

ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

Volume 7: December 17, 1991 - January 4, 1992

For more information or additional copies (please enclose US\$5. per volume to cover costs):

Charles Scheiner, Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA

Tel.914-428-7299. Fax.914-428-7383 email IGC:CSCHEINER or CSCHEINER@IGC.COM

Reprinting and distribution without permission is welcomed.

This material is also available on IBM-compatible diskette, in either WinWord or ASCII format.

Much of this material is supplied by Task Force Indonesia or TAPOL.

Table of Contents

FINALLY KPN 'SURRENDERS' AND AGREES TO ANSWER JOURNALISTS.....	3
EAST TIMOR QUESTION IN BUNDESTAG.....	3
KILLINGS BREED ANTIPATHY IN EAST TIMOR.....	4
RESIDUE OF RESENTMENT	4
NECESSARY CHANGES.....	4
'PROSPERITY APPROACH'	5
UNITARY STATE.....	5
FEW HEADLINES.....	5
HASN'T WORKED	6
INDONESIA, AUSTRALIA HIT OVER OIL EXPLOITATION ACCORDS	6
'DISTURBING NGO' TRAVEL BAN?.....	6
FOREIGN FIRMS KEEN TO INVEST IN EAST TIMOR	7
AUSTRIAN, GERMAN MPS TO VISIT INDONESIA	7
CARRASCALAO SAYS NO SECOND DECOLONISATION IN EAST TIMOR	7
EAST TIMOR DEMONSTRATIONS BANNED	7
TROCAIRE CALLS FOR [IRISH] GOVERNMENT ACTION ON EAST TIMOR.....	8
EAST TIMOR: WORKERS OCCUPY PAPAL MISSION TO PROTEST MASSACRE.....	8
CHANGE IN EAST TIMOR -- NOW OR NEVER.....	8
EXTRACTS FROM PUBLICO (LISBON) - 19 DEC 91	9
PORTUGESE PROTESTORS OCCUPY PAPAL NUNCIATURE.....	9
CARRASCALAO ON BODY COUNT.....	9
SOARES CHRISTMAS CARDS HIGHLIGHT TIMOR	9
AD URGES PRESSURE ON EEC.....	10
FOREIGN PRESS MAY BE REPRIMANDED OVER REPORT ON DILI	10
GARETH EVANS ARRIVES IN JAKARTA	10
EVANS, ALATAS MUM.....	10
POPE'S TIMOR 'STAND' UNCHANGED	10
FIRST TIMORESE EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT	11
THE 12 NOVEMBER MASSACRE AT SANTA CRUZ CEMETERY.....	11
WHY HAD THIS HAPPENED?.....	11
THIS IS HOW THE FIRST MASSACRE ENDED	11
INDONESIAN BISHOPS CONCERNED, OFFER HELP ON EAST TIMOR	12
BISHOPS PLEAD FOR TIMORESE CLEMENCY.....	12
CHOFU CITY: 'LEAVE TIMOR'.....	13
BUSH 'CONVERSATIONS'	13
EVANS REMARKS.....	13
EVANS ENDS INDONESIA VISIT	13
'FRIEND' EVANS TREATED LIKE AN ENEMY.....	13
233 FRENCH STUDENTS SEND OPEN LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER	14
EAST TIMOR JAPAN SPEAKING TOUR 1991.....	14
FROM TIANANMEN TO TIMOR	14
WHY INDONESIA MAY WANT TO LISTEN TO OUTSIDERS.....	14
THE POWER OF THE FOREIGN PURSE.....	15

BBC SPEAKS TO EYEWITNESSES.....	15
ON THE MASSACRE IN SANTA CRUZ, DILI, OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR.....	15
ITEMS FROM PUBLICO 23 DEC.....	16
TIMORESE PRIEST DETAINED.....	16
HIGH LEVEL TIMOR DETENTIONS.....	16
FOUR TIMORESE DETAINEES IN BALI SEVERELY TORTURED.....	16
'EVERYONE THERE IS VERY TRAUMATISED' SAYS PAPAL ENVOY.....	17
JAPAN PM: AID & RIGHTS LINKED.....	17
OFFICER DIRECTING THE MASSACRE IS IDENTIFIED.....	17
XMAS AT EAST TIMOR EMBASSY IN CANBERRA.....	17
DIET GROUP: STOP ECONOMIC AID.....	17
FORGET AND FORGIVE: BELO IN CHRISTMAS MESSAGE.....	18
PRELIMINARY REPORT: NATIONAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY. (FULL TEXT).....	18
INCIDENT OF 12 NOVEMBER 1991, DILI.....	18
I. INTRODUCTION.....	18
II. THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION.....	18
IV. CONCLUSIONS.....	20
V. CLOSING SECTION.....	21
COMMISSION ADMITS 50 DEAD (WIRES).....	21
REUTER, JAKARTA, JONATHAN THATCHER, DEC 26.....	21
DPA, JAKARTA, DEC 26 -.....	22
KYODO, JAKARTA, DEC 26 -.....	22
AFP, JAKARTA, DEC 26 -.....	22
AP, JAKARTA, ALBERT SARAGIH, DEC 26.....	23
EXCERPT FROM REUTER, JAKARTA, DEC 27.....	23
TAPOL REJECTS THE FINDINGS OF SUHARTO'S INQUIRY COMMISSION.....	24
VIOLATIONS AND DOUBTS REMAIN OVER OFFICIAL INQUIRY (AI).....	24
KPN ESTIMATES DILI INCIDENT VICTIMS AT 50.....	25
FROM PUBLICO (LISBON) 27 DECEMBER 1991.....	25
JOSE RAMOS HORTA ON KPN REPORT.....	25
CAUTIOUS U.S. REPLY.....	25
BUSH ADMINISTRATION RESPONDS TO REPORT.....	25
STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING BY JOSEPH SNYDER:.....	26
PORTUGAL REJECTS DJAELANI REPORT.....	26
TIMORESE REJECT REPORT: KYODO.....	26
INDONESIAN REPORT ON TIMOR SHOOTINGS DRAWS CRITICISM.....	26
ABRI 'ACCEPTS' REPORT.....	27
TRY: 'SEPARATISTS' SHOULD 'GIVE UP'.....	27
FOREIGN AID SAVED?.....	27
HOW THE FOUR EAST TIMORESE IN BALI WERE ARRESTED.....	28
A CHRISTMAS FOR TIMOR.....	28
GENERALS SACKED.....	28
SOEHARTO CREATING RIFTS IN ARMY?.....	28
TIMOR DEMO 'LEADER' TRIAL.....	29
AFP, JAKARTA, DEC 28 -.....	29
TIMORESE ARRESTED IN MALANG.....	29
NEW UDAYANA, TIMOR COMMANDERS.....	29
REUTER, JAKARTA, DEC 30.....	29
A.I. USA ADVISES BUSH.....	30
JAPAN'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.....	30
TAPOL WRITES TO THE UN AND THE EC.....	31
TRY SEARCHES FOR BODIES.....	31
BELO CALLS FOR TALKS.....	31
THE HAGUE WANTS UN TO INVESTIGATE.....	32
EAST TIMORESE BOY INJURED BY BRICK THROWN FROM INDONESIA EM BASSY.....	32
EMBASSY STAFF THREW BRICKS AT PROTESTERS.....	32
KPN REPORT MAKES IMPACT (ASIA WATCH).....	32
INDONESIA WARNS AUSTRALIA, PORTUGAL.....	33
BISHOP BELO DENIES HE INVITED INDONESIA OFFICIALS.....	33

THERE ARE 41 TIMORESE AWAITING TRIAL.....	33
INDON EMBASSY PICKET THREATENED	33

FINALLY KPN 'SURRENDERS' AND AGREES TO ANSWER JOURNALISTS

Source: *Surabaya Pos*. 5 December 1991. Unabridged.

Comment: This includes some rare quotes from the normally talkative and hard-hitting Interior Ministry Sos-Pol chief, Hari Sugiman, who has kept very much in the background during the KPN's stay in Dili. Perhaps he is unaccustomed to playing second-fiddle.

The National Inquiry Commission (KPN) led by M. Djaelani 'surrendered' and agreed to a request for dialogue with journalists. Since their arrival, they have only said: 'No comment.'

But on Sunday, they held a meeting with journalists at Hotel Mahkota, where the group is staying. The dialogue was attended by Djaelani and KPN member, Hari Sugiman. Seventeen journalists attended, 12 from Indonesian newspapers and five foreign journalists (2 from Japan's NHK, 2 from Asahi Shimbun, and 1 from Reuter).

But as the meeting was about to proceed to a discussion about the information being received 'from the field', the meeting was ended because of the presence of a police intel agent. Said one Jakarta-based journalist: "We had hoped to have the freedom to raise things with the commission and therefore it's better to postpone it for another time."

Here are questions and answers with Djaelani and Hari Sugiman:

Q: Can the Commission give security guarantees to those who provide it with information?

D (Djaelani): That was something discussed by the members of the Commission. As far as the information given to us is concerned, I guarantee that it will be kept secret. But the Commission is not able to give any guarantee regarding what happens to those who provide information.

HS: (Hari Sugiman): We shall check everything given to us so as to reach the objective truth. From the start the Commission has worked on the basis of being objective, just, painstaking and thorough. You can give your own answer about security safeguards.

Q: But people are still stifled by the fear of submitting information without any guarantees.

HS: If they are afraid, that's probably because of the impact of the 12 November incident. But you shouldn't draw the conclusion that the fear is because of pressure and restrictions.

Q: There are other difficulties.

MD (presumably these initials also apply to Djaelani): To be honest, we have difficulty communicating because some of the sources of information only speak the regional language, Tetum or Portuguese. To facilitate things, we will use interpreters.

A: Have you received a lot of information?

HS: *Yes, a great deal. But we cannot work carelessly. We have to cross-check everything. We must be painstaking and accurate in gathering together the information. For instance, before coming to East Timor, we asked for information from LB Murdani as ad interim Foreign Minister, from the armed forces commander-in-chief and Interior Minister Rudini. We also asked for information from other leading figures in Jakarta. The second principle is that we must be objective and impartial. The third is we must be independent and free to seek information from anyone.*

Q: But the framework from Jakarta was that you started off with statements from the apparatus and only then went down to people below.

HS: That was just a technical matter. We went to some central officials only because we wanted to make things easier for us in the field. From there, we decided how to proceed.

MD: One other aspect of our method of work is this, we must be thorough-going. We must not only report the data and facts from the field but also make proposals for future handling of the question. We shall make these recommendations to the president.

Q: What information have you received so far?

HS: Quite a lot. Besides verbal reports, we have received written reports. For example, Governor Carrascalao has submitted verbal information, 300 pages of written evidence and several photos.

Q: It is reported that Bishop Belo also submitted a written report.

HS: Yes, there was a friendly and open meeting and he submitted information during a three-hour meeting. We are

studying his information. Father Ricardo of Motael Church even showed us where Sebastiao Gomes and Afonso were killed.

Q: What's the truth?

MD: We have to cross-check everything to discover the truth. We have to discuss it all objectively, carefully and accurately. We must be careful not to produce raw data to society. The Commission's work is a state duty because it was set up by the head of state.

EAST TIMOR QUESTION IN BUNDESTAG

The following question on East Timor was put to the German Government recently (inofficial translation):

German Bundestag 12th Legislative Period Printed Matter No 12. December 1991

Minor Question by Dr Ursula Fischer, MP, and the Parliamentary Group PDS/LL

Since 1975 the territory of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has been occupied by Indonesia. In order to integrate the predominantly catholic population of East Timor, the Indonesian government is mainly relying on military means. On 12 November 1991, Indonesian soldiers in the capital Dili fired for several minutes into a crowd of thousands of mourners at a memorial service with automatic weapons. According to the testimony of the catholic bishop of Dili, Mgr Belo, and of several British, American and Australian eye witnesses, approximately 180 demonstrators were killed during the massacre. We ask the Federal Government:

1. Is the Federal Government aware that according to reports by the human rights organisations Amnesty International, Tapol and Australian Coalition for East Timor, several hundred demonstrators were arrested during the massacre and that approximately 80 of those arrested were executed at the edge of a previously excavated mass grave?
2. Is the Federal Government aware that according to estimates by the above-mentioned human rights organisations, approximately 200,000 out of 700,000 East Timorese have been killed since the occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces on 7 December 1975?
3. What efforts is the Federal Government undertaking to obtain independent ac-

curate information on the continuing human rights violations in East Timor?

4. Does the Federal Government share the position of the Portuguese government that the recently commenced internal Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre is a farce, and does the Federal Government support the call by the Portuguese government for an independent international inquiry into the massacre by a UN commission of inquiry?
5. Does the Federal Government share the position of the government of Portugal that the catastrophic human rights situation in East Timor is caused directly by the 16 years of illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia?
6. Does the Federal Government share the position of the government of Portugal that until now the people of East Timor have been refused to exercise their right of selfdetermination, and does the Federal Government support resolutions 384 and 389 of the UN Security Council and the eight resolutions of the UN General Assembly which demand the withdrawal of the Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor and an internationally recognised act of selfdetermination for East Timor?
7. What active efforts has the Federal Government undertaken and what active efforts does it intend to undertake in order to contribute to a peaceful solution of the East Timor conflict on the basis of the above-mentioned UN resolutions?
8. What is the level of expenditure by the Federal Republic of Germany in terms of military and non-military aid to Indonesia?
9. For what specific purposes is that expenditure intended?
10. Does the Federal Government believe that neither the military nor the non-military aid which Indonesia obtains from the Federal Republic furthers the illegal occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces?
11. Will the Federal Government consider the suspension of both the military and non-military aid to Indonesia while the Indonesian occupation of East Timor continues?
12. Does the Federal Government support the call by the Chairman of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, Xanana Gusmao, for "negotiations without preconditions" between Indonesia, Portugal and the National Council of Maubere Resistance under the auspices of the United Nations in order to achieve

a peaceful solution of the East Timor conflict and an end to the continuing human rights violations in East Timor?

Dr Ursula Fischer, Leader of the Parliamentary PDS/LL

KILLINGS BREED ANTIPATHY IN EAST TIMOR

Asian Wall Street Journal December 9.

By Richard Borsuk, a Staff Reporter for the Asian Wall Street Journal, unabridged

(Dili, Dec 9) Like many people in this seaside city, Anton is scared. Speaking furtively to a foreigner, he warns that intelligence agents are "everywhere".

"My two younger brothers went with the group to the cemetery," he says. "I don't know where they are. I'm afraid they are dead."

The 25-year-old laborer is talking about the events of Nov. 12, when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on pro-independence demonstrators in a funeral procession. The Indonesian government calls it an "incident" in which soldiers were forced to defend themselves against an armed mob. Eyewitnesses call it a massacre; they say the crowd was unarmed and only chanting anti-Indonesia slogans and waving banners before the shooting started without warning. The government puts the death toll at 19; eyewitnesses say it's at least 100.

RESIDUE OF RESENTMENT

Anton is unwilling to give his full name, take a visitor home or go to the military hospital to ask if his brothers are among the wounded being treated. He knows many people who witnessed the shootings, but none who will talk to a national investigation commission now in Dili. He also knows that the shootings have left him with strong anti-Jakarta feelings. "We don't want to integrate with Indonesia. We're very afraid of their soldiers," he says.

Indonesian officials say there are fewer than 150 hard-core rebels of the separatist Fretilin movement still in the rugged hills of East Timor. The exact number of Indonesian troops and security personnel in the territory isn't known, but foreign military analysts estimate it at more than 10,000. There was a substantial security presence in Dili during a visit late last month, including some armored personnel carriers parked at the port -- down the road from a cinema showing "Lethal Weapon 2."

Among the casualties of Nov. 12 was Indonesia's effort to smoothly integrate with the rest of the country the impoverished former Portuguese colony it annexed in 1976. The killings have dealt a big blow to Indonesia's international standing and its efforts to win support of the troubled territory's 750,000 residents. After years of being ignored, East Timor is once again on

the world map, sometimes referred to as a "disputed territory," much to Jakarta's dismay.

The Indonesian government has constructed roads, schools and hospitals in a territory the Portuguese neglected during more than three centuries of rule. But development work hasn't nurtured widespread affection for Indonesia, and last month's shootings only strengthened feelings of resentment and alienation among East Timorese. For some, the killings turned apathy into antipathy.

"I feel like everything I tried to do for nine years has been destroyed," says East Timor's outspoken governor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao. While remaining convinced that independence is "crazy" and that integration with Jakarta is best, the disheartened Mr. Carrascalao says he senses that "practically everybody" in East Timor is against Indonesia at present.

NECESSARY CHANGES

As such, can Indonesia still hope to win the hearts and minds of East Timorese? Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw, the province's military commander, acknowledges that the job will be "very difficult", but expresses confidence in Jakarta's ability to bring a better way of life to East Timor. Gov. Carrascalao says that for integration to be accepted, Indonesia must make major changes in the way it administers the province -- and he's skeptical that they will be made.

A Timorese priest, who like many people in Dili insists on anonymity, reflects a more pessimistic view. "It's too late to do integration the right way. Some years ago, you could have done it. Now, after such violence, people want nothing to do with Indonesia," the priest says. "I'm afraid a lot more people will die. I'm scared."

Indeed, fear stalks Dili, whose idyllic beachfront belies the tension felt among the city's 120,000 residents. Some people who were willing to meet a visitor on previous visits now are afraid to for fear of being questioned by the authorities. Secondary schools have many absentees. The streets are nearly deserted by 8 p.m.

It is apparent that at least until the fear subsides, public sentiment toward integration won't improve. Emotions had been running high for weeks before Nov. 12, as East Timorese opposed to integration awaited a scheduled visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. The trip was scrapped, but expectations the planned visit had created ended in grief nonetheless.

In Dili and Jakarta, there is agreement that if the national commission investigating the shootings produces a credible report, the tough job of making integration acceptable to East Timorese will be eased. But many doubt whether the team, headed by a Supreme Court judge who is a retired army general, can produce an objective

assessment that contradicts the powerful Indonesian army's version of events and calls for officers to be punished. There is doubt that eyewitnesses will provide complete accounts for fear of reprisals from soldiers or right-wing Timorese vigilantes. The latter are said to have been coming out in Dili at night in recent months, harassing and beating residents accused of opposing integration.

Gov. Carrascalao says that when he asked an eyewitness of the Nov. 12 shootings to meet him, the boy's mother vetoed it. "They hid him from me, with her pleading 'He's our only son,'" the governor says. According to Mr. Carrascalao, the mother said she trusted him, "but it's long way from our place to your place."

Asked about the vigilantes, Gen. Warouw says: "I don't know if it's true. I don't have any reports to show it." The general says that in two years as commander, he has punished more than 200 soldiers -- discharging some -- for violating regulations and abusing residents. (In an interview in Dili 10 days ago, Gen. Warouw declined to discuss specifics of Nov. 12, saying he hadn't yet given his input to the investigating commission.)

'PROSPERITY APPROACH'

Many residents say Gen. Warouw is the best commander to serve in East Timor, and they commend the native of Sulawesi for introducing a "prosperity approach" to replace a "security approach" to running the territory. One Timorese social-worker compliments the general for "bringing a needed softer touch and caring about people."

But he and others says Gen. Warouw hasn't enforced strict discipline among his ranks. One of the many theories circulating about the shootings is that subordinates unhappy with the general's relatively soft touch in East Timor sought an opportunity for a violent incident that would allow for a return to hard-line administration.

Political analysts suggest that Indonesia needs to make significant changes in the way it administers East Timor to undercut anti-Jakarta feeling. But they don't include a security crackdown, which they say would worsen the situation.

"Certainly we're back to square one" on making integration a success, says Marzuki Darusman, a member of Indonesia's House of Representatives, in Jakarta. "The sooner we recognize that fact, the better position we're in to pick up the pieces and start again."

Among the few Dili residents who think little has changed since Nov. 12 is Tito dos Santos Baptista, one of three assistant governors and a member of Apodeti, an East Timorese group that supported integration with Indonesia in 1975. He dismisses the shootings as a "small

incident" and insists that there is "nothing wrong" with the way East Timor is run.

Gov. Carrascalao disagrees with his assistant, and his prescription is to reduce the number of soldiers stationed in East Timor and transfer more power to him from the military. Jakarta "gives more than enough money, compared with our capability to use it," he says. "If they gave me more power, the money would be better used."

He says East Timor received "negative special treatment" from Jakarta for 13 years, when the province was closed to outsiders from 1976 to 1989. "Now we should get positive special treatment," he says, suggesting that Jakarta implement tax incentives to boost the territory's shaky economy and reduce high unemployment, which has only fueled political trouble.

UNITARY STATE

Other East Timorese and Mr. Marzuki, the member of Parliament, agree that granting greater autonomy to East Timor would help. But the idea runs counter to Indonesia's highly-centralized political system. In Jakarta, foreign diplomats and Indonesian political analysts say the government worries that if East Timor were to obtain some kind of autonomy, resource-rich Irian Jaya and other remote provinces would want to alter their ties to the capital as well. Says Gen. Warouw: "We have a unitary state, not a federation. If there's a federation, then you'll have disintegration."

Gen. Warouw says current troop strength in East Timor of 12 battalions -- six for combat and six "territorial" ones for development work -- can be reduced step-by-step "when the situation is better." He says East Timorese "love the territorial battalions" -- an assessment with which the governor agrees.

The general puts the number of remaining armed Fretilin fighters at 125, though active supporters number "maybe more, maybe 200," down from 350 several years ago. "If we have few troops, it will be more difficult to find Fretilin," he says. He and others, including Gov. Carrascalao, note that Timor has had a history of clan conflict and revenge-killings, and he says the troops' presence helps prevent civil strife.

Still, the army's behavior angers the governor. He says the military's abuses make it "play Fretilin's game." For every person beaten, Fretilin's leader, Xanana Gusmao, "is going to get at least four or five people. We are creating his friends," he says.

While it isn't clear whether recent events will prompt army chiefs to tighten the military's grip on East Timor, Jakarta will remain firm on one point: East Timor is Indonesia's. Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno, in an emotional appearance in Parliament on Nov. 27, reaf-

firmed East Timor as an "inseparable" part of the country.

