

ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

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NOV. 12 MASSACRE WITNESS STATEMENT

(RUSSELL ANDERSON)

With this report two maps were attached: one of Dili showing the route of the 12 November demonstration, and one of the area around the Santa Cruz cemetery, showing military movement and the positions of the East Timorese demonstration and foreigners just prior to and after the shooting.

REASONS FOR VISITING EAST TIMOR

During 1991 my wife, Saskia Kouwenberg and I had promised ourselves to be in the Netherlands to celebrate Xmas with her family. We decided to have a holiday travelling through Indonesia for two months on our way to the Netherlands. Shortly before leaving Australia we heard, on the radio, of the Parliamentary Delegation's visit to East Timor.

I knew about the situation and a bit of the history of East Timor. The visit of the Delegation coincided with our visit. So we decided to be present in Dili when the delegation arrived.

I had been a radio journalist for 8 Top Fm, a Darwin radio station for eight months, putting together a weekly half hour environmental programme. So I took my recorder with me. I also, like any tourist, took my camera.

Before leaving Australia we got in contact with an East Timorese refugee. He explained to us the present situation and we asked him for names of people to talk to inside East Timor. We also met two Europeans, just arrived in Darwin from East Timor. We met them again in East Timor. We left Australia with no names of people to see, but hoped to meet people whilst there.

We stayed in Dili for so long, 18 days mainly because Saskia had back problems and could not travel. In all honesty this can be

checked at several doctors in Darwin. Saskia felt a lot of pain in her back and was the reason we did not attend the mass and demonstration on the 12th of November.

It could also be said we took an interest in the situation of East Timor and found this a double reason to stay, especially after the funeral procession where I experienced the despair of the East Timorese for the world to understand their plight. It was Saskia's back, though, which stopped us several times from taking the bumpy bus journey to Kupang.

ARRIVAL AND OBSERVATIONS

I arrived in Dili on the 26th of October. It was only two days later that two or three people died at the Motael Church. I heard that the incident started at midnight when people, in civilian clothes threw rocks at the Church. Dozens of East Timorese were seeking refuge inside the Motael for fear of being arrested, tortured or killed. Like hundreds of other East Timorese they were seeking a safe place to hide from accusations of having been involved in past or present anti- Indonesian activities prior to the visit of the Parliamentary Delegation.

Armed with pistols and batons the military intervened on the church grounds one and a half hours later. In the military's efforts to arrest the East Timorese attempts to escape, Sebastio Gomez Rangel was shot several times, another boy died of gunshot wounds, and a soldier was stabbed, it was said, in response to the shooting of Sebastian. Dozens of East Timorese were arrested and some were said to be still in prison by the time we left East Timor.

I attended the mass and funeral procession for Sebastio Gomez Rangel on the 29th Nov. The procession went the same direction as the 12th of November demonstration. The procession consisted of a cross section of ages. There were no banners on the procession but the same shouts of "Viva, Viva Timor Leste, Independence, Viva Xanana and Viva

Sebastio" echoed through the streets of Dili. No military were to be seen on the streets during the funeral procession, contrary to normality.

I could talk in detail about the military presence in East Timor. However there are already well-documented accounts. I would like to confirm these reports by saying that East Timor has a strong feeling of an occupied country.

Military are present everywhere from the streets of Dili to the smallest village, in market places, restaurants and occupying the most important buildings, I've heard since, there are special soldiers for building roads. I witnessed this several times whilst travelling through the countryside. Armed soldiers sitting in the cabin of bulldozers and graders. Their sole purpose looked like protecting the driver as they sat with automatic rifles resting in their laps. Armed soldiers also stood along the roadside.

During my two brief visits to the countryside I saw a total of 38 military trucks on the move with fully equipped soldiers. I saw three jeeps and three armoured vehicles at one stage blocking our path.

Roadblocks were frequent. I had my bag searched and my travelling companion had all her papers gone through.

As a tourist we took some pictures of the beautiful traditional houses. At one point the owner of a house did not allow us to take a picture of his house because there were military watching by the roadside. We continued 200 metres along the road, out of the military's sight and were greeted with the usual village friendliness as they happily posed while we took picture of the stunning house they had built.

With estimates by the local people as high as 70 000 Indonesian military in East Timor, I could go on and on.

THE MASSACRE OF 12TH NOVEMBER

I attended the Catholic Mass held at the Motael Church on the 12th November at 6am in commemoration of Sebastio Gomez Rangel's death. Due to the large crowd, approximately 4 000, the mass was moved outdoors to the west of the church still within the church grounds. All was quiet. Open jeeps with military sitting in the back drove by and observed the crowd.

A demonstration was planned to start after the mass. I believe the demonstration was organized because of the expectations of the Parliamentary Delegation and the frustration

felt due to its cancellation. There was also a UN delegate, a Mr Koojimans (Special Rapporteur on torture) staying in Dili for 3 days.

With the mass over, people moved to the entrance way of the churchyard and onto the street. Concealed banners were unfurled and hidden t-shirts with slogans were displayed. No military were to be seen.

As more and more banners unfurled into a sea of waving slogans, the crowd became vocal with shouts of "Viva Viva Sebastio, Viva Timor Leste, Independence, Viva Xanana". The age grouping of demonstrators were again mixed but younger people were more visible in the front. The faces of the East Timorese lit up with an expression of life and vigour. Pent up frustrations seemed to be released with a feeling of at last being able to show openly their cries for independence in the hope that the world was watching. I felt a nervousness, a sense of fear swell within me as I remembered I was in an occupied country. I also saw a nervous fear on people's faces as their eyes scanned the streets.

From the beginning organized demonstration marshals were in attendance. It seemed the marshals were a youth group, distinguished by similar clothing. A marshal tried to operate a megaphone but had problems with feedback creating a siren sound. Eventually he spoke to the crowd who were still unfurling banners and starting to move along the planned route.

The march was led by two women/girls carrying traditional baskets of flowers wrapped with knitted colourful cloth. From the beginning marshals joined arms to contain the lead by slowing down the enthusiastic banner wavers who wanted to run (not in any direction, it never looked like a riotous situation: they jogged, ran and walked along the route.) The marshals had a hard time, shouting at people to slow down and having to continually regroup.

I stayed at the front of the march and had a hard time keeping up. In the simmering heat I was sweating and panting. The march proceeded along the harbour side. Ironically, a military ship was preparing to dock. The seafront was lined with Indonesian ships and the soldiers standing in the confines of the harbour looked on with disgust and hatred on their faces.

The demonstration went along Jl Gov. Alves Aldeia (street name) past the governor's house and turned right into Jl Bispo Medeiros. Near the Resende New Inn Hotel a road sign (marking a crossing ahead) was banged about ten times by demonstrators as they passed. Marshals yelled and ran quickly to the spot and stayed there to make sure no-one else hit the road sign.

The head of the march reached the roundabout and stopped (in front of the Telecommunications Centre. The marshals and other convinced a now tired and exhausted lead to wait for the others. The march was almost divided with a few people in between

and a larger group, a block away still coming up Jl Bispo Medeiros.

While everyone waited at the roundabout a man, hopping but supported by two others, approached me. I was eagerly shown his dripping bloodied calf and foot. A cloth had been tied around his upper calf. Not speaking the language I could not understand their efforts to tell me what had happened.

The demonstration walked off again as one group. I found myself about 40 metres from the front. I had an audio cassette recorder and people were talking into the microphone.

I had noticed military at the barracks on the corner of Jl Av Sada Bandeira and Jl Bispo Medeiros. Also near the Resende Hotel, I saw a lot of police at what appeared to be a main police station on the right hand side just after the roundabout. They had pistols in their pouches standing shoulder to shoulder with riot sticks at the ready. Every time I saw military or police they stood well back from the demonstration, between 30 to 50 metres away. The police at this "main station" were the closest to the demonstration I saw - approximately 30 metres.

At this point two demonstrators with a large Fretilin flag waved and jumped enthusiastically displaying their boldness.

I walked quickly through the crowd to get to the front again. By the time I got to the cemetery entrance way demonstrators were still climbing the wall for photographers to take pictures of the banners and the hands held high in a V sign.

I gave a quick count as the crowd swelled in front of the cemetery. I estimated between 5 and 6 thousand people. I remembered at Sebastio Gomez's funeral many people joined the procession at the cemetery. I put this down to the area being more residential and a safer place for more afraid people to join in.

In this residential area I saw a lot of people also standing by the roadside. Some in government blue shirts and others in normal dress while others stood further back near their house. Very few offered a gesture of solidarity or a yell of support. It could have been a sign of what was to come. But it looked like the town of Dili had closed and everybody was there. A lot of school children still wearing their school uniform joined the march from a nearby school. School was coming out or it had closed because of the demonstration. Some children so small reached up and grabbed the microphone in my hand.

As the photos were taken of the people standing on the front cemetery wall, others moved inside to say prayers and lay flowers on Sebastio Gomez' grave. Again the demonstration was organized. A marshal announced the ceremony of prayers and laying of flowers through a megaphone.

I stayed in front of the cemetery, interviewing people in my broken Spanish. I asked about their feelings of the Parliamentary Delegation's cancellation. At the same time I was noticing most people were walking away (continuing south down the road). I found out later the demonstration was to continue in that

direction to Bishop Belo's house and to Hotel Turismo where Mr Koojimans was staying. However, I felt people were walking away from fear of the unknown. Of what might happen.

To the south of the demonstration the military were forming. The first truck was about 100 metres away from the diminishing crowd. These soldiers, in what I will call the "first truck", wore a distinctive camouflaged uniform. These were the ones I saw methodically form the frontal assembly of the military attack and they were the ones who created the initial onslaught and deaths. Later that day this was confirmed by the Americans Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn who stood between the demonstrators and the soldiers during the massacre.

Two trucks stopped behind the "first truck". I noticed military marching down the road along the route the demonstration had walked. The second truck, with a roar of its engine, drove towards the crowd but I turned left. The crowd yelled. I felt there was excitement because the military were leaving. They, however, parked just around the corner, started filing out of the truck.

I was frightened by the movement of the truck and noticed most people had moved away. I walked through the crowd and stood at the back. At a quick count I estimated 1 000 in front of the cemetery entrance way. More people were still inside the cemetery.

I observed the "first truck" was almost empty as the last soldiers unfired and were forming a front line to confront the demonstration. More military were marching down the street and I saw some military peeping around the cemetery wall from the north side. All of these military wore a green or dark green uniform except for the soldiers in the "first truck". It was clear the military were being commanded into a confrontational position. From the back of the crowd I looked around for the others (the foreigners). I saw Bob Muntz. He stood just inside the cemetery. On seeing me he came out. We looked up to see the soldiers of the "first truck". They were now in three lines about 15 abreast in the street. From where I was standing they looked quite close to the demonstrators - about 80 metres.

From the positions I stood I heard no warning to the crowd to disperse. Not that I would have understood the language, but any shout or order through a megaphone I would have heard and recognized such an order. There was none, not a single warning.

Bob Muntz and I decided we should leave. I had taken ten hurried steps north along the cemetery wall and was glancing back to see the helmets of the military front line bobbing up and down, jogging or marching towards the crowd. The crowd began to walk backwards, walk away. Some were already running.

Suddenly a few shots rang out continued by an explosive volley of automatic rifle fire that persisted for 2 to 3 minutes. It sounded like the whole fifteen in the front row had

their fingers pressed firmly on the trigger. They were firing directly into the crowd.

I ran like everybody else. I took a quick glance around and saw people falling. I realised that I would be shot in the back if a bullet lodged into my body. Most people, especially in that initial burst of fire would have been shot in the back running away.

In my vicinity most people ran around the south side of the cemetery to get out of the line of fire. Once around the corner, I scampered through barbed wire fences frantically jumping over tin fences following the rivers of people past houses trees and more fences. I lost Bob Muntz early on as I followed a different path. I was running a zigzag direction going south-east.

My body began to convulse from fear and I was out of breath. I felt very sick and sat down unable to run. There didn't seem as many shots being fired. Suddenly it started again from the direction of the cemetery and some shots seemed much closer. I was up and running again. The soldiers were chasing us.

I changed direction many times as small bursts of fire went off sometimes as close as 50 metres. Others sounded further away. My eyes were wide open watching the reaction and direction of the people running, in front and behind me. My eyes scanned any nook or cranny. I stayed alert for any movement that may have indicated soldiers with automatic rifles. Possibly from any and all directions.

After at least 15 minutes of running I came to a bitumen road. The street was called Jl Belarmino Lobo and I wasn't far from the intersection with Jl Kuluhurr... I was so glad and surprised the military had not cordoned off the whole area. I started walking as calmly as possible down the street. Hundreds of people were fleeing across the road. Not far from the corner people stricken with fear sought my protection by walking with me. On person grabbed by wrist tightly and wouldn't let go, saying "Come house with me". By that stage I was under no illusions that my white vulnerable skin could protect any of these East Timorese. Nevertheless he was terrified so I said I would go with him. We both approached the corner shaking. We looked up and down. No military. We continued down the street.

Taxis drove past and people yelled at them to stop. As one taxi came to a tentative halt my attached companion ran towards the taxi, like about twenty others. The taxi filled in seconds. People climbed on top, hung off the doors and rear bumper bar. As the taxi drove off people were flung and fell to the ground. This happened three more times as I walked down the street towards my hotel.

Back at the hotel there was no-one. I was terrified, pacing up and down. I waited. Had a shower and changed my clothes that had been ripped by the barbed wire fences.

After waiting half an hour I decided to ride around town on a motorbike. Looking back now this was madness but I had to know what happened to the others. I turned the bike up

Jl Belarmino Lobo the street I had walked down. Noticing there were no military I rode cautiously up the street. About three quarters of the way twenty soldiers rounded the corner. Thinking I would look suspicious turning the bike around I continued.

The soldiers noticed me and glared. Some of them were looking in houses around corners and over fences. Some had their automatic weapons in a position to fire and others had them strapped over their shoulder. I thought I would be safe. I'd changed clothes, was wearing a helmet and had sunglasses on. I gave a warm good morning and a smile. The glare on most of them changed to a smile and I motored on.

Turning right I saw soldiers all along the street. It looked like a mopping up operation. They too were searching the area. I noticed but did not stare at three bodies in front of a house about 30 metres off the road.

Upon reaching the next corner I gave way to two military trucks packed with soldiers. I again waved and smiled but the second truck started yelling and pointing at me. The driver didn't stop. Turning right again I was close to the cemetery. There were three speeding trucks heading towards the cemetery so I diverted and went back to the hotel.

Bob Muntz was back. Bob had a wound on his arm. Blood seeped through his shirt. He told me Kamal was shot several times and had been found bleeding profusely in the street. Kamal had been taken to the military hospital. There was no time for sadness. We had to think. We still feared for our lives. How do we get to the hospital to see him? What about the others? What about the East Timorese?

AFTER THE MASSACRE

By nightfall we'd seen each other (the foreigners), except for Kamal, who died in hospital later. We talked about how it happened. I saw no physical provocation from the crowd. No brandishing of knives or machetes, no stone-throwing or stick waving. This was confirmed by Amy and Allan who stood between the demonstrators and the soldiers, by Stephen Cox and Chris Wenner who stood inside the cemetery and Bob Muntz who stood at the back of the crowd, in front of the cemetery.

Stephen Cox had told me how sporadic bursts of fire had continued into the confines of the cemetery for half an hour. The layout of the cemetery is important. It is about the size of a football oval and has very high walls. You would have to be extremely fit to climb over them. The people inside were completely trapped.

I became even more scared for my life after hearing about the savage beatings Allan, Amy and Stephen had received and of the threats, by gunpoint, made to their lives. I saw Allan's (later diagnosed as a fractured skull) bleeding head and his clothes covered in blood.

I was fortunate enough to get away from the massacre site and did not see how many had been killed. Allen and Amy told me they

saw at least 50 lying in front of the cemetery. Stephen said that within his field of vision he saw hundreds of bodies lying around dead, wounded or cowering in fear. With so many wounded I imagined a lot would die later in hospital.

Terrified that night I was unable to sleep near the window in our hotel room. I moved the mattress to the floor and slept in a corner half inside the bathroom and behind a wardrobe.

I left Dili by plane on the 1.30pm flight on Wednesday the 13th of November. Stephen Cox, Bob Muntz, Saskia Kouwenberg and myself bought tickets and were told to be at the airport by 1 o'clock. Arriving late at 1.05pm we were told we could not get on, the plane was full. Through pure fear for our lives we walked onto the tarmac and tried to enter the plane. The airport security tried to arrest Saskia (who had taken our lead) but she physically fought them off. Some of us ran back for our boarding passes and Saskia stayed on the tarmac effectively stopping the plane from taking off. Stephen and I received boarding passes and had to physically fight our way back to the tarmac and not to the waiting room where they tried to detain us. We boarded the plane and there were exactly four vacant seats. With sweating foreheads and beating hearts the plane lifted off the tarmac of East Timor, and headed for Kupang.

While in Kupang and later in Australia I was extremely saddened to hear reports from Indonesia of a "riotous situation" where the soldiers had to act in "self-defence". This was definitely not the case as I've made clear in this statement.

In my opinion it was a cold-blooded, butcherous massacre. Statements about orders like "don't fire" being mistaken for "fire" do not ring true. The firing went on and on. The foreigners, who were not brandishing or throwing anything, received the same treatment as the East Timorese. The only difference was the foreigners, those still alive, were able to flee the country and tell what had happened.

FATHER RICARDO INTERVIEWED (EDITOR)

Editor, 7 December 1991.

Father Ricardo, pastor of Motael Church, celebrated the mass to pray for Sebastiao Gomes, shortly before the bloody incident on 12 November. "The dead man's parents asked for the mass which is the custom here." The mass was attended by the entire family. "If not, there would have had to be sanctions according to tradition." That's why, he said, the duty to attend was broadcast widely, by radio, written invitation and word of mouth.

"I knew them all, though some came whom I did not know. But after the incident, many people came, among them many I didn't know."

Father Ricardo, born on 26 April 1947, is also deputy bishop and chairman of the East

Timor Church Liturgy Commission. His parish consists of 40,000 congregants.

Q: It is said that secret meetings were held at Motael Church...

A: That is absolutely untrue. In accord with the Second Vatican Council, the church is categorically against being used as a secret meeting place for political affairs. We only have meetings about pastoral business.

Q: Is it true that many items of evidence were found in the church?

A: It is not true that the security forces found anything. A church is not the place to keep things of that kind. When I celebrated mass, there were no signs that any incident would happen.

Q: So it isn't true to say that you and the Motael church were involved?

A: Because the events on 28 October and 12 November began at Motael Church, people think I'm connected with anti-integration youngsters and have had secret meetings with them. That is quite wrong. I have never done any such thing. As a 'shepherd', I have always given pastoral guidance to the congregation. Anything that happens beyond that is outside my knowledge.

Q: But why do so many anti-integration youngsters seek the protection of your church?

A. Should I turn them away? That is impermissible. As a shepherd, I must let them in and help them solve their problems. Every day in my parish, many young people come to ask for help. This is apparently what some people take to mean that I was planning something political. This is completely untrue! It is my duty to help those of my sheep who have gone astray and are in difficulty. This is where people are mistaken in assessing the position of the church. And this is what groups of youth mean when they mention the bishop or the priests.

Q: What is your attitude towards young people who get involved?

A: All I can do is urge parents to advise their children not take part in political activities. Should I condemn them? I can't possibly do that. If I were to do so, I would be exceeding my position. But to solve their problems, I have to approach them. And I must try to understand the problems they face. As a 'shepherd', I must constantly look for the sheep who have gone astray, to the best of my ability.

Q: What do you think about integration?

A: At the start, the East Timorese people placed their hopes in integration; then problems arose because people could not understand many things. We have tried to help the government resolve these problems. Among other things, to uphold the truth.

Q: What is the truth about human rights up to now?

A: First of all, you should understand that the East Timorese have always been accustomed to justice. If something is wrong, say so. If it is true, say so. Anyone who does something wrong should be punished according to the rules. It isn't right to beat them. People who have done nothing wrong should be released.

Q: Have there been human rights violations since integration?

A: To be quite honest, yes. For instance, about land. But we are trying to resolve this. I often accompany the Bishop when he goes to see the governor to discuss the best way out. For instance, if someone's property rights have been harmed, we try to find a way out with the government.

Q: What do you think about the National Commission of Investigation?

A: This is an important moment for getting at the truth. But we are still trying to understand who the KPN will ask to make statements. For the time being, only the Bishop has said that he's willing to make a statement. If I am asked for a statement, I will explain things according to what I know. Now that the KPN is here, people should try to discover the true facts. In this way, it will be possible for the problem and the various issues to be fully resolved.

More on Father Ricardo's meeting with the press.

Jawa Pos, 26 November 1991.

Much of this item is the same as the interview published in 'Editor', 7 December. Here are some additional points:

The meeting with the press in Dili was arranged by Alfons S. Suhardi, head of Public Relations of the KWI (Indonesian Bishops' Conference), and held in Fr Ricardo's office.

Fr Ricardo denied that he was meeting the press on behalf of Bishop Belo. "I am only speaking to the press in my position as Motael parish priest."

While the meeting with the press was in progress, Bishop Belo looked in through the door, summoned his 'anak buah' [= subordinate] and left immediately. [It is not clear from the report whether 'anak buah' here referred to Fr Ricardo.] After staying silent for a few moments, Fr Ricardo continued with the interview.

He said he had been interrogated for about five hours by the Polwil (local police command) but would not say whether he was interrogated as a witness or an accused.

Why had he only met the press now, two weeks after the incident? "I have been very busy every day from 6.15 am. I work at my office every afternoon and conduct mass every evening. My parish has 40,000 congregants, including Atauro island."

Where was he when the incident occurred? "I saw them passing in a large crowd in front of my office, past the governor's office to the Santa Cruz cemetery. A little while later, I

heard shooting, then people came running and some came into the church for protection."

He denied that things like banners, Fretilin flags, stones or machetes had been confiscated from his church by security officers. "Such things were not found in the church." Stones, knives, banners and a Fretilin flag had been shown to him when he was being interrogated at Polwil. "When officials came to search the church, I did not see them taking these things from the church. So, I was amazed when, during the interrogation, they showed me my own kitchen knife."

Speaking in faltering Indonesian and frequently helped by Alfons Suhardi, Fr Ricardo said, when asked his views about integration: "At the beginning, the people of East Timor hoped that they would have a better future under the Republic. Now it seems that there are many complex problems, with regard to land ownership, education and job opportunities."

Young people come to see him every day, complaining about these things. "Many of them come to the church; every day, different people come."

He told the journalists he had had consultations about the incident with Bishop Belo but he refused to say what these were about.

He also denied that Xanana, the resistance leader, had attended the mass in his church (on 12 November). "Had he been there, it would not have been possible not to see him. He's not a small kid who can hide under a table. It is untrue to say that Xanana was there."

Meanwhile, Alfons told the press that Fr Ricardo's meeting with the press was being held to put the matter into its proper proportion. "This is very necessary, considering that as a result of that incident, Fr Ricardo's burden has become even heavier. I would like to ask you, as journalists, to help rectify the inaccuracies being reported in the press." He also denied that the sacred mission of the church in East Timor had been used for political purposes. "It is quite untrue," said Alfons.

STOP SENDING WEAPONS TO INDONESIA (GREEN LEFT)

ALFREDO FERREIRA, Fretilin representative in Australia, spoke to REIHANA MOHIDEEN of Green Left on November 22. Following are his comments on recent events in East Timor.

After the massacre of November 12, the Indonesian army, together with the Indonesian intelligence forces, started rounding up all those people they thought would be the organisers of the protest. Information is that between 100 and 300 people were rounded up on the first day after the massacre. These people were taken to the police stations.

During the early morning of November 15, there was a report that 60 to 100 people were taken away and executed in Bemussi. There were eyewitnesses of those killings. Soon after they were executed, a bulldozer pushed all the bodies into a large grave.

The Indonesian offensive that they launched early this year has not stopped. Sometimes, due to communications breakdown, we cannot follow what is happening. But the offensive to capture the Fretilin leadership is still continuing.

