

ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

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EAST TIMOR - COLONIZING A COLONY (ASA NEWS)

Lina Cabaero, from ASA News, Sept. '91

The land, the people

East Timor is part of the Timor island - one of the Eastern islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

The people of East Timor are of diverse ethnic roots. There are around 550,000 East Timorese and a few thousands Chinese, Europeans and mixed origins living in East Timor today. Some 80% of East Timor belong to the Catholic church.

Even before the Portuguese colonized East Timor, it was already well-known to Arab and Chinese traders as an excellent source of precious sandalwood. It was in 1566 when the Portuguese set claim to the island. The Dutch came in 1613 and tussled with the Portuguese over the control of the sandalwood trade.

Later, a treaty was signed by the two colonial powers to define the imperialist boundaries between Dutch and Portuguese territories. Timor island was divided in two. The Western half of the island was to become part of the Dutch colony of Indonesia whose independence was granted in 1949. The Eastern half, East Timor was to remain in Portuguese hands.

The hundreds of years of Portuguese colonization were years of neglect and repression. East Timor was never developed, only a few roads were built and almost no health or education services were introduced.

Wind of change

In 1974, a coup in Portugal brought some democratic freedom to the Timorese people for the first time, and with it came the hope that the colony might be independent and govern itself, like most other countries in the region.

Three major political groups were quickly formed in East Timor: ASDT (Associação Social Democrática de Timor), the most radical of the three which calls for independence and rejection of colonialism; UDT (União Democrática Timorense) which favoured federation with Portugal, and the Apodeti (Timorese Popular Democratic Association) which supported union with Indonesia. ASDT eventually changed its name to FRETILIN in September 1974.

Among the three, FRETILIN and UDT were the most popular. The 2 political groups formed a coalition in 1975. But later on, differences in views and the handling of political issues led to the thawing of the FRETILIN-UDT coalition.

Indonesian invasion

Three months before the invasion, East Timor was virtually administered by FRETILIN though at that time, it continued to recognize Portuguese sovereignty and repeatedly requested the Portuguese government to return to Dili (the major city) and continue the process of decolonization, which in FRETILIN's estimation would take 5 years.

On 7 December 1975, Indonesia launched a full scale invasion of East Timor. There are a number of reasons for the invasion.

Indonesia did not want an independent East Timor as it can be used as a base for any anti-government movement existing in the outer islands (such as Mollucas and Irian Jaya). Indonesia also fears the precedent East Timor may set for others who are fighting for independence from Indonesia's control in some parts of the country.

Indonesia envisioned a swift and decisive colonization. But they were disappointed. For even if some 60,000 people were killed by the widespread bombing and another 140,000 died of starvation, FRETILIN managed to survive.

FRETILIN, after being almost decimated in 1975 - 1979, was able to reorganize and prepare for a prolonged guerilla warfare

under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao in 1981.

Inside East Timor

Indonesia's unlawful occupation of East Timor has denied the Timorese people of their most basic human right, the right to self-determination.

The East Timorese people are virtually prisoners, denied of the right to live in their own country. They are denied the right to travel inside and outside their own country. Social gatherings are viewed with suspicion, the right to assemble, associate and expression are non-existent.

In the late 70's, almost all of the people were forced to leave their traditional lands to live in resettlement villages. This way they can be controlled, their movements monitored, and contact with the guerrillas lessened. As a result, there was widespread famine.

The East Timorese people are also being culturally exterminated. Indonesia wants the total assimilation of East Timor, therefore it exerts a lot of effort in effecting means of erasing any trace of Timorese identity.

The Indonesian language is the medium of instruction in the schools and the use of indeginous or Portugese languages invites harsh punishment. Indonesia is also trying to depopulate East Timor by bringing in more Indonesians.

Atrocious acts continue to be committed by Indonesian troops. Women are reported to have been killed very slowly by stabbing with sharp knives. Others have died of hunger, starvation, illness or burnt to death and shot during encounters with Indonesian army. Yet, the East Timorese people persist to struggle.

Time for action

The independence of Namibia in 1990 after a guerrilla struggle of over 40 years and a very active campaign in the United Nations is a strong reminder that the length of struggle does not erode the principles of self-determination.

In 1982, the UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30 asked the Secretary-General to "initiate consultations with all parties concerned with a view of exploring avenues and achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem."

In 1986, the UDT and FRETILIN formed the Nationalist Convergence based on the struggle for self-determination and independence. They have consistently thwarted Indonesia's design to remove the East Timor agenda from the international limelight.

The Timorese independence forces want negotiations with Indonesia and have called for free electios and a referendum, under UN sponsorship, to determin East Timor's future. East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmao has stated his willingness to negotiate, without pre-conditions, under the auspices of the United Nations.

It is Indonesia which needs convincing. Indonesia must take note that, especially after the Iraq-Kuwaiti scuffel, the international community is more sensitive today on the issue of self-determination.

It must also take note of the fact that East Timor is no longer a hush-hush topic inside Indonesia and is becoming an issue of great concern amongst a large number of Indonesians who are opposed to Indonesia's military regime.

Talks, which hopefully lead to a just settlement, are important and crucial at this time. There has been so much suffering, so much lives wasted, too much tears shed. The East Timorese people deserve to be given self-determination.

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East Timor Massacre (ASA NEWS Addendum)

On November 12, 5000 East Timorese attended a merorial service at the Molael Church in Dili for Sebastian Gomes, one of two Timorese students killed by Indonesian security forces two weeks earlier.

After the service, they marched 5 km to the Santa Cruz cemetry. 15 minutes after the funeral had ended, Indonesian soldiers came. They walked up and started shooting into the crowd. The shooting went on for a number of minutes. Between 60 and 115 people died.

Even as the street was lined with bodies, the soldiers ran over them pursuing others, shooting them in the back. Kamal Bamadhaj, a 21 year-old Malaysian student studying in Australia was among those killed. He was shoot three times in the back.

Kamal participated in a number of ASA activities last year when ASA organized the "Workshop for People's Liberation" and the ASA Executive Council meeting in Sydney.

Kamal was in Dili in anticipation of the arrival of an international delegation in East Timor. The delegation which was cancelled raised hopes of eventual peace for the people in East Timor, an issue which Kamal as a student activist felt strongly about.

East Timor, a small Portuguese colony in the Indonesian archipelago was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 after independence was declared by East Timorese. This invasion was condemned by the United Nations Security Council twice in December 1975 and April 1976.

These UN resolutions called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and for the East Timor people be given the right to self-

determination. However, unlike Kuwait, these resolutions were not acted upon and virtually ignored by major powers.

Some 200.000 East Timorese, estimated to be around one-third of its population, have died since the Indonesian invasion. The proportion of the people killed is comparable to the genocide in Cambodia. However, unlike Cambodia these massacres, killings, disappearances and tortures went unreported. This recent massacre only received media attention because two American journalists by chance witnessed the killings.

One of the Kamal's favourite shirt was the ASA T-shirt with the slogan "I am a witness to the suffering of my people, and I shall bear witness to their liberation".

While he did not live to witness the liberation of the people in East Timor, he died struggling for their liberation. And for that his death is not meaningless. He died for a just cause. Kamal will be fondly remembered by ASA as an uncompromising human rights fighter.

But how many more East Timorese and students like Kamal must die before the world take action on East Timor? We must not allow the Indonesian government to continue perpetrating acts of genocide and commits human rights abuses against an isolated but determined people of East Timor.