Even so, controversy lingers over the events that led to East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia. In August 1975, Portugal abruptly ended its rule of the territory, which covers half of Timor island. (The other half, colonized by the Dutch, became part of Indonesia when the country gained independence.) After several months of watching three parties in East Timor battle for control -- the Marxist Fretilin had the upper hand -- Indonesia invaded in December 1975, saying it was responding to an appeal from Apodeti. Annexation was formalized in July 1976.

Indonesia's intervention sparked heavy fighting with Fretilin that uprooted many East Timorese from their homes. Altogether, war and starvation -- as crops went unplanted -- caused more than 100,000 deaths in the late 1970s. Nearly every family lost at least one member. The scars remain today: many teen-agers, though literate, have been affected by malnutrition. "Many of my students can't do more than basic math," says a teacher. "They tell me they get dizzy and have to go home."

FEW HEADLINES

More than 40% of the population is under age 15, born after integration. "Our children know nothing of Portuguese times," a priest says, "but they don't like what they see of Indonesian times."

Largely because of its isolation and a calmer security situation, East Timor made few headlines during the 1980s, though it remained an unsolved international issue. Many governments had come to accept Indonesia as the territory's de facto ruler, but the United Nations has continued to recognize Portugal as the administrative power. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas promoted the planned Portuguese parliamentary visit, for which negotiations dragged on for years, as a way to help finally quell criticism of Indonesian rule.

But with the Nov. 12 shootings, that effort backfired miserably. "Alatas thought he could get a monkey off Indonesia's back," says a foreign diplomat in Jakarta. "Now it's got an angry gorilla instead."

Indonesia's neighbors and partners in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations haven't commented on the shootings, reflecting a reluctance to get involved in one another's "internal affairs." Japan, by far Indonesia's largest aid donor, expressed concern about the incident, but hasn't overtly criticized Jakarta. Many other nations have condemned the shootings, and some have said future aid commitments will depend on the results of the government's investigation.

As a result of Jakarta's development spending, per-capita income in East Timor has risen fivefold since 1975 to about \$200.

But residents complain that many of the economic benefits have gone to skilled migrants from other provinces who have arrived since East Timor was opened in 1989. To bring the province out of isolation, Gov. Carrascalao got the national passenger shipping line to begin serving Dili. Now, when the weekly liner arrives, about 500 passengers disembark, but no more than 50 board.

HASN'T WORKED

"Who gets the benefit of the hospitals and schools? Mostly non-Timorese," a priest says. Even the governor concedes that the policy of openness he promoted hasn't worked well, saying, "What should be a good thing has become a bad thing." However, he says the province shouldn't be closed again. Instead, he favors restrictions on immigration and measures that would make it easy for East Timorese to obtain land titles, thus preventing too much property from moving into migrants' hands.

Openness has eased one of East Timor's persistent problems: the military's dominant role in the economy. The port, long controlled by the army, is now under civilian authorities. In previous years, PT Batara Indra, a private company that Dili businessmen say is linked to the army, had a lock on nearly all trade and business in the province, including the lucrative coffee trade, through its PT Denok Hernandez International unit. However, Dili businessmen estimate that Batara Indra now accounts for slightly less than 60% of trade and construction work in East Timor. There is competition where there wasn't before, as in buying coffee, the territory's main crop, though farmers remain in a bad position. In the past, they were hurt because Denok was in effect a sole buyer that paid low prices; now, they are hurt by low coffee prices world-wide.

To tackle widespread unemployment, East Timor needs rudimentary industrial development, but prospects for drawing investment are dim. "Nobody will come to East Timor in conditions like this," the governor says.

Underlying the problems besetting East Timor is a sensitive struggle between the Catholic church and Indonesian authorities. The overwhelming majority of Timorese are Catholic, while Indonesia's total population is about 90% Muslim. Somy army generals suspect that clergy men have been helping anti-Indonesia activists. Gen Warouw, a Christian, says that if the Vatican, which doesn't recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, told the local bishop to cooperate with Jakarta, there would be "no problem" in church-military relations.

Timorese clergy men are generally far more critical of Indonesian administration than foreign ones based in East Timor. Says one Timorese priest: "Yes, we get the roads, schools and clinics, but what comes

with them? Oppression, violence and abuse. Is it any wonder many don't love the Indonesians?"

INDONESIA, AUSTRALIA HIT OVER OIL EXPLOITATION ACCORDS

Lisbon, Dec 13 (IPS) -- Portuguese analysts have denounced Indonesia and Australia for signing contracts with 12 companies for the exploitation of oil in the Timor sea, even if the territory is legally still under Portuguese authority.

They pointed out that the United Nations never recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1975 and had given Portugal the mandate to administer its former colony until the holding of a referendum on the island's independence.

Analyst Antonio Sampaio said the signing of the contracts Thursday had been done "in an atmosphere of great mystery and secrecy".

He said worldwide protests following the Nov. 12 massacre of demonstrators in the East Timorese capital of Dili by Indonesian troops did not prevent energy minister Ginandjar Kartasasmita of Indonesia and Alan Griffiths of Australia from signing the accords.

The bishop of Dili (the capital), Msgr Jose Ximenes Belo, and foreign journalists who witnessed the incident said the demonstration had been peaceful, refuting army claims that the demonstrators had provoked the attack.

Sources from the East Timorese independence movement said 183 people died in the massacre, contrary to the army estimate of 19.

According to the contracts signed Thursday, the initial phase will cover six years, during which the oil firms will drill 45 oil wells within a 52,100 sq km area.

Oil experts say there are about one billion barrels of offshore oil deposits in the area.

The democratic military that overthrew the regime installed in Portugal in 1926 by Antonio de Oliveira e Salazar decided in 1974 to dismantle Portugal's vast colonial empire in Africa and East Asia.

When the decolonisation process began in East Timor a year later, Indonesia invaded and annexed the island, killing 200,000 of its 650,000 inhabitants.

The Portuguese protest over oil exploitation in the Timor sea is based on two resolutions passed by the U.N. Security Council and the U.N. General Assembly, demanding Indonesia's withdrawal from East Timor.

Despite these U.N. resolutions, however, the United States and Australia recognised the island's annexation in 1977.

"Despite Portugal's appeal before the International Court of Justice in the Hague, companies from the European Community,

the United States, Japan and Australia are preparing to exploit one billion barrels of crude from the Timor sea," said international analyst Adelino Gomes.

"The Australian Labour government of Bob Hawke does not seem disposed to respect the sentence of the Hague," he noted.

The list of companies that signed the accords with Canberra and Jakarta is led by Royal Dutch-Shell, the world's biggest oil firm controlled by British and Dutch capital.

Others include the U.S. oil company Chevron, the Australian firms BHP-Petroleum, Woodside Petroleum, Santos Ltd., Sasgasco, Petroz NL and Western Mining.

Also in the list are the multinationals Phillips Petroleum (United States-Norway-Britain), Marathon Oil (U.S.-Brazil-Britain-Egypt), Enterprise Oil Co. (Britain-Italy-Norway) and Nippon Oil (Japan).

At the start of an official visit to Jakarta Thursday, Australian Industry Minister John Button said Canberra would avoid possible sanctions on Indonesia, as requested by Portugal.

Button said his country would not join Canada and the Netherlands in imposing possible drastic measures against Jakarta because of the Dili massacre. "Australia has to consider its business and economic interests in Indonesia," he explained.

Political circles, including those closest to the United States, have strongly criticised the positions of Washington and Canberra on East Timor, constantly drawing parallels with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

Portuguese President Mario Soares himself has noted that the international community has "double standards" as far as the relation between big economic interests and human rights is concerned.

(end/ips/trd/ip/md/ica-da/tt/lm)

'DISTURBING NGO' TRAVEL BAN?

(AFP, Jakarta, Dec 16)

Indonesian Armed Forces chief Try Sutrisno has called for a ban on foreign travel by employees of private organizations that use foreign funds for what are seen as anti-government activities.

"Several NGOs (non-governmental organizations) provide profitable assistance to the society. However some others seem working against the country's stability," General Try was quoted as saying by the Berita Buana newspaper.

"We need to publish a list of the disturbing NGOs and the men behind them should be banned from going abroad," he said.

The military commander-in-chief, speaking to participants in Youth March 1991, said NGOs that raised negative issues about Indonesia were "selling the country."

"Those organizations might merely be financially oriented," he said, referring to

several NGOs that are believed to receive large amounts of cash from abroad.

FOREIGN FIRMS KEEN TO INVEST IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post 16 December 1991
Dateline: Jakarta, unabridged

Three companies from Japan, South Korea and Australia have expressed interest in investing in the fields of fishery and livestock husbandry in Lautem regency, 255 kilometres to the east of Dili, the capital of East Timor.

Lautem Regent Jase Valente told reporters in Dili over the weekend that the Japanese and Korean companies would establish joint ventures with Indonesian counterparts to process canned fish products, while the Australian firm would develop a cattle raising project, also in co-operation with domestic firms.

"The three companies have studied the possibility of entering the fishery and livestock businesses in Lautem since May," he said.

Valente expected that the plan to establish the three joint venture companies could be implemented as soon as possible to help speed up the development process in the region.

"The establishment of such projects is badly need to absorb as much local labour as possible and to enable the local people to raise their standard of living," Valente was quoted by the Antara news agency as saying. He said that actually many foreign companies were interested in doing business in this regency, but most of them had withdrawn their plans due to security reasons.

He guaranteed that there was no need to worry about security in the regency. He asked how it would be possible for representatives of foreign interests to freely visit Lautem and other cities in East Timor if the security situation were not stable.

Valente said that the intention of the three foreign companies to invest in Lautem was expected to support the provincial government's plan to make the regency the production centre for fishery and livestock in East Timor.

The provincial government of East Timor has so far implemented small scale cattle raising projects by procuring young cattle from East Nusa Tenggara to help facilitate the implementation of the livestock program in the regency.

AUSTRIAN, GERMAN MPS TO VISIT INDONESIA

Jakarta Post 16 December 1991
Dateline: Jakarta, unabridged

Delegations from the parliaments of Austria and Germany will visit Indonesia early next year.

Austrian Ambassador Herbert Kroell, after a meeting with the speaker of the DPR (House of Representatives), Kharis Suhud, on Friday afternoon, said his country's speaker of parliament would bring a high level delegation here on a visit from Jan 19 to 21. They will have meetings with Indonesian government officials and will visit the DPR.

He said the delegation was interested in the general situation in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, economic development, the coming general elections and the recent events in East Timor.

Austria has expressed great concern about the Nov 12 incident in Dili and the hope that those found responsible will be punished. Austria has welcomed the setting up of the commission to investigate the incident.

"Now we are waiting for the results" said Kroell, "I hear they are to be published."

German Ambassador Walter Lewalter, who talked with Suhud an hour after Kroell, said his country's parliament would be returning the visit Suhud made to Germany several years ago.

The exact date for the visit is not yet set. "It is up to the Indonesian legislature to decide," he said adding that it would probably be early next year.

Lewalter and Suhud did not talk extensively about East Timor, but Lewalter said he mentioned briefly that in his country there was a lot of attention being paid to the situation there.

"The public reaction in our country to the incident in Dili was very strong and whatever the Indonesian government does will sound an echo in our country," he told *The Jakarta Post*.

He acknowledged the right of the Indonesian authorities and politicians to have the first say on the incident because it was "a question which happened inside your country." [sic]

But he also implied that Indonesia should hear what the world has to say. "The world opinion is commenting on human rights everywhere, not only about Indonesia, but about human rights in Germany," he said. "So the Indonesian public and politicians should be aware of the fact that whatever the human rights situation is here, it will be reflected in world opinion."

CARRASCALAO SAYS NO SECOND DECOLONISATION IN EAST TIMOR

Source: Jakarta Post, 16 December 1991.
Dateline: Dili. Byline: Yakob Herin. News story, abridged. Comment: Possibly the first time on record that anyone has claimed there was a referendum in 1976.

The decolonisation of East Timor was completed when the territory integrated with Indonesia in 1976, governor Mario Carrascalao said.

"There can be no second decolonisation," Carrascalao told reporters, commenting on calls by foreign governments or institutions that there should be an act of self-determination in East Timor.

He said the referendum in 1976 which led to the integration of East Timor with Indonesia "sufficiently reflected the wishes of the people although it was not one man, one vote" since the UDT party represented 60 per cent of the people.

The fact that some people have since changed their mind did not mean that one should change history, he said.

He said the integration still had its shortcomings and that some people were not content with the present situation. "If they were content, the 12 November incident would not have happened."

The governor said it could take one or two years to restore the situation in East Timor back to the state it was in before 12 November.

Meanwhile a group of East Timorese who fought for the 1976 integration presented a statement to the government on Saturday urging it to be firm in its dealings with the perpetrators of the 12 November incident. The group, representing 387 people, in its 17-point statement also deplored Portugal, saying that it had no claim at all in the affairs of East Timor.

EAST TIMOR DEMONSTRATIONS BANNED

(*R. Australia* 12/17)

The Indonesian military authorities in East Timor are reported to have banned demonstrations in the province and warn that firm action will be taken against anyone violating the order. The ban was reported by the Jakarta newspaper *Media Indonesia*, which quoted the East Timor military operation command. The command referred indirectly to the massacre in the East Timor capital, Dili, on Nov 12, when troops fired into what Jakarta described as a group of unruly demonstrators. It was quoted as saying that several protest demonstrations in Dili had not been expressions of aspirations, but actions which breached regulations and were aimed at undermining government authority.

TROCAIRE CALLS FOR [IRISH] GOVERNMENT ACTION ON EAST TIMOR

The following is a News Release issued by Trocaire, the Catholic Agency for World Development, on 18 December 1991.

"The Indonesian government is implementing policies in East Timor which are close to genocidal," Trocaire's Chairman Bishop Eamonn Casey said today in a reference to the recent upsurge in violence in the former Portuguese-controlled territory situated northwest of Australia.

"When Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 there was a native population of 680 000. Since then, 200 000 people have died, either at the hands of the army or thorough starvation. This is a far worse situation than that of Cambodia in the Pol Pot years," said Bishop Casey.

"Trocaire sources in East Timor indicate that the atmosphere of terror there is now worse than at any time since the 1975 invasion. Just a month ago, hundreds of young Timorese, including schoolchildren, were gunned down in cold blood by the military. In the light of these atrocities Bishop Belo of the diocese of Dili is pleading for support from the international community, asking specifically that action be taken by the United Nations, the United States and other powers in the region to ensure that his people are protected from the Indonesian forces who appear to have a free hand to do what they please there at the present time," Bishop Casey noted.

"Such attacks against a defenceless people cannot be allowed to continue," he said. "These people are calling in desperation to the international community in their hour of need and we cannot look the other way with the excuse that the territory is so remote that it does not concern us in Ireland."

"Surely in this, the season of peace and goodwill to all men, we should be in solidarity with those who are subjected to such harsh and inhuman treatment."

Bishop Casey called upon the Irish Government to make representations through the United Nations and through the EC to have the massacres and human rights abuses urgently investigated by an international commission.

For further information contact John Heuston at Trocaire Press and Information, Dublin: (01) 288 5385

EAST TIMOR: WORKERS OCCUPY PAPAL MISSION TO PROTEST MASSACRE

Lisbon, dec 18 (ips) -- five portuguese workers occupied the papal mission here wednesday to protest "the hypocrisy" of

the catholic church regarding human rights violations in east timor.

the five, who denied any political motivations, were arrested one hour after starting their action.

their spokesman jose ramos dos santos, who stayed outside to speak to the press, said the occupation was meant to "expose not only the vatican's hypocrisy, but also international hypocrisy on the situation in timor", that was occupied and annexed by indonesia after gaining independence from portugal in 1975.

"a stone must be thrown into the pond" to awaken people's consciences on "the massacre of timor, where the indonesians have assassinated 200,000 people, equivalent to almost one third of the population", he noted.

the case of timor only became front-page news "because last november 12 a british journalist happened to film indonesian troops while they opened fire on a peaceful demonstration for independence", he said.

the massacre, which left up to 183 people dead, was also revealed to the whole world by two american journalists.

"had the foreign journalists not been present, the indonesians would have calmly continued their genocide, and the great powers would have followed it in silence, placing their economic interests before human rights," said ramos dos santos.

the nuncio gave no reaction to the reason for the occupation. a spokesman only told a local radio station, that he would ask the portuguese government to explain the unauthorised police action against the occupiers on vatican territory.

(end/trd/md/da/hr/tt)

CHANGE IN EAST TIMOR -- NOW OR NEVER

For the Guardian Newsweekly (NY) by Charles Scheiner, December 19, 1991

For the first time since Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975, world attention is focussed on the tiny Pacific island. Several international journalists watched and filmed as Indonesian troops shot into an unarmed gathering on November 12, killing over a hundred people. Their reports are a sharp reminder of the double standard inherent in George Bush's New World Order.

In the aftermath of the massacre, the Indonesian government began covering up, refusing to allow outsiders in and staging a widely publicized 'investigation.' They blamed the slaughter, by turns, on Fretilin (the guerilla independence movement), foreign journalists masquerading as tourists, misunderstood military orders, and Portugal.

Few believe the official fabrications, even in tightly- controlled Indonesia. Unprecedented protests at Indonesian uni-

versities have added to the world reaction, which has been swift and strong. On November 19, for example, the twelve European Community states told the General Assembly that they "vehemently condemn such violence which is in clear contravention of the most fundamental human rights."

Human rights groups, church agencies, government, labor unions, solidarity organizations and the media in many countries responded to the slaughter, which only differs from years of Indonesian genocide in that it was witnessed by foreigners. Several countries cut back aid, Congress passed a resolution, and Australian labor actions caused the Indonesian national airline to suspend flights. Indonesia's painstaking efforts to convince the world that the situation in East Timor had become peaceful and stable were dashed by a ten-minute orgy of machine-gun fire.

On the morning of November 12, 3,500 Timorese were outside the Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timor capital of Dili, preparing to disperse following a mass and memorial march for a Timorese student killed by the Indonesian military two weeks earlier. All of a sudden, the Army came down the street -- "a column of soldiers, in dark brown uniforms and carrying M-16s," according to New Yorker correspondent Allan Nairn. "We watched in disbelief as the soldiers turned into the cemetery, raised their rifles, and took aim. Then, acting in unison, they opened fire on the East Timorese. Men and women fell, shivering, in the street." After ten minutes, between 100 and 200 Timorese lay dead or dying.

The Indonesian government admits only 19 fatalities -- but the bodies have disappeared and there is no casualty list. Many Timorese don't know if their relatives are dead, in hospital, or in prison. Hundreds of witnesses have been arrested, tortured, terrorized, and perhaps killed. Indonesia is trying to tough it out -- refusing to allow an impartial investigation and continuing to blame the slaughter on the unarmed crowd. The head of Indonesia's military, General Try Sutrisno, has called the universal observation that the massacre was directed at a peaceful demonstration "bullshit," he has called for the "extermination" of Timorese separatists.

Among Western activists, outrage over the genocide in East Timor had ebbed until last month, with little hope that the 16-year struggle for justice would ever succeed. The issue had become Quixotic esoterica for most U.S. progressives, with a few people still working hard while most put Timor out of their consciousness.

Now, everything has changed. The New York Times, CBS TV, USA Today, and even Congress are paying attention. The Washington Post editorialized against "Indonesia's Tienanmen," describing "mass terror -- soldiers everywhere, roundups,

shootings," and Indonesia's efforts to "stiff-arm foreign concern." The editors continued "But can it? More to the point, will the United States let it? Until recently, the answer might have been yes."

Many American supporters of East Timor feel that the time has never been more ripe for a change in U.S. policy, and progressive North Americans are seizing the moment. Demonstrations have been held at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington and its U.N. Mission in New York, community meetings are happening around the country, including one which drew 250 people to Cornell University December 9.

Conservative Senators like Jesse Helms and Alfonse D'Amato have jumped on the bandwagon, seeing an opportunity to grandstand for human rights. Wyoming Republican Malcolm Wallop wrote the White House, urging Bush to work to "end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory," and 52 Senators signed the letter. Although the Concurrent Resolution passed in Congress' closing days is non-binding, many are optimistic that the \$1.9 million the U.S. gives Indonesia annually in military training and over \$50 million in economic support can be used to pressure Indonesia to allow international observers and self-determination for East Timor.

The United States is uniquely obligated to help end the occupation, which has killed close to 200,000 of the 750,000 residents of East Timor. President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta the day before the invasion, and Kissinger illegally approved the use of U.S.-supplied weapons in the takeover, and CIA collaboration in the murders of 300,000-1,000,000 so-called Communists in Indonesia a decade earlier indicated Washington's approval of General Suharto's brutal methods. Kissinger justified his realpolitik by U.S. desires not to antagonize the staunchly rightist military government which rules over 195,000,000 people -- the fifth largest population in the world.

The genocidal Indonesian occupation of East Timor -- which has killed a higher proportion of its people than the Khmer Rouge did in Cambodia -- has met with verbal international criticism, but recognized "de facto, but not de jure" by most countries. Only Australia, which has signed joint oil exploration agreements with Jakarta for the Timor Gap waters between Timor and Indonesia, recognizes it legally. Annual U.N. General Assembly resolutions urging self-determination have had no enforcement and no effect on Jakarta, at least until now.

Ironically, the fact that the November 12 massacre was carried out by U.S.-made M-16's probably saved the lives of the two American journalists who witnessed it, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, News

Director of WBAL/Pacifica Radio. While being beaten with rifle butts, M-16's pointed at their heads, Goodman and Nairn (whose skull was fractured) held up their passports and shouted "America, America, we are Americans." Wary of antagonizing their patrons, the Indonesian Army let them go. New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj was killed in the firing, but other international observers escaped, including a British TV cameraman who buried his tape in the cemetery and retrieved it in the middle of the night. That video, shown worldwide (and eventually on the CBS Evening News), brought the reality of cold-blooded mass murder into homes around the globe.

The reaction was strongest in Portugal. For 300 years, Portugal had colonized East Timor (while the Netherlands occupied West Timor and the rest of Indonesia), converting the population to Catholicism and Portuguese language. After the collapse of the Salazar regime in 1975, Portugal precipitously withdrew from all its colonies. In East Timor, a coalition of independence movements came to power, with Fretilin (the Front for the Liberation of East Timor) heading a progressive, nonaligned government. Indonesia invaded a month later. Although the United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power, Portugal says that conditions prevailing in the territory prevent them from exercising their responsibilities.

