

ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

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EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF KAMAL BAMADHAJ

With introductory remarks by Kamal's step-brother, James Gibbons.

Dili, East Timor, 29 October 1991

The funeral that ended in the massacre of November 12 was held in memory of Sebastian Gomez, a young Timorese killed two weeks before when Indonesian troops stormed a church. Here Kamal relates what took place that night.

Ten youths wallow in a cell waiting for their next session of beatings and slashings from razor blades as they recall their companeros, Sebastian, who yesterday was added to the ever increasing toll of brutal deaths in East Timor. Sebastian was one of the many youths staying overnight at Motael Church, Dili, when it was attacked by Indonesian forces yesterday.

The attack began at midnight when plain-clothes soldiers began stoning the church. The church grounds were surrounded by armed troops who finally invaded the church at about 2.30 a.m. Some youths tried to escape

as about 30 people inside the church grounds were arrested (all but ten were later released temporarily). It was in the midst of this attack that Sebastian was shot dead with three bullets. A Timorese member of the Indonesian assault forces was also killed when he was stabbed by a Timorese youth shortly after Sebastian's slaying. Two other youths suffered gunshot wounds.

The attack on the church has further alienated the devout Catholic population of East Timor. Although the official Indonesian version of the Motael affair (which can only be described as a ludicrous fabrication) has been publicised throughout Indonesian media channels, the news about the attack and the death of Sebastian reached remote areas through East Timor's extensive and effective clandestine network before the Indonesians could even assemble their official version.

It is speculated that the Indonesian forces targeted the church because of its humanitarian views, because of the practice of giving refuge to youths seeking protection from Indonesian secret police and most importantly, because it voices the aspirations of the people for an end to 16 years of occupation and gross human rights violations by Indonesian troops.

Maubisse, 2 November 1991

Kamal describes how economic development is just another instrument in the array of weapons used by the Indonesians to oppress the Timorese.

Driving through East Timor today is no longer such a bumpy experience for the tourist. Roads are being continuously paved with asphalt and bridges being built. Development, or "pembangunan" as the Indonesians call it, is the most uttered watchword around here - from the mouths of the Indonesians at least.

The Indonesians, particularly the Javanese, seem to have a well rehearsed script when explaining East Timor to the outsider. They say it was a hapless colonial backwater under the Portuguese. Its inhabitants were uneducated, culturally backward and generally unhygienic people. What's more they were oppressed by the Portuguese - until Indonesia helped liberate East Timor and took the ex-colony under its wing as the 27th province. Since then, East Timor has shot ahead in leaps and bounds. Schools, roads, new office buildings are hallmarks of the development Indonesia has allegedly bequeathed. One Javanese Taxi driver proudly told me that the

capital of Dili, which was once "covered with trees like a jungle", has now been transformed into a true city of large buildings, roads and concrete.

But scratch a little below the surface of uncomfortable Javanese smiles and silent East Timorese faces, and the grim reality of the place will jolt even the most casual observer. One senses that the great bulk of the local population have not willingly accepted Indonesian rule despite the supposed material advances gained through the annexation.. Development is by Indonesia and for Indonesia. Timorese people argue that the roads were built to help the Indonesian military move from one region to another quickly, and to ease the process of extracting goods from East Timor into West timor and beyond. Just like with Dutch colonialism in Java, most capital infusions into East Timor are made to facilitate the extraction of goods and consolidate the socio-economic and political dominance of the colonisers over the local populace.

Timorese I have talked to complain that no amount of roads and schools can bring back the thousands killed by Indonesia during the war and occupation. Some 200 000 people, or one third of the 1975 population, were killed. Probably every East Timor survivor today has lost a close friend or relative. Materialistic development (for which the Indonesians demand gratitude) cannot pay for what the Timorese can put no price on - human lives. And what about the rapes, beatings and other dehumanising experiences? Will the construction of new roads placate the humiliation and bitterness, or compensate the denial of timorese language in schools, the domination of political decisions, local administration and the economy by the Javanese? The Timorese say no.

At a recent public lecture held at a Baucau school, local military leaders warned youths not to speak to delegates of a Portuguese official fact-finding mission in November. The youths were told to show their appreciation of the development the Indonesians had brought them rather than highlighting human rights violations or other negative aspects of Indonesian rule. One reckless youth stood up and declared that Indonesian development was just for show and did nothing for the people, sparking a wave of anti-Indonesia comments from the bitter audience. The military speaker then asked the crowd if they would prefer to return East Timor to the theatre of war of the mid to late seventies. Expecting a no, he was answered with a resounding YES.

The Javanese behave like archetypal colonialists. They complain about having to live in East Timor; they claim that the local people are brutish and backward and have to be civilised by them. Few of the thousands of Javanese migrants aspire to settle in East Timor. Many are here to make a quick killing and return to Java. They can be heard reminiscing about their mother country, how great and beautiful it is and how they can't wait to leave this wretched place to get back

to Yogyakarta or Malang. But Javanese colonialism is different from European colonialism in that ironically, Indonesia was fighting fiercely for its own right to self-determination not so long ago.

Like most colonial states, Indonesia denies the public the right to choose a government of their own, tries to silence opposition through a wide array of violent and intimidatory tactics, and publicly refuses to recognise that there is any problem. Indonesia's propaganda and its attempts to portray East Timor as a happy and secure province contrast starkly with reality.

Travelling through East Timor on a bus recently I was asked by a Javanese man what I thought of the province, its roads and development. To avoid being hassled I gave a typical East Timorese answer, that everything was great. One imagines that the colonisers need praise and reassurance to assuage their underlying guilt. My answer was greeted with a broad smile and the comment, "There are no bad people in Indonesia, mister." Little did he know that just before, I had overheard him in the back of the bus asking the same question to two young Timorese bus conductors he had summoned over.

Because of their precarious position in their own country, the Timorese had to be much more crawly than me. They gave lengthy assurances about how much they loved Indonesia and "development" and ended, "we are good now, and we have come to our senses". The Timorese, myself and the Javanese man all realised this was too over-acted to be believable. The man had no broad smile for the Timorese after they answered. Instead he said that if they even thought of participating in pro- independence rallies when the Portuguese delegation arrived, "we would have no qualms about wiping you all out - until there are no Timorese left." The two youths nodded thoughtfully and were told they could get back to their positions.

Initially this casual threat to wipe out the Timorese sounded a but over the top. However Indonesia has already wiped out a third of the population and shows minimal respect for those remaining. One could imagine that if the Timorese really began to threaten Indonesia's vested political and economic interests, they may quite easily decide to launch another wave of genocide against the Timorese people. After all the destruction of whole races has occurred in other parts of the world. Whether total genocide occurs in East Timor depends not only on the (remarkably powerful) will of the East Timorese people, but also on the will of humanity, of us all.

Dili, 3 November 1991

The Timorese are getting ready for the Portuguese; then the news comes that the visit has been called off. With a sense of grim foreboding, Kamal describes the deep disappointment and continued defiance that fills the air in Dili.

It has been a tense past two weeks in East Timor. A kind of lull before the storm has

prevailed as Timorese prepare themselves for the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation scheduled to have started tomorrow. Some saw the visit as a first step towards a referendum in East Timor, some hoped the Portuguese would somehow help bring about immediate independence while others saw the visit as a long awaited opportunity for an uprising against the Indonesian occupiers. After 15 years of integration with Indonesia, and all the methods the Indonesians have used to persuade the Timorese to accept their rule, everyone here seems to have roughly the same aspiration - independence.

Youths in Dili and in other towns in East Timor have been secretly painting pro-independence banners, organising demonstrations and, as many admitted to me, preparing to die for their people if the Indonesians try to stop them. Timorese of all ages and walks of life have been signing up to be on the list of interviewees for the Portuguese fact-finding mission. Considering that talking to any foreigners about the situation in East Timor is risky, there are large numbers who have decided to take the plunge and talk to the Portuguese when they come.

The Indonesians too have been preparing for the visit., launching an intensive campaign of intimidation and rounding up Timorese for public lectures where they are threatened with imprisonment or death if they dare speak up. Freshly dug mass execution sites have been discovered throughout East Timor, perhaps another method of intimidating the locals into silence. The Timorese church has also come under heavy military surveillance for its role in helping the people prepare for the visit. The Indonesian discomfort with the church was epitomised by its early morning attack on the Motael Church last Monday. Moreover, an all out campaign was launched by the military to capture and kill resistance leader Xanana Gusmao so as to deny the Portuguese the opportunity to meet with this much revered figure.

However, less than a week before the delegation was supposed to arrive, news started filtering in that the Portuguese were not coming. Hearts sank. People cannot believe it. The disappointment here today is not only the deflating of so many high expectations but, more worrying still, the indefinite delay gives the Indonesian military the perfect opportunity to eliminate all those Timorese who had exposed their identity while preparing for the visit.

In the past month or so, Timorese have been taking extraordinary risks organising among themselves in anticipation of the delegation. They claimed that any risk they took was worth it because the visit offered them so much hope. And they were banking on placing themselves on a security list held by the Portuguese which would guarantee them (under UN agreements) freedom from persecution if they spoke up. But now the visit is off, and the Timorese are once again in the all-too-familiar position of being defenceless from arbitrary arrest, maltreatment or even death.

AUSTRALIAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS SPEAK OUT FOR EAST TIMOR

AUSTRALIAN CONFERENCE OF LEADERS OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES

National Centre for Religions, 36 Collins St., Annandale NSW 2038 Australia Fax (02) 519 4431.

13 November 1991 MEDIA RELEASE

The leaders of religious institutes representing 13,000 Catholic priests, brothers and sisters are deeply shocked at the reported massacre of East Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery outside Dili. They express a real concern for the people of east timor at this time.

Srs. Angela Ryan (Conference President), Helen Lombard (Good Samaritan congregation leader) and Fer Julian Fox (Salesian Provincial Leader) have recently returned from visits to East Timor. They reported that East Timor is heavily occupied by Indonesian forces, and, it appears, that human rights and freedom are seriously restricted.

The religious leaders are gravely concerned for the safety of the East Timorese people. They call on the Australian government to prevent further conflict and work towards a peaceful solution.

- They urge the Australian government to:
- * pursue the complex situation in East Timor with the Indonesian government, insisting that the East Timorese people be given the right to speak freely about their future without fear of reprisals.
 - * Urge the United Nations to set up an independent, international presence in East Timor and to monitor and protect the human rights of the East Timorese people.

SENATOR PELL CONDEMNS MASSACRE

The following is the text of a speech by Senator Claiborne Pell in the UN Senate on 14 November, 1991:

MR PRESIDENT, today I rise to introduce a concurrent resolution with the co-sponsorship of Senators Wallop, Cranston, Durenberger, Kerry, Kennedy and Murkowski condemning the massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian military on November 12, 1991.

Since 1975, when Indonesia illegally invaded the former Portugese colony of East Timor that distant island has suffered under foreign rule. An estimated 100 000 poeple out of a population of approximately 600 000 died from the war and accompanying famine and disease. Although open warfare declined under the heavy fist of the Indonesian mili-

tary, resistance by the predominantly Roman Catholic population continued.

Yesterday, we learned to our dismay the lengths to which the Indonesian military is

still willing to go in order to contain even the most peaceful of protests. On Tuesday, 20 to 60 people were killed with automatic weapons and additional 100 were wounded when the Indonesian military opened fire in front of a church on a group of East Timorese attempting to lay flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian forces last October 28th.

Two American journalists who attempted to intercede in the massacre were brutally beaten by the Indonesian security forces. Let me quote from the female American reporter: "They beat me and dragged me over and started slamming me with rifle butts and kicks and punches." The other journalist from The New Yorker magazine recounted how "looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing."

Indonesia has demonstrated that it is out-of-step with a changing worls bent on greater respect for human rights and self-determination. The violence in East Timor casts serious doubt on Indonesia's ability to be a civilised nation or to be a credible spokesman for the Non-Aligned Movement in a changing world environment.

The resolution I am introducing today calls for a suspension of American military aid to Indonesia as the only credible response to this atrocity. In FY 1991 these funds totalled \$1.9 million.

In addition this resolution calls for an investigation by the American ambassador to Indonesia and additional Investigations by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

I also believe it is time for our policy of implicitly accepting Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor to be reviewed. It is clear that the East Timorese do not willingly accept Indonesian subjugation. As we have seen elsewhere in the world, the tide of self-determination is rising. The East Timorese deserve the right to decide their future under the aegis of an United Nations sponsored referendum which would determine their association with Indonesia. As long as a people feel repressed, they will resist.

I urge my colleagues to join in co-sponsoring this resolution.

"WE CAN'T DENY THE FOREIGN PRESS REPORTS," SAYS GOV. CARRASCALAO (SURYA)

Source: Surya. Date: 18 November 1991. Dateline: Dili. Abridged.

Speaking to the press on Saturday, Governor Carrascalao said there was little he could do to deny foreign press reports saying that 100 people died (in Santa Cruz). Some foreign news agencies even give a figure of 180.

"The reasons is that the event was witnessed by thousands of people, including foreign journalists. This makes it difficult for us to deny it." He refused to speculate about

numbers. "I refuse to speculate about people's lives or about things that could cause disquiet. So wait for the official figure."

"To this day, I have not yet received accurate data or the true facts. This is indeed strange, but true. This means that we have to think twice before denying anything."

Carrascalao said that there is no other way for us, in denying foreign press reports which greatly exaggerate the number of casualties and thereby corner the government, than to have a thoroughgoing, deep, neutral and impartial investigation. It should also take testimony from eyewitnesses. "It's only then that we will be able to deny anything."

He strongly rejected reports from abroad that he had criticised the security forces. But he said that, as the leader of East Timorese society, he must apologise to the innocent families who were victims of this bloody incident. But he would not apologise the GPK (ie. Fretilin) families. It was because of incitements from them that the community had suffered casualties. He said that among the dead were ten GPK people who had come down from the hills.

The disturbance had started at Motael Church after a commemoration marking the 14th day of the death of Sebastiao Gomes. The ceremony was led by a Timtim University student, whose name he knew but would not divulge.

SUHARTO SETS UP INVESTIGATION TEAM (JAWA POS)

Source: Jawa Pos. Date: 18 November 1991. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

President Suharto discussed the need to set up a national investigation commission of the disturbance in Dili with the chairman of the Supreme Court and the chairman of the MPR/DPR (upper and lower representative assemblies), State Secretary Moerdino told journalists.

This independent commission is composed of a Supreme Court judge, a member of the DPR, officials from the Interior Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, the Justice Ministry and the armed forces headquarters. They will examine all aspects of the affair thoroughly.

Moerdino said that Pak Harto contacted [retired general] Ali Said, chair of the Supreme Court, yesterday evening. "Ali Said welcomed and supported the setting up of this independent commission," said Moerdiono.

The discussion with Ali Said, said Moerdiono, took place to avoid creating the wrong impression that the president can give an instruction to the Supreme Court as a body of the judiciary that is independent. Constitutionally speaking, the Supreme Court is not under the president because it is on an equal footing (with him).

"The President yesterday evening also phoned and spoke direct with [retired general] Kharis Suhud, chair of the MPR/DPR and he also agreed.

Regarding the team which is to be headed by the deputy head of BAIS, the Strategic Intelligence Agency, Major General Sudewo, as announced by [retired admiral] Sudomo, Minister-Coordinator for Security and Political Affairs/POLKAM, the State Secretary said that this team was only at the level of POLKAM. But the commission set up by the president has been created because it is the government that must be responsible for the affairs of government. The government considers that it is necessary to involve the judiciary and legislative bodies. "Since this Commission is independent, all elements must be included in it."

"We are setting no time limit for the Commission to complete its task. The important thing is the quality of the findings of this investigation."

Moerdiono said the government greatly regrets the disturbance which resulted in casualties, both from the public as well as from the security forces. "The government notes with great concern that provocations had been prepared in advance by certain circles, leading to the outbreak of this bloody incident," he said.

Whoever is proven to have broken the law shall be charged in court in keeping with the principle of rule of law on which the Pancasila-based Republic is based.

The results of the Commission's investigations will be made public and will not be submitted to the United Nations or other international bodies because it is an internal affair of Indonesia.

With regard to the possibility that the UN might send a fact-finding (mission) in connection with the incident, Moerdiono said: "I don't want to speculate about the future. As the saying goes, you should cross one bridge at a time."

With regard to foreign reports about the number of casualties, Moerdiono said emphatically: "Reports that there were 180 casualties is without foundation. They have given figures according to their own wishes, without any factual basis."

As is known, some days ago, Major-General Sintong Pandjaitan, commander of the IX/Udayana Military Command told the press in Dili that there were 19 deaths and 91 wounded. The security forces had exerted maximum efforts to handle the incident by persuasive means and remained calm, even though deputy battalion commander of the 700th battalion, Major Andi Girhan Anti Lantara was a victim of a stabbing by a rioter.

In the end, the forces which amounted to only 200 men took the decision to defend themselves because they were encircled by about 3,000 rioters. These rioters tried to seize the weapons of the security forces even though the latter had already fired shots into the air.

Sintong said that the members of the armed forces acted on this occasion in accordance with military procedure.

NEW MASSACRE BY INDONESIAN TROOPS (IPS)

lisbon, nov 18 (ips/mario dujisin) -- indonesian troops killed several east timorese prisoners early sunday morning, portuguese radio reported monday, citing sources from the timorese resistance movement based in australia.

the reports said there were between 70 and 80 victims, mostly youths and women arrested on nov. 12 when the indonesian army opened fire on demonstrators in the cemetery of dili, the capital of the former portuguese colony.

the demonstration, held in memory of a slain student, had been "peaceful", according to two u.s. reporters and a dutch reporter who witnessed the massacre.

the radio report said the 700th and 740th battalions of the indonesian army had transported the prisoners, many of them wounded, to alto do comoro near dili "where they were beaten up before being shot".

an eyewitness who managed to escape to neighbouring australia said the soldiers had "stripped the prisoners, bound their hands and feet, blindfolded them and put them on army trucks". when they reached alto do comoro, "they were machine-gunned by soldiers wearing hoods".

"then the indonesian soldiers dug a common grave where they dumped the prisoners as if they were sacks of potatoes", the witness said.

"this new massacre raises to 263 the number of people killed," said the democratic union of timor (udt), which placed the death toll of the nov. 12 massacre at 183 and the number of persons missing at around 300.

the indonesian army high command said 19 people had died, but the governor of east timor, mario carrascalao, announcing his possible resignation, said he had "seen with my own eyes the army trucks carrying many more bodies".

the european community (ec) condemned the dramatic incidents in the former portuguese colony which was invaded and annexed by indonesia in 1975. but the lisbon government called the statement "weak", saying it had expected more from its allies.

portuguese analysts interpret the absence of a clear and definite condemnation of indonesia from the european community and industrialised countries as "a subordination of human rights to the great economic interests at stake", especially in the case of the united states, the netherlands, japan, australia and britain.

a u.n. security council resolution in december 1975 gave portugal the mandate to administer the territory until the holding of a referendum on its independence. (more/ips)

the local press monday printed a statement by xanana gusmao, leader of the armed resistance against indonesian occupation, saying the international community was

"allowing the united nations charter to be trampled on" in the case of east timor.

the rebel commander's statement was made two weeks ago in east timor but could only be published here monday because of delays in sending the tape through the complicated underground network.

"we must show to the world that behind the complicity of the international community, the people of timor are being massacred," said gusmao, who recorded his message 10 days before the killings in dili.

analysts and politicians in portugal have expressed surprise at the vatican's silence on the massacre in east timor.

the daily 'publico' said the official vatican attitude "is doubly difficult to understand when the bishop of timor, msgr jose ximenes belo, has been held under virtual house arrest for the past three weeks".

"churches have been razed to the ground, their stained-glass windows destroyed, and even bishop ximenes' telephone has been cut, but the pope continues to keep a 'cautious' silence," it noted.

"could it be that for the pope, there are important peoples and less important peoples, lives worth more and lives worth less?" asked analyst francisco de souza tavares, alluding to the pope's repeated statements on croatia and silence on east timor.

(end/ips/trd/ip/md/ica/tt/ln)

BRITISH MPs CALL FOR ARMS EMBARGO

The following Early Day Motion is contained in the "Notices of Motions" of the UK House of Commons for 18 November 1991. With 48 hours of the motion being tabled, 63 MPs had put their names to this Motion.

MOTION 187: ARMS EMBARGO TO INDONESIA

"That this House is appalled at the killing and wounding of hundreds of unarmed civilians in Dili, in occupied East Timor; is dismayed that on the day of this latest massacre the Foreign and Commonwealth Office told the honourable Member for Halifax that Britain has no plans for an arms embargo against Indonesia stating 'such an embargo would neither be appropriate nor effective'; and calls upon Her Majesty's Government to immediately introduce an arms embargo to Indonesia and to call for the United Nations Security Council to be convened to discuss the latest tragedy in illegally-occupied East Timor."

JOINT EC STATEMENT AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The following joint statement was made at the UN General Assembly in New York, on 19 November 1991, on behalf of the Twelve Members States of the European Community:

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

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

The European Community and its Member States urge the Indonesian Government to ensure that members of the Indonesian armed forces and police in East Timor immediately refrain from using violence and that members of the armed forces and police who were responsible for the tragic outcome of this incident are brought to trial.

This incident occurs in the context of a deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor which adds to extrajudicial execution and a practice of arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment, disappearances and political imprisonment which continue to occur.

The European Community and its Member States view favourably the authorisation that was given to the special UN Rapporteur on Torture to visit the area, and are looking forward to receiving his findings.

They also expect that NGOs and other independent bodies will be allowed to visit the territory. The European Community and its Member States hope that a just, comprehensive and internationally-acceptable settlement may be found, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, including respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, taking full account of the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people of East Timor.

EAST TIMOR STUDENTS' PLEA TO UN IN JAKARTA

This is the full text of the petition for the United Nations, handed in to the UN Information Office in Jakarta by East Timorese students on 19 November 1991. Translated from the Portuguese. Almost all the demonstrators were arrested and are still in detention.

DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF THE EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS IN INDONESIA

Jakarta, 18th November 1991.

Because of:

1. The invasion of East Timor by Indonesia was a flagrant violation of the General Assembly of the United Nations resolutions No. 3485 "XXX" of 12th December

1975 and of the UN Security Council's NO 384 of December 22 1975, which recognize the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, according to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of the Colonised Countries and Peoples in the resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14th 1960;

2. Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975 by the UN's Security Council appeals to all states to respect the Territorial Integrity of East Timor.
3. The same above resolutions appeal to the Indonesian Government for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all forces from East Timor.
4. The very same above mentioned resolutions have been recognizing Portugal as the administrative power;
5. The similarity of the invasion and occupation of East Timor by Indonesia with that of Kuwait by Iraq;
6. The struggle of Namibian and Western Sahara peoples, which have been similar to that of Maubere People (East Timorese), has attained its national political goal;
7. The enforced presence of Indonesia in East Timor for the last 16 years is, in the light of the International Principles, illegal and obsolete according to the dynamic evolution for the Human Society;
8. The enforced presence of Indonesia in East Timor escalated day by day the suffering of the already martyred Maubere People through conscious, systematic and routine violation of the most elementary Human Rights.

We, the EAST TIMOR NATIONALIST STUDENTS in Indonesia, in our own name and that of all those Heroes who innocently fell by the Indonesian military assassins over the last 16 years, but mainly our brethren who were cruelly and inhumanely killed en masse on November 12 1991, ask and demand the United Nations:

- 1 a) To maintain a strong and continuous pressure on Indonesia so that all efficient measures can be taken to attain the UN General Assembly's and Security Council resolutions which have already been voted upon and that recognize the right of the East Timorese people to Self-Determination and Independence;
- b) According to those above mentioned UN General Assembly's and Security Council resolutions, Indonesia, as a member of that Organisation, has no right to try and condemn all East Timor NATIONALISTS who have arduously fought for their Right of Self-Determination and Independence.
- 2 To exert strong political, economical and mainly military pressures on the Jakarta government as it is happening with Iraq;
- 3 To demand Indonesia an absolute respect for the Fundamental Rights of the East

Timorese People and their identity as a People and as a Nation;

- 4 To demand Indonesia an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all its beligerently repressive apparatus, be they military bureaucratic from East Timor;
- 5 To demand the Portuguese Government as the Administrative Power, to co-operate fully with the United Nations in order to create the conditions for the People of East Timor to enjoy freely their Right to Self Determination and Independence;
- 6 Finally and in conclusion our Petition and Protest for the GENOCIDE barbarously perpetrated by the Indonesia army on 12th November 1991. We ask the UN General Assembly and the Security Council to take urgent, and efficient measures to safeguard the lives of all those Timorese Nationalists mainly the political prisoners;
- 7 We request the UN Embassy, together with the Indonesian Parliament, that safe-conducts be issued to warrant the personal security of all Timorese Nationalist Students who are under coercive resistance in Indonesia.

Trusting that Your Excellency will do your best to consider and identify yourself with our aspirations and wishes as a People and a Nation, we are, yours sincerely,

BRITISH WITNESS, COX, DESCRIBES MASSACRE

Stephen Cox, a British photographer, another eyewitness to the Santa Cruz massacre, presented his testimony at a Press Conference in the House of Commons on Tuesday, 19 November 1991.

Today, 12 November, has seen one of the worst massacres in recent times in Dili, East Timor. The indefinite postponement of a Portuguese Parliamentary delegation visit spurred a decision on the highest level within the resistance movement to go ahead with a manifestation to coincide with the visit of a United Nations delegate on human rights (Mr Peter Kooijman).