Demonstrations in protest against the nassacre had already taken place in the United States, Portugal, Netherlands, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan and Australia.

ASA call upon its members and friends to urgently send protest letters, organized demonstrations against the Indonesian consulate in your country and put pressure on the issue of East Timor.

The demands should include the following:

1. An immediate, unrestricted and independent investigation on the massacre be conducted.
2. A total cessa/tion of Indonesian military operations, the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and that the people of East Timore be given the right to self-determination as stipulated by United Nations resolutions.

DEPUTY CHIEF FOR MILITARY INTELLIGENCE LEADING TEAM TO INVESTIGATE DEMONSTRATION IN DILI

Unedited translation forwarded on a protected source basis:

Sudomo, Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security, and Try Sutrisno, Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces, as reported in Suara Pembaharuan (Protestant daily), 11.15.91

According to Sudomo, ABRI [Indonesian Armed Forces] has already formed an investigating team to probe thoroughly all matters related to the recent incident in Dili. Headed by Major General Arie Sadewo, Deputy Chief of the Strategic Intelligence Agency [BAIS], the team has already left for East Timor.

Sudomo explained that, as has already been reported by the ABRI Commander, the number of deaths related to the riot totalled 19, while 91 have been listed as injured, including two persons whose condition remains critical.

Forty-two people have been arrested in connection with the incident. Six guns, including one G-3 (Garand) rifle, two Mausers, and three pistols, 5 grenades, Fretilin flags, banners, hundreds of machetes and other sharp weapons plus ammunition in the possession of the rioters, have been seized. Those persons under arrest will be processed and then brought to trial, continued the Minister.

One New Zealand citizen of Malaysian origin, Kamal bin Ahmad, was among the dead. Kamal was in fact a reporter when he died of a gunshot wound, actually the victim did not possess a journalist visa to enter East Timor, noted Sudomo.

Two United States citizens were also present when the riot occurred in Dili. Amy Goodman and Allen Yoseph, both apparently also reporters without official clearance, have since returned to their native country, Sudomo said.

Stated the Minister, "Day-to-day life is undisturbed and has returned to normal in the city of Dili; community life has not been affected by the incident ..."

Referring to the possibility that a number of members of the Church are among those being detained, the ABRI [Indonesian Armed Forces] Commander Try Sutrisno noted that there have been no confirming reports. However, he cautioned that we must continue to be alert. "Church has a range of meanings. It can be an institution, a religious activity, or simply a building. Being in or part of a church is no problem. But we must be careful about elements who simply use these holy places. As a nation, we must be sure not to disrupt religious life," elaborated the Commander.

COMMANDER OF THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES: DON'T MEDDLER IN INDONESIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Unedited translation forwarded on a protected source basis:

Try Sutrisno, Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces, as reported in Media Indonesia, 11.15.91

Upon emerging from a ministerial Coordinating Meeting on Politics and Security yesterday in Jakarta, General Try Sutrisno, Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces [ABRI], was surrounded by dozens of reporters inquiring about the recent disturbances in Dili. Over the sound of pouring rain, the General, who also holds the position of Chief of the Coordinating Agency for National Security [BAKORSTANAS], answered all questions in turn. Below are selected highlights:

What is your opinion about recent requests by the United Nations and a number of foreign countries that the Indonesian government provide a detailed account of the bloody disturbance?

"As a sovereign nation we do not wish any force outside meddling in our domestic affairs. The task of following up on the incident is our own responsibility. Regardless of any outsider requests, we are the ones responsible for undertaking a full resolution of the affair. I emphasize again, no foreign party should be meddling in Indonesia's internal affairs."

With outbreak of this disturbance in Dili some people have claimed that human rights are being abused in East Timor.

"Oh ... no, there is none of that. If they want to talk about human rights, let them please study Pancasila [Indonesia's National Creed]. Before they were capable of putting the idea of human rights into words, we had already invented a just and civilized humanitarianism. There's no need to worry about human rights in Indonesia. They should really understand the reason the incident happened. Those rioters were simply brutal."

The incident in Dili -- can it be attributed to the failure of ABRI's territorial operations?

"Oh no, I assure you our territorial operations over there have been successful. The community is progressing steadily and is eager for more development. And the terrorist gang [GPK] have no room left for maneuver now. In any case, we will continue to see our territorial operations through in order to promote development in the area."

DILI RIOT WAS PLANNED -- SUDOMO

Unedited translation forwarded on a protected source basis:

Official statement concerning the incident in Dili, as reported in Media Indonesia, 11.15.91

According to Sudomo [Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security], the 42 people being held in connection with the Dili riot "are suspected in inciting the riot."

Also according to Sudomo, formerly the Commander for the Restoration of Security and Order, military personnel were able to seize one G-3 Nato standard rifle, two Mauser firearms, three pistols, five hand grenades and dozens of sharp weapons, as well as Fretilin flags. "The weapons along with the flags will be presented as evidence in court."

The Coordinating Meeting then issued an official statement concerning the Dili riot, as follows:

1. On November 12, 1991, a riot occurred in the city of Dili, incited by remnants of East Timor GPK [terrorist gang] members who thus were able to perpetrate a "brutal" act of violence. Their action represent a violation of Indonesian law, disturbing the peace and stability to the city in which it took place. The incident was intended to draw international sympathy and world attention in connection with the unilateral decision taken by the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation to cancel its planned visit to the area.
2. During the riot, the security officials present first attempted a persuasive approach to control and calm the crowd. However, one group in the crowd did not heed this approach, and instead began to attack, trying to seize firearms for themselves, causing casualties to fall.
3. The government will undertake a complete investigation of this incident in full accordance with the law.
4. Day-to-day life is undisturbed and has returned to normal in the city of Dili; community life has not been affected by the incident.
5. The government of the Republic of Indonesia is deeply concerned about this mass riot, which has claimed a number of victims.

CARRASCALAO 'KOMPAS' INTERVIEW

Unedited translation forwarded on protected source basis:

Mario Viegas Carrascalao, Governor of East Timor, interviewed by KOMPAS (Catholic daily), 16.11.91.

"We Should Be Honest and Bold Enough to Apologize." Telephone interview with Governor of East Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao on Friday morning, November 15. KOMPAS, November 16, 1991.

Question: What is the atmosphere of Dili after the incident?

Answer: The atmosphere is relatively calm compared to a few days ago. But some of the population are still frightened. This is the negative situation created by the incident.

Question: What is your view of the disturbances?

Answer: In my view the incident was probably partly our mistake. As a result, the situation backfired. Groups that are against us [literally, anti-us] are now able to appeal to many in the population. This is the core of the problem.

Question: Is that because the approach is appropriate?

Answer: Yes, in the past, the population slept with machetes and clubs to protect themselves from those who are against us, now they use them to defend themselves from us. This is what is happening and it is a complex problem. Because of this, an in-depth investigation is necessary. Not to seek out who is wrong and who is right, but to look for a medicine that can heal.

Question: Who were they actually, were they Fretilin?

