

ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

Volume 4: November 25-28, 1991

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JAKARTA TAINTED BY EAST TIMOR KILLINGS (AWSJ)

Asian Wall Street Journal, November 14, 1991, Jakarta. By Richard Borsuk, a staff reporter for the Asian Wall Street Journal

When Indonesian troops opened fire on a funeral procession in East Timor two days ago, they also damaged Jakarta's international image and its efforts to lend legitimacy to its 1976 annexation of the territory.

Tuesday's incident, in which dozens were shot dead, isn't expected to reduce Indonesia's ability to continue receiving large amounts of foreign aid. However, diplomats say the shootings leave Jakarta open to criticism at a time when it has been seeking a higher international profile in line with its status as the world's fifth-most-populous nation. Several foreign governments, including the U.S. and Australia, have called on Indonesia to fully investigate the incident.

GROWING TENSIONS

Diplomats say the shootings came amid growing tensions in the troubled territory related to a planned visit by a parliamentary delegation from Portugal, which ruled East Timor for more than 300 years. That plan collapsed late last month after Indonesia rejected Portugal's demand that the delegation be accompanied by an Australian journalist who Jakarta said was anti-Indonesia. Now, analysts say, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas's protracted campaign to blunt the criticism Indonesia has taken for years over East Timor has also collapsed.

Accounts of exactly what happened Tuesday in the provincial capital of Dili vary widely. According to the Indonesian armed forces, soldiers were forced to defend themselves after being provoked by anti-Jakarta rioters who "brutally" stoned shops and a police station. However, some witnesses say the soldiers apparently panicked in the face of a large crowd and fired at unarmed marchers.

Diplomats and political analysts say that in addition to hurting Jakarta's international image, the shootings will make it much harder for Indonesia to manage the situation in East Timor. They say the incident could lead to further strife in the territory after several years of relative calm.

Jusuf Wanandi, chairman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a private Jakarta think tank, says the incident represents a "setback" for Indonesia. He says government authorities need to undertake a full investigation to minimize damage to Jakarta's image.

Without a thorough and credible investigation, he says, Indonesia "will be in the same league as the Chinese", who "acted as if nothing happened" after the June 1989 killings in Tiananmen Square. Indonesia "can't afford" to be in that league, Mr. Wanandi says, "for its domestic political development and internationally."

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke on Wednesday called for a thorough investigation into what he described as an "appalling tragedy." He said Australia expects that "those responsible for breaches of human rights should be appropriately dealt with."

On Wednesday, Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno expressed regret over the incident and said the military is making a "thorough investigation."

"CAN'T BE A WHITEWASH"

However, diplomats and analysts say they aren't certain how deeply the military will probe into the incident or how willing it will be to punish soldiers found to have acted wrongly. "There can't be a white-wash," says one diplomat. "It will have to be a lot better than that."

At the least, Jakarta now faces a substantial public-relations problem. "It was stupid," says one Jakarta-based European diplomat. "Indonesia has done so many things right, but now many people in Europe will have an unfavorable image of Indonesia."

Another diplomat, while noting that "criticism over human-rights matters hasn't hurt aid flows," acknowledges that the impact of Tuesday's incident will be greater than that of other Indonesian human-rights issues, such as the treatment of civilians in Aceh province in Sumatra, where a small insurgency has been under way.

East Timor has been a frequent source of controversy since the Portuguese abruptly ended their rule in August 1975. Indonesia sent troops into East Timor in December 1975 and annexed the territory the next year.

Portugal maintains that Indonesia illegally seized the territory after invading it and crushing a bid for independence by Fretilin, one of three groups vying for control after Lisbon's exit. But Indonesia says it entered East Timor at the request of another group that, with majority support, favored integration with Jakarta. It accuses Portugal of fueling a civil war, arming Fretilin and creating chaos.

The fighting in Timor, as well as severe food shortages in the late 1970's, took tens of thousands of lives in the territory, which now has a population of about 650,000. Nearly all East Timorese are Christian, in contrast to other parts of Indonesia, where a large majority of the population is Muslim.

Although Indonesia has spent heavily to build schools and hospitals in a territory where the Portuguese spent virtually nothing, Jakarta's sovereignty over East Timor continues to draw opposition. Only several hundred Fretilin rebels are believed to remain in the hills of East Timor, but parts of Dili's population are disenchanted with Indonesia and resent the strong military presence.

NEGATIVE REPORT

Most foreign governments have accepted East Timor's integration with Indonesia as a fait accompli, but the United Nations continues to recognize Portugal as the administrative

power. Mr. Alatas, Indonesia's foreign minister, had hoped that the Portuguese delegation's visit would advance efforts to quell criticism of Indonesia's administration over the territory. Although Indonesian officials said they assumed that the Portuguese team would submit a negative report of its visit, they also expected a separate U.N. report -- from ambassadors appointed to accompany the delegation -- would cite Jakarta's efforts to improve living conditions in the territory.

Plans for the visit took shape only after years of negotiations, conducted mainly in New York. Mr. Alatas, formerly Indonesia's ambassador to the U.N., promoted the visit as a means of putting the East Timor issue to rest, but a range of Indonesian officials and analysts, including the governor of East Timor, opposed the plan as an invitation for trouble.

Mr. Alatas "pushed the trip too hard in spite of advice from people who dreaded it," says one Indonesian analyst. "He's obsessed with the Timor question, and thought the visit would help end it."

Just one week before the delegation's scheduled arrival, the plan fell apart over Lisbon's invitation to an Australian journalist who Jakarta calls a "propagandist" for Fretilin. The situation already had intensified in East Timor in anticipation of the visit, analysts say. According to recent visitors, the number of security forces in the territory had been increased, and military forces were allegedly harassing Timorese they thought might demonstrate against Indonesia during the visit.

On Oct. 28, two days after the Portuguese said they were cancelling the trip, two Timorese were killed outside a church in Dili in an incident that the military said involved Fretilin elements. Tuesday's killings stemmed from ceremonies held to mark the death of one of the two. According to witnesses, soldiers at one stage fired into a procession of people heading for a cemetery. It isn't yet known why the troops didn't first use tear gas to try to disperse the crowd. An armed forces statement released Tuesday said casualties were "unavoidable" as soldiers were unable to disperse the crowd "through persuasive ways."

Diplomats and analysts say that while Tuesday's use of force may have been caused by panic, the government's overall approach to administering East Timor has been too dependent on shows of strength that intimidate residents. They say they are worried that even if calm is restored in Dili, the shootings will only strengthen anti-Jakarta sentiment.

"How will this heal?" asks an Indonesian analyst who requested anonymity. "It might take another generation. In the meantime, can authorities convince the people they should be part of Indonesia?"

'PERSUASIVE ATTITUDE'

For now, it appears that the military may react to the incident by stepping up its activity in East Timor. The regional military commander in Bali, Maj. Gen. Sintong

Panjaitan, was quoted in Wednesday's edition of Media Indonesia, a Jakarta newspaper, as saying the government had been trying for two years to improve East Timor's welfare through "Operation Smile." He said the provocations that led to Tuesday's shootings will make the military more inclined to act firmly "against those abusing our persuasive attitude." According to the paper, Gen. Panjaitan also said the mission against rebels will be upgraded from a "territorial operation" to a "combat operation."

Diplomats still receiving sketchy reports from Dili on Wednesday said a battalion commander was stabbed and wounded during Tuesday's incident. They also said one foreigner following the marchers, a New Zealander, was badly wounded; unconfirmed reports reaching Jakarta said he died in a Dili hospital. An Indonesian government statement Wednesday put the total death toll at 20, but diplomats and other sources said it was much higher.

COMORO RIVER KILLING GROUND (GOMULARZ)

Note on the Comoro River massacre (15th November) from P.L. Gomularz, Melbourne forwarded by peg:dbourc

Several socially, politically and ethnically disparate East Timorese sources in Melbourne have said that telephone calls with relatives in East Timor have been cut off as soon as the topic of the Comoro River massacre of 15th November is raised.

The importance of the Comoro River site: The mouth of the Comoro River, in the dry season, is some 400 yards wide and dry. It is the only flat, unoccupied area close to Dili where large earthmoving equipment could operate. The area immediately around the airport, which includes the mouth of the Comoro River, is off limits to civilians. When the rains come, usually around the third or fourth week of November, the river becomes a raging torrent that sweeps everything, including huge boulders and large trees out to sea. An intelligent choice for a burial ground.

PARC RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

Pacific Asia Resource Center (PARC), Eighth Assembly

November 17, 1991

We protest the acts of genocide Indonesian forces have carried out against the indigenous people of East Timor, and demand the immediate withdrawal of all Indonesian troops and a fair international settlement of the East Timor problem.

PARC supports the self-determination of the people of East Timor and continues to protest against the Indonesian army's military abuse of this right. In response to the massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian forces in the capital city of Dili, we protest

once more against the brutality of the army, and appeal to all of international society to make efforts to resolve this problem through self-determination for the people of East Timor.

The sparks for this most recent incident were ignited on October 28, when young members of the independence movement were shot at by Indonesian forces, an attack in which two people were killed. On November 12, indigenous people gathered in a cemetery to put flowers on the grave of Sebastian Gomez, one of the victims. When this funeral procession became an independence march, the Indonesian soldiers fired on the crowd of peaceful demonstrators, killing almost 100 people. Wounded people are still dying in hospitals, and it is believed that the death toll will rise further.

In response to this situation, PARC has passed the following resolutions:

- 1) We appeal for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.
- 2) We appeal to the government of Indonesia to carry out an immediate and full investigation into the most recent massacre and take responsibility for it in international society.
- 3) We appeal to the Japanese government to express its discontent to the Indonesian government, and furthermore to demand the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor and respect for self-determination for the people of East Timor.
- 4) We appeal to the Japanese government to cut off development assistance to the Indonesian government until there is a withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.
- 5) We appeal to the Secretary General of the United Nations to convene the Security Council and find ways to effectively implement the resolutions that have been passed by the General Assembly and Security Council calling for self-determination for East Timor.
- 6) We welcome the initiative on peace between Indonesia and East Timor proposed by Australia Prime Minister Bob Hawke, but we protest the fact it shows no change in Australia's past policy of recognizing Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. We appeal to the Australian government to recognize that its neglect of East Timorese self-determination has helped create the atmosphere which made the recent massacre possible.
- 7) We appeal to all governments to apply pressure on the government of Indonesia to respect United Nations resolutions.
- 8) We appeal to individual citizens all over the world to work, through all forums, to spread news of and find a just settlement to the East Timor problem.

PRESS STATEMENT BY THE YOGYAKARTA STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (IKATAN MAHASISWA YOGYAKARTA)

This is one of two student statements on the Santa Cruz massacre, published recently. They reveal that there is another voice in Indonesia on East Timor, though not one that can find an outlet in the Indonesian press. This is an unabridged, hastily-done translation of the original document.

On the Bloody Tragedy in East Timor on 12 November 1991:

The shedding yet again of the blood of the people of East Timorese, following the process of integration with Indonesia which began in 1975, is a matter of the utmost concern for all humankind. The total disregard for humanitarian principles is yet again evident from the loss of 196 innocent East Timorese lives, including Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealander, at the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, East Timor, on 12 November 1991.

The Ikatan Mahasiswa Yogyakarta, the communications network for all intra- and extra-university organisations in Yogyakarta, unanimously decided, at a restricted meeting on 15, 16 and 18 November 1991, to issue the following press statement on that bloody tragedy:

1. We express our profound grief that this tragedy occurred and express our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families of the victims. May those who died find a place at the side of the Almighty, and for their families, may they have the strength to cope with their terrible loss.
2. We call on the United Nations to take over this question and set up, without delay, an independent and objective fact-finding team to discover the true facts about how such a tragedy could have happened. The results of this fact-finding team should be widely disseminated to the public at large.
3. Those who are found to be guilty and who violated the law should be tried before an international tribunal, under the supervision of agencies of the United Nations.
4. We ask international agencies of the UN as well as the International Red Cross to provide comprehensive protection to those who were injured - some 147 people - who are now being treated in hospital and to those who sought refuge at the home of the Bishop in an attempt to evade the military authorities.
5. We urge the government to immediately release the 400 or so people who have been rounded up and are being held in military detention centres in connection with the incident, so as to avoid the loss of yet more innocent lives. According to information we have received, some 28 people have been murdered in these places.
6. We firmly reject the plan of the government to set up an Investigation Commission

chaired by a Supreme Court judge with members from the Interior Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, the Supreme Advisory Council, the Armed Forces headquarters and the Justice Ministry. This Commission is composed of government officials and will clearly uphold the army's actions. It is neither independent nor genuine nor fair. It is virtually certain that the armed forces were responsible for this tragedy, yet they are part of the Commission. Even though the government persists in proceeding with this investigation, we declare that this investigation cannot be trusted and we will not accept its findings.

7. For the sake of humanity, we protest at the actions of the government and the armed forces in dealing with social unrest in various parts of the country, always taking the security approach, not the social approach, always using force rather than reason. We have not forgotten the 400 Muslims killed in Tanjung Priok in 1984, the two hundred who were slaughtered in Way Japara, Lampung, the 20 or so killed in Bima, and most recently, the two thousand people slaughtered in Aceh, and the thousands more arrested and held without any legal process. And now, hundreds of families in East Timor - on top of the thousands in earlier years - have lost their loved ones. We believe that the armed forces should return to barracks and stop handling social problems, a practice that has had such bad consequences for developments in this country.

8. For the sake of humanity and the welfare of our fellow human beings, we call on the government to re-consider the spurious integration of East Timor which, far from persuading the East Timorese to support integration, causes more and more casualties with every passing day. We propose that a referendum should be conducted without delay under the supervision of the United Nations, to assess the wishes of the people of East Timor.

We hope the general public will pay attention to these eight points so that humanitarian principles shall be given priority and acts of violence shall be avoided in seeking solutions to every social problem.

Yogyakarta, 18 November 1991

Presidium of IKATAN MAHASISWA
YOGYAKARTA [IMY]

[signed]

Chair: Fx. Martanto Gosroh..... (?)

Secretary: Eduard N. Hutadjulu

MASSACRE TESTS AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONS WITH JAKARTA (IPS)

by *Kalinga Seneviratne*

SYDNEY, Nov. 20 (IPS) -- 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, Indonesia.

Since the news of the massacre reached Australia last week with an eyewitness report by an Australian aid worker, there has been a clamor from politicians from both sides of the house, aid workers and human rights organizations for Canberra to immediately cut military and other ties with Indonesia.

There have been insistent demands for Prime Minister Bob Hawke to cancel his planned visit to Jakarta in February.

These pressures to review Australian ties with Indonesia could not have come at a worse time for Australian business. Relations between Canberra and Jakarta have been improving significantly in the last two years, with Australian exports to Indonesia doubling during this period to one billion dollars.

At a strategy meeting with Australian defense contractors earlier this year, officials of the Department of Industry, Technology and Commerce singled out Indonesia as Australia's biggest potential partner and customer.

The officials said they saw considerable potential for joint ventures in the aerospace industry. It was reported in April that Australia and Indonesia might cooperate in the design and construction of military aircraft.

A report prepared in July for the federal government's Australia-Indonesia Institute argued that Indonesia is in the process of becoming a significant export-led regional economic power.

The report was critical of Australian business for having been slow to take advantage of business opportunities presented by Indonesia's economic success.

But 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.

Negotiations over the disputed Timor sea boundary resulted in the Timor Gap Treaty two years ago which gives both countries the right to exploit vast oil resources in the sea bed in the waters dividing the two nations.

Portugal has challenged this treaty in the International Court of Justice in The Hague on the grounds that the United Nations still recognizes Portugal as East Timor's legal administrator. Lisbon accused Australia at the World Court on Nov. 18 of undermining the rights of the East Timorese by striking the Timor gap deal with Indonesia.

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 treaty with no regard for the

desire for self-determination of the East Timorese.

When this question was put to Hawke by ABC-TV, the prime minister said: "if we're to accept that, then it would be very much against the interests of the East Timorese people themselves. We'll lose the ability to send aid to East Timor." Hawke went on to explain that Australia gives "quite substantial" aid to East Timor and has recently started a five-year program worth \$13 million which will include water supply, veterinary services and education.

Alfredo Ferreira, a spokesman for the East Timorese community in Darwin told IPS his people cannot accept Hawke's argument. "We reject it, what aid does is that it helps the Indonesian military in East Timor. We don't believe it helps the people," Ferreira said. He called upon the Australian government to withdraw recognition of the Indonesian 1976 annexation of East Timor and "cooperate fully" with the U.N. resolution to implement a referendum under U.N. supervision.

In a statement last week, however, Hawke called on Indonesia to initiate talks with Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) which Indonesia has been trying to subdue raising protests of mass killings and human rights violations. The prime minister's office has been at pains to point out that this is an important change in Australia's position. Australia has until then maintained that East Timor is an internal problem of Indonesia.

The popular feeling here is that Australia is unwilling to risk damaging the cordial relationship that Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has carefully built up with Indonesia after years of political differences.

Analysts say Australia's high moral ground on human rights issues overseas looks more than a little hypocritical when it comes to East Timor. Commented David Jenkins of the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper: "channeling aid to East Timor doesn't sound so philanthropic when you have just divided up oil leases that would in different circumstances have gone to East Timorese."

**COLONIZATION,
DECOLONIZATION, AND
'INTEGRATION': LANGUAGE
POLICY IN EAST TIMOR (N.
LUTZ)**

Forwarded for Nancy Lutz upon request. May be reposted freely online, but author requests a brief email saying where it has been reposted. For print publication, please contact author first for permission. Email addresses: nlutz (PeaceNet), nlutz@oregon (Bitnet), nlutz@oregon.uoregon.edu (Internet). Phone (office): 503-346-5102. Phone (home): 503-687-8098. Fax: 503-346-3660. Nancy is a member of Task Force Indonesia - East Timor Working Group I. She also participates in the TFI speakers program which works on an availability, expenses paid, modest honorarium basis.

Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, November 20, 1991, by Nancy Melissa Lutz, Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. 97405

This paper is an attempt to disentangle the complex strands of multilingualism in East Timor, both historically and contemporarily, in terms of the relations of Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum, and the indigenous local languages of East Timor.

In light of recent events in East Timor, especially the two recent massacres of Timorese civilians by the Indonesian military, it might seem almost trivial to talk about an issue like language policy. However, as I will try to show, language in East Timor is absolutely critical to understanding the contemporary situation in East Timor, both in terms of the repression felt by the indigenous Timorese, and in terms of the jumpiness, if not outright paranoia, felt by the Indonesian administration. Obviously, language alone cannot explain why Indonesian soldiers would mount a well-planned attack and open machine-gun fire on 3,000 civilians, including children, attending a memorial service at a cemetery in Dili, but language is part of the more subtle dynamics that engender such actions, and it is these more subtle dynamics which I would like to explore today.

First, some brief background on the history of East Timor: Portuguese outposts were established in East Timor in the mid-to-late 1500's, as part of the Portuguese attempt to gain control of the spice trade in Indonesia. The outposts in Timor were established primarily to facilitate Portuguese access to the sandalwood trade, while their major fort, port, and religious seminary were located on the island of Solor and at Larantuka on the island of Flores further west.

The Dutch rapidly followed the Portuguese into eastern Indonesia, and for the next 300 years, the area was contested back and forth between the Dutch and the Portuguese, with the real local power being held by a

Portuguese mestizo class called the 'Black Portuguese' or Topasses. This creole mestizo class was extremely important in both Larantuka and East Timor, and to this day plays an important role in the local communities of both areas.

Finally, after extensive wars and negotiations, in 1859, Larantuka and Solor were ceded to the Dutch, and the Portuguese moved their Indonesian headquarters to Dili in East Timor. Colonial control, such as it was, in East Timor was gradually extended throughout the 19th and 20th centuries -- coffee was introduced as a cash crop, for example, in 1815 -- and East Timor remained a Portuguese colony until 1975. (In fact, it has never been officially declared not a Portuguese colony, and its status comes up for discussion almost every year at the United Nations.)

