

EAST TIMOR

The Inside Story

No. 10 OCT/NOV 1993

East Timorese mothers write to Hilary Clinton

The following is the text of a letter to Hilary Clinton, wife of President Bill Clinton, from 48 East Timorese women who signed the letter but asked that their identities not be made public.

Your Excellency,

First of all we wish to express our respectful greetings and personal congratulations to you and your husband.

We, the mothers of children who have disappeared and died in the tragedy of 12 November 1991, moved by the love for our children who constitute the people of East Timor, conscious of the critical and distressing moment in which our country and people are living, take the opportunity to express our complete rejection of Indonesia's dirty political manipulations, and re-affirm our unshakeable wish to struggle until we have gained our total freedom.

Relying on your goodwill and benevolence in listening to our deepest concerns, we respectfully present the following reflections:

1. As mothers of children who have died or disappeared, we continue to live in the silence of this immense sorrow, without knowing where our beloved, martyred children are buried. We ask and demand that the Indonesian government return to us the bodies of our children.
2. We reject all the dirty manoeuvres of Indonesia which claim that 'development' and 'progress' of our country can be compensation for our children. We feel nothing but contempt for the great buildings, tarmacked roads, fashionable bribes, all to achieve the peaceful elimination of our people.
3. We are a small people, frail in all aspects of life, but we wish to keep alive the flame of our resistance, which iden-

tifies us as a free and honourable people.

4. We wish to express our great appreciation for the clear position which you and your husband have taken about the problem of East Timor.

5. We appeal to the maternal feelings of Your Excellency, to present the dark images of our suffering at the meeting which is due to take place in New York on 17 September 1993.

6. You should know that, after the return of the representatives of the American Senate*), detentions and reprisals continue to be directed at our children. Our homes continue to be watched by Indonesian soldiers dressed in civilian clothes, and military vehicles have been painted in civilian colours such as blue and cream.

To conclude this letter, we ask that Your Excellency forgive the typing errors which are caused partly by the very basic conditions in which we are working and partly by the terror and fear which we experience while our homes are being watched.

Once more, we would like to express our respectful greetings to Your Excellency and to your distinguished husband, Bill Clinton, President of the United States of America.

With deepest respect,

[48 names and signatures]

10 September 1993, East Timor

*) It was widely believed in East Timor that the people on the US mission that visited East Timor on 1 September were members of Congress. In fact, they were US congressional aides and staff.

TAPOL



Since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975, over 200,000 people have died as a result of violence, starvation and disease brought about by the Indonesian occupation. The United Nations has repeatedly called for Indonesia's withdrawal. Australia has shamefully endorsed this situation. Despite overwhelming odds, the East Timorese resistance continues, heavily dependent on international solidarity.

East Timorese prisoners update

A number of convicted political prisoners have been transferred out of East Timor in violation of the Geneva Convention, while the authorities have arbitrarily granted clemencies to give the impression of a shift towards leniency. But many more arrests have occurred to prevent East Timorese from demonstrating while several foreign missions were in East Timor.

Guiles and tricks have been very much in evidence in the army's handling of East Timorese political prisoners since the Santa Cruz massacre when the human rights situation in East Timor has been under such close international scrutiny. Nothing has changed on the ground but the forces of occupation have gone to considerable lengths to make things appear better so as to reduce outside pressure.

'Clemencies' granted

As predicted, President Suharto announced in July that he had decided to grant clemency to the East Timor resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao and reduce his sentence from life to twenty years. This is a hollow gesture as Xanana would never, under any circumstances, have wanted clemency from a regime that has perpetrated such crimes of humanity against his people.

Clemencies were also granted to two of the eight East Timorese who were tried and sentenced in Dili for taking part in the 12 November 1991 demonstration. The eight-year sentence of Carlos dos Santos Lemos was reduced by two years while Bonifacio Magno Ferreira's sentence was cut from six to four years. Neither had been defended by lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute and were defended instead by Sudjono, a lawyer who has made no secret of his close links with the police and the security forces. He could well have made the two clemency applications on his own initiative as he most certainly did in the case of Xanana Gusmao. There is no evidence that he was acting on the instructions of the two prisoners.

'Amnesties' for guerrilla leaders

The fate and whereabouts of two guerrilla leaders remain a mystery. Mau Hudo who was caught in early in 1992, and Mau Huno, who took over the leadership of the armed resistance movement after Xanana Gusmao and was captured in April during a military operation. Neither men has been granted access to lawyers and, to all intents and purposes, they have been held incommunicado.

After Xanana Gusmao's trial backfired disastrously for the forces of occupation, all intentions of trying these men were apparently abandoned. In early August, roving ambassador Lopes da Cruz announced that Mau Huno had been given a presidential amnesty, and had "effectively been released", allegedly because he had surrendered. This is simply not true.

The 'amnesty' was confirmed a few weeks later by military commander, Major-General Theo Syafei, who said that Mau Hudo had also been given an amnesty. Nothing was said about the men have been released; instead, Mau Huno was said to be 'staying with an Indonesian family' which could mean he is in the charge of an army officer.

