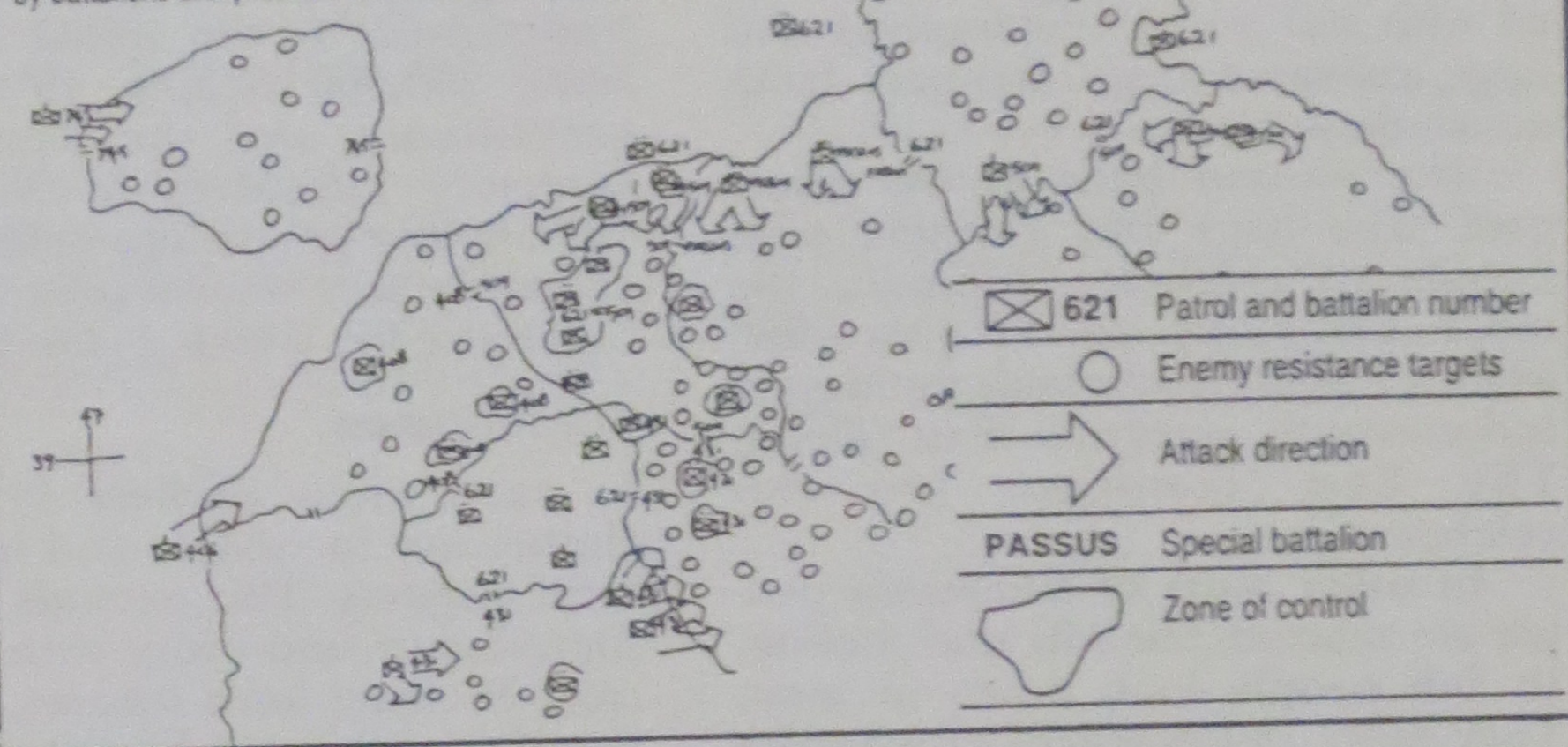
As it was with the Americans in Vietnam 25 years ago, when a nation is forced to deal with the loss of its people, and not just with the statistics of war, pressure to end a futile war can mount.



"We weren't there and if we were we know nothing about it."

Indonesian attack plan

This Indonesian army map is of a district near Baugia on the eastern tip of Timor. It divides the area into zones controlled by battalions and presents a codified battle plan for each.



Insight into army life

THE diary and other possessions of Sergeant Budianto give a revealing insight into life in the Indonesian Armed Forces.

They suggest reasons why Indonesian soldiers may have dutifully followed the brutal instructions of their superiors.

Throughout his diary, Sgt Budianto wrote shorthand versions of military songs and oaths of allegiance.

In this way, he would have been able to memorise their patriotic content, which he would have had to recite regularly.

In translation, they appear as propaganda, a means of indoctrination and an unquestioning loyalty to the Indonesian regime, couched in the language of nationalism.

An example of this is the second statement of the Sapta Marga, a list of mission statements for the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), of which Sgt Budianto kept a copy. It reads: "We are Indonesian patriots, supporters and protectors of the national ideology who will never know surrender."

Another example is the first

statement of a list titled *The Essence of ABRI as Soldiers of the People, Soldiers of the Struggle*. It reads: "ABRI are the soldiers of the Indonesian people, carrying out a pledge to fight the struggle of the nation originating from the people, borne and fought together with the people for the sake of the people."

There are the words to a song in the last few pages of the diary. It begins: "We sons, the brave soldiers of Kostrad." (Kostrad is an elite force of the presidential guard.) It continues with pledges of willingness to sacrifice all for the people.

A glance at Sgt Budianto's pay slips shows the importance of indoctrination. It is clearly not the money that lures young Indonesians to the army.

Sgt Budianto's gross pay was the equivalent of about \$80 a month. But there was a range of deductions, most of which would seem standard items for any soldier. These included his boots, for which he paid \$5 in February, and his monthly rent of \$3.

He also appeared to be in debt,

with a \$20 loan repayment to the army bank every month.

On average, Sgt Budianto's net pay was about \$50 a month.

Paid a pittance and armed heavily, the incentive to derive income violently from a persecuted East Timorese population appears great.

East Timorese resistance spokesman Jose Ramos Horta said the Indonesian Government went to great extremes to keep the truth of its operations hidden from the public.

He suspected Sgt Budianto's family had not been told of his death.

"In the past, the Indonesian army usually informed the relatives of the death of a soldier six months to a year later," he said.

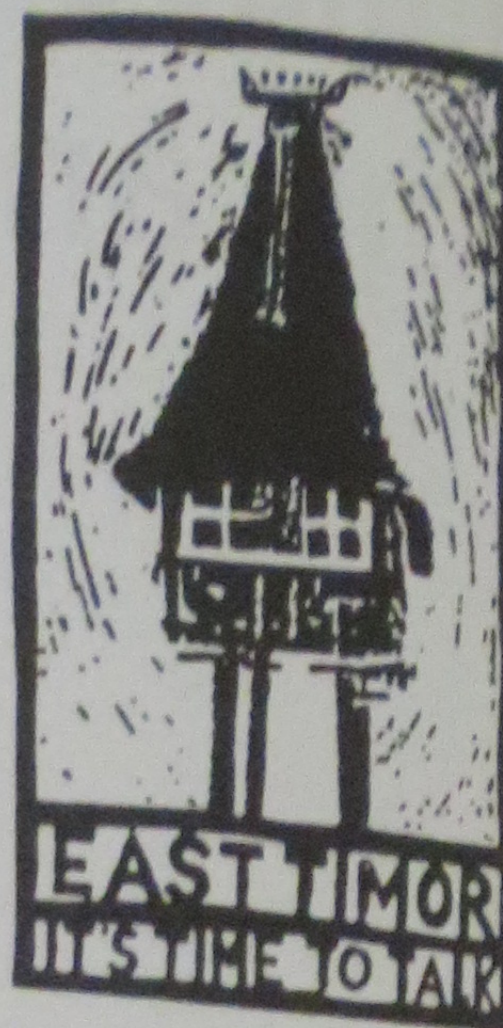
Mr Horta said the family of another sergeant killed by guerillas was told he died when a tree fell on him.

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Return to East Timor

An Australian who was evacuated from East Timor on the eve of the Indonesian invasion in 1975 gives his impressions of East Timor today following a 10 day visit in July and argues that a negotiated settlement is feasible.

By DAVID SCOTT, AO



From the sea Dili could be a festival town on the Cote D'Azur. The rugged mountains cut with steep gullies and covered with sparse, pale eucalypts are a dramatic backdrop to the white Portuguese buildings. The governor's offices and all public buildings are decorated with red and white bunting and large coloured flags. Banners hang across the streets.

The illusion ends at the wharf gate. The flags and banners urge people to celebrate *Integrasi*, the mock ceremony on 17 July 1976 when 27 local tribal chiefs petitioned Indonesia to integrate East Timor. The East Timorese are not celebrating.

In other parts of Indonesia people are relaxed, friendly and smiling. In Dili people look down or away. They speak in low voices or whispers in taxis, cafes, offices and even churches. Conversation with a foreigner invites questioning. A Dili veteran pointed out a dozen informers in a 45 minute walk. Some are East Timorese broken by imprisonment and poverty and sometimes torture.

Some 1000 worshippers walked quietly through the doors for the 7am Mass in the Tetum language at the Dili cathedral. They shared in the worship and singing and dispersed. Few people talked to one another and no one to a stranger.

There are no foreign consulates or journalists. Visiting correspondents, UN and other officials are kept under surveillance and generally away from East Timorese. Local leaders are warned of court action or deportation if they express public criticism of the administration.

Taxis stop running at 7 pm and few people go out after dark. There is a *habeas corpus* guarantee in In-

donesia but not in Dili. There is one lawyer in the town. Inward and outward mail is often opened or does not reach its destination. There are few police or soldiers on the streets but barracks are strategically located and riot police are at the ready.

Older people in Dili have been traumatised by the initial invasion, some 200,000 deaths, 19 years of surveillance and the Santa Cruz cemetery massacres in November 1991. Young people are defiant. 'You cannot believe what it is like. We will never give in', a young man said.

Surveillance

In rural areas soldiers in civilian clothes live in villages and help with local projects. This extends political surveillance into every corner of society. In some town squares, military parades with armed men in battle dress, shouting battle cries reinforce the authority of the army.

Houses built by the army for villagers have concrete floors and walls to waist height, upper walls of bright green flat iron with gleaming galvanised iron roofs. They are ugly and alien alongside traditional houses with thick, cool thatch and wide eaves. In some places new villages with rows of huts have been built for resettlement of families away from traditional and strategic locations or to house new settlers.

Life is hard in rugged rural areas. People still rely on digging sticks, cassava, a few animals, coconuts and picking coffee beans. Livestock numbers have not yet recovered from the devastation of the Indonesian offensives.

