

Fretilin representative Estanislao da Silva spoke at a Democratic Socialist forum in Sydney on the eve of the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. The following is excerpted from his talk.

The Santa Cruz massacre is an important event to be remembered by every Timorese and those who support the struggle of my people for freedom and independence. For the first time an example of the atrocities committed by the Indonesian troops in East Timor over the last 17 years of occupation was witnessed by TV cameras and foreign journalists.

Whoever gave the orders to shoot at the Santa Cruz cemetery was implementing Jakarta's policy of genocide. It was a premeditated mass killing.

The evidence of Jakarta's policy was spelled out by the Indonesian army commander hours after the massacre. He said: "Timorese like those who gather outside the cemetery are people who must be crushed ... In the end they must be shot down."

The Dili massacre has deeply affected Jakarta's image. For example, the recent decision of the United States Congress to cut military aid to Indonesia, even though the amount of the aid is small, [shows that] the political implications are very great in terms of Indonesia as a developing country.

Australia has played from the very beginning an important role in the issue. Jakarta would never be so arrogant without the complicity of Australia, its most powerful and only Western neighbour. Jakarta might have had to retreat from its initial position and consider the implementation of UN resolutions if Canberra had strongly condemned Indonesia's action. Canberra's complicity is indeed evident with the signing of the Timor Gap Treaty.

More recently, Senator Gareth Evans has asked Western nations not to raise the hopes of East Timorese. He went further, saying that the issue of East Timor has to be resolved within the context of Indonesia as a nation. Like the Indonesian generals, Gareth Evans shows his lack of knowledge of the history of the East Timorese people. We were able to survive as a people and

keep our cultural identity alive for more than four centuries under European domination. So not in 17 years will Indonesia destroy it.

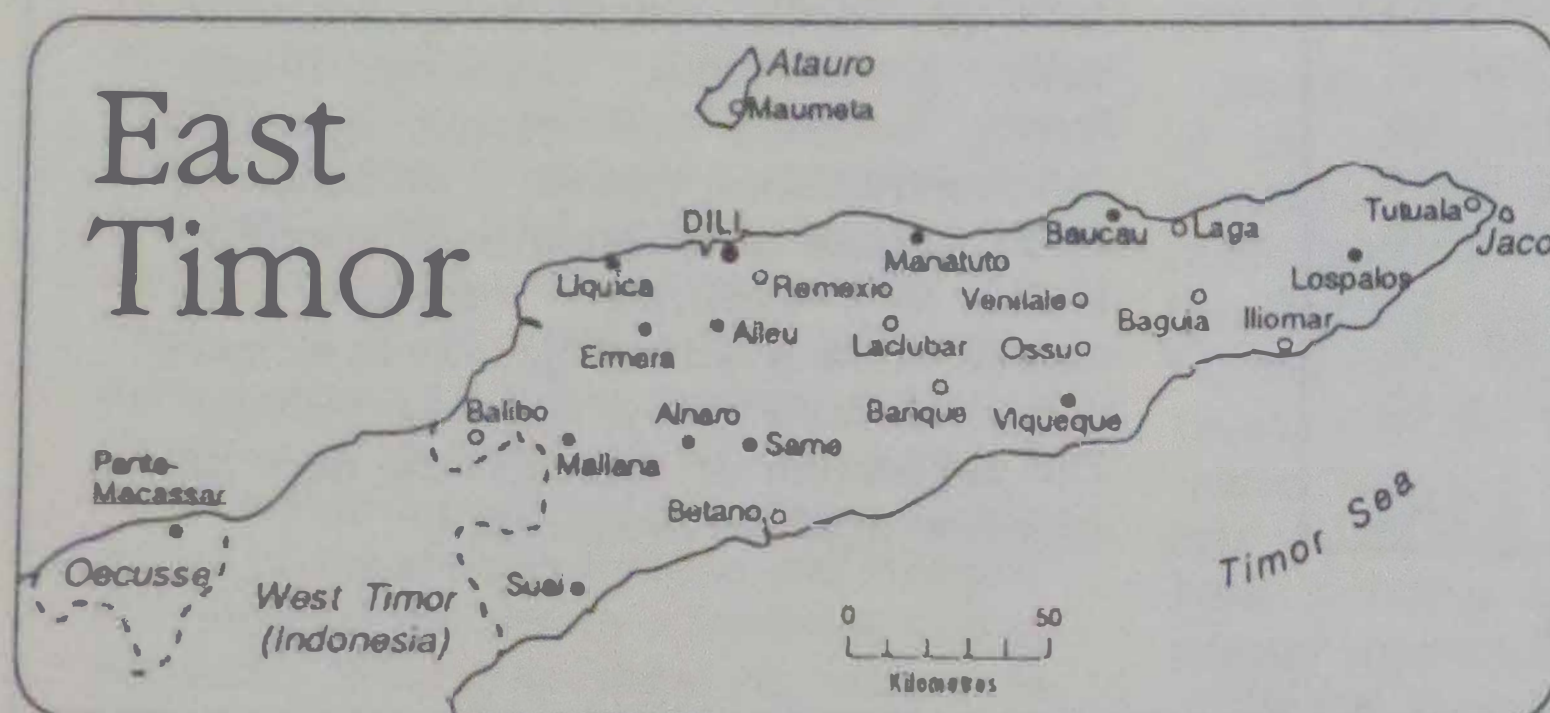
Indonesia has claimed that our resistance has been reduced to a hundred or a couple of dozen guerillas all over the territory. They have been saying this since 1979. But if you look at the number of Indonesian troops in East Timor, you see the real situation.