Answer: Fretilin's numbers are small. Masses of people gathered after a radio announcement about a ceremony [of putting flowers at the grave] commemorating the death of Sebastian Gomes. It was preceded by a mass at the St. Antonius church in Motael, at 6:00. As a result of the announcement, many people gathered, including students. Meanwhile, in the gathering there was also another group, the terrorist [Security Disturbing Gang]. They were the ones who caused the chaos. The important thing is not to involve innocent children. Most of the youths were interested in putting the flowers on the grave. Only a few participated in the mass, about 1000 people. But, according to many people, the number of those who were in the cemetery was larger.

Question: So, what should be done?

Answer: In order to heal the spirit of the Dili population, a special strategy is necessary, a special approach. Because

the people of East Timor highly respect fairness/justice. All those who were involved and all those who did wrong must be prosecuted. The problem is extensive and this situation is disadvantageous to development in East Timor.

Question: What kind of approach do you recommend?

Answer: This case has to be investigated exhaustively. It should not be based on rumours or news from interested people. We have to find the truth so that the people can see that we are just and honest. We have to declare that those who did wrong did wrong, and those who did no wrong did no wrong. And whoever did wrong, [they] must be punished. Because there is no other God on this earth. There is only one God. No one else should be treated like God.

Question: What is Bishop Belo's position?

Answer: In my view, Bishop Belo was not at all involved. I just talked to him on the phone, he did not know of the [church] mass. He only knew after hearing the sound of gunshots.

Question: What about the [church] mass itself?

Answer: That is the people's custom. But after the mass was over, there were people manipulating the situation. They unfurled banners on the way from the church to the Military Subdistrict Headquarters [Kodim]. If it has been said that there was going to be a demonstration in front of the governor's office, this is not true. They did not pass by the governor's office. When they passed Kodim Headquarters, something happened that I did not see, so I cannot describe it to you. I only saw three groups of 300-400 people, the back part of the group ran left and right, like the other groups. Some ran behind the governor's office and then up to the cemetery. I knew no more till I heard the gunshots.

Question: How many were killed in the disturbance?

Answer: I don't want to speculate on people's lives or on something that causes anxiety. Wait for the official numbers.

Question: Was there a foreign journalist who died?

Answer: That has been confirmed by the Military Region Commander. A foreign journalist died, a foreigner, his name was Kamal Amad, originally from Malaysia with New Zealand nationality. His family will come to East Timor. Yesterday [Thursday] I received the First Secretary of the New Zealand Embassy. I gave him the necessary explanations. And today [Friday] he will meet with the Operations Commander of East Timor.

Question: Based on this fact, what is the conceptual resolution on East Timor that you recommend?

Answer: I think we have to be bold and honest. Bold enough to face the mistakes we've made and honest in admitting those mistakes so that the people's trust remains with us. This is the foundation, without this, we have no place to start.

Question: What kind of mistakes occurred?

Answer: Mistakes in the preparations for the Portuguese Parliament visit to East Timor. An informal curfew was in effect for the Timorese people. But other people were permitted to walk around. So that ... [illegible] specifically for East Timorese. But there was no formal curfew, but the situation was made so.

Question: What are the concrete steps to be taken?

Answer: There must be a neutral investigation. If the results have to be confidential, so be it. But the people need to feel that action is taken based on the results of the investigation. The central Government has to carry this out itself, because this is not an affair for foreigners. So the investigation must be from the center. We should not be disputing over truth here.

Question: How about the approach that has been carried out so far?

Answer: ABRI's territorial operation has been received extremely well by the people. But what happened during the preparations for the Portuguese Parliamentary visit has erased the positive effects of the territorial operation. Yet in fact the villagers were really satisfied with it. But I don't know what the territorial operation concept for the urban areas is. What I know is that in the past two to three months, the people in the city felt dissatisfied resulting in the emergence of something strange. For instance, as the Portuguese Parliamentary visit approached, people became frightened to see us, rather than being frightened to see Fretilin. This is strange. The reason for this must be sought out, and a medicine be found. But I am not the right person to search for the medicine.

Question: What is your personal message on this situation?

Answer: Starting now, we have to be honest and fair in facing the situation. We have to apologize to families who did no wrong. We do not apologize to the Terrorists because they are enemies. But [we must apologize] to their innocent families simply tagged along; we have to be humane and apologize ... [illegible]. In my view, this has to be done. It is difficult indeed. If I am ordered to do so I am ready. If there is no one else willing, I am ready to do it. If necessary, I will say that I am representing the government in doing it.

Question: Who has the most authority to do it?

Answer: We should apologize after the investigation. After the investigation has been carried out and there is proof of mistakes, we should apologize. We should not justify something that is wrong. I think we are wrong if we think we are always the ones who are right. The people will not believe this. If so, all the government's campaign for development will also be received with suspicion.

Question: What form [should the apology take]?

Answer: We are not looking for an expose. We should look for their families. Go to their homes. Use a humane way. This is the relationship between one human being and another. If it is done in a formal way through a radio broadcast, it will only be for the external consumption of other people. To their families we should say that what was right was right and what was wrong was wrong. If this is politically exploited, that is another matter. But as for me, [I believe] they themselves will accept our apology. And they will convey to others that our government has admitted that what was right was right and what was wrong was wrong. That is important for raising the consciousness of the people.

Question: How about openness in East Timor?

Answer: With openness we become more free. Appealing to the hearts of the people could be made more important. This has to be done as soon as possible. It is a mistake if we blame outsiders. We have to be aware that the competitive ability of the East Timorese is rather inferior. Because of that, we have to do more in order to increase their ability to compete. If we ban outsiders from entering, we are being paternalistic. The East Timorese will not become a mature people. We have to promote improvement of the competence of the East Timorese. Everyone has to do this, but usually we are not so flexible in use of our funds, we are too bureaucratic. Until this day, I have not been able to implement a large portion of the President's Instruction for Village Development, which was proposed in May, because the money has not been delivered from the center. It is said, there is something in it that cannot be approved. We have to wait and wait.

Question: How about the issue of land?

Answer: We should not speculate, land is only one problem, although it probably has contributed to the creation of a negative atmosphere. Sentiments against us [literally, anti-us] are created by many factors. The land issue has not been implemented fully. Many of the implementing regulations to them are still not in place.

Question: How should East Timor actually be developed in such a way that would make it appealing to the younger generation?

Answer: In my view, in order to appeal to the hearts of the younger generation, we have to slow down physical construction [literally, physical development]. First, we have to develop the people. As of how physical development has moved far ahead of the people themselves. Physical development and the development of the people should be balanced, neither should be more stressed. Why should we build health clinics [original, puskesmas] if there is no health practitioners? My point is, develop the people first. If there are health practitioners and no health clinics, people could still be treated even under a tree.

ALI ALATAS: WE SHOULD WAIT FOR THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATING TEAM.

Suara Pembaharuan, November 16, 1991. (Protestant daily) Unedited translation.

According to Alatas, the foreign media has presented biased reporting on the incident in East Timor. "They portray the situation as if the security [forces] were shooting innocent people without provocation."

"Does this kind of reporting make sense? Are we so stupid? For many years we have been involved in developing the province of East Timor; we have even invited Portugal and the United Nations to come. What would be the point of the government purposely creating this incident," he said.

If the media reporting were balanced and objective, Alatas believes that there would not have been any of the negative reactions particularly from Portugal and a number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), like Amnesty International and Asia Watch. There would also not have been any ludicrous inferences which said that this incident was the policy of the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

INVESTIGATIVE TEAM TO BE FORMED IN CONNECTION WITH EAST TIMOR RIOT

Unedited translation forwarded on a protected source basis:

Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Major General Sintong Panjaitan, Commander of Military Region IX/Udayana, as reported in Kompas (Catholic daily) [date?]