The day began with the gathering of several thousand people at the Motael church for an open air mass commemorating the death of Sebastiao Gomes, who had been shot dead by Indonesian troops within the grounds of the church two weeks earlier.

(During the build-up to the visit of the Portuguese delegation, people had been making preparations all over East Timor for a manifestation at great risk to their lives, and were hence being persecuted en masse. Scores of young people had sought refuge in many of the churches throughout the country through fear of persecution, arrest and the subsequent torture that would result.)

Immediately after the mass, people began to gather on Avenida Americo Tomas, the road adjacent to the church. The atmosphere was one of tension and pent up frustration of years of waiting to show their feelings, which

resulted in an explosive release of emotion with spontaneous unfurling of flags and banners donning the colours of the armed resistance, and placards calling for independence and international involvement. The lead of the demonstration was taken by members of the youth movement who kept the demonstration under control.

The crowd was 4 000 - 5 000 as it moved off, and had swollen to about 6 000 as it passed the Governor's office. The people were in high spirits and chanted in unison with cries of "Vive Independencia", "Vive Xanana", occasionally breaking into a run but quickly slowed by the organisers. The military was visible but at this point kept a low profile and made no move to intervene. As the peoples confidence increased, young people would confront blank-faced government officials with banners calling for self-determination and independence. At one military police barracks, resistance flags were excitedly waved at the occupants.

When the demonstration arrived at Santa Cruz cemetery, people massed outside its walls preparing to pay homage to Sebastao. The scene was an array of flags and waving people excitedly gathering. An orderly procession formed to enter the cemetery led by girl bearing flowers. People began to enter the cemetery. Shortly after entering we reached a small crypt approx a third of the way in.

Within minutes of prayers beginning there was an almighty burst of gunfire. There was total panic as people fled in all directions, screaming in terror. There were bodies lying everywhere within seconds. As the sound of automatic gunfire continued uninterrupted for between 2 and 3 minutes, bullets ricocheted off graves and the walls of the crypt. I was forced into the crypt with dozens of people. Children as young as six or seven lay piled on top of each other, cowering. People fell to their knees reciting the Lord's Prayer over and over. For the following 30 minutes that I remained trapped in the crypt I saw people dragging themselves in and being shouldered by friends, splattered in blood, dying and mortally wounded, young girls with blood pouring from their heads, old women full of terror. The crypt became crowded with people expecting to die.

It was possible to see that army troops had surrounded the whole cemetery and small groups of soldiers were moving through the cemetery. As they passed the crypt, the people, full of panic, little girls, put their hands up and the prayers became more intense. You could hear sporadic bursts of gunfire all around.

After about 30 minutes the military finally entered the crypt, dragging out the youngest, keeping their guns trained on the dying and wounded. It was at this point that I was spotted and also dragged out. I left the crypt with at least 10 people bleeding profusely and several dead. All the way to the entrance of the cemetery I was confronted by soldiers brandishing knives and bayonets, thrusting them towards my face. I was kicked and

beaten and had guns put to my head while they wildly screamed at me. It was only through the intervention of a plain clothes officer pulling me away that I feel I managed to survive. He accused me of helping the people in the cemetery, screaming at me that "I had seen everything" and what the hell was I doing in there, and that he had saved my life. As I was dragged off to a truck, all I could see was bodies being pulled along the ground by the legs and arms as soldiers hoisted bodies onto trucks.

If the military had been provoked it was certainly only through that of flag waving and the shouting and chanting of the people because there was absolutely no physical provocation visible throughout the whole procession. This has been confirmed by the seven foreign journalists who were in attendance.

Russell Anderson and Bob Muntz two of the foreigners who were on the outside of the cemetery when the military arrived. They described how at 8 o'clock military trucks roared up to the scene.

As soldiers leapt off the trucks they formed a line and jogged towards the people and without warning opened fire directly into the crowd, indiscriminately, killing all in their view. Survivors (including Russell and Bob) fled down the surrounding streets with gunfire all around them. Many were shot in the back. Russell Anderson said he had seen 2 American journalists, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, just south of the group of demonstrators, huddled against a wall. (They told later how they were severely beaten to the point where they feared for their lives and only just rescued in time by a member of the Red Cross). 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'.

Another foreigner at the scene confirmed seeing an officer controlling events and handing out orders. One has to wonder if this was a premeditated attack and from how high up the order came. The Indonesian military have denied that it came from high up, but with reports still coming in telling of mass executions of the people that were involved in the demonstration, surely it cannot be blamed on the hot-headedness of the soldiers and command that were on the spot at the time.

The events of the 12th have provoked an international outcry condemning the killings, with people and governments calling for the intervention of a United Nations peace keeping force, including Padre Ricardo at the diocese in Dili.

The atmosphere on leaving Dili smelt of death and terror all around with unnaturally empty streets everywhere. The worst fears of the people had begun. To leave these people under the conditions that they now face and have endured for the past 16 years would be an injustice to humanity.

To date the official death toll stands at 183, with 240 undergoing interrogation and torture.

A press release via the resistance in exile stated that on 15 November, 4 truckloads of people were taken to Be-Musi and executed and pushed into pits that had been dug weeks earlier by bulldozers. Witnesses said they were only prepared to give evidence before a UN fact finding mission, as they feared for their lives.

N.B. During the massacre at the cemetery, a house nearby where a woman lived with 9 children was violated by the military and all 9 children killed. They had nothing to do with the demonstration.

DEAD IN EAST TIMOR

(WASH. POST EDITORIAL)

November 20, 1991

By chance a couple of American journalists were in East Timor, an isolated territory in Indonesia, last week at the precise time and place when the security forces opened fire. The context was a long and in this instance entirely peaceful struggle by the Timorese, a small people rendered culturally distinct and cohesive by three centuries of Portuguese control. They want to assert their nationalist cause against Indonesia, which swallowed the territory as the old Lisbon regime fell in 1975. Up to a third of the population may since have been killed under Indonesian rule. In that moment on Nov. 12, the American reporters saw tens of unoffending demonstrators - they were mourning the victim of an earlier army shooting - massacred. "Troublemakers" who provoked violence, the government later explained.

Back in the '70s, most of the world had other things on its mind than a remote colonial backwater named East Timor. The American government was in the throes of its Vietnam agony, unprepared to exert itself for a cause - one with no domestic constituency - that could only end up complicating relations with its sturdy anti-Communist ally in Jakarta. But that was then. Today, with the East-West conflict gone, almost everyone is readier to consider legitimate calls for self-determination. It is time to dust off the question of East Timor and to give it the priority that justice and, now, international sentiment require.

The United States has supported the Indonesians over the years and should be able to bring its influence to bear on this issue. A hesitant Bush administration should take note that in an aroused Senate, GOP conservatives were among the first to take a strong East Timor stand. On its part, Indonesia, which otherwise can claim many successes in its national life, has been pondering whether to move out onto the global stage. This latest flurry of international attention cannot be what it had in mind. It should treat the incident not simply as a public relations problem but as the occasion for a policy review. Indonesia has the opportunity to pull the thorn of East Timor, to abandon an exercise in Third World colonialism that

represents an abiding embarrassment to a country seeking respect and a wider role.

PORTUGAL'S DAY OF MOURNING MARKS KILLINGS IN EAST TIMOR (WP)

By Peter Wise. *Washington Post* Nov. 20.

LISBON, Nov. 19 - Portugal held a national day of mourning today for independence demonstrators killed by Indonesian troops last Tuesday in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Graphic television film aired here, shot by a cameraman for Britain's Yorkshire Television, shows young men and women fleeing desperately through a cemetery gate over the bodies of dead and wounded as long volleys of automatic fire are heard from outside.

A young man bleeding heavily from a stomach wound and other wounded demonstrators are seen lying on tombstones as women pray in the chapel of the Roman Catholic Santa Cruz cemetery. Indonesian security forces are later shown beating and arresting people who sought refuge among the graves.

All over Portugal today, flags were flown at half-staff, newspapers appeared with black bands and church vigils and other ceremonies were held. In a message to all schools, Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva condemned the massacre and expressed Portugal's solidarity with the East Timorese people.

President Mario Soares said he was writing to Pope John Paul II, leaders of European Community countries and other heads of state about what he charged in a televised address is "a policy of criminal genocide" being carried out by Indonesia.

ASIA WATCH LETTER TO ALATAS

Courtesy of Asia Watch: November 20, 1991

His Excellency Ali Alatas
Foreign Minister

Jalan Pejambon 1, Jakarta, Indonesia

Dear Minister Alatas,

Asia Watch is deeply concerned about reports that one of Indonesia's leading human rights activists, H.J.C. Princen, was taken in for questioning today (November 20, 1991) in connection with a demonstration yesterday in central Jakarta in which between 30 and 70 demonstrators, most of them East Timorese, were taken away in a truck by security forces.

Although we understand your government has denied that the demonstrators were detained, our information is that of this morning, some 30 were still being held at the Kramat Jaya police detention center in Jakarta. As the demonstration was entirely peaceful and those involved were exercising their right to freedom of assembly and expression, we condemn the forceful tactics used to break up the march and urge that all those taken into custody be immediately and unconditionally released.

We understand that in addition to Haji Princen, Indra Cahyono of SKEPHI and INFIGHT has also been apprehended today, and that at least one other human rights activist, Mr. Yopie Lasut of Yayasan Kehidupan Baru, is being sought for questioning. All of these men were involved in non-violent advocacy of human rights and should not be arrested, detained, or have their basic freedoms otherwise restricted. Asia Watch is particularly concerned about Mr. Princen, given his age and health.

We believe that in light of the last week's killings in East Timor, the events of yesterday and today can only serve to underscore Indonesia's unwillingness to abide by international human rights standards. While we welcome your government's decision to appoint a commission of inquiry into the November 12 killings, we are concerned that it is not sufficiently independent of the government to guarantee that its work will be impartial. We urge that full cooperation be given to human rights and humanitarian organizations to obtain fuller information about the tragic events of the last week and to provide services to those wounded and detained and the families of those killed.

Sincerely,
/s/ Sidney Jones
Executive Director

PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT: JAKARTA'S INQUIRY COMMISSION 'A SAD FARCE'

Statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Portuguese government, 20 November.

The Indonesian Government, apparently giving in to the international outcry against the contemptible massacre of unarmed East Timorese civilians on 12th of this month in Dili, announced the appointment of a so-called "commission of inquiry" presided by a Supreme Court judge, who is a Reservist Army General, and integrating several people employed and dependent on the government.

1. Indonesia which occupies illegally and by force, in violation of Resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council the non-autonomous territory of East Timor under Portuguese administration, as recognized by the United Nations, lacks any legitimacy whatsoever to carry out such an inquiry.
2. Moreover, this "Inquiry Commission" does not meet the conditions of credibility and impartiality which are indispensable to establish the circumstances in which such a brutal violation of the most basic human rights was committed. It would rather turn it into a sad farce.
3. Portugal refuses vehemently to accord any value to this decision and reiterates its claim that only an independent investigation conducted under international supervision will be legitimate and guarantee the

minimal conditions to ensure the integrity of such an enquiry.

JAPANESE DIET MEMBERS STATEMENT

The following is a statement by the Diet Members Forum on East Timor issued on November 20 1991:

STATEMENT ON MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR

On November 12 1991 Indonesian troops opened fire on several thousands of unarmed citizens at a peaceful funeral procession in Dili, East Timor, killing and wounding a large number of people.

This incident is extremely deplorable. We hope that the facts will be clarified as quickly as possible.

There are good grounds to fear that arrests, detentions, torture, and executions will continue to be carried out in the wake of the massacre and that efforts to identify the dead and injured and to provide protection will be hindered by the authorities.

At this time, a concerted international effort to avert the above and to seek a just solution of the East Timor issue is urgently called for.

The United Nations, all governments concerned, and the International Committee of the Red Cross should monitor the incident and urge the Indonesian government to act with discretion.

Now, as the position of international society on the incident is becoming increasingly clear, a statement of the position of Japan, a country with extremely close ties to Indonesia, is internationally important. We strongly urge the Japanese Government to issue a clear statement deploring this serious human rights abuse and to revise its policy toward Indonesia.

Representative - Manao Kubota (SDP)
Vice-Representative - Hyosuke Kujiraoka (LDP)
Convenors - Takako Doi (SDP)
Torao Takazawa (SDP)
Takayoshi Wada (Komeito)
Eisei Itoh (DSP)
Sakeyoshi Furugen (JCP)
Kozaburo Yamada (Rengo)
Sangin)
Secretary-General - Satsuki Eda (USDP)
Under Secretary-Gen.- Shuo Matsubara (SDP)

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST, NOV. 20

This is a digest of some of the material received at Task Force Indonesia's office from its network of sources.

JAPAN (Call for government action)

"If Japan does not make a prompt move, more people may be killed," Kiyoko Furusawa, a member of the Free East Timor

Japan Coalition, consisting of 10 citizens' groups, told a news conference.

"The Japanese government should at least suspend talks on new financial assistance while the massacre is being investigated," she added.

The group released a statement demanding Japan to "immediately stop" its aid to Jakarta and to press for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council to discuss last week's killings.

Christian groups and lawmakers joined the calls for action, saying they were dissatisfied with the response of the Japanese government, which only expressed "regret" and requested more information on the shooting of mourners at a memorial service in the former Portuguese colony. (Source: AFP)

NETHERLANDS (Kooijmans mission)

U.N. special reporter on Human Rights, Dutch Professor Peter Kooijmans, has failed to persuade the Indonesian authorities to allow foreign observers to join an investigation of the recent killings at East Timor.

His suggestion was rejected out of hand by Indonesian army Commander General Try Sutrisno as "interference in internal affairs," Kooijmans told IPS today from Geneva, where he arrived earlier this week from Indonesia.

According to Kooijmans Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas listened carefully to his plea for an independent investigation, but would not comment on it.

During his visit to Indonesia, Kooijmans did not receive any information on the alleged execution of an estimated eighty prisoners Nov. 15, three days after the first killings.

But suggestions by sources in Jakarta that informers mistook the burial of the previous victims for a new massacre, do not convince Kooijmans, who believes other reports that the first victims were buried right after they were shot. (Source: IPS)

NETHERLANDS (Stop aid to Indon?)

The Dutch Green Left Party wants the Dutch government to stop all development aid to Indonesia in protest at the continuing bloodshed in East Timor and the brutality of Indonesian troops on the occupied island.

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek, was shocked by the events in East Timor, said a spokesperson today. However he will wait for more information before announcing a Dutch response on Nov. 21 in Parliament during a debate on the issue.

The Green Left proposal to stop the aid will not get a majority in Parliament, according to political observers.

The Christian Democrat CDA and the Social Democrat Labor Party (PVDA) are urging firm measures, but stop short of a call to suspend Dutch aid to Indonesia.

Instead the PVDA wants the Dutch government to ask for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council on the issue of East Timor.

PVDA Deputy Rob Van Gijssel, spokesman on foreign affairs, said the U.N.

should send observers to East Timor. He also stressed the need for an independent investigation and an international embargo on weapons for Indonesia as long as the situation continues. (Source: IPS)

PORTUGAL (PM urges action)

Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, criticizing international "hypocrisy" in the East Timor conflict, has called on the United States and the Vatican to take a firmer stand on the issue.

"There is much hypocrisy in international politics," Cavaco Silva said in a television interview late Tuesday.

Portugal also expected a "more energetic condemnation" of the Dili killings by the Roman Catholic Church, Cavaco Silva said.

"The Indonesian dictatorship does not respect churches or cemeteries," he said.

Portugal is planning to bring the East Timor issue before the European Community after it takes over the rotating EC presidency on January 1. (Source: AFP)

PORTUGAL (Publico criticizes Vatican)

The daily "Publico" said the official Vatican attitude "is doubly difficult to understand when the bishop of Timor, Jose Ximenes Belo, has been held under virtual house arrest for the past three weeks."

"Churches have been razed to the ground, their stained-glass windows destroyed and even Bishop Ximenes' telephone has been cut, but the Pope continues to keep a 'cautious' silence," it noted.

"Could it be that for the Pope, there are important peoples and less important peoples, lives worth more and lives worth less?" asked analyst Francisco de Sousa Tavares, alluding to the Pope's repeated statements on Croatia and silence on East Timor. (Source: IPS)

PORTUGAL (UDT lists victims)

The Democratic Union of Timor (UDT), a clandestine opposition movement in Indonesian-ruled East Timor, on Tuesday published a list of 30 people who it said had been killed in last week's massacre by the army.

The UDT list, released by the Portuguese news agency Lusa, gave the names, ages and occupations of 30 people who it said were killed in the incident.

They ranged in age from 10 to 32 and most were students in their late teens.

Lusa quoted the UDT as saying it had compiled the list from survivors of the massacre who had been arrested and subsequently set free. (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (Fretilin gains)

The Portuguese newspaper Publico quoted resistance sources as saying East Timorese guerrillas killed about two dozen Indonesian soldiers and captured weapons in a raid near Lospalos at the eastern end of the former Portuguese colony.

Abilio Araujo, a representative of the Fretilin group, which seeks independence for the approximately 700,000 East Timorese, said he could not confirm details of Publico's report. But he said Indonesian troops had launched a new offensive against guerrilla hideouts in the east and center of East Timor. He said he did not know the scale of the fighting. (Source: AP)

PORTUGAL, SWEDEN (Gov'ts criticize Indonesia)

Portugal denounced Indonesia's planned enquiry into last week's massacre of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor on Wednesday as "a sad farce."

The Foreign Ministry said in a statement that the probe into the November 12 killings in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony, "does not meet any requirements of credibility or impartiality."

The Portuguese foreign ministry said the designated judge was a retired army general and the commission's other members were all government officials.

"Only an independent investigation conducted under international supervision would be legitimate and capable of guaranteeing a minimum standard of seriousness," the ministry said.

In Stockholm, the Swedish foreign ministry said it had called in Indonesia's ambassador to deliver a sharp protest against the army shootings in East Timor.

"...The Indonesian government must do its utmost to see to it that further crimes against human rights do not take place," the foreign ministry said in a statement. (Source: Reuter)

NEW ZEALAND (Govt waffles)

There was no suggestion that New Zealand would cut military ties with Indonesia following last week's shootings in East Timor, Ministry of External Relations official Phillip Gibson said Wednesday.

He said New Zealand had asked Indonesia for a detailed account of why New Zealander Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj, 21, had been shot by Indonesian soldiers during a demonstration in Dili, East Timor.

Wellington had protested at the lack of details from Indonesia because it was not until 48 hours after the request was made for information that New Zealand was told that Bamadhaj had died, he said. (Source: AFP)

AUSTRALIA (Hawke visit off?)

Prime Minister Bob Hawke formally told the Indonesian government Tuesday his planned visit to Jakarta next year hinges on its response to the massacre.

Officials said Hawke laid down three conditions for the visit proceeding to Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, after summoning him to Parliament House.

They were that there be a full and open investigation, those found guilty of human rights breaches be punished and that authori-

ties show contrition for the massacre. (Source: AFP)

AUSTRALIA (review ties with Indon.)

The massacre by Indonesian soldiers of civilians in East Timor's capital of Dili threatens to damage the cordial relationship that Australia has painstakingly built up with its northern neighbor.

These pressures to review Australian ties with Indonesia could not have come at a worse time for Australian business.

It was reported in April that Australia and Indonesia might cooperate in the design and construction of military aircraft.

Australian investments in Indonesia are now slowly picking up. Some of the biggest mining companies -- BHP, CRA and Renison Goldfields -- have set up offices in Jakarta. The mining giant BHP has established two major coal operations in Indonesia's Kalimantan province with combined reserves of 225 million metric tons.

Australian food giant Goodman Filder Wattie is building a multi-million dollar margarine and cooking oil plant in Jakarta in a joint venture with the Indonesian conglomerate Sinar Mas.

On "talk-back" radio shows here in recent days, many Australians have been voicing outrage and embarrassment at the way the two neighbors have carved up a potentially oil-rich sea bed under the Timor Gap treaty with no regard for the desire for self-determination of the East Timorese. (Source: IPS)

AUSTRALIA (Jakarta diplomat comments)

In a report to Australia's Foreign Affairs Department, David Binns, the first secretary at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, is said to have concluded that many more people died than the 19 acknowledged by the Indonesian government.

An official spokesman said Binns' report said it was unlikely the precise number of dead or injured would ever be known.

"It's unlikely anyone will ever know exactly what happened or how many were killed, but it's clear a tragedy of immense proportions did occur," the spokesman acknowledged.

By the time Binns left the capital of Dili on Sunday after a four-day visit there had been no reports or evidence to support allegations of a second massacre by Indonesian troops on Friday, but another Australian diplomat is now investigating these reports, the spokesman said. (Source: AFP)

UN (Fretilin urges action)

Jose Luis Guterres, U.N. representative of the "Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor" (Fretilin), asked for implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions adopted after the 1975 Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

Portuguese press counsellor at the U.N. Antonio Pais, who introduced Guterres and Kan Akatani of the "Free East Timor Japan Coalition," said Portugal was prepared to

"take action" in the U.N., but would not elaborate on the plans.

Calling for U.S. help in the organization of an internationally supervised referendum on East Timor's independence, Guterres said, "if President Bush links aid to human rights and is ready to fight for freedom all over the world he should give us a chance for democracy."

"We are fighting against one of the bloodiest regimes in the world," Guterres added. (Source: IPS)

U.S. (Senate Committee wants investigation)

A Senate committee approved a resolution Tuesday urging President George Bush to press for a U.N. probe in East Timor where Indonesian forces last week shot and killed at least 19 people.

Legislators also called on the president to introduce another U.N. resolution that would provide for self-determination in East Timor, a former Portuguese territory that was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee resolution was expected to be approved later Tuesday by the full Senate. A companion resolution is expected to be approved later in the week by the House of Representatives.

The congressional resolution calls for the president to assist the Indonesian Government, not only in investigating the incident, but in prosecuting those responsible for the massacre. (Source: AFP)

U.S. (State Department briefing excerpt)

Q Any details on the investigation at the American embassy in East Timor?

Boucher: First of all, just say that we've seen a November 18th Reuters report out of Sydney that some witnesses have said that people were reporting that some witnesses to the November 12th shootings have been executed. We haven't seen this report confirmed or appear elsewhere and we are unable to confirm it ourselves. The report from our embassy team that went to East Timor made no reference to any new violence. The team from the American embassy in Jakarta visited East Timor from November 15 to 17. Its members met with a wide variety of persons, including government, church, military and private citizens familiar with the situation in East Timor and the November 12th shooting. The team found a highly charged situation, as you might expect. Many with whom the team spoke indicated that the number of persons killed probably totaled between 75 and 100. The team heard several reports that the stabbing of an Indonesian army major at some point prior to the shootings at the cemetery may have sparked the violence. However, almost all of the team's sources concluded that the shootings constituted a serious breakdown of military discipline, disproportionate to any threat actually posed by the crowd, and we agreed with that judgment. The embassy team heard widespread calls for investigations and they used the visit to register US

concerns over the violence with all the key players there with whom it met. As we noted yesterday, the government on Indonesia has announced the establishment of an interagency investigatory commission. We welcome that development and will continue to express our concern to the Indonesians that the investigation be complete and credible, and that it lead to appropriate disciplining of those that are shown to have used excessive force.

Q In the meantime, is there any action or freezing of the US military assistance funds?

MR. BOUCHER: There has been no change in that at this point, Jim. I think I expressed the other day what we felt were the positive benefits from the small amount of military training that we do with Indonesia. We have been making clear to the Indonesian government our views, we have been making clear the need for a full investigation and for appropriate disciplining of those who may have used excessive force. Our Ambassador has been doing that in Indonesia. He has had meetings at the Foreign Ministry and he has talked on the phone with the Foreign Minister and I expect he will be talking to other government officials as well.

Q (Off mike) -- videotaped that has emerged now and was broadcast last night in England, Portugal certainly, and Japan, of actually the massacre, some real footage of it, is the department aware of it? Have you had any reports of that from your embassies?

MR. BOUCHER: We have heard about it, I think perhaps from you, but we have not seen it, we don't have it in our possession.

Q Do you know if the State Department asked if the units involved in this are still on duty in East Timor?

MR. BOUCHER: I don't know that.

(Source: FNS)

EAST TIMOR (Belo body count)

East Timor Roman Catholic Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo was quoted by Jakarta news magazines Tuesday as saying one hospital nurse told him she handled 72 corpses. A local parliamentary member was quoted as saying the death toll reached 80. (UPI)

EAST TIMOR (Warouw, Red Cross)

East Timor's military commander on Wednesday said he was not sure how long the Indonesian army had fired into a crowd of mourners last week but denied it was excessive.

Warouw also said he would allow independent observers to visit those wounded eight days ago when troops opened fire on mourners at a cemetery in the East Timor provincial capital, Dili.

But they would not be able to speak to the casualties, he said.

An official with the International Red Cross (ICRC) in Dili said the army's conditions were unacceptable.

"We need to see the injured in the hospital, talk to them without witnesses...I cannot accept half steps. We have made many compromises but not any more," the official, who asked not to be named, told Reuters.

The Red Cross official demanded the army guarantee the neutrality of his office compound in Dili and said he also wanted a list of the dead.