The United States is the main supplier of weapons to Indonesia.

Fretilin wants the United Nations to go to East Timor and look into the situation. We also want the United Nations to put pressure on the Indonesians to withdraw their forces. In fact, a resolution along these lines was passed in the United Nations in 1976. What we want is to enforce that resolution.

We want the world to realise that by supplying arms to Indonesia they are helping the Indonesian government kill our people. We want them to stop sending weapons to Indonesia.

There has been an international outcry about the recent actions of the Indonesians. The European parliament has passed a resolution to stop military aid to Indonesia and has asked the UN to look into the situation again. The government of the Netherlands is stopping any new investments in Indonesia. The response from Australia hasn't come yet. But we believe that next week Bob Hawke will support a resolution which will ask Indonesia to withdraw their forces from East Timor and encourage a peaceful and acceptable solution.

We think that there will be enough international pressure on Australia to support such a motion. The Timor Gap treaty has influenced Australia against coming out with a strong response so far. This has prevented Australia from playing a useful role in support of the Timorese people.

If the rest of the world is ahead of Australia on this question, it means that Australia will become irrelevant to the process of decolonising East Timor. They will be seen to be supporting one of the most brutal regimes in the world. So I think it is in Australia's interest to take a strong position.

We want a truly independent inquiry into the recent massacres. Australia wants an inquiry from the Indonesian side. This is not at all adequate. How can you ask the criminal to investigate his own crime?

We ask for the support of the Australian people to solve the problems relating to this long war.

SUHARTO IN VENEZUELA (PORTUGUESE RADIO)

Portuguese radio external service. 25 November 1991. (Forwarded from a colleague at BBC monitoring.)

Today's Venezuelan press carries extensive reports on the situation in East Timor, as Indonesian President Suharto started an official visit to the country where he will be participating in the Summit of the Group of 15.

The *Diario de Noticias* carries on its front page a report on the Indonesian army massacre on 12 of November in Dili. On the other hand, the *Nacional* denounces the Venezuelan Foreign Affairs Ministry's silence on the Timorese situation which will be one of today's topics for debate between Suharto and Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez. That paper quotes the Portuguese embassy in Caracas to confirm that Andres Perez has a letter from President Mario Soares. In the letter, the Portuguese president asks Andres Perez to inform Suharto that the Indonesian attitude is intolerable.

In the meantime, the Portuguese community's newspapers in Venezuela have sent a communique to the Venezuelan press, in which they ask Carlos Andres Perez to take a stand in favour of human rights in East Timor.

The presence of Suharto in Caracas and the situation in East Timor are causing a lot of silence among the participating delegations in the G15 Summit.

CRACKDOWN IN JAKARTA AFTER EAST TIMOR MASSACRE (GREEN LEFT)

By Max Lane Green Left Weekly Nov 27, 1991

All indications to date are that the Suharto regime is not going to bow to international pressure in any substantial manner following worldwide outcry after the November 12 massacre in Dili, East Timor.

While the regime has appointed a so-called Commission of Inquiry, it is headed by a former senior military officer and commando, who has recently been appointed a Supreme Court Judge. Other members of the commission are middle-level civil servants or backbenchers in Indonesia's rubber-stamp parliament. Even if there are honest men among this commission, they will not be able to buck orders from above.

Another sign of a hard line is the very revealing statements of armed forces commander Try Sutrisno, who in a speech last week made it clear that the army's policy towards oppositionists could be summed up in one sentence: "People who don't know their place must be shot!"

Perhaps the most ominous development has been the regime's reaction towards the pro-democracy movement's attempts to show support for the East Timorese.

The radical human rights coalition INFIGHT shortly after the massacre sent a delegation to the parliament to protest. This was followed a week later by a demonstration of more than 50 East Timorese in the main street of Jakarta, which INFIGHT also supported. Almost all of the East Timorese demonstrators were detained and are still in detention.

At the same time, INFIGHT began preparations to send a fact-finding mission to Dili. The four-person team was to comprise Indro Chahyono, a convener of INFIGHT; Haji

Princen, from the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights; Yoppie Lasut, a well-respected freelance journalist and member of the prisoner rehabilitation group, New Life Foundation; and a fourth person from the Bandung Legal Aid Foundation.

Since the attempt to send this mission became known, Indro, Princen and Lasut have been under intense pressure. The latest information from the London Human Rights Organisation TAPOL is that Indro and Princen are undergoing intense interrogation at the offices of the Body for Coordination of Stability and Resilience, while Lasut is in hiding. This is also confirmed by Green Left's own sources. Reliable sources indicate that the regime may be moving towards attempting to close down INFIGHT and the institute.

All GLW's sources indicate that there is extensive discontent within the regime and even the military over the massacre. This is not based upon rejection of the occupation or the repression but on the extent of the "tactical blunder". The incident is seen as a major "setback" to Indonesia's international diplomacy.

The Indonesian news media have kept the issue alive after calling for a credible inquiry last week. Important representatives of the civilian conservative establishment, such as Harry Tjan of the Centre of International and Strategic Studies have made statements that Indonesia cannot afford to be put in the "Tienanmen" category.

It is likely that the perception of a major "setback" will accelerate the pace at which those forces calling for a shift from presidential military authoritarian rule to some form of conservative "guided" parliamentary rule.

BATTALION IN EAST TIMOR REPLACED (JAKARTA POST)

Jakarta Post. 28 November 1991. Lead news item, page 1. Abridged. Original language: English.

The Indonesian armed forces next week will replace a battalion in East Timor which was involved in the bloody riot on 12 November in Dili. "The commander of Section C will be replaced and his troops withdrawn," armed forces commander in chief Gen Try Sutrisno said at the end of a four-hour hearing in parliament. Section C refers to the area in Dili where the clash occurred.

Maj Gen Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana division told reporters later that the troops withdrawn were Battalion 303. [Note: This battalion, from Siliwangi, West Java, did a previous tour of duty in East Timor under the command of Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law.]

Sintong described the incident befalling the battalion as "bad luck", because both the commander and the troops, he said, were highly disciplined. "I have never seen troops in such a rage (during the incident). They have always been fantastic in the forest."

Referring to the incident, Sintong said East Timor was still a military operation zone.

"Troops were sent there with an instruction to crush the GPK. So it cannot be compared with other provinces." He said the withdrawal was not a punishment. "It is standard procedure. If it causes some impacts, a rearrangement is necessary. So, in this case it is not a violation or a punishment. From the legal aspect, what mistakes have they made? However, it is true that their actions have caused some concern."

Try criticised foreign journalists who slipped into Indonesia and were in Dili during the incident, using tourist visas, saying that this showed their 'ill-intention'. Try showed photographs taken of the incident and then described foreign press reports suggesting that the troops had opened fire at a peaceful demonstration as "bullshit".

GARUDA CONSIDERS HALTING FLIGHTS TO AUSTRALIA (UPI)

UPI. 28 November 1991. Abridged.

Indonesia's flag-carrier Garuda threatened to temporarily halt its flights to Australia if Australian unions support a boycott against the airliner, a company official said Thursday.

Australian boycotts and protests against Indonesia have been mounting since 12 November.

"We are ready to stop our flights to Australia if that country's unionists endorse a boycott against us," said Sunaryo, Garuda's business director. He added however that he had received no reports of a boycott endorsement from Garuda's office in Australia.

Bans were already in place on Indonesian shipping and plans were afoot for a ban on Garuda including refuelling, ticketing and baggage handling.

OVER THE EDGE (FEER)

Adam Schwarz, Far Eastern Economic Review

(Dili, Nov 28) The killing of youths when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on demonstrators at a cemetery here on 12 November, has undone 15 years of effort to integrate East Timor into Indonesia, according to at least one MP from the ruling Golkar party.

Although the Indonesian Armed Forces (Abri) said the soldiers fired after being provoked and that only 19 demonstrators died in the clash, 91 were injured and 308 detained, many eyewitnesses put the death toll at 100 or more, with a possibility of it rising.

The widely witnessed killings, which took place after a one-hour march in which young Timorese demonstrated for independence, have badly damaged Indonesia's human rights record and re-opened all the old internal and international resentment and opposition over Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

Abri has not identified any of the detainees or casualties, or described the condition of the

injured. It did confirm that a New Zealand volunteer worker, Kamal Bamadhaj, had been killed. The 20-year-old student was critically wounded immediately after the shooting started, eyewitnesses said.

The army described the demonstration which passed through the centre of Dili as "brutal and violent" and said soldiers opened fire on the students in order to protect themselves. Six foreigners present at the rally and dozens of Timorese eyewitnesses who spoke to the REVIEW all described the demonstration as orderly and disciplined and said the army, without warning or provocation, fired directly into a densely packed crowd gathered in front of the Santa Cruz cemetery.

The credibility and effectiveness of the governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, and the senior military officer in the province, Brig.-Gen. R.S. Warouw, have been seriously jeopardized by the killings, analysts said. The position of respected Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who had lobbied to get a Portuguese parliamentary team to visit East Timor, which the Portuguese cancelled in October, has also been weakened.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in late 1975 after a nominally communist group had assumed power in the wake of the Portuguese withdrawal earlier in the year. The territory was made Indonesia's 27th province in mid-1976 and Jakarta has maintained since then that the majority of Timorese are in favor of integration with Indonesia.

The UN continues to treat Portugal as the administering power in East Timor, and most Western countries have not officially recognized Indonesia's takeover.

The province remained closed to outsiders for 13 years and human rights groups claim more than 100,000 Timorese died during that period in fighting or from starvation and neglect. Since the late 1970's, the army has waged a low-intensity campaign against guerrillas of the Fretilin independence group who are said to currently number no more than a few hundred.

However, in recent years there has been a sharp upturn in anti-integration sentiment among the young, especially in Dili, according to church officials and other East Timor observers. A large majority of East Timor's 750,000 inhabitants are Catholic, in contrast to the overwhelming Muslim majority elsewhere in Indonesia except in the island of Bali, which is basically Hindu.

Independence-seeking youths have been treated harshly, according to many accounts from Timorese activists and several international human rights groups. In August, London-based Amnesty International criticized what it said was an "accelerating pattern of short-term detention, torture and ill-treatment of political opponents" in East Timor.

The procession on 12 November was partly intended as a memorial for one of two Timorese youths who died two weeks earlier in a clash at Dili's Motael church. One of the victims was a Timorese intelligence agent

working for the army, said the senior clergyman in Dili, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo. The other, Sebastio Gomes, was sleeping in the church on the night of the attack.

A memorial mass for Sebastio was held at the church at around 6:15 a.m. on 11 November. Between 7 a.m. and 7:15 a.m. youths left the mass and assembled into a procession which filled the road running along the beach through Dili's centre. The group leaving the church numbered between 1,000 and 1,500, according to army and eyewitness estimates. The demonstrators, most under the age of 25, were led by small girls carrying flowers.

The marchers had intended to walk past the governor's office and continue up to the Santa Cruz cemetery, a distance of about 3 km. After laying flowers on Sebastio's grave and holding a prayer service, they had planned to march back down to the Turismo Hotel and hold a demonstration there.

Staying at the Turismo was Pieter Kooymans, the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture. He was the first high-ranking international official to visit Dili since the cancellation in late October of the Portuguese visit to East Timor. The demonstration which youths had planned for the Portuguese visitors was held for Kooymans instead, according to several Timorese who took part.

Leaving the Motael church, some demonstrators unfurled banners and posters, some of which had been hidden on the beach during the mass. The banners carried messages such as "Viva East Timor", "We Love Independence", "[UN] Secretary-General: We Are Waiting For You". One demonstrator carried a poster of Xanana Gusmao, the commander of Fretilin and leader of the opposition movement.

Maj.-Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, who has operational authority for East Timor but is based in Bali, claimed that near the beginning of the march, a man left the procession and stabbed Maj. Girhan Lantara, 35, a deputy commander of the 700th Battalion, in the chest. The major is recuperating in a Jakarta hospital, Panjaitan said. He added that demonstrators threw rocks at buildings on the procession route and hurled abuse at soldiers.

According to Panjaitan, who gave the first official report of the incident at a press conference in Dili on 14 November, soldiers arrived at the Santa Cruz cemetery to "keep order" and prevent destruction of property. Warouw told the REVIEW that 200 armed soldiers arrived at the cemetery.

Panjaitan said the demonstrators verbally abused soldiers in front of the cemetery and brandished knives. He said a shot rang out from the church, whereupon the soldiers fired warning shots in the air. Then, one demonstrator threw a grenade at the soldiers which did not explode, Panjaitan said.

At this point, an officer yelled "Don't shoot," but the order was misunderstood or not heard and the soldiers opened fire, he said. Panjaitan expressed regret at the loss of life but said the soldiers were left only with the

choice of "kill or be killed". He said soldiers later collected three rifles, three pistols, six grenades and hundreds of knives from killed, injured or captured demonstrators.

Apart from the account of the stabbing of Lantara, more than 30 eyewitnesses contacted by the REVIEW contradicted the official army account in every significant detail.

According to numerous eyewitnesses, there were no soldiers at the cemetery when the procession arrived. Some students had draped their banners across the front wall of the cemetery and some were shouting independence slogans. Witnesses say some demonstrators may have been carrying knives but that at no point, either along the procession or at the cemetery, were weapons of any kind visible to onlookers. The procession had grown in size along the way and numbered about 2,000 when it arrived at the cemetery, witnesses estimate.

The procession was described as orderly and disciplined by many participants. Witnesses say the procession remained within the confines of the road at all times and that while slogans were shouted, soldiers on the route were not verbally abused. Many soldiers and policemen lined the route of the procession, some armed and some carrying wooden batons.

Some witnesses say there were some stones thrown by both demonstrators and soldiers but only at a few points along the procession route.

The procession arrived at the cemetery around 8 a.m. Witnesses said the first soldiers were spotted about five minutes later, when 500-800 people had already entered, with another 1,000-1,500 standing around the entrance. The crowd outside extended about 25 m. to each side of the main gate and was about 20 m. deep, according to Robert Muntz, an Australian aid worker who was near the front entrance, when the shooting started.

A truck carrying 30-40 troops came down the road from the north and stopped near the intersection at the southwest corner of the cemetery. Some of these troops were carrying riot shields and batons; the rest were armed. Very shortly afterwards, about 200 armed soldiers came marching down the same route as the procession had taken.

As the first line of soldiers rounded the corner, they advanced a few steps towards the demonstrators, the nearest being about 20 m. away, and opened fire, witnesses said. Soldiers poured down the street in front of the cemetery and along the south wall, firing continuously. Witnesses say the first burst of sustained firing lasted about two minutes.

Two American journalists, Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, were near the southwest corner when the soldiers arrived. "Everybody could see the troops marching down the street. The demonstrators got quieter and quieter and began to back away. The soldiers marched in controlled, deliberate formation, with guns raised. They knew exactly what they were going to do," said Goodman.

The soldiers started firing just as they passed the two journalists. A second line of soldiers beat the two with rifle butts and kicked them, fracturing Nairn's skull. They were able to escape 10 minutes later when a car picked them up. As he left, Nairn said there were "dozens" of bodies lying in front of the cemetery.

Many demonstrators were able to escape by running down the road past the cemetery or by turning down the road along the north side of the cemetery and then into the surrounding neighborhoods. Others pressed into the cemetery.

All eyewitnesses who spoke to the REVIEW agreed that no warning shots were fired and no order to disperse were given. Timorese eyewitnesses denied that any demonstrators carried guns or grenades. "If we had these weapons, how come nobody used them when we were fired on?" asked one boy. "It is very common that every time they kill a Timorese the soldiers plant some kind of weapon," said another witness.

"We went forward to the soldiers thinking that the presence of foreigners might deter the soldiers from firing," said Goodman. "But I never would have thought of doing so if at any time I saw that the demonstrators were armed in any way, even just carrying rocks."

Some demonstrators inside the cemetery were able to escape by leaping over the walls of the cemetery before the soldiers advanced. Chris Wenner, an English film producer who was trapped in the cemetery, said wounded people were flooding over the south wall of the cemetery but that for the first few minutes the soldiers stayed out of the cemetery.

"After the first volley of firing, there was a pause as soldiers surrounded the cemetery. They got up on the walls and, on an order, started firing into the cemetery and then moved into the cemetery in force," Wenner said.

According to Wenner and scores of other eyewitnesses, soldiers shot at, stabbed and beat people running through the cemetery and lying on the ground. Witnesses say sustained shooting continued with varying intensity for about 30 minutes with scattered gunshots being heard around Dili for several hours.

No one knows how many injured are not getting medical treatment rather than report to a government hospital but many Timorese believe the number is considerable. Equally unclear is what, exactly, motivated Indonesian soldiers to open fire on unarmed youths. Most commentators believe the order to open fire did not come from senior Indonesian army officers. Brig.-Gen. Warouw, who is considered one of the better military commanders to have served in East Timor, appeared pale and shaken at the 14 November press conference. He told the REVIEW he was ashamed at what had happened.

It is more understandable, analysts say, to view the killings as the culmination of a period of extremely high tension. Emotions had been running high for months in preparation for the Portuguese visit. Timorese say the army had

launched a systematic intimidation campaign to discourage Timorese from demonstrating during the Portuguese visit. There are many allegations of night-time arrests and torture.

Nerves were frayed still further after the deaths of the two youths on 28 October, it could have been the stabbing of Lantara that pushed the soldiers over the edge, some observers believe.

Even if the stabbing had not occurred, soldiers may have been sufficiently enraged simply by the boldness of the demonstrators in shouting anti-Indonesian slogans in the centre of Dili, suggests Belo. Both Belo and Carrascalao said they had feared the same kind of violence would have occurred had the Portuguese come.

The 12 November incident puts in tragic relief the failings in the army's campaign to win over the "hearts and minds" of the Timorese, in the words of Panjaitan. Carrascalao, in an interview, bitterly criticized the army's practice of employing Timorese men as intelligence agents.

Calling these agents "thugs and bandits", the governor said that by using them the army had added still further to the climate of fear in East Timor. He said the army would have to change its approach, but did not say in what way.

Some fear that the army may close ranks against the province and crack down viciously on all signs of opposition. This would be a major setback for officials such as Alatas who have pushed for more openness.

But many analysts say Alatas's ability to influence policy on East Timor may be reduced following the killings. It was Alatas, against the advice of Carrascalao, Belo and many in the army, who decided to push ahead with the Portuguese visit. The prospect of this visit greatly increased the level of tension in East Timor and was certainly one factor behind the killings.

"The problem [with the Portuguese visit] was that neither side understood what the other wanted. For the Timorese, the [idea of a visit was a mistake," said Carrascalao.

A partial explanation for Alatas's miscalculation is the scarcity of accurate news coverage out of East Timor. Domestic news organizations rarely report on it except in quoting official sources. Few local publications have dared veer far from the official account of the 12 November killings.

What is reported are the economic gains that East Timor has enjoyed since integration. Per capita income is only about US\$200 in East Timor -- about 40% of the national average -- but this is five times the level it was when the Portuguese withdrew.

Indonesia has invested substantial amounts in new roads, bridges and schools. But the degree of opposition to integration that still remains is almost never alluded to in domestic reports.

There have been strong reactions to the killings from many of Indonesia's most important trading partners. Australia, the US and Japan have all expressed concern and urged a

full investigation. The UN and the International Red Cross, which has been denied access to detainees and wounded, made similar statements.

International condemnation of the incident has elicited a strong response in Jakarta. Abri Commander in Chief Gen. Try Sutrisno regretted the killings but said the matter was an internal one for Indonesia. He rejected criticism about human rights violations.

"Indonesia is a member of the UN Human Rights Commission. There is no doubt about human rights in Indonesia," he was quoted as saying. He and other senior officials vigorously attacked the foreign media for exaggerating and misreporting the incident.

On 17 November, State Secretary Murdiono said Indonesia would form a national investigating team to study what happened. The team will consist of officials from the ministries of foreign affairs, justice and home affairs, and representatives of the armed forces, the national advisory body and parliament. While some analysts said the step was unusual in Indonesia's experience, others said the composition of the team would prevent it from getting at the truth.

Abdul Hakim, who heads the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Society, urged the government to let representatives from non-government organizations and journalists join the team. He also said the government should not be so sensitive about foreign participation in the investigating team.

It is not certain that the press will continue to have access to East Timor. Although some foreign journalists were allowed in immediately after the killings, a journalist for the Japanese Kyodo News Service was denied entry on 17 November.

Timorese sources dismissed the investigating team completely, saying Timorese eyewitnesses to the killings would be far too frightened to speak to the team without guarantees of safety from international organizations.

One woman mourning in Santa Cruz cemetery on 14 November said: "Someone always investigates when one of us is killed and then they go away. Then someone else is killed and there's another investigation and nothing happens. If it keeps going like this, they'll end up killing us all."

CHANNEL 4 NEWSCAST ON EAST TIMOR (U.K.)

Transcript of a news item on Channel 4's News at Seven, 28 November 1991:

The programme was introduced by the programme's chief newscaster, John Snow. It was the lead item in the programme's one-hour news bulletin, taking up more than 15 minutes. Footage from the Yorkshire TV film of the massacre as well as footage from the early period of the war in East Timor was shown. The following are some of the highlights of the programme:

Michael Liefer, professor of international relations at the London School of Economics, speaking about the Indonesian commission of inquiry, said:

"All the people chosen are servants of the Indonesian Government. Within Indonesia there are no effective independent institutions. The state is very much in charge. I would expect that there might be some mild criticism, but by and large they will probably place the burden of responsibility on the East Timorese themselves, claiming that they provoked the army into shooting. I don't think one can have much confidence in the outcome."

Lyndsay Taylor (reporter): "As well as the killings, Amnesty International says that scores of people were injured, and as many as 300 have been detained. The government's one concession has been to allow the International Red Cross to see some wounded, but it has not yet been permitted to count the dead, or to see those held prisoner."

Thomas Rudin (ICRC) speaking from Geneva: "Up to now we have registered 52 persons who are wounded - most of them have been seen by a physician who is working with us. We are only happy for the visits to the wounded, but there is still part of our mandate that is not yet covered."

Figures of British trade with Indonesia			
	1989	1991	Increase
	(million)		
Exports	184	197.9	7.6%
	(mainly industrial goods)		
Imports	273	329.9	20.0%

Last week GEC's Marconi announced a 30 million deal exporting broadcasting systems to Indonesia.

George Foulkes MP, Opposition (Labour Party) foreign affairs spokesperson, criticized the British government for its military dealings with Indonesia, in particular the fact that the UK has been training Indonesian soldiers in Britain, "which means that we are effectively party to the killings that are taking place now in East Timor".

British Arms Sales to Indonesia: 3 Frigates, 20 Hawk Aircraft, 150 Armoured Cars

Interview with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas

Snow: World opinion has demanded an international inquiry into the massacre in East Timor rather than Jakarta's own commission.

Alatas: We believe that this commission should be given the opportunity to do its work and have its findings. At this stage I think that is what we are going to try to do.

Snow: Internationally, Indonesia has never really been trusted when it comes to dealings with East Timor, and surely the problem is that the international community needs to be able to find out for itself what has happened in East Timor.

Alatas: You say that we cannot be trusted on events in East Timor. Well, I will try to answer as [pause] composedly as I can. It doesn't go very far as far as facts are concerned. The international community has had access to the East Timorese, freely, especially in the last few years.

Snow: Will you accept the plea of the International Red Cross that they be allowed to inspect the bodies of those who died in the massacre?

Alatas: Mr Snow, the ICRC has a fully fledged office in Dili, manned by several people . . .

Snow: Yes, Foreign Minister, having an office is not the same as having access to the bodies and to the wounded.

Alatas: Would you allow me to finish my sentence? Is this an inquisition or an interview? The ICRC has an office in Jakarta, and has a fully fledged office in Dili. They are in continuous hour-long contact with the authorities. They have been to the hospitals, they have been given access and they will continue to be given access.

Snow: You see, Foreign Minister, the aid agencies that one talks to about East Timor, the people who have been there and come back, tell us that there is a climate of fear and intimidation.

