

# ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

## Volume 1: November 9-16, 1991

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## CNRM EXTERNAL SPOKESPERSON VISITS LONDON (TAPOL, 11/9)

*TAPOL release on 9 November 1991*

Jose Ramos Horta, the official spokesperson of the East Timorese National Council of Maubere Resistance, visited London for three days this week, to contact the British Government, the opposition Labour Party's foreign affairs team, and members of Parliament, and to speak to the press about the situation in East Timor, following the suspension of the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation which was to have visited East Timor this month.

His programme in London was organised by the Catholic Institute for International Relations.

At the Foreign Office, Horta was received by Roger Cook of the East Asia Department. He met George Foulkes MP, who deals with Asia in the Labour Party's Shadow foreign affairs team. From the back-benches, he met Alice Mahon and Dawn Primarolo, who have taken numerous initiatives on East Timor's behalf, and Jacques Arnold, secretary of the Conservative Party's foreign affairs committee, a back-bencher whose Brazilian background has given him a keen interest in the affairs of the former Portuguese colonies.

During his many conversations, Horta stressed the need for the governments of the European Community to work jointly to press for a formal or informal meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the situation in East Timor. He also urged Britain to support calls for the EC nations to press Indonesia to enter into peace talks without pre-conditions with East Timor and to impose an arms embargo on Indonesia if it refuses to comply with this request, in line with the Council of Europe resolution adopted earlier this year. He said that of all the EC governments, Britain, along with Denmark, was the most unsupportive of East Timor.

Horta was interviewed by several divisions of the BBC World Service, by Channel 4 and by The Times and met representatives of the main Catholic newspapers.

He was to have been accompanied to London by a Portuguese MP but this proved impossible, the trip to London having been decided at very short notice.

On Thursday, 14 November, Horta will give a press conference in Paris, sponsored by the Liberation Foundation and its head, Mme Mitterand. He will return to Australia immediately afterwards.

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## MILITARY 'ORDERED PURGE OF FRETILIN' (AUSTRALIAN 10/31)

*Source: The Australian Date: 31 October 1991 Storytype: News item, unabridged*

The Indonesian military initiated a crackdown on dissidents in August in preparation

for the Portuguese parliamentary visit to East Timor, according to a military document obtained by The Australian yesterday.

The document, leaked by a military source in East Timor to the East Timor News Agency, says the army allegedly initiated a clean-up campaign to deter the Fretilin guerilla movement before the visit.

The document, sent by the commander of the Special Operation Executive in East Timor, named as Pangkolakops, to the director of the Strategic Intelligence Headquarters describes in military code operations to stop and destroy the Fretilin guerillas and analyze the preparations for the visit.

### Indonesian Crackdown

The document says the special branch of strategic intelligence of the Indonesian army was also to investigate the escape last May of the four Timorese soccer players who were participating in the Arafura Games in Darwin.

Four East Timorese youths escaped the games compound, with the help of friends in Darwin, two travelled to Sydney where they were given Portuguese passports. The other two are still in Darwin, seeking political asylum.

The document says the special forces were to uncover and deter the "underground networks involved with the preparations for the visit or with the Fretilin guerilla movement."

The source in Dili claimed the military had created a number of teams with specific instructions to infiltrate the pro-independence groups.

The Indonesian ambassador in Australia, Mr Sabam Siagian, denied these reports yesterday.

"These reports are a lie. We are used to this type of news about the situation in East Timor but these reports are fabricated and not true," he said.

But a spokesman for the Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Bishop Belo, confirmed the reports and told The Australian the East Timorese were "living a time of terror."

These reports come 24 hours after the shooting deaths of two East Timorese youths near the Motael Roman Catholic church in Dili involving Indonesian forces but officially blamed on "anti-integration forces".

The official Antara news agency reported in Jakarta last night that Indonesian police had released 22 of 40 people detained after the incident.

East Timor Military Commander Brigadier General R.S. Warouw said yesterday that all responsible for the brawl he alleged caused the deaths would be brought to justice.

The Portuguese ambassador to Australia, Dr Jose Luis Gomes, said yesterday he would call on the Australian Government formally to condemn Jakarta over the shootings.

The Portuguese parliamentary visit, which was to be the first official contact by Portugal with East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, was cancelled on Sunday after Jakarta

vetoed the entry of Australian Lisbon-based journalist Jill Jolliffe.

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## BISHOP BELO'S ACCOUNT OF 28 OCTOBER INCIDENT (NOV. 13)

*The following is an unabridged translation from Portuguese of Bishop Belo's statement:*

*Diocese of Dili Diocesan Secretariat Jl Governador Alves Aldeia 25 Dili, Timor Timur*

### OFFICIAL STATEMENT

As the public is aware, on the 28 October on the TVRI broadcast "DUNIA DALAM BERITA", the official news was given concerning the lamentable events of the early morning of 28 October 1991, within the Motael Church and surroundings, which, for the good of the Church and for the Timorese People, must not be repeated.

For the most part, the points made in this official communique, widely reproduced throughout the press (Angkatan Bersanjata, Kompas, Jawa Pos, Surya, Suara Java Timur...) seem to be attempting to make the ends justify the means.

In these terms, the following should be known:

1. Since November 1991, a group of youths took refuge in the premises of the Presbytery of Motael, on the basis of personal security.
2. Contacts were set up between the civil and military authorities and the Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Dili and the Parish Priest of Motael, to seek a solution for the situation of these youths.
3. The military authorities, especially, were determined that these young people should leave the Presbytery before the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentarians and the delegation of the United Nations.
4. In these last weeks, and most intensely in the week of 21- 26 October, culminating in the attack in the early hours of 28 October, there was a notable presence in the area of individuals on motor-cycles keeping watch on the Presbytery, generally after the "dead hours" of the city.
5. In this official statement we call "dead hours" the time from midnight to four in the morning, when the city of Dili is practically without life. Normally, between these hours, there are only police, military, information agents of INTEL in the streets, with an occasional late member of the civilian population.
6. In the early hours of 28 October, a group of individuals on motor-cycles began to circle the perimeter of the Presbytery and the Church of Motael, shouting abuse. This time, from mere words they moved to action, throwing stones against the front of the Church and at the side known as "Taman Mini", and entering the grounds of the Church. Physical contact was in-

evitable (2 a.m.). Meanwhile, a number of individuals with pistols drawn began to advance, coming from the beach and entering the front door of the Church, where the young man, Sebastiao, was killed, riddled with bullets he was found dead some 18 metres from the door of the wall of the Church, on the verge of the other side of the road. The other victim, Afonso, was some 23 metres distant from the corpse of Sebastiao. Following the signs of blood on the road, a pool of blood was found some 57 metres from Afonso's body, killed by stabbings and wounded with a blunt instrument.

7. Later on in the morning (6 a.m.), the police proceeded to search the residence of the Parish priest, in adjacent property (the parish polyclinic, office and hall and the house of the parish domestic staff where the youths were gathered); the search inside the Church was only carried out after eight in the morning with the authorisation of the Bishop, who accompanied the policemen who were allowed to enter, in a number no more than four.
8. During these Searches were found anti-Indonesia pamphlets, Fretilin and Portuguese flags, as well as some objects (knives, sticks and iron bars) in the house of the domestic staff and outside of the parish offices, but not inside the Church as has been tendentiously broadcast. Within the Church three individuals were captured - two in a corner of the Church and one in the tower - who had taken refuge there in the midst of the confusion.
9. Finally, after the Bishop spoke to the people who had gathered after hearing the ringing of the Church bells (2 a.m.), everyone returned to their homes (9 a.m.) going in groups to different areas, the Bishop taking those who lived furthest away in his own car. Of those who stayed, fifteen persons were handed over to the police, who picked them up in a truck. The people handed over to the police were eighteen in total: the other three were accompanied by the Parish priest of Motael to the Police (POLRES), more than an hour earlier.

These are the facts that the Diocese believes should be made known to the public.

Dili, 2 November 1991, Diocese of Dili  
Signed, *Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo SDB,*  
*Titular Bishop of Lorium, Apostolic*  
*Administrator of Dili*

## BISHOP OF EAST TIMOR: CAMPAIGN OF TERROR HAS BEGUN (NEW TIMES)

*By David Webster*

*The following full-page article appeared in the Nov. 17 issue of Catholic New Times, Canada's national independent Catholic newspaper, with an accompanying photo. Some of the details have changed between press time and publication.*

"Our situation has worsened in the past few weeks," writes East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, in a letter to supporters in the Portuguese Catholic Church, "As the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation nears, the [Indonesian soldiers] have once again started a campaign of terror, of threats. Anyone who approaches the Portuguese will be killed. There is no climate of freedom...."

The United Nations secretary general attempted to bring about a settlement between Portugal, the former colonial ruler, and Indonesia, the country that invaded and annexed East Timor in December, 1975. The invasion, which could have served as the model for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait a decade-and-a-half later, has claimed the lives of 250,000 Timorese -- more than a third of the population -- through war, famine, and an aggressive forced birth control programme said to include forced abortions, involuntary sterilization of women, and murder by injection of newborns in hospitals.

### Portuguese mission

This month, the UN efforts were supposed to bear fruit in the form of a mission of Portuguese parliamentarians to their former colony. Disputes over what journalists will be allowed to accompany the mission, however, have put preparations on hold indefinitely.

The delay is bad news for the people of East Timor. The visit was expected to be a rallying point for nonviolent protest against Indonesian rule (much as the Pope's visit to Dili, the Timorese capital, was in 1989). In preparation for it, the Indonesian military command that controls East Timor began a crackdown.

Troops arrived from all over Indonesia and are now stationed in virtually every part of East Timor in a bid to intimidate the people into expressions of support for Indonesia. Para-military units and death squads of off-duty soldiers increased their presence in the streets. Students and Timorese civil officials suspected of sympathy with resistance forces in the mountains were sent away from East Timor, or simply "disappeared."

Finally, on October 28, Indonesian troops entered Motael parish church in Dili, where Timorese pro-independence demonstrators (some of them as young as 13) have taken refuge from soldiers for more than a year under the protection of Bishop Belo. Up until then, the church had always been respected by military authorities fearful of an incident involving East Timor's Catholic Church in

the months leading up to the Portuguese mission.

However, just 24 hours after the mission was suspended, the military apparently felt free to act.

### Military crackdown

Troops forced the church doors at 1:30 AM and shot two of the people inside: Sebastiao Ranel, 18, and Afonso Hendrique, 30. Both men were unarmed. Both were participants in the frequent anti-Indonesian protests that brought on the latest crackdown. Within hours hundreds of unarmed youth gathered to defend the church and were instrumental in preventing further killings.

Following the shootings, 20 more people were arrested and taken into police station for "interrogation" -- an expression which, in Indonesia, is virtually synonymous with torture.

Short-term interrogations top Amnesty International's list of concerns about "widespread violations" of human rights in East Timor. One torture victim, Abilio Mesquita, described his questioning at the hands of military intelligence last Christmas:

"They took me to a big room, took off my clothes and immediately proceeded to apply electric shocks to my body. They also punched and beat me very badly until blood was running from my face and head. They beat my whole body with an iron rod.

They began to interrogate me. [Beating up the victim before asking questions has become increasingly common, according to church sources]... they took the iron rod again and kicked and punched me repeatedly and then finally, took a large stone, smashing it on my hand.

Blood was streaming down my face and I fell over. While lying on the ground, they took a rifle butt and smashed it into my face, and from this my right jaw broke. In agony, I shouted: "Oh, Jesus." They mocked me, saying: "Go and call on your Jesus to come down and help you. I wanted to cry but no tears came...." This treatment continued for four full days."

The suspension of the mission seems certain to bring down a new reign of terror in East Timor. Sources in Dili expect many more violations like the invasion of Motael Church to happen in the coming weeks.

With military control already tight leading up to the visit of the Portuguese, the Catholic church has been the only space for dissent, the only legal institution respected by the Timorese people. Already, its functioning is ringed about with restrictions and barriers. Already, only its bishop remains able to speak, with even a measure of freedom, to the outside world. The question today is, will it be allowed to continue its mission and its existence in Indonesian-ruled East Timor?

### Role for the UN

Bishop Belo has called for a UN peace-keeping force for East Timor to prevent a bloodbath. The call was backed on October 23

by New Zealand Cardinal Thomas Williams and Cardinal Evaristo Arns of Brazil and 56 other bishops from around the world, who appealed to the UN "to take steps to ensure that safeguards and guarantees set out in the Protocol agreed by the Indonesian and Portuguese governments are completely adhered to by the Indonesians, and particularly to ensure that no reprisals are taken against the people of East Timor following the visit." Reports received since, even before the Motael killings, show that the Indonesian-Portuguese agreement is already violated -- and no UN action has been taken to enforce it.

"In order that there be an objective observation of the real situation of Timor," Bishop Belo wrote last month in a pastoral letter, "the Church lifts once more her voice to ask that fundamental human rights be respected ... Safeguarding the legitimate interests of each, let the continuity of the Timorese people as an historical entity be guaranteed, in respect to themselves and their neighbours."

At the UN and in world capitals, the call for peace and justice in East Timor is being heard, but not heeded. World leaders do not acknowledge Bishop Belo's plea for a referendum on independence. They do not listen to the call by resistance leader Xanana Gusmão for peace talks without preconditions. They do not even listen to their own words when they speak of linking aid to human rights, while pouring millions of dollars of aid money into the deep pockets of Indonesia's ruling generals.

And all the while, as Bishop Belo has said, the Timorese "continue to die as a people and as a nation."

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## DILI MASSACRE UPDATE

(TAPOL 11/12)

*The following Press Release was issued by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, at 10 am London time, Tuesday, 12 November 1991.*

This morning at about 8 am (Dili time) Tuesday, 12 November, Indonesian troops opened fire on hundreds of Timorese who had gone to Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, to lay flowers on the grave of Sebastao Gomes, a Timorese youth who was shot dead at Motael Church Dili, on 28 October. According to the latest information, many people were killed; a source in Dili told TAPOL that sixty people died and many more were wounded. The dead have been taken to the Dili military hospital. Some 200 have been rounded up and are being held at the Dili police office where they are being tortured and beaten. The streets of Dili are full of troops.

The situation in Dili has been very tense since it was announced on 24 October that a visit to East Timor by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation had been suspended. The visit was to have commenced on 4 November. In preparation for the visit, a large number of troop reinforcements had been brought into East Timor, in order to prevent pro-indepen-

dence demonstrations which were being planned by the Timorese. The last-minute suspension led to widespread anger and disappointment among the people of East Timor.

Sebastao Gomes was killed when troops stormed Motael Church at 1.30 am on 28 October. Dozens of Timorese youth were taking refuge there, to avoid being arrested. The church has been used as a refuge for well over a year. The day after this shooting, several thousand people, together with priests and nuns, walked in procession along the streets of Dili, prior to the burial of the dead youth.

Today's procession to the cemetery started out from Motael Church at 7.30 am. Another group of Timorese went to Hotel Turismo where they were hoping to meet Professor Kooijmans, UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, who is on an official trip to East Timor, but the hotel was surrounded by troops. Prof. Kooijmans arrived in Dili two days ago.

It is also reported that a foreign journalist has been wounded. The identity of the journalist is not known but we do know that an American freelancer, Allan Nairn, who writes for the New Yorker, and US radio journalist Amy Gordon have been in Dili for at least a week. According to as-yet unconfirmed reports, there is another foreign journalist, possibly from the US, who sustained gunshot wounds, and is now at the Bishop's Residence. His passport has been seized. All attempts to contact the Bishop and other priests' homes in Dili have been fruitless; there numbers are "not available for the time being".

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## UP TO 20 REPORTED KILLED AS ARMY OPENS FIRE IN EAST TIMOR (REUTER)

*By Jonathan Thatcher*

JAKARTA, Nov 12, Reuter - The Indonesian army opened fire on a procession of mourners in the capital of the troubled territory of East Timor on Tuesday, killing as many as 20 people according to one account, diplomats said.

One diplomat in Jakarta said the army began shooting at a procession marking the death of an East Timorese killed two weeks ago in clashes between supporters and opponents of Indonesian rule outside a church in the capital, Dili.

"It's unbelievable. I've heard there were 20-plus killed," he said.

Accounts of casualties varied. Some diplomats in the Indonesian capital said they had heard the death toll was lower.

An East Timorese source in Jakarta said a foreign journalist was among the wounded, possibly seriously. He said the shooting began when youths marched from mass at the church to the cemetery where the man was buried.

An official at the governor's office in Dili confirmed there had been shooting but he said he did not have details of casualties.

East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 shortly after Portugal quit the colony it had ruled for three centuries. Jakarta's rule there is not internationally recognised.

Diplomats estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died since it came under the control of Indonesia which continues to be charged with widespread human rights abuses there.

In August, London-based Amnesty International urged Jakarta to allow in human rights observers to examine charges that political detainees had been executed and tortured.

The East Timorese source accused the dwindling Fretilin guerrilla group fighting Indonesian rule of trying to stir up trouble since the cancellation of a planned visit last week by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to observe conditions there.

It was cancelled when Jakarta refused to accept an Australian journalist in the Portuguese delegation.

Senior military officials in Jakarta and East Timor were unavailable for comment on the reported deaths in Dili.

Other army officials contacted by Reuters could not confirm the reports or declined comment.

"If there has been a shooting you should get the information from Jakarta," said a military official in Dili.

Indonesia says it has injected large amounts of aid into the territory and life for the East Timorese has improved immeasurably after centuries of Portuguese neglect.

But diplomats say East Timor is impoverished and there is widespread disaffection, especially among its youth, with Indonesia.

They said there was strong military intimidation before the Portuguese visit in an attempt to ensure there were no outbreaks of anti-Indonesian protests.

In Lisbon, Abilio Araujo, the chief Fretilin spokesman, said his information was that more than 100 people were killed or wounded.

"More than 100 people, dead and injured, were victims of the shooting" he told Reuters in a telephone interview.

He was unable to confirm local radio and agency reports that two U.S. journalists who witnessed the shooting had been detained.

Araujo urged Portugal to call a meeting of the U.N. Security Council to debate the issue.

"I hope this will deter the Indonesians from further attacks on innocents," he said.

The Portuguese foreign ministry ordered its mission in neighbouring Australia to investigate the reported killings. It promised an official reaction later.

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## THOUSANDS PROTEST IN EAST TIMOR, MANY KILLED

(AP)

*By GHAFUR FADYL*

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Nov 12 (AP) -- Thousands of young people protesting Indonesia's annexation of their native East

Timor battled troops with sticks, stones and knives today and dozens of demonstrators were reported killed by army gunfire.

An Indonesian official said 40 people were killed and a legal aid group put the death toll at 115.

The armed forces said, however, that there had been only "several" deaths and some injuries in clashes with thousands of East Timorese in Dili, capital of the Portuguese territory Indonesia annexed in 1976.

The military said in a statement that attempts to persuade the crowd to disperse had failed and "the masses fought back and attacked the soldiers, injuring some of them, including the deputy commander of the battalion."

"The incident could not be avoided, resulting in several deaths among the attackers and other injured," the statement said.

A letter from the Legal Aid Foundation reported that 115 people were killed in "an armed attack was conducted on a religious ceremony at a cemetery". It said the military was "strongly suspected" of being behind the attack.

The foundation, an independent body that provides legal assistance to the poor, said the crowd was at the service to mourn two youths killed in an earlier clash with police.

The group did not identify its sources for the death toll and witnesses and American journalists on the scene could not immediately be reached.

Earlier, an Indonesian official who spoke on condition of anonymity said about 40 young men were killed. A spokesman in Portugal for Timorese groups fighting Indonesian rule, Jose Ramos Horta, quoted witnesses as putting the death toll at 60.

The official who spoke on condition of anonymity said that after a memorial service at the cemetery, the crowd marched through Dili streets, carrying anti-Indonesia banners and shouting slogans against Indonesia's takeover of the Portuguese colony.

He said the demonstrators attacked police and troops with stones, sticks and knives, injuring one soldier seriously.

The military statement said the demonstrators turned violent out of frustration over the postponement of a planned fact-finding visit to East Timor by Portuguese legislators.

Portugal said it was postponing the trip because of Indonesia's refusal to allow an Australian journalist to accompany the mission. Indonesia accuses the journalist of writing biased articles about East Timor.

Victor Crespo, president of Portugal's National Assembly, said Oct. 26 that the visit was on hold as long as "Indonesia's veto affecting the media due to accompany the delegation remains in place."

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said recently that Portugal and Indonesia had agreed that each had the right to veto journalists wanting to accompany the mission.

Alatas said it was up to the United Nations to reschedule the visit on terms acceptable to both sides.

The planned trip had been under negotiation since 1984, with the United Nations as go-between.

It would have been the first such fact-finding mission since Indonesia sent its troops to intervene in a civil war in East Timor and then annexed the territory.

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### INDONESIAN TROOPS FIRE ON DEMONSTRATORS IN EAST TIMOR (DPA)

LISBON (NOV. 12) DPA - Thirteen persons were killed and dozens injured Tuesday when Indonesian troops fired on demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, reports reaching here said.

Witnesses told the Portuguese radio station Antena Uno that soldiers opened fire on about 4,000 youths taking part in a funeral procession in the city of Dili.

The report said two reporters for the U.S. magazine *The New Yorker* were among the injured, and were being treated at the military hospital in Dili.

The witnesses said the mourners took part in a funeral service and then marched to the city's cemetery to pay their respects to a man who was killed by Indonesian troops two weeks earlier.

East Timor was incorporated into Indonesia in 1975 after the Portuguese pulled out after three centuries of colonial rule. The United States has refused to recognize Indonesian jurisdiction over the region.

Brigadier-General R.S. Warouw, chief of the East Timor Operational Command, said in Jakarta that guns and hand grenades were found on some of the mourners.

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### FRETILIN ASKS FOR U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING (AFP)

LISBON, Nov 12 (AFP) - East Timor's Fretilin resistance movement Tuesday called for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a crowd, causing "dozens of victims," a Fretilin representative said here.

Ramos Horta, quoting a witness who had reached him by telephone, said "dozens of people fell" when Indonesian troops opened fire with machine-guns at a cemetery in the East Timor capital Dili, where mourners were attending a memorial service for a youth killed on October 28.

"Even more dramatic incidents are going to occur in the next few days, maybe even in coming hours," said Horta, former Fretilin representative to the United Nations. "Only convening the Security Council can dissuade the Indonesians from pursuing these actions."

Fretilin guerrilla commander Xanana Gusmao was calling on the Portuguese Government to ask for a Security Council meeting, Horta added. East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was formally annexed by

Indonesia in 1976. The United Nations recognises only Portuguese sovereignty over the territory pending a referendum.

In Darwin, Australia, Fretilin spokesman Alfredo Ferreira said he had received reports of 100 people killed or wounded in the shooting, but told Australian Associated Press that he had been unable to confirm the figures.

Ferreira said he had made contact with an acquaintance in Dili for about 30 seconds before the telephone went dead.

"I only wanted to confirm the person was alive. They only had the chance to tell me the situation was 'too bad'," Ferreira was quoted as saying.

The motivation for the army shooting had not been determined, but sources said an Indonesian officer had been injured Tuesday morning at a pro-independence demonstration elsewhere in Dili.

The demonstrators had gathered in front of the Resende Hotel, hoping to draw the attention of U.N. Human Rights Commission representative Peter Kooymans.