Syafei claimed that the amnesties had been granted a

Xanana held with common criminals

On 11 August, Xanana Gusmao was forcibly removed from Dili and is now detained in Kedungpane Prison in Semarang, Central Java. This is a prison for common criminals. The Indonesian authorities are not only in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention by removing him from East Timor; they are now treating him like a common criminal. Moreover, he has been moved to a place which makes all contact with his family virtually impossible. To deceive world opinion over their treatment of Xanana, the authorities have described Kedungpane as a 'high-quality prison' with excellent amenities.

Xanana clearly does not accept this. We now know that when he discovered that he was going to be forcibly transferred to Java, he asked to be sent to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta to be with other political prisoners. Instead he was sent to Kedungpane, where he is sharing a cell with two men convicted on manslaughter charges. In protest against this and against other injustices such as the confiscation of most of his personal belongings after he arrived in Semarang, he went on hunger strike for two weeks. TAPOL has learnt that he became so weak he had to be physically supported when he wanted to attend to a religious service.

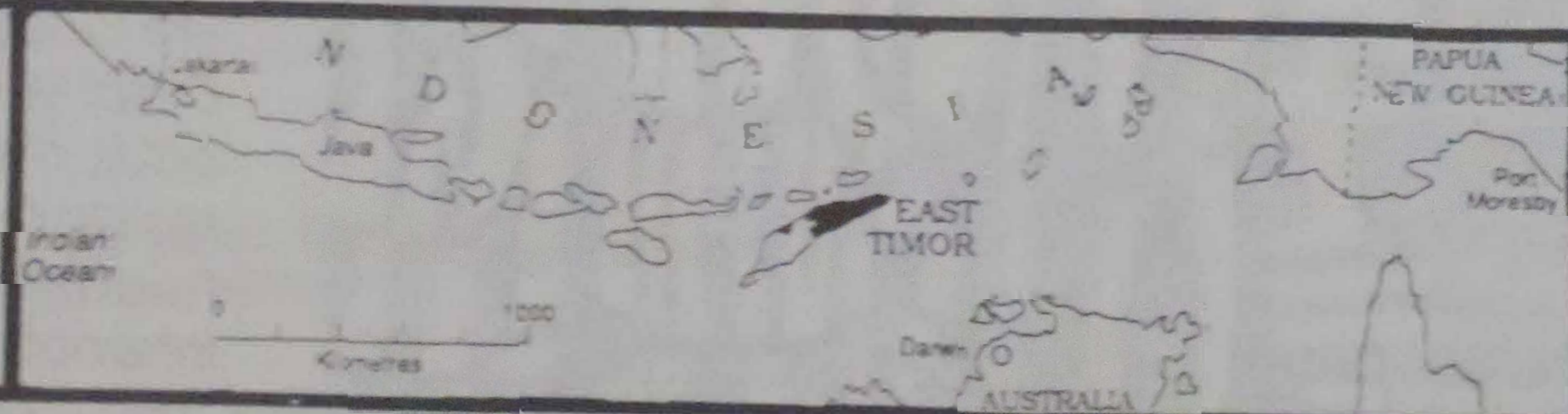
In September, the armed forces chief of general staff, General Mantiri, admitted that Xanana Gusmao had been on hunger strike and was so weak that he was examined by a military doctor. [BBC, 3.IX.1993]

His family who have not been allowed to visit him or see him since sentence was passed on 21 May, were kept in the dark about the move. It so happened that, on the day he was transferred, his sister Armandina went to the authorities to ask for permission to see him. Not only did they say nothing about his imminent departure; they told her to go home and prepare a written request for permission to see him. Now that he is several thousand miles away, the chances of their seeing him are extremely remote. [Bernas, 16.VIII.1993]

The Swedish MPs who visited Indonesia in September wanted to go to Semarang to visit him but were not allowed to do so.

month before but did not elaborate. It so happens that the announcement was made conveniently just before a US

**FRIENDS
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WEST AUSTRALIA

congressional mission was due to pay a short visit to East Timor. Information from clandestine sources say that the two men are in the hands of the special army intelligence, known in East Timor by the initials, SGI. Reports in the press that the two men have been taken to the bush by the army to appeal to guerrillas to surrender only reinforces the impression that they are in the hands of army intelligence.

Prisoners moved from East Timor

The most disturbing development vis-a-vis all the East Timorese who have been tried since 1992 is their transfer out of the country to prisons in various parts of Indonesia. This is in violation of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which states:

"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from (the) occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power, or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive."

Almost all the East Timorese who have been tried since the Santa Cruz Massacre of November 1991 are no longer being held in Dili:

- * Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 30, sentenced to life, and Francisco Miranda Branco, 42, who got a fifteen-year sentence, have been transferred to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta.