Scores of bright, well dressed children throng the roads and tracks on their way to school. Tetum, the native language, is taught to primary

students but *Bahasa Indonesia* has become the lingua franca. Most people speak it fluently but a woman who had lost all but one of her family burst into sobs. 'I hate hearing it', she said. The situation of women, never good in East Timor, is worse than ever. There are many widows and little place in rural society for women except as workers.

New roads and bridges, built for military purposes are of some benefit and there are regular mini-bus services between villages. Health services have improved. Many areas are served by Indonesian mobile health clinics but housing and health services will never be a substitute for land and other rights as Aboriginal people made clear in Australia's Mabo debate.

Church

The remarkable increase in the Catholic population from 27% in 1974 to close to 90% is largely a response to the Church's identification with the people and the leadership of Bishop Belo and his predecessor Mgr da Costa Lopes. It is partly due to the requirement that citizens nominate a religion.

As immigration from Java and others parts of Indonesia increases, the East Timorese are becoming economically and culturally marginalised. Official *transmigrasi* began long before the province was opened in 1989 but since then Javanese, Bugis people from Sulawesi, Balinese and others have arrived in increasing numbers.

East Timorese have little business and trading experience and cannot compete with the economically experienced newcomers. Small businesses, taxi services and eating places like Dili and other towns are run by

A settlement could be a fine achievement for President Suharto in the last days of his presidency.

immigrants. Even in street markets in rural areas, newcomers are dominant.

Regular, low cost, shipping services make it easy to immigrate from overcrowded Java. The economy class fare on the new 2500 vessel 'Dobonsolo' is \$45 from Surabaya. Some 800 people disembarked at Dili on its second voyage, although many were domestic visitors or people returning on holidays, including 60 East Timorese students studying in Java.

East Timorese are being displaced as land owners and their customary land titles are often not recognised. The number of non-East Timorese now in East Timor may be around 120,000 in a population of some 800,000 and it will increase rapidly. East Timor is more attractive for resettlement than wild and distant Irian Java and each established family provides a base for others.

Jobs are scarce for the East Timorese. Less than 20% of the people in the growing public service are East Timorese and they are in the lower grade, yet some 30,000 who have completed high school are said to be unemployed. There are also com-

plaints that Javanese parents living in East Timor give local jobs to their children when their schooling is completed in Java. Some 2000 East Timorese have graduated from Javanese universities but many are unable to find jobs at home and are lost to their country as potential leaders.

There is a view that the Indonesian strategy is to encourage more settlers in, and East Timorese out of East Timor. In 10 years time a referendum on integration which included some concessions could conceivably have a majority in favour.

Settlement

Internationally, East Timor is a matter of increasing concern. It is an aberration in the international order and the last victim of the Cold War not to have its rights restored. There is also growing concern within Indonesia since East Timor's history became widely known after the 'November 12 incident' at Santa Cruz.

A settlement is feasible and need not create a precedent for other provinces of Indonesia as Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said recently in an unnecessary statement that

would be welcomed by the Indonesian establishment. The status of East Timor is without precedent. It was not part of the Dutch East Indies. All that is required is for Indonesia to acknowledge, privately, that the United Nations does not recognise the incorporation and that a new relationship is required with East Timor.

As in South Africa and the Middle East, meetings with representatives of all interest groups within and outside East Timor could negotiate an end to guerilla action, withdrawal of Indonesian troops, a moratorium on incoming settlers, a largely East Timorese public service, human rights guarantees, greater autonomy for the Regional Assembly and a United Nations presence.

A settlement could be a fine achievement for President Suharto in the last years of a presidency that has in other ways achieved much for Indonesia. ●

David Scott was in Dili in December 1975 representing ACFOA. With eleven journalists and medical workers he was evacuated by the RAN five days before the full-scale Indonesian assault on Dili. He is the Founding Director of Community Aid Abroad, a former Director of the Brotherhood of St Laurence and retired recently as Chairman of Victoria's public land planning agency, the Land Conservation Council.



A New Year's Message from Xanana Gusmão

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese Resistance leader captured in 1992, continues to embarrass the Suharto regime by smuggling letters to the outside world from his prison cell in Jakarta's notorious Cipinang gaol. Xanana's brilliance, compassion and intellect have so impressed his fellow prisoners and gaolers that it is impossible for higher authorities to stem his flow of correspondence. While Jakarta has tried to portray him as merely a rebel, his status as a political prisoner, indeed a prisoner of war, is clear in the eyes of the international community. It is not an exaggeration to describe him as East Timor's Nelson Mandela.

In this New Year's message, reproduced in full below, Xanana outlines his assessment of the current situation, highlighting the moral bankruptcy and low cunning of the Suharto regime, as well as thanking the international solidarity movement for their ongoing support as we enter what is likely to be the most important year for East Timor so far.

FOET

"To all solidarity groups and dear friends of East Timor the world over I send our greetings and most ardent hopes that 1995 will bring successes to our struggle. 1995 opens its door to receive our concerns and expectations, and to receive our plans, efforts and achievements. This is a ritual, repeated for 19 years now, reminding us that we are entering the 20th year of the Indonesian invasion and military occupation of East Timor. Nineteen years have passed, and the most important difference to be noted is that the circumstances of 1975 are no longer compatible with conditions obtaining nowadays, and will never again repeat themselves.

1974 was full of factors which led to extensive analysis, and encouraged predictions and concerns, convictions and disappointments. As a natural result of the changed times, the two most important events of 1994 have been the end of the Apartheid regime, and the Middle East Peace Process. Politicians and government leaders are more and more disposed to acknowledge past mistakes, and have greater resolve to speed up the construction of the much longed for new world order. This will only be possible by defending the universal principles of freedom, justice and peace.

Despite a quick response to prevent a new attempted invasion of Kuwait, we still are regretting the inflexibility of the parties in dispute in the former Yugoslavia. Despite the return to power of a rightful government in Haiti, the internal conflicts in various parts of Africa are of concern. Besides efforts to create a new climate of peace and greater respect for universal principles, unfortunately there still persist reactionary forces which oppose humankind's efforts for peace, freedom and progress.

East Timor is a small example of this general struggle. The dictatorial and colonialist regime in Jakarta has tried everything to attempt diplomatic diversion manoeuvres to deceive the world into thinking that there is no need to resolve the issue of East Timor. Jakarta tried to pretend that a Portuguese general, who fought in Angola to preserve the 'unity and integrity' of the Portuguese empire, could, together with his business associate, represent Portugal and its people. However, Jakarta soon realised that the good old times, when more than half the world would applaud every new lie spread by its diplomacy, have gone, not to return.

Xanana Gusmão's message (continued)

Jakarta also again deceived itself when it commissioned its roving Ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, to carry out a new 'Balibo declaration' as part of an updated 'Operasi Komodo' together with Abilio Araujo. But 1994 is so far away from 1974 in every sense and for everybody, except for the mentality of the murderous Jakarta generals.

The East Timor issue has for the first time penetrated into the highly controlled neighbourhood, and the solidarity of the neighbouring peoples alarmed Jakarta, who quickly reacted as a regional bully, attempting to impose its will on neighbouring countries.

The third anniversary of the hideous Santa Cruz massacre was magnificently celebrated by the Maubere youth, proving once more to Jakarta that a people's nationalist conscience can not be bought, neither by rich nor by poor colonialists.

Sometimes I ask myself why, after 49 years of independence, the Indonesian rulers still find it necessary to praise the advances of the 'New Order' and stress to the people its difference with the colonial situation. Is it because of a lack of political topics, or is it due to a need to alienate the Indonesian people, as often done by the generals invoking a supposed communist threat? Is it the search of a common sacrificial lamb to marshal all the political and social forces into the shadow of the dictatorial regime? Is it that the generals still do not realise that the people are fed up and do no longer believe in the theory of an alleged communist threat? Is it that the generals have noted that the Indonesian people have realised that such topics are being utilised to 'unite' political sensibilities, with the intention of deviating public attention from the real ills of the regime? Have the

Indonesian generals realised that the people are aware that the generals are keeping a death spectre, exaggerating its dangers, merely so as to justify ABRI's placement in the combat front line. With its 'dwi fungsi' ABRI is expected to be able to perpetuate their regime of corruption and repression over the Indonesian people.

The East Timor problem can be placed under these same questions, when we look at it from the perspective of the Indonesian generals.

We have always stated that if Jakarta tried to play with time, this would be the boomerang causing its defeat. All regimes oppressing and dominating peoples commit the same historical sins. They minimise that value of peoples' consciousness, they pretend that people are mere objects of regimes, that they are simple instruments of manipulation by power holders.

Colonialist and dictatorial regimes ultimately fall under the pressures of the times. However, before this can happen they display an ideology to legitimise their own conceptions about themselves. They justify in this way their crimes, the denial of freedom, the exploitation of peasants, social injustices, repression of workers. The political and financial elite rises on the basis of such costs. They usually are in the proximity of the presidential family and of those favoured by the system, military officials, the true supporters of political power.

Dictatorial regimes are inflexible. The stronger they feel economically, the more arrogant they become in dictating to the world their repressive conceptions about principles and rights.

Xanana Gusmão's message (continued)

The Jakarta generals have waited for too long to appreciate a historical reality: the nationalist consciousness of the Maubere people is not killed by repression, nor is it suffocated by crimes.

Indonesia should realise that this is the appropriate moment for it to rehabilitate itself before universal principles of international law. Minister Ali Alatas defines the problem as a 'no-win situation', thus underlining the fact that the UN maintains the political status of East Timor as a non self-governing territory. This clearly shows that the so-called 'provisional' or 'definitive' assemblies, elections, DPRs, which have been inflicted on East Timor during these past 19 years are simply not recognised as valid, let alone as legitimate.

This was the perception which led Ali Alatas to state to the DPR/MPR that while it may be easy to deceive the Indonesian people into believing that East Timor is already Indonesian, it is a different matter to do this with the world.

The Minister avoided saying that East Timor has already integrated into Indonesia, as he knows that this has never taken place, and that it merely could use the expression 'East Timor is mine' as it has in reality been occupying it militarily for the last 19 years.

We know that the reference to the problem made by President Bill Clinton to Suharto caused serious repercussions among many Indonesian politicians, who wish that East Timor stops for good being the pebble in Indonesia's diplomatic shoe, and a bloodstain on the image of the country which holds the Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Apodeti members try to convince Suharto to grant a statute of autonomy to the '27th Province', but one gets the impression that Suharto no longer trusts anyone. The Indonesian dictator seems to think that by meeting Abilio Araujo, he will have taken a most appropriate step, opening a way for a solution. For this purpose, Lopes da Cruz and his wife, assisted by Tututs and the like, are hoping to mobilise East Timorese students in Indonesia on 7 January. By throwing a big Christmas / New Year party they are hoping that Indonesian Television will be able to show an assembly of East Timorese in Indonesia as a sign of support for the group of Abilio Araujo.