Kooymans, from the Netherlands, specialises in the problem of torture, a diplomatic source said.

An unnamed New Zealander accompanying Australian journalist Robert Mantz was among the injured and was being treated in Dili for a gunshot wound, according to one source on the scene, who like others requested anonymity.

The source said other foreign reporters were at the cemetery when the soldiers opened fire, adding that Alan Lairn of *The New Yorker* magazine had been beaten up by soldiers.

Thirty-three shaken survivors of the shooting took refuge in an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) office in Dili, an ICRC official told AFP here.

The trouble followed the late October cancellation by Lisbon of an unprecedented visit of 13 Portuguese deputies, under United Nations auspices, to East Timor to investigate the situation there.

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### TROOPS FIRE ON DEMONSTRATORS IN EAST TIMOR (UPI)

By *SUKINO HARISUMARTO*

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI) -- Security forces fired on demonstrators in the remote former Portuguese colony of East Timor Tuesday, killing at least 50 people during a protest against Indonesia's annexation of the territory, reports said.

Armed forces headquarters in Jakarta refused to provide details of the clash in East Timor, 1,250 miles east of the Indonesian capital.

A Roman Catholic source in East Timor, however, told the Portuguese news agency LUSA that more than 50 people were killed in the clash in the provincial capital of Dili and many others were wounded.

An independent source in Jakarta said more than 20 people were killed.

The LUSA news agency reported from the Portuguese territory of Macao that the incident began when hundreds of youths tried to lay flowers on the grave on the grave of Sebastian Gomes, a demonstrator reportedly killed by Indonesian troops in Dili Sept. 28.

LUSA quoted the Catholic source as saying "over 50 people were killed, tens of other people were injured." The unidentified source also said more than 100 demonstrators had been detained by Indonesian troops.

The source said a U.S. journalist and another foreigner had been slightly wounded in the incident but refused hospital treatment. They were not identified.

East Timor has been a political thorn in Indonesia's side since Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976 after Lisbon ended its 400-year rule of the area.

The abrupt departure by Portugal triggered a civil war over whether the area should be placed under Indonesia or become independent. The civil war was put down by Indonesian troops one year later but human rights groups have claimed that up to 200,000 people -- one third of the population of East Timor -- died in the fighting.

Jakarta declared East Timor its 27th province in 1976 and Indonesia since has administered it in defiance of U.N. resolutions calling for the right of East Timorese to freely elect their government.

State-owned radio RRI quoted Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw, chief of the East Timor operational command, as saying authorities in Dili had seized a number of weapons, grenades and documents belonging to the mourners.

However, Warouw did not mention for any casualties or detentions following the incident and said the situation in East Timor was under control. He urged residents to remain calm.

About three trucks loaded with military officers were sent to disperse the demonstration, described as the largest in the region in recent years, the Jakarta source said.

Indonesia and Portugal agreed recently to a visit by Portuguese Parliament delegation to the province with the hope that the trip would finally bring about international recognition of its annexation.

However, Portugal announced last month that it would delay a trip to East Timor, scheduled to begin Nov. 4, until Indonesia reversed a decision to bar a journalist from Lisbon's delegation.

Indonesia claimed Jill Jolliffe, an Australian journalist based in Lisbon, was a "crusader" for the pro-independence Fretilin movement.

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### **EAST TIMOR: INDONESIAN ARMY OPENS FIRE ON FUNERAL PROCESSION (IPS)**

lisbon, nov 12 (ips/mario dujsin) -- the indonesian army opened fire on a peaceful funeral procession in timor tuesday "killing 70 and wounding about one hundred people,"

timorese resistance spokesperson jose ramos horta has reported.

the procession to the cemetery of santa cruz "was to pay homage to a young student named goncalves who was assassinated by the indonesians two weeks ago," explained ramos horta.

ramos horta told ips lisbon tuesday that he had received a call at 01.00hrs gmt (about 10.00 hrs local time) from dili, the capital of timor, reporting that the funeral cortege, "was greeted on arrival at the cemetery by heavy machine-gun fire".

he added that the bishop of dili, msgr. jose ximenes belo, is still under house arrest and that three foreign journalists who witnessed the attack have been arrested and jailed.

he was only able to identify two of the reporters, alan nairn, from the weekly 'new yorker', and sue goodman from 'national public radio', both americans.

ramos horta noted that the military have still not admitted the massacre, but the governor, mario carrascalao, a native pro-indonesian timorese of portuguese origin has already confirmed that "scores" of people were killed, he said.

he also reported that united nations envoy peter kooijmans arrived in dili monday but was prevented from speaking with more than 100 people who wanted to talk to him. his hotel is surrounded by indonesian troops stopping him from leaving, said ramos horta.

the former portuguese colony of timor was invaded and annexed by indonesia in 1975 after portugal withdrew from their former colony following the portuguese coup of 1974.

in the first ten years of occupation, say human rights groups 'amnesty international' and 'americas watch', indonesian forces killed 210,000 out of a population of 650,000 inhabitants.

"timor has suffered the largest genocide in proportion to its population than any country this century," said ramos horta.

he added bitterly: "djakarta (capital of indonesia) has the support of the united states, australia, holland, japan and other countries with important economic interests in indonesia, as well as the virtual silence of the international press".

successive resolutions by the united nations security council have urged indonesia to withdraw from the territory, naming portugal as the "administrating power" over timor until the holding of a referendum on its autonomy. (end/trd/md/ego/ip/tt/rj)

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### **ASIA WATCH CALLS FOR INVESTIGATION INTO EAST TIMOR DEATHS**

*FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE - ASIA WATCH, November 12, 1991*

As different reports continued to come in from East Timor on the number of killed and wounded when Indonesian troops opened fire on a funeral procession in Dili, Asia Watch

called for a thorough investigation into the circumstances surrounding the shooting and the use of lethal force by Indonesian soldiers and police. An eyewitness reported that a dozen people may have been killed in the Tuesday morning clash. Many more East Timorese were reported arrested.

"We're concerned that some of those killed may have been deliberately targeted," said Sidney Jones, Executive Director of Asia Watch. She said a thorough investigation was essential, and that one factor to look for was the ratio of killed to wounded. If the number of civilians killed turns out to approach or exceed the number wounded, it may be an indication that security forces were deliberately executing the marchers. Typically, in any armed confrontation, many more people are wounded than are actually killed.

To Asia Watch's knowledge, no independent investigation into alleged human rights offenses has ever been authorized by the Indonesian government.

The shootings took place about 8:00 a.m., local time, as hundreds of Timorese marched in a procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery to place flowers on the grave of Sebastiao Gomes, a young man killed October 28. In that incident, which took place in front of the Motael Church in Dili where about 40 pro-independence activists were hiding, two people including Gomes died in what the Indonesian government called a riot, and supporters of independence called the storming of the church by the Indonesian army. The circumstances surrounding the earlier clash are still unclear.

In the course of today's confrontation, an American journalist, Allan Nairn, was beaten up. He is now believed to be on his way to Guam. A third was said to have sustained gunshot wounds and was at the home of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, East Timor's outspoken religious leader and human rights advocate.

The deaths came as the US General Accounting Office prepared to send a team to Indonesia to examine how International Military Education and Training funds are spent and how the training received by Indonesian officers in the United States affects the performance of those officers when they return home. "The killings in East Timor today could provide a useful focal point, for the GAO investigation," said Jones. "The GAO could see whether any Indonesian officers involved in security operations on October 28 or November 12 received training under the IMET program. If they did, and if, as appears to be the case, the security forces fired indiscriminately or used lethal force in a manner disproportionate to any threat posed by the civilian marchers or demonstrators, questions should be raised about the value of the IMET training. Heavy-handed tactics by the Indonesian military resulting in unnecessary deaths, arrests and torture have been characteristic of its operations in East

Timor and the special region of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra."

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## INDONESIA: EAST TIMOR MASSACRE HIGHLIGHTS RIGHTS ABUSES (IPS)

jakarta, nov 13 (ips) -- the massacre of at least 30 people this week in the former portuguese enclave of east timor in indonesia has once more spotlighted international attention on human rights abuses in this populous southeast asian nation.

there are conflicting reports about the exact numbers killed when indonesian security forces opened fire on a funeral for the victim of an earlier shooting incident.

the jakarta-based legal aid foundation said about 115 people could have been killed, but a east timor resistance group in lisbon reported 70 dead. other east timor sources in jakarta told ips as many as 30 may have died.

the massacre came at a time when indonesia has been severely criticised by international human rights groups of continued excesses in the former portuguese colony as well as the violent suppression of separatism in aceh province in western sumatra.

in washington, the human rights organisation asia watch called for a thorough investigation into the massacre in east timor. it said the security forces could have used the funeral to deliberately execute marchers.

last month, the london-based human rights group amnesty international asked the indonesian government to allow outside observers to investigate allegations of torture and executions of prisoners in east timor.

in the oil-rich aceh province, the indonesian government claims to have wiped out a separatist rebellion, but human rights groups say this was done at a high human cost.

the military has not allowed independent observers to visit aceh, but local activists say at least 2,100 people were killed this year. many of them were said to be civilians.

the acehnese have a long history of fighting dutch colonial rule and later against the javanese-dominated central government which they say is plundering their region's natural resources without adequate compensation.

east timor itself was a former portuguese colony, and was annexed by indonesia in 1976. the east timorese fretilin guerrilla group has been fighting indonesian security forces since then.

human rights groups say that in the first year of indonesian occupation alone, one-third of east timor's population -- about 210,000 people -- were killed as the indonesian military tried to stamp out the rebellion.

tuesday's killings came during the visit to the east timorese capital, dili, by united nations envoy peter kooijmans. sources said he was being kept in a local hotel and being prevented from speaking to anyone.

a trip by a delegation of portuguese parliamentarians to east timor this month was cancelled at the last moment after jakarta re-

fused to accept an australian journalist in the entourage.

the australian journalist, jill jolliffe, is based in lisbon and has written articles critical of excesses by indonesian security forces in east timor.

under an agreement, indonesia and portugal had agreed that each side would bring 10 of their own journalists and six international reporters to east timor to accompany the visit by the portuguese parliamentarians.

reports said two u.s. reporters were injured in tuesday shooting in dili, and had been evacuated to a hospital in guam.

the speaker of the portuguese parliament, victor cresso, said last month that the delegation would not go to east timor until jolliffe was allowed to go as well. he called the indonesian action "a serious violation" of the principles of a free press.

indonesia has been under considerable pressure from its international donors to improve its human rights record. jakarta got a stiff warning on security forces excesses at a meeting of its donors at the hague last june.

however, indonesia was still awarded a 4.515 billion dollar aid package for 1990-91 -- nearly five percent higher than the previous year.

indonesia's main donors are japan, the united states and the netherlands, which also have considerable foreign investments in industrial, mining and timber ventures in the country.

indonesian human rights groups, which are often harassed by the government, say that speaking out about abuses is tolerated more now than before. but the country still has a long way to go before democracy and basic human rights are respected, they say.

the government has said its forces were forced to fire on the funeral in dili when marchers started attacking soldiers. it said this resulted in "several deaths among the attackers".

the legal aid foundation, which takes on human rights cases and helps those who cannot afford lawyers, has asked the military to hold a public investigation into the incident. (ends/ips/np/hj/kd)

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## MASSACRE SEEN CAREFULLY PLANNED BY INDONESIAN GENERALS (IPS)

lisbon, nov 13 (ips) -- the massacre of 115 people tuesday in timor "was planned down to the smallest detail by the indonesian military," said a spokesperson for an alliance of timorese groups opposed to the indonesian occupation, wednesday.

the coordinator of the timorese democratic convergency (cdt) movement, paulo pires, said here that the army and local timorese collaborators allowed the people to assemble, raise their banners and begin their march -- then machine-gunned them.

the spokesman of the national resistance council (cnr), jose ramos horta, told ips here in

the portuguese capital that tuesday's action "represents a triumph for the hard line supported by the generals of djakarta, who favour "giving timor a good lesson it will not forget".

with this attack "the military have made impossible any negotiations between indonesian and portuguese diplomats, under the aegis of the united nations," he added.

ramos horta revealed that he has managed to establish contact through a clandestine network with the commander of the anti-indonesian guerrilla forces, xanana gusmao, who guaranteed that "an escalation of violence on the part of the resistance can be expected in response to the massacre".

in the meantime, excerpts from a five-page letter sent last week by the president of portugal, mario soares, to the secretary-general of the united nations, javier perez de cuellar, were published here wednesday by the lisbon daily 'publico'.

the u.n., wrote soares, "which took such a clear position on kuwait, should condemn with the same vehemence the occupation and oppression to which indonesia has subjected the people of timor," invaded and annexed by djakarta in 1975.

the latest figures received here wednesday raise the number of people killed by the army tuesday from 70 to 115. the indonesian army opened fire against a memorial procession for a student who, according to the timorese resistance movement, "was assassinated by the indonesians last week".

soares' letter points out that "indonesia is perpetrating in timor the most serious acts, some of them against churches, which have resulted in dead and wounded".

in timor "there is a climate of intimidation, verified by a mission from the united nations itself," said soares, who asked perez de cuellar in his letter "to make indonesia see the undesirability of its procedures".

the president of portugal -- a country which according to successive united nations resolutions is the "administering power" over timor until the holding of a referendum on its independence -- urged perez de cuellar to find "a solution to a problem which in the eyes of the world has become scandalous".

soares' letter concluded by describing indonesia as "a dictatorship whose trampling on human rights has been the object of repeated condemnation by prestigious organisations like amnesty international and the international league for the rights of man".

perez de cuellar has been criticised by the portuguese press for his "vacillating attitude" towards indonesia, "in contrast to his firm position against iraq in the case of the invasion of kuwait" in august of last year.

de cuellar issued a simple declaration tuesday in new york in which he called for "practical measures to avoid similar situations occurring in the future".

the portuguese press all noted that while perez de cuellar dedicated only one paragraph to timor, even the u.s. -- who supported the 1975 indonesian invasion and have recognised

the annexation -- reacted more decisively, asking for a rapid investigation.

the government of portuguese prime minister anibal cavaco silva has not ruled out the possibility of asking for a meeting of the u.n. security council to discuss the issue.

the portuguese foreign ministry distributed a document to the diplomatic corps accredited to lisbon in which it urged states "to demand a complete and impartial investigation supervised internationally" of this massacre in timor.

only one portuguese paper succeeded in contacting its sources in timor by phone, but was asked not to put through any more calls, since, said the person on the end of the line, "we are closely watched and our homes are being constantly broken into by the indonesians".

most telephone lines to timor have been cut, with a recorded message announcing the "suspension" of the service.

all the press in lisbon printed declarations made by the american journalists sue goodman of 'national public radio' and alan nairn of the weekly 'new yorker' magazine, who witnessed the massacre and said they were beaten by the indonesian army.

since the annexation of timor, the indonesian invasion has cost the lives of 210,000 the 650,000 inhabitants on the island in 1975, according to two humanitarian organisations, amnesty international and americas watch. (end/trd/ip/md/da/tt/rj)

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## E.C. CONDEMNS INDONESIAN ARMY MASSACRE OF CIVILIANS (IPS)

amsterdam, nov 13 (ips) -- the european community (ec) wednesday announced its "grave concern" at reports of the killing of dozens of unarmed people by indonesian troops in the timorese capital of dili, tuesday.

in a joint statement the ec and its member states said they "vehemently condemn such violence which is in clear contravention of the most fundamental human rights".

it further declares that the ec urges the indonesian government to order their armed forces and police in timor to "refrain immediately from using violence" and that officers and troops responsible for the killings are brought to trial.

timorese sources in lisbon report that 115 people were killed when the troops opened fire on a memorial procession for a student killed last week by indonesian forces.

an army spokesperson alleged wednesday that the army was being shot at by members of the fretilin guerrilla resistance movement who were hiding in the funeral procession.

from the indonesian embassy in the hague, the netherlands, no reaction could be obtained. wednesday however the indonesian government reportedly promised an investigation of the shootings.

however observers here have noted that past international protests against the indo-

nesian government have been rejected as "foreign interference in national affairs". (end/ips/np/rh/rj)

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## E.C. DENOUNCES ARMY MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR

(AFP)

THE HAGUE, Nov 13 (AFP) - The foreign ministers of the European Community (EC) on Wednesday condemned the killing of civilians by Indonesian troops in East Timor.

The 12-nation EC was "deeply concerned" at Tuesday's violence in which Indonesian soldiers gunned down at least 50 people taking part in a funeral service in Dili the East Timor capital.

The EC "vehemently condemns the use of violence which is flagrantly inconsistent with the most basic human rights", a joint statement issued after an EC meeting at Noordwijk, near here, said.

Indonesian General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander, earlier announced in Djakarta that scores of people had been arrested and hand grenades, guns and knives seized after the incident.

The victims had been taking part in a religious service which Indonesian armed forces claim was a pretext for a separatist demonstration in East Timor.

The EC foreign ministers called on the Indonesian Government to "urge the members of the armed forces and the police in East Timor to immediately abstain from all violence".

Those responsible for the tragic events must be brought to trial, they said, adding that the EC would seek confirmation of the exact circumstances of the violence "if possible from independent sources".

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## E.C. DECLARATION ON EAST TIMOR

*The following is the full text of the Declaration on East Timor adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the 12 members of the European Community in Noordswijk, Brussels, on 13 November 1991.*

The European Community and its member states are gravely concerned at reports that on 12 November members of the Indonesian armed forces in Dili opened fire on a group of demonstrators, killing and wounding a considerable number.

The European Community and its member states vehemently condemn such violence which is in clear contravention of the most fundamental human rights.

The European Community and its member states will obtain further information about the circumstances surrounding this incident at the earliest possible opportunity, if possible from independent sources.

The European Community and its member states urge the Indonesian Government to ensure that members of the Indonesian armed forces and police in East Timor refrain

immediately from using violence and that the members of the armed forces and police who were responsible for the tragic outcome of this incident are brought to trial.

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## INDONS ACCUSED OF DILI KILLINGS (AGE)

*Source: The Age (Melbourne) Date: 13 Nov 91. Story Type: News. Original Language: English. Dateline: Canberra. Byline: Mark Metherall (and Jill Jolliffe, Lisbon) Text: Full Remark: Leading article*

At least 20 people - and possibly as many as 100 - were reported to have been shot dead yesterday when Indonesian security forces opened fire on mourners in the East Timor capital of Dili.

The Timor resistance movement Fretilin, describing the episode as a massacre, said that the Indonesian forces fired machine guns at hundreds of young people as they marched towards a cemetery to commemorate one of two students killed a fortnight ago.

Late yesterday the Australian Government instructed its embassy in Jakarta to investigate the reports urgently.

"The government is very concerned at the report that a serious incident has taken place" said a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Reuter reported that an official at the governor's house in Dili confirmed that there had been a shooting but said that he did not have details of the casualties.

A Fretilin representative in Lisbon, Mr Ramos Horta, said he hesitated to give a figure for casualties, but his informant in Dili had told him by telephone that more than 100 people had been killed or wounded.

Mr Horta said that he had also been told that the Indonesian forces had thrown the bodies of the killed and wounded in trucks and driven them from Dili.

"I got the news while the massacre was still taking place...one of the survivors rang me. He was really screaming 'please help, please help...Can you hear the shooting?'"

Mr Horta said he could not hear the shooting over the telephone but could hear the crowd screaming.

An American journalist, Mr Allan Nairn of the 'New Yorker' was also said to have been injured yesterday.

### JILL JOLLIFFE reports from Lisbon:

The reported shootings were the latest in a series of worsening incidents in the territory, according to distressed telephone calls to Lisbon from Dili.

In the first call received about midnight, Mr Loriko Loro Sa'e, a supporter of the student protest movement, was told the soldiers had opened fire on youths carrying flowers to the grave of Sebastiao Rangel, a young nationalist who was killed on 28 October in clashes at the Motael church.

"Hundreds of people went to the Santa Cruz cemetery early on Tuesday morning to observe the Catholic Seventh Day Mass for

the dead, when the soldiers opened fire on them with automatic rifles," Mr Loro Sa'e said.

He said his caller told him that "over 20" people appeared to have been killed and many more injured. He said the uniformed Indonesian soldiers had closed off the cemetery area, isolating the mourners, and that the incidents were continuing at the time his informant called.

In London the human rights group TAPOL said that 60 people had been killed and many more had been wounded.

Diplomatic sources in Jakarta said reports about the killings were confused and varied, with estimates of between 20 and 150 people killed. Diplomats said the Indonesian Government had made no statement about the incident.

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### **PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT SOARES CONDEMNS TIMOR VIOLENCE (REUTER)**

LISBON, Nov 12, Reuter - Portuguese President Mario Soares condemned the reported killings on Tuesday in Indonesia's troubled East Timor territory.

"Portugal condemns the repeated acts of escalating violence by the occupying Indonesian forces against the defenceless population of East Timor," a presidential statement said.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 shortly after Portugal quit the colony it had ruled for three centuries.

Soares said he wrote to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar last week to draw attention to the "intolerable disrespect being shown for human rights and the atrocities being committed by Indonesia in East Timor in flagrant violation of international law and U.N. resolutions."

Separatist rebels said up to 100 people were killed or wounded when the Indonesian army opened fire on Tuesday on a funeral procession of youths in Dili, East Timor's capital.

Tension had been mounting there since a Portuguese parliamentary visit, due to start last week, was postponed when Jakarta refused entry to an Australian journalist accompanying the delegation.

Jakarta's rule of East Timor is not internationally recognised and diplomats estimate that up to 200,000 East Timorese have died since Indonesia took over the territory.

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### **U.S. REPORTER, BADLY BEATEN IN TIMOR, SAYS SAW DOZENS KILLED (REUTER)**

By Walker Simon

NEW YORK, Nov 12, Reuter - A U.S. journalist who says he was badly beaten by Indonesian troops in East Timor on Tuesday said he saw soldiers fire on a memorial proces-

sion outside a cemetery, killing many civilians as they were fleeing.

"It looked like many dozens were killed. The street was full of bodies," Alan Nairn, a reporter on assignment for The New Yorker magazine, told Reuters in a telephone interview from the emergency room of a hospital on the U.S. island of Guam.

"Looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing," Nairn said of the incident, condemned as an act of extreme brutality by Portugal, the former ruler of East Timor.

He said another U.S. journalist, Amy Goodman of New York radio station WBAI, was also badly beaten outside the cemetery of Dili, the East Timor capital.

Nairn said he had heard of an English still photographer who was beaten and a journalist either from New Zealand or Malaysia who was shot and seriously wounded.

The violence, publicly regretted by the State Department, came at the end of a memorial procession for a Timorese man killed by Indonesian security forces on October 28.

East Timor, at the eastern end of the vast Indonesian archipelago, was annexed by Jakarta in 1975 shortly after Portugal left the colony. Diplomats estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died since it came under Indonesia's rule, which is not internationally recognised.

Nairn said he and Goodman were beaten "pretty badly" by Indonesian troops as other soldiers, numbering in the hundreds, fired on thousands of civilians.

"They hit us with the butts and barrels of M-16 (rifles)," he said. "Blood was pouring down my head and drenched my shirt.

"They pointed M-16s at our heads ... and they were at the point of firing, but we kept yelling we were Americans and that's why I think they didn't shoot," he said from the Guam Memorial Hospital in Agana.