"It is a very simple humanitarian duty to let the family know, to return the body, to bury according to their religious beliefs." (Source: Reuter)

TIMORESE ARRESTED IN JAKARTA (TAPOL)

20 November 1991.

So far, the names of thirteen Timorese who were arrested while demonstrating in Jakarta yesterday have become available. All the demonstrators were arrested.

The demonstrators had delivered a statement of the National Movement of Timorese Students in Indonesia to the UN office in Jalan Thamrin, calling for (the following is a rough, summarised translation from the Portuguese):

- implementation of the two UN Security Council and eight General Assembly resolutions on East Timor,
- strong political, economic and diplomatic pressure on Indonesia, as was done in the case of Iraq,
- strong pressure on Indonesia to respect the fundamental human rights of the Maubere people,
- strong pressure on Indonesia to withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its repressive, military and bureaucratic apparatus from East Timor,

It called on Portugal as the Administering Power to cooperate fully with the UN for the creation of conditions in East Timor enabling the people to live in freedom and to exercise their right to self-determination.

It vehemently protested at the genocidal act of the Indonesian military on 12 November 1991 and called on the Security Council and the General Assembly to take concrete steps without delay to safeguard the lives of all Timorese nationalists and in particular the political prisoners.

It called on the UN in Jakarta to take steps to press the Indonesian parliament to guarantee the physical safety and integrity of nationalist Timorese students in Indonesia.

The statement was signed by: Joao Freitas da Camara (Jakarta), Agapito Cardoso (Bali), Jose Luis de Oliveira (Yogyakarta), Domingos de Jesus vos B. (Semarang), Virgilio da Silva Guterres (Malang), Ogas (sp?) Juse Dias Quintas (Surabaya) and Gregorio de Araujo (Bandung).

The thirteen names of demonstrators arrested in Jakarta received so far are:

1. Avelino

2. Sergio
3. Francisco Cunha
4. Antonio
5. Egas Monteiro
6. Gregorio (de Araujo?)
7. Agapito (Cardosa?)
8. John
9. Jose Amorin
10. Joan
11. Joao Freitas de Camara
12. Jose Luis (de Oliveira?)
13. Ilidio

Everyone on the demo was arrested.

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP STOPPED FROM GOING TO DILI (TAPOL)

20 November 1991.

Poncke Princen, Yopie Lasut and one other person, who were preparing to leave for Dili, to carry out their own, independent investigation of the Santa Cruz massacre and other recent killings, already bought their tickets and were due to leave for Dili this morning. However, they have been summoned by Bakorstanas. Timorese students in Bali were expecting them to arrive in Den Pasar on their way, but they did not turn up.

The Inflight office is surrounded by troops (not clear whether army or police) and communication has been cut.

Contacts in Jakarta are trying to track down Princen et al. No office in Jakarta will say where yesterday's demonstrators are being held.

U.S. SENATE DRAFT TIMOR RESOLUTION

The following is the draft of a Concurrent Resolution which is to be considered today (11/20) or tomorrow by the US Senate. The co-sponsors are: Senators Pell, Wallop, Cranston, Durenberger, Kerry, Kennedy, Murkowski, Simon, Akaka.

H.Con.Res.340

- (a) FINDINGS - The Congress finds that:
- (1) On November 12 1991 Indonesian security forces killed 20 to 60 and injured as many as 100 people when they fired on a Roman Catholic funeral procession in which demonstrators were attempting to place flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991, in Dili, East Timor.
 - (2) Indonesian soldiers also beat several foreign journalists, including two Americans from the New Yorker and Pacific Radio, who were observing the procession.
 - (3) Indonesia in violation of international law illegally invaded East Timor in 1975, annexing the territory without consideration for the rights of self determination enjoyed by the East Timorese.
 - (4) tens of thousands out of a population of approximately 600 000 died in the fight-

ing, famine and disease that followed Indonesia's invasion of East Timor.

- (5) since Indonesia's invasion, a state of intermittent conflict continues to exist in East Timor and Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and other international human rights organisations frequently report evidence of human rights abuses, including torture, arbitrary arrest and repression of freedom of expression.
 - (6) the Government of Indonesia continues to restrict access by international organisations and foreign journalists to East Timor; and
 - (7) the United States and Indonesia have maintained close bilateral relations for the past 25 years, including the program of economic and military assistance which totalled \$50 million in FY 1991.
- (b) STATEMENT OF POLICY - It is the sense of the congress that -
- (1) the President should suspend immediately all International Military Educational Training program funds to the Indonesian Government;
 - (2) the American ambassador to Indonesia should immediately visit East Timor in order to investigate reports of the atrocity and reports of additional repression by Indonesian authorities;
 - (3) the President should request a report by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, who was in East Timor during the massacre, to be made available as soon as possible to the General Assembly.
 - (4) the President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the Timorese conflict, providing for self-determination by the Timorese people;
 - (5) the President should request the Government of Indonesia permit a special investigation by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions of the situation in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia;
 - (6) the American policy of de facto acceptance of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor should be reassessed until the secretary general of the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia and Portugal and the East Timorese have arrived at an internationally acceptable solution which addressed the underlying causes of the conflict in East timor; and
 - (7) the President should request that the government of Indonesia establish an independent commission to investigate the cause of the atrocity and to assist the prosecution of those responsible for the massacre

THE BLOOD OF EAST TIMOR CAN'T DRAW MUCH U.S. INK

(NY DAILY NEWS)

By Juan Gonzalez of *The New York Daily News*, Nov 20, 1991

With Kuwait and the Kurds, Lithuania and Uzbekistan, even Croatia, so many countries have been vying to be Washington's favorite world cause this year that our fawning national press has had enough trouble just rewriting State Department press releases and spelling names correctly.

Thankfully, there are still a few journalists around like Amy Goodman, news editor at WBAI/Pacifica Radio, and Allan Nairn, correspondent for the *New Yorker* magazine; the kind of reporters who risk their lives getting stories our government would rather bury.

Because of their determination to cover stories others ignore, Goodman and Nairn were witnesses to an incredible human laughter in an obscure and forgotten country which, until recently, foreigners were not allowed to visit.

The massacre happened on Nov. 12 in the East Timor city of Dili, just outside the Santa Cruz cemetery. East Timor is the size of Connecticut and is east of Indonesia and north of Australia.

By our government's own estimate, as many as 100 unarmed people were shot in cold blood by Indonesian soldiers. Other estimates are as high as 200 dead.

This is only the latest in a series of killings and human rights violations that have left more than 200,000 Timorese dead since 1975, roughly a third of the country's total population. We're talking genocide comparable to Cambodia's killing fields or to any Saddam Hussein atrocity.

"It's the site of one of the great holocausts of this century and few people have even heard of it," said Nairn, who has been following events there for years.

The former Portuguese colony was granted its independence in 1975. But on Dec. 7 of that year, two days after President Gerald Ford and Secretary Henry Kissinger visited Indonesia and met with Gen. Suharto, the right-wing military dictator of the mostly Muslim country, Suharto invaded and annexed his newly independent and Catholic neighbor.

Just as in last year's invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, the United Nations Security Council immediately condemned the invasion and demanded the prompt withdrawal of Indonesian troops. But there were no blaring headlines in any U.S. newspapers, as there were in Kuwait or Croatia.

In fact, our own New York senator, Daniel Moynihan, then UN ambassador, boasts in his memoirs of having successfully prevented any UN action against Indonesia.

Since then, our government has continued to provide economic and military aid to Suharto's regime, amounting to nearly \$70 million last year, while Indonesian troops

continue their repression of the Timorese freedom movement.

Goodman, Nairn and a handful of European reporters arrived in Dili a few weeks ago to report on new negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia over the future of East Timor.

On Nov. 12, they were covering a protest march honoring 16-year-old Sebastio Gomes, an independence supporter who had been killed two weeks earlier by soldiers who stormed a Catholic church.

Several thousand protesters marched to Gomes' grave and, after hearing anti-Indonesian speeches, filed out of the cemetery.

"All of a sudden, up the road, military transports appeared and began heading toward the crowd," Goodman recalled. From another street, hundreds of soldiers, armed with M-16s, began marching in formation toward the crowd.

"We decided to go to the front because we figured as Westerners we could head off any trouble," Goodman said. "That turned out to be wrong.

"About a dozen soldiers came up around the corner, lined up and just started shooting. It was the most shocking sight. They didn't pause for a second. Bodies started dropping all around us."

Other soldiers rushed up, flung Goodman and Nairn to the pavement and began pummeling them with rifle butts, fists and boots. Nairn jumped on Goodman to protect her. Both were then dragged down another street as the shooting continued, with M-16s pointed at their heads.

"We're Americans, Americans," Nairn told them. Only those words seemed to stop the soldiers from executing them.

As the soldiers turned to beat an old Timorese man, the reporters jumped into a passing truck. They arrived at the airport hours later, Nairn still bleeding profusely. They jumped on a plane for Bali, then flew on to Guam, where Nairn was treated for a fractured skull.

A British television cameraman, Max Stahl, had been in the cemetery when the shooting started and got some footage of the panicked protesters fleeing the soldiers' bullets. Stahl buried the film in the cemetery moments before soldiers arrested him, then retrieved it after his release.

His film--the only visual proof of the unprovoked massacre--aired on English television Monday. Over at the State Department they quickly came up with a press release condemning the massacre, and the reaction of reporters was mostly, "East what?"

EAST TIMOR RAISED IN U.K. HOUSE OF COMMONS

Two sharp exchanges about East Timor and Indonesia took place in the House of Commons on 20 November 1991. Labour and Tory MPs pressed the government hard,

forcing an admission from the Minister of State that the Santa Cruz massacre might "influence our aid programme to Indonesia". The exchanges reflect the wide coverage in the British press about the massacre and the two showings of Yorkshire TV's footage of the killings on Channel 4 on 19 November.

1. EAST TIMOR

Mr Dunnachie (Labour): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government support the United Nations-led efforts to send a Portuguese parliamentary mission to East Timor.

Mr Lennox-Boyd (Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office): The Government supports the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General to encourage moves by Indonesia and Portugal to resolve their differences over East Timor.

Mr Dunnachie: In view of the appalling massacre that took place last week in East Timor, will the Government call on the United Nations Security Council to discuss East Timor? What action, other than bland expressions of concern, will they take against Indonesia?

Mr Lennox-Boyd: We are not in the business of making bland expressions of concern. I was answering precisely the Hon. Gentleman's question. The developments that have taken place led to my right Hon. Friend the Minister of State expressing the Government's worry to the Indonesian ambassador on 13 November. Ministers are following developments most closely. The Indonesian Government have announced a commission of inquiry into the events in East Timor. We shall consider the position further in the light of that report.

Mr Couchman (Conservative): When my right hon. Friend the Minister of State next has contact with the Indonesian ambassador, will he express the abhorrence of the House at the indiscriminate shooting of men, women and children in Dili, which I visited three years ago with other hon. Members. Will my right hon. Friend stress that, if this country is to develop further productive relations with Indonesia, a most important country, such outrageous behaviour must cease.

Mr Lennox-Boyd: I can certainly agree with my hon. Friend - that incident was most regrettable, particularly in light of the fact that the human rights record of Indonesia had been improving in recent years.

Mr Foulkes (Opposition Front Bench Spokesperson for Foreign Affairs/Asia): The Minister's complacency is appalling. Is he aware that the massacre in Indonesia was as intensive as that of the killing fields of Cambodia and took place in a country that Indonesia occupied illegally? As the Government are allegedly concerned about the appalling human rights record, why do they sell frigates, aircraft, missiles and armoured cars to Indonesia and provide military training for Indonesian troops? That position was intensified in September, when the Secretary

of State for Defence visited Indonesia to seek out more military contracts. Is it not time that the Government stopped selling arms to a country with such a brutal regime? If they do not, they will be guilty of the worst sort of hypocrisy.

Mr Lennox-Boyd: We do not allow the export of arms and equipment likely to be used against the civil population.

[Interruption.]

Let me indicate the European Community declaration of 13 November, of which our support was at the forefront. The declaration vehemently condemned the violence and urged the Indonesian Government to ensure that members of the Indonesian armed forces and police in East Timor refrained immediately from using violence, and that members of armed forces and police who were responsible should be brought to trial. We welcomed the news that the Indonesian authorities were mounting an investigation, which would have to be carried out promptly, fully and fairly.

1. INDONESIA

Mr David Marshall (Conservative): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs if he will make a statement on relations with the Government of Indonesia.

Mr Lennox-Boyd: As I have already said, the Government are seriously concerned about the shootings in East Timor on 12 November. My noble friend the Minister of State expressed that concern to the Indonesian Ambassador on 13 November. We are urgently seeking clarification of the reports of further shootings on 15 November.

Mr Marshall: Further to the very unsatisfactory replies that the Minister has given not only to me but, earlier, to my hon. Friends the Members for Glasgow, Pollok (Mr Dunnachie) and for Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley (Mr Foulkes), may I ask whether the Government considers the Indonesian occupation of East Timor to be illegal? Regardless of the investigation, will the Minister tell us exactly what the Government intend to do to convey to Indonesia the message that the international community simply will not tolerate outrages such as last week's massacre of innocent mourners in East Timor?

Mr Lennox-Boyd: Her Majesty's Government most certainly do not recognise the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia. As I have said, we have expressed our grave concern.

Mr Lestor (Conservative): My hon Friend will know that many of us were awaiting a visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor to analyse the situation there. We now know from the Portuguese Government that that delegation has been called off because of the recent tragic events in East Timor. Does my hon. Friend agree that what has happened in East Timor is the very opposite of good governance and that that ought to influence our aid programme to Indonesia?

Mr Lennox-Boyd: I have no doubt that, in the light of developments, the Government and our Community partners will be looking at the matters to which my hon. Friend has drawn attention.

LETTER: INDONESIAN LEGAL AID TO ABRI COMMANDER

Jakarta, 20 Nov 91. Original Language: Indonesian. Dateline: Jakarta

Brief Remark: This is a translation of a November 13, 1991 letter sent by the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation (YLBHI, Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia) to General Try Sutrisno, Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces. Translation by source.

To: General Try Sutrisno
Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces [ABRI]
ABRI Headquarters
Cilangkap Jl. Raya Hankam,
Cilangkap WEST JAVA

Dear Sir,

Following our letter dated November 12, 1991, regarding the successive disturbances in Dili, East Timor, on October 28, 1991 and November 12, 1991, and additional information which we have received, and reading press reports of November 13, 1991 reaffirming the disturbance and violence which resulted in the deaths of many civilians, the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation again urges you as the Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces to:

1. In order to meet the people's rights to objective information on factual truth regarding the events about which we are concerned, and in order to determine steps toward a resolution which are in accordance with the values of a just and civilized humanity [kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab], it is appropriate that an Independent Fact Finding Commission be established in which its members consist of people from the government circle, the legal profession and Non-Governmental Organizations, working to collect facts exhaustively and responsibly. For this purpose, the Legal Aid Foundation as an independent organization is willing to participate in the afore-mentioned commission.
2. Openly and honestly announce to the public the results of the Fact Finding Commission.
3. Investigate those who have committed violations of the law in accordance with the legal procedures in effect.
4. Without exception, bring to trial those who are proven to have violated the law, based on fair, objective and open judicial principles (fair trial).
5. Provide maximum protection for the civilian population that has not committed any wrongdoing, so that violent actions or

other extra-legal actions against them can be avoided.

6. A process of restoration of security and order should be carried out for the people, according to the stipulations of the penal law procedures [hukum acara pidana] in effect. This process of restoration should conform to existing legal procedures (due process of law) and be carried out faithfully so as not to disturb the principles of our constitutional state (negara hukum).

ORIGINAL (in Indonesian)

YAYASAN LEMBAGA BANTUAN
HUKUM INDONESIA
Jl. Diponegoro 74, Jakarta 10320
Telephone 3105518 4214226 4214227 Fax
330140

No.: 428/SK/YLBHI/XI/1991

Jakarta, 13 Nopember 1991

Kepada Yth. Jendral Try Sutrisno ; Panglima
ABRI Mabes ABRI Cilangkap Jl. Raya
Hankam, Cilangkap JAWA BARAT
Dengan Hormat,

Menyusuli surat kami tertanggal 12 Nopember 1991 tentang terjadinya kerusuhan berturut-turut di Dili, Timor Timur pada tanggal 28 Oktober 1991 dan tanggal 12 Nopember 1991, serta informasi tambahan yang masuk pada kami dan membaca pemberitaan pers tanggal 13 Nopember 1991, mempertegas kebenaran tentang terjadinya kerusuhan dan kekerasan yang mengakibatkan tewasnya sejumlah penduduk sipil, bersama ini Yayasan LBH Indonesia kembali mendesak kepada Bapak selaku Panglima ABRI untuk:

1. Guna memenuhi hak-hak masyarakat atas informasi yang objektif terhadap kebenaran faktual atas kejadian yang memprihatinkan tersebut, serta guna menentukan langkah penyelesaian yang sesuai dengan nilai-nilai kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab, adalah pada tempatnya segera dibentuk suatu Komisi Fact Finding Independen yang beranggotakan kalangan pemerintah, profesi hukum serta Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat yang bekerja mengumpulkan fakta secara lengkap dan bertanggungjawab. Untuk kepentingan tersebut, Lembaga Bantuan Hukum sebagai lembaga independen bersedia untuk berpartisipasi dalam komisi tersebut.
2. Mengumumkan kepada publik hasil-hasil Komisi Fact Finding tersebut secara terbuka dan jujur.
3. Mengusut pihak-pihak yang elakukan pelanggaran hukum sesuai prosedur hukum yang berlaku.
4. Menghadapkan kemuka pengadilan tanpa terkecuali pihak-pihak yang terbukti melanggar hukum dengan menganuk prinsip-prinsip peradilan yang adil, obyektif dan terbuka (fair trial).
5. Memberikan perlindungan maksimum terhadap warga masyarakat sipil tidak berdosa sehingga mereka dapat terhindar dari tindakan-tindakan kekerasan atau tindakan-tindakan extra legal yang lain.

6. Agar proses pemulihan keamanan dan ketertiban masyarakat dapat dijalankan sesuai ketentuan-ketentuan hukum acara pidana yang berlaku, memenuhi prosedur-prosedur hukum yang ada (dua process of law) dan dijalankan secara taat asas [sic] supaya tidak mengganggu sendi-sendi negara hukum kita.

CONCERN IS NOT ENOUGH

(GUARDIAN)

Editorial, The Guardian (London) 20 November 1991 Comment - unabridged.

The great tide of change which has swept away the cold war in Europe and begun to transform the Middle East extends to further reaches of the world. It also reanimates portions of our global conscience which previously were too often dormant. There have been massacres in Indonesia before, but the killings in East Timor have touched a newly sensitive spot. It is the same moral area which is roused by the suppression of peaceful demonstrations in Nairobi or the instigation of riots in Kinshasa. Former client states in the former cold war must be looked at more critically. We hear so often that democracy and human rights are indivisible that we actually begin to believe it. The new tide also has its effect within the states concerned, where local democratic forces gain courage to raise their voices. Yesterday saw an unprecedented street protest in Jakarta against the Dili killings, while Indonesian human rights organisations risk punishment by heading for the island to conduct their own investigation.

Other factors too have added to the horror of the massacre. Because of the bravery of one Yorkshire TV cameraman, it has had a visual impact not so different from that of Tiananmen Square. Those who saw the footage will not easily forget the sight of panic-stricken mourners fleeing through the gates of the cemetery, and of brutal soldiers casually beating the wounded. In Portugal, the ex-colonial power, the sight of Timorese women uttering desperate prayers - in Portuguese - had a very special impact. Yesterday was declared a day of mourning and teachers in Portuguese schools gave special instruction on East Timor to pupils. In these circumstances, the claim by opponents of the Jakarta regime that a second massacre occurred last Friday, with the execution of 70 to 80 witnesses of the previous shooting, must also be taken seriously.

Two official teams of investigations have been established - one by the army and the other by the government of President Suharto. Neither is likely to seek diligently for the truth, but they reflect the duality of Indonesian politics today in which the armed forces have moved away from Suharto. Though unwilling to be seen as the potential instigator of a coup, the army is unhappy at the prospect of Suharto's re-election as president in 1993. He still holds several high

cards, and has forged close relations both with the Chinese entrepreneurs and with the Muslim movement. Indonesia's recent economic boom has also been helpful to his government, masking the effects of high-level corruption. But Suharto's bid for international esteem will be an early casualty of East Timor. This week he begins a tour to capitalise on his chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement. Now he must fear that next year's Jakarta summit will turn instead into an international inquiry into his own regime. Meanwhile, Indonesia's Western friends - including Britain which has only voiced a muted "concern" - should ask much tougher questions.

TIMOR NEWS AVAILABLE ON DISKETTE

I have also been compiling all the news on Timor. I'd like to share it with others, but I'd like to try to leave the printing and photocopying to you folks.

If you send me either a 3.5" or a 5.25" floppy, I'll copy of the file I've created. It's a huge file, so make sure the diskette you send is high density. I can copy the file for you in one of two formats: WordPerfect 5.1 or Ascii (dos) text (which can be read by any word processing software).

As for costs, I think \$1 US should cover postage for domestic mailings.

Jeff Winters
5602 Haven Hall
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1045 USA

TEARS FOR EAST TIMOR

(NY TIMES EDITORIAL)

21 November 1991. Unabridged.

East What? That's how many Americans might react to the massacres in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that Indonesia invaded in 1975, then annexed. At least 19 demonstrators were killed there last week in a bloody confrontation with Indonesian troops. The victims were reportedly among 3,500 Roman Catholics who sought to lay flowers on the grave of a youth killed by soldiers on Oct. 28.

Strife in East Timor usually goes unreported, since access is restricted by Jakarta's military rulers. This time two American journalists, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, not only witnessed the killings but were mauled as well. Creditably, Portugal calls for an international inquiry, and rejects as a farce Indonesia's promised investigation.

Yet the United Nations has forgotten its own past condemnation of Indonesia's territorial grab. Troops from Indonesia have been asked by the U.N. to participate in a peace-keeping force in the Western Sahara -- thus turning the poacher into a gamekeeper. It strains law and logic to distinguish between Jakarta's seizure of East Timor and Iraq's deservedly punished annexation of Kuwait.

Indonesia's official version is that its forces intervened to quell a civil war. But the territory's 600,000 people have been denied any chance to determine their future, and nowhere else is Jakarta's land grab recognized. For the most part, Washington has mumbled disapproval of Indonesia's takeover.

Indonesia is evidently too important, and East Timor too poor, for this wrong to excite indignation anywhere but in Portugal.

Comment -- The New York Times (self-styled "Newspaper of Record") bears a significant part of the responsibility for the low profile given to East Timor in the U.S. for the last 15 years. Although it has the largest international bureau of any U.S. newspaper, for example, it has only run a few small wire service articles on the recent massacre and its aftermath.-- Charles Scheiner.

A NARROW ESCAPE FROM EAST

TIMOR (ALLAN NAIRN)

U.S.A. Today, November 21, 1991.

"Comment" by Allan Nairn

Two U.S. journalists survive massacre by Indonesian soldiers.

Last Tuesday in the occupied nation of East Timor, I survived a massacre carried out with American arms.

As a large, peaceful crowd stood outside a walled cemetery, the Indonesian army attacked them with M-16 rifles.

Dozens upon dozens fell to the ground around me, as ranks of soldiers aimed and fired into the terrified, retreating people.

It was a calculated mass murder, the latest of many in East Timor, where 200,000 people (a third of the population) have died from massacre and forced starvation since Indonesia invaded there in 1975.

I was standing with Amy Goodman of WBAI-Pacific Radio, between the Timorese and the advancing troops. We hoped that the sight of foreigners with a camera and a tape recorder would induce the Indonesian forces to hold their fire.

Instead, they grabbed our equipment and began to beat us seconds after they began mowing down the crowd.

There were thousands of Timorese there, people of all ages including short-panted school kids and old people in traditional dress. They had marched from an early Mass to commemorate the death of a young man who was killed when the army stormed a Catholic church.

Many marchers had chanted for Timorese independence; some had unfurled banners and shouted in defiance when the procession had walked past army posts.

The marching had already ended and people were standing around when the army swept toward us from two directions. A troop truck full of helmeted men sealed off one escape route when a long, formed-up stream of soldiers brandishing their M-16s rounded the corner and opened fire upon the crowd.

There was no provocation, no spontaneous flare-up, no threat to the soldiers or warning to disperse. The soldiers simply advanced upon the gasping Timorese and began firing in a coordinated way.

The Timorese were paying the price for daring to engage in public speech. In the eyes of the Indonesian army, that is the crime of "politik." That is the world the soldiers screamed as they kicked me in the back and gut and beat my head with swinging rifle butts. It is also what they shouted as they put both of us on the pavement and aimed their M-16s straight at our heads.

The answer we shouted back -- and I think it is what saved us -- was the word "America!"

We were citizens of the country that supplied those M-16s. Killing us might invite somewhat different results from killing the Timorese whom they were just at that moment executing just a few feet away from where we sat.

For 16 years now, the mass killing of Timorese has simply been met by fresh renewals of U.S. military aid. After Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, Washington responded by doubling the weapons flow.

Now, after the cemetery massacre, the people of East Timor are in especially urgent danger.

As we slipped out of Timor five hours after the slaughter, Indonesian troops were sweeping through the streets, breaking into houses and rounding people up.

Unless Washington and the United Nations take immediate and decisive action, it is likely that many of these people will be tortured and die.