Suharto does not wish to grant autonomy, maybe because this does not feature in the strategies of the 'reconciliation' group. This group, in the joint statements issued by rupiah-greedy Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz, has already placed totally out of the question the denouncing of the cowardly and shameful invasion and the criminal military occupation of the territory.

In this way Jakarta is totally unprepared to present concrete ideas regarding a possible solution to the East Timorese problem. We are almost certain that Ali Alatas will only be able to repeat once again what has been said for 19 years, namely that the East Timorese people have freely chosen integration; and that Jakarta will not accept a referendum, not because it may be worried that it may lose it, but because many people have suffered already.

And Ali Alatas will smile victoriously for having once again passed off one of his intelligent observations onto countries like Australia, Netherlands, or Spain for example. This way the Indonesian generals will have the feeling that despite the little problem of East Timor, Indonesian

Xanana Gusmão's message (continued)

credibility is increasingly being strengthened at the international level.

And Ali Alatas will try to escape once more facing the fact that it is time to seek a solution. Only because Jakarta is not offering solutions.

Therefore, considering from the extremely high costs of keeping the East Timor war, to the heavy burden which -as the DPR would say- needs to be borne by the passive and accommodating Indonesian East Timor diplomacy, CNRM sees no other truly just way out other than the previously presented peace plan leading to a referendum.

Only this way will Indonesia be able to save its face in the wake of a conflict in which it has been placed as a violator of universal principles and of international law.

There is no solution possible which skirts around the essence of the problem. In essence this was and will remain a problem involving the UN.

1995 is the most appropriate year for Ali Alatas to prove that Jakarta finally accepts resolving the East Timor issue, as is befitting to the duties of a UN Security Council member.

1995 will be a year of changes. Changes in our own attitudes, both individually and collectively. Especially those of the East Timorese. Among ourselves, and between ourselves and yourselves. It will be a year of changes in attitudes by Jakarta, by politicians, by diplomats and by generals. 1995 demands these changes from all.

Finally, I wish to use this opportunity to express to all East Timor solidarity groups and to all our friends throughout the world our most sincere gratitude, our friendship and recognition for your constant dedication to the Maubere People's cause. The liberation of the East Timor people will be an event also based

on your political generosity and moral grandeur.

We wish each of you a very happy New Year. To all of you we send the love of our people, the embrace of the Falintil fighters, and a 'Hai amigos' from all the East Timorese political prisoners.

HOMELAND OR DEATH!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES ON ALL FRONTS!

TO RESIST IS TO WIN!

For CNRM

signed

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão,
CNRM Member, Commander of Falintil
Cipinang Prison, Jakarta
31 December 1994 "

Received through the CNRM Director
General of International Relations.

ACTION

Xanana is one of many East Timorese political prisoners held in gaols in Indonesia or East Timor. Friends of East Timor is keen to set up a 'working group' or similar to lobby on behalf on these often-forgotten people, writing to both the Indonesian authorities on their behalf, to the prisoners themselves, and raising public awareness of their plight. Similar campaigns are underway elsewhere, such as the Australia-East Timor Association's Prisoners campaign, or the 'Invisible Friend' campaign underway from Portugal. We could work together with these. If this is something you may be interested in taking part in, drop us a line or better still come along to the General Meeting on Sunday, January 15, 2pm at 44 Denis Street, Subiaco and help set it up.

George Aditjondro Speaks at Neves Trial

Most FOET members will have heard of George Aditjondro, the courageous Indonesian academic whose statements on East Timor splashed across the front pages of the West Australian in March 1994. One could be excused, however, for not being familiar with the case of José Antonio Neves, who faces 20 years in prison for using a fax machine, as his case has received almost no mainstream media attention.

This report, and those on following pages, are from TAPOL, a British-based human rights organisation which focusses exclusively on Indonesia and its occupied territories. (Tapol means political prisoner in Indonesian.) TAPOL publishes a regular bulletin on the human rights situation across the archipelago, so those interested in the broader context can seek subscription details from its Australian office (PO Box 121, Clifton Hill, VIC, 3068)

FOET

TAPOL Report, 19 December 1994

George Aditjondro, senior lecturer at the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga and Indonesia's leading activist for East Timor self-determination, testified for three hours at the trial of José Antonio Neves in Malang, East Java on 14 December.

José Antonio Neves, an East Timorese theology graduate, is on trial in Malang, accused of rebellion ('makar'), after being discovered faxing information abroad about the situation in East Timor, from a post office fax service in Malang last May. The charge carries a maximum sentence of life or twenty years.

Aditjondro was called to testify by the defence as an expert witness. He told TAPOL that he elaborated on the history of East Timor, the international status of the question of East

Timor, as well as the current economic and social conditions of the people of East Timor. During his testimony, he drew comparisons between the righteous struggle of the people of East Timor and the struggles of the Palestinian people, the Saharawi people and the struggle of the people of Bosnia. He also drew comparisons with the anti-apartheid struggle of the people of South Africa.

With regard to reaching a solution for East Timor, he told the court that the talks taking place under the aegis of the UN should involve Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, who is currently serving a 20-year sentence in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. He told the court that Xanana Gusmão is in touch with the resistance movement in East Timor, the

East Timorese activists who are currently in Indonesia and the East Timorese diplomatic front overseas. When talking about Xanana Gusmão, he drew a comparison with Nelson Mandela, whose release from prison paved the way for negotiations to end the apartheid system.

He dwelt at some length on the two forces that have influenced East Timorese studying in Indonesia - the nationalist struggle of their own people and the nationalist struggle of the Indonesian people leading to their independence declaration in August 1945. He likened East Timorese studying in Indonesia to Indonesian nationalists who studied in the Netherlands before the Pacific War and came under similar influences, their own struggle and that of the Dutch people themselves.

He also told the court that the position of the Catholic Church in East Timor changed dramatically after the invasion in 1975 because of the many attacks on the Church itself, on its buildings and the seminary in Dare. This had persuaded the Church not to support integration and to take a position supporting a referendum as a way out of the problem.

For two-and-a-half hours, Aditjondro was questioned by the defence lawyers. The

presiding judge made little attempt to interfere with the presentation of his testimony. The defendant, Neves, when asked, told the court he fully agreed with Aditjondro's testimony.

For the remaining half-hour, Aditjondro was questioned by the prosecutors' team and members of the judges' panel. The prosecutors sought to discredit his information about the history of East Timor and to accuse him of not being a good patriot or nationalist. The defence lawyers intervened whenever the questioning was directed at making an attack on his integrity as an expert witness.

The hearing was well attended, with dozens of East Timorese students from several towns occupying many of the seats in the public gallery. They arrived before 'intel' officers were able to occupy most of the seats, which is what normally happens in political trials. Some Indonesian students were also present. There was a lot of cheering for Aditjondro and jeering for the prosecutors when they tried to impugn his character.

His remarks about Portugal being the Administering Power evoked a lot of cheering from the public gallery.

The only Indonesian paper to report the session was Jawa Pos. No international journalists were present. The only diplomat present was an official from the US consulate in Surabaya.

Two other expert witnesses had been called by the defence but neither was able to appear: Bishop Belo, and Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, a legal expert and Indonesia's former foreign minister. Mochtar had been called with reference to a standard textbook on law by him which deals at some length with the 1949 Geneva Convention on the laws of war. Mochtar stresses that the Geneva Convention is applicable to a war situation, even if one of the protagonists in that war does not consider that a war situation exists.

Aditjondro told TAPOL that the forthcoming trial hearings are scheduled as follows:

Wednesday, 21 December: Questioning of the defendant.

Wednesday, 28 December: Summing up by the Prosecutor who will present his demand for a sentence ('tuntutan').

Wednesday, 4 January: Statement by the Defence

Wednesday, 11 January: Verdict by the court.

He told TAPOL that he thought the hearings had been postponed for the period of the APEC summit because it was feared that foreign journalists in Indonesia for that event might try to attend a court hearing.

In our experience, there could be further exchanges between the prosecution and the defence following the Statement by the Defence which could mean the Verdict being delayed.

Aditjondro also told TAPOL that he fully realises that his decision to testify on behalf of Neves could lead the police and prosecution authorities in Central Java to pursuing his own case even more vigorously. In reply to a recent request for information from his lawyers, the Yogyakarta police said that they are continuing to prepare the case for presentation to the Prosecutor's Office who will decide whether to lay charges. He feels that the only thing likely to lessen the chances of his being formally charged is pressure on Singgih, the Attorney General.

ACTION

You could write to Mr Singgih about both the Neves and Aditjondro cases, stressing that Neves' case is not 'rebellion' but justified resistance to an act of international aggression, and defending Aditjondro's (and others) right to free speech:

Tuan SINGGIH
Jaksa Agung (Attorney General)
Department of Justice
Jl. H.R. Rasuna Said 6
Jakarta, Indonesia

For more info on these cases contact FOET

Academic may be charged for giving a lecture

One of Indonesia's best-known academics has been hauled before the police and interrogated for a gruelling 15 hours about a lecture he gave at an on-campus seminar about political renewal in Indonesia. The Aditjondro case also has broader implications for the fate of academic freedom in Indonesia.

Dr George Aditjondro was summoned for interrogation as a 'suspect' for possible charge under Article 207 of the Criminal Code which makes it an offence to "insult a government official deliberately". If charged, he could be jailed for up to eighteen months.

The Timor connection

George Aditjondro who lectures with the Post-Graduate Programme of the Satya Wacana Christian University in Salatiga, Central Java, has become well known in the past year for his research on the political, social and economic situation in East Timor and for his outspoken denunciation of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of the territory. When some of his East Timor papers were made public in Australia earlier this year, he and his family were harassed and it appeared likely that he would be disciplined or even sacked. But the campaign of vilification died down.

The police in Yogyakarta, backed by the security authorities in Central Java, are now after him for a lecture he delivered at a seminar at *Universitas Islam Indonesia* in Yogyakarta, in August. The topic of the seminar was "The Urgency of Political Renewal in the Democratisation Process in Indonesia" and Aditjondro was originally asked to appear as a discussant for a lecture by former Minister of the Interior, General Rudini. Shortly before the seminar, the conveners asked him to perform the same role for a lecture by another panel speaker, General Soemitro, former chief of the army's security command, Kopkamtib as others asked to do so were unable to come.