Nairn said the procession of Timorese began at the Motael Roman Catholic church in Dili, where about 2,000 mourners had gathered to commemorate Timorese killed last month. As the march headed towards the cemetery, two miles away, several thousand civilians joined in, many chanting "Viva Timor."

Demonstrations and gatherings are banned in East Timor, he said, and the walk was an open show of defiance of the army.

Several banners backed Fretilin, the armed independence movement in East Timor, which said in Lisbon that more than 100 people were killed or injured in the shooting.

There were varying accounts of casualties. One diplomat in Jakarta said more than 20 people were killed in Dili. The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted a Roman Catholic priest there as saying troops shot dead more than 50 people.

Indonesia's army, in a statement 12 hours after the incident, said several protesters had been killed and others injured. It blamed the incident on separatist movements and said officials of the Roman Catholic church had been involved.

East Timor's 600,000 people are mostly Roman Catholic while Indonesia has the world's largest population of Moslems.

The New Yorker magazine said Nairn had been on assignment for the publication in East Timor. Editor Robert Gottlieb said Nairn was there to complete research for an article.

Goodman, a news editor at the WBAI, was preparing a radio documentary on East Timor for the Pacifica public radio network, of which WBAI is a part, WBAI reporter Julie Cohen said. She said Nairn is 36 and Goodman 34.

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### **U.S. REGRETS EAST TIMOR VIOLENCE (REUTER)**

WASHINGTON, Nov 12, Reuter - The United States expressed regret over reports on Tuesday of violence in East Timor in the Indonesian archipelago and said an American journalist injured in the melee was now in Guam.

"We certainly regret the violence and we look forward to a more complete report of what took place," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said.

"We have discussed the situation with the Indonesian authorities and we have urged them to conduct a prompt and full investigation," Boucher said.

Boucher said at least one U.S. journalist was injured, but did not name him or her and could give no details except to say that the journalist was now on the U.S. Pacific island of Guam.

In New York, the New Yorker magazine said Alan Nairn, a U.S. journalist, had been on assignment for the magazine in East Timor. Editor Robert Gottlieb said Nairn had returned there to complete research for an article, a draft of which had already been submitted to the publication, according to an editorial assistant for the magazine, Chris Knutsen.

The violence occurred on Tuesday when Indonesian soldiers opened fire at a funeral procession of youths protesting the Jakarta government's rule over East Timor. Accounts of casualties varied widely but separatist rebels said up to 100 were killed or injured.

Jakarta's rule is not internationally recognised and human rights organisations have criticised alleged abuses there.

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### **PEREZ DE CUELLAR DEPLORES LOSS OF LIFE REPORTED IN EAST TIMOR**

UNITED NATIONS, Nov 12, Reuter - U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on Tuesday deplored the loss of innocent lives reported in East Timor, a spokeswoman said.

She did not spell out what reports were referred to, but separatist rebels said up to 100 people were killed or wounded when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on Tuesday on a funeral procession of youths protesting against Jakarta's rule over the former

Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The U.N. spokeswoman said: "The secretary-general has seen the press reports regarding events in East Timor and he deplors the loss of innocent lives."

He hoped effective measures would be taken to avoid any recurrence, the spokeswoman added.

## INDONESIA CONFIRMS DEATHS IN TIMOR UNREST

(AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 12 (AFP) - Indonesia's military authorities Tuesday said several people had been killed or injured in rioting in the East Timor capital of Dili but said the situation was calm and under control.

Reports from other sources said between 50 and 60 people died when troops opened fire on a crowd of mourners.

In its first acknowledgement of the incident, armed forces headquarters here said in a statement, "There has been unrest in Dili by people who had been incited and influenced by remnants of (the separatist) GPK in East Timor."

"The situation is now under control," it added.

## BRITAIN CONSIDERS HUMANITARIAN AID FOR EAST TIMOR (REUTER)

LONDON, Nov 12, Reuter - The British government said on Tuesday it was considering how to provide humanitarian aid for the people of East Timor following reports of killings by Indonesian forces.

But the Foreign Office ruled out an arms embargo against Indonesia, which annexed East Timor in 1976.

"An embargo would be neither appropriate nor effective," Foreign Office minister Mark Lennox-Boyd said in a statement.

Separatist rebels said up to 100 people were killed or wounded when Indonesian troops opened fire on Tuesday at a funeral procession of youths protesting against Jakarta's rule over East Timor.

The British government said it supported efforts by the United Nations to find a political solution and has encouraged Indonesia and the former colonial power, Portugal, to cooperate to that end.

Lennox-Boyd also said that the government regularly expressed its concern at reports of human rights abuses in East Timor to the Indonesian government.

"We will continue to do so," he said.

Jakarta's rule over East Timor is not internationally recognised and diplomats estimate that up to 200,000 East Timorese have died since Indonesia took over the territory.

## FORGOTTEN CASE OF ANNEXED ISLE RESURFACES

(AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 12 (AFP) - Soldiers who shot into a crowd Tuesday in East Timor may unwittingly have reminded the world that the United Nations still has not resolved the question of self-determination for this former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1976, diplomats here said.

The number of casualties after soldiers opened fire on people holding a service at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the East Timorese capital, is still not known. Estimates from witnesses said dozens were killed or wounded.

The Portuguese news agency LUSA in Lisbon quoted an East Timorese church official as saying that 50 had died, while some estimates were even higher.

Telephone contact between the Indonesian capital and Dili remained tenuous late Tuesday.

In diplomatic circles here, the plight of the 700,000 Timorese was already an embarrassment and, as one diplomat put it, "After these deaths, it could become even more embarrassing."

From the first military intervention in East Timor in 1975 through 1989, when East Timor National Liberation Front (Fretilin) guerrillas downed their guns and turned to a political struggle, tens of thousands of people -- hundreds of thousands, according to some sources -- have died in the territory.

Meanwhile, the international community, occupied with other issues, said little.

"Timor has been the victim of general indifference, partly because of its isolation and partly because of the Cold War," said one Western diplomat, explaining why every year since 1982 the United Nations has simply declined to debate East Timor.

The U.N. secretary-general instead has been tasked with using his good offices to mediate between Indonesia and Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor.

Whenever East Timor was mentioned, most diplomats replied that whatever the merits of its case, it was necessary to be realistic.

With or without the support of a majority of U.N. nations, and barring a massive upheaval such as the one that shook the Baltic states free of the Soviet Union, East Timor would remain Indonesia's 27th province.

Many blamed Portugal for abandoning its former colony without completing the process of decolonisation, thereby leaving the field free for diverse factions -- of which Fretilin, suspected at the time of being Marxist, would soon become dominant.

But even diplomats who blamed Portugal for its "botched up decolonisation" admitted that East Timor highlighted the principle that former colonial borders must be considered inviolate in order to maintain the stability of the new states of the Third World.

In the name of that principle, they pointed out, the United Nations General Assembly said Mayotte Island (under French jurisdiction) belonged to the Republic of the Comoros Islands and Morocco accepted the holding of a referendum on the future of the Western Sahara.

More famously, the same principle of territorial integrity was invoked by the international coalition that attacked Iraq earlier this year to make it give up Kuwait, which it had conquered several months earlier.

One Western diplomat said, however, that there was no support in the region for action to make East Timor independent from Indonesia, regardless of Jakarta's past actions.

"The majority of Asian states don't want to hear about East Timor and accept de facto its annexation by Indonesia," he said.

Western powers like Australia also accepted the takeover, and the United States has never condemned it.

Indonesia has consistently said that it would never accept having its sovereignty questioned, while refusing out of hand a referendum in East Timor and the sending of a United Nations peacekeeping force there.

Yet in the hope of resolving the controversy once and for all, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas did accept a joint visit by Portuguese parliamentarians and representatives of U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Set for November 3, the 12-day visit was postponed indefinitely on October 26 after Lisbon objected to Jakarta's rejection of one of the journalists who was to accompany the Portuguese delegation. Indonesia described her as a "propagandist" for the Fretilin.

Tension has steadily mounted ever since, said one Western observer who visited East Timor recently.

"Independence supporters were disappointed by the postponement," the observer said, "and the Indonesian military was exasperated by the public resurgence of the independence movement."

## TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH AMY GOODMAN

*WBAI International News, November 12, 1991. WBAI radio station has kindly made a tape of the interview available to Asia Watch.*

So this morning at about 8 o'clock in East Timor, there was a mass for...it was a commemoration of a funeral that was held two weeks ago...the Indonesian army killed a young man who was taking refuge in the church. There was a big march, procession to the cemetery for that funeral. At that time, during that demonstration, there were thousands of people and in addition to marching for him, they were calling for self-determination for East Timor and for the Indonesian army to get put.

Well, today, this was the second week commemoration of that, and they marched once again from that church and retraced their

steps to the cemetery. There were thousands of people, and people continued to join them as they marched. Young people, old women in traditional dress of East Timor, men, young men, little kids, and they marched up to the cemetery.

When we got to the cemetery, again there were thousands of people. The Indonesian army converged in two places. I was with journalist Allan Nairn, and we thought, if we went to the front, where the army was coming, we could somehow try to prevent it, because they would see Westerners documenting it, journalists, and I had my tape recorder and we had the camera. But when they came...they...that certainly was no protection. They beat me...and dragged me over ... and started slamming me with rifle butts...and kicks and punches. And Allan jumped on top of me, and they beat him very badly so we're going to the hospital now.

But that was the least of what they did. They opened fire...on the people. And these were truly defenseless people. They had nothing but some banners ... and the commemorative cloth that they had for this young man, Sebastiao, and they just kept shooting. With us, they beat us into a corner and sitting on the ground, the only thing we could say was, "Please, we're from America," and they kept beating us and then they went with the guns towards us, and we just pleaded and said, "We're from America," and I kept thinking that the guns that were pointed on us, the M-16s, were also from America because the United States provides the weapons for the Indonesian army in East Timor.

I turned around -- tremendous amount of gunfire -- and there were dozens of people lying in the streets. The cemetery had become the entire area, including the street. At that point, they pointed their guns at us, a truck came by, we got into it, we were able to take shelter somewhere, and there was one plane that left out of the country, and just before it left, we got to the airport, and we got on the plane and made our way through to Den Pasar and out of Indonesian territory to Guam and that's where we are right now.

We've heard people saying afterwards that there were somewhere between, around 50 people who were killed. We went to the hospital, and there were many people who were at that point being operated on and were just lying on the floor with gunshots. This was a massacre, and rarely, I think, in history, has a massacre been witnessed. There have been them in Central America but they haven't been witnessed before... We got out with nothing... but the clothes on our backs, and the people in East Timor... now...as if this morning was not dangerous enough...are in for, well, I can only imagine right now. Their country, there are tens of thousands of troops there now, and they're moving from house to house. They've surrounded Dili which is the capital of East Timor, and it's very, very frightening. And the people are calling for the United Nations to intervene. They're asking that

there be some kind of peacekeeping force be sent there, they're asking in the long term for self determination, that they can decide how they should run their country but for now, they're in massive danger. This morning was just one small part of that.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1976 ... East Timor was invaded by Indonesian in 1975. They closed the country for about a dozen years and killed a third of the population, about 200,000 people. They just opened it about two years ago. Indonesia opened it to the world, quote "opened" it, Indonesian opened it, to the world and this is what happens when the country is opened. There is no one who has seen this today who can get out. The other journalist that was there was shot, and we think he was killed. He is in the hospital and he's been shot several times. That's what we can say right now. It's unclear what kind of story is getting out, because the only way the story is getting out, it seems, is from Indonesia. But we saw another side, we saw both sides today.

Don West: Can you tell us who the other journalist was?

Amy: We are not sure of his name (voice in the background) Kamal? Kamal? The other journalist? He was, we didn't know him, it wasn't clear if he was from New Zealand or from Malaysia. There was, let's see, there were two other people, a British photographer who was badly beaten, and we don't know what's happened with him. And that's what we know right now.

Don West: Let me ask you this, Amy, because as you indicated earlier, that there had been a march earlier, this was the second week in a row...Did you get any sense at all, having been there, of why the Indonesian army decided to move against the march at this point? Is there any sense of all of what's going on?

Amy: There's no freedom of speech there, there's no freedom of assembly, there's no press, so these people are not allowed to do this. I guess the real question is what has emboldened the people, especially the young people to do this, because rarely are there demonstrations like this. I don't know if we want to get into the whole story now, but a UN-Portuguese delegation was going to be there, in fact, that's why we were there, to see how the country, how the Indonesians were preparing the Timorese for the coming of the UN-Portuguese delegation, to check out what was happening, because East Timor had been a Portuguese colony and according to the United Nations still is under Portuguese auspices. This, it turns out the Portuguese delegation didn't come, because Indonesia objected to one of the journalists that was coming along with them, and this was, greatly dashed the hopes of the East Timorese people. They were preparing for them to come to tell them about the situation, so I think they feel desperate and they just put out a plea to the world, so it's not so much why the Indonesian army is responding this way. They do this when these people do this. The

question is, or what's actually happening, is that the people are speaking out more despite the grave, grave risk that we saw today -- at least several dozen people killed, maybe many more, and it may be continuing at this point, right now, in East Timor.

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**FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL WED NOV  
13**

How did the newspapers up your way cover the Timor massacres? Made both Wash Post and Wash Times down here, a first. Enough gov'ts getting involved, at least peripherally, to ensure it won't fade, at least for a while. I'm waiting to see if Soeharto cancels his 26-day trip. He doesn't take many chances, esp if he senses plotting. I alerted wbai to reg.indonesia, reg.easttimor material, if they want to make the effort. No reply.

John

**From Charlie Scheiner  
To: apakabar (John M.)**

The NYT coverage of Dili was disappointing; just an extract from Reuters (8 column-inches on page 11), and a three-paragraph item datelined Washington based on a phone call with Allan Nairn. They did quote Horta over Portugese Radio. My local daily (Gannett: White Plains Reporter Dispatch) had two paragraphs from AP which began "Troops in East Timor fired yesterday on pro-independence demonstrators wielding sticks, stones, and knives, killing dozens of people protesting Indonesia's 15-year rule, officials said." It's datelined Jakarta, so one might wonder who "officials" are. In the times, the caption on the map says "Shootings in Dili came as a protest against Indonesian Rule" -- although the headline on the article is a little more accurate: "Indonesian troops open fire on Timor Mourners."

WBAI has just been learning how to use Peacenet over the last few weeks, in spite of Howard, myself, and other bugging them to do it for years. The people who use it mostly do local NYC news. I sent them some information about how to get Timor materials last night, but none of it showed up in their coverage today (at least what I heard). They do, however, keep replaying the tape of Amy Goodman calling from Guam yesterday morning, and the lead story on their news tonight is that she's in Hawaii, healthy, and on her way back to NY. She's very good; I imagine that once she's back in NY there will be more comprehensive and organized coverage of Timor for the indefinite future. ... Charlie

## URGENT MISSING PERSON ENQUIRY REGARDING EAST TIMOR MASSACRE

*From aprahqz (Kevin Clements) Wed Nov 13  
19:02:56 1991*

### Kamal Bamadhaj, Timorese Massacre Victim.

Nadiah Bamadhaj, sister of Kamal and currently a student at Canterbury University, Christchurch New Zealand, is about to go off to Singapore to join her family. Her mother and father are going to Jakarta to try and locate Kamal's body. We have downloaded most of the reports on reg.easttimor so have the general picture. The Bamadhaj family's primary concern is to locate Kamal. If you have any information on whether or not he is still in the Dili Hospital could you contact the New Zealand Embassy, Jakarta, Jalan Diponegoro No 41 Menteng, Jakarta P.O Box 2439 Jakarta and/or call Nadiah and her sister in Singapore, Phone (65) 344 0133.

Nadiah's parents names if you have information useful to them in Jakarta are Helen Todd (Professor David Gibbons) and Ahmed Bamadhaj.

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEND ANY INFORMATION THROUGH TO ME BY E.MAIL I WILL FORWARD IT TO NADIAH AND HER PARENTS-KEVIN P CLEMENTS aprahqz:peacenet, or K.Clements@csc.canterbury.ac.nz on internet

## FILM CREW REJECTS OFFICIAL RIOT STORY (TERRITORIAN)

*The following appeared in the Northern Territory's "Sunday Territorian" Nov. 3.*

Three Australian film makers have rejected Indonesian accounts of the deaths of two East Timorese youths in Dili last Monday.

The three, who returned from East Timor to Darwin last week, said they were at the Church where the men were killed before and after the deaths.

They were able to hear gunshots from the church early that morning. The film makers denied there was any riot near the church that day, and said they heard gunshots from the church at the time of the killings.

"We were absolutely certain there was no riot, in fact we watched people being summoned by alarm bells ringing at the church for over half an hour with great urgency and vigour".

"The reluctance of the Australian media to cover the truth about east Timor is because it's not in line with Canberra's diplomatic relations with Indonesia or in Australia's best interest".

The group said it was highly unlikely they would be allowed to return in the near future.

[A piece I missed out which now appears of interest. The film crew stated that they were very concerned about a large trench

which had been dug out on the beach. Rumour had it that the Indonesians were planning reprisals following the proposed Portuguese visit.]

## INDONESIAN ARMY KILLS AT LEAST 20 TIMORESE LBH TELLS ARMY TO INVESTIGATE (KYODO)

*Kyodo News, Tokyo. 12 November 1991  
Abridged.*

The Indonesian army killed at least 20 East Timorese people Tuesday when it shot at a group of East Timorese at a cemetery in Dili, the capital of the territory, reports reaching Jakarta said. A reliable source said the shooting started at Santa Cruz cemetery at around 7 o'clock in the morning, Dili time. East Timor local authorities did not deny the shooting when contacted, but declined to give details on how the incident began or the number of the people killed or wounded. The British-based Indonesian human rights organisation, Tapol, said at least 60 people were killed, while the Chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, Abdul Hakim Nusantara, put the number of dead at "around" 115. In an open letter addressed to the chief commander of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, the foundation appealed to the army to form an investigation team and tell the public exactly what happened in the incident. A report from Australia said the army may have killed or wounded more than 100 East Timorese. A Western diplomat here said, "The army started to open fire when the group staged a peaceful demonstration which turned into violence to show opposition against the (Indonesian) government." But the diplomat said he could not detail how the procession turned violent. "It is very difficult to explain the hard facts (of) how it happened," he said. Tapol said information reaching it from its East Timorese informants indicated the shooting occurred as hundreds of people gathered at the cemetery to lay flowers on the grave of Sebastiao Gomes, a Timorese youth shot dead earlier at Motael Church in Dili. Tapol, in a press release Tuesday, claimed a source in Dili said at least 60 people died at the cemetery and many more were wounded. It said the dead were taken to Dili military hospital and "some 200 have been rounded up and are being held at the Dili police office where they are being tortured and beaten." "The streets of Dili are full of troupes," Tapol said. Gomes was killed when troops stormed the church at 1.30 am, October 28, after dozens of East Timorese took refuge there to avoid arrest following the announcements of a visit to the former Portuguese colony by a delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians. The Portuguese parliamentarians last month announced cancellation of the visit because of a disagreement over inclusion of an Australian journalist

among six journalists from the foreign media in Portugal to accompany the mission.

The Tapol report also said a foreign journalist was wounded in the incident at the cemetery. It did not identify the journalist but said American freelancer Allan Naim, who writes for the New Yorker, and US radio journalist, Amy Gordon have been in Dili for at least a week. It said a large number of Indonesian troops were recently sent to East Timor to prevent pro-independence demonstrations planned to mark the Portuguese parliamentarians' visit. Military officials, when asked to confirm Tuesday's incident, said that they could not comment and are waiting for the word from Brig.Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, the chief spokesman of the armed forces. "We have a consensus that only Nurhadi can talk about this kind of issue," one military official said. "Unfortunately, Nurhadi is now out of the city," he said.

## BELO REFUSES TO ATTEND KWI ANNUAL MEETING

*Source: protected. Date: 12 November 1991.  
This item is part of a long Indonesian-language report received by TAPOL from Jakarta, other parts of which will be summarised later.*

A short while ago, Mgr Julius Darmaatmadja, SJ, chairman of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference (KWI) invited Bishop Belo, Apostolic Administrator of Dili, to attend this month's meeting of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference. Bishop Belo's reply to Mgr Darmaatmadja reads as follows: "I would like to inform you that I have received an invitation from the General Secretariat of the Bishops' Conference to attend the Annual Meeting this November. But following the event at Motael Church on 28 October which has just taken place, I have decided not to come to Jakarta in "protest" at the arrogance of the Indonesian armed forces who broke the windows of Motael Church and murdered a young man named Sebastiao Gomes. My decision to protest grew stronger when, on the evening of 28 October, the Indonesian Television (TVRI) world news broadcast an untrue, false and fabricated report. That news placed all the blame on the Church! For this reason, I have decided not to attend the forthcoming annual meeting in Jakarta from 3 till 12 November, either as an observer or as a guest.

## EAST TIMOR CHRONOLOGY (AP)

*By The Associated Press (Nov. 13)*

Here is a chronology of strife in East Timor since 1974:

April 1974: Left-wing officers stage a coup in Lisbon and vow to dismantle Portugal's empire, which includes East Timor.

August 1975: Pro-independence left-wing nationalist group FRETILIN takes control of East Timor after brief civil war.

October 1975: Indonesian troops cross border from West Timor. Five Australian TV reporters killed at Balibo.

November 1975: FRETILIN declares the independence of East Timor.

December 1975: Indonesia, citing concern over a Communist enclave on its borders, invades with sea and air landings at the East Timor capital, Dili. A sixth Australian journalist is reported killed.

April 1976: U.N. Security Council calls on Indonesia to withdraw.

July 1976: Indonesia unilaterally declares East Timor its 27th province.

1978: Australia officially accepts the Indonesian takeover.

1982: Although the United Nations does not recognize Indonesian rule and still regards Portugal as the administering power, it declines to debate the issue further.

1985: Amnesty International reports widespread human rights abuses by Indonesian forces, citing estimates that up to 200,000 East Timorese have been killed.

January 1989: Indonesia declares East Timor an "open" province, lifting most travel restrictions on outsiders.

October 1989: Pope John Paul II visits Dili and appeals for human rights. Students stage pro-independence demonstration at papal Mass.

January 1990: Pro-independence demonstration during Dili visit by U.S. ambassador to Indonesia.

September 1990: Pro-independence demonstration during open-air Mass attended by Vatican ambassador to Jakarta.

September-November 1990: Reports of at least 150 arrests, directed at underground pro-independence networks in Dili. Arrests alleged to involve torture and beatings.

February: Visit by Australian parliamentary delegation. Members subsequently report that they accept validity of claims of human rights abuses.

Oct. 26: Joint U.N.-Portuguese delegation to Timor canceled after Indonesia refuses entry to Australian journalist, Jill Jolliffe, to cover the visit.

Oct. 28: Amnesty International alleges armed forces responsible for killing two men who sought asylum at Dili church.

Nov. 12: An unknown number of people killed in Dili when security forces open fire on a memorial procession marking the death of one of the men killed Oct. 28.

## ARMY ACCOUNT OF MASSACRE DOUBTED (AP)

By *GHAFFUR FADYL*

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Nov 13 (AP) -- Authorities claimed today that the army crushed a "brutal and well-planned" anti-government protest in East Timor, but an American witness said troops opened fire on demonstrators without provocation.

Dozens of pro-independence protesters were believed killed in Tuesday's violence, which occurred after a memorial Mass for a man killed by police on Oct. 28 while taking refuge in a Catholic church.