The question before Washington is not whether it should restrain Indonesia, but whether it will continue to serve as a sponsor and knowing accomplice in what are unmistakably criminal acts. The United States should end all military aid and sales to Indonesia and, at the same time, let the U.N. enforce the law.

The U.N. Security Council has passed two resolutions calling on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor "without delay." These measures passed in 1975 and 1976, but Washington prevented the U.N. from taking action. Now the U.N. Security Council should convene on East Timor and send in peacekeeping forces to protect the Timorese and set the stage for a referendum on self-determination.

Gunshot massacres with U.S. weapons by U.S. client states have happened many times in many places. But this is the first time that I am aware that the act was witnessed and survived by U.S. journalists.

The lives of a great many gravely threatened Timorese now hang on how Americans will respond.

Allan Nairn is a writer for New Yorker magazine.

U.S.-BASED SOLIDARITY FOR EAST TIMOR

From: *rrk%HOQAA.ATT.COM@pucc.PRINCETON.EDU* 21 Nov.

As best I can determine, there are currently no active solidarity groups for East Timor in the US. I would like to try to start one. If you are interested in such a group please send e-mail to

RRK@HOQAA.ATT.COM

If you do not want your name and e-mail address distributed to others who express a similar interest please tell me.

There is an East Timor solidarity group in Canada, the East Timor Alert Network. The addresses are

Western Canada: 104-2120 West 44th,
Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2 tel (604)264-9973

Ontario and Atlantic Provinces: PO Box 562,
Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1, tel
(416)531-6154

Quebec: 1375 Sherwood Cres., Town of
Mount Royal, H3R 3C8, tel (514)933-6695

I recently met someone from the East Timor Alert Network at a SANE/FREEZE conference and am now trying to establish contact with them.

Richard Koch

From Charlie Scheiner

To: *rrk@hoqaa.att.com*

Subject: Timor solidarity

Richard -- I am interested in doing solidarity for East Timor -- part of my broader work within the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific movement internationally. Let me know what you have in mind. I work with a number of peace groups (and got Mobilization for Survival to run an article I wrote on ET last winter, and War Resisters League to run one by Carmel Budiardjo a few months ago). Through my NFIP and SE Asia support work, I know a number of people who might be interested ... but most of them are not electronically connected, so we'll need postal addresses and phone numbers to get in touch.

Several folks have asked in the last few days if any action was planned around Timor. What do you think of a picket at the Indonesian Mission to the UN in NYC -- 325 E. 38th Street? It seems right to do something visible while the media might be paying attention.

Give me a call if you want to talk about this.

Charlie Scheiner PO Box 1182, White Plains,
NY 10602 tel.(914)428-7299 fax (914)428-7383
cscheiner@igc.com% **From: Carl A. Trocki**

<CTROCKI@GUVAX.BITNET>
Subject: east timor solidarity

To Richard Koch et al,

I don't know if there is an east timor solidarity group in the US, but you should know that there is Arnold Kohen, who has been a sort of one-man lobby, activist and booster for East Timor causes since the mid 1970s.

he is here in Washington and has been very busy during the past week lobbying congress and the press in Washington. He helped set up the meeting between Allan Nairn and the Washington Post that led to the Mary McGrory column yesterday in the Post.

He is not on bitnet, but I have been downloading most of the files that John and other have been sending and so they have been circulating. If you wish to contact him His phone is 202-363-1649 and fax is 202-363-3658.

I'm glad you're doing this. The timor issue needs all the attention that it can get. The Indonesian generals know they can do whatever they please there so long as they can rely on Americans to look the other way.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST, NOV. 21.

This is a digest of some of the material on East Timor received at Task Force Indonesia's office today from its network of sources.

JAPAN (Embassy report inconclusive)

A report from Japanese Embassy staff in Jakarta who investigated a shooting incident in the East Timorese capital of Dili on November 12 was inconclusive, a foreign ministry source said Thursday.

The source said there is room for debate on who instigated the shooting incident.

The source also said the report was not enough for Japan to change its present position. It is still awaiting an official reply from the Indonesian government on the incident. (Source: Kyodo)

JAPAN (Embassy mission duped?)

Satsuki Eda, head of the United Social Democratic Party and the Secretary General of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, said the Japanese Embassy mission to Dili may have been duped.

"They came back and reported that the town was 'peaceful,'" Eda said. "I wonder whether it was peaceful or whether may be they were duped. I intend to find out."

Eda said, "The army said the soldiers were told not to shoot but if that's the case, why did they shoot?"

"What sort of soldiers are they if they then shot?" (Source: Kyodo)

AUSTRALIA (Hawke criticizes Sutrisno)

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said on Thursday that reported comments by Indonesia's armed forces commander justifying last week's East Timor massacre were repugnant in the extreme.

"They continued to be obstinate. In any case, the armed forces cannot be underestimated. Finally, yes, they had to be blasted. Delinquents like these agitators have to be

shot and we will shoot them," Sutrisno was quoted by the Jayakarta daily.

"Those reported comments are ones which I find repugnant," Hawke told reporters.

"One in particular which said...it was appropriate for demonstrators to be shot, and this was an okay way of doing things. I find that repugnant in the extreme." (Source: Reuter)

NETHERLANDS (Aid postponed)

The Netherlands decided Thursday to postpone development projects in Indonesia following last week's massacre in the East Timor capital.

Earlier Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, in a letter to the Dutch Parliament, said that, according to independent sources, the military had not been provoked in the cemetery where the massacre took place and had fired indiscriminately.

"According to sources available to us, the military opened fire on the crowd in front of the cemetery indiscriminately, without any physical contact taking place between the gathering crowd and the military who had arrived there only a little time earlier by truck," Van den Broek said.

Following pressure for deputies, Van den Broek said Thursday he would consider calling on the United Nations to open an independent international inquiry into the cemetery massacre. (Source: AFP)

FRANCE (Euro. Parliament resolution)

The European Parliament urged the European Community and United Nations on Thursday to ban arms sales to Indonesia and called for an international investigation into the shooting of mourners in East Timor last week.

The parliament also called in a resolution for the release of all political prisoners in East Timor and for EC cooperation accords with Indonesia to be suspended until respect for human rights is guaranteed there.

The European Parliament said it would send a mission to East Timor to meet all parties to the conflict which blew up after Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 and agreed to hold a hearing on the issue in Lisbon early next year. (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (New Indon. offensive in Dili)

Indonesian troops have launched a new military offensive against rebels in East Timor and closed down the airport in the capital Dili on Wednesday, an East Timor nationalist said in Lisbon Thursday.

Abilio Araujo, a leader of Fretilin, the East Timor Liberation Front, said Jakarta troops started operations in the Ponta Leste area and in the central mountain region of the former Portuguese territory.

He also said resistance groups had no idea of the whereabouts of 70 East Timorese students arrested on Tuesday in Jakarta in a protest demanding that United Nations pressure be put on Indonesia to give East Timor the right to self-determination.

Other resistance sources said the airport closing was evidence of military plans to launch a vast "clean-up operation" following a massacre by troops of mourners at a memorial service for a young nationalist in Dili last week. (Source: AFP)

U.S. (Congressional meeting planned)

EVENT: -- HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee meeting

Rep Gus Yatron, D-PA, chmn

SUBJECT: Mark up of HCR240, condemning the massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian military

LOCATION: 2172 Rayburn House Office Building

TIME: November 22, 9:00 am

CONTACT: 202-226-7825 (Source: FNS)

INDONESIA (Foreign press criticized)

"Reports by the foreign press are biased," Information Minister Harmoko was quoted as saying in the local press on Thursday.

The government says 19 people were killed and 91 injured in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor nine days ago, when troops misunderstood an order and opened fire on 3,500 mourners.

East Timor Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo has said he heard reports that up to 180 were killed.

"(Some people abroad) make it sound like the massacre committed by (Khmer Rouge leader) Pol Pot," the Jakarta Post quoted Interior Minister Rudini as saying.

Testimony which the armed forces commander was due to give to parliament on Thursday has been delayed until November 29. No reason was given.

The Jakarta Post quoted leading political commentator Yuwono Sudarsono as saying the territory should be closed to foreign reporters and diplomats for a few months. (Source: Reuter)

INDONESIA (Pro-govt, anti-Australia demo)

About 80 Indonesian youths demonstrated outside the Australian embassy on Thursday to protest against Australia's reaction to the shootings.

Members of the Indonesian Democratic Youth, waving red-and-white national flags, condemned Australian trade unions for picketing Indonesia's embassy in Canberra.

"The Australian government must apologise to Indonesia for the embassy blockade and the burning of our national flag in Adelaide," said the protesters' leader, Rudianto Brotosayogyo.

The demonstrators sang the national anthem and put posters along the fence of the embassy saying "Australia get out of my country," and "Stop meddling in Indonesia's internal affairs."

It is the second day youths have protested outside the embassy. Police and troops made no move to disperse them. (Source: Reuter)

INDONESIA (Anti-Australia Demo)

Two Indonesian groups Thursday demonstrated in front of the Australian embassy here to protest a wave of actions against the country's diplomatic premises in Australia.

Some 40 members of the Indonesian Labour Union (SPSI) carried the national red-and-white flag and posters criticizing a series of protests against Indonesia's embassies and consulates in Australia.

They were joined later Thursday by some 50 red-clad members of the Indonesian Democratic Youth (PDI), an organisation affiliated to the Democratic Party of Indonesia, the smallest of the country's three political parties.

Both groups issued protest statements. The two statements condemned the taking down and burning of Indonesian flags during an Australian protest as an insult to the dignity and sovereignty of the nation.

Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, has appealed for protection for his embassy and consulates to be stepped up following the protests.

Thursday's two protests followed one Wednesday by members of the state-sponsored National Youth Committee of Indonesia. (Source: AFP)

INDONESIA (Human Rights leader questioned)

The chairman of the Indonesian Institute for the Defense of Human Rights, H.J. Princen, said Thursday he had been questioned for eight hours about whether he was connected with protests in Jakarta over the killings. He said he had to report to authorities again on Friday. (Source: AP)

INDONESIA (Diplomats question military)

The recent massacre in the East Timor capital of Dili has raised awkward questions about Indonesia's use of armed soldiers for law and order maintenance, diplomats here said.

One of the questions that a commission tasked with conducting an inquest into the shooting will have to wrestle with is why the government uses troops armed with assault rifles to counter riots, said the diplomats.

"How come it did not have police in Dili armed with tear gas grenades, or even plastic bullets like the ones used the world over," asked the diplomat.

"If the Portuguese delegation had come and there had been an incident, would the Indonesian army have fired on the crowd in front of the Portuguese delegates and the U.N. envoys?" asked a Western diplomat. (Source: AFP)

INDONESIA (LRD wants inquests)

On Wednesday, the small Indonesian League for the Restoration of Democracy, said inquest commissions should be created for several other bloody incidents which have taken place in the past few years.

One of the cases cited was an incident at Tanjung Priok, the port in Jakarta, where the

army in September 1984 fired on Islamic demonstrators, leaving 30 dead by official account.

Another example given by the League was of Lampung in South Sumatra, where troops in February 1989 fired on members of an obscure Islamic sect, this time officially killing 38.

Lastly, the League recalled the events in the province of Aceh, in Sumatra's extreme north, where the radical Islamic group Aceh Merdeka, or Free Aceh, has been fighting the authorities for years. (Source: AFP)

EAST TIMOR (Red Cross restricted)

East Timor's military commander on Thursday refused to yield to Red Cross demands for permission to visit those wounded when the Indonesian army opened fire on mourners last week.

"For this time, it is not yet right," Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw told Reuters in a military helicopter on the way to the eastern end of the former Portuguese territory which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

He said the ICRC official would be allowed to ask the names of the wounded and where they were from. But more than that might disrupt interrogations, he said.

He appeared to contradict armed forces commander Try Sutrisno who, according to the official Antara news service, told a meeting of Indonesian editors in Jakarta that there had never been any difficulty over visiting the wounded.

In his meeting with editors, Try warned foreign countries not to interfere and referred to a U.S. Senate resolution which suggested the United Nations should set up a team to investigate.

The United Nations does not not recognise Jakarta's rule over East Timor. (Source: Reuter)

EAST TIMOR (Warounw: back to normal)

Making his first trip outside Dili since the November 12 shooting, Brigadier General Warouw, 47, said the situation was back to normal.

"If there is a mistake we will correct it," he said.

He has already appealed over local radio for parents to send their children back to school and stop being afraid and said that troops had been told to obey the law.

Girls in the village of Iralafai in Los Palos, dressed in bright woven shawls, greeted him as he arrived to open a drinking water project backed by the military.

"We must forget the past, try to trust each other and develop a feeling of belonging to a family," he told villagers.

The project is part of the military's two-year old Operation Sympathy to wean the impoverished East Timorese away from the influence of separatists including Fretilin guerrillas.

The strategy includes rapid economic development and the creation of a local militia to work with the army. Critics say this acts to

divide the people, especially in towns. (Source: Reuter)

EAST TIMOR (Army to interrogate wounded)

Indonesia's army plans to interrogate dozens of people wounded during its bloody assault on demonstrators in East Timor last week, the military commander of the annexed region said Thursday.

The interrogation of the wounded, and about 40 other people arrested during the Nov. 12 incident, is apparently aimed at backing up assertions by the Indonesian military that its troops fired in self-defense.

He added that the army was searching for a person who allegedly stabbed Maj. Gerhan Lantara, the deputy commander of the Dili Battalion. He said the knifing provoked the army to open fire. (Source: AP)

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ADOPTS RESOLUTION WITH HUGE MAJORITY

The European Parliament today, 21 November 1991 adopted a resolution on East Timor by a massive majority. There were 167 votes for, seven against and four abstentions. The text of the resolution is as follows:

JOINT MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION ON THE MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR

[Tabled by Members of the Socialist Group, the PPE Group, the LDR Group, the ED group, the Green Group, the GUE Group, the Rainbow Group and the CG Group]

The European Parliament:

- A. Appalled by the reports of the killing and wounding of many mourners by Indonesian troops at a funeral in Dili in East Timor on 11 (sic) November 1991,
- B. whereas the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve, meeting in conclave in the Netherlands on 13 November, have utterly condemned the massacres,
- C. recalling that Amnesty International had previously asked for an inquiry into the shooting by the police of Mr Sebastio Rangel, the man whose funeral was taking place,
- D. considering the reports that after the massacre at the funeral, the Indonesian military took out of prison between 70 and 100 witnesses of the massacre and killed them standing in front of a grave,
- E. whereas Indonesian soldiers recently attacked Catholic churches where young people had taken refuge; whereas these attacks caused deaths and injuries and political prisoners were cruelly tortured in order to make them reveal the names of bishops and priests who might have collaborated with the resistance,
- F. recalling that a planned visit by Portuguese parliamentarians has recently been

postponed because the Indonesian authorities refused to allow a journalist to accompany the Portuguese deputies,

- G. recalling the history of mass murder and brutal repression by the Indonesian Government since the occupation of East Timor in 1975.
- I. recalling its previous resolutions concerning East Timor,
 1. Condemns the brutal murder of these latest victims of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and denounces and condemns the very serious violations of the most fundamental human rights;
 2. Urges the Indonesian Government to ensure that the occupying security and military forces refrain immediately from using violence and that those responsible for the massacre are brought to trial;
 3. Calls for and immediate, thorough, impartial and internationally supervised investigation into the killings;
 4. Asks for the release of those detained for their non-violent political activities or for their beliefs, and seeks assurances that those in detention will be treated humanely, and that lawyers, doctors and relatives will be allowed access to the detainees;
 5. Calls on the ministers meeting in the EPC to take up this matter in the strongest possible way with the Indonesian Government and asks the EC and the United Nations to declare an embargo on the sale of weapons to Indonesia;
 6. Calls on the European Council to make its position clearly known on this matter as soon as possible and to revise cooperation agreements between Indonesia, the EC and Member States, as long as the situation has not changed;
 7. Instructs its delegation to ASEAN to raise the gross violation of human rights in East Timor at the earliest opportunity;
 8. In view of the decision of the subcommittee on human rights to hold a hearing on East Timor in Lisbon, decides to send a mission of its own there, to meet leaders of all the parties to the conflict;
 9. Instructs its President to transmit this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Ministers meeting in EPC, the Government of Indonesia, the Secretary-General of the UN and the Secretary-General of ASEAN.

JAKARTA SHOULD COME CLEAN (BANGKOK POST EDITORIAL)

Source: Bangkok Post editorial - as reproduced in the International Herald Tribune on 21 November 1991

Indonesia's own interest will be served by abandoning its 15 year-attempt to cover up events in East Timor. The army has stood accused of unwarranted violence and atrocities in the annexed province from the first day it entered Dili. Any thoughtful probe of last

week's extraordinary use of armed force against civilians must also consider the hundreds of separate claims of downright abuse of many Timorese.

Jakarta is probably unwilling, under any circumstances, to yield to calls for abandoning its colonial takeover of East Timor. A public investigation of mistreatment of Timorese will nevertheless help improve the atrocious image the army has earned in the annexed province. Indonesia must come clean on the tragedy. The result of a whitewash could well be the blackballing of Indonesia in many international forums.

INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS THREATENED (TAPOL)

Today, 21 November 1991, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign issued the following press release:

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS UNDER DAILY INTERROGATION LEADING HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS UNDER THREAT

Two leading human rights activists in Jakarta, J.C. (Poncke) Princen, chair of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, and Indro Sukmadji Tjahyono of Infight, the Indonesian Front for Human Rights, have since yesterday been under intense interrogation by the security forces. Further interrogation will take place tomorrow. They are allowed to return home in the evening and are under town arrest. Another activist, Yopie Lasut of the Hidup Baru (New Life) Foundation has gone into hiding.

They were called in by Bakorstanasda, the Jakarta branch of the armed forces' security agency, Bakorstanas, the day after dozens of East Timorese students demonstrated in Jakarta, calling on the UN to press for East Timor's right to self-determination. Almost all the demonstrators were arrested and are now being held at an unknown place of detention.

The three organisations had planned to send a four-person team, including Princen, to Dili on Wednesday to monitor the situation there but they were prevented from leaving for Dili.

Indro and Poncke have informed TAPOL that they are being accused of orchestrating Tuesday's demonstration in Jakarta. They believe the interrogation will lead to formal charges and a trial, and the possible closing down of their organisations.

TAPOL today spoke by phone to one of the three men. They were all 'invited' Wednesday to visit Bakorstanasda, Princen and Indro went as requested but Yopie Lasut ignored the 'invitation' and went into hiding.

Princen and Indro spent most of yesterday and today at Bakorstanasda. The questioning was intense with the interrogators rejecting everything the two men said.

Indro and Princen believe Bakorstanasda is building a case against the three organisations

to close them down, and that the intention is to put the three men on trial. The allegation that they 'orchestrated' the East Timorese students' demonstration on 19 November will be used as the starting point but the charges will focus on all the activities of the three organisations. They are seen as a threat because of their effectiveness in mobilising people at the grass-roots, their 'meddling' in East Timor affairs and their close contact and good communications with human rights NGOs abroad.

BANDUNG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PROTEST (TAPOL)

TAPOL report, 21 November 1991

Yesterday, 20 November 1991, some 500 students demonstrated outside the Catholic Parahyangan University in Bandung, West Java, to protest against the arrest of East Timorese students during a demonstration in Jakarta the day before. Eight students were arrested.

XANANA FAMILY HOME RAIDED IN DILI (TAPOL)

Today, 21 November 1991, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following press release:

HOME OF XANANA GUSMAO'S FAMILY IN DILI RAIDED

Two army platoons yesterday raided the home in Dili of Manual Reis, the family of Xanana Gusmao, the armed resistance leader. The house was surrounded and troops started searching for a tunnel where they thought Xanana might be hiding. Other houses in the neighbourhood were also entered, searched and ransacked.

Father Ricardo, the priest at Motael Church, was summoned to POLRES, the police headquarters, for interrogation. Motael Church is the church where mass was held on 12 November, before the procession of mourners went to the Santa Cruz cemetery, where the massacre occurred, killing over a hundred people.

Every day from 7 pm, the streets of Dili are deserted, except for troops on patrol who conduct many house searches. Schools are still not back to normal. The Portuguese-language Sao Jose School is closed at present. In other schools, only the girls are attending; most boys are too afraid to go out for fear of being picked up by the troops.

Outside Dili, there are army road-blocks everywhere. Anyone failing to produce an identity-card is arrested. In any case, men are afraid to travel for fear of being stopped and taken to the local military command. Our contact in Dili is unable to say much about the situation throughout the country as no-one in Dili is able to travel elsewhere.

The level of military operations has greatly intensified since the massacre on 12

November. On 13 November, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the IXth/Udayana Military Command which includes the territory of East Timor, announced that the army's hearts-and-minds 'territorial operation' which had been under way since early 1990 has now been abandoned. 'Operation Smile', he said, has been replaced by 'Operation Combat'.

NDP DEMANDS ACTION FROM OTTAWA ON RIGHTS

(TORONTO STAR)

By Tim Harper (Toronto Star, 21 Nov.)

OTTAWA -- New Democrat leader Audrey McLaughlin has accused the government of making brave statements about human rights on the international stage without a policy that allows it to deal with rights abusers.

McLaughlin's charge came after External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall asked for help from Parliament in establishing guidelines for linking human rights and foreign aid.

McDougall said she's reviewing Canadian aid to Kenya and Indonesia, two countries condemned on the world stage for recent blatant violations of human rights.

McLaughlin said Canada continues to provide aid to countries with "horrific" human rights records while Prime Minister Brian Mulroney circles the globe trying to link foreign aid and human rights.

"It's unacceptable to talk about human rights on the international stage while refusing to take action at home," the New Democratic party leader told McDougall.

McDougall told reporters outside the House of Commons she hopes to have reviews on Kenya and Indonesia completed next week.

"I will not agree to cut off aid to those countries until I've had the opportunity to review those programs and ensure that we can still fill some humanitarian needs in those countries."

Only government-to-government assistance is under review, she said. Aid funnelled to average citizens through non-governmental organizations won't be affected.

CABINET DISCUSSES STRONGER STANCE ON TIMOR

(CANBERRA TIMES)

Canberra Times, 21.11.91, Jeremy Thompson [Excerpts]

[The Australian] Cabinet has discussed the withdrawal of Australia's de jure recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty of East Timor.

And a senior government minister has questioned the line taken by the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, by refusing to rule out suggestions of a United Nations Peace Conference on the East Timor problem.

In a vigorous debate in the Cabinet room on Tuesday, several ministers argued that

Australia take strong action in protest at the Dili massacre last week, where around 100 people were killed. Some said that if a second massacre reported on Friday, in which up to 100 more detainees were allegedly killed, was proved, Australia should review its position that East Timor is part of Indonesia.

Senior government sources said yesterday that Mr Hawke told Cabinet that he and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Gareth Evans, were determined to maintain the strongest pressure on Indonesia for a legitimate inquiry into the massacre.

They said Mr Hawke made the point that if the inquiry proved to be a "whitewash" there would have to be a fundamental review of Australia's relationship with Indonesia.

But fears are growing in government circles that the inquiry will fall short of meeting international demands - that it be exhaustive, open and that those behind the slaughter be punished.

The man chosen to head the inquiry is a former head of the army's elite para-commando regiment, Supreme Judge Jaelani, a man few believe has the background to be impartial.

[...4 paragraphs on the Sutrisno article in Jayakarta...] The minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, John Button, who may cancel a planned trip to Indonesia next month, said yesterday that a UN-sponsored peace conference would "have to be considered as the facts unfold".

Speaking on ABC radio's PM program, Senator Button said Mr Hawke and Senator Evans were in touch with other countries about the issue. The suggestion appears to be at odds with the line taken by Mr Hawke, who said last week that a UN settlement would be very unlikely and one that Indonesia would never accept.

In Cabinet, Mr Hawke stopped short of suggesting that Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor should be repudiated.

A spokesman for Mr Hawke said yesterday that the commission of inquiry seemed to have "a lean to it" but it was "more important what comes out of" the inquiry.

The secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Dick Woolcott, a former Australian Ambassador to Indonesia [who played a very dubious role in Jakarta during 1975/76], has taken a softer line, telling the ABC's Lateline program on Tuesday night that the massacre must be kept "in perspective".

The long-term importance of Australia's role in the region was more significant, he said.

The Opposition has called on the Government to "carefully consider" any ministerial visits to Indonesia until a satisfactory explanation about the massacre is received.

[...5 paragraphs on reports from Dili and Washington...] In Canberra, the Indonesian Ambassador, Sabam Siagian, has formally asked for more protection for his embassy and consulates in Sydney, Darwin and Melbourne after pickets and protests.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy complained that some stones were thrown in Sydney and windows were broken.

In Jakarta, demonstrators shouted abuse and spat at Australian embassy staff yesterday in a pro-Indonesian protest organised by a national youth group, KNPI, in response to pickets and demonstrations outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra.

[The embassy picket is continuing in a very peaceful and orderly manner, yet appears to be greatly upset the ambassador who at one time personally emerged outside the gate to retrieve a parcel from a delivery van which did not cross the picket line.]

CBS TV NEWS IN U.S. BROADCASTS VIDEO OF MASSACRE

USA / NOV 21/91 -- The following is an unabridged transcript (courtesy of Jeff Winters) of the broadcast on the CBS evening news with Dan Rather.

