

EAST TIMOR

The Inside Story

Nº 19. January 1997

Nobel Peace Prize for Timorese Struggle



José Ramos-Horta (centre) and elated friends



Bishop Belo

“for their work toward a just and peaceful solution”

Bishop Carlos Belo and José Ramos-Horta shared the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee stated they shared the prize “for their work toward a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.” Committee Chairman Francis Sejersted said the committee had tried in vain to telephone Belo and Ramos-Horta to tell them they had won the prestigious prize.

“Belo... has been the foremost representative of the people of East Timor. At the risk of his own life, he has tried to protect his people from infringements by those in power,” the committee said in a statement.

Belo, East Timor’s outspoken, and often fiery Roman Catholic bishop, is long used to walking a tightrope between his flock and the government.

The committee said Ramos-Horta “has been the leading international spokesman for East Timor’s cause since 1975 when Indonesia took control of East Timor.”

Contents

Dili Massacre commemoration	2
Ploughshares women freed	4
FOET books for sale	5
New CD for children of East Timor	6
Senate’s unanimous call for self-determination	7
Forced labour strategy to hunt East Timorese	7
Belo calls for referendum	8
Nobel Peace Prize reports	8 - 11
Business leaders favour East Timorese independence	11
New light on East Timor	12
Xanana: “I am not anti-Indonesian”	13
Background to the tragedy in East Timor	13
Report from East Timor Human Rights Centre	14 - 15
Coming events - tour of Nobel Peace Laureate	16

Newsletter of the Friends of East Timor (Western Australia)

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FOET is the WA Affiliate of the Australian Coalition for a free East Timor (ACET)

Dili Massacre Commemoration March

On Sunday 10 November 1996, members of the East Timorese community and friends and supporters of FOET gathered to commemorate the 1991 Dili massacre with a mass, followed by a peaceful march through the streets of Perth. In remembrance of all those who died on that fateful day, we felt that it would be appropriate to relive the morning through some very moving and disturbing eye-witness accounts

Tuesday 12 November 1991 - a peaceful demonstration ends in a massacre

In accordance with Timorese tradition, the mass of the 15th day for the soul of Sebastiao Gomes, killed on the 8 October, was celebrated at Motael Church on 12 November. It was a simple mass, without hymns, without a sermon. After the mass the curate went home, unaware of anything that was about to happen.

After the mass, a few worshippers returned home. During this time, in front of the church, the young people began to organize themselves and move towards the cemetery of Santa Cruz. Around 1000 people had taken part in the eucharist; now the young people shouted "Vivas" and unfurled Fretilin and Portuguese flags and banners.

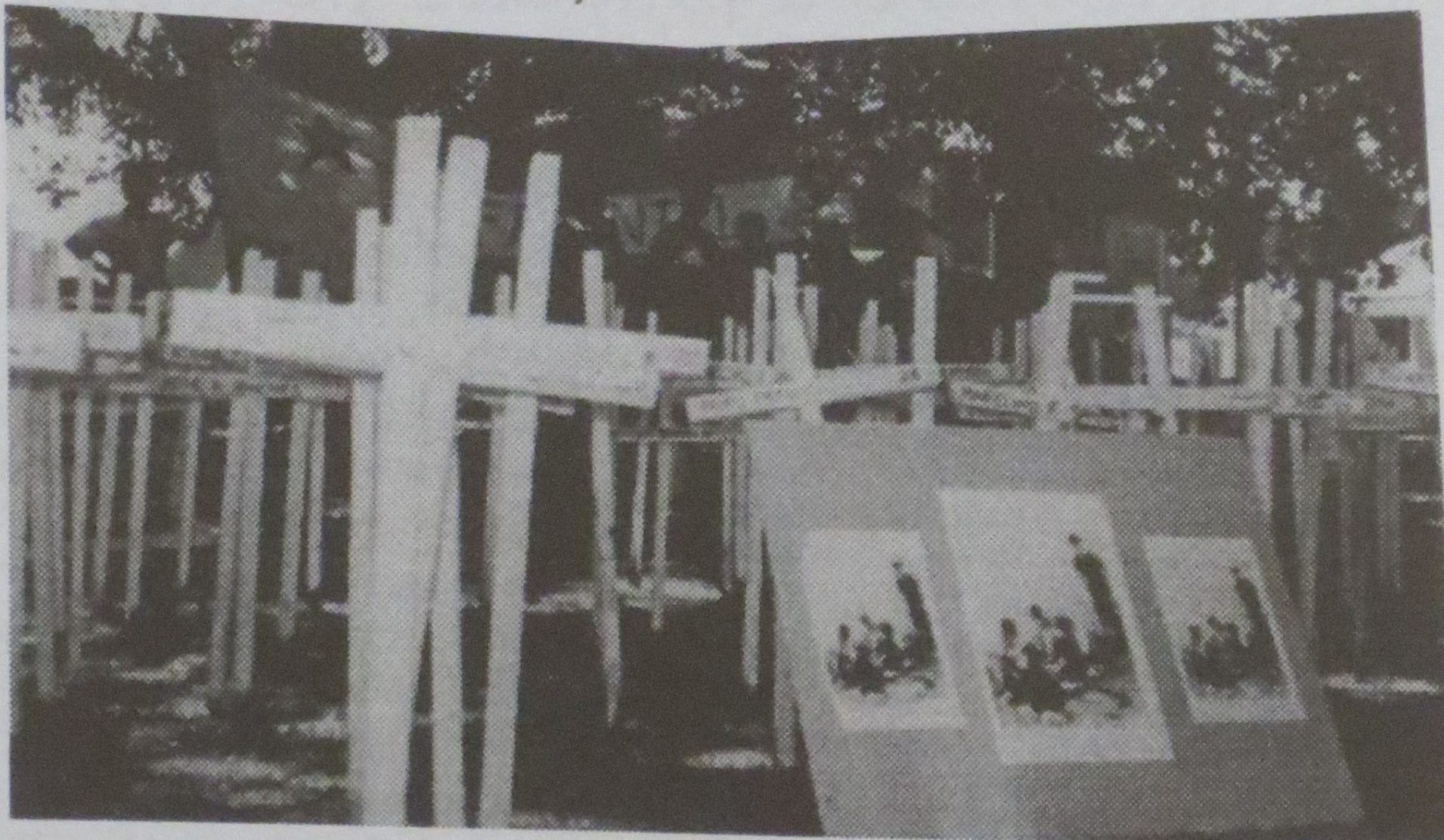
After passing the 'Taman Pahlawan' the young people shouted more and more "Vivas", "Viva Sebastiao", "Viva East Timor", "Viva Independence".
(Mgr Belo - 14/11/91)

All along the road you could see soldiers and Intel agents near the police station and army garrison. Many had long, wooden, polished batons which they swung while the Timorese marched.

The procession began outside the church. Sebastiao's family were there, with flowers to put on his grave. Many thousands of people had attended the mass. Some of them unfurled banners at the front of the march. When they crossed the centre of the town, the procession grew bigger. It was



Demonstration in Perth
Organised by Friends of East Timor and the East Timorese Community
Sunday 10 November 1996



Colonel Gatot (Chief of Intel Secret Services) by name, others showed their support for the Pope, the Catholic Church, Falintil, Xanana, Fretilin and the UDT.

Occasionally, the young people would become excited and start running, but the older ones brought them back under control, by shouting "discipline, discipline".

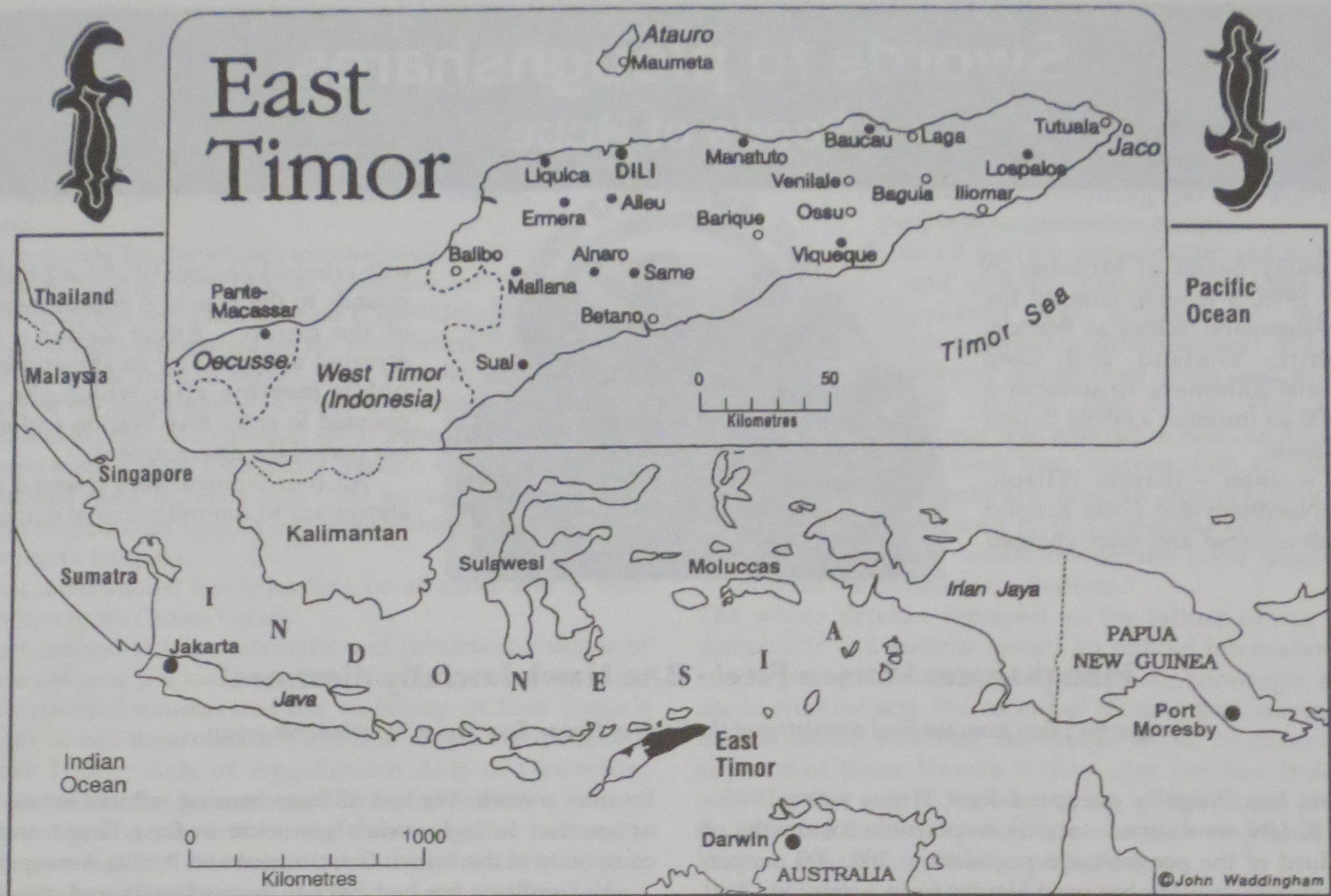
While the procession was advancing, the feeling that

joined by people who came out of offices, schools and houses along the way.

