

# ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

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**HORRORS CONTINUE IN EAST TIMOR**  
(MONTREAL GAZETTE)

*Editorial, The Gazette (Montreal, Canada), 13 November 1991.*

East Timor has seen more than its share of horror. Some 100,000 to 200,000 Timorese died as Indonesia brutally consolidated its rule after illegally annexing the long-time Portuguese colony in 1976.

Things have greatly improved in recent years. There has been less repression, and much more economic development. But Tuesday's shocking massacre -- soldiers armed with automatic weapons mowed down dozens of members of a crowd commemorating an earlier killing -- is a reminder that horrors and injustices continue.

The incident occurred as a marching crowd of about 5,000 arrived at a cemetery containing the grave of a man killed in unclear circumstances Oct. 28 after having taken refuge in a church.

In the past couple of years, popular resistance to Indonesian rule has been gathering steam. The presence of foreigners, including journalists, since Indonesia "opened up" East Timor in 1989 seems to have encouraged the Timorese to demonstrate, in hopes of winning international support.

The visit of Pope John Paul in 1989 was a rallying point. Feelings in East Timor have also been inflamed by an influx of non-Timorese migrants. And the world's reaction to Iraq's illegal annexation of Kuwait gave supporters of East Timor a chance to raise it as a case deserving similar attention. After the 1976 annexation, the United Nations passed about a dozen resolutions calling for self-determination for the East Timorese. But it seemed to give up several years ago.

Indonesian rule is not as repressive a sit was up until the mid-1980s; executions and long detentions without trial are rarer, though torture, intimidation and surveillance continue. In an effort to win popular allegiance, Indonesia set about developing the Timorese economy.

The resurgence of Timorese nationalist activity is still along way from posing a threat to Indonesian control. But the situation bears watching; if it

does become a threat, there would be reason to fear a new wave of abuses by Indonesia.

After various countries publicly condemned Tuesday's massacre or expressed their concern, Indonesia said it would investigate, and the local army chief admitted his men were at fault for opening fire. Those statements are a good start, but much room for improvement remains.

Regrettably, Canada did not issue any public statement on the massacre. But when contacted, an External Affairs spokesman said the Canadian government was shocked and has asked the ambassador to Indonesia to register Canada's concern to authorities there.

Canada, which has significant commercial ties with Indonesia, has tended to tread softly around the East Timor issue. More vigor would be welcome, especially given Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's declared interest in promoting human rights.

**U.S. SAYS MASSACRE VIEWED "VERY SERIOUSLY"** (IPS)

washington, nov 13 (ips) --the u.s. state department said wednesday that it takes "very seriously" the alleged massacre tuesday of

dozens of civilians by indonesian army troops in east timor.

but spokesperson richard boucher said washington still lacks a "completely accurate picture of what took place" and is continuing contacts with the indonesian government to "express our concerns".

boucher also said washington has not yet seen and thus had no position on a reported call by portugal to convene the u.n. security council to take up the events in timor, which was annexed by jakarta following its december 1975 invasion of the former portuguese colony.

as a matter of policy, washington "accepts indonesia's incorporation of east timor" but does not believe that a "valid act of self-determination" by the timorese has ever taken place, boucher said.

he added that washington supports efforts by the u.n. secretary-general to work out an agreement between portugal and indonesia on the territory's status.

washington, a close military and economic partner of indonesia, has been strongly criticised by human-rights groups here for acquiescing in jakarta's invasion, which was launched only hours after then-secretary of state henry kissinger departed the indonesian capital.

more than 200,000 timorese -- more than a quarter of the territory's total population at the time -- are believed to have been killed in the aftermath of the 1975 invasion.

the u.s. embassy in jakarta reported that the massacre may have resulted from two incidents tuesday, according to boucher.

one was a memorial service held at a cemetery in dili, the capital, for a timorese youth killed by indonesian security forces last month. boucher said reports indicated there

was a simultaneous demonstration outside the Indonesian governor's office not far away.

he said the second demonstration was "more politically-oriented" and cited Indonesian sources as saying that clashes broke out between demonstrators there and military forces during which a military officer was stabbed.

at that point, the second group of protesters went to the cemetery where they joined the mourners and where the final bloody clash occurred.

"all the information we are receiving indicates that the Indonesian military did fire on the demonstrators," Boucher said. "we also understand that American citizens and others present at the cemetery report that there was no provocation of the military by the crowd there."

earlier in the day, Indonesian army commander Gen. Try Sutrisno told reporters in Jakarta that no more than 50 civilians were killed. But Indonesian human-rights groups said the death toll appeared much higher, possibly reaching as high as 115 civilians. (end/ips/ip/jl/lp)

## PORTUGAL DISAPPOINTED AT EC RESPONSE TO MASSACRE

(IPS)

Lisbon, Nov 14 (IPS/Mario Dujisin) -- Portuguese officials and media Thursday expressed disappointment at the "weak" statement issued by its allies in the European Community (EC) following Monday's massacre of civilians in East Timor.

Portuguese foreign minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said the community should take "more drastic action" in response to the repression unleashed by the Indonesian army, which invaded and annexed the former Portuguese colony in December 1975.

Portuguese journalists managed to get in touch Thursday with the bishop of East Timor, Msgr. Jose Ximenes Belo, whose telephone had been cut off two weeks before the massacre.

he said East Timor has been living in "an atmosphere of terror" since the incident. He added that 257 young Timorese whose lives were in danger had sought refuge in his residence.

there are varying estimates of the number of people killed when the army fired at demonstrators in the capital of Dili.

Indonesian army commander, Gen. Try Sutrisno, said there were 19 victims, but sources from the Timorese resistance movement in Portugal and Australia said 115 had died, while Ximenes Belo placed the figure at 200.

East Timorese governor Mario Carrascalao himself, a pro-Indonesian politician of Portuguese origin, doubts the army's estimate. He told Lisbon television he had seen many more bodies being loaded onto army trucks. Visibly shaken by the incident, he said he might resign.

the Portuguese foreign minister said the European Community and the entire democratic world should take a clear stand on the issue so they would not be guilty of "inadmissible hypocrisy".

Pinheiro recalled the resolution adopted at the last EC summit stressing the respect of human rights as a condition for cooperation with developing countries. In this sense, he said, the "weak" denunciation by the 12 EC member states "cannot be the EC's definitive position regarding Indonesia".

Local media also criticised Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers for his "evasive" replies to questions posed by journalists and parliamentarians on his government's decision not to take drastic measures, saying there were "no sufficient elements".

The Netherlands, Indonesia's former coloniser and the current EC president, is one of the top foreign investors in the country, along with Britain, Japan and the United States.

According to Lisbon's 'News Daily': "the presence in Dili of the U.N. expert on East Timor, Dutch Peter Kooijman, the testimony he gave to the Dutch authorities and the accounts of foreign journalists have helped generate greater attention."

This is the first political stand taken by the European Community on human rights in Indonesia, it added, explaining that Jakarta is the EC's principal market in South-East Asia.

Fernando de Sousa, an analyst of EC affairs, said the EC had refrained from taking firm measures against Jakarta's policy on East Timor since Indonesia is a major supplier of raw materials to the West and an important market, with its 180 million people.

Local analysts said Jakarta has been one of Washington's main anti-communist allies in Asia for the past three decades. They said this was why the United States gave Indonesia the go-ahead to invade East Timor in 1975 and recognised its annexation in 1976, despite the death of 210,000 of the island's 600,000 people.

but with the "communist threat" gone and Iraq forced out of Kuwait, Washington can no longer have a separate policy of international justice for Baghdad and Jakarta, they said.

Portuguese President Mario Soares, in a letter sent to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar last week, said "East Timor is an old Kuwait" ignored by the international community.

The analysts also cited an agreement signed by Indonesia and Australia for the exploitation of oil deposits in the Timor Sea as an important factor to Canberra's policy of systematically ignoring the case of East Timor.

The spokesman for the East Timor resistance movement, Jose Ramos Horta, told IPS it was ironic that the U.S. press, "usually so concerned by human rights violations in other latitudes", had been very silent on the matter.

In the last few days, however, the case of East Timor has been appearing in important U.S. media "mainly because of the testimony given by two U.S. journalists who were at the scene of the massacre, and who were brutally beaten up by Indonesian soldiers", said Ramos Horta.

According to Brig-Gen Jose Lemos Pires, the last Portuguese governor of the island: "a solution to the East Timorese conflict will only be possible when the United States feels forced to do something." (end/ips/trd/ip/md/da/tt/lm)

## IFJ SAFENET--MONITORING JOURNALISTS HUMAN RIGHTS

*E. Lee Woodyear, International Federation of Journalists, 1 Blvd. Charlemagne Brussels, B-1041 BELGIUM, +32-2-238-0951*

### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS CONDEMNS VIOLATION OF JOURNALISTS RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

*[N.B. The International Federation of Journalists is a Confederation of Journalists' Trade Unions which is independent of all ideological, political and religious bodies. The Federation is an organisation created to deal with matters related to trade unionism and the practice of the profession of journalism, having respect for and in defence of freedom of information, media freedom and the independence of journalists. At the IFJ Bureau Meeting in Caracas, Venezuela on October 10 - 12, 1991 the IFJ decided to begin the IFJSafenet. For more information, contact: gn!ifjsafenet ]*

Concerning the Massacre in East Timor,

To: His Excellency President Suharto  
Istana Merdeka Jakarta, Indonesia

14 November 1991

Mr. President Suharto,

The International Federation of Journalists which represents more than 200,000 journalists in 53 countries strongly condemns the massacre that the Indonesian army perpetrated on November 12 in the East Timor capital of Dili.

According to our information a group of journalists were with the group of mourners during their commemoration at the grave of the student that was killed on October 28.

Some journalists, including at least four foreign journalists, were in front of the crowd when the savage onslaught began and were badly beaten by your troops and one New Zealand journalist may have been killed.

The International Federation of Journalists is a confederation of Journalists' Trade Unions which is independent of all ideological, political and religious bodies. The Federation is an organisation created to deal with matters related to trade unionism and the practice of the profession of journalism, having respect for and in defence of freedom of information, media freedom and the independence of journalists. Such a blatant act of violence against un-armed people and journalists who were holding only pens and cameras is a disgrace.

On behalf of our members we condemn this attack and we demand that your government take immediate action to punish those responsible for this action.

Sincerely,

AIDAN WHITE General Secretary

cc. Indonesian Ambassador to Belgium, Brussels  
Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia, Pengurus Pusat  
Australian Journalists Association, Sydney  
National Union of Journalists of Great Britain and Ireland, London

Hong Kong Journalists Association,

Wanchai  
 National Union of Journalists (India), New Delhi  
 Japan Broadcasting Labour Union (NIPPORO), Tokyo  
 Journalists' Association of Korea, Seoul  
 Korean Federation of Press Unions, Seoul  
 National Union of Journalists (Malaysia), Kuala Lumpur  
 Nederlandse Vereniging van Journalisten (NVJ), Amsterdam  
 Deutscher Journalisten-Verband, Bonn  
 IG Medien/Fachgruppe Journalismus DJU-RFFU-SWJV, Stuttgart  
 Papua New Guinea Journalists' Association, Boroko  
 Federation of Media Workers in the Philippines (KAMMPI), Manila  
 Sindicato dos Jornalistas, Lisboa  
 The Newspaper Guild, Washington D.C.  
 Committee to Protect Journalists, New York  
 International Press Institute, London  
 Reporters sans frontières, France  
 International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva  
 AFL-CIO, Washington D.C.

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## ARMED FORCES COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: THEY MUST BE EXTERMINATED

*Source: Jayakarta. Date: 14 November 1991. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged (only the part dealing with General Try's speech). A short quotation from this item was posted earlier; we can now translate the whole clipping.*

*Comment: Try's language here is blunter than anything quoted in other reports. These words of Try, a trusty of the president's, can be considered to be the views of Suharto; as usual in such matters, he himself has remained silent.*

Commander-in-chief of the armed forces (ABRI) General Try Soetrisno is seething with rage towards those who carried out the disruption in Dili, East Timor. He said that they are people who must be exterminated. "These ill-bred people have to be shot.", said the C-in-C, when opening the seminar of the Association of Lemhanas Graduates [Lemhanas = National Defence Institute] on Wednesday.

He went on to say that these disruptors are people who used to fight as guerrillas in the bush. They can no longer do this because the population in the interior oppose them. "As a result, they are causing disruption in the towns."

What is most outrageous of all, said Try, is that they take advantage of the social infrastructure, even places of worship, for the purposes of their activities. In the recent period, even the church has become a basis for operation. "So, I ask the church to beware of such people. We have built many churches but we didn't build them for the disruptors."

He said that the gangs of people spreading chaos began by unfurling posters with slogans discrediting the government. They also shouted many unacceptable things.

However, he went on, members of ABRI who were on guard in the location of the in-

cident held themselves back. These officers, he said, showed a great deal of patience in coping with a situation that was actually goading them into anger. "Our armed forces are not like armies in other countries. Our people's army is very tactical."

It turns out, the four-star general continued, that the patience shown by our officers was not appreciated; on the contrary, the disruptors became even more brutal. Then, some shots were fired into the air. "But they persisted with their misdeeds," he said.

General Try Soetrisno then said that ABRI would never allow itself to be ignored. "In the end, they had to be shot," he said, reiterating his words that such disruptors had to be shot. "And we shall shoot them," he stressed.

Try did not reveal who was the leader of the disruptors. "Let us pray that he will soon be caught," he said, without saying anything about what was being done to catch him.

After the incident on 12 November, ABRI members searched Motael Church in Dili and found some weapons, including a grenade. "From the results of this search, it is very clear that their movement is extremely dangerous," he said.

There was one casualty on ABRI's side, a battalion deputy commander of battalion 700, while on the side of the disruptors, 19 people were killed.

The disruptors began their movement on Tuesday after holding a mass at Motael Church. They demonstrated along the road leading to the Governor's Office.

According to the version of the ABRI Information Centre, the action was originally to have been aimed at the Portuguese parliamentary delegation. But because the visit was cancelled, the group became very frustrated and switched the target of their action.

It is thought that the incident was connected with the disturbance in Motael Church on 29 (sic) October. But the situation is now under control.

The commander-in-chief called on the public not to panic, not to be influenced and to remain confident in ABRI's ability to resolve everything. "Abri is determined to crush anyone who disrupts stability."

*[These quotations from a news report were faxed to TAPOL from Jakarta:] Source: Jayakarta. Date: 14 November 1991.*

The Jakarta daily, Jayakarta, was the only paper to quote some extremely warlike remarks made by General Try Sutrisno, commander-in-chief of the armed forces (ABRI), speaking at a meeting of Lemhanas (National Defence Institute) Graduates. The Jayakarta report is as follows:

"The armed forces commander-in-chief spoke very savagely about the disruptors in Dili. They are people who must be crushed, he said. These despicable people must be shot."

Jayakarta also wrote:

"C-in-chief Try Sutrisno also said: "This is an internal affair, and there should be no meddling. If anyone wants to speak about human rights, Indonesia has had them since time immemorial. That's why you should study Pancasila."

He was also quoted by the paper as say-

"Come what may, let no-one think they can ignore ABRI. In the end, they will have to be 'shot down.' [He uses the very crude term, 'di-dor'.]

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## AFTER THE MASSACRE: WHAT INDONESIA MUST DO

*Courtesy of Asia Watch: November 15, 1991*

After the massacre in Dili, East Timor on Tuesday, November 12, 1991 in which troops opened fire on peaceful marchers and killed at least 50 people by the Indonesian army's own estimate, there have been calls inside Indonesia and abroad for an investigation. Those calls are coming at a time when for the most part, families have not been allowed access to the bodies of their relatives and no list of the dead has been compiled. International humanitarian organizations have not yet been granted access to military hospitals where some of the wounded were taken, and there is concern that many of the some 280 reportedly arrested in the aftermath of the march may have been tortured. The government acknowledges that over 40 of those people remain in custody, but there may be many others in unacknowledged detention.

The shooting took place in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili as several hundred people gathered to place flowers on the grave of Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, a young man shot dead on October 28, apparently by Indonesian security forces, at the Motael Church in Dili.

The Indonesian government has announced that the Commander of the Armed Forces will lead an inquiry into the killings, but under the circumstances, such an investigation will have no credibility. Any credible investigation must have an international component. It must include people who speak Portuguese or Tetun as well as Indonesian, and it must include people experienced in investigations of this kind from well-established international human rights organizations. A forensic specialist would also be desirable. Most importantly, members of a commission of inquiry must, in accordance with the "Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal Arbitrary and Summary Executions" adopted in May 1989 by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, "be chosen for their recognized impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular, they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry."

Among other things, the UN Principles stress that it is critically important that the bodies not be disposed of until adequate autopsies are conducted by a physician. The autopsy should, at a minimum, attempt to establish the identity of the dead and the cause and manner of death.

Families of the deceased and their legal representatives should be informed of, and have access to, any hearing as well as to all information relevant to the investigation and shall be entitled to present other evidence. The bodies should be returned to them on completion of the investigation.

As important as the investigation is that the Indonesian government publicly state its commitment to bring anyone responsible for

an extrajudicial killing to justice. No soldier on active duty in Indonesia or East Timor has ever been prosecuted for a human rights offense against someone engaged in political opposition to the Indonesian government. There have been occasional transfers of abusive commanders, and prosecutions of police for deaths of criminal suspects in custody. But no soldier or officer has been brought to trial for killing or torturing anyone suspected of "subversive" activities. It will be a real test of the Indonesian government's commitment to human rights to ensure that an impartial investigation and speedy prosecutions take place.

The Indonesian government must act immediately if it wishes to be seen as a country committed to international principles of human rights. It must publicly denounce the killings, rather than merely expressing regret over the loss of life. It must immediately inform the families about their relatives who died, who were wounded and who were taken into custody. It must allow access to hospitals and prisons by international humanitarian organizations and issue as soon as possible a detailed list of those killed. It must appoint an independent commission of inquiry with an international component, whose findings should be made public. And it should prosecute any officer or soldier found responsible for the deliberate execution of or use of excessive force against peaceful demonstrators.

*For further information: Sidney Jones (212) 972-8400.*

*Asia Watch is an independent organization created in 1985 to monitor and promote internationally recognized human rights in Asia. The Chair is Jack Greenberg, the Vice Chairs are Orville Schell and Harriet Rabb, and the Executive Director is Sidney Jones.*

*Asia Watch is a component of Human Rights Watch, which includes Africa Watch, Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch and Middle East Watch. The Chair of Human Rights Watch is Robert L. Bernstein and the Vice Chair is Adrian DeWind. Aryeh Neier is Executive Director; Kenneth Roth, Deputy Director; Holly Burkhalter, Washington Director; Susan Osno, Press Director.*

## ABC INTERVIEW WITH AUSTRALIAN P.M. BOB HAWKE

*Transcript of an by Australian Broadcasting Company reporter Maxine McHugh on "AM", 15.11.91:*

ABC: Prime Minister, [...] you have called for the Indonesians to sit down and talk with the East Timorese including the resistance. I take it you are signalling here a shift in policy. Previously we of course have said these things are an internal matter.

Hawke: Well, in the end obviously they will be. The world is not going to invade Indonesia and impose the world's will on Indonesia. It is in the end ultimately a matter for Indonesia but what I've tried to do in a constructive and friendly spirit at this time of tragedy is to say, in as a friendly and positive fashion as I can, that the Indonesians must sit

and reflect upon where they are in regard to East Timor.

ABC: How do you think your comments will be received ?

Hawke: I don't know. I hope that they will be accepted in the constructive spirit in which they are advanced. And quite apart from what I've said about how I believe this tragedy should be handled - and I've really said there are three things about that: I said firstly there must be contrition, secondly there must be, as I put it in Australian idiom, there must be a dinkum inquiry, and third, I said, there must be an intention to deal with those who are found responsible. Now putting that to one side and saying yes, that's Australia's position, I'm saying in regard to the longer-term question of East Timor that I believe that the Indonesians should sit down and reflect and say, well obviously they haven't won the minds and the hearts of the people of East Timor, obviously there's a sense of cultural independence amongst the people of East Timor. Now I believe that it's in the best interest of Indonesia as well as the people of East Timor that they should be sitting down and saying, "well look, this is not a satisfactory situation where out of the unhappiness that exists you can have tragedies of this dimension", and they should sit down, INCLUDING WITH THE RESISTANCE [emphasis added] and say, "now what are the sorts of things that need to be done to ensure that", as I put it, "East Timor can be in an acceptable way, both to Indonesia and to the people of East Timor, the 27th province of Indonesia."

ABC: Will this episode, do you think, be the real test of our new supposedly broader relationship with the Indonesians, I mean, if we can press hard the question of human rights and still preserve that relationship.