Falantil [the armed wing of the resistance] now is everywhere, in the cities, in the mountains. It is much more difficult for Indonesia to locate our guerilla units. We are all over the territory.

The massacre itself has motivated people more than ever to join the resistance. [The Indonesians] had hoped that with the transmigration program, with all the development that they have been introducing, they will control the situation.

But with the massacre, the gap between Indonesian forces of occupation and East Timorese has widened more than ever. The people are much more determined to struggle and to win. ■

GREEN LEFT WEEKLY



Osorio Soares the new governor

Abilio Osorio Soares, 45, has been appointed the governor of East Timor. Although strongly denied by the authorities in Jakarta, Osorio's 'election' as governor has been the result of complicated manoeuvres by a triangle (President Suharto, Home Affairs Minister ret'd General Rudini and ABRI, the armed forces). ABRI had to withdraw their own candidate, the Javanese general, A.B.Saridjo, at present the vice-governor. The situation in East Timor was considered to be too volatile to have a non-Timorese as governor.

ABRI, in particular the Indonesian military in East Timor, then promoted Abilio Osorio Soares which became the only real candidate for Jakarta.

Close to ABRI

Abilio Osorio is close to the Indonesian military. Following the Indonesian invasion, he became an key informer. He is particularly close to Colonel Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law, who has served long stints in East Timor. Abilio brags about his friendship with Prabowo which dates back to 1976 when Prabowo was just a lieutenant. He has held many important posts in Indonesia's '27th province' - head of public works, mayor of Dili in the late eighties and most recently, district chief of Manatuto, where he was born.

During Abilio Osorio's period as mayor of Dili, the *ninja* (para-military gangs dressed in black) started operating, terrorising the inhabitants of Dili.