The regional military commander, Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, said today that nine demonstrators were killed and several wounded in the violence in the provincial capital of Dili.

But an Indonesian official who spoke on condition of anonymity put the death toll at more than 40.

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation said 115 people were killed. The Indonesian Institute for the Defense of Human Rights said independent sources put the death toll at more than 50.

A government report said the situation was calm today in East Timor, an impoverished former Portuguese colony forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1976 that comprises the eastern half of the island of Timor.

The report could not be independently confirmed, as communication with the remote island was difficult.

Tuesday's killings occurred as several thousand protesters proceeded from the church where the man was killed by police last month to the cemetery where he is buried, Amy Goodman, an American reporter for the Pacifica Radio network, said in a telephone interview.

Two columns of soldiers, on foot and in trucks, converged on the protesters, who carried only banners and crosses, she said.

Ms. Goodman said she and Alan Nairn, an American on assignment for The New Yorker magazine, moved to the front of the procession, hoping that they could head off a conflict by showing their press credentials.

But the soldiers screamed "Politics! Politics!" knocked her to the ground and started beating her with rifle butts, she said. Nairn threw himself on top of her and was badly beaten in the head, she said.

The soldiers then opened fire on the crowd and "we just kept our heads down," she said. "At the hospital, we still heard shooting."

The government claimed the protesters had attacked the soldiers first.

Ms. Goodman spoke from a hospital in Guam, where she and Nairn were treated for injuries suffered in the incident.

Australia, Portugal, the United States and the United Nations decried the Indonesian government's use of deadly force in the oil-rich former Portuguese colony. Australia and

human rights groups demanded an investigation.

The Muslim government's army chief, Gen. Try Sutrisno, accused the Roman Catholic Church of instigating Tuesday's protest in the mainly Catholic territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

"I appeal to the Catholic Church community to be careful that the church as a place of sanctity should not be misused to create disorder," Sutrisno said. East Timor's 700,000 people are mostly Catholic, whereas nearly 90 percent of Indonesia is Muslim.

The general claimed the army found weapons including rifles and grenades following the violence in Dili, 1,400 miles southeast of the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, and 350 miles north of Australia.

Sutrisno described Tuesday's demonstration as "brutal and well planned."

"They (demonstrators) were hysterical, shouting and throwing stones at shops and the police station. We tried to break up the demonstration but they did not heed our call," he said.

The general said the demonstrators were influenced by FRETILIN, a small leftist movement that has fought for years for East Timor's independence.

He said several FRETILIN leaders spotted among the demonstrators had been arrested.

The military statement said demonstrators turned violent because of the postponement of a fact-finding visit by Portuguese legislators.

Portugal said it was delaying the U.N.-organized fact-finding trip because of Indonesia's refusal to allow an Australian free-lance journalist, Jill Jolliffe, to go along. Indonesia accuses her of bias.

## INDONESIA CONDEMNED FOR TIMOR SHOOTING, DEATH TOLL UNCLEAR (REUTER)

By *Jonathan Thatcher*

JAKARTA, Nov 13, Reuter - Indonesia came under international pressure on Wednesday to investigate a bloodbath in East Timor in which the army opened fire on mourners, possibly killing more than 100 people.

But the powerful military showed no signs of regret and said it had been a case of kill or be killed.

"We have urged them (Indonesia) to conduct a prompt and full investigation," a spokesman for the U.S. State Department said in Washington.

In Australia, Prime Minister Bob Hawke deplored the "appalling tragedy" and told parliament the government insisted on a full investigation by Indonesia.

A U.S. reporter, badly beaten during the shooting, said it had looked like dozens were killed in the provincial capital Dili when the army opened fire on Tuesday on a procession of 2,000 mourners who were marking the death of an East Timorese killed in riots last month.

"Looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing," Alan Nairn, working for New Yorker magazine, told Reuters from the emergency room in a hospital in Guam where he had been flown with another U.S. journalist.

Diplomats said there were reports that another foreign journalist who was seriously injured had died.

Indonesia's leading human rights organisation, the Legal Aid Institute, said it had received unconfirmed reports that 115 people had died in the shooting and called on the military to make public the results of any investigation.

"Heavy-handed tactics by the Indonesian military resulting in unnecessary deaths, arrests and torture have been characteristic of its operations in East Timor..." the Washington-based human rights group Asiawatch said, joining demands for an investigation.

Diplomats estimate that up to 200,000 people have died in East Timor since Indonesia annexed it in 1976, shortly after Portugal had quit its colony of three centuries.

Recent visitors to East Timor said the atmosphere in Dili had been very tense after a planned visit by Portuguese parliamentarians earlier this month was cancelled.

The team was due to observe the impact of Indonesia's 16-year rule over the 600,000 East Timorese whose impoverished province lies in the distant east of the archipelago, closer to Australia's Darwin than the Indonesian capital Jakarta.

Locals and diplomats say that although there is only a small band of guerrillas still fighting Indonesian rule discontent with Jakarta runs deep, with economic development there helping more the migrants from other parts of the country.

The military says it moved in only after "persuasive" attempts to break up a demonstration failed and soldiers were attacked.

"The authorities will never be in any doubt about taking tough action against any abuse of our persuasive approach. The only order is: To kill or to be killed," the daily Media Indonesia quoted regional army commander Brigadier Sintong Panjaitan as saying.

An army spokesman for the region told another daily, the Berita Buana, that the incident started when the army discovered that more than 100 undercover separatists, carrying Portuguese-made G-3 rifles and grenades, had gone to Dili to join the mourners.

He said East Timor's deputy military commander, referred to only as a victim in an earlier army statement, had died.

"You can imagine what the soldiers would do if they saw their commander die," he said. He put the dead in the tens.

Diplomats said Indonesia, trying to become a major voice in international politics, had seriously embarrassed itself with the incident in East Timor where its rule is still not internationally recognised.

"Internationally it won't be easy for Indonesia. Ali (Alatas, the foreign minister) will be spitting blood," one said.

Alatas is among the hopefuls to be U.N. secretary general after Javier Perez de Cuellar's term ends this year.

On Tuesday, Perez de Cuellar deplored the loss of innocent lives reported in East Timor.

Diplomats said it was too soon to say whether there would be any sanctions against Indonesia though several expressed shock at the possible number of dead.

"I didn't expect it to be that bad. We have to do something now. If we don't we might as well never do anything," one European diplomat said.

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### INDONESIA REGRETS KILLINGS IN TIMOR, PROMISES INVESTIGATION (REUTER)

*By Jonathan Thatcher*

JAKARTA, Nov 13, Reuter - Indonesia, bowing to international pressure, said on Wednesday it would investigate an army shooting in East Timor which may have killed up to 100 people.

Witnesses said the army fired on thousands of people in the capital Dili on Tuesday. The marchers, in a show of defiance against Indonesian rule, were marking the death in riots two weeks ago of an East Timorese.

Diplomats and independent sources put the death toll at anywhere between 20 and 115.

"We regret what happened but it must be realised that they (fighters against Indonesian rule) are brutal," Indonesian armed forces commander Try Sutrisno told reporters. "We will investigate the case and we regret it."

He said the army, which has maintained a strong presence in East Timor since it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, had only begun shooting as a last resort to restore order.

Try would only say that fewer than 100 were killed, with about 40 injured.

An army spokesman for the region told the daily Berita Buana the incident started when the army discovered that more than 100 separatists carrying Portuguese-made G-3 rifles and grenades had come down to Dili to join the procession.

Regional army commander Brigadier Sintong Panjaitan told the daily Media Indonesia: "The authorities will never be in any doubt about taking tough action against any abuse of our persuasive approach. The only order is: to kill or to be killed."

Timorese sources contacted in Australia said the bodies were buried in mass graves and troops had conducted house-to-house searches for independence sympathisers.

Try said there were no foreign victims, apparently meaning deaths, though diplomats said a young New Zealander was badly hurt and there were reports that he had died. The New Zealand embassy was not immediately available for comment.

Indonesia's Institute for the Defence of Human Rights said seven foreigners, including four journalists and a tourist, had been hurt. It named the New Zealander as Kamal Bamadhaj.

A U.S. reporter, badly beaten during the shooting, said it looked like dozens were killed in the shooting.

"Looking down the road I saw body after body and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing," Allan Nairn, working for The New Yorker magazine, told Reuters from hospital in Guam where he was flown with another U.S. journalist.

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke joined the international condemnation of the deaths, calling it an appalling tragedy and demanding an investigation.

"We are as a government very deeply disturbed by the reports of this tragedy in Dili yesterday and we deplore the loss of innocent life," he told parliament.

Portugal condemned the killings and United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said he deplored the loss of innocent lives. Britain said it was considering how to provide humanitarian aid for the people of East Timor.

Diplomats estimate that up to 200,000 people have died since Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976, shortly after Portugal had quit its colony of three centuries.

They say Jakarta's hardline rule has alienated most of the East Timorese despite attempts to win them over with large infusions of aid.

Discontent has only been fuelled by the lack of jobs for locals with the benefits of economic development being grabbed by migrants from elsewhere in Indonesia, they say.

Recent visitors to East Timor said the atmosphere in Dili had been very tense after a planned visit by Portuguese parliamentarians earlier this month was cancelled.

The team was due to observe the impact of Indonesian rule over the 600,000 East Timorese whose impoverished province lies in the distant east of the archipelago.

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### ARMY CRACKDOWN SPREADS IN EAST TIMOR (REUTER)

*By Robert Powell*

LISBON, Nov 13, Reuter - A crackdown by government troops against anti-Indonesian activists has spread to the interior of East Timor, Timorese opposition spokesman Jose Ramos Horta said on Wednesday.

The claim of widening army activity follows the killing on Tuesday of up to 115 people by Indonesian troops in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony.

Indonesian authorities, bowing to international pressure, said they would investigate the army shootings and expressed regret for what had happened.

Ramos Horta said the army was now conducting a crackdown throughout the territory against opponents of rule from Jakarta.

"Indonesian forces continue making house to house searches arresting people and breaking furniture both in Dili and the interior," he told Reuters by telephone in Lisbon.

Ramos Horta said he was in touch with East Timor by phone via friends in other parts of Indonesia and incidents had been reported in the towns of Ossu, Viqueque and Maliana.

"There were some shots fired against people and there were beatings and attacks on schools and churches, but no deaths have been confirmed," he said.

Ramos Horta, who represents an alliance of rebel guerrillas and clandestine civilian groups opposed to Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975, said a New Zealand student, Kamal Ramadaj, had almost certainly been killed in the Dili massacre.

"He was hit by several bullets and his body was taken away by the military. There is a 90 per cent probability that he is dead," Ramos Horta said.

Two U.S. journalists who witnessed the massacre and were beaten up by Indonesian troops said soldiers fired repeatedly at a procession of about 2,000 mourners attending a memorial service for a young Timorese killed in anti-Indonesian riots last month.

According to the army, the troops opened fire to quell a demonstration against Indonesian rule.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted the Chief of General Staff of the Indonesian Armed Forces, General Try Sustrisno, as saying 50 were killed and 20 were injured in the incident.

But Indonesia's leading human rights group, the Legal Aid Institute, said it had unconfirmed reports of up to 115 dead.

The massacre has been condemned by Portugal, Australia, Britain and New Zealand and has been deplored by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

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### UP TO 60 KILLED IN EAST TIMOR; INDONESIA'S FORCES GUN DOWN MARCHERS (WP)

*Washington Post, November 13, 1991  
By Peter Wise*

LISBON, Nov. 12 - Indonesian security forces opened fire on a demonstrators in the disputed southeast Asian territory of East Timor today, killing 20 to 60 people and wounding many others, according to eyewitness reports reaching Portugal.

As many as 100 people were hit when soldiers fired automatic weapons on more than 1,000 Roman Catholics arriving at a cemetery to lay flowers on the grave of a young man killed by Indonesian troops on Oct. 28, an unidentified representative of East Timor's nationalist resistance movement told Portuguese state radio in a telephone call from

the region's capital, Dili. Accounts indicated altercations preceded the firing.

The Indonesian army acknowledged only that several protesters were killed or injured, saying in a statement that "security officers tried to disperse them in persuasive ways but they put up resistance and attacked the officers." Associated Press quoted an Indonesian official in Djakarta as saying 40 protesters were killed and one policeman seriously injured.

Portugal, the former colonial ruler of the territory, summoned the ambassadors of all countries represented in Lisbon to issue a statement condemning what it called the massacre of defenseless civilians and called on the international community to end "this intolerable situation." The statement called for an urgent international investigation and for the access of international humanitarian organizations to East Timor.

East Timorese refugees and resistance leaders in Lisbon said they received calls from several eyewitnesses with the death estimates. Two American journalists, Allan Naim of *The New Yorker* magazine and Amy Goodman of Pacifica Radio, witnessed the shooting and were beaten by Indonesian forces. A New Zealand citizen, Robert Manz, was also reported injured.

(Naim said in a telephone interview from a hospital in Agana, Guam, that he and some other foreign journalists interposed themselves between the Timorese demonstrators and one group of advancing Indonesian soldiers with the hope of thwarting any assault. He said the foreigners were swept aside and severely beaten by some of the soldiers.)

(The demonstrators, who he estimated to number about 5,000, were then fired on by two groups of soldiers. The troops, he said, were armed with M-16 rifles. He did not know how many Timorese were killed but said he saw "many dozens of bodies on the ground.")

The shooting follows recent reports of growing tension and resistance to Indonesian rule in East Timor, a Connecticut-sized territory off northern Australia. The region was a Portuguese colony until Indonesia invaded during a period of civil strife in 1975, when Portugal withdrew. Indonesia subsequently annexed East Timor as its 27th province.

Relief organizations estimate at least 100,000 of the territory's original population of 700,000 people died in the fighting, famine and disease that followed the invasion.

Amnesty International and other human rights organizations report continued human rights violations in East Timor, including summary executions, disappearances and torture.

Support among the East Timorese population for nationalist guerrillas waging a sporadic campaign against Indonesian forces since 1975 has grown more open and vocal in recent years. Protesters have used the opportunity of visits by prominent outsiders, such as Pope John Paul II in 1989 and the U.S. ambassador to Jakarta, John Monge, in 1990, to

demonstrate for independence and call for foreign support.

Jose Ramos-Horta, a spokesman for the National Council of East Timorese Resistance, said Indonesian forces also prevented a group of East Timorese from approaching a hotel in Dili today to talk with the United Nations special reporter on torture, Peter Koolimans, who is on a mission to the East Timor. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's incorporation of the territory.

Portuguese President Mario Soares condemned "repeated acts of increasing violence carried out by Indonesian occupying forces against the defenseless population of East Timor." He said he had written last week to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar calling his attention to "the intolerable disrespect for human rights and the atrocities committed by Indonesia in East Timor in flagrant violation of international law and United Nations resolutions."

Diplomatic sources in Lisbon said Portugal would make a strong effort to change U.S. policy on East Timor, as it considers Washington's influence with Indonesia crucial. The United States recognizes the de facto integration of East Timor into Indonesia but acknowledges that this took place without an act of self-determination by the East Timorese people.

Portugal recently suspended a U.N.-supervised visit to East Timor by legislators - originally scheduled to begin Nov. 4 and under negotiation for seven years - until Jakarta withdraws a ban on an Australian journalist chosen by Portugal to accompany the delegation.

Indonesia Foreign Minister Ali Alatas alleges that the journalist, Jill Jolliffe, is biased against Indonesia. Lisbon says the veto is a violation of both press freedom and the terms negotiated for the visit.

Portugal's undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, Ivo Cruz, said the Council of Ministers of the European Community had informed the Lisbon government it would seek a full explanation of today's shooting directly from Indonesia.

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### AUSTRALIA SAYS IT DEPLORES REPORTED KILLINGS IN EAST TIMOR (REUTER)

CANBERRA, Nov 13, Reuter - Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke on Wednesday said he deplored the "appalling tragedy" in East Timor, where Indonesian troops fired at a funeral procession on Tuesday, possibly killing as many as 100 people.

"We are as a government very deeply disturbed by the reports of this tragedy in Dili yesterday and we deplore the loss of innocent life," Hawke told parliament.

"We have urged the Indonesian government to conduct a thorough investigation and publish a full and factual account of what happened and why, and we have said we ex-

pect that those responsible for breaches of human rights should be appropriately dealt with," Hawke said.

In the procession in Dili, Timor's capital, youths protested against Jakarta's rule over the island, and separatist rebels said up to 100 were killed or injured. Australian Foreign Affairs officials believe the figure is closer to 50.

The former Portuguese colony, some 750 km (465 miles) northwest of Darwin in northern Australia, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 and has been the scene of an armed independence movement since then.

Six Australian journalists were killed by Indonesian soldiers in two separate incidents in 1975 during the Indonesian takeover of East Timor.

Indonesia's ambassador to Canberra, Sabam Siagan, was summoned to the Department of Foreign Affairs and told of Australia's concern over Tuesday's shooting.

Siagan later told reporters Indonesia was investigating the incident and regretted "the victims on both sides," the Timorese people and Indonesian troops.

Australia's ambassador to Jakarta has been instructed to express his country's concern to Indonesian officials, Hawke said.

"We encourage the Indonesian government to deal with this tragedy openly and in accordance with the international standards of respect of human rights to which the both countries subscribe," Hawke said.

Hawke had been hoping to visit Jakarta in February 1992, but the trip has yet to be officially announced. There is speculation among political commentators that the incident may now make it difficult for Hawke to go.

Relations between the two countries have been strained in the past few years over what Indonesia says is biased reporting of the country by Australian news media.

In recent years relations have greatly improved, leading to the two countries jointly exploring the Timor Sea for oil and exchanging visits by top-level government and military leaders.

### COMMUNIQUE OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

*The following is a press release from the Portuguese Embassy in Lisbon issued on the morning of Wednesday 13 November 1991.*

1. News emanating from East Timor and confirmed by international press agencies (namely from Jakarta) indicate that, this morning, a massacre occurred in the Territory causing dozens of dead and wounded. According to these reports, Indonesian armed forces opened fire on a crowd estimated at about one thousand people, gathered near the cemetery of Santa Cruse to honour Sebastiao Rangel, a victim of the Motael church incident. An official Indonesian source, quoted by Associated

Press, confirmed that forty people were killed during the incident. Not even the presence in Dili of the Special Rapporteur on Torture of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights acted as a deterrent for this appalling action.

2. On October 28 a grave incident took place in the church of Motael (Dili), in which the action of Indonesian soldiers, in circumstances still to be fully explained, led to the death of two Timorese youths, Sebastiao Rangel and Afonso Henriques, and to the arrest of dozens of others. The death of these two youths was confirmed by the newspaper "Ankatan Bersenjata" of the Indonesian Armed Forces. "Amnesty International" has launched an appeal asking for an immediate and impartial investigation of the circumstances that led to those deaths. Still unconfirmed reports indicate that other incidents have occurred in Maliana, Suai, and Futumaca, involving youths apparently seeking sanctuary in local churches. There are news of other recent deaths and arrests. Persecutions against of other recent deaths and arrests. Persecutions against suspects of organizing demonstrations during the now suspended parliamentary visit are also being reported.
3. The terrible precedents in the field of human rights in East timor give us strong reason to fear that new violence and bloodshed may again take place at any moment. Last August, before the Special Committee on Decolonization, "Amnesty International" again alerted the United Nations to the fact that serious human rights violations keep being perpetrated in East Timor, seeing that practices such as short term detentions accompanied of torture and ill treatment of suspected opponents of Indonesian rule, extrajudicial executions and "disappearances" had been intensified. At least 30 persons, and "possibly several more", that organization said, were killed by the Indonesian security forces in 1991 and in the first months of 1991 in apparent extra judicial executions.
4. Portugal, for its part, has systematically denounced this situation, which ineluctably derives from the still unresolved question of the decolonization of East Timor, whose people has been deprived of exercising its self-determination due to the Republic of Indonesia's persistent illegal occupation, ever since its all-out military invasion of the territory on December 7 1975.
5. The Portuguese Government expresses its strongest condemnation of this new act of utmost brutality committed by the Indonesian Armed Forces against a defenceless civilian crowd, in disregard of basic principles of respect for human life. It is time for the international community to heed the pressing calls for urgent action coming out of East timor demanding that an end be put to this intolerable situation.
6. It will be recalled that one of the permanent objectives of Portuguese policy on

East Timor, a Non-Self-Governing Territory under the administration of Portugal, illegally occupied by the Republic of Indonesia, has been, and will continue to be, the defence of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of its inhabitants, denied during the occupation in a scale which is, proportionally, one of this century's gravest.

7. The denouncement of the situation in the Territory has been constant in several international instances, coming from countries, humanitarian organizations, petitioners from various quarters, and from Timorese victims of human rights violations themselves. The U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization and the U.N. Commission of the Human Rights keep eloquent records in this regard. Institutions such as the European Parliament, the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly and the ACP/EEL Consultative Assembly, just to mention a few, have lately conducted debates and have approved resolutions on the question of East Timor, which denounce the systematic human rights violations occurring in the Territory.
8. In spite of the difficulties that prevent access to what is happening in East Timor, namely in the fields of human rights, the information that reaches the outside, through various channels, allows for the conclusion that the general situation prevailing in the territory has seriously worsened, especially in the last few weeks.
9. Against what was established in last June's agreement on the terms of reference of the Portuguese parliamentary visit to the Territory (which should have begun on November 3), allowing for the freedom and spontaneity of contacts of the delegation with the population, Indonesian authorities conducted a campaign of terror and intimidation destined to prevent such contacts. The said campaign included the reinforcement of the security (omnipresent and infiltrated among the population) and military structures; surveillance and denouncement actions; forced attendance of the population at meetings during which any who meant to contact the parliamentary delegation were threatened; the intensification of questionings, tortures, arrests and "disappearances" of elements suspected of opposing Indonesian rule, etc.
10. Dili's apostolic administrator himself, Monsignor Ximenes Belo, has courageously denounced this situation, revealing that the population was threatened with deadly reprisals after the departure of the delegation. Leaders of former Timorese political parties who had favoured the forced annexation of East Timor by Indonesia have asked, like Monsignor Belo, for the presence of United Nations observers at the end of the parliamentary visit, so as to prevent such threats from being carried out.
11. It is unquestionable that all of this has led to a serious deterioration of the situation in

the Territory, as well as to an atmosphere of great tension, which was generation fears, now confirmed, of the occurrence of a new wave of violations of human rights in East Timor.

12. A special responsibility in this regard is incumbent on the United Nations, whose basic principles and resolutions, including the Security Council's have been systematically violated by Indonesia, in blatant contempt for its authority.
13. Portugal thus appeals to all States and Organizations to:
  - a) condemn this new massive violation of human rights against the East Timorese people, victim of a long-protracted denial of its basic human rights and freedoms, deriving from the continuing illegal occupation of their Territory by Indonesia, in disregard of the U.N. Charter and of General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions;
  - b) bring pressure to bear on the Indonesian Government to put an immediate end to its illegal occupation of East Timor and to the inhuman repression being waged against its people;
  - c) demand an impartial, thorough and internationally supervised investigation of this highly regrettable incident, and that access to the Territory be given to humanitarian non-governmental organizations;
  - d) monitor closely any developments in the field of human rights in East Timor, so as to prevent further bloodshed and violence from occurring.

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### EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS / FEAR OF TORTURE (A.I.)