Hawke: Obviously, Maxine, this tragedy is going to impose some strains that weren't there before. I paid tribute to the Government of Indonesia over the last few years in that they have very consciously with us tried to improve the relationship between our two countries as indeed they've tried to do with the rest of the world. It's particularly important to us as they're such a close and populous neighbour. They have, I think, been serious about trying to improve that relationship. It's been reflected in the fact that we've been able to organise the treaty between us on the Timor Sea Gap and there is no question but that the relations are better than they were a few years ago. Now as I say this will impose some strain but I would hope and believe that the Indonesian authorities would see in what I'm saying that I believe that's in the interest of the Australian people and the Indonesian people that we should be able to continue that constructive relationship but from the point of view of Australia this tragedy must intrude a new element. That's why I hope they will handle it in the way I've suggested.

ABC: How intrusive will it be ? Could you see it affecting your proposed trip to Jakarta next February ?

Hawke: What I've said is that it's really too early address that issue. I think that if, for instance, as I say they were to approach this tragedy in the way that I've suggested, taking those three elements into account positively,

that is contrition, that is a dinkum inquiry and that is an intention to deal with those responsible, then I would think in that situation if it became apparent that they were doing that I would think that most Australians would think that it would be against the interests of Australia not to visit.

## INDONESIA SOLIDARITY ACTION STATEMENT

*Read at demonstration at Indonesian Embassy, 15 November.*

*Issued by AKSI Canberra. P.O. Box 13, Ainslie, ACT. Max Lane, Co-Convenor.*

AKSI groups all round Australia join in condemning this further act of total brutality carried out by the Indonesian Army in Dili, Timor, killing and wounding scores of East Timorese men, women and children.

Yesterday, the Australian Prime Minister called on the Indonesian Government to investigate this incident and punish those responsible. This is a totally, inadequate and indeed stupid response. It is the Indonesian Government itself that must accept responsibility for these murders. This is not a case of "the local military getting out of control". These murders are the inevitable consequence of a forced, military occupation of a country against the wishes of its people. Moreover, the Indonesian Government, starting with its President, has set a long series of precedents, indeed a tradition of using violence and massacres to control the populations it governs.

The regime itself came into being in wave of bloodshed hardly paling beside that of Pol Pot. In 1965, in the process of seizing power, Soeharto coordinated the killing of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 people. But even then it did not stop:

- \* 1983 the "mysterious killings" of thousands of "petty criminals" and urban poor, which Suharto admitted to ordering as "shock therapy";
- \* 1984 the massacre of scores of protesters in Tanjung Priok, Jakarta;
- \* 1988 the massacre of scores of farmers in Lampung, South Sumatra;
- \* 1989-90 the use of "mysterious killings" in Aceh against civilians.

And since 1975, the East Timorese people have faced this on an even more intensive scale.

The culprits that must be punished is the Suharto regime in Jakarta. Indonesian students are demonstrating today also protesting this act. We wait to hear from those in the Indonesian parliament and press who have lately been calling for reform: will they too join in the courageous stand of the students and activists of the INFIGHT organisation? The solution is the realisation of the totally and completely justified demand of the East Timorese people to exercise their rights of self-determination.

But our demands don't finish here - because there is one more set of culprits who bear equal responsibility - namely all those governments who have recognised the Indonesian takeover, who have pushed the line: "the integration of East Timor is irreversible." This is the favourite statement of

our so-called peace loving Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans. Everyone who has backed this line, encouraging, and even training and equipping the Indonesian army while it occupies East Timor, bears equal responsibility. The murder and torture of East Timorese are a direct result of the occupation: they are "crimes of occupation"; all those supporting the occupation are equally to blame.

We therefore call upon the Australian Government to:

- \* withdraw all forms of military cooperation with Indonesia, including withdrawing Australia's defence attache in Jakarta;
- \* begin a campaign in the U.N. to achieve:
  1. an independent fact-finding mission to determine the complete facts of the massacre;
  2. the withdrawal of all Indonesian military forces, and the start of talks with the genuine representatives of the East Timorese about the future they themselves desire for their country;
  3. a halt to the start of all new non-humanitarian economic aid to Indonesia until there is a military withdrawal from East Timor.

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## INDONESIAN PRESS CALLS FOR IMPARTIAL PROBE INTO DILI INCIDENT

*Source: AFP. Date: 15 November 1991. Dateline: Jakarta. Unabridged. Comment: AFP should know that it was not a funeral but the 14th day commemoration of a death.*

The Indonesian press called Friday for an impartial and thorough investigation into the shooting by the military of mourners at a funeral in East Timor that left 19 dead and 91 injured by the official count.

Editorials in the Jakarta press, however, did not question that the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976, was definitely part of the world's fifth most-populous country.

"As far as Indonesia is concerned, after all, East Timor is a legitimate part of Indonesia," said the English-language Jakarta Post daily which is believed to follow the government's line on most issues.

"Nevertheless, it is important to the restoration of Indonesia's credibility that the impartiality of the investigation be guaranteed and that the inquiry be promptly held," it said.

Human rights groups and witnesses of Tuesday's shooting in Dili have charged that the death toll was much higher than the official count, with one estimate as high as 115.

The ruling party Golkar paper, Suara Karya, said the Dili incident had a negative impact on the image of Indonesia abroad which could "have wide implications if we do not expeditiously take neutralising actions."

Suara Karya welcomed the government's pledge to conduct a full and thorough investigation into the incident and to bring those guilty to court.

Echoing the Jakarta Post, the English-language daily, The Indonesian Observer, said all interests, including those of the armed forces, would best be solved by an honest

probe and stressed the need for expertise and full independence for the team to conduct it.

"It goes without saying that for the maximum credibility, the right composition of the fact-finding team is of vital importance," the Observer said.

The Media Indonesia daily said that in times of globalisation of information, "we are forced to talk about facts and truth.... In conditions such as this, honesty should play a role." [Comment: So, honesty is only necessary when your lies can be exposed internationally!]

"Don't let one drop of indigo damage a whole pot of milk," Media said, citing an Indonesian saying.

The leading Kompas daily focused on the lesson that could be drawn from the incident. It said that "besides being firm and correct," the authorities in East Timor should also "try to understand the remaining critical issues and try to overcome them by drawing the sympathy of the people." It also said the security forces should rather be provided with equipment of "a deterrent nature" to prevent future loss of life.

The editorial of the Armed Forces daily, Angkatan Bersenjata (AB) was among the very few which dwelled on the alleged cause of the incident. Echoing previous official explanations, it blamed the incident on the "Security Disturbing Group" (GPK) in East Timor. GPK is the official term used to denote anti-government movements in Indonesia, including the Fretilin movement in East Timor which has been seeking independence for the former Portuguese colony since 1975.

The GPK, said AB, had "incited and manipulated the East Timorese youth" to oppose the legal and lawful government and offer resistance to the armed forces. These minimally-educated ... blind young men were easy to manipulate by Fretilin remnants," it said.

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## INDEPENDENCE BID DRENCHED IN BLOOD (GLOBE AND MAIL)

*The Globe and Mail (Canada's national newspaper), 15 November 1991. Comment: background on Canada and East Timor, run alongside story on massacre adopted from Reuter/Associated Press files. Before this week, editors at The Globe and Mail had told east Timor supporters not to bother them with updates from Timor.*

By Linda Hossie TORONTO -- Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, quelling an incipient independence movement struggling to break free of Portuguese colonial rule. Seven months and tens of thousands of deaths later, the government in Jakarta proclaimed East Timor the 27th Indonesian province.

So many people were killed during the invasion and the subsequent repression and starvation that the Centre for Defence Information in Washington has cited the conflict as one of the three most violent in the world, the others being Cambodia and Afghanistan. The real death toll is unknown, but the most commonly cited figure is 200,000 out of a pre-invasion population of about 700,000.

The Indonesian takeover of East Timor has been resisted, principally by the Fretilin, a guerrilla force that has been dramatically reduced in number during 16 years of civil war. Although Indonesia dismisses Fretilin's ability to disrupt Indonesian control over east Timor, observers say as many as 25,000 Indonesian troops remain on the island.

Observers also report that land is being transferred from the Timorese to Indonesian settlers, that birth control is imposed on Timorese women and that the languages and cultural practices of the Timorese are being suppressed.

In February, the Canada-Asia Working Group reported the alarm of anthropologists over the gradual loss of East Timor's culture, which in 1975 included 30 ethno-linguistic groups.

Indonesia's invasion of East Timor violated two basic United Nations principles: the right to self-determination and the integrity of territory. UN resolutions condemning the invasion have consistently been resisted, however, by the United States and several of its allies, including Canada.

The explanation for this is widely thought to lie in Indonesia's strategic importance -- its islands span the seaways that link Japan and Middle Eastern oil fields -- and the West's well-developed trade ties with the country.

Indonesia is the second-largest recipient of bilateral Canadian foreign aid. Canada also has extensive business ties with Indonesia, including arms sales.

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## McDOUGALL DENOUNCES VIOLENCE IN EAST TIMOR

*Source: News release, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada. Date: Nov. 15, 1991. Comment: released officially late Friday afternoon, but not circulated publicly until Monday.*

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, said that she was deeply concerned about recent events in East Timor, where several dozens of civilians were killed and nearly 100 were injured by the Indonesian Army.

"This is a shocking turn of events," said Mrs. McDougall. "It will serve only to worsen what is an already troubling human rights situation."

The Minister conveyed Canada's concern in a meeting with her Indonesian counterpart, Mr. Ali Alatas, in the context of the Asia-Pacific Economic co-operation gathering that she attended in Seoul.

Canada has regularly voiced its concerns about human rights in East Timor at the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, during the recent visit to Canada of the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs and at the highest levels of the Indonesian Government.

Canada has multiplied, through its assistance and co-operation program and its business and people exchanges, the opportunities for the Indonesian authorities and people to become better acquainted and sensitive to Canadian attitudes toward the human rights issue.

## AUSTRALIAN AID WORKER SAYS KILLINGS IN TIMOR UNPROVOKED (REUTER)

MELBOURNE, Nov 15, Reuter - An Australian aid worker who saw Indonesian troops fire on mourners in East Timor this week said on Friday the soldiers shot thousands of rounds into an unarmed crowd.

Bob Muntz, who called a news conference after his return from the East Timorese capital Dili, said Tuesday's shootings were "premeditated, well-orchestrated and unprovoked" and the death toll was nearer 100 than the official figure of 19.

"I can say categorically the claims of Indonesian military forces are nothing but lies to cover up the most appalling atrocity that has been perpetrated on the people of East Timor for quite a number of years," Muntz said.

Muntz, who works for the charity Community Aid Abroad, said he accompanied the procession on its way to a cemetery in Dili to mourn the death of an independence sympathiser two weeks earlier.

He said Indonesian army reports that mourners fired a shot or threw a grenade at the soldiers were not true.

Muntz, his left arm in a sling from a flesh wound sustained as he fled, said thousands of shots were fired into the unarmed crowd.

"I can say it was very intense fire...I began running as fast I could to get out of the line of fire," he said.

Muntz took photographs of the procession and demonstration about 15 minutes before the shooting started.

A New Zealand colleague, Kamal Bamadhaj, was the only foreigner known to have been killed in the shootings.

Muntz said an East Timorese nurse who treated his arm told him Indonesian authorities had estimated 84 people died on the spot and another 13 died in hospital later on Tuesday. Muntz said he had no reason to doubt the estimate.

Muntz also said a British national, who took refuge in a chapel inside the cemetery, told him he saw about 100 people lying on the ground after the shooting, where they were beaten by soldiers with their rifles and boots.

According to local reports in Dili as many as 180 people were killed when troops fired into a crowd of thousands of mourners at Santa Cruz cemetery. The military put the official death toll at 19 with 91 wounded.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted Timorese sources as saying the army had dug mass graves in an open area outside Dili and taken four truckloads of bodies there.

The military has admitted blame for the killings in East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976, which have provoked an international outcry.

## U.S. JOURNALISTS SAY EAST TIMOR SHOOTING APPEARED PLANNED (REUTER)

By *Jacqueline Frank*

WASHINGTON, Nov 15, Reuter - U.S. journalists who witnessed the killing of dozens of people in East Timor by Indonesian troops accused Jakarta on Friday of carrying out a systematic massacre.

Allan Nairn, on assignment for The New Yorker magazine, and Amy Goodman, of New York radio station WBAI, disputed the claim by Indonesian officials that the troops were provoked into firing on Tuesday by armed Timorese guerrillas.

The two journalists said at a news conference they saw hundreds of troops fire without provocation on unarmed marchers, including children and the elderly.

"It was a case of a planned and systematic massacre...This was a very disciplined operation. This was not a situation where you had some hothead who ran amok," Nairn said.

The official Indonesian figure for the deaths is 19 with 91 wounded. East Timorese and the handful of Westerners who witnessed the event said 100 to 180 people were killed.

Both Nairn, 36, and Goodman, 34, were badly beaten by Indonesian troops while the shooting was going on, as was an Australian aid worker. A New Zealander was killed.

Goodman and Nairn were in East Timor to report on alleged human rights violations by Indonesia, which annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976, a move that has not been internationally recognised.

The marchers "were totally unprotected," Goodman said.

"There was absolutely no warning. Until the last minute I couldn't believe they would fire on this crowd -- kids who were five years old," she said. Young girls clung to her for safety when the firing started.

The reporters were covering a memorial service at a Catholic church and procession for a Timorese man killed on October 28 by Indonesian security forces.

As described by Nairn, who was at the front of the group, troops marching in formation with American-made M-16s in firing position approached the crowd in the cemetery.

"As the people saw this they tried to shrink back. There was a small collective gasp in the crowd. As the soldiers turned the corner they raised their M-16s and began all at once firing into the crowd," Nairn said.

"Amy and I went and stood between the soldiers and the crowd because if they saw foreigners there with cameras with tape recorders they wouldn't shoot. That didn't work."

## SENATOR CLAIRBORNE PELL CALLS FOR CUTOFF OF U.S. MILITARY AID (DPA)

WASHINGTON (NOV. 15) DPA - The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Clairborne Pell, called Friday for a suspension of all U.S. military aid to

Indonesia in the wake of the killing of as many as 100 people by troops in East Timor.

Meanwhile, 223 members of the House of Representatives called for the U.S. government to use its influence to support human rights in East Timor, a territory that was seized by Indonesia in 1975.

Two American journalists who were at the massacre in the East Timor city of Dili told a news conference Friday that the shooting and beating by the Indonesian security troops at a cemetery ceremony was totally unprovoked by the crowd.

The Indonesian government said that the troops acted out of fear of what they thought was an armed band of demonstrators. The State Department said this week it deplored "the over-reaction" of the Indonesian troops to the actions of the crowd.

## JAPAN SENDS DIPLOMATS TO EAST TIMOR TO PROBE KILLINGS (KYODO)

Tokyo, Nov. 15 Kyodo - The Japanese Embassy in Jakarta has dispatched two officials to East Timor to look into the Indonesian military's slaying of dozens of mourners last Tuesday, a foreign ministry spokesman said Friday.

Taizo Watanabe told foreign correspondents that Japan is "much concerned about what has happened in East Timor" and has sent the diplomats to the territory in an effort "to get the facts straight."

"We are (also) asking the Indonesian government to provide us with more information and to make more efforts to find out what has happened," the spokesman said.

Ministry sources said two Japanese Embassy staffers went from Jakarta to the East Timorese capital of Dili on Thursday to conduct an independent survey.

Also Thursday, the Portuguese Embassy delivered a communique to the ministry calling on the international community to condemn violations of human rights in the former Portuguese colony and take steps to guard against further incidents.

A Portuguese diplomat said ministry officials responded saying Japan is awaiting the Indonesian version of events and there are still conflicting reports on the number of casualties.

The diplomat said the Portuguese stressed the casualty figure is not the real issue. "We're not counting corpses -- even if it's 19, it's a massacre," he said.

Estimates of the number killed when Indonesian troops fired on a crowd of mourners range from the official Indonesian figure of 19 to an independent figure of some 115.

Watanabe said the ministry has not responded to a letter it received October 31 from two Diet members calling on the ministry to express regret over Indonesia's refusal to accept a Portuguese journalist who was to accompany a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor.

Portugal reacted by suspending the delegation's visit, which was planned during negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal

under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General.

"The study is not concluded yet," Watanabe said, adding there is "no deadline."

The Free East Timor Japan Coalition, which describes itself as a network of Japanese citizens groups campaigning for a solution to the East Timor issue, issued a statement in Tokyo on Thursday calling in part for a suspension of Japanese aid to Indonesia until it ends its occupation of the territory. Japan is Indonesia's largest aid donor.

Chief cabinet secretary Koichi Kato told reporters Thursday that Japan takes no stand on the issue of self-determination for the people of East Timor.

Indonesia established control of the territory in 1975-76 and subsequently annexed it.

Between 1977 and 1982, Japan has abstained on six U.N. General Assembly resolutions concerning self-determination for the East Timorese.

It also abstained on a 1976 resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesia forces and voted against a 1975 resolution deploring the Indonesian invasion.

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## STATE DEPT BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT, Nov.15. (EXCERPT)

Source: Federal News Service, November 15

Q Do you have any readout on yesterday's meeting here between the Indonesian ambassador and somebody in the Department in connection with Tuesday's massacre?

MR. BOUCHER: No, I didn't do one because I think we ran through in advance the issues that we were going to raise.

Q Do you have any further details coming from the mission from the American embassy in Jakarta that was supposed to have gone to East Timor?

MR. BOUCHER: No, I don't have any further details at this point.

Q Just two comments. Congressman Tony Hall, commenting on the massacres, says and these are his words, that Indonesia's illegal takeover of East Timor and Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait are situations with a certain parallel. Would the Department comment on this?

MR. BOUCHER: I don't have any further comment on that. Our views of East Timor I think I stated for you the other day.

Q Just one more comment, Richard. Yesterday you said the military aid, which for this fiscal year goes to \$2.3 million, I think, to Indonesia, is destined principally to further the aims of democracy. Does the record of the Jakarta government over the past few years and this latest tragedy, does it make you consider whether these aims are being really pursued with success there, or will you reevaluate the situation in the light of new information that's coming from the country?

MR. BOUCHER: No, I think -- I said yesterday that we certainly did have concerns about the shootings there and that we'd raised these, were raising these, with the Indonesian government. When it came to the question of the military training, I said that we believed the program should continue, that it was important to help with the professionalization

of the Indonesian military forces, and we felt that our training did contribute to greater democracy and respect for human rights on the part of the military.

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## INDONESIAN BISHOPS STATEMENT

Source: Suara Pembaruan. Date: 15 November 1991. Original language: Indonesian. Abridged.

### KWI REGRETS THE INCIDENT IN EAST TIMOR

The Indonesian Bishops' Conference (KWI) feels very concerned and regrets the incident that occurred in East Timor a few days ago. The KWI profoundly regrets the loss of life during the incident.

The KWI issued a written statement on 14 November signed by KWI chairman, Mgr J. Darmaatmadja SJ, and the secretary - general, Mgr Situmorang.

The KWI expressed the fervent hope that the incident would be resolved in the best possible way on the basis of the law and in conformity with the Pancasila, so that such an incident is not repeated.

A good resolution (of the question) would pave the way to raising the welfare of the community and creating a peaceful, calm atmosphere in the spirit of unity.

The KWI also said that the Church is not a political institution that determines the political activities of its members; hence, the political activities of some of its members should not be regarded as being activities by the Church or in the name of the Church.

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## EAST TIMOR GOVERNOR LASHES OUT AT ARMY OVER KILLINGS (REUTER)

By Moses Manoharan

DILI, Indonesia, Nov 15, Reuter - East Timor's governor condemned the Indonesian army for opening fire on crowds of mourners this week and accused it of arming "rightist terrorists" to crush an independence movement in the former Portuguese colony.

"I blame the armed forces," Mario Viegas Carrascalao told reporters on Thursday night in his office in Dili, capital of East Timor which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

According to local reports as many as 180 people were killed when troops fired into a crowd of thousands of mourners at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on Tuesday. The official death toll stands at 19 with 91 wounded.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted Timorese sources as saying the army had dug mass graves in an open area outside Dili and taken four truckloads of bodies there.

Carrascalao said most of the 3,500 Timorese who had gathered at the cemetery were innocent people mourning Sebastiao Gomes, a student who was killed last month in clashes between pro- and anti-Indonesian activists.

"We are all in mourning because they are innocent people who died," he said. Actual demonstrators only numbered about 1,000, he added.

Troops should have controlled the crowd long before it reached the cemetery, said the governor who is an East Timorese appointed by Jakarta but with no control over the military.

He accused local military commander Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw of failing to assess the threat and condemned his year-old strategy for putting down the insurgency against Indonesia's rule over East Timor's 750,000 people.

The governor attacked employment by the security forces of "rightists" whom he said often made use of their weapons and training to settle old scores.

"They are bandits and terrorists, the extreme right," Carrascalao said, speaking English with a thick Portuguese accent as do many educated East Timorese, a legacy of three centuries of colonial rule.

"The weakness in the armed forces is in accepting these people. The military commander never accepted my plea not to use them," said.