At the Ministerial Coordinating Meeting for Politics and Security last Thursday (November 14), the Coordinating Minister of Politics and Security Sudomo claimed that Indonesia has already sent an investi-

gative team to determine what actually occurred during the riot. The team is being headed by the Deputy Chief of the Strategic Intelligence Agency, Major General Ario Sadewo.

The Commander of Military Region IX/Udayana, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, last Thursday emphasized that Fretilin/GPK [terrorist gang] leader Xanana Gusmao along with other Fretilin leaders bears the responsibility for the civilian casualties that resulted from the incident in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on November 12.

As a result of agitation and propaganda, part of the Dili community, mostly young people, have been incited to resist integration and to attack ABRI [Indonesian Armed Forces] personnel, the Major General told a group of reporters from AFP, Reuter, ABC, AAP as well as from Jakarta and other Indonesian provinces in Dili last Thursday.

The Regional Commander expressed great concern and sorrow over the unfortunate event. In addition, he noted that the actions taken by ABRI personnel during the incident were in accord with proper military procedure.

The Commander also noted that no other choice of action was open to the security personnel present at the riot. Numbering only 200, the soldiers were surrounded by 3,500 rioters and had to defend themselves. Among the crowd were members of GPK/Fretilin, their behavior exceeding all limits.

From the start ABRI personnel kept calm, calmed the Regional Commander. Security forces attempted to avoid taking action even though two victims had already fallen. The Deputy Commander of Airborne Battalion 700 Lt. Andi Girhard Andi Lantara, whose condition remains critical, and Private Dominggus, who sustained light wounds.

According to Sintong, up until now, in the case of demonstrations that remain limited to vocal protests such as "no consent to integration," ABRI forces have used only persuasive methods without taking further action or making arrests. This approach is maintained as long as the demonstrators "do not resort to violence, murder, burning, or vandalism."

Yet, commented the Commander, this persuasive approach apparently only served to encourage the young demonstrators to be even more daring. The Fretilin leader Xanana than was able to take advantage of the situation, bringing the demonstrators to the point of "forgetting themselves," and attacking ABRI personnel, police, and observers, as well as seizing firearms.

Today, Xanana has been forced to redirect the focus of his actions to the diplomatic-politics front in order to secure his main source of support there. Accordingly, the center of Xanana's activities is now in Dili, since he can no longer win sympathy from rural communities in the forests.

Now, thanks to the vigilance of ABRI, which have for a long time been one in body and mind with the local community, the city of Dili is peaceful again, and daily business continues normally.

UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA: CUT AID!

The United Church of Canada, the country's major Protestant church (Methodist-Presbyterian-Congregationalist union), sent the following letter to External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall on Nov. 26. The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops has also sent a letter, which we hope they will agree to make public shortly.

Dear Secretary McDougall,

We are very concerned about the recent brutal killings of many innocent civilians by the Indonesian Military in East Timor. We understand that the Military is now eliminating potential witnesses to the massacre of November 12.

We commend you in voicing your condemnation of the Military brutality, and in stating that Canada will review its aid policy to Indonesia.

It is very commendable that Canada has moved lately to link its aid with human rights record of the various countries.

We strongly urge our Government to press the Indonesian Government to desist from any further military action against the innocent civilian population of East Timor, and allow a process of self-determination for the people of East Timor, to settle this long festering situation.

We would also urge that our Government take strong action in relation to Indonesia by suspending all aid to that country until it improves its human rights record, and allows for a process of self-determination for East Timor.

STATEMENT OF THE BISHOPS' CONFERENCE OF INDONESIA (BCI) ON THE INCIDENT IN EAST TIMOR

Unedited translation forwarded on protected source basis:

BISHOPS' CONFERENCE OF INDONESIA: Secretariat General

1. In order to contribute to the resolution of the problem in East Timor, we find it necessary to heed and to take into account the feelings and realities of the whole population in East Timor, particularly in Dili. This is what prompted us to write a news release dated November 14, 1991, stating that "the BCI will continue to follow and study the development" of the situation in East Timor. To this end, Father Alfons S. Suhardi, OFM, Head of the Documentation and Information

Department of the BCI, left for Dili on November 22 and returned on November 26. He was followed by Monsignor J. Darmaatmadja SJ, Head of the BCI, and Monsignor M.D. Situmorang, OFM, Cap, Secretary General of the BCI, who left on the 25th and returned on the 27th of November, 1991.

2. These visits proved very useful because we were able to meet with those who personally witnessed the incident, and those who received reports directly from eye-witnesses of the November 12 incident; we were also able to obtain general information that was circulating widely in Dili and its environs, but that has not reached other regions.

The information in circulation not only contained reports that were very different from the official statements that we had, it also added new information. For example, that many families did not know whether their husbands, brothers and sisters, or children were still alive or dead, because there were still quite a number of people who were being treated in the Military Hospital and who were not allowed to be visited by anyone. The location of the graves of the dead is also unknown. Some reported that the treatment of the corpses which were taken away in trucks was very inhumane: bodies were simply dragged away and tossed into the back(s) of the truck(s). At the time of the burials, families were not notified. It is also unclear whether burials were carried out with religious rites or not. As for the number of those who died: some say three truck loads, others say more than one hundred people. The identities of those who were shot dead is also unclear. It is believed that some were Fretilin, some were demonstrators, and some were members of the church community who came in droves after an invitation previously broadcast by radio. Why the Indonesian Armed Forces open fire, causing many casualties, is the question in many people's minds since the shooting happened at the entrance of the Santa Cruz cemetery, far from the place where the two members of the Armed Forces were stabbed. If the reason was self-defense, people are asking, was it necessary to have so many casualties? Why were there no efforts to prevent the mixing between demonstrators and common people who were participating in the flower-giving commemoration ceremony?

3. So we feel it necessary that the curtain drawn around the November 12 incident should be drawn back through an objective investigation, since the current unclear situation, reports may develop which could exaggerate the realities. This task is presently the responsibility of the National Investigation Commission. We are confident that the shootings which re-

sulted in many innocent casualties were not a policy of the government, nor were they a policy of the Indonesian Armed Forces. Many members of the Armed Forces were seen to be guarding the demonstration well, so many people said. There were even some who said that at the time of the shootings there were members of the Armed Forces who tried to stop their fellow soldiers who were doing the shooting. An additional positive sign is that after two members of the Armed Forces were wounded, through stabbing by demonstrators, it is reported that members of the Armed Forces around them did not immediately retaliate. Regarding rumors of executions of a number of people on the evening of November 12th, those who regularly receive information were doubtful of its truth.

So we deeply regret that because of the actions of some members of the Armed Forces, the moral integrity, dignity, and credibility of the nation has been put at risk in the eye of the world, of our own country, and, even more so, of the people of East Timor, a people to whom we should be reaching out.

4. We appeal to all parties to assist the investigation process of the National Investigation Commission by creating an atmosphere in which people feel free to say what they know, and by guaranteeing their safety and security. The task of the National Investigation Commission is very difficult, because as of now people there would rather keep quiet for their own safety.
5. In the reporting of the November 12 incident, the involvement of the Motael Church has been mentioned. When the Indonesian Armed Forces carried out a search of the church and the pastoral complex, on October 28, Monsignor Belo participated in it. He acknowledged that there really were people found in the church and brought outside. But he said that no sharp weapons were ever shown to him at the time they were [allegedly] found. Yet when the Pastor of the Motael Church was questioned in the regional police headquarters, he was eventually taken to a table: there he was shown sharp weapons, posters and other things which were said to have been found in the pastoral complex.