The intensity of the chanting and excitement increased as more and more demonstrators on the march defied the restrictions and raised their voices in protest. There were many students and young people there, but also women and children in costumes, as well as elderly people in traditional Timorese dress.

When they passed by the soldiers, some of them shouted "Long Live East Timor" and made "V" for victory signs.

The Timorese explained to me that this sign also meant "Peace". Making it in public was, in itself, a courageous political act. The banners carried appeals to Portugal, the UN and the USA. One of them criticised



something important was taking place increased; that a courageous and unprecedented step in Timor's future had been taken. In a country where the right to free assembly and freedom of expression are denied by the occupying force and carry the death penalty, the fact that all these people were demonstrating in the streets and shouting criticisms of Indonesia, constituted a serious challenge to the State's rule of terror. I remember wondering what the army's response would be.

When the crowd arrived at the cemetery, there were no soldiers to be seen. Many people went into the cemetery, and headed towards Sebastiao's tombstone. In all, there must have been between 3000 and 5000 people near the entrance. A few young people jumped up onto the cemetery wall with their banners. The crowd occupied an area enclosed by walls on all sides: the Santa Cruz cemetery wall, high and made of cement, and the wall of the Indonesian military cemetery, lower, but right up against a fairly deep ditch. With several thousand people there, the area between the walls was full to bursting point. Even if they had wanted to, no one could have got out of the way quickly, but the procession had come to an end, and people were just walking around before dispersing. (Allan Naim - 30/11/91)

Around 7.45, when the procession was entering the cemetery, a green lorry appeared, carrying armed soldiers which stopped at the crossing near the SDK (a Catholic kindergarten).

The young people continued to shout "Vivas" and then shots rang out, aimed at the young people and students. Many people were hit, others crossed the cemetery and ran towards Bemori. Others remained trapped in the cemetery. No warning shot had been heard, neither in the air or on the ground. The shots were aimed at the people present (in the crowd). (Mgr Belo - 14/11/91)

At first sight, it looked like the boys were jumping down from

the wall. However, I remember wondering whether they hadn't in fact fallen, and for a few seconds, I found that strange. I was trying to get through the human wall around me to try and find out what was happening when, all of a sudden, I heard a loud noise which didn't stop. At the beginning I didn't understand what was happening... The shots continued without stopping for two or three minutes, which seemed like an eternity to me.

I had lost sight of Chris Wenner and knew only that he was inside the cemetery. With me in the chapel were some young girls and boys and two children of about six or seven who clung to each other just behind me, in a corner. They were praying too and making the sign of the cross. There was blood on the ground and I realised some of them had been fatally wounded.

For a moment, I took a chance and looked out of one of the slits that acted as windows in the chapel. I saw Chris, sheltering behind a tomb, his camera near him, he was filming. (Steve Cox - 22/11/91)

Those who had fallen were left to bleed where they lay ... Inside the cemetery, I saw soldiers clearly commanded by officers in civilian dress, moving methodically between the tombstones, searching out wounded and fugitive demonstrators. As they got to them, they kicked them and beat them, severely wounded and unhurt alike with rifle butts and batons. I was filming all this, ignoring the shouts and pointed fingers of the soldiers.

Several young people gathered around me, thinking that I, a foreigner, might offer some protection. But I couldn't help them. All I could do was bury my videotape in a grave in anticipation of my own arrest, and promise them that this time, the cynical carnage of the Indonesian military would not be lost in a welter of international evasion and Indonesian lies, as has happened so often in the last 16 years of East Timor's history. In this, the presence of seven foreign witnesses may help. (Chris Wenner - 21/11/91)

Swords to ploughshares

Seeds of Hope

In the early hours of Monday 29 January 1996, 3 women entered the British Aerospace factory at Warton, Lancashire, England and used household hammers to disarm a Hawk 100 jet (number ZH955) bound for Indonesia.

The women – Joanna Wilson, Andrea Needham and Lotta Kronlid – were all arrested and were charged



with criminal damage of about 2 million pounds to the Hawk. A fourth member of the group – Angie Zelter – was arrested a week later as she entered a public meeting after which she had planned to enter BAe Warton and enact her part of the disarmament.

All four women were charged with conspiracy to commit criminal damage.

Ploughshares Women Free! - BAe Hawk lawfully disarmed

excerpts taken from the final newsletter of the Seeds of Hope - East Timor Ploughshares group.

Indonesia has illegally occupied East Timor since 1975 - despite 10 UN resolutions - and is responsible for deaths of over a third of the pre-invasion population: 200, 000 people. The Indonesian military has used Hawks from a previous deal to bomb East Timorese civilians. Eight months ago Jo, Andrea, Angie and Lotta disarmed a British Aerospace Hawk warplane in Warton, Lancashire, with household hammers. The jet was part of an export deal of 24 Hawks to Indonesia.

Not guilty, not guilty - on all counts! Tears were streaming down the faces of almost everyone sitting in the galleries of the court room. I jumped up, quickly passed between the two policemen at the double doors, running for the stairs. Outside the court room and outside the court building people, friends, supporters were poised to hear the verdict. All had engaged in prayers, rituals, meditations, in leafletting, processions, discussions or just nervously pacing up and down the square all morning and afternoon. Many had participated every day

for over a week. We had all been bearing witness in one way or another to Indonesia's genocide in East Timor and the complicity of the British Government and British Aerospace.

Not guilty - we had held it in our hearts and minds all through the trial, all through the six months our friends were locked up on remand for acting to prevent genocide. What a wonderful day for justice and for East Timor! I ran out through the rotating doors in front of the court house, feeling free as if I had personally just spent six months in jail. I called out "Not guilty!" and the whole square erupted in cheers, laughter, tears. As we celebrated we knew that all over the world people were celebrating with us, including in East Timor. This action really did disarm for life and justice.

Everybody was hugging everybody, knowing that we all were part of this moment in history, of wheels turning, of new hope born.

Ricarda A. Steinbrecher

When the result came through I spoke to my relatives on the phone (in East Timor). Many people were gathered in their house, celebrating, singing, dancing. There were similar celebrations in many homes across the country. It gave us courage and confidence.

José Ramos Horta - UN special representative of East Timor. From Red Pepper magazine (September issue)

The Legal Case

by Angie C. Zelter

Many of the newspaper reports published after the verdict called our acquittal 'a perverse verdict'. They suggested that the jury had ignored the law and had acquitted us on purely moral grounds; some went so far as to suggest that we had emotionally manipulated the jury. Few actually picked up on the fact that we had a defence in law, which the judge allowed us to put to the jury. In British law (the Criminal Law Act 1967) one is allowed to use reasonable force to prevent a crime.

Our defence was that we were acting to prevent the crime of genocide in East Timor, and British complicity in that

genocide. The force we used was reasonable because over the previous three years we and thousands of others has tried every other means possible to stop the sale of Hawks to Indonesia. We had written letters, lobbied MP, leafletted, vigiled, held public meetings, signed petitions, carried out acts of civil disobedience, met with British Aerospace (BAe), held peace camps. Everything we tried had been ignored by the government and BAe, and the planes were due for delivery. Once they left the country there would be nothing further we could do to stop them being used in East Timor.

I decided to argue an international law defence in the

Liverpool trial for several reasons.

- i) the genocide which the people of East Timor are suffering is an international war crime;
- ii) the international community (both governments and big business interests) enable this genocide to continue by providing the Indonesian regime with technology, weaponry, credit, trade and political backing; and
- iii) if properly implemented, international law could control the worst excesses of international terrorism because it provides a good legal framework for the recognition of the basic human rights of all peoples and of the environment in times of conflict. However, the international enforcement of these laws is weak for various reasons. Global citizens need to insist that their governments and corporations uphold and enforce these laws.

In Liverpool I argued:

- a) that international law is binding on all states and is valid on Liverpool Crown Court;
- b) that Indonesia is a systematic and persistent violator of international law and uses BAe Hawks to carry out these violations. I enumerated the violations of East Timor's right of self-determination and the illegal occupation of East Timor; Acts of Aggression; Acts of Genocide; Violation of the Nuremburg Principles including crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity; Human rights violations and the use of torture; and violations of the Hague Conventions and the 4th Geneva Convention;
- c) that the British Government and British companies,



including BAe, are complicit in these crimes in that they knowingly sell Hawk aircraft and other weapons and torture equipment and hence are in breach of international laws themselves. I used, as a very telling example, the Zyklon B case where two German industrialists were found guilty of war crimes, during the Nuremburg Tribunal, by providing gas to exterminate people in concentration camps;

- d) that it is every citizen's right and duty to try and uphold international laws and to prevent war crimes and that our ploughshares disarmament did in fact prevent one jet from being used to commit war crimes. The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal was referred to here, as it had been stated there that "Anyone with knowledge of illegal activity and an opportunity to do something about it, is a potential criminal under international law unless the person takes measures to prevent the commission of crimes."

The whole defence centered on the failure of our British democratic and judicial system to uphold international law, and to prevent British goods from being knowingly sold for use in criminal acts. We, as global citizens, took responsibility for this failure. Knowing that crimes would be committed by any one of those Hawks if they ever reached Indonesia, knowing that any Indonesian trying to disable the jet would be tortured and shot, we therefore took responsibility at Warton, after trying all other possible steps.

We disabled a hawk jet and reclaimed international law for ordinary children, women and men, for global citizens rather than global corporations.