Visual: map of Indonesia--entire Island of Timor is highlighted in bright yellow and incorrectly labelled as East Timor

RATHER: A conflict, a killing ground in a remote area of the Far East is beginning, just beginning, to get the world's attention. That is because Western reporters were inside Indonesia when soldiers opened fire on a group of civilians. It happened last week in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, where up to 200,000 people have died from massacres and famine over the last 16 years.

Barry Peterson narrates a report.

Visual: Catholic mass, people lining up to take communion PETERSON: It all began with a prayer. Catholic mass for a student killed in a demonstration against the forced rule of Moslem Indonesia.

Visual: a protest march, a banner saying "Xanana Gusmao," another saying {in English} "independent is what we inspire," and another {in English} "why the Indonesian army shoot our church?"

East Timor was seized in 1975 by Indonesian leaders fearful that the spirit of independence might spread to other Indonesian-ruled islands. America accepted Indonesia's takeover; the United Nations did not.

Visual: protestors gathering, a banner proclaiming {in English} "long life Xanana!" Fists raised in the air. Also "V" signs raised high {peace or victory?}

On this day, protestors--including women and children--challenged the military by marching to a nearby cemetery. Suddenly, and without provocation, say Western reporters, the street became a killing field.

Visual: Many people running, bursts of gunfire in the background. People falling, taking cover behind grave markers. Voice-over by eyewitness Allan Nairn, whose head was wrapped in white gauze.

NAIRN: The soldiers issued no warning. They simply rounded the corner in formation and opened fire on the crowd--mowing

people down with their M-16s. Visual: scores of people running, ducking the bullets, trampling each other.

PETERSON: Fleeing into the cemetery offered the only hope of escaping the massacre. These pictures, seen tonight for the first time in America, have sparked outrage in Europe and calls for an investigation by the United Nations.

Visual: sound of sirens, more pops of rifles, screams of terror; people leaping over grave stones. About ten people huddle in a concrete structure--one raising his fist in the air when the camera pauses.

"Foreign intervention," say those in East Timor, "is our only hope."

Visual: camera lingers on a lifeless corpse lying crumpled next to a rusty oil drum.

Indonesia wants to avoid that. "It's an internal affair," insisted one military official today.

Visual: soldiers with batons and lexiglass shields take turns beating people being rounded up. One soldier is trying to carry away the body near the drum.

After this day's "internal affair," Indonesian soldiers searched for survivors--beating, and then arresting them.

Perhaps a hundred were gunned down--three hundred wounded.

Visual: a youth, bleeding badly in the midsection from a bullet wound, is cradled by a friend. He's barely conscious. The friend gently strokes the wounded boy's head.

This young man was among those badly hurt, but unable to get any medical care. He died moments later.

Visual: a group of soldiers mill around in the aftermath. One stares into the camera and beckons to the camera operator to come out from the cemetery.

There is nothing new about this kind of killing, say those in East Timor -- just that this time there was someone here to see it.

Barry Peterson, CBS News, London.

Comment from Charles Scheiner

One interesting (and probably unintended) aspect of the CBS TV broadcast is that the footage of Indonesian soldiers shooting unarmed Timorese with their (U.S.-made) M-16s was immediately followed by a teaser for a later story in the newscast about US troops in South Korea not being withdrawn. It showed two American GI's, in camouflage uniforms, charging up and shooting their automatic rifles. Presumably a war game -- but not that different from what the Indonesians had just done.

VOLKSKRANT EDITORIAL ON EAST TIMOR

A leading Dutch newspaper, Volkskrant, published the following editorial on 21 November 1991:

So far, there is still a lot of uncertainty about the so-called second bloodbath in the village Bemos in East Timor.

According to the human rights organisation, Tapol, at the end of last week, the Indonesian army extrajudicially executed dozens of prisoners. These yet to be confirmed reports followed a bloodbath perpetrated against a crowd of mourners in Dili, earlier in the week.

In the meantime, under the pressure of international opinion, the Indonesian authorities have agreed to conduct an investigation of the first bloodbath. With no foreign observers involved, it is questionable whether anyone can expect much from such an investigation, considering the cynical remarks being made by the Indonesians. They say that it was a tragic misunderstanding, but according to the military commander of East Timor, the conduct of the military, who shot wildly for ten minutes, was not excessive.

Developments in East Timor show the Indonesian authorities to be incredibly thick-skulled. For years, the Indonesians have been dealing with human rights in an unacceptable way (death-squads, executions of political prisoners). But what is now happening in East Timor tops it all, as far as repressive terror is concerned. Since 1975, when the former Portuguese colony was invaded by Indonesian troops, the question of East Timor has been ignored by the world, despite a UN resolution condemning the aggression.

There are more than enough reasons - following the example of the Canadian government - to discuss economic and aid relations with Indonesia in a fundamental way for as long as the cruelties in East Timor persist. Whether they like it or not, the Suharto regime will have to put an end to the serious and systematic violations of human rights. This requires international action, preferably under the auspices of the UN.

History shows that serious warnings from the West can force the Indonesian government to repent. In the seventies, under pressure from the Netherlands and other countries, the political prisoners were finally released.

An important initiative rests with the Netherlands, as chair of the EC and also of the IGGI, a group of influential donors which yearly guarantees (Indonesia) billions of dollars of aid. The cautious diplomatic approach, propagated by Minister van den Broek, does not seem to be effective any more. On top of that, Minister Pronk himself stated, when he was appointed Minister for Overseas Development Aid, that third world countries with bad human rights policies, should not expect any more support from him. If Indonesia remains thick-skulled, it is obvious what the consequences will be.

HAWKE BLASTS JAKARTA OVER SICK REMARKS

(AUSTRALIAN)

The Australian, November 22. By foreign affairs writer Tony Parkinson

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday attacked Indonesia's military chief, General

Try Sutrisno, for "repugnant" comments made in the wake of the Dili massacre.

Mr Hawke also repeated his warning that Indonesia would lose the respect of the international community unless it punished the culprits.

His comments came against the background of growing agitation in the Labor Government, including Cabinet ministers, for a fundamental review of Australia's relations with Indonesia.

There is believed to be broad agreement in the Cabinet that the Federal Government must reconsider downgrading relations with Indonesia and reappraising its policy towards East Timor if there is an attempt by Jakarta to play down the killing of at least 50 people in the province's capital last week.

While the Indonesian President, Mr Suharto, has issued a decree setting up a national commission of inquiry, fears that Jakarta is beginning to stonewall have been fuelled by the recent strident and inflammatory rhetoric of top military officials, including General Sutrisno, and signs that the Suharto administration is beginning to bristle in the face of scrutiny from the Western press.

Three days after the massacre, General Sutrisno is reported as having sought to justify the incident to graduates at a military academy.

"Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them," he was quoted as saying.

Yesterday, Mr Hawke expressed his disgust that Indonesian generals could regard the shootings as "an okay way of doing things."

"I find that repugnant in the extreme," Mr Hawke said, adding that he did not believe the comments had represented the view of Mr Suharto himself.

"I think the President understands the enormity of what happened."

However, doubts raised by the strong military flavour of Mr Suharto's commission of inquiry have added to concerns that Jakarta may attempt a whitewash. These were reinforced in Jakarta yesterday when two senior government figures accused the Western media of bias and slanted reporting.

Also, an influential political commentator, Mr Yuwono Sudarsno, was quoted in the Jakarta Post as saying Western media and diplomats should be banned from East Timor in the months ahead. He said last week's shootings were in part provoked by the presence of foreigners.

Mr Hawke said yesterday that he could find no evidence to support Indonesia's claims that troops had fired on the civilians only after violent provocation.

Senior Australian officials now believe more than 50 East Timorese were killed when troops opened fire on mourners outside a cemetery in the East Timorese capital of Dili on November 12. . . . [Article continues & notes that visit of Hawke to Indonesia next year is dependent on outcome of inquiry]

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL URGENT ACTION

The following is part of Amnesty International's Urgent Action issued on 22 November 1991 (AI Index: ASA 21/26/91) UA 408/91 (Legal Concern/Fear of Torture)

Joao Avelino Coelho; Jose Amorin Sergio; Joao Francisco Cunha; Jose Luis Antonio Goncalves; Gregorio Monteiro; Ildio Agapito; Joao Camera Freitas; others.

Dozens of East Timorese youths were detained by police during a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November. According to the police, they have been charged with expressing "feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt toward the Indonesian Government" under Articles 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code. In contravention of the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP), Police authorities have refused the prisoners access to lawyers and relatives until they have finished interrogating them. Amnesty International is concerned that this increases the risk that they may be subjected to ill-treatment or torture.

Amnesty International believes that some or all of those detained may be prisoners of conscience. It is calling on the Indonesian authorities to release immediately and unconditionally anyone held solely for their political activities or beliefs and, in the interim, to grant immediate access to lawyers and relatives to those in detention.

The demonstrators went first to the office of the United Nations Information Office on Jalan Thamrin. Unable to enter the premises to present a statement addressed to the UN Secretary General, they instead read it aloud outside the gate. With banners and signs calling for a referendum on East Timor's political future and for inquiries into the 12 November massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery, Dili, they proceeded to the Embassies of Japan and Australia nearby. As they regrouped near the Hotel Indonesia, members of the riot police (SABHARA) moved in to disperse them and journalists were ordered to leave the vicinity. The demonstrators began to flee, but were chased by police who beat them with truncheons and loaded them onto three waiting vehicles. Two foreign journalists at the scene were taken aside by security forces and questioned about their links to the demonstrators before being released.

Military authorities initially denied that any demonstrators had been detained, but independent sources said that at least 35 people, and possibly as many as 70, had been held at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station. Amnesty International has so far learned the names of 13 (listed above) said to have been held. A team of four human rights advocates and lawyers who tried to visit the detainees at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station on 22 November, were told by police authorities

that they could not do so until the police had finished interrogating the suspects. The police told them that some of the detainees might be released within a few days, and that they might be permitted to visit those still in custody on Monday 25 November, six days after the detainees were arrested.

ISLAND OF OPPRESSION

(LONDON TIMES EDITORIAL)

Nov 22, 1991

Two massacres of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian army in the past ten days have forced that neglected and brutalised people back into the consciousness of the world. The Indonesian annexation is said by the resistance to have cost the lives of some 200 000 civilians over the past 16 years. The United Nations is being urged by Portugal to challenge this vicious occupation. But the great democratic powers - America, Europe and Japan - have so far shown no serious determination to bring the Indonesian government's crimes against humanity in East Timor to an end.

After the Portuguese revolution of 1975, the governor fled the island. The nationalist movement Fretilin then declared independence. On the day after President Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger left Jakarta in December 1975, the Indonesian army poured into East Timor. Jakarta periodically declares that the guerilla war against Fretilin, which has lasted ever since, is over and that the Timorese are content to be a province of the world's largest Muslim nation. The Roman Catholic East Timorese see matters differently.

The first of the recent massacres, on Tuesday last week, seems to have been started by the crack units of the Indonesian army assigned to the territory. At a funeral in the capital, Dili, the large crowd of mourners appears to have been swelled by children walking to school. In any event both mourners and children fled into the cemetery as the army opened fire. Their commander said there was between five and ten minutes of continuous fire. Though the army claimed only 19 deaths, other witnesses put the number at more than 150.

More disturbing, because indubitably premeditated, was the incident last Friday. Reports from several sources suggest that about 80 surviving witnesses of the funeral massacre were taken to a well-known execution ground outside the capital and shot. The Indonesians have promised an enquiry; but there is little chance that it will be impartial.

The Timorese believed that the liberation of Kuwait by force of Western arms augured well for their own cause. So far such hopes have not been fulfilled. The government of Portugal is again taking an interest in its former colony. In nearby Australia too, public opinion has forced Bob Hawke, the prime minister, to reconsider his recognition of the Indonesian annexation.

Yet the British government has no objection to arms sales to the Indonesians, among them Hawk military aircraft. The Foreign Office has not so far joined the Portuguese and Australians in drawing attention to East Timor. A question in the Commons this week elicited a bland response.

Britain as a permanent member of the UN Security Council could still press for a UN-sponsored referendum in East Timor. That would give immense encouragement to the Timorese. Such a plebiscite would be the only just method of ascertaining whether East Timor wishes to remain part of Indonesia, to revive links with Portugal or, most likely to become independent. They have a right to such a choice.

LETTER TO THE GUARDIAN (C. BUDIARDJO)

The following letter appeared in The Guardian, U.K., on 22 November 1991:

Sir,

With some governments now talking about reviewing aid to Indonesia following the Santa Cruz massacre last week, the Indonesian armed forces have set in motion efforts to whitewash the atrocity, hoping to prevent lasting damage to their international economic and military backing.

Yet the most damning proof of how the armed forces is prepared to act comes from General Try Sutrisno, armed forces commander-in-chief, in a speech the day after the massacre, reported in Jayakarta, an army daily in Jakarta, on 14 November. General Try is quoted as saying that those "who carried out the disruption in Dili are people who must be exterminated". Claiming, against the evidence of at least half a dozen foreign eyewitnesses, that "our officers showed patience" when the miscreants "persisted with their misdeeds", General Try went on: "In the end they had to be shot." And to reiterate the point, he added: "And, yes, we shall shoot them. The armed forces is determined to exterminate anyone who disrupts stability."

The British government insists that they must await further confirmation of what happened before taking a stand. But Whitehall's foot-dragging is related more to concern about protecting major defence contracts than to seeking the truth about what happened at Santa Cruz.

Your editorial [20 November] says that "concern is not enough". I would add that strong condemnation plus an arms embargo is the only way to force the Indonesian military to stop their policy of extermination. "We are dying as a nation," East Timor's Catholic leader, Bishop Belo, said nearly four years ago. The slaughter of Timorese must be stopped.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo
TAPOL, Indonesia Human Rights
Campaign

INDONESIA SCORING BIG WITH U.S. \$\$\$ (NEWSDAY)

By Jim Dwyer, New York Newsday, 22 November 1991.

Thanks to cracks in the head of Allan Nairn, which were available for inspection yesterday on the East Side of Manhattan, we now know that not *all* the money taken from our paychecks and sent to Indonesia has ended up in the pockets of the president's family.

Wait a minute. You didn't know that we, the people, send \$50 million a year to Indonesia?

And you didn't know that the sons and cronies of the Indonesian president have become zillionaires because they are in charge of the only companies allowed to import such minor items as steel, plastics, tin plate, cotton, and machines?

Never mind, it's just money. Not all of it is being diverted to official pockets, as Allan Nairn and his fractured skull tell us: M-16 rifles sent by the United States to Indonesia are being used for their stated purpose, cracking heads and killing.

Last week, Indonesian soldiers shot their American-made and paid-for M-16s into a crowd at a cemetery in East Timor. The officially dead amount to 19. The Timor bishop says 160.

From a speck in the world that most of us have never heard of comes word that somehow, our tax dollars have sponsored a full-blown massacre. Who even knew there was such a place as East Timor, much less that our government was sending tax dollars to Indonesia to help prop a regime of shoplifters with a sideline in brutality?

When Israeli police killed 20 rock-throwing Arabs last year, the UN screamed. Only official silence has met this massacre.

"What has been done to the Timorese is comparable to what has been done to the Cambodians," Nairn said yesterday. A writer for the New Yorker magazine, Nairn, 36, spoke at a news conference at the United Nations with his head wrapped in a turban of bandages.

"I've been in Central America and spoken to people after massacres, and visited villages where there had been massacres," he said. "I'd never actually seen one."

East Timor is an island north of Australia and south of the Philippines. Last week's slaughter is only the latest since the Indonesian military seized the island in 1975. For most of the last three centuries, East Timor was a Portuguese colony. In 1974, Portugal withdrew. A year later, Indonesia invaded and has ruled -- illegally, says the UN and most of the world.

The president, Suharto Bapak, came to power in a coup in 1965, after the "year of living dangerously," and has run his dictatorship on foreign aid and his own wits. With more than 13,000 islands already under Suharto's rule, Indonesia hardly seems to need

another one; but in East Timor, independent sentiment ran strong, and Indonesia did not want that notion to spread.

In truth, Saddam Hussein had a more recent and legitimate claim on Kuwait than the Indonesians did on East Timor. The United States is one of very few countries to accept its seizure.

Under Indonesian management, about 200,000 of the East Timor population of 700,000 have been killed by the military, famine, or disease, according to reports from the Catholic Church.

The events of last week, then, are in keeping with a wicked history. But for a change, witnesses were on hand and lived to get the story out. This is a short recap of their accounts:

A few weeks ago, Portugal was to have sent an inspection team to the island for the first time since it left in 1974. (The United Nations says Portugal is the legitimate administrator of the island.) The Portuguese visit to East Timor was a major chance for the world to see what had happened to the Timorese.

Among a small group of international journalists who went to the island to cover the Portuguese return were Nairn and Amy Goodman, of the Pacifica radio station WBAI in New York. But at the last minute, the Portuguese trip was cancelled. Still, a dangerous spirit of dissent had been raised on the island where political speech and public assembly were outlawed.

On the morning of Nov. 12, about 3,500 people gathered at a church in the East Timor capital of Dili for a mass in memory of a young man killed by the troops two weeks earlier. After the service, they marched to the cemetery where he had been buried.

"The march was over," says Goodman, "and people were just standing around, outside the gates of the cemetery, talking and getting ready to go home. Down one road came a military truck, blocking that way. From another, came a long line of soldiers."

"There was a kind of stunned silence, and people started backpedaling into the cemetery," said Nairn.

"We decided to move up to the front, because if they saw we were there with our tape recorders and cameras, we thought that might defuse things," says Goodman. "I asked a young student from New Zealand -- he had a camera -- if he wanted to come up to the front, too, but he stayed back. Then they lifted their rifles and started shooting. Absolutely unprovoked."

"People were falling all around us. By the dozens, they were dropping," said Nairn. Among the dead was the young New Zealander who had stayed in the rear. In the cemetery, a British journalist filmed bits of the massacre, then buried the tape in a grave just before he was arrested. (Later, he stole back to the cemetery and smuggled the tape out. It appeared on CBS News last night.)

"They started beating Allan and took his camera and his papers and his money, and

then they started beating me," says Goodman. "Allan threw himself on top of me to protect me. Then they belted him with the butt of the M-16s."

"Your tax dollars at work," said Nairn. He and Goodman were heaved onto a truck, and escaped to the airport. The American Embassy hustled them to Guam.

Yesterday, a Congressional subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Stephen Solarz, called for a full investigation -- by the Indonesian government itself. The Indonesian authorities, Reuters quotes, explain that this is a ridiculous notion.

"Observers will not be allowed to talk to [the wounded] until our interrogations are over because the sight of foreigners could make them start talking about wild rumors," said Brig. General Rudolp Warouw, commander in East Timor.

"The armed forces cannot be underestimated," said the head of the Indonesian military, Try Sutrisno. "Finally, yes, the [marchers] had to be blasted. Delinquents like those agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them. ABRI [the Army] is determined to wipe out whoever disturbs stability."

THE ARMY'S ONLY CASUALTY: WHO IS HE? (TAPOL)

By TAPOL, 22 November 1991

The Indonesian armed forces have their own casualty from the atrocity which killed and wounded hundreds of people at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor on 12 November. His name is Major Gerhan Lantara, deputy-commander of Linud (airborne) Battalion 700 of the Wirabuana VII Military Command, based in Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi. Major Gerhan Lantara is now a hero, for having suffered injuries at the hands of the 'rioters' demonstrating on the streets of Dili.

There are several versions of what happened. One has him in plain clothes, carrying a handy-talkie and monitoring the demonstration. The sight of Fretilin and Portuguese flags infuriated him; when he tried to grab the flags, there was a scuffle and he was beaten by several youngsters. Another says he was stabbed with a knife while another says he was slashed with a parang, or sword. Whatever happened, he was spirited out of Dili the very next day.

Indonesian journalists have been trying in vain to track him down. Some reports say he suffered slight stab wounds, others say he was mortally wounded. Most sources confirm that after being flown to Jakarta on 13 November, he is now being treated in the Gatot Subroto Army Hospital. Some journalists say, privately of course, that he is a keen motorcyclist and was not wounded by demonstrators but sustained injuries when he fell from his motor-cycle in a collision.

A hardened Timor veteran

But what about his army career? This is described at length in the Jakarta weekly, Editor [23 November 1991]. Born in South Sulawesi, he is now 35 years old. After graduating from the Military Academy in 1979, he was assigned to East Timor. As a cadet he fought many battles with Falintil, the armed wing of the East Timorese resistance. His tour of duty in East Timor lasted eight years, an unusually long period of service. East Timor is a tough assignment, a hardship post, and few officers stay there for any length of time. This makes Major Gerhan Lantara's career quite unique.

After being promoted from platoon commander to company commander he became commander of the Special Task Force for the Destruction of Fretilin known as the Somodo Company. Serving under Captain Gerhan was the young Lieutenant Prabowo, the future son-in-law of President Suharto. This company was responsible for the murder of Nicolau Lobato, the Fretilin leader, in December 1978.

After eight years in East Timor, Gerhan Lantara served in Bali and Bandung as a paratroop instructor. In October 1990 he was appointed deputy-commander of Battalion 700 in Ujung Pandang and four days later was assigned to go to East Timor on a special mission, to crush the East Timorese clandestine front. As the army knew, the strength of the Timorese resistance was shifting from armed resistance to the popular resistance in the cities.

A special mission

Battalion 700 has a particularly notorious reputation in East Timor. Torture, murder and the rape of Timorese woman are their hallmark. Some months ago the Timorese resistance smuggled documents abroad which had been captured from military intelligence. The documents disclose that the army decided to crush the Frento Clandestine, the political resistance in Dili and other towns. It was the special mission of Major Gerhan Lantara and Battalion 700 to handle this operation. This explains why he was on the street as the demonstrators made their way to the cemetery. A few days later, Battalion Linud 700 withdrew from Dili on troop carrier 503 from Dili harbour, but not before killing off dozens of detainees, arrested after the massacre, on 15 November.

Mission accomplished.

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS, CARTOONISTS, CHALLENGE INDONESIA

From: Adrian W. Martin
<martin%TASMAN.CC.UTAS.EDU.AU
@pucc.PRINCETON.EDU>, Nov. 22.

The lunch time news on Australian Broadcasting Commission news was that wharfies (longshormen) in Melbourne have

banned Indonesian ships from entry into the port.

Quite a reversal from 1945 when the same people banned Dutch ships from going to Indonesia, thus helping slow down deliveries of weapons and money.

One rather sick cartoon has just appeared in the Sun-Herald of November 17.

It shows Mr Hawke leaning over the backyard fence saying to his neighbour "er... Lovely roses (in the garden) Mr Suharto" In the background one can see three soldiers with baton swinging, and Mr Suharto says "Plenty of Blood and Bone (fertiliser) Mr Hawke."

I said it was sick!

A large cartoon appeared in "The Australian on November 21."

Mr Hawke is speaking:

"And I raced over and said....

"Drop that rifle... And step away from those defenceless people.... Or I'll knock ya block off... You South African Bastard..!!

He turned slowly and said... I'm not South African... I'm Indonesian... And then I woke up ..!!

Doctor replies: Only a nightmare -- no worries"

Mr Hawke: : I hope ya right... I never got the chance to apologise!"

Ayo, Adrian

TIMOR: HARDLY A MISTAKE (PEACE NEWS)

Reprinted from Peace News, December 1991. Please credit if reprinting. Peace News, 55 Dawes St, London SE17 1EL tel +44 71 703 7189 fax +44 71 708 2545 email gn:peaceneews or gn:warresisters

November was an even more painful month for the people of East Timor than they and international human rights groups feared [Peace News November 1991].

The first blow came with the 24 October cancellation of a long-awaited visit by Portuguese parliamentarians, after Indonesia protested about the inclusion of Australian journalist Jill Joliffe in the press delegation. Opponents of Indonesia's illegal rule over the former Portuguese colony had, in the months leading up to the expected visit, begun to make themselves visible to the occupying forces.

On 28 October, a student named Sebastiao Gomes was killed when police stormed Motael church in Dili -- used for the past year as a place of refuge. His funeral followed uneventfully the next day, with thousands of people, including priests and nuns, taking to the streets in silent procession. Two weeks later, however, the full fury of the Indonesian forces was to make itself felt.

As people assembled at Gomes' graveside on 12 November, security forces opened fire on a crowd of 3500. Government estimates are that 19 died; eyewitnesses put the figure at between 50 and 190. The massacre was, according to Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas, a "mistake" and a propaganda victory for the Portuguese.

In Portugal, where all the major political parties are united in opposing both Indonesian rule and a return to the status quo ante of colonial rule, Tuesday 19 November was declared a day of mourning.

The Associacao Livre dos Objectores e Objectoras de Consciencia (ALOOOC) the Portuguese WRI affiliate, has issued an appeal calling on soldiers in East Timor and throughout Indonesia to desert, and for Indonesian youths to refuse military service. ALOOOC further suggests that people write once a week to the Indonesian authorities, demanding that they withdraw their troops from East Timor, leave the Timorese in peace, and respect the people's right to self-determination.

Reports of further killings have come out of East Timor since the Dili massacre. There are rumours that witnesses to the 12 November events have been systematically hunted down. Independent human rights activists in Jakarta have been seeking official permission to go to Dili to investigate the situation.

PETER JONES adds from Canberra:

Following the Dili massacre, Australian peace and human rights activists and Timorese exiles held protests outside Parliament House and the Indonesian embassy in Canberra. Another demonstration was held outside the Garuda Airways office in Sydney, following the death of one of the East Timor support group from Sydney who was killed in the massacre.