*The following is an abridged version of Amnesty International's Urgent Action call released on 12 November 1991.*

A.I. is calling for an immediate and thorough investigation into the circumstances of the reported killings in East Timor on 12 November. It is seriously concerned for the safety of those that were arrested and is urging that those detained solely for their non-violent political activities or beliefs be immediately released and that, following their release, their safety be guaranteed. It is also calling on the Indonesian authorities to ensure that those responsible for extrajudicial executions or for the ill-treatment of prisoners be brought promptly to justice. Scores of people were believed to have been arrested in connection with the incident. Eyewitnesses said that the streets of Dili were deserted for much of the day, an that security forces were roaming the streets firing their weapons indiscriminately and carrying out arrests. Many of those arrested were believed to have been taken to the police headquarters in Dili, and there were fears that they might be at risk of ill-treatment or torture. The Indonesian military have

confirmed that several people had been killed and others injured. they said that security forces had tried to disperse the "protester" in "persuasive ways, but they put up resistance and attacked the officers." Military authorities also said that they had seized a number of weapons after the incident. In 1990 and early 1991 at least 30 people and possibly many more, were killed by Indonesian security forces in apparent extrajudicial executions. A pattern of short-term detention, ill-treatment and torture of political detainees appears to have worsened in the last year. More than 400 people have been detained in East Timor since late 1988 for their alleged involvement in pro-independence political activities; at least 200 of them since early 1990. Many may be or may have been prisoners of conscience and many have reportedly been ill-treated or tortured in custody. forms of torture have included beatings with iron bars, batons and fists, burning with lighted cigarettes, slashing with razor blades and immersion for long periods in fetid water.

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### INDONESIAN ARMY CLAIMS ABOUT 50 KILLED IN DILI SHOOTING (KYODO)

*Source: Kyodo Date: 13 November 1991  
Dateline: Jakarta Storytype: news item  
abridged.*

Gen. Try Sutrisno, chief of the Indonesian armed forces, said on Wednesday about 50 people were killed and 20 wounded in a shooting incident at a cemetery in the East Timorese capital of Dili on Tuesday. In the first official death count from the incident, Try told reporters at the presidential office Bina Graha that the death toll was not as high as originally reported by the foreign media.

An American eyewitness to the shooting denied reports in Indonesian dailies on Wednesday that soldiers shot mourners at the cemetery because armed members of the East Timor independence movement were among the crowd. Estimates reaching Tokyo of the number of dead in the shooting range from 20 to 115 after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on hundreds of mourners who had gathered to place flowers on the grave of an East Timorese youth killed in an early morning army raid on a Dili church October 28. Jakarta newspapers quoted an Indonesian army spokesman for the Udayana Military Command in Bali, Lt. Col. Anton Tompodung, as saying the soldiers were ordered to shoot because about 100 armed members of the East Timor independence movement, including the movement's leader Xanana Gusmao, were among the crowd. But an eyewitness to the shooting, American journalist Allan Nairn, who writes for the New Yorker magazine, denied the Indonesian army spokesman's account of the incident. Speaking by telephone from a hospital in Guam where he was recovering from injuries received during the incident, Nairn told Kyodo News Service he

saw "many dozens" of people shot. Nairn described the army claim that Xanana was among the crowd with armed followers as "hilarious". He said the crowd was unarmed and contained women, children, and old people. He said it seemed that the army's shooting into the crowd was a premeditated act. Nairn said he and a number of other foreigners were among the crowd which was standing near the cemetery gates after the graveside ceremony when soldiers emerged from around a corner, slowly walked toward the crowd and opened fire with M16 rifles. "The soldiers massacred dozens of defenceless civilians," Nairn said. "We were standing between the people and the soldiers because we felt that if we stood there then the soldiers would be reluctant to shoot at foreigners. But they just knocked us out of the way, beat us and took our camera equipment and began firing," he related. "I had blood all over my face. There were many dozens of bodies everywhere. The shooting lasted several minutes. There were many young people and old people. It wasn't a frenzy. The people had been standing outside the cemetery and the army just appeared with M16s." Nairn added. He said a New Zealand tourist who was also among the crowd at the cemetery was "gravely wounded." Also with Nairn was American radio journalist Amy Goodman. Nairn and Goodman later left Dili. Diplomatic sources in Jakarta reported large numbers of seriously wounded people in Dili after the incident. They said it could take several days before the actual number of people killed is known. They said the situation in Dili was still unstable. A Western diplomat in Jakarta told Kyodo the Indonesian military was in control of Dili. The Indonesian daily, Berita Buana, reported the incident occurred after the military tried to persuade the crowd to disperse, the paper said. Anton claimed the shooting happened when the crowd attacked the soldiers. Anton told the daily that the soldiers began shooting after they realized some of their own members had been wounded and their commander killed. Anton reportedly confirmed that people had been shot in the incident but denied a claim made Tuesday by the chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, Abdul Hakim Nusantara, that the number was "around 115". The chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, Try, told the press that there were no foreigners among the victims at the cemetery.

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### MORE MASSACRE VICTIMS DIE IN DILI (TAPOL)

#### Worldwide calls for an independent inquiry

*The following is a Press Release issued today, 13 November 1991, by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign:*

Sources in Dili told TAPOL today that five of the people wounded during the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili yesterday have died in hospital. Altogether 45 seriously

injured people were taken to the Dili General Hospital, though many more with serious wounds were refused admittance. Access to the hospital is being denied to relatives. The bodies of the sixty people who were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed people at the cemetery have been taken to an unknown place for mass burial. Families inquiring about dead relatives have been warned by the army 'not to look for the bodies'. A New Zealander, Kamal Bana Dhaj, one of several foreign journalists who were beaten and shot during the massacre, died in Dili Hospital last night. Several people who were rounded up after the massacre and taken to Kodim, the district military command, are believed to have been knifed to death. Of the 200 or so people who were taken to Polwil, the Dili police headquarters, more than a hundred are still in custody. All were stripped naked and subjected to torture and beatings. The hospital, Kodim and Polwil, are all surrounded by troops with no-one being allowed in. The atmosphere in Dili is described as one of great fear, with troops strutting the streets, making their presence felt everywhere. But there is widespread anger at yesterday's atrocity perpetrated by the occupying forces and Timorese are likely to seek ways to manifest their intense hatred for the Indonesian army, regardless of the risks. Our sources deny claims by the army that people in the procession were armed. It was a peaceful event to commemorate the dead. The massacre happened while the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor Kooijmans was in Dili, preparing to carry out an investigation for the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva. Besides the Timorese who went on the procession to the cemetery, others went to his hotel hoping to speak to him, but the hotel was surrounded by hundreds of troops. Professor Kooijmans has returned to Jakarta; it seems unlikely he was able to conduct his investigations, with everything in Dili in such a high state of tension. The massacre occurred early on Tuesday, 12 November, when troops opened fire on a large procession of people going to the cemetery to pay their respects to a Timorese, Sebastiao Gomes, who was shot dead on 28 October at Motael Church. The church has been giving sanctuary to Timorese youths fearing arrest for several years. Priests in Dili are prevented from making contact with the outside as their phones have been disconnected. No-one has been able to speak to Bishop Belo, Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, for several weeks. It is now known that he refused to attend a meeting of the Indonesian Bishops' Annual Conference this month because of the unprovoked attack on Motael Church and the murder of Gomes. Faced with the enormity of this latest atrocity, Western governments are now condemning the Indonesian authorities. The US and Australian governments who for years turned their eyes away from the sufferings of the Timorese, have denounced the incident and called for an independent inquiry. The UN Secretary-

General has issued a denunciation. The British Government has today summoned the Indonesian ambassador to the Foreign Office "to find out more" about "the shootings in Dili". The Portuguese government issued a statement today "condemning this new massive violation of human rights" and calling on all states and organisations to exert pressure on the Indonesian government to end its illegal occupation of East Timor". It also demands "an impartial, thorough and internationally supervised investigation of this highly regrettable incident".

Such widespread condemnation has shattered the credibility of Indonesian claims that conditions in East Timor are tranquil. Its policy of "openness" has been thrown into confusion, especially with foreign journalists (those who survived), themselves victims of the violence, testifying as eye-witnesses to an act of unbridled brutality. Indonesia's diplomatic offensive which was to have been crowned by the possible election of Foreign Minister Ali Alatas as UN Secretary-General is now a shambles.

The admission by the General Try Sutrisno, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, that fifty people were killed and his announcement in Jakarta today that an inquiry will be held - an internal inquiry that will convince no-one - shows that the regime is now on the defensive about its policy in East Timor. Sources in Jakarta say that the massacre may have been perpetrated by the army in Dili as a challenge to President Suharto, who is known to be at loggerheads with many senior and middle-ranking army officers. It is a tragedy for the East Timorese that they have become the innocent and defenceless victims of a power struggle in Jakarta.

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### INDONESIAN LEADERS "WILL PAY FOR THEIR CRIMES," SEPARATISTS SAY (AFP)

SYDNEY, Nov 14 (AFP) - East Timorese separatists pledged Thursday to make Indonesia's President Suharto and Defence Minister Benny Murdani "pay for their crimes" after the slaughter of more than 50 civilians by government troops.

Speaking on Australian radio from London, Jose Ramos Horta, spokesman for the Fretilin movement, called for an arms embargo against Indonesia "in the face of this atrocity," carried out Tuesday in the capital of East Timor, Dili.

"Those bastards in Jakarta, those crooks Benny Murdani and Suharto and the others, they will pay for their crimes," Horta said.

"In due course we will step up our offensive in every area and that will include (the) diplomatic and I am confident that international pressure will increase on Indonesia," he said.

Demonstrators who picketed the offices of Indonesia's Garuda airline here Wednesday said further protests were planned for Thursday in Sydney and Canberra, where

Prime Minister Bob Hawke is under pressure to cancel a planned trip to Jakarta in February.

The Australian Senate on Thursday passed a resolution calling on the government to protest "in the strongest possible terms" to Indonesia, and to continue to press for a full investigation into the slaughter.

Hawke's spokesman refused to comment when asked whether the prime minister's visit to Jakarta was still on.

Horta urged the United States and Great Britain to cut off arms shipments to the Indonesian armed forces and said Australia should stop training Indonesian military and intelligence officers.

"The same people who go and murder our children and our women are trained in Australia," he said.

The wife of Fretilin guerrilla commander Xanana Gusmao meanwhile said the killings had been widely reported only because Western journalists happened to be in Dili at the time.

Speaking through an interpreter at her home in Melbourne, Gusmao told journalists there had been other killings since Indonesian invaded the former Portuguese colony 16 years ago.

"It is only because a number of Western journalists were there that this incident was covered so widely in the Australian media," she said.

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### FRETILIN MAN SAYS NEW GUERRILLA OFFENSIVE COMING (AFP)

LISBON, Nov 13 (AFP) - The anti-Indonesia resistance in East Timor is going to respond to Tuesday's massacre of civilians there with fresh offensive operations, former FRETILIN representative to the United Nations Ramos Horta said Wednesday.

Horta said he had received a message Tuesday from FRETILIN guerrilla commander Xanana Gusmao that "the resistance is going to launch a new strategy". The message should be read as announcing a new FRETILIN offensive, he said.

A source in Dili quoted by the Lisbon daily O Publico said that Tuesday's shooting in the East Timor capital by the military had left about 100 dead and a similar number wounded. (The Indonesian armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno, said Wednesday the number of dead was 50 "at most".)

The source in Dili, which the newspaper reached by phone, was quoted as saying: "The military are checking everything, surrounding and searching houses. Don't contact us again for the next few days, we are being watched."

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### INDONESIA BLAMES SEPARATISTS FOR TIMOR BLOODBATH (AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 13 (AFP) - Indonesia blamed separatists in East Timor on

Wednesday for the army shooting of funeral mourners in the former Portugese territory, and claimed that no more than 50 people had been killed.

Two U.S. reporters who witnessed Tuesday's bloodshed meanwhile said the shooting had been "unprovoked."

General Try Sutrisno, giving the first official casualty figures, told reporters in Jakarta that the death toll in Dili was not as high as the news media overseas had reported.

"If the foreign press said 100 had died, that is too much. The number of those who died, I am certain, would not reach 100, let us say 50 at the most, 20 injured, and no foreigners are among the victims," Try said.

"Several tens of people" were later arrested, and hand grenades, guns and knives seized, the general said, adding that a "thorough investigation" would be held.

Try blamed the incident on the Fretilin movement, which seeks independence for East Timor. Indonesia annexed the mostly Catholic territory in 1976, a year after it sent in troops ostensibly to quell fighting.

"The Fretilin ... are now cornered. They do not have a place in the villages (because) we have conducted territorial operations. They are not in forests any more either, so they struggle in the cities," he said.

The shooting followed a funeral Tuesday in Dili, capital of East Timor, for one of two young Timorese who were killed in mysterious circumstances on October 28.

Allan Nairn, a U.S. reporter who witnessed the incident, told AFP on Wednesday that the shooting on the crowd of mourners, which he estimated at about 5,000, was "completely unprovoked."

"This is not a situation that spiraled out of control," Nairn said from his hospital bed in Guam, where he was recovering from injuries sustained in the incident.

"The soldiers moved in from two sides," said the reporter for The New Yorker magazine.

"One group was in a truck. Another group of hundreds were walking down, brandishing their M-16's (rifles), walking very deliberately," he said.

"As they troops rounded the corner ... they began firing into the crowd.

"The bodies fell around us and in front of us. I would say many dozens were shot. Well-informed people were saying between 50 and 60 and this is quite possible.

"Three army trucks with bodies stacked up on them drove away. Many (more people) were wounded. They were lying all over the place with bullet wounds in them."

Another U.S. reporter, Amy Goodman, of New York radio station WBAI, said the Timorese had been chanting "Viva Timor l'Este" before the shooting began.

She added: "It was not like a dramatic clash where people came round the corner and were confronting each other. The Timorese didn't do anything to the troops."

Try, speaking at the presidential office in Jakarta, gave a different version of events.

He said a crowd which left Motael church in Dili had moved towards a hotel and the governor's office, "yelling hysterically, pelting shops and a police post" along the way.

Security forces tried but failed to impose order through "sympathetic and persuasive," the general said.

"The mass was so brutal that it lead to victims. The deputy commander of military sector 700, Major Gerhan Lantara, was stabbed and the situation became more chaotic.

"Preventive actions were first taken ... until finally the situation had to be restored (and) so the shooting took place," Try said.

In Seoul, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas acknowledged Wednesday the need for a full inquiry "under credible circumstances," his Australian counterpart Gareth Evans said at a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum.

In Washington, the State Department said it regretted the violence. "We have urged them to conduct a prompt and full investigation," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher.

In New York, United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar also deplored the "loss of innocent lives."

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### HAWKE VISIT MAY BE CANCELLED (RADIO AUSTRALIA)

The killings in East Timor have thrown into doubt a planned visit to Indonesia by the Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke. Hawke said Indonesia had to show that it regretted the incident and carry out a genuine inquiry if his visit next February is to go ahead.

He also says that it is time for Indonesia to sit down and talk with the people of East Timor, including the resistance. Previously Australia has described the issue of negotiations as an internal Indonesian matter. But following the massacre the Australian Prime Minister said even if there was provocation, the Indonesian military action in Dili was totally unacceptable.

The Indonesian military says 19 people died and 91 were wounded in Tuesday's shooting in Dili in East Timor. Two senior military commanders in the area told a press conference that some of the wounded were in a critical condition. (Radio Australia 11/14)

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### BLOODSTAINS ON CHAPEL WALLS AND CLOTHING ARE SILENT WITNESS TO SHOOTINGS (AFP)

DILI, East Timor, Nov 13 (AFP) - Pools of dried blood in a cemetery chapel and scattered remnants of bloodstained clothing were all the evidence that remained Wednesday of the shooting deaths of funeral mourners by Indonesian soldiers.

The victims had been taking part in a religious service Tuesday in commemoration of a young man allegedly killed by Indonesian security forces two weeks ago which Indonesian armed forces claim was a pretext for a separatist demonstration in East Timor.

Indonesian General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander, told reporters in Jakarta that scores of people had been arrested and hand grenades, guns and knives seized. He said up to 50 people may have died.

He blamed the shooting incident on the Fretilin movement, which seeks independence for East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Despite the bloodstains, it was impossible here to confirm reports that the death toll could have been as high as 115, as some reports have claimed. Foreign correspondents were not able to meet with local officials, either military or civilian.

Among personal effects piled up in the cemetery were schoolbooks and notebooks indicating that youngsters were among the victims. Several pairs of broken spectacles completed the sad collection of anonymous objects.

Bloodstains were still visible on the walls of the chapel which stands in the middle of the Santa Cruz cemetery, but there was a puzzling absence of any bullet hole or scars.

This appeared to indicate that when the Indonesian troops opened fire, the crowd was outside the chapel on cemetery paths or in an adjoining street.

The bodies could then have been brought to the chapel before being stripped of their clothes and taken to an unknown destination.

About 30 people who took refuge in the local headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross were still there, informed sources said. They had not been bothered by Indonesian troops.

Pierre Pont, a spokesman for the ICRC in Jakarta, told the Portuguese news agency Lusa that four refugees had returned to their homes after the committee got assurances from Indonesian troops guaranteeing their security.

Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony before its brief period of independence in 1975, appeared outwardly calm Wednesday as residents took stock of the bloody events of the past 24 hours.

In the streets near the monument of the Portuguese prince Henry the Navigator, schoolchildren gave only fleeting smiles to strangers.

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### CHILDREN'S SCHOOLBOOKS AND DRIED BLOOD MARK TIMOR SHOOTING (REUTER)

*By Moses Manoharan*

DILI, East Timor, Nov 13, Reuter - Discarded schoolbooks, a baby's bottle and a blood-splattered Christian chapel mark the site where Indonesian troops opened fire on independence sympathisers, possibly killing up to 100 and provoking international protests.

Witnesses of Tuesday's shootings, interviewed on Wednesday at the Santa Cruz cemetery, said the death toll could pass 100.

Indonesia has been internationally condemned for the bloodshed in the former Portuguese colony it annexed in 1976. The government said it regretted the shootings and would mount an investigation.

One witness said a New Zealander of Malaysian origin, unofficially identified as Kamal Bamadhaj, was found bleeding from bullet wounds and rushed through army and police roadblocks to a military hospital. There was no firm word on his condition.

Visitors were not allowed into the hospital to interview survivors. Troops opened fire on mourners who had gone to the cemetery for a memorial service marking the death two weeks ago of a separatist sympathiser.

Military authorities say it was the stabbing of a major -- who survived the attack -- at the ceremony that triggered the army action.

The army had initially been trying to disperse a crowd of at least 1,000 Timorese marching in procession through the quiet town of Dili, capital of East Timor, to meet another 500 at the cemetery for the memorial service for Sebastio Gomes.

Gomes was killed with another pro-independence activist when troops broke up riots in front of a Roman Catholic church in Dili on October 28.

The riots occurred just after Portugal suspended a parliamentary mission to East Timor because Indonesia objected to an Australian reporter Lisbon wanted to include in a team of accompanying journalists.

Jakarta said the reporter was a crusader for Fretilin, a guerrilla independence movement, which has been virtually crushed by the Indonesian army.

But diplomats say anti-Indonesian sentiment still runs very deep especially among the youth in East Timor, in the east of the Indonesian archipelago, where Jakarta's rule is not internationally recognised.

Red rose petals were strewn on Wednesday over Gomes's grave, marked by a plain white cross. Nearby lay piles of bloodstained clothes, schoolbooks and a baby bottle.

Small shoes confirmed witnesses' accounts at the cemetery that many in the congregation were young.

The whitewashed walls and floor of the simple chapel where the shooting began were bloodstained.

"I am still searching for my family," one young girl at the cemetery told foreign reporters.

A man there said the firing erupted when the procession reached the chapel.

"There were screams and everyone started to run when we heard the firing. Some of us saw soldiers taking away the bodies after stripping them of their clothes," he said.

Plainclothes security men watched the cemetery and one took photographs of journalists and anyone who talked to them.

Many shops were shuttered in Dili and the red and white Indonesian flag flew at half mast

at the governor's residence where staff wore black badges in mourning.

The outspoken Bishop of Dili, Carlos Belo, spiritual authority in the predominantly Catholic territory of more than 600,000 people, said he was not ready to comment.

There were relatively few soldiers on Dili's streets. Some in battle fatigues sat in parked trucks watching passers-by in the heart of the city and at the airport.

Witnesses said about 25 young East Timorese were hiding in the International Red Cross office in Dili where they had run for shelter after the shooting.

One nun waiting at the airport for a colleague said that widespread unemployment and long-standing ties to Portuguese tradition had left youths confused and frustrated.

Since the killings, fear had overwhelmed the town.

"Everyone is afraid but about what no one is certain. Perhaps it is because no one knows the truth about what happened on Tuesday. But then, what is truth?" she said with a sad smile.

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### CASUALTY FIGURES VAGUE A DAY AFTER EAST TIMOR SHOOTINGS (AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 13 (AFP) - Casualty figures remained vague and unconfirmed a day after Indonesian troops fired into a crowd in East Timor, with sources putting the death toll between nine and 115 people Wednesday.

Newspapers mostly carried the official military statement on the incident, which contained no casualty figures, but the Media Indonesia daily said without naming sources that nine rioters were killed and one army officer injured.

Media quoted Major General Sintong Panjaitan, the military commander for eastern Indonesia, as saying troops had confiscated three hand grenades, one hand gun and one German-made G-3 rifle from the crowd.

A Western diplomat Wednesday quoted high-placed military sources as having said that some 20 people had died but that the figure could still rise as others were severely wounded.

The Indonesian Legal Aid Institute quoted its chapter in Dili as saying 115 people had died in the attack on a funerary procession at a Dili cemetery Tuesday morning.

Indonesian troops fired early Tuesday fired on a crowd that had gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili for a memorial service for one of two young Timorese killed in mysterious circumstances October 28, according to witnesses.

Unconfirmed reports from London and Lisbon put the death toll between 50 and 60.

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1976, but the United Nations still recognizes Lisbon as its administrator.

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### NZ ENVOY SENT TO TIMOR TO INVESTIGATE SHOOTING OF NEW ZEALANDER (REUTER)

WELLINGTON, Nov 14, Reuter - A New Zealand diplomat was expected in East Timor on Thursday to investigate reports that a New Zealand student was shot dead during an attack by Indonesian troops in which up to 100 people were feared killed.

Prime Minister Jim Bolger said Indonesian authorities had been told of New Zealand's strong concern over the killings. "We are certainly very unhappy," he told Radio New Zealand.

Bolger said he was unable to confirm reports that New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj was killed when troops opened fire on independence sympathisers in the former Portuguese colony on Tuesday.

John Mills, First Secretary at New Zealand's Jakarta embassy, was expected in Dili on Thursday to investigate the shooting of Bamadhaj, a student in Australia of mixed New Zealand and Malaysian parentage.

Bamadhaj, in his early 20s, was working in East Timor as a translator for a charity, Community Aid Abroad.

Bolger said Wellington was demanding answers from Indonesian authorities in New Zealand, Indonesia and South Korea, where foreign ministers from the two countries are attending a conference.

Indonesia has been internationally condemned for the bloodshed in the former Portuguese colony that it annexed in 1976.