FOET Resource list - Books for sale and more

- | | | | |
|---|---------|--|--------|
| Timor - A People Betrayed | \$35.00 | A Travesty of Justice: | |
| The definitive text recently updated by James Dunn, former diplomat. Packed with the history of East Timor. | | East Timor's Political Prisoners | \$1.50 |
| | | Australia-East Timor Association. Melbourne 1994. 8 pages. | |
| | | Profiles of East Timorese political prisoners in Indonesian jails. | |
| Towards a Peaceful Solution in East Timor | \$10.00 | East Timor: An Indonesian Intellectual Speaks Out | \$8.00 |
| José Ramos-Horta's speeches on the future of the troubled territory, and a clear description of the peace plan. Published by the East Timor Relief Association. | | by George J. Aditjondro, edited by Herb Feith et al. Australian Council for Overseas Aid, 1994. Includes "Lateline" transcript. 65 pages. Paperback. | |
| Love From a Short Distance | \$30.00 | East Timor: The Silence and the Betrayal | \$2.00 |
| The recent fabulous collection of music for the benefit of children in East Timor. Traditional and contemporary songs. | | New Internationalist. Oxford 1994. This issue of NI, a magazine on North/South issues, focuses on East Timor. Highly recommended. 36 pages. | |
| Generations of Resistance | \$30.00 | Death in Dili | \$5.00 |
| Beautifully presented colour and black & white pictorial record of East Timor. Photography by Steve Cox, history by Peter Carey. | | By Andrew McMillan. Hodder and Stoughton, Sydney 1992. | |
| Mai Kolia Tetun (Let's Speak Tetun) | \$25.00 | An Australian tourist from Darwin gets involved in Timor's politics while holidaying on the island. A documentary account, told in a racy style. Paperback. Great value - was \$15.95. | |
| Updated - a beginners course in Tetun-Praça, the lingua franca of East Timor. By Geoffrey Hull. Language cassettes also available. | | Much more available... | |
| A Critique of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor | \$20.00 | Many other titles, t-shirts, maps, CD's, cassettes, stickers. Just contact <i>Friends of East Timor</i> . | |
| By Geoffrey C. Gunn (with Jefferson Lee). Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers, Manila 1994. 265 pages. | | | |

CD launch for East Timor children "Love from a short distance"

On September 28 Bunbury hosted the Premier Nationwide launch of the Compact Disc 'Love from a Short Distance'. Compiled with the intent of raising funding for the the Oan Kiak educational scholarship programme the CD provided an outlet to raise the profile of the Timorese community in a regional city. The launch was a great success and succeeded in promoting sales of the CD as well as presenting a visible face of the Western Australian Timorese community to the people of Bunbury.

The launch started at 9.30am with a colourful procession through the main streets of Bunbury with numbers bolstered by a lively Timorese contingent from Perth and the attendance of local supporters from Amnesty International, various community service organisations and prospective members of Parliament.

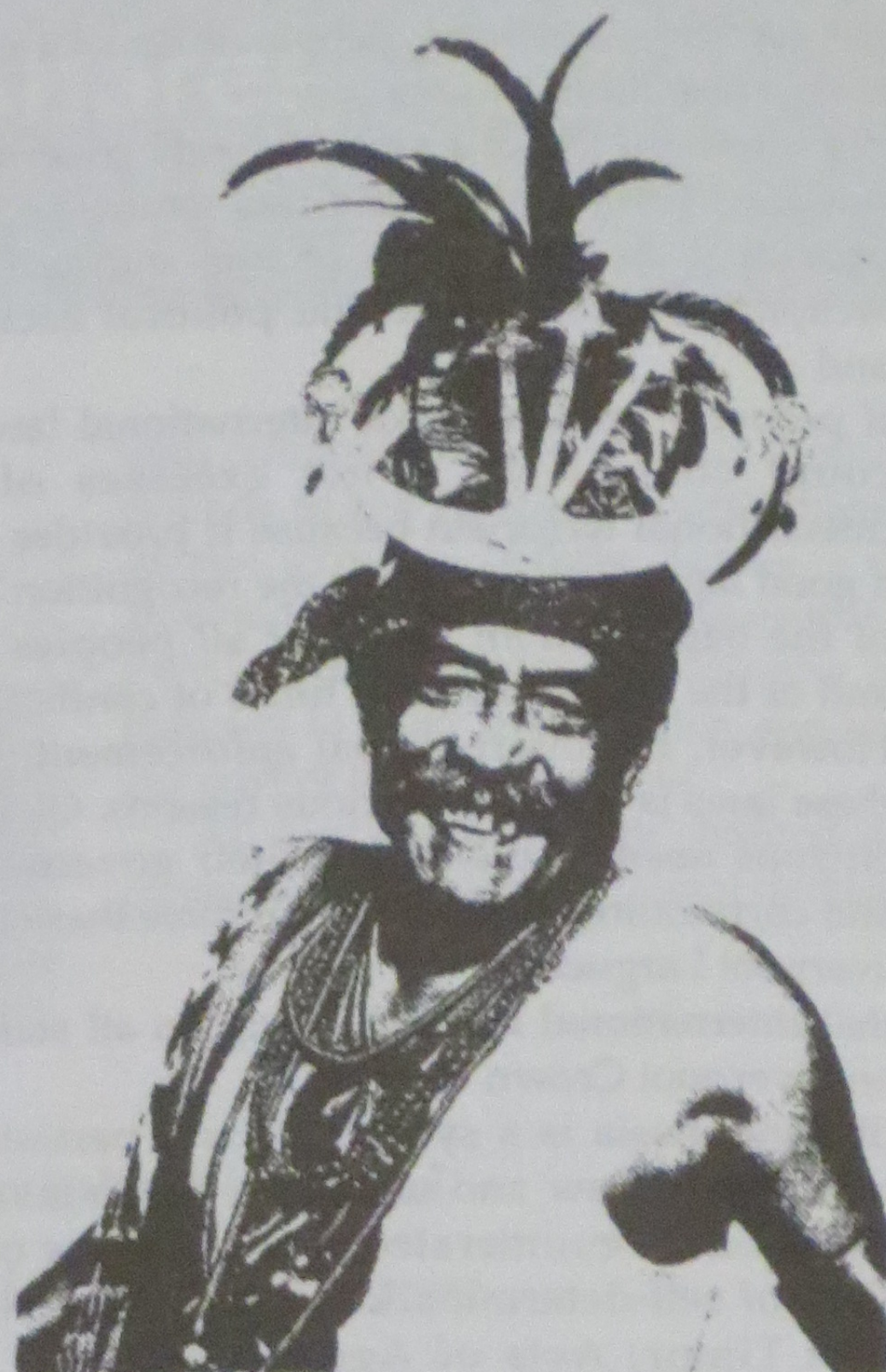
Led by the Mayor of Bunbury Dr Ern Manea and Catholic Bishop of the Bunbury Diocese, Peter Quinn, the procession halted at the entrance to the Centrepont shopping centre. Once inside, the launch began with short speeches from Bishop Quinn and Rob South from the Friends of East Timor, highlighting the need for education in Timor as a guide towards a response to the uncertainty of East Timor's future and a dignified knowledge of the past. Following the speeches and accompanied by traditional music, dancers presented a selection of traditional dance providing the focal point of the launch and putting the Timorese community on show in front of a captivated audience of Bunbury locals.

As the CD was officially launched with a short speech from Kristy Vander Loop and Clint Fabre to the strains of the title track Love from a Short Distance, all present agreed that the launch had been a success in bringing people with like aims together to support Western Australia's East Timorese community.

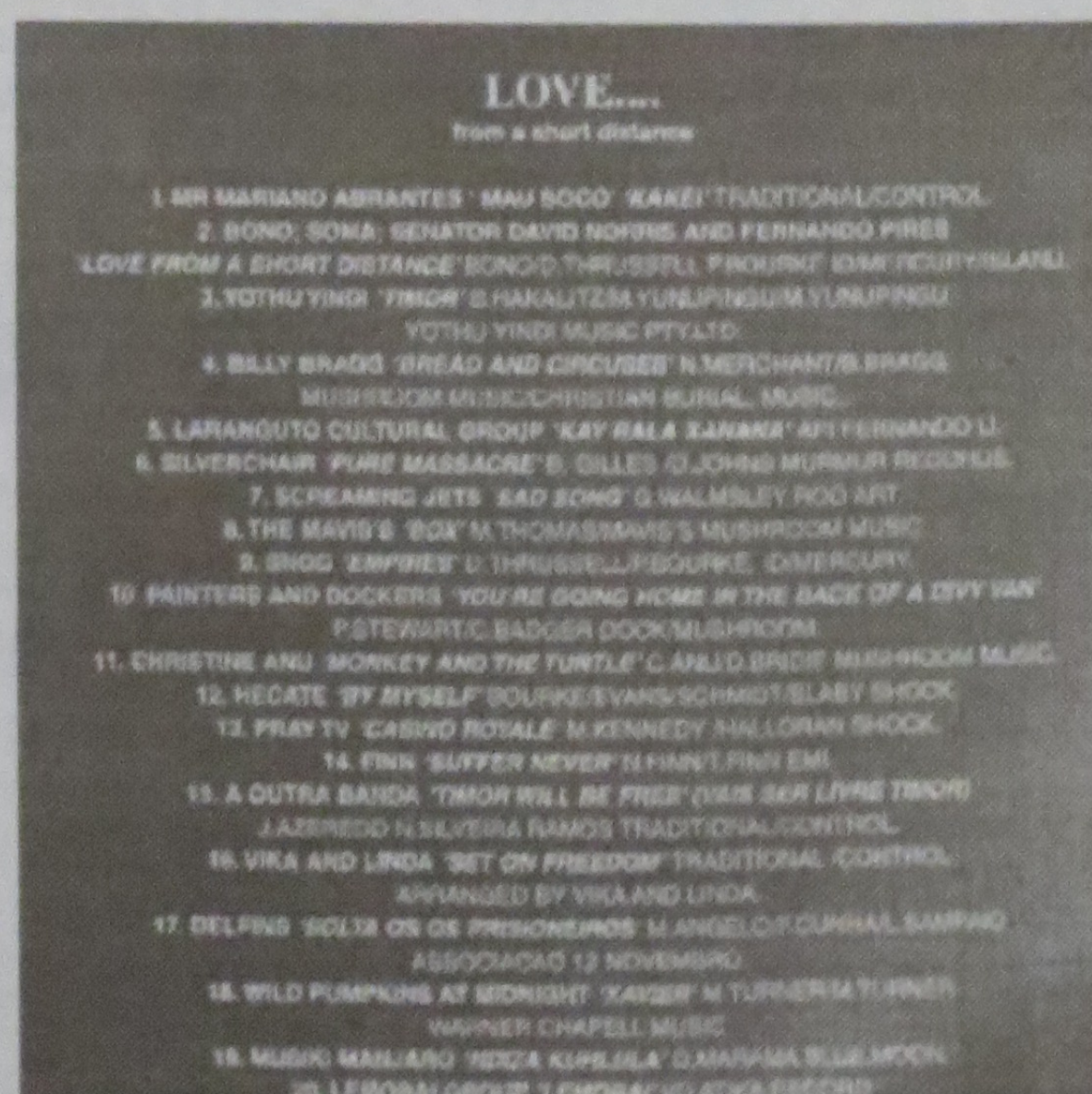
The success of the CD launch can be attributed to the efforts of many who volunteered their time to hand out leaflets, arrange static displays and support with their presence. Special thanks goes to Bunbury identity Pauline Vukelic whose organisational skills ensured all went smoothly and to the Perth Timorese community for their active involvement and presence on the day.