Alatas: Well I believe that is a rather one-sided depiction of the whole situation. With whom did they talk? Because they have talked with scores of people; we have always opened the possibility for interviews; the ICRC has been working there constantly, as it has been working in other parts of Indonesia. Now, let me put one thing straight though. A very tragic and unfortunate incident has happened in East Timor which as far as we are concerned is a very serious setback to all what we have tried to do over the years. We have expressed our deep regret about the situation. We have immediately instituted an independent commission of inquiry, and we have tried to say to the press: please report it in a balanced way; the situation is already bad enough - why do you put in all kinds of exaggerations and unverified

reports to the press, that will help nobody's cause?

Snow: Will you guarantee that there will be punishment of those who were responsible?

Alatas: We as a government at this stage cannot guarantee anything, until the commission of enquiry has made its findings; all we can guarantee is, the commission is totally independent, that means independent from what the government thinks.

Snow: But Foreign Minister, Indonesian troops fired on unarmed demonstrators. You can surely at least tell us that if anybody has done wrong in this matter, they will be punished.

Alatas: Oh certainly. That is what we have said on public record several times.

Snow: Let me ask you a very final question, Minister. We understand that there are still reports coming out of East Timor of further killings and of further trouble involving clashes between Indonesian troops and the Timorese people themselves.

Alatas: The situation in East Timor is calm now, it has been categorically denied from Jakarta that such killings have taken place, and furthermore I think it's a ridiculous piece of information, and I can categorically deny now that these things are taking place. What has happened is that now we ought to give the commission of inquiry which is going to fly to East Timor this coming Thursday the time to sort out the facts, to find out what really happened.

Interview with Portuguese Foreign Minister, Joao De Deus Pinheiro

Snow: Its now 16 years since Portugal gave up East Timor. Why has it been so difficult to resolve the crisis there?

Pinheiro: Mainly because the Indonesians invaded Timor by force, during the last 16 years refused to discuss the matter with the UN, killed one fourth of its population and recently another massacre took place. And now they have an inquiry headed by a former general, people from the interior ministry and the armed forces, so it is totally not credible at all, in that it's a time in which human rights are, let's say, universal values spread all over the world, its absolutely unacceptable that this sort of violation, this sort of massacre should still take place. I think it is absolutely necessary that all of us, the international community, not only Portugal, that we stand very firmly in defending the East Timorese, these martyred people.

Snow: Now you're just about to become the President of the EC Council of Ministers, what are you going to do with your position there - are you going to try to get the EC to back an international call for something to be done on East Timor?

Pinheiro: Well I think the EC will do something, and define our course of action before our Presidency, because as I mentioned, this is a violation of international law the violation of all universal values that we've been fighting for the last 50 years. So we think its not really a bilateral question. I think it is to do with all of us, including our citizens.

Snow: Now Mr Pinheiro, it happens that the UK is one of those supplying arms to Indonesia. Are you happy with that state of affairs?

Pinheiro: Well I think that UK, like other governments, is reviewing their policy towards Indonesia not only in the supply of arms, but also regarding co-operation. Let's not forget that it was upon a UK proposal in the last European Council in Luxembourg, that we decided in the EC that the co-operation with third countries should be conditional on the respect of human rights. So if we keep our standards and we keep our word, we should do something with regard to Indonesia and the question of East Timor.

Snow: Because with your intimate involvement with what has happened in East Timor, you must know the Indonesian government better than most. I mean how susceptible do you think they are to outside pressure?

Pinheiro: I think you have to separate Ali Alatas, who is a man with a lot of international experience, who knows how things work in the outside community. But what exists in Indonesia is a military dictatorship. Lets not forget about that. So Ali Alatas does not represent any real power, because real power is military dictatorship headed by Suharto, and that is the hard fact.

Snow: One last question Foreign Minister. Do you think this is a product of the New World Order, the fact that suddenly 16 years on, people are interested? Or is it just that the cameras happened to catch a bit of killing?

Pinheiro: Well I think it's both: after a 50 year struggle with Soviet Union and totalitarianism, we think now that it is not possible for this sort of thing to take place without an outcry - an outraged outcry. And I firmly believe that from now on we will have always a common standard and not a dual policy, regarding those who have a geo-strategic or commercial interest, and the others who dont. So I firmly believe that the Community will be in the first line in defending human rights and that other countries including the US will follow immediately. I strongly believe that.

SHAMEFUL SILENCE (SOUTHAM NEWS)

Canada mum on massacres of East Timor civilians

*Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 28 Nov. 1991
By Dave Todd, Southam News*

OTTAWA -- By any sensible yardstick, what has transpired in East Timor since 1975 has been a holocaust.

Although East Timor and the conflict it has endured are both small in relative terms (the entire island of Timor is roughly the size of Vancouver Island), there are two measurements by which it exceeds in horror even the three-year reign of terror that Khmer Rouge dictator Pol Pot forced on Cambodia.

The 200,000 Timorese civilians and armed opponents of the Indonesian government killed in battle, concentration camps or through famine and disease (the Roman Catholic Church's count) during their fight for independence equal about a third of the ex-colony's pre-war population.

If one accepts repeated United Nations resolutions declaring the people of East Timor have the right to exist as a sovereign nation, this essentially means the "country" has among the highest rates of war deaths ever recorded for any nation in the world -- fully one-third of its population within a generation.

Beyond that, the ratio of civilian to military deaths, according to figures compiled by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, suggest a death rate at least double that in Pol Pot's killing fields.

Yet amazingly, through all of this, successive Canadian governments have stood all but silent. It is interesting to note that two-way Canada-Indonesia trade last year was worth \$510 million.

Two weeks ago, after a slaughter by Indonesian soldiers of more than 200 unarmed East Timorese mourners at a funeral in the capital of Dili -- recorded for the world by Western journalists -- External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall issued what is described by the Mulroney government as the strongest complaint about the situation in East Timor ever made by an elected Canadian government official.

The Dili massacre, which the Indonesian military disputes only in terms of the number of people its troops killed, was described by McDougall as "a shocking turn of events" that "will serve only to worsen what is an already troubling human rights situation."

But East Timor's observer at the United Nations, whom McDougall's office says she had no time to see when he visited Ottawa Nov. 18, told Southam News this week McDougall's statement was "too weak, too weak. Indonesia will not even listen to this."

"You do not only condemn in situations like this," Jose Guterres said. "You guarantee that these kinds of actions cannot happen again."

That view was strongly supported by Arnold Kohen, a Washington political analyst who has followed the Timorese conflict closely since it began and served as a consultant to such influential organizations as Amnesty International and Asia Watch.

From the beginning, the record of successive Canadian governments on East Timor -- of Pierre Trudeau, Joe Clark, Trudeau again, John Turner and, since 1984, Brian Mulroney -- have contrasted sharply with the image Canada has tried to present on virtually every other international human rights issue.

-- On Dec. 7, 1975, Indonesia launched its land, sea, and air invasion of East Timor. Two days later, Trudeau told the House of Commons he rejected charges that the government of Indonesian president Raden Suharto was "corrupt and barbaric." On Dec. 12, Canada abstained in the United Nations General Assembly on a vote calling for Indonesia's immediate withdrawal from East Timor.

-- In 1976, Suharto visited Ottawa and won a \$200 million foreign aid package from the Trudeau government. Canada again abstained at the UN on a vote calling for East Timor's right to sovereignty. In 1980, it started opposing such resolutions.

-- In 1977 and 1978, Indonesia launched intensive air raids on villages and croplands, using napalm and phosphorus. Villagers were forced into concentration camps where tens of thousands died of starvation and disease.

-- In 1978, Indonesia for the first time permitted an international diplomatic delegation to visit East Timor. It included Canadian ambassador Glen Shortliffe (later made deputy secretary to the federal cabinet). Despite "Biafra-like conditions" in the concentration camps, Shortliffe recommended Canada continue to oppose UN resolutions endorsing East Timor's right to self-determination.

-- in 1979-80, Flora MacDonald was external affairs minister in the short-lived Clark government. She later complained publicly that she never received a single briefing on East Timor from department officials, a situation she said was shocking in light of what she later learned.

-- In 1983 and 1984, the incoming commander of Indonesia's armed forces, General Benhy Murdani, launched Operation Clean Sweep. This was a counter-insurgency operation against Timorese rebels that he claimed was intended to crush them "without mercy." The Canadian government, despite an official pledge in 1981 to withdraw aid programs "from those countries whose scarce resources are devoted to war and conquest," not only stepped up its foreign aid for Indonesia but sponsored a military trade fair.

-- In 1985, the senior External Affairs official responsible for political reporting on Southeast Asia publicly pronounced human rights violations in East Timor to be no longer an issue.

-- In 1986, the Indonesian military launched Operation Eradicate, killing thousands of East Timorese.

-- In 1987, Canadian ambassador to Indonesia Jack Whittleton accompanied the Indonesian government's official candidate on an election tour of East Timor, attending rallies. East Germany's and Nigeria's ambassadors also joined the tour other diplomats shunned as indiscreet or worse. In the rigged vote, in which Indonesia's ruling Golkar party won more than 90 per cent, there was no secret ballot.

-- In October 1989, Pope John Paul visited East Timor. The Indonesian military required him to hold his open-air mass at a place called Taci-Tolu, where it had executed thousands of Timorese since the war started. Canadian military sales that year included body armor for Indonesia's security forces and navigation for the country's air force.

The last time a Canadian diplomat visited East Timor was in December 1990, according to External Affairs sources. There are no current plans, they say, for any Canadian official to enter the occupied territory tho report on human rights atrocities that have occurred in recent weeks.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS SILENT ON EAST TIMOR (NOW, TORONTO)

By Glenn Cooley NOW Magazine (Toronto, Canada), Nov. 28-Dec. 4.

While Ottawa decides whether to halt foreign aid to Indonesia amid reports that the country's troops have renewed widespread killings in East Timor, local peace activists are condemning the department of External Affairs for previously allowing Canadian weapons sales to the Southeast Asian nation.

Toronto-based ACT for Disarmament estimates external affairs has cleared "tens-of-millions of dollars" worth of direct Canadian military exports to Indonesia since its invasion of East Timor began in 1975. The figure would be larger yet if it included component sales to other arms-manufacturing nations that then sell finished weapons to Indonesia. Direct sales include Pratt & Whitney engines for Bell helicopters and de Havilland transport planes.

"We know that both of these are types of aircraft that are used in the counter-insurgency war in East Timor," says ACT spokesperson David Webster.

Webster adds that while the former Trudeau government rang up the highest export figures -- including close to \$18 million in early 1984 alone

-- the Tories "have kept up military cooperation. We're not like THE big arms supplier to Indonesia, but the fact is these sales violate external affairs' own guidelines, which say they will not sell to any region in conflict."

An external affairs spokesperson says there were no military sales to Indonesia in 1990, and only \$15,000 worth this year. "It was a

radio or something like that," says Denis Laliberte. "There's no offensive material involved."

Laliberte adds that external affairs minister Barbara McDougall has yet to make a decision on whether to suspend Canadian aid to Indonesia, which totalled close to \$52 million in 1989-90. "It is still under review."

Webster's comments came after Amnesty International released a report describing four alleged massacres in East Timor this month.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL URGENT ACTION, NOV. 29

More than 90 students and young people, most of them East Timorese, have been detained in various Indonesian cities during the last two weeks in connection with their political and human rights activities. At least 25, and possibly many more, remain in custody, and some are being held in incommunicado detention. A number of Jakarta-based human rights activists have also been questioned by the military intelligence agents. The arrests have followed an incident at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on 12 November 1991, in which an estimated 100 people were shot dead by Indonesian soldiers.

Amnesty International believes that some or all of those detained may be prisoners of conscience. It further believes that the arrests may be intended to prevent the dissemination of the massacre and its aftermath, and to disrupt non-violent protests against Indonesian rule in East Timor. It is calling for the immediate release of anyone held solely for their non-violent political beliefs or activities. It is also urging the Indonesian authorities to grant immediate access to those in detention to their lawyers and relatives, in accordance with the Indonesian Code of Criminal procedure (KUHAP) and international law.

Among those arrested are at least six students who had been under surveillance by Indonesian military intelligence because of their alleged involvement in monitoring and disseminating information abroad about human rights and political developments. They were among 20 students named in a secret military intelligence document which described the human rights related and political activities of East Timorese student activists in various Indonesian cities. None of the activities described in the document was unlawful and none involved the use or advocacy of violence. In its statement to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization in August 1991, Amnesty International expressed concern that those named in the military document "may be in danger of detention on account of their non-violent activities." (See ASA 21/14/91)

Twenty one students held at the metropolitan Jakarta Police station were among a group of 70 people arrested on 19 November 1991 during a peaceful demonstration against the killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili one week earlier (see East Timor : The Santa Cruz Massacre, AI index: ASA 21/23/91, 14

November 1991 and East Timor: After the Massacre, AI index: ASA 21/24/91 21 November 1991). The Commander of the Armed Forces said on 27 November that these 21 were "still under investigation". They may still be charged with "expressing feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt" toward the Indonesian government, under Articles 154 and 155 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHAP) forty-nine others were released on 26 November after being held for one week in incommunicado detention.

In a statement to the press on 20 November, the commander of the greater Jakarta Military Command (KODAM JAYA) admitted that the 19 November demonstrations had been "a small thing, of no great significance", and that none of the demonstrators had been carrying weapons of any sort. However, he said that the students had been "sponsored" by three people who were "hostile to the nation and to the government" and who "received funds from abroad to stir up trouble...". He went on to say: "I could not tolerate this so I ordered the arrests of the sponsors."

The same day, three human rights activists were called in for questioning by military intelligence authorities in Jakarta (BAKORSTANASDA). Haji Ponke Princen, Director of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM), and Indro Tjahjono of the human rights organization Infight have since been requested to report daily to the military authorities for questioning. The third, Yopie Lasut of the New Life Prison Fellowship (Hidup Baru), is believed to have gone into hiding. Haji Princen was one of a group of human rights activists and lawyers who had planned to travel to Dili in order to conduct independent investigations into the Santa Cruz incident.

A team of human rights lawyers and advocates, led by the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), tried to visit the detainees on 22 November but were told that they could not do so until the police had completed their interrogation. When the team returned on 26 November, they were again denied permission to meet the students alone in their cells. They were allowed to meet one student, Jose Freitas Camara who was being held separately in the Intelligence section of the police station, but they were accompanied by two police officers. They met two others in the office of a police major shortly before they were to be released.

Six East Timorese students were arrested in Denpasar, Bali, on 23 November and held at police headquarters (POLDA NUSRA) in connection with their political and human rights activities. Jose Paulo da Silva and Joaquim da Costa Freitas were released at 11 pm on 25 November but the four others remained in custody as of 28 November. According to reports, one of the students, Clemente Soares, was punched by police while being interrogated, but the others have not been ill-treated.

Nine students were reportedly arrested in the city of Yogyakarta on or about 23 November 1991. According to unconfirmed reports, nine more students were detained by Indonesian security forces on 20 November 1991, during a demonstration about East Timor on the campus of Parahyangan University in Bandung. Amnesty International has not been able to confirm or to obtain further details about the arrests in Yogyakarta and Bandung.

AUSTRALIAN UNIONS TO TAKE ACTION ON EAST TIMOR

Reuter. 29 November 1991. Dateline: Melbourne.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) said on Friday it would encourage Australian tourists to boycott Indonesia to protest against recent killings in East Timor.

ACTU, the umbrella body of Australia's labour movement, rejected calls by some unions to launch a full-scale campaign of industrial action against Indonesian interests.

But it said sanctions might be imposed if an Indonesian inquiry into the killings proved unsatisfactory.

The Australian government has said it believed 75 people were killed when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on thousands of mourners at a cemetery in the former Portuguese colony on 12 November. Indonesian authorities say 19 people were killed and 91 wounded.

About 179,000 Australian tourists visited Indonesia in 1990, about 85 per cent going to the resort island of Bali.

ACTU said it would call on members to actively support a day of mourning across Australia on December 7, anniversary of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976. (sic)

"On that day, as a mark of solidarity, no ships or planes flying the Indonesian flag will be serviced," it said in a statement.

Unions in the state of Victoria have pushed for national bans against Indonesia's national airline, Garuda, and other Indonesian interests in Australia.

ACTU said it would further review trade sanctions after an assessment of the Indonesian inquiry, an investigation by the United Nations and a visit to Indonesia by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

"In this context, the ACTU is prepared to consider putting in place in the future a co-ordinated range of national bans," it said.

BISHOPS WANT INVESTIGATION (RADIO AUSTRALIA)

Radio Australia 11/29

The Roman Catholic Bishops Conference of Indonesia and the country's dissident Democracy Forum have added their voices to recent calls for a special national investigation commission, established by President Suharto,

to conduct a thorough and credible inquiry into the Dili carnage.

The Bishops Conference, the church's highest authority in Indonesia, blamed the actions on an unnamed group within the country's armed forces which it accused of "jeopardizing Indonesia's moral integrity, dignity and credibility in the eyes of the world as well as domestically." The church said it has sent two delegations to the troubled province since the killings. The statement noted that their inquiries revealed uncertainties among the relatives and friends of those killed and wounded, and gathered information very different than Indonesia's official account of the tragedy.

The bishops said the most pressing task at hand was to restore the people's feelings of safety and trust in the government. They called on the national inquiry team, now in Dili, to be objective, urging all involved to help create an atmosphere in which people feel free to give evidence and are guaranteed their safety.

The military commander in East Timor, was reported to guarantee the safety of Timorese who wished to testify to the commission, saying they could do so without fear of victimization.

The bishops statement also said that any member of the clergy found to have been involved should be punished in the same manner as anyone else. It stressed that the church should stand above politics. Attached to the statement was last week's pastoral letter from Bishop Carlos Beli of East Timor in which he objected to the use of the church for political purposes and urged people not to involve the clergy in their socio-political activities.

The dissident Democracy Forum, established earlier this year, says the use of force in Dili was a "denial of democracy." It expressed the hope that the commission of inquiry would have free access to fully explore the events so that a fair and just solution can be reached.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST NOV. 28-30

VENEZUELA (UN team awaited)

Indonesia is awaiting official confirmation that a U.N. team will travel to East Timor to look into a massacre there on November 12, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said in Caracas Friday.

Diplomatic sources in Jakarta said the U.N. decision followed an approach by the European Community almost two weeks ago. The sources said Portugal, which takes over the EC presidency in January, pushed for the initiative.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters: "I have read the news. I have not been informed officially of this development. We have thought that we better wait, so I better not react yet to something that is not confirmed yet."

Indonesia is coming under growing international pressure to thoroughly investigate the shootings. (AFP, 11/29)

PORTUGAL (Horta decries whitewash)

Jose Ramos Horta, spokesman for a broad opposition alliance of rebel guerrillas and clandestine civilian groups, said the Indonesian government commission of enquiry would be a whitewash.

"It is the same as asking Pol Pot to investigate human rights abuse by the Khmer Rouge," he told Reuters.

"There is a climate of terror in the capital Dili. No one is going to speak to these investigators and we are going to boycott them," Ramos Horta said.

Ramos Horta said his movement, the National Council of Maubere Resistance, would support a U.N. commission of enquiry into the massacre, which he said had been proposed by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

"We will collaborate with the United Nations mission so long as it is accompanied by people who know the territory and speak Portuguese and providing it stays there for a reasonable length of time, such as two weeks," Ramos Horta said.

He proposed that internationally known advocates of democracy and human rights such as former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of French President Francois Mitterrand, and Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa take part in the U.N. mission.

The Indonesian army says there are no more than 100 guerrillas left, but Ramos Horta said he believed there were several hundred of them. (Reuter, 11/28, Robert Powell)

PORTUGAL (UN team pending)

United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said Friday the U.N. was negotiating with the Indonesian government to send a team to investigate allegations of human rights abuse in East Timor.

Speaking to Portuguese journalists at the start of a private visit to the northern city of Oporto, Perez de Cuellar said the Dili shooting was "a horrible thing."

He added that it was now important to "work so that the Timorese people can have the government and legislation they desire." (AP, 11/29, Paul Ames)

PORTUGAL (Gusmao reports ongoing massacres)

At a Lisbon news conference Friday, CNRM spokesman Jose Ramos Horta cited a letter from guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao saying that "dozens" were being taken away every night and massacred outside the city.

Dated Nov. 15, Gusmao's letter also said young nationalist suspects were being rounded up and beaten at Tasi-Tolu, 2 1/2 miles outside Dili. (AP, 11/29, Paul Ames)

PORTUGAL (Indonesia stages pro-independence rally)

Indonesia staged a pro-independence rally in East Timor on Friday to make it look as if there was freedom in the territory, despite a recent army massacre of demonstrators there, a Timorese opposition spokesman said.

"The demonstration was organised and encouraged by the Indonesian authorities themselves, but young people refused to take part," said Jose Ramos Horta, spokesman for a broad alliance of rebel guerrillas and clandestine opposition groups.

Ramos Horta said several hundred people took part in the staged rally which followed an army massacre of pro-independence demonstrators in the capital Dili on November 12. (Reuter, 11/29, Robert Powell)

PORTUGAL (Horta wants donation)

Jose Ramos Horta urged Portugal to donate 10 million dollars to the East Timor resistance to buy food, clothes and medicine for the rebels and provide support for widows, orphans and others affected by fighting between the Indonesian army and guerrillas in the interior.

He said this was equivalent to the budget of East Timor in 1974, the last full year of Portuguese colonial rule.

Ramos Horta said he made the request for the money at a meeting with Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro on Thursday, but the minister replied that such a donation would not be appropriate.

"Deus Pinheiro said Portugal must not appear to be encouraging the armed struggle and that it must maintain a position of moral and diplomatic strength," Ramos Horta said. (Reuter, 11/29, Robert Powell)

PORTUGAL (Open letter to Bush)

Excerpt from news story by Peter Wise in Washington Post, November 30:

Fifteen leading Portuguese figures, including former president Antonio Ramalho Eanes, sent an open letter to President Bush today appealing for a greater effort from the United States toward resolving the East Timor conflict and for a halt to U.S. arms supplies to Indonesia.

With no official list of victims from the Nov. 12 shootings, anxious families here in Lisbon are enduring an uncertain bereavement as unofficial news trickles out from East Timor of those killed or missing.

One refugee said he received a telephone call last week from Dili saying one member of his family had been killed and another wounded. He said the caller told him that Indonesian forces were searching the capital block by block to detain people injured in the shooting who were too frightened to seek treatment.

Another refugee said he had received a distressed call from Dili saying several young relatives had been taken away by police in the middle of the night.

Refugees said attempts to telephone Dili were rarely successful.

One man, accused of assisting the resistance, gave a detailed account, including dates, places and the identity of interrogators, of how he had been beaten and tortured with electric shocks, before being imprisoned for several months without trial.

Another refugee told how her husband died in a Portuguese hospital of tuberculosis that was untreated during his imprisonment by Indonesian security forces in East Timor.

BELGIUM (E.C. human rights pressure)

European Community states agreed on Thursday to use billions of dollars in development aid to put pressure on Third World governments to respect the rights of their citizens.

Development ministers agreed a "carrot and stick" policy under which the EC will sanction aid recipients with a persistently bad record on human rights and reward countries improving their democratic credentials.

EC leaders referred to the need for respect of human rights in a summit statement last June but Thursday's agreement marked the first formal resolution linking democratic rights with EC development policy.

A Commission official said the resolution made it more likely that EC-wide sanctions would be applied in future.

Sanctions would range from a quiet diplomatic word to suspension of an aid programme.

Funds could also be redirected from governments to charities or grassroot groups to prevent a cut in aid meant to penalise national authorities from hitting the poor.

Officials said decisions on sanctions would be taken behind closed doors and by unanimity. States could still take unilateral action.