We do not wish to say too much about the involvement of the Church in Motael, because it can be easily interpreted as self-justification and as a lack of objectivity. If it is true that there was a Pastor involved in the November 12 incident, it would of course be necessary to investigate the extent of his involvement and to take necessary steps, just as it should be with anyone who is proved to have done wrong. But we still wish to convey our belief that the

Bishop, the Priests, and the nuns in East Timor, who have to stand above all political groups in shepherding their flock, are really in a difficult position. Parties which are hostile to one another often consider them unhelpful. It can be reported that in September 1991, Xanana, the leader of Fretilin, was still forwarding sharp criticism both to Pope John Paul II and to Monsignor Carlos Philippe Ximenes Belo.

The attitude of Monsignor Belo in responding to recent incident is contained in his Pastoral Notice dated November 22, 1991 (attached).

6. The most pressing action to be taken at the present, in our view, is to restore a feeling of security and the people's trust in the government.

Jakarta, November 28, 1991

BISHOPS' CONFERENCE OF INDONESIA, signed

Mgr. J. Darmaatmadja, SJ, Head

Mgr. M.D. Situmorang, OFMCap,
Secretary General

FEAR STALKS EAST TIMOR (ASIAWEEK)

Asiaweek, November 29, 1991

Sunday morning mass at Balide Catholic church in Dili, capital of East Timor, was packed on Nov. 17. Many worshippers held back their tears. "They're afraid to cry openly because they fear the military or their informers will see them and come looking for them," said a nun. They had reason to be afraid.

Five days earlier government troops, allegedly under provocation from the separatist group Fretilin, fired on some 2,500 mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery a few hundred metres away from Balide church. The army has admitted that 20 people died and 91 were injured. The Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute claimed there were 115 deaths, while other sources put the number as high as 180. While the exact death toll may never be known, one thing was clear: fear has become a fact of life in the province.

After dark, few of Dili's 126,000 citizens walk the streets for fear of being hauled in by soldiers or masked gunmen in black. Security checkpoints have been set up on all roads leaving the city. Some survivors of the shooting have taken refuge with the International Red Cross, which is also helping distraught families locate missing relatives. Many wounded were taken to a military hospital, which is off limits to visitors. Church sources said authorities have made many arrests in Dili and surrounding towns. "You have to protect us," pleaded one relative of a victim. "We're afraid we'll be killed in the same way."

In the wake of an international outcry, the government on Nov. 19 named a

Supreme Court judge to head an inquiry into the shooting. The panel will include representatives of the home, justice, and foreign ministries, the army, Parliament and the Supreme Advisory Council. Said President Suharto in his decree: "The commission will investigate freely, fairly and comprehensively all aspects of the incident."

Though torn by strife in the past, East Timor seemed well on the way to pacification in recent years. But the latest violence has once again focused attention on the impoverished province. The killings happened during a visit to Dili by a team from the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

The tragedy had its roots in another shooting incident on Oct. 28. Sebastio Gomez, 16, died of bullet wounds in a fight with right-wing Timorese who many claim have been armed by the military. A memorial service for Gomez was organized on Nov. 12 in Dili's Montael church, where he was slain. While some may have been inspired by political aims, many Timorese who streamed to the church that morning said they were there to mourn Gomez's death. Some 1,500 people later offered flowers and lighted candles at the youth's grave. Among them, said eyewitnesses, were women and children.

Meanwhile about 1,000 young people were marching from Montael to the cemetery. Some in Dili said they planned to stage a protest outside the U.N. team's hotel, but were turned away by guards. Pro-secession groups have used such visits, including one by Pope John Paul II in 1989, to air their grievances. Others suggested an aborted visit by Portuguese legislators Nov. 4 also stoked passions.

The marchers denied any involvement with Fretilin. But photographs showed some carrying banners calling for independence, while others held the Indonesian flag upside-down. Independent eyewitnesses asserted that many shouted protests against Indonesian rule.

One badly bruised young girl told Asiaweek that the trouble began when the marchers passed the military command centre outside the governor's office. "I was grabbed by a man wearing black," she recounted. "I resisted and told him I had the right to be in such a march. He hit me and other soldiers came towards us carrying pieces of timber. My friends picked up rocks and started to throw them. The man in black fell down and we ran off." The government has identified the man as Maj. Andi Geerhan Lantara, who it said was stabbed during the incident.

The girl and other marchers reported seeing up to five truckloads of soldiers head for the cemetery. The men took positions around the walls surrounding the graveyard. What followed is still unclear. According to East Timor military commander Brig.-Gen. Rafael Warouw, a pistol shot was heard in the crowd and a hand grenade rolled out,

though it failed to explode. Reporters were shown a collection of grenades, guns and knives that the military said were taken from the cemetery. Survivors, however, denied hearing a shot or seeing a hurled grenade. Armed forces chief Gen. Try Sutrisno said the marchers "shouted hysterically, pelted shops and a police station." Edgy soldiers fired, he said, only after "persuasive and sympathetic" methods failed to disperse the crowd.

Warouw said the shooting was a tragic mistake: "The soldiers thought they were ordered to fire, but the order was 'Don't fire.'" Some sources reckon the volley lasted 30 seconds, others insisted it went on for five minutes. A survivor told Asiaweek that the shooting was indiscriminate. "Small children of 4 or 5 died as well," she claimed. "I saw troops bayoneting victims violently after they'd been shot, and many people who tried to get away were arrested."

Among the dead was Malaysian-born student Kamal Bamadhaj, who holds a New Zealand passport. His body was apparently removed from a cemetery in Hera village, 15 km. east of Dili. Eighteen other bodies are buried in unmarked graves there.

Many Timorese claim there are other mass graves outside Dili. Victims of night "arrests" are also said to be buried there. Australia-based Fretilin members say the victims were witnesses killed to prevent them from testifying. One villager said he saw a truck heading away from the city on the night of Nov. 12. "The back was open and I could see the heads of bodies lying inside it." An old man recalled watching while bodies were burned and the remains put into a pit. Armed Forces information chief Brig.-Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro denied allegations of summary executions. Said he: "It's a big lie."

East Timor Gov. Mario Carrascalao accused Fretilin of orchestrating the march, but he also blamed the military for not keeping the crowd under better control. He said he had warned the army against using members of right-wing groups for security work. "We have Timorese working with the armed forces who walk around at night," said the governor. "I call these the bandits, the terrorists, the extreme right-wing."

On Nov. 19 the protests spilled over into Jakarta. Some 30 Timorese gathered outside the U.N. building and the Australian and Japanese embassies carrying placards decrying the bloodshed and calling for independence for East Timor. Army troops beat them with clubs and rifle butts before dragging them away.

The military has apologised for the tragedy in Dili. "I express deep regrets that this happened, because no matter how it happened, a loss of life is always regrettable," said Gen. Sutrisno. But the current military crackdown in East Timor is not helping ease tensions. "These people know nothing of human rights," lamented a young woman. "We have no connection with

Fretilin. They are finished here. It is the people of Timor alone who want change, and if we have the chance, we would have nothing to do with Indonesia."