Get this fabulous CD from Friends of East Timor.

The launch in Bunbury ...



This CD is dedicated to the memory of Mau Soco and it features his traditional music performance.



Senate's unanimous call for self-determination

The government today denied any change in policy on East Timor after backing a Senate motion calling for self-determination in the troubled territory.

Australian Greens Senator Bob Brown called on Prime Minister John Howard and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer to publicly endorse the Senate's unanimous call for self-determination for East Timor.

Senator Bob Brown described the resolution passed this morning as a major breakthrough which would be welcomed by the Timorese people and Australians who have been supporting the self-determination struggle.

The Senate declared formal without dissent a resolution congratulating East Timor's Bishop Carlos Belo and activist José Ramos Horta on their work for independence for the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Both men last week were awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize.

The motion went on to call on the Australian government to support self-determination for East Timor and to represent forcefully to the Indonesian government Australia's support for democracy and the rule of law in Indonesia.

Senator Brown said the lack of objection from government senators amounted to a change in policy. But the government later denied the resolution signalled any shift in policy and

attacked Senator Brown for misrepresenting its position after he asked Government Senate Leader Robert Hill during question time to renounce backing for Indonesia's military occupation.

Senator Hill said the Senate motion was aimed at congratulating the Nobel Peace Prize winners. "We know there was a little half trick within the motion. You can be half-smart in this business if you want to, but it won't get you very far," he said. "The position is there has been no change to the government's policy on East Timor, including the East Timorese right to self-determination. The position means greater autonomy as it did under the previous government."

Earlier, Senator Hill tabled a statement by Foreign Minister Alexander Downer last week congratulating the Nobel Prize winners to make it clear there was no policy change. "The government's policy towards the East Timor issue includes acknowledgement of the continuing right of the East Timorese to self-determination," the statement said.

"From the outset, in 1975/6 Australia made it clear that it did not approve of the way in which Indonesia incorporated East Timor into Indonesia, but we do not acknowledge that any form of self-determination will need the co-operation of the Indonesian government.

Canberra, 16 October 1996

Falintil evades forced-labour strategy

In a military strategy against the East Timorese resistance, Indonesian units have been forcing civilians to work as labourers in the mountainous interior. The Indonesian military had hoped the civilians would make contact with the pro-independence Falintil guerillas, and inadvertently expose their cover.

However, Falintil was aware of the strategy, and has since killed 7 Indonesian Special Commandos of the elite red-beret Kopassus troops in battles between 27 to 30 September. These commandos had been responsible for the forced labour strategy operating in the Kakavean area near Iliomar.

After the four days of fighting, the Indonesian Special Commandos in Iliomar forbid civilians from working more than 2 km from their homes. As a result, East Timorese have not been able to work in their fields since September.

Indonesian forces focussed on this task include:

- Special Commandos (Kopassus);
- Rajawali Team, Alfa Team and Saka Team;
- Sera Team and Battalion 175.

The Rajawali Team of the Indonesian military in East Timor shot one young man in the back, Martinho Barbosa, 25 years old, in the Baguia/Baucau region.

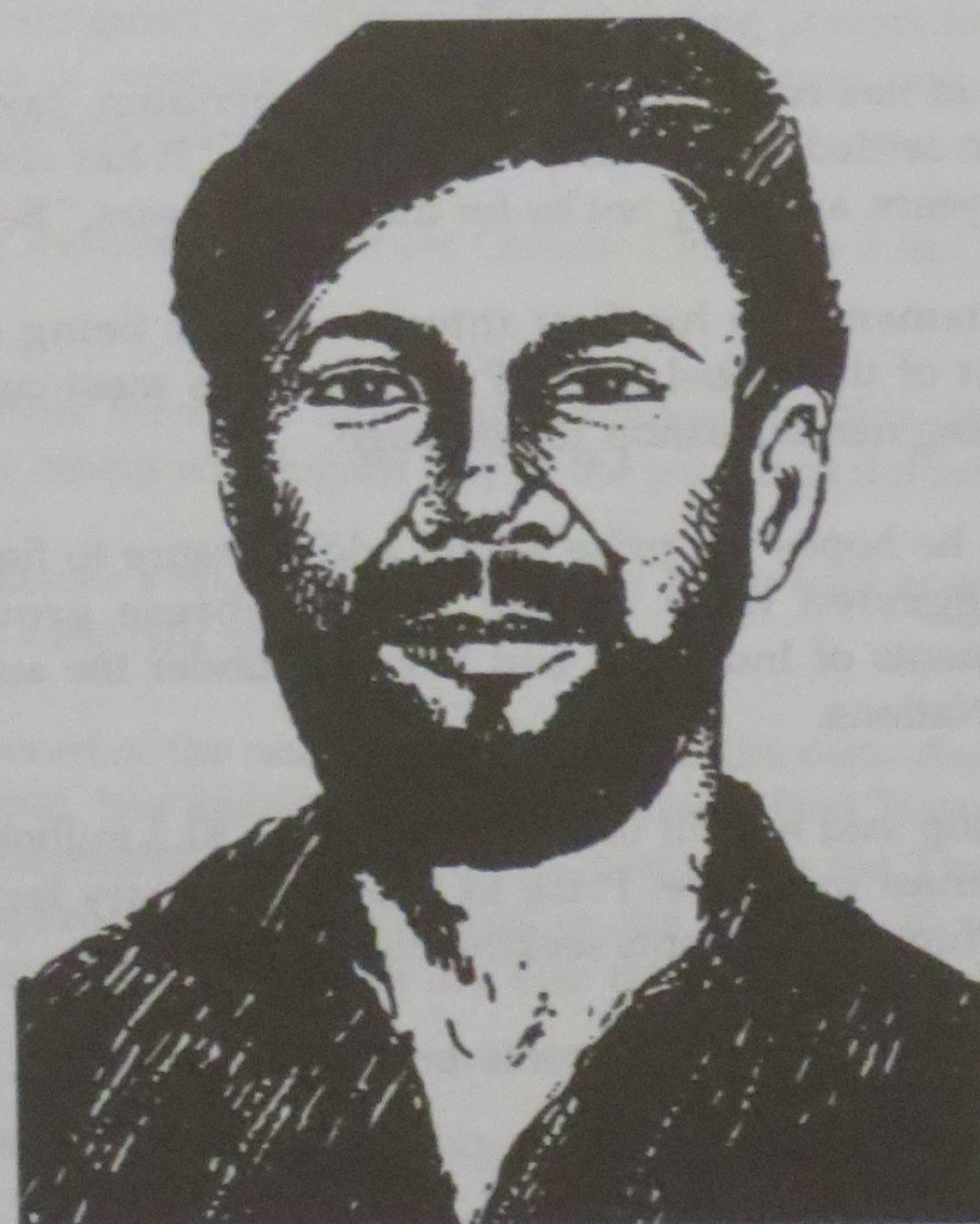
As part of the forced-labour strategy, the Rajawali Team requested Martinho to work in the interior between Baguia and Iliomar. Martinho had uncovered the Kopassus plan to flush out and kill the East Timorese Clandestine leader for the Baguia/Baucau region.

Upon their return to Baguia, Rajawali Team mis-informed his family that he had been killed by the pro-independence Falintil. Martinho's family are still pushing the Indonesian

military for an accurate account of his death.

Mis-information is often used by the occupying forces in an attempt to discredit the pro-independence movement in the towns, villages and mountains of East Timor.

From the Executive Committee For The Continuation Of The Clandestine Front inside East Timor, via CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance) Perth branch.



Xanana Gusmão

Bishop Belo Condemns Indonesian Rule

Days after winning the Nobel Peace Prize, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo recharged his mission yesterday with a strident condemnation of Indonesia's military rule in East Timor and a fresh call to end the 21-year conflict. In his first interview since being named co-recipient of the award Friday, the Roman Catholic bishop said he hoped the prize would increase international pressure to stop fighting on the island for good. Bishop Belo urged a referendum on autonomy as the best way to do that.

Indonesia repeatedly has rejected the idea, saying the East Timor issue has been settled. Bishop Belo said the government was wrong. "Then what does it want?" he demanded. "That the 700,000 East Timorese people just bow their heads?"

[Hundreds] of thousands of people have been killed in Indonesia's attempt to crush an independence movement on the island territory it invaded in 1975 after Portugal pulled out during a civil war.

Bishop Belo insisted that the annexation of East Timor was not final. "Have you asked the people in villages what they really want?" he asked in an interview. "Don't think that all Timorese people have accepted the integration, and that

everything is OK. It has not been for the past 20 years, and may not be for the next 20 years."

The bishop, 48, is the most influential figure in East Timor, the only predominantly Catholic region in Indonesia, which, with 190 million people, is the world's largest Muslim nation. Bishop Belo shared the prize with José Ramos-Horta. The bishop suggested that the United Nations sponsor talks among East Timorese groups and the governments of Indonesia and Portugal, and said he hoped the Nobel Prize would add some urgency to the struggle for a solution.

The Indonesian government of President Suharto, the long-ruling former general who ordered the 1975 invasion, has said it won't change its policies as a result of the Nobel. "Indonesia has proved that it never yielded to pressure in the case of East Timor," said its U.N. ambassador, Nurgono Wisnumurti. Suharto visited East Timor to unveil a statue of Jesus Christ in an attempt to demonstrate his government's religious tolerance.

By Ali Kotarumalos, AP, Dili, East Timor

Bishop Belo Calls for Referendum

Bishop Belo, who shared this year's Nobel Peace Prize condemned Indonesia's military rule over East Timor in October, saying a referendum on autonomy is the best way to settle the island's 21-year-old conflict. He told The Associated Press that the people of East Timor have never accepted Indonesia's 1976 annexation of the former Portuguese colony.

"Have you asked the people in villages what they really want?" he said. "Don't think that all Timorese people have accepted the integration, and that everything is OK."

Indonesia has repeatedly rejected a referendum, saying the issue has been settled. Belo insists that isn't true. "It has not been for the past 20 years, and may not be for the next 20 years," Belo said.

His statements, in his first interview since being named a co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, were his most confrontational since being named bishop 13 years ago.

He said he hopes the prize would add pressure to find a solution, and suggested talks among East Timorese groups and the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations.

The bishop said he will use his share of the \$1.2 million in cash that accompanies the Nobel Prize to finance seminary facilities and to set up a fund for students seeking higher education.

Compiled from East Timor conferences on the internet.



Mount Matebian - October 1996 - photo by Ross Bird

Chomsky looks at East Timor tragedy spotlighted by Nobel prize

The Atlanta Journal / The Atlanta Constitution, Sunday, Oct. 13, 1996. By J. Randal Ashley, Foreign Editor

**Nobel
Peace
Prize**

When the Nobel committee threw its prestige behind East Timor's independence movement Friday, many people had only the vaguest idea where East Timor is, much less what is at stake there.