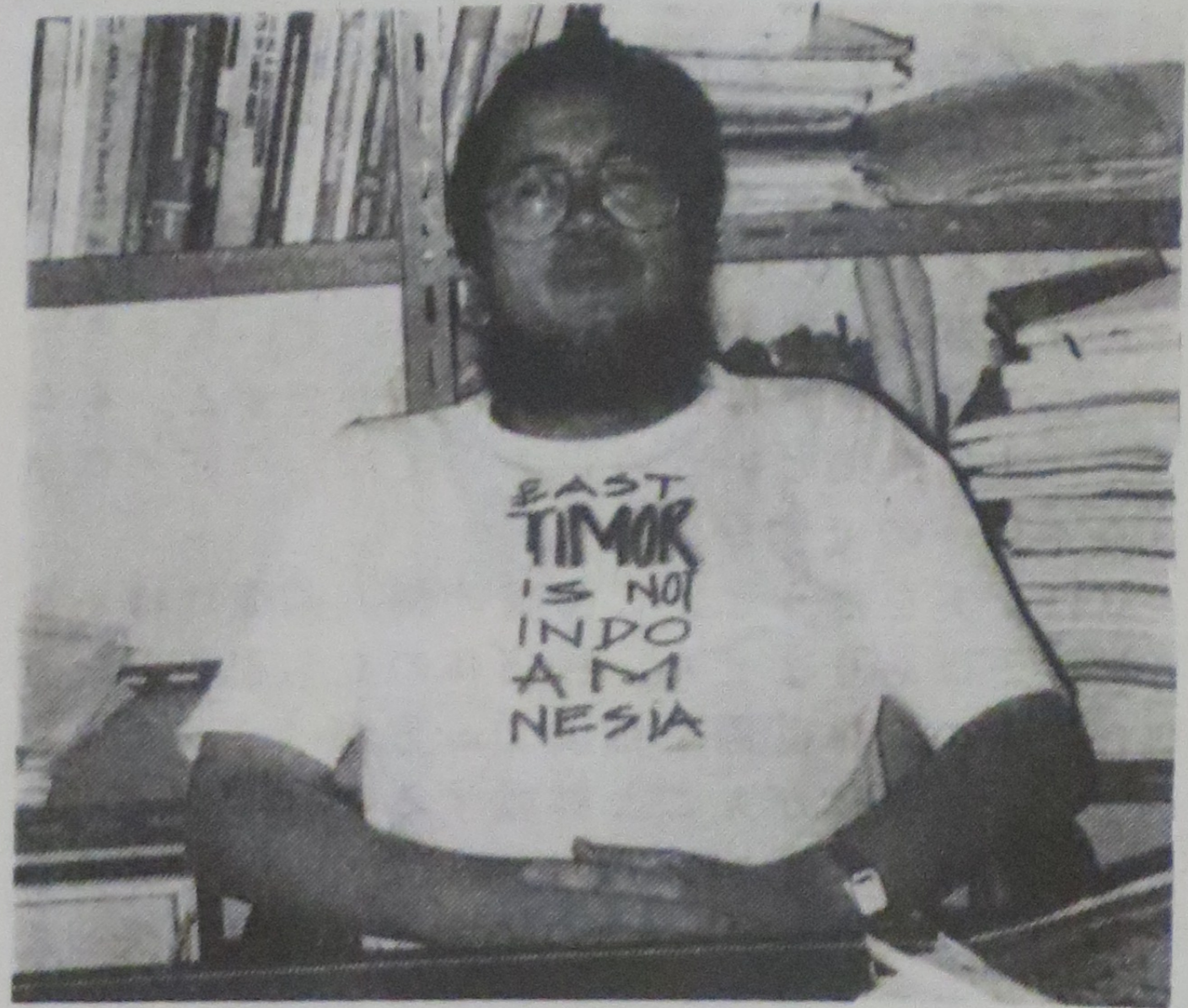
While the seminar was in progress, the students made yet another request, asking him to fill a gap in the programme caused by the delayed arrival of General Rudini. Hundreds of students followed his talks with a great deal of enthusiasm, delighted by his refreshing political analysis delivered with clarity and wit. But among the audience there were also police or army intelligence officers taping his words, eager to arm themselves with 'incriminating evidence' with which to charge him under this remnant of the repressive legal code from the Dutch colonial era.

It so happens that when the summons was first served, Aditjondro was in Lisbon attending a conference on East Timor. He returned home immediately and, after several further summonses were served -- including two faulty ones - the interrogation began on 22 October and continued on the following Monday. The first session came to an end after six hours because Aditjondro complained of exhaustion and doctors confirmed that his blood pressure was unduly high.

Lecturing 'with intent'

Most of the first session was devoted to police attempts to prove that Aditjondro had set up the occasion on his own initiative, to give himself a platform to castigate government officials. In other words, he had pushed himself forward without having been invited, a 'deliberate' act as defined under Article 207. Should the case come to court, this is likely to be a major aspect of the indictment.

Most of the second session was devoted to playing back extracts of his speeches that had been taped, asking him to confirm that he had said such things and seeking further clarifications of the remarks. Aditjondro refused to answer any of these questions



George Aditjondro

In consultation with his team of lawyers, Aditjondro has announced that he will call five witnesses. They include former Interior Minister General Rudini, a well-known politician from the PPP party, Sri Bintang Pamungkas who also attended and spoke at the seminar, Arief Budiman, his close colleague from Satya Wacana University who he will ask to speak about organising seminars on campus, a German philosopher, Professor Magnis Suseno who lectures at a university in Jakarta, and two of the students who helped to organise the seminar.

It remains to be seen whether the police will decide to press charges. If they do so, they could live to regret it as Aditjondro will certainly wage a spirited defence not only of his own right to lecture on matters of relevance to political life in Indonesia but also in defence of academic freedom.

Academic freedom under threat

The move to charge and jail Aditjondro is seen as being the opening salvo of a campaign by the security forces to clamp down on freedom of speech in the universities. This would be the fourth wave of repression against the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia, the others being repression of independent trade unionism, the crackdown on the press and greater restrictions on non-governmental organisations that speak out on human rights issues.

The day before the UII seminar, the Yogyakarta police chief sent a letter to the heads of tertiary institutions in the region, saying that all events organised on campus by student bodies would now require police permission. Until now, such events have been entirely at the discretion of the university administration. The police would also be empowered to vet the persons being invited to speak at such events.

A number of speakers, including university lecturers, legal aid activists and writers and poets have been forced to abandon appearances at meetings or seminars because of a last-minute police ban. This new regulation means that the police will have a more direct say over what can and cannot happen on campus or who can or cannot speak. This unwarranted interference suggests that the regime's 'security approach' will now encroach directly on campus life, a direct threat to academic freedom.

Talks: Alatas meets resistance leaders

A turning-point was reached in international moves to resolve the East Timor question when Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, held talks in New York with representatives of the East Timorese resistance.

The meeting which went on for two and a half hours followed an agreement reached between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers at talks in May this year in Geneva that each minister would meet East Timorese representatives on the opposite side.

Attending the talks with Alatas were Jose Ramos-Horta, external representative of the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), Jose Luis Guterres of FRETILIN and Joao Carrascalao for the UDT.

Ramos-Horta told the press that he had attended the talks with the personal authorisation of Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the CNRM, who is currently in jail in Jakarta. He described the historic meeting as "the first step".

"This is the first time that we started our dialogue at the highest level between the resistance and the Indonesian foreign minister. We did not expect, nor did the minister expect, on this occasion to reach agreement.

"We had an encouraging and thorough discussion with the minister. We touched on issues on which the two sides disagree and expressed our views that the issue of East Timor is an issue of self-determination, and that we are prepared to move step-by-step towards addressing the underlying causes of the conflict"

Proposals raised by the resistance included (1) an internationally (UN) verified military withdrawal from East Timor, (2) reduction of the Indonesian civil service, (3) the permanent presence of specialised UN agencies in East Timor, and (4) the release of Xanana Gusmao and other political prisoners.

Responses from Alatas on some of these proposals were: western military attaches visit Timor regularly and the territory is too small to hide anything, UN agencies can visit whenever they wish and the freeing of Xanana Gusmao was a matter for Indonesian law and an early release was unlikely.

Suharto's diversionary tactics

Whilst going along with the talks agreed within the UN-sponsored framework for a settlement, Indonesia is pursuing a separate agenda that appears designed to undermine these talks. In early November, Suharto, speaking through the mouth of his ambassador-at-large for East Timor affairs, Lopes da Cruz, announced that he is willing to meet with "East Timorese resistance leaders overseas". He referred specifically to Abilio Araujo, former leader of FRETILIN, who was expelled from the party earlier this year, and Rogerio Lobato, also an expelled member of FRETILIN.

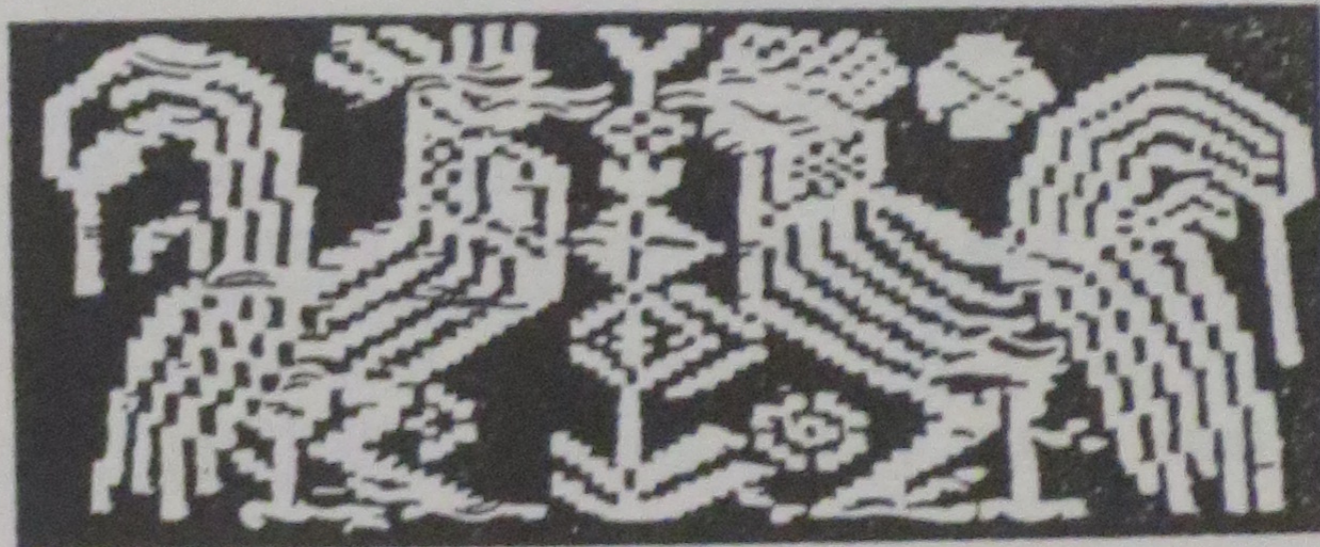
Suharto is pursuing a quite distinct track, responding to the so-called reconciliation talks held some months ago in the UK between teams of East Timorese at home and abroad, led by Lopes da Cruz and Abilio Araujo. The talks are the project in particular of Suharto's eldest daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana. Now one of Indonesia's richest tycoons, she has poured cash into the scheme. She also chairs the Indonesian-Portuguese Friendship Association which, together with its counterpart in Lisbon, backed by Portuguese businessmen, is

working to undermine Portugal's current policy on the question of East Timor.