Last year, Portugal challenged the Australia-Indonesia Timor Gap oil treaty in the World Court. The case is still pending, but oil companies are not waiting -- several, including the U.S.-based Chevron, will shortly begin exploration. Portuguese President Mario Soares called the massacre "a crime against humanity" and labelled Indonesia "a cruel invader with no respect for international law and human rights." In spite of the strong words, Portugal is reticent to take further leadership, wary that East Timor will be seen as a historical obsession belonging only to them.

Finally, other countries are getting involved. The European Community has issued several strong statements. After a nationwide campaign organized by the East Timor Alert Network, Canada cut development aid to Indonesia by 60%, and gave an immediate grant to the International Red Cross for humanitarian assistance to East Timor. Denmark has suspended all new development aid, and the Netherlands (Indonesia's largest Western donor) has frozen aid at current levels. As Jakarta's repression and stonewalling continues, the pressure will increase. Indonesia receives more than \$5 billion in foreign aid each year, and President Suharto just declared that they will not accept aid "if there are political preconditions." If rapidly growing public movements in Japan (Indonesia's

largest funder), Europe, and the U.S. are successful, he may have to eat those words.

An Emergency Action Network on East Timor is being formed in the United States, which lags the world in awareness about Asia in general and East Timor in particular. An organizational meeting will be held on January 26 in New York City. For more information, write PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.

EXTRACTS FROM PUBLICO (LISBON) - 19 DEC 91

Portugese Protestors Occupy Papal Nunciature

Five young Portuguese yesterday peacefully invaded the Papal Nunciature in Lisbon and chained themselves to a table. They were in turn peacefully unchained by the police who had to cut their chains to free them. The five young men carried with them a piece of tissue on which one could read "Timor" with simulated bloodstains.

These men don't belong to any political organisation although they consider themselves to be "left wing." They distributed a text which protested against the hypocrisy of the Vatican in the Timor case.

The former Portuguese Minister of Education who had an interview with the Vatican nuncio was asked what he thought about this demonstration. He said, "Whatever can be done to agitate the international conscience is justified."

Carrascalao on Body Count

In Dili, East Timor Governor Mario Carrascalao, appointed by Indonesia, commented on the remarks by the inquiry commission chairman Djaelani. "I have no doubt that the number of victims is larger because I saw a truck loaded with corpses; what I don't know is where the corpses are buried."

"The number of victims is greater than 19. But it's not the number of dead that worries me. Rather, it is the measures which should be taken to avoid another 12th of November"

"If those measures are not taken, I will resign."

Soares Christmas Cards highlight Timor

Portuguese President Mario Soares has started to send the traditional cards wishing a merry Christmas and a happy new year. But this year those cards reflect the concern of the President regarding the East Timor question. The illustration shows a young East Timor child, and the text is a statement made by Mario Soares when he officially became President in 1986.

The last part of the card is a poem titled "Death in Timor" by Ruy Cinatti:

Sobre Timor um fogo fino paira
alastra, crepita quando da terra se aproxima
e crescente, envolvente, cerca os montes
e coroa se afirma

...

Minha imaginacao em vao procura
deter com astros e outras maos a sina
insidiosa qual a morte de homem
ancorado na arvore que sobre a terra se
persigna"

*Translator's note: Sorry, but I don't dare
translate the poem. I'll give the idea. The
poet says that over Timor a fire is burning.
He wishes to stop the killing but only has
his imagination to do it. Be warned that
this is a rather personal interpretation.
Others can see it differently.*

Ad urges pressure on EEC

The newspaper Publico today has an
entire page with an advertisement asking
the Portuguese to send a letter to the EEC
building in Brussels condemning the East
Timor massacre.

The advertisement says: "The survival
of a people depends very much on you."

The advertisement is an initiative of the
movement of university students and is
supported by several business companies,
among them RTC [the company that takes
cares of publicity in television, Videoarte,
and the newspaper itself].

FOREIGN PRESS MAY BE REPRIMANDED OVER REPORT ON DILI

*Jakarta Post. 19 December 1991. News
item, abridged.*

*Comment: Besides showing Suharto and
Harmoko at their moralistic and chauvin-
istic best, this signals that we can expect a
change in the almost saturation reporting of
events in East Timor by the Indonesian
press.*

President Suharto has asked the press
council to discuss the possibility of rep-
rimanding foreign publications which have
published negative reports about the Nov
12 incident in Dili, says Minister of
Information, Harmoko. The council is to
hold a plenary session on Jan 10-12.

Harmoko told reports that the President
said the foreign press reports were damag-
ing and biased. "Foreign press reports will
be evaluated," he said, after a meeting with
the president.

"We want the foreign press to act with
noble qualities and honesty. They should
not have entered Indonesia disguised as
tourists," he said, referring to a number of
journalists who slipped into East Timor
days before the incident occurred.

The minister said the government had
called on the local press to discipline
themselves and to put national interests

first in covering or giving opinions about
the Dili clash.

The foreign media, including radio sta-
tions, made insinuations when reporting the
incident; they obtained their reports from
irresponsible persons. "But fortunately
listeners in Indonesia now have a strong
moral defense and would not be influenced
by the negative reporting," he said.

GARETH EVANS ARRIVES IN JAKARTA

*(Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Moses
Manoharan, Dec 19)*

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth
Evans arrived in Indonesia on Thursday to
discuss East Timor, insisting he had come
neither as an international human rights
commissar nor as representative of a lame
duck prime minister.

Hours before Evans' arrival in Jakarta for
a three-day visit, Prime Minister Bob
Hawke announced in Canberra his decision
to quit as leader of the ruling Labor Party
and seek immediate re-election by Labor
parliamentarians. If he loses he will cease to
be prime minister. *[He lost. Paul Keating is
the new Australian Prime Minister.]*

The main objectives of his visit were to
convey Australia's deep concern over the
shooting, to encourage Indonesia to conduct
a fair inquiry and to try to work out a long-
term resolution of the issue, Evans told
reporters.

"Obviously, when a people's army turns
its guns on its own people, something has
gone very badly wrong," Evans said.

He said failure of an official commission
to produce a report considered fair by the
international community would revive the
debate over East Timor.

"Questions will arise about international
confidence in Indonesia. Questions of
particular difficulty will arise in resolving
the East Timor question in the United
Nations once and for all," Evans said.

But Evans said his country's recognition
of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor
was not in question.

"We recognise, as we have done since
1979, Indonesia's de jure sovereignty over
East Timor. What we want to explore is
that within that framework, it is possible to
develop economic, social and political
strategies which will give East Timorese
greater confidence, greater comfort," he
added.

Evans said the difficulties faced by
Hawke would not affect his visit, during
which he will meet President Suharto,
Defence Minister Benny Murdani and
armed forces commander-in-chief Try
Sutrisno. He met Foreign Minister Ali
Alatas in the morning.

He regretted Jakarta's decision to refuse
entry to Australian journalist Lindsay

Murdoch of the Melbourne Age, travelling
with the foreign minister from Cambodia.

"That is an unhelpful step...it is against
Indonesia's own interests," he said.

Australian embassy spokesman Gary
Gray said Jakarta had denied Murdoch a
visa, noting reports in the local media that
Indonesia considered his reporting inaccur-
rate and unfriendly. He said the government
had not given any reason to the embassy.

EVANS, ALATAS MUM

(AFP, Jakarta, Dec 19)

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth
Evans met his Indonesian counterpart Ali
Alatas on Thursday for talks focussing on
the disputed territory of East Timor and
the recent shooting of civilians there by
Indonesian troops.

"We had a very long, very substantial
discussion," Evans said after his two-hour
meeting at the Foreign Ministry.

"Mr. Alatas gave me the opportunity to
spell out at very considerable length the
reactions, the ideas that we have on the
situation," he said.

"We had a quite wide exchange of
views," Alatas added.

"I also gave him our views, what we are
currently doing through the investigative
commission and comments on several of
their ideas or suggestions," he said.

The two declined to say more. They
were to have a working dinner later
Thursday to continue their discussions.

POPE'S TIMOR 'STAND' UNCHANGED

(Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 19)

Pope John Paul II will not take a stand
whether the predominantly Catholic dio-
cese of East Timor should be part of
Indonesia or not until the international
dispute over the territory is resolved,
Catholic bishops in Indonesia said
Thursday.

Following a meeting with Indonesian
President Suharto, Monsignors
Darmaatmaja and Sukoto said the Roman
Catholic Church leader will not agree that
the diocese is part of Indonesia until its
government can "assure" the world East
Timor is part of the country.

Darmaatmaja, Chairman of the Bishops'
Conference of Indonesia, said, "The Pope
has a principle that the church as a religious
institution will not interfere in politics."

Sukoto said in the meeting they also
discussed the november 12 incident in East
Timor's capital of Dili.

FIRST TIMORESE EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

The 12 November Massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery

This document reached Lisbon last week. Extracts were reported in the Lisbon daily, Publico, on 19 December 1991. It is the first eyewitness report from a Timorese source, whose identity cannot be divulged. The following is an uncorrected translation from the Portuguese.

At 7.50 in the morning, at the Santa Cruz cemetery, the sound of gunfire by automatic weapons rang out. Then there were short blasts of gunfire. Nearby, a hundred metres away, children and youngsters were running in all directions. Farther away, other children were crying and running to look for their parents.

Quickly, people came to the doors of their houses, wanting to see what was happening, waiting for news.

In fifteen minutes, the first news came - 24 dead! Counting the first bodies was easy.

Hino army vehicles arrived. The front of the Santa Cruz cemetery was carpeted with bodies, young people! The bodies were loaded onto the trucks. The bodies were dragged out, then two men took hold of them, swung them, and threw them onto the trucks. Another two up on the trucks arranged the bodies with their feet, to make more space.

The counting by several eyewitnesses was still easy - it was now up to fifty.

The bodies continued to come, dragged by two soldiers, members of the Indonesian armed forces; they were being brought out of the cemetery or were dragged across plots of land on two sides of the cemetery.

By 9.15, at least three Hino trucks had driven off from Santa Cruz cemetery, carrying bodies, piled on top of each other, like sacks of sand.

There at the cemetery, the orders were coming from the Panglima...

At 9.10, a young person tried to escape, running along the side of the cemetery of the 'bapaks' [the military cemetery is opposite the Snata Cruz cemetery]. Two soldiers ran after him, shooting down to the ground. The young man stopped, turned and ran back followed by the two soldiers. One of them pounced on him and kicked him in the back so that he fell with his face flat on the ground. A few moments earlier, reinforcements from 744 battalion had arrived, dressed in camouflage; they had formed a line, their guns held ready to fire. They noticed that the soldiers had not shot the young man, and they protested loudly. The voices of the soldiers who were protesting were clearly audible.

Meanwhile the bodies continued to be brought out of Santa Cruz cemetery and

from the land nearby. Bodies were still being loaded onto the trucks, falling heavily, inert. Our young students.

There were large trails of blood across the road in front of the entrance to the cemetery, from the bodies that had been dragged along. On the ground by the cemetery wall, the earth was drenched with the blood of our young martyrs.

At 16.00 that day, the many large brown spots were still visible, as well as many objects scattered around, small things, pieces of cloth, the remnants of books and exercise books.

In the evening, desolate families came with their children, looking for someone, for a son, a brother, a friend.

What name will the Indonesian commander give to this operation? This isn't yet known...

But the Indonesians were there.

Most of them were children and young people, though there were also some adults. They had brought flowers, demanded their rights.

Why had this happened?

More than a thousand people, most of them young, had attended the Mass at Motael Church in memory of Sebastiao, assassinated by a terrorist group organised by the Indonesian military command. When the Mass came to an end, a huge procession made its way to the Santa Cruz cemetery. This was a procession in memory of the young hero, Sebastiao. On the way, those taking part unfurled banners with nationalist slogans and shouted patriotic slogans.

When they arrived at the Santa Cruz cemetery, many were carrying flowers, praying with their rosaries. They spread inside and outside the cemetery. Banners were unfurled on top of the walls of the cemetery and many young people got on top of the walls.

A few minutes before 8 in the morning, a force of armed Indonesian commandos arrived and immediately started shooting at the young people who were on top of the wall. There followed an intense and prolonged volley of gunfire. This was the moment of a huge massacre, the first massacre. Many of the young people who had entered the cemetery tried to flee from the other side, scaling the wall. But this was a planned operation, a full-scale massacre. As the youths climbed the wall, there were more bursts of gunfire, from soldiers in camouflage on the land nearby.

The girls were not so easily hit; many hid behind the tombstones for protection. Then they gathered together in the crypt; a British journalist was also there. The killings which followed, shooting and knifing, were carried out with the usual brutality, mercilessly. Boys who were captured alive were hand-cuffed ... so many handcuffs! At that moment, it was impossible to go near a

dying comrade, it was impossible to cry for those whom the Indonesians 'despise'.

The Hino trucks continued to arrive. They carried off dozens of bodies, hundreds of prisoners.

This is how the First Massacre ended.

Santa Cruz has joined the list of other equally heinous massacres - Tien An Men and Timisoara. But with a difference. In China and Roumania, things have changed. But the behaviour of the Indonesian government will not change. There will be as many massacres as are needed to exterminate the East Timorese people who have demonstrated their loathing for the presence of the Indonesians, for the occupation.

Today (it is now 20 November), battalions of Indonesian soldiers are marching through the streets of Dili ... singing. It is 9.05 in the morning. The soldiers sing while the martyred, bereaved people weep in their homes, their sons massacred by these Indonesian soldiers.

To this day, visits to the wounded and the prisoners are not allowed. Even senior personalities like the Governor or the Bishop have not been allowed to see the hundreds of dead bodies.

Some Indonesians have themselves been revolted to see such extreme brutality, the planned massacre, the executions and knifings....

When the bodies were taken down from the trucks, they were stripped naked, including the New Zealander and the girl students. The Indonesians took their clothes off and burnt the clothes. Some things fell out of the pockets, rosaries, religious figurines, student cards ... Domingos dos Santos (from Ermera), Olinda Marques (from Iliomar).

170 wounded people were taken to Lahane Hospital during the first hours, but they weren't given any treatment - they died one after the other, among them university students.

Among those who had been wounded, some continued to resist, while others did not; some were not seen by the Indonesian soldiers (their task was only to kill, not to fight but to kill 'young Timorese students'). Some were able to escape, and crawled into houses in the neighbourhood, or managed to reach their own homes. But the Indonesian soldiers showed that they could 'sniff' them out. That same night, they searched the houses, looking for the wounded and the fugitives. There were (and continue to be) nights of anguish throughout the city. Silence prevails, like the silence at the peak of Mt Ramelau with terror, sadness and silence at its feet. This is how the Indonesian army displays its triumphal arrogance.

Some of the wounded who reached the hospital were given medication and died within half an hour.

The Red Cross (whose task it is to help people in a time of war) have been prevented from treating or protecting people. The aim was to kill. It is the practice of these troops to treat prisoners as the enemy who must be treated with hatred - and the enemy is the Timorese people, especially the young people.

The Red Cross could have saved many of the wounded, but they were kept away from the places where they could have performed the most essential part of their humanitarian mission ... had they been among civilised people.

On the night of the 13 and 14 November, some covered armoured personnel carriers (unimogs - the name for a Portuguese army vehicle in former days) pulled up near a ward where some of the wounded were lying. Suddenly, all the lights went out, also in the city. In the wards and in the 'unimogs' there were cries of pain. Then the 'unimogs' departed.

Indeed, the Indonesian commander was right when he said - there was no second massacre. It is simply that the massacre has continued every day and every night, the wounded have been abandoned, the wounded have been executed. This is because each survivor is an eyewitness, because many of the wounded were on the 'black-list', because every Indonesian knows that it is the resolve of the Indonesian government to kill anyone who refuses to accept 'integration'.

The Indonesians themselves say they know very well that the 'commission of inquiry' is nothing but a farce and could not be otherwise with this regime. The killings in East Timor were not the result of a local initiative. Everybody knows who has set up the terrorist groups composed of native people. The Governor himself could explain.

The supreme command in Indonesia has washed his hands, saying that Indonesians would never brutally murder Indonesian 'citizens' (?). But, in East Timor, there are no Indonesian citizens. And moreover it should be said that in fact, there has only been one massacre. It has been a massacre ever since the beginning, since 1975, with a death toll of 200,000.

Apart from the information invented by the police, the military authorities and the Indonesian government, all eyewitnesses and those close to the event are unanimous in saying that the death toll is far in excess of a hundred. People have counted 135 bodies up to the present day, but they continue to carry out summary executions (which it is in the interest of the military to deny) while many of the wounded in hospital continue to die.

The military hospital is still closed to the relatives. Why?

Relatives are not allowed see or visit their loved ones. Why?

The Bishop has not been allowed to see the dead bodies. Why?

In whose interest is it to conceal the results of the massacre?

The only way the Indonesian army could defend itself would be for it to show the students - alive. If they have not died, why don't they show them, alive? The reason is that they have been killed by regular Indonesian troops, on the orders of their commanders.

In Jakarta, they say they are not worried about criticisms from diplomats and government. Soon the whole thing will die down. This is how the security principle is applied to all brutalities.

Timor has been in a state of terror since 1975. Prisoners, persecuted, disappeared.

In the Santa Cruz massacre (like the many others that have occurred since 1975) there has been torture in many police offices in Dili and in the interior.

Following the Santa Cruz massacre, there have been persecutions every day in people's houses (it is now 20.XI.1991). On the 13 and 14, there were 20 prisoners at the Comoro Police.

The houses have been searched, the fragile houses of the simple Timorese people, continuing the brutalities that have taken place in East Timor since 1975, by the forces of 'law and order'.

Between Aileu and Dili, there are six control posts, just like during the 70s and 80s. The people, particularly the students, are ordered to take off their shoes and socks.

Some people say that the situation in Dili is calm and that there are no screams of pain from people being tortured. They must be thankful and smile, and in this way, the Javanese army will be pleased.

The world should open its eyes. Words alone can only prolong the massacre.

When will the UN come to East Timor? Where is the conscience of the world? Come and see the holes where Indonesian army vehicles dumped our sons, our sisters and brothers, our comrades. Come before they all decompose or the remains of our brothers have been burnt.

We appeal to God, to the USA and to the conscience of humanity.

(On the night of 13/14 November, there were 200 prisoners at the Comoro police office. From a reliable source.)

INDONESIAN BISHOPS CONCERNED, OFFER HELP ON EAST TIMOR

*Source: Jakarta Post. 20 December 1991
News item, abridged.*

The Bishops' Conference of Indonesia (KWI) yesterday expressed concern about the people missing in East Timor following the Nov 12 tragic incident in Dili, and about

the security situation in Indonesia's youngest province.

Because of the incident, many East Timorese "are feeling less secure and are frightened," KWI deputy chairman, Mgr Leo Sukoto told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

"There are also many people who say their children and relatives have gone missing," Darmaatmojo [KWI chairman] said. "This is very distressing. The efforts by the government for the past 15 years could suffer a setback." KWI was ready to restore peace if the government asked, Mgr Leo said. "KWI proposes that the youths who took part in the Nov 12 incident be approached by an appropriate method so that they could feel safe and return to school."

Mgr Darmaatmojo said the KWI would try to bring the East Timor diocese under its administration rather than having it remain a separate administration under the Vatican. But the key was in the hands of the government. "If the govt could convince other countries to recognise East Timor as part of Indonesia, the Pope would immediately agree.... The Pope will not take the initiative but rather will wait for the international conflict over the territory to be resolved."

Regarding the Nov 12 incident, Mgr Leo expressed doubts about allegation that the church was involved.

BISHOPS PLEAD FOR TIMORESE CLEMENCY

The Australian. 20 Dec 91. Dateline: Dili and Jakarta. Abridged; based on combined AFP and Reuters wires.

The Indonesian Bishops Council last night appealed for clemency for Timorese demonstrators under arrest and facing the death penalty on charges of subversion in connection with the Dili demonstration and subsequent massacre last month.

The council called on President Suharto not to take action against the young East Timorese, but to try instead to restore faith and trust in the Indonesian government.

"Those children should not be punished," the council's vice-chairman, Bishop Leo Sukoto, said.

"Those to be punished are the ones who manipulated young people for their political ends."

The bishops yesterday also called for more dialogue in East Timor. "One step which can be taken is to open a dialogue between the church, the local government, and the ABRI there," the chairman of the council, Bishop Darmaatmadja, said. He told reporters after meeting President Suharto that through dialogue the aspirations of the people in East Timor could be heard.

Bishop Darmaatmadja pointed out that following the November 12 shooting in Dili people there were feeling "not so at peace" and afraid.

Foreign observers in Dili report that young East Timorese are in a state of psychological shock.

"With that firing, the broke out hears but strengthened our will to fight," said a young man after attending evening mass at the Motael church in Dili.

He ignored the warning of an older man to stop talking to a foreign reporter because security officials were approaching.

Women students in the decrepit University of East Timor said they had not had any discussion on the November 12 violence.

CHOFU CITY: 'LEAVE TIMOR'

(Kyodo, Tokyo, Dec 20)

Tokyo's Chofu City Assembly urged the Japanese government Dec 20 to tie future aid to Indonesia to that country's withdrawal of troops from East Timor.

In the first such action of its kind in the country, the Assembly voted to urge the government to press Jakarta on withdrawing from the former Portuguese colony in the wake of last month's mass killings by Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital of Dili.

The assembly motion notes the "considerable sum" in official development assistance (ODA) Japan extends to Indonesia. Japan, Jakarta's largest ODA source, has budgeted 240 billion yen for Indonesian ODA in fiscal 1991.

A foreign ministry spokesman said earlier this month that Tokyo may link its decisions on future economic aid to Indonesia with its assessment of Jakarta's investigation into the November 12 shootings.

BUSH 'CONVERSATIONS'

U.S. State Department briefing (FNS, Dec 20)

Q Richard, yesterday or perhaps it was the day before -- President Bush was asked about Indonesia and East Timor, and he said something to the effect that there have been lots of conversations. Can you tell us what kinds of conversations? Has there been a lot of active US diplomacy toward Indonesia on this matter, and is any change being contemplated in US policy toward Indonesia -- toward East Timor?

MR. BOUCHER: There has been a number of things going on. Our embassy early on had people go out to East Timor to talk to officials, look at the situation. I think there was a subsequent visit as well. Our embassy in Djakarta has been reminding Indonesian officials,

as we have done here -- I know of at least several occasions -- that the important thing is to have a credible and effective impartial investigation, and that those who may have used excessive force be disciplined. And that's the basic point that we've been making.