Dr. Noam Chomsky knows very well, however. Chomsky is a professor of linguistics and philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has been writing for more than 20 years about East Timor, the home of the political activist and Roman Catholic bishop who shared the Nobel Peace Prize on Friday.

Chomsky responded in writing to questions following the Nobel announcement. These are his edited responses:

Q: Many Americans know little of East Timor. What events there attracted the attention of the Nobel committee?

A: Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975. The U.N. Security Council at once ordered Indonesia to withdraw "without delay," calling on "all states to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination." Indonesia ignored the demand and extended its murderous assault, which peaked in 1978, with a toll estimated generally at about 200,000 people, the worst slaughter relative to population since the Holocaust. The atrocities continued, often at a horrifying level, and still do.

Despite the awesome disparity in force and the continuing terror, the Timorese have persisted in their efforts to gain the "inalienable right" accorded them by the international community and recently reaffirmed by the World Court, a truly inspiring record of courage.

Q: Amnesty International on Friday expressed fear the awards could lead to further repression in East Timor. Is that a legitimate fear in your view?

A: Amnesty International, which has compiled a shocking record of Indonesian atrocities, is quite right to fear further repression. If there are demonstrations for freedom, we should applaud them and support them. And if we do with sufficient vigor, the U.S. government is easily able to influence Indonesia not only to refrain from further repression, but to terminate its unlawful military occupation.

Q: Is the struggle between the Indonesian government and the East Timorese a matter of colonialism, Muslim vs. Christian animus or something that Americans do not understand at all? Are there ethnic differences?

A: Any historical event has complexities, but this is about as straightforward a case of aggression as one can find. Indonesia has no historical claim to the territory, which is also ethnically distinct. The population is now mostly Catholic, in part because people flocked to the church for protection against the invaders. ...What Americans should understand is quite simple.

It was lucidly explained by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who was ambassador to the U.N. at the time of the

Indonesian invasion. In his memoirs, he writes:

"The United States wished things to turn out as they did and worked to bring this about. The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

Moynihan mentions that 60 000 people were apparently killed within a few weeks but does not go on to describe how the U.S., which already provided 90 percent of Indonesia's arms, immediately sent new military equipment, sharply increasing the flow again as the assault reached near-genocidal levels.

Q: Are José Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo the most worthy recipients of the Nobel with regard to the conflict in East Timor?

A: José Ramos-Horta has led the Timorese struggle for freedom in the international arena with dedication and honor, devoting his life to these efforts. Within East Timor, Bishop Belo has acted with courage and dignity to defend human rights, becoming the symbol of the resistance to conquest and oppression. It would be hard to imagine a more fitting choice for the Nobel Peace Award.

Q: Does the leading Indonesian opposition party have any different views on East Timor than President Suharto's ruling party?

A: The opposition party has been crushed by the brutally repressive Indonesian state, so we cannot speak of its views.

But there have been extensive protests against the aggression within Indonesia by prominent intellectuals, Indonesian student associations, human rights leaders ... To take such stands in Indonesia requires great courage. For us it is easy. We should distinguish the Indonesia of the ruling powers from the Indonesia of working people struggling for minimal rights, human rights activists and many others.

Q: Do the Indonesians regard the Catholic Church as a tool of colonialism?

A: Doubtless there are Indonesians who accept this doctrine, and many others who regard it with the contempt it deserves.

Q: Do Indonesia's neighbors regard the East Timor issue as anything other than a domestic affair?

A: The record of the nearby states is much like ours. Australia, for example, has joined Indonesia in taking East Timor's oil, under a shameful treaty that offers nothing to the Timorese. U.S. companies are also engaged in the robbery, to use the appropriate term. But states are one thing, their populations another.

Q: What has been/is now U.S. policy on the question?

A: U.S. policy has coupled mild official protest with crucial military and diplomatic support (for Indonesia), and still does.

East Timor peace activists win Nobel prize

Jon Henley in Helsinki and John Aglionby in Jakarta

CARLOS BELO, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, and Jose Ramos-Horta, an exiled resistance leader, were declared the winners of the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to bring peace to the former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia 20 years ago.

The award was the most overtly political since the Burmese opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, won in 1991, and sparked fears of fresh repression on the island.

Bishop Belo and Mr Ramos-Horta were honoured for their "sustained and self-sacrificing contributions for a small but oppressed people", the Norwegian Nobel Committee said.

"Bishop Belo... has been the

foremost representative of the people of East Timor. At the risk of his own life, he has tried to protect his people from infringements by those in power." Mr Ramos-Horta, aged 51, had for 20 years been "the leading international spokesman for East Timor's cause".

Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim nation, invaded the mainly Catholic East Timor in 1975 and later declared it its 27th province. The United Nations has never recognised the annexation, which is believed to have cost about 200,000 lives.

The occupation sparked outrage after the massacre of about 200 pro-independence protesters in November 1991, an incident which Bishop Belo urged the government to investigate. Two generals were dismissed, and several

army officers imprisoned.

Using frank language, the committee said Indonesia had "systematically oppressed" the people of East Timor.

Indonesia's foreign minister Ali Alatas denounced Mr Ramos-Horta as a "political adventurer... repudiated by the majority of the people of East Timor".

The Nobel committee's chairman, Francis Sejersted, said they were aware of the risk of criticism. "This was about to become a forgotten conflict, and we wanted to contribute to maintaining momentum."

● President Suharto of Indonesia shook hands with Bishop Belo during a ceremony in the East Timor capital, Dili, on Monday, but did not exchange any words.

Nobel prize shames an indifferent world

Hugo Young

THIS YEAR'S Nobel Peace Prize is the most arresting award for many years. It's the first one I can recall that defeats the smoothers of international acquiescence. When Aung San Suu Kyi was nobelled she was reviled by the Burmese military, but the world at large wasn't running such extravagantly pro-Burma policies that it felt obliged to regard the laureate as an alien spirit. Desmond Tutu, the Irish Peace Women, even Henry Kissinger had records that weren't an open challenge to governments.

Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta, who have been honoured for their defence of East Timor against the vile and illegal occupation by Indonesia, are rather different. They stand for something that can only arouse collective embarrassment.

They have sustained a cause to which the international community pays lip-service but little else. Self-determination for East Timor, while attracting the mild approval of the United Nations and the European Union, has elicited hardly a single meaningful action from either body. Indonesia, buyer of arms, focus of trade and source of oil, rules. On the trade-off between trade and human rights, the Nobel committee gives an answer which rejects the answer given by the powers of the world. This is a resonant challenge, long scorned by the British Tories, among others, but surely addressed also to the party offering itself as their more sensitive and principled successor. When, outside the Nobel committee, should human rights take precedence over self-interest?

The appalling condition of East Timor is not in dispute. Anyone who wants to know the details can get an up-to-the-minute pamphlet from the Catholic Institute for International Relations (190a New North Road, London N1), which is known for its accurate history and research. In 11 years of illegal occupation, Indonesia has brought about the deaths of about 200,000 East Timorese, and seeded the Catholic country with about 100,000 settlers, mostly Islamic and often forced, from Java. Its military government has starved the people and tried to break their language and culture. It has jailed resisters, abolished free speech, but not so far succeeded in crushing Bishop Belo's Church.

The bishop is one of those who have, surprisingly, been able to keep this small and distant place on the radar screen. Courageous journalism has helped. The massacre of Santa Cruz five years ago was caught on camera, and the work of John Pilger and Hugh O'Shaughnessy has played a great part in disorienting the Jakarta government, which never expected that its Timorese adventure would still be in contention 20 years later. The people of East Timor themselves are their own, indefatigable heroes.

But what of the world? The UN has passed some empty resolutions, and the EU has agreed a pious text. Behind a rhetoric of concern stands the inertia of submission. The lure of trade has been the unguent of tolerance. Britain sold \$200 million of weaponry to Indonesia between 1988 and 1992, and more than doubled that in a single deal for 24

Hawk fighter/trainer jets in November 1995. Foreign Office denials that aid, which has marched in close step with arms deals, has anything to do with commerce have to be read in the context of similar denials over the Malaysian Pergau Dam, which the courts did not uphold.

The Government has concerns about all this. But as the Scott report copiously revealed, its preferred way of dealing with them, in the complex greyness of arms trading, is by non-disclosure. The Foreign Office seldom looks further than the location of power. In 1993, Douglas Hurd went so far as explicitly to sympathise with Indonesia's separatist problems, referring with disdain to "some theoretical people in the West talking about the purity of self-determination". As Foreign Secretary, he always showed a coldly sceptical attitude to the role of human rights in determining foreign policy decisions. In connection with aid to Indonesia, he again said in 1993 that insisting on a link with human rights was not a "sensible and fruitful thing to do".

Such thinking will condition the real reaction of power-brokers to East Timor's new eminence, whatever bromides they feel obliged to utter. The Nobel disturbs their policy of quiet indifference. Perhaps it will even elevate East Timor, for a while, into a popular cause. There was evidence of this even before the Nobel, when a British jury, to universal astonishment, acquitted four women who admitted sabotaging fighter jets bound for Indonesia. Their defence, that they had a higher duty to prevent genocide in East Timor, struck the populist conscience in a way that previously only South Africa might have done.

FOR A future Labour government, South Africa in fact offers a pointed antecedent. In the late sixties, more than half the Wilson Cabinet wanted to sell arms to South Africa, but the minority mobilised party and popular opinion against the deal. The conscience vote won the argument. It was a position which even a passionate arms seller like Denis Healey, when he wrote his memoirs, admitted had been correct. Whether a similar kind of conscience will be exhibited by New Labour, in respect of East Timor or anywhere else, remains for the moment decidedly moot.

The party's line on the arms trade is studiously unthreatening. It says it won't grant licences for weapons that might be used for internal repression or external aggression, for abusing human rights or perpetrating torture. But it won't interfere with existing licences, and has no intention of defining which customers for the biggest of all UK export industries might fall within its notional ban. It states, in short, purposes that are almost identical with the present government's.

Does East Timor merit any support, even at the expense of British jobs? As it happens, Tony Blair was this week well-placed to address it, at the Commonwealth Press Union in South Africa. There couldn't have been a better forum in which to venture some indicative thoughts about New Labour's global values. Instead it was the same old stuff, of New Labour Britain, about which the world has little reason to care a jot:

From the Guardian Weekly

Indonesian officials shocked by Nobel prize

Indonesian officials denounced the award of the Nobel Peace Prize on Friday to an East Timorese pro-independence leader and the island's Roman Catholic bishop, who vowed to pursue a non-violent struggle.