The Suharto initiative has not been universally welcomed in Indonesia, even by senior East Timorese who, formally-speaking, side with the position taken by Jakarta. Salvador Ximenes Soares, one of four East Timorese members of the Indonesian Parliament, attended the talks in the UK somewhat reluctantly, according to some circles. His response to Suharto's announcement was to say that Indonesia should talk with all anti-integration groups, "otherwise they would not be effective". He stressed that besides Abilio Araujo, there were three other 'anti-integration' groups represented by Jose Ramos-Horta, Joao Carrascalao and Jose Luis Guterres. Salvador Soares also thought that informal leaders like Bishop Belo should be included because he knows so much about the problems being confronted by the people. [*Kompas and Jakarta Post*, 5.XI.1994]

As for Bishop Belo, he was even more dismissive of the prospect of Suharto having talks with Abilio Araujo.

"He doesn't represent the East Timorese community. He's just a businessman," he told the BBC. Significantly, this remark was also published in *Kompas* [5.XI.1994]



The myth of autonomy

Another issue that has been used to muddy the waters is that of 'autonomy' or 'special status'. There were reports some months ago that a mission led by Suharto's son-in-law, Colonel Prabowo, held talks with Bishop Belo about 'autonomy' and the word has been floating around ever since. Such talk creates the impression that Jakarta is adopting a softer approach towards East Timor.

Indonesia is a top-down, heavily centralised state which allows no leeway for any local autonomy. Only two regions have ever been granted 'special status': Yogyakarta to preserve the special role in government of the sultan, and Aceh where a move was taken to quash a Muslim rebellion there in the 1950s. No-one gives any credence to Aceh's 'special status' even in those areas where it is supposed to apply, education and religious affairs.

During talks in Jakarta with President Clinton on 15 November, the question of autonomy was raised. State Secretary Mardiono told the press after the talks: *"The President expressed clearly to Clinton that there will be no special autonomy accorded to East Timor, in the sense of a different autonomy from that in other regions in our homeland."* [AFP, 16.XI.1994]

Whoever is afraid of a referendum (in East Timor) is afraid of the truth.)

Coping with the foreign media

TAPOL

When Jakarta announced in October that all foreign journalists covering the APEC Summit would be allowed to visit East Timor, the authorities could hardly have realised how this exercise in greater openness would rebound. Scores of journalists took advantage of the offer to go to Dili, making sure that all the protests that occurred there were shown whenever the APEC meeting was reported. But there has since been a backlash with many journalists being ordered to leave.

There were two US journalists for whom the open sesame did not apply. Allan Nairn who writes for *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair* and *Multinational Monitor* among others, and Amy Goodman, news editor of WBAI Pacifica Public Radio Programme in New York, were prevented from entering East Timor not once but twice.

Excluded journalists sneak in

Nairn and Goodman are well known to the Indonesian authorities. They narrowly missed being murdered during the Santa Cruz massacre of 12 November 1991 and have since devoted much time and energy, speaking of the murder and mayhem they witnessed with their own eyes.

After being blacklisted against returning to Indonesia, the ban was lifted and they were granted permits to enter East Timor by the Indonesian embassy in Washington as part of a visit to Indonesia to cover the APEC meeting. However, on arrival in Atambua, West Timor, on their way to Dili, they were arrested and taken to the army command in Kupang, West Timor. After being held and interrogated for several hours, they were ordered to return to Jakarta.

Back in Jakarta, they made their way to the US embassy to make contact with the 29 East Timorese inside. With access to facilities at the Jakarta Convention Centre, used by foreign journalists, they called a press conference of their own, at which they wanted to hand out leaflets. They were prevented from doing so and the press conference was disbanded.

Having been assured, again, in Jakarta that their papers were in order for a visit to East Timor, they again took a plane for the territory. But when they tried to board a plane in Denpasar, Bali, they were hauled off and told they could not proceed. Persistent to the end however, the couple managed to shake off the agents who followed them everywhere in Bali and finally sneaked into East Timor for a visit lasting several days.

Tailor-made press conference goes wrong

President Suharto is not in the habit of giving press conferences or even speaking to journalists. His style is that of a feudal chieftain, passing down his decisions to underlings and leaving it to them to deal with the press.

So, what to do about APEC? He was, after all, chairing the event and would have to 'meet the press' after the extravaganza was over. But he is not a man to allow himself to be publicly humiliated by answering awkward questions about human rights, still less East Timor. The only solution was to "engineer" the event. Indonesians call it *direkayasa*.

What happened next was described by Thomas W. Lippman, writing for the *Washington Post Service*. In a memorandum to all delegations attending APEC, the Indonesian Foreign Minister set out the rules:

President Suharto would like to take questions only with respect to the APEC process. (He) will field only seven questions... Each of the main geographic areas represented in APEC will be entitled to ask one question. [International Herald Tribune, 17.XI.1994]

This meant one question each for Indonesia, North America (US and Canada), Latin America, Europe, China, Japan and ASEAN.

The trick almost worked. Unfortunately for Suharto, one journalist broke ranks. When Elaine Sciolini of the *New York Time* rose to ask her question about APEC, she tagged on another question Suharto least wanted to hear. "How do you intend to resolve the question of East Timor, once and for all?" Visibly embarrassed and angered, Suharto could only mumble something about there being "no time" to deal with the question.

Even more unfortunately for the dictator, this was the only exchange during the entire press conference that was shown on TV screens world-wide.

Dealing with the press in Dili

Scores of foreign journalists made their way to Dili during the APEC meetings in Jakarta. This provided plenty of footage of the protests there. It also forced the security forces to restrain themselves and order the troops not to shoot at protesters. It was left to the police to 'maintain order', with the army watching in the background, as long as journalists were still around.

For several days during APEC, every single CNN news programme showed footage of protests in Dili or of the embassy saga in Jakarta. For this they got a slap on the wrist from armed forces spokesperson, Brig. General Syarwan Hamid who complained that their news reports did not accurately depict the situation. He said:

"Through their camera techniques, they made close-up shots which made it look as if the demonstration was joined by a lot of people. Actually, there were only a handful of them." [Jakarta Post, 15.XI.1994]

It was not until the protest demonstration at the Dili Cathedral on 18 November that the security forces showed their frustration by turning on the press. In the scuffles that occurred after police agents started throwing missiles at the East Timorese on the steps of the cathedral, foreign journalists were chased by police and had to seek protection in a private residence.

The military spokesperson, Major Simbolon, accused a Japanese crew from the country's leading channel, NHK, of "stirring up trouble", alleging that they gave a banner to East Timorese so as to take shots of it. Simbolon even accused foreign journalists of "engaging in actions outside their journalistic functions. They deliberately linked up with the protesters."

Australian photographer Andrew McNaughton, who entered East Timor as a tourist, was deported after the cathedral protest for allegedly "becoming involved in local politics and taking part in Friday's demonstration outside the cathedral". [Reuter, 19.XI.1994] However, the immigration chief in Dili, Johannes Triswoyo gave the story a different twist. McNaughton had been found, he said, being beaten by "several East Timorese who oppose the presence of foreign journalists in East Timor". [AFP, 19.XI.1994]

Blaming the foreign journalists

Following a week of intensive reporting of events in Dili, the authorities turned on the foreign journalists, effectively blaming them for the shocking reports that have reached the outside world.

continued next page

Interpreter's changes anger Diet members

Politicians on a human rights fact-finding trip to East Timor say their Japanese interpreter twisted their words to conform to Japanese government's official policy.

By MASATAKA ITO

Asahi Shimbun

A group of Diet members who recently returned from Indonesia are complaining that an interpreter caused a furor when he altered their remarks on alleged human rights violations in East Timor.

Yasuko Takemura, a member of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, asserted in a session of the Upper House Budget Committee Tuesday that the misunderstanding had arisen because the first secretary at the Japanese Embassy had deliberately taken liberties with the lawmakers' remarks.

She cautioned Foreign Minister Yohei Kono that more "free interpretation" could lead to diplomatic problems.

Takemura and four other Diet members visited East Timor in August on a fact-finding mission on human rights. About 200 Timorese were massacred on the island in 1991 in the midst of a bid for independence from Indonesia. On their way home Aug. 13, they met the press at Bali's Denpasar Airport and mentioned that there were human rights problems in East Timor.

The lawmakers say they were astonished when they learned later that Indonesian newspapers reported as if the lawmakers approved the status quo in East Timor during the news conference.

The Kompas newspaper, for example, reported that the Japanese legislators had a very high opinion of cooperation between the Army and residents (in East Timor). The Java Pos said the lawmakers assessed as appropriate the "development-first" strategy being implemented there by the Indonesian government.

Besides Takemura, the non-partisan mission comprised two other Social Democrats, Parliamentary Vice Education Minister Tomiko Okazaki and Seiichi Kaneta, Banri Kaieda of the Japan New Party, and Koki Chuma of the Liberal Democratic Party.

Back in Tokyo, the five lawmakers repeated the statements they made earlier in Bali. But their remarks caused a sensation in Indonesia as they were reported to be completely different from what they said in Bali.

Puzzled over the Indonesian reporting, they had a tape recording of the Bali press conference transcribed and asked an Indonesian-language expert to translate it into Japanese.

The translation showed that the first secretary at the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta, who served as an interpreter for the legislators, did not interpret their remarks correctly. The diplomat considerably altered their remarks, stressing the friendly relations between Japan and Indonesia when no mention was made of them and "exercising his own judgment to choose what points to translate," as the Diet members put it.

Kaneta spoke to this effect: "The military and the (Indonesian) government have the perception that human rights are protected and that the incident at Santa Cruz (the graveyard where the massacre took place) was accidental and has been settled.

But the church people we have met and students who have sent us messages say the repression of human rights is an everyday affair and that the incident at Santa Cruz occurred as has been reported by the media. They say the incident has not been settled, with the guilty ones yet to be brought to justice. So both sides have diametrically opposite perceptions."

The interpreter came up with this version: "The government and the military attach particular importance to security, unity and the social aspect of (the human rights issue). Residents attach importance to freedom and human rights.

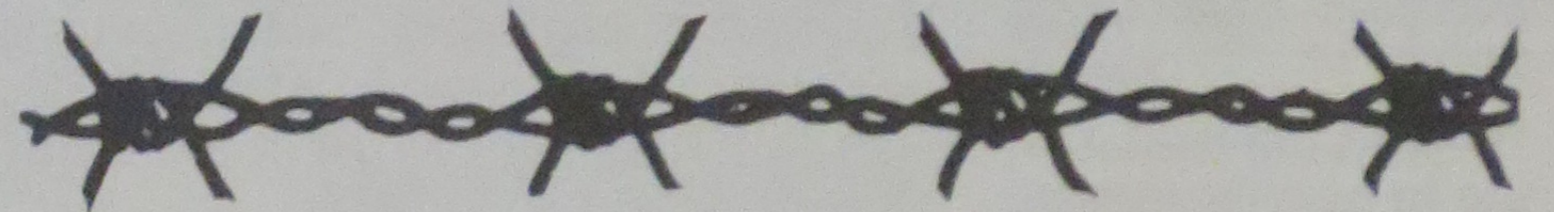
In other words, both sides share the objective of promoting economic development.