- * Filomeno da Silva Pereira, 42, who was sentenced to 5 years and eight months, Saturnino da Costa Belo, about 30, whose nine-year sentence may have been increased on appeal, Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves, 35, who got ten years, and Juvencio de Jesus Martins, in his early 30s, who was sentenced to 6 years and 10 months, have all been transferred to Mataram Prison, Lombok Island.

- * Carlos dos Santos Lemos, 36, whose 8-year sentence has been reduced to six, Bonifacio Magno Pereira, 36, who got six years, Bobby Xavier, in his early twenties, sentenced to three years, Jacob da Silva, also in his early twenties, sentenced to two years, and Alexio da Silva Gomes, also in his early twenties, who was given two years and three months, are all now being held at Penfui Prison in Kupang, West Timor.

The last three named above were tried on a frame-up for the murder of an East Timorese who was among the mob that attacked Motael Church where they were taking refuge on 28 October 1991. No-one has been charged for the murder of Sebastiao Gomes who was killed in the same incident and whose death was being commemorated when the Santa Cruz massacre occurred on 12 November 1991. It is not clear where the other two young East Timorese who were charged with murder, Joao dos Santos and Bonifacio Barreto, are being held although it is understood that they too have been moved out of East Timor.

Prison conditions in Dili

A document which describes the experiences of these thirteen prisoners since their arrest immediately after the Santa Cruz massacre provides a grim picture of living in dank and unhealthy cells, months of incarceration without family visits being allowed and an almost total lack of medical treatment for lung disorders, malaria and injuries. The document will be made available after a full translation has been done.

EAST TIMOR

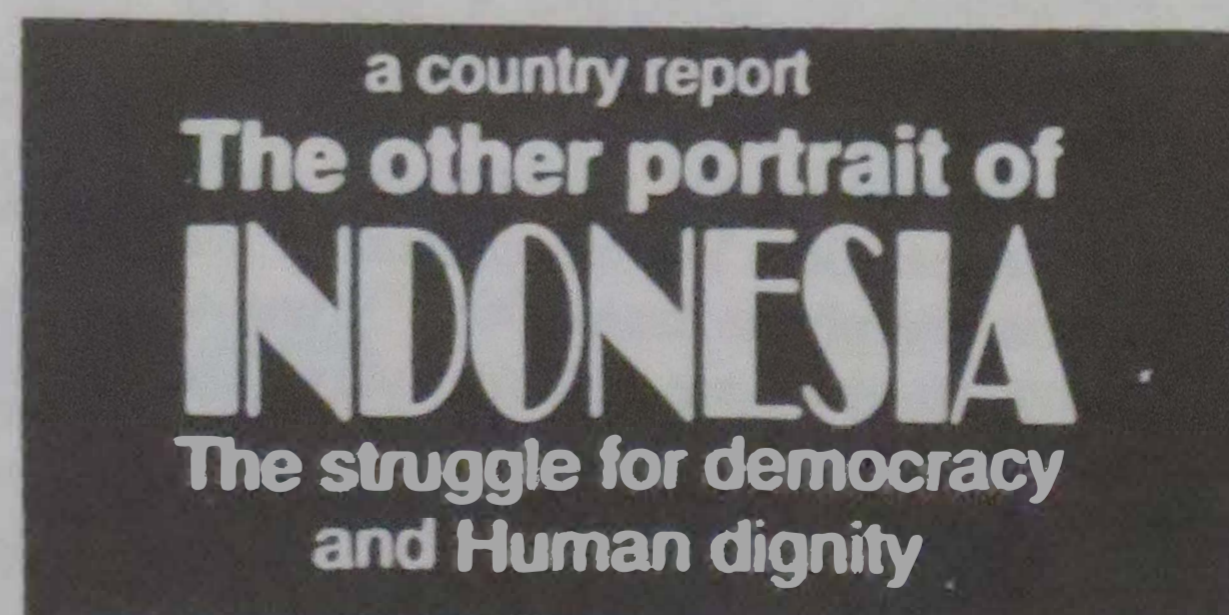
The prisoners were held for the first ten months in Comoro where living conditions were very cramped; some were in cells without roofs. They were then moved to Balide military prison which has a particularly bad reputation as a centre for torture. Balide is an old colonial-style prison that was built during the Portuguese era; it lacks ventilation and the floors are damp because the prison is situated in a swamp. The cells have very low ceilings which accentuate the heat. The prisoners had no access to the sunlight and slept on bare, damp floors, causing an outbreak of serious disorders for which no treatment was available.



Timorese political prisoners in Becora prison, Dili.

Shortly before the second visit to Dili of the UN Secretary-General's envoy, Amos Wako, in April 1993, the prisoners were moved from Balide to the civilian Becora Prison where conditions are much better, to make things look more presentable for this important diplomatic occasion. Becora is a newly-built prison where prisoners each have their own cells and the floor are made of cement.

However, immediately after the Wako visit, seven of the thirteen prisoners were banished from East Timor and the others have since been transferred out of East Timor as well. ☆



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Swedish and US visits to East Timor

In September, the Indonesian government allowed three parliamentarians from Sweden to visit East Timor. The events surrounding this visit and an earlier visit of US congressional aides reveal the tension within the regime between the Foreign Ministry, eager to allow greater access in face of growing international pressure, and the armed forces in East Timor, determined to control such visits.