TAPOL

General Sintong sued in US Federal court

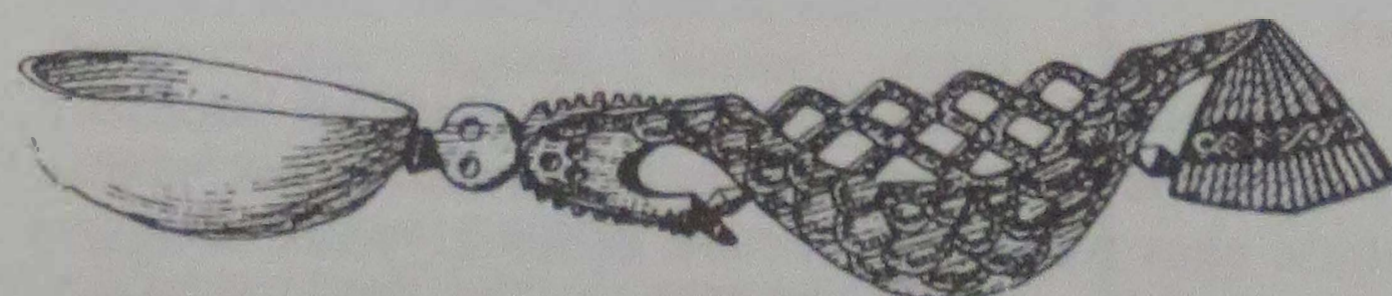
Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, who was commander of the Udayana military command which covers East Timor at the time of the Santa Cruz massacre, is being sued in a US federal court in connection with the massacre. The lawsuit has been filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights on behalf of Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, who was shot by troops and bled to death. Ms Todd lives in Malaysia.

In a statement, Helen Todd said she was taking this action "on behalf of hundreds of East Timor mothers who are forced to grieve in silence for their dead children. ... unlike them, I can bring a case against a military officer without putting the rest of my family in danger."

The suit charges Sintong as one of the Indonesian military leaders responsible for a programme of systematic human rights violations which included the execution of Kamal Bamadhaj. Sintong is currently taking a course at Harvard University, after being replaced as commander when President Suharto's removed some generals in order to defuse international outrage at the massacre.

The lawsuit was filed under two US laws which allow victims of gross human rights violations to bring a suit in a US federal court no matter where the violations occurred, as long as the defendant is in the USA. One of these laws, the Torture Victim Protection Act, was recently signed into law by President Bush.

Beth Stephens, a CCR attorney working on the case, said: "We hope with this case and others like it to make it clear that the US is no longer a safe refuge for the torturers and murderers of the world." ☆



Strong resolution passed by UN

On 27 August the 44th session of the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities passed a strong resolution on East Timor.

The UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities voted in favour of the resolution on East Timor by 13 votes to six with four abstentions, the best support to date for the East Timor lobby in this UN body.

The Sub-Commission, composed of independent human rights experts, is an advisory body and does not carry the same weight as the UN Human Rights Commission (UNCHR), but the outcome was nevertheless an indication of the increase in concern that has developed on the East Timor question over the last year.

The resolution was tabled under Agenda Item 6, entitled 'Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and

segregation and of apartheid in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories: Report of the sub-commission under commission of human rights resolution 8 (XXIII).'

The text, recalling previous UN resolutions on East Timor and the consensus declaration agreed by Indonesia at the UNCHR in March (see *Timor Link*, May 1992, p5), expressed concern at the heavy sentences passed on the East Timorese involved in 'peaceful political activities' (see p??) and noted that Indonesia's draconian anti-subversion law had been condemned by the UN special rapporteur on torture.

The resolution regretted that human rights violations were reported to be continuing in East Timor and called on the Indonesian authorities to honour their commitment to give human rights organisations access to the occupied territory.

Significantly, the resolution called on the UN secretary-general to make the report of his personal envoy, Mr Amos Wako, who visited Indonesia and East Timor in February, available to the next session of the UNCHR. It also invited the Indonesian authorities to report on further measures to ensure that those responsible for the Santa Cruz massacre would be properly punished.

The Sub-Commission decided to review the situation in East Timor at its 45th session.

TIMOR LINK

THE INSIDE STORY

OCTOBER NO. 4 1992

World Bank aid approved

Demonstrators outside the meeting of the World Bank's consultative group on Indonesia in Paris on 16-17 July failed to dissuade the new aid consortium from pledging US\$4.94 billion to Indonesia — US\$200 million more than the total aid for 1991/92.

The only government which publicly raised the issue of human rights was the United States, currently under pressure from the US Congress (see above). It read out a statement expressing concern at the trials and the confusion surrounding civil and military versions of the Santa Cruz massacre.