The reason is that there can be no economic development where public security and social security are not guaranteed, as the local government and the military say."

The diplomat's rendition appeared to reflect the Japanese government's stance on the East Timor issue. Tokyo supports Jakarta's claim that East Timor is under Indonesian control.

Last year it abstained when a proposal by the United States and other countries that the United Nations Human Rights Commission send a fact-finding team there was put to a vote.

Asked for comment, Koji Kawakami, chief of the Second Southeast Asia Division of the Foreign Ministry, said, "The remarks of the lawmakers should have been interpreted more in a word-for-word fashion. But I don't think the departures from what they said were intentional."



(continued from previous page)

The military command spokesperson in Dili, Major Simbolon, alleged that "journalists had intentionally linked up with the demonstrators" and even that "some journalists had helped stage the demonstrations". To prove their point, the military authorities in Dili claimed that, on the day of the Cathedral protest (see separate item), journalists had gathered at the site several hours before, indicating that the protests may have been "pre-arranged". [Jakarta Post, 21.XI.1994] Whether the journalists knew or not is a moot point. What is certain is that the security forces knew something was afoot which is why the police ordered the church to cancel the Mass and police agents were ready with stones to provoke the Timorese in the Cathedral.

The armed forces commander, General Feisal Tanjung, lashed out at foreign journalists, accusing them of publishing "inaccurate reports about Indonesia and ABRI". Perhaps he thought he was softening his criticism by saying that it was all "due to a lack of knowledge on the part of the journalists". [Jakarta Post, 20.XI.1994]

According to wire-service reports, five foreign journalists have been ordered to leave East Timor. They are Associated Press photographers Jeff Widener and Craig Fuji, Reuters photographer Jonathan Drake, all of them British, Simon Beardsell, an Australian cameraman with World Television News, and a senior producer with Associated Press TV, the Frenchman, Francois Tournon. According to unconfirmed reports, altogether nine journalists have been told to leave.

Allan Nairn told TAPOL after returning to the US from East Timor that the level of surveillance of both East Timorese and foreign journalists is very high indeed, with journalists being followed the whole time. TAPOL

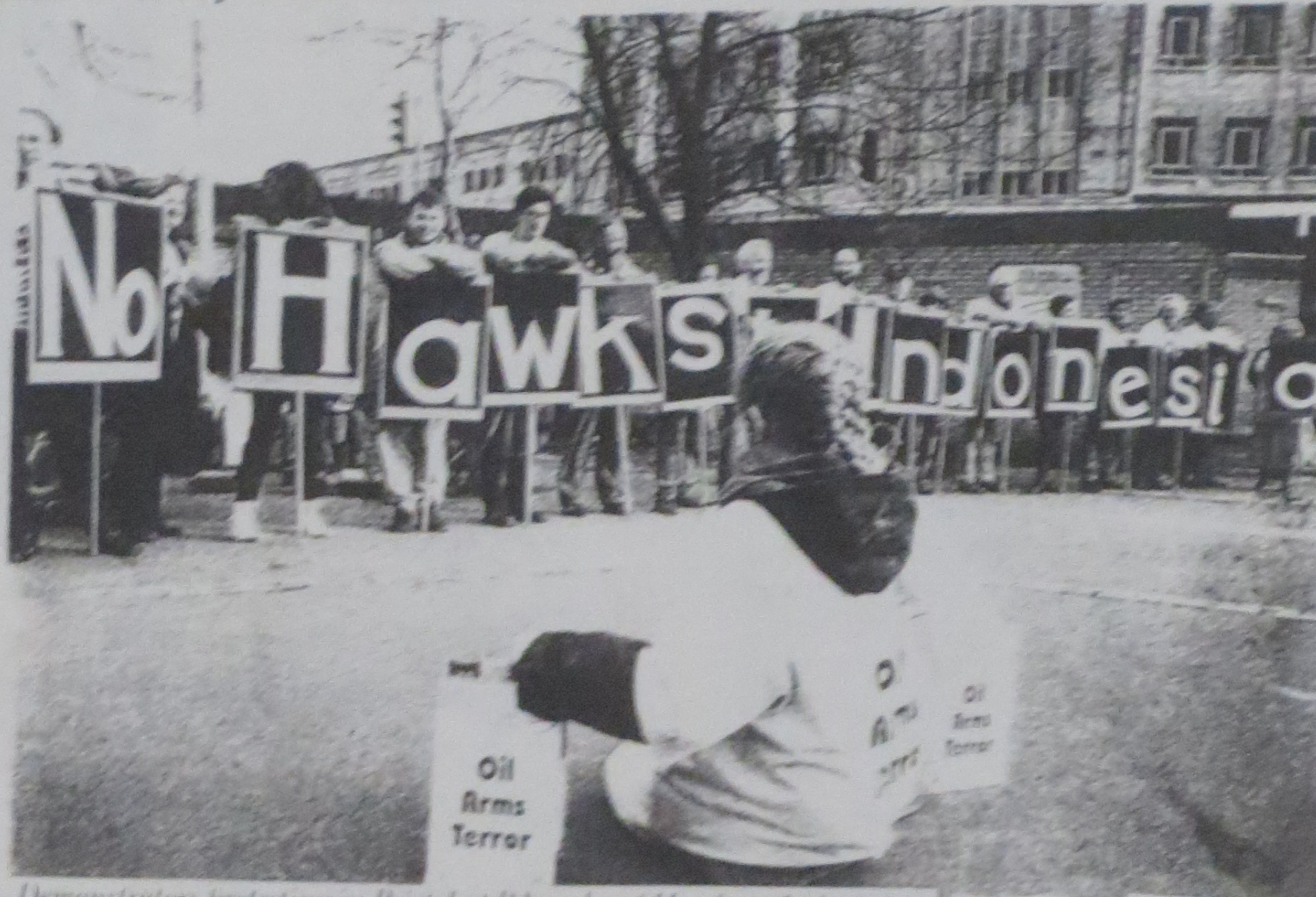
British arms deals with Jakarta forge ahead

Huge new arms deals between the UK and Indonesia under negotiation will make Britain Indonesia's leading supplier of weapons. The deals are part of a massive expansion in Britain's commercial relations with the Suharto dictatorship.

London's leading Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, reported on 13 November 1994 that "Britain is assembling a huge arms deal with Indonesia, in defiance of international calls for a weapons embargo because of the country's appalling human rights record. The secret deal is worth an estimated £2 billion."

The *London Times* [14.XI.1994] said Britain is competing for deals worth up to £6.1 billion. Whatever the figure, British exports of weapons of death to the Indonesian armed forces are set to forge ahead on an unprecedented scale.

In October, Britain's chief of defence staff, Field-Marshal Sir Peter Inge, announced in Jakarta that Indonesia was planning to purchase another 16 Hawks, on top of the deal worth £500 million for 24 Hawks in June 1993. Sir Peter Inge said Indonesia would buy Scorpion light tanks, highly mobile vehicles, suited for use in heavily wooded territory like East Timor or Aceh, or on the streets against demonstrators.



Demonstrators protesting in Bristol at BAe sales of Hawks to Indonesia.

STEVE GAY

Without a moment's thought for the political implications of these arms deals, the Field-Marshal said, when confronted by reporters with the issue of East Timor:

"It is not for me to get involved in the politics of another country." [*Jakarta Times*, 13.X.1994]

Armed forces commander, General Feisal Tanjung later said that Indonesia was seeking procurements from the UK and Germany. He spoke of 50 Scorpions though foreign military sources in Jakarta said the deal could eventually reach one hundred. [*Reuter*, 19.XI.1994]

The 'shopping list'

The *Observer* revealed that Britain is working hard to reach agreement on the supply of a huge range of other military equipment. The 'shopping list' includes armoured personnel carriers, medium-range ballistic and air-defence missiles and naval patrol vessels, together with the construction of a big new naval base at Bandar Lampung, Sumatra. British Aerospace, an old hand in the weapons trade with Indonesia, will take the lead in the Memorandum of Understanding being drafted between the two countries.

Quoting Paul Beaver of *Jane's Sentinel*, *The Observer* wrote that the MoU will cover major defence systems:

"Indonesia is always on the look-out for technology transfer from the West and any deal will almost certainly involve a degree of barter, such as mineral and logging concessions. In Thatcher's day, Malaysia was number one. Now it's Indonesia."

Aid-for-arms scandal

The news of these deals came at a particularly sensitive time in the UK. A small non-governmental organisation, the *World Development Movement*, had just won a High Court action against the

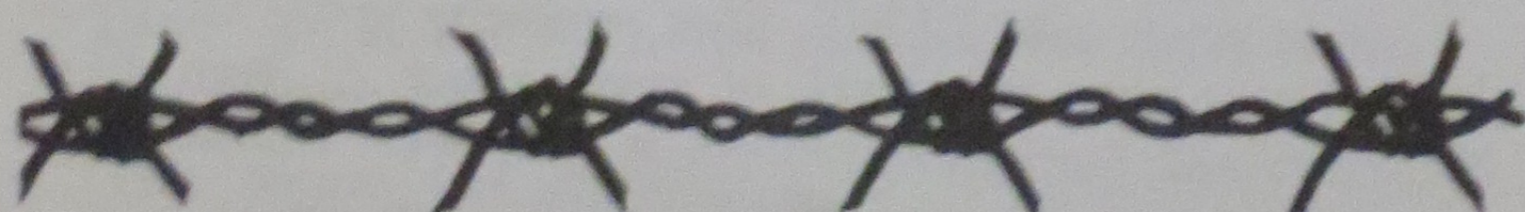
Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, declaring his decision to grant aid of £234 million to fund the Pergau dam project in Malaysia illegal. The project was the focus of huge controversy after it became known earlier this year, following the leaking of a secret agreement between London and Kuala Lumpur, that the aid had been agreed in 1987 by the Thatcher government as a 'sweetener' to pave the way for massive arms deals with that country. The