Q -- US policy is that the US accepts the annexation with having -- without accepting that an act of self-determination has taken place. I mean, is -- can you explain how you can do both? I mean, how can the United States on the one hand accept the annexation, and, on the other hand, say no act of self-termination has occurred?

MR. BOUCHER: It's been a carefully-formulated policy that I don't have with me right now. I hesitate to try to expand on it myself, frankly. Sorry.

Q Do you think a credible process is under way for getting to the bottom of this?

MR. BOUCHER: There is a process under way -- I'm not in a position at this point to make judgments. I think we were asked about some remarks the other day that I still haven't pinned down, but I think I told you that our people that went out to East Timor had reports from several sources that there were 75 to 100 deaths. So we have information as well ourselves and we'll just have to see what the commission produces in the way of a report when it produces it.

EVANS REMARKS

(Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Dec 20)

Indonesia realises that the report of its inquiry into last month's army shootings in East Timor must be fair, visiting Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said on Friday.

He said he had made clear in talks with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Interior Minister Rudini that it would be in Indonesia's interest to publish a report acceptable to the international community.

"Certainly among the ministers I have spoken to so far I think (there is) a very acute appreciation of the points that I have made and a willingness to wrestle very seriously with them," Evans told reporters.

Evans said he was confident of staying on as foreign minister under Australia's new Prime Minister Paul Keating, who ousted Bob Hawke on Thursday. He paid tribute to Hawke.

EVANS ENDS INDONESIA VISIT

(Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Dec 21)

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans ended a visit to Indonesia on Saturday insisting he was satisfied with his talks on last month's massacre in East Timor despite being snubbed by President Suharto.

Evans acknowledged at a news conference he was told only late on Friday night he would be unable to meet Suharto. He also could not see Defence Minister Benny Murdani and a meeting with armed forces commander Try Sutrisno, for which he had extended his trip by one day, did not materialise.

"It is true that I have not had some meetings I would ideally have liked to have had," said a tired-looking Evans, sitting beside Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Asked what kind of a message Jakarta had conveyed by having three leaders snub his mission, Evans said their non-availability might have been due to the timing of his visit.

Alatas added: "You (the international community) have been telling us how to handle the situation. Don't rub things the wrong way, don't exaggerate, don't insinuate..."

Alatas said Jakarta was reviewing a policy implemented in 1989 to open up East Timor to free travel by outsiders.

"We find that the no-visa rule has been taken advantage of," Alatas said, adding that several journalists had been in Dili on the day of the violence without having followed Indonesia's rule of first declaring themselves journalists.

Australia would be unhappy if East Timor was closed again to outsiders, Evans said, adding that his attempt to get permission to open a consulate in Dili had been unsuccessful.

Jakarta would welcome an envoy of the U.N. secretary-general, but not anyone sent to probe the killings. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976.

'FRIEND' EVANS TREATED LIKE AN ENEMY

Source: *The (Melbourne) Age*. 23 December 1991. Unabridged comment by Lindsay Murdoch [who was refused permission to visit Indonesia when Foreign Minister Gareth Evans was there last week].

The refusal of three of Indonesia's most senior leaders, including President Suharto, to see the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, signals that Jakarta will not let international

pressure dictate military policy, especially on East Timor.

The snub sent a clear message to Australia: mind your own business. Senator Evans' visit to Indonesia was a mistake, not because of what he had to say but because Indonesia chose to refuse to hear the advice of a friend and a neighbour.

The snub by the three key Indonesians who will decide on any action over the massacre was particularly disappointing because of Australia's soft response to the incident so far.

The treatment of Senator Evans was shabby, and surprising, given that he has consistently recognised Indonesian's claim to sovereignty to East Timor.

Despite the Senator's best efforts to play down the snub (he had "no doubt whatsoever" his comments would be passed on) he was denied the chance to put Australia's views to President Suharto, the Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdani, and the Armed Forces Commander, General Try Sutrisno.

Indonesia's attitude to Senator Evans' visit adds to the dilemma Canberra will face if the Indonesians inquiry into the killings is a whitewash, and can only add to the concerns of the Labour caucus and Australian unions that Australia has not done enough to protest against a massacre of civilians on our doorstep.

Senator Evans said at the weekend that the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, will still visit Indonesia next year. Given Indonesia's treatment of a so-called friend, one wonders how it will take to advice from a virtual stranger, if indeed Mr Keating still goes.

233 FRENCH STUDENTS SEND OPEN LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER

*Sat, 21 Dec 91, Provided by
kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr (Bruno Kahn)*

233 students from the Ecole Normale Supérieure, one of the most prestigious French schools parallel to the University cursus, have signed a letter addressed to Roland Dumas, the minister for foreign affairs. This represents about a third of the total number of students in the school.

The letter attracts Mr Dumas' attention on the "tragedy of East Timor, conformally to a certain idea we have of our republic and of the universality of the principles on which it rests (...) The French government, which not so long ago widely claimed its adherence to these principles (going so far as to define a right of interference), can but defend then today in East Timor".

The initiative of the letter was taken by the Comité des Normaliens pour Timor (Committee of Ecole Normale students for East Timor), created after a conference of Jose Ramos Horta at the Ecole last November.

EAST TIMOR JAPAN SPEAKING TOUR 1991

Dec 23, 1991 by amatsuno

The 6th East Timor Japan Speaking Tour, which began on 19 November and ended on 14 December, drew greater attention than in the past, due to the Santa Cruz massacre which occurred just before the speaking tour started. Now the East Timor Speaking Tour has become an annual event in Japan and more and more groups wish to listen directly to what East Timorese want to say. The importance of this kind of program is obvious in a country like Japan where no East Timorese lives and it's hard to imagine what is happening in that remote island.

Free East Timor Japan Coalition, the organizer of the tour, invited three East Timorese this year. They were Agio Pereira from Australia, Abilio Sereno and Donaciano Gomes from Portugal. Agio Pereira, who had released his first album "East Timor: I'm Still Fighting" last year, sang his songs in 13 cities and the audiences were really touched by his powerful voice, sincerity and deep expression. He also spoke at the symposium on East Timor in Tokyo, which was attended by about 150 people.

Abilio Sereno was one of the four Timorese students who had sought asylum at the Dutch embassy in Jakarta in October 1986. The four were threatened to leave the embassy and were living under strict surveillance. He succeeded in escaping to Portugal by bribing immigrant officials at the Jakarta airport. Now he is active as the head of youth section of Fretilin in Lisbon. In Tokyo he participated in the demonstration to the Indonesian embassy on 29 November.

Donaciano Gomes, 22, was the youngest of the three. He was invited as a leader of the new young generation who organized the demonstration at the Pope's visit in October 1989. In Japan he also participated in the demonstration to the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo and the 30 hour hunger-strike in front of the Foreign Ministry on 12-13 December.

About 30 people joined the demonstration to the Indonesian embassy on 29 November and the delegation consisting of a parliamentarian and representatives of East Timor support groups handed a letter of protest to the embassy.

On 30 November, the symposium on East Timor was held at the Sophia University, Tokyo. It lasted for four hours and heard discussions by specialists on international law and politics, a journalist, a Portuguese embassy staff, Agio Pereira and James Dunn, former Australian consul in East Timor. At the end of the symposium one Indonesian student said, "We didn't invade East Timor. What is important is to

civilize people there." One panelist responded to this, "You are now studying in a very appropriate country. This country says it didn't 'invade' but did 'advance into' Southeast Asian countries during the last world war. Please study hard the history of this country."

Aki, Free East Timor Japan Coalition

FROM TIANANMEN TO TIMOR

The following editorial comment was published in 'The Economist', London (21 December 1991 - 3 January 1992):

Why Indonesia may want to listen to outsiders

The parallels are plain: unarmed civilians killed by army gunfire; the horrified reaction of the outside world; the instinctive rejection of foreign criticism; instant arrests and further repression after the event. Last month's massacre of scores of demonstrators in East Timor has, inevitably, become "Indonesia's Tiananmen".

Yet the analogy is exact neither in background nor in detail. As communism crumbled beyond China's borders, the gerontocrats in Beijing viewed the student occupation of Tiananmen Square as the start of a much bigger protest and so the beginning of their end. The slaughter of June 4th 1989 and the repression that followed were deemed necessary by China's old despots for their own survival. By contrast, the government of President Suharto has no such excuse: the Fretilin secessionists of East Timor are no military threat; the 3,000 who gathered at the Santa Cruz in Dili on November 12th to mourn a young political activist killed two weeks earlier were no threat to the government in distant Jakarta.

Those differences matter. A secure government is likely to be more amenable to foreign views of human rights and political freedoms than one that is an anachronism. Whereas China dismisses any foreign criticism as "interference", a UN human rights delegation had arrived in East Timor (gobbled up by Indonesian in 1975) on November 11th at the government's invitation. The foreign ministry in Jakarta now says (disingenuously) that foreign journalists "have been free to enter and cover events in provinces in Indonesia, including East Timor" and will continue to be so.

In which case, the questions for the outside world are how great is its influence and how should it be used. The same questions were asked after Tiananmen Square; the answers involved western financial sanctions against China and a ban on visits by senior officials. China was unimpressed. All it had to do was wait until the Gulf War and the wrangles with Britain

over Hong Kong compelled its inclusion in the West's counsels.

The power of the foreign purse

Many Indonesians, aware of foreign demand for their country's oil and gas, will advocate the same mix of patience and chauvinism. They should not be too confident. Indonesia will hold an election for part of its legislature next April, to be followed by a presidential election in March 1993. Social stability during this period depends on economic growth -- which in turn depends partly on the largesse of foreign donors. Last year, they pledged \$4.5 billion; for the year ending next March it will be \$US4.7 billion. Indonesia's foreign debt is \$57 billion, and servicing that consumes 30 per cent of each year's export earnings; the government is in no position to thumb its nose at foreigners.

Foreigners, however, some of whom have suspended aid in reaction to the massacre, must use their power not simply to push Indonesia but to nudge it towards greater tolerance. This does not necessarily mean that donors should take up the cause of the secessionists of East Timor. Nor does it mean the outright condemnation of a regime which, for the past quarter century, has not done badly in meeting the basic needs of a nation that spreads, with a bewildering array of languages and races, over more than 13,000 islands.

What it should mean is some steady pressure. Let foreign governments press for an international inquiry into the massacre (Indonesia's "independent" one may wash too white), with appropriate punishments to follow. But let them also press more widely, for an uncensored press, free trade unions and an independent judiciary -- the institutions needed to make the government, and the armed forces, properly accountable. Above all, let them discreetly (a public loss of face would be unproductive) remind the president that the outside world is becoming much less tolerant of institutionalised corruption, nepotism and the abuse of human rights. President Suharto is wise enough to realise that Indonesia is a long way from China.

BBC SPEAKS TO EYEWITNESSES

BBC's World at One, on BBC Radio Four, 23 December 1991 [This is one of the three main domestic BBC news programmes of the day.]

On the Massacre in Santa Cruz, Dili, occupied East Timor

Introduction:

The shooting of scores of civilians by Indonesian troops in the disputed territory of East Timor brought worldwide condemnation to the Indonesian government,

and has revived the controversy about Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony in 1975. Canada, Holland and Denmark have now suspended aid to Indonesia. The relations with the country's biggest neighbour, Australia, have plummeted.

Doubts still surround exactly what did happen in the Timorese capital, Dili, last month. The government says troops opened fire in self-defence when they were attacked by demonstrators, and that only 19 people were killed. Human rights groups and witnesses say more than a hundred people died.

Claire Bolderson [BBC correspondent in Jakarta] has just been to East Timor where she heard from the Timorese people themselves:

Witness, speaking in Indonesian:

"At the cemetery I saw three trucks. Two came from one place, another from a different direction. In front of Santa Cruz, the young people had closed off the road so those trucks couldn't enter. The soldiers were angry. They got down from the truck. The commander shot in the air. I thought, 'yes, all the soldiers are going to shoot, to frighten the young people'. But then they shot directly at the youngsters. They shot them."

CB: The account of events at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili last month given by this Timorese community leader is echoed time and time again by dozens of those who were present at an anti-Indonesian demonstration which, all witnesses say, was peaceful. The Timorese I spoke to said that troops opened fire on the three-thousand strong crowd without warning and unprovoked. Foreigners who were there tell the same story. And witnesses say they believe that more than one hundred people were killed in the shooting and in the stabbings and beatings of victims which followed but of which the military has made no mention.

The witness continues:

"The shooting stopped - I was in front of my jeep. Then soldiers without guns came, came carrying knives. There was an old man near me who was still alive. A soldier came and stabbed him twice. Dead. Two or three people near the cemetery gate, also, were not dead. The soldiers took knives and stabbed them to death, too."

CB: The Timorese are frightened to talk. There's a heavy Indonesian military presence in the territory. People are regularly detained for indefinite periods of time, and even a casual conversation with a foreigner can lead to a midnight visit from the security services.

I managed to contact two young men who were amongst the 89 people taken to the military hospital in Dili after the shooting. They were told on their release from hospital not to talk to anyone about

their experiences. But they agreed to meet me at night and in secret because they said they wanted people to know about the Indonesian army's behaviour towards the Timorese.

Another witness, speaking in Indonesian:

"The army came and shot directly into the crowd. Some people were killed. Others ran into the Santa Cruz cemetery where we waited. The army came in after us with weapons. Some had guns, some knives, some sticks."

Another witness, also speaking in

Indonesian:

"I was in the cemetery. They shot and people collapsed. Then they just pulled away the bodies and threw them into the truck. First they kicked me twice on the ground, in the neck. And then they knew I was still alive. They forced me into the truck with their guns. Some of them ordered me to stand up, then they kicked me in the stomach and other parts of my body, ordering me to stand up, over and over again, kicking me until I collapsed again.

"At the mortuary, anyone who couldn't move was just thrown away."

CB: The Australian government has described the incident as an aberration, not a deliberate act of Indonesian government policy. But critics of Indonesia's handling of East Timor, while recognising that the shooting almost certainly did not come on orders from Jakarta, point out that it was the most public and dramatic sign of a policy of oppression of the Timorese that has been carried out over the past 16 years.

Since the Indonesian takeover, human rights groups say that more than one hundred thousand people have died in war, famine and widespread abuse of the civilian population.

Mario Viegas Carrascalao is the Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor. He says that now, things have to change.

Carrascalao, speaking in English:

"Now it's time to evaluate everything, and change what should be changed by making corrections and this is all to prevent the possibility of happening again."

CB: Jakarta has pinned the blame for the shootings firmly on anti-Indonesian elements which, it says, disrupt life in East Timor against the wishes of the majority of the people. In defence of its occupation of the territory, Indonesia points to the substantial improvements to East Timor's infrastructure and economy. The Portuguese left after four hundred years of neglect. The Indonesian army, on the other hand, has built miles of roads, many schools, hospitals and clinics. And the military says, if you take the troops out, that will stop. Brigadier-General Rudi Warouw is the military commander in East Timor:

Warouw, speaking in Indonesian:

"There will be no changes. The armed forces will continue normal operations to develop and help the East Timor people, physically and mentally."

CB: Indonesia has made it clear that it considers the process of integration, as it calls its annexation of East Timor, to be complete. The Timorese, Jakarta says, will never get independence. But at the United Nations, East Timor is not recognised as a part of Indonesia, and young people in East Timor say that gives them hope. They say the physical improvements to East Timor are irrelevant and that now, after the massacre at Santa Cruz, they're more determined than ever to continue their campaign for independence.

Witness, speaking in Indonesian:

"We don't want them. East Timor should be independent. It's better to die now than to have East Timor integrated with Indonesia."

BBC newscaster in London:

That report from Claire Bolderson in East Timor. The British government which gave 22.7 million worth of aid to Indonesia last year, says it's following developments closely and will review its aid in the light of Indonesia's response to the commission of inquiry ordered by the Indonesian president, which reaffirmed the previous official death toll.

But Labour's Overseas Development spokeswoman, Ann Clwyd, one of the few MPs who's been to East Timor, is calling for tougher action now. She told me had no confidence whatsoever in the inquiry. Ann Clwyd:

"It's described as an independent inquiry and I don't think it's anything of the sort because the chairman of the inquiry is a military man who was a member of a regiment which itself was responsible for atrocities in East Timor in the past. I think, four out of seven of the inquiry team are in fact military men or with not a very good past records in East Timor."

BBC: What do you think the outside world, the international community, can do about this?

"First of all, I think it's atrocious that our Secretary of State for Defence, Tom King, just a few months ago, was in Indonesia promoting very positively sales of military equipment. We know the Indonesians' record. It's a bad one as far as human rights is concerned. And therefore I would like, obviously, all military sales and also aid, frozen to Indonesia. We do give quite a large amount of aid to the country as well. And I think we should follow the lead of other, more enlightened countries and certainly freeze for the present that aid until we do get a truly independent inquiry into the circumstances of what can only be described as a massacre."

BBC: But Indonesia has shown no capacity to respond to outside pressure in

the past, particularly (at that time of) its seizure of East Timor in 1975. International pressure didn't make any difference then. Why should it now?

"Because I think a number of countries who could have applied that kind of pressure have chosen not to. Britain certainly, at the time of the annexation of East Timor, wasn't particularly vocal and hasn't been since. And were it not for a few of us who've actually been to the country, seen for ourselves, then I think the voices would be very muted indeed. Until this latest massacre, very little was heard of East Timor at all. I think most people would never have heard of it to this moment, had it not been for that series of events."

"So, I think we've got a responsibility. The United Nations have got a responsibility because there are supposed to be rules on decolonisation. I myself went to the United Nations about two years ago to argue for a referendum in East Timor, properly supervised by the UN, so the East Timorese themselves could say whether they want to be part of Indonesia or wanted some other arrangement."

BBC: I was talking to Labour's Overseas Development spokeswoman, Ann Clwyd, about the situation in East Timor.

ITEMS FROM PUBLICO 23 DEC.

Translated, digested, and forwarded by fmhv@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos)

Timorese Priest detained

The Indonesian authorities detained for several hours the priest who celebrated the mass before the massacre of the 12 November. Domingos Oliveira [general secretary of the UDT] told the news agency Lusa that the priest was detained Saturday and released Sunday. The UDT general secretary, speaking from Perth, also said this detention shows the climate of intimidation and persecution imposed by Indonesia. He asked that the international community take effective measures regarding East Timor.

HIGH LEVEL TIMOR DETENTIONS

(AFP, Jakarta, Dec 23)

Two officials and a member of the Indonesian Red Cross were among 31 people detained in East Timor following last month's bloody shooting in Dili, the weekly magazine Editor said here Monday.

Editor, quoting unnamed sources, identified the two civil servants as Filemeno Gomes, 50, a high ranking official at the governor's office, and Bonifacio Barrero, who heads the office's logistic department.

Matheas Gunvea Duarte, 40, who worked for the Dili branch of the Indonesian Red Cross and was believed to have hidden East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao for 12 days prior to the November 12 shooting, was also among the detainees, Editor said.

Editor said security authorities in East Timor were also seeking five other civil servants believed to have been involved in the November 12 demonstration.

The weekly did not identify the other 28 detained by police in Dili.

Attorney General Singgih has said eight of the 31 would be tried for subversion, a charge which carries a maximum sentence of death.

He said the others would be tried under a clause in the Indonesian penal code which says that those caught publicly expressing opposition towards the lawful government, can be jailed up to seven years.

FOUR TIMORESE DETAINEES IN BALI SEVERELY TORTURED

TAPOL report, 23 December 1991.

The four East Timorese students who were arrested in Bali last month have been severely tortured by their captors. Reliable sources report that they are all suffering physically from the consequences of this mal-treatment. Jose Pompeia Saldanha Ribeiro in particular is reported to be unable to walk; he is unrecognisable because his face is so badly disfigured.

The Movement of Indonesians Abroad for Human Rights and Democracy has notified Professor P.H. Kooijmans, the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, about their treatment.

The other three detainees are Fernando Araujo, Clemente Santos and Antonio Matos. They are all students at Udayana University, Denpasar.

Another source has informed us that Fernando Araujo was transferred to Jakarta on 20 December. The other three were transferred to Jakarta today. It is understood that all four will be tried, although it is not clear whether the transfer means that the trials will take place in Jakarta. This is not thought likely as court procedures in Indonesia normally require that a trial must take place at the location where the alleged 'crime' is said to have been committed.

On 16 December, TAPOL initiated a campaign calling for the immediate release of all East Timorese arrested in Dili, Jakarta and Bali, in the wake of the 12 November massacre. On that day, it wrote to Prime Minister John Major, calling on the British Government to press for their release. No answer has yet been received.

'EVERYONE THERE IS VERY TRAUMATISED' SAYS PAPAL ENVOY

Source: *Publico*. Date 23 December 1991. News report, summarised from the Portuguese.

"Everyone there is very traumatised" was the comment of the Papal envoy to Dili, Monsignor Giovanni Andrea, when asked by *Publico* about the situation in East Timor on leaving the territory at the end of last week. During his stay, he met not only the head of the Catholic Church, Bishop Belo, but also other members of the Catholic community.

When asked about the content of his mission and the results of his conversations with Bishop Belo, the Papal envoy was very reserved, saying only that his visit was intended as a "demonstration of affection" on the part of the Vatican.

The envoy said that he had been asked by the Holy Father to "listen to and give courage to the Apostolic Administrator of Dili". The initiative was also described as gesture of fraternal support from the Holy Father to a bishop who is being called up to discharge his ministry in difficult circumstances".

JAPAN PM: AID & RIGHTS LINKED

(*Kyodo, Tokyo, Dec 24*)

Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said Tuesday that Japan may link its economic aid to Indonesia and Myanmar to those governments' human rights records.

"The East Timorese and Myanmar problems are important. Japan will take these problems into considerations when it extends its economic aid (to these countries)," Miyazawa was quoted by chief cabinet secretary Koichi Kato as telling an opposition party leader.

Tokyo is Indonesia's biggest aid donor, with 1991 aid totaling 240 billion yen.

Japan became in 1989 the first leading industrial democracy to resume the aid to Myanmar.

Miyazawa made the statement in reply to a request by Satsuki Eda of the United Social Democratic Party that Japan link its aid policy to the human rights records of Indonesia and Myanmar, Kato said.