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### EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR BREAKS WITH ARMY LINE (REUTER)

*By Robert Powell*

LISBON, Nov 13, Reuter - Lusa reported that the Indonesian governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, had protested at the massacre and threatened to resign unless Jakarta took drastic measures to restore the confidence of local people.

Carrascalao, who is from East Timor, told a Lusa correspondent in Macau by telephone that he saw the funeral procession pass by his office before it was fired on.

"There were no strong reasons to open fire," he said. "The authorities in Jakarta must find out who was behind the shooting."

Carrascalao said he would not continue as governor unless the Indonesian government "makes up for this bad deed and takes drastic measures to restore the confidence of the population."

He said the streets of Dili were deserted on Wednesday night because "there is a generalised situation of fear."

Carrascalao said the authorities in Jakarta told him 13 people were killed and 30 seriously wounded in Tuesday's massacre, but he was aware that church sources gave a much higher death toll.

He said an unknown number of dead were loaded into a covered truck after the massacre and taken to Dili hospital.

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## U.N. DAILY HIGHLIGHTS -- 13 NOVEMBER 1991

Secretary-General is "profoundly disturbed" by events in East Timor and deplors loss of innocent lives; ICRC expresses dismay at "extreme violence" employed by Indonesian security forces during a memorial service.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said today through his Spokesman that he profoundly regretted the events in East Timor and deplored the loss of innocent lives. He expressed hope that effective measures would be taken in order to avoid any recurrence in the future.

The Spokesman told correspondents that the Secretary-General had seen official reports of events yesterday in East Timor where two American journalists had been assaulted by the Indonesian military.

He said that the Special Rapporteur on Torture of the Commission of Human Rights was visiting East Timor during the events. The Secretariat was now trying to get in touch with the Rapporteur, who was due to arrive in Jakarta today, to obtain first-hand information on the events for the Secretary-General.

This afternoon, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said it was "dismayed at the extreme violence" employed by Indonesian security forces during a memorial service in Dili, the capital of East Timor yesterday, 12 November.

In a press release issued at United Nations Headquarters today, the ICRC said the actions of the security forces had resulted in a large number of deaths and injuries among the civilians gathered in the cemetery. Some thirty people sought refuge in the ICRC delegation as ICRC delegates have the permission of the authorities to move about freely in Dili. They were subsequently returned to their homes.

The ICRC has informed the United Nations that it has requested "immediate access to all persons detained in connection with the recent events".

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## CALL TO BOYCOTT INDONESIA (D. GEOFFREY)

HOOKA HAY

IT'S A GOOD DAY TO DIE

**Personal feelings on the East Timor  
Massacre**

*From environs Thu Nov 14*

Kamal and Anthony, my brother activist friends. Are they alive or dead. Or hiding in

terror in an East Timorese house? Or lying stiff and cold in an Indonesian morgue?

WHY???

Because they attended a funeral of someone who was killed struggling for East Timor's freedom. Sketchy reports filtering back to us today and contact with Kamal's girlfriend indicates Kamal had been critically shot and by now may be one of the 60 to 100 innocent people that were slaughtered. If Kamal is now dead or dies as a result of one of the bullets fired by heartless army gunmen I'll be very angry.

I've known Kamal and Anthony for a number of years. We've blockaded many rainforest timberships in Sydney and sat in front of the odd bulldozer together. They knew they were at risk in going to East Timor. Kamal wanted me to join him. They must have known there was a risk in going on this funeral march. I respect their decision to go forward. Like many activists who decide to act and take on the system, the law, the government and even the army Kamal and Anthony and many others like them followed their hearts and were not guided by fears of reprisals or ultimately the threat of death. I guess they were following their own inner truth coming from a point of recognizing their own power and lifeforce. Also possibly believing that if even they were ultimately to give their own life living their truth attempting to bring about justice on this planet that this would be for the highest good. Yet a dead person can't say much and martyrs themselves are quiet. So I wonder as the slaughtered mourners mixed their blood with the earth with their last thoughts did they think, "well, I've done my bit, now it's up to everyone around the world who hears about this massacre to make sure, this never happens again and our dream of having East Timor freed after 15 years of Indonesian occupation may soon be realized.

An old Sowe Indian saying comes to mind "HOOKA HAY". "It's a good day to die". We are all going to die some day so you might as well die doing something you believe in.

I can't help but feel angry. How dare they shoot unarmed fleeing men, women and children mourners. How dare they. My immediate response is revenge, violence and war. Yet where has this led us in the past? More death, more suffering, more hatred. True, there is still suffering today. Yet, if we all get really organized and if we as global citizens upholding the truth and justice organize a thorough grassroots sanctions, arms embargo and boycott of Indonesia's goods and services such as Tourism to Bali for example and not buying Indonesia's clothing, crafts and jewelry and why can't we rid the world of these evil empires? I am sure we just need to get organized. Picket Indonesian Airlines and travel agents offering alternative destinations, list and publish all Indonesia's goods, picket Indonesian Consulate or Trade Commission, get grassroots involvement and support, run video information nights in your local area etc.

We can do it. I know the dead would have wanted us to.

John Lennon once said, as I'm sure, many others have too, that to change the world, we have to change or raise the vibration of human consciousness worldwide. Maybe by people around the world taking responsibility for the atrocious actions of others by nonviolently opposing their actions by the use of sanctions, embargoes, boycotts, isolation etc we could bring about this raise in consciousness that is needed. I know the only alternative is to do nothing and I could not live with myself if I chose that option.

"Shadow of East Timor" Video can be obtained by contacting Dean Geoffrey, Pegasus:environs or Bowraville Post Office 2449 Australia, Cost: \$ 45. Also available is a One hour,30 min. video on various strategic nonviolent actions can also be obtained at the above address, Cost:\$ 45.--

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## AUSTRALIAN PM URGES INDONESIA TO TALK (AGE)

*Source: The Age, 15 Nov 91 Byline: Mark Metherall, Canberra*

The Prime minister, Mr Hawke, last night urged the Indonesian government to negotiate with the East Timorese people, including the resistance forces, to work out a peaceful solution to the conflict in the territory.

In his most forthright statement yet on Indonesia's handling of East Timor, Mr Hawke said the need for peace talks seemed to be the lesson of Tuesday's killings in Dili.

However, Mr Hawke ruled out Australia agreeing to involvement by the United Nations in the talks, saying Indonesia would not accept this because it would see it as a move towards East Timorese self-determination.

If Australia suggested that East Timor was not part of Indonesia and revoked Australian recognition of that, Indonesia would 'bring down the shutters'. The East Timor people would suffer as a result and Australia would lose its influence in Indonesia, Mr Hawke said.

But he said that Australia should be steadfast in its unequivocal condemnation of the killings then say to Indonesia 'For God's sake let's now look to the future. Please come to an understanding that you haven't got the hearts and minds of the East Timorese.'

He said on the ABC's [TV] '7.30 Report' that Indonesia had to recognise that the people of East Timor had a deep sense of cultural identity and Indonesian had not won their acquiescence in the 16 years since it annexed East Timor.

Earlier, Mr Hawke criticised a statement released by the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra on Wednesday.

He said he was disappointed that the statement did not fully reflect the events in East Timor.

The Government would take a close interest in the manner in which Indonesia's inquiry

into the shooting was conducted and in the action which followed.

Mr Hawke also responded to comments by Indonesia military chief, General Try Sutrisno, that 'at the most' 50 people died. Mr Hawke said: 'I want to stress that, whatever the final number of casualties, it is obvious that an appalling tragedy has occurred.'

However he welcomed General Try's public regret at the deaths and promise of a thorough investigation.

The killings have provoked outspoken reactions from both sides of Parliament.

Mr Kevin Andrews (Liberal, Victoria) accused successive governments of being 'completely gutless' on the East Timor issue since 1975 Indonesian invasion.

...Victorian MPs from all parties have urged the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, to promote talks under UN auspices on the future of East Timor.

A petition signed by 59 MPs condemned the shooting of civilians in East Timor this week and said the people there were living in a continual state of fear in their own country

## AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT CO-RESPONSIBLE FOR DILI MASSACRE (C.I.E.T)

AUSTRALIAN COALITION FOR EAST  
TIMOR - CIET(ACT)  
MEDIA RELEASE - 14 November 1991

At demonstrations today at Parliament House in Canberra and at the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, the Australian and Indonesian governments were told that they share responsibility for the Dili massacre.

A spokesperson for the Australian Coalition for East Timor in Canberra, Dr Michael Wagner, said that successive Australian governments were "significantly responsible for the current human rights situation in East Timor including Tuesday's massacre in Dili." He said that Australia had handed East Timor to the Indonesian military "on a platter" and that it was more interested in exploiting East Timor's oil than in taking effective measures to stop Indonesia's genocide in East Timor.

Dr Wagner rejected the call for an Indonesian self-investigation as insufficient. He said that the Indonesian Government had a well-established record of lying to the world about its military occupation of East Timor and called for an independent international investigation into the massacre. "A UN observer term must carry out the investigation and must remain in East Timor in order to monitor possible further human rights violation until the Indonesian occupation forces withdraw from East Timor in compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions."

Dr Wagner said that Australian protestations of Indonesian human rights violations lacked credulity and called on the Government to suspend defence cooperation with Indonesia immediately and to begin taking se-

rious diplomatic steps towards negotiations on a political solution of the East Timor conflict in accordance with international law and the principle of self-determination.

Speakers from all parties in the Australian Parliament addressed some 200 East Timorese and Australian supporters, denouncing the Dili massacre and calling on the Australian Government to take stronger action in defence of the people of East Timor.

Speakers at the demonstrations included East Timorese representatives Agio Pereira and Ines Almeida, junior Government Minister Warren Snowdon (MHR-Labor), Laurie Ferguson (PET Convenor and MHR-Labor), Chris Gallus (MHR-Liberals), Sen. Syd Spindler (Australian Democrats), a representative for green independent Sen. Jo Vallentine, Russell Rollason (Director, Austr. Council for Overseas Aid), Charles MacDonald (Secretary, Trades and Labour Council), ex-MHR Ken Fry and others.

## A DISMAL DAY FOR INDONESIA (S.M.HERALD)

Source: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14  
November 91 Comment: Full text  
by David Jenkins

Indonesia has a public relations disaster on its hands after the massacre in East Timor by its soldiers.

The killing of dozens of defenceless civilians and the brutality shown towards two American journalists looks set to haunt Indonesia, which is seeking to cap years of economic achievement by chairing a number of high-profile international bodies.

More than 100,000 people have died in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of 1975. But this event has the capacity to galvanise international opinion like nothing else in recent years.

This is a sad day for the East Timorese and a sad day for Indonesia.

It's also a dismal day for Bob Hawke and Gareth Evans.

The massacre has thrown cold water on Canberra's attempts to forge closer relations with Jakarta, at least temporarily.

And it has highlighted profound differences in outlook between Australia and its Asian neighbours, differences the government has seemed at pains to wish away in recent months.

When it comes to human rights abuses, Asian nations prefer to see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil.

This policy has three advantages. Its in keeping with the Asian way of doing things. It saves giving offence. And it offers the comforting knowledge that if you don't criticise the other fellow's human rights abuses, he won't criticise yours.

Mr Hawke may have wept over the Tiananmen massacre and condemned the Chinese government for its treatment of student protesters. The Indonesian Foreign Ministry carefully said nothing, conscious no

doubt that the Indonesian Army has a policy of cracking down hard itself on student protest and conscious too that the army shot as many as 60 Muslims in the Tanjung Priok area of Jakarta as recently as 1984.

Nor has Jakarta made a point of criticising abuses in fellow ASEAN member states. It's a fair bet those ASEAN partners will now turn a blind eye to the killings in East Timor, at least publicly.

Australia can't and won't ignore the killing. Nor will the Europeans or the US. The casualty list is too long.

We should not delude ourselves, of course, that Australian protests will do any good.

Indonesia can afford to ignore our criticism. We may even have to steel ourselves for some soothing suggestions that we really should tone down our criticism if we want to be members of the Asian 'club'.

But protest we will, our obvious interest in establishing good relations notwithstanding.

Jakarta has more of a problem with the United States and the European Community.

The Indonesian annexation of East Timor has been a sore point in the US Congress, where those organising petitions on the subject can still count on support from several hundred Congressmen and Senators.

The bloodbath in Dili - and the fact that this was witnessed by two US journalists, who were themselves bashed - is bound to attract further US condemnation. There will be similar anger in many European countries.

Indonesia has claimed, improbably, that the incident started when the army discovered that more than 100 'undercover separatists' carrying Portuguese-made G-3 rifles and grenades, went to Dili to join the mourners.

This flies in the face of the evidence of witnesses.

But even if the Indonesian claim is true, it is a damning indictment of Jakarta's failure to win the hearts and minds of the East Timorese.

Despite all the money it has pumped in, Indonesia has had difficulty digesting East Timor. Fretilin has been cut off from weapons for 16 years and been pursued by up to 30,000 Indonesia troops. But it still manages to field several hundred guerrillas.

The UN does not yet recognise the territory as part of Indonesia. Nor does the Catholic Church.

Many younger East Timorese appear to be a bitterly anti-Indonesian as their parents.

There is ample evidence that feelings were running high in East Timor ahead of a planned visit by a team of Portuguese parliamentarians, which was cancelled at the last minute. But that alone does not account for the bloodbath.

How could a massacre like this take place?

In some quarters in Australia there is an impression that the Indonesian army is kept on a very slack leash and that military men go around looking for trouble.

This is not the case, at least for the most part. Indonesia is a vast and occasionally volatile nation. Unrest can bubble to the sur-

face quickly. There are powerful racial, religious, ethnic, social and economic differences that can be exploited.

The army has the job of defending the country against external attack and of maintaining internal security. This ensures that senior officers tend to be skilled in handling urban unrest. Indeed, there is a process of natural selection. Those commanders who allow events to get out of hand tend to be cast aside. Those who show they can maintain public order without widespread bloodshed and property damage tend to get on.

What happened in Dili? Did the killing occur because the officer in charge lost control? Sources in Jakarta have said the deputy military commander was killed and that it was a case of 'kill or be killed'. Or is it possible that the army went out of its way to make an example of the demonstrators, as some believe happened at Tanjung Priok in 1984?

It is impossible to answer that question at this stage.

But if recent Indonesian history is any guide it is more likely that the killing was brought on by the overreaction of frightened, inexperienced troops who felt themselves among people who were in every sense 'foreign'.

In other words, a sort of Indonesian My Lai massacre.

Whatever the case, history suggests that the local military commander, Brigadier General Warouw, is for the chop. This won't necessarily be a good thing as he is seen as a moderate.

The Indonesian takeover of East Timor is recalled by many people in this country because of allegations that at least some of the Australian journalists killed at Balibo in 1975 were murdered by Indonesian troops in an attempt to hide the evidence of Indonesian actions.

The evidence of the American journalists who witnessed this massacre suggests that they too were in danger of being killed by troops.

Fortunately, they escaped. But the damning testimony they carried with them is likely to be grist to the mill of those in Jakarta who argue that no point is served in having too many foreign journalists poking around in Indonesia.

Much has been said in Indonesia about the fact that East Timor is now 'open'. And much has been said about a new 'openness' in Indonesian political life.

We might see the shutters come down a bit.

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### **CURFEW IN DILI: RELATIVES OF WOUNDED REFUSED ACCESS TO HOSPITAL (TAPOL 11/14)**

*TAPOL today, 14 November 1991, issued the following Press Release:*

There were scuffles outside Dili General Hospital this morning, Thursday 14 November, when relatives of dozens of

Timorese wounded at the Santa Cruz cemetery on Tuesday, were refused entry by two platoons of troops surrounding the building.

A number of the wounded have died - one source says as many as 14 - but nothing can be confirmed by our source in Dili as relatives are not allowed to visit the living or take home for burial the bodies of the dead. It is thought that the bodies of all those killed are being buried in Taci Tolu, some five kms north of Dili, a place often used since the start of the Indonesian occupation, to bury the victims of Indonesian atrocities.

From 7 pm each evening there is a strict curfew, but even during the day, few people venture out. Most children are not going to school because reports are circulating that troops are preparing to raid several Catholic schools.

Fear pervades the city. Timorese agents working for the army are believed to be preparing to raid the residence of Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church. According to Church sources in Lisbon, a large number of people sought refuge in the Bishop's residence after the massacre on Tuesday. The Bishop has strongly denied, in an interview with one journalist, the army's accusations that the Church has been organising demonstrations. He is virtually incommunicado, his phone is cut off and he has not received any letters, even from Jakarta, for several months.

TAPOL has today called on the British Government to condemn the Santa Cruz massacre and to press for an independent inquiry into the atrocity. A statement issued by Minister of State Mark Lennox-Boyd on Tuesday offering "humanitarian aid" because of the killings was "little short of scandalous", TAPOL said.

TAPOL continues to monitor the situation in Dili closely. Please contact us on 081 771-2904 for further information. If our phone is busy, please fax us on 081 653-0322 and we will phone you back.

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### **HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS MEET DPR MEMBERS (TAPOL)**

*TAPOL report, 14 November 1991.*

Three human rights organisations in Jakarta, Infigit (the Indonesian Front for Human Rights), LPHAM (Institute for the Defence of Human Rights) and the League to Uphold Justice have expressed their profound disquiet at the shootings that occurred in Dili East Timor on 12 November 1991.

Representatives of the three organisations went to the People's Legislative Assembly (DPR) where they met four MPs from the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI).

They urged the DPR to set up a fact-finding commission composed of DPR members, human rights organisations and individuals with a known commitment to the principles of human rights.

The three organisations also urged the DPR to do everything possible to have the persons responsible for the shootings brought to

justice. The DPR should, they said, call on the armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, to publicise the names of the fifty persons who, he admits, have been killed.

The human rights activists also expressed their deep concern at the news being published in the Indonesian press about the events in Dili. They drew attention to comments by Professor Kooijmans, the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, who was in Dili at the time of the massacre.

The three organisations today met Professor Kooijmans in Jakarta. He told them he would be submitting a report about this incident to the Indonesian Government and the UN Secretary-General by January next year. He estimates that between 50 and 60 people were killed when troops opened fire at the Santa Cruz cemetery, but said the death toll could well rise because so many people were seriously wounded. He said he thought that about sixty people are still in detention. He was not able to confirm reports that some detainees who were on the army's blacklist had been executed while in custody.

The human rights delegation said it was essential for the armed forces commander-in-chief to allow relatives of the casualties to collect the bodies of those killed in the massacre for burial. Relatives of those in hospital should be allowed to visit them.

The delegation also reminded the DPR members that there have been many such acts of violence perpetrated by the armed forces, referring in particular to the massacres at Tanjung Priok in September 1984, in Lampung in February 1987, and the killings in Aceh in the past few years.

One member of the delegation, Chris Siner Keytimu, who is also a member of the Petition-of-50 Group, asked the DPR members whether they were aware of a letter written by Bishop Belo to the Indonesian Bishop's Conference. He refused an invitation to attend the annual meeting of the Conference in November this year, in protest at the "arrogance of the armed forces" on 28 October. The DPR members said they knew nothing about the letter. (The text of this letter has been posted earlier on reg.easttimor.)

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### **U.S. CALLS IN INDONESIAN ENVOY OVER EAST TIMOR MASSACRE (REUTER 11/14)**

WASHINGTON, Nov 14, Reuter - The U.S. State Department on Thursday called in Indonesia's ambassador to urge that those responsible for a massacre of civilians in East Timor this week be punished.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly was summoned so that Washington could voice deep concern at the deaths, reported variously to number up to 180, on Tuesday during the funeral of a Timorese separatist.

"We're urging a prompt and complete investigation, followed by appropriate disci-

plining of those determined to have used excessive force," said Boucher.

"We believe that nothing that may have taken place could justify a military reaction of this magnitude resulting in such a large loss of life by unarmed civilians."

Indonesia's army chief in East Timor admitted on Thursday his men were at fault in opening fire but said it was a misunderstanding and that there would be no court-martial.

The army said 19 people were killed and 91 wounded during the funeral but witnesses said more than 50 died and East Timor's Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo quoted reports of up to 180 dead.

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## WASHINGTON DEFENDS MILITARY AID TO JAKARTA (AFP)

WASHINGTON, Nov 14 (AFP) - The U.S. administration defended its military aid to Indonesia Thursday, which has been threatened by Congress after protesters in East Timor were killed in a confrontation with the army.

"We think that a continued and well focused military assistance program for Indonesia can contribute to the professionalization of the Indonesian military," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher.

A total of 2.3 million dollars has been budgeted for military aid for the 1991-1992 fiscal year, which began October 1. The money is only for training and education. "These kinds of programs expose the trainee to democratic ideas and humanitarian standards," he said.

Senator Claiborne Pell, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is preparing a non-binding resolution urging the suspension of Indonesia's military aid.

The State Department spokesman indicated that the administration agreed with Pell on the importance of the incident in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, where estimates of the death toll at the funeral range from the government's 19 to 60 by human rights organisations.

Indonesia, which annexed East Timor in 1976, has blamed separatists for the violence. "We believe that nothing that may have taken place could justify a military reaction of this magnitude resulting in such a large loss of life by unarmed civilians," Boucher said.

Indonesia's ambassador, Abdel Rahman Ramly, met with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Kenneth Quinn Thursday, Boucher said.

Quinn let the Indonesian envoy know of Washington's "very serious concern".

"We're urging a prompt and complete investigation, followed by appropriate disciplining of those determined to have used excessive force," Boucher said.

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## ALATAS: PEOPLE BEHIND EAST TIMOR SHOOTING WILL BE PUNISHED (AFP)

SEOUL, Nov 14 (AFP) - Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Thursday the people behind this week's shooting in East Timor would be punished after a full inquiry into the incident.

"We are going to investigate what has happened," Alatas told a news conference at the end of a two-day regional economic meeting in Seoul. "Whoever is at fault will be pursued according to the law."

Alatas also charged Portugal with exaggerating the extent of guerilla activity on the island, which Lisbon ruled as a colony until 1976 when it was annexed by Indonesia.

The United Nations still considers East Timor to be Portuguese territory.

Alatas said there was a "small remnant" of opposition "which Portugal has tried to present to the world in a rather distorted fashion."

He also said Jakarta was not responsible for October's cancellation of a visit to the island by a group of Portuguese members of parliament due to have taken place this month.

"With all due respect, I think it was the Portuguese who grabbed at the chance to get out," he said.

The Indonesian foreign minister said Tuesday's shooting in the East Timor capital of Dili occurred in "very unfortunate circumstances," but he rejected suggestions that the government was responsible.

The Indonesian army said in Dili on Thursday that 19 people were killed and 91 wounded when its troops opened fire on a crowd Tuesday.

Regional military commander General Sintong Panjaitan expressed "sadness" at the tragedy as he released the first official figures, which are lower than those given by other sources putting the death toll at between 20 to 115.

The Indonesian human rights organization Tapol earlier in London put the toll at 60, and said the army fired into a crowd of unarmed civilians mourning a young man killed by the army on October 28.

But the Indonesian Army said the victims were independence demonstrators who oppose Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony and were looking for confrontation.

"This is not something the government has ordered or condoned," he said. "We indeed very much regret what has happened."

Efforts by the military commander in Dili to relax security may have inadvertently led to the shooting, said Alatas, who has been attending a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

Alatas said he was still unaware of the details of the shooting, but offered an official version of the incident.