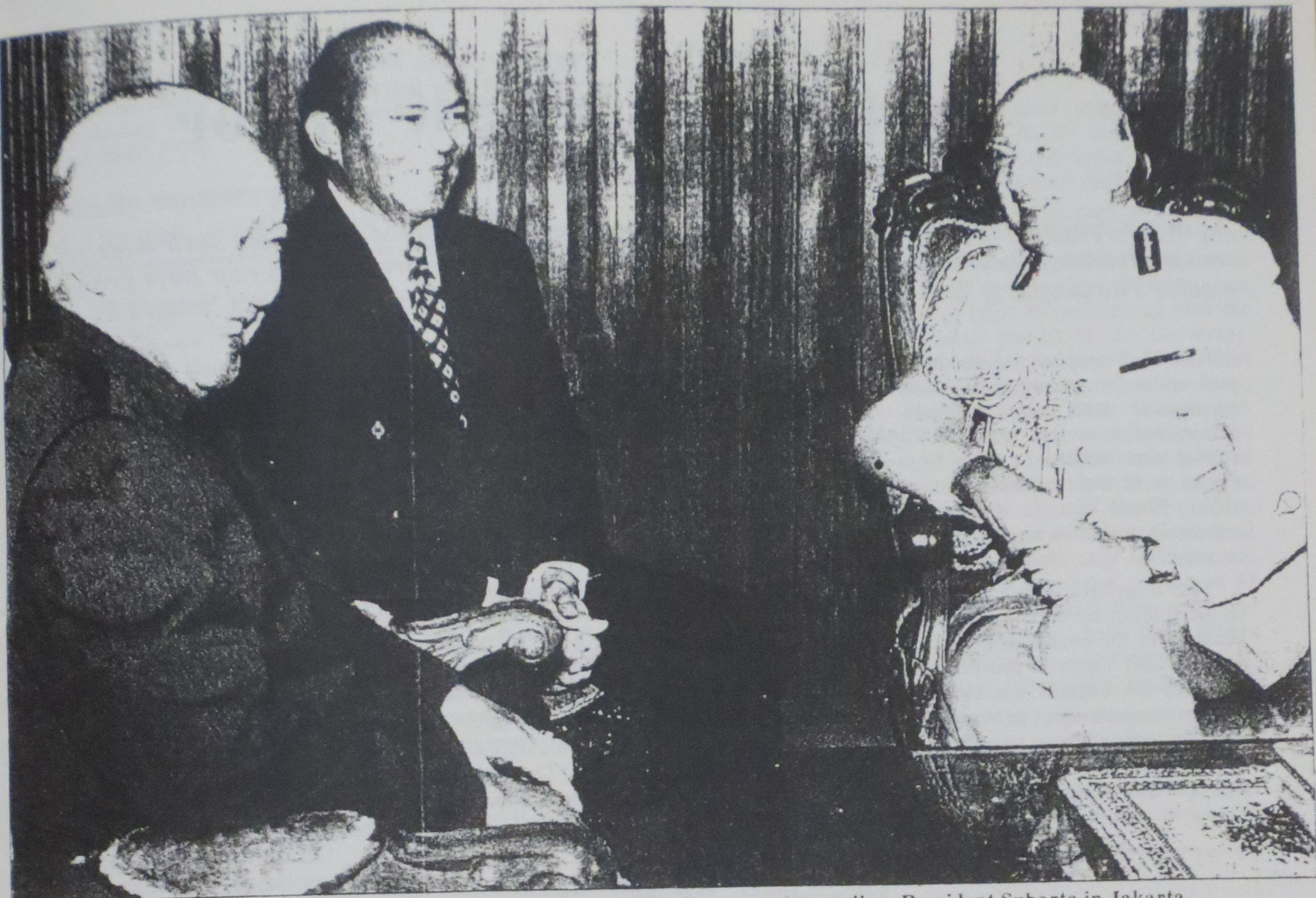
'aid-for-arms' scandal has been a hot political issue ever since.

This has turned the spotlight on the UK's aid and arms dealings with Indonesia. While documentary proof of any link has not been forthcoming, many commentators have pointed to the parallel rise in the UK's aid commitments to Indonesia and the upward curve of its arms sales. It was a link highlighted in *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 124, August 1994 on the increase in UK aid commitments at CGI meetings since 1992.

The Observer noted that the deal for 24 Hawks had been under negotiation for several years. In March 1993, Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont promised Indonesia a big increase in export credits. A month later, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, on a visit to Indonesia, announced a £65 million concessional loan for a new power station in Samarinda, East Kalimantan, the biggest single aid donation to Indonesia in 20 years. This, and a promise that British aid would not be linked to Indonesia's human rights conduct, unlocked the Hawks negotiations, paving the way for the Hawks deal announced two months later.

Still reeling from the Pergau dam defeat in the High Court, government spokesmen have been at pains ever since to deny that aid and arms deals are linked, either in the case of Indonesia or other countries. But the stark reality is that British aid is leaping ahead not for desperately poor countries like Tanzania but for countries like Indonesia and Nigeria, both of which have concluded major arms deals with the UK.





British Chief of Defence Staff Field Marshal Sir Peter Inge (right) paying a courtesy call on President Suharto in Jakarta. Sir Peter said later that prospects for increased Indonesian purchases of British military equipment were good. — Reuter picture.

Hawks used in East Timor

Jose Ramos-Horta of CNRM issued a statement on 16th November 1994 on the recent use of Hawks in East Timor.

"During August and September 1994, two Hawk aircraft carried out at least six bombing raids in the eastern region of East Timor. Hawks and US-supplied Broncos are stationed at the Baucau airport which is capable of receiving commercial aircraft up to Boeing 707s. Since the invasion in 1975, the civilian airport has been converted to a military base. In the last three months, Hawk aircraft have been used extensively mostly in the eastern region with an average of six sorties a day, each bombing raid lasting 10 minutes with the launching of two missiles each.

Some raids seemed to be almost at random without the pilot aiming at guerrilla targets but at any remote hamlet. On 23 September, at 11.15am between Kelikai and Baguia, a missile hit a thatched-roof house setting it on fire and destroying six impoverished houses. There were no survivors observed among some 30 inhabitants, mainly women and children.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) called on Portugal to take the British Government to the International Court of Justice and the European Human Rights Court for "providing economic, financial and military assistance to Indonesia which enables it to pursue the war of aggression against East Timor in violation of the UN Charter and relevant UN Security Council resolutions".

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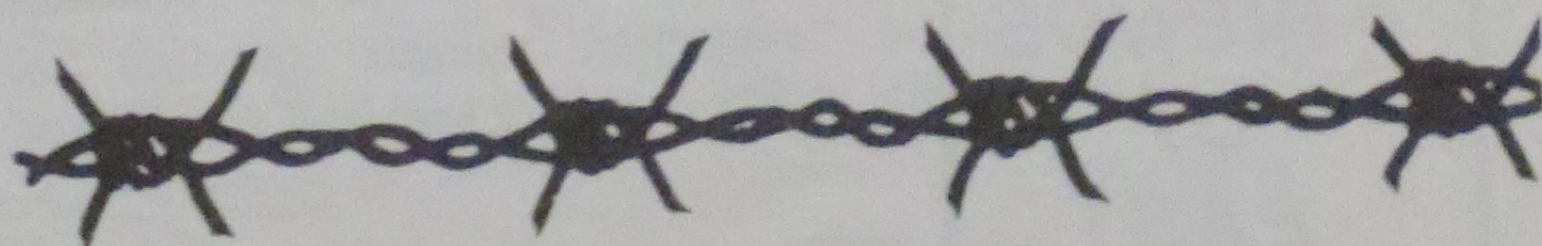
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Protests rock East Timor

As many commentators have said, not since 12 November 1991 have there been such large protests on the streets of Dili. Unlike that tragic day in 1991, however, the protests this year have gone on for weeks. The people of East Timor have made it crystal clear that they totally reject 'integrasi'.

On 12 November, an incident occurred that unleashed pent-up anger among East Timorese against Indonesian immigrants who now dominate the commercial and administrative sectors. An East Timorese trader in Becora market was stabbed to death by a Buginese businessman during a heated argument. According to one report, the victim, **Mario Vicente**, was stabbed in a restaurant, by the restaurant owner who, the authorities claim, is now in custody.

This may have been a provocation, intended to instigate ethnic conflict between Timorese who have made very little headway in the commercial sector, and Buginese who have come to East Timor in droves and who run many stalls and shops in the capital. But the Buginese are not the only Indonesians prominent in commerce. There are also scores of Javanese, Menadonese and West Timorese, not to mention the Javanese and Balinese now settled in 'transmigration sites' on land seized from the East Timorese. These are the people who now keep the wheels of commerce running in

barracks and offices which continued on the next day, Sunday. Becora market was burnt down as well as motor-car and motor-cycle garages in the suburbs of Audian and Kuluhan. Some Indonesian-owned kiosks were also destroyed. Another place hard hit in this out-pouring of anti-Indonesian sentiment was Senghol market which is the centre of prostitution in the city. The prostitutes have all been brought in from Indonesia while the main customers are members of the armed forces.

On Sunday, there were religious observances to mark the third anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, including a Mass attended by 700. Afterwards dozens marched peacefully on the streets with banners proclaiming *Viva Xanana, Viva Clinton* and calling for support from the US. During the day, a large number of young people overran Turismo Hotel where many foreign journalists were staying.

On Monday, the unrest continued with a mixture of attacks on Indonesian establishments and organised political protest. The homes and shops of Indonesians came under

attack in many parts of Dili, including Audian, Balide, Becora, Bidau Santana, Colmera, Kuluhun, Manleuana and Santa Cruz. Photos appeared in the world's press of police being chased by defiant East Timorese: According to the police chief, Colonel Andreas Sugianto, "The mob was wild. They were running after the police and throwing stones at them. If we were not wearing helmets, we might have been injured as well." [Reuter, 14.XI.1994] The police chief later admitted that he needed a force of 600 security officers in Dili "to take care of any problems". This figure would not include the troops being held on stand-by and intelligence officers scouring the capital for 'trouble-makers'.