"The consequence of this is that I have lost a lot of my credibility. The military has also lost credibility...some or all."

The military has admitted it was to blame for Tuesday's killings which provoked an international outcry.

Indonesia's armed forces commander has promised an investigation. U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has demanded it be thorough and credible.

Jakarta's annexation of East Timor is not recognised by the international community.

Speaking to reporters separately on Thursday, Warouw said his men began shooting when the crowd at the cemetery was advancing threateningly. But he admitted there had been confusion.

A junior officer told his troops to hold their fire after someone lobbed an unarmed grenade. But they started shooting.

It is not clear why the government waited till Thursday to announce the official death toll when authorities in Dili said the 19 dead were buried two days earlier.

East Timor's governor said the military's so-called territorial approach of using troops in civilian roles had worked in rural areas but had been a failure in urban centres like Dili.

He said it included large-scale recruitment of East Timorese for domestic intelligence gathering. This divided the territory's people and raised tensions between leftists who wanted independence and rightists backing integration with Indonesia.

Its results were events that led to Tuesday's deaths, he said.

A New Zealand diplomat flew to Dili to search for the body of New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj, the only foreigner known to have been killed on Tuesday.

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

A senior military official said he was buried in an unmarked grave with the other 18 casualties listed in the official death toll.

Troops in trucks still patrol the city, especially at night, but life appears to be returning to normal.

On the beach by the esplanade that runs through Dili, young lovers returned to sit on the benches at dusk.



## EAST TIMORESE MOURN THEIR DEAD, FEAR FOR OWN SAFETY (REUTER)

By Moses Manoharan

DILI, East Timor, Nov 15, Reuter - Relatives mourned victims of the army shooting in East Timor at a memorial service on Friday and said they feared for their own safety as troops tightened security around the capital.

"Everyone is afraid of being arrested or being killed after what happened last Tuesday. They were praying when the army opened fire. This means even God cannot save you from the Indonesian army," said one mourner.

"They killed my son as he was praying to our God," sobbed Carolina da Silva, 55, at her home in the capital of the former Portuguese colony, whose 1976 annexation by Indonesia is still not internationally recognised.

Local reports put the death toll at up to 180 people after the army opened fire on mourners on Tuesday at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery. The official figure is 19 with 91 wounded. The incident has sparked international outrage.

The crowd had been marking the death two weeks previously of an East Timorese killed in clashes between pro- and anti-Indonesian activists.

East Timor governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao on Thursday blamed the army and accused it of arming rightist terrorists to crush attempts to break away from Jakarta's rule.

A photograph of 18-year old Francis da Silva lay on a table with plastic flowers and candles. Behind was a crucifix and three medals he won for body-building.

"He had no interest in politics and that service was a peaceful one till the soldiers came," said one mourner.

His six sisters and five brothers were quietly weeping for the final-year high school student when a soldier walked in to express his condolences.

"Is there Intel here?" a mourner asked, referring to the feared security police.

A mourner wore a T-shirt with the slogan "Remember Timor" under a picture of a soldier dragging away a young man.

Relatives said the family's hopes were pinned on Francis. The only wage earner in the family of 13 is a sister whose salary is 115,000 rupiah (58 dollars) a month.

Soldiers patrolled roads outside the house and set up checkpoints on the approaches to Dili. They stopped vehicles travelling to Tasitolo about six km (four miles) from Dili, warning journalists against straying too far from the area.

Rumours were rife among Timorese that troops had buried scores of other victims in a dried lake bed.

A shepherd said he was walking along a road around 5 p.m. on Tuesday when two military trucks went by laden with bodies.

"We could see the heads through the open back of the trucks and our friends said the soldiers took the bodies out and buried them in Tebor (up the road from Tasitolo)."

East Timor's military commander said the shooting was the result of a misunderstanding over a command. He said a junior officer had

shouted "Don't shoot!" when faced with a crowd of over 3,000 mourners who appeared to be advancing threateningly.

"If it was a mistake they sure took their time to correct it," a diplomat said. One witness said troops fired continuously into the crowd for at least five minutes.

An Australian aid worker who witnessed the shooting said in Melbourne official explanations of what happened were untrue. He called the incident "premeditated, well-orchestrated and unprovoked."

The government waited until Thursday to announce what it said was the death toll. Authorities in Dili said the 19 dead were buried two days earlier.

Indonesia has come under sharp international criticism for the killings. Diplomats from Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Britain and Japan have flown into East Timor to try to check the various versions of what happened.

They were joined on Friday by an official from the U.S. State Department which has expressed serious concern about the human rights situation in East Timor, diplomatic sources said.

They said 222 members of the House of Representatives had sent a letter of concern to Secretary of State James Baker.

Diplomats say up to 200,000 people in Timor have died from war or famine under Indonesian rule. The present population is 750,000.

A New Zealand diplomat, who arrived two days after the shooting, would not comment on the death of the only foreigner killed in the army action. New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj was an aid worker in his 20s.

The official Antara news agency said his mother was on her way to East Timor. It is not known if the family will be able to recover the body, buried by the army in an unmarked grave.

## NAMES OF 17 DEAD ANNOUNCED (TAPOL)

TAPOL report, 16 November 1991

Independent circles in Dili have begun to compile the names of people known to have died when Indonesian troops opened fired on several thousand people in Santa Cruz cemetery early Tuesday morning, 12 November 1991. It is understood that the names were compiled on the basis of the identification of bodies at the Dili General Hospital.

The following 17 names have so far been announced:

1. Elidio do Amaral, 20 years, from Viqueque, SPG
2. Aristides dos Santos, 19 years, from Dili, SMA
3. Mario Miguel, 20 years, from Dili, SMA
4. Ana Romana Freitas, 25 years, from Dili, unemployed
5. Eduard da Silva, 22 years, from Dili, Lorosae Uni. student
6. Jose Kodok, 20 years, from Laga, unemployed
7. Abonno Carlos, 22 years, from Dili, polytechnic student

8. Custodia Benevides, 15 years, from Maubisse, SMA

9. Porfirio, 24 years, from Manatuto, bus conductor

10. Nunu, 28 years, from Los Palos, unemployed

11. Levi Corte Real, 18 years, from Ainaro, SMA

12. Antoni Cleret Filipe Alves, 21 years, from Dili, SMA

13. Gregorio, 25 years, from Dili, unemployed

14. Rafael Tilman Fernandes, 20 years, from Dili, SMA

15. Agostinho Tilman Fernandes, 18 years, from Dili, SMA

16. Ismael Jose dos Reis, 17 years, from Dili, SMA

17. Agapito de Deus, 19 years, from Dili, former San Jose student.

SPG - teacher training school SMA - high school.

## SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE SEEN ON TV IN NETHERLANDS

TAPOL report, 16 November 1991

Scenes of the Santa Cruz massacre, taken by a Yorkshire Television cameraman, were shown on Dutch television this evening. The footage shows people entering the cemetery, and people running in all directions.

The film was shown by Kenmerk Television, a church-based company.

## HAWKE FIRING OFF AN EMPTY CANNON AT INDONESIA (SMH)

Sydney Morning Herald 16 Nov 1991 David Jenkins

The Prime Minister strongly condemned the bloodbath in East Timor and called on Indonesia to initiate talks with Fretilin, the small resistance force which carries on its shoulders the hopes and aspirations of so many East Timorese.

Mr Hawke has demanded a show of 'contrition' by the Soeharto government, called for a 'dinkum' inquiry into the killings, and a guarantee that Jakarta will deal with those responsible.

This, as the prime ministerial handlers have been quick to point out, is an important change in Australia's position. Until now, we have said that East Timor was an internal affair of Indonesia.

The Hawke statements are useful. They will serve as a reminder to regional countries that they can't expect neighbours to turn a blind eye to flagrant breaches of human rights. They may help nudge Jakarta into talks with the East Timorese resistance.

But when all is said and done, Mr Hawke is using the old Chinese device of 'firing off an empty cannon'. There is a lot of noise and smoke but not much damage.

Australia, the Prime Minister makes clear, has no intention of withdrawing its recognition of East Timor as a province of Indonesia - even though the territory was incorporated at the point of a bayonet, and even though there

has never been a proper act of self-determination.

And he is sidestepping calls for mediation by the United Nations, a body which, after 16 years, is yet to recognise Indonesia's annexation of the territory.

This is probably about as much as anyone could have expected from Canberra. When it comes to Indonesia, our reactions are shaped by realpolitik.

Mr Hawke knew he had to come out strongly on the killings. You can't weep for the dead of Tiananmen Square one day and turn a blind eye to a massacre 500 kilometres from Darwin the next. But he also knew he had to avoid giving too much offence in Indonesia.

The Prime Minister seems to have squared this circle quite well.

In the meantime, those in charge of 'spin control' in Jakarta seem to be moving smoothly to downplay the extent to the massacre, which may raise doubts in some minds about just how dinkum the inquiry will be.

Jakarta is claiming that only 19 died - a day after Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno acknowledged that the toll was close to 50 - and is promoting the line that the trouble was largely the fault of an unruly, well-armed Timorese mob, a claim that flies in the face of reliable eyewitness accounts.

Journalists have been shown 19 freshly dug graves.

This wouldn't be the first time an Indonesian death toll has dropped mysteriously with each passing day. When troops opened fire on Muslim protesters in Jakarta in 1984, killing about 60, the government is said to have got the toll down by only counting those it could actually identify. If you didn't have an ID card, you weren't considered dead.

At the same time, officials seem to be tripping over themselves with conflicting explanations of what happened. One explanation - that the local commander said 'Don't shoot!' and his troops thought he said 'Shoot!' - isn't likely to inspire much confidence in the Indonesian Army. If the matter weren't so tragic, it would be worthy of Basil Fawlty - 'When I said, 'Don't' shoot', what I meant to say was...'

That said, Jakarta does seem to be making an effort to appease international opinion. Local military commanders have spoken of their 'deep regret' over the incident.

The killings in Dili could not have come at a worse time for Canberra.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, has been talking up the relationship with Indonesia. He has stressed the warmth of his ties with Ali Alatas, his Indonesian opposite number. He has hailed the Timor Gap treaty with Indonesia as exemplary creative diplomacy. He has said that the relationship with Jakarta is now 'so much more substantial' that only a very large storm would disturb it.

Mr Evans deserves credit for his efforts, in this as in other fields. They have been positive. They will help Canberra and Jakarta ride out the new storm. But Mr Evans is a hyperactive foreign minister. He is sometimes in danger of getting too far out in front.

Most Australians remain deeply sceptical of Indonesia. Jakarta has resorted to force three times in 15 years to achieve its foreign

policy goals - over Malaysia, West New Guinea and East Timor. It has sent troops across the border into Papua New Guinea. It has a poor record at home on human rights.

The events in Dili won't do much to persuade Australians that they have been wrong about Indonesia. Nor will it help for Gareth Evans to claim that the Timor Gap treaty 'illustrates eloquently how differences between the two systems can be overcome to mutual benefit'.

On talk-back radio, many Australians have been voicing their disquiet - even disgust - at the treaty, under which Canberra and Jakarta have carved up a potentially oil-rich seabed to their mutual advantage, ignoring objections from Portugal, which still claims sovereignty over East Timor, and which wants a proper act of self-determination.

The suspicion that we negotiated the treaty simply because we had expectations of an oil bonanza is misplaced. We signed because we wanted to prove we could get on with our large and populous neighbour.

But at a time like this, the treaty leaves a nasty taste in the mouth.

Bob Hawke says that one reason we continue to recognise East Timor as part of Indonesia is that this enables us to go on channelling aid into the territory. That doesn't sound quite so philanthropic when you have just divided up oil leases that would in difference circumstances have gone to the East Timorese.

Mr Hawke, so ready to claim the high moral ground on issues like China and Kuwait, looks more than a little hypocritical when it comes to East Timor.

During the Gulf War, he expressed outrage that Saddam Hussein had annexed Kuwait and declared it the 19th province of Iraq. He stopped saying that when it was drawn to his attention that President Soeharto had invaded East Timor and declared it the 27th province of Indonesia.

Now the Prime Minister is saying we should 'look to the future' on East Timor. That phrase has a history. It was introduced by Australia's ambassador in Jakarta shortly after Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. We have been looking to the future for 16 years. In East Timor, the future never seems much better than the past.

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### CONDEMN INDONESIAN MASSACRE, CANADA URGED (GLOBE AND MAIL)

*The Globe and Mail, 16 November 1991.*

*Comment: Jose Luis Guterres, Fretilin representative to the UN, is visiting Toronto and Ottawa at the invitation of the East Timor Alert Network to pressure the Canadian government to condemn the Dili massacre. In Toronto, he has met with the Portuguese Consul General, members of the 100,000-strong Portuguese community, MP Dan Heap, and others, and attended a demonstration outside the constituency office of External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. On Monday he will meet members of parliament from all three parties and the issue will be raised in question period.*

By Linda Hossie TORONTO-- A founder of the East Timorese resistance called on

Canada yesterday to condemn an Indonesian army attack Tuesday in which dozens of unarmed East Timorese were killed.

"I'm surprised that the Canadian government did not take a clear stand against a massacre that was denounced worldwide by many countries," said Jose Luis Guterres, a founder of Fretilin, the clandestine military group that opposes Indonesia's takeover of East Timor.

"Why doesn't Canada join the civilized world in denouncing brutality in East Timor?" Mr. Guterres asked. "If Canada keeps its silence, it will be an indirect supporter of such brutality."

The incident in question occurred in East Timor's capital, Dili, when troops opened fire on a group of mourners at the graveside of a young nationalist who was killed by Indonesian security forces on Oct. 28 after several disturbances in the city.

Several Western witnesses of the assault have released statements through the media indicating that the soldiers opened fire without provocation, even attacking children. U.S. journalist Allan Nairn told Reuter that "it was a case of a planned and systematic operation; this was a very disciplined operation."

The shooting prompted outrage around the world. Both the European Community and the United States have condemned the action. Amnesty International has called for an independent investigation. In Lisbon, the Portuguese government called the shooting "inhuman repression."

The federal government has released no formal statement on the shooting, calls to External Affairs were not returned.

In an interview in Toronto, Mr. Guterres said the statements reflect a change in world opinion, which has been relatively tolerant of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. Since 1975, when Indonesia invaded East Timor, as many as 200,000 East Timorese have died as a result of war, forced starvation and repression.

"We have been denouncing since 1975 all these atrocities and no one listened to us," Mr. Guterres said. However, the condemnation of the shootings this week "is a clear sign of change," he said.

Mr. Guterres has just arrived in North America to represent Fretilin at the United Nations as an informal lobbyist. He rejected charges that the group is leftist. Fretilin has no ideology but supports multi-party elections, he said.

Mr. Guterres came to Canada to raise awareness about Canada's support for Indonesia and its failure to condemn human-rights violations in East Timor, he said.

Since 1975, the United Nations has consistently condemned the invasion but Canada, like the United States, has not supported these resolutions.

Mr. Guterres said that since the invasion of Kuwait -- another illegal invasion of one country by another -- the East Timor situation has assumed a larger profile on the international stage.

He noted that U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the foreign relations committee, is drafting a bi-partisan resolution asking the administration to suspend military assistance to Indonesia. Mr. Pell made the announcement yesterday in Washington.

Fretilin is calling on the world to end all military exports to Indonesia, Mr. Guterres said. He also asked for world support for a referendum in East Timor, to be conducted under international auspices, to determine the region's future.

## HUNDREDS IN AUSTRALIA MOURN DEAD OF DILI (AFP)

SYDNEY, Nov 16 (AFP) - Hundreds of people gathered in central Sydney on Saturday for a protest march and memorial ceremony for victims of the massacre by Indonesian troops in Dili, East Timor's capital.

Some 700 marchers shouted "Stop the Killing" and "Suharto Is a Butcher" -- a reference to the Indonesian president -- as they made their way through light drizzle towards Sydney's Hyde Park.

Here they lit candles and placed them before portraits of some of those who died in the shootings in Dili, among them Sydney university student Kamal Bamadhaj.

In Adelaide about 150 people took part in a rally at the office of the Indonesian government-owned airline Garuda.

Commenting on the response of Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke to the killings, Andrew Alcock of the South Australian Campaign for an Independent East Timor said, "To simply call on the perpetrators to conduct an inquiry and to punish those responsible indicates that the Australian Government is not serious about finding a just solution to the Timor question."

United Trades and Labour Council assistant secretary Chris White said the union movement would attempt to pressure the government to seek negotiations on East Timor's independence and a United Nations investigation into the massacre.

"The whole situation of East Timor has to be reassessed and Foreign Minister Gareth Evans must take up some leadership on the issue," White said.

## PRESS IGNORES EAST TIMOR MASSACRE (RYTER)

*Forwarded from ACTIV-L list: Date: Sat, 16 Nov 1991 23:08:51 CST From: Loren Ryter <ST701831@BROWNVN.BITNET>*

East Timor is one of the most under-reported tragedies of our time. The fact that even brief reports are appearing in the mainstream press on the latest slaughter is encouraging, but the lack of context is not. The New York Times, in its first reference to East Timor since January, 1991, reported the incident, but made no reference to the fact that since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, at least 200,000 people, or over a third of the pre-invasion population, has been killed by massive bombing and executions, and deliberate destruction of crops and the withholding of food, resulting in massive starvation and famine.

Interestingly, the last mention made of East Timor in the Times was an editorial by the Press Councillor of the Embassy of Indonesia, who denied both that there were any human rights violations, and rejected comparisons of

the East Timor situation with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on the grounds that East Timor was not a sovereign nation and that they had asked to be integrated with Indonesia. Neither is true. East Timor was in the middle of the decolonization process and there was some contention about what its post-colonial status would be (resulting in a three week civil war, encouraged by Indonesia), but the victorious group, FRETILIN, had declared independence on November 28, 1975. Indonesia invaded 10 days later on December 7, 1975. The supposed request for integration was made by a puppet provincial government installed after the invasion from the main city which was under Indonesian control.

Interestingly, as Noam Chomsky has pointed out, the atrocious situation in East Timor can be compared to the contemporary situation in Cambodia, where the Khmer Rouge began its notorious rise to power in 1975, also executing and starving the people. This has gained widespread public attention, whereas East Timor has not. The difference? The Khmer Rouge are communists, and thus the enemies of the Americans, whereas the Indonesians are in contrast the bastion of capitalism and thus democracy in Southeast Asia, and thus the allies of the Americans.

In terms of the most recent events, the new coalition building in Cambodia has usurped coverage of the violence in East Timor. The Times devoted a small, page 13 article to East Timor, while giving a page 3 position to a long article on Cambodia, complete with a picture of happy Cambodians standing in front of a billboard portrait of the deposed monarch, Prince Sihanouk. In a front page article the previous day, when the East Timor massacre had taken place, readers were reminded of the "starvation" and "terror" of the Khmer Rouge.

The cold war is supposedly over, and it is time to acknowledge the US role in the acquiescence to and the encouragement of the Indonesian reign of terror in East Timor. We have supplied the aircraft which have attacked Timorese villages, and the guns as well.

It is unsurprising that comparisons to Iraq should be brushed off by the American people, because most Americans have never heard of East Timor. Their lack of knowledge cannot be attributed to ignorance, but instead to the absence of information available for mass consumption. The time has come to make the situation more widely known.

I would be glad to answer any questions anyone might have about the situation or to submit one of two essays I have written about East Timor.

-- Loren Ryter

## LEADING INDONESIAN MP TELLS JAKARTA TO REVIEW RULE IN TIMOR (REUTER)

*By Jonathan Thatcher*

JAKARTA, Nov 16, Reuter - Indonesia must reevaluate its rule in East Timor after the army opened fire on mourners there this week, a leading parliamentarian said on Saturday.

"There needs to be an evaluation of the whole policy of our approach in East Timor," Marzuki Darusman, a member of the ruling

Golkar party and one of the country's few outspoken members of parliament, told Reuters.

East Timor's Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo has said he had reports that up to 180 people were killed in the shooting last Tuesday. The official death toll is 19 with 91 wounded.

Indonesia, struggling for 16 years to integrate the unwilling former Portuguese colony into its diverse archipelago, has promised to send a team to investigate the shooting.

It will be headed by the deputy chief of Strategic Intelligence, Major General Arie Sudewo.

Jakarta must set up an independent commission "to signal a strong message to the international community of the seriousness of the government about clarifying what happened," Marzuki said.

He suggested it be made up of Indonesians independent of government.

Diplomats say the shootings have turned the tide against Indonesia which was gradually gaining acceptance for its rule over East Timor, still not recognised by the United Nations.

Jakarta has controlled the predominantly Roman Catholic province of 750,000 people since 1976.

Without an independent study that satisfies the world community soon, Indonesia can expect international problems, Marzuki said.

Witnesses dispute the army version of Tuesday's incident that it was a misunderstanding of orders and that troops had been provoked into firing at the crowd of 3,500 which was mourning the death in riots two weeks earlier of an independence sympathiser.