In 1974, though, with the change of political regime in Lisbon, Portugal decided to decolonize. Its two major colonies, Angola and Mozambique, became independent, and the fate of East Timor was up for grabs.

Internally, within East Timor, there were three main political parties, representing three main directions of development:

- (1) Fretilin, whose goal was an independent East Timor;
- (2) UDT, who initially wanted continued association with Portugal, but who then changed to advocating independence; and
- (3) Apodeti, a largely Indonesian-created party, who advocated integration with Indonesia.

For various reasons too complex to go into here, civil war broke out in August 1975, Fretilin declared East Timor's independence on November 28, 1975, and on December 7, 1975, less than two weeks later, Indonesia took matters into her own hands and invaded, formally annexing East Timor and declaring, on July 17, 1976, that East Timor "had decided to 'integrate' with Indonesia", much as Kuwait was 'integrated' into Iraq. Since 1976, therefore, East Timor has de facto become the 27th province of Indonesia, although as I mentioned, its status has never been officially resolved.

While the fifteen years since 1976 have seen extensive military campaigns and an accelerated push for 'development', the 'integration' process has never been smooth. The period from 1975-1980, especially, was marked by massive military campaigns, forced relocations, and starvation. Estimates are that as much as one-third of East Timor's population of roughly 600,000 may have starved or been killed during that time. Even today, ten years later, there is continuing small-scale but effective guerilla resistance, and considerably more widespread popular resentment and "everyday forms of resistance", even in the face of increasing government repression and intimidation. And it is here, with the "weapons of the weak", in Scott's phrase (cf. Scott 1985) -- the "everyday forms of resistance" -- that we

return centrally and critically to language as an important issue.

Linguistically, East Timor is a complex multilingual mosaic. There are twelve mutually unintelligible indigenous languages, four Austronesian and eight non-Austronesian, which can be further subdivided into 35 dialects and sub-dialects.

The Austronesian language group consists of:

- (1) Tetum, which is spoken in Dili, Suai, Viqueque, and on the border with western Timor;
- (2) Galoli, spoken east of Dili, in Manatuto and Laclubar;
- (3) Mambai, spoken south of Dili and in Aileu, Ermera, Ainaro, and Same; and
- (4) Tokodede, spoken in Liquica.

The non-Austronesian category is composed of:

- (5) Bunak, spoken in Bobonaro and on the border with western Timor;
- (6) Kemak, spoken in the western regions;
- (7) Makassai, spoken in Baucau and east Viqueque;
- (8) Dagada, spoken in Lautem;
- (9) Idate, spoken in the central hinterlands;
- (10) Kairui, spoken in Laleia;
- (11) Nidiki, spoken in the south central lands; and
- (12) Baikenu, spoken in Ambenu (Provincial Government of East Timor 1986: 8).

The Indonesian government, incidentally, while formally acknowledging the existence -- and to some extent, as part of its official national language policy, the right to exist -- of these twelve Timorese languages, also likes to talk about them as 'dialects', which denigrates their status as autonomous languages and also suggests that they are somehow 'backward', 'aberrant' dialects of Indonesian.

In addition to -- or perhaps, superimposed over -- these twelve indigenous languages, Tetum acts as a kind of lingua franca among the Timorese population. It is interesting to note as well that while the Indonesian government in no way acknowledges the role of Tetum as an indigenous lingua franca, the Indonesian government radio station, Radio Republik Indonesia, does broadcast certain 'key' programs in Tetum at particular hours of the day (cf. Provincial Government of East Timor 1986: 81).

Prior to 1975, Portuguese was the official government language in East Timor, and as such, was primarily the language of Church and State. (And it should be noted that Church and State have had a very close association throughout Portuguese colonial history.) The ability to read and write Portuguese was a prerequisite for Portuguese citizenship, and Portugal's assimilado policy encouraged cultural and linguistic assimilation. Only a small percentage of Timorese were 'assimilados' or 'civilizados', however:

In 1950, out of a total resident population in East Timor of 442,378, the ethnic or 'racial'

(in Portuguese terms) breakdown of the population was as follows:

| | |
|---|---------|
| European..... | 568 |
| Mestico..... | 2,022 |
| Chinese..... | 3,128 |
| Other non-indigenous Goans, etc.) | 212 |
| Indigenous civilizado | 1,541 |
| Indigenous nao-civilizado | 434,907 |

(Weatherbee 1966: 684).

According to these figures, therefore, Portuguese-speaking civilizados and mesticos together represented less than one percent of the total population.

The importance of these two groups was far greater than their sheer numbers suggest, however, especially by 1975 when more of the indigenous Timorese elite would have had a Portuguese education. Despite their small numbers, this Portuguese-speaking elite emerged as the major actors in and spokesmen for a post-colonial East Timor, and they still play an important role as either leaders of the resistance (both within East Timor and outside) or as key intermediaries within the Indonesian administration.

It is especially interesting in this regard that, while Fretilin encouraged local-level literacy campaigns in Tetum, on a Paolo Freire model, in the brief period from 1974-1976, the nationalist leaders themselves were primarily Portuguese speakers, and they declared Portuguese as the official language of an independent East Timor, "at least for the time being" (cf. Jolliffe 1978).

Up through 1975, schooling was also in Portuguese. Most schools in East Timor were run by the Catholic Church, and Portuguese was the language of instruction. (In some of the stricter Catholic private schools, students were punished for speaking Tetum, Chinese, or other indigenous languages, even among themselves outside of the classroom.) Chinese was taught in schools outside of the official Catholic school system, but there was no formal instruction in Tetum or any indigenous Timorese language.

After 1975, Indonesia moved rapidly to abolish the use of Portuguese and to establish Indonesian in its place as the new 'national' language of East Timor. Interestingly, however, the way in which Indonesian is mandated reflects not a 'nationalist' concern, or even a focus on 'citizenship', as in the colonial Portuguese era, but a focus on control and on what Foucault would call 'governmentality' (cf. Burchell et. al, eds., 1991).

This is seen most explicitly in the Indonesian government linking of language and education. Since 1975, Indonesia has engaged in a flurry, if not frenzy, of school-building in East Timor, and they have widely publicized the fact that they built more schools in East Timor between 1975 and 1980 than Portugal had built in the one hundred years prior to 1975. School statistics have, in fact, jumped exponentially in East Timor: in 1976, there were 47 elementary schools, 2 junior high schools, and no senior high schools. By 1986, there were 498 elementary schools, 71 junior high schools, and 19 senior high schools. The

number of pupils, likewise, jumped from 13,501 in elementary school, 315 in junior high school, and none in senior high school in 1976 to 109,844 in elementary school, 17,351 in junior high school, and 2,948 in senior high school by 1986. And the number of teachers rose correspondingly: from 499 elementary school teachers, 10 junior high school teachers, and no senior high school teachers in 1976 to 2,978 elementary school teachers, 322 junior high school teachers, and 79 senior high school teachers in 1986 (Provincial Government of East Timor 1986).

Of even greater interest to me, as an analyst of Indonesian political rhetoric -- and linked again to Foucault's ideas on governmentality -- is how the Indonesian government itself characterizes its school-building efforts in East Timor. In its own words, school-building in East Timor is integrally linked to security:

"Since the beginning of the integration, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has emphasized the need for synchronized actions in the administration of government and development efforts on the one hand and the maintenance of law and order on the other" (Department of Information 1984: 33).

In words that could almost have come from Foucault himself, this publication continues:

"By way of illustration, it may be mentioned that the establishment of Public Health Service Centres, schools, and the construction of roads, etc. has contributed to the speedy restoration of law and order in the community. These activities have served as an effective deterrent against influence and propaganda carried out by a small group of anti-Indonesians" (ibid.).

Whenever language policy is mentioned with regard to East Timor, it is always linked to schools and to education policy, and this in turn is always linked to security. Language in East Timor is integrally tied to the maintenance of law and order.

This becomes even more critical in light of the fact that, according to the 1980 census, less than 30% of the population of East Timor spoke -- or understood -- Indonesian (Department of Information 1984: 39). Given that it is probably also the case that less than 30% of the Indonesian administration in East Timor (if we also include the military) speaks or understands either Tetum or Portuguese, this puts the communicative situation in East Timor at somewhat of an impasse.

The role of the Catholic Church here is also an important factor. While under the Portuguese, the Catholic Church was a major proponent of the Portuguese language and administration, it has not played the same role for the Indonesians.

The Catholic Church in East Timor ceased to be part of the Portuguese Church in 1975, as part of the process of decolonization, and is now administered direct from Rome. It has staunchly refused to become part of the Indonesian Church, despite the Indonesian

government's efforts at 'integrasi' (cf. Burdiardjo and Liong 1984).

Linguistically, the Church has also defied Indonesianization. As Budiardjo and Liong report:

"In 1981 the Indonesian administration tried to force the Church to accept linguistic 'integrasi' by stipulating that Portuguese should no longer be used during Mass and should be replaced by Indonesian. The clergy rejected this request and asked the Vatican for permission for Portuguese to be replaced by Tetum. The Vatican gave its approval in October 1981. This change in language has helped integrate the Church even more closely with the community" (1984: 121).

Despite the use of Tetum in Masses, however (and possibly the more recent use of Indonesian by Indonesian-speaking clergy), Portuguese remains the language of external communication for the Catholic Church, as it does for the anti-Indonesian resistance. Given how few Indonesian military or administrative personnel speak Portuguese, this is a major thorn in their flesh, making censorship of external communications, for example, quite difficult. It also creates an antagonism towards, and a suspicion of, Portuguese in East Timor that is quite different from the attitude towards Dutch, for example, as the ex-colonial language of Indonesia.

Initially, one might think that the role of Portuguese and Dutch as ex-colonial languages would be quite similar. In Indonesia, however, while Dutch was denigrated as the language of the colonialists, it was also the language -- or one of the languages -- of the Indonesian nationalist elite. While they rejected Dutch, therefore, and considered any one who continued to speak Dutch as a reactionary, or hopelessly out of date, they still understood Dutch. Because the Indonesian government in East Timor does not understand Portuguese, continued use of Portuguese is to them much more of a threat. Not only does it represent a challenge to Indonesian governmentality, it also represents a 'secret' language, opaque to the Indonesian administration. Portuguese, therefore, is much more highly suspected -- more analogous, perhaps, to the use of Dutch in Indonesia during the Japanese Occupation. From an East Timorese point of view, in fact, the analogy is quite fitting, as many people in East Timor feel they are under a military occupation. The Indonesian military, for their part, also act like agents of a military occupation. Despite ostensibly 'nationalist' rhetoric, 'development' in East Timor is not a 'nationalist' or a 'citizenship' type program of development. Rather, it is a program of 'development' through and for 'governmentality', and language policy is an integral part of that program.

Given such dynamics, therefore, perhaps it is not so hard to understand, after all, why the Indonesian military would feel compelled not just to surveil, but to actually open fire, on a Catholic memorial service in East Timor.

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PORTUGUESE BISHOPS LAMENT POPE'S SILENCE ON MASSACRE (IPS)

LISBON, Nov. 21 (IPS) -- Portuguese bishops have criticized the pope for his silence on last week's massacre of civilians by the Indonesian army in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

"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.

Monteiro's statements, disclosed here today, were made during the presentation yesterday of the 1992 pastoral plan for 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 despite the death of over 200,000 people since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

Indonesia invaded and annexed the former Portuguese colony in South-East Asia shortly after its independence in 1975.

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." 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.

DUTCH FREEZE AID TO INDONESIA OVER MASSACRE (IPS)

THE HAGUE, Nov. 21 (IPS) -- The Dutch government has frozen economic aid to Indonesia at the current level, in expectation of the results of an official inquest into a reported massacre by Indonesian forces in East Timor last week, Development Cooperation Minister Jan Pronk told Parliament today.

The Dutch will also inquire among member states of the United Nations about possibilities to send a special team to East Timor, to investigate the massacre, in which up to 185 people were killed.

The measure is a new example of the complicated relationship between Indonesia and its former colonial master, the Netherlands.

Indonesia gained its independence in 1949, after a bloody colonial war. Today, the Netherlands are Indonesia's largest Western donor.

Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek told Parliament today he preferred to wait for the results of the investigation ordered by the Indonesian authorities. But many representatives expressed doubts about the effectiveness of this official inquiry.

Some parties called for immediate sanctions against Indonesia and an independent investigation, but Van Den Broek would only promise to start his round of inquiry in the United Nations.

Pronk told the session he would freeze all money for new projects in Indonesia and would not enter into new commitments until the results of the Indonesian investigation are known.

The parliament reacted with irritation to Van Den Broek's slow reaction to the massacre on Nov. 12. Although the minister promised an official statement on East Timor a week ago, his letter to the parliament did not arrive until yesterday.

In his letter, the minister, who is known to favor so-called "silent diplomacy" in controversial issues, said the Dutch government would take no action until the Indonesian authorities provide more information on the dramatic incidents in East Timor.

On Nov. 12, Indonesian forces opened fire on a funeral crowd in the East Timorese capital of Dili, killing dozens of people. The Indonesian authorities admitted that 19 were killed, but independent sources and diplomats gave estimates of up to 185.

Indonesia occupied and annexed East Timor in 1975, when the colonial power, Portugal, withdrew.

Amnesty International criticized Indonesia this year for increasing abuse of human rights in East Timor. Hundreds of opponents of Indonesian rule have been arrested, while

members of the Fretilin liberation movement were randomly executed or disappeared.

CALL FOR DELEGATION TO DILI FROM ALICE SPRINGS

TO: CHURCH GROUPS, TRADE UNIONS, AID ORGANISATIONS, ABORIGINAL ORGANISATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, ETC.

FROM: ALICE SPRINGS RESIDENTS
OUTRAGED AT EVENTS IN EAST
TIMOR

Thu Nov 21

Dear Friends,

The undersigned residents of Alice Springs propose to your organisation and to other supporters of the East Timorese people that an independent non-Government group of observers travel to Dili as soon as possible.

The objectives would be:

1. To observe the activities of the Indonesian authorities investigating the massacre.
2. To provide independent non-Government information to the Australian people about the situation.
3. To monitor any continuing abuse of human rights.

We feel that it is possible to send from Darwin a small team of people representing Church groups, Trade Unions, Aboriginal organisations, Aid Organisations and Peace Groups - people whose credibility could not be questioned. One person from the Uniting Church in Alice Springs has already expressed willingness to be part of such a group.

The Regional Links groups of the Alice Springs Peace Group is prepared to raise some funds towards the cost of sending the group to Dili. It is likely that other funds could be raised in Alice Springs, Darwin, and elsewhere in Australia.

This proposal arises from our conviction that the record of the Australian Government with regards to East Timor means that we cannot depend on our Government to take all necessary efforts to end the bloodshed and ensure that those responsible are called to account. It is, therefore, up to the Australian people who support the just demands of the East Timorese people to act independently in pursuit of these aims.

If there is significant response to this letter within the next week we will liase with East Timor supporters in Darwin to make the necessary arrangements. In the meantime, please write or fax to us to indicate: 1. Your support for this proposal 2. Names of individuals or groups who are prepared to participate 3. What donation you can make to assist with the costs.

Correspondence can be addressed to:

East Timor Supporters, Alice Springs, 43 Giles St., Alice Springs. Fax: (089) 532988 Ph. (089) 528804.

In solidarity with the people of East Timor: Wenton Rubuntja; Helen Liddle; Ted Egan; Bob Boughton (ASPG Regional Links); John

Liddle (Central Australian Aboriginal Congress); Joan Gaskell (Catholics for Social Justice); Miguel Contreras (Chile Solidarity Committee); Kevin Buzzacott (Director, Yipirinya School); Stehen Williams (Anglican Church); Geoff Shaw (Tangentyere Council); Christine Dunstan (Director, Araluen Centre); Doug Turnbull (Uniting Church).

OCCUPATION AND MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR (PORTUGUESE SCIENTISTS APPEAL)

Creation of an International Scientific Chain of Protest by Prof. A. Barbedo de Magalhaes (Universidade do Porto), and Dr. H. Perdigo Goncalves (LNETI-Lisboa)

Lisboa, 22 November 1991

Dear Colleague:

East Timor is a non-self governed territory, in an island close to Australia. Although the other (western) part of the Island is Indonesian, the influence of the Catholic Church and of Portugal since 1515 has created a completely different culture in its people. While more than 80% of the Indonesians are Muslim, more than 80% of the Timorese are Catholic.

Until 1975 East Timor was a Portuguese colony. After the April 1974 democratic revolution in Portugal, the Portuguese authorities started the decolonization of the territory. In July 1975 a law had established the calendar for free elections in order to promote self-determination of the territory.

To impede the territory to be free and independent, the Indonesian government instigated instability and finally invaded the territory on 7 December 1975. In 1976 they declared the occupied territory integrated into Indonesia, against the resolutions of the United Nations Assembly and Security Council that have affirmed (22nd December 1975) and reaffirmed (22nd April 1976):

"the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence...", and that "calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the territory."

According to international law, Portugal is still the governing power until the process of self-determination is concluded.

Since the beginning of the occupation, more than two hundred thousand (200,000) in a whole population (in 1975) of about seven hundred thousand people (700,000), have been killed. Many others have been imprisoned, beaten and tortured, and many women have been rendered sterile by the occupying power.

On November the 12th, the Indonesian military perpetrated a new massacre killing about one hundred people, most of them students between 10 and 25 years old, and imprisoned and very severely tortured many others. About one hundred Timorese more have been killed after imprisonment. One New Zealander has also been killed, and three

journalists (two Americans and one British) have been severely beaten.

The international scientific community could play an important role in this matter, so we ask you to send a copy of this letter to ten other colleagues in your own or any other country around the world, with a view to creating an enormous chain, with the final objective of collecting signatures which will be sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of the U.S.A., the Prime Ministers of Japan, Australia and the Netherlands to "protest against the present situation of occupation and massacre in East Timor".

In order to defend the RIGHT to SELF-DETERMINATION and HUMAN RIGHTS of the Timorese people, we ask you, before you start working in your laboratory or university to "free up" five minutes and send this appeal to other colleagues (if possible, ten). Please answer this appeal as soon as possible. The 15th of February we will send your answer to the Secretary General of U.N.

We hope that voices of the Scientific Community can influence the future of the massacred people of East Timor.

Sincerely Yours
Barbedo de Magalhaes (University of Porto)
H.P. Goncalves (LNETI- Lisbon)

P.S. Please send the enclosed form to: H.P. Goncalves DER/LNETI Estrada do Paco do Lumiar 1699 Lisboa Codex - Portugal fax: 351-1-716 09 01 E-mail: helder@donald.lneti.rccn.pt

OCCUPATION AND MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR

Creation of an International Scientific Chain of Protest

"I protest against the present situation of occupation and massacre in EAST TIMOR".

Institution:
Position:
Address:
Country:
Signature:

TO SECRETARY BAKER FROM THE LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

22 November 1991.

Dear Secretary Baker:

The Lawyers Committee is writing to call for a stronger US response to the killing by Indonesian security forces of up to 160 persons in Dili, East Timor on November 12 1991. We are specifically urging the suspension of US military assistance and sales to Indonesia until the Indonesian Government

conducts a thorough and impartial investigation of the killings and takes steps to prosecute those responsible.

According to two American journalists at the scene, several thousand people took part in a peaceful memorial procession on behalf of Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, 23, a political activist who was killed by security forces on October 28, 1991. At the Santa Cruz cemetery, two columns of Indonesian armed forces personnel converged on the procession and opened fire with automatic weapons. According to the journalists, the shooting was systematic and unprovoked. Demonstrators were shot as they fled while numerous others were beaten and arrested. The Indonesian army has refused the International Committee of the Red Cross and domestic humanitarian organizations access to wounded persons who are in custody.