The Swedish visit took place a few days after US congressional aides had been on a one-day visit. Before the aides arrived, the military authorities rounded up many dozens of East Timorese to prevent demonstrations from occurring in their presence. Fifty-three detainees were named in an Urgent Action from Amnesty International on 6 September.

Swedish 'denies' arrests

When the US team met the Udayana regional military commander, Major-General Theo Syaefi, he denied that there had been any arrests. The only thing that happened, he said, was that "some people formerly involved in demonstrations were rounded up to be given guidance by the state apparatus". [Dawa Post, 21K.1995]

The three Swedish MPs who were in East Timor from 13 to 16 September were Ingbritt Johanner of the Centre Party, a government party, Ingela Wirtensson of the Liberal Party also in the government, and Hans Goran Frank of the opposition Social Democratic Party. Their decision to visit East Timor as part of a trip to Indonesia came hard on the heels of the refusal of their government to grant asylum to three East Timorese at the Swedish embassy in Jakarta.

Days before they were due to leave Stockholm, they were told that changes were being made to their itinerary which would curtail the three days allotted to East Timor. In an interview with the Portuguese news agency LUSA on their second day in Jakarta, after they had met Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Ingela Wirtensson described what happened:

We received definite information that a powerful force that we saw as the military authorities in charge of East Timor (would) keep us out of East Timor. We went to the heart of the matter and directly asked Foreign Minister Ali Alatas who decides matters of importance in Indonesia. He assured us that the original programme that had been cleared by the foreign ministry and also includes East Timor, will stand...

It would appear that the proposed legislation by the US Senate to impose a total weapons embargo on Indonesia has borne results. Indonesia would like to avert such a situation and appears willing to make gestures to pre-empt it.

Constantly watched

Once in East Timor however, it was the overpowering presence and control of the military that took over. "It is difficult to see real life. We are constantly watched," said Wirtensson on the phone from Dili. "When we are taken somewhere by car, there are military everywhere and sirens are heard."

She spoke about a visit to a 'strategic village' 84 kms from Dili that is administered by the military. "According to the briefing given us, the military plan to retire from the village later on. From the impression we received, the inhabitants were from the mountainous region."

Tricksters caught red-handed

A report released in Washington under the Freedom of Information Act gives clear evidence of the deliberate deception used by the forces of occupation in East Timor when foreign missions visit the territory. The released document was a cable from the US embassy in Jakarta to the State Department in Washington dated 21 February 1992, describing how more than a hundred young East Timorese were rounded up for "training" outside Dili before the first visit to Dili of the UN Secretary-General's special envoy, Anso Waloe, to investigate the human rights situation following the Santa Cruz massacre three months earlier.

The cable referred to Waloe's visit to Dili as "sensitive" and said that according to the embassy's source, whose name was deleted, the military had used "similar measures to head off trouble before the 1989 arrival of Pope John Paul". It cited second-hand sources as saying that the military commander visited a military hospital to warn those wounded in the Santa Cruz massacre "to tell Waloe nothing when he visited the next day".

The report was written when John Wingo was the US ambassador to Indonesia. Wingo was himself the target of a demonstration by young East Timorese who cornered him in the hotel lobby and engaged him in dialogue for about an hour when he visited Dili in January 1990. The publication of this cable has dismayed regime circles in Jakarta who say that they had always regarded Ambassador Wingo, and indeed other US ambassadors in Jakarta, as friends of Indonesia.

The document was made public a week after reports were received from East Timor about the arrest of dozens of East Timorese in advance of a visit there by a team of US congressional aides. This time too, the army has denied that any arrests have been made, admitting only that 53 students who were taken "for practical training in manual skills" were still attending the course. Amnesty International has dismissed such 'training' as "arbitrary, unacknowledged detention".

The cable came to light just two days before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee considered, and adopted, a resolution tying arms sales to Indonesia to human rights in East Timor (see separate item). It is one more event adding to the recent tensions that have developed between Indonesia and the US in the past few months. ★

"All people have the right to self-determination."

— UN Declaration on Colonialism

A leading human rights activist under attack

Haji J.C. Princen, a foremost human rights activist, has come under attack in Indonesia after he addressed a UN human rights forum and visited Portugal to discuss with the authorities there ways to find a resolution to the case of seven East Timorese who sought political asylum in June.

Poncke Princen is chair of the Indonesian Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM) set up in 1966, the first such body ever created in Indonesia. When in August, he attended the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva, it was the first time he had been allowed to leave Indonesia for nine years. He had been blacklisted for his outspoken intervention on a whole range of human rights issues.