"It was a case of a planned and systematic massacre... This was a very disciplined operation. This was not a situation where you had some hothead who ran amok," said U.S. journalist Allan Nairn who had been in the crowd.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who returned to Indonesia on Friday night, called foreign media reports of the incident exaggerated but admitted it was bound to affect his country.

Marzuki said that Indonesia's rapid development of East Timor after three centuries of neglect by Portuguese colonialists had been too fast while other aspects of life had been left behind.

"The people have no sense of identity with the government except with (East Timor governor Mario Viegas) Carrascalao. He was the sole hope of the people," Marzuki said.

Carrascalao, himself Timorese, has blamed the army for what happened, saying it has undermined his credibility to rule and charged the military with backing pro-Jakarta extremists.

"People used to sleep with daggers in bed to protect themselves from those who were against us and now they do it to protect themselves from us," Carrascalao told the daily Kompas.

"We are reconstituting an entirely new community and it serves no purpose to polarise it by distinguishing between the pro and anti (Indonesia) elements," Marzuki said. "The trauma of integration has not gone yet."

But the question of giving up impoverished East Timor, whose population at the eastern end of the archipelago accounts for less than

0.1 per cent of the Indonesian total, was not open to debate, he said.

"Ownership is a fact of life. That should be driven home. Apart from that anything is debatable."

## ALATAS BLASTS FOREIGN MEDIA, BUT PARLIAMENT HEAD WANTS TRUE STORY

(UPI)

By *SUKINO HARISUMARTO*

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Nov 16 (UPI) -- Foreign Minister Ali Alatas deplored as biased foreign media reporting on the shooting deaths of funeral marchers by soldiers in East Timor and said the controversy would die down as "more facts come to the surface."

Alatas, speaking with reporters Friday night upon his return from Seoul, said he nevertheless was shocked by the incident Tuesday in the East Timor capital Dili and expressed his "deep regret" over it.

Government officials have said 19 people died and 91 were wounded when Indonesian troops fired on a funeral procession for two advocates of East Timor independence who were killed last month. Other sources and witnesses have claimed between 50 and 100 people, or perhaps many more, were killed.

Authorities said troops rained bullets on some 3,500 people in the march because they misheard an order not to open fire.

Alatas said certain mass media, "especially foreign press, are making biased stories" of the incident.

"It would have been senseless for the security forces to shoot people at will," Alatas said. He said an unruly procession had developed into a rioting mob, making it necessary for the security forces to respond with firm action.

Alatas said he hoped the international uproar over the issue would die down "as more facts come to the surface."

An Australian witness to the shooting accused Indonesia of "lying" about the incident and called it "the most appalling atrocity ever perpetrated on the people of East Timor."

Bob Muntz of Melbourne, a worker with the Community Aid Abroad organization, said the number of dead was closer to 80 than the 19 acknowledged by Indonesian authorities.

"They (the soldiers) began firing ... it was a rain of systematic automatic weapons fire from many, many guns, into a street where there were thousands of people," Muntz said. "It was a crowded street with no possibility of cover."

Alatas said the incident "clearly affects Indonesia's bid to solve the issue of East Timor's integration into Indonesia." But he refused to predict how great the effect would be, saying, "That would depend on the judgment of foreigners."

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976 despite protests by the United Nations and other groups that East Timorese should be allowed to govern themselves after 400 years of rule by Lisbon.

Human rights groups have said up to 200,000 people -- one-third of the population of East Timor -- were killed in fighting for

control on the province that broke out soon after the Portuguese withdrawal.

Alatas said he felt Portugal would benefit from the latest incident, at least in the short term. "But don't be too sure the incident will make Portugal's position much better than Indonesia's on the matter of East Timor," he said.

Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, the regional military chief, Friday named the leader of the pro-independence Fretilin movement, Xanana Gusmao, as responsible for the bloody incident.

The government has sent a fact-finding team to Dili, 1,250 miles east of Jakarta, headed by Maj. Gen. Arie Sudewo, deputy chief of military intelligence.

"In a short period of time, the result of investigation into the incident will be announced," the government said in a statement.

House Speaker Kharis Suhud said the shootings were "a very serious issue" and said he would seek an explanation in the near future from armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno.

"I don't want to blame anybody but I want to know exactly what happened there," Suhud said.

## INDONESIA SETS UP COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE TIMOR KILLINGS (REUTER)

By *Muklis Ali*

JAKARTA, Nov 17, Reuter - Indonesia said on Sunday a senior judge would head a commission to investigate last week's shooting by the army of mourners in East Timor.

Several countries have demanded a full explanation of events in the former Portuguese colony where the military says 19 were killed and 91 wounded though other reports put the death toll as high as 180.

State Secretary Mardiono said the commission, to be led by a supreme court judge, would include officials from the interior, foreign and justice ministries, the armed forces and members of parliament and the supreme advisory council.

The military says Tuesday's shooting was the result of a misunderstood order and troops fired as the crowd of 3,500 Timorese, mourning the death of a separatist sympathiser two weeks earlier, approached them threateningly.

"The government also noted with deep concern that there was provocation that had been prepared in advance by certain elements," Mardiono said.

Several witnesses say the attack was unprovoked and that soldiers sprayed bullets into the crowd, which included children, for at least five minutes.

Since it annexed the impoverished territory in 1976, a move still not widely internationally recognised, Jakarta has been fighting against a dwindling group of poorly armed guerrillas and bitter resentment of its rule.

Indonesia has been accused of widespread human rights abuses there and diplomats estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died from war and famine since Indonesian troops swept in as civil war was breaking out

in 1975 after Portugal quit its colony of 300 years.

Murdiono said that anyone proved to have violated the law would be brought to court and tried according to national laws.

The commission will be set up as soon as possible, but he gave no dates.

Deputy chief of the strategic intelligence body, Bais, is leading the military's investigation.

## INDONESIAN ARMY STRUGGLES TO WIN HEARTS OF TIMORESE (REUTER)

By *Moses Manoharan*

DILI, East Timor, Nov 16, Reuter - The army's killing of mourners in a cemetery this week has brought Indonesian authorities to the brink of defeat in a 16-year struggle with the Roman Catholic church for the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor.

Even senior government and military officials in East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976 after its Portuguese colonial rulers left, said Tuesday's shooting into a crowd at a memorial service in Santa Cruz cemetery was a serious setback.

"I have lost some credibility. The army has lost some credibility...some or all," East Timor's governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said.

At the heart of the problem is government policy for integrating into Moslem-dominated Indonesia the territory of 750,000 people who are mainly dark-skinned, passionately Roman Catholic, and whose cultural outlook is still oriented toward Portugal.

Jakarta has used the military to implement development projects including the building of roads, schools and hospitals in efforts to merge the Timorese with the rest of Indonesia's population, mostly lighter skinned with a strong Hindu or Moslem cultural outlook.

Analysts say that while economic development has brought the territory into the modern world the dominance of the military, consistently accused by international human rights groups of brutality against the East Timorese, has only deepened dissatisfaction with Indonesia's presence.

"We have even built more churches than them (the Catholic clergy)," Carrascalao said, but admitted it did not dent the authority of the church whose greater sensitivity to social problems and justice secured the loyalty of the East Timorese.

He attacked the military for creating conditions that led to Tuesday's incident in which the death toll has been put as high as 180. The army says 19 died.

The military armed and trained extreme rightists supporting the merger with Indonesia as part of a strategy called a territorial approach to curb anti-Indonesia activists who had been inspired by Fretilin guerrillas, he said.

In the process rightists employed the feared security police to settle private scores and divided the people of East Timor, he added.

"In all this the military is seen as the villain, the church the refuge," said an official.

Major General Sintong Panjaitan, east Indonesia's military commander, has defended the army's controversial strategy of the territorial approach, which also enlisted Timorese in militias to liaise between the people and the military.

Carrascalao said the policy had only succeeded in the villages, not in Dili, and he advised the army to stop recruiting Timorese, who have a long history of fighting among themselves.

There were 35 kingdoms when the Portuguese came and the last bloody tribal war was as late as 1912, he said.

Under Indonesian rule the number of schools has risen from 70 to 575, boosting literacy which was only eight per cent under Portugal.

But Carrascalao said there were no jobs for the graduates and per capita annual income of 150 dollars, up almost four-fold from colonial times, is only a fraction of the rest of Indonesia.

Analysts say economic development has brought better-educated migrants from other parts of the country who have pushed aside the East Timorese, exacerbating anti-Indonesia sentiment.

The unifying force in East Timor is the church whose reach is reflected in the shrines and statues of Christ and the Virgin Mary dotting the territory and the power of the priests who arbitrate social disputes among the people.

"People follow the church blindly. The army will fail if it doesn't listen to the church," Carrascalao said.

General Sintong has threatened to close the only school in the territory teaching Portuguese, which is run by the church.

Analysts say that would force the two sides into a showdown which the military was certain to lose in terms of winning the sympathy of the people.

"It's a difficult time for optimism," the East Timor governor said.

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## TWO MORE MASSACRE EYE-WITNESSES SPEAK (OBSERVER)

*Today, Sunday 17 November 1991, two eyewitness accounts of the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November have appeared in the British press. The following appeared in The Observer. Another much longer account has appeared in the Independent on Sunday which also carries and editorial. Both will be posted later.*

## MOURNERS WALKED INTO BLOODY AMBUSH

### Missionary reveals plot of East Timor's Sharpeville

*By Hugh O'Shaughnessy*

Dramatic new evidence provided to The Observer about last week's killing and wounding of hundreds of people in Dili, the main town of Indonesian-occupied East Timor, testifies that the massacre was a meticulously planned military operation aimed at killing the principle protestors against the occupation.

Contrary to the version put about by the regime of General Suharto, it was not an incident which could be blamed on trigger-happy Indonesian soldiers responding to provocation from civilians.

The tragedy which is being called the Indonesian Sharpeville, has concentrated world attention on the former Portuguese colony that has been under occupation since Suharto's forces invaded in 1975. Under the occupation, according to Amnesty International, about 200,000 people have died in a country whose population is today put at about 600,000.

Renato Stefani, an Italian missionary from Turin, who was in Dili last week, gave a detailed account of the killing. A procession of mourners formed early on Tuesday at Motael Church in the western sector of the capital, to walk to the Santa Cruz cemetery in commemoration of Sebastiao Gomes, a young Timorese killed by Indonesian forces last month.

"It was a well-planned trap," said Stefani from his home in Tokyo yesterday. "The mourners were accompanied by police until they reached the Nova Resende Hotel in the centre of the town, when the police suddenly withdrew. Troops rapidly appeared from all sides and went with the mourners to the cemetery. When several hundred mourners were inside and several hundred more were pressing to get in, the army opened fire for two or three minutes, reloading their weapons when they were empty. Perhaps a thousand rounds were fired.

"In the cemetery, an Indonesian took out a knife and plunged it into the belly of a young Timorese mourner and ripped it about until he died. It was a sea of blood. Hours after the massacre I saw bloodstains on the road - even though the soldiers had tried to scrub them out."

Though the Indonesian account of the killing has varied, one principal thread has been that the troops had responded to provocation. Stefani said the wounded were removed from the civil hospital in Dili to the military one. "The relatives were begging the military for the bodies before they started rotting in the heat, but the army took no notice. Corpses were being put in mass graves."

Stefani who had visited other parts of East Timor before the massacre, also reported fresh graves in the military cemetery at the town of Baucau, which pointed to the fact that the occupation forces were continuing to suffer casualties at the hand of the Timorese guerrilla resistance, the Falintil, commanded by its veteran leader, Xanana Gusmao.

"There will be worse days to come," suggested Stefani as he told of Falintil's pledges to step up the war on the occupiers. In the opinion of Stefani who left Dili last Thursday, the massacre has only strengthened Timorese resistance to the military dictatorship in Indonesia, which purported to annex East Timor in 1976. "Before the massacre about 80 per cent of Timorese were opposed to union with Indonesia. Today, it must be 95 per cent," he said.

The international outcry that has followed the massacre has, according to diplomatic observers, put paid to the efforts of the Indonesian regime to get tacit international acceptance of its annexation of East Timor.

The annexation has been formally acknowledged only by Australia, whose government is keen to exploit the reportedly vast Timorese oil reserves. Even Bob Hawke, the Australian Prime Minister, called the killing "deplorable" and demanded punishment for those responsible.

New Zealand has sent a diplomat to investigate the death at the cemetery of one of its citizens, Kamal Banadhaj, an aid worker of Malaysian parentage. In Washington 222 members of the House of Representatives sent a letter of concern to Secretary of State James Baker; two US reporters were badly beaten by Indonesian troops in the melee.

In Britain, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has played down its reaction. A spokesman admitted that Britain had joined its European Community partners in condemnation, but said that when the Indonesian ambassador was called in last week, Britain had expressed concern which did not amount to a protest.

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## SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE: JAKARTA PREPARING FOR A COVER-UP (TAPOL)

*Today, 17 November 1991, TAPOL issued the following Press Release:*

The announcement yesterday by Moerdiono, Minister/State Secretary, that a Supreme Court judge will head a commission to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, East Timor on 12 November is a futile attempt to fend off international calls for an independent inquiry. Dozens of people were killed in cold blood and hundreds were injured, many seriously, when troops opened fire on several thousand people as they entered the Santa Cruz cemetery to pay their respects to Sebastiao Gomes, the victim of an earlier shooting incident.

The commission will include representatives from the armed forces, the ministry of justice, the interior ministry and the foreign affairs ministry. All these bodies are dominated by the military and can only be expected to produce a cover-up.

The armed forces strategic intelligence agency, BAIS, is to carry out a separate inquiry. BAIS is responsible for investigating 'subversive' activities; hence the aim of the BAIS inquiry will be to back up the army's claim that Tuesday's demonstration was a riot that had been instigated and infiltrated by the armed resistance.

Calls for an independent and impartial inquiry, held under international supervision, have already come from the Portuguese, US, Australian and Dutch governments, as well as from Amnesty International. Asia Watch has stressed that the commission of inquiry should be composed of people who are independent "of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry". Editorial comments in Indonesia have also stressed the need for impartiality; otherwise, they acknowledge, it will lack all credibility.

The massacre is causing shockwaves in Indonesia not only among human rights activists who have courageously protested publicly against the atrocity, but among mainstream politicians, such as Marzuki

Darusman, an MP from the governing GOLKAR, who has called for a "reevaluation of our policy towards East Timor".

TAPOL has now received the names of 17 of the people killed last Tuesday. Many are in their mid-teens and none is older than 24.

The Santa Cruz massacre is only the latest in a long string of bloodbaths, dating back to 1965, when at least half a million people were slaughtered at the instigation of the armed forces under General Suharto, as the army seized power. But this is the first time Indonesia has been roundly condemned internationally.

## 80 PRISONERS SHOT DEAD ON 15 NOVEMBER (TAPOL)

*Today, 17 November 1991, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release:*

Eighty prisoners, most of them youths, were shot dead in the district of Bemos on 15 November 1991. According to reliable sources whose identity must be protected for their own security, the 80 prisoners were loaded into four trucks, from the Dili Korem (military headquarters), from Taibesse, and from Manleuana (where a new detention centre has been set up since the Santa Cruz massacre) and taken to Bemos.

The troops first forced the prisoners to strip naked. Their hands and feet were bound and they were blindfolded. After being loaded onto the trucks, they were covered with a huge canvass so that no-one could see what was inside the trucks.

After arriving in Bemos, the prisoners were taken from the trucks to the edge of a newly-dug ditches and shot dead with several volleys of machine-gun fire.

The troops who carried out this premeditated slaughter, just three days after the massacre in Santa Cruz, Dili, were hooded but it is known that they are from the 700th and 744th battalions. These battalions are from the Hasanuddin Division, in South Sulawesi.

The occupiers have now transferred many prisoners to Kupang (Indonesian Timor) to hide them from foreign missions that are visiting the territory at present and to prevent them from getting International Red Cross protection.

It has been confirmed that many of the Timorese who were murdered in Santa Cruz were children, primary school pupils who were going to an early morning shift when they joined the procession as it left Motael Church, on their way to school. Unprepared and confused by the ferocity of the army's attack, they had much greater difficulty than the adults in escaping from the gunfire.

This new crime makes it even more imperative for western governments to move without delay to convene a meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the rapidly deteriorating situation in East Timor. It is also essential for the UN to establish a presence in East Timor as soon as possible, by sending its Special Rapporteur on Summary or Arbitrary Executions.

## IN THE WRONG COUNTRY (Independent on Sunday Editorial)

*7 November 1991. [The Independent on Sunday is the sister paper of The Independent, one of the leading British dailies.] The same issue contains a long eyewitness account, "Massacre among the graves" by a journalist using a pseudonym.*

In January, Britain and America went to war because, five months earlier, an oil-rich country had invaded a small neighbour and declared it a province. Last week the soldiers of another oil-rich country, occupying the territory of a small neighbour, shot dead scores of unarmed civilians who were demanding the right of self-determination.

This was not the first massacre in East Timor; nor, probably, will it be the last. This small Pacific nation, 400 miles north of Australia was invaded by Indonesia 16 years ago. News of last week's massacre spread fast because, unusually, foreigners were present. There was some outrage from the allies that went to Kuwait's defence, but not much. East Timor is a country that everyone wants to forget; a few British voices mentioned it in January but only to make their case against the Gulf war.

Genocide is not too strong a word for what has happened in this former Portuguese colony. It is widely accepted that since Indonesia's "intervention" some 200,000 people out of a population of 600,000 have died -- from military action, summary execution, disease and famine. A generation has been all but wiped out. Remarkably, the termination of the next generation seems undiminished. The occupiers tried to turn the young people of East Timor into good Indonesians, investing heavily in education, outlawing the local language and taking the brightest to Java to be trained as administrators. But the young have used their newly acquired skills against the occupiers, waging a kind of intifada.

The United Nations is opposed to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. But its resolutions have not been translated into action. They probably never will be. Indonesia, unlike Iraq, does not threaten the balance of power in a strategically important region. It does not threaten oil supplies. There is no direct danger to an American ally. Yet the moral principles are almost identical to those called in support of the Gulf war. East Timor's misfortune is to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

## MILITARY MAINTAIN SECURITY CORDON AROUND DILI (AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 17 (AFP) - Indonesian security forces have maintained a cordon around the East Timor capital Dili in the wake of last week's bloody shooting, sources said Sunday.

Heavily armed guards manned inspection posts on all roads out of Dili and all travellers were being asked to produce their identity cards for checking, the sources said.

In outlying towns, they said, troops had arrested a number of young East Timorese believed to have fled East Timor's main city after the shooting.

The sources also said that the authorities were still denying access to the military hospital. The military have said that the 91 injured were admitted into the hospital for treatment.

## DARWIN WITNESSES SPEAK! (AGE)

*The (Melbourne) Age, 18 November 91 Byline: Chips MacKinolty*

*Title: New claims of army atrocities*

*Comment: This report is accompanied by a useful bird's eye view of the cemetery and surrounding streets drawn by an artist on the basis of information from witnesses to the slaughter. The newspaper title of this article reflects more the accompanying reports than the contents of this article.*

An English photographer, Stephen Cox, said yesterday that he was lucky to be alive as he told of being trapped for 30 minutes in a crypt in the Santa Cruz cemetery with Indonesian troops mowed down East Timorese weapons.

'I was in the crypt with dozens of people, with children as young as six or seven piled on top of each other, cowering and reciting prayers over and over again,' Mr Cox said.

'As the military moved around the cemetery firing, people dragged themselves into the crypts bleeding and dying.

'I was just crouched in the middle. I couldn't take in what was happening, just seeing blood and flesh hanging off people mortally wounded. It still hasn't sunk in.

Mr Cox, 29, and an Australian radio journalist, Mr Russell Anderson, 31, arrived in Darwin at the weekend after forcing their way on to a plane at Dili Airport last Wednesday to fly to the relative safety of Kupang on the western tip of Timor.

Both had attended the memorial services and street march in Dili in which an unknown number of East Timorese were killed by Indonesian soldiers.

They have added their accounts to earlier versions of what happened. As with other foreign witnesses, their stories contradict the official Indonesian line on two counts: that the number killed was no more than 19 (with another 91 injured), and that the army had been provoked into opening fire.

Their accounts contain new allegations of army atrocities.

Mr Cox said he had followed the column of mourners into the cemetery.. 'They were very orderly as they filed in and then there was an almighty burst of fire', he said.

'There was total panic as we were forced back into the crypt. There were small groups of soldiers moving around the cemetery, shooting indiscriminately.

'After half-an-hour they came and dragged the kids out. Many were injured, with head wounds, wounds all over their bodies.

'An Indonesian soldier wearing plain clothes saw me and yelled at me, saying: 'What are you doing here, what are you doing here? You've seen everything!' I tried to reply but he yelled 'Shut your mouth. I saved you.'

'As I was being frogmarched out to a truck, I can confirm from the limited view I had that I saw at least 60 bodies. The military were dragging them by the feet with their heads bouncing on the ground and piling them on to trucks.