Growing support for self-determination has brought the East Timor issue back onto the international agenda. There is strong pressure for the United Nations to host talks between Indonesia and the people of East Timor, following an offer by the leader of the Fretilin resistance, Xanana Gusmao, in 1990. Even after 16 years of occupation, the opposition to Indonesian occupation is as strong as ever, particularly among the young people who are not even old enough to remember the colonial period.

Portugal has promised to make East Timor a priority issue when it chairs the EC Council of Ministers in 1992. The Portuguese government has taken Australia to the International Court of Justice for signing the Timor Gap Treaty -- which grants Indonesia partial control of oil deposits in the Timor Sea.

Talks Campaign, c/o ACFOA Human Rights Office, 124 Napier St, Fitzroy Vic 3065 Australia

TAPOL, 111 Northwood Rd, Thrornton Heath, Surrey, England (+44 81 6530322)

ALOOOC, rua Rainha D Leonor 4, r/c dto, 2675 Odivelas, Portugal (+351 19313738)

UNION BANS INDONESIAN SHIPS (A.W.U.)

Media Release 22 Nov. 1991. The Australian Workers' Union - Victoria Branch

The Australian Workers' Union has banned Indonesian ships from Melbourne's port and will take action against all ships carrying Indonesian imports in protest against last week's massacre of East Timorese in Dili.

Dockmen who tie up all ships at the port today voted to refuse to handle any ship flying the Indonesian flag. The union has warned that any ship carrying Indonesian imports could face delays of at least 24 hours.

AWU Secretary Bob Smith said "We are sickened by the slaughter of our East Timor neighbours. The Indonesians have no right to occupy East Timor - if we genuinely have a 'new world order' then the East Timorese must have independence."

"Rank and file trade unionists want to do something about the plight of the East Timorese and it's a credit to these dockmen that they have the courage to act and are prepared to take action in support of the East Timorese".

"Australia imports about \$500 million worth of goods each year from Indonesia - we are calling on all unionists to see if they can find ways of protesting against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor."

"It is quite obvious our political masters in Canberra - including Liberal and National parties - are too gutless to act decisively in support of Human rights in East Timor. We believe the Australian government's attitude to East Timor over the past 20 years is one of the greatest sources of shame in our nation's history. Their sense of our regional responsibility extends as far as Kuwait and Kampuchea but mysteriously dries up 640 km off our north west coast at East Timor."

"Sanctions against the white South African regime has helped the oppressed in that country - if it's good enough for South Africa, why not Indonesia? About 30,000 East Timorese lost their lives fighting the Japanese alongside Australians in the Second World War - don't we owe them something?"

LEGAL AID FOUNDATION EXPOSES INDONESIAN GOV'T LIE

Courtesy of YLBHI (Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation) and Asia Watch. Nov. 22, 1991

On Tuesday, November 19, 1991, between 30 and 70 students, mostly East Timorese, were arrested in central Jakarta and taken away in a truck by security forces after marching to protest the killings in Dili, East Timor on November 12. They were taken to a police detention facility on Kramat Raya Street, Jakarta, but the government announced shortly afterwards that all had been released. This was not true. On Friday, a team from the Legal Aid Institute, Jakarta's premier human rights organization, tried to visit the detainees. A slightly condensed version of the news release issued by the institute follows:

INDONESIAN LEGAL AID

FOUNDATION Visit to the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station in Conjunction with the Detention of East Timorese Students

A team from the Legal Aid Institute led by Luhut Pangaribuan, SH, together with HJC Princen, Frans Hendra Winarta and Rini, today tried to meet with 70 East Timorese students in detention at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station. The attempt was unsuccessful and it was believed that the team would only be allowed access to them on Monday, November 25.

At the same time, the team was told that some would be released imminently, but they would still be under investigation. All are officially charged with violating Articles 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code, "expressing feelings of enmity or hatred toward the Government of Indonesia." The crime carries a maximum penalty of seven years.

The chronology of the visit is as follows:

1. The team left for the Police Station (Polda Metro Jaya) to meet with the police commander. The [secretary], Lt.Col. Tryono S., said the commander was unavailable, and suggested they meet with the head of the intelligence division [Kaditserse], Col. Drs. Wagiman.
2. The team met with Col. Wagiman accompanied by his deputy Lt.Col. Khaeruddin. They said they wanted to meet with the students and offer them legal assistance in accordance with Indonesian law. The team said they felt obliged to make this offer and had also been asked to do so by friends and family of the detained. They were told that for the moment, it was not possible to meet with the detainees because they were still under interrogation. The only exception made to the ban on access to the Timorese students was a representative of the local government of East Timor who happened to be in Jakarta. He has been allowed to see the students whenever he wants, and the police turned over copies of the detention orders to him.

3. The intelligence director, in response to the team's demand that the students be released, said in effect that this was not possible. They are all detained on suspicion of violating Articles 154 and 155. In one or two days, some would be released but the investigation would continue. Perhaps they would be able to continue their studies.
4. The team asked when they could be given access to the detainees and were told it might be possible on Monday, November 25.

Jakarta, Nov. 22, The Legal Aid Institute Foundation. Hendardi, Public Relations.

AUSTRALIAN BISHOPS ASK U.N. ACTION

BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE (A committee of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, overseeing the activities of Australian Catholic Relief and the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council.) Leo XIII House 19 MacKenzie Street North Sydney, NSW 2060 Telephone (02) 956 5800 Fax (02) 958 5782

Media Release: 22 Nov. 1991

BISHOPS CALL FOR URGENT U.N. ACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EAST TIMOR.

Bishop William E. Murray of Wollongong, Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Justice, Development and Peace, made the following statement today:

It appears that human rights abuses in East Timor have continued to occur following the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November.

We have unconfirmed reports that the Indonesian army has conducted house-to-house searches for people who survived the march to the cemetery. This complements another published claim that all the men in a suburb of Dili had been rounded up.

Meanwhile, General Try Sutrisno, Commander in Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, has been quoted as saying that "People who refuse to toe the line will be shot" (Melbourne Age, 20 November).

Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, the Indonesian Military Commander in East Timor, has been quoted as admitting that his troops fired into the crowd of mourners at Santa Cruz cemetery for ten minutes, which he regarded as not "too long a time" (Age, 21 November).

These and other published and unpublished reports lead the Bishops' Committee to call on the Australian Government:

- * to move in the United Nations General Assembly, currently in session, that Indonesia's action against people assembled at the Santa Cruz cemetery be investigated without delay by representatives of the UN Commission on Human Rights;
- * to move that Indonesia's membership of the Commission be suspended until the UN

investigation into the Santa Cruz incident is completed;

- * to move that a United Nations-sponsored plebiscite be conducted to determine the wishes of the East Timorese people, with the option of independence being available to East Timor should the people vote for it.

While we welcome the Indonesian government's intention to carry out its own investigation into the massacre, we believe that only the UN has the capacity to conduct a fully credible inquiry.

If Indonesia is unwilling to accept such an inquiry, we suggest that our government should reconsider its plans for high-level official visits to that country in the coming months.

We fear that, unless remedial action is taken immediately to curb the Indonesian military, incidents even worse than the Santa Cruz massacre are likely to occur with still greater loss of life.

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OUR BRUTAL FRIENDS

(OTTAWA CITIZEN)

Canada lavishes aid on the government that's killed one-third of East Timor

By Tim Colby. Special to The Ottawa, Canada Citizen. 22 Nov. 1991. Opinion piece.

Canada is the peacemaker, the aid-giver, a nation truly kinder and gentler than our great neighbour to the south. Canadians have always been told such things by our governments, yet few have dared to ask if such flattery was warranted. In some cases the answer is yes, in others a resounding no.

On the morning of Tuesday, Nov. 12, Indonesia, a close Canadian ally, opened fire on a peaceful memorial gathering in East Timor, killing over one hundred innocent people.

Alan Nairn, an American journalist who witnessed the massacre and was himself badly beaten, described the scene as horrific.

"The street was full of bodies. Looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing."

Was this an isolated incident that could be answered by simple diplomatic protest, or was it symptomatic of a more serious condition, one that Canada had helped to create?

The history of East Timor reads like those of many former colonies -- that is, until the

tragedy of 1975. When four hundred years of Portuguese rule over the mountainous, arid eastern half of the island of Timor came to an end that year, neighbouring Indonesia sought control.

It invaded in force on Dec. 7. Within three months -- by Indonesia's own admission -- 60,000 East Timorese had been killed and the stage had been set for many more deaths to follow. By 1985, Amnesty International and Asia Watch were reporting the deaths of more than 200,000 East Timorese -- about one third of the population.

Since the invasion, the world community, including Canada, has done little to stop this suffering.

In a series of resolutions similar to those designed to force Iraq out of Kuwait, the United Nations called for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces. It also called for the East Timorese to be allowed their right to self-determination.

Canada initially abstained from voting on the UN resolutions, fearful of upsetting what was then a significant trading partner. Later, in 1980, it began to openly support Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

External Affairs conveniently ignored many reliable reports of killings, torture, and other abuses in East Timor. Responding recently to a question in the House of Commons, Minister Barbara McDougall stated that Canada considers Indonesian sovereignty over east Timor a fact.

While the European Community and the United States were quick to condemn last week's massacre, McDougall waited almost one week before doing so. Under pressure, she announced that Canada's foreign aid to Indonesia will be reviewed.

Indonesia has so far been a favoured recipient of Canadian aid. According to the Canadian International Development Agency, government-to-government assistance to Indonesia totalled almost \$52 million in 1989-90. This makes Indonesia second only to Bangladesh as a recipient of Canadian government-to-government bilateral aid.

This is precisely the type of aid that should be cut when it comes to linking human rights and aid. Aid channelled through non-government organizations (NGOs) to Indonesia represents less than one-tenth the amount given through bilateral channels. NGOs are generally able to bypass the Canadian and Indonesian governments' traditional pre-occupation with large-scale projects and target their assistance to the poor who need it the most.

If Canada is to stand up to its self-proclaimed belief in the promotion of human rights, then bilateral aid is a good place to start. Channelling aid to Indonesia through NGOs rather than through a government guilty of massive human rights abuses would be a step forward in making Canada the kinder nation it purports to be.

The Department of External Affairs should review all arms exports to Indonesia and pressure the Indonesian government to

comply with UN resolutions calling for an end to the occupation.

The time is ripe, too, for Canada to sponsor the deployment of peacekeeping forces to East Timor and see that the East Timorese are allowed to exercise their right to self-determination through a free and fair election.

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN MACDOUGALL

The following is part of the transcript of an interview given early Nov. 22 by Task Force Indonesia Coordinator John MacDougall to an Australian reporter on special assignment.

[Start of excerpt]

Q How are Indonesians here reacting to the events in East Timor?

A It's hard to say. I think most were a little stunned by the fairly sudden relative glut of media exposure. They're generally keeping their thoughts to themselves.

Q But surely they must be just a little appalled at the massacre in Dili?

A You have got to remember so many have never known an Indonesia without East Timor. They were young during the invasion. They've been fed a diet at home of little information, misinformation, and disinformation about East Timor. So there's a nationalistic reaction, sometimes a bit xenophobic. Definitely most have their defenses up right now. It's almost reflexive. The sense of Indonesian nationalism is very strong despite talk about the country being fissiparous.

Q They've got to have some doubts about the military.

A Oh, sure. They know who runs Indonesia -- Soeharto, the Army, a compliant bureaucracy. Part of the silence at any time reflects a feeling of fear -- they call it *rasa takut* -- which they carry with them even here. Broadly, most want to stay out of trouble.

Q But the more educa--

A The fact that an Indonesian is more educated and exposed to Western influences doesn't necessarily lead to more liberal views. Yes, sure, there is a minority which sees through everything. It happens here, it happens on campuses throughout Indonesia, it happens among manual laborers and farmers in Indonesia for that matter. But many remain very suspicious of Western countries and Western media. And not altogether without reason.

Q Meaning?

A Many Western reporters get sloppy when writing about Indonesia. This can be a big turnoff. For example, talk about "Muslim Indonesia" or the "Javanese military." Any Indonesian knows this, minimally, is dumb. Indonesia is a multi-religious country. Devout Muslims in particular don't collectively count for much in the political system. And the Army is probably the

most ethnically integrated institution in Indonesia, even if the officer corps is somewhat disproportionately Javanese. And some think there's more than being dumb involved.

Q What does that mean?

A In the case of the Dili massacre and the surprisingly large response to it by Western media, Western governments, and Western organizations, not simply the more nationalistic Indonesians, but many of the more devout Muslims feel they're being "cornered," to use one of the Indonesian ways of putting it. Look, you get Dan Rather mentioning "Muslim Indonesia" in his story on the Dili massacre. It sounds like Muslims are being blamed, like Muslims have launched some sort of pogrom against the Catholic Timorese.

Q Weren't most of the soldiers involved Muslims?

A The soldiers, likely. Especially with the big buildup in preparation for the Portuguese parliamentary visit. But some of the key military figures involved in the original invasion were Christian -- Benny Moerdani, Panggabean -- and many of the commanders for what's called the Udayana Military Area Command and the Military Sub-area Command comprising East Timor have deliberately been chosen because they were Christians. That includes the present Udayana and East Timor commanders. Neither the original invasion or East Timor nor the Dili massacre were motivated by religion. Full stop, as you say.

Q So we look sort of foolish.

A Afraid so. But there's also foolishness on the Indonesian side.

Q What kind?

A The massacre in Dili was not an isolated case, especially when you think of the devout Muslims. Maybe in time more of them will see things in this broader framework. Devout Muslims have been massacred by the military in Tanjung Priok, Lampung, and Aceh. To me, the Dili massacre has some striking similarities to especially the Priok and cases. The ABRI m.o. --

Q The what?

A Sorry, the *modus operandi*, the methods and rationale used were like Priok in 1984. Alleged gross strategic provocation, massive intelligence preparation, a precipitating incident, a big crowd in a procession, warning shots purportedly fired into the air, wanton slaughter, preventing hospital access, trucking out corpses to unmarked already dug graves, subsequent massive interrogations and arrests, then -- and here we wait to see if the pattern holds -- trials, lots of trials. I'd have thought the devout Muslims in particular would have spotted the similarities and that these similarities would have set them to wondering about the official version put

out about the Dili massacre. There are some differences, of course, including one that puzzles me somewhat. In Priok, the official explanation, right down to body counts, was available the next day. In Dili, the explanation wasn't ready. The ABRI spokesman was "out of town." And when the explanations did start to flow, they contradicted each other. There was also official dissent in Dili -- from Governor Carrascalao in particular. Interior Minister Rudini said he couldn't blame Carrascalao for his remarks.

Q And the Aceh comparison?

A Well, the Priok and Dili killings occurred in limited urban areas. But Dili is really part of the war zone. All East Timor is a war zone, just as the east coast of Aceh in particular was a big war zone. So you expect atrocities during a war. In Aceh there's abundant documentation of small-scale and large-scale summary executions by the Army. Same in East Timor. The Aceh comparison breaks down though when you look at the two resistance movements. The Timorese movement is indigenous, longstanding, and enjoys vast popular legitimacy. The Aceh Merdeka -- so-called Free Aceh Movement -- never gained widespread legitimacy, especially with its early random terror tactics to which many Acehnese fell victim. It was a new outbreak, not a continuous movement. It started in earnest basically when Acehnese youth lured to Libya and given military training were infiltrated back to Aceh. Operations were run from Malaysia. There was a safe haven. And Hasan di Tiro, the resistance leader, was never fighting in the field. He's a self-confessed bagman for Libya, and he stayed abroad, moving around quite a bit. He's even reportedly got foreign citizenship, American, I'm told. This wasn't a popular resistance movement with any tenacity. It was essentially international terrorism. Compare this with the Timorese armed resistance. Isolated, from any notable fraternal international military or financial assistance. And definitely no safe haven.

Q I did my homework on Teungku Hasan di Tiro. I read his books. He does sound like an extremist. He really wants to restore a kind of family dynasty to rule over much of Sumatra, not just Aceh. He wants to dismantle Indonesia. Now I've heard that Fretilin is really a communist --

A That was a theme dreamed up to justify the initial invasion in 1975. There were some Marxists in Fretilin's initial central committee. Indonesian soldiers killed all of them. They're dead. As for Fretilin, abroad it's been in chronic disarray and years ago gave up any claim to be the sole representative of the Timorese. Even Xanana Gusmao, the resistance leader in East Timor, tired of the petty exile politics and inactivity. He left Fretilin. Both he and

Jose Ramos Horta, the chief external spokesman of the Timorese resistance, operate outside party lines. These guys are definitely not communists. They neither talk nor act like ideologues even. They're reasonable people. Even ABRI realizes this. The Army once sat down and talked peace with Xanana. Some Muslims, children of the anti-communist New Order, do think the Army is fighting communists in East Timor, but you won't find any Army officer who thinks so. The fact that the Timorese resistance is now a broad popular movement, not given to atrocities, and not a communist or Fretilin movement is precisely what confounds the Army. In the New Order period, the Army hasn't had to deal with anything like it. East Timor is a unique case. Indonesia would remain together even if East Timor were a sovereign state. This is a basis -- one of the few -- for hope that the Army will one day again sit down and talk peace. The former ABRI commander, General Jusuf, was willing to try it. He was, is, by the way, a very devout Muslim. It was his replacement, Benny Moerdani, who happens to be Catholic, who immediately abandoned this approach once he was appointed by Soeharto.

[End of excerpt]

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST, NOV. 22

This is a digest of some of the material on East Timor received at Task Force Indonesia's office November 22 from its network of sources.

AUSTRALIA (Intelligence should have known)

Australia, through its Defence Signals Directorate (DSD), would have known of the massacre in the East Timor capital Dili almost immediately, defence expert Des Ball told the Dateline programme broadcast by the government-financed Special Broadcasting Service.

The DSD has been monitoring Indonesian military and diplomatic communications for 16 years.

"Privately, senior DSD officials claim they know what's happening on East Timor before the generals in Jakarta do," said Dateline reporter Mark Corcoran, formerly a junior DSD officer.

Ball, former chairman of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre in Canberra, said successive Australian governments would have been aware of Indonesian troop operations on East Timor since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Ball said all information monitored, even messages between foot patrols on East Timor, was collected by the DSD and passed on to the Australian government.

DSD operations focusing on Indonesia are centred at Shoal Bay in northwest Australia,

said Ball, who said he had gained access to DSD files.

Communications missed by Australia-based DSD operations are picked up by a DSD monitoring system codenamed Project Reprieve in the Australian embassy in Jakarta, Ball said. (Source: Reuter)

AUSTRALIA (A.W.U. strikes Indon. ships)

One of Australia's biggest unions voted Friday to refuse to handle Indonesian ships in the port of Melbourne in protest against recent shootings in East Timor.

Melbourne dockworkers, who belong to the 20-industry Australian Worker's Union, agreed to refuse indefinitely to handle any ship flying the Indonesian flag and to delay for 24 hours any ship carrying Indonesian goods.

Union state secretary Bob Smith said his union is sickened by what he called the continual slaughter of East Timorese by Indonesian forces.

"We believe that the Australian government's attitude to East Timor over the past 20 years is one of the greatest sources of shame in our nation's history" Smith said, adding that he hopes the union's action will encourage the Australian government to take a more decisive stand. (Source: Kyodo)

AUSTRALIA (ACFOA reports)

The evidence of at least seven foreigners -- from Australia, Britain and the United States -- who witnessed Tuesday's massacre will be sent to Indonesia's investigating authorities.

Their accounts are basically consistent -- that troops opened fire without provocation on mourners attending a service for a man allegedly killed by security forces on October 28.

Pat Walsh, human rights officer for the Australian Council for Overseas Aid who returned from Jakarta on Saturday, said it was important "to submit the independent foreigners' accounts to the Indonesia inquiry and to any United Nations inquiry." (Source: AFP)

UNITED KINGDOM (Press Inst. protests)

The International Press Institute has protested to Indonesia about assaults by troops in East Timor on two U.S. journalists.

The institute, representing journalists throughout the world, said Thursday that Indonesian troops beat Allan Nairn of The New Yorker magazine and Amy Goodman of the New York radio station WBAI.

It said the beatings occurred while they were covering events following a memorial service for a student reportedly killed in East Timor by security forces.

In a letter to President Suharto of Indonesia, the director of the institute, Peter Galliner, said it was "most concerned" about the violence against the journalists and un-armed civilians.

"This disgraceful behaviour by your military is a gross violation of press freedom and basic human rights and we urge that your

authorities urge them to cease such actions immediately," the letter said. (Source: AP)

PORTUGAL (Bishop urges Vatican)

"Until now, the pope has not defended Timor with the vehemence (that is expected of him)," lamented Msgr. Antonio Monteiro, bishop of the northern Portuguese district of Viseu.

Journalists questioned the bishop about the Vatican's "indifference" about the Nov. 12 massacre of up to 185 people, mostly aged between nine and 25.

"I am not here to defend the pope, but to try to understand an absence which I myself feel," said Monteiro, in reply to a question on the Vatican's silence.

Msgr. Manuel Martins, bishop of the southern Portuguese port of Setubal, said: "I would be much more comforted as a Christian if the Vatican would make public its position on the events in East Timor." (Source: IPS)

U.S. (State Department briefing excerpt)

Q Do you have any news from the Indonesia Commission of Inquiry into the massacre in East Timor?

MS. TUTWILER: I don't have any new news. Once again, as we have all -- I believe it was last week or the week before -- we have strongly condemned this, the excessive use of force, but I don't have any new news.

Q Is the United States satisfied with the composition of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Indonesian government?

MS. TUTWILER: My understanding is that the European Parliament's condemnation of the November 12 shootings in East Timor, reflects our own continuing serious concerns over these tragic events. Congress is also in the process of expressing its special concerns over what happened. The European Parliament's resolution is directed towards member governments of the European Community and, as you know, our policy is and continues to be the UN Secretary General has a mandate from the General Assembly to seek to resolve the East Timor issue.

Q And about the commission, do you --

MS. TUTWILER: I don't know a lot about the commission, to be honest with you. I just don't know.

Q Is the Department aware that the president or chairman of this commission is himself a military man?

MS. TUTWILER: No, sir, I'm not personally, but I'm sure that there are people here who are very closely watching this and I know that the Secretary himself last night saw a piece on one of our American networks and spoke with the assistant secretary for this region this morning on the phone. So I know that it has his personal attention, but I personally just do not know the details that you are asking me.

Q And is the Department aware of the footage broadcast last night by CBS News?

MS. TUTWILER: If that's the footage -- I guess it was CBS that the Secretary saw. So, yeah, I mean, he saw it himself.

Q Do you have any comments to it or not?

MS. TUTWILER: Obviously, it was gruesome and we have said we have condemned it.

Q Will it be part of the evidence of any investigation, current investigation that you're conducting on the massacre?

MS. TUTWILER: Sir, I simply don't know.

INDONESIA (Legal Aid refused access)

The Legal Aid Foundation (LBH) said Jakarta police had turned them away when they tried to see 70 arrested East Timorese students to provide legal help.

About 80 students demonstrated on Tuesday against Jakarta's 16-year rule in the former Portuguese colony and the army's shooting at thousands of mourners in a cemetery in the provincial capital Dili last week.

The LBH quoted chief detective Colonel Wagiman as saying the authorities were still questioning the students and only officials were allowed to visit them.

The military had earlier said no one had been detained.

Wagiman said some of the students would be released soon but others could face criminal charges of subversion. (Source: Reuters)

INDONESIA (Sutrisno & Red Cross)

Indonesia's Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno has promised that the International Committee of the Red Cross be allowed to visit East Timor.

"We will open the doors for the organization," he told a meeting of local editors, according to the daily Suara Pembaruan. "They will be welcome to visit hospital, prison, and police office."

Pleas for admitting the Red Cross have come in the wake of reports that a New Zealand youth, Kamal Bamadhaj, bled to death after the November 12 shooting because soldiers and police twice stopped and threatened him as a Red Cross official was trying to take him to the hospital. (Source: Kyodo)

INDONESIA (Investigation promised)

Indonesia on Friday promised a full investigation into the shooting of mourners by Indonesian soldiers at an East Timor cemetery, the outgoing Dutch ambassador to Indonesia said.

Godert de Vos van Steenwijk said Vice President Sudharmono had told him that "he personally would see to it that the investigation would be thorough and objective."

"(The) vice president has been extremely positive in saying that he fully realises the concern of the international community because it is not only Europe, it is also America and other parts of the world," the ambassador told reporters after his farewell visit to Sudharmono on Friday. (Source: Reuters)

INDONESIA (Press access)

Information Minister Harmoko said he would not tighten up on rules for foreign reporters going to East Timor though he and other government leaders have complained about biased coverage of events there by the foreign media.

But he warned against journalists working there under another guise. Several foreign journalists were in East Timor at the time of the shooting but Jakarta says they did not have proper visas.

"Don't ever enter any part of Indonesia undercover. It's not a gentlemanly attitude," the official Antara news agency quoted Harmoko as saying. (Source: Reuters)

INDONESIA (No injured journalists)

Armed Forces headquarters stated it had no knowledge of any foreign journalist who was injured in a riot in Dili because no foreign journalist entering East Timor had been registered as a journalist.

"East Timor is an open region. Anyone may enter it. Possibly those who were reported as journalists had got into the province on a tourist visa," ABRI spokesman Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Antara.