Princen is a Dutch-born Indonesian citizen who defected from the Dutch colonial army in 1948 and joined the Indonesian army. He was awarded a *Bintang Gerilya* (Guerrilla Star) for his services. He was intending to go the Netherlands to see his children and grand-children but right-wing political parties and the army veterans association waged a vicious campaign, which led to parliament rejecting a proposal to grant him a visa. He was accused of treason because he had refused to fight with Dutch forces for the restoration of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. Ironically, it fell to the Dutch Foreign Minister, Pieter Kooijmans, to convey this refusal to Princen. Kooijmans visited Indonesia and East Timor in 1991 as a UN investigator of human rights and turned to Princen at the time for information about violations.

A three-part account of Princen's life is published in the Australian publication, *Inside Indonesia* Nos 30-32, March, June and September 1992.

Once a traitor....!

Instead of showing solidarity with Princen for taking sides with the Republic of Indonesia at a crucial time in its history, chauvinist types in the top echelons of the regime have denounced him as a traitor. In their view, "right or wrong, my country" is the supreme principle, far more important than taking courageous decisions on sound political and moral grounds. The view was put most offensively by retired general Ali Said whom Suharto recently appointed to head the country's National Commission on Human Rights. Until early this year, Said was chairman of the Supreme Court.

In a venomous outburst that only highlights his lack of integrity and clearly disqualifies him for any post relating to human rights, he said:

Princen forgets, he's the greatest traitor. He took an oath to the Dutch army but fled.... Having once been a traitor and enjoyed the rewards, he will betray again. It's a matter of time. [Editor, 4.IX.1993]

Princen has filed a complaint with the police on the grounds that the former Chief Justice is guilty of slander under Article 310 of the Criminal Code. He believes that Ali Said slandered him out of spite because he wrote to President Suharto in May challenging Ali Said's appointment to head the National Human Rights Commission on the grounds that he has himself been responsible for human rights violations. Ali Said, a graduate of the Military Law Academy, presided over many subversion trials in the late 60's when little regard was shown for the defendants' rights.

Princen on East Timor and Aceh

But it is more than spite that has prompted Ali Said and his ilk to lay into Princen. They revile him for daring to speak out in Geneva in harsh terms against the regime's human rights record. This to them is the ultimate betrayal of the national interest.

In his address to the UN Sub-Commission in Geneva, Princen described East Timor as "endless story of violent violations of human rights that persist to this day". He said that personal knowledge has taught him that the Timorese hate the Indonesian troops today "more than ever". Referring to the injustices perpetrated during the trial of Xanana Gusmao, he said:

I appeal to you to understand that the continued presence of the Indonesian forces of occupation pushes (the Timorese) to go to the ultimate resort of armed as well as peaceful resistance, for which they are being punished so harshly. The most recent example is the Santa Cruz Massacre.

He was no less forthright about Aceh and spoke of "a wave of extra-judicial killings, 'disappearances', arbitrary detentions without trial, torture and unfair trials (having) occurred on a massive scale". He told the Sub-Commission that "there is a pressing need for UN officials to carry out detailed and scrupulous investigations in Aceh".



Vice-President Try Sutrisno: 'There are new traitors'. He has become the laughing stock.
Kompas 01-IX-1993

It looks as though a campaign of vilification against Princen is under way which is intended not only to discredit him but also to warn other human rights activists not to speak out against 'their country' at international forums.

Visiting Lisbon

Another of Princen's acts which has kindled the wrath of the regime is his courageous decision to visit Lisbon - out of bounds to any Indonesian passport-holder except those on intelligence missions for the military - to discuss the fate of the seven young East Timorese who sought asylum at the Finnish and Swedish embassies in June. During the short visit, he met President Mario Soares and Foreign Minister Durao Barroso.

TAPOL ★

THE EAST TIMORESE - A PEOPLE BETRAYED

by Frank Horwood

[This article reflects the substance of Pax Christi's efforts over recent months to drive home to the Australian Government the extent of its departure from United Nations Covenants in its recognition of Indonesia's military takeover of East Timor. The letters, as well as this article were prepared by Pax Christi member Frank Horwood. Frank and his wife Mary have both been outspoken critics of the Australian Government's flawed and immoral policy that recognizes Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.]

In 1942 Australia insisted on landing troops on East Timor, violating the neutrality of Portuguese territory. Then, sustained by the support of the people of East Timor, about 400 Australian soldiers inflicted 1500 fatalities on the invading Japanese forces numbering 20,000 troops at the cost of 40 Australian lives during their 12 months action on the island. James Dunn in his book "Timor, A People Betrayed" said that subsequent to our withdrawal in 1943, the Japanese offensive resulted in the death of East Timorese estimated to be as high as 40,000.

Australia's *de jure* recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, established by the coalition government in 1979 and affirmed by the Labor government in 1985, denies the obligation "to promote the realisation of self-determination and to respect that right in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations." This obligation is proclaimed in Article 1 part 3 of two international covenants. Australia thereby uniquely violated the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The first was signed on December 18th 1972 and ratified on 10 December 1975; while the second was signed on December 18th, 1972 and ratified on 13 August 1980.