Statements by the Indonesian Government raise doubts that a serious and impartial investigation into the incident will take place. Regional military commander Major General Sintong Panjaitan told reporters that there would be no court martials and that the troops ultimately had no choice but to fire on the marchers. Army commander General Try Sutrisno was quoted in a Jakarta daily as saying that the mourners "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."

On November 17, the Indonesian Government announced that a special commission headed by a Supreme Court judge had been established to investigate the incident. According to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the judge is a retired army general. The remaining members of the commission are government officials and include the Minister of Defense. Such a composition makes an impartial inquiry extremely unlikely. The "Basic Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions," adopted by the UN Economic and Social Council in 1989, requires that members of a commission of inquiry "be chosen for their recognized impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular, they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry." The Indonesian government's commission does not meet these standards.

The Lawyers Committee supports the Senate Resolution of November 21, 1991 that condemns the massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian military. In particular we note the recommendation that the President should request that the Government of Indonesia permit an investigation by the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions into the situation in East Timor.

We urge that the United States suspend military assistance and sales to Indonesia,

including funds for International Military Education and Training, Foreign Military Sales and Economic Support Fund. Funds for these programs (\$17.3 million is requested for FY 1992) should remain suspended until the Indonesian Government conducts a thorough and impartial investigation of the killings in Dili and takes steps to prosecute those responsible. We further urge that the US take all appropriate measures to voice dissatisfaction with the Indonesian Government's response to the killings. The US should publicly call for the release of all persons in East Timor who are being held for peaceful expression of their political views. The US should also urge the Indonesian Government to permit non-governmental human rights and humanitarian organizations access to East Timor.

Michael Posner, Executive Director
[Correction: The Minister of Defence is not a member of the Commission.]

DEATH IN PARADISE (EDITORIAL, VANCOUVER SUN)

Editorial, *The Vancouver Sun*. 22 November 1991

"Vegetation includes forests of eucalyptus, bamboo, moss-hung casuarina, coconut palm groves and sandalwood: tall grass and low tree savannas; and at higher levels, grazing lands. Marsipuals, crocodiles cockatoos, pigeons, doves, deer, monkeys and snakes are typical animals."

If that, from the Encyclopedia Britannica, sounds like your idea of the paradise, it's because you weren't staring down the barrel of an M-16 at the massacre in East Timor this month. Like many parts of what we recognize to be Indonesia, East Timor has everything except good government. But saying so can cost you your life.

Timor hangs like the last pearl on the string of islands stretching east of Java toward Australia. The eastern half of the island strained under the colonial clutches of Portugal until 1975, when it achieved independence only to be invaded and annexed by Indonesia.

The bloodshed and oppression that has prevailed since would be an international scandal were it not occurring in a distant outpost of a resource-rich country. Aside from a censure in the United Nations, Indonesia's act of war has been blessed by global indifference.

In Canada, the external affairs department likens the situation to the former Soviet occupation of the Baltics, as if that excuses out trade with and aid to the aggressor. A UN-sponsored dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia was supposed to clear things up. That dialogue began in 1981 - and the massacre was the last word.

It is time to act. Can we suggest, again, that Prime Minister Mulroney tie further aid to human rights?

BRITISH BISHOPS: GIVE THE TIMORESE FREE CHOICE!

The Bishops' Conference of England and Wales issued the following statement at its Conference in London on 22 Nov. 1991:

"The Bishops' Conference of England and Wales expresses its sorrow and outrage at the death of the many mourners, killed by the Indonesian armed forces at the Holy Cross Cemetery, Dili, East Timor, on 11 (sic) November 1991.

"We extend our solidarity to our brother Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, and pray for him in his efforts to provide comfort and protection to his people in East Timor.

"We call on the international community and especially the United Nations, Portugal (the administering power) and Indonesia (the occupying power of East Timor), to seek urgently a just and lasting solution to the status of East Timor based on the free choice of the Timorese people."

EAST TIMOR AND SELECTIVE MORALITY ON A WORLD STAGE (UK CATHOLIC HERALD)

The Catholic Herald, the main UK Catholic weekly, carried the following editorial on 22 November 1991.

During the Gulf War the importance of upholding UN resolutions was heralded by politicians around the globe. However, it appears there are UN resolutions - and UN resolutions. Some carry more weight than others, depending largely on their geo-political and economic context.

Every year since 1975 the UN has condemned the Indonesian invasion and annexation of the Portuguese colony of East Timor. The Catholic peoples of East Timor have the right to self-determination, the UN says, and should not be forced at the end of a gun into joining Moslem Indonesia.

So much for the words. The past 15 years have seen the Indonesians committing genocide in East Timor while the world turns a blind eye. Saddam Hussein's crimes in Kuwait pale in comparison to the orgy of murder visited on East Timor. Yet, save for Pope John Paul II, not a single leader has been to East Timor to show solidarity. Only the Catholic church and its brave bishops, priests and sisters in East Timor have spoken out about what is happening to their people.

The same members of the Security Council who denounced Iraq in such ringing terms have been supplying Indonesia with the arms to kill the Timorese.

Political expediency - upholding the pro-western Suharto regime in Indonesia as a bulwark to the expansion of communism - no longer provides even a fig leaf to cover the disgrace of the attitude of Britain, France and United States to a quarter of the Timorese being massacred. So why will the new world

order not do something about the continuing repression there - of which the massacre in the cemetery last week was just the latest expression? Because East Timor is not in the Gulf? Again no longer any real excuse because substantial oil deposits have been found off its coasts. Because there is no chance of the East Timorese being viable as an independent nation? Well the oil reserves and the continuing resistance to the Indonesian invasion suggest both a future prosperity and a national sentiment.

The real reason is that the statesmen and women believe there are no brownie points to be won either on the world stage or with voters by standing up for an obscure remnant of a colonial past in the far east. Indonesia is big and potentially powerful and that seems to equate with legitimacy in today's international relations.

The pity of the matter is that the brave East Timorese still believe that we will come to their rescue. 16 years of tyranny have not yet taught them that the West is a fair weather friend.

To the Catholic Church's credit it has proved more loyal, but lacks the international muscle to force the politicians to act, to match their fine words about the UN with action. Perhaps what is needed is for an acknowledged world figure who has no pretensions to court popularity to join with the Pope in demanding action. Now there's a job for our erstwhile leader.

HARD TO BE A CHRISTIAN IN EAST TIMOR (CATHOLIC HERALD)

Clare Dixon, who visited East Timor after the killing of Sebastiao Gomes at Motael church but left before the Santa Cruz massacre, described her impressions in The Catholic Herald [21.XI.1991]. Here are some extracts from her article.

"When I arrived in East Timor, the atmosphere was highly-charged. It is impossible for a European to blend into the crowd in East Timor - foreigners are rare and even now there are many children who have never seen white skin before. Everywhere I went I was aware of being watched or followed. After my first night at a small family-run boarding-house on the outskirts of Dili, I decided it was better to leave for a 'safer' hotel in the centre of town. Apparently police and agents of the 'INTEL' - Timorese in the pay of the Indonesian army - had kept overnight watch and sent spies in to the hostel to find out who I was. On my second day, the local commander turned up to find out where I was from and what I was doing there. I felt my hosts would be safer if I left.

"Numerous visits to military dictatorships in Latin America had made me think that I was used to living in situations of tension. East Timor brought a new dimension altogether. No-one knows just how heavy the military presence is in East Timor but Bishop Belo estimates it between 45 and 50,000 troops. In

addition, the Bishop says that 'half the population is paid to spy on the other half'.

"If we take his figures, then there are proportionately ten times as many troops in East Timor as in El Salvador. In El Salvador there is a civil war whilst in Indonesia, the Indonesians claim that in the last two years, they have reduced the armed resistance from 200 to just 50 men and that the Timorese are perfectly happy to be part of Indonesia."

"Wherever I travelled I was subject to questioning by the military and the police - just a sampler of what people in Timor experience every day. On a visit to a provincial town, I received a message from the community of sisters with whom I was to spend the night. They begged me not to go to their convent or try to make contact with them as they were too frightened of reprisals from the military if they were seen talking to a foreigner. The priests told me that they had received warnings that 'their graves were ready' if they tried to make contact with the Portuguese delegation.

"On the same day I watched as four frightened 15-year-olds were hauled from their church-run school for interrogation by the police. Their crime? They had refused to sing the Indonesian national anthem at the school's weekly flag-raising ceremony and so their Indonesian teachers, after physically assaulting them, called in the police.

"It is so hard to be a Christian here,' said one Timorese priest. 'We know that we have to love our enemies, but how do we reconcile that with the hatred and bitterness we have endured over these years?'"

"Bishop Belo knows the church lives with danger. As we sat on the verandah of his house, he pointed out the intelligence agents posted constantly at the entrance to his garden. Although by nature and experience he is a cautious man, there was no hesitation in his response to my question as to what he considered the most important sign of support that the church outside East Timor could make. 'You must work to get the troops withdrawn.' Not an easy proposition in the face of indifference on a massive scale from the international community."

BETWEEN MOTAEL AND SANTA CRUZ (TEMPO)

Source: *Tempo*. 23 Nov 91. Original Language: Indonesian. Forwarded by anonymous translator. Original Indonesian text not yet available.

October 28:

02.00 Clash occurs in front of Motael Church. 2 people dead: Afonso from youth who are pro-integration with Indonesia, and Sebastiao Gomes, who is anti-integration.

06.00 Youth come to Motael Church. They are ready to protest after they heard the rumor that the church and the statue of Mother Mary were destroyed by the security officers/police. In fact, it was only a rumor, and they leave.

09.00 Governor Carrascalao, in Youth Oath (Sumpah Pemuda) celebration, urges the youth to go back to their normal life after the delegation from Portugal cancelled their trip.

October 30:

16.00 Thousands of people move from the Villa Verde housing complex to Motael Church to take Sebastiao Gomes' body.

November 12:

06.00 More than 1000 people joined in worship at Motael church. There are so many people who came that the church yard/garden is full of people.

07.15 Worship is over. People start to move to the downtown/ center of city. They throw stones at the stores and other buildings. Someone is heard yelling, "Viva Fretilin", and "Viva Xanana." At an intersection, Major Andi Gerhan Lantara's left chest is stabbed. People run to the Santa Cruz cemetery, security officers try to get close. Half of them are sent to the cemetery.

07.40 People get to the cemetery entrance. There are about 500 people inside. Situation gets hot. When the people try to force their way in, clashes can not be avoided.

07.50 The last gun shot is heard. At Turismo Hotel, UN Human Rights Commission representative is ready to get on bus to see Brig. Gen Warouw, Commander, Operational Execution Command for East Timor, Udayana Military Area Command IX (Panglima Komando Pelaksana Operasi Tim-Tim Kodam IX Udayana).

November 14:

11.00 Military Area Commander IX/Udayana Udayana Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan gives explanation at chief Dili police station. He admits that he and Warouw are being blamed because of the tragedy. "I am sad about the tragedy," Sintong said. Warouw also added that the anti-integration group is supported by organizations in Dili and abroad.

14.00 Politics and Security Coordination Minister Sudomo gives official explanation after the (Polkam) meeting [ministers and other state bodies falling nominally under his authority].

November 17:

(afternoon) State Secretary Moerdiono announces the forming of an investigation team for East Timor.

STATEMENT OF ATTITUDE BY UNIVERSITY STUDENT SENATES THROUGHOUT JAVA

On the bloody incident in Dili, East Timor, 12 November 1991; Issued Nov. 23.

STUDENTS CALL FOR INDONESIA'S COMMISSION OF INQUIRY TO BE DISSOLVED AND FOR AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN EAST TIMOR

Students, as an important element in Indonesian public life who occupy a strategic position, should respond to developments in the political, social and cultural life of the nation. As future leaders of the nation, Indonesian students are very conscious of the need to take a position quickly towards various problems of society, and without hesitation to spearhead the struggle against all forms of injustice and falsehood.

Dedicated to this mission, Indonesian students who are members of the Communications Forum of Student Senates throughout Java used the occasion of their National Meeting on 20 and 21 November 1991 at Parahyangan University, Bandung to discuss the Bloody Incident in Dili, East Timor, on 12 November 1991.

At this meeting, we formulated our opinion and agreed on the following demands directed specifically to the Indonesian Government:

1. We condemn the bloody incident in Dili on 12 November 1991, the spilling of the blood of hundreds of 'expendable' human lives (just like the incidents in Tanjung Priok and Way Jepara, Lampung) which, in our opinion, could easily have been avoided. Persuasion or at the very most, tear-gas, fire-hoses or sticks should have been used to handle a mass demonstration. For any nation or people with a sense of dignity, the 'thirst to kill' fellow human beings should be avoided.
2. We call on the Indonesian government - in the name of humanitarianism and to preserve the good name of the nation and state in the eyes of the world community, and to avoid being branded as an uncivilised nation with no respect for basic human rights - to allow an international (UN) team to conduct an investigation so as to ensure that an objective and independent investigation is conducted, and to dissolve the National Commission of Investigation (KPN), whose independence is untrustworthy as it is composed of people from government circles. We also strongly insist that the Polkam [Politics and Security Department] investigation team headed by Major-General Sudewo, deputy chief of BAIS [the army's strategic intelligence agency] should be disbanded; the armed forces [ABRI] should themselves be the object of investigation because they

are the ones who were involved in the bloody onslaught of 12 November 1991.

Point 3 attacks members of the state-sponsored youth organisation, KNPI who have been demonstrating outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta and accuses them of smuggling and of the murder of a student at a hostel in Banda Aceh some years ago.

4. We demand the release of our seventy co-students from East Timor who held a demonstration at the UN office, the Japanese embassy and the Australian embassy on 19 November 1991, as well as ten Bandung students who are now in custody in the police detention centre [Polwiltabas] in Bandung. These arrests show more clearly than ever that the government has ended all freedom of expression and freedom of opinion in this country. Meanwhile, demonstrations 'orchestrated' by the government have been held by the KNPI, Pancasila Youth, Democratic Youth and the Cipayung Group without let or hindrance; nor is it a secret that those taking part received 'due recompense' for their trouble.
5. We demand an end to the arrest and torture of relatives of the East Timorese students who are being held at Polda Metro Jaya, Jakarta. The families in East Timor of these students are innocent and are not involved in anything and should not be subjected to such undue harassment.
6. We demand that the government make public information about the death of an East Timorese student while in police custody at Polda Metro Jaya, after having been tortured beyond all endurance by the police, the Jakarta military command and BAIS.
7. We call upon the world community which until now has channelled aid to the Indonesian government, to exert pressure on the Indonesian government, by imposing an arms embargo and possible economic sanctions, until the Indonesian government and the armed forces begin to respect the human rights of people in Indonesia and stop extinguishing human life as a way to crush protest and discontent among the people. The attention being shown by world opinion towards events in East Timor reveals grave concern at the methods used by the Indonesian government, and is proof of worldwide solidarity for the universal respect for human rights. It is petty narrow-mindedness to regard such a response as a hostile act or outside intervention in the internal affairs of the Indonesian nation and state. It is essential to distinguish clearly between 'the government' on the one hand, and 'the nation' and 'the state', on the other.
8. We call on the Indonesian government to withdraw all elements of the armed forces from East Timor without delay and give the people of East Timor absolute freedom to 'exercise their right to self-determination', in

order to put a halt to any more spilling of blood.

9. We are resolute in our determination to carry out actions in opposition to armed violence against the people of East Timor until these demands have been met.
Bandung, 23 November 1991.
- Signed by:
1. Agung Narawato*, Coordination Body of the Student Senate, University of Indonesia, Jakarta.
 2. Abdurrahman Gapar*, Faculty of Industrial Technology of the Bandung Institute of Technology.
 3. Hariyanto*, Student Communications Forum of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.
 4. Rachmat*, Student Senate, Diponegoro University, Semarang.
 5. Parlindungan Hutapea, Student Senate Communications Forum, Pancasila University, Jakarta.
 6. Zaharia al*, Student Senate Coordinating Body, Ibn Khaldun University, Bogor.
 7. Rab...* Lestari, Students Coordinating Body, 11 March University, Solo.
 8. Andika Jus.....*, Student Senate Coordinating Body, Pajajaran University, Bandung.
 9. Djarot Sungkono, Student Senate Coordinating Body, Indonesian Institute of Technology, Jakarta.
 10. Sulistyio*, Communications Forum of Student Senates, IKIP (Teacher Training College), Jakarta.
 - 11.F. Jimmy Constantio, Student Senates of 10th November Institute of Technology, Surabaya.
- * Some names are illegible because they are covered by the rubber-stamp of the organisation in question.

Remark: Even if this statement does not represent the views of the majority of Indonesian students on university campuses, it indicates nonetheless a powerful new student movement may again be emerging. This is one of the great nightmares of the regime, all the more so as this statement is explicitly anti-military. Elements in the armed forces will take keen notice of this, and they will not be united in their private or public responses. --John MacDougall

GOVERNOR PUTS THE BLAME ON MILITARY (STRAITS TIMES)

The Malaysia Straits Times Overseas Weekly Edition November 23, 1991. English

By Paul Jacob, Jakarta Correspondent for the Straits Times

East Timor's outspoken Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao has blamed the military for firing on crowds in Dili last week.

He said that most of those who gathered at the cemetery where the incident took place were innocent people mourning a youth who had died in clashes last week.

His criticism was all the more severe as it was the first to be made by a government official about the military's handling of the incident in which, officials said, 19 people were killed and 91 injured.

"We are all in mourning because they are innocent people who died," Reuters quoted him as saying.

Mr. Carrascalao criticised the military's recruitment of "rightists" in its security forces in East Timor. He said such people used weapons to settle old scores.

The local commander had failed to assess properly the danger of the situation on Tuesday and the troops should have controlled the crowds before they reached the cemetery, he said.

Newspapers here quoted the regional military commander, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, as admitting that troops fired after misunderstanding an officer's order not to shoot, even though shots and a grenade, which did not explode, had come from the crowd.

A military investigation team led by Major-General Arie Soedewo, deputy head of the Military Strategic Intelligence body, is already in Dili.

Meanwhile, the press, politicians and observers here called on the government to initiate an independent and objective inquiry into the tragic events.

There was general agreement that the incident was a blot on Indonesia's image.

Those wanting the probe said that an unbiased inquiry and follow-up action by the authorities would help to restore the country's credibility and standing.

The ruling Golkar party intended to send a fact-finding team to get a better grasp of the problems faced by the population in the province, said Mr. Clementino Dos Reis Amaral, the MP who suggested the idea.

Mr. Clementino, who is from East Timor, said that the mission's findings would help the government come up with appropriate plans and policies to overcome the difficulties there.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said in Seoul that the problems among youths in East Timor were of an economic rather than political nature, with unemployment being a major issue.

A senior Golkar politician who chairs the parliamentary committee on defense and foreign affairs, Mr. Imron Rosvadi, said that if youths had been better informed about the economic and other improvements in the province, they might not have been so easily swayed by the misleading propaganda of separatist groups.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The Fretilin separatist movement operating in the province has been blamed for inciting last week's clash.

On November 14, Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno met United

Nations human rights officials who were in Dili at the time of the incident.

Team leader Pieter Kooijmans, who did not witness the events but later received accounts of it, sought and received Gen. Try's assurances that those detained so far in connection with the incident would be treated humanely.

Among those who called for a government inquiry into the incident was Golkar MP Marzuki Darusman. He said that the investigation should involve non-governmental groups as well to ensure its objectivity.

The importance of the composition of the investigating body was emphasized by two English-language papers, *The Jakarta Post* and the *Indonesian Observer* last week.

The *Post* suggested the inclusion of a representative from the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has offices in Jakarta and Dili.

The *Observer* said that those appointed should have "the necessary expertise and full independence. Having it any other way would not only mean a waste of time and money, but would also be damaging to this government's image."

THE CLOUDS DARKEN OVER EAST TIMOR (AGE EDITORIAL)

23 November 1991

Details of the East Timor shootings could not, it would have been thought, become more horrendous. Further independent accounts by foreign witnesses indicate a considerably higher death toll, in more brutal circumstances, than Indonesian authorities admit to. In particular, Jakarta's efforts to contain damage have been shattered by the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno.