He said, "We didn't know there was a journalist there and if there was, why had he got involved in the mob riot?"

On the injuries sustained, Brig. Gen. Nurhadi conjectured that possibly he had been trampled by the mob during the riot." (Source: Antara)

INDONESIA (Dissidents criticize massacre)

An Indonesian dissident group added its voice Friday to the growing international outcry over the killing of demonstrators in East Timor, comparing it to the massacre of dozens of Muslim rioters in Jakarta seven years ago.

The dissident group "Petition of 50," in its statement, criticized government troops for opening fire on and killing demonstrators in Dili on Nov. 12. The demonstration was in opposition to Indonesia's 1976 annexation of East Timor.

The group said the tragedy was similar to the Tanjung Priok incident in 1984 when government troops opened fire on Muslim rioters, killing at least 30 people. (Source: UPI)

INDONESIA (Govt commission meets)

An Indonesian government commission formed to investigate the incident held its first meeting today in Jakarta.

"I am optimistic that we will be able to reveal what actually happened in Dili on Nov. 12 and that whoever is found guilty shall be punished," the commission's chairman, M. Djaelani of the Supreme Court, said afterward.

The commission, which includes Supreme Court, Foreign Ministry, Interior Ministry and military officials, is to visit Dili next week.

The U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, John C. Monjo, was quoted by the official Antara news agency as saying the United States was concerned about the killings, but was awaiting the results of the commission's investigation. (Source: AP)

INDONESIA (Portugal blamed)

A member of a commission investigating a shooting incident in Dili on November 12 said Friday that Portugal provoked the incident to discredit Indonesia.

Antara quoted Hadi Wayarabi, who is a member of the commission and an official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as saying the Dili incident was created by the Portuguese government which had set up an anti-Indonesian organization and pitted the East Timorese people against each other.

The agency said Wayarabi told reporters after accompanying the head of the commission, Djaelani, at a meeting with Vice President Sudarmono, that Portugal had used the same method in its African colonies.

"It is understandable that it is only Portugal which still questions the East Timor issue," Wayarabi said. (Source: Kyodo)

EAST TIMOR (Belo cancels mass)

The bishop of East Timor, Msgr. Jose Ximenes Belo, decided not to hold mass on Sunday for fear of new attacks by Indonesian troops who were surrounding the cathedral.

This was revealed here today by a journalist who managed to talk to Ximenes Belo by telephone before the line was abruptly cut off after just over one minute. (Source: IPS)

KOOIJMANS INTERVIEW (TEMPO)

Forwarded by hrwatchnyc@igc.org. Below are two hasty translations from Tempo dealing with the visit of Special Rapporteur on Torture Pieter Kooijmans, who was in Dili at the time the November 12 massacre took place.

Tempo, 23 November 1991, p.31

After the Kooijmans team left there was an effort to link the November 12 incident in Dili with the implementation of human rights. Did the rioters deliberately try to attract international attention?

An emotional demonstration was staged by Dili residents last week. The demonstration did not just play to the UN Human Rights Commission team who were by chance in East Timor at that moment. It later became the focus of attention of many other parties, after dozens fell victim.

Indeed, it was not the intention of the UN Human Rights Team who were in Indonesia at the invitation of the government, to witness it all. The team, expert in the matter of "torture" which was led by Pieter H. Kooijmans (Holland) with Rueda Castanon (Spain) and Isaac Bitter (Israel) as members, initially wanted to look at how human rights were implemented (see TEMPO, November 16),

especially, as Kooijmans told TEMPO, in the matter of using force against ordinary citizens.

East Timor was not their primary objective. While they were in Indonesia, the team men with a number of officials and well-known figures, and also stopped in a number of prisons. But not all the stories they were told were true. For example, a woman member of Fretilin, was captured after she was shot in the foot. According to the report Kooijmans received, the woman had been tortured and abused until she fainted. After [the team] met her in Dili, she admitted she had never been tortured.

It was a coincidence that when Kooijmans and friends were in Dili and this incident happened, "I myself was shocked. The riot happened when I was in Dili as a kind of starting point for the implementation of human rights." He never suspected that his presence would be used by a group of rioters in to stir up feeling. With specific regard to the November 12 incident he witnessed in Dili, Kooijmans in fact was not prepared to say much before he left Jakarta last week.

It was precisely the Legal Aid Foundation which launched an early protest. Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, head of LBH, admitted that three times he had sent a letter to the commander of ABRI, General Try Sutrisno. He asked that the government form an independent fact-finding team consisting of government elements, members of the Indonesian parliament, and non-governmental organizations. Amnesty International in London also regarded it as a serious incident.

The European Community in Brussels stated their regret at the incident which they judged as being in violation of human rights. The EC and its member countries even said in a statement on November 13 that the members of the security forces "involved" should be prosecuted.

Minister Sudomo saw it through different lenses. The Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security said that the rot was carried out by trouble-makers with the deliberate aim of demeaning Indonesia. "They deliberately tried to wreck the image of Indonesia in the international community," he said.

There have been a number of problems noted by several agencies monitoring the issue of human rights, beginning with Tanjung Priok (1984), the Lampung incident (1989), and labor issues. Many institutes, said Kooijmans, both inside Indonesia and abroad, had frequently sent letters to him. "And the issue of human rights in East Timor is one issue most heatedly raised," he said. Especially, he said, the debate often arises because economic aid is linked to the problem of human rights.

Many steps have already been taken by the government to address the November 12 incident. The Commander of the armed forces formed a fact-finding team lead by the deputy head of the intelligence agency, BAIS, Major General Arie Sadewo. No less than Foreign Minister Ali Alatas joined those speaking of the need for such a mission. Because of this

Garuda Nusantara did not want the special team sent by the Commander because it would wreck Indonesia's image in the eyes of the world.

But, said Professor Juwono Sudarsono, the political expert at the University of Indonesia, the fact that this incident had victims would not necessarily ruin Indonesia's international image. Indonesia, he said, would not lose face because Indonesia on its own initiative undertook an investigation openly. The proof of this was the suggestion of the Commander to form a fact-finding team.

But the spokesman for the armed forces, Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, himself did not want to make an issue out of human rights. "This isn't a question of human rights or any such thing. It's not torture. It's simply a question of defense, an action in self-defense," he said. He added that there was no order to fire. "They just charged like that, throwing grenades," he said.

Commanding general Try Sutrisno said the same. For Indonesia, he said, there was no problem with human rights. Before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed [sic] on December 10, 1948, "we had the values of Pancasila which are full of human rights." In the 1945 Constitution, there are eight articles dealing with human rights, just like those formulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights three years later.

Indonesia also signed a human rights convention on October 23, 1985. In fact, since last year, Indonesia has been a member of the Commission on Human Rights.

IT WASN'T TO TAUNT AND CURSE

Tempo, 23 November 1991, p.32

Professor Pieter Kooijmans seems exhausted. The legal expert from Leiden, Holland seemed to have circles around his eyes, as though he hadn't slept. The night, he said, seemed so short. The feeling of fatigue not yet over, it was already time for him to get up again to follow an appointed schedule. He is the head of a delegation from the UN Commission on Human Rights who had arrived in Jakarta two weeks ago.

The presence of Kooijmans and two friends attracted increasing attention. The telephone calls from abroad were always ringing in his room, Kooijmans, it seems, had become the focus of journalists as well as other parties who wanted information. Of course, his visit coincided with the explosion of a demonstration which ultimately produced its victims.

This was the reason he was prepared to enjoy short nights after he went back to his office in Geneva to prepare his report. "If it's like this, I'll be like a monk, confined to my room for a full week," he said.

Last Thursday night, Kooijmans met with Yopie Hidayat and Susilawati Suryana from TEMPO for an interview in his room in the Hotel Sahid Jaya. These are the main points:

Q What was the atmosphere like in Dili when you arrived?

I arrived on Monday, a day before the incident. The atmosphere seemed calm.

Q Did you actually witness the incident directly?

No, I was meeting with Brig. Gen. Warouw at that time, so I don't know for sure what happened.

Q What was your impression after seeing the atmosphere outside after it happened?

It was gripping. The faces of people showed their fear. Everyone I met was in a state of shock.

Q According to you, was the demonstration deliberately undertaken because of the presence of a delegation from the Commission on Human Rights which you headed?

I didn't see any sign that the incident was planned. It seemed to have been an accident. It's difficult to say that the action materialized because we were there. I also don't know for sure how many people paid attention to our visit. It may well be that there was a connection. But I must have evidence if I'm going to make that conclusion.

Q Whom did you meet there, aside from officials and ABRI officers?

I also met with the Bishop and with a number of other civilians.

Q What was your impression of Bishop Belo?

The Bishop, like many other people, was in a state of shock.

Q In your view, what was the role of the church in this?

I was there in an extraordinary situation. So it's difficult to evaluate the role of the church in these circumstances. What happened yesterday, in my own view, was that the church gave protection to those who were afraid. I think that this is exactly the humanitarian mission that the church can play. The question of the political role of the church is something I can't evaluate.

Q Before all this happened, what was your view of East Timor?

I can only speak of the situation from 1985 until now because I have held this position since then. During that time, there have indeed been many reports about East Timor sent to the Commission on Human Rights, both from the delegations which have visited there as well as informal [sic] organizations. From those reports, I could conclude that the conditions were slowly returning to normal.

Q But you still felt it necessary to visit East Timor?

My task here was to press Indonesia to pay more attention to human rights, not to taunt or curse the behavior of the government. Because what has become the focus of our attention on the Human Rights Commission is not the past but how the future of the

people there can be better. And further, [this incident] notwithstanding, it's already possible to say there has been progress. Ten years ago, this visit could never have happened. And I believe in one thing, that the process of integration of East Timor must be undertaken in a more natural way. Now, my visit was to collect information on this issue, because now, many more people are going to be paying attention to what happens in East Timor.

Q Now the incident we wanted to avoid has happened. What will the international reaction be, in your view?

Very harsh. You can already read the commentary from Australia or the United States. The government of Indonesia must treat this question as a major problem. There must be a serious effort to resolve this problem, and now is the best time for that.

Q Didn't the Indonesian government already undertake an investigation?

The investigation must be truly open and invite representatives of international organizations to convincingly show that an investigation will really be conducted. The government must be able to accept those conditions. Even more so now, the United Nations itself must pay close attention and hope that this problem is resolved well.

Q Doesn't the involvement of outside organizations violate the sovereignty of Indonesia? This is a domestic affair...

I didn't mean to say there should be an international investigation. I meant that a national investigation should be conducted openly. This is essential to convince the international community that the investigation will be objective.

INDONESIAN COMMISSION BLAMES PORTUGAL FOR MASSACRE

Source: Reuter, AFP. Date: 23 November 1991. Agency reports abridged. [Square brackets are additions from TAPOL.]

[Before even commencing its inquiry, the Commission of Inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre set up by Suharto a week ago has reached its main conclusion.]

A member of an Indonesian commission investigating an army killing of East Timorese protesters accused Portugal of being behind the incident, the official Antara news agency said on Saturday.

"The Dili incident was created by the government of Portugal by setting up an organisation (which is against Indonesia) and pitting (East Timorese) against each other," said Hadi Wayarabi, a director of the foreign ministry. The official is also a member of a seven-man government commission set up to investigate the shooting.

Antara quoted him as saying Lisbon had tried to discredit Indonesia which annexed the territory 16 years ago.

The head of the commission [retired Major-General] Djaelani appealed for a copy of film taken during the shooting. "Help us to find it to use as material because it certainly includes data we must collect," the Supreme Court judge told reporters on Saturday.

A Yorkshire television cameraman, who was at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili when troops started shooting into the crowd, recorded the event and smuggled the tape out of Indonesia.

The film, shown in several countries, includes graphic scenes which appear to contradict the army version of events that soldiers were provoked and opened fired after misunderstanding an order, according to diplomats.

Djaelani whom Suharto appointed to head the Commission before he left for a 26-day trip overseas, said the team would probably visit East Timor on Thursday. It will try to speak to all sides, he said but declined to elaborate, saying it would prefer to wait until it was on site before determining who it would interview.

He added that that investigation was not to be viewed as a judicial inquiry on those questioned but simply as a fact-finding quest.

According to an editorial in today's Angkatan Bersenjata [the Armed Forces daily], Portugal is to blame for the unrest that led to last week's bloody shooting in Dili. The events in Dili were "the result of planned engineering by Portugal," the editorial said.

The paper also pointed to Lisbon's failed attempt on Thursday to have one of its journalists, Mario Robalo, who visited East Timor in the summer, address the plenary session of the European Parliament to discuss the Timor event.

"It is not impossible that several foreigners, who were seen actively taking part in organising mass movement during the brutal Dili demonstration were henchmen of Portugal, just as Mario Robalo is one."

Lisbon is using any opportunity to discredit Indonesia and "reviewing our experience so far, Portugal has never really intended to free East Timor as its colonial territory, even more so to let it integrate with Indonesia," the newspaper said.

UNYOKING THE TIMORESE

(BOSTON GLOBE EDITORIAL)

23 November 1991.

Much to its credit, the US Senate has passed a strong resolution condemning the unprovoked massacre of civilians in East Timor by soldiers of Indonesia's army of occupation.

Not only did the resolution note this and previous abuses of Timorese human rights by the Indonesian colonisers; it also broke ground by asking President Bush to support appointment by the United Nations of a "special rapporteur to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the

right of self-determination by the East Timorese people".

It has been 16 years since the corrupt regime of President Suharto invaded and annexed East Timor. During those years, the occupation forces committed crimes tantamount to genocide. As many as 200,000 Timorese, out of a population of 600,000, were killed, according to human rights organisations, diplomats and scholars.

Several congressional resolutions have been passed lamenting and condemning Indonesia's crimes against humanity, but Senate Resolution 77 was the first to address the cause of East Timor's agony. Forged with the concurrence of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans, the resolution went beyond mere hand-wringing to propose the only effective salvation for East Timor: an international effort to make Indonesia grant the Timorese self-determination.

Because US administrations beginning with President Ford's have armed and supported the Suharto regime, the resolution signifies a long overdue rebuke of American collaboration with an aggressor and the renunciation of a Cold War policy rooted in shameless realpolitik.

However, under the influence of Rep. Stephen Solarz of New York, a parallel resolution in the House was being amended yesterday to eliminate the Senate's forthright call for American support for self-determination. Solicitude for client aggressors is apparently not confined to the White House.

[On 18 November, *The Boston Globe* ran an editorial entitled: "East Timor, symbol of US shame".]

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST Nov. 23-24

This is a digest of some of the material on East Timor received at Task Force Indonesia's office November 23 and 24 from its network of sources.

PORTUGAL (Timor repression continues)

Jose Ramos Horta, spokesman for a broad alliance of Timorese resistance groups, said seven people, including two children aged one and four, were shot by Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital Dili on Wednesday.

Ramos Horta told the Portuguese news agency Lusa that the seven, whom he named, had been thrown into a common grave which was covered over with tarmac.

He said 249 people had been arrested since the November 12 killings and were being held in the military police barracks in Dili.

Domingos Oliveira, the leader of another opposition group, the Democratic Union of Timor, told Lusa by telephone from Australia that the Indonesian authorities had transferred those wounded in the massacre out of Dili.

He said they had been taken to Kupang and Atambua in the western part of the island of Timor, which has always been Indonesian territory.

Oliveira said he feared for the safety of these people, whom he said representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross have not been allowed to interview. (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (Denies Indon. accusations)

Portugal on Saturday dismissed as absurd Indonesian accusations that it provoked the killings of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops in East Timor.

"They are ridiculous and absurd accusations which do not deserve any comment," a foreign ministry spokesman told the Portuguese agency Lusa.

Hadi Wayarabi, a top official at the Indonesian foreign ministry, accused Portugal of provoking the violence by setting up an organisation in the territory to oppose rule from Jakarta and by pitting East Timorese against each other.

Wayarabi is a member of a special commission set up by the Indonesian government to investigate the shooting. (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (Demonstration in Lisbon)

Several thousand students and Timorese demonstrated in central Lisbon on Friday night against the November 12 killings in East Timor of pro-independence demonstrators.

Maria Barroso, the wife of Portuguese President Mario Soares, told them the shooting was "a crime against humanity."

She reaffirmed Portugal's continuing responsibility for East Timor and said Lisbon would continue to fight for its "clear and absolute right of self-determination." (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (Carrascalao on massacre)

The Indonesian governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, told the Lisbon daily *Publico* that he had personally seen 99 wounded in Dili hospitals but he did not know how many had died.

"I saw with my own eyes 91 wounded -- 20 to 30 seriously -- in the military hospital and eight seriously wounded in the civilian hospital and a pickup truck full of corpses. I can't say how many," Carrascalao said.

"The massacre was not something that happened on the spur of the movement. There were antecedents," he told *Publico*.

"Things that happened here in Dili, especially at night, with groups of masked men who fought and created an effective curfew. There was low-level interference by the Indonesians which in fact created problems."

Timorese opposition groups have accused the Indonesian army of setting up a clandestine militia in Dili which they accuse of secret arrests and killings.

Carrascalao said he had just returned from talks with the ministers of defence and the interior and the head of the armed forces in Jakarta.

"They are not very well informed," he said. "They have only been told half-truths." (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (Pope criticized)

In Portugal, criticism of the Pope increased today, when the national news agency Lusa reported that the Vatican paper "l'Osservatore Romano" had been told not to print news of the Indonesian repression in East Timor.

A member of the paper's editorial staff was quoted by Lusa as saying: "We still have not received authorization from the papal services to do so."

The Pope's silence drew criticism from Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, who said they were "astonished", while Bishops Manuel Martins, Antonio Monteiro and Joao Alves viewed the Holy See's attitude "with sorrow".

Portuguese media have been publishing forceful editorials accusing the Pope of taking clear political positions in the cases of his own country, Poland, and the Catholic republic of Croatia in the Yugoslav federation, but of maintaining an absolute silence in Timor's case. (Source: IPS)

VATICAN (asks Indonesia for truth)

The Holy See has asked the Indonesian authorities "to clarify the truth" and "punish those responsible" for the massacre of up to 185 people in the East Timorese capital of Dili on Nov. 12.

The Vatican spokesman, Joaquin Navarro, told a press conference today that the Holy See was "profoundly moved" by the event.

"The Holy See is in full sympathy with the church of Dili and reaffirms its condemnation of recourse to violence, from wherever side it comes, to resolve conflicts," he said.

The Vatican in its note "reiterated the rights of all the inhabitants of Timor to social peace, fundamental liberties, their religious and cultural identity and human rights", Navarro added.

Several Roman papers like "Il Manifesto" have criticized the pope for his long silence on the massacre in East Timor, describing the former Portuguese colony as a "Catholic enclave in Muslim Indonesia". (Source: IPS)

VENEZUELA (Question Suharto during visit)

Sources close to the Venezuelan Government said that at the request of Portuguese President Mario Soares, President Carlos Andres Perez likely would bring up with Suharto a November 12 shooting incident in East Timor in which Indonesian officials said 19 people were killed. Human rights and opposition groups have put the toll much higher.

Venezuelan officials Sunday refused to confirm that Perez would broach the topic with Suharto. (Source: AFP)

INDONESIA (blaming Portugal)

Portugal is to blame for unrest that led to last week's bloody shooting in Dili and a demonstration here by East Timorese seeking self determination, the Indonesian armed forces' Angkatan Bersenjata daily said Saturday.

The events in Dili and the Jakarta demonstration were "the result of planned engineering by Portugal," it said in an editorial.

The paper also pointed to Lisbon's failed attempt on Thursday to have one of its journalists -- Mario Robalo, who had visited East Timor in the summer -- address a plenary session of the European parliament to discuss the East Timor event.

"It is not impossible that several foreigners, who were seen actively taking part in organizing mass movement during the brutal Dili demonstration, were henchmen of Portugal just as Mario Robalo is one."

Lisbon is using any opportunity to discredit Indonesia and "reviewing our experience so far, Portugal has never really intended to free East Timor as its colonial territory," the newspaper said. (Source: AFP)

INDONESIA (Government investigation)

Supreme Court judge Jaelani, whom Indonesian President Suharto appointed to head the National Investigative Commission (KPN) on Monday before he left for a 26-day trip overseas, said the team would possibly visit East Timor on Thursday.

The team will try to speak to all sides, he said but declined to elaborate, saying the team would prefer to wait until it was on site before determining whom it should interview.

He added, however, that the investigation must not be viewed as a judicial inquiry on those questioned but simply as a fact-finding quest.

The KPN includes officials from the ministries of home affairs, foreign affairs and justice, a deputy chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council, an East Timorese parliamentarian and a representative of the armed forces. (Source: AFP)

INDONESIA (not afraid of int'l pressure)

"We should not feel afraid. This is our internal affair," the Berita Buana daily Saturday quoted Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security Sudomo as saying in reply to a journalist's question on the possibility of some foreign countries stopping their economic aid to Indonesia.

The Netherlands announced Thursday that it was freezing new financial assistance to Indonesia pending the result of a thorough investigation into the shooting by Indonesia troops of unarmed protesters in the East Timor capital of Dili.

Ottawa has also said it was reviewing its aid to Indonesia in the wake of the incident.

Sudomo said announcements by foreign countries of intentions to stop aid to Indonesia were primarily aimed at their own publics. (Source: AFP)

EAST TIMOR (Church service in Dili)

About 1,000 people attended a service Sunday at the Motael Roman Catholic Church in this provincial capital, which has been a focal point for the recent violence, but the killings were not mentioned publicly.

In his sermon, the Rev. Jose Segueira called on East Timorese to follow "the ways of Christ" and avoid violence.

There was no visible presence of security forces Sunday, but few people at the church would talk about the violence. Many brushed off a reporter by saying they came to pray and did not want to talk about politics.

Only a few of the people who agreed to talk about the recent events would give their names.

"The memory of the bloody violence haunts me every night," said Araujo Ximenes, who said her son was killed at the cemetery.

Mario Goncalves said the Indonesian government should do some "real introspection" on its rule of this poor region.

"If after 15 years of integration, we still have these killings, there must be something wrong," Goncalves said. "This means that the people are still unsatisfied and unhappy."

A policeman, who would not give his name, said this city of about 125,000 people seems normal during the day, but public places begin to empty as the sun sets.

He said that people are afraid to go out after dark even though there is no curfew and that they talk about sensitive subjects in whispers, and then only among family.

A taxi driver said many people are afraid to discuss the violence because of worries about the young people who have been arrested. The government says about 40 people were detained after the cemetery shootings and scores more will be questioned when they recover from their wounds.

A teacher said some families are keeping their children home from school because of fears about further violence between young people and the army. (Source: AP)

EAST TIMOR (Belo avoids politics)

East Timor's Catholic bishop, Carlos Belo, issued a statement accusing pro-independence rebels of trying to use the Motael church in recent demonstrations.

Belo previously charged that government forces shot defenseless students at the cemetery. But Sunday he declared: "We do not want the church used for a political purpose."

The statement caused dismay among Timorese refugees in Portugal. They said Indonesian security forces have fabricated or coerced such statements from Timorese leaders in the past.

The Indonesian army has 12 battalions of troops in East Timor, with half assigned to civil security. Each battalion has 400 to 700 soldiers. (Source: AP)

EASTERN ATROCITIES

(LONDON OBSERVER EDITORIAL)

24 November 1991.

The case for blind Western support for the undemocratic regime of General Suharto in Indonesia was never strong, even in the hey-day of the Cold War. From the moment he

seized power, his rule was certainly anti-Communist; it was also bloody, oppressive and corrupt.

Now the Cold War is over, there is no excuse at all for the West to continue winking at Indonesia's sham democracy and Suharto's atrocities. The various massacres this month of hundreds of peaceful protesters by the Indonesian army - itself already guilty of illegally occupying East Timor since 1975 - are an insult to the world community and demand a swift response. UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has been sadly remiss in allowing Suharto, the Mobutu of South-East Asia, to get away for so long with his defiance of long-standing Security Council resolutions that call for the occupation forces to quit East Timore territory. An early test for Mr Boutros Ghali, as he takes over at the UN, will be how he tackles Indonesia's defiance of world opinion.

It is also time our own Foreign Office woke up to the revulsion that people in this country feel about the massacre in Dili and other Timorese towns. It has to stop its shilly-shallying about the Indonesian dictatorship - one minute joining its European Community partners in a strong protest and the next announcing that Suharto need not worry about anything that Britain might do.

MORE KILLINGS (TAPOL)

TAPOL report, 24 November 1991.

According to reports from several sources in Dili, relayed through Fretilin in Australia today, there have been more killings in East Timor.

At midnight on 17 November, ten Timorese who apparently witnessed the Be-Musi massacre on 15 November, were arrested and killed.

The next day, another seven were shot dead, apparently because they had witnessed the previous day's shooting. These seven victims included two children, Gaspar, 1 year old and Joao Soares, 4 years old. The others killed were: Maria Castro, 35 years, Maria Fatima, 19 years, Terezita, 16 years, Ines Soares, 30 years, and Liberata Mendes, 17 years.

The source said: "We are living in hell. If the UN doesn't send observers to monitor and protect us as soon as possible, we will disappear as a people."

TIMORESE STUDENTS ARRESTED IN BALI AND JAVA (TAPOL)

TAPOL report, 24 November 1991

Six (not five as earlier reported) East Timorese students in Bali, and nine East Timorese students in Yogyakarta have been arrested yesterday and today.