Diplomats said Portugal on Thursday had questioned EC standards which led to an immediate suspension of aid to Haiti after a coup this year ousted the democratically-elected president, when cooperation continued with Indonesia which has a long-standing record of human rights abuses. (Reuter, 11/28, Rowena Whelan)

FRANCE (S-G promises probe)

A U.N. committee will investigate the massacre of dozens of demonstrators by Indonesian troops earlier this month, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said here Thursday.

Asked whether the United Nations were planning a probe into the killings, Perez de Cuellar replied "Yes, yes".

He was speaking at the Elysee Palace after talks with French President Francois Mitterrand. (AFP, 11/28)

JAPAN (Dili like Tiananmen or Sharpeville)

James Dunn, Australian consul in East Timor from 1962 to 1964 and former foreign affairs adviser to the Australian parliament,

told a meeting in Tokyo the shootings in Dili were like the 1989 Chinese army killings of students in Beijing's Tiananmen square and the 1960 South African police shootings in Sharpeville.

Dunn said subsequent events and accounts from eyewitnesses indicate the shootings were a deliberate act, but may not have been ordered from Jakarta.

Dunn said, "The army behaved abominably. What idiot would put troops in anywhere near that cemetery since the people there were only young East Timorese with black headbands on?"

He said the killings could represent an attempt by "fascist" factions in the Indonesian military to assert their influence.

"I believe it is possible to persuade the Indonesians to change because many Indonesians are unhappy about this," Dunn said.

"If we are silent, we must remember we are helping the forces of oppression, the forces of fascism that acted in East Timor." (Kyodo, 11/29)

AUSTRALIA (ACTU tourist boycott)

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) said on Friday it would encourage Australian tourists to boycott Indonesia to protest against recent killings in East Timor.

ACTU, the umbrella body of Australia's labour movement, rejected calls by some unions to launch a full scale campaign of industrial action against Indonesian interests.

But it said sanctions might be imposed if an Indonesian inquiry into the killings proved unsatisfactory.

About 179,000 Australian tourists visited Indonesia in 1990 -- about 85 per cent going to the resort island of Bali.

ACTU said it would call on members to actively support a day of mourning across Australia on December 7, anniversary of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976.

"On that day, as a mark of solidarity, no ships or planes flying the Indonesian flag will be serviced," it said in a statement.

ACTU said it would further review trade sanctions after an assessment of the Indonesian inquiry, an investigation by the United Nations and a visit to Indonesia by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

"In this context, the ACTU is prepared to consider putting in place in the future a co-ordinated range of national bans," it said. (Reuter, 11/29)

AUSTRALIA (New factory in Indon.)

Australian building materials group Boral Ltd announced in Sydney Friday participation in a 20 million dollar (16 million U.S.) plasterboard plant in Indonesia.

Boral said its 50 percent owned Pt Jaya Readymix will take an 85 percent stake in the plant, Indonesia's first, which will be constructed near Surabaya in eastern Java.

Boral managing director Bruce Kean told reporters that "we wondered whether we should or shouldn't make an announcement" in

light of events in East Timor and resulting tension between Jakarta and Canberra.

But he said the decision was the result of two years work and was based on "very good economic reasons."

"The events in East Timor were most regrettable and I think most Indonesians also regret them," Kean said. (AFP, 11/29)

INDONESIA (Carrascalao report)

East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said Friday in Jakarta he has delivered to a government investigative committee 100 pages of secret documents related to the fatal shootings by soldiers of mourners in Dili.

Carrascalao met more than five hours Thursday night with members assigned to investigate the shootings by government troops Nov. 12 of participants in a funeral march in the East Timor capital Dili.

The investigative team, which arrived Thursday in Dili, also met for about four hours Friday morning with Roman Catholic Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo. Belo refused to describe the meeting afterward, telling reporters: "No comment, no comment."

The head of the investigative committee, M. Djaelani, told reporters after the meeting that "the bishop has given useful input." He did not elaborate.

Belo previously had said he "knew much" about the incident but would refuse to talk with the investigation team if the bodies of the victims were not returned to their families for traditional burials.

But he later softened his stand and expressed his willingness to meet with the investigators.

Carrascalao suggested military officers involved in the shootings also should be investigated by the committee if it hopes to get objective results.

The governor said he has received an anonymous telephoned death threat and several threatening letters. (UPI, 11/29)

INDONESIA (Bishops criticize soldiers)

The Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of Indonesia (KWI) has sharply criticized the actions of Indonesian soldiers during the recent bloody shooting in East Timor, saying it put the nation's international credibility in jeopardy.

"We really deplore that because of the actions of a group of ABRI the moral integrity, the dignity and credibility of the nation have been put into jeopardy in the eyes of the world as well as our own country," a KWI statement obtained Friday said.

"Feeling the necessity to give attention to and consider the feelings and what remains alive among the people of East Timor, especially in Dili," KWI has since sent two separate delegations to East Timor, the statement said.

During the visit in East Timor, whose diocese does not depend on KWI but directly on the Vatican, KWI delegates obtained reports from witnesses of the incident.

"The news that circulates, besides containing reports on data which are very different from what we officially have, also added new information," the KWI statement said.

It cited uncertainty among many East Timorese on the fate of their relatives or friends because they were not allowed to visit the wounded at the military hospital in Dili, and uncertainty over the death toll and where the bodies were buried.

It also cited reports that many members of the armed forces had guarded the crowd's procession well and even that some troop members had tried to stop their colleagues from shooting during the incident. (AFP, 11/29)

EAST TIMOR (Investigation starts)

Investigators arrived in East Timor on Thursday to investigate the killings of anti-Indonesian protesters by Indonesian troops.

The investigators include more than 20 officials from the Supreme Court, the armed forces and the departments of justice, interior and foreign affairs.

Their leader, Supreme Court official M. Djaelani, said the team is independent and will report to President Suharto.

"We cannot accept that it is independent and impartial," said Abilio Araujo, Lisbon representative of Fretilin, one of the political groups that backs pro-independence guerrillas in East Timor.

Mulya Lubis, a former chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, also said the investigating body cannot be called complete "because no independent body is represented on the team." (11/28, Ali Kotarumalos)

EAST TIMOR (Investigation)

The leader of a government team investigating the shooting of mourners by the Indonesian army promised on Thursday to be objective and to examine reports of subsequent incidents.

"We intend to do our best, objectively, not for any side," said Djaelani on arrival in the East Timor capital of Dili, when asked if his former military service would affect his investigation.

Djaelani told Reuters the mission's purpose was "to be neutral, to be free and fair," and he would check every report, including those of subsequent killings and mass graves.

He said his was the most important commission set up by Indonesia for several years. "It is a hard duty for me, for us. I hope we can do our best," he added.

Dili was calm and few soldiers were on the streets of the town except at the airport and the commission's hotel where security had been stepped up. (Reuter, 11/28, Moses Manoharan)

EAST TIMOR (Warouw promises safety)

Indonesia's military chief in East Timor Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw said on Thursday, "The people can give whatever information they want without fear of victimisation. That is an assurance."

The army stepped up security ahead of the scheduled arrival in Dili on Thursday afternoon of a seven-man government commission investigating the shooting.

Warouw, who earlier blamed the shooting on a misunderstood order, said the army was ready to cooperate fully with the commission.

Warouw denied reports of a military offensive in the eastern part of East Timor and said he had just returned from the main town, Los Palos, on Wednesday.

He had taken President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, to attend a function for youths as part of a national programme she heads.

Warouw said he did not expect any trouble or demonstrations during the commission's visit but added that security had been tightened.

"We will make sure there is peace." (Reuter, 11/28, Moses Manoharan)

EAST TIMOR (Carrascalao questions)

East Timor's civilian governor has questioned the official version of the army shooting on November 12.

The government says only 19 people were killed when troops fired on mourners at a cemetery in Dili nearly three weeks ago. But Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said he was sure that figure would change.

"I am sure it will...I have a feeling that I saw a number of corpses in a truck but I don't have any experience in counting bodies," he told reporters on Thursday night. (Reuter, 11/29, Moses Manoharan)

EAST TIMOR (Investigation continues)

An Indonesian commission investigating the army shooting of mourners in East Timor on November 12 visited the bullet-scarred cemetery on Saturday to try to reconstruct the events that led to international criticism.

"We wanted to see the place where it happened," said Djaelani, the dapper and soft-spoken Supreme Court judge who is heading the government enquiry into the shootings.

Djaelani, who denied his own military background would influence the commission's findings, said he planned to spend the day scouring the area around the Santa Cruz cemetery.

He and the six other members of the commission strolled past neat rows of crosses to the chapel where the firing was reported to have been concentrated.

They gazed at chapel walls now washed clean of blood, and walked on the grave of Sebastian Gomes, a young separatist whose death two weeks earlier the crowd had been mourning.

A gleaming white cross, red rose petals round its base, adorned the grave, near which blood-stained clothes, school books and shoes lay in heaps until one day after the shooting.

Earlier in the day the commission visited Motael Church where its Roman Catholic priest, Father Ricardo, pointed out to Djaelani the spot where Gomes fell dead on October 28 during a clash between supporters and

opponents of Indonesia's 16-year rule in this former Portuguese colony.

"I'm more or less satisfied," Ricardo said when asked how his three-hour meeting with the commission had gone.

The town has been quiet during the commission's visit. Foreigners said they had seen no signs of a demonstration on Friday, as reported by a spokesman in Lisbon for Timorese who want to end Indonesia's rule. (Reuter, 11/30, Moses Manoharan)

A DIPLOMATIC MASSACRE (ECONOMIST)

The Economist, London. 30 November 1991. Unabridged. Several factual inaccuracies.

The article is illustrated by a caricature showing Alatas standing with his right arm held up, pointing. Behind him in his shadow is a soldier with his arm in the same position, pointing a gun.

In the three-and-a-half years since Ali Alatas, a career diplomat, became foreign minister of Indonesia, he has done much to make the country's soldier-politicians seem respectable in the eyes of the West. The massacre at the funeral in East Timor on November 12th, following anti-Indonesian demonstrations there on October 28th, threaten to leave much of his work in ruins.

Holland, the former colonial power, said this week that it was suspending aid to Indonesia. Canada is thinking of doing the same. There have been rumblings about human rights from both the United States and the European Community. The Australian government does not again want to fall out with its neighbour - with which it has had difficulties in the past - but some members of the ruling Labour Party want the foreign minister, Gareth Evans, to take Indonesia to task over the killings. In Melbourne, dock-workers have refused to handle Indonesian shipping.

Mr Alatas was in South Korea when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on demonstrators in East Timor's capital, Dili. When he arrived back in Jakarta he said accusations that the soldiers had acted "blatantly" (a euphemistic adverb) did not make sense.

Indeed it would seem senseless for Indonesia to invite the wrath of the world over East Timor. The mainly Christian Portuguese colony that Indonesia occupied in 1975 bitterly resisted the Muslim invaders. At first Indonesian policy in East Timor was simply oppression. Many thousands of Timorese died of famine. There were accusations of genocide. Latterly, though, Indonesia has put money into the place. The standard of living is now far higher than when the Portuguese ruled. During the past year or two a few journalists and other outsiders have been allowed in. Australia has recognised the annexation, and Mr Alatas was hopeful that the United Nations would at last accept it too. Then came the killings in a churchyard in Dili,

where a crowd was mourning the death of an opponent of Indonesian rule.

The Indonesians say 19 people were killed, Amnesty says the total may be more than 100. The Indonesians say that the soldiers opened fire because they were provoked and misunderstood an order. Witnesses say the firing was deliberate and sustained. An investigation by an Indonesian-appointed committee was due to begin work on November 28th. President Suharto said its report had to be "full and fair". It has to be if it is to satisfy both the outside world and the American-educated technocrats who have an increasing say in Indonesian affairs. They see themselves as more representative of their country than trigger-happy soldiers.

Indonesia relies on the rich countries for aid worth more than \$5 billion a year. Mr Alatas says donors should have waited for the report of the investigating committee before "taking up positions". He shakes his head sadly: "This is most unfortunate."

THE VOICE OF RAMOS HORTA (EDITOR)

Editor, 30 November 1991. [Translated from the Indonesian]

The cover story in the 30 November issue of 'Editor' is entitled: "Church and Politics". 'Church' here means the East Timor church; the cover design is a sketch of Motael Church. The cover story takes up 16 pages with a variety of articles. If the Santa Cruz tragedy has done nothing else for Indonesia, it has at last provided an opening for Indonesian readers to begin to understand the reality of Indonesian rule in East Timor. This week's 'Tempo' also gives over many pages to its cover story on East Timor, focused mainly on the views of Governor of Mario Carrascalao.

In recent weeks, the foremost propagandist (for East Timor) has been touring Europe as the representative of the National Council for Maubere Resistance, which is headed by Fretilin leader, Xanana Gusmao. He is mobilising world opinion, taking advantage of the momentum created by the Santa Cruz tragedy. From his home (sic) in Strassbourg, France, he gave the following interview over the phone to Aboeprijadi Santoso:

Q: What are your plans?

A: We shall continue to work hard to get the European Community and IGGI to stop aid to Indonesia. We are calling on all foreign NGOs who are not allowed to work in East Timor to quit Indonesia. We shall campaign to stop aid and arms supplies to Indonesia.

Q: Are you optimistic?

A: Yes, because everyone is shocked by the event in East Timor. The world previously ignored what happened in East Timor but now East Timor is on the front pages of the world's press, on television screens and on the radio everywhere.

Q: Do you expect support from Portugal which is to become president of the European Community?

A: Portugal's Prime Minister is more popular than any other PM throughout Europe, because he was voted into power by a larger majority than any other European PM. Portugal has no other choice but to raise East Timor at the EC. What I hope for concretely is this: First, that there will be no more meetings between the EC and Indonesia. Second, that EC relations with Indonesia will be reviewed. Third, Portugal will push things towards an arms embargo, economic sanctions and discussion of East Timor by the UN Security Council.

Q: Up to now, here in Holland, the chair of the IGGI - who also represents Portugal's interests in Indonesia - has not changed aid policy. So, what are you hoping for?

A: That is true. But this is diplomacy of 1991. It's very different from 15 years ago, during the Cold War. The question no longer is how large is a country's armed forces, what is its GNP, but the extent to which world opinion can be mobilised. Another important factor is that Portugal will hold the EC Presidency. So, the EC will have to choose between Indonesia and Portugal. Formerly, Portugal let Europe do what it liked on the question of East Timor without making it an issue. But Portugal has continued to press for the right to self-determination and a referendum in East Timor.

Q: The EC holds meetings annually with the ASEAN states but East Timor has never been mentioned. Isn't that so?

A: Now, things are different. Even if the Portuguese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister didn't want to do so, they have no other choice. They must now work within the EC forum. The days when states could play one superpower against the other are over. Today, whose support can Indonesia call on?

Q: Regarding the investigation and referendum that you want, do you hope that the UN will intervene?

A: At present, our strategy is concentrated totally on damaging Indonesia's economy and shattering Indonesia's policy. What I mean is that economic sanctions and an arms embargo are necessary. The next steps are what can be expected [lazim]. If Indonesia agrees to a referendum under UN supervision - as has happened in the Western Sahara and Namibia, sanctions will be lifted. If not, they will continue.

Q: You sound very optimistic. Who is going to support you?

A: I am cautiously optimistic. Now, we are strongly determined. Portugal is too. And we have many friends in Europe and the US. We have the support of human rights activists and of the media.

U.N. ENVOY TO JAKARTA

Excerpted from Reuter, Nov 30.

U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said on Saturday he was sending an envoy to Indonesia to negotiate conditions for a U.N. mission to visit East Timor to investigate an alleged army massacre there.

Perez de Cuellar told journalists after meeting Portuguese President Mario Soares he hoped Indonesian authorities would cooperate with the envoy, who was already en route to Jakarta.

"The U.N. is continuing its activities in the sense of favouring an absolutely impartial investigation of the grave incident," he said.

Portuguese press reports say Lisbon wants the European Community to take up the issue of East Timor and back a Portuguese proposal to force Indonesia to negotiate with Timorese leaders.

Perez de Cuellar said he was not familiar with the proposal and did not discuss it with Soares.

Perez de Cuellar, who returns to New York on Sunday, said he would continue to work towards resolving the Timorese issue until the last day of his term as U.N. secretary-general, which ends on December 31.

Excerpted from (AFP, Dec 1)

A special United Nations envoy has left Lisbon for Jakarta to negotiate with the Indonesian authorities the dispatch of a UN fact-finding mission to East Timor to investigate a recent massacre in Dili.

UN Secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar told journalists Saturday after meeting with Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares that the envoy was Amos Waco, the chairman of a UN commission on summary execution.

He said he had received a report based on a statement by the Catholic Bishop of Dili, Ximenes Belo, that he said proved that there had been an "unjustified aggression" by the army.

"This crime must be punished," he said.

SUBVERSION TRIALS HINTED

Excerpt from AFP, Dec 1.

Indonesian authorities in Dili, East Timor continue to hold 26 people out of the some 200 detained after the shooting there last month, the official Antara news agency said here Sunday.

Antara quoted East Timor High Attorney Bennyto Bya as saying that 26 remained under detention from the 200 detained after the November 12 shooting.

"Some of them were guilty of subversive actions but some others merely violated laws on public crimes such as rioting," Bya was quoted as saying.

Dili Police Chief Colonel Ishak Kodijat told the Kompas daily on November 23 that only 41 people had been detained in connection with the bloody shooting and that all but 12 would be released.

Bya said that investigating the case were eight officials from the state attorney's office and three officials from an unspecified bureau in Jakarta who were cooperating with the Dili police and the Dili Military prosecutor's office.

Some of those interrogated have admitted that money to finance a series of demonstrations and resistance had been obtained from several companies here and abroad, Bya alleged without elaborating.

Antara Sunday also quoted East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao as saying he had handed over a 300-page document containing all that he knew about the incident to the KPN in Dili Saturday.

He also included six photographs of a demonstration prior to the shooting incident.

The KPN has already discussed the shooting with Carrascalao, East Timor Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenez Belo, East Timor House speaker Guilherme dos Santos, Dili Mayor Domingus Dores Maria Soarez and Dili Regent Jose Armindo Soarez, it said.

The team has also met with Father Alberto Ricardo da Silva, the priest of the Motael Church in Dili where the November 12 memorial procession had started before it led to the shooting at the cemetery.

The team had also visited the Santa Cruz cemetery. They were scheduled to meet with the East Timor Military Operational Commander Brigadier General Rudolf Samuel Warouw Monday morning.

Sun, 1 Dec 1991

LBH RELEASE LIST

Courtesy of YLBHI and Asia Watch, Dec 1:

This is the list of East Timorese released from detention in Jakarta (not Dili or elsewhere in East Timor) after they were taken away by security officers following a recent independence demonstration in the Indonesian capital. They apparently are still under house arrest.

From Semarang:

1. Antonio Pereira; 2. Cesaltino Leao; 3. Joao Batista P.; 4. Angelo A. Godhino; 5. Caludio G. Pinto; 6. Manuel Soares

From Bandung:

1. Joao de Oliveira; 2. Nelson de Jesus; 3. Gastao Gama; 4. Nelson Partius; 5. Aventino F.J.; 6. Laurentino S.F.; 7. Eloer O.S.X. Oliveira; 8. Abelino T. Soares; 9. Joana F. Soares; 10. Zeonizia A.; 11. Rezina de Jesus; 12. Paul da Silva; 13. Paulino M.C.; 14. Francisco G.; 15. Marisno R.M.; 16. Justinho Da C.; 17. Victor Soares; 18. Baptista P.; 19. Jose Antonio L.; 20. Adalfredo; 21. Rosa da C.; 22. Lidia Gomes; 23. Felismina L.; 24. Lucia C.; 25. Gabriel A.; 26. Francisco Da C.; 27. Jose Barrejo

From Jakarta:

1. Josea Amorino; 2. Aurio Belo

From Malang:

1. Domingos Dos S.; 2. Jacinto S.; 3. Faustino X.; 4. Rui Viana; 5. Miguel Dos L.; 6. David Bosco L.; 7. Edit P.; 8. Onesia A.

From Yogyakarta:

1. Domingos Dos Ramos; 2. Hortencio V.; 3. Rogerio Piris; 4. Flavio; 5. Demetrio; 6. Joao Meco

COMMISSION FINDS FEAR, SPIES (REUTER)

Reuter, Dec 1, Moses Manoharan, excerpted.

An Indonesian government commission investigating last month's army shooting of mourners in East Timor said on Sunday it was difficult to get witnesses to talk.

"It is not so easy to meet them (witnesses and relatives of victims) and to ask them. Will they explain openly? It's quite a problem for us...It is not easy to open their mouths," Djaelani, the Supreme Court judge leading the inquiry, told reporters.

Djaelani's remarks came after United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar announced he was sending an envoy to Jakarta to negotiate conditions for a U.N. mission to investigate the shooting.

Djaelani said another problem for the commission had arisen as a result of divisions among the people of Dili, who were split into factions for and against integration with Indonesia.

"If one group gives information to us about the other group, the other group will report to the police," he said.

"If the people we meet go missing, who will guarantee (their safety)?"

The commission is looking for translators to interpret the local Tetum dialect.

One commission member, Sugiman, a senior official in the interior ministry, appealed to journalists to stop following the investigators in their search for witnesses.

He said reporters had frightened away people who lived around the Santa Cruz cemetery when the commission visited it on Saturday, the third day of its investigation.

The place was deserted when they arrived except for scores of plainclothes security men, many from the feared army intelligence wing.

One plainclothes policeman was discovered in Djaelani's hotel suite where reporters had been invited on Sunday morning to talk about events leading up to the shooting.

Stunned silence fell on the room when reporters were asked to identify themselves, and one of them said he was from the police.

The reporters protested, with one saying: "We want to be free to express what we know about this but we don't want anyone who is not a reporter in the room."

Local governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao has handed to the commission a 300-page report on the shooting which local sources said was critical of the army.

Asked by reporters what he thought of the strong foreign reaction to the shooting, he said:

"That's why we have to take measures against those who took a simple decision..."

They did not think that simple decision would cause such losses to the state and to the Indonesian people."

INDONESIA'S COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE (TAPOL)

Memorandum by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign: 1 December 1991

Since Thursday last week, a seven-man commission of inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre appointed by Indonesia's President Suharto, has been in Dili, East Timor, questioning people about the tragedy. The commission was set up five days after the massacre on 12 November which killed at least 180 people and wounded many more. Suharto took this step as newspapers around the world were publishing reports by foreign eyewitnesses who testified that troops opened fire on peaceful, unarmed demonstrators at the cemetery to place flowers on the grave of a young East Timorese killed by troops two weeks earlier at a parish church in Dili.

With many governments around the world under pressure to condemn Indonesia for this atrocity, Suharto faced the prospect of economic sanctions and arms embargoes. The armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, as well as regional and local military chiefs tried to stem the mounting criticism by saying that foreign press reports were 'wildly inaccurate', that 'only 19 persons' had died, that the demonstrators had provoked the troops into firing, that troops had fired after 'misunderstanding' an order not to fire. But such protestations convinced no-one, so to give some credibility to the official version, Suharto set up his commission.

Since then, many governments, including the Bush administration, the British government and the Australian government, under strong pressure to withdraw its de jure recognition of Jakarta's illegal annexation of East Timor, now say they will wait for the commission's findings before deciding whether to take action.

Michael Leifer, lecturer on South-East Asian affairs at the London School of Economics, said last week: "All the people chosen are servants of the Indonesian Government. I would expect there might be some mild criticism but by and large they will probably place the burden of responsibility on the East Timorese themselves, claiming that they provoked the army into shooting. I don't think one can have much confidence in the outcome." Jose Ramos Horta, spokesperson of the East Timorese resistance movement put it more bluntly. "You wouldn't ask Pol Pot to investigate the Khmer Rouge killings."

In 1989, the UN Economic and Social Council established principles for inquiring into atrocities of this nature. Members "must be chosen for their recognised 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".