European concern for human rights, at the alleged insistence of the British government, was limited to discreet, closed-door meetings. To the satisfaction of Indonesia, many governments, including Britain, France, Germany and Austria, increased their contributions, despite a resolution by the EC Council of Ministers on 28 November 1991 to 'explicitly introduce the consideration of human rights as an element of their relations with developing countries'. The application of these criteria does not appear to apply to Indonesia.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Profile: East Timor tapol [POL. PRISONERS]

There are over 120 East Timorese known to be held for alleged subversion, which represents at least 22 percent of the total tapol held by the Indonesian regime. Reports are that there are far more. It is not even clear that Indonesian law has any jurisdiction over the East Timorese since Indonesia illegally annexed the country in 1975.

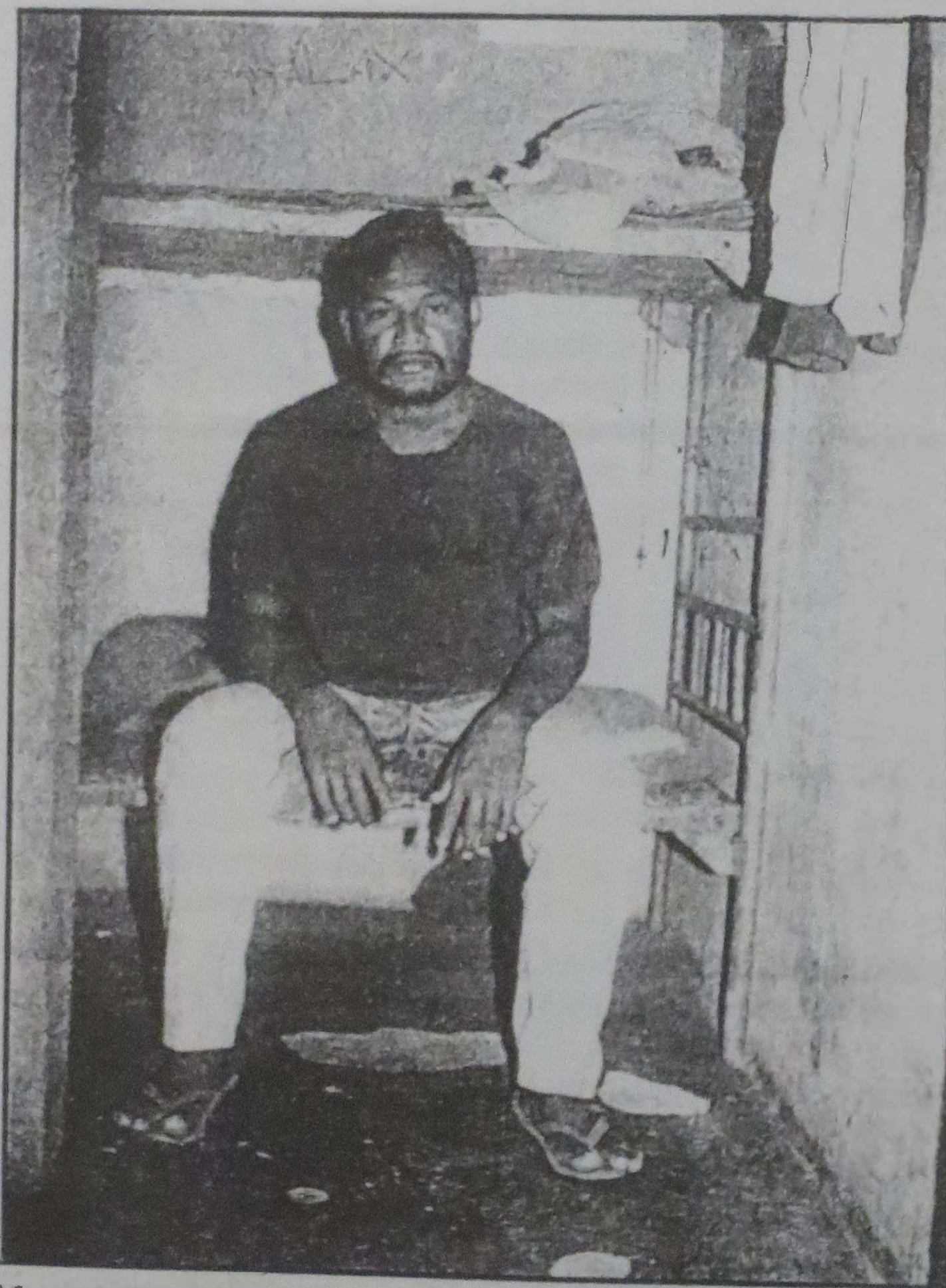
Whether or not this is so, these arrests have violated the human rights of the detainees, who have been subjected to torture, have had legal advice withheld, family visits denied, experienced long periods of detention without charge, and unfair trials.