General Try has undermined the credibility of official expressions of regret and the claims that there was provocation on the part of East Timorese marchers. On the day he promised a full investigation, the commander told another audience that the armed forces were 'determined to wipe out whoever disturbs stability'. More moderate Indonesian diplomats and officials may well have shuddered, but foreign observers are entitled to ask whether such hard-line words reflect official thinking. General Try's audience were graduates of the National Security Institute in a country where the armed forces, ABRI, play a very active role in national life.

Nor were Indonesia's long term interests served by officials' initial claims, after a round-up of protesters in Jakarta, that no one had been arrested. Detentions were admitted only after it was realised that, again, there were witnesses. Such denials are worrying to all looking for a full inquiry on Timor. There is no reason to doubt the personal propriety of the seven-member investigation team, but given the past military links of the presiding judge and several of his group, the Suharto Government would have been better advised

to appoint a more demonstrably independent body, and to accept foreign observers.

It is obvious, as the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has made clear, that his proposed trip to Indonesia cannot proceed unless the inquiry is credible and suitable punishment is meted out to those found responsible. Anti-Australian demonstrations in Jakarta unfortunately show that international protests are striking the wrong chords. Australia may be the closest neighbour with a strong human rights tradition; our Timorese community may be in the vanguard of protest. Reaction by larger powers - witness the anger of the European Parliament or the United States Senate foreign relations committee - threatens to hurt Jakarta far more. This is not a regional squabble. The Indonesian military is flouting world opinion.

UNITED STAND NEEDED ON TIMOR HORROR (AUSTRALIAN EDITORIAL)

The Weekend Australian (Editorial) 23-24 November 1991

The firm line of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, in his reaction to the massacre in East Timor is required both by Australian public opinion and by our national interests. It is also necessary in terms of the evolution of Australian-Indonesian relations on a realistic basis. 'Repugnant' is not a word of diplomacy - but in this case Mr Hawke cannot be faulted in its use to describe the reported remarks of the Indonesian military chief, General Try Sutrisno. In calling those killed in the Dili massacre 'delinquents' and 'agitators' who 'have to be shot', General Sutrisno has given the strongest indication yet that Indonesia has not fully realised the international reaction to the mass killings on the troubled island.

There is now serious doubt as to whether Mr Hawke will pursue the signing of a joint declaration of principles during his planned visit to Indonesia next year. The Department of Foreign Affairs has been keen for this agreement between our countries to be signed but the Prime Minister is coming under increasing pressure from the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet to avoid the issue should his visit go ahead. Public opinion along with ALP [Australian Labor Party] sentiment makes it virtually impossible for Mr Hawke to endorse such an agreement. Nor should Australia until Indonesia begins to reform its outlook towards East Timor.

The fact is that the immediate course of bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia must depend on the outcome of the Indonesian Government's investigation into the events in Dili - both the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery and the later reported machine-gunning of 80 witnesses to those killings.

The flavour of the commission of inquiry announced by the President, General Suharto, has caused some foreign observers to speculate that the Indonesians may attempt to

whitewash the incidents. However, General Suharto and his colleagues must be aware of the strong international interest in the inquiry, including from the United States. The Indonesian Government must ensure the investigation is fair and complete and that justice is done and seen to be done. This is a daunting challenge given Indonesia's internal power structure and the outlook of its military.

Indonesia needs to demonstrate to the international community that it has the maturity, judgement and internal strength to investigate and punish those responsible for the events in East Timor. This is no longer an isolated matter on a remote island. The events have assumed a powerful symbolism. The issues involve Indonesia's policy in East Timor and, in a wider sense, Indonesia's ability to evolve towards more representative governing institutions.

Mr Hawke has acted correctly in not abandoning his planned visit to Indonesia next year. But it is obvious that whether that visit occurs depends upon the manner in which Indonesia responds to the East Timor situation. Meanwhile, within Australia the signs grow that church, political and community leaders are responding to the plight of the people of East Timor in a way that will inevitably affect the future bilateral relationship. By putting the joint declaration of principle of the backburner, Canberra is merely recognising how seriously the Australian public has reacted to the events in Dili. The way in which Jakarta handles and reacts to the report of its commission of inquiry will be closely watched by Australia. Mr Hawke should have total support from all sides of politics in continuing to demand that Indonesia recognise the enormity of the events in East Timor and that the Indonesian Government answer to the international community.

INQUIRY SET TO ANGER INDONS

THE AGE 23 November 91. By Mark Metherell (Canberra) and Thomas Taylor

An Australian parliamentary committee will hold a public hearing into the East Timor shootings in a move expected to place new pressure on Canberra's relations with Jakarta.

The human rights subcommittee of the joint parliamentary committee on foreign affairs, defence and trade plans to hear evidence in the next two weeks from at least one witness to the tragedy and from Amnesty International and will collect written evidence from overseas witnesses.

[3 paras about the (AWU) union ban on Indon ships]

The AWU ban coincided with a call yesterday by the secretary of the Victorian Trades Hall Council, Mr John Halfpenny, for the ACTU [Australian Confederation of Trade Unions] to begin national union action against Indonesia. The ACTU's international

committee meets on Friday to discuss the shootings.

Non-Indonesian Government sources have estimated that between 50 and 100 unarmed demonstrators died after Indonesian security forces opened fire of them on 12 November.

As pressure for wider union action grew, there were reports that 70 East Timorese students who demonstrated in Jakarta this week for self determination for their homeland were in police custody. The allegation was made by an Indonesian legal aid group.

And in Darwin last night Mr Alfredo Ferreira, the Australian representative of Fretilin, the East Timorese liberation group, said 10 East Timorese were killed by the military in Dili in the past 24 hours.

The federal parliamentary hearing comes amid mounting protest in Australia over the killings and the hard line response of senior Indonesian military officials to the bloodshed.

A diplomatic source said yesterday that 'Indonesia won't be happy' about the parliamentary hearing. It would be seen in Jakarta as 'interference' and as 'counterproductive', given that the Indonesian Government had announced a commission of investigation into the killings.

The Indonesian embassy in Canberra had no comment yesterday on the announcement of the parliamentary committee inquiry.

The chairman of the joint parliamentary committee on foreign affairs, defence and trade, Senator Schacht, who is also chairing the human rights subcommittee holding the inquiry, said he had informed the Government of the committee's intentions. Nobody in the Government had said not to do it, Senator Schacht said.

The subcommittee said in a statement that it intended to hold the public hearing in the next two weeks to enable first hand evidence to be put on the public record.

Senator Schacht, a senior ALP backbencher, said that the hearing was of 'particular importance because the massacre in Timor raised questions of serious human rights breaches beyond the particular incident'.

THE EXECUTIONERS' CHARTER (GUARDIAN)

The following appeared in the (London) Guardian's 'Comment and Analysis' page on 25 November 1991. It was written by Mark Curtis, a research fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The killing of some 100 demonstrators by Indonesian security forces in East Timor this month highlights not only the horrific nature of one of the world's most repressive regimes, but also Western double standards: there is a long history of connivance, especially on the part of the United States and Britain, with human rights abuses in Indonesia.

For several decades various groups have been reporting the extent of Indonesia's violation of human rights. Up to 200,000 people have been killed in East Timor since Jakarta's

invasion in 1975. Torture, illegal executions, detention without trial, and forced migration have been commonplace, not only in Indonesia proper but also in its "27th province." Throughout this time, however, Indonesia has escaped ostracism by the West.

A special relationship between Washington and Jakarta was forged in 1965, at the beginning of the Suharto regime, when Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) members and many others were liquidated by the country's new rulers. About 500,000 died in an orgy of terror which, internal US documents reveal, was supported by the US. Thus the US embassy not only knew about the army's actions, but the US ambassador even cabled that the US had "made it clear that Embassy and USG generally sympathetic with and admiring of what army doing."

Professor Gabriel Kolko, a leading cold war historian has written that "no single American action in the period after 1945 was as bloodthirsty ... for [the US] tried to initiate the massacre, and it did everything in its power to encourage Suharto, including equipping his killers, to see that the physical liquidation of the PKI was carried through ..."

The invasion of East Timor took place after President Ford and Henry Kissinger had completed a visit to Jakarta. It is now thought that the invasion was delayed to avoid embarrassing the visitors, but it is almost inconceivable that the US did not give approval for it. A few months previously, the US ambassador had noted that if Indonesia were to intervene, it should do so "effectively." And a month after the invasion, a State Department official observed that the US was "more or less condoning the incursion into East Timor."

The "27th province" has therefore joined the ranks of the Western Sahara and Lebanon - in marked contrast to Afghanistan and Kuwait - as a victim of two of the world's invasions condoned by its leading power.

Britain, meanwhile, has become one of Indonesia's main arms suppliers (mainly surveillance radar and surface-to-air missiles). In 1983-85, just before the order for the missiles, about 3,500 to 4,500 "criminals" were murdered by death squads widely assumed to have links with the Indonesian security forces. When the radars were ordered in 1989, Amnesty International noted that "reports of unfair trials, torture in police and military custody, police killings and 'disappearances [in East Timor] emerge."

A European Parliament report in 1987 had called on EC member states to encourage greater respect for human rights, and to "take political action to encourage" Indonesia's withdrawal from East Timor. Little evidence of this was forthcoming from Britain or the US; Indonesia remained a key ally.

It has been the acquiescence of the international community's main players which has permitted Indonesia to pursue its violent course. On November 17 the leader of the East Timor resistance movement, Fretilin, issued several appeals.

The first was to the US, "since its official stand is that there has been no true assertion of self-determination in East Timor." The second was to Australia, imploring it to renounce its Timor Gap treaty with Indonesia, whereby it exploits oil deposits in the sea off East Timor. The third urged the UN secretary-general to help to end the "climate of terror."

This is another test of the new world order. In the Zairean and Haitian crises, the main powers in the international coalition against Iraq have done comparatively little. There are similarities between Mobutu in Zaire and Suharto in Indonesia. Both were seen as being on the right side in the cold war, presiding over regimes deemed, largely for economic reasons, to be of strategic importance. Zaire is a supplier of cobalt and copper, Indonesia of an array of resources crucial for Western economies.

Washington will be as reluctant to upset Suharto as it has been to upset Mobutu. For Washington, as for London, important interests are at stake; they transcend the cold war, though they are less dependable as a means of mobilising public support. One can expect, therefore, that any international outcry over East Timor will be quickly muted.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST NOV. 25

This is a digest of some of the material on East Timor received at Task Force Indonesia's office November 25 from its network of sources.

PORTUGAL (Sweden criticizes Jakarta)

"We hope that the European Commission will present its... report on the Swedish application during the Portuguese presidency," Sweden's foreign minister Margaretha Af Ugglas said after talks with her Portuguese opposite number, Joao de Deus Pinheiro.

Portugal takes over the rotating EC presidency for six months on January 1 and the Swedish and Austrian requests to join the Community will be a major item on its agenda.

She also expressed Sweden's condemnation of the November 12 massacre of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops in Portugal's former colony of East Timor.

"The Nordic governments made a protest to the government in Jakarta on Friday and we have also within our capitals...made bilateral protests to the ambassador of Indonesia," she said. (Source: Reuter)

PORTUGAL (dockers boycott Indonesian cargo)

Portugal's dockers said they would boycott all cargo going to or from Indonesia to protest a massacre of pro-independence demonstrators by Indonesian troops in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The National Federation of Port Workers' Unions said in a statement that it would try to persuade port workers in other countries to impose a similar boycott.

Portugal broke off diplomatic relations with Indonesia after it invaded East Timor in 1975.

Trade between the two countries is minimal. (Source: Reuter)

VENEZUELA (Suharto-Perez meeting)

Indonesian President Suharto and Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez Monday discussed the situation in East Timor, the scene of a recent massacre by Indonesian troops, a spokesman for Perez said.

The spokesman, Andres Eloy Blanco, declined to provide details of the discussion.

Suharto has not met with reporters since his arrival Sunday for a three-day state visit.

Later Monday, Suharto was scheduled to confer with Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Egyptian deputy prime minister selected last week to be the new U.N. secretary general. Boutros-Ghali is here representing his country at a Group of 15 (G-15) meeting scheduled for Wednesday through Friday.

Diplomats said Boutros-Ghali might also bring up East Timor, although he himself said he would "just deliver a message from my government to President Suharto." The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's claims over East Timor. (Source: AFP)

AUSTRALIA (A.I. urges investigation)

Amnesty International stepped up pressure for an international investigation into the recent East Timor massacre Monday, releasing a list of 59 people it said were dead or missing after the bloodbath.

One was father-of-seven Jose Quintao Sarmiento, 40, who has not been seen since his arrest after the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Eduardo de Silva, a 22-year-old student and soccer player who visited Australia with the East Timor team a few months ago, was listed among the dead.

Amnesty official Andre Frankovits said the list "puts paid to the credibility of the Indonesian version of the events."

He urged the Australian government to call for an immediate international investigation into the massacre and its aftermath, saying urgent talks with Prime Minister Bob Hawke were sought.

He also expressed concern that Indonesian military personnel who had served in East Timor had been trained in Australia, with "more than a score" of Indonesian soldiers here now.

As pressure mounts on Canberra to take tougher action, government sources indicated that one senior minister, Industry Minister John Button, was likely to cancel a proposed visit to Indonesia next month as a protest. (Source: AFP)

AUSTRALIA (Unions boycott Indonesia)

Militant trade unions will meet in Melbourne this week to plan a campaign of bans and boycotts against Indonesia in protest.

Garuda Airlines, Indonesian shipping, and the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne will be targeted.

The unions will also urge the government and the Australian Council of Trade Unions - so far silent on the massacre - to lead national protest action.

Meanwhile one of the country's leading jurists, New South Wales Court of Appeal president Michael Kirby, said Australia should speak out for the rights of the East Timorese people. (Source: AFP)

U.S. (Congressional human rights caucus hearing)

9:30 am Nov 26

SUBJECT: Indonesian military massacre of civilians in East Timor

LOCATION: 2247 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington DC

PARTICIPANTS: -- Allan Nairn, New Yorker reporter

-- Amy Goodman, Pacifica Radio reporter
-- Paul Moore, former Episcopal bishop and Mrs. Brenda Hughes Moore

CONTACT: 202-226-4040 (Source: FNS)

INDONESIA (will check A.I. victim list)

Indonesia will check an Amnesty International report listing 80 names of people it identified as dead, wounded or missing in the recent shootings in East Timor, the armed forces' information centre said Monday.

"We will check the list of names, and as has been proven so far, Indonesia is always open to the International Committee of the Red Cross in a case like this," Colonel Zumarnis Zein told the Antara news agency.

Antara quoted Zein, who heads the general information department of the military's information centre, as saying that Amnesty International reports were not always accurate because they obtained their data from "unreliable sources." (Source: AFP)

INDONESIA (Bali arrest violates assurances)

An East Timorese student arrested in Bali on Sunday was one of two who left the Japanese embassy in Jakarta in 1989 after being assured by Indonesian authorities that they would not face arrest.

Fernando Araujo and a colleague spent four days in the embassy in June 1989 in the hope of being granted political asylum. (Source: Kyodo)

EAST TIMOR (Warouw orders killings)

Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw, military commander of East Timor province, told the Jakarta Post that he has ordered the army to shoot what the general claims are "masked gangsters" on the spot.

The rumor of masked gangsters is widespread among residents in East Timor. There are rumors that the gangsters have intimidated, and even kidnaped, some residents, Jakarta Post reported.

A source in Jakarta told Kyodo a considerable number of Indonesian troops have re-

cently come to East Timor, most of them paratroop members.

The Indonesian army reportedly has been on full alert since the November 12 killings.

Meanwhile, the nation's biggest daily, Kompas, said Monday that Warouw has dispatched 968 East Timorese to Malang, East Java and Denpasar on Bali island for basic military training. The paper said the trainees will become a new civilian force. (Source: Kyodo)

EAST TIMOR (Belo will testify)

East Timor Roman Catholic Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo has said he will give evidence about the killings to a national committee set up to investigate the incident.

Belo has stressed that the church would stand fast and support all organizations and people working for peace and justice.

Security authorities earlier claimed some church workers had been involved in the killings and appealed to the church in East Timor to cooperate with the government. (Source: UPI)

DEATH IN EAST TIMOR

(HELEN TODD)

By Helen Todd, a Malaysia-based journalist. Asian Wall Street Journal, 25 November

(Hong Kong, Nov. 25) My son, Kamal Bamadhaj, a 20-year-old student, was shot and killed by Indonesian soldiers on Tuesday, Nov. 12, in East Timor. Indonesia admits another 18 people were killed by its troops the same morning, when they opened fire on a procession in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony that Jakarta annexed in 1976 and has been struggling to assimilate ever since.

Witnesses to the shootings tell another story. They estimate 50 or more Timorese, mainly young people calling for Timor's independence, were killed. Jakarta has promised a "full inquiry" into the affair. But Timorese, as well as diplomats and journalists who have visited the territory in recent days, report that dozens of youths have been rounded up by the Indonesian military and that their fate is unknown. So I may be only one of many mothers who have lost their sons. But I am one of the few who is free to speak out.

My experience in trying to find out what happened to my son, and why, has given me a first-hand glimpse of the misinformation, stonewalling and, on occasion, outright lying that has characterized Indonesia's initial efforts to play down the killings and the disastrous impact they may have on Jakarta's image.

I was holidaying in London when I first heard that Kamal had been shot in Timor, from a friend of his in Australia. All night the phone calls came, each worse than the last: Kamal was in a military hospital, but no one was allowed to see him; he has three shots in the head; the Red Cross says he is dead. Indonesia said nothing officially. Throughout

the 16-hour flight from London to Singapore the next day, Kamal's 13-year-old sister and I hung on to the thinnest thread of hope.

When we arrived in Singapore on Nov. 14, we called the New Zealand ambassador in Jakarta and that thread broke. He said that the Indonesian military command had just confirmed that Kamal, a New Zealand citizen of Malaysian origin, had died in Dili on Tuesday morning, and had been buried there the same day. Meanwhile, newspapers in Jakarta were still quoting military sources as saying no foreigner had been killed.

My objective was to go to Dili immediately to recover Kamal's body and bring it home to Malaysia. En route, my husband and I were met in Jakarta's airport by the New Zealand ambassador, who had arranged our onward flights to Timor and had been promised by Indonesian authorities complete cooperation in recovering Kamal. We also met and were given a personal letter from Indonesian Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs Sudomo to the chief of the East Timor Operational Command, R.S. Warouw, directing him to help us.

But the next day as we were about to board a flight to Dili, we were stopped by a military intelligence officer, who ignored Mr. Sudomo's letter and said he had orders from Brig. Gen. Pandji Soesilo, head of foreign liaison for the Indonesian armed forces, to stop us. Kamal's body was flown to Jakarta late that night by military aircraft and released to the ambassador the following day.

The last time I saw Kamal was in mid-October, on a few hours' stopover in Sydney on my way to New Zealand. It was the day before he left for East Timor. Kamal had just completed his second year at the University of New South Wales, studying Indonesian and Asian politics and history. He was an honors student, but his heart was in a group he and fellow Indonesia enthusiasts had founded to support student organizations and human-rights workers in Indonesia. He told me his group had heard from Timorese students that the military in East Timor was rounding up anyone who might present a dissident view to a Portuguese parliamentary fact-finding mission due to visit East Timor on Nov. 4.

The mission, brokered between Lisbon and Jakarta by the United Nations secretary-general, would have been the first by Portuguese officials since the Indonesian annexation, which was condemned in several U.N. resolutions in the 1970's and early 1980's. The visit was cancelled during the last week of October after Jakarta objected to the inclusion of an Australian journalist who had written harshly of Indonesia's role in East Timor.