The Nobel committee awarded the prize to Bishop Carlos Ximenes Filipe Belo and pro-independence activist José Ramos Horta for their efforts towards a peaceful settlement of conflict on the former Portuguese colony, where thousands of people have died since it was annexed 20 years ago.

"We regret that such a reputable institution has decided to award a person like Horta," Foreign Ministry spokesman Chaffar Fadyl told AFP.

He said Horta "has been clearly involved, not only in manipulating East Timorese for his own interest, but in inciting them to separate from being an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia."

State Secretary Murdiono commented: "I am shocked and surprised... I do not understand the criteria they used to give the Nobel Peace Prize to them."

"What concept of struggle did they take up, for them to get the Nobel Peace Prize," Murdiono asked, adding that the opinion of the majority of East Timorese was simply "not respected" in the award.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and declared it its 27th province the following year in a contested move not recognized by the United Nations.

Belo, when asked whether he was pleased with the prize, said from Dili, East Timor, that "yes, those are exactly my sentiments."

"This prize represents the very hard work we still have to do in the future ... this makes heavier our responsibility that youths here behave in a non-violent way," Belo said.

In separate comments, he told CNN television the prize was "for everybody, mainly for the East Timorese people and those who are working for peace and reconciliation."

Horta meanwhile said he had learned the news "with mixed joy and sadness."

"The winning pair should have been Monsignor Belo and Xanana Gusmão," he said. Gusmão, a symbol of the East Timorese independence movement, is serving a 20-year jail sentence in Jakarta.

Speaking from Sydney, Horta called on Belo "to capitalise on this prize on behalf of the cause of East Timor."

The bishop, Horta said, "should use all international means so the Nobel prize may contribute to a settlement of the problem on the territory. It is now up to him to head the strategy."

There was other criticism from Indonesian National Security Institute vice chairman Juwono Sudarsono, who dismissed, "we don't really take the Nobel prize seriously."

"It's like a beauty contest ... it is very political," Sudarsono said. He said that since Nobel prizes for fields like science generally go to people from developed countries, choosing a winner from a developing country "is like a conscience massage for the liberal West."

Indonesian support for Belo

Human rights lawyer Luhut Pangaribuan said: "I fully agree if Belo accepts the prize. Belo has won this because of what he has done for East Timor and the country," Pangaribuan described Belo, who he first met in Dili after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, as a "very calm man, very priest-like."

"It may not be well accepted by the Indonesian government but the international community would surely accept it," he said.

A Dili resident recalled that when Belo was nominated for the prize last year, "everybody here was hoping that he would win, and were very disappointed that he didn't."

Amien Rais, chairman of Indonesia's second largest mass Moslem organization Muhammadiyah, told AFP that the prizes for Belo and Horta were "ridiculous and don't make sense. It's a big joke."

Rais said Belo showed "no good intentions" to patch up bad relations between the Catholic and Moslem community in East Timor during and after a mosque burning incident there last year.

"The prizes don't make any difference for Indonesia's standing regarding East Timor," Rais said from his home in Yogyakarta, Central Java.

From: KdP Net <kdpnet@usa.net>

(by way of tapol@gn.apc.org (Tapol)), 11 Oct 96 (AFP).

Business leaders favour East Timor independence

The Far Eastern Economic Review has uncovered some revealing statistics on business leaders' attitudes on East Timor in their regular *Asian Executives Poll*.

"Most business leaders polled across the region say the East Timor pair deserve the Nobel Peace Prize. But the majority of Indonesians (58.3%) disagree," the journal reported.

Overall, 75.3% believed the Nobel committee was justified in awarding the Peace Prize to Bishop Belo and José Ramos Horta.

The figures are a welcome recognition of the widespread support for a free East Timor: "Overall, 64.2% of respondents across Asia say Jakarta should indeed allow East Timor to secede."

Country	Favour a free East Timor (%)	No secession (%)
Hong Kong	100.0	0.0
Philippines	81.8	18.2
Australia	76.2	23.8
Japan	73.3	26.7
Western expatriates	68.8	31.2
South Korea	66.7	33.3
Singapore	66.7	33.3
Asian expatriates	57.9	42.1
Malaysia	53.3	46.7
Thailand	50.0	50.0
Indonesia	0.0	100.0

Far Eastern Economic Review, 21 November 1996

New light on East Timor

The world is beginning to pay attention to Indonesia's brutal rule

East Timor is back in the news, and none too soon. The crimes of genocide committed on this small half-island at the eastern extremity of the Indonesian archipelago have been documented often enough, but they have gone largely ignored by the world community for nearly a generation. Ever since Indonesian paratroopers drifted out of the dawn on the morning of December 7, 1975, East Timor has suffered not only the agony of a bloody occupation but also the torment of international indifference. From time to time the fate of the islanders becomes news. Then silence descends once more.

But now, in 1994, change is in the air. There is pressure in print and on television. The Clinton administration has acknowledged - but so far, only acknowledged - the gravity of the issue. The U.N. is examining violations of human rights. The British Foreign Office is reportedly nervous about the increased attention focused on East Timor, as well it might be. The British government is the number one seller of arms to the Indonesian government. The question remains: How have the East Timorese survived nearly a generation of neglect and indifference?

They have lost, in the course of a twenty year struggle, at least 200,000 people (out of an estimated 700,000). They live from day to day under constant surveillance and the threat of intimidation, imprisonment and torture. Yet they have not given up.

Journalists cannot visit East Timor, so photographer Julio Etchart and I went as tourists. We found among the people of East Timor an extraordinary and moving determination to resist the Indonesian invader.

In particular, the East Timorese are sustained by the Roman Catholic Church, led by Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo. The bishop has to walk a diplomatic ecclesiastical tightrope. His priests are less constrained. They are, almost without exception, more or less active in the East Timor liberation struggle. Among several Roman Catholic missions we visited there was one - at a location it would be dangerous to disclose - that seemed to epitomize the courage and tenacity of the church and its faithful congregation and their determination to oppose Indonesian oppression, often in the face of great hostility.

The priest, whom I shall call Father Rodolpho da Costa is 40 years old. His mission and its church are at once a school, a surgery, a place of recreation, a refuge, a social centre, and a source of inspiration. Throughout the island there is a sense that the church is the administration. Beyond the walls of the mission there are spies, policemen, informers - the army of occupation. Inside, there is teaching, prayer and song.

"When I speak of corruption and injustice," says Father Rodolpho, "the military don't like it". For him, Indonesian

president Suharto is a kind of Southeast Asian Tito, holding together a loose confederation with a combination of military muscle and massive economic expansion (gross domestic product has expanded by a staggering 7 percent a year for the past several years). Indonesia is made up of about 13,500 separate islands, many with aspirations to independence, and there's no doubt that the violence metered out to East Timor is intended as a deterrent to others - in Aceh and Irian Jaya, for example. After Suharto, what next? "This is a society threatening to fly apart at the seams," said Father Rodolpho.

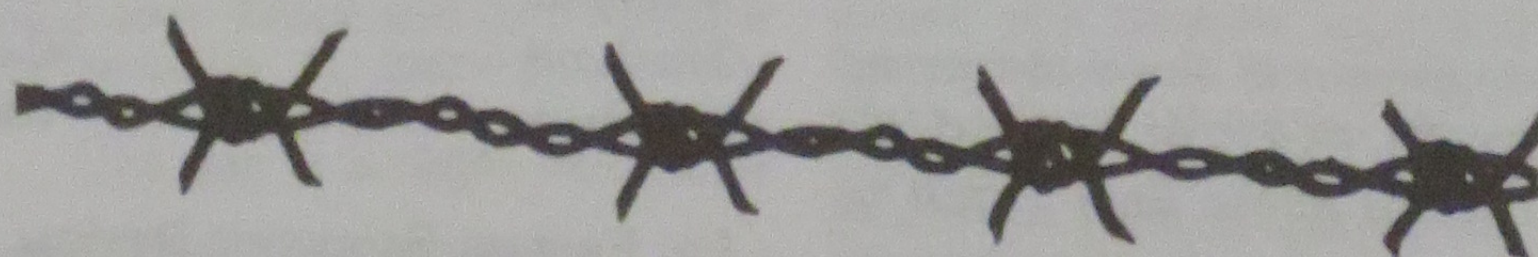
East Timor is a place that has been doubly terrorized. First, there is the fear of torture or death. Everyone has lost a sibling or a parent or a grandparent, often in circumstances of the most appalling cruelty. Like the Cambodians after the Khmer Rouge, the people are in a state of shock. Then there is the language terrorism, more subtle but just as brutal. The older generation grew up speaking Portuguese. After the invasion, the language became associated with the resistance movement, and now it is used only in murmurs behind closed doors. The official state language is Bahasa Indonesia. For the rest, the local language, Tetum, is the speech of everyday life, but its users are deprived of the freedom to express their basic desire for independence and justice.

I also spoke to an anti-Indonesian guerrilla, Joaquim Guterres (not his real name), who had been close to the guerrilla leader "Xanana" Gusmão, currently serving a 20-year prison sentence. In Guterres' opinion, Gusmão had allowed himself to be arrested and made a political prisoner to dramatize the plight of the East Timor resistance movement to the world: Gusmão could (and did) attract the attention of the world's press. There was no question of Gusmão's continuing psychological presence among the guerrillas: "He is our Nelson Mandela," said Guterres.

Gusmão has been replaced in the field by a young leader named Konis Santana, but the armed struggle remains short of arms, supplies, and new recruits. There are no more than perhaps a thousand men sustaining the movement, and less than half of them carry weapons. I asked how, in these circumstances, the resistance could ever hope to succeed. Guterres shook his head fiercely. He had no real answers, only a desperate faith in his cause. "Indonesian troops are killing our people every day, but I am 100 percent certain we shall succeed. We shall always have the support of the people and we love our freedom. We shall never give up."

We talked on. Guterres described the activities of his fellow guerrillas and their day-to-day living conditions. He admitted to being frustrated by the isolation of the Timorese people: "The world refuses to pay attention, no matter what we sacrifice - families, homes, lives . . . We have been given many fine words, but we are still dying, every day we are still dying."

Robert McCrum, Index on Censorship
(Utne Reader - November/December 1994)



Xanana - "I am not anti Indonesian"

Xanana Gusmão, who was visited by the members of the Commission Three of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) in his cell at the Block F Cipinang Prison, Jakarta, Tuesday, stressed that basically he is not anti-Indonesia.

"We are not anti-Indonesia and we want the East Timor issue to be settled immediately because if it continues to go on, it will harm the people and the government as well," he said to the Commission Three group led by Deputy Chief of the Commission Soenarto.