For the very first time, the people in Dili have started turning on the Indonesians living in their homeland. This new form of protest has clearly worried the

authorities. Governor Abilio Soares said, after three days of attacks on Indonesian property, that the authorities might ask recent immigrants from Indonesia to leave. The district head of Dili, Domingus Soares, announced that officials had met with a committee of protesting students who put forward three demands: that all newcomers from Sulawesi (mainly

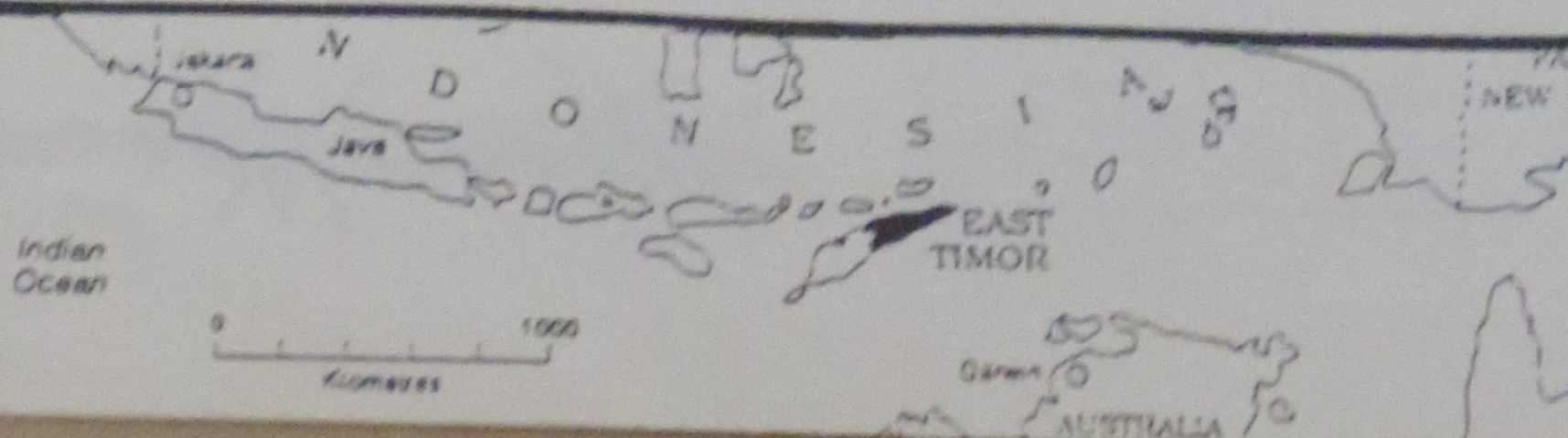


Film-maker/writer John Pilger addressing the 12 November demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy in London. The focus was on Britain's sales of arms to Indonesia.

occupied East Timor. But as the security forces know, talk of Timorese-Buginese conflict would distract attention from the political issue, as the deliberately provoked anti-Chinese riots in Medan did during workers' unrest last April.

The murder of Vicente led to many attacks on Indonesian-owned shops and property as well as attacks on some military

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OF
EAST
TIMOR**

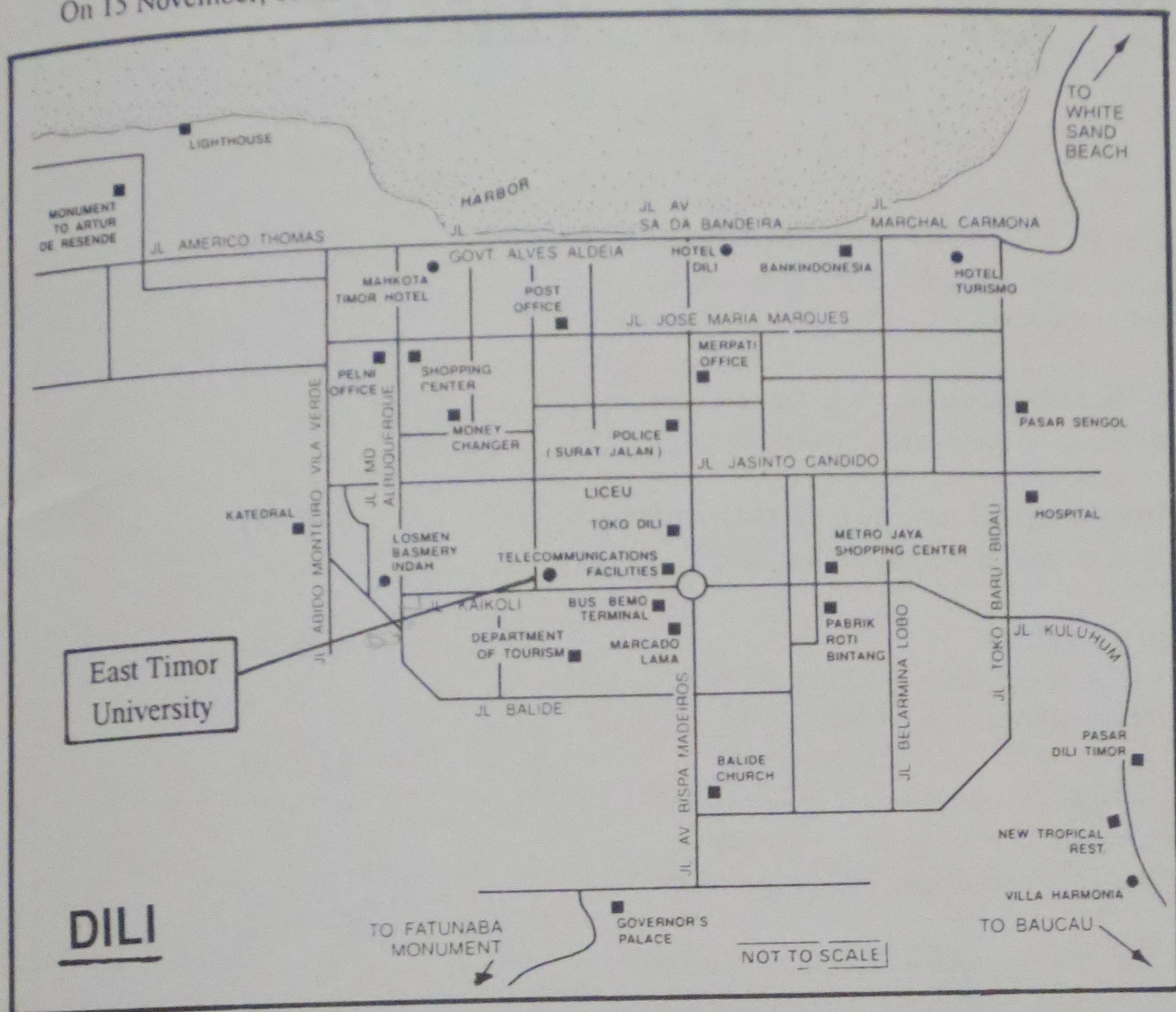


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Buginese) should be expelled, that the number of troops and riot police should be reduced and that talks be started between the East Timorese and the government [Indonesian Observer, 16.XI.1994]

University students protest

On 15 November, some 600 students at the East Timor



University staged a demonstration inside the campus with pro-independence banners and chanting *Viva Xanana*, and *Visa Timor Leste*. The university was cordoned off by the army to prevent others joining in. However, a large group of secondary school pupils from SMEA-Dili marched to the university to join the students but as they neared Mahkota Hotel, they were surrounded by two truckloads of police. Many fled; twenty reached the safety of the Catholic diocese compound while some thirty others were arrested. Diocese staff refused to allow any security forces into the compound and the youngsters were eventually escorted to their homes after priests had negotiated with the security people. A priest interviewed by UPI in Jakarta [15.XI.1994] said the situation was very bad, with many troops on the streets. He also spoke of "five or six East Timorese" having been killed since Saturday. *"The trouble is continuing, the troops have taken many prisoners."*

The University was ordered to close for the whole week. Helder da Costa, the University's Director of Planning and Development, upheld the right of students to make their voice known to foreign journalists:

As a Timorese, I see this as the right moment for the young people to express themselves because they have lived under such extreme circumstances for the past 18 years. (They) know it has been in the news if foreign journalists come to East Timor so it is the right moment for them. [Voice of America correspondent in Dili, 23.XI.1994]

Reports of deaths were carried in several wire-service accounts but information about their identities and the places where the deaths took place has been difficult to obtain. One casualty has been named as **Fernando** (alias **Nando**), from Suai who was living in Kuluhan, a suburb of Dili. He was

EAST TIMOR

reportedly killed by a soldier from Battalion 745 on Sunday, 13 November. Two other deaths occurred on the same day in the suburbs of Laclubar and Santa Cruz. In all cases, the victims are thought to have been stabbed.

The numbers arrested during the first days of the unrest

may have reached 250, with about 100 arrested in the Colmera area of Dili, 80 in the vicinity of Santa Cruz and at least 70 rounded up after the students' protest at the University. Some may have been held for short periods and released after being heavily beaten and intimidated. Throughout the week, there were reports of late-night house-to-house searches, with people being dragged off, out of sight of the journalists. The police chief Colonel Andreas Sugianto, would only confirm that 83 had been arrested, of whom 69 were later released. The remaining 14 would be held for further questioning, on suspicion of 'masterminding' the protests, he said.

On 23 November, it was announced in Dili that 30 East Timorese would be prosecuted for alleged involvement in the pro-independence protests since 12 November.

The Cathedral protest

By mid-week, the authorities were claiming that conditions in Dili had 'returned to normal'. This myth was exploded on 17 November when hundreds of people who had gathered at Dili Cathedral for a Mass celebrating Christian martyrs, unfurled pro-independence banners on the cathedral steps. The Mass had been cancelled on the instructions of the police who believed that a protest might occur. [The police had earlier insisted that the body of Mario Vicente, murdered on Saturday, should not be buried in Santa Cruz but taken to his home-town in Bobonaro for burial to avoid any protests during the funeral.]

As the protest got underway on the steps of the cathedral, some people in a crowd in the street opposite started hurling stones and rocks at the East Timorese protesters. All the reports by foreign journalists who witnessed the event confirmed that this was an attack by police agents, to create mayhem in the streets. As fighting broke out, the police used tear-gas to disperse the protesters. Many of the East Timorese were holed up inside the cathedral which was sealed off for a couple of hours. Together with the crowd inside was Australian photographer Andrew McNaughton who was later deported.

McNaughton told Reuter [19.XI.1994] that he was inside the Cathedral, seeking shelter from the mayhem outside, along with many East Timorese.

The situation inside the Cathedral was very tense. Everyone was scared because we kept hearing loud noises outside the church. The East Timorese began singing hymns and praying as they waited.

Outside, foreign journalists were caught up in the confusion and had to flee to safety, chased by the police.

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British Coalition for East Timor, London, 1994. Features many excellent photographs by the author. 32 pages. Paperback.	
Death in Dili (McMillan)	\$10.00
Hodder & Stoughton, Sydney, 1992. An Australian tourist from Darwin gets involved in Timor's politics while holidaying on the island. A documentary account, told in a racy style. 235 pages. Paperback.	
East Timor - Indonesian intellectual speaks (Aditjondro)	\$ 8.00
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The Hidden History of East Timor. Zed Books, London and Pluto Press, Sydney, 1991. 230 pages. Highly recommended. Paperback.	
Mai Kolia Tetun	\$20.00
A course in Tetum-Praca, The Lingua Franca of East Timor by Geoffrey Hull. Australian Catholic Relief and the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, North Sydney, 1993. A text book of the Tetum language. 297 pages. Paperback.	
A Traveller's Dictionary	\$ 7.50
In Tetun-English and English-Tetun from the Land of the Sleeping Crocodile: East Timor, by Cliff Morris. Baba Dook Books. Melbourne, 1992. Contains an introduction to Timorese culture, grammar, pronunciation, phrases for travellers and dictionaries. 77 pages. Convenient pocket size paper back with durable plastic cover.	
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