So, how much credibility can be attached to the Suharto commission? Suharto said its independence was assured because he discussed it with the chairman of the Supreme Court and the chairman of the Indonesian parliament. The Supreme Court is chaired by a retired general, Lieutenant-General Ali Said, a close associate of Suharto's for many years, while parliament's chairman is also a retired general, Lieutenant-General Kharis Suhud. As Michael Leifer has said: "Within Indonesia, there are no effective independent institutions."

A closer look at the members of the commission should convince anyone of its partiality. The chairman is a retired general, M. Djaelani, a member of the Supreme Court. His early army years were spent with the para-commandos, then called RPKAD, now known as KOPASSUS. This regiment is known for its brutality and has been directly involved in many atrocities in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. Djaelani later attended the Military Academy of Law (AHM) and was one of several AHM-trained lawyers who helped Suharto to stage hundreds of subversion trials held during the late 1960s to give the Suharto regime the appearance of legitimacy, after Suharto seized power in 1965. Others were Ali Said, Supreme Court chairman, and another retired general, Ismael Saleh, now serving his second term as Justice Minister.

The second man on the commission is retired general, Hari Sugiman. For the past ten years, Major-General Sugiman has been Director for Social-Political (Sos-Pol) Affairs at the Interior Ministry. Sos-Pol directorates exist in all ministries and government offices. Headed by an army officer, they are akin to political commissariats, entrusted to cleanse the state apparatus, and much else besides, of doubtful or subversive elements. As Interior Ministry Sos-Pol chief, Sugiman exercises control over political parties and social organisations. No non-governmental group can exist without his approval. He even intervenes to halt drama performances and poetry readings. His writ runs very wide indeed.

Hadi Wayarabi, head of International Organisation Affairs at the Foreign Ministry, represented Indonesia at the UN General Assembly's Third Committee on Humanitarian Affairs in New York, and spent three years as Political Counsellor at the Indonesian mission to the UN in Geneva. He is an experienced hand at fending off complaints about human rights abuses in East Timor at the UN.

The fourth member is Vice-Admiral Sumitro, Inspector-General of the Armed Forces (ABRI), whose subordinates opened fire in Dili and should be the focus of the inquiry. The fifth top government official is Anton Suyata, Inspector-General of the Justice Ministry where many at the top are, like the minister himself, products of the AHM.

Completing the commission are two civilians. Ben Mang Reng Say, deputy-chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council, a body appointed by Suharto, was probably chosen because he is a Catholic, like most East Timorese. Clementino dos Reis Amaral is an East Timorese member of parliament. All four Timorese in parliament represent the government party, GOLKAR, which won 98 per cent of the votes in East Timor in the general election of 1987, when an unwilling population was dragooned into participating, to convince the world that the East Timorese are happy to be part of Indonesia.

The commission began its work in Dili amid reports of new troop reinforcements arriving in the territory. Many of the wounded in hospital are virtual prisoners who cannot be visited by relatives or interviewed by the International Red Cross before being interrogated about the massacre. Timorese refugees abroad have been told in phone calls from relatives in Dili that troops are searching the city block by block to detain people injured in the shooting who were too frightened to seek medical treatment. Church leaders like Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church, and Father Ricardo whose church was the location of the murder on 28 October that precipitated the 12 November procession, are being required to give evidence to the commission. Attempts from abroad to speak to them by phone have failed because all calls are intercepted.

For the already-petrified people of Dili, the commission offers nothing but the added fear of being forced to testify. Governments who are waiting for the commission to complete its work not only give credibility to a group of men who are loyal servants of the Suharto regime; they are prolonging the agony of the population of Dili, so many of whom still grieve for loved ones whose bodies have been interred in secret mass graves. Instead, governments should support the UN in its efforts to conduct an independent inquiry.

U.N. HIGHLIGHTS 2 DECEMBER

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has informed the President of Portugal, Mario Soares, of his intention to send a special emissary to East Timor to obtain "impartial" information about the incident in Santa Cruz on 12 November, at which over one hundred people were killed.

Before leaving Lisbon for New York over the weekend, the Secretary-General told the press that he had explained to the Portuguese President that the United Nations continued its work towards a "clear, independent and absolutely impartial outcome on the facts surrounding the tragic and very serious events in Santa Cruz."

The Secretary-General said he was sending Mr. Amos Waco, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Human Rights Commission on Arbitrary Executions to East

Timor and that he hoped the Indonesian Government would provide him with all the necessary facilities in order to fulfil his mission in "a perfectly impartial and independent way".

OZ: "HIGHLY EXCESSIVE" FORCE

Mon, 2 Dec 1991 Excerpt from Reuter.

Australia's foreign ministry accused Indonesian troops on Monday of using "highly excessive" force during the November 12 army shooting in East Timor.

Senior official John McCarthy was giving evidence to a parliamentary committee investigating the shooting, which sparked an international outcry.

He said troops fired no warning shots and made no attempt to disperse the crowd by more conventional means. He said soldiers appeared to start firing almost as soon as they arrived.

Australia has been among the most vocal critics of the shooting. A spokesman for Prime Minister Bob Hawke said Hawke would meet five members of an East Timorese delegation on Tuesday.

PLAINTIVE KNPI PROTEST

Excerpt from Reuter, Dec 2, by Moses Manohara. KNPI is the Indonesian government's approved national umbrella organization for youth.

"Those who have the right to speak about East Timor are only those in East Timor," Jose Gaspar Piedade, chairman of the East Timor wing of the National Committee of Indonesian Youth [KNPI], told reporters on Sunday night in the local capital Dili.

"We protest against the burning of the national flag in Australia. We regret and condemn the unfriendly attitude. We call on the Australian government to prevent such an incident from recurring."

Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Philip Flood, is to fly to East Timor on Tuesday, the first ambassador to go there since the shooting.

AUSTRALIAN NGO INVOLVED?

Berita Buana. 2 December 1991. Unabridged.

Gradually, it is beginning to become clear who was behind the Dili incident. This is reflected in an admission by Mrs Helen Todd, the mother of the late Kamal Bamadhaj. Kamal was a casualty in the 12 November Dili incident. From Mrs Todd's admission, several sources believe that the CAA [Community Aid Abroad], an Australian NGO was involved in the incident.

Mrs Todd's admission is contained in an article by her in the Asian Wall Street Journal on 25 November 1991. According to Helen Todd, Kamal, who was studying at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, knew a great deal about the GPK in East

Timor. He had been in East Timor since October.

Helen Todd also said that Kamal knew that the Dili incident would happen. He worked as the interpreter of Bob Munz (44 years), an official of the CAA, an Australian NGO which runs projects in East Timor. According to Helen Todd, three days before the Dili incident, the two of them were constantly among the disruptor crowd.

From various circles it is learnt that the CAA is an Australian organisation that is dominated by leftist circles. And it is the CAA that has, since the 1970s, has engineered demonstrations and anti-integration activities in Australia. It is also reported that the CAA helped GPK activists, among others, Ramos Horta to flee to Australia.

As yet, the CAA voice has not been heard. Buana tried to confirm this accusation but has not yet succeeded in contacting the CAA. As regards the involvement of foreign elements, General Try Sutrisno himself spoke about this last Wednesday at Parliament. There are at least five foreigners who are suspect: Christopher Wender, a Briton, Allan Nairn, a US citizen, Kamal Bamadhaj from New Zealand, Stephen Christopher Cox, a Briton, and Amy Goodman from the USA.

The origin of the ridiculous conspiracy theory in this article consists of unnamed sources in a release by Antara, the Indonesian government news agency. The story merely illustrates the extraordinary internal disarray in which the Indonesian government and its armed forces now find themselves over their brutality and occupation of East Timor. No one, not even Soeharto, seems able to orchestrate a coherent response, much less an honest one. Such a situation suggests serious intra-regime conflict. It also suggests that significant figures in the regime now believe that Indonesia's position on East Timor is becoming untenable under the unexpectedly intense and continuing international pressure. The pride and prestige of Indonesia's armed forces have been seriously damaged, and the political situation in the country has entered a period of remarkable uncertainty, even instability.

-- John MacDougall

CAREER DOUBT FOR DILI GENERAL: PM

The Age, 2 December 1991 by Mark Metherell (Canberra) and Reuter, abridged

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday hinted that the Dili massacre had damaged the political ambitions of the chief of the Indonesian military, General Try Sutrisno, who has defended his soldier's actions.

Mr Hawke said that General Try had been talked about as the successor to President Suharto. But the Dili massacre had 'created some internal tensions and new dynamics in regard to possible successions there, and that includes the general', Mr Hawke said.

Asked if the Australian Government would be worried if General Try became president, Mr Hawke said that the Government could not take 'a great deal of comfort' out of the comments attributed to General Try, who was reported as saying a day after the 12 November massacre that dissidents should be wiped out.

Speaking on Channel Nine's 'Sunday' [TV] program, Mr Hawke also acknowledged that it could be difficult for him to go to Indonesia in February, as planned, if the inquiry into the killing were still going.

It might be that both Indonesia and Australia could come to 'the mutual conclusion that in a context like that it may not be the most appropriate context to proceed. Let's see about that.'

Mr Hawke said the Government was following every line of inquiry to see how the United Nations could become more involved in the East Timor affair. It estimates that about 75 people were killed on 12 November.

ITALY CONDEMNS MASSACRE

Excerpt from IPS, Dec 2:

The president of the Italian Senate, Giovanni Spadolini condemned Indonesia's "bloody violation of human rights in East Timor" in an interview published in Lisbon today by the Portuguese daily paper *Diario de Noticias*.

Spadolini said the question of Timor was not limited to recent attacks "but to the genocide of which it has been a victim."

"The authority most competent to pronounce on this situation is the Conference on European Security and Cooperation (CSCE)," said Spadolini, which, he said, "should issue a condemnation of the bloody violation of human rights in Timor."

U.N. INVESTIGATOR TO GO TO TIMOR

Remark: This selection suggests an interest by the outgoing UN Secretary-General in having reports of further massacres outside Dili properly investigated.

In New York, UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said Amos Waco, the special rapporteur of the U.N. Human Rights Commission on Arbitrary Executions, was to fly from Geneva to the Southeast Asian country under instructions from the U.N. secretary-general to make an impartial and independent investigation.

Giuliani said the head of the Geneva-based commission, Jan Martenson, has contacted the Indonesian government requesting its assistance for Waco. East Timor was annexed by Djakarta when Portugal ended its 400-year colonial rule in 1976.

"He (Waco) hopes to be able to leave as early as today (Monday)," Giuliani said.

Perez de Cuellar said also that Waco had written the Indonesian government on two

occasions calling for respect of human rights for the Timorese people. (UPI, Dec 2)

VANUATU IN UNGA: "MURDER!"

Excerpt from UPI, Dec 2.

In the U.N. General Assembly's human rights committee, several countries like Portugal and Vanuatu have asked for a U.N. investigation of the Dili incident.

Vanuatu called the incident a "cold-blooded and premeditated murder of civilians by military forces of a foreign occupying power." The island's representative to the United Nations, Robert Van Lierop, has been exchanging harsh words with the Indonesian U.N. delegation.

Van Lierop called for the Indonesian delegation to invite other delegations to hold an open debate on the Dili incident in the human rights committee. There was no answer from that delegation.

MILITARY THUGS AT WORK

The recent East Timorese demonstration in Jakarta which drew Timorese students studying in universities throughout Java indicates, as does this report, that the open and daring youth resistance movement against the Indonesian occupation has moved beyond Dili into the Indonesian heartland. Hundreds of East Timorese students on Java and Bali have apparently decided to end the charade of compliance and to shake off their shackles. Information continues to stream out of Indonesia despite the heavy surveillance reported below as non-Timorese Indonesians also increasingly begin openly to press the cause of independence for East Timor. These actions by the Indonesian armed forces will only further spur further international criticism and make the Indonesian regime appear as ruthless as the Ne Win/SLORC police state in Burma.

-- John MacDougall

Excerpt from Kyodo, Dec 2

The Jakarta daily *Berita Buana* on Monday confirmed that Indonesian police detained six East Timorese students in Bali after a raid on their boarding house.

Lieutenant Colonel Anton Tompudong, spokesman for the Bali military command, was quoted as confirming the arrests.

"Interrogation of the students is still underway," he said.

Most of the detained students are enrolled at the state-run Udayana University.

Police claimed the raid uncovered anti-Indonesian pamphlets, three flags of Fretilin, and a South Korean hand grenade.

A telephone bill for 1 million rupiah was also allegedly found. Police said they suspected the bill was for overseas calls.

One source said police and military intelligence are also maintaining a dormitory for

East Timorese students in Yogyakarta who are under heavy surveillance.

COMMUNITY AID ABROAD INQUIRY TESTIMONY

Report in "The West Australian" newspaper today (3 Dec.) and probably in other Australian papers:

Canberra: An Australian aid worker has told of seeing a bulldozer and a semi-trailer with a mounted machine-gun heading for the outskirts of Dili the day after the Nov. 12 East Timor massacre.

Bob Muntz, 41, Community Aid Abroad's South-East Asian project officer, told a parliamentary human rights sub-committee in Canberra that he presumed the sighting meant the Indonesians intended to execute demonstrators and witnesses to the massacre and bury them in a mass grave.

There have been claims that Indonesian troops were involved in a second massacre three days after the Dili shootings, but Mr Muntz's evidence indicates there may have been another massacre.

Mr Muntz's statement came as the official Indonesian news agency, Antara, accused his organisation of supporting Timorese rebels and of possible involvement in the events that led to the killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

An obvious point raised by this article is the extent of internal cleavage within the Indonesian armed forces between Soeharto's well-placed personal choices for command positions and officers who have long resented this persistent intrusion of Presidential patronage in order to buttress the position of Soeharto and his family and cronies. For the first time in many years, it is becoming reasonable to ask the question, "Can the center hold?"

-- John MacDougall

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST DEC. 3

BELGIUM (EC wants inquiry)

The European Community called on Tuesday for an independent inquiry into a massacre in East Timor by Indonesian soldiers last month and warned that cooperation with Jakarta could be threatened by the killings.

Foreign ministers from the 12-nation bloc said they supported international demands for a "thorough and credible investigation by impartial and independent experts."

The EC called on Indonesia to accept an independent inquiry and respect the rights of the population of East Timor, under Jakarta's headline rule for 16 years.

It said economic cooperation with Indonesia would be reviewed in light of Jakarta's response, but gave no details. (Reuter, Dec 3)

JAPAN (future aid in question)

Japan may link its decisions on future economic aid to Indonesia with its assessment

of Jakarta's investigation into its army's shooting of tens of civilians in East Timor last month, a foreign ministry spokesman suggested Tuesday.

"That is something ... I do not deny the possibility of at this moment," Taizo Watanabe told foreign correspondents.

The spokesman hastened to add that he did not want his remarks to be taken by Indonesia as a "warning."

Indonesia is the largest beneficiary of Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA), having received 867 million dollars worth in 1990 and a cumulative total over the years of some 7 billion dollars. (Kyodo, Dec 3)

AUSTRALIA (Hawke disappoints Timorese leaders)

Five East Timorese independence movement leaders said they were bitterly disappointed by their talks on Tuesday with Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

They talked to Hawke for 10 minutes in parliament house and spent a further two hours with Foreign Minister Gareth Evans but were unable to obtain a change in Australia's good relations policy towards Indonesia, its northern neighbour.

"We were bitterly disappointed by the response of the Australian government," Joao Carrascalao, vice-president of the pro-independence Timorese Democratic Movement, told reporters.

"We expected something new but nothing new emerged," he said.

"Australia's policy of appeasement with Indonesia has done nothing," delegation member Jose Ramos-Horta said.

The five-member delegation from the independence movement asked Hawke and Evans to push for a United Nations-backed international inquiry and to actively seek the independence of East Timor, a former Portuguese territory.

Evans hoped to arrange talks between independence groups and Indonesia, leading to possible special status for East Timor within Indonesia, said Ramos-Horta.

"Talk of reconciliation is ideologically unacceptable," he said, adding: "We want nothing short of independence." (Reuter, Dec 3)

AUSTRALIA (CAA denies charges)

An Australian overseas aid organisation vigorously dismissed on Tuesday Indonesian charges that it may have organised a demonstration in East Timor that was fired on by the army.

CAA rejected the Antara charges and said it did not want to get involved in a slanging match that would detract from attempts to seek a peaceful solution to the East Timor problem.

"We would restate that CAA is Australia's oldest, independent overseas aid agency and is committed to helping the world's poor," spokeswoman Dominique Schwartz told Reuters.

CAA project officer Bob Muntz, who was in the East Timor capital, Dili, assessing possible aid projects, has given a graphic eye witness account of events on November 12.

Muntz told a parliamentary committee investigating the shooting on Monday that he and several other foreigners had agreed to attend the planned mass and procession to prevent an attack by the Indonesian military.

"I was less than totally enthusiastic about doing so," Muntz said.

(Reuter, Dec 3)

West Australian unions vote for Indonesia airline ban

News report in today's "West Australian" newspaper: [Dec 4, 1991 by Shaun Menegola & Steve Manchee]

West Aust. unions voted last night for bans on flights by the Indonesian national airline Garuda and on all Indonesian flagged ships this Saturday in protest over the East Timor massacre.

While interstate union groups were still considering what action to take, the W.A. Trades and Labor Council voted for industrial action against the servicing of aircraft and ships to mark the anniversary of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor on December 7, 1975.

TLC assistant secretary, Rob Meecham, said unions would ask transport workers, customs, quarantine and emergency workers to implement the bans.

Garuda flights would not be able to land if emergency services workers backed the bans.

The TLC also voted to set up a meeting of unions to consider the timing of further bans.

[The rest of the report contained material from earlier news, justifying the bans.]

INDONESIA (Harmoko attacks press)

Indonesia's information minister criticised the foreign press on Tuesday for what he called "alcohol journalism" and said they should check facts better.

Information Minister Harmoko told journalists several foreign news reports had discredited Indonesia's image abroad because the sources of information were incorrect.

About five foreign journalists were in East Timor at the time of the shooting but using tourist visas.

"If Indonesian journalists go abroad they must make their identity clear. They never practise alcohol journalism or 007 journalism," Harmoko said, in a reference to fictional secret agent James Bond. (Reuter, Dec 3)

INDONESIA (Journalists barred)

Indonesian authorities said Tuesday they would bar two American journalists from returning because of their reporting of last month's shootings in East Timor.

Director General of Immigration Roni Sikap Sinuraya told a news conference that the two American journalists, identified as Allan Joseph Nairn and Amy Goodman, were

blacklisted for "involvement" in the Nov. 12 incident in Dili.

"The two journalists were blacklisted for security reasons because they are suspected of involvement in the Dili incident," Sinuraya said. "They also abused their tourist visas.

The foreign journalists also were accused of discrediting the Indonesian government.

"Reports saying that Indonesia's armed forces had executed 80 to 90 people (in East Timor) was clearly a lie," a government spokesman said. (UPI, Dec 3)

INDONESIA (U.S. Congressional delegation)

Rep. William Dickinson, R-Ala., leading a U.S. congressional delegation to Indonesia, said Tuesday he did not believe Congress would stop military assistance to Indonesia because of the killings.

"The Congress simply has expressed its concern," he said after meeting Indonesia House Speaker Kharis Suhud.

"We are presuming the commission, which has been assembled, will be formed as it was intended and that the result will be satisfactory to all concerned. We are not trying to impose ourselves onto it in any way," he said.

Dickinson, who arrived Tuesday, planned to meet armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno. (UPI, Dec 3)

INDONESIA (U.N. wants special envoy)

The United Nations has held talks with Indonesia on sending a special envoy to East Timor to investigate the shooting there on November 12, according to a U.N. statement issued Tuesday.

U.N. Deputy Secretary General for Human Rights Jan Martenson "has made contact with the Indonesian government on the subject of such a visit," the statement said.

U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar hoped that his envoy, Kenyan lawyer Amos Wako, "would be able to leave as early as December 2," the statement said, quoting U.N. spokesman Francois Giuliani.

Wako has specialised since 1982 in investigating arbitrary or summary executions. His two-year-old mandate is from the Geneva-based U.N. Commission for Human Rights and was renewed in 1990. (AFP, Dec 3)

INDONESIA (denies envoy talks)

On Monday, Indonesia's Foreign Ministry spokesman Suteja Kartawijaya said his country had not had any contact with the United Nations on a special envoy to visit East Timor.

"If it is true that the Secretary General wants to send an envoy to Indonesia for a simple visit, we maybe would accept it," he said.

"But if he wants to negotiate sending a fact-finding mission to East Timor, the problem would be different," he said.

"It would be necessary for Indonesia to agree" and "the Secretary General would have to respect the U.N. procedures," he said.

Suteja was unavailable for comment Tuesday. (AFP, Dec 3)

INDONESIA (Religious leaders oppose UN mission)

According to the Bandung newspaper, *Pikiran Rakyat* -- a council grouping Moslem, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu and Buddhist religious leaders -- declared itself against the idea of an investigative U.N. mission, judging the Timor affair "internal."

"The East Timor incident is a internal Indonesian incident, and we object that foreign sides intervene in our own country," the statement said.

It hailed the formation last month of the National Investigative Commission to probe the shooting. The seven members of the commission are currently in East Timor on a fact-finding visit.

A member of Indonesia's largest political party the Golkar, Marzuki Darusman said "Indonesia had the right to reject" the U.N. request.

Darusman said the incident was purely an internal affair which should be resolved by Indonesia and the U.N. plan to send in a team was "too hasty" because the government's investigative commission would provide "a true image" of the incident.

Former Indonesian foreign minister Mochtar Kusumaatmaja told the *Jakarta Post* that the government "would of course receive the envoy" but that any mission to East Timor should await the result of the government investigation.

The five African countries with a Portuguese background -- Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe -- in a letter dated November 20 requested that Perez de Cuellar initiate an investigation by the U.N. Commission for Human Rights, according to the U.N. information office. (AFP, Dec 3)

EAST TIMOR (Australia shocked)

"Australia was shocked and alarmed at the scale of the event that took place and information that has emerged about the extent of the tragedy that occurred in the province," Australian Ambassador Philip Flood told reporters on arrival at the airport in the capital, Dili.

"As our ministers have explained, we believe the events were an aberration perpetrated by a section of the military."

Flood, on a five-day visit to the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia annexed in 1976, will meet the local governor, the territory's military commander and the head of the locally dominant Roman Catholic church.

He appealed for dialogue rather than demonstrations to relieve tension between the two neighbouring countries, which have seen a wave of protests in Australia and counter-protests in Indonesia over the November 12 violence.

"I believe cool heads are needed in both countries to discuss the issues confronting

us," he said. (Reuter, Dec. 3, Moses Manoharan)

EAST TIMOR (Commission finds relative of victim)

Head of the government commission Djaelani who admitted earlier he was having trouble meeting relatives and witnesses, finally found a woman on Tuesday morning searching for her missing son.

"We don't know whether he's still alive. Someone saw him being shot," said Maria Judith of her 20-year old son Emilio Roberto Neves Rein.

Judith, dressed in mourning, told reporters at the hotel where the commission was staying that she had been barred from a military hospital where the injured were being treated.

"I have been trying for 21 days. I have been searching for him at police headquarters and military headquarters."

The name of her son, a high school dropout, was not among those listed dead. (Reuter: Dec 3, Moses Manoharan)

MASS GRAVE LOCATED

The Australian 3 Dec 91 Tony Parkinson and AFP. Slightly abridged

As an Indonesian investigating team yesterday heard evidence from East Timor's military commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, about the massacre there on November 12, a Darwin based journalist said he had pinpointed the burial site of the victims of the massacre.

General Warouw's testimony is to be followed by that of the commanding officer of battalion 303, whose men were among those who opened fire in the Santa Cruz cemetery. They contend they were forced to defend themselves against a mob that had attacked an officer.

The weekly magazine Editor quoted a local government official as saying the officer was attacked only after he hit a woman during the procession.

'After the demonstrators passed by... two groups of soldiers and one from (another) brigade followed them. At that time I heard them shouting: 'Shoot, don't let them get away' ...and afterwards I heard the bangs', he told the magazine.