The Indonesians have Timor sewn up, Kamal told me. The big powers had turned a blind eye to Indonesia's annexation of the territory and have blocked discussion of it in the U.N. since 1982. For much of the last 16 years, East Timor has been closed to outside visitors, while the military tried to end a

stubborn armed Timorese resistance and terrorize the general population into silence.

(With the jaded "realism" of a 48-year-old, I thought my son was a bit carried away. But I have since read an Amnesty International report presented to the U.N. in October of this year, which documents in detail the recent wave of arrests, tortures and "disappearances" of people who have dared criticize the Indonesian occupation. Amnesty has estimated that as many as 200,000 Timorese have been killed or have died of hunger and disease since December 1975, one-third of the population at the time Indonesia invaded.)

The Portuguese parliamentary mission, in the context of a renewed world interest in human rights and self-determination, was a chance for the Timorese to be heard, Kamal argued. If the military was, in fact, intimidating Timorese, in contravention of an agreement between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments setting out terms of the visit, then outsiders should be there to document it, he said. Kamal, whose Indonesian was fluent, also hoped to offer his services as an interpreter to those journalists with the delegation who wanted to step outside the official itinerary and get beyond the laundered Indonesian version of reality. I'll be careful, he said as he hugged me goodbye.

Two weeks later Kamal wrote this to his friends in Sydney: "The Indonesians (especially 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...oppressed until Indonesia helped to liberate them. Since then East Timor has shot ahead in leaps and bounds. But scratch beneath the surface of uncomfortable Javanese smiles and silent Timorese faces, and the grim reality of this place will jolt even the most casual observer."

Kamal said he found the military rounding up people in every part of East Timor for public lectures, where they were threatened with imprisonment or worse if they spoke to the Portuguese delegation. He commented on the heavy surveillance surrounding Roman Catholic churches and he wrote about an attack on the Motael church in Dili on Oct. 28, in which a young Timorese, Sebastio Gomes, was killed.

Kamal noted the Indonesian-built new roads and schools in East Timor, but asked: "Will the construction of new roads placate the humiliation and bitterness, or compensate for the denial of Timorese language in schools, or the domination of political decisions, local administration and the economy by the Javanese? The Timorese say no."

I have tried to piece together what happened to Kamal that Tuesday morning. The picture is incomplete. But the following account is what I've been able to discover, as related to me by eyewitnesses, a New Zealand diplomat who went to Dili and the doctor who treated Kamal in a Timor military hospital.

The only official version of the events of Nov. 12 I have received came from Mr. Sudomo. He said that on that morning members of a procession commemorating Sebastio Gomes's death were armed with "hundreds of long knives" as they marched toward a cemetery where he was buried. He also said that a grenade was thrown at Indonesian soldiers and that a deputy battalion commander was slashed by the Timorese and seriously wounded. "It was a mob. The soldiers fired in fear of their lives," he said.

My family and I have now spoken to three people who were with Kamal in the procession. I have talked to Bob Muntz, a sober 44-year-old official with a private Australian organization, Community Aid Abroad, for whom Kamal worked as an interpreter during the three days before he was killed. My step-daughter has talked to Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, American journalists on the scene who walked between the crowd and the soldiers in an attempt to prevent violence and were badly beaten.

Each of these eyewitnesses independently said that the procession had stopped along a road hemmed in on both sides by high walls. They said there was a "100-meter" gap between the front of the procession and a line of troops that moved forward and opened fire on the Timorese. Mr. Muntz, who was standing on a fence taking photographs, saw no grenade thrown and no "long knives." "It was an unarmed crowd of mostly young people," he told me. "I saw no military contact or even presence during the three- to four-kilometer march from the church to the cemetery."

Mr. Muntz did see the military truck drive up, the soldiers jump down and line up facing the crowd, just before the shooting began. The two American reporters walked forward into the gap. Kamal, who was standing beside the Americans, did not follow. Mr. Muntz and another British national began to drop back.

Then the soldiers raised their rifles and shot into the crowd, according to Mr. Muntz and the Americans we spoke with. If the deputy battalion commander was slashed in the cemetery as reported, it could not have been before the firing started, Mr. Muntz said. But it might have occurred later, when soldiers went into the cemetery in pursuit of those who had taken refuge there.

None of these witnesses saw Kamal hit. He was found half a kilometer away from where the massacre took place, shot through the right portion of the chest. It's not clear whether he was shot when the military fired into the crowd, or later, when soldiers fanned out shooting at people running away.

According to a report compiled in Dili by a New Zealand diplomat, Kamal was found by Anton Marti, the representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Dili. He was lying on a deserted road, still conscious, desperately waving his New Zealand passport. Mr. Marti drove him toward the Dili general hospital, but was almost immediately stopped by a military roadblock near the cemetery. Although his vehicle had

Red Cross markings, when Mr. Marti identified himself and said he had a wounded man with him, the soldiers threatened to shoot him and yelled at him to "get out of here." He drove in the opposite direction and was again stopped outside a police station and directed into the police compound. Again Mr. Marti explained Kamal's condition and again he was prevented from continuing to the hospital, or even getting out of the car. After a long wait, he was directed to drive to a military hospital.

The delay was fatal. Diplomats told me that the shooting began soon after 7:50 a.m. It seems likely that Mr. Marti picked up Kamal around 8:00 a.m. He was admitted to the hospital, by then unconscious and bleeding profusely, at 8:40 a.m. Kamal was the first casualty to be admitted to the hospital and, according to the official medical report, he got immediate and professional treatment. But he died 20 minutes later.

Why did Kamal join the procession that cost him his life? Mr. Muntz told me that a handful of foreigners staying in Dili met on Monday night to discuss whether they should go to the next morning's procession. Although the situation in Dili was extremely tense and all of them said they were "scared", they decided they had to go. They reasoned that a foreign presence might restrain the military and prevent them from attacking the crowd.

Kamal, who had admitted to Bob Muntz earlier that he was feeling very exposed and frightened after three weeks in East Timor, argued strongly for going. Kamal himself explained the atmosphere in notes he wrote Nov. 3: "It has been a tense two weeks in East Timor -- a kind of lull before the storm as Timorese prepare themselves for the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation... Youths in Dili and in other towns have been secretly painting pro-independence banners, organizing demonstrations and, as many have 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 this Portuguese fact-finding mission. Considering that talking to 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. 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 could not believe it. The disappointment here today is not only the deflating of 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."

I think that was the desperation that lay behind the Nov. 12 memorial procession. As people who believed they were already "marked" by the military, they made a last-ditch attempt to attract world attention through the United Nations Rapporteur on Torture, who was visiting Dili. During the

procession they unfurled banners supporting Fretilin, the guerilla independence movement that has dropped much of its leftist rhetoric in recent years to stress Timorese nationalism. They shouted "Viva Timor Eoeste." This outright support for independence by a crowd of thousands had never been dared before.

That, I believe, was the provocation that the military would not tolerate. I believe that the shooting was a deliberate act by the armed forces in response to this political provocation.

Sometimes young people see these issues of social justice and freedom more clearly than we do. The Realpolitik view of East Timor is that one might as well accept the fait accompli of Indonesian control -- at least the Indonesians can bring Timor more development than Portugal ever managed to do. Indonesia has persuaded much of the world to accept this kind of realism. But the events of the last few months have made it very clear that they have not persuaded the East Timorese. So long as the Timorese prefer to control their own lives, military terror will be needed to keep Indonesia in control, and the killings will continue.

So that is where Realpolitik leaves us, with a crowd on the street shouting "Viva East Timor!" facing a line of soldiers holding American supplied M-16's. The alternative is for the U.N. to accept its responsibility toward the East Timorese, call an immediate security council meeting on the killings and press for a genuine referendum on Timorese wishes.

In his last notes, Kamal predicted "another wave of genocide against the Timorese people." He wrote: "Whether total genocide occurs in East Timor or not depends not only on the (remarkably powerful) will of the East Timorese people, but also on the will of humanity, of us all."

KILLING RAGES ON IN EAST TIMOR, WITNESSES SAY (MONTREAL GAZETTE)

Southam News Service, 25 Nov. 1991

This article was substantially cut by the Toronto Star, but appeared on the front page of the Montreal Gazette and (slightly abridged) the Ottawa Citizen and Calgary Herald and on page three of the Kitchener- Waterloo Record. Versions were also printed in other newspapers of the Southam chain, including the Edmonton Journal.

By Dave Todd

OTTAWA (Southam News Service) -- A systematic campaign to murder witnesses to a military massacre in the Indonesian-occupied territory of East Timor two weeks ago -- including Western journalists -- has been launched by the government of Indonesia, Southam News has been told.

Human rights workers who have long been involved with the Timor issue are steering

clear of Indonesia for the foreseeable future, sources say.

Included among them is a leading analyst of the East Timor issue, well known in U.S. Congressional circles, who feared he might have been assassinated if he visited East Timor this month.

Meanwhile, Roman Catholic Bishop Belo of East Timor, has appealed to the world -- through a message he smuggled out of the island last week -- to help prevent mass murder by Indonesian government forces.

Belo's desperate message, details of which were provided to Southam News, says:
-- Young men and women throughout East Timor are being transported to camps.

-- On Nov. 15, three days after a massacre of up to 180 people witnessed by foreign journalists, scores of young people were murdered. The women were raped in front of the men and then all were killed.

-- Throughout East Timor, the Indonesian occupying forces are openly taunting the Timorese, telling them the Americans won't save them.

-- Catholic Church leaders in East Timor are being threatened openly in a manner that has never happened in the 16 years the Indonesians have occupied East Timor.

Indonesia is one of Canada's largest recipients of foreign aid. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall is expected this week to announce whether the government will impose sanctions in reaction to the Nov. 12 massacre.

Several of the world's major human-rights organizations yesterday gave new details both of the widely publicized killings in East Timor earlier this month and even more horrific executions since.

However, in New York, Asia Watch director Sidney Jones said yesterday the situation in East Timor was too dangerous for human-rights workers overseas even to dare to telephone their contacts there.

According to Southam's sources, accusations that Indonesian troops this month killed up to 180 unarmed civilians at a graveside ceremony, and injured hundreds more, are accurate.

However, the Indonesian military has refused to permit the International Red Cross any access to the survivors. The government in Jakarta denies that witnesses were killed.

The war in East Timor, which began in 1975 when Indonesia invaded after the Portuguese government's post-colonial withdrawal from its former fiefdom, is widely estimated to have claimed about 200,000 lives -- about a third of the territory's prewar population.

The massacre this month, the latest after 16 years of bloodshed, has been followed by widespread reports of worse violence since.

In East Timor, nervous residents are staying home at night and most are reluctant to talk with strangers.

About 1,000 people attended a service yesterday at the Motael Roman Catholic

Church in Dili, which has been a focal point for the recent violence, but the killings were not mentioned publicly.

In his sermon, Rev. Jose Segueira called on the East Timorese to follow "the ways of Christ" and avoid violence.

Belo issued a statement accusing pro-independence rebels of trying to use the church in recent demonstrations. While Belo has charged that government forces shot defenceless students at the cemetery, he declared yesterday: "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.

VIGIL FORCES INDONESIANS TO SHUT DOWN DARWIN CONSULATE (AGE)

Source: *The Age*, 25 November 1991

Comment: Full text. Two different spellings given for the Indonesia's Darwin consul. Please post the correct spelling as a response to this item.

Indonesia's consulate in Darwin stands empty and abandoned because of a 24-hour-a-day vigil by Darwin's East Timorese community and supporters.

Armed only with banners, wreaths of tropical flowers and placards, the protesters have set up a shrine outside the consulate.

Every evening, the strongly Catholic East Timorese hold a quiet prayer service for families and friends who have been killed or arrested, or who have "disappeared."

Hundreds of candles have been lit on the footpath and there is wax 10 centimetres deep at the base of the wooden cross blocking the front door of the consulate. The candles are kept alight even during the torrents that signal the coming of Darwin's wet season.

Posters and poetry in Portuguese and English have been plastered across the front of the building, including East Timorese demands for an immediate United Nations presence in their homeland.

"The people are planning for it to be the first embassy for East Timor in Australia," says a long-time activist for East Timor, Mr Rob Wesley-Smith. "If that does not happen, we will try to keep it closed forever."

This does not please the consul, Mr Rachmat Murni, who sent his staff and closed the consulate 10 days ago.

The telephone gives an out-of-order signal, and Mr Murni has told the local media that no more visas will be issued until the East Timorese are removed. He has refused to say more.

Until further notice, the shutters are down at the closest consulate to Indonesia in Australia.

A.I. SAYS MASSACRES CONTINUE (RADIO AUSTRALIA)

Radio Australia 11/25

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

Amnesty International has challenged the credibility of Indonesian claims that only 19 people died in the East Timor massacre on November 12 by releasing the names of 60 people feared killed in the incident. It goes on to say that over 100 people could have been killed.

Addressing a media conference in Sydney, Amnesty's Australian Campaign Director Andre Frankovitz said unconfirmed reports of continuing executions and human rights abuses underlined Indonesia's commitment to fully investigate the massacre.

Frankovitz said he wanted an urgent meeting with the Australian Prime Minister over the Dili shootings. He said Canberra's acceptance of the Indonesian inquiry into the affair was indefensible and Australia should push for a United Nations investigation.

Meanwhile in Jakarta, a military spokesman has denied reports of fresh massacres in the former Portuguese colony. The Australian-based representative of the East Timorese resistance movement Fretilin has alleged that troops shot dead another ten people on November 17 and a further seven on the following day in the outskirts of Dili.

The representative, Alfredo Farerra(?), said that the ten who died on November 17 had witnessed the execution two days earlier of 80 people rounded up by the military after the Dili massacre on November 12. Farerra said the others, including two small children, had been killed because they had witnessed the shooting of ten civilians the previous day. Australia's embassy in Indonesia has asked part of its staff to investigate the claim.

FRETILIN ALLEGES SEVEN MORE KILLINGS IN DILI (AGE)

The Age 25 November 1991. Byline: Chips Mackinolty, Darwin. Comment: Slightly abridged. All spellings as in original.

Seven people - one a baby and another a child of four - are alleged by Fretilin to have been killed by Indonesian soldiers in what is claimed to be a continuing crackdown by the military.

Fretilin, the Timorese independence movement, said clandestine communications from Dili and Jakarta had "confirmed" the deaths as well as the arrests and jailing in Java and Bali of students protesting against the Dili massacre.

Fretilin's representative in Australia, Mr Alfredo Ferreira, said the seven killings had taken place in Dili on 18 November.

He declined to disclose how Fretilin overcame difficulties in obtaining news from East Timor, but said he tried as much as possible to cross-check information.

"We have a number of quite different sources in East Timor and Indonesia. If I get a single report, I will release the news as unconfirmed. I release information as having been confirmed if I get the same information from two or three quite different sources," he said.

Fretilin claimed that the seven people killed on 18 November were witnesses to the mass burial of 10 other East Timorese. These Timorese, Fretilin claimed, had witnessed the killing of between 60 and 80 people on 15 November in a valley near the Comoro River on the outskirts of Dili.

Fretilin said the names of the seven killed on 18 November were Maria Castro, 35, Maria Fatima, 19, Gaspar, aged one, Joan Soares, aged four, Terezita, 16, Ines da Silva Soares, 30, and Liberata Mendes, 17. It is one of very few occasions that names have been put to people allegedly killed.

The so-called Dili underground, East Timorese who are said by Fretilin to have got word of events on the island to the outside world, claim that all of those allegedly killed since 15 November, the day of the alleged second massacre, had also been buried in mass graves, and that the grave site had been sealed with bitumen.

The second massacre has been denied by Indonesian authorities. However, an Australian tourist, who would only be identified as "John", and who returned to Australia last week, has claimed that he heard 45 seconds of concentrated automatic weapon fire, followed by sporadic shots lasting 30 seconds, from the valley where the massacre was alleged to have taken place.

He said he had spoken to an East Timorese man who had seen between 60 and 80 people taken to the area on military trucks.

A member of Darwin's East Timorese community, Mr Jose Gusmao, said the principal targets in Dili and elsewhere have been students, priests and nuns.

"They are going for the student leaders and trying to eliminate activism. They are trying to get rid of any witnesses, even if it means killing all of our people. That is because we are all witnesses to daily repression," he said.

"Bishop Belo of Dili is followed by the military whenever he leaves his bishop's residence, and house-to-house searches for young people have included raids on the living quarters of nuns and priests.

"We know that Father Alberto Ricardo from the Motael parish (the scene of the memorial service which led to the first massacre) is being constantly harassed.

"The military have increased their activity in the towns of the eastern part of the country as well, with reports of people being "disappeared" in Baukau, where 65 people have disappeared, as well as the towns of Same, Lospalos, Vikeke, and Watulari," Mr Gusmao said.

Fretilin sources said there were at least 25 to 300 [sic] people still in detention in Dili alone.

Information has also been released by Fretilin sources in Jakarta on the fate of at

least two of the 50 East Timorese students arrested after a demonstration outside the Australian, Japanese, and Dutch embassies last week.

It is claimed that Mr Antonio Cordoso and Mr Juan Freitas da Camara are still being detained and have been tortured. Both students have records with Indonesian authorities as pro- independence activists.

NYC DEMO RE EAST TIMOR?

Letter sent to New York area Asia/Pacific activists Charles Scheiner.

PO Box 1182
White Plains, NY 10602 USA
Tel. (914)428-7299 fax (914)428-7383
November 25, 1991

Dear justice activist:

The recent massacre in Dili, East Timor, demands a public response from Americans. As you probably know, Indonesia (with U.S. support) has been committing genocide in East Timor since 1975, killing 200,000 of the country's 700,000 people. The November 12 murders are part of an ongoing chain, which happened to be witnessed by several brave international journalists, including Amy Goodman (WBAI) and Allan Nairn (New Yorker).

The killing continues. Amnesty International today reported another massacre, 60-80 Timorese shot dead by Indonesian troops on November 15. Australian Timorese exiles say that those victims were "buried in a mass grave and the site sealed with bitumen," and have names of 10 more (including a one-year-old and a four-year-old) killed November 17 and another seven November 18. Although Indonesia is being condemned worldwide, it hasn't helped the Timorese people yet.

I'm proposing a protest at the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations on the afternoon of Human Rights Day, Tuesday, December 10. We could have a delegation go inside to express our feelings to the diplomats, a picket outside, and a press conference. Then we could march from the Indonesian Mission (on East 38 St.) to the U.S. Mission (45th St.), or to the U.N. itself. As people concerned with justice, we oppose the genocide; as Americans, we do not agree with our government's continued aid to Indonesia. The demands of the demonstration could be:

1. Stop the killing!
2. Allow the East Timorese people to determine their own status, with the U.N. preserving peace and supervising a free process of self-determination.
3. End U.S. military and economic aid to the Indonesian regime.

Please get back to me as soon as possible with your thoughts, endorsement and/or willingness to help. To my knowledge, there is no New York-area grassroots activity concerned with East Timor or Indonesia, although every peace and human rights group I

have discussed this with thinks it is a good idea. Since the United Nations here in New York is the best hope for the Timorese people, we need to pool our efforts and energy, bringing pressure before East Timor sinks back into bloody oblivion.

This mailing is going to very few people, so please pass it on. Thank you.

For Justice and Peace,
Charlie Scheiner

For those who don't know me, I work with the War Resisters League, National Mobilization for Survival, the Westchester People's Action Coalition, WESPAC, and the international Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific movement. While this is an individual initiative, I'm sure we can get support from a wide range of groups.

Please return as soon as possible to:

Name _____
 Organization _____
 Address _____
 Phone _____ fax _____
 email _____

I would like to help build the December 10 demonstration for East Timor.

You can use my name as an individual endorser.

You can use my organization's name as an endorser.

We can contribute \$_____ to help build this action. (It won't cost much, but at the moment it's all coming out of my pocket.)

I would like to be part of a delegation to go inside the Indonesian Mission.

I can mail flyers to people I am in touch with. I need _____ flyers.

Please send a copy of the assembled press reports and news releases on the East Timor killings (120 pages). Enclosed is \$15 for copying and postage.