OFFICER DIRECTING THE MASSACRE IS IDENTIFIED

TAPOL Report, 24 December 1991

The man in plain clothes seen on Yorkshire Television's footage of scenes at the Santa Cruz massacre to be directing the soldiers around the cemetery, has been identified as Lieutenant Mursani, assistant

for intelligence at Kodim, the Dili military command. He was identified on Channel Four by several East Timorese refugees in Lisbon who have arrived in Portugal from East Timor during the past year or so. Channel Four has produced a number of news items about the 12 November massacre.

The video film shows Mursani clearly several times, mostly with his back to the camera, giving commands to troops, some of them riot police carrying shields. Some of the troops were seen pointing to the cameraman making the film, apparently motioning him to stop. This caused Lieutenant Mursani to turn, so that his face was caught on camera. However, he continued to order the troops to pursue their 'mopping-up' operation in what the cameraman later described as a carefully controlled operation.

The identification was the subject of a major news item on Channel Four's peak-hour news programme at 7.00pm on 23 December.

The shot of Lt Mursani was reproduced as a still by Jill Jolliffe, the Lisbon-based Australian journalist who explains that she showed it separately to several refugees. "What is surprising is their instant recognition."

Eusebio Corsino, a former resistance fighter, told Channel Four that he knew many 'intel' officers by sight and knew Mursani instantly as a commander from Kodim who would be in control of executing an operation. "Behind him, there would be other people, other commanders," said Corsino.

Donaciano Gomes, a former student leader who took part in the demonstration at the time of the Pope's visit to East Timor in October 1989 and was later arrested, also recognised Lt Mursani. "He beat me when I was in prison," Gomes said. He too knew him to be an officer at Kodim, in charge of intelligence.

Gomes also repeats the words of Brigadier-General Warouw, commander of Kolakops, the operational command for the whole of East Timor. "Warouw told me, after failing to convert us: 'If you continue like this, I'll use my war machine just as happened in China, in Tienanmen Square.'"

"The presence of an officer who wouldn't take part in normal policing operations casts doubt on the account which the Indonesian authorities have stuck to," comments Channel Four. Jill Jolliffe said: "A picture is building up of some planning of the event before 12 November. It gives the lie to the story that this was a spontaneous reaction of rage."

According to our own understanding of the intelligence hierarchy, Lt Mursani would fall within the intelligence structure in East Timor headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot, assistance for intelligence at Kolakops, whose superior officer is

Brigadier-General Warouw. However, one should look further up the structure for another hidden hand which is very likely to be that of retired General Benny Murdani. He dominated intelligence work in the army for many years and undoubtedly continues to hold sway within intelligence, especially as regards army operations in East Timor.

XMAS AT EAST TIMOR EMBASSY IN CANBERRA

Dec 25, 1991 by peg:cietact

Some 20 East Timorese are spending the Christmas Night at the East Timor "Embassy" in Canberra. The "Embassy" which was opened a couple of metres from the entrance gate of the Indonesian Embassy immediately after the Dili Massacre has been open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week since. The "Embassy" which also functions as an official picket of the Indonesian Embassy by the Canberra Trades and Labour Council is housed in a wooden hut currently on loan and is attended without interruption by members and supporters of CIET(ACT), several East Timorese families who reside in Canberra and by groups of East Timorese who travel almost daily the 300 km from Sydney to Canberra.

The mood at the "Embassy" tonight is dominated by the 200 crosses many of which bear the names of known victims of the Dili Massacre but also by a Christmas tree and Christmas decorations around the "Embassy" hut, by Timorese music and by discussions in Portuguese as to how best to continue the struggle for independence and freedom.

Suggestions by the TLC to close the "Embassy" between Christmas and New Year when most Australians, including East Timor supporters, go on holidays were vehemently rejected by the East Timorese who vowed to keep the "Embassy" open as long as their demands are not met by the Australian and Indonesian governments.

An immediate aim is the purchase of the "Embassy" building and some basic furniture for a permanent presence of an East Timorese representative in the New Year. Anyone who is able to contribute to the target of \$5000 for this purpose is invited to send a cheque marked "Embassy" to CIET(ACT), GPO Box 2583, Canberra ACT 2601, Australia. (Thank you very much to the Australia East Timor Association in Melbourne who were the first to respond generously to the appeal!)

Michael Wagner

DIET GROUP: STOP ECONOMIC AID

(*Reuter, Tokyo, Dec 25*)

More than 260 members of the 764-strong Diet, from both ruling and opposi-

tion parties, signed a petition to Prime Minister Miyazawa calling for a drastic change in policy towards Indonesia.

"We want aid cut off," a parliamentarian told a news conference.

Satsuki Eda, a leader of the parliamentary group, said Japan, Indonesia's largest aid donor, must link human rights to its foreign policy.

"As a close friend of Indonesia, Japan must clearly tell them what it should on human rights," he said.

Japan provided 235 billion yen (1.83 billion dollars) in economic cooperation to Indonesia this year including 170 billion yen (1.32 billion dollars) in official development assistance, he said.

Some Japanese parliamentarians who signed the petition said Tokyo was reluctant to take a tougher stand for fear Indonesia could stop supplying crude oil to Japan.

Indonesia accounts for more than 10 per cent of Japan's total crude imports and is its third largest supplier of crude oil to Japan after Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

"Japan will consider what it should do about aid while trying not to meddle into internal affairs of the country," Chief Cabinet Secretary Koichi Kato said on Wednesday.

A Japanese foreign ministry official said: "We have not yet fully understood the situation in East Timor. Therefore, we cannot decide what to do about economic aid."

Excerpt from Kyodo, Tokyo, Dec 25:

Satsuki Eda, leader of the United Social Democratic Party and secretary general of the group, told Kyodo news service that Japan must make its economic aid dependent on Indonesia's human rights record.

Eda said he suspects recently installed mobile radio monitoring vehicles in Dili, financed by a Japanese yen loan, might have been used by authorities to track anti-Indonesian Fretilin guerrillas in East Timor.

He said the equipment would enable Indonesian troops to mount a surprise attack on Fretilin headquarters.

The NEC Corp. equipment was installed and handed over to the Indonesian authorities in Dili last August, said an assistant to Eda, Kiyoko Furusawa.

FORGET AND FORGIVE: BELO IN CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

Jakarta Post. 26 December 1991. Dateline: Dili. Byline: Ardimas Sasi and Yacob J. Herin. Abridged.

Comment: The real thrust of his message cannot be appreciated until we get the full text. Note that the thrust here is what he told reporters, but his words at the Mass convey a message which are not conveyed in JP's headline.

Bishop Belo in his Christmas message appealed to the East Timorese people, many of whom remain traumatized by the Nov 12 tragedy, to forgive and forget and to develop the territory together. "Let's put our problems behind us and apologize to one another," he told reporters at his residence on Christmas eve.

"Let's look ahead in the spirit of Christ, to where there is no more enemy, no conflict and no ethnic problems."

The Bishop led the Mass at the cathedral in Dili. In his sermon, delivered in the local Potun dialect (sic) and Bahasa Indonesia, he urged the Timorese to strengthen the spirit of solidarity for the province's further development.

However, he acknowledged that for some families, this was a 'gray Christmas' because the Nov 12 tragedy had left their relatives dead, injured or jailed.

"We are all outraged. We are living in fear, not in peace. We suffer, hate, cry and lose hope," he said.

On Christmas Eve, thousands of people thronged the beach in front of Motael Church. Most arrived by foot from different corners of Dili.

Christmas was also celebrated among dozens of people detained in connection with the Nov 12 incident. A party for them was thrown in the cells with Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw, chief of the East Timor military command, and police chief Col. Ishak Kodiyat paying a visit to exchange greetings with the detainees.

One detainee from Baucau told Jakarta Post he joined the Nov 12 demonstration in the belief that it was a move to make East Timor independent.

PRELIMINARY REPORT: NATIONAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY. (FULL TEXT)

INCIDENT OF 12 NOVEMBER 1991, DILI

On 26 December 1991, the Komisi Penyelidik Nasional (KPN, National Commission of Inquiry) made public its Report. It is entitled a 'Preliminary Report'. (Full text translated from the Indonesian.) [Comments appear in brackets].

I. INTRODUCTION

1. General

The National Commission of Enquiry (KPN) was formed in response to Presidential Decree No. 53, 1991, is made up of 7 members, and began the performance of its duties on 21 November 1991. The Commission's activities included preparing the collection of data in Jakarta from 21 November to 27 November, and an investigation in East Timor (Dili and surrounds) from 28 to 14 December 1991.

2. Purpose and Aims

The KPN carried out its investigations in an accurate, free and just manner in order to obtain objective data and facts relating to the November 12 incident in Dili.

3. Scope

In performing its task, the KPN carried out investigative activities covering all aspects of the November 12 incident in Dili, not including the questioning of those in custody.

4. Methods of Operation

The KPN studied documents, met with and interviewed the various sources of information and witnesses, observed the scene of the incident, reconstructed the event and compiled, tabulated and analyzed the data and information available.

5. Structure

This report is made up of the following sections:

- I. Introduction
- II. The Work of the Commission
- III. Analysis of the November 12 incident in Dili
- IV. Conclusions
- V. Closing Remarks

II. THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

1. Data preparation and collection in Jakarta

- a) Formulating a work program, compiling and studying data and information as well as the Terms of Reference for the Enquiry and forming a Secretariat for administrative purposes.
 - b) Meeting with the Vice President
 - c) Obtaining information and input from the Security, Foreign and Home Affairs Ministers, along with the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.
2. Investigative activities within East Timor (Dili and Surrounds)
- a) Arranged to meet with the Governor of East Timor as many as five times, and also with the Bupati and Mayor of Dili, and a number of village and district heads from Dili, selectively chosen and interviewed independently of one another.
 - b) Arranged to meet with Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo up to 4 times, and also with Fathers Alberto Ricardo da Silva, Albrecht Kaream, Markus Wanandi, Locatelli, Jose Carbonelli and Jose Antonio da Costa.
 - c) Arranged up to 5 meetings with the PANGKOLAKOPS (Operational Command for East Timor) and a number of meetings with his staff and troops, including the regional police force and 'Justice Team' formed to look into the November 12 incident. The KPN also met with the Udayana District Military Commander in Denpasar.
 - d) Met with the Dili and East Timor Chairmen of the People's Representative Council.
 - e) Met with socio-political and community organisations and community figures.
 - f) Met with and interviewed 132 witnesses.
 - g) Visited the Wira Husada Military Hospital in Dili, the central Public Hospital in Dili and a number of Community Health Centres and district police [*sic, not Army*] detention centres.
 - h) Followed the route of the demonstration from the street in front of the Motael Church to the Santa Cruz public cemetery and carried out a reconstruction a number of times at the site of the Incident. The KPN also investigated and noted the presence of as many as 70 bullet holes in the walls and gates of the Santa Cruz cemetery and also in the trees and electricity poles.
 - i) Carried out an investigation in the public cemetery of Hera, digging up one of the 18 graves of the dead to

find the corpse in a coffin and fully dressed according to Catholic custom. Only one body was found in this grave. The KPN also carried out similar investigations around Hera and Pasir Putih, Tasi Tolo and Tibar, based on information received from locals that the above places were the sites of mass graves dug for the victims of the November 12 incident. No proof that such graves exist in these places was obtained.

[Tasi Tolu is a notorious graveyard. No further details whatsoever provided on excavations in these additional sites.]

III. ANALYSIS OF THE NOVEMBER 12 INCIDENT

1. General

- a) During the 15 year period of East Timor's integration with Indonesia development of the province has been significant with the result that the people's welfare has been greatly improved. Also as a result of development, urbanisation has taken place, with the Dili population of 25,000 at the beginning of the period of integration swelling to the current figure of 124,284 out of a total population of 755,950. This population growth has created social problems. Because of significant developments in the field of education, the number of graduates from primary, secondary and technical schools has increased the demand for work opportunities and created an unemployment problem amongst the youth. This social reality is one of the reasons why the young people are so easily seduced by the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin groups (GPK - 'security disruptor gangs', the initials used by the regime to refer to the East Timorese resistance), and why some consciously become involved in demonstrations, alongside young kids who do so because they are forced. In accordance with the policies of development, a territorial operation, carried out by the armed forces, government and community groups and with the aim of bringing progress, love and welfare to the people, has been launched since 1989.
- b) On the other hand, remnants of the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin groups have been weakened to such an extent that they have transferred their operations from the forest to the cities, making the most of every opportunity to carry out disturbances and acts of terror, whilst at the same time drawing world attention to their existence. The only objective of these anti-integration/GPK Fretilin groups in defending their existence and keeping a hold on the East Timorese people is to secure assistance from abroad - both from the Fretilin elements and other anti-Indonesian groups.

[This paragraph is a typical one equating the resistance with Fretilin, whereas especially among the youth affiliation with or affinity for any of the old Timorese parties is secondary, residual, or non-existent. The Indonesian military, and here the military-led KPN, cannot concede -- and perhaps cannot conceive -- that the resistance is nationalist and non-party in character. This holds for the resistance abroad as well.]

2. Background to the November 12 Incident

The November 12 Incident is thought to be linked to prior events such as:

- a) 1989
 - (i) Demonstration carried out by roughly 20 youths who raised anti-integration banners after the Papal Mass on 12 October 1989 at Tasi Tolo, Dili.
 - (ii) An assault in the form of around 50 youth pelting officials with stones in Lecidere, Dili, on November 4 1989.
- b) 1990
 - (i) A demonstration by around 50 youths in front of the Hotel Turismo at the time of the American Ambassador's visit on January 17 1990 and subsequent demonstrations involving around 250 youths around Dili on January 18 and 19.
 - (ii) A demonstration by roughly 200 youths who unfurled anti-integration banners along with a Fretilin flag on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary celebrations of the Diocese of Dili on September 4 1990.
 - (iii) The destruction of a school and vehicles belonging to the security forces and an attack on a worker at State Junior High School No IV, Dili, on October 8 by a group of anti-integration youths who used the Externato school as the base for their activities.
 - (iv) Action by a group of students from Santo Paulus Catholic Junior High School, Dili, towards security officials who were attempting to erase writings and seize posters carrying an anti-Pancasila message. The student hit the officials, grabbed their fire arms and lowered the Indonesian flag in the school ground on October 15, 1990.
- c) 1991

A fight between a group of anti-integration youths residing in the Motael Church compound and a group of pro-integration youths from outside resulted in the deaths of Sebastiao Gomes from the anti-integration side and

Afonso Gomes (sic) from the pro-independence group on October 28, 1991.

[Here the commission displays its bias by acknowledging no brutality, much less atrocity, by any ABRI member in Dili over the course of 3 years. The 28 October killings are seriously distorted. Why there were no mass shootings of youths in the earlier large demonstrations is not explained.]

3. The Incident of 12 November 1991

- a) In the lead up to the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentary Delegation, it is believed that the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin groups were stepping up their activities as they viewed the visit as an opportunity for them to make their existence known to the outside world. Because of the cancellation of the visit, preparations which had already been made were channelled into a demonstration which used the occasion of a memorial Mass and wreath-laying in honour of Sebastiao Gomes who had died two weeks earlier and also the presence of the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture.
- b) Based on information and statements obtained from eyewitnesses, a number of foreigners actively participated in the demonstration.
- c) That the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin groups were involved in the demonstration was proven by the presence of Fretilin and Falentil (sic) (armed wing of Fretilin) flags and the logo of the East Timorese National Convergence, along with anti-integration banners and pictures of Xanana, the leader of the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin elements. The demonstration commenced after the mass from the street in front of the Motael Church and then moved along the main road towards the Santa Cruz cemetery. Along the route, anti-integration slogans were yelled, as well as those praising the Fretilin leader, Xanana, and insulting the security apparatus. When things got savage and quite out of control, the demonstrators stabbed Major Gerhan Lantaran, WADANYON 700, an officer of Sector C [Dili] of the Intelligence Service, and also injured Prada Domingos, a member of the Dili District Military Command, in the front yard of the Dharma Wanita women's organisation. The demonstrators also pelted the Summa Bank and old regional police headquarters building with rocks, smashing windows in both buildings.

[Here the commission, in a pattern evident throughout its report, chooses not to deal with accounts widely available in Indonesia's major newsmagazines. Editor, for example, reported that Gerhan was stabbed only after he punched a female demonstrator and tried to grab the flag or banner she was carrying.]

- d) With regard to the November 12 Incident, and particularly events in the Santa Cruz cemetery, information obtained can be divided up as follows:

(i) Before the Shooting

As the demonstrators were making their way to the Santa Cruz cemetery, a group of people had already begun to gather at the cemetery. When the two groups of demonstrators merged at the cemetery, they continued to wave the Fretilin and Falentil flags as well as display the National Convergence logo and the picture of Xanana, all the while shouting anti-integration slogans and abuse at the security apparatus.

(ii) Warning Shots

Based on information received from witnesses, two different versions of events exist. One group of witnesses state that warning shots were fired once or twice, whilst another group claims that the first round of gunfire was directed straight into the crowd.

(iii) Shooting into the Crowd

Three versions of events exist, based on information received from eyewitnesses. One version states that the gunfire of the security forces who had taken up crowd-control positions shot directly into the crowd. According to another version, shots were fired only after a fight broke out and the crowd attempted to seize the weapons of the security forces who were also pelted with large stones. In addition, a few witnesses claim that the shooting was carried out by a group of unkempt and undisciplined security officers who responded to the emotionally charged atmosphere.

- (iv) According to information obtained from all witnesses, in addition to the shooting, demonstrators were subjected to stabbings, beatings, kicks and punches by the security apparatus.

4. Casualties, the injured and missing

The KPN managed to compile the following information:

a) Casualties

According to information obtained from KOLAKOPS, the dead number 19, with proof that the burial of all of those in the Hera public cemetery had been

accompanied by a religious ceremony presided over by a Catholic priest. Although post-mortems were carried out on the above victims, no photographs had been taken, nor attempts at identifying them. Amongst the 19 dead is Kamal Bamadhaj, a citizen of New Zealand, whose body was handed over to his family at their request. According to witnesses and other sources, the number of casualties exceeds 19 and numbers vary between 50, 60 and over 100.

b) The Injured

Information obtained from the Wira Husada Military Hospital in Dili, including examination of the victims, is as following:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| (i) Bullet wounds | 42 people |
| (ii) Stab wounds | 14 people |
| (iii) Victims of beatings with blunt instruments | 35 people |

This does not rule out the possibility that the number of wounded is greater, since some of the victims are thought to have fled with other demonstrators and subsequently treated their own injuries. As of 14 December 1991, the number of patients in the Wira Husada Hospital was 41, with 50 having been sent home to their families.

c) The Missing

According to the oral and written reports of a number of witnesses and other sources, the number of people missing totals around 90. Witnesses and other sources acknowledge that amongst those missing there may be further dead, or injured individuals in addition to those who have fled to the bush or escaped.

5. Questioning of Suspects

The East Timor Regional Police have questioned 308 participants in the demonstration in accordance with the legal procedures and guidelines in force. Of that number, 261 have been returned to their families via the relevant village head. Of the 47 individuals who have been the subject of further investigation, 15 have been released, 8 are thought to have been involved in crimes of a specific nature and 24 in crimes of a general nature. All questioning of suspects has been carried out according to the legal procedures in force, and each has been allowed access to legal aid.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The Commission has strong reasons and grounds to come to the following conclusions:

1. The 12 November 1991 event/incident [peristiwa/insiden] in Dili was the climax of a series of demonstrations and

- incidents beforehand conducted by the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin group. [GPK - 'security disruptor gangs', the initials used by the regime for the East Timorese resistance.] The GPK/Fretilin which has come under increasing pressure, has changed its method of operations from bush guerrilla operations to town guerrilla operations, misused the wisdom of development in East Timor based on love and welfare, and has taken advantage of the situation, conditions and instability of the younger generation by exerting influence on them to oppose integration, while at the same time drawing international attention to their existence.
2. The 12 November 1991 event/incident in Dili which resulted in a number of deaths and injuries clearly did not occur because of any command or policy of the Government or the Armed Forces, either at the centre or in the Province of East Timor. The 12 November 1991 event/incident in Dili was basically a regrettable mishap [musibah].
 3. The demonstration on 12 November 1991 in Dili contained a provocation element which was planned in advance by the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin group; it was not an orderly procession intended to be peaceful, to honour the departed Sebastiao Gomes.
 4. The demonstrators, the majority of whom were young, behaved savagely, emotionally and destructively, partly it is believed because of incitement by the anti-integration/GPK Fretilin group, and had been cultivated for quite a long time. Besides this, they deliberately unfurled the Fretilin and Falentil (sic) flag, the picture of Xanana, leader of the GPK/Fretilin, banners, and shouted anti-integration yells, insulting the security apparatus.
 5. Some foreign citizens took an active part in the demonstration.
 6. In a condition of rising tension which began with the stabbing of an officer and the injuring of a soldier, the provocative savagery of the masses, and opposition by the masses which the security forces deemed could endanger their weapons and their lives, there was a spontaneous reaction by servicemen who, without any command control, exercised self-defence and excessive shooting at the demonstrators, causing deaths and injuries. Along with this, a group of irregular members of the security forces outside the command structure also started shooting and maltreating, which led to yet more casualties.
 7. In handling the rioting that occurred during the 12 November 1991 event/incident in Dili, although riot control units were there, the Commission saw nothing to show that

the procedures/regulations for handling a riot were implemented to the full. The actions of some members of the security apparatus exceeded what was proper, resulting in casualties, including deaths, and injuries from gunfire, stabbing and beating with blunt implements. Although the number of casualties up to now is 19 dead and 91 wounded, the Commission thinks it has strong enough reason to believe that the number of dead is around 50 and the number of wounded is more than 91.

8. Insufficient care was taken in handling the dead because, although autopsies (visum et repertum) were conducted, the dead were not properly identified. Besides, inadequate opportunities were given to family/friends of the victims to identify them.
9. The Commission believes that, in order to uphold the law, action should be taken and trials conducted against all those who were involved in the 12 November 1991 Event/Incident in Dili and are deemed to have broken the law, in accordance with the laws in force in the law-based Republic of Indonesia, which is based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

V. CLOSING SECTION

In the pursuit of its task, the KPN had the full assistance of all sides, the Government as well as the Armed Forces, Church Leaders and the Community. It is recognised however that the KPN encountered obstacles because a number of witnesses who were to be asked for testimony were not willing because they were still affected by a feeling of unease and feared that they would be deemed to have been directly involved in the 12 November 1991 Event/Incident in Dili or were afraid of being considered to be from the anti-integration group.