A LEGACY OF SUFFERING (ASIAWEEK)

Asiaweek November 29, 1991

When an English traveller visited East Timor's capital Dili in the mid-1800s, he described the territory as being in a state of "chronic insurrection." The Timorese were then in one of their periodic rebellions against the Portuguese, who had invaded the eastern half of the island in 1642. In the last major war (1910-1912) against the Portuguese, 3,000 died and 5,000 were captured.

Portugal ended its rule in 1974 after a coup in Lisbon ushered in an era of democracy and an end to colonialism, but peace was not to come to Timor. In the vacuum they left, three major political groups contended for power: the left-leaning Timorese Social Democratic Association (later known as Fretilin), the pro-Indonesia Apodeti and the elitist but initially moderate Timorese Democratic Union (UDT).

Trust between the parties broke down quickly, and in 1975 UDT took to the streets in a bid to avert a coup by Fretilin. The leftists, however, gained the upper hand and established control across most of the region. Displeased by the defeat of its supporters, Indonesia on Dec. 7, 1975, invaded Dili, claiming it was acting at the request of Timorese groups. The following year the territory was formally incorporated as Indonesia's 27th province. The United Nations has never recognised its status.

The only lasting legacy of the Portuguese was the Roman Catholic Church, and priests continue to wield much power. Gov. Mario Carrascalao accuses some priests of "playing politics". Responds Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo: "Show me the facts." Carrascalao admits, however, that no one can govern East Timor without the cooperation of the army and the church. "If one of these elements is separated from the whole, forget it. If the church [is left out], you had better go away from East Timor."

PROBOSUTEJO SUSPENDS INVESTMENT PLANS IN EAST TIMOR

Kedaulatan Rakyat. 30 November 1991.
Original language: Indonesian. Abridged.

Comment: Probosutejo is the step-brother of President Suharto. This is a useful hint about the Suharto financial empire's economic interests in East Timor and its response to the current situation there. It is also an example of crude colonial arrogance and racism.

Because of the Nov 12 incident in Dili, businessman Probosutejo is now suspending planned investment in East Timor. Since last year, he has been able to bring together the sum of Rp 1,000,000,000 (about half a million US dollars) for investment in East Timor.

He said that if the government had open communication with the people of East Timor, undesirable difficulties would not have occurred. The boss of PT Mertju Buana said that by this he meant having a proper understanding of the people there and bringing about greater development, in line with other provinces. The level of education was still low in East Timor.

Saying that he had visited East Timor some time ago, he felt the government should change its way of handling things there. "Not static, but having a policy that benefits the people of East Timor."

He has long had plans to invest in telecommunications as well as in cattle-rearing, agriculture and mining.

He said that investment plans were also hampered by the system of trading which is not yet open. Anyone wanting to import goods to East Timor had to do it through one pair of hands. It's the same with exporting; the export of coffee is handled by one pair of hands. "I am sure that if businessmen could buy up coffee themselves, then trade it with other islands, many would be attracted." He said a change in the rules about exporting goods would encourage them to invest there. [Some months ago, Governor Carrascalao announced new regulations on the trading in coffee; perhaps they have not yet come into effect.]

He said investment would have to involve the people of East Timor themselves, though he admitted that it was not easy to do business with them. Their level of education is still low and if they get any money, they treat it as if it were theirs, not something entrusted to their keeping. "They need to be educated properly," he said, adding that he had 30 Timorese [presumably, some of the Timorese enticed to go to Java some months ago by Suharto's daughter's Tiara Foundation] and was educating them. Their horizons need to be broadened and they should be made to understand that development under

Indonesia was far better than during the days of Portugal.

Just think, if they were to cut themselves off from Indonesia. What would become of them? Would they be able to set up an independent state? At best, they would become the plaything of other states. This kind of understanding should be implanted in the minds of the Timorese. They need to be told about this constantly so that proper communication between the government and the people could be established. This would put an end to the feelings of dissatisfaction. "I think not enough is being done there to give such explanations to the people."

DILI TRADERS INCOME DWINDLING SINCE BLOODY 12 NOV. INCIDENT (JAKARTA POST)

Jakarta Post. 30 November 1991. Abridged.

Restaurant owners and taxi drivers complain their income has dwindled since the Nov 12 Dili clash. Restaurant owner Zulkarnaen from West Sumatra said his daily revenue was now Rp. 150,000 a day or Rp 100,000 down from the period before the tragedy. Ratna from East Java said that no customers had visited her restaurants at night since the incident. Dominggas, an East Timorese restaurant owner, told JP his evening customers were beginning to return but the numbers were less than before the incident. A taxi driver from North Sumatra said his daily earnings had dropped from Rp 50,000 to Rp 15,000. Another taxidriver from Flores said his average earnings were now Rp. 20,000 down from Rp. 50,000.

The clash has also affected the relationship between East Timorese government officials and those from outside. "I cannot work without feeling isolated," said a government official from outside East Timor. "We had good relations with all the employees before."

A feeling of insecurity affests people using transportation. A woman getting of a bus from Manatuto said she was afraid of people with long hair getting on the bus because she related them to the clash. "The incident which involved a great number of young people had been a traumatic one for me," she said.

But the clash has brought bonuses for newspaper vendors. The price of a Jakarta paper has doubled. "We're reaping a harvest," said two paper sellers. "You wont get a paper if you are late," they said.

MINEWATCH CONDEMNS INDONESIA'S 'SAVAGE COLONIALISM

The following is a letter written to the British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on December 3 1991 by Roger Moody of Minewatch:

Dear Mr Hurd

We are an organisation primarily concerned with the rights of indigenous and land-based peoples, to determine whether or not they want mining projects on their land. As such, we do not usually address protest letters to anyone. However, in view of our commitment to ensuring that communities in Indonesia and Indonesian-occupied territories, regain control over their natural resources, we believe it is legitimate for us to protest against the massacres of unarmed civilians which took place in Dili, East Timor, last month.

Our prime concern is with the totally inadequate response of the British government to an undoubted major violation of human rights, and the celebrate massacre of an unarmed people.

In our view it is wholly inadequate merely to express "concern" and a blithe expectation that the current Indonesian enquiry will yield anything of significance - or result in a radical change of policy by the regime.

Complete and utter disregard for the rights of the Maubere people of East Timor has been implicit in the savage colonialism which Indonesia has imposed for a decade and a half.

The only way of ensuring that there is no repetition of this massacre, is for the British government (joined with other administrations worldwide) to insist, immediately and unequivocally, on the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all Indonesian forces from East Timor, and for your government to support the implementation of all UN resolutions on this matter.

On behalf of the Minewatch collective, I am

Roger Moody 3 December 1991

TIMOR REBELS SPURN HAWKE

The Australian - 4-Dec-91:

The East Timorese resistance yesterday repudiated Australia's plea for negotiations with the Suharto Government to secure a reconciliation between the two sides over the future of the province.

In sometimes heated talks in Canberra with the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, East Timorese leaders accused the Government of naivete and ineptitude.

They insisted their claim to self-determination was not negotiable and specified

that talks could proceed only under the auspices of the United Nations.

"There is no other way but an act of self-determination," Fretilin's special representative to the UN, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said.