'I was beaten in the truck and then thrown out at a police station on the outskirts of Dili.'

Mr Anderson, a resident of Darwin, said yesterday that Indonesian reports of provocative and use of weapons by East Timorese were false.

'In fact the opposite was the case. The march from the Motael church was orderly, and youth attendants on the march linked arms to slow down the marchers and keep anything getting out of hand.

'There was absolutely no physical provocation, no arms displayed. Not one of the seven foreigners on the march saw any rock, knife or stick.'

Mr Anderson said the marchers had left the Motael church after an hour-long service that began at 6am. The marchers had intended to walk four kilometres past the residence of the East Timorese Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, to the Santa Cruz cemetery, and then to the Hotel Tourrissimo, where Mr Peter Koojimans, a delegate from the United Nations Rights Commission, was staying.

When the marchers reached the cemetery, the military cut them off from the rear and started unloading troops. 'At eight o'clock they formed a line and started jogging towards us.

'People started moving away from them, and then the soldiers opened fire. There was a rain of bullets, rapid automatic fire for two or three minutes as they chased demonstrators. As people were fleeing, a lot would have been shot in the back.'

Mr Anderson said he had seen two American journalists, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, just south of the group of demonstrators, huddled against a wall. He said they had urged a New Zealand student, Kamal Bamadhaj, to stay with them, but he had moved back into the crowd.

'He was in the front line of demonstrators and didn't stand a chance... I fled down the street with Bob Muntz (an Australian Community Aid Abroad worker).'

Mr Cox said he and Mr Anderson had great difficulty getting out of Dili. 'I know the past record over there with journalists, especially with anyone who has seen anything. I was scared for my life,' he said.

## INDONESIAN FORCES ALLEGEDLY EXECUTE TIMOR MASSACRE WITNESSES

(REUTER)

By Wilson da Silva

SYDNEY, Nov 18, Reuter - Australian-based opponents of Jakarta's rule over East Timor accused Indonesian troops on Monday of committing a second massacre in the territory.

The Timorese sources, quoting what they termed eyewitnesses inside East Timor, said Indonesian soldiers on Friday executed 70 to 80 witnesses of last Tuesday's shooting of

mourners in Dili, an incident which sparked international protests.

In Jakarta, Indonesian armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro denied the executions had taken place. "The report is a big lie," he told the official Antara news agency.

Antonio Sampaio of the East Timor News Agency, which supplies Portuguese-language newspapers and radio programmes in Australia, said contacts in Dili reported that the second incident took place early on Friday.

He said soldiers of the 700 and 744 battalions took civilians, arrested during Tuesday's clash or in the house-to-house searches that followed, in four military trucks to a place 15 km (nine miles) west of Dili.

Sampaio said the civilians were then "executed in cold blood" at Alto de Comoro, a site favoured by the military for secret executions of rebel sympathisers.

"They were taken from Tardess and Montiana prisons in Dili in four military trucks," said Sampaio, who is also a correspondent in Australia for Lisbon's *Diario de Noticias* daily newspaper.

"The majority were arrested at the memorial service and the rest later rounded up by the military."

Sampaio said civilians and priests in Dili, and contacts in the Fretilin separatist movement in both Dili and Lisbon, confirmed earlier telephone reports he had received of the incident.

"ABRI (the military) is not as brutal as that. The Timorese people are our own people," he said.

The army says 19 people were killed when troops shot at people attending a memorial service in the East Timorese capital of Dili on Tuesday. Other groups say up to 180 died.

Timorese sources in Australia said the security forces were still searching homes in Dili and kidnapping civilians who saw Tuesday's shooting in the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Sampaio said latest reports put the death count from last Tuesday's shootings at 183, with another 296 people in prisons or military hospitals. He said some of the mourners gunned down on Tuesday had since died in hospitals, where conditions were poor.

A representative in Melbourne of the Fretilin movement also said he had received telephone reports that Indonesian troops were searching for eyewitnesses to eliminate them before the start of a government inquiry.

"People were crying on the telephone, asking for help from the UNO (United Nations) to stop these killings," said Abel Guterres, who is also head of the local East Timorese Association.

He said he heard eyewitness accounts that the prisoners "were naked, blindfolded and with their hands tied behind their backs."

"The Indonesians are still kidnapping youths from homes, especially those living near the cemetery (where last week's shootings occurred)," he said. "They're really out to make sure they finish off anyone who saw the massacre."

A former Timorese resident with family in East Timor, who asked not to be named, also told of an incident on Friday. He said one woman in Dili reported that 19 of her family

and friends were taken away by the military and killed.

Sampaio's sources said there was heavy fighting between Indonesian troops and Fretilin guerillas in the Timorese regions of Baucau, Los Palos, Vequeque and Same. The latter is isolated from the rest of Timor.

Diplomats and foreign journalists just returned from Dili said they had not heard any reports of killings on Friday. But they said the military was continuing to round up youths suspected of involvement in last Tuesday's demonstration.

They said some of those injured were too frightened to go to hospital.

The army says 91 people were injured, including two soldiers, on Tuesday but has refused to let anyone including relatives visit the hospital where they are being treated.

Officials were not immediately available for comment on the reports of killings last Friday.

In the Australian capital Canberra, unions imposed a blockade on Indonesia's embassy on Monday in protest against last week's killings.

"The purpose of applying the picket is to bring them (the Indonesians) to heel internationally," Canberra Trades and Labour Council (TLC) secretary Charles McDonald said.

"It's the whole Indonesian government which is responsible for the slaughter which has taken place in East Timor," he told about 20 unionists outside the embassy.

The TLC hopes to stop all goods and services being delivered to the building, surrounded by a two metre (six foot) fence.

## AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMAT SENT TO EAST TIMOR (AP)

By GHAFUR FADYL

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Nov 18 (AP) -- Australia sent a diplomat to East Timor today to investigate last week's killing of dozens of pro-independence protesters and check rumors of more slayings by troops.

Timorese activists in Australia claimed today soldiers killed up to 100 people on Friday in the East Timor capital of Dili and were hunting for survivors of the earlier clash.

In Jakarta, armed forces spokesman Brig. Nurhadi called the allegations of more killings "a big lie."

"The armed forces are not that brutal, because the people of East Timor are also the people of Indonesia," he said.

The oil-rich territory was invaded by Indonesian troops in 1975 and annexed a year later. The United Nations and many countries have refused to recognize Indonesian control of the area, 1,300 miles east of Jakarta.

Last Tuesday, troops fired on demonstrators attending a funeral march for two youths killed by police. The government, which claims the soldiers fired in self defense, has put the death toll at 19. Witnesses estimate between 50 and more than 100.

In Australia, Alfreda Ferreira, a Timorese rebel spokesman, said his sources reported up to 100 East Timorese were killed west of Dili on Friday.

Abel Guterres, a Timorese spokesman in Melbourne, Australia, said he had received



reports that soldiers had rounded up at least 70 on Friday in Dili. Antonio Sampaio, editor of the East Timorese news agency in Sydney, Australia, said at least 70 civilians were killed Friday and buried in mass graves.

Gutterres said troops were searching for survivors of Tuesday's massacre before any inquiry takes place.

On Sunday, President Suharto told a national commission to investigate Tuesday's shootings.

Australia sent Mark Napier, third secretary at its embassy in Jakarta, to Dili to check the allegations, said a Foreign Affairs Department spokesman, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop denied any church involvement in Tuesday's protest, and backed charges that the Indonesian troops were in no danger when they opened fire.

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, in a letter made public today, also said the student-led protesters threw a grenade at the police station, but it did not explode. He said an army major was stabbed before the shooting.

Belo said the soldiers began firing as students yelled pro-independence slogans. Religious differences have also caused tension between Roman Catholic East Timorese and predominately Muslim Indonesians.

In Washington, some members of Congress have urged a suspension of U.S. military aid to Indonesia. The European Community also condemned the killings and called for an open investigation.

Indonesia is to receive \$5 billion this year in international aid.

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## FORMER AMBASSADOR URGES HAWKE TO VISIT INDONESIA (AUSTRALIAN)

Source: *The Australian*, Nov 18, 1991.  
Forwarded by John Gordon  
(J\_GORDON@FENNEL.CC.UWA.OZ.AU).

By Katherine Glascott

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, should resist calls to abandon his scheduled trip to Jakarta next year and use the visit to urge a non-military solution to East Timor's problems, the former Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Bill Morrison, said yesterday.

While Australia was not in a position to force its will on Indonesia, Mr Morrison said Mr Hawke should use his influence to ensure a peaceful solution in East Timor.

"I think probably President Suharto would be the first to make this recognition that the military operations (in East Timor) after 16 years still haven't achieved their purpose," Mr Morrison told the Nine network's Sunday program.

Mr Morrison's comments add fuel to the debate over how Mr Hawke should respond to last Tuesday's massacre, when the Indonesian military opened fire on several thousand mourners near the Santa Cruz cemetery in Bili, killing about 100 people, according to some reports.

Mr Morrison, who was the Australian ambassador to Indonesia from 1985-88 and a defence minister in the Whitlam government,

said Australia could influence Indonesian thinking on East Timor because there were Indonesians in Jakarta who had similar concerns.

A spokesman for the Prime Minister said Mr Hawke had not decided whether he would go ahead with his visit to Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the president of the Business Council of Australia, Mr Brian Loton, said Australia needed to have a closer understanding, involvement and familiarity with Indonesia.

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## INDON EMBASSY IN CANBERRA PICKETED (CIET)

peg:cietact reg.easttimor Nov 18.

In the aftermath of last week's massacre in Dili and in the light of reports emerging from East Timor on mass executions of East Timorese three days after the Tuesday massacre, the A.C.T. Trades and Labour Council and CIET(ACT) began a picket of indefinite duration of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra at 8am this morning. East Timorese flags are flying over the gates of the Embassy and delivery vehicles are asked not to cross the picket line. Passers-by are faced with about 200 crosses lining the Embassy fence which symbolise the victims of last Tuesday's massacre. The picket is manned 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

At a media conference at the picket site, the TLC and CIET(ACT) reiterated their demands for an independent international inquiry into the Dili massacres.

On Sunday 24 November, an "East Timor Embassy" will be "officially" opened adjacent to the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra.

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## MALAYSIANS PROTEST AGAINST INDONESIAN ACTION IN EAST TIMOR (REUTER)

KUALA LUMPUR, Nov 18, Reuter - A group of 20 Malaysians representing various social and political groups handed a protest note to the Indonesian Embassy on Monday over last week's shooting by the army of mourners in East Timor, the national Bernama news agency reported.

The note, addressed to President Suharto and handed to an embassy official, demanded that Indonesian troops withdraw from East Timor which Jakarta annexed in 1976.

Bernama said police arrested a man for carrying a placard with the words "Stop the killings in East Timor." Open demonstrations are banned in Malaysia.

A Malaysian student was among the 19 the Indonesian military said were killed when soldiers opened fire on a crowd mourning the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Other reports put the death toll as high as 180.

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## PRIEST SAYS HE HAS VIDEO TAKEN AFTER EAST TIMOR KILLINGS (REUTER)

TOKYO, Nov 18, Reuter - An Italian Roman Catholic priest said on Monday that he plans to show videotapes taken after the shooting of mourners in the East Timor capital Dili by Indonesian soldiers last week.

The Indonesian army says 19 people were killed when its troops shot at people attending a memorial service at a cemetery in Dili last Tuesday.

Father Stefani Renato of Nagoya diocese in central Japan, who returned from Dili on Friday, quoted one foreign eyewitness as saying at least 100 people were killed. Other sources have said up to 180 died.

Renato told Reuters by telephone that he arrived at the cemetery about two hours after the shooting, having been told by a nun that a city hospital was full of injured people and "looked like a slaughterhouse."

He said he saw three truckloads of troops patrolling the area and soldiers washing away blood.

Renato said he planned to show the videotapes at a news conference in Tokyo on Wednesday.

Japan's Kyodo News Agency quoted an eyewitness as saying Indonesian police detained two East Timorese in the office of the International Red Cross in Dili on Monday.

The eyewitness said the two were held because they were alleged to have been at the shooting and were suspected members of an organisation opposed to Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese colony.

Timorese sources in Australia have said Indonesian security forces have executed witnesses of the shooting, a charge the army denies.

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## SHORT WAVE RADIO BROADCAST MONITORING

From *WORLD PERSPECTIVES* magazine PO  
Box 3074 Madison WI. 53704

### AUSTRALIA

Picketers outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra say they will continue their protest despite efforts by embassy officials to have their placards removed. The signs, reading "Timor, Indonesia's killing fields", together with 119 wooden crosses were put up as part of a protest organized by the local Trades and Labor Council.

The picketers are turning away goods and services intended for the Embassy. A spokesperson for the Trades and Labor Council, David Lamont, expressed surprise at the moves by Indonesian embassy officials who asked Australian security officers to remove the signs which, he said, were on Australian soil and not embassy property. Lamont said the picketers would not harass or interfere in any way with the embassy staff. (R. Australia 11/18)

### INDONESIA

Australian diplomats in Indonesia have been unable to confirm claims that a second



massacre occurred in East Timor last week. Timorese groups in Darwin, Sydney and London say that they have received reports that the second round of killings came after last Tuesday's massacre in Dili.

However, the spokesperson for the Australian Foreign Affairs Department says that an Australian diplomat, David Benz, who was in Dili at the time, reported that he had heard nothing of a second massacre. The spokesperson said Mr. Benz had been seeking information on last Tuesday's shootings in which Indonesian troops killed at least 19 and possibly more people taking part in a memorial procession.

According to Timorese groups in Darwin, Sydney and London hundreds of Timorese were rounded up after the massacre and later many of them were alleged to have been executed. Meanwhile another official from the Australian Embassy in Jakarta has been sent to Dili to monitor the situation. (R. Australia 11/18)

#### FRANCE

An East Timorese opposition group claims another 60 people have been murdered by Indonesian troops in East Timor. A spokesperson for the East Timor National Liberation Front, Fretilin, said the 60 were taken last Friday to a site outside the capital Dili. There they were machine-gunned and buried in a mass-grave.

The victims were said to have been witnesses at a funeral last November 12 in which mourners were gunned down by Indonesian troops. Officially the death toll was 19 but other sources said up to 185 could have died in the massacre. (R. France 11/18)

#### INDONESIA ENVOY PROMISES BONN INQUIRY INTO EAST TIMOR DEATHS (REUTER)

*This and the following several items are excerpts from material faxed to Task Force Indonesia:*

BONN, Nov 18, Reuter - The Indonesian envoy to Germany has promised Bonn a thorough investigation into recent army shootings of mourners in East Timor, the Foreign Ministry said on Monday.

It said in a statement it called in Indonesian ambassador Hasijm Djalal on Friday to express its deep alarm at the "bloody escalation of violence" in the former Portuguese colony.

"The Indonesian ambassador...assured that a thorough investigation would be ordered," the ministry said.

The ministry said Bonn joined its European Community partners in condemning the killings.

#### FURTHER AUSSIE EMBASSY EAST TIMOR INVESTIGATIONS (AFP)

SYDNEY, Nov 18 (AFP) - Another Australian diplomat has been sent to East Timor as reports filter out of a second massacre, said to be of 60 young men, most of

whom survived last Tuesday's shooting of funeral marchers by Indonesian troops.

A spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department said Jakarta embassy third secretary Mark Napier was expected to arrive in the capital Dili on Monday afternoon.

First secretary David Binns was preparing a preliminary report Monday after returning from a four-day investigation.

#### MILITARY ARRESTS FOUR SUSPECTED ACEH REBELS IN NEIGHBOURING PROVINCE

(AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 18 (AFP) - The Indonesian military have arrested four suspected members of a separatist group in Aceh in the neighbouring province of West Sumatra, the Media Indonesia daily said Monday.

Media quoted a military officer as saying in Padang, the provincial capital of West Sumatra, on Saturday that the four were arrested in a recent raid on a town house following tips from the local population.

"From the intensive investigation of the four suspects, they are believed to be remnants of GPK who had been cornered and wanted to seek a new area for their operations in west Sumatra," Major Martono said.

Martono said that a number of "illegal leaflets" were also confiscated during the raid but he did not elaborate on their content.

#### NEW ZEALAND PM WANTS CAREFUL REACTION TO TIMOR KILLINGS (AFP)

WELLINGTON, Nov 18 (AFP) - New Zealand will carefully review its policy toward Indonesia after the death of a national last week when Indonesian troops fired on unarmed mourners in East Timor, Prime Minister Jim Bolger said Monday.

"It's the closest Asian nation to New Zealand. We'll want to just think very carefully," he added.

A 21-year-old New Zealander, Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj, was shot dead last week by Indonesian troops in the former Portuguese colony, which Jakarta annexed in 1976.

"Our message to the Indonesians has been we have been distressed and saddened by what has happened but we'll just have to work it through a bit longer," Bolger said.

#### WITNESS CLAIMS INDONESIAN POLICE DETAINING TWO PEOPLE

(KYODO)

Dili, Indonesia, Nov. 18 Kyodo - Indonesian police apprehended two East Timorese inside the office of the International Red Cross in Dili on Monday, an eyewitness told Kyodo.

The eyewitness said police apprehended the two because they were allegedly involved in an incident on November 12 at a Dili cemetery when Indonesian soldiers shot and killed a number of people.

He said police suspected them of being members of the East Timor independence organization opposed to Indonesian rule of the former Portuguese colony.

An IRC official, Anton Marti, told Kyodo that 70 people had come to his office by Saturday asking for help in locating family members missing since the shooting at the cemetery.

"They don't know if their children or husbands are still alive or dead," Marti said.

Members of their families attended a church mass and a ceremony at the Santa Cruz cemetery last Tuesday, he said.

He said 30 had come to the office on Saturday seeking information.

Local authorities and the IRC official could not confirm the independent account of police apprehending the two persons at the IRC office.

#### STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING (Nov. 18)

*Source: Federal News Service,*

Q Yeah. Do you have anything on the visit by American officials to East Timor?

MR. BOUCHER: East Timor? We had two US government officials who visited Dili in East Timor from November 15 to 17. They met with the Governor, Bishop Belo, local military commander, and a variety of other Timorese journalists and residents of Dili. We just received their report this morning; we're still studying it.

The Indonesian government on November 17 announced the formation of an interagency investigatory commission under the leadership of a supreme court justice to look into the November 12 shootings in East Timor.

We understand this commission will include members of the Ministries of Justice, Foreign Affairs and Home Affairs as well as members of Parliament and the military. As we did last week, we will continue to express our concern to the Indonesians that this investigation be complete and credible and that it lead to appropriate disciplining of those that are shown to have used excessive force.

Q You have no detail that you can release on the findings by the American officials?

MR. BOUCHER: No, not at this point.

Q Do you expect to release them soon?

MR. BOUCHER: I'll see what we can get for you tomorrow once we've had a chance to study our embassy's report.

#### SUHARTO TO START OFFICIAL SWING TO SOUTH AMERICAN, AFRICAN COUNTRIES (AFP)

JAKARTA, Nov 18 (AFP) - President Suharto sets out Tuesday on his longest ever trip abroad to visit developing countries in America and Africa, a tour which is expected to enhance Indonesia's profile as next leader of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM.)

Although a co-founder of the NAM in 1961, Indonesia's efforts to head the group in the past six years have been thwarted by Nicaragua which had the same ambition. A

ministerial meeting of the 103-Third World nation movement in Accra early in September chose Indonesia as its new leader for 1992-95.

Indonesia's main thrust in lobbying for the NAM chairmanship had been its aim of shifting the group's concentration from politics to the economy, with a focus on South-South cooperation.

Suharto will make a visit to Zimbabwe, whose president, Robert Mugabe visited Indonesia last year, and Tanzania before attending the 6th summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Dakar slated for December 9-12.

Analysts said Zimbabwe could be a good base to muster positive views on the two main Indonesian issues which had received strong opposition from several African countries, East Timor and Irian Jaya.

Suharto will fly back to Indonesia on December 13 and was expected to arrive here the following day, officials have said.

### **LBH: "INQUIRY COMMISSION SHOULD BE BROADENED"**

*Source: Original document. Date: 18 November 1991. Abridged.*

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) has welcomed the political will- ingness of the government to handle the violent incident that occurred in Dili, by means of setting up a National Commission of Investigation under the chairmanship of a Supreme Court judge, with members from the interior ministry, the foreign ministry, the justice ministry, the armed forces, the Supreme Advisory Council and parliament.

To safeguard the credibility and objectivity of this Commission, the YLBHI proposes that non-state institutions, such as the YLBHI, the press, mass organisations and individuals of high repute and integrity should be included in the Commission

The YLBHI points out that, in accordance with the procedural law, those under arrest and undergoing interrogation should be accompanied from the start by legal advisors. In this connection, the YLBHI states its readiness to provide such legal assistance and to accompany those under arrest and interrogation, up to the time when they are brought to court.