Jakarta, 26 December 1991

The Report is signed by the 7 members of the National Commission of Enquiry:

M. Djaelani, S.H.
 Drs. Ben Mang Reng Say
 Clementino do Reis Amaral
 Harisoegiman
 Drs. Hadi A Wayarabi Alhadar
 Anton Sujata, S.H.
 Lakodo Sumitro

COMMISSION ADMITS 50 DEAD (WIRES)

UPI, Jakarta, Dec 26 -- A government commission probing the killings of demonstrators by Indonesian soldiers in East Timor last month said Thursday about 50 people were killed and 91 others were injured in the incident.

The death toll was much higher than the 19 military authorities had said were killed.

Chairman M. Djaelani told a news conference after reporting his commission's findings to President Suharto that the assessment was based on data gathered from reliable witnesses, including relatives of the victims as well as East Timor's governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao and the region's military commander Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw.

The commission's report said that while a crowd of anti-government demonstrators provoked the army, some soldiers had overreacted.

Djaelani said East Timor police had detained 308 people suspected of involvement in the demonstration but only 32 remain in detention. He said eight of them will be tried on subversion charges.

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Dec 26

Indonesian soldiers went out of control in a clash with mourners in East Timor last month and killed about 50 people, a government commission said on Thursday.

The army had repeatedly put the death toll at 19.

The rare public criticism of the politically-powerful army, which insists it was forced to open fire on the mourners, is likely to soothe the worries of major aid donors that Indonesia would gloss over the killings.

"The commission has enough strong reasons to believe that the number of victims who died were around 50 people and the injured more than 91 people," commission leader Djaelani told reporters after presenting his team's findings to President Suharto.

About 90 other people have been missing since the killings on November 12, when soldiers opened fire on a 3,500-strong crowd which had marched to a cemetery in the East Timor capital Dili to mark the death of a separatist sympathiser, he said.

Djaelani also noted that some witnesses put the death toll at more than 100 in the shooting in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony Indonesia invaded in 1975 and where it is fighting a dwindling band of guerrillas.

Western diplomats said the report was more believable than the army version. "It is certainly more plausible, quite useful and positive," said one envoy.

Because of the killings three countries -- Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark -- have suspended aid to Indonesia, which relies heavily on cheap finance. On Wednesday, 260 Japanese members of parliament urged their government to do the same.

Japan is Indonesia's major aid donor, providing 1.32 billion dollars in development assistance this year.

The commission report, full details of which are expected in one or two months, said that while the mourners had provoked

the army by waving anti-Indonesian banners some soldiers had gone out of control.

"There was a spontaneous reaction by soldiers without orders to protect themselves, shooting many times into the demonstrators," said the report, calling for legal action against those responsible.

"That coincided with a group of security forces, out of control and outside command, which also opened fire and...led to more victims."

It criticised the army for not dealing properly with the crowd. Several military analysts have noted no attempt was made to use less deadly methods such as tear-gas.

Local analysts have been widely critical of the army's behaviour and several have called for a review of how it handles potential threats.

There has also been widespread criticism of the response by military commander-in-chief Try, who is frequently mentioned as a potential successor to President Suharto when he eventually steps down.

State secretary Murdiono said Suharto needed one or two days to study the report and would soon discuss it with senior ministers, including Try.

"The president expressed deep condolences to the victims especially to those who were innocent," he said.

Despite funds pouring in from Jakarta, high unemployment in Dili had made youths there more susceptible to anti-Indonesian propaganda by Fretilin guerrillas, the report said.

DPA, Jakarta, Dec 26 -

An Indonesian investigation commission conceded Thursday that around 50 people, rather than 19 as first claimed, were killed when government troops opened fire on funeral mourners in East Timor last month.

The panel blamed the clash on Fretilin, the underground independence movement in East Timor, and charged that "a number of foreigners" were also involved in the process of provocation.

The panel's chairman, supreme court judge Mohammad Djaelani, presented to President Suharto the inquiry's finding that the November 12 shooting in Dili, capital of East Timor, was "merely an unavoidable incident that must be regretted".

The panel said the clash was not an event which took place because of an order or the policy of the central government or the armed forces or their agencies in East Timor.

"The commission has strong reason to believe that around 50 people were killed and more than 91 were injured," Djaelani said.

Some parties had claimed the death toll was around 300 or 350 "which in our view does not make much sense", said the chairman of the seven-member commission. Reliable sources interviewed by the commission had said about 90 people were

still missing. Some of them might be dead but others might be hiding, the panel said.

Eyewitnesses and independence campaigners in East Timor have claimed the Indonesian military opened fire without warning on a crowd at Santa Cruz graveyard in Dili as thousands of youths gathered to attend the burial of a pro-independence figure.

Indonesian officials claim the crowd threatened the soldiers.

Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 26 -

Indonesia's investigation commission Thursday released its preliminary findings on the November 12 mass shooting in East Timor, estimating that about 50 people died in the incident.

The commission also strongly suspects that the incident was instigated by members of the East Timor pro-independence movement, Fretilin.

Commission chairman M. Djaelani said the committee conducted its investigation through document research, interviews with witnesses, field observations, and a reconstruction of the incident.

The report said the course of the events began when a crowd gathered at a funeral in the Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

Demonstrators soon joined the crowd. The number of people in the cemetery and those who joined in later is not mentioned in the report.

"After the demonstrators joined with the crowd, they (demonstrators) put up Fretilin flags, anti-integration flags, and pictures of Fretilin leader Xanana," the report said.

The crowd shouted anti-Indonesia slogans and insulted the army officers present, the report said, and the situation became tense when an army major was stabbed.

The report said the soldiers, in what they believed was an act of self-defense, spontaneously opened fire on the crowd. Lacking command control, the fire was excessive and actions at the scene by a number of soldiers went far beyond proper limits, the commission report said.

The report also noted that the troops were not well organized and control problems resulted in an excessive amount of victims in the incident.

The commission believes that about 50 people died, the preliminary report said, and puts the number of people wounded at about 91.

Indonesian armed forces and authorities have said 19 people died and 91 others were wounded.

Witnesses, journalists, and other independent sources said more than 100 people were killed when troops opened fire on more than 2,000 mourners at the cemetery.

Meanwhile, Indonesian secretary of state Murdiono told reporters that President Suharto will study the report and

will hold meetings immediately with the commander of the armed forces, Gen. Try Sutrisno, defense minister Benny Murdani, army chief of staff Edy Sudrajat, and attorney general Singgih.

Around another month is needed by the investigation commission to finalize the preliminary report, Murdiono said.

AFP, Jakarta, Dec 26 -

The preliminary report of the investigation into the November shooting at Dili in East Timor issued Thursday implicates the Indonesian army in the killings, but insists the soldiers were not acting on orders.

The fact that an official inquest, the first of its kind in Indonesia's history, throws discredit on "a certain number" of soldiers is without precedent since General Suharto took power in 1966.

In its 16-page preliminary report, the National Investigative Commission (KPN), set up one week after the November 12 shooting, contradicted previous claims made by the military on two major points.

First, the number killed, which it estimated at around 50 and not the 19 claimed by the army's commander in chief, General Try Sutrisno, and second, it said excessive force was in fact used.

Witnesses had said the shooting was unprovoked and put the death toll at up to 115.

The seven members of the commission, including three retired members of the military, said the soldiers were provoked by members of the East Timor independence group Fretilin who stabbed an officer and threw stones at a police post and a bank.

But the soldiers, "without the control of a command," then reacted "over the level of acceptable norm" by shooting, stabbing and hitting people with blunt instruments, the report said.

It said the shooting "was not something that happened because of an order or the policy of the government or ABRI (the Indonesian military)" in Jakarta or in East Timor.

The report can only sow doubt on the ability of the military to control its troops at a time when Indonesia is entering the run-up to next June's legislative elections, observers noted.

After examining the report, Suharto "expressed his condolences" to the families of the victims and disappeared, an act considered as distancing himself from those responsible for maintaining order, State Secretary Minister Murdiono told journalists.

Western diplomats were unable to evaluate immediately the effect the report could have on Indonesia's domestic politics or to anticipate the reaction of their respective capitals, but they all judged its findings "very interesting."

The United States, Australia and the 12 countries of the European Community (EC) have made it known they would reconsider their cooperation with Indonesia in the light of the inquest's findings, which they have hoped would be detailed and honest.

The Netherlands, Canada and Denmark have announced the suspension of future aid for Indonesia while continuing programmes already under way.

Portugal, still considered East Timor's guardian by the United Nations, has promised to use all the diplomatic resources at its disposal to relaunch Timor's process of self-determination. Lisbon becomes EC president for six months from January 1.

Hundreds of elected representatives in the United States and Japan, have called on their respective governments to take reprisals against Indonesia.

The investigative commission, which during its 17 days in East Timor interviewed 132 witnesses, denounced the "several foreign citizens" who actively took part in the demonstration, but gave no further details.

The commission's complete report is due to be published in around six weeks time.

AP, Jakarta, Albert Saragih, Dec 26

Government investigators acknowledged Thursday that some Indonesian troops used more force than necessary when they fired on protesters in East Timor last month.

The preliminary report on the Nov. 12 killings in the East Timor capital, Dili, also said the death toll was far higher than the government had reported.

But the report said the killings were not carried out at the order of the government or the armed forces, and it suggested pro-independence insurgents might have incited the violence.

The report on the bloodshed said about 50 people died, 90 were missing and more than 91 injured. The government had earlier acknowledged 19 deaths. A Catholic Church group, the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia, has put the death toll at more than 100.

A foreign correspondent who witnessed the attack, however, said the massacre did not appear to be spontaneous.

"It was not a case of individual soldiers acting on their own," said Allan Nairn, freelance correspondent for The New Yorker magazine.

"Hundreds of troops marched up in formation and opened fire all at once," he added in a telephone interview Thursday after returning to the United States.

After more than two weeks of investigations, the commission reported to President Suharto that troops initially fired in self-defense against demonstrators protesting Indonesian rule in East Timor, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in

1976. It said an officer had been stabbed and another soldier injured.

Even so, it said, "the actions of a number of security forces have gone beyond what was necessary, claiming many victims, including those killed, wounded and injured." It said troops did not follow proper procedures for a demonstration.

Nairn, who was beaten in the attack, said the demonstrators were unarmed and peaceful and that the army did not ask them to disperse before opening fire.

Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, a military spokesman, said, "The armed forces respect the findings of the national investigation commission." However, he defended the armed forces' death toll of 19.

The report also said the armed forces failed to give victims' families enough time to identify the dead, and that as a result some were buried without being identified.

The commission called for legal punishment for any violations in connection with the bloodshed.

M. Djaelani headed the commission of senior officials from the Supreme Court and the ministries of justice, foreign affairs, defense and interior, as well as the attorney general's office and Parliament.

Suharto appointed the commission on Nov. 19 following heavy pressure from the international community.

Speaking after a meeting with Suharto to submit the preliminary findings, Djaelani said 308 people were arrested during the violence and 261 were released soon after. Another 15 were released after intensive questioning, and the remaining 32 detainees would be brought to trial on criminal charges, he said.

Attorney General Singgih said earlier that eight East Timorese would be tried for subversion, a charge carrying a maximum sentence of death.

The commission said the Nov. 12 violence was a culmination of a series of anti-Indonesia activities masterminded by the leftist Fretilin independence movement.

Some the demonstrators on Nov. 12 carried flags of the Fretilin guerrillas, it said.

Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Dec 27.

Indonesia's politically powerful military, heavily to blame for last month's massacre in East Timor, has lost touch with the realities of a modern state and must change its ways, political analysts said.

A government commission investigating the November 12 shooting by soldiers at a funeral in East Timor, when it said about 50 people were killed, took the unusual step on Thursday of criticising the military.

The army said it accepted the report.

Though the commission said the soldiers were not acting on orders from above, analysts said their wild behaviour was symptomatic of problems facing the military, a pillar of President Suharto's 26-year rule.

If the military sticks to outdated methods it could act as a brake on the development of a society which, with greater economic wealth, is demanding more open expression, they said.

"They don't keep pace with the times ... (the army) used to be modernists but now it's different," one analyst said.

"Why are the younger generation in the armed forces so easily provoked, so trigger-happy?" asked a retired lieutenant-general.

He, like many, criticised the use of guns to control the crowd instead of tear-gas or non-lethal means.

"That, in a sense, is a failure of the army leadership, not the soldiers who fired," he said.

Many retired generals considered the East Timor incident a bad blunder by an army that has distanced itself from society and clung to out-dated tactics, he said.

"The younger generation (of officers) in the army are not very open to others. They seem to have closed themselves off."

In the 16 years since Indonesia invaded East Timor, it has not yet won over the locals and the army, which essentially runs the province, must accept that something is wrong with its approach, several analysts said.

It is time for the military to re-examine its much-touted dual function that since independence in 1945 has given it a major role in political life as well as defence, they said.

The military has been an important training ground for many of the ruling elite, including President Suharto who headed the army's strategic command force when he crushed an attempted coup in 1965.

Some analysts questioned whether the army was still able to recruit the people it needs.

"There are problems attracting the right people into the army," said one analyst, adding that many promising graduates prefer the expanding private sector.

A collection of more than 13,000 islands strung along the equator, Indonesia groups very diverse societies and at its extremities armed guerrillas still battle for independence.

Holding them together has been the recent role of the army. Its commander-in-chief, General Try (pronounced tree) Sutrisno, has in the past few weeks repeated that any threat to stability would be met with force.

However, Interior Minister Rudini said this month it was time to stop putting stability above everything else.

"It will lead to a condition where every public activity including their political rights could be suspected as a cause for instability," he said.

The army's dual function should be limited to exercising influence on political decision-making that affects security and

social problems. Soemitro, former head of the powerful national security agency, said.

"For the rest, leave it to the government and civilian leaders," he said.

One analyst cited troubles in the past two years in the northern province of Aceh (pronounced Achay) where diplomats estimate at least 2,000 people have been killed in fighting between the army and guerrillas.

Aceh, like East Timor, has focused attention on human rights abuses in Indonesia and in particular how much the military relies on force to deal with threats to stability.

"Aceh is symptomatic (of) the way the army has lost touch with reality," the retired lieutenant-general said.

TAPOL REJECTS THE FINDINGS OF SUHARTO'S INQUIRY COMMISSION

The following is the statement released to the press today, 26 December 1991, by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign:

The national commission set up by President Suharto to investigate the Santa Cruz Massacre on 12 November has completely exonerated the government and the armed forces in Jakarta and in East Timor of all responsibility for the killings. It accuses the demonstrators of being "savage, emotional and destructive" and blames the East Timorese armed resistance for "provocation and incitement of the youth".

The report of the commission, published in Jakarta today, contradicts the testimony of a video shot while the massacre was in progress, which shows the soldiers acting under the command of an officer who has been identified as the intelligence assistant of the Dili military command; it contradicts all the testimonies circulated widely by foreign eyewitnesses as well as testimonies from Timorese who were present at the demonstration. It claims that a number of soldiers, acting under no command and faced with acts from the masses "which could endanger their weapons and their lives", reacted "spontaneously, in self defence".

The Santa Cruz Massacre occurred when dozens of troops opened fire on East Timorese taking part in a peaceful procession to mourn the death two weeks earlier of an East Timorese activist, Sebastiao Gomes, killed when Indonesian troops attacked a church where he was taking refuge. Independent sources believe that the death toll at Santa Cruz cemetery was 180 persons.

In an attempt to defuse condemnation by foreign governments and to avoid economic sanctions which could threaten the country's aid from many western govern-

ments, the commission now distances itself from the totally discredited death toll of 19 upheld by the armed forces leadership. The commission says that "while this figure still stands, it has reason to believe that the number of dead is around 50". It does not explain why it chose this figure. Indeed, when the commission returned from Dili last week, the chairman told the press they had found no evidence that more than 19 persons had died.

TAPOL condemns the KPN Report as a political move by President Suharto to limit the damage already inflicted on his regime by the well-documented revelations about the Massacre. The Report will do nothing to satisfy the East Timorese people, neither those hundreds of families whose relatives have died or disappeared, who were injured or remain unaccounted for, nor the people as a whole who have suffered greatly intensified repression and control by the forces of occupation since the Massacre occurred. Signalling their total rejection of Suharto's commission, the people refused to have anything to do with it, least of all to testify to its members. The commission itself admits that its work was "obstructed" by the refusal of witnesses to testify.

The situation in East Timor is critical. Reports from Dili today say that yesterday's Christmas festivities were overshadowed by fear. The Midnight Masses at the two churches in Dili were poorly attended by Timorese, as plain-clothed army agents were on guard inside and outside these places of worship. Priests continue to be harassed and are under close scrutiny. Father Alberto Ricardo, the priest of Motael Church, Dili and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Dili, has been repeatedly interrogated by the security forces for the past month.

TAPOL calls on the British Government, the European Community and governments around the world to press immediately for a UN mission to visit East Timor without delay, not only to undertake a full and impartial investigation into the Massacre but also to provide much-needed protection to the people of occupied East Timor, in preparation for concrete moves to initiate peace talks without pre-conditions, under UN auspices.

The Santa Cruz Massacre is not an isolated event; it is only the latest in a long history of mass slaughter inflicted on the East Timorese people since their country was invaded by Indonesia in December 1975. Since then, an estimated 200,000 people have lost their lives, nearly a third of the population. East Timor will never be free from repression and fear until the forces of occupation withdraw and the people can express their wishes in a referendum held under UN supervision.

VIOLATIONS AND DOUBTS REMAIN OVER OFFICIAL INQUIRY (AI)

Source: Amnesty International, London. 26 Dec 91.

Scores of alleged political activists in East Timor, including many young people and Catholic priests, continue to be subjected to serious human rights violations including imprisonment, death threats and beatings. Amnesty International said the reports of continuing violations highlight the urgent need for an international investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath. The organization was responding to a press statement made today by the government's National Investigation Commission, set up to look into the 12 November massacre.

Amnesty International said that the National Investigation Commission's figure of at least 50 killed in the Santa Cruz massacre was more consistent with the available evidence than military claims that 19 had been killed. Despite the more plausible figure, it said serious doubts remain about the credibility of the investigation. The Commission's claim that the killing resulted from a "spontaneous reaction by soldiers ... to protect themselves" is inconsistent with numerous eyewitness reports that the procession was peaceful and that troops were acting in an organized and disciplined manner. Particularly disturbing was the statement that the soldiers had been "provoked" by mourners who had waved "anti-Indonesian" banners.

Amnesty International said: "A proper assessment of the report cannot be undertaken until full details are made public.. However, on the basis of the initial findings reported to the media, we continue to have serious doubts about the Commission's investigation. For this reason, and in the light of continuing reports of serious human rights violations in East Timor, we are reiterating our call for a thorough international investigation under United Nations auspices."

Despite severe restrictions on communications with East Timor, recent reports from Dili indicate that military surveillance and intimidation has intensified since the Santa Cruz massacre. The security forces appear to have used the 12 November incident and the national investigation as an opportunity for intimidating and imprisoning suspected opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor. Government authorities have acknowledged holding 32 political detainees in connection with the incident, at least 8 of whom will be tried for subversion, a crime which carries a maximum penalty of death. Sources in the territory have said that scores of young people have been threatened with death and

have expressed fear that some may face extrajudicial execution.

A wide range of people are now believed to be at risk of arrest and other violations. They include participants in the 12 November procession, members of the clergy, people who have spoken with foreign tourists or journalists, and alleged political activists. Some are known to have been beaten and threatened while under interrogation.

One priest, Father Hilario Madeira, aged 39, and his travelling companion were reportedly detained for two days by Indonesian military forces in Bali, during a journey from Java to East Timor in early November. According to reports, soldiers pointed automatic weapons at the two and repeatedly threatened them with death while interrogating them about their alleged political activities. Since his return, Father Hilario has been subjected to further interrogation and intimidation. Another priest, Father Domingos Santos, was stopped and interrogated by military authority as he returned to his parish from Dili a few days after the 12 November massacre. A third, Father Alberto Ricardo, the Vicar General of the Diocese of Dili, has been repeatedly interrogated by Indonesian security forces for the past three weeks. Colleagues have expressed urgent concern for his mental and physical well-being.

KPN ESTIMATES DILI INCIDENT VICTIMS AT 50

Antara. 26 Dec 91. Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged. Task Force Indonesia translation from Indonesian..

KPN (National Investigation Commission) Chairman M. Djaelani told the press after reporting the commission's findings to President Soeharto at Istana Merdeka Thursday that in the incident some disorderly (tidak teratur) ABRI men outside the chain of command had fired shots and committed acts of brutality.

Djaelani said the incident was inseparable from the activities of the anti-integration group and members of the security disrupters Fretilin band.

Another KPN member, Hadi Wayarabi Alhadar, said that in the 12 November incident some foreigners had come to Dili using tourist visas and inflamed the Dili youth. At the moment the youth were shouting anti-integration slogans, the foreigners photographed and videotaped them.

State Secretary Moerdiono, who accompanied Djaelani, said that the Head of State has conveyed his sorrow to those East Timorese who had lost family members, especially those who were innocent. The President also conveyed his concern to those families with members whose whereabouts remained unknown.

Moerdiono said that after issuing Presidential Decision No. 53 (establishing the commission) on November 19, the President deliberately did not meet with any commission members in order not to influence their independent investigation.

When getting the KPN report, the Head of State several times noted down statements by commission members. "Usually, the President does not make notes," said Moerdiono. Commission members were received in the Jepara room, a place usually used by the President only for receiving heads of state and governments. This reflected the President's respect for the commission, said Moerdiono.

Asked by reporters about differences between the KPN and government casualty figures, Djaelani said one of the problems was that the corpses were not identified and should have been. He said the corpses were not photographed and not identified by name. Families missing members later had no adequate opportunity to try to identify their kin.

Djaelani said another main reason for the difference in figures was that some victims had fled and later died. "We don't know the precise number in this category."

Asked by reporters why the commission had settled on the figure of 50 casualties, he said the figure was obtained from eyewitnesses and other informants. "We cannot give a definite figure. But the figure of 300 is definitely impossible."