Please make suggestions about the action, and pass this information on to others who might be interested. Thank you.

Questions from a Timor activist relating to the proposed demonstration:

Demos are definitely not my strong suit or preferred tactic, but here are some ideas anyway.

- 1) Won't you need a well-formulated policy letter to hand over (i.e., attempt to hand over, appointment request put in before-time), and deliver to press immediately after, especially if no one will meet?
- 2) Why single out the Indonesian mission? Why not also the US mission? Sound out the Portuguese mission about a meeting? And Fretilin's UN lobbyist (if around)? Wouldn't different letters to hand over be required for each?
- 3) Wouldn't different prepared questions and remarks be needed for each in case agreements were reached to meet? Will the

personnel for such conversations be available?

- 4) Would a demo jeopardize the concurrent resolution before Congress? Or will that all be over by Dec 10? What if there are follow-up actions by some Congressional group? Officials often respond badly to demos at any time, unless they're speakers. Would you invite any members of Congress to speak?
- 5) Isn't it likely to more productive if slogans for signs and shouting and speeches are consistent with prepared statements and talking points?
- 6) I think once you get people seriously discussing _policy_ for effecting change in East Timor you'll find widely varying views. You'll probably find equally diverse views on types of demos. The proposal is not yet clear in this respect.

You can see my bias is, do nothing unless it's well-prepared and, if possible, coordinated with other parties on your side. I'm not sure the human resources are there for a demo of this sort. You'll be able to gauge that far better later. This kind of mobilization is certainly well beyond anything I could muster.

At this point, I think well-prepared, and publicized, letters to any of a dozen plus parties involved would go a lot further than a demo. There's a time and place for demos, I agree, but I'm not sure this is the time or even that the UN is the place.

Charlie Scheiner responds to the questions

A quick response:

The demo will be a few dozen people, certainly no more than 100. It's not expected to be huge -- that takes a lot of work and can't happen on a weekday afternoon.

It's not intended to replace any of the other organizing, letters, etc.

Congress will be done by then -- I think they already finished a (fairly weak) concurrent resolution on East Timor.

The main purpose is to energize people who are reading about these horrors and paralyzed not knowing what to do. We may come out of it with a NY-area Timor support group, or at least a network of people who want to work with each other.

The Indonesian mission is the target because it is the Indonesian government that is killing people. If members of other missions (I sent the letter to the representatives from Portugal, Papua New Guinea, and Vanuatu) want to participate, they're welcome. The delegation is sort of a ruse -- otherwise the NYC police won't let you anywhere near a mission. But we'll do it, and the press will be interested in what they have to say ... or if they refuse to meet with us. This is frequently used scenario -- this afternoon a delegation went to the Haitian and then to the US mission, and had a small rally and press conference.

We may well go to the US mission as well - as Americans -- I didn't want to make every

decision by myself, but wanted to see what others think.

We don't all have to agree on all the fine political points. I laid out what I thought was the lowest common denominator, but participants are free to add what they wish.

I don't know if we'll have any speakers at all -- it will be more like a picket or vigil than a rally. If we do have speakers, I think only Amy or Allan, and perhaps the Fretilin rep, should speak; otherwise you end up with a long list and fighting over politics, balance, constituencies, and everybody gets bored and cold.

I would Fretilin participation. Do you have an address and fax number for their UN representative? I don't know how to get in touch with him.

Everyone I spoke with about this (Asia Watch, Amnesty, Madre, Campaign for Peace and Democracy, Allan Nairn, WRL, Mobe) thought it was a good idea (although nobody is offering to organize it, the suggestion came from several places). I sent out about 10 faxes last night and about 60 letters this morning; we'll see what the response is. I think its a way to get groups who are slightly aware but inactive more aware and activated. I enclosed Allan's article with the mailing and faxes, which should give people some basic background and motivation.

Demonstrations are not an end in themselves. But there is a certain empowerment, satisfaction and moral imperative in speaking truth to power.

HAWKE TO BE TOUGHER ON INDONESIA (AUSTRALIAN)

Source: The Australian 26 November 1991

Byline: foreign affairs writer Tony Parkinson and Colin Williams Comment: Slightly abridged

The Hawke government is expected to bow today to overwhelming pressure from the federal Caucus for a tougher approach towards Indonesia over the November 12 Dili massacre.

But in lengthy and intense discussions with factional leaders yesterday, it is believed the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, succeeded in persuading his ALP colleagues not to force the government's hand on diplomatic measures which could be seen as pre-emptive and provocative.

It is understood the push by some Labor MPs for the severing of military ties and reviewing Australia's recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty will be put on hold, conditional on how the Suharto Government chooses to respond to the worldwide condemnation of its troops in East Timor.

However, in a move likely to aggravate Jakarta, it is understood leaders of Australia's East Timorese community will be invited to Canberra for talks with Senator Evans.

Australia is also likely to adopt a far more active role, including through the United Nations, in the international campaign to en-

sure Indonesia honours its commitment to properly investigate the massacre.

Today's Caucus meeting is also expected to resolve the question of ministerial visits to Indonesia.

The Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button, is due to fly to Jakarta early next month, with Mr Hawke scheduled to visit Indonesia in February.

While Senator Button's trip is understood to be in extreme doubt, it is believed Senator Evans argued yesterday that Australia should avoid closing Australian lines of communication to the Suharto Government.

Before Senator Evans's discussions with factional leaders, the issues of how, and to what extent, Australia should reassess its stance on East Timor were debated in Cabinet.

Pressure for the Hawke government to step up its diplomatic activity intensified yesterday when Amnesty International released a list of 60 people it has confirmed as dead as a direct result of the shootings in Dili.

A spokesman for the human rights group, Mr Andre Frankovits, said this list exposed as fraudulent Jakarta's claims that only 19 people died when troops opened fire on mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor's capital.

Amnesty also claimed a further 300 pro-independence supporters had been detained since the massacre, some of whom had been tortured or killed by Indonesian security forces.

Mr Frankovits said Amnesty would be seeking urgent discussions with the prime minister, Mr Hawke, for an 'immediate' independent, impartial inquiry into the killings.

Last night, Colonel Zumarnis Zein of the Indonesian armed forces' information centre said it would check the Amnesty report.

But Colonel Zein added that Amnesty's reports were not always accurate because they obtained their data from 'unreliable sources'.

Meanwhile, AAP reports from Jakarta that Indonesian troops in Dili have been ordered to shoot on sight masked men roaming the city's streets at night and raiding homes.

Indonesian student groups picketed the Australian Embassy in Jakarta yesterday, demanding a formal apology from Canberra over protests at Indonesian diplomatic offices in Australia.

The embassy has announced it will probe allegations of further killings by Indonesian troops after the Dili shootings.

A commission of inquiry set up by the President of Indonesia, General Suharto, will leave for Dili on Thursday to begin investigations there.

Protests in Australia against the shootings continued yesterday with the United Church calling on the Federal Government to suspend Garuda International Airlines' access to Australian airports.

EVANS MAY MAKE A PROTEST TRIP TO JAKARTA (AGE)

Source: The Age, 26 November 1991

Byline: Mark Metherell, diplomatic correspondent, Canberra Comment: Abridged

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, may visit Indonesia to deliver a tough message to the Jakarta Government over the Dili killings.

The federal ALP Caucus is expected to call on Senator Evans today to undertake the mission to urge the Indonesian Government towards a reconciliation with the East Timorese people.

Preliminary soundings by Australian officials suggest that the Indonesian Government is prepared to consider a visit by Senator Evans. The visit would take place within weeks.

The move is part of a Caucus plan to put Indonesia on notice that Australia will not accept a whitewash over the 12 November shootings by Indonesian security forces in which an estimated 50 to 100 East Timorese mourners died.

In other developments yesterday: *Victorian unions outlined a comprehensive campaign against Garuda Airlines and telecommunications services to Indonesian business and diplomatic interests.

Caucus is expected to demand that the Australian Government explore [ways of] involving the United Nations in the East Timor dispute, a move that has previously been resisted by the Hawke Government and is anathema to the Suharto Government.

The UN step would be part of a graduated plan in which failure by Indonesia to deal appropriately with the killings would be matched by Australian penalties, including the suspension of defence links.

Caucus will also call on the Government to demand:

*That Indonesia allow the International Red Cross immediate access to Timor.

*A prompt response to inquiries about people detained in East Timor.

*The release of all political prisoners in Indonesia.

*That the Australian ambassador, Mr Philip Flood, be allowed to visit East Timor to observe the national investigation into the killings.

GARETH EVANS: 75 DEAD (ABC RADIO)

ABC Radio News 26 November 1991, 2pm Melbourne time

After an ALP Caucus meeting in Canberra, it was announced that Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans would visit Indonesia in mid December to discuss the Timor massacre with Indonesian officials. Indonesia has reportedly agreed to the visit.

Speaking to journalists after the meeting today, Evans said that he could confirm that at

least 75 people had been killed. *[It is unclear at this stage whether he was referring only to the 12 Nov massacre or whether the figure also included people killed in the massacre alleged to have taken place on 15 Nov.]*

It is also understood that the Caucus passed a strongly worded resolution. A more complete report will follow when more details become available.

49 TIMORESE RELEASED IN JAKARTA(TAPOL)

TAPOL Report, 26 November 1991

Forty-nine of the 70 East Timorese students who were arrested on 19 November during a demonstration to the UN office and foreign embassies, were released today. This leaves 21 still in police custody.

As yet, lawyers have not been permitted to see those still in detention. It is understood that they will be charged under articles 155 and 154 of the Criminal Code. But, say lawyers, is a peaceful demonstration a criminal offence? A number of people from officially-endorsed organisations like the trade union, SPSI, the youth organisation, KNPI, have been demonstrating for days outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta without any one being arrested.

Reports indicate that, although they have been denied contact with lawyers in contravention of the Criminal Procedures Code, they have not been maltreated. This is believed to be as a result of representations made to senior Indonesian authorities last week by UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor P. Kooijmans, before he left Indonesia for Geneva.

LEGAL AID FOUNDATION JAIL VISIT (LBH)

Courtesy of YLBHI and Asia Watch:

NOVEMBER 26, 1991 PRESS RELEASE FROM LEGAL AID FOUNDATION, JAKARTA (translated from the Indonesian)

The results of the efforts of the Legal Aid Foundation team led by Luhut Pangaribuan and consisting of H.J. C. Princen, Frans Hendra Winarta and Rini Dwi Dharmawati to meet with 70 East Timorese students at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station (Polda Metro Jaya) on November 26, 1991 at 14:15 Western Indonesian Time is as follows:

1. The team met very briefly with the head of the Intelligence Division, Col. (Police) Drs. Wagiman, then were turned over to Sesdit Lt.Col. (Police) Chaerudin Ismail to arrange a meeting with the students. A meeting directly in the cell was not permitted.
2. The team was informed that the detention of 49 of the 70 students would be suspended. When the team was at the Polda, those who were going to be freed were being given instructions before leaving Polda.

3. The team then met in the office of Major (Police) Drs. Iman Haryatna with Jose Anthony Loyola (a student at the Polytechnic of the Bandung Institute of Technology) and Gabriel Anthony, a student in Bandung.
4. The team then met separately with Joao Freitas Camara in the Intelligence section of Polda accompanied by two officers. He was being held separately from the other students who were divided among four cells. Joao Freitas Camara had been interrogated intensively every day.
5. Joao Freitas Camara needed clothes, soap and other things because up to now he hasn't been able to get them from his house because no one has been allowed to enter it.
6. Among the 21 other students still in detention are Filipe, Gergorio (a student at IKOPIN Bandung), Araujo (Polytechnic LPPU), Jose Maria (Polytechnic of the Bandung Institute of Technology), Avelino, Aureo Belo (a first year high school student), Anthony Amory. They are still under investigation.

The Legal Aid Foundation team is still awaiting the opportunity to visit those still detained directly in their cells and accompany them during interrogation. These are their rights as suspects according to universal principles and the Indonesian Criminal Procedure Code.

*Jakarta, November 26, 1991 Legal Aid Foundation.
Hendarli Head, Public Relations*

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST NOV. 26

This is a digest of some of the material on East Timor received at Task Force Indonesia's office November 26 from its network of sources.

USSR (Gov't statement)

Excerpt from Briefing on Current International Affairs Conducted by Vitaly Churkin, Chief of the MFR USSR International Department, at the Press Center, Washington, DC, November 25, 1991

And my final comment is on the dramatic events in Dili, the administrative center of East Timor which involved loss of life. This is deplorable.

Since the East Timor problem arose the Soviet Union has based its position on the need to observe the basic human rights as well as the recognition of the right of the people of that territory to self-determination. This was reflected in the voting on the corresponding resolutions at the United Nations.

We are convinced that stepped up Portuguese-Indonesian consultations under the aegis of the UN Secretary General will make it possible to find a solution to the East Timor problem. (Source: FNS)

VENEZUELA (Alatas denies massacre)

An Indonesian official denied on Tuesday that the government continued killing people involved in an East Timor demonstration this month in which the Indonesian army shot dead as many as 200 people.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters here that news reports of the incident had been "rather exaggerated" and expressed hope that governments which had threatened to cut aid to the country will not act until an independent commission issues a report on the massacre.

"I saw press reports saying that even after the incident Indonesia was killing those involved. I can categorically deny that. We are not that kind of country," he said at a news conference at the presidential palace. (Source: Reuter)

AUSTRALIA (Indon. threatens to withdraw ambassador)

Security Minister Sudomo said Canberra-based ambassador Sabam Siagian and all other diplomats would be recalled if the "disturbances" continued outside the Darwin consulate.

"If it becomes dangerous there are diplomatic rules which warrant withdrawal of our ambassador," Sudomo said in a statement released in Sydney.

"If the security of the ambassador is not guaranteed, he will be recalled. We don't see the situation as that dangerous yet."

Opponents of Jakarta's rule over East Timor have protested outside Indonesian missions in the northern city of Darwin and in the capital Canberra since Indonesian troops fired on mourners at an East Timor cemetery on November 12. (Source: Reuter)

AUSTRALIA (Evans body counts)

Indonesia has said 19 East Timorese were killed but Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said on Tuesday an estimated 75 had died.

"Certainly it is more than the 19 that remains the official number," he told reporters, saying he would visit Indonesia in mid-December to discuss the killings.

Evans said there was no evidence of follow-up executions by troops. East Timor exiles seeking independence allege there were three further massacres.

Evans said he did not believe the shootings were condoned by the Indonesian government and said Australia had no plans to impose any sanctions on Jakarta. (Source: Reuter)

AUSTRALIA (Timor Gap Treaty)

Experts said that if Australia withdrew its recognition the Timor Gap Treaty would become null and void.

The pact signed between Australia and Indonesia in December 1989 allows for access to potentially millions of barrels of oil in a jointly-administered area of the Timor Sea, part of it off East Timor.

"It's my understanding that the treaty between Australia and Indonesia depends on Australia's recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor," said Michael Van Langenberg, head of Southeast Asian studies at the University of Sydney.

"If Australia withdraws that recognition then the treaty becomes null and void."

"Australia had its eyes on oil in East Timor and that's one of the reasons it supported Indonesia's actions," said Alfreda Ferreira, an East Timorese representative in Darwin.

A 1975 diplomatic cable from Richard Woolcott, then ambassador to Indonesia, to the Australian Foreign Affairs Department said Indonesia would be more sympathetic towards Australia's desire for oil than Portugal or an independent Timor.

Australia is due to award exploration permits on December 10.

A change in Australia's position towards East Timor would leave it and other interested companies holding worthless pieces of paper, said Robert Cribb, lecturer in Indonesian history at the University of Queensland. (Source: Reuter)

AUSTRALIA (Labour MP's want action)

Some 110 federal Labor politicians on Tuesday drew up a manifesto calling on the government to take strong action against Indonesia.

Their demands included a call for Australia to act to help secure "release of all political prisoners" in East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976, plus action to "meet the longer-term needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people."

But Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, asked whether the politicians were calling for independence for East Timor, said that would be a "robust" interpretation.

He said it would be extremely doubtful, even after the November 12 killings, whether the international community would support a push for independence for East Timor.

Australia gives de jure recognition to Indonesia's authority over East Timor but its rule is not internationally recognised.

Evans said the steps could range from "special status" for East Timor as a province to special arrangements for the church and the military in the area. (Source: Reuter)

U.S. (State Department briefing excerpt):

Q I'm wondering -- during that hearing, it was stated that the administration has been actually pushing to water down the resolution that would cut off aid to East Timor, or rather have it reconsidered until a thorough investigation has been completed in that matter. What is the administration's position on aid, military aid, IMET aid, to the tune of \$2 million a year?

MS. TUTWILER: I'll be happy to take your question. I will refer you to the record of any number of days where both I and the deputy spokesman, Richard Boucher, have

addressed ourselves in our concern to the situation in East Timor. And, three, I'm unaware of the testimony this morning, so I'll be happy to look into that.

Q Has the United States, while we're on that subject, come to any judgment about the alleged investigation that the Indonesian military has conducted into that massacre? Was that a true, fair, accurate--

MS. TUTWILER: I'll look at it, Alan. That's something I haven't looked into for the last few days.

Q Other governments have dismissed that investigation as a charade. We haven't yet heard from you.

MS. TUTWILER: Okay. I'll be happy to --

Q I'm sorry. I have just one more question on Timor. The two journalists that testified today on the Hill said that they hadn't been approached by the State Department for a debrief on their experience. Could you confirm that?

MS. TUTWILER: Sir, I just said, in response to this lady's question, I'm unaware of the testimony on the Hill this morning. I said I would be happy to look into it.

Q No, my -- I'm sorry --

MS. TUTWILER: So, it's a little difficult to respond -- excuse me -- to something I know nothing about.

Q No, but they -- then I'll formulate the question in another manner. Has the State Department approached the two witnesses of the massacre three weeks ago for a debrief, a formal debriefing?

MS. TUTWILER: I do not know. I will be happy to look into this for you.

Q Thank you very much.

(Source: FNS)

INDONESIA (regrets aid cuts)

Indonesia said on Tuesday that foreign donors reviewing aid policies after the army killing of civilians in East Timor had reacted too quickly.

"We regret that several countries hastily gave their judgement on the incident and related it to foreign assistance," the official Antara news agency quoted State Secretary Murdiono as saying.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the Netherlands was suspending aid until the outcome of an Indonesian government investigation while Canada was reviewing its aid policy.

"(Aid donors) should not take positions based on press reports. This is unfortunate. They should have waited for the investigation committee first," Alatas told the news agency.

Radius Prawiro, Coordinating Economics Minister and also in Caracas, said Dutch assistance was aimed at fighting poverty and that its suspension would hurt needy Indonesians.

"The suspension is against human rights," he told the weekly Tempo. (Source: Reuter)

INDONESIA (Murdani will broadcast massacre videos)

Indonesia's Minister of Defence Benny Murdani promised Tuesday that video recordings of the recent East Timor killings would be broadcast on the country's television if they could be obtained.

A British television station, Channel 4, has aired a tape of the incident taken by cameraman Max Stahl. It shows hundreds of demonstrators marching toward the cemetery where the shootings occurred and on arrival being hit by gunfire.

Father Stefanie Renato, an Italian missionary in the central Japanese diocese of Nagoya said he also took some video footage shortly afterward that shows the bloody results of the shootings.

"If the press have the recordings, please tell me, it can be broadcast on television," Murdani told reporters, adding that he wants to see the videos himself. (Source: Kyodo)

U.N. ECOSOC DISCUSSION

Extract from the U.N. Daily Highlights press release, 26 November 1991

Social Committee is told of "horrifying" human rights violations in Yugoslavia; is also told that United Nations must take up "massacre of innocent civilians" by Indonesian forces in East Timor.

Meanwhile, other human rights violations including the November 12 "massacre of innocent civilians" by Indonesian security forces in East Timor, have also been brought before the Committee. The representative of Cape Verde, Jose Luis Jesus, said his Government condemned the East Timor incident, in which more than one hundred civilians had been killed or wounded, and called it "another painful episode in the uncertain predicament in which the East Timorese people found themselves."