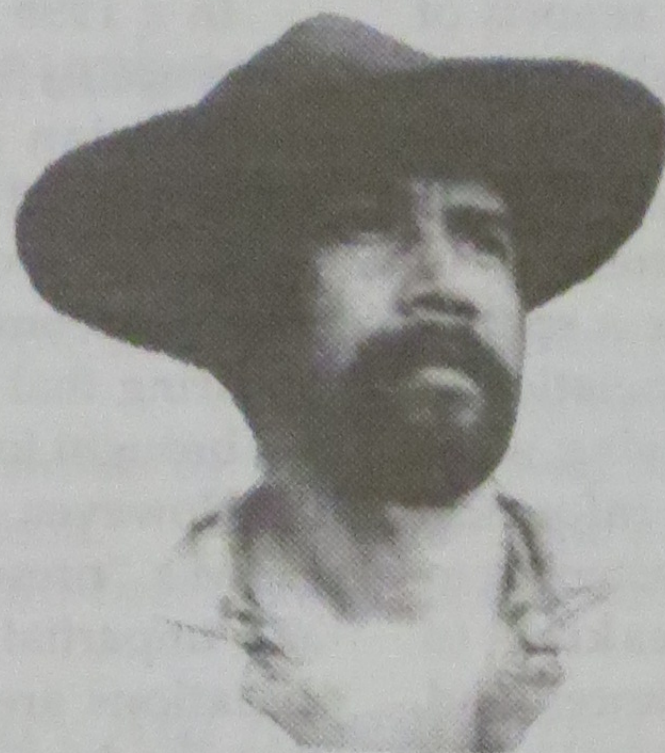
Xanana was sentenced to life by the Dili East Timor Court in May 1993 on the charges of attacking against the government by leading the "Fretilin Separatist Movement" to separate from Indonesia.

In August 1993, President Soeharto granted clemency to Xanana by reducing his sentence to 20 years imprisonment.

The reason of the granting was, according to State Secretary Moerdiono, because "Xanana realized that the integration of East Timor which used to be a Portugal colony to Indonesia is a completed process." [You will find Xanana strongly disagreeing with these words being put into his mouth - Editor]

Due to his well behavior during his sentence, on 17 August 1995, at the same time with the 50th Anniversary of Indonesia, Xanana received a special remission in the form of a reduction of sentence for three months.

Xanana's meeting with the Commission Three was not for the first time. In February 1994, the Commission Three group



was the first delegation to visit Xanana after the "visiting" prohibition was withdrawn. The Fretilin leader was not allowed to accept visitors as a punishment for his violation of the prison rules, namely sending letters to the Portugal government and the International Law Commission.

The meeting this time seemed to be warm and friendly. The group of people's representatives shook hands and asked how Xanana was doing, what are his activities during his serve in the prison, including about his respond to the Nobel Prize reward to Bishop Belo.

Xanana who was wearing a blue shirt and shorts was in a special cell. He looked healthy, but seemed to be getting older with his long hair touching his shoulder. Xanana also has a thick beard which is mostly grey.

"My daily activity is reading." He said that he follows the outside world through the news, especially from the television broadcasting in Indonesia.

About the East Timor case, he said he is not an anti-Indonesia and expects the East Timor issue to be settled nicely as soon as possible.

The East Timor issue is still discussed by the Indonesian and Portugal governments under the shelter of the United Nations Secretary General.

"If the East Timor case continues, the impact will not be good for the [Indonesian] government itself," he said.

He was happy about the Peace Nobel Prize awarded to Bishop Belo.

"Whoever is afraid of a referendum in East Timor is afraid of the truth."
Xanana Gusmão - from his defence speech at the illegal Indonesian show-trial.

Background the East Timor problem

The territory of East Timor, a Portuguese colony for over 400 years, is located on the fringe of the Indonesian archipelago, between South East Asia and Australia. It is at least equal, if not larger, in size and population than some 30 independent member states of the United Nations.

East Timor has been the scene of a major and tragic conflict since 1975. In that year, Indonesia invaded this 19,000 square km territory, maintaining to this day its illegal presence in defiance of international condemnation, including United Nations Security Council resolutions.

The armed forces of the Indonesian Republic have maintained a brutal war of genocidal proportions, in a futile attempt to crush the resistance of most sectors of the approximately 600,000 East Timorese. Massive human rights violations have caused the death of over *one third* of the local population. The resistance against Indonesian occupation remains strong as international support for the cause of freedom and self-determination of the East Timorese people grows.

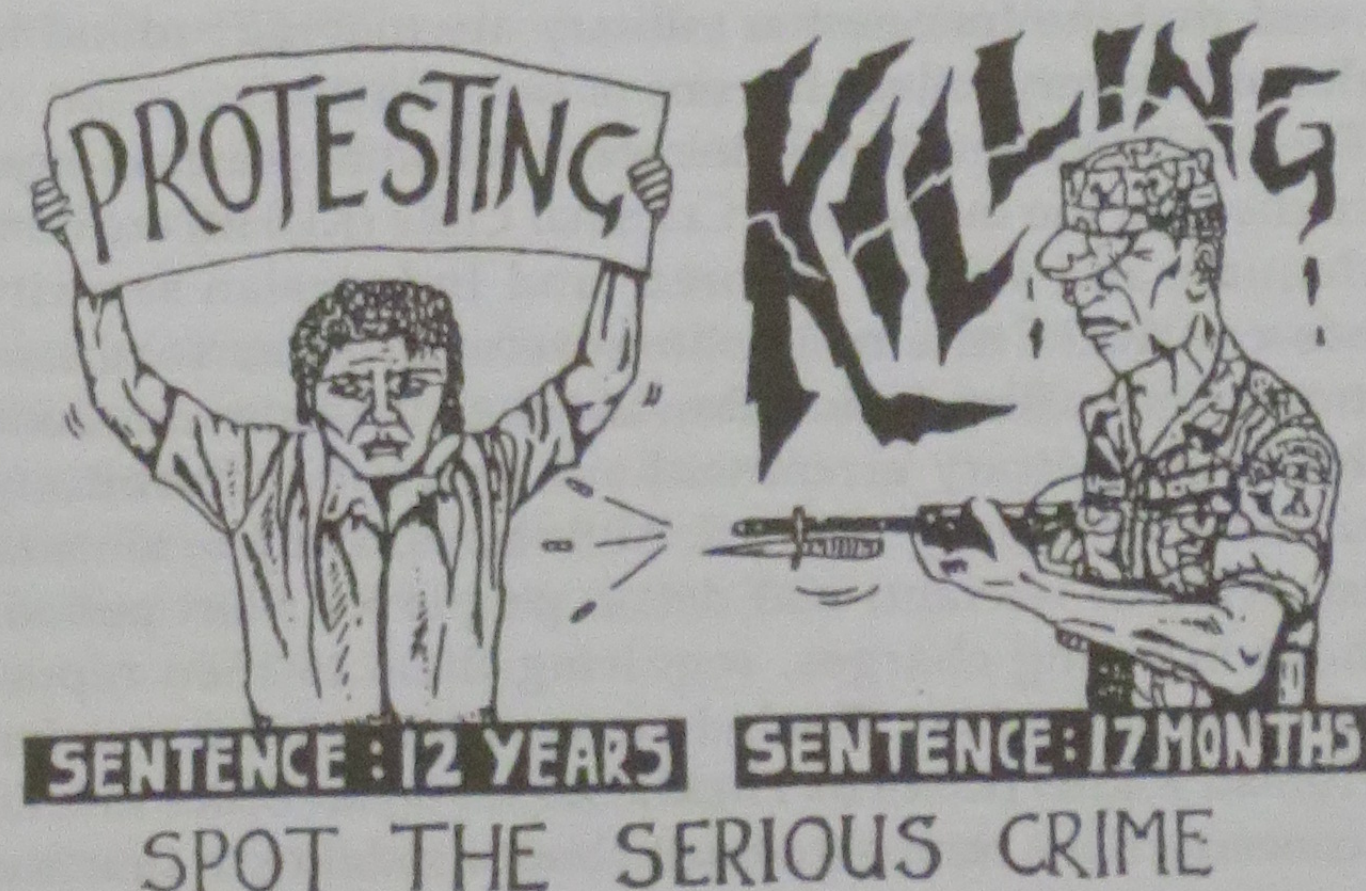
Australia, the closest neighbour to East Timor, has had a shameful record of complicity with the authoritarian government of Indonesia in the suppression of East Timorese nationalism.

In a misguided and immoral attempt to curry favour with the Indonesian power elites, in order to advance economic

interests, successive Australian governments have turned a deaf ear to the horrors taking place in this neighbouring territory. Even worse, Australia actively assists Indonesia to gain international acceptance for its occupation of East Timor.

The debt of loyalty to the East Timorese incurred by Australia during World War II, when large numbers of East Timorese died as a result of assisting Australian troops to defend Australia from a Japanese invasion, has been callously forgotten.

By Dr Juan Federer



Summary Report from East Timor Human Rights Centre

"East Timor is an occupied country. There is no rule of law, no court of appeal, no freedom. Power is in the hands of extra-judicial bodies who control life and liberty at will." -a visitor to East Timor, 1996.

This is the view of every independent person who visits East Timor. It is confirmed by rapporteurs from the UN Commission on Human Rights, the human rights reports of the US State Department, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch Asia, Indonesia's National Commission on Human Rights and it is known to all foreign embassies who maintain a watching brief, despite Indonesian attempts to keep its rule in East Timor out of view. It requires a special effort of imagination for people in democratic societies to comprehend what life is like in East Timor - knowing what you say may be reported, wondering who is an informer, whether your letters will be opened, if some-one is listening to your telephone conversations, fearful of speaking to foreigners, aware of beatings, torture and disappearances, and knowing there is no court of appeal or independent legal aid.

It is also beyond comprehension that Indonesian authorities would desecrate a church to set the people of one religion against those of another. This is the atmosphere that the people of East Timor have lived in for more than twenty years. For some, this is all their lives. The public service in East Timor is dominated by non-East Timorese and Indonesian immigration has continued, marginalising the East Timorese and limiting their employment opportunities. Land acquisition has also continued, undermining the strong connection of the East Timorese people with their land.

Many young East Timorese have attempted to escape through foreign embassies in Jakarta, risking their lives and abandoning hope of ever seeing their families and homeland again. That so many East Timorese are fleeing is a measure of the desperation and defiance of the younger generation. Human Rights Watch Asia recently expressed concern about "the emergence of religious and ethnic violence" that has been prompted by the Indonesian government's failure to resolve - and in some cases its efforts to actively exacerbate - underlying social, political and economic conflicts."

Concern was also expressed about the high level of militarisation that "goes against common wisdom that the Indonesian government is steadily reducing its military forces in East Timor."

The military is systematically training East Timorese youths to take part in armed and unarmed military activities, a move which seems to be designed to increase tensions among the East Timorese themselves. Estimates of Indonesian troops in East Timor range from 17,000 to 35,000 but exact numbers are difficult to determine. One information source has said that the Indonesian military are moving around in small units: "every village has one or two military".