He said that some ABRI members got emotional because demonstrators stabbed Sector C's Intelligence Section officer Major Gerhan Lantara and recruit Domingos.

FROM PUBLICO (LISBON) 27 DECEMBER 1991

East Timor Governor Mario Carrascalao says that the investigatory commission report is "neutral" and so there are no reasons for him to resign.

A Portuguese parliamentary delegation will go to the United States in the third week of January. The members will start a massive effort at sensitization and will work with the cooperation of the Portuguese community in the United States.

JOSE RAMOS HORTA ON KPN REPORT

(Radio Australia 12/25)

The representative of Fretilin to Australia [sic], Mr. Jose Ramos Horta, condemned the preliminary Indonesian report of the Dili massacre and Australia's supportive reaction. He says the report is a whitewash which allowed Australia to again avoid taking any action which would upset the Indonesian authorities.

"It continues to be a gross coverup and I was thoroughly disappointed at [Australian Foreign Minister] Gareth Evans, who is now using it as an opportunity to get himself and Indonesia off the hook.... More than 200 people were killed in East Timor, many hundreds were wounded and disappeared and Nov 12 is looked at in isolation. The whole issue of self determination in East Timor is the root of the problem.

"[The report] covered up the responsibility of people all the way up to President Suharto himself. They are the ones who ordered the troops to be in East Timor to start with. The East Timorese did not invite them.... They have no business being in East Timor to start with, the troops did not fire against orders, orders were given to them long before Nov 12.

"Dozens and dozens of people were taken outside the capital city in trucks, two together, the corpses were put together and burned beyond recognition. To ashes. Many, many others died outside the city of unattended wounds, because they were simply afraid to go to the hospital. Many others died in hospitals.

CAUTIOUS U.S. REPLY

Excerpt from Reuter, Washington, Dec 26)

The United States said on Thursday an Indonesian government commission appeared to have taken a "serious and responsible approach" in its inquiry into an alleged massacre in East Timor.

A State Department spokesman said officials wanted to study a full text of the commission's report before commenting further on the Indonesian inquiry into the November 12 army shooting of mourners in the former Portuguese colony.

"Based on the commission's press release on its preliminary report to (Indonesian) President Suharto, our initial reaction is that the commission appears to have taken a serious and responsible approach," the spokesman said.

"A key consideration will be how the Indonesian government addresses the crucial question of how the Indonesian legal system will deal with those members of the security forces who used or condoned excessive force," he said.

BUSH ADMINISTRATION RE- SPONDS TO REPORT

AP, Washington, Gene Kramer, Dec 27 -

The Bush administration on Friday challenged Indonesia to use its legal system to deal with soldiers accused of involvement in a mass killing last month in East Timor.

"We consider it crucial to see how the Indonesian legal system will deal with those members of the security forces who used or

condoned excessive force" in the Nov. 12 disturbance that claimed at least 50 lives, said State Department spokesman Joseph Snyder.

An Indonesian government investigating commission issued a report last week on the matter, and Snyder said the administration believes "the commission has taken a serious and responsible approach."

The government intends to study the Indonesian government's reaction to the report, he said, noting that it calls for action by the Indonesian judicial system.

"We understand that a spokesman for the Indonesian military has accepted the report and has said that some members of the military would be tried because of their involvement," Snyder said.

The commission's estimate of 50 deaths fell short of the findings of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, which "suggested that the range was closer to 100," he said.

Amnesty International, a human rights organization, said the commission's death estimates were "more plausible" than the original army figure of 19.

Despite this, the group said in a statement issued by its Washington office that "serious doubts remain about the credibility of the investigation."

"The commission's claim that the killings resulted from a spontaneous reaction by soldiers to protect themselves is inconsistent with numerous eyewitness reports that the procession was peaceful and that troops were acting in an organized and disciplined manner," the organization said.

Amnesty International repeated an earlier call for an international investigation under U.N. auspices "in light of the continuing reports of serious human rights violations in East Timor."

Reports from the island north of Australia "indicate that military surveillance and intimidation has intensified," Amnesty International said.

State Department briefing by Joseph Snyder:

Q Do you have any comment on the release of the Indonesian reports on the Dili massacre?

MR. SNYDER: Yes, I do. We have seen a press release based on this preliminary report. We believe the commission has taken a serious and responsible approach. We've just now gotten the full text of the commission's preliminary report, and we want to study it before we offer a further assessment. This report is the beginning of a lengthy process to deal fully with what happened in East Timor.

There are aspects of the report which will require follow up by the Indonesian judicial system. We understand that a spokesman for the

Indonesian military has accepted the report and has said that some members of the military would be tried because of their involvement in the November 12 incident.

We are continuing to follow the Indonesian government's reaction to the commission's report, and we consider it crucial to see how the Indonesian legal system will deal with those members of the security forces who used or condoned excessive force.

Q The figures quoted in this report, which I understand it's a preliminary report, do they match the results of the commission investigation that the US government sent from the embassy in Djakarta immediately after the incident?

MR. SNYDER: The report, as I understand it, talks about 50 people killed, but it talks -- it also mentions there were other reports of up to 100. This is mentioned in the Indonesian report. Our information, based on our visit soon after the incident suggested that the range was closer to 100, but the report does reflect that same sort of information that we received.

PORTUGAL REJECTS DJAELANI REPORT

AFP, Lisbon, Dec 27 - Portugal on Friday rejected the conclusions of an official Indonesian inquiry into the November 12 massacre by soldiers of at least 50 people in the East Timor capital Dili.

The government in Lisbon said there was a need for an "internationally supervised" new investigation into the killings in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony occupied and later annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The Portuguese foreign ministry said in a statement that the Indonesian authorities had acted "shamefully" in dealing with the massacre. It said the preliminary report issued Thursday by the National Investigative Commission was aimed at "improving the image" of the regime.

The Portuguese government noted that the report contained no explanation for the disparity between the official death toll and independent witness accounts nor did it offer any information about the fate of people who had simply vanished without trace. The report failed to mention serious allegations of executions in the wake of the massacre.

The Portuguese government rejects Jakarta's attempts to present the massacre as "an isolated incident due to a fortuitous lack of control" over soldiers, the statement said.

An investigation "supervised by international authorities" would be the best way

of putting an end to human rights violations in the territory and enabling Timorese to "exercise their right to self-determination", the statement said.

TIMORESE REJECT REPORT: KYODO

Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 27 - An eyewitness to the November 12 mass shooting in East Timor said that the East Timorese people are not satisfied with the findings of the official preliminary investigation commission report on the incident.

"If the number of the victims reported by the commission was 50, the East Timorese would at least want to know where the victims were buried," Manuel Viegas Carrascalao was quoted as saying in the newspaper *Berita Buana* in East Timor's capital Dili.

"Explain (directly) to the relatives of victims, where they are buried," he suggested.

The eyewitness, who is the elder brother of East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, told the daily that the East Timorese people want to get the details of the commission investigations.

Carrascalao said that many East Timorese have not yet heard about the findings in the commission report.

"I myself heard the report on Australian radio," he said.

He also said it may be difficult to get concrete evidence of the incident.

Carrascalao told the newspaper he may know some people who can pinpoint the burial site of victims of the shooting, but they will not dare talk, perhaps out of fear of repercussions.

In Bali, the chief of Udayana military command, Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, who oversees the East Timor military command, has so far declined to comment.

East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao has been unavailable for comment.

INDONESIAN REPORT ON TIMOR SHOOTINGS DRAWS CRITICISM

Washington Post, December 27, 1991

By Peter Wise. Special to the Washington Post

LISBON, Dec. 26 - An Indonesian investigation into the Nov. 12 shooting of independence demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has concluded that Indonesian soldiers went out of control, killing about 50 people, the head of the inquiry said today.

But the London-based human rights organization Amnesty International expressed serious doubts about the credibility of the investigation. Portugal, still the

administering power of East Timor under international law, said many discrepancies witnesses remained to be explained.

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry said in a statement that the conclusions of the commission of inquiry were "a desperate attempt" to cope with widespread criticism and to improve Indonesia's international image.

"The figures put forward by the Indonesian commission do not correspond to the true dimension of the tragedy," Jose Ramos Horta, a spokesman for an umbrella group of East Timorese independence movements, told Portuguese radio.

Amnesty International, the Lisbon government and the East Timorese independence movements all reiterated calls for an independent, international investigation into the killings.

"The commission has enough strong reasons to believe that the number of victims who died was around 50 people and the injured more than 91," the leader of the seven-man Indonesian commission, Djaelani, said after presenting a 16-page preliminary report to President Suharto.

Djaelani said another 90 people had been missing since the shooting, Reuter reported from Jakarta. Indonesia had previously put the death toll at 19. But witnesses have said they believe more than 100 people were killed. A U.S. delegation that visited East Timor was told that between 75 and 100 people probably were killed.

"There was a spontaneous reaction by soldiers without orders to protect themselves, shooting many times into the demonstrators," said the report, which called for legal action against those responsible. "That coincided with a group of security forces, out of control, and outside command, which also opened fire and . . . led to more victims."

Alan Nairn, an American journalist on assignment for the New Yorker magazine who was a witness to the events in Dili, East Timor, on Nov. 12, described as "completely inaccurate" the report's characterization of the shooting as that of individual soldiers acting "without orders to protect themselves."

Nairn said the soldiers marched in formation up to the demonstrators and opened fire in unison. The Timorese were not threatening the troops, he said, but were backing away from them.

Nairn said that, according to recent information he has received from Timor, the Indonesians are continuing the round-up of suspected dissidents that followed the Nov. 12 shootings. His allegations were echoed in today's Amnesty International statement, which was issued in London.

Amnesty alleged that scores of political activists in East Timor, including many young people and Catholic priests, continue to be subjected to serious human

rights violations including imprisonment, death threats and beatings.

Amid widespread international condemnation of the killings, Canada, Denmark and the Netherlands have suspended all new aid to Jakarta. Hundreds of legislators from the United States and Japan separately have called on their governments to take assertive action towards a resolution of the East Timor conflict.

ABRI 'ACCEPTS' REPORT

(Excerpt from UPI, Jakarta, Dec 27)

Indonesia's armed forces agrees with the conclusions of a government investigation commission that found the military had significantly underestimated the death toll in shootings in East Timor.

"The Indonesian Armed Forces does not doubt the conclusions of the national investigative commission," ABRI spokesman Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, told editors of the domestic media.

The commission that investigated the Nov. 12 shootings of anti-government demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony announced Thursday it found the death toll much higher than widely disputed figure of 19 given by armed forces.

The commission report also said about 90 people remained missing - possibly dead or wounded, or healthy but hiding.

Asked why the death toll was much higher than previously given by the military, Nurhadi said the figure was based on reports collected until the time ABRI made the earlier announcement about the incident.

"But now, with the figure given by the commission, ABRI accepts that number as more trustworthy. ABRI respects the commission," he added.

In response to the commission's report that some soldiers had overreacted in handling the crowds, Nurhadi said ABRI would adopt some "follow-ups," and anyone found violating the law will be prosecuted.

Armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno was scheduled to begin a visit to East Timor Friday, where he was expected to meet with the local people.

TRY: 'SEPARATISTS' SHOULD 'GIVE UP

AFP, Jakarta, Dec 27 - Indonesia's military chief General Try Sutrisno has told separatists in East Timor to give up their struggle for an independent state.

Speaking in the East Timorese capital Dili on Friday, Try urged separatists "here and abroad, who still harbour the ambition and obsession of creating chaos, unrest and security disturbances," to end their fight.

"The result of all their doings and actions is that the people have become the victims,

experiencing prolonged suffering," said Try, speaking at a Christmas gathering for servicemen and their families.

In his speech, Try warned that if East Timorese separatists did not end their struggle, Indonesia's armed forces were ready to take "strict actions" to ensure security and development.

He also alleged that a November 12 incident in which troops opened fire on a crowd in Dili had been "intentionally engineered" by East Timorese separatists in cooperation with "certain parties here and abroad."

Try offered "deepest condolences" to the relatives of the victims and expressed his concern for those still missing.

FOREIGN AID SAVED?

(Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Dec 27)

Indonesia may have saved vital foreign aid for its economy by publishing a report that rejected the military's widely disbelieved version of an East Timor massacre, diplomats said.

Donor nations had threatened to cut financial aid of more than five billion dls a year after troops fired on a crowd mourning the death of a separatist in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12.

The diplomats said the aid was crucial for an economy that still relied heavily on foreign assistance. Since the shooting, three countries have suspended aid. The economy is still growing at about five pct a year but diplomats say the government does not have enough money and will need to look overseas for help.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans endorsed the preliminary account of the findings of the commission. Evans said the report's justification of the soldiers having opened fire in self-defence was troubling, but he agreed with the estimate of some 50 deaths and 90 others having disappeared.

"By and large I think one has to say that it is a pretty crisp and not unreasonable account of what we from other sources ourselves know or believe to have occurred," he said.

Tokyo, the biggest provider of aid, has not commented. Members of parliament expressed concern over the shooting but Western diplomats said they did not expect it to limit aid now.

"Those who want to believe in Indonesia, they will believe. This report says enough for them to put aside pressure from public opinion and go ahead with the aid," said a European diplomat.

He said the report may not find approval from some European countries, especially East Timor's former colonial ruler Portugal, because there were still conflicting reports from witnesses on what happened. The commission says the soldiers were provoked by the crowd of 3,500 into

opening fire. Its death toll of 50 is still a long way from the figure of up to 180 given by prominent East Timorese.

HOW THE FOUR EAST TIMORESE IN BALI WERE ARRESTED

TAPOL Report, 27 December 1991.

[Based on an account published in 'Berita Timor Timur', 27.XII.1991, a daily news service circulating in Jakarta, issued in Bahasa Indonesia.]

Six East Timorese students were arrested in Bali at 7.00 am on 24 November 1991. They are: Fernando de Araujo, from Ainaro, a student of Indonesian literature; Jose Pompeia, from the village of Bidau, Dili, an animal husbandry student; Antonio Matos, from the village of Mascarenhas, Dili, an economics student; Clemente Soares from Bidau, Dili, a student of animal husbandry; Jose Paulo of Bairro village, Dili, an economics student; and Joaquim da Costa from Lospalos, a student of agriculture. All are students at Udayana University, Denpasar, except Antonio Matos, a student at the National Pedagogy University, Undiknas.

They were all staying in the rented home of Fernando de Araujo at the time of their arrest. A group of soldiers wearing traditional Balinese dress came to the house saying they wanted to pray according to Hindu-Bali religion. Army intelligence agents had meanwhile surrounded the house. All six students were arrested and taken to the local police station. All their possessions such as radios, tape-recorder, television, telephone and various documents were confiscated and carried off by the soldiers.

After the students had been taken away, another team of soldiers came to the house and put down four grenades. They then called neighbours in to testify that grenades had been stored in the house.

As this was going on, a student colleague named Acacio Branco visited the house. The soldiers arrested him and ordered him to testify that grenades had been found in the house. The soldiers ordered Acacio to bring other East Timorese students there, also to testify about the grenades. Several students were required to do this, including Artur Maria and Gertrudes. They were required to sign documents attesting to the presence of the grenades. The soldiers later described this as an act of protest by the three students against the activities of their colleagues.

Since then, army intelligence have been keeping all dwelling places of East Timorese students under close scrutiny. Two agents are allotted to each dwelling. Students live in a state of perpetual fear, afraid that they too may be arrested.

Of the six students arrested on 24 November, two - Jose Paulo and Joaquim da Costa - have since been released. The four in custody were subjected to severe beatings and torture during interrogations.

While all this was going on, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana military command, summoned all East Timorese students in Bali to a meeting where they were addressed by Sintong himself. He warned them to stop thinking about East Timor's independence, saying that anyone discovered to be involved in political activity would be taken into custody and punished. As yet, there have been no more arrests.

The four still under arrest were transferred to Jakarta just before Christmas and have been under intensive interrogation ever since at the central police headquarters in Jakarta, Metro Polda Jaya, along with the 21 students who have been in custody since the demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November.

There are unconfirmed reports that trials of the East Timorese students are due commence in the South Jakarta district court on 10 January.

Meanwhile, TAPOL received today from Bali photocopies of police summonses to two East Timorese students to appear for questioning in connection with 'a case of subversion'. They were being summoned to appear as witnesses.

A CHRISTMAS FOR TIMOR

Christmas party for East Timor From: kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr (Bruno Kahn)

The Portuguese Cultural Community of Trappes, a town 60km away from Paris, held on Dec. 28 a Christmas party entitled Um Natal para Timor. The money collected will be entirely devoted to East Timor.

The evening, which included a dinner and a ball, was attended by some 200 people, including a vice-consul of Portugal, the Mayor of Trappes and several town officials. The show featured Luis Manuel and his group Banda Patria, who offered it in support.

The Portuguese community in France, the largest outside Portugal, has a dense associative network throughout the country. It is becoming increasingly aware of the issue of East Timor.

Bruno Kahn
Agir pour Timor

GENERALS SACKED

Reuter, Jakarta, Dec 28 -

Indonesian President Suharto sacked two generals from their posts on Saturday after holding them responsible for the deaths of about 50 people when troops fired into a crowd of mourners in East Timor last month.

State Secretary Murdiono told reporters the two were Major General Sintong Panjaitan, military commander of eastern Indonesia and the East Timor military commander, Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw.

Murdiono said: "The president believed that whatever happened was the responsibility of those in charge of local security. So, as the supreme commander of the armed forces, he took the decision to change the local commanders."

There was no indication of who would take up the two key positions in the powerful Indonesian military establishment, which is a pillar of the government and a major player in domestic politics.

Murdiono also did not say whether the two sacked generals would be given other positions.

Suharto ordered the army chief General Edi Sudrajat to set up a council to study in depth the way the military commanders handled the violence in which troops opened fire in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12.

Suharto ordered General Try to take steps to find the missing people, widely believed by residents in Dili to be secretly buried in mass graves.

He also ordered Attorney General Singgih to take firm action against those in the crowd in Dili who had broken the law during the funeral procession for a slain separatist sympathiser.

Suharto instructed Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to counter the negative publicity earned for Indonesia by reports in the international media about the East Timor violence.

Major donor nations threatened to cut aid that is vital for Indonesia's economy if the government failed to carry out a factual investigation of the violence and punish the guilty.

SOEHARTO CREATING RIFTS IN ARMY?

AP, Jakarta, Albert Saragih, Dec 28 - President Suharto today replaced two military commanders of troops who shot to death pro-independence demonstrators last month in East Timor.

Suharto issued the order at a Cabinet meeting called to study a preliminary report on the Nov. 12 slayings in Dili.

State Secretary Murdiono said today that Suharto replaced the military commanders responsible for East Timor: Maj. Gen. Sintong Pandjaitan, chief of the Nusatenggara military command, which includes East Timor, and Brig. Gen. Rudolf S. Warouw, the military commander of East Timor.

Murdiono did not rule out the possibility of courts-martial for those involved in the bloodshed. He said that will be decided following a separate army investigation into

the military commanders' actions at the time.

The army investigation, ordered by Suharto, will be carried out by a council formed by the army's chief of staff, Gen. Eddy Sudradjat.

He quoted Suharto as saying, "We should exercise self-correction and take a lesson from the incident."

Murdiono said Suharto bypassed armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno in deciding to replace the two military commanders "because of the large interest and concern of the president as supreme commander of the armed forces."

The investigating commission said in its report that the actions of the security forces to maintain control went beyond what was necessary and resulted in many deaths and injuries. However, those involved in the riots must also be severely punished, Murdiono quoted Suharto as telling Attorney General Singgih.

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Dec 28 - Diplomats said the replacement of Major General Sintong Panjaitan and Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw was a blow to the pride of the military, which plays a key role in politics.

State Secretary Murdiono told reporters successors to Panjaitan, military commander of eastern Indonesia and Warouw, military commander of East Timor, would be announced soon by the armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno.

"The president believed that whatever happened was the responsibility of those in charge of local security. So, as the supreme commander of the armed forces, he took the decision to change the local commanders," Murdiono said.

Suharto ordered army chief General Edi Sudrajat to set up a council to study in depth the way the commanders handled the shooting in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12.

"The president stressed that what happened in Dili should not be repeated in future. He asked government officials and the security apparatus to correct themselves," Murdiono said. He did not say if the two generals would be given other positions.

Suharto ordered General Try to find the missing people, widely believed by Dili residents to be buried in mass graves.

The diplomats said the replacement of the two generals would satisfy donor countries demanding that senior officers responsible for the violence in Dili be punished, but the move also raised questions about the domestic situation.

One Western diplomat said it could signal a confrontation between the President and the military before general elections next year and the presidential polls the following year.

"For the outside world, however, the move is a positive sign," said the diplomat,

adding that it showed Suharto's willingness to act on the official commission's report investigating the violence.

"It will satisfy our government," the diplomat said.

Military analysts considered 50-year-old Panjaitan, a special forces officer, as being on track for the top job in the armed forces after successfully leading a commando operation to free a hijacked Indonesian airliner in Bangkok in 1981.

Warouw, a 48-year-old infantry officer, won his military spurs in counter-insurgency operations in Irian Jaya before taking over the special command in East Timor.

His bold strategy set two years ago to gradually replace combat troops tackling Fretilin separatist guerillas with soldiers trained in undertaking development work won praise from local residents and the influential Catholic Church.

TIMOR DEMO 'LEADER' TRIAL

Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 28 - Indonesia's local police in East Timor recommended Saturday that prosecutors charge an alleged rioter with subversion in connection with last month's deadly mass shooting.

The man, Gerogio Chuna da Sadanha [sic], was arrested for allegedly leading hundreds of pro-independence demonstrators during the incident.

Sadanha is one of 37 alleged demonstrators detained after the November 12 outbreak of violence in Dili.

Antara quoted East Timor police chief Ishak Kodijat as saying that among the 37 detainees, 14 people including Sadanha are suspected of subversion, 18 others of breaking criminal law, and charges on the rest are pending.

Antara said Sadanha is a former local government official.

AFP, Jakarta, Dec 28 -

Jakarta will press subversion charges, which carry a maximum penalty of death, on 14 people detained following last month's shooting at Dili in East Timor.

East Timor police chief Colonel Ishak Kodijat said in Dili on Saturday that 14 of the 33 detained would be charged with subversion, the Suara Pembaruan daily reported.