"Any talk of a special region status, or reconciliation, is either incorrigible naivete, ignorance or it is stubbornness in insisting, by other means, on a failed policy." The East Timorese have created a diplomatic quandary for Australia. Their comments are an explicit rejection of Mr Hawke's proposition that Indonesia and the East Timorese try to find a formula that would allow the province greater autonomy yet keep it within the republic.

Australia recognises Indonesia's incorporation 16 years ago of the former Portuguese colony. But after the Dili massacre on November 12, which claimed an estimated 75 lives, Mr Hawke said Indonesia's policy towards East Timor could not be sustained.

The East Timorese delegation was invited to Canberra by Mr Hawke, who said the Suharto Government had to accept that military occupation was not a solution to the problem. The meeting revealed deep-seated anger in the East Timorese resistance movement over what they regard as Australia's inept policy responses.

"It was a futile exercise," said Mr Joao Carrascalao, vice-president of the Timor Democratic Union and a brother of East Timor's Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao.

This differed markedly from Mr Hawke's account. He said the East Timorese had expressed gratitude for Australia taking "a very strong lead" in reacting to the massacre. Mr Hawke attended the meeting for 15 minutes, leaving Senator Evans to debate the issues for another hour.

Mr Ramos-Horta and four colleagues said afterwards that Australia had let down the East Timorese.

Citing their support for Australia during World War II, spokesman for the Timorese community in Victoria, Mr Abel Guterres, said: "We never called meetings, never called for resolutions, to support your people. We responded to friends in need, and did so at a cost of 40,000 lives. "We are not asking you to send troops to East Timor. We want political action, industrial action, to redress your mistakes."

Mr Carrascalao added: "We are not satisfied with words. We are not satisfied with tears. Our people are dying." The delegation also criticised Australia's decision to wait on the report of the national commission of inquiry set up by the Suharto Government to investigate the massacre. The East Timorese argued that the Hawke Government should support efforts to set up a UN inquiry.

They said they would nominate a prominent Australian - possibly former Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen - to

join a fact-finding mission they were attempting to establish.

[Similar articles on the front pages of all major Australian dailies]

MOTHER SEARCHES FOR HER SON (KOMPAS)

Kompas. 4 December 1991. [Extract only]

On Tuesday morning, a woman who said her name was Maria Judith FS Nevis Reis (45 years) visited Mahkota Hotel to meet the KPN (National Investigation Commission). Maria, who lives in East Timor, asked the KPN members to be allowed to go with them to the hospital to look for her son.

Maria told journalists that it was very likely that her sixth son, Emidio Roberto Nevis Reis (20 years) was a casualty of the Santa Cruz incident because he attended the Mass at Motael Church. According to an eyewitness, Emidio also went on the procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery and was shot.

She said that till now she did not know what had happened to Emidio. She had inquired about him with the security forces but heard nothing. Then she went to the International Committee of the Red Cross but found no trace of her son's name there either.

52 U.S. SENATORS WRITE BUSH

U.S. Senator Malcolm Wallop - Press Release - December 5, 1991

WASHINGTON -- Ongoing violations of human rights in East Timor have raised the ire of 52 United States senators who have asked President Bush to play a greater role in resolving the conflict,

In a November 25 letter to the President, initiated by Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-WY), the senators outlined their concerns and advocated a stronger and more effective U.S. stance in the region.

Before its year-end adjournment, the Senate approved a resolution encouraging the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a special envoy to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people.

The former Portuguese colony has received world-wide attention in recent weeks after a November 12 massacre of 75 to 100 civilians by Indonesian security forces.

Wallop said that at least 100,000 people out of a population of 700,000 have died in East Timor since it was invaded and occupied by Indonesia on December 7, 1975.

The senators' letter, follows:

November 25, 1991

Dear Mr. President:

We have grown increasingly concerned about the human rights and humanitarian

problems in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Our concern has heightened in the wake of the massacre on November 12, when Indonesian security forces killed between 75 and 100 civilians during a funeral procession for an East Timorese youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991. We are aware that the Department of State has acknowledged formally at least some aspects of the problem in East Timor. Nonetheless, it appears that further action is warranted in light of continuing reports of repression in East Timor.

Various disturbing reports had come to our attention even prior to the November 12 massacre. Reliable sources in East Timor relate stories of Indonesian forces and those under their control using razor blades to cut the faces of young East Timorese dissenters. Reports from Amnesty International and Asia Watch in recent months detail torture, beatings, and other serious abuses of East Timorese. These, as well as other reports of atrocities, belie reports of improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor and lead us to conclude that the United States needs to take a stronger stand on this matter. We must make it clear to the Indonesian authorities that we are aware of and monitoring closely the situation in East Timor.

On the humanitarian front, we would like to register our concern over the inordinately high rates of tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and infant mortality that exist in East Timor. Such problems are particularly worrisome when one recalls the catastrophic famine that occurred at the hands of the Indonesian military in the late 1970s. The United States could be an effective and positive force in this region by seeking ways to insure that the Indonesian government cooperates with private organizations, both secular and religious, that are in a position to help address these problems.

In addition, we would hope that the United States would be alert to any diplomatic openings that may present themselves in the future, with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory. The Senate showed its support for any such action by passing a resolution on November 21 which stated, "The President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people.

In conclusion, let us say that we are keenly aware of the value of close relations with the government of Indonesia. It is precisely because of these close relations that we believe that the Government of

Indonesia will be responsive to these concerns.

Sincerely,

[52 signatures of Senators follow]

VERY MANY VICTIMS OF THE DILI INCIDENT ARE STILL IN HOSPITAL (PELITA)

Pelita, a Jakarta daily. 5 December 1991. Dateline: Dili. [Extract only.]

Remember, as you read this, that the hospital visit took place more than three weeks after the massacre.

Chairman of the National Investigation Commission of the Dili Incident (KPN), M. Djaelani, told journalists yesterday (4/XII) that very many victims are still being treated in hospital. He stressed the words "very many", as he spoke. But he was not willing to say precisely how many people were still in hospital.

On the first day of their visit, the KPN was told that only 42 persons were in hospital. One source at the hospital who did not want to be named said that the day before the KPN visited the hospital, twenty patients left.

(KPN member) Clementino dos Reis Amaral would only say, after visiting the victims of that bloody incident: "I feel very sad, extremely sad." As this member of parliament said these words, he looked very troubled [wajah nampak kusut].

The two KPN members were surrounded by journalists as all seven KPN members left the Wira Husada Military Hospital in Lahane, East Dili after questioning and visiting the victims in hospital. They were in the hospital from 2.00 pm and were escorted by Major Dr Sofyan Mali, commander of the Health Department of the Military Hospital; they left at 3.30 pm. The visit took place in conditions of great concealment and secrecy [sangat tertutup dan rahasia].

Djaelani in fact greatly disappointed the journalists; he had promised them in the morning that they would be allowed to see for themselves the condition of the victims, on condition that they took no photos. But when the visit was about to take place, it was he who asked Sofyan Malik to forbid the journalists from going in.

After the visit, Djaelani would only say that the patients were in a very bad state [sangat parah] because bullets had torn through various parts of the body. "Some also have fractured legs. Maybe, that's because they fell," he said, smiling.