Those arrested in Bali include Fernando Araujo, Jose Pompeia, Joaquim, Clemente and Denis. Six of the nine arrested in Yogyakarta are: Jose Luis, Elidio, Diometrio, Rogerio, Flavio and Pedrito.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE: THE UNHEARD OF MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR (RYTER)

(c)November 21, 1991 by Loren Rytter

The following is an article that started out with the intent of analyzing media coverage, specifically NYT coverage, but ended up synthesizing a lot of the material that John has posted, out of the realization that its audience (mainly Brown University students and faculty) will have heard nothing of East Timor, let alone the latest massacres. I hope it is interesting, nevertheless, to people on this list. If anyone would like to repost or print this, please contact me first. The article is up to date until about November 20th, and will be published in the Brown Forum on Third World Affairs in early December, probably hacked to pieces. Apologies for anything which might be already out of date.

Secretary of State James Baker returned from his surrogate trip to East Asia last month failing to produce a Chinese pledge on human rights. Earlier the same week, another part of Asia witnessed even worse news for human rights: a brutal massacre in East Timor which in terms of relative population was fifty times as devastating as even the highest estimates of the death toll in Tiananmen Square. Baker's diplomatic impotence in resolving an issue which the U.S. has been treading lightly over since the 1989 democracy crackdown, gained front page attention in the New York Times. The massacre in East Timor, in which Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a crowd of over 3,000 mourners of all ages, killing as many as 180 and wounding dozens more, was relegated to a short column on a back page in the same authoritative American newspaper. The New York Times, after reporting in another short back page article the next day that an Indonesian general had expressed regret and promised to conduct an investigation into the incident, dropped the matter entirely. Apology accepted, case closed.

Chalk it up to a freak accident on a tiny little island no one's ever heard of and you'd be wrong on all three points. Firstly, East Timor is about as large as the "tiny" Kuwait we heard so much about earlier this year. Secondly, this massacre is only the latest in a series of massacres over the sixteen years since Indonesia invaded its neighbor in 1975, initiating a genocidal campaign of brutal extermination, forced relocation, and willful destruction of crops which had left over two hundred thousand people (easily one third of the pre-invasion population) dead by execution or starvation in the first five years alone. Thirdly, many people in very important positions have heard quite a lot about East Timor, and it is all they can do to make sure no one else hears a thing. As Noam Chomsky writes, "the story is so revealing that it cannot be known, and indeed is not known except in tiny circles." In order to try to expand these circles, it is necessary to take a few large steps

backward before discussing the most recent slaughters.

Indonesia, home of vast mineral and oil wealth and defender of important sea lanes, has long been the linchpin of post-war (read cold war) U.S. economic and strategic policy in Southeast Asia. Especially since 1965, when the CIA and the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta helped engineer a military coup which put the staunchly anti-communist Suharto into power and resulted in the executions of as many as half a million people suspected of being communists, the US has had a stalwart ally in the region and has continued to shower its friend with huge amounts of military and economic aid. After Portugal gave up her three century claim to the eastern half of the island of Timor in 1974 and East Timor began to move toward independence, Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs Adam Malik assured a leader of the nascent nationalist party, Fretilin, that it adheres to the principles of the right of every nation to independence, and that Indonesia has "no intention to increase or to expand [its] territory, or to occupy other territories..." Not surprisingly, when Indonesia, which soon thereafter began to see the Timorese nationalists as Timorese communists, decided finally to annex the "Cuba on its doorstep," the US expressed no opinion in the matter. The fact that both President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flew out of Jakarta after a state visit the day before the invasion, well after Indonesian border incursions had begun, proves acquiescence at the very least. According to the Australian Ambassador, Kissinger had instructed the U.S. embassy "to cut down its reporting on Timor."

The American mainstream press has dutifully followed Kissinger's advice for the past 16 years (the New York Times has run an average of about one piece per year on East Timor over the past decade), much to the chagrin of the people of East Timor who are increasingly depending on world and U.S. public opinion to free them from the brutal Indonesian occupation. It is a cruel irony that, as it turns out, even their martyrdom has not bought their plight international notice. The Timorese national resistance, which has survived air raids and mass encirclement campaigns involving tens of thousands of troops and conscripted Timorese, has focused its strategy in recent years on gaining more widespread world attention.

The East Timorese believed that a 12-day visit scheduled to begin November 4th by a Portuguese parliamentary mission, the culmination of seven years of negotiations mediated by the UN Secretary-General, would be their gateway to the world, and it was to this mission that they tied their fates. Never mind that previous foreign delegations and even a Papal visit in 1989, which had sparked nonviolent protests, warranted only a brief fizzle in the world press. Never mind that everyone knew that the military would take extreme measures to squelch any possibility of public dissent. The East Timorese people

feel a strong affinity with the Portuguese, and some ethnic groups had even creatively incorporated Portuguese colonial rule into their cosmology. In Mambai mythology, for example, the Mambai's Portuguese younger brothers, the custodians of the political realm, had already abandoned them once and come back after hundreds of years. Presumably, 16 years would not be too long to wait for them to return again to resume their political role and finish the decolonization process in a manner more in keeping with the Mambai sense of cosmic order than the chaos of Indonesian rule.

The Indonesian military, well aware of the tightness of the bonds between the East Timorese and the Portuguese, was determined to make a good show of the East Timorese people's "solemn desire" for integration with Indonesia. In order to guarantee that the Portuguese mission would not turn out to be a public relations fiasco, Indonesian intelligence began a one million dollar "clean-up" security operation at the beginning of this year to supplement normal intimidation tactics and police muscle which have been used regularly to keep the people in line in the presence of foreigners since East Timor was "opened" to tourists in 1989. According to a leaked army document, special forces were ordered to infiltrate "underground networks involved with the preparations for the visit or with the Fretilin guerilla movement." Over the last year, several thousands of additional troops have been brought in, conducting obvious maneuvers in remote villages and throwing disused military supplies into the sea. In October, Timorese had been forced to chant pro-integration slogans, to fly Indonesian flags from their homes, and to perform cultural showpiece dances for reporter's video cameras in preparation for the upcoming Portuguese mission. Aside from the frequent short-term detentions, torture, and disappearances which Amnesty International had been documenting throughout the past year, Australian filmmakers reported stories that "crowd infiltrators" had been injecting people in public places with needles and that those people had died of illness soon afterward. Although these reports are probably untrue, the fact that people had been terrified of contact in public places is testimony to the level of intimidation the military had been able to create.

Despite these extreme measures to force the East Timorese into submission, as the date of the mission grew closer, the Indonesians began to have second thoughts. First, they insisted that any photographs taken would have to be sent through Jakarta, not flown out directly. Soon afterward, they vetoed the inclusion in the delegation of an Australian reporter who the Indonesians have called a "Fretilin propagandist." The reporter in question, Jill Jolliffe, has had good reason to be critical of Indonesia's presence in East Timor, since she was the lone survivor of a group of six Australian journalists who were murdered by the Indonesian invasion forces in

1975, an event which Indonesia has never come clean about and Australia has never pressed. For Portugal, which claimed to "uphold the principle of democracy regarding the freedom to receive and provide information," Indonesian intransigence in the matter was the last straw. On October 24th, Portugal "suspended" the mission, a move which looks more like cancelation since the monsoon season begins soon and most of the rural areas will be inaccessible for months.

News of the "suspension" came as a devastating shock to the East Timorese and deflated their last hopes for recognition. When plainclothes Indonesian police entered the grounds of Motael church in Dili in the early hours of October 28th and murdered Sebastio (Gomes) Rangel and arrested most of the other youths who had taken refuge in the church for over a year, the East Timorese had finally been driven to desperation. Despite the violence that had been inflicted on them over the years, the East Timorese placed a great deal of faith in the Church as an institution whose sanctity the Indonesian soldiers would not violate, and the blood on the parish walls had proven them wrong. Official versions of the incident involved alternately a skirmish between "pro-independence activists and passers-by" and a riot which the police had been summoned to quell. This version of events was debunked by three Australian filmmakers present at the scene who vouched that no such riot had taken place and that in fact they "watched people being summoned by [church bells] for over half an hour with great urgency and vigor." Following Sebastio's murder, Jose Ramos-Horta, the spokesman for the Timor National Resistance Council in the UN, issued an urgent plea for Portugal to "alert the international community" of the slaying, a plea which was never heard on U.S. shores.

It was in this greater context which the massacre of Tuesday, November 12th occurred. It was also this context which was entirely absent from the New York Times' account of the massacre. Readers unfamiliar with East Timor were brought up to date on the sixteen-year occupation with the following two sentences:

"East Timor, the eastern half of the island of Timor at the eastern end of the vast Indonesian archipelago, was annexed by Jakarta a year after Portugal gave up the colony in 1975 after three centuries of colonial rule.

"Jakarta's rule is not internationally recognized and human rights organization have frequently made accusations of human rights abuses there."

A+ for brevity and geographical accuracy and a big F for relevance and complete coverage. To say that human rights organizations have "frequently made accusations of human rights abuses there" is a little like saying that Jews have frequently made accusations about human rights abuses in Nazi Germany.

Aside from the sheer desperation of the mourners at the funeral procession for slain

Sebastio Rangel, one other thing differentiated the November 12th massacre from previous massacres "carried out away from prying eyes" in East Timor. Namely, the presence of at least seven foreign journalists, all of whom were beaten or threatened, barely escaping alive, and one of whom was killed in the morning melee, should have guaranteed the story a good deal of prominence in the world press. For the benefit of those who missed the huge media outcry, the 6 a.m. morning mass began solemnly, like many funerals for martyred opposers of police oppression elsewhere in the world, and soon escalated into violence. Sometime before 8 a.m., hundreds of Indonesian troops opened fire on the crowd of thousands of men, women, and children with American-supplied M-16 automatic rifles. The journalists all corroborated that although the mourners were carrying pro-independence banners and calling for self-determination, there was no physical provocation of the soldiers whatsoever. In fact, as evidenced by the fact that the soldiers walked deliberately toward the crowd, surrounding the mourners from two sides, this was clearly not a spontaneous action. New Yorker magazine reporter Allan Nairn said, "This was a case of planned and systematic massacre.... This was not a situation where you had some hothead run amok." The soldiers continued to fire their weapons mercilessly into the crowd for as long as five minutes, reloading them when empty. Nairn told Reuters that "looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing." When English photographer Stephen Cox heard the "almighty burst of fire," he took refuge in a crypt for thirty minutes along with "children as young as six or seven piled on top of each other, cowering and reciting prayers over and over."

Amy Goodman of Pacifica radio and Nairn believed that if they moved toward the front of the crowd conspicuously brandishing cameras as the soldiers were approaching that they could prevent any violence from taking place. Instead, they soon found American-made M-16 rifles pointing at their heads, only being spared by repeating "We're Americans, we're Americans." When an Indonesian plainclothes policeman discovered Cox in the crypt, he was shocked and yelled "What are you doing here, what are you doing here? You've seen everything!" Cox and Australian radio journalist Russell Anderson forced their way onto a plane in Dili, managing to make it to Darwin, while Goodman and Nairn, after being beaten severely, managed to escape to a hospital in Guam. Chris Werner of Britain's Yorkshire Television succeeded in smuggling out a three minute video tape, which was quickly shown on Portugal's main TV news program, by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, in the Japanese Diet and in the English Parliament, but was not shown over American airwaves for over a week, and then only briefly. A Malaysian charity worker holding a New Zealand passport was not as

lucky as the journalists--he was listed as one of the official dead.

As the smoke cleared, human rights groups, the church, and the Indonesian military were all struggling to assess the damages. Reports of four truckloads of corpses being carted away for mass burial clearly demonstrate that the casualties were severe. Bishop Belo estimated 180 dead, and other human rights groups were placing the figure at 115 dead. General Try Sutrisno, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, alarmed that these high figures were getting into the foreign press, stated "the number of those who died, I am certain, would not reach 100, let us say 50 at the most, 20 injured, and no foreigners are among the victims." A few days later, the army had revised the official estimates downward to 19 dead and 91 injured. General Sutrisno defended the adjustment by saying that the revision "does not mean the government has no regard for human rights. We are a big nation that upholds human rights since the days of our forefathers." No matter how high the final death toll will turn out, as one Portuguese diplomat aptly put it, "we're not counting corpses, even if it's 19, it's a massacre."

From the Indonesian point of view, the presence of foreign witnesses to the ugly affair could have led to a huge public relations disaster, and as a result, they quickly scrambled to produce an official version of events. The first official statement was simply that "there has been unrest in Dili by people who had been incited and influenced by the remnants of GPK [Gang of Security Disrupters, the official name for Fretilin and other separatist groups elsewhere in Indonesia] in East Timor.... The situation is now under control." Realizing that this statement was neither satisfying or convincing, they then admitted soldiers had fired into the crowd, but only after they had been provoked by guns, lobbed hand-grenades, and knives. This was a bit extreme, especially since the Indonesians had been long claiming that the resistance numbered less than 200 and had exhausted all their supplies. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas perhaps gave the most passionate defense of the integrity of his soldiers when he explained that "the deputy commander of the local battalion tried to tell them, 'Look, you can demonstrate, but please don't be so wild, don't be so unruly. Don't destroy property along the way and things like that.' It was then that [the commander] was attacked by a machete." Alatas, who deplored the foreign media's "biased" presentation of the events, told reporters, "Give us a break. The picture is not of very peaceful, gospel singing people suddenly being shot at. Come On."

But it was increasingly clear to many parts of the outside world that the picture was in fact one of peaceful people being shot at. On November 14th, every one of Australia's major dailies were running multiple reports and front page banner headlines such as the Sydney Morning Herald's eight-column

"Massacre on our Doorstep." In response, the Indonesians pursued the unusual new strategy of expressing regret. Ali Alatas backed off from his earlier justifications and diplomatically stated "This is not something the government has ordered or condoned. We indeed very much regret what has happened...We are going to investigate what happened." Udayana Military Area Commander Sintong Panjaitan clearly indicated that world opinion was influencing his approach when he said "the world is pointing a finger at us. I accept that. I am very sorry. I regret this." He went on to say, however, that there would be no courts-martial and that the troops had no choice to fire, even if it was a mistake, echoing his earlier claim that the soldiers had misheard an order of "Don't shoot." President Suharto, for his part, expressed his concern by embarking as planned on a 25-day visit to Africa and South and Central America on November 21st, a move which would make absentee President George Bush proud. By expressing regret and promising an investigation into the situation, the Indonesians were carefully saying to the world, "don't worry, the situation is under control," just as they had in their original statement. Indonesia is predictably insisting that this is a domestic concern, that foreign countries should not "meddle in internal affairs [which involve] the sovereignty of Indonesia." Despite outcries from human rights groups that an Indonesian-led investigation without any outside monitoring would be a total sham, it appears that this is exactly what is going to happen.

Initial official international reactions to the incident varied quite closely with their relationship to Indonesia. Portugal asked for a total arms embargo and declared a national day of mourning on November 19th, where all flags were flown at half mast and teachers were to instruct their students about the massacre. The European Economic Community released the harsh words that the EEC and its member states "vehemently condemn such violence which is in clear contravention of the most fundamental human rights." Germany expressed "deep alarm" at the "bloody escalation of violence." New Zealand, who saw one of its passport-holders perish in the slaughter, vowed to re-evaluate its entire policy toward Indonesia. On the other hand, Australia, which recently completed a very lucrative treaty with Indonesia involving vast oil reserves in the Timor Gap, has characteristically pursued careful diplomacy in the situation. Prime Minister Bob Hawke initially explained that he has tried to discuss the matter with Indonesia in a "constructive and friendly spirit at this time of tragedy." What he meant, of course, is it is a "time of tragedy" for Indonesian public relations and the situation is going to require some quick patching. The UK, resolved that although it felt "an arms embargo would be neither appropriate or effective," was considering providing humanitarian aid, which is a very poor idea indeed if the military's past record

of aid appropriations for profit is any indication.

Washington, whose influence Lisbon considers critical, is hesitant to comment on the affair until it can get a "completely accurate picture of what took place," but nevertheless would contact Indonesia to "express our concerns." So far, Washington has ignored a resolution sponsored by several members of Congress asking for the suspension of military aid to Indonesia, resolving that the \$2.3 million dollars in military aid for fiscal year 1991-1992 which began October 1, would go through as planned. State Department Spokesman Richard Boucher explained that military training programs which the U.S. funds would "expose the trainee to democratic ideas and humanitarian standards," and that "we think that a continued and well focused military assistance program for Indonesia can contribute to the professionalization of the Indonesian military." However, Boucher failed to explain why over 25 years of such aid has not produced these "humanitarian" results or why they should suddenly be produced now. President George Bush, to whom the mourners had appealed to for help in their protest banners, has said nothing about East Timor, but he did say on the day of the massacre (in reference to Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam) that he remains "deeply committed to building closer ties with the Asia-Pacific region," which presumably also includes Indonesia.

Bush's excitement about developments in Indochina is understandable, especially with Cambodia's new prospects for peace, multi-party democracy, and capitalism so close on the horizon. Under the U.S.-backed UN peace treaty between the Cambodian rebel factions and the Vietnamese-backed government signed in October, the Supreme National Council will begin ruling the country until the scheduled 1993 elections. These hopeful changes in Cambodia (which Indonesia's President Suharto has been working to accomplish for at least a decade) warranted long, visible articles in the New York Times nearly every day during the week following the East Timor massacre. One might think it is commendable that in a world of tragedy that hope is being given predominance over violence. Unfortunately, it is not even the case that hope is being emphasized. The story that has played large in all of Philip Shenon's "Special to the New York Times" articles is the violence of the notorious Khmer Rouge, whom he stresses still have a chance to return to power. Shenon has placed great emphasis in each of his articles on the "reign of terror" which the Khmer Rouge began after they "overran" Phnom Penh in 1975. In one article, he writes that "from 1975 to 1979, more than one million Cambodians were either executed or died from ill treatment, hunger, and disease." For comparison, in the same week, none of the three pieces on East Timor pointed out that between 1975 to 1979, more than 200,000 East Timorese (a greater proportion of the population than those who died in Cambodia) were also either executed or died

from ill treatment, hunger, and disease. The Indonesian occupation of East Timor is never referred to as "a reign of terror." The significant difference, of course, is that the Khmer Rouge are communists, and thus the disrupters of American security interests, whereas the Indonesians are the defenders of regional stability, and thus our allies.

Some say the cold war is over and we are living in a new world order. The world is beginning to recognize the legitimacy and the right to self-determination of small nations which have long been parts of larger empires. East Timor, the Baltics of the Pacific, has yet to be granted that right. The United States claims to condemn, out of principle, "naked aggression" of one larger country against a smaller neighbor. Indonesia, which annexed East Timor in 1975 and declared it Indonesia's 27th Province in 1976, has yet to be so condemned by the United States. As we pass the 16th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor on December 7th, we can sadly expect to see more continued violence and brutality. Recent reports have indicated that house to house searches are under way, and at least 80 more people, said to have witnessed the massacre, have been marched out to pits, stripped naked, and machine gunned by hooded executioners. In the current political climate, these slaughters are just thorns in the side of realpolitik, and the sooner they are plucked out and forgotten about the better. But at a time when the United States should have less and less of a need to support murderous regimes in the name of the defense against communism, it is difficult to understand why we unapologetically continue to do so. Chalk it up to habit, I guess.

Loren Ryter (92.5) is a Brown undergraduate concentrating in Development Studies and East Asian Studies.

For further reading

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Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to the efforts of the Coordinator of Task Force Indonesia, who tirelessly compiled reports from world wire services and newspapers, statements by non-government organizations such as Amnesty International and TAPOL, and unpublished interviews during the week following the massacre and made them available to the public in an electronic format. Without such a medium, most of this information would remain unknown. For those who wish to ob-

tain over 100 pages of printed documentation, Charles Scheiner has offered to make it available for \$15 to cover photocopying and shipping costs. His address is PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.

Date: Mon, 25 Nov 1991 07:26:22 PST
From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force
<apakabar%IGC.ORG@pucc.PRINCETON.EDU> Subject: Timor:

MORE MASSACRES CONFIRMED

This digest includes the first public announcement by Amnesty International that earlier reports of further massacres appear to be true. Compiled by Task Force Indonesia, Nov.25.

AUSTRALIA (A.I. releases names, further killings)

Amnesty International released on Monday the names of 60 people killed or missing, presumed dead, after a shooting by Indonesian troops in East Timor this month, saying the final death toll may reach 200.

"The figure of 60 are the names that we have been given to date," Amnesty's East Timor campaign coordinator [in Australia], Andre Frankovits, told a news conference.

"This information is being up-dated...virtually hourly. The number of people killed we think is upwards of 100 and could very easily be as many as 200."

The London-based human rights organisation said most of those killed or missing were students, aged between 10 and 35.

Amnesty said reports of subsequent massacres, especially one on November 15 in which between 60 and 80 Timorese were said to have been shot dead by Indonesian troops, were credible and needed investigating by the United Nations.

"There are too many independent sources claiming that the subsequent events have taken place to ignore them and which is why we insist there is an urgency to investigate and investigate independently," said Frankovits.

Indonesia has denied the reports of fresh massacres. "There is no truth to the reports," a military spokesman told Reuters.

Amnesty said reports of other massacres on November 17 and 18 followed a similar pattern and therefore needed investigation.

Amnesty said the Indonesian government's investigation would not be impartial and called on Australia to urge the United Nations to start an independent inquiry. (Source: Reuter)

AUSTRALIA (Reports of mass graves, more killings)

Australian-based opponents of Indonesia's rule over East Timor said on Monday those killed on November 15 had been buried in a mass grave and the site sealed with bitumen.

The Australian Timorese sources said they had received reports of a third and fourth massacre by troops in the territory.

Quoting Catholic and civil sources in East Timor, they said troops shot dead 10 Timorese on November 17 and seven, including a one-year-old boy, on November 18.

Alfredo Ferreira, a Darwin-based spokesman for East Timor's Fretilin guerrilla movement, told Reuters that those killed had all witnessed previous massacres.

Ferreira said those killed on November 17 were Maria Castro, aged 35; Maria Fatima, 19; Gaspar, one; Joan Soares, four; Terezita, 16; Ines da Silva Soares, 30; and Liberata Mendes, 17.

Antonio Sampaio, editor of the East Timor News Agency which supplies Portuguese-language newspapers and radio programmes in Australia, said he had confirmed the reports of a third and fourth massacre from three sources in Dili. (Source: Reuter)

INDONESIA (denies massacre reports)

Indonesia on Monday denied reports of fresh massacres in East Timor which Amnesty International said in Sydney were credible.

"There is no truth in the reports," a military spokesman said.

On Sunday, the army finally let the International Red Cross visit 89 wounded in the shooting and speak to 32 of them in private.

Several witnesses have contradicted the official version that the army opened fire after mistaking an order and that troops were provoked. Film taken by a British cameraman has been shown in several countries.

A number of countries have expressed outrage over the incident and in Australia there are permanent pickets protesting outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra.

Allegations of subsequent killings include 60 to 80 Timorese executed on November 15 and another 17 mown down in separate groups two to three days later.

About 50 Indonesian youths again demonstrated outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta demanding its government apologise for the burning of Indonesian flags by protesters in Australia.

Waving the red-and-white national flag, they threatened to blockade the mission unless Australia stopped its trade unionists from picketing Indonesia's embassy in Canberra.

"We will continue our protest until the Australians stop the blockade and stop meddling in Indonesian domestic affairs. We may have to do the same...setting up camps here," said one protest leader.

It is the fourth demonstration outside the embassy, which has sent diplomats to East Timor to investigate events. (Source: Reuter)

BISHOP BELO ON THE MASSACRE

(TEMPO)

Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic church in East Timor, was interviewed by Tempo, in its edition of 23 November, 1991

Do you know how many died on 12 November?

According to official sources, 13, according to Timorese people, 50, but a member of parliament has said 80. I have only received reports but I don't know the exact number.

Have you been able to speak to any of the wounded?

No. I was only able to go round the wards. It was difficult to recognise the youngsters; their faces were so badly smashed up. But I spoke to the youngsters who came to my residence, some 250 of them. They came here for protection. On the same day from 1 till 6 pm, I escorted them home.

Someone has said that after these youngsters came to your house, you phoned the police....

Yes, I rang them at about 11 am. I wanted to start taking them home but I didn't want the police to interfere. At about 5.30 pm, I noticed that I was being followed by a motorcycle and a car, so I took the last group home the next day.

Is there tension between church and government?

Yes. Following the incidents in the church and the cemetery, accusations have been levelled at the church. Of course there are tensions. We must avoid this; we must try to live side by side.

Some people say Motael Church was used for political activities.

These things happened outside the church. Far away from the church. Father Ricardo (of Motael parish church) celebrated mass because he was asked to do so.

It's being said that the security forces found evidence in Motael Church.

That is not true at all. I have given a statement to the government.

They say there was Fretilin propaganda.

Everything was outside the pastor's home or the church. They found absolutely nothing in the pastor's home. In the church, they only found three people. They didn't find any flags.

Were the security forces breaching the rules when they searched the church?

No. I wanted them to come. I gave them permission to enter.

If the Portuguese mission had come, what do you think would have happened?

It would have been the same as what happened on 12 November.

What is your comment about the incident?

It was a tragedy. I am trying to study it. This incident reflects the pain being felt by the people here.

What makes the people so unhappy?

Many things. Welfare problems, the feelings of great stress and many other things.