By entering into an agreement with Indonesia for the joint exploration and future exploration of the resources of the Timor Gap, Australia has lessened the right of the East Timorese to develop their own resources. Again this is a violation of Article 5 of the international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

On the other hand the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade claims that *de jure* recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor has enabled Australia to pursue its concerns for human rights and economic development in a more constructive and effective way than would otherwise be possible. However Australia's monitoring of human rights abuses over the years did not prevent the massacre of East Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili in November 1991, nor does it stop the abuses which continue at present, and even less does it change the

attitude of the Indonesian military leaders towards the East Timorese dissidents as revealed, for instance, in public comments by General Sutrisno and Major Sayfei following the massacre. Likewise our own Prime Minister recently exhorted President Clinton to take a "oftly-softly" approach to human rights. While Senator Gareth Evans, Australia's Foreign Minister may claim that punishment of Indonesian military officers involved in the massacre are unprecedented actions consequent on Australia's submission, it is a small gain. This is to be seen when one compares the meek punishment of demotion or jail for 8 - 12 months for Indonesian military officers - for disobeying military orders (which resulted in many deaths); to punishment of imprisonment for 8 years to life for East Timorese - for staging a demonstration.

Apart from support to the tune of several million dollars for the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and UNICEF in the occupied territory of East Timor, Australia provides finance (totalling \$30 million from 1992) for development projects in consultation with the Indonesian International Aid Planning Bureau (BAPPEVAS). Thus the resources of East Timor are being developed without consultation with or approval by the people of East Timor - a further denial of their rights (Article 1 Part 1&2 ICCPR and ICESCR).

Australia has therefore consistently indulged in a policy of division of human rights as far as the people of East Timor are concerned, a policy of principle firmly rejected by the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in June 1993. According to the Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Trade this policy is to continue.

Australia, having already expressed regret that an act of self determination has not taken place for the East Timorese, it is essential that support be given to the talks taking place between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal under the sponsorship of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Butros Butros Ghali; or to support the "talks campaign" (wherein talks without condition have been proposed between Indonesia, Portugal and representatives of the East Timor people). Additionally it would be preferable for Australia to withdraw its *de jure* recognition of the sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor.

By continuing to ignore international norms of human rights which it has subscribed to, with regards to East Timor but not to other countries such as Namibia, Cambodia etc., Australia continues to betray the people of East Timor.

FREE XANANA FREE EAST TIMOR
BOYCOTT BALI

UN-sponsored talks move forward... slowly

On 17 September 1993, the third round of talks on the question of East Timor between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister Durao Barroso was held in New York under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. It was later announced that the next session would take place in Geneva on 6 May 1994.

The talks took place as international pressure on Indonesia over its continued illegal occupation of East Timor and the persistent violation of human rights there was growing. This includes concrete steps by the Clinton Administration towards the Suharto regime and yet another resolution adopted by the UN in Geneva about the human rights situation. The resolution of the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee linking arms sales for Indonesia to East Timor and a strongly-worded London *Times* editorial, hung like a cloud over Indonesia's harassed policy-makers.

The official statement by the UN suggests that there was a little more substance to the talks than at the April session in Rome. There was reference to the two sides reiterating their commitment to the chairman's consensus statement at the UN Human Rights Commission in 1992 but this was an unsatisfactory compromise, committing Indonesia to doing little more than facilitate access to East Timor for additional humanitarian organisations and human rights organisations.

This was the point most widely reported, though Alatas said that Indonesia was already doing so anyway. As we show elsewhere, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry does make a show of trying to allow missions from abroad to visit East Timor but the occupying military forces do everything to make it impossible for such missions to meet East Timorese and carry out investigations, so as to conceal the grave human rights situation.

Including East Timorese in the talks?

Paragraph 5 of the UN statement states that both ministers "noted the Secretary-General's intention to carry out contacts as he deems useful in his efforts to assist in the solution of the question". This can be interpreted as the first public acknowledgement that the Secretary-General is working to include East Timorese representatives in the talks. This is required by UN General Assembly resolution 37/30 of 1982 which requests the Secretary-General to consult "all parties directly concerned" in the conflict.

Bishop Belo, head of the East Timor Catholic Church, is known to have strong views on this question. During a discussion with the Swedish MPs who were in East Timor in September and which has been broadcast on Swedish radio, he reiterated his support for a referendum in East Timor. In his opinion, José Ramos-Horta, member of the troika leadership of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM), should be included in the consultations. He also gave the names of other Timorese inside the country who should be consulted.

What about this year's UN recommendations?

A commitment to implement the UN Human Rights Commission's resolution of March 1993 would be far more significant. This demands access for the four UN thematic

investigators or working groups of the UN - on torture, disappearances, arbitrary detentions and summary executions. Movement here seems intolerably slow but according to a letter from the British Foreign Office, the European Community is pressing for implementation of this section of the Commission's resolution. Time will tell how forcefully the EC is pushing for this to happen.

Indonesia wants 'comprehensive solution'?