In a related development, Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe have requested the Secretary-General, in a letter dated 20 November, to renew his efforts towards finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor. They also called for an inquiry into the facts by the Human Rights Commission.

The five countries stated that East Timor is a question of decolonization and emphasized the United Nations responsibility in the creation of "conditions and mechanisms" to ensure the free exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by the people of East Timor.

STEP UP PRESSURE ON INDONESIA (MONTREAL GAZETTE EDITORIAL)

Editorial, The Montreal Gazette, 26 Nov. 1991.

For a brief moment it seemed international publicity could lead to better news from tormented East Timor. The Indonesian government promised an investigation into a recent massacre of demonstrators by its soldiers, which was witnessed by foreign journalists. The army commander admitted responsibility and said independent observers would be allowed to visit wounded survivors. It was a start.

But now it's beginning to seem there may soon be no witnesses alive to tell the tale. According to Roman Catholic Church sources, Bishop Carlos Ximinez Belo of East Timor has smuggled out a message appealing to the world to stop mass murders by Indonesian government soldiers.

He later made a public statement, possibly under pressure or threat, saying, "We do not want the church used for a political purpose."

His smuggled appeal contains a horrifying recital of recent killings and brutal behaviour, according to the church sources. In a chilling reminder of unpunished massacre elsewhere, Indonesian occupiers are said to be telling defiant Timorese that no one will save them. Why? Because the United States did nothing after the 1989 massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators by Chinese troops in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

International human-rights organizations say it's now so dangerous in East Timor that they hardly dare even telephone contacts there for fear of imperiling their lives.

In response, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall called yesterday for an immediate report by Canada's ambassador to Indonesia. Last week, in response to the earlier massacre, the department began a review of foreign aid to Indonesia, a large recipient. It should also extend to Canada's commercial and trade relations with Indonesia. And it should be done quickly.

Canadian companies have large investments there. Others do good business there -- including selling military equipment to the Indonesian forces, some of which has probably been used, in the 16 years since the Indonesian invasion, to help kill as many as 200,000 Timorese out of a population of some 700,000.

Maintaining good commercial and trade relations with other countries is important to the Canadian economy and the material well-being of Canadians. They should not be broken casually. But there is a limit. In such other cases as South Africa, China or Yugoslavia, Ottawa has ruled that limit was passed. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney recently explicitly linked decisions on foreign aid to human-rights violations.

If even only part of what the Indonesian government is now alleged to be doing to the

Timorese turns out to be true, there is good reason to take a similar tough line with it.

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR MP LOBBYING

From emack Tue Nov 26

Senator Nick Sherry (Tasmania, Labor), member recent Oz delegation to Indonesia and East Timor has advised me he and colleagues "have been actively lobbying to seek an improvement in conditions for the people of East Timor." This was in response to a letter I sent, enclosing a most outrageous propaganda publication I had received from Indonesian Embassy Canberra, following a letter of protest I'd sent to them. I've asked Sherry for more specific advice, and real action (e.g. UN intervention, reversing Oz policy of tolerating the annexation etc).

I suggest letters of outrage sent to Sherry might help push the Government into some morality - which ultimately is nothing more than good long-term politics instead of expediency and "economic" opportunism.

His address is 59 Best street, PO Box 858, DEVONPORT, Tasmania 7310.

How much longer do we have to suffer a national disgust that equals the intolerable suffering of the Timorese, the Tibetans, and the people of Bougainville!

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR PARTY CAUCUS POLICY STATEMENT

The following policy statement was adopted by the Australian Labour Party Caucus at the Federal Parliament on 26 Nov. 1991:

CAUCUS

1. Expresses its deepest sympathy to the people of East Timor for the appalling tragedy they experienced with the Dili massacre of 12 November 1991;
2. Condemns in the strongest terms the resort by the Indonesian military to force which on every account was wholly excessive;
3. Regards as deeply repugnant the reported comments of the Indonesian Commander-in-Chief on the day following the massacre that the "disruptors.... had to be shot";
4. Notes the Indonesian Government's decision to establish a National Commission of Investigation to investigate all aspects of the massacre, and calls on it to take every necessary step to ensure to the satisfaction of both the East Timorese and international communities;
 - a. that the inquiry is "free, accurate, just and thorough", as promised;
 - b. that it is conducted fairly and impartially, with all witnesses guaranteed protection against intimidation or retaliation; and
 - c. that appropriate action is taken against those found to be responsible for unlawful or excessive acts;

5. Further calls upon the Indonesian Government:
 - a. to provide immediate access by humanitarian and aid groups, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross, to those wounded or detained as a result of the events of 12 November and other recent incidents in East Timor, without any prejudice to those visited;
 - b. to respond promptly to requests for information in relation to detained or missing persons about whom concern has been expressed following the events of 12 November and other recent incidents;
 - c. to release all political prisoners detained because of their opposition to the integration of East Timor with Indonesia; and
 - d. to guarantee that individuals who express peaceful opposition to the integration of East Timor with Indonesia are free from intimidation, harassment or detention;
6. Requests the Government to instruct the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia to make an early visit and subsequently regular visits, to East Timor to report fully on all aspects of the present situation and progress of the National Commission of Investigation.

Comment: The very idea that any Timorese will want to testify to the Indonesian Government's Investigation Commission is ludicrous. People trying to make amends for their past betrayal of East Timor should come up with something better than this.

--TAPOL

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Socialist International at its 1991 annual meeting in Chile on 26 November 1991:

1. Aware of recent massacres of civilians in East Timor and condemning the violation of human rights in East Timor and in Indonesia by the Indonesian government and army;
2. Aware of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and refusal to abide by the UN's call to hold a referendum on self-determination;
3. And condemning again the annexation by force of the former Portuguese territory by Indonesia;
4. The Socialist International calls for Indonesian military withdrawal from East Timor and the organisation of a UN supervised referendum so that the East Timorese can determine their own political future, and urges, in the meantime, direct negotiations between the Indonesian government, the East Timorese and Portugal, as the administrative power, as

mandated by the UN General Assembly to the Secretary General.

5. The SI calls on the Secretary General to immediately engage Indonesia in direct negotiations.
6. The SI will organise a mission to visit East Timor.
7. Finally, the SI calls for a freeze to all bilateral, state-to-state economic and military assistance to the government of Indonesia.

Remark: The barrage of criticism from abroad has simply grown far beyond the capacity of Indonesia's diplomats to respond. They are, in fact, generally not responding in public. Given the high priority afforded East Timor in Indonesian diplomacy, this suggests an intellectual breakdown within Indonesia's foreign affairs apparatus far exceeding anything seen earlier in international forums. In short, the smug self-confidence and arrogance of Indonesian diplomats has been shattered as the situation has grown beyond rhetorical control.

--John MacDougall

INTERVIEW WITH JOSE RAMOS HORTA (PORTUGUESE RADIO)

Briote, Portuguese Radio, Nov 26 1991

BRIOTE: The situation is very tense in Timor. The situation is expected to deteriorate in the next few days. Jose Ramos Horta, spokesman for the timorese resistance spoke to RDP1 to night.

HORTA: Indirect reports arriving via Bali say intense military operations are being carried out close to the border and in the eastern side of the island, in the Los Palos region. Several additional battalions have been brought into the territory. I believe there are at the moment 30000 men, deployed in all administrative regions, strategic regions, backed by helicopters and armoured cars. The offensive against the resistance which we had forecast a few days ago, have been launched although not on a major scale as it was feared. But this is expected to happen in the next few days. A number of offensive, some considerable operations, have already started in the Los Palos region.

BRIOTE: There are more reports of violence. Since the Dili massacre there have been a further three massacres. 97 Timorese have been killed. The reports of violence run parallel with diplomatic efforts, which are being welcomed in Timor. But according to Ramos Horta, they are not enough. Much depends on the USA and Great Britain, who so far have not taken a clear stance on Timor.

HORTA: The USA and Great Britain, Portugal's major allies, strategic allies, have been the least receptive to this tragedy. Hitherto the USA has not condemned the

massacre and England merely signed the Twelve's declaration. Despite the accounts provided by two of its journalists, and a US congress resolution, the USA still considers the Indonesia is more important than Portugal. This is because Portugal has not yet flexed its muscles at the USA. I believe this to be the result of a years-old, decades-old Portuguese policy of appeasement and servility towards the USA.

I can not accept that, in view of this situation, the USA remains totally hypocritical. This is a sign, above all a symptom of a contempt for Portugal, not to say for East Timor. I believe it is time that Portugal reacted very firmly.

BRIOTE: Jakarta's Commission of Inquiry into the Dili massacre has been targeted strong protest. A group of Portuguese jurists has already called for it to be wound-up for lack of credibility. According to J.R Horta, Jakarta does not listen to the demands, it will continue with its policy of arrogance because it knows it will be echoed by London and Washington.

HORTA: Jakarta's response will display the same arrogance because it will be echoed by Washington and London, its two largest providers of armament, and so far we have not heard any criticism from the United Kingdom or the USA.

PORTUGUESE PREMIER WANTS E.C. ACTION AGAINST INDONESIA (IPS)

BRUSSELS, Nov. 26 (IPS) -- Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva has urged the European Community (EC) to take measures against Indonesia for violations of human rights in East Timor. "We cannot ignore the atrocities in East Timor," Cavaco Silva told journalists following meeting today with current European Community president, Dutch Premier Ruud Lubbers.

"It is not just a Portuguese problem. It concerns the whole of the international community," he added. The United Nations gave Portugal special responsibility for East Timor following the Indonesian invasion of 1975 and the mass killings that followed. Cavaco Silva said he expected "a firm condemnation" of Indonesia from the Dec. 9-10 Maastricht summit of EC states.

Following an army massacre in East Timor two weeks ago, Portugal requested all Portuguese companies to cut trade with Indonesia. Portugal's diplomatic links were cut in 1975.

But Cavaco Silva wouldn't comment on the kind of EC sanctions he wants brought against Indonesia. The Netherlands -- like Portugal, former colonial rulers on the island -- froze development aid to Indonesia after the shootings.

The options include an EC arms export ban, freezing of EC development aid and trade

sanctions, possibly ending Indonesia's right to easier access to EC markets as one of six signatories to a South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) trade pact with the EC.

A Portuguese spokesperson said today that EC policy on human rights in East Timor will be raised Nov. 28 at a meeting of EC development ministers. The issue is expected to be raised again at EC ministerial meetings before the final decision at Maastricht.

Cavaco Silva was in Brussels for talks with Lubbers and president of the European commission Jacques Delors on the proposed Maastricht agreements on political and monetary union.

In January, Portugal takes over from the Netherlands as president of the EC for the first time since joining in 1986. Silva told journalists today that the Portuguese presidency would give a great deal of attention to extending the EC's relations with the developing world during its presidency. "1992 is a special year," he said. "We will celebrate the two worlds, old and new. We must promote the EC's relations with the South, Maghreb, Southern Africa and Latin America. Portugal has very special relations with the rest of the world." "We want to express solidarity and promote respect for human rights."

INFILTRATORS PROVOKED TIMOR MASSACRE, SAYS ALATAS (IPS)

CARACAS, Nov. 26 (IPS) -- "The tragedy in East Timor was due to provocations against the army by a group of infiltrators" among demonstrators commemorating someone's death, according to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who is accompanying President Suharto on his official visit to Venezuela.

Speaking at a press conference, Alatas said Indonesia "deeply regretted the accident" and viewed the incident as a setback to the progress achieved in East Timor.

Alatas described as "exaggerated" foreign press reports claiming the army had "massacred" 19 people in a funeral procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery on Nov. 12.

A Timor resistance group claims that 183 people died in the massacre, while a film of the incident, which was secretly smuggled out of Timor, shows the number of victims to be much higher than official figures.

The Indonesian foreign minister described international reactions as hasty, and said his country had "hoped that those governments who have condemned the incident would wait until the facts had been investigated." He said a special commission would begin an "in situ" investigation of the incident today and added that President Suharto's government does not endorse the army's action.

The foreign minister spoke on behalf of Indonesian President Suharto, who has refused all contacts with the press since his arrival in Venezuela Nov. 24.

Suharto is currently on his most extensive foreign tour since he took power in 1967. After an official two-day visit, he will attend the three-day summit of the group of 15 developing countries, which begins in Caracas tomorrow.

After an initial silence, Western governments were forced to condemn the massacre following international public outrage at the incident.

Alatas denied that the massacre victims were funeral mourners and said they were demonstrators commemorating someone's death. "The villagers who were attending a Catholic mass decided to continue with the ceremony at the cemetery. On the way, they were joined by a number of agitators who started throwing stones at nearby houses," he said.

"Then, an army major dressed in civilian clothes asked them to continue their march peacefully. This man was knifed twice and one of his assistants was cut with a machete," Alatas continued. He said the demonstrators marched to the cemetery where a group of infiltrators tried to break through the army cordon around the mourners and launched a hand grenade.

"The commission will investigate these events and I do not wish to anticipate their findings," Alatas said.

He categorically "denied that his government had been killing those arrested during the "accident" and said all prisoners would soon be brought to trial.

Alatas accused the foreign media of making a scandal out of a tragedy and he repeatedly called on journalists to "balance" their reports.

THE MASSACRE INQUIRY COMMITTEE (DAVID BOURC)

peg:dbourc Nov 27, 1991

Listed below is some information about the six members of the National Investigation Committee [Komite Penyelidikan Nasional] formed to investigate the Dili killings of 12 November. It is headed by Maj Gen (Ret) Djaelani, whose career was detailed in a previous posting.

All of the members have made their careers within the state and remain more or less beholden to it. There is little reason to hope that they will produce anything like a full and honest account of what happened. On one level the inquiry will be a simple cover-up. But it will be very interesting to see how the blame is apportioned and what the political fall-out will be. This in turn will depend on who is able to determine the outcome of the inquiry.

According to a well-informed source in Jakarta (close to both the President and to Defence Minister Benny Murdani) the blame might be sheeted home (though perhaps not publicly) to Udayana regional commander Maj Gen Sintong Panjaitan, who could then be knocked out of the race for the strategically

important position of Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, allowing Suharto's favoured candidate, Maj Gen Wismoyo Aris Munandar to take it as a step on the way to Army Chief of Staff and from there by some route to the presidency. If anyone is able to read any particular significance into the composition of the team, or has additional information about these individuals, please post it as a response to this topic.

Most of the information here is from an article in the Jakarta newspaper *Berita Buana* (19 Nov).

HARISOEGIMAN

Brigadier-General, Army. (Ret.) Born Ngawi, East Java. 17 Sep 1931 ? : Attended Intelligence Training School in the Philippines 78-84: Personal Assistant to Kopkamtib [Internal Security] Commander Admiral Sudomo (in the intelligence and politics sections, where he says he learned lot about politics) 84- : Director-General for Social and Political Affairs, Department of the Interior. 88?- : Member of DPR (national legislature) (Golkar member) 91: Appointed as Chairman of the Panitia Penelitian Pusat [Central Investigation Committee] of the Komite Penelitian Nasional [National Investigation Committee] [November] In this position he has the power to delegate certain duties to people. Vowed to pursue the investigation objectively. Asked about the possibility that there was blame on the Indonesian side, he said 'Ya, that doesn't need to be answered yet.' Still too early. Said that when he was a soldier he went to East Timor many times. [Also] went there three or four times as Director General of Social and Political Affairs.

ANTON SUYATA

Born Yogyakarta. Law graduate. Has worked as the Kepala Perwakilan Kejaksaan [Chief Representative of the Attorney General's Office] in the Hong Kong Consulate, the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Bogor and since about Nov 1990 has worked as a General Inspector [Inspektur Umum] in the Justice Department.

CLEMENTINO DOS REIS AMARAL

Born Viqueque, East Timor. 9 July 1940. ?-73: Camat/kepala polisi [subdistrict head/police chief - probably means *Chefe de Posto*] 1973: Wakil Bupati Kabupaten Baucau [Portuguese equivalent] 1988?- : Member of DPR (National Legislature) Said the inquiry had to be honest and just in the interests of the East Timorese people. 'If there are members of ABRI who did wrong then they must be punished'. Admitted to *Berita Buana* that 'Though neutral, I am in my heart sympathetic to UDT'. Said to know the 'ins and outs' of East Timor. Speaks Portuguese, Spanish, English and Tetun. Eldest child (23) is being educated in Miami.

HADIA WAYARABI ALHADAR

Born Halmahera (Moluccas) 1942. Moved to Ternate at high school age. Studied political

science at Universitas Nasional (Jakarta). 1968: Started work in Foreign Affairs Department. 1973-77: Served in Syria 1979-84: member of Indonesia's permanent mission at the United Nations in New York 1986-90: member of Indonesia's permanent mission at the United Nations in Geneva. Now the Director of International Organisations [Direktur Organisasi Internasional] in Foreign Affairs. Since the East Timor case [massacre], he has often come home from work late at night, said his son. Been involved with East Timor, at least indirectly, since 1978, when he served in Indonesia's Permanent Mission to the UN. "At that time I was involved with Carrascalao'. 'It is a fairly heavy duty' said the father of four. It just so happened I was currently handling the East Timor problem' he said. Has been to East Timor 4 or 5 times, most recently March 91 with Alatas. Got to know Carrascalao well, and also knows Belo (less well).

BEN MANG RENG SAY

Born Flores, 15 July 1928. Catholic. 1956: Graduated from Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta (Political and Social Sciences). 1965: he was a senior Foreign Affairs man. Has been Indonesian ambassador in Portugal and Mexico. 1968-71: Vice Chairman of the MPRGR (Super Parliament). 1972?: One of founders of Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). Now Vice Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council (DPA). Daughter describes him as 'reserved' [tertutup] - never discusses work at home. Never been to East Timor, but has followed it closely as he was ambassador to Portugal.

SUMITRO

(Rear Admiral) Inspector General of the Armed Forces. (No information)

ASIA WATCH DEMANDS RELEASE OF TIMORESE PROTESTORS

Press Release from Asia Watch, Nov. 27

Asia Watch today released the names of 21 East Timorese students being held in the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station accused of spreading feelings of "hatred or enmity" toward the Indonesian government for having taken part in a demonstration on November 19. The students are being denied access to counsel and police officials say they are being "intensively interrogated" -- a phrase which often indicates physical abuse or torture.

The demonstration took place to protest the killings in East Timor on November 12 by the Indonesian army in which an estimated 75-100 people died. Marchers gathered at about 10:30 a.m. in front of a United Nations building in Jakarta, and marched past the embassies of the Soviet Union, Japan, Britain and Australia, under the watchful eyes of security forces.

They carried banners, some of which read,

- THE MASS MURDER ON NOVEMBER 12 WAS ONLY A SMALL PART OF THE MASS MURDER CARRIED OUT FOR THE LAST 16 YEARS [a reference to the more than 100,000 who died in East Timor in the years following the Indonesian invasion of 1975]
- INDEPENDENCE IS THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES, WHERE ARE OUR RIGHTS?
- BETTER DEATH THAN INTEGRATION ["integration" is the word used by the Indonesians to describe the invasion and annexation of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province]
- WHERE ARE THE CORPSES?

Shortly after noon, in front of the Hotel Indonesia, the security forces broke up the demonstration with force and loaded some 70 demonstrators on to a truck and took them away.

The Indonesian government initially denied that anyone was detained. It was not until November 27, over a week later, that the government acknowledged the detentions, releasing 42 and keeping 21 others in custody. They are expected to be charged under Article 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code, spreading feelings of hatred or enmity toward the government, which carries a maximum penalty of seven years.