A Darwin based journalist, Dennis Shultz, who returned from Dili late last week, yesterday told *The Australian* he had personally inspected a covered pit measuring 20m by 20m at a remote Indonesian army camp at Tibar, 20km outside the East Timorese capital.

Witnesses in the vicinity of the camp - which is used as a rifle range - told him they saw an army convoy, including two bulldozers, drive into the camp on the night of the massacre, Mr Shultz believes more shooting may have occurred at the grave site on the night of the massacre. Mr Shultz believes more shootings may have occurred at the grave

site on the night of the massacre, but have been unable to get eyewitness confirmation.

However, it is understood officials with the International Committee of the Red Cross have also visited the mass grave, known locally as Faiduma, and it is believed the governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, is conducting an investigation.

Mr Shultz said he had passed on details to Mr Carrascalao. He believed the governor was planning to raise the discovery with the national commission of inquiry appointed by the Suharto government.

According to Mr Shultz, the witnesses said the pit was the largest of seven dug before November 12. He said locals had interpreted this as a warning to the Timorese population not to engage in political agitation during a visit by Portuguese delegation due in late October.

Villagers reported to Mr Shultz the movements of army vehicles on the night of the massacre. The slow-moving convoy consisted of nine trucks followed by two bulldozers, several witnesses said. They said seven of the trucks carried corpses.

Additionally, Mr Shultz said witnesses had insisted there were also live prisoners taken to the Faiduma camp on the night of the massacre. He was told the prisoners were bound, and in two army trucks.

As they passed by village huts, prisoners were quoted as screaming in Portuguese: "It is for our country that we die."

Mr Shultz said he believed this incident might have given rise to reports of a second massacre, although he had not been able to confirm that any of the prisoners allegedly seen by locals that night were later shot.

VICTORIAN UNIONS RESPOND ON TIMOR (GREEN LEFT)

By Melanie Sjoberg, Green Left Weekly, Dec 3, 1991

MELBOURNE - Outrage on the part of many trade union activists over the massacre in Dili and persistent activity by the Timorese community and solidarity groups have produced a response from the organised trade union movement.

The Australian Workers Union initiated bans on the unloading of Indonesian ships very early following the massacre in Dili. The lifts in the building containing the Indonesian Consulate have also been black banned by maintenance workers.

Kevin Jowett from the Plumbers and Gasfitters Union told Green Left Weekly that they have identified at least three major building-related Australian companies which are operating in Indonesia. The combined building unions group is expected to discuss recommendations about taking action against these companies at a meeting on Dec 5.

Transport Workers Union Victorian secretary Chris Kylie told Green Left that they had agreement from their members to implement bans on refuelling against Garuda Airlines, but

needed federal office support for the bans to be implemented on a national basis in order for them to be effective.

A Trades Hall Council meeting held on November 28 passed a strongly worded motion calling on the Australian government to withdraw its recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor; to immediately cease all military and economic aid to the Indonesian government; to indefinitely postpone the prime minister's proposed visit to Indonesia; to do all it can to facilitate talks without prejudice between East Timor, Portugal and Indonesia under the supervision of the United Nations.

The THC meeting also endorsed proposals for the relevant unions to convene meetings to consider extending the protest to actions against shipping, aircraft and diplomatic activities.

Unions associated with Australia Asia Worker Links have also contributed funding to assist Timorese representative Abel Gutierrez in conducting workplace meetings about the issues and the importance of solidarity actions.

The ACTU International Affairs Committee considered the situation at a meeting held in Melbourne on November 28. It reaffirmed the ACTU policy which supports the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination and condemns the Indonesian annexation.

The public statement expresses outrage at the massacre and a recognition that this was not an aberration but part of a consistent pattern of widespread repression and abuse. It calls upon the Australian government to immediately suspend all military aid and sales to Indonesia, to suspend the Defence Cooperation Program and to review its relations with the Indonesian government.

The motion calls for all affiliated unions to support the planned National Day of Mourning on December 7 and indicates that, as a mark of solidarity, no ships or planes flying the Indonesian flag will be serviced on that day.

However, the ACTU called for people planning visits to the region to cancel or postpone them. Human rights activists and Timorese community leaders have stressed that it is essential to maintain visits as a means for monitoring of the situation.

After 16 years of struggle by the East Timorese people, it will take more than words and a token action to assist their cause. The Australian trade union movement is in position where decisive industrial action can play a significant role to shift the balance in favour of the Timorese. Such action would be supported by the majority of the Australian population.

EAST TIMOR EMBASSY OPENED (GREEN LEFT)

By Craig Cornick, Green Left Weekly, Dec 3, 1991

CANBERRA - An East Timorese embassy has been established here, further straining Indonesian-Australian government relations following the November 12 massacre in Dili. Relations were already strained after the revelation that the Australian government has been monitoring and decoding Indonesian military broadcasts in East Timor and might know more details of the massacre than it is revealing.

The Australian government is currently the only one in the world that recognises the Indonesian takeover of East Timor. The United Nations still recognises Portugal, the former colonial ruler, as the administrator of the territory.

Located at the gates of the Indonesian embassy, the East Timorese embassy has an information centre and about 100 white crosses daubed with red paint to represent those who have died.

The embassy is being supported by the ACT Trades and Labour Council, which has placed a picket on the Indonesian embassy. On behalf of the coordinating committee for the East Timor picket, Kerry Browning says as many as 200,000 East Timorese have been reported killed since the Indonesian invasion of 1975. This is a third of the small country's population, or about 100 deaths every three days for the past 16 years.

Browning says the Australian government should do more than simply condemn the Indonesian government. Following the recent peace initiatives in Cambodia, there should be hope for a similar settlement in East Timor. For the past 16 years, East Timorese resistance forces have continually fought the Indonesian occupation from bases in the mountains.

Kerry Browning says the Indonesian embassy has protested to the Department of Foreign Affairs against the presence of the East Timor embassy. "They expect the government to just move in and take it away", she said.

Supporters of the East Timor embassy are calling on the Australian government to urge the United Nations to:

- * organise an independent investigation into the November 12 massacre;
- demand that Indonesian troops be withdrawn from East Timor; and
- organise peace talks.

There are about 10,000 East Timorese living in Australia, and similar protests have been held outside Indonesian consulates in Melbourne and Sydney.

SOUTH COAST UNIONS BAN STEEL TO INDONESIA (GREEN LEFT)

By Bernie Brian, Green Left Weekly, Dec 3.

WOLLONGONG - Steel industry delegates have voted to ban the shipment of 30,000 tonnes of BHP slab steel destined for Indonesia in response to the recent massacre by Indonesian troops of unarmed civilians in East Timor.

They also called on the ACTU to mount a nationwide boycott of all trade with Indonesia and called on the Australian government to suspend all trade and military aid.

On November 28, 100 people attended a candlelight vigil organised by the South Coast Labour Council to protest against the killings in East Timor. The vigil was addressed by representatives of Fretilin, Amnesty International, unions and churches.

REIGN OF TERROR IN EAST TIMOR (GREEN LEFT)

By Norm Dixon, Green Left Weekly, Dec 3.

The Indonesian military is continuing its reign of terror in occupied East Timor. The human rights group TAPOL reports that many people were arrested just prior to the arrival of the Indonesian government-appointed commission of inquiry into the vicious November 12 Dili massacre.

These arrests confirm the widespread scepticism about the hand-picked commission's ability and willingness to carry out an impartial investigation into the killing of an estimated 180 peaceful mourners at the Santa Crux cemetery.

TAPOL reports that Timorese on the streets are being rounded up and taken to police headquarters. It is widely feared that 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 has become a new source of fear among the already terror-stricken population of Dili. It is composed of senior political appointees from the interior, justice and foreign affairs ministries and the inspector-general of the armed forces. It is headed by retired Major General Jaelani, a former commando and recently appointed to the Supreme Court.

Some members of the commission have been freely spouting the government-military version of events in the Indonesian press before their inquiry has begun. Commission member and top foreign ministry official Hadi Wayarabi has accused Portugal of being behind the November 12 demonstration.

Not surprisingly, anyone who was present at the November 12 demonstration is unlikely to appear before this stacked "inquiry". These fears have intensified following reports of the

execution of up to 80 witnesses to the original massacre and a further two mass killings.

At midnight on November 17, 10 Timorese who witnessed the second massacre were arrested and killed. On November 18, another seven were shot dead, apparently because they had witnessed the previous day's shooting. These seven victims included two children, one-year-old Gaspar and Joao Soares, four years old.

One frantic East Timorese who passed this information to TAPOL appealed for the outside world to help: "We are living in hell. If the UN doesn't send observers to monitor and protect us as soon as possible, we will disappear as a people."

Jose Ramos Horta, spokesperson for a broad alliance of Timorese resistance groups, told the Portuguese news agency Lusa that the seven, whom he named, had been thrown into a common grave which was covered over with tarmac. He said 249 people had been arrested since the November 12 killings and were being held in the military police barracks in Dili.

Antonio Sampaio, editor of the East Timor News Agency, which supplies Portuguese-language newspapers and radio programs in Australia, said he had confirmed the reports of a third and fourth massacre from three of his own sources in Dili.

A report in the November 25 Melbourne Age quoted a recently returned Australian tourist who said he had heard 45 seconds of concentrated machine-gun fire from the valley where the second massacre was said to have taken place. An East Timorese later told him that he had seen a truck with between 60 and 80 people in the back heading for the area.

Amnesty International, on November 25, released the names of 60 people killed or missing, presumed dead, after the November 12 massacre, saying the final death toll may reach 200.

"The figure of 60 are the names that we have been given to date", reported Amnesty's East Timor campaign coordinator in Australia, Andre Frankovits. Most of those killed or missing were students, aged between 10 and 35, he said. Amnesty said reports of subsequent massacres were credible and needed investigating by the United Nations.

"There are too many independent sources claiming that the subsequent events have taken place to ignore them, which is why we insist there is an urgency to investigate and investigate independently", said Frankovits.

Amnesty called on Prime Minister Bob Hawke to urge the United Nations to launch an independent inquiry. "We certainly do not believe that the investigation promised by the Indonesians will be impartial or that it will turn up any of the facts", stressed Frankovits.

From Ermera, south of Dili, TAPOL's sources say 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 by the military or pro-Indonesian vigilantes. The main Dili marketplace remains deserted.

An announcement by the military commander, Brigadier-General Warouw, that the masked vigilantes who parade the Dili streets at night would be shot is being treated with derision by the population. It is seen as an attempt to persuade Timorese to go out into the streets, to create an impression of normality during the commission's investigations.

A policeman, who would not give his name, told an Associated Press reporter that Dili, with a population of about 125,000 people, seems normal during the day, but public places begin to empty as the sun sets. He said that people are afraid to go out after dark even though there is no curfew. They talk about sensitive subjects in whispers, and then only among family. A taxi driver added that many people are afraid to discuss the violence because of worries about the young people who have been arrested.

Jose Ramos Horta has also reported that sporadic killings are continuing throughout East Timor. He told the November 26 Melbourne Age that "peasants have been shot at random in the small hamlets, many priests have been beaten up and the military have been confiscating statues and rosary beads from the churches".

Six East Timorese students in Bali, and nine East Timorese students in Yogyakarta were arrested on November 23 and 24. Another nine students were arrested in Bandung following a demonstration there.

Forty-nine of the 70 East Timorese students arrested while demonstrating in front of the UN offices and the Japanese and Australian embassies in Jakarta on November 19 were finally released on November 26. 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 - spreading "hatred or enmity" against the government - which carry a maximum penalty of seven years. Lawyers point out that peacefully demonstrating is not a criminal offence, especially since a number of people from government-sponsored organisations have been demonstrating for days outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta without anyone being arrested.

The international human rights group Asia Watch has demanded that the 21 students remaining in custody be released immediately. Asia Watch is concerned that the authorities have said the detainees are being "intensively interrogated" - a phrase that often indicates physical abuse or torture.

HAWKE, EVANS MAINTAIN SOFT STAND AGAINST INDONESIA (GREEN LEFT)

By Norm Dixon, *Green Left Weekly*, Dec 3.

In the face of widespread calls for tougher action against the Indonesian regime over the Dili massacre and the continued illegal occupation of the East Timor, the Australian government refuses to do anything that may disrupt the cozy relationship that has developed between Australian big business and the generals in Jakarta. That especially includes taking any effective action to defend the human rights and right to self-determination of the East Timorese people.

Aid agencies, human rights groups, the Timorese community, solidarity groups and some sections of the Labor Party and trade union movement have demanded that the Australian government support the creation of an independent inquiry under United Nations auspices to investigate the massacre, end all military aid to Indonesia and withdraw Australia's recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Many of these groups have also called for Australia to campaign for UN-supervised talks between Indonesia and the Timorese resistance. Prime Minister Bob Hawke and foreign minister Gareth Evans have resisted these calls at every turn.

On November 22, the Australian Catholic Bishops Committee for Justice, Development and Peace called for Australia to move in the UN General Assembly for the Dili massacre to be investigated by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

In Melbourne, the Australian Workers Union said it would delay ships carrying Indonesian goods by at least 24 hours. The Victorian Trades Hall Council called for national union bans on Indonesia and called for the Australian government to end recognition of Indonesia's claim to East Timor and to cut aid to Indonesia. It also demanded that sanctions similar to those imposed against Iraq be applied to Indonesia.

Over the November 22-23 weekend, the Tasmanian ALP state council urged the Australian government to cut aid to Indonesia until a UN investigation was permitted to take place. It also called for the withdrawal of Australia's recognition of East Timor's annexation. A similar motion was presented to the federal Labor caucus on November 26.

But the motion's drafters allowed it to become so watered down and toothless that it merely endorsed Labor's present feeble policy. Evans met with them late into the night, pleading that caucus should not force the government into any "preemptive and provocative" moves. In the end, the motion dropped calls for a UN investigation and sanctions and accepted the Indonesian commission of inquiry.

The Australian government has carefully skirted supporting an inquiry independent of

the Indonesian government or drawn from the international community.

Australian officials have made plain that an acceptable explanation of November 12 would be that the troops in Dili lost control and over-reacted to the demonstration. That the massacre was the result of a 16-year policy of military repression directed from the very top of the Indonesian regime has already been ruled out by government spokespeople at all levels. For example on November 19, Department of Foreign Affairs secretary Richard Woolcott said: "My view is that this was not directed from the centre; that this incident arises from not particularly well-trained, and disorderly, troops."

The Australian government refuses to question Indonesia's brutal invasion and occupation of East Timor, an occupation that has killed over 200,000 people in the last 16 years, because Australian big business is doing particularly well there. Exports jumped 40% over the last financial year to \$1.5 billion, and Australia has over \$800 million invested there.

The most important economic factor that drives Australia's policy toward East Timor is the oil deposits that lie between Timor and Australia. Australia and Indonesia signed the Timor Gap treaty in December 1989. It allows access to oil in a jointly administered area of the Timor Sea. If Australia withdrew recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, the treaty would become null and void. Australia is due to award oil exploration permits on December 10.

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

TIMELY PAMPHLET ON TIMOR

Green Left Weekly Dec 3, 1991

Opening Up. Travellers' impressions of East Timor 1989-1991

Edited and compiled by Kirsty Sword and Pat Walsh Australia East Timor Association. 1991. 50 pp. \$5 Available from AETA, PO Box 93, Fitzroy 3065 Reviewed by Melanie Sjoberg

This is an extremely pertinent pamphlet produced to provide insights into the difficulties of life in East Timor and the limitations on the ability of the people to organise. The articles also reinforce the importance of keeping Indonesia and East Timor open to scrutiny at a time when the Suharto regime is increasing its repression.

Not that visiting East Timor in and of itself necessarily affords an exposure to the tragedy of life for the repressed peoples. As Pat Walsh points out in the opening article, "24 Hours In Dili", "It would be tragically simple to visit Dili (which is not East Timor) on a Sunday, stay in a hotel in the business district (and therefore be physically and socially removed from the people) see nothing out of

the ordinary and conclude that everything is normal".

The determination of one British traveller is tested at length as he describes the various schemes attempted by the Indonesian authorities to restrict his movements.

"Timor seemed like one mass grave", wrote one visitor. "Every Timorese to whom I talked about self-determination, including those who accept integration as a fait accompli, agreed that the great majority of Timorese are unreconciled to Indonesian rule and would change their political status if they could", stated another.

Shirley Shackleton, wife of one of the Australian journalists murdered during the invasion in 1975, has contributed an article full of sharp images of the difficulties encountered in the daily routine of women. She articulates the onerous tasks with which they are burdened because of limited access to health care, housing and sanitation.

Another article by a tourist observing protests during January 1990 reminds us that the struggles have been ongoing, although mostly unknown to the international community.

Overall, this pamphlet offers a cheap and accessible opportunity to understand the lives of the people struggling for justice and their right to determine their own future.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL URGES RIGOROUS STANDARDS FOR INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO MASSACRE

Amnesty International 3 December 1991,
Weekly Update

Amnesty International said today that an investigation into the 12 November massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor would need to meet rigorous standards to command international acceptance.

The organization expressed serious doubts about the adequacy of the Indonesian Government's own investigations into the incident, and reiterated its call for a prompt international investigation under United Nations auspices. Commenting on the intention of the UN Secretary General to send an emissary to Indonesia in connection with the killings, Amnesty International said it hoped this would be a step towards such an investigation.

In letters to UN Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar, and the Indonesian Government, dated 27 November, Amnesty International urged the nomination of one or more people of "recognized international stature to lead an impartial investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath" and detailed its reasons for concern about the Indonesian Government's National Investigation Commission.

Amnesty International said that serious human rights violations have continued in East

Timor and Indonesia since the Santa Cruz incident, making an impartial, international investigation a matter of urgency. Indonesian security forces have arrested scores of people in recent weeks, both in East Timor and in various cities in Indonesia. The arrests may be intended in part to prevent the dissemination of information about the massacre and its aftermath. Many have been held in incommunicado detention, raising concerns about possible ill-treatment and torture. Amnesty International has also received unconfirmed reports that dozens of those arrested after the 12 November incident in East Timor may have been killed.

Amnesty International said that an international investigation into the Santa Cruz killings and its aftermath should conform to the United Nations PRINCIPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE PREVENTION AND INVESTIGATION OF EXTRA-LEGAL, ARBITRARY AND SUMMARY EXECUTIONS. The investigation must be thorough, prompt and impartial and must include independently-conducted autopsies and statements from witnesses. The investigative authorities should have the power to obtain all the information necessary to the inquiry, and suspected perpetrators should be required to appear and testify before them. They should also have the necessary technical and other resources for effective investigation. Complainants, witnesses and their relatives must be protected from violence, threats of violence or any other form of intimidation by the authorities. Those potentially implicated in the crime should be immediately suspended from their positions. The full results of the investigation must be made public within a specified period of time, and those identified as responsible for the crime should be brought promptly to justice.

Amnesty International said that the government's National Investigation Commission clearly did not meet the minimum standards of impartiality, independence, credibility and technical expertise, making an effective investigation under UN auspices all the more urgent. It specifically mentioned the following as reasons for concern:

- * The National Investigation Commission cannot reasonably be perceived, either within East Timor or internationally, as an impartial body. It is clearly seen as a representative of the Indonesian Government and the military. East Timorese will understandably fear testifying before the representatives of a government which has been responsible for a pattern of serious human rights violations in the territory since 1975, and which has occupied that territory in violation of numerous UN resolutions.
- * The Indonesian Government has never before conducted an adequate inquiry into reported human rights violations in East Timor since it invaded the territory in 1975. The government has simply dismissed or flatly denied all allegations of

human rights violations, however well-documented, and has questioned the political motivation of those who report them. It is scarcely credible that the investigation of the government's Commission will lead to anybody being brought to justice.

- * The National Investigation Commission does not include any delegate of genuinely independent or impartial stature. The members are drawn from the military, several government departments, with one member from the government-backed political party. The Commission is headed by Supreme Court Judge and former military officer, Muhammad Djaelani SH. The Supreme Court has rarely if ever challenged the position of the government or the military, particularly in political or national security matters.
- * The statements of government and military authorities since the Santa Cruz incident gives grave cause to doubt their sincerity in seeing that thorough and impartial inquiries are conducted. Some officials have tried to justify the actions of the security forces, and to blame the incident on opposition groups, the mourners themselves, or foreign journalists who witnessed it.
- * Military authorities in East Timor have restricted access to prisoners and the wounded by relatives and outside observers, including the ICRC. They have prevented witnesses, human rights activists and independent observers from disputing the official version of events. Some witnesses are said to have been killed. Among those reportedly arrested in recent weeks are witnesses to the Santa Cruz incident, peaceful protesters and people involved in monitoring the human rights situation in East Timor.
- * The authorities have hindered efforts to establish an accurate count of the number and the identities of the victims. They have admitted that the bodies of many who died at Santa Cruz were immediately buried at an abandoned graveyard outside Dili. The hasty disposal of the bodies has virtually precluded the performance of proper post-mortem examinations or forensic tests.

EAST TIMOR: INDEPENDENT INQUIRY OR SANCTIONS, EC TELLS INDONESIA (IPS)

BRUSSELS, Dec. 3 (IPS) -- EC foreign ministers meeting here today called for a "thorough and credible investigation by impartial and independent experts" into the Indonesian army's massacre of Timorese protesters in Dili, East Timor three weeks ago.

EC foreign ministers do not recognize an inquiry that has been reportedly called and carried out by the Indonesian authorities. Should Indonesia fail to undertake such steps, or if the investigation proves the responsibility of the Indonesian authorities,

ministers said that they would then proceed to "review the cooperation between the European community and Indonesia." As a member country the six-nation Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Indonesia enjoys trade preferences in the EC market under the terms of the EC's regional cooperation pact with ASEAN.

Aid to Indonesia out of the European Community's budget is in relative terms, not substantial. This year, the EC has so far pledged 19 million European Currency Units (ECUs) or \$21 million. Ministers based their decision on the Luxembourg Declaration of Heads of State, in June this year, which stressed the "paramount importance attached to the full respect of human rights".

EC ministers also referred today to a resolution adopted by EC development ministers on Nov. 28, giving the EC and its member states free rein to take sanctions against countries that commit "grave and perpetual" human rights violations.

Today's declaration further gave support for a "just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the East Timor issue".

This should be based on respect for the principles of the United Nations charter including, "the defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the full respect of the legitimate interests and aspirations of the population of this territory".

E.C. DECLARATION ON THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

The following Declaration was issued at the end of an informal meeting of Foreign Ministers of the European Community held at Egmont Palace, Brussels, 2-3 December 1991.

The Community and its Member States reviewed the situation in East Timor in the light of the latest reporting available as well as the decisions of the government of Indonesia to set up a commission to investigate the violent incidents of Dili that cost the life of many innocent and defenceless citizens.

They reiterate their condemnation of these unjustifiable actions by the armed forces of Indonesia.

The Community and its Member States stressed once again the paramount importance they attached to the full respect of human rights as expressed in particular in the declaration of the European Council of Luxembourg on 25/26 June 1991.

They also stress in this respect the importance of the resolution and of the regulation adopted by the development council on human rights, democracy and development of 28 September 1991.

They call upon the Indonesian authorities to respond to the serious concerns expressed by the international community. They support the demands for a thorough and credible investigation by impartial and independent experts.

The Community and its Member States will review the cooperation between the European Community and Indonesia in the light of the above mentioned orientations and regulations, and taking into account the response of the Indonesian authorities.

The Community and its member states stress their support for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the East Timor issue, respecting the principles of the United Nations' Charter, and taking into account the need to defend human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the full respect of the legitimate interests and aspirations of the populations of this territory.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST DEC. 4

PORTUGAL

News translated and digested from Publico (Lisbon), Dec 4, 1991

EEC condemns Indonesia Actions

Timor will not be a part of the agenda of the Maastrich meeting, but the EEC foreign affairs ministers have condemned Indonesia's actions in East Timor.

The EEC will reevaluate all cooperation with Indonesia taking into account the reaction of the Indonesian authorities to the position of the international community regarding East Timor.

The EEC foreign affairs ministers also support the claim for a deep and credible investigation carried out by independent experts.