The US Department of State reported that in practice, legal precautions in the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) are both inadequate and widely ignored, and Indonesian security forces continue to employ torture and other forms of mistreatment in East Timor. Provisions of the Criminal Code prohibiting arbitrary arrest without warrant and arbitrary detention are routinely violated. Authorities continue to make arrests without warrants and detain people for short periods without bringing charges, requiring them to then report regularly to authorities. The Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) has set up an office in Dili, but concerns have been expressed about its ability to function

effectively. It is located across from the road from the district military headquarters (KODIM), discouraging East Timorese from approaching the Commission, and is staffed by a former prosecutor from Flores (who does not speak Tetum, the Timorese language) and other staff who are former local government employees.

In a 1996 report, Amnesty International noted that "the presence of Komnas HAM is frequently highlighted by the Indonesian and other governments as evidence of an improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor." It acknowledged that "the creation of the National Commission was a welcome step and that it has contributed in some way to ensuring that a limited number of violations of human rights are brought to public attention."

However, Amnesty International also noted that Komnas HAM's "presence is in no way evidence of the fact that full and impartial investigations into allegations of human rights violations are systematically conducted". Any contribution that the National Commission can make in promoting and protecting human rights is undermined by the continuing failure of the government to act on the findings of the National Commission."

Finally, Amnesty International expressed concern that Komnas HAM's working methods and powers fall short of international standards for national human rights institutions, rendering their findings less than complete. These concerns about the ability of Komnas HAM to function effectively are shared by the East Timor Human Rights Centre.

Summary

1. Large numbers of East Timorese are attempting to leave East Timor, either by boat to Australia or by seeking refuge in western embassies in Jakarta.
2. Extra-judicial executions have continued, some of which have not been investigated by Indonesian authorities.
3. There has been a high level of arbitrary arrests, particularly of young East Timorese, and systematic torture of those arrested.
4. Riots in Baucau, which are believed to have been provoked by an Indonesian soldier insulting the Catholics religion, resulted in the arrest of approximately 165 East Timorese, many injured and up to 3 East Timorese killed. Unwarranted use of force may have been used, however, the riots still have not been investigated by the Indonesian authorities.
5. Unfair trials led to East Timorese being convicted to terms of imprisonment.
6. Unrest in prisons led to the death of one East Timorese and many others injured.
7. There is an atmosphere of fear with people being regularly subjected to intimidation, beatings, rape and other acts of repression by the Indonesian authorities.

The 1996 violations follow the numerous violations which occurred in 1995 which the US State Department described as one of the worst years for violations in East Timor. The ETHRC believes that there has been no improvement in 1996 and that serious and systematic abuses of fundamental rights continue.

Baucau Riots

Riots broke out in Baucau on 10 June 1996 as a result of a so-called "religious" conflict between Catholics and Muslims, and continued until 11 June. It is believed that the Baucau riots

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Continued from previous page

were deliberately provoked when a member of ABRI (the Indonesian armed forces) was seen putting a desecrated picture of the Virgin Mary on the door of the mosque in Baguia, a sub-district of Baucau, on 4 June.

On 10 June, youths in Baucau conducted a peaceful demonstration demanding that the Government and ABRI take responsibility for the 4 June incident. The demonstration became violent when Indonesian security forces shot at demonstrators. It appears that live ammunition was used by the security forces instead of plastic bullets which Indonesian troops have been instructed to use since the Dili Massacre of 1991.

CNRM claims that the events in Baucau were planned well in advance of 10 June when the riots broke out. In a report issued on 5 June 1996, CNRM reported that from 13 to 15 May a meeting was attended by the Baucau Sector Commander (DanSector), the Military Commander (DanDin), the Police Commander (KapolRes), the Regent (Bupati) V Marcal, the Regional Administrator (Camat) JM Guterres and Father Rui Gomes. The meeting referred to Baucau, Quelicai, Baguia, Laga, Venilale, and Vemassee and was held to:

- prepare for the prevention of anti-integration youth demonstrations during an important UN visit expected in September;
- plan for arrests of pro-independence youths at their homes;
- capture all of the Clandestine Front leaders and activists; and
- serve notice about the strict prohibition of any remembrance acts to mark the death of the youth Paulo dos Reis on 25 April.

Religious and ethnic conflict

There has been a pattern for many years of deliberate provocation of so-called "religious conflicts" in East Timor which appear to be aimed at presenting unrest in East Timor as primarily a matter of conflict between Christians and Moslems. In 1995, religious conflicts were well documented by the United States Department of State and in 1996 this pattern has continued. These conflicts divert attention from the real issue which is the denial of the East Timorese people's

fundamental right to self-determination.

According to CNRM (Council of National Maubere Resistance), the conflict in East Timor has absolutely no ethnic or religious basis. Prior to the Indonesian invasion, the majority of the 700,000 East Timorese were animist with minorities of Catholics (30%) and Buddhists (15,000 Chinese settlers) and a very small Moslem community (about 1000 Timorese of Arab descent).

Even though the Portuguese government favoured Catholicism as the State religion, there were never any religious conflicts among the four religious groups.

The interest of the Indonesian military in instigating violence by insulting the Catholic religion is to ensure that East Timor remains in turmoil, thereby justifying a policy of repression and the continued high military presence. An example is the 1995 case of an Indonesian prison official, Zakarias Sake, from the town of Maliana, who made derogatory comments against Catholicism which sparked off riots in Maliana, Dili and Viqueque. Due to the unsettled circumstances, large numbers of Indonesians left East Timor, generating anti-Timorese sentiments and calling on the Indonesian government to increase troop numbers in East Timor.

Zakarias Sake was sentenced on 16 January to 4 years imprisonment for insulting another religion. Another prison official, Sanusi Abubakar, was sentenced to four years and two months imprisonment on similar charges in November 1995. The ETHRC welcomes the investigation and prosecution of these acts of religious intolerance as an indication of the seriousness with which the Indonesian government views these issues.

This information was downloaded from the ETHRC's website. For the complete report, and continually updated information:

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EAST TIMOR - Towards a Peaceful Solution

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate visit to Perth

Friends of East Timor has been asked to coordinate a Perth visit of Nobel Laureate José Ramos-Horta, from 8 to 11 February.

In his role as an international spokesperson, José Ramos-Horta has advanced an East Timor Peace Plan. It is consistent with the enhanced peace making role of the United Nations, and designed to present an internationally acceptable solution to the problems in the troubled territory. It is this peace plan that has so impressed the Nobel Committee.

The purpose of the visit to Perth is to discuss and promote such an internationally acceptable solution to the problems in East Timor.

It's a very important visit - FOET members and the general community can enrich their knowledge from his committed and thorough approach to the questions of East Timor's future. Please don't let you and your friends miss the *Public Address* on Tuesday 11 February.

Coming Events

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Visit to Perth

Currently confirmed events - more to come!

Press Club Luncheon

Monday 10 February, 12:15 pm

Princess Hotel, Murray Street, Perth city

\$26.00 FOET members; \$28.00 non members

Public Address

Tuesday 11 February, 7:30 pm

Introduction by Dr Fiona Stanley

at the Centre For Ethics,

Christchurch Grammar School Chapel

Stirling Highway, Claremont

Only \$5.00 entry

Phone for additional information and more events - 328 1115

FOET Annual General Meeting

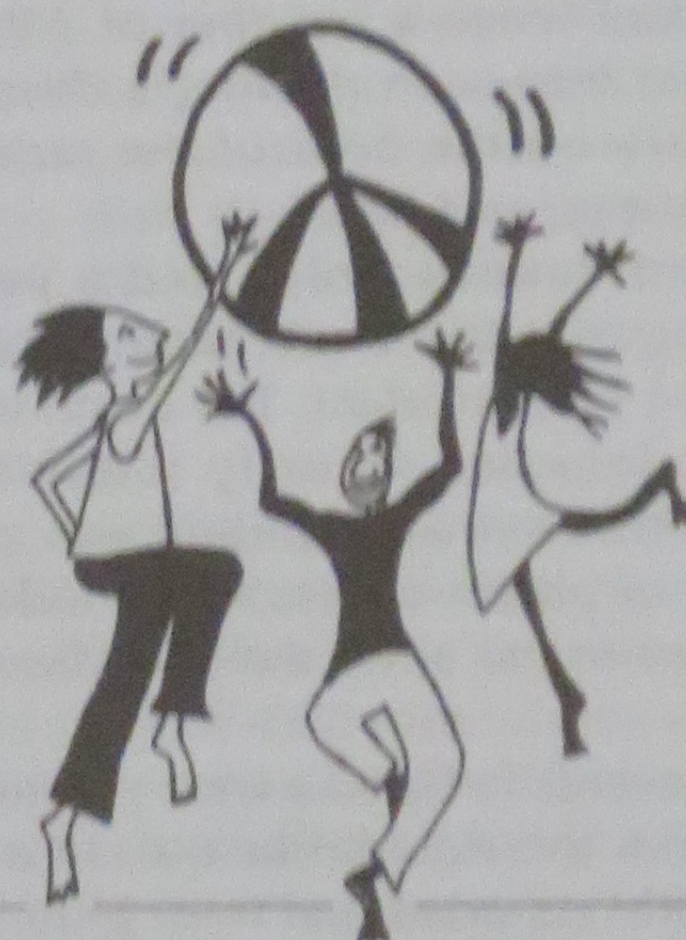
Sunday, 23 February, 2:00 pm at the Christian Centre for Social Action, 879 Albany Highway, East Victoria Park.

Report on the past year's activities and election of committee for 1997. A chance to hear and discuss FOET's work, and a good opportunity to get involved for a free East Timor.

New documentary

Look out for SBS documentary on the East Timorese community exiled in Australia - coming about late February. Focuses on refugee cases.

Asia-Pacific Anti-Militarism Forum



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fax +61 3 9416 2081

email genccso@lusa.latrobe.edu.au

28 Mar - 1 Apr Brunswick Town Hall Melbourne

About Friends of East Timor

Friends of East Timor support:

- An immediate end to the human rights abuses in Indonesian-occupied East Timor.
- The implementation of the numerous United Nations resolutions on East Timor which affirm the right of the East Timorese to determine their own future through the formal process of decolonisation; and a free and fair referendum for all East Timorese.

Friends of East Timor's activities include:

- Campaigns to inform Australians about the situation in East Timor.
- Lobbying the Australian Government, the United Nations and others to fulfill their obligations to the people of East Timor.
- Monitoring current developments and media coverage of the issue.

Are you on Email? If so email FOET <foetwa@perth.dialix.oz.au> for a list of resources on East Timor available on the Internet.