### **ABC NIGHTLINE COMMENT**

*From Jeff Winters  
<USERLNBP@UMICHUM.BITNET> Date:  
Tue, 19 Nov 1991*

I've just talked with a Nightline staff member, and she said they have not yet committed themselves to doing a piece on Timor. Tonight's show will focus once again on the hostages.

She did not confirm that Nightline has acquired the video tape others have seen in NZ and Aust., but she seemed quite aware of what I was talking about.

People might consider calling the Nightline desk and encourage the staff to do at least an evening on the subject.

The number is: 212-887-4995 in Manhattan, NY.

Jeff Winters U of M, Ann Arbor

## **HARROWING REPORTS FLOOD IN TO THE DEATHLINE**

(AUSTRALIAN)

*by Sally Hopman The Australian, November 19, 1991 Forwarded by John Gordon  
J\_GORDON@FENNEL.CC.UWA.OZ.AU):*

Rosa Isac's telephone ran at 11pm last Tuesday. "Dad is dead," her nephew told her.

"Dad" was Leandro Isac, 38, a public servant who worked in the Timorese town of Suyai - a victim of the Dili massacre. The phone went dead immediately after Rosa was told about her brother and did so every time, in subsequent calls, reference was made to the killings. It was not until 5.30 the next morning that she had the full story.

For Ms Emilia Pires, president of the Victorian-based Timorese Action Committee, notification of such phone calls is now her way of life. Her phone rings day and night with unofficial reports from Timor.

"Rosa said Leandro had been on the Indonesians' blacklist since 1981," Ms Pires said. "He stood up against the Indonesians to protect the Timorese and he had been arrested before."

The killings were continuing, Ms Pires said.

"I got a call from a man in Bali after the massacre who told me that the Indonesians had arrested another 300 people and that they had killed 60 of them," she said.

"He told me the streets were empty, that houses were constantly being searched.

"He told me that troops went to the house of people whose son was killed. They walked in and broke the father's legs."

Ms Pires said she had been told by the Bali source that Timorese wounded in the violence were being forced to hospital "and being injected with water."

## **PORTUGAL DECLARES DAY OF MOURNING FOR VICTIMS OF TIMOR MASSACRE (REUTER)**

LISBON, Nov 19, Reuter - Portugal has declared Tuesday a day of national mourning for East Timorese killed by Indonesian troops in its former Asian colony last week during a peaceful pro-independence demonstration.

A government announcement on Monday night said flags would fly at half-mast and teachers would discuss the situation of East Timor with their pupils.

Film of the massacre, shot by a cameraman of Britain's Yorkshire television, was shown repeatedly on Portugal's main television news programme on Monday night.

President Mario Soares said after viewing the footage that he was "profoundly upset and indignant" at the massacre.

Urging Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva to declare a day of national mourning for the victims, he said: "It is absolutely essential that the people of Timor know that the people of Portugal are showing solidarity with them."

Timorese opposition sources in Australia said 70 to 80 more people linked to the

demonstration were rounded up and shot by Indonesian troops on November 15.

Portuguese officials said Lisbon was still investigating this report of a second massacre, which has been denied by the government in Jakarta.

## **WHO IS M. DJAELANI?**

(D. BOURCHIER)

*>From files of David Bouchier (peg:dbourc), Melbourne, 20 Nov. Please email me as soon as possible if you have additional information.*

The man who had been appointed to head the Timor investigation team (Komisi Penyelidikan Nasional) is Supreme Court Justice M. Djaelani. Below is some information about him. His RPKAD background seriously compromises him, given that at least two of the figures responsible for the military in Timor, Gen. L.B. Moerdani and Maj Gen Sintong Panjaitan are both RPKAD (/Kopassus) men. He has spent his entire career close to executive power. He is one of the most recent appointees to the Supreme Court.

Djaelani M. SH Maj Gen (1987) 1947: Commander, Battalion 1/Cikande, Brigade 1/Tirtayasa, Division I/Silwangi 55?: Commander of the army commando's [RPKAD] training unit, Batujajar, West Java (near Bandung) [Benny Moerdani was a trainer there 1954-55] 1956: [Maj.] Involved in the Zulkifli Lubis attempted military coup. Seems to have been the leader of pro-Lubis forces in West Java. Led troops from the unit down to near Jakarta to wait for other troops from Cirebon. Together these two were to back up a number of Jakarta units which were to arrest the Chief of Staff (Nasution) and seize control of the capital that morning (Nov 16). But Cirebon troops did not come and they failed. Djaelani's men returned to Bandung four days later. He refused a Nasution summons of Nov 13. Nov 21 he was arrested. (Feith, Decline... p.506) This explains the gap from mid 50s to 1970. Late 1950s - early 1960s: educated at Akademi Hukum Militer [Military Law Academy] and Perguruan Tinggi Hukum Militer [Military Law College, founded 1962] 1972: Graduated in the Twentieth Advanced Class at the Judge Advocate General's School, US Army, Charlottesville, Virginia, where he wrote a thesis on Indonesian military law. 1973: [Captain] Published an article on Indonesian military law in the Military Law Review. (Summary of his thesis) 1982-88: Kepala Babinkum, Hankam [Legal Development Body] (?-82 - 19.XII.88) According to [an Australian researcher's] interview with a Dutch embassy employee in Jakarta, 1988, as Ka Babinkum he is chief of both the Central Investigation Team and the Central Prosecution Team. These units are formed every time there is a need and staffed accordingly. 1982-84: Director of the AHM and PTHM Was also involved in Kopkamtib staff [before 1988] - 'Law and Order' on a Kopkamtib chart - reporting to both Kasum and Kassospol. [Source largely Siapa Dia] 1990?- : a Hakim Agung [Supreme Court judge] (one of many - 51?)

## HORRID SILENCE OVER EAST TIMOR (McGRORY)

*Washington Post, November 19, 1991*  
By MARY McGRORY

You haven't seen on your home screen the horrors that have been occurring in a country you've never heard of. "No visuals," say the nets, so Americans who rely on television for their news don't know about the latest atrocity in East Timor - a little place God forgot. On Nov. 12, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on unarmed mourners in a cemetery near Dili, the capitol of East Timor.

There is, however, a "visual" available. It's the white bandage wrapped around the fractured skull of Allan Nairn, a 36-year-old correspondent for the New Yorker magazine, who with his partner, Amy Goodman, a producer for Pacifica Network news, was beaten by the murderous troops.

In a sense, Nairn and Goodman were seeing their taxpayers' dollars at work. The rifle butts which fractured Nairn's skull were M-16s, U.S. weapons provided by Washington to our friends the Indonesians. Since 1974, when the U.N. granted independence to East Timor, then a Portuguese colony, the Indonesians have refused to recognize its sovereignty. In 1975, when the military dictatorship of Gen. Suharto launched a savage invasion of East Timor, the U.S. made a feeble protest: Indonesia was letting our nuclear subs pass through their waters, an important Cold War consideration.

The motivation for supporting them since is totally baffling. "I've never heard a good reason," says Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio), one of the few members of Congress who has paid attention to Indonesia's systematic attempt to subjugate the Timorese.

Some 200,000 of a nation of 700,000 Timorese have been murdered. Others have been subjected to arrest, detention, torture, or disappearance. Although George Bush made a tremendous fuss over Kuwait, a slightly larger country that was also invaded by a neighbor, he has not raised his voice over East Timor. The Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor says 160 people died in the massacre. The Indonesian military has variously said that the crowd was "warned" and that "people who don't behave properly have to be shot."

In the wake of the massacre, we have condemned the action, called for an official inquiry, and sent our ambassador to Dili to investigate. But the administration will not support Hall's move to cut \$1.9 million for military education out of the \$50 million we send to Indonesia yearly. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said we should continue to finance their education because it can "contribute to the professionalism of the military and expose it to democratic and humanitarian standards."

The reason we know anything about the latest atrocity is that a handful of western witnesses, besides Nairn and Goodman, survived. They included Yorkshire network correspondent Chris Wenner, who has three minutes of tape of the massacre, and an Italian priest, Renato Stefani, who also has a video. They were in the crowd of thousands gathered at the gates on Nov. 12 to visit the grave of a

young Timorese resistance worker who had been shot two weeks before by the military when he sought sanctuary in a Catholic church.

Nairn and Goodman went to the head of the procession as it paused at the cemetery gates, thinking westerners conspicuously armed with cameras might inhibit violence. It was a bad guess. The soldiers began beating them with rifles. Nairn flung himself on Goodman; they hit him harder. At one point, the soldiers aimed rifles at their heads, and Goodman shouted, "Please, we are Americans, we are Americans." She held up her passport. The soldiers had Nairn's.

The pair managed to board a passing truck, packed with wounded and terrified passengers, and were taken to a hospital. Nairn was bleeding from the ears. For evidence, Amy Goodman wrapped around her waist his bloody shirt. At the airport, they talked their way onto a flight to Bali. Goodman told authorities Nairn was sick. They phoned ahead to the U.S. consul about Nairn's passport and he met them.

At Guam, their next stop, they tied up the six lines in the hospital emergency room telephoning news organizations all over the world.

They cannot imagine that this is not a major news event. Perhaps there is just too much competition in bad news about human rights in Asia. In China, Secretary of State James A. Baker III was handed his head when he brought up human rights: Two dissidents were arrested to prevent them from talking to him. In Burma, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Aung San Suu Kyi, is under house arrest. In Hong Kong, Vietnamese boat people are forcibly repatriated. In Cambodia, the chief executioner of the Khmer Rouge is brought home to join the government, the ultimate, perhaps, in what western diplomacy has wrought in the Pacific.

## EAST TIMOR PROTESTERS DETAINED IN INDONESIAN CAPITAL (REUTER)

By Jonathan Thatcher

JAKARTA, Nov 19, Reuter - Police on Tuesday detained about 70 demonstrators protesting against Indonesia's rule over East Timor, where the army opened fire on mourners last week.

About 80 East Timorese and Jakarta students marched down the main street in Jakarta from the United Nations offices. Police detained most of them opposite the British embassy.

Two Australian journalists said they were detained for about 20 minutes by police who checked their identities and asked how they heard the demonstration would take place.

Several policemen clapped their hands over the mouth of one protester as he read a statement which disputed the army claim that only 19 people were killed in the shooting in the East Timor capital of Dili.

An Indonesian witness said it was terrible the army had no other means to control the crowd. "They should have tear-gas or water cannons. It's shameful," she said.

An armed forces spokesman later denied that any protesters had been detained.

"None of them were detained by security forces," the spokesman said.

In Dili, witnesses said about 20 people, some of them carrying bamboo staves, gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery where the shooting took place to say mass for those who died.

They said they eventually dispersed because no priest turned up under orders from the territory's Roman Catholic bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo, who was trying to calm tension.

There were unconfirmed reports that the government might allow independent observers such as the International Red Cross to visit the wounded, numbering 91 according to the government, in a Dili military hospital.

Diplomats said video film of the shootings last week had caused outrage when shown by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Film of the incident is expected to be shown on Wednesday in Tokyo and the European Parliament.

## 80 EAST TIMORESE ARRESTED IN JAKARTA (TAPOL)

*TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, issued the following press release today, 19 November 1991:*

Today, Tuesday, 20 November, at midday local time, between 70 and 80 people were arrested in Jakarta after going to the UN building in Jalan Thamrin to hand in a statement about East Timor right to self-determination. The demonstration took place exactly one week after the massacre in Santa Cruz, Dili, where around one hundred people were killed.

The demonstrators handed out a declaration by the National Movement of East Timorese Students. A number of people were beaten in scuffles with the police.

The demonstration which lasted from 11.45 and 12.45am, was led by Joao Freitas do Camara. Do Camara is one of a group of Timorese who took refuge in the Japanese Embassy, Jakarta, several years ago. They were refused asylum and had to leave the embassy. It is understood that do Camara himself was not arrested and managed to leave the area.

Most people taking part in today's demonstration were Timorese. The demonstration caused a major traffic jam in one of Jakarta's main thoroughfares. Infight, the Indonesian Front for Human Rights, also participated in the demonstration.

Some 200 people, mostly East Timorese with a number of Indonesian human rights activists, went to the United Nations Information Office in Jalan Thamrin, Jakarta but they were not able to enter the building. From the UN building, they went to the Japanese and Australian embassies, which are on the same street. On the way, they were rounded up by police. They were driven off in two pick-ups and a bus and taken to two police offices, Polres and Polda.

The banners carried on the demonstration said:

"It is better to die than to be integrated!" "The 12 November mass killings were only a small fraction of the mass killings in 16 years!". "We are not GPK" ('GPK' is the army's abbreviation of 'security disturbance gangs').

"The victims are guilty because they have no guns" (original, English).

"Where are our dead? We want to bury them according to our own customs".

"Mr. Alatas, the question is not development but invasion and self-determination" (original, English) "Under the threat of guns, everyone is silenced."

Infight has announced that if the arrested Timorese are not released by tomorrow, there will be another, larger demonstration tomorrow.

## CANADA TO "REVIEW" AID TO INDONESIA (GLOBE AND MAIL)

Source: *The Globe and Mail*, 19 Nov. 1991. Text: abridged.

Comment: This is the first Canadian government statement on the Santa Cruz massacre, released the same day as Fretilin representative Jose Luis Guterres was in Ottawa for meetings with parliamentarians for East Timor. Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is at the francophone summit in Paris this week, promoting linkages between aid and human rights. Indonesia has been the third-largest recipient of Canadian direct bilateral aid (\$52.37 million last year, not \$46 million as stated by McDougall in this article). If there is any follow-through on this, it will mark a sea change in Canadian foreign policy: as recently as September Canada denied that there were human rights problems in East Timor. The full government statement will be posted shortly.

... In Ottawa, Denis Laliberte, an External Affairs Department spokesman, said Canada has taken several steps to deal with the situation in East Timor. Last week, while External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall was in Seoul for an Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting, she met with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to convey Canada's "shock" at recent events and to demand a full report, Mr. Laliberte said.

Yesterday, Mrs. McDougall said Canada will review its foreign aid to Indonesia. "It is a tragic situation in East Timor and we condemn both the violation of human rights in this particular instance but also the ongoing situation for the people who live there," she told the House of Commons.

She did not say when a decision would be made about Indonesia, one of Canada's major aid recipients.

Mrs. McDougall said Canada gave Indonesia \$46-million last year for grassroots projects to promote development.

## ANGRY PROTESTS IN AUSTRALIA OVER TIMOR MASSACRE (GREEN LEFT)

*Green Left Weekly (Australia) Nov 19, 1991 by Philippa Stanford*

"The flag comes down over this consul just as it will come down all over East Timor", shouted one protester as Indonesian officials hastily lowered the flag at their Perth consulate during a protest on November 15.

Angry demonstrations around the country have followed the Indonesian government's latest round of killing in East Timor. About 700 people gathered outside the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne on November 15. They were addressed by Shirley Shackleton, whose husband Greg was one of five Australian journalists murdered by Indonesian troops in East Timor in 1975.

In Perth, about 80 people, including Timorese nationals and members of the Latin American community, participated in the angry picket of the Indonesian consulate. Further actions are planned.

In Sydney, there were actions at Garuda Airlines or the Indonesian consulate every day from November 13-16, culminating in a 1000-strong memorial service for victims of the massacre on November 16.

In Canberra on November 13, a largely Timorese crowd of around 300 was addressed by Democrat Senator Sid Spindler, ALP Northern Territory MP Warren Snowdon, former ALP MP Ken Fry and Russell Rollason from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid.

In Brisbane, a hastily called rally in King George Square drew more than 200, who called on the Australian government to end military ties with the Indonesian government.

"The Australian government can no longer hide behind rhetoric. We must call on the Australian government to end military aid to Indonesia and to impose trade sanctions just as we have with other countries with records of human rights violations", said Gary Gibson, Labor MP for Moreton.

"In September 1990, Prime Minister Bob Hawke said 'Big countries cannot invade small countries and get away with it'. Perhaps this only applies when oil is involved", said Democrat Senator Cheryl Kernot.

Colin Pemul, secretary of Action Solidarity Indonesia (Aksi), laid a wreath to commemorate the people who died in East Timor. "Fellow Aksi member Kamal Bamadhaj was a valuable and respected activist. His death will not be in vain and has made us more determined than ever to continue the struggle for freedom", said Pemul.

Speakers from Australian Aid for Ireland, the Democratic Socialist Party, the East Timor Freedom Movement, the Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action, the Anti-Aidex Campaign and the Palestinian community also declared their solidarity with East Timor's struggle.

The protest ended at the Garuda Airlines office, to be followed by a public meeting called by Aksi Brisbane, addressed by East Timor Freedom Movement spokesperson Alfonso Cortereal and Colin Pemul. Further actions are planned for December 7, the anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East

Timor. For more information about Aksi Brisbane ring Philippa or Colin on 358 4875.

In Adelaide, about 300 people gathered outside Garuda Airlines on November 16, where they were addressed by state MPs Ian Gilfillan (Democrats) and Kerry Roberts (ALP) as well as speakers from the Timorese community, the Campaign for an Independent East Timor, Amnesty International and Aksi.

## KAMAL BAMADHAJ

(OBITUARY, GREEN LEFT)

By Helen Jarvis (*Green Left Weekly* #36.)

This week our friend Kamal Bamadhaj became the seventh foreigner to die in the war in East Timor. Five journalists were killed in October 1975 by advancing Indonesian troops, and a sixth, Roger East, was murdered, together with many Timorese, on December 7, 1975 on the wharves of Dili harbour, as Indonesian troops took the capital of the newly proclaimed independent country of East Timor.

Sixteen years later, the awful picture has repeated itself, as Kamal was gunned down together with more than over a hundred Timorese as they peacefully mourned the killing of another young man. Since August 1975, it is estimated, one-third of the population of East Timor have died. Death is an all too familiar shadow in East Timor, and the Timorese people have suffered the pain and horror of losing their loved ones, families, friends and comrades.

The last time I saw Kamal was at a picket at the University of New South Wales when Gareth Evans came to speak. Kamal, and others from Aksi and the Overseas Students Collective, were protesting in particular against the Australian government's position on Timor.

Kamal took that opportunity to ask Evans some questions, pressing for a change in policy. It is an appropriate last memory: most of the times that I ever saw Kamal it was in such a situation, for he was a dedicated and consistent supporter of struggles for human rights and justice in our region.

He was studying Indonesian at UNSW, and in this role he faced a situation that many of us have come up against. The more we learn about Indonesia today, the more we understand that the noble principles that thousands of Indonesians died for in their struggle for independence are violated by the Indonesian government and military day by day, year by year from one end of the archipelago to the other.

And perhaps the sharpest and harshest example of this is in East Timor. Do we speak out, and put at risk our own chosen future, our opportunities to visit, to live and to work in Indonesia? This may seem a small price to pay for morality and honesty, but it is not such an easy decision to make here in Australia, with all the pressures from family, teachers, government and society at large to play safe and look to your personal future.

Kamal chose to make clear his stand in solidarity with those fighting for democracy, human rights and independence. He was an activist in the Overseas Student Collective, in the peace movement, in recent months es-

pecially against Aidex and arms sales in the region.

He was a founding member of Aksi, formed last year "to help build solidarity and provide support to the recently emerging range of people's organisations in Indonesia", with specific support for the struggles for self-determination in East Timor and West Papua, and focus on trying to change Australian government policy of unconditional support for the Indonesian government.

He wanted to see for himself what was going on inside Indonesia and in East Timor, and he took the opportunity to act as a translator for Community Aid Abroad on the trip to East Timor. He went to the memorial mass and march to the Santa Cruz cemetery last Tuesday to show his support for the people of East Timor, and his respect for those killed in the struggle.

He hoped that his presence, together with other foreigners, might deter the army from shooting. It was not to be.

Kamal used to describe himself as "a Malaysian with green eyes" but he was also a New Zealander, a Bugis, an Australian, an Indian, and in his death, his blood mingled with the people and soil of East Timor. Kamal died as he had lived - a child of all nations.

## KOOIJMANS REFUSED PERMIT TO VISIT ACEH

### UN Special Rapporteur on Torture refused permission to visit Aceh.

Professor Kooijmans, the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, who visited Indonesia earlier this month, was refused permission by the Indonesian Government to visit Aceh, where mass killings have occurred and numerous cases of torture have been reported. In a letter to Lord Avebury, chair of the UK's Parliamentary Human Rights Group, Jan Martenson, UN Under-Secretary-General of Human Rights said: "The Government referred in this connection to 'the difficulties in arranging a visit to the province (of Aceh), due to the shortage of time and the heavy schedule of the officials concerned."

Professor Kooijmans was in Dili at the time of the Santa Cruz massacre. Following his visit to East Timor, he returned to Jakarta and then flew back to Geneva on 15 November.

## INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS TEAM TO VISIT DILI (TAPOL)

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued this release 19 Nov.*

Indonesian human rights organisations are to send four people to Dili tomorrow, Wednesday, 20 November, to investigate the situation there, following the Santa Cruz massacre and subsequent repression, including the extrajudicial killing of 80 detainees in Bemos. The persons going on this mission are:

Ms. Amartiwi Saleh, former chair of the Bandung Legal Aid Institute (LBH-Bandung)

J.C. Princen, chair of the League for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM).