After the talks, Reuters quoted Ali Alatas as saying: "If we stick to our respective basic positions, we are diametrically opposed. Clearly the position is to find a way somewhere in the middle." He even said Indonesia is prepared to work with the UN for "a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution". To anyone who understands UN principles and the wishes of the East Timorese people, this can only mean one thing - an act of self-determination and a referendum on East Timor's future. But while sounding flexible, Alatas could have other things in mind.

UN Sub-Commission resolution

The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in Geneva in August this year once again adopted a resolution expressing "deep concern" at the continuing violations of human rights in East Timor. The most significant point is the reference in the resolution, for the first time in any UN resolution, to the applicability of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War. It notes that "forcible removal of prisoners" from East Timor to serve jail sentences in Indonesia contravenes this Convention and urges the Indonesian government to honour this provision.

Significantly also, the US expert member of the Sub-Commission was one of the sponsors of the resolution. Previously US experts have not supported East Timor. The motion was adopted by 13 votes to 10 with 2 abstentions.

Mai Kolia Tetun

A Course in Tetum-Praca
The Lingua Franca of East
Timor

by Geoffrey Hull

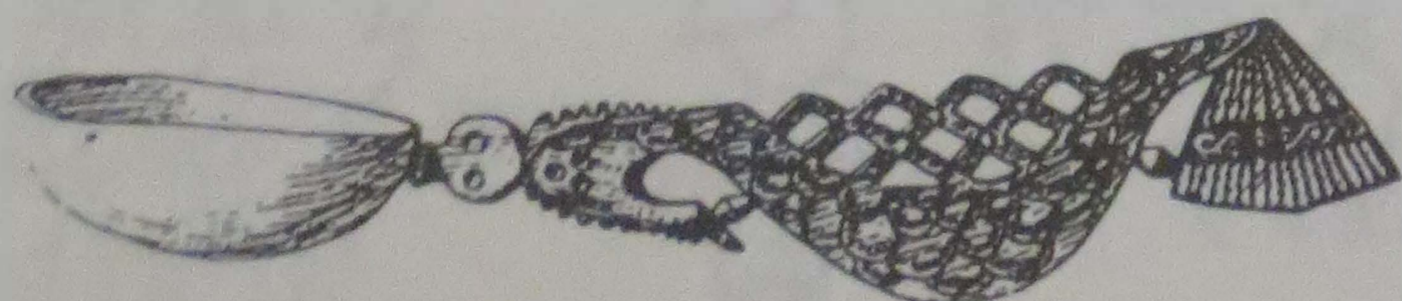
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COST: \$ 10.00 plus postage



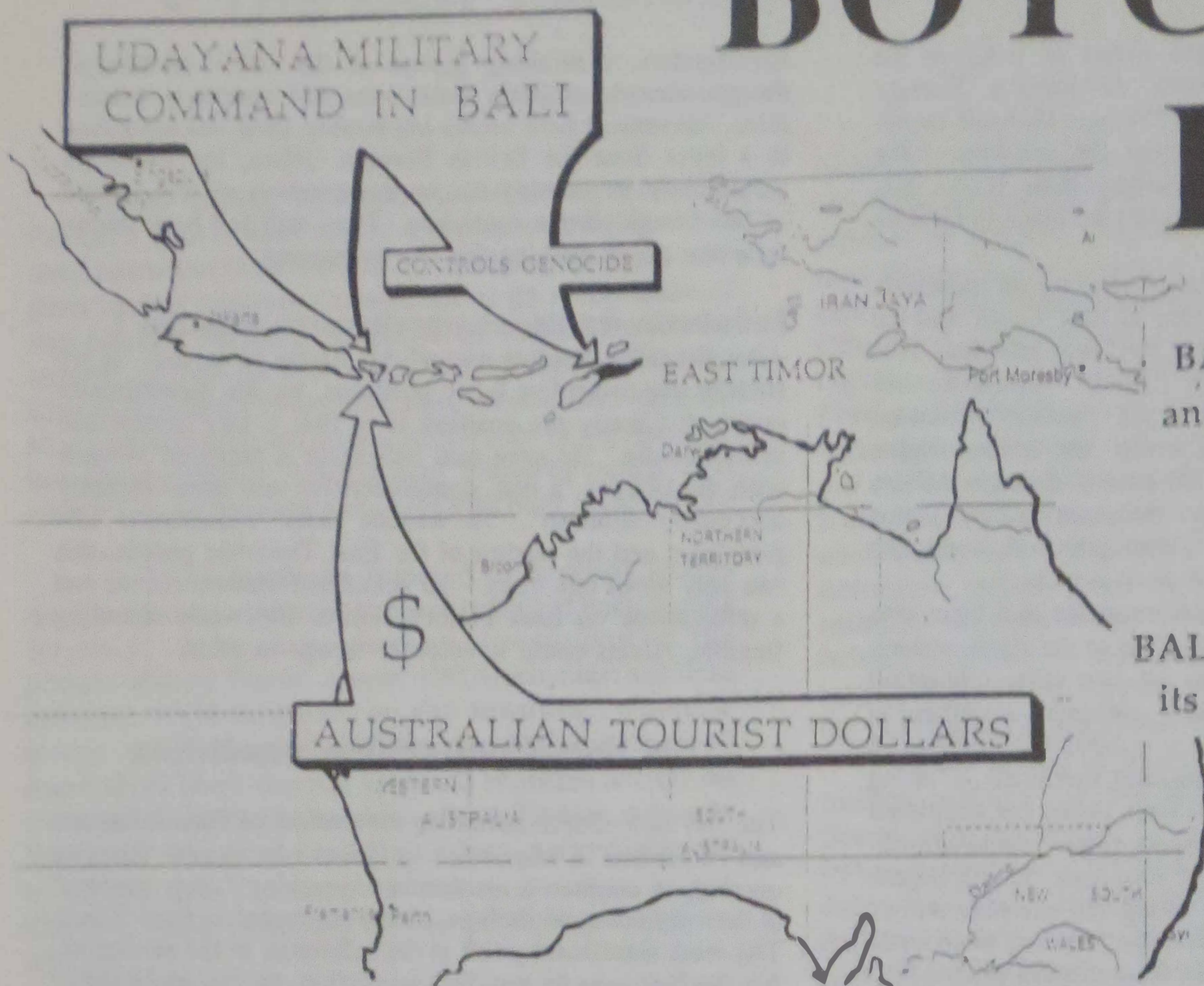
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BOYCOTT BALI