The paucity of information on East Timorese tapol is shocking. It is basically impossible for anyone to visit prisoners in East Timor. Consequently, out of the 120 known prisoners, the ages of over ninety and the sentences (if sentenced at all) of ninety-four are unknown. For many prisoners, not even the family name is known. The lists mention at least seven tapol held in KODIM 1628 (Baucau) who have not been identified at all.

Only nine are currently in prison in Jakarta (including the four sentenced after the demonstration in Jakarta last November):

From the information we do have, it is clear that the vast majority of the detainees are young: out of the twenty-nine tapol whose ages we know, five are under 21 years of age, twenty between 22 and 40, and four between 41 and 60.

TAPOL



Manuel Corvalho, arrested early 1991, reportedly still in prison. He is one of the many hundreds of Timorese who are in and out of detention.

Britain ready to sell more arms

As criticism of Britain's role in supplying military equipment continued to be raised in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords during July and August, it emerged that British Aerospace is close to finalising a deal with the Indonesian government to supply 44 Hawk fighter/trainer aircraft.

The deal, believed to be worth US\$1.2 million, will include the setting up of a production line in Indonesia, with parts of the aircraft assembled in Indonesian factories. Britain, after the United States, is the second largest supplier of military equipment to the Suharto regime.

The Hawk is primarily a training aircraft but can be modified to attack targets on the ground. There is considerable concern among human rights groups that these planes will be used by Indonesia for internal security and repression. There is evidence of Hawks having been used in East Timor.

License to kill?

An export licence must now be obtained for the sale to go ahead. The British government routinely states, when pressed on the morality of supplying arms to a regime like Indonesia's, that 'all applications... are rigorously scrutinised on a case-by-case basis. We apply strict criteria and reject many applications for a wide range of countries. One aspect to which we attach considerable importance is the human rights record of the recipient nation and whether this might be affected by a particular export proposal. Whenever there is reason to believe that a prospective purchase is likely to be deployed against a civilian population, the application is refused.'

Indonesia, however, has already bought 20 Hawks from Britain in the past. And

human rights groups fear that the current economic recession in Britain will make the granting of the licence much easier. If the sale does go ahead, it will represent a salutary indication of what can be expected of British government policy on East Timor during Britain's current presidency of the European Community.

During Portugal's presidency of the EC, which ended in July, Britain obstructed Lisbon's every initiative over Indonesian occupation of East Timor and even prevented the subject from being mentioned in the final communique marking the end of Portugal's EC presidency (see p6).

House of Lords debate

At the same time, however, there is growing support among Conservative parliamentarians for an arms embargo and aid suspension to Indonesia, as illustrated in a House of Lords debate on East Timor on 16 July. The debate, which lasted for an hour and a half, represented the most comprehensive airing of the issues surrounding the illegal occupation of East Timor and British government policy ever held in the Palace of Westminster.

Jose Ramos Horta, external representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, has strongly criticised the role of the British government and expressed his fear that Britain's current presidency of the EC will be a tragedy for East Timor. 'The situation in the territory is bound to get worse, with the Indonesian regime feeling that it has such support,' he told *Timor Link*, pointing to British economic and military support for the Jakarta regime.

The UK, he said, merited the Nobel Prize for hypocrisy. While the UK had dispatched a massive task force to the South Atlantic to defend the right to self-determination of 2,000 colonisers in the Falklands, it was now blocking self-determination for the people of East Timor.

On 19 September, the signing of the contract was officially announced in Jakarta. Yet in Britain, no one was saying anything...