Kodijat had said earlier this month that eight would be charged with subversion.

Jakarta newspapers Thursday, citing unnamed sources in Dili, said a total of 37 people were detained following the November 12 shooting.

The Suara Pembaruan said Kodijat on Saturday handed over documents on the case of one of the detainees to the high prosecutor's office in Dili.

Kodijat said the detainee, identified only as GDS, worked at the Dili state hospital

and was a sympathiser of the East Timor pro-independence movement Fretilin.

The newspaper also quoted the head of the office, Benito, as saying "GDS" would be tried for subversion.

"GDS," Kodijat said, was suspected of leading several anti-Indonesian demonstrations in East Timor in recent years, including when Pope John Paul II visited the region in October 1989.

TIMORESE ARRESTED IN MALANG

TAPOL report, 29 December 1991

An East Timorese student in Malang, East Java was arrested on 24 December 1991. His name is Jose Antonio Jesus Neves. Further details are not known.

NEW UDAYANA, TIMOR COMMANDERS

UPI, Jakarta, Dec 30 -- Armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno Monday named new military commanders to replace two dismissed officers held responsible for the fatal shootings of some 50 mourners last month in East Timor.

Sutrisno told reporters Maj. Gen. H.B.L. Mantiri, was appointed chief of the Udayana military command, which oversees East Timor, replacing Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan. Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei was named chief of the East Timor operational command, replacing Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw.

President Suharto, as supreme military commander, decided during the weekend to remove Panjaitan and Warouw, saying that two officers were responsible for the Nov. 12 shootings in Dili, capital of East Timor Province.

Reuter, Jakarta, Dec 30

Indonesia has replaced the two high-profile generals held responsible for last month's massacre of mourners in East Timor with little-known provincial officers.

Armed forces commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno told reporters on Monday that Major-General Mantiri would become military commander of Eastern Indonesia, which includes East Timor, replacing Major-General Sintong Panjaitan.

Brigadier-General Theo Syafei will replace Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw as the military commander of East Timor.

President Suharto sacked Panjaitan and Warouw at the weekend, holding them responsible for the army shooting on November 12.

"They meet the criteria of the region," said Try of the two generals who will oversee military operations in East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after 400 years of Portuguese rule.

Both men are Christians, as are most of East Timor's 750,000 people.

Mantiri, 51, is a special forces officer who served as East Timor military commander before becoming a division commander of the army's elite Kostrad or strategic reserve.

His last post was as planning and budgeting aide to army chief General Edi Sudradjat at military headquarters in Jakarta.

Syafei was chief of staff to the military commander of South Sumatra's Sriwijaya regional command.

In contrast, Panjaitan and Warouw have been in the limelight. Panjaitan came to national prominence after leading a successful operation to free a hijacked Indonesian airliner in Bangkok in 1981. Warouw had been hailed widely for his strategy to involve soldiers in development work in East Timor.

Try said they had been recalled to military headquarters in Jakarta, but declined to elaborate.

Diplomats said Suharto's dramatic replacement on Saturday of Panjaitan and Warouw would placate major donor countries demanding suitable redress for the Dili shootings.

But it raised questions about the nature of a long and crucial relationship between the military and civilians in government.

One diplomat said it was unusual for Suharto to publicly punish two distinguished members of a military establishment which plays a key role in politics and will oversee next year's general election.

Suharto has ordered General Sudrajat to set up a council to study how the commanders handled the violence and warned that such incidents should not be repeated.

In a report to Suharto on Thursday, the commission blamed a section of the military for losing control and firing excessively into the crowd. It also refuted the military version of the violence, given in an emotional address to parliament by General Try, whose command includes the police.

Suharto has ordered Try to find the missing people, believed by Dili residents to be buried in mass graves.

A.I. USA ADVISES BUSH

AFP, Washington, Dec 30 - Amnesty International USA urged President George Bush to use his trip to Asia to raise human rights concerns in the region -- particularly abuses in Burma and Indonesia.

"As Mr. Bush promotes U.S. economic interest, he has an obligation to reaffirm this country's human rights interests as well," said John Healey, executive director of Amnesty International USA.

Bush left Monday on a 12-day mission aimed at opening up Pacific markets to American goods at a time when the U.S. economy is ailing. He will journey to

Australia, Singapore, South Korea and Japan.

"If President Bush fails on this trip to condemn the tragedy that has befallen the brave human rights activists throughout Southeast Asia, including those in East Timor and Burma, his silence will be heard loud and clear as a sign of consent to the perpetrators of these abuses," Healey said.

JAPAN'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY

Kyodo, Tokyo, Dec 30 - Japan, better known for pragmatism than ideology in its diplomacy, is increasingly adopting firm rhetoric on human rights as it joins Western partners in encouraging the post-cold war trends toward democracy and free markets.

But it remains to be seen whether Japan truly intends to exercise its budding political clout and immense economic leverage to promote human rights in Asia and beyond, or whether it is merely paying lip service to the concept to placate its more moralistic Western partners.

Last April, then Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu told the Diet that henceforth, in implementing Japan's massive aid program, Tokyo would fully take into account recipient countries' efforts at democratization and guarantees of fundamental human rights.

Foreign ministry officials, however, are hard put to cite specific examples of the new policy in action, with the possible exception of a cutoff of aid to Haiti last September and aid suspensions to such countries as China and Myanmar that predated the new policy.

On the other hand, while still as reluctant as ever to resort to punitive measures, Tokyo has been quietly pressing the issue of human rights in bilateral talks, most recently with Myanmar and Indonesia.

According to one human rights activist, Kiyoko Furusawa, Japan's response to an anticipated Indonesian government report on the shooting of civilians in East Timor will be a litmus test of Japan's sincerity on human rights.

"The government should not practice a double standard on human rights when it comes to abuses or violations occurring in nations with which Japan has been keeping very close relations, like China and Indonesia," said Furusawa, a lecturer at Tokyo Women's Christian University.

Furusawa said Japan's actions after assuming a nonpermanent seat on the U.N. Security Council will also show how serious Tokyo is about human rights.

But Japanese bureaucrats and politicians generally shun the idea of taking up the human rights torch with anything like the missionary zeal of many Western nations, some arguing that the very concept of human rights is alien to Asian culture.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who argued in Tokyo last November for Japan to dispense with passive diplomacy and actively promote "the democratic and humanitarian agenda," got a feel for the split in opinion in Japan at an informal dinner meeting with a number of senior political leaders, including Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe, and former Prime Ministers Noboru Takeshita and Yasuhiro Nakasone.

According to Foreign Ministry sources, some Japanese participants shared Baker's enthusiasm, saying Japan undertakes to convey the importance of human rights to other Asian countries.

Others, however, chided the U.S. for pressing a moralistic diplomacy in Asia and for ignoring what they said was the paramount importance of economic development as the foundation to ensure respect for human rights.

The Foreign Ministry's new annual report says Japan will henceforth "take actions" to promote "universal values" like human rights, utilizing aid as a leverage when necessary.

And Japan's Deputy Permanent U.N. Representative, Katsumi Sezaki, recently said in a speech that national sovereignty cannot be accepted as "a protective barrier behind which a country may violate human rights with impunity."

"There are certain fundamental freedoms and human rights that should be respected by all countries, whatever their culture, whatever their political or economic system," Sezaki said, alluding to the common argument of developing countries that social and economic development takes priority.

The threat of aid as a diplomatic club would be expected to be received coolly by such major Japanese aid beneficiaries as China and Indonesia, both under harsh Western criticism for their human rights records.

In practice, however, countries so near and economically important to Japan appear to have little cause for alarm from Tokyo's newly idealistic foreign policy -- which, according to veteran diplomat Takakazu Kuriyama, "also has to be realistic."

The former Vice Foreign Minister urged a "low-posture policy" that "does not give the impression we are imposing our values on other countries." Activism would antagonize Asian neighbors who remember "Japan's past belligerence and aggression," he said.

"There has to be a great deal of sophistication and delicacy when trying to promote values to which those countries do not necessarily subscribe," Kuriyama said.

TAPOL WRITES TO THE UN AND THE EC

To mark the change in the leaderships of the United Nations and the European Community commencing on 1 January 1992, TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, today, 31 December 1991, wrote to the new Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali, and the new Presidency of the European Community, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, regarding its concerns for a speedy solution to the question of East Timor.

The texts of the two letters are as follows:

Dr Joao de Deus Pinheiro,
Foreign Minister of the Republic of
Portugal, Lisbon

Dear Dr Pinheiro,

May I, on behalf of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, congratulate you and the Government of Portugal as you assume the Presidency of the European Community.

We are grateful for the fact that, since the tragic Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991, the Government of Portugal has worked closely with the other Member States of the Community to support the people of East Timor by bringing pressure to bear on the Indonesian Government to end the atrocities that have brought so much misery and loss of life.

The recent attempt by the government in Jakarta to placate its international critics will in no way lift the burden of suffering for East Timor. Jakarta's inquiry commission is no substitute for an independent commission which the United Nations should send to East Timor without delay. Only in this way will there be a full investigation of the events on that terrible day.

In the opinion of TAPOL, President Suharto's decision to replace two generals by two other generals is a futile exercise in damage limitation. Nothing can change in East Timor until Indonesia is forced to end its illegal occupation and withdraw all its troops. Everything we hear about the situation there convinces us that there will be yet more repression and yet more deaths for as long as East Timor remains under Indonesian occupation.

More than 50 East Timorese are now awaiting trial for engaging in legitimate activities in support of independence and participating in peaceful demonstrations. TAPOL recently addressed the Dutch Presidency of the Community, seeking its help in calling for the immediate and unconditional release of all these political prisoners. We very much hope that this matter will receive your close attention.

It is our fervent wish that, during the six months of Portugal's Presidency, the European Community will persuade the United Nations Security Council to consider the question of East Timor. There should be peace talks on the future of the country, involving representatives of the people themselves, including those who have waged armed resistance since the beginning of the Indonesian occupation.

I can assure you that TAPOL will do all it can to promote the cause of East Timor's independence and to support the East Timorese people who continue to suffer under Indonesian occupation.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali
Secretary General of the United Nations,
UN Secretariat, New York

Dear Dr Boutros Ghali,

May I, on behalf of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, congratulate you as you take over as Secretary General of the United Nations.

Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, this organisation has consistently supported the people of that illegally occupied country. We petition the UN Decolonisation Committee every year and present submissions to the UN Human Rights Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The question of East Timor is one of the most critical, unresolved issues on the UN's agenda, despite the adoption of two Security Council and eight General Assembly resolutions calling for an act of self-determination.

The massacre of several hundred peaceful demonstrators in Dili on 12 November 1991 has drawn world attention to East Timor on an unprecedented scale. The East Timorese people, today more than ever, expect the UN to extricate them from the injustices they have suffered during sixteen years of Indonesian occupation.

Your predecessor announced his intention to send a commission to East Timor to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre. It seems, however, that the Indonesian authorities are determined to prevent any international investigation from taking place. The situation in East Timor is grim; repression is worsening, fear of the forces of occupation is greater than ever and any investigation by the forces of occupation into the 12 November tragedy can only lead to more intimidation. The East Timorese people, understandably, will never trust those very authorities which have committed so many atrocities during the years of Indonesia's illegal occupation of their country.

TAPOL calls on you to press for a UN mission to visit East Timor without delay. The task of the mission should not be confined to investigating the tragedy of 12 November; it should also provide continuing protection to the people of East Timor. We also urge you to take up with vigour the question of East Timor's right to self-determination. Unless this basic problem is resolved, there can be no end to the tragedy. Any further prolongation of Indonesia's illegal and brutal occupation of East Timor is not only a tragedy for the East Timorese; it is a grave blemish on the implementation of United Nations principles enshrined in the UN Charter and UN Resolution 1514 (XV) on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

TRY SEARCHES FOR BODIES

UPI, Jakarta, Dec 31 - Military forces will begin a full-scale search for people still missing after last month's bloody shootings in East Timor, government announced Tuesday.

The search, ordered by President Suharto, follows the release of a government report estimating that 50 people were killed and a further 90 were missing after government troops opened fire on mourners at the funeral of pro-independence leaders in East Timor on Nov. 12.

The Indonesian government first said no more than 19 people were killed in the shootings, which sparked an international outcry. Independent reports put the death toll at more than 100 people.

Suharto has instructed Armed Forces Cmdr. Gen. Try Sutrisno to search for further missing bodies, government officials said.

"We will cross-check every piece of existing data and all facts found in the field ...," Sutrisno said. "Please give me a chance."

BELO CALLS FOR TALKS

TAPOL report, 2 January 1992.

Speaking in an interview with Portuguese commercial radio on Monday, 30 December 1991, Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, called for dialogue without preconditions to resolve the issue of East Timor. He said he deplored the lack of concrete initiatives on the issue.

The Bishop said that what he had in mind had to be a broad dialogue among all those concerned - Portugal, Indonesia, the resistance parties and the church.

The Bishop declined to comment on the preliminary conclusions of the Indonesian government inquiry and on the replacement

of Indonesian generals because he lacked accurate information.

Bishop Belo also spoke in the same interview of his deep anxiety about the physical and mental well-being of Father Ricardo, Vicar-General of the Dili Diocese, who has been undergoing daily interrogation and ill-treatment by the security forces for several weeks already. After a respite over Christmas and the New Year, the interrogations recommenced today, 2 January 1992.

THE HAGUE WANTS UN TO INVESTIGATE

Source: De Volkskrant, 2 January 1992.

Dateline: The Hague. Unabridged.

On 28 December, De Volkskrant, a leading Dutch daily, published an editorial entitled, "A Bad Report".

In the opinion of Foreign Minister van den Broek, the UN should conduct an inquiry into the East Timor massacre of 12 November. This is at the core of the reaction from the Foreign Ministry to the preliminary report on the shooting of a crowd of mourners by Indonesian soldiers.

The Dutch government is 'interested in the outcome of the consultations between the UN and the Indonesian government regarding an international inquiry into the events of 12 November in East Timor,' according to a statement on New Year's Eve.

According to the conclusions of the preliminary report, conducted on the instructions of President Suharto, fifty people were killed during the shooting and 91 persons wounded. According to Amnesty International and eyewitnesses, the number of fatalities was more than a hundred.

The Dutch Foreign Ministry regards the preliminary report published last week by the National Inquiry Commission as a move in the right direction, but the matter has not been resolved, the Ministry argues. Parliament too insists on there being an investigation, to determine whether the shooting at the crowd was premeditated or, as the official Indonesian version says, a matter of self-defence.

EAST TIMORESE BOY INJURED BY BRICK THROWN FROM INDONESIAN EMBASSY

AUSTRALIAN COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR, Campaign for an Independent East Timor (ACT) GPO Box 2583 - Canberra ACT 2601 - Australia

MEDIA RELEASE - 3 January 1992

An East Timorese boy, Anthony Carlos Ferreira (14), was treated for a fractured hand yesterday evening after a brick was

thrown at him from inside the grounds of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra.

An angry brawl developed after the end of a media conference called by the East Timor Independence Committee at the "East Timor Embassy" which is situated only a few metres from the gate of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra. Most of the East Timorese who had earlier staged a peaceful demonstration at Parliament House had already left when three Embassy vehicles emerged from the gate and drivers made obscene gestures towards the remaining 80 East Timorese.

One East Timorese man reacted by hitting one of the vehicles with his hand causing damage to the windscreen. While the drivers walked back into the Embassy grounds, 20-30 Indonesian Embassy staff rushed to the Embassy gate attempting to engage the East Timorese in hand-to-hand fighting but were restrained by Commonwealth security personnel and Australian Federal Police. Bricks, pieces of timber and cans were then thrown in both directions over the Embassy fence for about five minutes.

After his discharge from Calvary Hospital last night, Carlos Ferreira said that he was hit on the hand by a red house brick thrown at him from a distance of about three metres over the Embassy gate. The fourteen-year old has described his attacker to Federal Police who are investigating the matter.

Solicitor Bernard Collaery said last night that one East Timorese man has been charged with causing damage to a vehicle and will appear at the City Magistrates' Courts this morning at 9.30.

Further information: Patricia Fuary (CIET-ACT), 06-2477962

Embassy staff threw bricks at protesters

The Australian, 4.1.1992, unabridged By Katherine Glascott

Indonesian embassy staff retaliated against East Timorese demonstrators outside the embassy in Canberra by throwing back bricks, stones and bottles, an embassy official confirmed yesterday.

The brawl resulted in the arrest and overnight detention of an East Timorese demonstrator who was yesterday found guilty of damaging embassy property and released on a good behaviour bond.

A statement tendered by the ACT Public Prosecutor, Mr Shane Madden, said the brawl occurred at 5.50pm when three embassy vehicles tried to leave the grounds. The defendant, Seveliano Martin Jong, approached one of the vehicles and cracked the right side of the windscreen.

One vehicle then reversed back into the grounds while the other drivers were forced to leave their cars and walk back to the compound.

In handing down his finding, the magistrate, Mr Peter Dingwall, said Jong, 43, had been provoked by the embassy driver who had allegedly made an obscene gesture towards him.

The solicitor who represented Jong, Mr Bernard Collaery, said Jong, who was standing in the driveway, was overcome by "emotion" when the driver made the obscene gesture with his fingers.

After the drivers had returned to the grounds, about 30 staff returned and threw a "shower of bricks over the embassy gates".

Outside the court, another demonstrator, Anthony Carlos Ferreira, 14, alleged his hand had been fractured by a brick thrown at him from inside the embassy grounds.

An embassy official confirmed staff had thrown bricks, stones and bottles over the gate but that it was in retaliation after two embassy staff had been injured.

*The scene of diplomats throwing bricks at demonstrators and trying to fist-fight with them was quite amazing. Security guards standing inside the gate who were facing away from the embassy had to turn around and prevent stick-wielding embassy staff from rushing the gate from the *inside*. Embassy staff who have had to suffer the "indignity" of passing Fretilin flags, 200 crosses with names of the victims of the Dili Massacre and un-flattering banners as well as smelling 6 weeks of accumulated garbage every time they enter or leave the embassy have obviously accumulated a lot of anger.*

KPN REPORT MAKES IMPACT (ASIA WATCH)

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 3

Leading U.S. human rights group Asia Watch said on Friday that Indonesia's official report on an army massacre in East Timor was unacceptable and demanded an international investigation.

"There is not much time left. Bodies will decay, making identification all the more difficult; memory of specific details will fade; the 'official' version will be increasingly accepted as fact," Washington-based Asia Watch said in a report received in Jakarta.

"The international community must continue to press the Indonesian government for a full and accurate accounting of what happened. The preliminary (government) report deserves no accolades."

Diplomats said Japan, Indonesia's major aid and trade partners, and the United States had largely accepted the Indonesian version of events though some European countries might demand more.

They said that in particular the question of punishment of the soldiers involved still remained unsettled.

However the report appeared to have successfully prevented the shooting from being linked to vital supplies of fresh foreign aid.

A local daily said the Indonesian investigators would return to East Timor next week to complete their inquiry and that a final report was expected in about two months.

One Western diplomat said he doubted the wisdom of pushing for an international investigation so late in the day though he said a representative from the United Nations should probably go to East Timor.

Several retired generals have been strongly critical of the way the military behaved, laying much of the blame on its leadership.

They say some military leaders are out of step with a modern developing country and should be prepared to deal with unrest in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia's diverse archipelago far less harshly.

INDONESIA WARNS AUSTRALIA, PORTUGAL

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 3

An angry Indonesia warned Australia on Friday that relations could be at risk after a crowd protesting over November's Indonesian army massacre in East Timor harassed its diplomats in Canberra.

"We want those actions stopped. If they are not stopped they will clearly jeopardise our relations," Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters.

He said demonstrators threw bricks at two embassy cars leaving the Canberra compound on Thursday and diplomats had been harassed. Police had failed to do more than shout at the mob to stop, he said.

"What makes us deeply concerned... (is that) those demonstrators have acted with apparent ease and complete freedom to do so," Alatas said.

The embassy has been picketed since November 12 when Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners in East Timor, killing scores and sparking an international outcry.

Radio Australia reported later that Canberra police had ordered protesters to dismantle by Monday a hut, described by demonstrators as the East Timor "embassy," erected outside the Indonesian mission.

Alatas saved his harshest words for Portugal, referring to it as dishonest. Lisbon has waged a relentless attack against Jakarta's 16-year rule of the impoverished territory.

"We reject the way... Portugal is sitting on their high pedestal. I have a lot to say about Portugal if I want to and perhaps I will in these coming weeks," Alatas said.

"I still have to decide whether I will stoop down to their level or whether I will

maintain our own dignity. We are not given to muckraking in Indonesia... but if seriously provoked I'm game..."

BISHOP BELO DENIES HE INVITED INDONESIAN OFFICIALS

LUSA, the Portuguese News Agency. 3 January 1992. Two items, abridged.

A reminder, if needed, that much of what the Indonesian press reports about East Timor is invention.

There are 41 Timorese awaiting trial

Bishop Ximenes Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, told LUSA news agency in a telephone conversation, that it was not true he invited Indonesian civilian and military officials to his residence for this year's Christmas celebration.

The English-language daily, The Jakarta Post, reported on 26 December that: "Bishop Belo and his clergy threw an open house yesterday morning which lasted until noon. Among the guests were leaders of the provincial government and the military."

"I invited no-one," the prelate said, but at that point the telephone conversation was cut.

After restoring telephonic contact with the Bishop, LUSA was told by him that there were 41 persons in detention who being charged for activities in connection with the 12 November massacre last year.

[Official sources said earlier that the number of detainees awaiting trial in Dili was 32.]

When the conversation again returned to the story in the Jakarta Post, the Bishop described the report as a lie, saying it was not the tradition for receptions to be held at the Bishop's residence with Indonesian authorities among the guests. But once again at this point, the phone-line was cut.

INDON EMBASSY PICKET THREATENED

Jan 4, 1992 by cietact

The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs is using the brawl at the Indonesian embassy two days ago as an excuse to move against the "East Timor Embassy", a wooden hut erected next to the Indonesian embassy by the Trades and Labour Council as a permanent picket of the embassy after the Dili Massacre.

A report on ABC television says that the Australian Federal Police has announced the removal of the "Embassy" by Monday 6 January.

The TLC, the "Embassy" committee and the East Timorese community are moving to defend the "Embassy".