The Portuguese foreign affair minister has commented on the declaration, saying, "It is an historical declaration." Joao de Deus Pinheiro also said that the East Timor question was the main subject during the ministers' two lunches.

For CDPM [Committee for the Rights of the Maubere People, a major East Timor support group in Portugal], the declaration was still not specific enough.

"There are no timetables for the application of sanctions against Indonesia. There is no precision about how the inquiry into the massacre will be conducted. There are no references on an embargo on the selling of arms to Indonesia. And the last paragraph of the declaration [which states the aspirations of the Timorese people] should be more precise and mention the right to independence."

But CDPM also considers the declaration an important step mainly because it condemns the massacre, questions the credibility of Indonesia, and promises to reevaluate cooperation with Indonesia by connecting cooperation to respect for human rights.

Oil explorations continue

The Mining and Energy Minister of Indonesia has announced in Jakarta that 12 enterprises will be authorized to search for oil and natural gas in the sea off East Timor.

Portugal placed in the International Court of Justice [last February], as the administering

power for East Timor, a complaint asking the tribunal to forbid Australia [since Indonesia does not recognize the authority of the ICJ] exploring for oil off East Timor.

Soares to write Ghali

Mario Soares, the Portuguese President, will write a letter to incoming UN Secretary General Ghali denouncing the dramatic situation of the East Timor people and explaining the Portuguese position on the problem.

Belo won't speak to Indonesian journalists

In Dili, Bishop Ximenes Belo refuses to speak to Indonesian journalists because he does not trust them, according to an East Timorese source quoted by Lusa [the Portuguese news agency].

Portuguese artists and media support Timor

RTP, the Portuguese TV state channel, through an idea by Jorge Pego, will be producing a video-clip for the support of the East Timor victims. The lyrics of the song are by Carlos Te and the music by Rui Veloso. Nuno Bettencourt, the guitarist of the world famous hard rock band Extreme, will be invited to participate on this project which will be released on compact disc by EMI - Portugal. The video-clip will feature some of the few worldwide known Portuguese stars - Amalia Rodrigues, Eusebio, Rosa Mota, and others. The songs will be in English.

The group in charge of the Lisbon Modern Music Festival, Mutantes, also in support for the victims in Timor, has organized a rock festival that will take place on the 7th of December at the Jose de Alvalade Stadium. The participating bands are: Xutos e Pontapes, Delfins, Radio Macau e Censurados. This will be a non-profit concert and all the proceeds will be given to the Timorese resistance movement, Falintil. [Falintil refers to Fretilin's armed wing and no longer formally exists, having incorporated all groups undertaking armed resistance.]

The Portuguese magazine "Grande Reportagem" opened an account at Caixa Geral de Depositos to collect funds for the cause of Xanana Gusmao and his colleagues fighting for the independence of Timor.

The weekly newspaper, "O Independente," has been collecting signatures of relevant figures of the Portuguese community for a petition supporting the people of Timor.

M. Nuno Figueiredo MPF0642@tesla.njit.edu

Portuguese priest decries occupation

Indonesia's occupation of East Timor was partly aimed at spreading the Moslem religion among the Roman Catholic population in the former Portuguese territory, a priest told the *Jornal de Noticias* Tuesday.

Fr. Manuel Magalhaes of the Salesian Order, who lived in East Timor for 22 years, said Indonesia justified its 1975 annexation of the territory as a way to stop the spread of communism.

In reality, the territory was seized because it is rich in oil, coffee, timber and other products, as well as for "a holy war in the name of spreading Islam," he said. (AFP, Dec 4)

Australia-Indonesia oil agreements

Australia and Indonesia will sign agreements allowing oil and gas exploration in the Timor Sea next week, but Australian officials declined to say where.

Apparently fearing protests after the November 12 massacre in the East Timor capital of Dili, officials would not identify the spot and said four or five sites were being considered.

Darwin had been picked as the logical site to sign deals with 12 Australian and international oil companies allowing them to search the sea for gas and a possible one billion barrels of oil in a jointly controlled area of the Timor Sea.

East Timorese, claiming up to 180 mourners were killed by Indonesian troops when they opened fire in Dili, have protested at rallies in Darwin, north Australia, in the past few weeks.

Four or five sites for the signing are being considered, an Australian government spokesman said. He gave no date or venue.

He declined to say whether or not Darwin was one of them.

Oil industry sources said the two ministers are likely to announce the award of exploration permits to 12 companies in the joint zone on December 10. Among the companies bidding for licences are The Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, and Chevron Corp. (Reuter, Dec 4)

INDONESIA may ban CAA

Indonesia said on Wednesday it was considering banning the Australian charity Community Aid Abroad (CAA), which it has accused of masterminding the violence in East Timor.

The official Antara news agency earlier this week quoted unnamed sources as saying the charity may have been behind the violence.

CAA has denied the charge.

The government would investigate the report and if true would ban the charity from Indonesia, the *Suara Pembaruan* newspaper quoted armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro as saying. (Reuter, Dec 4)

INDONESIA: no special status for East Timor

Indonesian Home Affairs Minister Rudini has rejected calls to give East Timor a "special" status like Aceh in northern Sumatra and Yogyakarta in Java.

Rudini said that East Timor would not gain any advantage from a special status.

"I can change the name now, but what good will it do?" he asked.

Officials said the "special" status of Aceh and Yogyakarta was only symbolic and all 27 provincial governors, including East Timor's

Mario Viegas Carrascalao, come under the Home Affairs ministry.

Rudini said that instead of creating a special administrative status for East Timor "it is better to create more profitable rules."

"East Timor export commodities could be shipped directly from Dili instead of from Surabaya (East Java). So the profit goes to East Timor," he was quoted as saying in the Kompas daily.

This comment toes the official line that economic woes and high unemployment are behind East Timor's unrest since it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Rudini was replying to a proposal by MP Marzuki Darusman of the ruling Golkar party that the former Portuguese colony should be given a special status.

According to diplomatic sources here some countries including Australia want Indonesia to create a special status for East Timor which does not jeopardise its incorporation into Indonesia. (AFP, Dec 4)

Carrascalao's casualty figures

"The minimum figure now, if you take into account all the figures that have been mentioned and what I myself saw, I believe it is between 50 and 100 for sure," Mario Viegas Carrascalao told Reuters in an interview last night.

Carrascalao is the first Indonesian official publicly to refute the army version of events in the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12. The army said 19 died when troops fired to defend themselves from a dangerous mob.

Carrascalao said the firing went on for about two minutes and most of those shot were praying inside the cemetery.

Carrascalao said only a few people had been standing outside the cemetery and shouting slogans in support of the Fretilin separatist guerrillas.

He accused a secret force of pro-Indonesian vigilantes for creating the situation that led to the violence. They were the same people who had terrorised Dili last year, roaming the streets at night and beating up people. (Reuter, Moses Manoharan, Dec 4)

Carrascalao says army is split

East Timor Governor Mario Carrascalao said the army in East Timor appeared deeply divided between hardliners and those, like the local military commander, who wanted a softer approach.

Carrascalao said Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw followed a more humane strategy but he doubted whether the general was in complete control in the territory.

"It's possible that all the military (in East Timor) is not under Warouw."

He said even members of the military had complained to him about the large number of intelligence organisations operating in East Timor.

Carrascalao said he believed Warouw had become the target of hardliners after the military commander let people demonstrate

during a visit to East Timor by the U.S. ambassador last year.

"It is my understanding, having been governor for nine years, that inside ABRI (the Indonesian military) there are hardliners and peacemakers, people who want to solve the problems of East Timor peacefully."

He urged Jakarta to pull out all the troops sent to East Timor to fight Fretilin and leave behind only those soldiers trained in dealing with civilians in peacetime.

"With the 12th of November, I don't think people can smile any more. People are very upset. People have lost their hopes...I don't see November 12 as the last (incident)." (Reuter, Moses Manoharan, Dec 4)

Flood meets Indonesian officials in Timor.

Ambassador Philip Flood, who arrived in Dili Tuesday, met East Timor's military operational commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Samuel Warouw, Wednesday and later with Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo.

Flood, Belo and Warouw all declined comment on their talks.

Flood was here officially as a guest of Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, and had already met the governor Tuesday. (AFP, Dec 4)

Commission "investigation" continues

On the eighth day of their fact finding visit, three of the members of the National Investigative Commission (KPN) met again with East Timor Governor Carrascalao. KPN members and the governor had already met at least three times since they arrived here Thursday.

They later joined the other four team members to meet Dili's police chief, Colonel Ishak Kodijat.

During the visit to the Dili police headquarters, the team also saw people detained there following the November 12 shooting incident.

The leader of the KPN, Supreme Judge Jaelani, however, declined to say how many were still detained.

Kodijat said Monday that 26 people remained in police custody out of the some 200 who had been arrested in the wake of the incident.

They went later Wednesday to the Dili military hospital where the wounded were treated. Team members also declined to give a figure.

The head of the Military Health Office, Sofyan Malik, also declined to say how many were being treated at the hospital following the shooting but said that "most have already recovered" and would soon be allowed to return to their homes. (Reuter, Bhimanto Suwastoyo, Dec 4)

PROGRAM AT CORNELL

Forwarded by David Kay
(XT6J@CORNELLA.cit.cornell.edu):

On Monday Dec. 9, 1991, there will be a panel at Cornell University (Ithaca, New York), entitled "Self-Determination and Human Rights in East Timor: Eyewitness Accounts of the November 12 Massacre."

The event will be held at 7:30 pm in the Hollis E. Cornell Auditorium, Goldwin-Smith Hall, Cornell University.

The panel will feature Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, correspondents for WBAI/Pacifica Radio and the New Yorker, respectively. Goodman and Nairn witnessed the November 12 massacre carried out by Indonesian soldiers in East Timor.

Also speaking will be Jose Guterres, representative of Fretilin (a pro-independence resistance group in East Timor) to the United Nations, and Benedict Anderson, Professor of International Studies at Cornell University and specialist on Indonesia and East Timor.

The event is sponsored by the following campus and community groups: Center for Religion Ethics and Social Policy (CRESP)

Cornell United Religious Works (CURW)
Committee on US-Latin American Relations (CUSLAR)

Veterans for Peace Ch. 38

United Universalist Service Committee

Cornell Catholic Community Social Justice Committee

For further information, contact David Kay
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COMMISSION PROBES CIVILIAN MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR (IPS)

by Godfrey Karoro

HARARE, Dec. 5 (IPS) -- Indonesia will not yield to international pressure to allow an independent probe into the November massacre of mourners in East Timor, the country's foreign minister said here today.

Ali Alatas however said his government had already expressed "deep regret" and set up an a National Investigation Commission to determine the issue.

Speaking to journalists at the end of a four-day state visit to Zimbabwe by Indonesian President Suharto, the minister described the massacre as "regrettable and tragic."

"The commission, headed by a supreme court judge, is working to find out the facts and come up with recommendations. I want to assure you that whoever was responsible will be brought to court," Alatas said.

No request had been received in Jakarta from the United Nations for an international investigating team to find out what happened in East Timor, he said.

There has been international condemnation and calls for an independent probe into the

shooting on Nov. 12 of unarmed mourners in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed in 1976.

The Indonesian government said 19 people were killed and 91 others injured. But the East Timor resistance movement put the casualty figure at 183 dead while the Catholic Church claimed 300 either dead or were not accounted for.

"There was a lot of confusion and some people went into hiding," Alatas explained, adding that the government commission would establish the truth.

"Incidents like this have happened in other countries and they have been allowed to carry out their own investigations. Why can we not be allowed to do the same?" The minister asked.

However, Alatas said the Jakarta government would listen to any request and respond accordingly at the appropriate time.

"We have always worked and cooperated with the United Nations on East Timor," he said.

Relating the incident which took place at Santa Cruz cemetery of Dili, capital of the former Portuguese island colony in Southeast Asia, the minister said Indonesia was "very concerned" with the way it was reported by world media.

"There was a lot of exaggeration and bias against Indonesia," he said.

"We are deeply concerned that other countries have made up their minds or drawn conclusions without waiting for the findings of the commission."

Alatas said his country's army had been subjected to a lot of provocation by youths against and those who support the integration of East Timor and Indonesia.

He said youths attacked a peaceful march by churchgoers, shouting abusive slogans and throwing stones. According to the minister, an army major, who tried to address the youths, was stabbed while his assistant was attacked with a machete.

The troops surrounded the crowd in trying to control the situation. But the situation got out of hand when a shot was fired in the air and a grenade dropped in front of the troops, said Alatas.

"Without condoning the shooting, it is not government or armed forces policy to shoot civilians. There was serious provocation and things went out of hand," Alatas said.

"We reject this wild assertion that Indonesia shoots people for nothing," he added.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST DEC. 5

ZIMBABWE: Alatas welcomes UN envoy

U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is welcome to send a personal envoy to look into the shooting of civilians in East Timor last month, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Thursday.

But he reacted coolly at a news conference here to calls for a full U.N. inquiry into the incident, saying an Indonesian national commission had already begun investigations and Jakarta hoped that would be acceptable.

Alatas said Indonesia's U.N. ambassador was due to meet later Thursday with the director general of the U.N. office in Geneva to discuss the requests for an international investigation into the shooting by Indonesian troops.

"We will listen to what the request is and if it is a personal emissary of the secretary general ... of course we would say welcome, have a look," said Alatas.

"This kind of unfortunate and tragic incidents happen everywhere in the world, mistakes are perhaps made and they are being corrected. But a national commission is already now at work and I hope that everyone would agree with us that they should be given all opportunities to do their work," he said.

Suharto and his delegation were due to leave Zimbabwe for Tanzania later Thursday. (AFP, Dec 5)

Demonstration at Indonesian embassy in Washington

Pacific Radio (WBAI et al) reported today [Dec 4] that there was a demonstration at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington this afternoon about East Timor. Demonstrators chanted "Cut the Aid, Stop the War." The Indonesians refused to comment, pending the outcome of their internal investigation of the massacre.

The following Portuguese articles, translated and digested by fmhv@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos), are from Publico (Lisbon) 5 December 1991

EEC Doubts Indonesian report

A report made by the chiefs of mission of the EEC countries accredited to Jakarta states that the Indonesian version of the events [Santa Cruz incident] is not credible, and also doubts of the impartiality of the Indonesian inquiry commission with regard to the recent events in Dili.

The Portuguese government is trying to persuade the EEC to send to East Timor an independent investigation commission.

Portuguese AI doubts commission

The president of the Portuguese section of Amnesty International thinks that the Indonesian commission of inquiry is not credible.

Vitor Nogueira [President of the Portuguese AI] also declared that the organization tried to visit East Timor but the necessary authorization was not granted.

Morocco's King Hassan offers to mediate

The king of Morocco Hassan II wants to be a mediator in negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia, according to the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

Student demonstration in Portugal

In Aveiro [a city in the north of Portugal] when the Norwegian prime minister was going to be awarded a Doctor Honoris Causa degree, the students of the university demonstrated, saying that they will not forget East Timor.

Personal note: This kind of demonstration has been happening since the massacre in almost all universities of Portugal.

Guinea will raise ET in Islamic Conference

The president of Guinea [a former Portuguese colony] will speak about East Timor in the conference of the Islamic countries that will be held in Senegal next week. Indonesian president Suharto will be present.

Murdani rejects Australian consulate in Dili

Indonesia on Thursday dismissed as "ridiculous" an Australian proposal to open a consulate in East Timor following the shooting there last month of civilians by Indonesian soldiers.

The idea is "quite ridiculous," said Acting Foreign Affairs Minister Benny Moerdani, who is also defense minister.

"To open a consulate you should take into consideration the number of your people and the amount of trade you deal with. But, you can see what it is in Dili," added Moerdani.

Moerdani was referring to the absence of a large Australian community in East Timor and the lack of important trade activities between the former Portuguese colony and Australia.

The Australian proposal to open a consulate in Dili was a part of Canberra's response to the bloody November 12 shooting in Dili. (AFP, Dec 5)

Murdani denies U.N. investigation request

Interim Foreign Minister Benny Murdani said Thursday that Indonesia has not received a request for an independent United Nations investigation into the killings of East Timorese civilians.

"Therefore, for the time being, we consider the visit is nothing," Murdani said.

Brig. Gen. Nurhahi Purnasaputro, spokesman for the armed forces, said Tuesday that the Indonesian army has rejected the U.N.'s request for its own inquiry.

"We don't want interference because this is an internal affair," Nurhadi said.

Meanwhile, former foreign minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja said Jakarta's refusal to admit the U.N. envoy could create the impression that the government is hiding something.

He advised the government to welcome the envoy but to ask that the U.N. investigation's results not be released before the Indonesian team could release its own findings.

Murdani said that Jakarta has formed a commission to probe the incident.

"I think this team is more than enough," he said. (UPI, Sukino Harisumarto, Dec 5)

INDONESIA : Australia warned

Indonesia on Thursday warned Australia it was overstepping the mark in its response to the army shooting in East Timor last month and effectively ruled out any chance of an international inquiry into the incident.

"There is a limit to political games of other countries that Indonesia can tolerate," Defence Minister Benny Murdani told reporters.

Murdani referred specifically to a proposal by Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke that the United Nations should set up a peace-keeping force for the territory.

"There is no war in East Timor. Why should they send a peace-keeping force?" Benny Murdani told reporters.

Hawke made the remarks in an interview with the Jakarta-based weekly Editor, saying Australia would join such a peace-keeping force.

Murdani, a retired general, was one of the key figures when Indonesian troops invaded the former Portuguese territory on December 7, 1975. (Reuter, Jonathan Thatcher, Dec 5)

INDONESIA: Try Sutrisno criticized

Political analysts have criticised armed forces commander Try -- who holds ministerial rank -- for giving the army version of events to parliament the day before the commission left for East Timor.

Try, who is considered a future presidential candidate, blamed Fretilin independence guerrillas and foreign elements for the incident and said his troops were defending themselves.

The analysts said his account has only made it harder for the commission to be independent.

"Try shouldn't have spoken to parliament," said one, a retired general. "They blame it on Fretilin. That's not the issue. This issue is why did they shoot." (Reuter, Jonathan Thatcher, Dec 5)

INDONESIA: U.S. officials to visit Timor

Two U.S. congress officials and two U.S. diplomats posted in Jakarta left Thursday for a brief visit to East Timor, U.S. Embassy spokesman Richard Gong said here.

The two officials, from the congressional General Accounting Office (GAO), are visiting Indonesia as part of a study of U.S. military training programs for foreign armies, Gong said.

Washington has provided assistance of this kind to the Indonesian army for a long time, and a visit to East Timor was arranged before the November 12 shooting in Dili, Gong said.

However, "because of the incident in East Timor, the GAO requested that they visit Dili as well, and the government of Indonesia has cooperated in arranging their visit," Gong said.

Gong gave no information on the duration of the visit or the names of the officials, saying only they would be staying several days and they had already met Indonesian officials in Jakarta and Bandung.

The GAO is responsible for examining and auditing U.S. Government agencies. (AFP, Dec 5)

East Timor: Commission "investigation: proceeds

Members of a national probe team Thursday started to interview witnesses to last month's bloody army shooting here, the supreme court judge who heads the team said.

"On the whole, we approached witnesses to get data on what had really happened," Jaelani told journalists here.

He said the seven-member National Investigative Commission (KPN) team had interviewed "some" witnesses, though did not elaborate.

These included some still held in Dili Police headquarters after they were detained following the shooting, and others still in local hospital after being injured in the incident.

The team already visited the two places Wednesday.

He said that 48 of those treated at the hospital had already been returned to their homes since Tuesday, but declined to say how many remained in hospital.

Some KPN members also went to the regional parliament, Jaelani said.

Authorities have not released the names of the victims, dead or injured, and the bodies were buried in 19 unmarked graves at a cemetery in Hera near here a few days after the shooting. (AFP, Dec 5)

EAST TIMOR: Church re-evaluates its role

Missionaries said outrage over the killing by Indonesian troops of up to 180 people mourning the death of a separatist in the provincial capital Dili on November 12 could force the Church to redefine its mission there.

"When we see how the Church hardly ever stood up to the Portuguese rulers, we must ask ourselves how much our mission has accomplished in East Timor," one elderly Western nun said.

"In 450 years, we have succeeded in spreading the (Bible's) Old Testament message of an eye for an eye," she said.

"Maybe in another 400 years, we may succeed in getting through the New Testament message to turn the other cheek in forgiveness."

East Timorese have been traditionally divided by the territory's 36 dialects and a vengeful society where old scores are violently settled even two or three generations later.

Assistant Governor Tito Dos Santos Baptista said the divisions did not however cause people to forget their racial differences with the rest of Indonesia.

"We see Asians as not the same as us," Baptista said.

The mainly Portuguese-trained priests running the parishes, are elderly and cannot forget the trauma of the Indonesian army invasion in 1975, one foreign missionary said.

Father Rafael Dos Santos, Pastor of Liquica town, nostalgically spoke of what he said were the happy days under Portugal, though he admitted the school and hospital system had improved after the Indonesian takeover.

"Then, we lived free in spirit, now we are under pressure."

"Many youths are in hiding fearing arrest, but the Church authorities have still not begun discussing the issue," a young missionary said.

"We have administered to the soul for too long. Now, we must step out of this safe routine and help the youths search for answers in the material world." (Reuter, Moses Manoharan, Dec 4)

EAST TIMOR: Timorese students arrested in Bali

Police in Indonesia have arrested six students from East Timor in Bali. Police said they found anti-government literature and a South Korean-made hand grenade in the house they were staying in. A military spokesman in Bali confirmed the arrests but did not say why the incident occurred. There is an on-going Indonesian crack-down following the Nov 12 massacre in Dili, in which over 100 people were killed. (R. France 12/2)

Australian AI criticizes "investigation"

Amnesty International's Australian representative has claimed that the Indonesian inquiry into the Nov 12 massacre in East Timor did not meet minimum standards of independence.

He said: "The Santa Cruz massacre was not simply an aberrant incident but rather is consistent with a pattern of human rights violations that AI has been documenting for nearly 16 years. In the two weeks since the Santa Cruz killings, Indonesian security forces have arrested scores of people in both East Timor and Sudizin(?) Indonesia. Most are being held incommunicado, raising concerns about maltreatment and torture.

"While AI is not suggesting that the incidents on and after 12 Nov were specifically ordered from Jakarta, statements by army sources and continuing arrests of East Timorese after that time can too readily be interpreted as endorsing the actions of the military and a message that such activity is acceptable to the military leadership.

"In AI's view, the National Investigation Commission, established by the Indonesia government, lacks the necessary independence, credibility and forensic expertise to conduct a proper inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre." (12/2)

MURDANI: NO NEED FOR DILI MISSION (AUSTRALIAN)

The Australian, 6 Dec 1991 By Dennis Shanahan and Terry Friel Comment: Abridged

The Indonesian Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, last night virtually torpedoed Australia's bid to reopen a consu-

late in East Timor and accused Canberra of hurting Indonesia while playing political games.

General Murdani, who is also acting Foreign Minister, said there was no reason for Australia to reopen a consulate in the provincial capital, Dili.

The consulate closed in 1971 but the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, is to discuss reopening it when he visits Jakarta later this month.

'I consider it strange', General Murdani said. 'If there are

hundreds of Australians it would be OK, but because there are not, Australia is only pursuing its own interests.

'If the desire to open a consulate is related to this incident (the Dili massacre) it... is clear it will interfere with the internal affairs of Indonesia'.

General Murdani also scorned reported comments here by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, calling for a UN peacekeeping force for East Timor.

'Peacekeeping? Is there a war? Ask Hawke,' he said. 'It's

laughable if they want to send a peacekeeping force to East Timor, because there is no war.'

The plans for a consulate and a peacekeeping force may have been the result of domestic political pressure on Canberra, he said, 'but Indonesia has a limitation on its tolerance of political games in other countries'.