THE INSIDE STORY
OCTOBER NO. 4 1992

● The Campaign Against the Arms Trade is asking its supporters to write to the British Prime Minister, John Major, 10 Downing St, London SW1, asking him to stop the Hawk sale and arms sales to Indonesia. You may wish to join them. Further information from CAAT, 11 Goodwin St, London N4 5HQ. £K.

School closed

The only remaining Portuguese school in Dili was closed in July and its pupils were moved to other local schools.

The school, with courses in Portuguese and Bahasa and minimal instruction of Pancasila, Indonesia's national ideology, had a controversial reputation with some citizens and Indonesian officials. Many of its students participated in the funeral procession which led to last November's Santa Cruz massacre.

The local Indonesian military have viewed the closure with satisfaction. For his part, R. Tri Wianta, head of the East Timor Office of Education and Culture, claimed that the decision had been made 'with happiness and without any pressure from either side' at a meeting with the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Bishop Carlos Belo, at the bishop's residence on 27 March.

NAM ignores East Timor

Indonesia, chairing the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Jakarta on 1-6 September, saw to East Timor being kept off the agenda.

In the final declaration of the summit, which reiterated support for the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and independence, the NAM proclaimed itself in favour of 'building a new and equitable international order... firmly rooted in the rule of law', and the principles of the UN charter. It also stated its commitment to the 'peaceful resolution of disputes in all regions of the world through a sustained process of dialogue and negotiation'.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN INDONESIA

EAST TIMORESE CHARGED

Gregorio da Saldanha:	Life
Francisco Miranda Branco:	15yr
Juvencio de Jesus Martins:	10yr
Joao Freitas da Camara:	10yr
Saturnino da Costa Belo:	9yr
Fernando de Araujo:	9yr
Bonifacio Magno Pereira:	6yr
Filomeno da Silva Pereira:	5yr 8m
Boby Xavier:	3yr
Joao dos Santos:	2yr
Virgilio da Silva Guterres:	2yr
Agapto Cardoso:	10mth
Domingos Barreto:	6mth

INDONESIAN SOLDIERS CHARGED

Sgt Aloysius Rani:	1yr 6mth
Sgt Udin Syukur:	1yr 6mth
Corp I.P. Marthin Abau:	1yr 5mth
Lt Suguman Mursanib:	1yr 2mth
Lt John Aritonang:	1yr
Lt Handrianus Eddy Sunaryo:	1yr
Sgt Petrus Saul Mada:	1yr
Pvt Mateur Maya:	8mth
Pvt Alfonso de Jesus:	8mth
Lt Yohanes Alex Panpada:	8mth

Indonesian justice has been demonstrated to be upside down in its application. While those who carried out the Santa Cruz massacre have gone relatively unpunished, participants in what was described by foreign observers (in testimonies which were not even considered by the Indonesian courts) as a peaceful demonstration have been victimised. But as Amnesty International, in its September document, 'Indonesia/East Timor: the Suppression of Dissent', states, 'Peaceful protest, including demonstration against human rights violations, has been treated as "subversive activity" by the authorities. Those who voice even the mildest criticism of government policy have been dubbed opponents of the state.'

Bishop Belo appeals for more freedom

In August 1992 the Indonesian monthly magazine *Matra* published a major interview with Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo who administers the Diocese of Dili on behalf of the Vatican. Consistent with previous interviews, Bishop Belo insisted that the people of East Timor should be consulted about the future of the territory in a referendum, even if they decide to accept integration with Indonesia.

Before a referendum, however, Bishop Belo said that conditions for the local population should improve considerably. The military should leave and the people should have greater access to the development that has taken place under Indonesian occupation, as well as the freedom to express their views.

Belo's position, while a plea for greater consultation and democracy from Indonesia, is broadly compatible with elements of the East Timorese resistance's recent peace proposals (see p3-4). On the other hand, it regards self-determination as a long-term goal, with integration a necessary phase in East Timor's development before final independence.

In any assessment of Belo's interview, it is important to bear in mind that he was addressing an Indonesian audience and that he was speaking as a bishop who has been repeatedly asked, if not instructed, by both the Indonesian government and sectors of the Roman Catholic Curia, to stay out of politics.