BALI is the headquarters and centre for Indonesian military operations in East Timor.

BALI is also notorious for its prisons which torture East Timorese political prisoners.

* The Prime Minister's call for a Republic as a symbol of Australia's independence is meaningless and hollow if his government does not recognise the right of self-determination among our closest neighbours and friends.

Weekend of prayer for East Timor

THE WEEKEND of November 13 to 14 will be a time of prayer and liturgy commemorating the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991 following a resolution of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference meeting in July.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian government continues to pursue East Timorese who participated in the Santa Cruz massacre. Three students who had sought asylum at the Swedish Embassy in Jakarta after being released into the custody of Human Rights Defender H.J.C. Princen were pursued into his house, despite assurances that they would not be arrested or prosecuted because of their attempt to claim asylum.

The Washington Post of July 9 in an editorial entitled *Indonesia and Human Rights* concludes: "President Suharto could leave his country a rich legacy by accepting the process for self-determination that the UN stands ready to arrange."

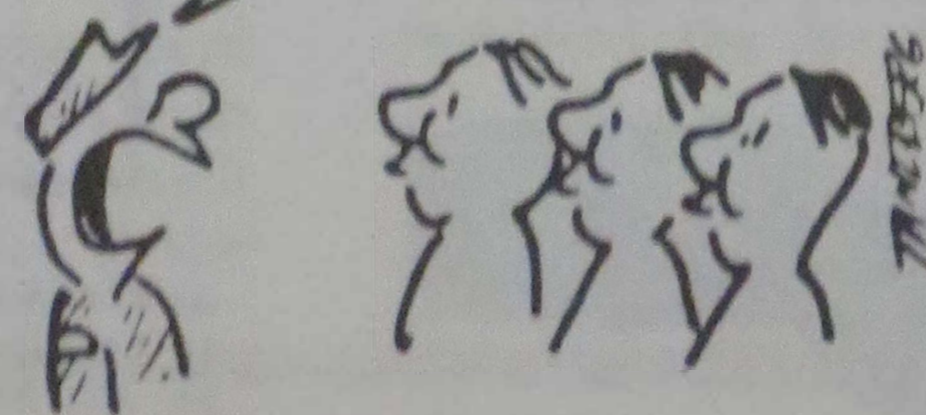
In East Timor, the reign of Indonesian repression continues. At Lautem and Baucau, up to 120 youths at a time have been captured by Indonesian military for interrogation which includes beatings and torture.

Bishop of Dili, Carlos Ximenes Belo reports, "You see that the persecution of young people in East Timor does not stop. The military want to destroy the clandestine network using means of physical and psychological pressure."

In Liquica, Indonesians are building mosques without the support of the local people. In Viqueque, they are distributing the Koran, forcing people to convert to Islam.

In Dili, 40 young East Timorese held a demonstration outside the Cathedral in Dili on July 22. Troops broke it up within minutes and took 26 of the demonstrators away for questioning. Indonesia has refused to confirm the reported demonstration.

HANDS UP ALL THOSE
IN FAVOUR OF
JOINING INDONESIA!



UN role

Between 1975 and 1982 the United Nations adopted ten resolutions on East Timor. Security Council resolutions in 1975 and 1976 called for immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops and for the people of East Timor to exercise their self-determination. Similar resolutions were adopted annually until 1982. Since then the 'Question of East Timor' has been entrusted to the UN Secretary General. The UN still refuses to recognise Indonesia's illegal occupation, and regards Portugal, the former colonial ruler, as the Administering Power.