"After mass, the churchgoers went out in the streets, presumably to go to the cemetery

to place flowers," he said, dismissing reports of a funeral procession.

"They were soon joined by a group of younger people who we believe have their own views of the politics of the island," he said.

"The crowd became very wild and unruly. They started throwing stones at houses nearby, shouting slogans and unfurling banners."

Alatas said the deputy military commander of the region used "persuasive efforts" to calm the crowd down.

"These persuasive efforts were met by greater violence -- it was there he was stabbed, attacked by machetes," the minister said.

The commander was rushed to hospital, where he later died, but the procession continued and the military forces were strengthened, Alatas said.

"Then it became a very, very wild melee," he said. "The security forces had to take this action which I think we very much regret."

Alatas asserted that "Indonesian military forces are quite disciplined" and noted that "several grenades" had been found among those in the procession.

The Indonesian minister said he "expected" the international outcry after the shooting as "Timor has been quiet for some time now."

Problems among young people in East Timor are "economic rather than political in nature," he said, referring to the number of unemployed university graduates returning from Bandung, Surabaya and elsewhere.

"There is simply not enough jobs to get college graduates quickly absorbed," he said.

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## ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP SHELTERS 257 EAST TIMORESE AFTER DILI SHOOTING (AFP)

By PASCAL MALLET

DILI, East Timor, Nov 14 (AFP) - East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo said Thursday that 257 young East Timorese were given refuge by his episcopate office shortly after Indonesian troops fired on a crowd of mourners here Tuesday.

The shootings, in which up to 50 people were killed, occurred at the Santa Cruz cemetery during a memorial service for one of two young Timorese killed in mysterious circumstances here on October 28.

"On Tuesday morning, 257 young men came here to seek refuge, coming from the cemetery in different ways," Belo, a native of East Timor, told AFP. He said he had personally accompanied some of them back to their own homes later the same day and on Wednesday.

Belo said he went to the local military hospital Wednesday and counted 89 young men with either bullet or stab wounds, or both.

"As to the exact death toll, I don't know," Belo said, adding that while the military maintained there were 13 dead other sources, including witnesses, had told him between 50 and 80 people died in the shooting.

He said an army major had been stabbed during the clashes Tuesday and he believed that could have sparked the soldiers' fury.

Belo said that since October 28, when two Timorese were killed during a clash between separatist and security forces near the Motael church, he had been cut off from the rest of the world.

"My telephone has not been functioning since October 28...It is not a coincidence. Every time there is a special event here, my phone doesn't work," Belo said.

Since then, he had also not received any letter from the Vatican or from the apostolic nunciature in Jakarta.

However "I have received anonymous letters and phone calls, certain of them calling me pig," he said.

The bishop, who unlike other Indonesian Bishops is directly responsible to the Vatican, said he had met with visiting U.N. Human Rights Commission Representative Pieter Kooymans and East Timor Military Commander Brigadier General Warouw on Wednesday but declined to give details.

He said he had also sent a letter to Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carascalao refuting charges by Indonesian authorities that the church and members of the religious community had some responsibility for the series of incidents on October 28 and Tuesday.

The accusations were "false," said Belo.

Belo also said in his letter that one of the two victims of the October 28 incident was known to work for Indonesia's security agency and the other was a separatist. He said that incident was a result of "provocation" by the authorities.

Tuesday's memorial service had been for the separatist.

Indonesian Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno told journalists at the presidential office Wednesday that Tuesday's death toll was still being established but it would stand at below 50.

He also said religious leaders should ensure that churches and other holy places were not used for destructive activities, including efforts "to fish for unrest."

The military had said that the search of the Dili church compound yielded anti-government flags, banners and posters as well as knives and sticks.

Questioned on what were his intentions in the near future, Belo said that his duty was to remain among his people and "suffer in joy" while waiting for better times and a peaceful solution to the problems of East Timor.

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1976.

The Fretilin, a pro-independence movement, has since sought independence from Jakarta for East Timor, while the United

Nations still regards Lisbon as the administrator of the territory.

## PEACE HOPES DOGGED BY MILITARY SHOOTINGS (AGE)

*Comment by Jill Jolliffe, The Age, 14.11.91.  
Dateline: Lisbon Wednesday*

Yesterday's massacre in Dili followed months of mounting expectations and tension for the population of East Timor.

Since East Timor came under Indonesian control in 1975 there has been consistent testimony to arbitrary killings by military authorities from refugees who have fled to Australia or Portugal. In hundreds of interviews I have conducted with them through the years, one phrase recurs as the motivation for leaving: "There is no rule of law." By this they mean that people may be imprisoned or tortured or shot for any arbitrary reason.

The only other example of mass killing in Dili, the capital, since 1975 were the public executions carried out on 7 and 8 December 1975 of those indicated by pro-Indonesian informers. Those killed included a non-political person, the wife of the then Fretilin leader, Nicolau Lobato, and an Australian journalist, Roger East.

In the years since, there have been other massacres, but not in the cities. Carried out away from prying eyes and against illiterate peasants even less likely to exercise power in the media than the lonely voices occasionally heard from Dili, the killings figure regularly in reports, and photographs, smuggled out by the resistance as well as from independent sources.

In other words, what happened at Santa Cruz cemetery yesterday seemed to be not much different from what has been happening for 16 years in rural areas.

The most notable of these massacres was at Kraras, in August 1983 when hundreds of people at least were executed by firing squad in reprisal for an attack by Fretilin on a group of army road engineers.

The Kraras massacre was one of the first occasions for a public stand by the Catholic bishop of East Timor, Carlos Belo, a man anguished by the weight of his task. Moreover, there were similarities with the Santa Cruz massacre. Both were conducted at a time when there were prospects for ending the war in Timor.

In 1983 the resistance leader Mr Xanana Gusmao had only months before sat down at the negotiating table with Indonesian officers including the military commander, General Purwanto, Captain Iswanto and Colonel Willem da Costa.

They met on equal and dignified terms and negotiated a ceasefire. The tape recording I heard of that meeting showed that this particular group of officers were weary of the war and interested in ending the killing.

The ceasefire collapsed after three months and Kraras followed, like a lesson for those who would dare to think in terms of peace.

General Purwanto has since been removed from power and Captain Iswanto reportedly died from poisoning in Kalimantan.

The planned Portuguese parliamentary mission to Timor was not important because of the report it would write, which would possibly be as mediocre as others, or even because it should have been accompanied - if Indonesian censorship had not intervened - by a group of foreign correspondents experienced in Timor and fluent in Portuguese. It came at a time when peace prospects had resurfaced.

In the past two years Mr Xanana has built his strategy around a possible diplomatic solution. There were signs that successors to General Purwanto were interested in opening the way for a meeting with the guerilla leader, with the implication that the bilateral Indonesian-Portuguese negotiations at the United Nations would be enlarged to include his representatives.

One omen was the entry into Timor a couple of months earlier of the Portuguese journalist Mr Mario Rabalo with a visa from the armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno, and a tacit understanding that he could interview Mr Xanana, which he succeeded in doing, although he then suffered a shake-down administered by other military personnel.

Just as Kraras spelled an end to peace prospects in 1983, so the brutal killings at Santa Cruz cemetery seem to have dashed all hopes of an opening, of an Indonesian glasnost starting with East Timor. The old lawless military has asserted its supremacy.

[While the lawless military may have won the day in terms of the body count, some observers think that the Dili massacre may constitute a turning point towards a solution in East Timor as international pressure on Indonesia could increase to an extent that may force Jakarta to make further concessions on East Timor after declaring the "province" open nearly 3 years ago. MW]

## DILI MASSACRE - AUSTRALIAN PRESS (CIET)

*peg:cietact reg.easttimor Nov 14, 1991*

After covering the Dili massacre in rather tentative articles yesterday, all major Australian dailies carry lead articles with large front-page headlines plus additional background articles on the massacre today [14 Nov].

The Australian leads with a headline "Punish Timor killers, Hawke urges Suharto" and a report "Death stared us straight in the face" underneath a picture of Amy Goodwin and Allan Nairn at Santa Cruz cemetery.

The Sydney Morning Herald has an 8-column headline "Massacre on our doorstep" followed by a report on Nairn and Goodwin entitled "They simply walked up and gunned them down", a commentary by David Jenkins "A dismal day for Indonesia" and a full page 13 under the heading "Massacre in Timor".

The Age leads "PM deplores killings - Indonesia blames provocation by demonstrators for Dili attack", followed by a report on Nairn and Goodwin, entitled "It's terror, complete terror" and two half-pages under the headline "The Timor killings."

The Canberra Times leads with "Massacre: envoy is defiant" and a picture of ambassador Siagian, followed by a report entitled "NZ man dead, another injured".

All papers carry editorials on the Dili massacre and the East Timor conflict [all of which struggle painfully to reconcile Indonesian genocide in East Timor with Australian human rights concerns and "realistic" or "mature" relations between the 2 countries; none makes any connection between the bullets used in the massacre and Australian military aid].

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### **NEW ZEALANDER CONFIRMED KILLED IN EAST TIMOR SHOOTINGS (REUTER)**

DILI, East Timor, Nov 14, Reuter - Indonesia confirmed on Thursday that a New Zealand student was among those killed when its army opened fire on mourners at a cemetery here on Tuesday.

Local military commander Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw told reporters that New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj was among the 19 officially listed as killed.

Unconfirmed reports say more than 100 were killed when troops fired into a crowd mourning the death two weeks earlier of an independence sympathiser during riots in the East Timorese capital Dili.

The shootings in East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976, have triggered international outrage. Jakarta has been accused of consistent human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony.

Earlier on Thursday, New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger expressed strong concern over the shooting of Bamadhaj. He has sent a diplomat to the territory to investigate.

Bamadhaj, in his early 20s, was working in East Timor as a translator for the Community Aid Abroad charity.

Warouw said there had been confusion over identifying Bamadhaj, who was of Malaysian origin.

The student was buried in an unmarked grave on the outskirts of Dili immediately after the shootings.

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### **INDONESIAN FLAG BURNED DURING PROTEST AT CANBERRA EMBASSY (REUTER)**

CANBERRA, Nov 14, Reuter - About 200 demonstrators burned the Indonesian flag outside Jakarta's embassy in Canberra on Thursday in protest against the massacre of at least 50 people in East Timor.

One demonstrator attempted unsuccessfully to throw the burning flag over the em-

bassy wall as scuffles broke out between protesters and police. No arrests were made.

Earlier the protesters, including members of Australia's East Timorese community, demonstrated outside parliament house, calling on Prime Minister Bob Hawke to cancel a planned trip to Indonesia next February.

At least 50 mourners were killed on Tuesday when Indonesian troops fired into a crowd at a cemetery in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

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### **JAKARTA WILL NOT GIVE UP EAST TIMOR, INDONESIA'S BALTIC STATE (REUTER)**

*By Jonathan Thatcher*

JAKARTA, Nov 14, Reuter - Indonesia will never give up the parched territory of East Timor it annexed 16 years ago, afraid that any concession to separatists will trigger the disintegration of its huge and very diverse archipelago.

But diplomats say the latest blood-letting in the former Portuguese colony will only make it harder for Jakarta to win over a population long disenchanted with life as Indonesians.

Jakarta sparked an international outcry on Tuesday when its army opened fire on mourners in East Timor killing up to 100 people, with at least 89 seriously wounded.

"No way would Indonesia allow East Timor to go on its own," one Asian diplomat said. "It's a very difficult country to hold together. Indonesia can't afford to give any encouragement to any secessionist movement."

"If one goes then others will follow...Indonesia was very cautious about recognising the three Baltic states."

The Indonesian army swept into East Timor -- Jakarta already owned the western half of the island -- on December 7, 1975, just 48 hours after a visit by then U.S. president Ford and his secretary of state Henry Kissinger.

Jakarta says it was forced to go in as civil war broke out after the Portuguese colonial rulers of three centuries left and the nominally-communist Fretilin seemed to be taking over.

"Jakarta saw it like another Cuba on its doorstep," said another diplomat, noting the fiercely anti-communist stance of President Suharto who took over after crushing a coup attempt in 1965 blamed on communists.

By July the following year, East Timor had become Indonesia's newest province, a situation still not recognised by the United Nations.

Jakarta has been fighting an annual battle in the United Nations since the annexation to prevent a debate on its rule there and to force it to hold a referendum on self-determination.

Diplomats estimate that as many as 200,000 East Timorese have died under Indonesian rule from war and famine in the early 1980s and human rights organisations

have accused Jakarta of large-scale summary execution, torture and rape.

The territory is among the more beautiful of Indonesia's 13,000 islands, with crystal blue seas and white beaches and some of its towns still retain their old Portuguese colonial trappings.

It lies nearer to Australia than its masters in Jakarta, at the eastern end of Indonesia's string of islands which embrace a range of societies from ancient Hindu cultures to stone-age tribes.

East Timor's few claims to wealth lie mainly in coffee and sandalwood.

The latest killings, say diplomats, will only fuel the hatred of Indonesia, a feeling that brutal rule over 16 years has ensured already runs deep.

They estimate well over 10,000 soldiers are stationed there to control a population of more than 600,000 and battle a tiny group of separatist guerrillas.

Even the military admit that the Fretilin guerrillas are little more than a pest and that the real problem is to win over the hearts of a population, especially the youth, who feel that they have gained nothing under Jakarta rule.

Indonesia says it has improved the lot of the East Timorese beyond anything they could have expected under centuries of Portuguese neglect.

However, locals complain that it is outsiders who get most of the jobs that come with economic development as Indonesia pumps aid into its youngest province.

It could take generations to win over the East Timorese, diplomats said.

"This (killing) doesn't make it any easier," said a European diplomat.

Another said if there was a referendum on self-determination the majority in East Timor would vote against Indonesian rule.

"But nobody really understands how it could survive alone," he added.

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### **INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES CHIEF WARNS OTHER COUNTRIES AGAINST "MEDDLING" (AP)**

*By GHAFUR FADYL*

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Nov 14 (AP) -- The country's military chief today told other countries not to meddle in Indonesia after the army's bloody suppression of a pro-independence demonstration in East Timor drew international condemnation.

The government of President Suharto said it arrested 42 people in connection with Tuesday's demonstration, during which dozens of protesters were killed when troops opened fire.

The Indonesian government says troops reacted in self-defense, but an American reporter injured in the incident said the soldiers fired unprovoked.

Indonesian authorities today revised their death toll downward from as many as 50 to 19. Human rights groups said from 50 to more than 100 were killed.

The protesters had gathered to honor of two men who East Timor nationalists say were killed by Indonesian troops.

The United States, Australia, Portugal, the European Community and the United Nations condemned the use of deadly force in the oil-rich former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia forcibly annexed 15 years ago.

Gen. Try Sutrisno, head of the armed forces, said in response that the issue was solely a domestic concern.

"We hope that foreign countries do not meddle in the internal affairs of Indonesia because it involves the sovereignty of Indonesia," he said.

Sutrisno, when pressed by reporters, said the government's downwardly revised death toll "does not mean that the government has no regard for human rights.

"We are a big nation that upholds human rights since the days of our forefathers," the general said.

Sutrisno said troops were forced to take tough action because the demonstrators attacked them.

He said Wednesday that the demonstrators were influenced by FRETILIN, the Portuguese acronym for the leftist movement that has long fought for East Timor's independence. He said several Fretilin leaders were arrested among the demonstrators.

There was no immediate comment from Suharto. The government said today that he plans to travel to Africa and Latin America on Tuesday.

The government says it will thoroughly investigate the incident in the provincial capital of Dili.

On Wednesday, Jose Ramos Horta of the Timorese National Resistance Council, an umbrella group for pro-independence guerrillas, students and other factions opposed to Indonesian control over East Timor, was quoted as saying the guerrillas would strike back.

Circumstances surrounding the deaths of the two men killed Oct. 28 were in dispute.

East Timorese refugees in Portugal maintain the two nationalists died when Indonesian security forces stormed a church where they had taken shelter.

But East Timor Gov. Mario Viegas Carrascalao said the two died in a stone-throwing brawl outside the church that involved youths -- not security forces.

Portugal gave up East Timor, the eastern half of Timor island, in 1975 after three centuries of rule.

Indonesia then launched a bloody invasion and annexed the island, whose occupants are mostly Christians in contrast to mostly Muslim Indonesia.

## INDONESIA ADMITS IT ERRED IN TIMOR, SAYS NEW ZEALANDER DEAD (REUTER)

By Moses Manoharan

DILI, East Timor, Nov 14, Reuter - Indonesia's army chief in East Timor admitted on Thursday his men were at fault in opening fire on a crowd of mourners in an incident which sparked international outrage.

"It was a misunderstanding by the soldiers and they shot because of the tension," said East Timor military commander Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw.

The army says 19 people were killed and 91 injured on Tuesday when troops opened fire on mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery. Witnesses say more than 50 died and East Timor's Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo quoted reports putting the death toll as high as 180.

"The world is pointing a finger at us. I accept that. I am very sorry. I regret this," Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, the Bali-based regional military commander, told reporters in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony Indonesia annexed in 1976.

But he insisted there would be no court martial and repeated army statements that the troops in the end had had no choice but to fire even if it was a mistake.

Warouw confirmed that New Zealand student Kamal Bamadhaj, in his early 20s and working as a translator for the Community Aid Abroad charity, was among the dead.

Warouw said the dead were all buried immediately afterwards in unmarked graves in a deserted cemetery on the outskirts of Dili.

In Seoul, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the government had not ordered troops to open fire and he regretted the loss of life.

"The security forces had to take action," he said. "We very much regret it has happened. This was not something the government had ordered or condoned. What is in it for us?"

Alatas said reports varied on the toll, but "in my best estimate there were 20 dead, maybe more. A larger number, in the 60s I think, or in the 70s, were wounded."

Some soldiers were also hurt, he said.

Alatas, in Seoul to attend the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, said details were contradictory and sketchy and an inquiry had been launched. "We want to know what went wrong," he told reporters.

Bishop Belo, powerful head of the local Roman Catholic church to which most Timorese belong, said witnesses had told him troops fired into the crowd without any warning.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quotes sources contacted in East Timor as saying Indonesian troops had dug mass graves for the dead at Tassitolo, five km (three miles) from Dili, and four lorryloads of corpses had been taken there.

The agency said the army used the site regularly as an execution ground between 1978 and 1980.

Indonesia still keeps more than 10,000 soldiers in East Timor even though Fretilin guerrillas fighting its rule have dwindled to a small band of around 50, diplomats say.

A Fretilin spokesman in Sydney said Indonesian President Suharto and Defence Minister Benny Murdani would pay for the killings and his group would step up its campaign.

Several countries along with the European Community and the United Nations have expressed horror over the incident, one of the most brutal since Indonesia annexed the territory.

Australian ambassador to Jakarta, Philip Flood, told Reuters senior Indonesian ministers had described the incident to him as a tragic over-reaction.

Jakarta has been accused of consistent human rights abuses in the territory. Diplomats estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died in war and famine since they came under Indonesian rule, which is still not internationally recognised.

A spokesman for the Timorese opposition in Lisbon said the the military was continuing its crackdown on dissidents and had spread its search into the interior of East Timor.

On Wednesday, Indonesia bowed to international pressure and military commander-in-chief Try (pronounced tree) Sutrisno promised an investigation.

Panjaitan said the day began with a procession of 2,500 leaving a memorial service at Santa Cruz cemetery for a separatist sympathiser killed in riots two weeks earlier.

The procession went to a hotel to meet a United Nations representative, Pieter Kooijmans, who was there to examine allegations of human rights abuses.

Panjaitan said the procession was turned back to the cemetery and 1,000 more people joined in. Their way was blocked by soldiers at whom they began hurling abuse.

He said someone in the crowd fired a pistol and another threw a grenade with the pin still in. An officer retrieved the grenade and shouted "Don't shoot" to his men but they started firing, Panjaitan said.

"The first round was in the air. The crowd advanced and gave the troops no option but to fire into the crowd."

He said the earlier stabbing of a major had made the troops from the crack Siliwangi division very emotional.

In Seoul, Alatas said the crowd had attacked and seriously injured the deputy commander of the local battalion with machetes when he told them to halt.

## SOLDIERS MISHEARS "DON'T FIRE" ORDER - JAKARTA. (SMH)

*The Sydney Morning Herald, Nov. 15.*

Timor. Dili, thursday: Indonesia said today troops shot dead 19 civilians, including a

New Zealander, on Tuesday because soldiers misheard an order.

"There was a misunderstanding," the regional military chief, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, told journalists here, saying the army deeply regretted the "tragedy".

"Soldiers thought they heard the order 'fire' when the order was don't fire," he said.

In the first official announcement of casualties, General Panjaitan said the 19 dead were all men aged between about 20 and 25. He said 91 people, including two soldiers were injured. The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, tonight broke his silence over the massacre, saying that the Government in Jakarta neither condoned nor ordered the killings.

General Panjaitan said troops opened fire into a crowd of about 3,500 people beside the local cemetery after a pistol shot was fired from thrown towards the soldiers. The grenade did not explode. He said troops later found rifles, grenades, pistols and knives in the cemetery which had been dumped by people fleeing the shooting.

The roman catholic Bishop of East Timor, Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo, today condemned the shooting as a tragedy and accused soldiers of not firing warning shots first.

The army insisted warning shots were fired. The 19 dead, including New Zealander Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj, who was studying in Sydney, were buried in unmarked graves in a small village 12 kilometers from Dili yesterday.

Mr. Bamadhaj's death was confirmed by local military commander, Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw. [Mr. Bamadhaj is reported to have been shot at least twice. Bishop Belo said some of those in hospital had been beaten so badly their faces were almost unrecognisable. Dili appeared calm today and there were relatively few soldiers on the street.

*TOM ORMONDE, Herald correspondent, reports from Seoul:*

Mr. Alatas, speaking to journalists at an international conference in the South Korean capital, declared that he regretted the killing "very much" and promised an inquiry. He said that "whatever was at fault will be pursued in accordance with the law".

He said the killings were "not something that the Government ordered". Mr. Alatas said he was still seeking a more detailed picture of what happened, but sought to dispel any impression that the incident was unprovoked and denied that it manifestes a discipline problem in the Indonesian military.

"Give us a break. The picture is not of very peaceful, gospel singing people suddenly being shot at. Come on."

He said that from what he had been told, the problems started when the group of people leaving the church to go to the nearby cemetery were joined by others. "The crowd became very wild and unruly, presumably because, apart from regular churchgoers they

were joined by younger people whom we believe to have their own views about [the East Timor issue].

"The security officers, led by the deputy commander of the local battalion.... tried to tell them :Look, you can demonstrate, but please don't be so wild, don't be unruly. Don't destroy property along the way and things like that.

"These persuasive efforts were met by even greater violence, unfortunately, and it was then that he [the deputy commander] was stabbed. He was attacked by a machete.

"The procession went on until the cemetery. It went on very wild. And so the security unit that had first tried to stop them was joined by other security units.