Those still detained are as follows:

| <u>STUDENT</u> | <u>UNIVERSITY</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Joao Freitas Camara | unknown |
| Benevides C. Barrol | Satya Wacana, Salatiga |
| Domingos Barreto | Atmajaya, Jakarta |
| Metodio Muniz | Diponegoro, Semarang |
| Francisco Vasco Ramoa | Atmajaya, Jakarta |
| Joselius De Oliveira | API, Yogyakarta |
| Sergio Dias Q | Atmajaya, Jakarta |
| Judio da Costa | IKIP Santa Dharma, Yogyakarta |
| Antonio Lopez | IPI, Malang |
| Virgilio | Nat'l Inst. of Technology, Malang |
| Antonio Soares | Malang |
| Felipe da Silva | Ikopin, Bandung |
| Joao Sarmiento | Polytechnic, ITB, Bandung |
| Fausto Berhadang | IKOPIN, Bandung |
| Joao Travolta | Udayana, Den Pasar |
| Agapito C. | Udayana, Den Pasar |
| Gregorio de Araujo | LPPU, ITB, Bandung |
| Jose Maria Belo | Polytechnic, ITB, Bandung |
| Avelino Maria | Satya Gama, Jakarta |
| Mario Canecas | Surabaya |
| Egas Q. Monteiro | Surabaya |

Joao Camaro is apparently being kept in isolation from the others. According to the Legal Institute Foundation, he has not had a change of clothes or soap since he was arrested, and no one can go into his house to get additional clothing for him as security forces have prevented anyone from entering it.

As all 21 were arrested for peacefully exercising their rights to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, Asia Watch calls on the Indonesian government to release them

immediately and unconditionally. It also notes that the Indonesian government has violated domestic and international law by preventing them from having access to counsel and family.

JAKARTA-CANBERRA LINKS STRAINED (AGE)

Confusion over threat to withdraw all diplomats if harassment continues

The Age, Melbourne, Front Page Article, 27 November 1991. By Mark Metherell, Diplomatic Correspondent, Canberra

Australia's relations with Indonesia were in confusion last night after an Indonesian minister's threat to withdraw all diplomats from Australia if harassment against them continued "at a dangerous level."

But the acting Foreign Minister in Jakarta, General Benny Murdani, denied the threat in talks with the Australian ambassador there, Mr Philip Flood, an Australian spokesman said here last night.

Earlier last night, the Indonesian embassy in Canberra issued a statement quoting the powerful Cabinet minister Admiral Sudomo as threatening the withdrawal of Indonesian diplomats.

The Sudomo statement, which the embassy said was made on Monday, was issued only hours after the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, announced plans to visit Indonesia to seek reconciliation between Indonesia and East Timor.

Admiral Sudomo accused a picket of Fretilin supporters and ALP Left-wingers of forcing consulate staff in Darwin to use the consul's residence as a temporary office. Fretilin supporters had threatened the lives on Indonesian diplomats, damaged a car, smashed a consulate window and cut electricity and telephone lines to the consulate, he said.

Admiral Sudomo, Minister Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, was quoted in the statement as saying: "If the disturbances ... continue at a dangerous level, then the Indonesian ambassador for Australia, Sabam Siagian, together with all Indonesian diplomats, will be recalled to Indonesia."

An Australian Government spokesman said Mr Flood had raised the issue with General Murdani, who had said his government had no plans to withdraw the diplomats.

A spokesman for Senator Evans said last night: "We are playing it down." Admiral Sudomo's statement had not been referred to by the Indonesian ambassador, Mr Sabam Siagian, in talks with Senator Evans earlier in the evening.

Mr Siagian had referred to disruption of Indonesian missions, but not in "anything like the stark terms" used by General Sudomo, the spokesman said. Admiral Sudomo tempered his statement by concluding: "We don't see the situation as dangerous yet."

The federal ALP caucus yesterday called on Senator Evans to visit Indonesia to discuss

all aspects of East Timor, including the killings of East Timorese by Indonesian security forces.

For the first time, Senator Evans has given a detailed estimate of the number of dead and wounded. The Government's "best guess" was that about 75 had died. There were 89 wounded in hospital, two or three of them still in critical condition. Others in hiding were known to be wounded.

Senator Evans dismissed reports of successive massacres after 12 November in Dili. "I can frankly say that we have no evidence from any source to give support to those claims."

Though the caucus agreed without dissent to a strongly worded resolution, differences emerged between some members and Senator Evans about the resolution's call for the Government to take active steps to explore a role for the United Nations in the East Timor dispute.

Senator Evans described the question of UN involvement as delicate, given Australia's recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor.

"We would be looking to be satisfying the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people by steps short of opening up the whole question of sovereignty."

But Mr Garrie Gibson, a Left-wing MP who was involved in drafting the caucus resolution, said: "Everybody knows what the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese are. They want independence."

Senator Evans said this was a "slightly robust interpretation of what's involved here."

The caucus held its fire on seeking sanctions against Indonesia, such as the suspension of military training programs, saying that these contacts would be reviewed if the investigation of the Dili killings is unsatisfactory.

Senator Evans is expected to visit Jakarta for two or three days around 18th December on his way back from Cambodia.

TIMOR VOTE PUTS EVANS ON THE LINE (AGE EDITORIAL)

Melbourne, 27 November 1991

Yesterday's resolution on East Timor by the federal caucus suggests that Canberra is getting the message about the depth of the Australian people's shock at the Santa Cruz massacre and the instinctive feeling that it is time the Government stood up to Jakarta on human rights. The resolution was given added weight because Mr Hawke and Mr Evans voted for it, although one interpretation is that they did so to head off something even stronger. Interpretations aside, the signal sent to Jakarta must be forthright and unambiguous: Australia values good relations but it will not stand silent and inactive in the face of outrages of the kind perpetrated on 12 November, made worse by statements from the military that they would, in effect, do it all again. The resolution echoes the Government's

initial reaction to the shootings: condemnation of the killings; "repugnance" at General Try Sutrisno's reported matter-of-fact reaction; the need for a free and thorough inquiry.

Exactly what effect the caucus resolution will have on Government policy is impossible to say. It calls on the Government to "explore all constructive avenues for meeting the longer-term needs of the East Timorese people." Does this mean support for self-determination? If it does, it requires a dramatic reversal of policy. In August 1985, Mr Hawke recognised Indonesian sovereignty over the province it had invaded 10 years previously, at the end of 400 years of Portuguese rule. Jakarta formally annexed East Timor in 1976. The Prime Minister went further than previous administrations in Canberra that had recognised the fact of East Timor's incorporation. None had agreed with the method of annexation, or the harsh actions that had followed, but recognition was seen as a way ahead in the often vexed relationship with Jakarta. As this newspaper put it at the time, Mr Hawke had "merely accepted publicly the reality of one of Australia's most important bilateral relationships."

Two of the sponsors of yesterday's resolution claim it at least represents a fundamental shift, but Senator Evans disputes this. He will be in no doubt, however, that his every word and gesture on his forthcoming and very difficult visit to Jakarta will be tested against the strong tone of the resolution and the manifest expectation in the community that he would not pussyfoot around. It is right to keep the diplomatic channels open and working, but Jakarta must get no sense of complacency from Australia. Senator Evans has a duty to insist on an independent investigation witnessed by foreign officials and media. There should be a clear understanding that Mr Hawke's Indonesian visit in February will not go ahead if the inquiry does not meet international expectations. The Suharto Government must be made aware, if it is not already, that the horror of Dili cannot be swept away, and that Australia will show a lead in international forums if attempts are made to do so. History is a harsh judge of appeasement.

"NO PROVOCATION" BEFORE DILI CEMETERY MASSACRE

(AUST. CATHOLIC LEADER)

CATHOLIC LEADER, Australia, 1 Dec.

"The military came to the cemetery and started to shoot straight away . . . They shot with automatic weapons for two or three minutes . . . never warning and never speaking."

A young Timorese student who escaped gave Jesuit Fr. FRANK BRENNAN, director of UNIYA, the Sydney-based centre for social research and action, this first-hand account of the November 12 massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili. Fr. Brennan writes . . .

I was asked if I would receive a call from Denpasar, Bali, and pay the charges.

Mystified, I agreed and then heard a familiar voice. "Father, you remember we met in Bali at the lawyers conference." Indeed, I remembered Juan (not his real name) who was the chief spokesperson for the East Timorese students who met with me at the Hotel Sanur Beach at Bali in July. He said, "Father I was at the cemetery in Dili. I got away. I am back."

He was worried about the safety of the telephone he was using. He would ring again. I waited two days, watching the graphic footage on the Australian television screens. On November 20 at 2.50pm, he telephoned again. He was still shaken. I then arranged for him to speak with another Australian lawyer who was with me when I met Juan and his companions in July.

This lawyer, who is fluent in Bahasa Indonesia, had come to the lawyers conference via East Timor. He was able to fill in the gaps from the account which I was given in faltering English.

After Mass on the fateful morning of November 12, people were processing through the streets of Dili. The procession was orderly. An Indonesian army major came bounding up to a group of Timorese who were proudly displaying their flag. "He did not say excuse me. He showed us no dignity," said Juan.

He grabbed the flag. An East Timorese stabbed the major. In immediate retaliation, two other Indonesian military personnel stabbed two Timorese teenage girls. There were scuffles, but most of the procession continued past the Governor's palace and the military establishment.

The massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery did not occur for another 15 to 20 minutes. "There was no provocation."

There were 20 to 30 military trucks near the cemetery. There were also jeeps and other military vehicles. The military came to the cemetery and started to shoot straight away without warning. They shot with automatic weapons for two or three minutes. "Never warning and never speaking."

There were two or three hundred Indonesian military. The commander spoke to the troops and they indicated they were ready to fire. Juan was near an American journalist. They punched and broke the journalist's camera. Juan and a friend managed to escape. They ran about two kilometres by the river and then took a taxi another four kilometres.

They saw the Indonesians piling East Timorese people into 12 or 13 military vehicles.

The whole area was then blockaded for seven or eight hours. "The military cleaning up Santa Cruz." They blockaded Santa Cruz, Demori, Kuintal Bot and Aileu. Some of the demonstrators running from the cemetery could not get out of the area. The Indonesian troops went through cleaning up that area.

"When they found the Timorese people in their houses, they punched, they shoot them

and kill them." After that "they take the bodies to the cars."

I explained that we Australians had seen graphic television footage of the shooting in the cemetery and people running away, those left behind being beaten by Indonesian soldiers.

In answer to the question "How many were killed?", Juan discounted the Indonesian version saying "There were many more than 19 killed, and over 100. Because there were many demonstrators and 200 or 300 military shooting. It was a peace demonstration; there was no provocation; you could tell it was military provocation. Because they want to take the flag. They don't say anything or say "Excuse me." They just take."

Having made his way back to Denpasar Juan made no claim to knowledge of a second massacre. But he had heard word of another 17 or 18 Timorese being killed three days later.

"Here in Indonesia we hear news of Australian unions making embargo of Indonesia. We have no help for 16 years, but on November 12 when 100 of our people massacred, we hope that Australian people will help. We hope the Catholic Church will help."

Next Saturday marks the 16th anniversary of Indonesia's unilateral annexation of East Timor by invasion when, as Senator Gareth Evans has said, "the military moved with less than decent haste to take the place of the hastily departed Portuguese colonists."

In July 1991, Juan and his fellow students were mystified how Australia could take such a strong position on human rights in the Middle East, committing ships to the Gulf War, when it had closed its eyes to human rights violations so close to its shores.

They also contrasted the difference in our unions which has communicated to Juan and his colleagues that we care.

Australia's de jure recognition of the take-over in 1979 our Government's concern to foster warm relations with our closest neighbour will preclude any effective action from the Australian Government. Our bishops have called on the Australian Government to take appropriate action at an international level.

His voice quivering as he cried for help, Juan was rightly calling for an end to 16 years' official silence and paralysis. I could offer nothing but best wishes, prayers and a mouthpiece from a very safe distance - to our closest overseas Catholic neighbours.

MANY ARRESTED IN DILI BEFORE INQUIRY COMMISSION ARRIVES (TAPOL)

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following press release today, 27 November 1991:

Many people are being arrested in Dili on the eve of the arrival there tomorrow of the 'National Inquiry Commission' [KPN] to begin its investigation. According to news from Dili

today, Timorese on the streets are being rounded up and taken to police headquarters [Polwil]. It is widely feared these detainees will be required to testify to the Commission, whether or not they were present at the demonstration and massacre.

Far from carrying out an objective inquiry, the Commission, appointed by President Suharto last week, is a new source of fear among the already fear-stricken population of Dili. It is composed of senior political appointees in the interior, justice and foreign affairs ministries and the inspector-general of the armed forces. It is headed by (retired) Major General Jaelani, a Supreme Court judge. Timorese shun the very idea of having to testify before it.

Anyone who was actually present at the demonstration is afraid to go out for fear of being arrested and possibly killed, to eliminate genuine witnesses to the massacre. There were an estimated 3,000 people at the demonstration. Minus the many hundreds of dead and wounded, that leaves many survivors who can be harassed to give testimony or be eliminated. Armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, told a parliamentary commission in Jakarta today that reports that the 12 November demonstration in Dili was peaceful were "bullshit" (he used the English word).

From Ermera, south of Dili, our source was told that anyone picked up without identity cards is required to do push-ups and stand in the glaring sun for a day. A woman on her way to town to give birth was ordered to return home.

The Portuguese-language Sao Jose school in Dili is still closed and many pupils of other schools, particularly boys, are afraid to go to school for fear of being picked up. The main Dili 'mercado' (market) is almost deserted.

An announcement by the military commander, Brig. General R. Warouw that masked men who are much feared by the population when they parade the Dili streets at night, would be shot is treated with derision by the population. This is seen as an attempt to persuade Timorese to go out into the streets, so as to create an impression of normality as the Commission's investigations proceed.

PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAYS UN WILL INVESTIGATE EAST TIMOR ALLEGATIONS (AP)

Source: AP. 27 November 1991 Dateline: Madrid Byline: Richard Lorant

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said on Wednesday he planned to send a mission to East Timor to investigate the killing of an undetermined number of East Timorese by Indonesian troops this month.

The deaths occurred Nov. 12 during a memorial rally in Dili, capital of the disputed territory.

"I have the necessary facilities from the Indonesian government (and) would like to send a totally independent and impartial

mission to present me with a report for the benefit of the international community on what happened in East Timor," Perez de Cuellar told reporters.

The Indonesia government says its troops killed 19 people and injured 91 others and blamed the violence on instigators among the demonstrators.

But witnesses, including five foreign journalists, say the soldiers killed between 50 and 100 people when they opened fire on a defenceless crowd.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976, one year after invading what was then still a Portuguese colony. Portugal had planned to grant independence to East Timor.

The United Nations recognizes Portugal as the administrative power over the southwest Asian island north of Australia.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST NOV. 27

Excerpted from material received by Task Force Indonesia:

Try Sutrisno: "Peaceful Demonstration is Bullshit"

"It was a dangerous mob and forced the soldiers to take strong measures," General Try Sutrisno told a packed parliamentary hearing which lasted four and a half hours.

"It was the enemy's demonstration, the people's enemy. The purpose was very obvious...they were carrying Fretilin's flag and Xanana's picture," said Try, often named as the leading choice to eventually replace President Suharto.

"And (foreign reports) said it was a peaceful demonstration...what peaceful demonstration? It's bullshit," Try said in English, clearly aiming his remark at foreign reporters in the gallery.

He said five foreigners in the provincial capital Dili, including journalists not based in Indonesia, had been actively involved in the anti-Indonesian demonstration.

"Hiding your identity is in violation of immigration rules and the international ethic of journalists. It's not impossible they were involved in the engineering of the incident or being used by the anti-Indonesian sides," he said.

He said someone in the crowd of 3,500 mourners on its way to Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery threw a hand grenade at the soldiers who defended themselves.

"I believe you don't want to see your armed forces disarmed by these mobs," he told parliamentarians.

Try made no mention of the account by his military commander in East Timor that the shooting had been the result of a misunderstood order.

Try said 42 people were still under arrest in East Timor over the shooting incident, out of 288 initially detained.

Try said the government would withdraw some troops from East Timor including those involved in the shooting. He did not make

clear whether this would reduce the number of troops there, estimated at around 10,000, or represented just a change of guard. (Source: Reuter)

No Massacre, Says Alatas

"The tragedy in East Timor was due to provocations against the army by a group of infiltrators" among demonstrators commemorating someone's death, according to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who is accompanying President Suharto on his official visit to Venezuela.

Speaking at a press conference, Alatas said Indonesia "deeply regretted the accident" and viewed the incident as a setback to the progress achieved in East Timor.

Alatas described as "exaggerated" foreign press reports claiming the army had "massacred" 19 people in a funeral procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery on Nov. 12.

The foreign minister spoke on behalf of Indonesian President Suharto, who has refused all contacts with the press since his arrival in Venezuela Nov. 24.

He "categorically" denied that his government had been killing those arrested during the "accident" and said all prisoners would soon be brought to trial. (Source: IPS)

U.S. State Department briefing excerpt

Q Do you have any readout on anything yesterday here at the State Department between the two American journalists who witnessed the -- (inaudible) -- massacre?

MS. TUTWILER: Yes, I believe that you were asking me yesterday why no one from the State Department was meeting with these people. And I said I was unaware of it. And, as you know, the Assistant Secretary of the bureau met with them, and that was, I believe, last evening. And he and members of his staff met with these two American journalists. The meeting was arranged by the Right Reverend Paul Moore, who is a former Episcopal Bishop of New York, and he also participated in the meeting.

The journalists described their experience in East Timor on November 12th. They substantially reiterated what they had said at their press conference on November 15th. They cited reports that killings have continued in East Timor since November 12, and they urged that the United States take various actions with respect to the situation.

Assistant Secretary Solomon said the United States condemns this incident, as we have said publicly from this podium any number of times, and will continue to press the Indonesian government for a complete and thorough investigation, and that we have made this point repeatedly. Assistant Secretary Solomon also noted that the government of Indonesia has appointed a national investigatory commission to look into the November 12 incident. (Source: FNS)

Australia May Review Ties

Australia will review its relationship with Indonesia if an inquiry into a massacre in the province of East Timor is a "whitewash," Prime Minister Bob Hawke told parliament.

Hawke said the "continuing sore" of East Timor, which Indonesia occupied in 1976 after the departure of Portugal, the colonial power, would not be solved militarily.

"Without a positive response, and in particular if the inquiry turns out to be a whitewash, we will... Have to consider steps to review our policies towards Indonesia," Hawke said. (Source: Reuter)

Portugal Pushes Sanctions

"We cannot ignore the atrocities in East Timor," Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva told journalists following a meeting today with current European Community president, Dutch Premier Ruud Lubbers.

Cavaco Silva said he expected "a firm condemnation" of Indonesia from the Dec. 9-10 Maastricht summit of EC states.

Following an army massacre in East Timor two weeks ago, Portugal requested all Portuguese companies to cut trade with Indonesia.

But Cavaco Silva wouldn't comment on the kind of EC sanctions he wants brought against Indonesia.

The options include an EC arms export ban, freezing of EC development aid and trade sanctions, possibly ending Indonesia's right to easier access to EC markets as one of six signatories to a South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) trade pact with the EC.

A Portuguese spokesperson said today that EC policy on human rights in East Timor will be raised Nov. 28 at a meeting of EC development ministers. The issue is expected to be raised again at EC ministerial meetings before the final decision at Maastricht. (Source: IPS)

Mock 'Re-evaluation'

Indonesian armed forces chief General Try Sutrisno told a parliamentary commission Wednesday that the government would reevaluate all development aspects in East Timor.

He said the evaluation should involve all government ministries, in the interests of coordination.

Try said that the military would go ahead with its "macro activities" aimed at improving the welfare of the population in East Timor and also concentrate them on urban areas.

"The unilateral cancellation by the Portuguese of the visit of their parliamentary delegation was an engineered decision" aimed at increasing tension in its former colony.

The cancellation frustrated anti-government elements in East Timor who had planned an "all out" effort to show their existence to the world, he said, adding that "this is the condition" which prompted the unrest. (Source: AFP)