Michael Chandra, of the New Life foundation (Yayasan Hidup Baru).

Abdul Rany Yunsih, an ex-political prisoner, convicted as a Muslim preacher during the crackdown of Muslim activists in 1984.

So far, only Amartiwi Saleh has received permission from the authorities to go to Dili. Michael Chandra was summoned this afternoon by the police, after today's demonstration in Jakarta.

## EAST TIMOR - AUSTRALIA'S SHAME (SEN. BOURNE)

*NEWS RELEASE 20 Nov.*

There is only one answer to the problems of East Timor: self-determination, Australian Senator Vicki Bourne said today.

Senator Bourne, Foreign Affairs spokesperson for the Australian Democrats said:

"In the face of statements by Indonesia's armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno that East Timorese dissidents must be 'wiped out' Australia must rethink its relationship with Indonesia.

"How can we continue to co-operate with a military which says of the Dili massacre 'Finally, yes, they had to be blasted'.

"Australia's 1985 decision to accept the invasion and annexation of East Timor must be reversed at once. We must work ceaselessly throughout the international community and especially in the United Nations to compel Indonesia to allow self-determination for the East Timorese.

"It is surely impossible for anyone to have watched the footage of the Timorese interpreter bleeding to death, in terrible pain from shocking abdominal wounds, and not be deeply affected.

"It must be obvious to anyone who saw the film of the carnage that it was a well-organised, systematic massacre of unarmed, completely defenceless mourners.

"Amnesty International has reported numerous human rights abuses in East Timor over the years, particularly by the military, but little has been done. It would not be surprising if, by now, the military believed they were impervious to outside interference.

"This most shocking bloodbath, in the heart of Dili, with foreign media present was the first opportunity the outside world had to see first-hand the treatment of the East Timorese by the Indonesian military.

"Our international reputation is worth more than any relationship with Indonesia. We must now join the overwhelming majority of United Nations members in calling for self-determination for the East Timorese.

"We have a huge, as yet unpaid, debt of honour to these people for their self-sacrifice in World War II. We owe them no less. In fact, we owe them far more."

Senator Bourne is Vice-President of the Australian Parliamentary Group of Amnesty International. To contact Senator Bourne: +61 2 247 3377

## EAST TIMOR'S INDIGENOUS NATIONALISM AND RESISTANCE TO CULTURAL INTEGRATION

*by Loren Ryter (c)October 25, 1991*

*The following two papers on East Timor provide some background information from two perspectives: cultural change and the Indonesian program of Integrasi; and food wars, famine, and starvation. They assume no real knowledge of East Timor, and repeat some of the same information. The first was written entirely before the latest massacres, and the second was finished during the first of the news about it, and thus alludes to some of the media coverage near the end. **Please do not reprint them without contacting me first, and only circulate with this request.***

*There is no such thing as a Timorese patriot, there is only an Indonesian patriot. There is no such thing as an East Timorese nation, there is only an Indonesian nation.*

--Security General Benny Murdani on February 3, 1990 (Quoted in TAPOL no. 99.)

*[The Maubere people's] customs are impregnated with real-life experience and with the spirituality that inspires their lives. Any policy aimed at alienating the superstructure of Maubere thinking and behaviour is doomed to failure while causing a rupture between their concept of mother earth and, in its wide political context, their concept of the Maubere motherland. This concept of the motherland has been reinforced and consolidated by the invasion, the war and the military occupation.*

--Shanana Gusmao, commander of Falintil, interviewed by Robert Domm, in TAPOL no. 103.

History, for the people of East Timor, stops dead in its tracks on December 7, 1975. To be more accurate, history in terms of an outside body of knowledge about East Timor remains more or less frozen at that juncture; for the people of East Timor, history took a decided turn for the worse on the occasion of the Indonesian invasion of its territory. Until very recently, with the area completely closed to outsiders, who even now are subject to limitations on movement and constant surveillance, reports of developments in East Timor came mainly from smuggled-out tapes and documents as well as first hand reports of the few refugees who managed to escape. Fortunately, a few non-government organizations, activists, and scholars have been working hard to locate, assemble, and publish information about the post-invasion situation in East Timor as it becomes available. Without such sources of information, knowledge about contemporary East Timor would be limited to propaganda produced by the Indonesian government.

Interestingly, the government's own statistics indicate an alarming depopulation which some have termed genocidal. According to a 1980 Indonesian census, there were 555,000 people in East Timor. Extrapolating a 1.7% annual population growth rate from the

last available census figures of 688,711 (compiled by the Catholic church in 1974) the 1980 figures should have reached at least 750,000, even accounting for three thousand deaths and seven thousand people who went into exile as a result of the August 1975 civil war. Based on these observations, nearly 200,000 Timorese may have died in the first five years of the invasion alone. (Budiardjo & Liem, 1984: pp 50-51.) Although annihilation campaigns seem to have been curtailed considerably in recent years, it is almost certain that the death toll as of 1991 is considerably higher. Incidents of starvation, torture, rape and other human rights violations are well documented, and as horrifying as they are, it is not my intent to discuss them here.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the possibilities for survival of the indigenous cultures of East Timor in the face of extreme stress from the Indonesian state. In order to examine this question, it is necessary to attempt to synthesize historical and anthropological evidence assembled before 1975 as well as more recent reports. It is my contention that despite the physical annihilation of a significant portion of the people of East Timor and the physical uprooting and resettlement of almost all of the survivors, indigenous cultural patterns have proved more resilient and resistance to integration has proved stronger than the Indonesians had anticipated.

The ethnology of the Timorese is a matter of a considerable degree of political contention. Evidence that the Timorese are descended from early Indo-Malay migrants could be used to lend legitimacy to the Indonesian annexation. Even though Bill Nico makes the plausible contention that Belunese settlers of 3000 BC and 200 BC were of Indo-Malay origin (Nico, 1978: p 4), the fact that the cultures of these peoples developed along radically different lines than did Malay/Javanese culture (based on their respective experience of outside contact) seems to negate any such claims of legitimacy based on ethnology. The Belunese latecomers seem to have displaced earlier Atoni inhabitants of Timor, whose origin can be traced to the Papuan groups (ibid). While the Atoni today inhabit West Timor, the Belunese (also known as the Tetum) today share East Timor with at least 13 other distinct ethnolinguistic groups, including the Makassai and the Mambai (Hicks, 1976: p 6).

Indonesia has little more than a tenuous claim on East Timor, but of course the Dutch and the Portuguese had even less so. Both of these colonial powers were attracted to the region by the lucrative sandalwood trade which had been dominated by the Belunese for centuries before the advent of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century. When the Dutch appeared to capitalize on the trade in 1613, the battle for influence over Timor had begun, not to be resolved until nearly three hundred years later upon the signing of the Luso-Hollandesa treaty in 1904 (Gray, 1984: p 27). By colonial standards, the arbitrary boundary drawn between the Dutch territory on the west side of the island and the Portuguese territory on the east fairly successfully avoided dividing an ethnic group down the middle, although it did incorporate

about 30 kilometers of Belunese territory into the Dutch half of the island (Nicol, p 5).

By virtue of the historical accident of colonial dominion, the culture and political systems of the people of West and East Timor have been shaped by the respective Dutch and Portuguese colonial policies. Whereas the Dutch, in anticipation of later Indonesian policy, forced mountain dwellers to resettle in large groups in lowland areas for ease of administration by transmigrated Malay-speaking chiefs, the Portuguese implemented a system of indirect rule, keeping the traditional political structures more-or-less intact (Gray, pp 28-29). The Portuguese co-opted the petty kings (liurai) by bestowing titles within the colonial administration upon them and granting them the power to tax. Despite a series of liurai rebellions before 1912, when the victorious Portuguese simply relocated the foci of power into the smaller princedoms which comprised the kingdoms, the basic traditional political structure remained unperturbed (Dunn, 1983).

This is not to say that minimal direct colonial involvement at the village level meant that Portuguese rule did not touch the lives of the people. To the contrary, at least one group, the Mambai (who numbered over 80,000 before 1975), actively incorporated the fact of Portuguese rule into their cosmology. As evidence of the vitality and creativity of the Mambai conception of social and political order, it is worth quoting a portion of Elizabeth Traube's description of the Mambai's narrative:

Mambai mythology locates the Portuguese within this cosmic order, identifying them as the younger brothers of the Timorese, born on the sacred mountain at the center of Timor. Father Heaven, the divine regulator of the cosmos, authorized the Portuguese brothers to rule over the human realm and bestowed on them the sacred flag and marching drum, the insignia of jural sovereignty. To the elder Timorese brothers Heaven entrusted the sacred rock and tree of the religious cult, charging them with the ritual custodianship of the cosmos. (Traube, 1980a.)

In accordance with traditional cosmology, the younger brother is responsible for the secular, political realm, while the older brother holds the sacred, spiritual realm in his trust.

Other colonial practices were incorporated into Mambai ritual, such as the tribute system, which became such an entrenched part of the Mambai exchange rituals that when the Portuguese decided to replace it with a cash tax, the legitimacy of Portuguese rule was challenged (Traube, 1979.) Thus, for the Mambai, Portuguese rule became symbolically intertwined with older Mambai sacred symbols in a delicate cosmic balance which formed the very basis of the sociopolitical order. While it might be argued that these practices represent an effective process of "colonial indoctrination" on the part of the Portuguese, Traube contends that this does not give sufficient credit to the active role the Mambai played in "creatively appropriat[ing] the political fact of colonial rule" (ibid).

Portugal's decision to withdraw from her colonies in the wake of the Portuguese coup in 1974 threatened to rupture the Mambai's fragile cosmic fabric. Nevertheless, although initially worried by the prospect of their

younger brother going away, over time they seemed to accept the idea that they would have to assume a political role as well as a spiritual role, at least for the time being. In the period of decolonization then, the Mambai political consciousness was beginning to reawaken. Before any of the new political parties had come to speak to the Mambai, they had "plunged into a concerned and continuous debate," using mythological rather than legal discourse (ibid). Although they never used the term "self-determination," it is clear that the Mambai were in the process of deciding what to make of their own future.

Meanwhile, the educated and the rural elites were becoming politically active. The Democratic Union Party (UDT), which had as its initial social base Portuguese nationals and other Timorese members of the Portuguese colonial bureaucracy, favored the inclusion of East Timor into a Portuguese commonwealth, with eventual independence (Ranck, 1975). APODETI (Timor Democratic Popular Association), which had a small founding membership of 40, and which was alleged to have been "actively promoted by the Indonesian authorities" or even Indonesian intelligence (Budiardjo, p 5), favored integration with Indonesia. The third and eventually the largest party, which became known as FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor) favored an independent Timorese nation.

One feature which all three parties shared was the assumption that any one group could be vested the authority to make political decisions for all of East Timor. A brief examination of that assumption is appropriate. There is no question that linguistic and cultural differences among the ethnolinguistic groups in East Timor necessarily dictate different conceptions of a political order. Yet most of the particular cultural differences seem to be "variations around certain basic principles or features." Dualistic paradigms of older sibling/younger sibling, Father Heaven/Mother earth, male/female, seem to be held in common by all of these groups. Asymmetric patterns of marriage alliances also seem to be a shared trait (Gray, pp 38-40). Colonial rule also tends to awaken nationalist conceptions as long as groups see themselves united vis vis the white colonizer, so that where there may not have been a strong feeling of sameness between the Mambai and the Makassai before the Portuguese, chances are the colonial situation demonstrated their commonalities.

Nevertheless, for the major political groups, who were comprised of mainly elite, usually Catholic, members of society, whether Timorese, Portuguese, or Mestizo, the challenge was to win popular support. Seemingly only FRETILIN was successful in this regard. In the period of political vacuum after Portugal's withdrawal from the political arena, FRETILIN took the role of providing public services upon itself, setting up education programs and becoming the first administration to use a local language, Tetum, in its affairs. One of FRETILIN's shrewdest political-linguistic moves was to appropriate the word Mau-Bere, a Mambai personal name which was used as a disparaging term by the Tetum to indicate the stupidity and backwardness of the Mambai, and transform it

into a fraternal term of solidarity (Budiardjo, pp 59-60.) Ironically, this sort of populist appeal made someone nervous enough to anonymously circulate around Dili leaflets which read "Mauberism is synonymous with Maoism!" in May 1975 (Jolliffe, 1978: p 114).

Although FRETILIN never declared itself ideologically grounded in Marxism, it was largely this red menace fear which prompted Indonesia (with the aid and consent of allies such as the US) to take action against its neighbor on December 7, 1975. The precise nature of Indonesian motivation to intervene in East Timor and its tactical method for doing so are detailed elsewhere (see particularly Budiardjo, Horta). Suffice it to say that Indonesia's full-scale assault on East Timor was one of unspeakable brutality and destruction. Military campaigns since the initial invasion have fallen into distinct phases. In the first few years, the Indonesian military started a program of massive aerial bombing and troop movements intended to annihilate the FRETILIN resistance. In the process, tactics of crop destruction resulted in famine and disease. By the 1980s, the Indonesians were forcing Timorese to join the struggle against the FRETILIN resistance, making a "fence of legs"--a front which could cover the advancing Indonesian army. Between 1983-84, large scale attacks again resumed, to be followed in the late eighties by more concentrated elite troop maneuvers (TAPOL No. 102). All the while, civilians were being killed, starved, and resettled into concentration camp-like environments with little food production capability. Around the anniversary of the invasion, the UN regularly passes a resolution condemning Indonesia's action, although the margin by which it passes grows slimmer every year (Suter, 1982: p 18).

Meanwhile, publicly, Indonesia refused to acknowledge there was a war going on in East Timor. Instead, Indonesia applied the rhetoric of "liberation" and "integration." On July 17, 1976, upon the request of a the People's Assembly, a puppet local government set up to maintain the facade of a democratic process, Suharto signed the Bill of Integration, making East Timor into Indonesia's 27th Province (Budiardjo: p 96.) Technically, this made every Timorese a citizen of Indonesia, but of course, practically it did not work out like that. Granted, the military, under its philosophy of *dwi fungsi*, or dual function, is "entrusted" to enter into the social and political arena of everyday Indonesian life. But East Timor is treated as a part of an entirely different administrative zone. Instead of falling under the auspices of the Department of Home Affairs, as does every other province, East Timor is the jurisdiction of the Defence Department (ibid: p 97). At all levels of administration, a parallel civilian and military structure exists as in the rest of Indonesia, but in East Timor, the role of the military side dwarfs even the puppet civilian structure. (ibid: p 102.)

Central to Indonesia's policy in East Timor is *integrasi* or integration, which is a extreme cultural modification policy. The idea is that the Timorese must be fully civilized, being made to follow Indonesian ideological values, social mores, and cultural norms. To quote a former Indonesian military commander, "It is

the new Indonesian civilization we are bringing. And it is not easy to civilize backward people" (Colonel Kalangi, quoted in Budiardjo: p 98). With such an obviously racist attitude, it need hardly be said that Indonesia's policy of *integrasi*, if successfully completed, logically means the death of indigenous culture. Anyone opposing the idea of *integrasi* publicly is subject to punishment. In order to obtain government services, a person must be "screened" which means he is asked questions such as "How would you behave towards people who oppose 'integrasi'?" (Budiardjo: p 102.)

The Indonesian's have decided that trying to "integrate" the older generation is fruitless, so they have concentrated on the children. Children may only speak Bahasa Indonesia in the schools. Under the threat of punishment and ridicule, they are made to memorize Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology of belief in one God, nationalism/Indonesian unity, democracy by means of consultation and consensus, humanitarianism, and social justice. (Ibid: p 111.) Lofty ideals, those, except for the fact that the first two don't apply to Timorese beliefs, and the last three have no relation to the situation in East Timor, or indeed in most of Indonesia. In addition, there is "a strong emphasis on physical education and on membership of Pramuka, the state-controlled scout movement dedicated to training youngsters in parading, long marches, saluting the flag, and singing nationalist songs" (ibid: p 111). Well-trained Pramuka youth are used as a show piece for the occasional visiting foreign dignitary.

In targeting children for cultural indoctrination, the Indonesians seem to have forgotten one important detail: children are survivors and adaptors. For despite outward signs of being integrated, the signs are clear that "the younger generation who have grown up under Indonesian occupation are as defiant as ever" (TAPOL no. 97). In the last year there have been student demonstrations in the capitol, and the FRETILIN flag was flown on Integration Day, July 17, 1990, to the cries of "Viva FRETILIN!" (TAPOL, no. 100) Perhaps the most creative act of resistance the children have come up with is to go around public places asking Indonesian soldiers and transmigrants, innocently and in a respectful tone: "Kapan Pulang, Pak?" or "When are you going home, sir?" This tactic, since it is unorganized and decentralized, cannot be stopped, and it is reported to be spreading around East Timor to the embarrassment of many Indonesians (ibid).

The older generation, not surprisingly, does not seem to be any closer to integration either: "More than ever, the governor confronts the fact that pre-1975 Timorese political and social structures still predominated. The Timorese reject Indonesian values; everything from Indonesia is second rate, argues the average Timorese" (TAPOL 97). The people, understandably, are fearful and mistrustful of anything the government provides, especially medical care, concludes a report commissioned by Bank Indonesia. The report was done by a group of scholars from Indonesia's most prestigious university, Gadjah Mada, and was subsequently banned. It goes on to describe a trend away from military

rebellion to general civil dissatisfaction and uncooperativeness (TAPOL 99).

Of course, merely because the Timorese have resisted Indonesian integration does not necessarily mean that their own cultural traditions have remained alive in the face of severe physical hardship and the detachment from traditional locations of ritual significance. Nevertheless, not even a generation has passed, and cultures die hard. It has been demonstrated that the Mambai, as one example of Timorese culture, possess a cosmology that is remarkably flexible. Elizabeth Traube has argued that the sheer violence of the Indonesian entry into the scene most likely will preclude their incorporation into Mambai cosmology, and the Mambai may therefore still be looking for a ritual successor to the Portuguese. While it would be unrealistically optimistic to predict that Timorese culture can ever be returned to its pre-1975 state, we should also not hope that it will or even could--culture is not static. For, as it has been shown, the Timorese cosmology is tremendously adaptive to historical events, and even events of such magnitude as genocide may prove to be reconcilable with the Timorese world view.

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## MUFFLED CRIES FROM EAST TIMOR (RYTER)

by Loren Rytter. (c) November 14, 1991

It is impossible to speak of the relationship between Indonesia and the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in neutral terms. For the moment you refer to "the annexation" of "the nation of East Timor," rather than the "integration" of "the people of East Timor" with Indonesia, you've already taken a crucial stance: you've in a sense said both that Indonesia forcibly invaded East Timor rather than peacefully entered by popular invitation and that East Timor was a nascent post-colonial sovereign nation rather than a semi-colonial political vacuum before December 7, 1975. In this case even more clearly than in others, language betrays the pretense of scholarly objectivity. I thus make no apologies for either my language or the position it reveals.

Indonesia, or more accurately, the Javanese military, invaded East Timor in 1975. The reasons for and the precursor to the invasion has been thoroughly detailed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that in the wake of the Portuguese revolution in 1974 when Portugal decided to give up her colonies, the elite Portuguese educated of East Timor formed three political parties. One of which, UDT, Unio Democratica Timorese, reconstituted from the colonial political party, favored a status in a Portuguese commonwealth, with an eye toward eventual independence at some point far into the future. A second party, Associao Popular Democratica Timorese (Apodeti), alleged to have been formed by Indonesian intelligence, favored integration with Indonesia. The third party, Frente Revolucionaria de Timor- Leste Independente, or Fretilin, which enjoyed vast popular support among the rural villagers, favored immediate independence for East Timor. To the conservative UDT, a rash move toward independence was not only structurally unfeasible, but a frightening threat to the status quo. To Apodeti and Indonesia's Suharto, a staunch anti-communist, the idea of a party which was widely regarded as Marxist taking control of a new nation which had nothing more than an arbitrary land border with Indonesia's West Timor (only Indonesian territory because of the historical accident of its Dutch colonization) was patently unacceptable. After a three week civil war between UDT and Fretilin in August, 1975, from which Fretilin emerged victorious, Indonesian forces began making border incursions into East Timor, to which Fretilin responded by declaring independence on November 28. On December 7, the day after

US President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta, the invasion, code named Operasi Komodo (Operation Dragon), commenced.