"Then it became a very w (rest of article not available)

### AMNESTY INT'L APPALLED AT MASSACRE CALLS FOR IMPARTIAL INQUIRY (A.I.)

*The following is a News Release from Amnesty International on Thursday, 14 November 1991. Unabridged.*

Amnesty International today (14 November) urged the Indonesian government to ensure the promised investigation into the graveside massacre of around 100 people in East Timor on Tuesday ends in justice. "This killing is appalling, and what's worse, it is just the latest in 15 years of outrages in East Timor," said Amnesty International. "We are hoping now for a serious investigation into the incident - not just simply rhetoric." To date, no thorough investigation into human rights violations has ever been undertaken by the Indonesian government in East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1975. Amnesty International's repeated requests for permission to visit the territory has always been refused by the government and the organisation continues to have serious concerns about human rights there. "We want to see a full impartial investigation, preferably one conducted by authorities from outside Indonesia," said Amnesty International. "It is time the international community took stock of what is happening in East Timor, and shouldered some of its responsibility for bringing these human rights violations to an end." Military authorities said at first that not more than 100 people were killed and about 40 injured when soldiers opened fire on mourners at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital. Later, they acknowledged only 19 deaths. As well as those killed, eyewitnesses said scores were seriously wounded. An investigation into the massacre has been promised. Amnesty International is pressing for an investigation to be started immediately. "We believe the government must demonstrate its commitment to this investigation," said Amnesty International. "One way would be to invite in the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions to observe." The Dili

massacre comes in the wake of the cancellation of a visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation, which had been arranged through negotiations facilitated by the UN Secretary General. Scores of people are believed to have been arrested in connection with the incident and Amnesty International is seriously concerned for their safety. The organisation is urging that those detained solely for their non-violent political activities or beliefs be immediately released and that, following their release, their safety be guaranteed. It is also calling on the Indonesian authorities to ensure that those responsible for extrajudicial executions or for the ill-treatment of prisoners be brought promptly to justice. Those killed and wounded were among hundreds of people who had gone to the grave of Sebastiao (Gomes) Rangel, a young man killed on 28 October when Indonesian troops entered the parish church of Motael where he and about 20 other political activists had been hiding. According to eyewitnesses, the mourners had attended a memorial mass for Sebastiao (Gomes) Rangel at about 7.00 am before walking to the Santa Cruz cemetery where he was buried. At the cemetery, security forces reportedly opened fire on the mourners, leaving many dead. Eyewitnesses said that some members of the group had shouted pro-independence slogans and a flag of the national organisation Fretilin could be seen, but that otherwise the procession was peaceful. Amnesty International's concerns in East Timor includes persistent reports of extrajudicial executions by Indonesian security forces, hundreds of unresolved "disappearances", unfair trials of political prisoners and a pattern of short-term detention and widespread torture.

### BOB MUNTZ PRESS CONFERENCE

**Another eyewitness of Dili massacre speaks**

*The following is an accurate account of all the main points covered in Bob Muntz's Press Conference held at CAA Headquarters, 156 George St, Fitzroy 3065, Melbourne at 2pm 15/11/91. Compiled by volunteers at the AFCOA Human Rights Office, 124 Napier St, Fitzroy, 3065 Australia*

Chairperson: David Armstrong, Exec. director, Community Aid Abroad

Bob Muntz said that this is only the latest of the of the massacres, killings, tortures over the last 16 years in East Timor. - the difference about this one is its ferocity and the presence of eye witnesses from overseas. - there are 40 000 to 50 000 troops in ET - they see themselves as an army of occupation. Many are in civilian dress. The ET see them as an army of occupation.

CAA

1. welcomes the significant shift in Australian Government policy (calling for unconditional talks between Fretilin and the

Indonesian). CAA calls for sending the Foreign Minister (Australia) to Dili to facilitate these talks.

2. continual fear in ET convinces CAA of the need for the UN to send a peace keeping force now.
  3. immediate suspension of Australian Government's supply of military equipment and aid to Indonesia.
  4. calls for postponement of Prime Minister Hawke's proposed visit to Indonesia.
- BOB MUNTZ first told what happened. Arrived 7/11/91. Left 13/11/91. On Tuesday (12/11) and Wednesday (13/11) he managed to listen to the BBC reports of the Indonesian accounts of the shootings, demonstration, and numbers dead. On Wed. he read Jakarta Post of the same. BM stated that the claims of the premeditated well-orchestrated and unprovoked attack principally against the youth in Dili who verbally and on their banners were calling for a free and independent Timor - "free of occupation". BM feels this was the main reason for the Indonesians opening fire on the people. BM refutes claims made by the Indonesians that - a grenade was thrown (but did not explode) - a shot was fired from the crowd - some Timorese had rifles and other weapons

He was in a good position to observe that these claims were false.

6.00am (Tuesday) attended church service. Mass was conducted with all the dignity and decorum on would expect - attended by 2000 people. They then went into the street, unfurled banners in both Portuguese and English calling for George Bush to help ET. At first he was behind the main rally but certainly for the last half of the procession to the cemetery he was close in and could confidently say there were no provocative actions. A handful of guards outside a military post approximately 30 metres from the road were the only military seen during the progress of the procession to the cemetery. People in the procession walked by them without saying anything to them. Likewise the guards said nothing to them. The people continued down past the school and stopped at the gates of the cemetery. He was moving among the people taking photographs.

15 minutes later BM saw a military vehicle and he and the other seven or eight other tourists with him were fearful - but not of a massive onslaught of gunfire. At the time they were on the far side of the crowd. They saw the back of the vehicle open and about 20 soldiers get out - uniformed, armed, and using riot shields. 20 paces or so from the crowd they opened fire and intense fire continued for about 2 minutes. Not hundreds but thousands of rounds were fired from many many guns. There was no possibility of cover. As he ran - down the street - among the houses, he did not look behind him so he could not say how many bodies fell. (He ran to the corner of the

cemetery, around the corner for approximately 50 metres, then through house yards, over fences, towards the beach and towards his hotel). He heard sporadic fire as he ran - 6 to 12 shots at a time on either side of him among the houses. 30 metres ahead he saw an Indonesian soldier coming out of a house; there was a small burst of gunfire, BM and a number of ET youths with him ran into a house. The children screamed - and he saw that it was at the sight of the blood on him. He had no memory of pain.

The sporadic firing lasted for about 30 minutes. They continued through the houses until the firing ceased. In one house a man immediately offered to bandage him and offered to hide him in his home, telling him to stay there. The man went out and returned after a brief time with a Red Cross worker, Antonio Amati, who offered to take him to the public hospital. Antonio told BM that he had taken KAMAHL BAMADHAJ (University of New South Wales student), to hospital after finding him bleeding badly at the cemetery. The military wanted to take Kamahl away, but Antonio argues with them until they allowed him to take him to Dili hospital. He lost consciousness and died later. BM declined medical attention, fearful of arrest while in hospital. Two East Timorese came and offered to take him to his hotel in their vehicle. BM spoke with other witness, obtaining the following corroborative stories:

- 1) 2 tourists (British nationals) who were present at the cemetery.

(A) one, wanting to take photographs of the laying of the wreaths, arrived early and was inside the cemetery when the firing began. He took shelter in a brick (or concrete) chapel. He saw Indonesian troops fire - sustained firing - into the cemetery where many had run. Among them were many young children. 4 girls of about 10 years, petrified, sheltered under his body - they were convinced they were going to be shot. "many many people had suffered gunshot wounds". The Indonesians found him, beat him with rifle butts and took him into police custody. He was released an hour or so later.

(B) the second of these tourists shelter behind gravestones - saw about 100 lying on the ground. Did not know how many were dead. - saw Indonesian troops beating the wounded on the ground with rifle butts and their boots. - was threatened, arrested and taken to the police station and held there till about 5.30pm.

This person, while at the police station counted 12 military trucks arrive with approximately 30 East Timorese in each stripped naked to the waist and bound.

- 2) Another tourist escaped to the hotel (same hotel as BM), rode his motorbike to the cemetery after things had quietened down. The whole area was cordoned off and there

appeared to be house-to-house searches under way.

- 3) BM visited an ET nurse for medical assistance three times. WED. AM - he was told by her that they had heard that THE INDONESIANS HAD SAID THAT 84 HAD DIED at the cemetery on Tuesday and 13 after being taken to the hospital = 97 dead on Tuesday. BM attempted to verify this report and is satisfied that this statement had been made cannot reveal his source. BM remarked that 97 deaths by late Tuesday afternoon was consistent with the intensity of gunfire. Most Timorese are fearful over what happened to those in detention.
- 4) A youth, released on Wednesday am, from Pol... police station near the Hotel New Resende was held with 13 others on Tuesday afternoon. He was released because the military commander of the station had been commander in this youth's village. "He is one of my citizens! Release him!" He had been interrogated by Lieut-Col Gatot(?) between 9-10pm. The 13 were told "Go and join your friends who have already died!" they had not returned by the time this youth was released on Wednesday am.
- 5) Another informant reported seeing 2 military trucks leaving the military hospital. 2 soldiers plus the driver were in the front; the covered trucks were tightly tied down at the back. The informant was sure they were not empty. One of them went east out of Dili (towards Bacau), the other went west (towards Lake Tasitolo). The informant and BM were concerned that disposing of bodies would enable the Indonesians to give out a false number of deaths. BM, one to one and a half hours before leaving the hotel on Wednesday at 12 noon, saw:

- a bulldozer followed by a prime mover (big truck) with a machine gun mounted on its roof, manned by a military officer. They headed east out of Dili. BM asked - what could a bulldozer and a prime mover protected by a machine gun mean? Other than . . .

In answering questions from the Press, BM stated:

Mass 6.15am. Finished 7.00am. Massacre approx 7.45am. The massacre was preplanned or they would not have fired in such an ordered way. It was well orchestrated and it was unprovoked.

The firing was not directed at particular people in the crowd but was indiscriminate. Very young children were among those shot. Consistent volley of gunfire.

No confidence in the Indonesian military conducting a proper enquiry.

**TIMOR MORTIS (ECONOMIST)**

Source: *The (London)Economist*, Vol 321  
Date: 16 November 1991 Storytype: news  
item unabridged

Martyrs were needed to revive the support that the East Timorese think they are owed by the world. Indonesian troops have supplied around 50, splattering their blood on a chapel. Indonesia, which already owned West Timor, grabbed the eastern half of the island after Portugal, in the throes of its revolution of 1975, pulled out. In the following year Indonesia claimed to have annexed the place and its 600,000 people. Nobody else recognised that claim by Indonesia. Least of all did the East Timorese - Roman Catholics, used to being half-governed in a lazy Portuguese way - acknowledge their new, strange, Muslim rulers. The United Nations has been trying to sort out the mess. Portugal, with UN support, arranged a mission to the island that was due to arrive there in late October, with journalists to watch them work. The Indonesians said one of those journalists, an Australian, had links with the Timorese independence movement, Fretilin. They called the trip off. Independent-minded Timorese demonstrated in protest. Indonesian soldiers shot a few activists dead. On October 28 (sic), to commemorate one of their casualties, some 2000 Timorese gathered in front of the church where he died. There was a brief scuffle, the soldiers opened fire, and the square was full of martyrs. Ironically, the Indonesians had seen the Portuguese mission as a way to persuade the UN to recognise their annexation.

**TENSION THROUGHOUT EAST TIMOR (TAPOL 15 NOV).**

TAPOL report, 15 November 1991

A number of youths were arrested in Ainaro on 12 November, the day the Santa Cruz massacre occurred in Dili. So far, the names of only two of the persons arrested are available: Cesar Araujo, 24 years old, and Hendriki da Costa, 20 years old. They are still being held in Ainaro kodim (district military command) where they have been tortured.

Our sources in East Timor report that the atmosphere in many districts is extremely tense because of high-level army activity and clampdowns. Communications difficulties make it extremely difficult to obtain detailed information about arrests and atrocities outside Dili. Our contact in Dili said today that soldiers in the town are arresting people in the streets who bear signs of having been wounded. Many of those injured during the massacre fled from the scene and avoided going to hospital, for fear of being taken into custody. Reports circulating in Australia that Bishop Belo has been arrested are not true but his residence is under constant surveillance and he is continually being threatened. It is not clear how many people are still taking refuge in his home. After the massacre, no fewer than

257 came to his home for protection. Meanwhile, East Timorese students in Bali have been privately informed that the local army command intends to clamp down on them over the weekend. They fear that many of them will be arrested.

**257 TAKING REFUGE WITH BISHOP BELO (LBH)**

LBH press release, Nov. 15

The Indonesian Foundation for Legal Aid Institutes issued a press release today, Friday, 15 November 1991 which makes the following points:

That the death toll from the act of violence on 12 November is estimated at more than 50;

That the 89 people who have been hospitalised are suffering from very serious injuries;

That 42 people are still in detention in Polwil (the police headquarters) or in Kodim (the district army command);

That Bishop Belo still has 257 people taking refuge in the Bishop's residence, to avoid being caught by the security forces.

In view of all this, the Foundation calls on the government:

1. To set up a fact-finding commission without delay, including NGOs, lawyers and members of parliament which should make its findings known to the public and to bring to justice those responsible for using violence which resulted in there being so many innocent victims.
2. To give protection to the 89 people who have been hospitalised, to safeguard their security and ensure that their wounds are properly treated.
3. Those now under detention should be given proper safeguards and treated in accordance with the laws in force. Those not involved should be immediately released.
4. The 257 people now taking refuge in the Bishop's residence should be given proper safeguards and protected from arbitrary actions and other extra-legal acts.

**RUNNING FROM THE BULLETS (AGE / MUNTZ)**

Source: *The Age*, 16 November 1991

Byline: Lyn Dunlevy

Comment: *This story appears on the front page, beneath a very large photograph of the rally in Dili taken by Bob Muntz. Above the photo are the words '15 minutes to death'*

Bob Muntz sensed the danger. Indonesian soldiers clutching assault rifles and riot shields were clambering off the back of a military truck and lining up in front of the milling mourners.

He turned to leave, and started to walk quickly from Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery. Then came the burst of machinegun fire, which echoed across the cemetery, setting off a frightening stampede.

"Along with everyone else in the street, I began running as fast as I could to get out of that line of fire," he said.

As the clatter of gunfire continued Mr Muntz dashed into a nearby housing estate. He darted through back yards, shinned over fences - and came face to face with the soldiers he was trying to escape.

The soldiers were scattered through the housing estate, pressing off bursts of automatic fire at the fleeing crowds.

"At one point, as I was moving away from one lot of fire, I saw ahead of me, about 30 metres away, an Indonesian soldier come around the corner of a house.

"I heard - although I did not see, because as soon as I saw him I turned and ran in the opposite direction - I heard a small burst of fire, maybe 6, maybe 10 shots. "I ran into a house and when I got in there the children in the house started screaming and I noticed that I was covered in blood. It was my own blood."

Mr Muntz, Community Aid Abroad's South-East Asian project officer, returned to Melbourne yesterday and gave his account of events in the East Timorese capital on Tuesday, when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on 2000 people at the memorial service for two youths shot by soldiers a fortnight before.

The first burst of gunfire unleashed by the soldiers lasted about two minutes and thousands of rounds were fired, he said. "It was not a case of isolated volleys of fire, it was not a case of single-shot weapons. It was a case of sustained automatic weapons fire from many, many guns for a full two minutes into a crowded street that had almost a thousand people in it with no possibility of cover."

Mr Muntz had attended the 6 am church service for the two youths and had followed the rally to the cemetery, but at no time did he see any provocative behaviour by the mourners.

"For all the time I was at the rally, and certainly for the last half of it, I observed an orderly crowd of people enthusiastically chanting their slogans, displaying their banners but doing nothing that could be described as provocative towards the Indonesians," he said.

There was no doubt the attack was premeditated, unprovoked, and well planned, Mr Muntz said. "I can say ... categorically that the claims of the Indonesian forces are nothing but lies designed to cover up the most appalling atrocity that has been perpetrated on the people of Timor for many years."

After the shooting stopped, Mr Muntz said, he took shelter in the house of a local Timorese where the owner roughly bandaged his wounded arm. The man, who spoke no English, motioned for him to hide, and left him alone.

Mr Muntz said the man returned with a Red Cross officer, who offered to take him to the local hospital. But he declined, fearing that he might be arrested. Instead, he waited for some time before returning to his hotel in Dili

and arranged for the wound to be stitched by a Timorese nurse.

Mr Muntz said a reliable source, whom he could not name for fear of endangering the person's life, had told him that the Indonesian military authorities had put the final death toll from the shootings at 97, 84 people had been killed at the cemetery, he had been told, and 13 had died later in hospital.

Mr Muntz said he had also been given graphic accounts of events at the cemetery from two British tourists who were trapped there during the shootings.

One of the British tourists who had been photographing the rally, told him he had hidden in the Santa Cruz chapel during the shootings, but was discovered by soldiers after the shooting. He was dragged outside and beaten with rifle butts and fists by the soldiers who demanded to know why he was taking pictures of the event.

The second tourist, who took shelter behind a gravestone in the cemetery, told of watching soldiers turn their gunfire on hundreds of people who ran into the cemetery to escape the shooting in the street. This tourist said the soldiers later entered the cemetery and beat and kicked about 100 injured people lying on the ground.

## MALAYSIA SEEKS REMAINS OF STUDENT (NEW STRAITS TIMES)

Source: *New Straits Times (Malaysia)*  
Dateline: Kuala Lumpur Date: 16/11/91

The Foreign Ministry today directed the Malaysian Embassy in Indonesia and the High Commission in New Zealand to help arrange for the return of the remains of a Malaysian student killed in East Timor last Tuesday.

The student, Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj, 20, was among 19 people officially confirmed dead when Indonesian troops opened fire on a group of civilians mourning the death of East Timor freedom fighters.

Foreign Minister Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi said today although records showed Kamal was a New Zealand passport holder, his father Amhed Bamadhaj is a Malaysian citizen.

Today's news reports quoted the local Indonesian military commander, Brig-Gen Rudolf Warouw, as saying that Kamal was buried in a common grave outside Dili after the incident because of the difficulty in identifying the bodies.

At the time of the incident, Kamal was working as a translator in an East Timor charity organisation. - (Bernama).

## EAST TIMOR AND THE INDONESIAN REFORMISTS: OUT OF THE TOO HARD BASKET? (AGE / FEITH)

Written 16.11.91 for publication in the *Sunday Age*: (Melbourne) 17.11.91. by Herb Feith, Department of Politics Monash University Melbourne.

One likely consequence of Tuesday's massacre in Dili is that Indonesians outside the government will be thinking about East Timor in new ways.

The statement of Armed Services chief Try Sutrisno that "not more than 50" were killed in the shooting outside the Santa Cruz cemetery sent powerful shockwaves through the community of politically conscious Indonesians.

Comparisons were immediately drawn with a major episode in the Indonesian political history of the 1980s, when soldiers killed something like 60 people in suppressing a Muslim demonstration in Jakarta's port of Tanjung Priok in 1984.

Much of the Indonesian discussion of what happened in Dili on Tuesday focuses on the murky world of army factionalism. Granted that intelligence operations are a central dimension of Indonesian politics, theories abound on who and what military faction was "behind" the massacres, who was trying to provoke and discredit whom. Many of them are theories involving contenders for the succession to President Soeharto.

But Tuesday's shootings have also been generating a lot of new thinking about the relevance of East Timor to the struggle for democracy in Indonesia.

Many Indonesians -- especially in the media, the universities, the professions and the non-government organizations -- are aware for the first time that Soeharto's government has a major problem on its hands in East Timor.

### Censorship and the Scarcity of Information

East Timor is a subject on which censorship of Indonesia's domestic media has always been especially tight. That has made it almost impossible for all but a handful of people outside the territory to work out what is happening there.

Over the last five years I have had frequent conversations with Indonesians critical of their government, especially academics, students, journalists and other professionals, and their perceptions of East Timor have often puzzled me.

A small group of them, people associated with human rights organizations, are vividly aware of the violence which pervades East Timor, the extraordinary intensity of repression and resistance there. Some of them have contacts with East Timorese students studying at universities in Java. Many of them have

worked East Timor into their strategies for democratization.

These people have engaged in highly courageous protest in the last few days. Some of them have taken the issue of the massacres to the Indonesian parliament.

But outside that small group the tendency has been to see East Timor as a problem of relatively minor importance. Many of the people I talked to seemed to be surprised that outsiders, and Australians in particular, are so preoccupied with the issue.

They seemed to see East Timor as no more than another small, remote, backward province. I got the impression that they regard its problems of poverty and abuses of military power as all too similar to problems in other parts of the Outer Islands.

This week's events and what happens in the next few weeks may well change a lot of that. Democracy-minded Indonesians who see a clear benefit to themselves from the worldwide pressure for governments to respect human rights and take legal norms seriously will be paying a lot more attention to East Timor henceforth.

Moreover they will be doing so with a new awareness that the government's decisions about what to do in East Timor -- and how to handle the international consequences of what it does there -- could affect them themselves, that they could threaten Indonesia's limited advances of the last few years towards a more open and constitutional politics.

### Non-governmental Organizations and their Leaders

One group of Indonesian reformists who have long been well-informed on East Timor -- but hitherto reluctant to push the issue -- are the leaders of Indonesia's proliferating group of non-government organizations: environmental and legal aid bodies, village uplift, educational and village development bodies.

The leaders of these organizations are political sophisticates, widely travelled people with excellent knowledge of the pressures the Soeharto government faces from the outside world, especially on issues to how human rights issues can affect the flow of aid.

In recent years they have benefited from the active sympathy of Holland's Foreign Aid Minister Jan Pronk, the chairman of IGGI, the Inter Governmental Group on Indonesia, which coordinates the flow of aid to Indonesia from Japan and a large group of Western countries including Australia. Pronk visits Indonesia frequently and always spends time with people from the NGOs.

He is also an active patron of the International Non-Governmental Forum on Indonesia, a body established by Dutch non-government groups in 1985 to fashion joint monitoring of the work of IGGI by Indonesian NGOs and NGOs from the outside world.

Why is it that the leaders of Indonesia's non-governmental organizations have been wary of the issue of East Timor? They have been critical on various other issues -- often

quite forcefully though the tone is usually polite -- but not on that one.

One reason certainly is that army officers have told them that East Timor is a security issue, one on which they will not tolerate critical discussion.

But another important aspect is that the NGO leaders have found it difficult so far to formulate a consensual position.

What can they say on East Timor?

For them, as for so many other people in the polite opposition, the East Timor problem has been in the too-hard basket. Their problem is the linkage between East Timor and such other places as West Irian or West Papua and Aceh in Northern Sumatra. If self-determination is accorded to one of these, why not to the others ?

It is not easy to see what people like this can recommend to their government which will not leave them vulnerable to the charge that they are unravelling the unity of the country.

But in a post-Cold War world, in which UN authority is growing and peace-making is being pursued successfully in many parts of the world, often with discreet help from conflict resolution specialists from academic and other institutions, the problem is by no means insuperable.

One approach they may opt for is to urge the government to go back to the options which were canvassed when it negotiated with the Timorese guerrillas in March 1983. Those were clandestine negotiations. But they led to a ceasefire which lasted for three months.

Whatever the NGO leaders advocate, as regards either processes or outcomes, they will find a range of useful arguments to do with Indonesia's good name in the world.

Indonesia has recently been both active and successful in seeking coveted positions in international organizations. It managed to get itself a seat on the UN Commission on Human Rights. Its Manpower Minister was recently elected to the Chairmanship of the International Labor Organization.

Moreover last month's meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement agreed that Indonesia would host the Movement's 1992 summit meeting. That means that President Soeharto will then assume the Movement's chairmanship.

All those achievements could be imperilled, the reformist critics will argue, if Tuesday's crackdown in Dili is followed by intensified repression.

After last Tuesday they will be developing those arguments with a vivid new sense of how their own fate is connected with that of the Timorese.