In East Timor the Church has been a source of spiritual solace in a profoundly traumatised society and has represented an element of continuity in terms of East Timorese identity. It is the only 'space' inside the country which has not been occupied by the Indonesian army.

Bishop Belo's starting point in the interview was the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of the human being. People needed freedom in order to develop and this entailed political rights, including democracy, consultation, freedom of movement and expression, and material development.

There were therefore times, Bishop Belo said, when the Church should defend the people and this was consistent with his role as a bishop. His concern for the material and spiritual welfare of his people transcended the sphere of politics, but the political atmosphere should be one which allowed 'the whole human being' to live in peace and freedom.

As to predicting the result of a

referendum, Bishop Belo put aside his own judgement and emphasised that it was the people themselves who should be allowed to decide and then take responsibility for their decision. The past 15 years had had appalling consequences for East Timor and even if the territory became internationally recognised as part of Indonesia, the East Timorese would have to be treated with greater respect, granted more freedom and autonomy, and have their culture safeguarded.

This, he said, was consistent with the letter he had sent to the UN secretary-general in 1989 in which he complained that 'others speak in the name of the people'. He said he did not wish to do the same.

In speaking of the East Timorese taking responsibility for any decision they might take, however, Bishop Belo showed realism over possible outcomes to the conflict, recognising that an independent East Timor would need far more trained people than it possessed at present. That, he said, was why he complained that the good jobs went to foreigners, while East Timor's indigenous population was marginalised in its own land. He spoke of the need for regional autonomy — a looser connection with Indonesia.

Below, *Timor Link* reproduces key parts of Bishop Belo's interview.

Freedom to be complete human beings

'The people of East Timor must be able to live in an atmosphere where they feel they have a place, that they are human beings, that they are being given attention; they must be given the freedom to be complete human beings. These conditions can be achieved if physical and material development is accompanied by human development. That's what is not yet happening here . . . people should have the freedom to move, the freedom to express their opinions. The freedom to say that there are things they don't like. There is no such democracy yet.'

Explaining that the people had no sense of the development of East Timor being for them, the bishop went on: 'The most important thing of all is that we want to be a little freer. This is something very fundamental. Not free from Indonesia but free as citizens of this country. Others are free in Java; those living in Maluku are free. We also want to be as free as they are, here in East Timor. Not like the present, when I feel freer in Jakarta than I do in Dili. This means there's something wrong.'

On the referendum

Bishop Belo explained to the interviewer that his 1989 letter to the UN secretary-general asking for a referendum in East Timor (which was made public against his wishes) had aimed to establish once and for all the wishes of the people.

'The important thing,' he said, 'is to give us the freedom to choose. I think the people can see for themselves and judge the benefits of the past 15 years. After seeing all that, the people may choose integration. But what I want to emphasise is if a process of choice happens, with everyone aware of what has happened, those who made the choice will be responsible for the result. Since we were the ones who made the choice but then have to suffer the consequences, we would be able to take responsibility.'

The role of the military

'I am deeply afraid because everything is done and built by the military. . . Excessive involvement of the military can mean not giving the community or civilians the chance to work for development. . . The military should withdraw so that the community takes responsibility for progress and for their lives.'

Belo spoke of his role in trying to establish dialogue between the military and the people and emphasised that 'dialogue should be free'. He criticised the military for misrepresenting his actions to the people, portraying him as two-faced and someone who encourages people to demonstrate. 'This is very unpleasant. The result is that we live in an atmosphere of mutual distrust.'

The bishop said that the military needed to explain its role, as at present it was 'everywhere, in social affairs, the economy, culture, tourism, social communications. So what is left for civilians?'

A time to speak out

'I speak out when people are in a state of unrest, when they are being oppressed, when they are being treated unjustly and in conflict with *Pancasila* [Indonesia's state ideology]. I speak out because sometimes the situation demands that I should. I cannot stand by in silence when something needs to be changed. I must have the courage to take a stand.'

'Sometimes people accuse me of being too strong. If this means my taking positions that are unpopular, so be it. That's the risk.'

TIMOR LINK

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