Australian aid organisations are pressuring the Government to have Indonesia withdraw allegations that Community Aid Abroad masterminded protests before the Dili massacre last month in which Indonesian troops are thought to have killed up to 100 Timorese.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid has also called on the Indonesian Government to guarantee the safety of Australian aid workers in Indonesia and to allow non-government aid programs to continue.

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, who has disputed the Indonesian army's account of the Dili massacre, had received several death threats, his brother, Mr Joao Carrascalao, said in Sydney last night.

The harassment campaign was being commanded by President Suharto's brother in law, Mr Prabowo, he alleged.

JOSE RAMOS HORTA INTERVIEW (BBC)

On Friday, 6 December 1991, the BBC World Service carried the following interview of Jose Ramos Horta, official spokesperson of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM):

Asked about reports that the East Timorese resistance had made contact with senior Indonesian officers opposed to the armed forces policy on East Timor and with Indonesian opposition circles, Horta said:

A: Over the years we have in fact maintained some channels of communication, some contacts on a private, individual basis with a wide range of Indonesian officials - military and civilian - as well as intellectuals and democratic opposition forces. Some of these contacts have extended to military people, particularly the younger generation, who certainly do not share the obsession of the older general of the 1940s, regarding questions of national security. And they share our view that the case of East Timor is diametrically different from all the problems of Aceh in Sumatra, West Papua and other places like the Moluccas, because East Timor was never part of Indonesia, never part of the Dutch East Indies and should not be brought into the general debate over Indonesian national unity and integrity.

Q: But is there any indication that army officers are now prepared to come out into the open and begin that kind of discussion?

A: Well, I know there is serious soul-searching, a serious debate within Indonesia itself, at a high level, regarding this question. And it is possible that with increased international pressure, from the European Community, the United States and world public opinion, it will strengthen the position of those who want to resolve the problem of East Timor through peaceful means.

Q: The Indonesian Investigating Commission has begun taking evidence about the killings which took place last month. Will members of your organisation cooperate with the Commission?

A: Absolutely not. Those thugs responsible for the massacre, responsible for the occupation tragedy of the past sixteen years, have no morality, no credibility whatsoever, to conduct an impartial investigation. It is the same as asking Pol Pot to conduct an investigation into the genocide perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. We reject it.

Q: Australia plans to open an embassy (sic) in East Timor. Is this something you support?

A: Well, Australia is planning to open a consulate, and if that is the case, then we would welcome that, and we would like to see more and more consulates opening there, but not only that; we would like to see an increased presence of the International Committee of the Red Cross. But we make the point that the opening of a consulate should not be tantamount to recognising Indonesia's de fact or de jure occupation of East Timor. We would see them only as a deterrence against further violence in East Timor.

Q: At the same time, Australia is to go ahead and sign an agreement with Indonesia covering oil and gas exploration in the Timor Sea.

A: That again shows Australian hypocrisy and double standards. On the one hand it applies sanctions against South Africa because of apartheid, but on the other, when it comes to the case of East Timor, it aids and abets Indonesia's occupation, by signing the Timor Gap Treaty and giving concessions to Australian companies. But in any case, as the Timor case evolves, as a solution becomes more and more possible, the Timor Gap Treaty will become ipso facto, null and void.

REALISM AND EVIL (NY TIMES)

"Abroad at Home" column on the New York Times op-ed page by Anthony Lewis, December 6, 1991. English, unabridged.

A pull-quote in the middle of the article reads "U.S. blindness on East Timor."

Sixteen years ago this week Indonesian troops invaded East Timor, a Portuguese colony on an island north of Australia. They crushed the local independence movement, which was about to take over as Portugal left, and annexed the territory.

The United States turned a blind eye to that bloody act, and to years of murderous repression that followed. So did the other major powers. Indonesia had a free hand, and used it cruelly. Of the 750,000 people in East Timor, between 100,000 and 200,000 were killed or died of hunger and disease.

Why have we done nothing about such massive inhumanity? Why have we not put pressure on Indonesia, a recipient of much American aid?

Whenever I asked such questions over the years, State Department officials told me that it was not "realistic" to object loudly and strongly to Indonesia's butchery in East Timor. That would only anger President Suharto and his Government, they said. The best hope was quiet diplomacy -- not to get Indonesia out of the territory but to persuade it to behave more reasonably.

The effectiveness of that "realistic" policy was demonstrated last month in Dili, the Timorese capital. At 8 A.M. on Nov. 12 Indonesian soldiers fired without warning into a group of young people marching into a cemetery to protest other killings. The Roman Catholic Church said that more than 100 were killed.

This massacre was different from others in East Timor in one important respect: Western journalists were there and saw it. Two American writers walking alongside the marchers were themselves injured. A courageous British television cameraman filmed the whole thing. The footage, which was shown in part by CBS in this country, is grisly viewing.

Indonesian authorities said the soldiers had fired "in fear of their lives." But that and other evasions were unconvincing in the face of testimony by witnesses that it was a deliberate, unprovoked massacre.

President Suharto appointed a commission to investigate. But a commission of Indonesians is hardly likely to persuade anyone of its good faith.

What is needed right now -- urgently needed -- is obvious. It is to have observers from the outside world on the scene in East Timor to check on the human rights situation and prevent any further loss of life.

The need is urgent because reports filtering out since the massacre say that military repression and brutality are worse than at any time since the 1975 invasion.

East Timor is small and far away. Indonesia has counted on that -- counted on the world not caring. It has closed the territory to outside visitors for most of the times since 1975.

The United States of all countries should care, and act. For it has had a responsibility from the beginning.

The day before Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, President Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, were in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, while on an Asian tour. Mr. Kissinger knew that the Indonesians might well move on East Timor, but he chose not to warn them against invading. Brent Scowcroft, who was President Ford's national security advisor then, later explained why:

"It was fundamentally a matter of recognizing reality. ... It made no sense to antagonize the Indonesians. ... East Timor was not a viable entity."

The Indonesian forces used arms received from U.S. aid in the invasion -- which violated American law. That was pointed out to Mr. Kissinger in a cable sent to him from the State Department while he was abroad. When he got back, he excoriated his aides for letting the cable go out.

"I know what the law is," Mr. Kissinger told a meeting of top State Department officials on Dec. 18, 1975, "but how can it be in the U.S. national interest for us to ... kick the Indonesians in the teeth?"

So far, such "realism" has permitted the death of up to 200,000 people in East Timor. More are dying all the time.

Indonesia has no legitimate reason to be in East Timor at all -- no more than Iraq had to be in Kuwait. American policy should be to end the occupation. But the immediate requirement is to get international observers on the ground and stop the killing.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST DEC. 6-7

PORTUGAL: Messages from Dili

Excerpted from Publico Dec 6. forwarded message by fmvh@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos):

1) Ximenes Belo [Bishop of Dili] was able to speak yesterday to the Portuguese people. This has been one of the rare moments when it was possible to contact the Dili Bishop. In his message he asks that the Portuguese people pray for East Timor.

2) From Dili two other messages arrived, both asking for the intervention of Portugal in the international community to spread all over the world the real situation of East Timor.

One of the messages is from the mothers of the 21 people arrested by Indonesia. They say:

"We know that our sons are being tortured and Indonesian authorities are going to bring them to trial under the charge of crimes against the security of the state."

Personal note [fmhv]: Tomorrow [Dec 7] will mark 16 years since Indonesia invaded East Timor. There will be two demonstrations today [Dec 6] in Lisbon to remember that fact. According to Portuguese radio broadcasts, Indonesian authorities are pressuring East Timor people over the local radio station not to go out on the streets tomorrow [Dec 7].

AUSTRALIA: Bishops want UN inquiry

A conference of Australian Roman Catholic bishops urged the United Nations on Friday to hold an inquiry into reports of human rights abuses by Indonesia in East Timor.

The Catholic Bishops of Australia said after a week-long conference that although Jakarta regarded the November 12 incident as an internal affair, "the world community has a legitimate interest in human rights abuses, wherever they occur or are alleged to occur."

"Any investigation into the human rights situation there should not be limited to the events of November 12 but should also examine allegations of abuses, including summary executions, disappearances, detentions and other forms of harassment before and since that date." (Reuter, Dec 6)

EAST TIMOR: anniversary of invasion

Indonesia, which invaded East Timor 16 years ago this week, is still torn between trying to win the hearts and minds of the locals or to crush them into obedience.

Political analysts say any goodwill achieved by Jakarta was wiped out by a volley of bullets from Indonesian soldiers which killed up to 180 mourners at a cemetery in the provincial capital Dili last month.

"What has happened now after so many years and so many sacrifices?" commented a retired general who worked in the territory in the early 1980s.

Many Indonesians, however, are tired of what they term the pampering of the East Timorese as aid is pumped into the region.

"What do you think other people feel? They have to sacrifice help from the government for the sake of the East Timorese," said a senior Jakarta-based journalist.

While admitting the army had made many mistakes, he said the East Timorese had shown little thanks for the rapid development of their economy after centuries of Portuguese neglect. (Reuter, Moses Manoharan, Dec 6)

EAST TIMOR: Carrascalao criticizes military hardliners

East Timor Governor Mario Carrascalao told Reuters on Tuesday that hardliners in the military had deliberately sabotaged a strategy to win the hearts and minds of the people pursued by Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, East Timor's military commander.

Warouw began his campaign two years ago, using specially trained troops to help civilian authorities build roads, hospitals and schools in the villages.

The architect of the policy was believed to be Defence Minister Benny Murdani, who while commander in chief of the Indonesian armed forces played a key role in appointing military personnel to the territory.

"It looks to me that General Try Sutrisno does not have the background on East Timor that Murdani has," Carrascalao said.

Both the government and the military admit Jakarta's programme of social development has won few hearts among young East Timorese despite bringing some prosperity to the territory after Portuguese neglect.

Adding fuel to the fire is a pro-Jakarta East Timorese minority which is trying to persuade the military to take harsher measures against separatism.

Assistant Governor Tito Baptista blamed Warouw for the November 12 violence.

"General Warouw speaks with the heart...the next military commander must be tougher," Baptista told Reuters. (Reuter, Moses Manoharan, Dec 6)

EAST TIMOR: vicious economic cycle

East Timor is locked in a vicious economic cycle as frustrated youths, with school diplomas but no work, turn against Indonesia, local officials say.

"Investment and tourism can break the vicious cycle, but who will risk investing and how many tourists will come in this political climate?" asks Rui Gomes, an official of the East Timor planning department.

Rui said even cash crops of coffee and coconut which have sustained the territory's subsistence level economy were declining.

Production of coffee -- the most important crop -- slumped last year despite a nearly a fifth more land being brought under cultivation.

Government officials complain that East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao's attempt three years ago to dismantle a military-backed monopoly in the local coffee trade concession had not brought higher prices to farmers.

But the overall economy has grown under Indonesian rule.

By 1989, the latest figures available, gross domestic product had jumped to 230.83 billion rupiah (117 million dollars) from 96.89 billion (49 million) five years earlier.

The latest figure, however, still works out at only about 150 dollars a year for each of East Timor's 750,000 people, less than a third of the national average wage.

The owner of a leading East Timor hotel said business had declined 80 per cent since an upsurge in separatist activity in the past three months.

Ironically, the November 12 shooting gave his business a lift as journalists and diplomats arrived to investigate. (Reuter, Dec 6)

Flood urges Indonesia-East Timor negotiations

Australia's ambassador to Jakarta on Saturday urged Indonesia to talk peace with the people of East Timor and scale down its military presence in the area.

Philip Flood, speaking on the 16th anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of the former Portuguese territory, said Jakarta lost the people's goodwill following an army shooting of unarmed mourners on November 12.

Flood quoted local leaders who said over 100 had died.

"There is a need to sit down with the East Timorese people, including the resistance, to work out a programme (for peace)," Flood told a news conference at the end of a five-day visit.

"There is no doubt that many people in the province are concerned that the province is unduly dominated by the military," he said.

"We would like to see in East Timor a society where people have the right to free speech and association, where people are free to practise their religion, people are free to exercise cultural freedom," Flood said.

The governor of the province, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, and apostolic administrator Bishop Ximenes Belo both told Flood that over 100 people died as a result of the shooting. (Reuter, Moses Manoharan, Dec 7)

UPCOMING NEW YORK EVENTS

Program on territories (UN NGO's)

On Tuesday, December 10, from 9:30 am to 1:00 pm there will be a panel discussion in New York City on three territories whose people have not been treated fairly by the United Nations. Speakers will discuss East Timor, Puerto Rico, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the context of legal principles and the right of self-determination.

The program is at 777 UN Plaza, 10th Floor, and is free and open to the public.

Human Rights Protest at Indonesian U.N. Mission

Press Release - Dec 9, 1991.

*Emergency Action Coalition on East Timor
PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA
Tel.(914)428-7299 fax(914)428-7383*

On Tuesday, December 10, representatives of organizations involved with human rights and social justice will take their concerns about continuing repression in East Timor to the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations.

If a requested 1:00 p.m. meeting with Indonesian officials is not granted, the representatives will picket outside the Mission from 1:00 to 2:00. At 2:00, human rights activists will conduct a press conference in front of the Mission, which is at 325 East 38 Street, Manhattan.

As part of International Human Rights Day, the organizations will express strong opposition to recent killings in East Timor, which has been occupied by the Indonesian military since December 7, 1975. In that time, close to 200,000 of the territory's 700,000 people have been killed.

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops fired U.S.-supplied M-16s into a memorial service in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing 100-200 people. Several foreign journalists (including Allan Nairn of the New Yorker magazine and Amy Goodman of WBAI radio) witnessed and filmed this slaughter, which has generated widespread outrage, including a U.S. Congressional resolution, a cutoff of Dutch aid to Indonesia, boycotts by Australian Labor unions, and calls for an investigation by the European Community and many other entities.

Indonesian officials deny responsibility, blaming the massacre at various times on the mourners, Portugal, human rights workers, or the media, and calling for the "extermination" of Timorese people who express discontent with Indonesia's military rule. The Indonesian government is conducting an internal "investigation," but has refused to allow United Nations, press, non-governmental, or other impartial observers to investigate the November 12 slaughter. Authoritative sources report continuing killing and imprisonment of witnesses.

Charles Scheiner, of National Mobilization for Survival, expressed the human rights concerns: "We urge Indonesia to allow outside investigators to visit East Timor, so that witnesses can speak without fear and the world can learn what really happened in Dili on November 12. The killings and arrests must stop, and East Timor must determine its own political future. The United Nations and the United States are also responsible: the U.N. should enforce 1975 and 1976 General Assembly resolutions which invalidate Indonesian rule in East Timor; and the United States, which supported the Indonesian invasion from the beginning, should suspend military and economic aid to Indonesia, which receives more than \$50 million of our tax dollars every year."

In addition to Mobilization for Survival, the delegation will include representatives from the War Resisters League, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Committee for Radiation Victims, the Campaign for Peace and Democracy, Sane/Freeze International, and several other human rights organizations.

TESTIMONY OF A LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

(EDITOR)

Once again, this week's issue of the Jakarta political weekly, 'Editor' devotes substantial space to East Timor. Though not the cover story in the 7 December issue, articles about East Timor take up 12 pages of the journal.

Five pages are devoted to an article entitled 'Witnesses of the 12 November Affair'. Besides extracts from armed forces commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno and Udayana commander, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, the article reproduces substantial extracts from the eye-witness testimonies of foreigners which have caused the regime such embarrassment. There are extracts from the account of English photographer Stephen Cox, from film-maker Max Stahl who published a lengthy account of what happened during the massacre in London's 'Independent on Sunday' and the eye-witness account of Russell Anderson.

The following account is by 'A local government official who wishes to remain anonymous':

"At the time, I was at the Kodim (district military command). I saw a group carrying posters and shouting. I couldn't hear clearly what they were shouting.

"Then someone dressed in brown with short sleeves (later identified as Major Gerhan Lantara) started punching as he tried to grab a flag from one of the women demonstrators.

"Then other demonstrators became very excited. I could see Major Gerhan hitting out, left and right, and he was surrounded by a crowd of people. I can't say exactly how he was stabbed because he was in the midst of a crowd of people. Anyway, my attention was distracted by the yells of the crowd. In my opinion, if he had not started punching, and grabbing their banners, I don't think the stabbing would have happened.

"After the crowd of demonstrators had passed, I saw two teams of soldiers and one Brimob (police's Mobile Brigade) following behind the demonstrators. Then, I clearly heard them shout: "Shoot them. Don't let them get away." I don't know who exactly it was who shouted. A few moments later, I heard the shooting.

"After I got home, I realised that the shooting had happened at the Santa Cruz cemetery. My sister-in-law, Estela, who was one of those who had taken part in the scattering of flowers, told me that the soldiers had done the shooting. But she didn't how how it started; all of a sudden, the shooting began. She fled in fear and managed to get away. As she fled, she saw that many people had fallen to the ground and were bleeding.

"The next day, all I heard was about there being many casualties. Some of my friends have not appeared since then, till now. I don't know what has happened to them. Possibly, they are dead or are in hospital. I

simply don't know. Also, I don't know what they wanted. It's difficult to say who was at fault and who wasn't. For me now, the important thing is to carry on working as well as I can."

Sintong: Why the bodies were buried fast

The following is an extract from a statement by Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of Udayana military command based in Den Pasar, whose area of command covers the territory of East Timor. This is one of the 'Testimonies' reproduced in the 7 December issue of 'Editor' (see previous item).

[In the first half of the statement, Major General Sintong describes the military structure in East Timor, names the section C commander, the area which covers Dili, as Infantry Colonel Binsar Aruan and the battalion involved as Battalion 303 from West Java. He then explains why the troops involved in the shooting on 12 November have been withdrawn.]

"This is a very procedural matter. He can't be said to have been mistaken. Any commander will act fast if there is a problem in his area. He can't wait for others. There is no question of any violation. There's no question of any punishment. It's quite possible that Binsar, after being withdrawn from that post, will be promoted. Who knows. If there is a judicial investigation, what did he do wrong? But for us, the result was, yes, less than satisfactory [= 'memang, ya, kurang'] Yes, a matter of concern. It's possible for the work to have been done well, but for it to be a matter of concern.

"The withdrawal of the troops was in the report of BAIS (the army's Strategic Intelligence Agency). But the investigation was not to find out anyone's mistakes. But we act on the basis of an evaluation. Battalion 303 had been on this tour of duty only eight months, though they had a year to serve.

"East Timor is a military operation region. The basic task of every soldier there is to destroy the enemy. If there are enemy forces in the bush, we kill them. If they run and resist, we kill them. In the incident on 28 October, who killed Sebastio? Was it ABRI? No. I say, No. They say the shooting came from inside. As a result of this incident, one person was killed and later, on 12 November, there was a flower scattering ceremony on 12 November. This was the follow-up. In actual fact, planned.

"There was no order to shoot at Motael. The commander gave no order to shoot. The situation just led to that. I can say to you, you are not allowed to shoot. But if someone wants to stab you, what then. The circumstances were exceptional, and you must defend yourself. If an ABRI member's weapon is seized, he will be dismissed. Punished. It's a disgrace for someone in ABRI to lose his weapon. Anyone who loses his weapon must be dismissed. So, you have to look at the circumstances.

"So, the bodies were buried fast? This is how things were: one body was buried by the family and later 19 died. If the 19 bodies had been given to the families, how many hundreds more would have died. So, we say, to hell with all that. Bury them first. The important thing is the security of the people. It's not for them to be pitied. If they had buried them, there would have been more masses. Then how many more people would have been killed. Are we expected to go on working like this?

"There is absolutely no doubt that elements in the church were involved. We respect the church and its priests. Now, we have to see first. We will not let things go on like this. Geerhan was stabbed with a knife. They were coming from Motael Church, weren't they? Did they pick up the knife on the street? This shows that coming from the mass, they were able to murder someone. It means they brought the machete from the church.

"I've seen the foreign video on the Dili incident. But people who don't understand can be mistaken. Yes, because they control the television and everything, it isn't possible for us to deny it. We are knocked for six. ('Kita ini babak belur saja.'). But that doesn't matter. What's important is that things will be okay again in East Timor."

INDONESIA'S TIENANMEN (WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL)

December 9, 1991

The Indonesian government has reacted in panic and defiance to the ballooning world reaction to its slaughter of East Timor independence demonstrators on Nov. 12 - an Indonesian "Tiananmen." It is fending off international observers, but enough reports are getting through to convey a picture of something akin to mass terror - soldiers everywhere, roundups, shootings, threats. Indonesia seems to believe it can intimidate the independence movement and stiff-arm foreign concern at one swoop.

But can it? More to the point, will the United States let it? At least until recently, the answer might have been yes. The United States stood by wittingly and permissively on Dec. 7, 1975, as friendly anti-communist American-armed Indonesia, a rising regional prize and power, snapped up East Timor out of the disintegrating Portuguese empire. The subsequent repression took 100,000 or more Timorese lives but occasioned little interest in Washington.

The events of Nov. 12, however, suggested that things were changing. It was not merely that unimpeachable Western observers were on the scene to witness a massacre. The world freedom movement has released many people previously inhibited by the Cold War to ask for change in places like Indonesia. Sen. Malcolm Wallop, for instance, initiated the letter signed by more than 50 colleagues urging President Bush to play a greater role.

The Indonesian government has gone into a defensive crouch, accusing the demonstrators of provocation, launching its own meant-to-be preemptive investigation and hoping obviously to ride out the storm. This should not be tolerated. The immediate priority is to put enough heat on and to put observers in East Timor to prevent further retaliation against the independence people. Australia can make a special contribution: to suspend its agreement with Jakarta dividing oil rights in the sea between it and Timor.

There must be a parallel effort to deal with the political roots of the problem. That means going beyond condemnation and impartial investigation and organizing an expression of self-determination. The United Nations could do the job best. If Indonesia is right in claiming it has brought prosperity and light to East Timor, it would not fear a fair poll. President Bush, liberator of Kuwait, should make this his policy's priority.

HOTHEAD ABRI COMMANDER (REUTER)

Excerpt from material received by Task Force Indonesia: Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 9.

A government mission investigating the November 12 shooting has been in East Timor for nearly two weeks trying to reconcile widely divergent accounts of why the soldiers began firing and how many people were killed.

"After it comes up with the results, we will wipe out and uproot the disturbance movement which has tainted the government's dignity," armed forces commander Try Sutrisno was quoted on Monday as saying.

Those who masterminded the Dili incident had long been on a watch-list, the military newspaper Angkatan Bersenjata quoted him as telling students at the weekend.

The army says 19 were killed. Local governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao and East Timor's bishop Ximenes Belo have been quoted as saying at least 100 died.

"They got their information through reports from the people. What we have are the facts," East Timor military commander Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw told reporters on Sunday in the local capital Dili.

Troops circled Dili in trucks on Sunday morning when residents flocked to worship at Roman Catholic churches amid widespread fear of further disturbances after the army killing of mourners at a cemetery on November 12.

Warouw said most East Timorese felt no fear and reports of concern for their safety were an exaggeration.

However, the congregation at an outdoor mass at Motael church turned round in obvious alarm each time a truck carrying heavily armed soldiers drove by.

The church was the starting point for mourners on their march last month to mark the death of a pro-independence sympathiser in riots two weeks earlier.

Warouw was non-committal when asked if he would reduce the number of combat troops and put in more to build bridges and schools, as suggested by governor Carrascalao.

"In handling security problems we have our own strategy."

GARUDA HALTS AUSTRALIA FLIGHTS (REUTER)

*Excerpt from material received by Task Force
Indonesia: Reuter, Dec 9.*

Indonesia's state airline Garuda Indonesia has suspended service to Perth, Darwin and Brisbane, Australia, because of a trade union boycott to protest shootings by the Indonesian army in East Timor last month.

Unions in the cities agreed on a two-day boycott against Indonesia's flag carrier from December 7.

In a related development, the official news agency Antara quoted Indonesian representatives in Australia as saying Sydney port workers had refused to load and unload an Indonesian ship, MV Anro Jayakarta. It arrived in the port six days ago and was to carry eight million dollars' worth of steel to Indonesia.

Before suspending service to the three cities, Garuda had 22 flights a week to Australia.