The politics of the situation are stunning. For most of the people of East Timor--the unfortunate victims of international power struggles--all of this means chaos, death, disease, and starvation. These calamities have served to further politicize the people and strengthen their allegiance to the Fretilin guerillas in their opposition to Indonesian colonization where their loyalty may have been tenuous before. The resistance to the Indonesian occupation has proved far stronger than the Javanese generals had anticipated, and "conventional" military tactics proved early to be unable to bring a decisive victory. As a result, the Indonesian regime has resorted to a strategy of using food as a weapon: purposely withholding food and relief aid, destroying crops, preventing harvests and food gathering, resettling populations in agriculturally non-viable camps--these have all been tactics the invasion forces have employed. In addition, other non-intentional effects of war such as disruption of stability and mass conscription which detracts from agricultural labor have exacerbated an already disastrous situation. This tragedy continues to attract scant American attention, both officially and in the media, largely because of America's close ties with the Suharto regime which it put into power through the CIA in 1965.

The death toll in the first five years of the invasion has been estimated to have been as much as half of the Timorese population in 1975. With all such statistics, however, it is best to throw the most extreme estimates aside. Interestingly, the Indonesian government's own statistics are nearly as alarming. According to a 1980 Indonesian census, there were 555,350 people in East Timor. Extrapolating a 1.7% annual population growth rate from the last available census figures of 688,711 (compiled by the Catholic church in 1974) the 1980 figures should have reached at least 750,000, even accounting for three thousand deaths and seven thousand people who went into exile as a result of the August 1975 civil war. Based on these observations, nearly 200,000 Timorese, or one-third of the population, may have died in the first five years of the invasion alone.<sup>2</sup>

The evolution of the official explanation of this genocidal depopulation is illustrative of Indonesian propaganda. A 1977 government document, published before the 1980 census, quoted a 1970 Portuguese census figure of 609,477 instead of the higher church figure of 1974 and estimated that the population had reached 650,000-700,000 by 1977.<sup>3</sup> The results of the 1980 census were published in a 1984 document, which proceeded to justify the seeming depopulation by faulting the Portuguese census for deliberately exaggerating the population "to suit certain purposes," and by claiming that emigration and deaths in the pre-invasion civil war accounted for the balance.<sup>4</sup> A year later, the puppet Provincial Government of East Timor had given up trying to justify the depopulation, simply reporting the 1980 census figure and a 1984 projection from it, without referring to any pre-invasion census.<sup>5</sup>

From this bleak picture, let us turn back the clock to the period of anthropological idyll (or idle) before 1975, a time when agricultural cycles seemed destined to repeat themselves onto eternity. The Portuguese colonial system of indirect rule through local village chiefs meant that there was a minimal effect on the remote villages away from the colonial coastal towns. The Portuguese had monetized remote villages somewhat with the introduction of coffee and the establishment of markets for citrus and other tropical fruits and vegetables as cash crops, but nearly all of the cash revenue was spent on administrative taxes, school fees, clothing, and ritual expenses.<sup>6</sup> While lowland and coastal Timorese had been largely converted to Catholicism, most of the people in fourteen distinct ethno-linguistic groups had maintained their highly symbolic and ritualistic cosmologies and animistic traditions. While these groups are clearly distinct and should not be generalized as "the Timorese," for the purposes of this paper, they have much in common.

The agricultural cycles of the highland mountain groups is dictated by the monsoons, which created two wet seasons, from November-January and March-June, and two dry seasons, one in February and the other in July- October. Corn, rice, cassava, sweet potatoes, yams, and beans are traditional staples for the Mambai people, and were grown together in swidden cultivation.<sup>7</sup> For the Tetum people, corn is the main staple, deserving an honored place in their symbolic lexicon, and is harvested and eaten exclusively during the dry season. During the wet season, while corn is growing, the Tetum eat mainly sweet potatoes and yams, and gathered green vegetables. In September, the plots are burned in preparation for the coming of the November monsoons and the planting of more corn.<sup>8</sup> Domestic animals such as the water buffalo are used to tread the fields, and chickens, goats, pigs, and ponies are also kept for food, ceremonial exchanges, and beasts of burden.<sup>9</sup>

The use of the anthropological present is indeed reassuring, but the reality and violence of war shakes us out of our lull. None of these patterns continue today. Before the invasion and even a couple of years after it in the "liberated areas," Fretilin was establishing systems of co-operative agriculture under their civilian administration. Those programs were disruptive of the traditional system, and villagers were initially distrustful since similar schemes had been attempted by the Japanese during World War II. Fretilin leaders slowly won their trust, however, and productivity was beginning to improve. As late as May, 1977, maize, cassava, potatoes and rice were grown behind Fretilin lines.<sup>10</sup>

In the war zones in the early months, however, the situation was clearly chaotic and potentially devastating. Lowland people, faced with this social disruption and murder, fled into the hills. The influx of refugees from the fighting proved to be too great to be supported by the food supply behind the lines--so much so that Fretilin was eventually compelled to send them back down to the Indonesian-controlled areas because they could not feed them.<sup>11</sup> Later, Indonesian propagandists turned this situation around, saying that the situation "became critical with the descent of large numbers of people who



had been forced to flee into the mountains during the uprising by Fretilin. For some three years [by 1978] they had lived in fear and starvation."<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Reuters dutifully echoed Indonesian military commanders in an October 1978 report about "the plight of thousands of villagers still under FRETILIN control" who "are afraid to leave the mountains into which they have been forced from their homes to grow food for FRETILIN."<sup>13</sup>

As early as six months into the invasion, Arnaldo de Araujo, then Governor of East Timor, was bold enough to address a report to President Suharto warning of an imminent food crisis and that "the soil must be prepared now for the planting of the second crop of corn, etc."<sup>14</sup> Preventing the impending famine, though, was not the priority of the military planners. Quite the opposite was true--if the GPK (Gerombolan Pangcau Keamanan) or Security Disrupting Gangs, the official term for the Fretilin army, were going to persist in cowering up in the hills, they would have to be flushed out.

Thus came the advent of the encirclement and annihilation campaign. According to Father de Rego, a conservative Portuguese priest, the Indonesians began a campaign of "search-and-destroy" missions and "saturation bombings of fields, hamlets, and homes" which had the deliberate aim of destroying food crops in an attempt to starve out the resistance in September of 1977.<sup>15</sup> Attacks by the Indonesian army were supplemented by naval bombardment from warships and air raids from American OV-10 "Bronco" anti-insurgency aircraft which had been supplied in the previous year, well after the invasion had begun.<sup>16</sup> During this campaign, whole crops were ruined and entire villages were raised. Fretilin asserted that napalm was used to destroy "the food base on which the front and the population with it (sic) depend."<sup>17</sup>

The combination of deaths by starvation resulting from the destruction of mountain crops and the displacement of lowlanders who had to abandon farming and flee to the mountains to escape the fighting no doubt comprised the vast majority of the hundreds of thousands of deaths before 1979. The situation for the survivors was bleak. One refugee described the fate of her surviving relatives who were:

very thin, skeletons from the bad times they had in the bush. That they did not die is a miracle. The time they spent in the bush has left them sad and emotional, reflecting on the drama that the Timorese people suffer in the bush: hunger, nakedness, sickness, the continual pounding of bombing and shooting.<sup>18</sup>

Forced to be continually on the move, Timorese had to forage for whatever edible vegetation they could find, including leaves and "berries so poisonous they had to be cooked six times before they [could] be eaten."<sup>19</sup>

Some relief to this disaster seemed possible in October of 1979 when the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was finally permitted access to East Timor after months of negotiations. Until that time, Indonesia had been insisting that it's army controlled Indonesian Red Cross (PMI, Palang Merah Indonesia), which had been the

sole relief agency since the invasion and was operating at the "request of the provincial government since 1975," was uniquely capable of handling any emergency situations which might arise due to civil disruption.<sup>20</sup> In addition to the obvious concern over the implications of international exposure to the famine, the Indonesian government sought to use permission to conduct relief activities as a political tool. Before the agreement with the ICRC, Indonesia made the acceptance of aid conditional on the donor's acknowledgement of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.<sup>21</sup>

Needless to say, when the relief workers from the ICRC and the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) arrived at the "resettlement camps," they were met with a disaster which was compared (predictably) by various commentators to Biafra, Cambodia, and "an African famine." Famine is famine, and chronically malnourished children look the pitiful same wherever it occurs. Indeed, the sullen eyes, pencil-thin arms, and bloated bellies of the children depicted in a smuggled-out photograph (which was run twice by the New York Times, 11 months apart) are evidence that these initial reactions were sadly accurate. Aid workers reported that of the 200,000 refugees who had come down from the hills, one third would die of starvation if not treated within two months, and for 20,000 it was already too late.<sup>22</sup> For comparison, Indonesia estimated 50,000 people "who had just come down from the mountains,"<sup>23</sup> and US AID reported that of 400,000 displaced, "as many as half a generation of East Timorese children may be mentally retarded from malnutrition,"<sup>24</sup> which is certainly better than saying that 50 or 100,000 children had already died from starvation.

The New York Times, while not excluding the factor of war, seemed to pin the blame for the famine largely on ecological factors and population pressure as typical of the region:

Even western Timor and the neighboring islands...which have not been ravaged by war, are chronically short of food. The islands of the Lesser Sundas suffer from long droughts and overabundant rains, poor soil and progressive erosion, creating an unfavorable balance between population and food.<sup>25</sup>

This statement is particularly ironic in light of the fact that East Timor never had a high population density, even before the genocidal invasion. The relief agencies themselves avoided comment as to any particular cause for fear of being expelled from East Timor.

Indonesia continued to use relief politically. The ICRC was subordinate to the PMI, and any church based relief agency was also distrusted because the government wanted the "military, and not the church, to be identified in Timorese minds as the main providers of relief and charity."<sup>26</sup> The military had a monopoly on aid in more ways than one: aid was consistently diverted to line military pockets. Jill Jolliffe contended in a statement to the UN Decolonization Committee that "there is widespread pillaging by the Indonesian military of millions of dollars of relief supplies sent by various governments and humanitarian organizations to relieve mountain villagers suffering from advanced malnutrition."<sup>27</sup> Reports that bags of maize and rice which were labeled "free distribution"

were being sold at high prices (as much as Rp 25,000) in Chinese shops lends credence to this claim.<sup>28</sup> A 10 ton consignment of high-protein biscuits and Vitamin A-enriched milk from an Australian humanitarian aid group was given to the PMI but no reports on distribution were ever made.<sup>29</sup> In addition to simply profiting from the diversion of food aid, it has been argued that the army was purposefully withholding the aid in order to increase pressure on outlying resistance forces to surrender. As Tom Harkin bluntly puts it, this is "further confirmation that Indonesia used hunger as an instrument of pacification in East Timor."<sup>30</sup>

In April of 1980, barely six months later, Indonesia declared the emergency over and one year later, in April 1981, the ICRC was forced to leave East Timor. The real reason for the expulsion was the resumption of attacks against the remaining Falintil (the armed wing of Fretilin) forces from June to October. This particular campaign, known as Operasi Keamanan, or Operation Security, was the most insidious and disastrous campaign yet waged. The Indonesian forces employed a new tactic, the so-called "fence of legs," which involved the mass conscripting of tens of thousands of Timorese to close in on suspected Falintil camps. Since Timorese of almost all ages (15-60) and both genders were compelled to join this human fence, there was a severe shortage of labor to prepare the few corn fields which were still allowed to be cultivated. It can be no accident that the Operation started in May, just after the beginning of the wet season and planting time.

Just as in 1977-78, Indonesian's were either destroying or helping themselves to scarce food. According to a spokesman for the Action for World Development, "although the army is supposed to provide its own food, in fact, the supply lines are stretched and the troops are stripping the land rather like a plague of locusts."<sup>31</sup> One Timorese man lamented that the crop would be eaten by rats as it had been in previous years when the soldiers didn't allow them to harvest, and that there would be another "extermination of the people" because of starvation.<sup>32</sup> The fact that the Operation was a military failure since Falintil had the support of the Timorese people in helping them escape (in some cases guerillas simply joined the fence) is testimony to the broad legitimacy Fretilin has gained even among desperate, starving people. When suspected Fretilin supporters are caught, they are either shot on the spot, or moved down to resettlement camps.

The resettlement camps, in which displaced survivors have been forced to live in groups much larger than traditional social relations dictate, are little better than concentration camps. Food rations of corn/rice, mung beans, powdered milk, cooking oil, sugar, and salt provide each adult with 1,357 calories for 50% of total recommended daily intake (children get 50% of the adult ration), according to government propaganda, which justifies the low intake on the grounds that "the intention [is] preventing a dependency upon the rations, so that the recipients would be encouraged to try to fill the gap themselves."<sup>33</sup> While this may seem like a fine strategy, in reality, the camp inmates have no such choice. People are required to stay very

close to the camps which are already located in very poor agricultural regions. Livestock herds, which might save some labor, are severely depleted since the invasion, both from being slaughtered by soldiers and presumably by being eaten out of desperation. Agricultural implements are mostly broken or non-existent.<sup>34</sup> Inmates are often forced to perform corvee labor to build roads and log timber. Wild food gathering, the traditional form of food security in times of scarcity, is also made very difficult by the Indonesian soldiers. In one region, inmates must pay a Rp 50 bribe (tax) per day if they want to leave the camp to forage for camin nuts,<sup>35</sup> a requirement very difficult to meet when one has no cash revenues at all.

The resettlement camps were clearly set up more for strategic reasons than for humanitarian reasons. The CRS, whose relief efforts in East Timor are funded largely by US AID, is in favor of the resettlement center concept since its proximity to communications routes will make it "much easier to provide the people with the necessities of life."<sup>36</sup> In reality, however, the structure of the camps makes control of the interned population much easier. James Dunn points out that the concept of resettling large amounts of people in a centralized location for easy surveillance is no different from the "strategic hamlet" concept used by American strategists in Vietnam.<sup>37</sup>

This point reveals the fundamental connection that the Indonesian invasion has with US policy in Southeast Asia and the American view that the Suharto regime is the great bastion of Democracy in the region which needs to be supported at all costs. The US has consistently voted against annual UN resolutions (from 1975-1979) condemning the invasion. Both the Carter and the Reagan administration have taken great pains not to touch on such a delicate subject in public. Carter, under considerable public pressure to live up to his stated concern for human rights, advised Suharto that unless Indonesia made some concession to humanitarian relief efforts, supplies of military hardware might have to be curtailed.<sup>38</sup> In other words, if Suharto were to just make a superficial gesture about supporting the relief efforts, his army could continue to be supplied with the weapons which cause the misery that necessitates the relief efforts in the first place. As recently as 1989, a rifle captured from Indonesian forces bore the inscription "Property of the US Government, M16A1 Calibre 5.5 7 mm."<sup>39</sup> Ronald Reagan, upon the occasion of welcoming Suharto to Washington on October 12, 1982, not long after the end of Operation Security, applauded Suharto for the "responsible manner" with which Indonesia has been able to preserve its own independence. Reagan went on to stress his support for Suharto's and ASEAN's efforts to "resolve the tragic situation in Kampuchea."<sup>40</sup> He made no mention of East Timor despite congressional urges to do so.

The fact that Reagan chose to bring up Cambodia and refrain from mentioning East Timor is indicative of a larger trend of emphasis and exclusion which extends into the American mass media. The massacres and starvations that happened in the two countries were not only contemporary, both beginning

in 1975, but were of roughly the same magnitude in terms of relative proportions of population killed. The significant difference, of course, is that in the case of Cambodia, the group responsible for the genocide happened to be communists, while in the case of East Timor, the killers happen to be our allies. In a New York Times article in 1978, at the height of the worst famine, for example, the reporter chose to emphasize Indonesia's decision to release political prisoners who had been held since 1965, while emphasizing the fact that Cambodian radical forces have "allowed no real contact with the outside world" and that "millions are alleged to have been killed, forced into exile, or into bondage."<sup>41</sup>

To take a more timely example, the first reference to East Timor in the New York Times since January 1991 when the Press Counselor of the Embassy of Indonesia wrote in to deny any human rights abuses or any link with the Iraq-Kuwait conflict,<sup>42</sup> occurred on November 13, 1991. In the article which appeared on page A11, the Times reported that Indonesian soldiers had open-fired on and killed between 20 and 100 mourners, who were called "separatists" in the article. On page A3 of the same day, a much longer article on the return of Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, complete with a large photograph, appeared.<sup>43</sup> The previous day, another article on Cambodia reminded the readers that "during the...rule of the Khmer Rouge...more than 1 million Cambodians were executed or died from starvation..."<sup>44</sup> No mention of famines, starvations, or previous executions were made in the article about East Timor the following day.

If Americans hear little about the atrocities in East Timor, you can bet that the Indonesians hear less. In the rest of Indonesia, integration with East Timor is a smashing success. Indonesia has pulled his little brother up from the despair of his colonial-era poverty, and built hospitals and schools. In one district, for example, a pilot program to increase nutrition among schoolchildren of whom in 1982 60% had "good nutrition," 30% "less nutrition," and 10% "malnutrition" was reported to be an important success when the following year's results showed that "it became 70% good nutrition."<sup>45</sup> What this leaves out is the question of whether "malnutrition" was reduced, or indeed whether it even increased. A 1990 report by one of the more important Javanese universities claimed that "poor social and economic conditions and an inadequate diet [make] many children too weak to concentrate in school."<sup>46</sup>

Agricultural "improvements" can hardly be considered such. Recent attempts to create "model gardens" to condescendingly teach the Timorese Balinese and Javanese agricultural techniques can hardly be seen as anything other than a device which allows the Javanese to exert greater control over a slowly reviving production process. In a recent interview, Xanana Gusmao, the leader of Falintil, said "for the Timorese in general, if things have improved in the sense that they can buy an item of clothing, this does not mean that the situation has improved for the majority. They are still malnourished."<sup>47</sup>

True benefits of agricultural improvements go to the Javanese transmigrant settlers, most of whom are too disinformed to have known

anything about the conditions in East Timor and too poor to be able to do anything about it, even leave. In 1985/86, 1,981 poor Javanese transmigrants were moved to East Timor, the majority at government expense.<sup>48</sup> As Indonesia continues to expand its transmigration program in a mad attempt to keep up with Javanese population growth, it will look more and more at East Timor as its newest conquered frontier. In a sense, the poor Javanese transmigrants are the unwilling colonizers of East Timor, following the path trailblazed by guns and blood, by fire and burning fields.

From our armchairs, we hear little about Indonesia, let alone hunger there. If neither East Timor nor Java conjures up images of famine-stricken skeletal children in the minds of most Americans, it is for vastly different reasons. While hunger manifests itself in the quiet form of food poverty in parts of Java, in East Timor, hunger's deafening cries can be heard in the form of chronic food shortage and cruel food deprivation. Or rather, would be heard were they not so carefully muzzled by those who might be shamed if anyone were to hear.

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- 31 Osborne, 1981.
- 32 A Timorese man from Baucau, quoted in Budiardjo, p 42.
- 33 *Development in Progress*. p 53.
- 34 Budiardjo. pp 79-95.
- 35 *Ibid*. p 86.
- 36 Masters, Edward E. to the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs on 4 December 1979, quoted in Dunn, p 331.
- 37 Dunn. *ibid*.
- 38 Dunn. p 324.
- 39 Tapol no. 102.
- 40 Reagan, Ronald. October 12, 1982. reprinted in Retbll, 1984. p 101.
- 41 Gwertzman, Bernard. February 10, 1978. *The New York Times*. quoted in Chomsky, p 202.
- 42 Wibisono, Makarim. "Indonesia Helped East Timor to Decolonize." Jan 5, 1991. *NYT*.
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- 45 *East Timor Today*. p 73.
- 46 Tapol no. 100. August 1990.
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## Notes

- 1 This is probably the most researched aspect of East Timor. See particularly Dunn and Ramos-Horta.
- 2 Budiardjo and Liem, 1984. pp 50-51.
- 3 *Decolonization in East Timor*. 1977. p 10.
- 4 *East Timor Today*. 1984. pp 2-3.
- 5 *East Timor Develops*. 1985. p 8.
- 6 Traube, 1986. p 26.
- 7 *Ibid*.
- 8 Hicks, 1976. pp 40-51.
- 9 Traube.
- 10 Budiardjo. p 58.
- 11 Dunn. p 294.
- 12 *Development in Progress*. p 50.
- 13 Reuters report quoted in Chomsky, p 185.
- 14 de Araujo, Arnaldo. quoted by Jolliffe, Jill in Retbll, 1980. p 53.
- 15 Harkin, Tom. "Our Proxy War in East Timor." in *East Timor: Five Years After...* p 36.
- 16 *Ibid*, p 312.
- 17 Kamm, January 28, 1980. *NYT*.
- 18 quoted in Chomsky, p 182.
- 19 Jenkins, David. "Timor's Arithmetic of Despair." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 29, 1978. reprinted in Retbll, 1980, pp 74-75.
- 20 *Development in Progress*. p 50.
- 21 Chomsky, p 197.
- 22 Dunn. p 329.
- 23 *Development in Progress*. p 51.
- 24 Harkin. p 36.
- 25 Kamm. December 9, 1980. *NYT*.
- 26 Dunn. p 328.
- 27 Jolliffe, Jill. in *East Timor: Five Years After...* p 19.
- 28 Dunn. p 329.
- 29 *Ibid*. p 329.
- 30 Harkin. p 36.