WAITING FOR THE DILI INQUIRY (ASIaweek)

Asiaweek December 6, 1991

On Nov. 28 the Indonesian Commission of Inquiry was set to leave for Dili, the capital of East Timor. President Suharto had

instructed his commissioners to find out what happened there Nov. 12. But half a month after troops opened fire on an opposition crowd, neither side was changing its story. Jakarta said its men were provoked to fire by supporters of Fretilin, a violent and illegal independence group. Witnesses deny that soldiers were goaded to shoot, though they don't deny the crowd's anti-Indonesian stand. Jakarta says 20 were killed; others claim as many as 115.

Critics are quick to question the commission's fairness. One member, foreign ministry official Hadi Wayarabi, appeared to have already made up his mind. "The Dili incident was created by the government of Portugal," he said. A group of Portuguese legislators cancelled a trip to their former colony just before the shootings. It would have been the first official Portuguese visit since Indonesia took Timor from Lisbon in 1976.

The weight of evidence from independent eyewitness accounts and video footage suggests that the crowd did not attack first. One foreigner who watched the shooting told Asiaweek that there was little provocation from the 2,500 people around the Santa Cruz cemetery. But another observer says he heard one military officer say: "Two of our men have been killed." After that, the eyewitness said, came the order to fire. Then came a burst from automatic weapons that cut down men, women and children.

Jakarta is under foreign pressure to clear up what happened. The U.S. Congress threatened to halt arms sales. Holland said it would cut new development aid, though the Dutch agreed to wait for the commission's findings first. An expected condemnation came from Portugal, still considered by the United Nations the rightful ruler of East Timor. After hesitating, Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu of Papua New Guinea condemned the shootings, though he said that Timor was part of Indonesia.

The biggest diplomatic setback could be with Australia. After years of distrust, relations had been improving. The two countries have had joint naval exercises. Several planned visits to Indonesia by Australian leaders, including Premier Bob Hawke in February, could be cancelled. Military accords could be shelved. Timorese protested in Australian cities, forcing Indonesia to close its consulate in Darwin. Jakarta said if the humiliation worsened it could recall its diplomats. In Sydney, people burned an Indonesian flag. One diplomat said that Canberra could "see reversed all the gains it has made with Indonesia."

At month's end there were signs that the tension had begun to ease. After much persuasion, Red Cross workers were allowed to interview victims of the shootings without having military people present. In Jakarta 49 of 70 demonstrators arrested were freed. The rest face charges that include treason and showing hatred, and face jail terms of up

to seven years. In Dili military commander Brig.-Gen. R.S. Warouw ordered his troops to shoot on sight the "ninjas", masked right-wing groups that roam the streets at night. It was the ninjas who allegedly killed Sebastio Gomez, whose death the protestors were mourning when they were shot down Nov. 12.

CLOSING DOWN A LEFTOVER FROM PORTUGAL (TEMPO)

Tempo, Dec. 7, 1991. The facts regarding the school's history are as stated in Tempo and we do not vouch for their accuracy.

The Portuguese-language Sao Jose School, known as Sao Jose Externato, will soon be closed down. The school has been shut since the 12 November massacre; according to one source, "many Externato pupils took part in the Santa Cruz ceremony". The school has long been suspected of producing 'anti-integration' elements. "I shall ask for the school to be closed down," Major-General Sintong Panjaitan [commander of the Udayana Military Command which covers the territory of East Timor] told journalists last month.

Irvan Masduki, chief of the Legal Affairs and Public Relations Bureau of the Education Department in Jakarta, said that the Department is in favour of closing down the school but had to proceed cautiously because it is under the protection of Bishop Belo which means that it falls within the competence of the Vatican.

The school was founded in 1964 and had a reputation for producing people who played an important role in society; many were able to continue their studies in Portugal. The school curriculum follows the Portuguese model, the medium of instruction is Portuguese with no Indonesian being used. The only languages used besides Portuguese are Tetum and English.

The school was closed down in 1976 but it reopened in 1983 to cater for young Timorese whose parents had fled to Portugal and wanted to join their parents, so needed an education that would prepare them for Portugal. It was intended that the school would remain open for four years but it continued to function as there were no moves to close it down. At the latest count, it had 537 pupils and 17 teachers.

Dr Wirjono, Rector of the University of East Timor, said he was surprised that there was a school that did not follow the national curriculum. However, some Timorese officials wanted the school to continue. Governor Mario Carrascalao for example saw it as an important centre for language instruction because "much of the history of East Timor is written in Portuguese".

However, since the Pope's visit in 1989, the school has been regarded as a problem. Many Externato pupils took part in the

anti-integrasi demonstration during the Papal Mass.

Since the 12 November incident, it seems that the fate of Externato Sao Jose has now been sealed. "The school should conform to the [rules of the] Republic of Indonesia. The Department of Education is taking the necessary action to deal with the school," said Irvan.

INDONESIA ATTACKS THE NATION (BANGKOK)

Letter to the Editor in The Nation (Bangkok), Dec. 7.91:

Your editorial on Monday, December 2, is clearly a very tendentious piece of writing which suggests or you might say "preach" (sic) Asean how to conduct neighbourly relations among its members. It is very surprising how you try to make your point in teaching Asean a lesson on how it should act in cases which demand a high degree of caution and careful consideration.

Your editorial sir, I would say, has gone too far and too imaginative in trying to serve your readers an interesting hot topic which should be kept "warm" as long as possible.

As I observe your writing, I find that it does not express the feeling of a true Eastern-minded paper which usually takes to heart the background of events which could lead to unexpected disturbances. The Timor incident has definitely hurt the feelings of 183 million Indonesian people. We, like the international community, have never wished such incident to happen, in particular not to our people, brothers and sisters, in East Timor.

With sincere intention my Government has immediately appointed a National Investigation Commission to conduct a thorough and is determined to probe into all aspects of the incident, the results of which shall be announced in due time. The Government of Indonesia also wished (sic) to know what had really happened and, as we are all aware, even the Australian Foreign Minister has conceded that the Indonesian Government has had no hand in the incident.

My Government does not harbour any "intransigence towards the people of East Timor" as you have so eloquently expressed in your editorial.

It is, however, suffice (sic) to say that my Government is determined that such incidents would not happen again in the future.

Husny Sunkar, Minister-Counsellor
Head of Information Section
Indonesian Embassy, Bangkok

[I spotted this letter on a flight from Europe to Australia. When "eastern" authoritarian regimes complain about lack of "eastern-mindedness" it usually means that a particular criticism strikes at the heart of the matter. I submitted the following comment to the Nation. Don't know if it was published:]

Sir,

It is somewhat ironic that Husny Sunkar's letter which states that the Indonesian government "does not harbour any intransigence towards the people of East Timor" should appear in "The Nation" on the anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975. 16 years of military occupation with a loss of life of perhaps more than a quarter of the population must surely be the utmost of intransigence suffered by any people.

If however, as Husny Sunkar appears to suggest, the Indonesian government wants to end its intransigence and "is determined that such incidents would not happen again in the future" then the world may finally see Indonesia support the UN resolutions on East Timor, withdraw its armed forces and allow a UN supervised act of self-determination to take place in the territory.

Dr M. Wagner, Canberra

WHO IS CIETACT?

We recently received a query as to who "cietact" is. Here is therefore a brief self-description:

Shortly after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, a network of East Timor solidarity groups was formed in the capital cities of Australia. One of these groups is the Campaign for an Independent East Timor (A.C.T.) or CIET(ACT) which has now been actively supporting the struggle of the people of East Timor for 16 years.

Specific activities of CIET(ACT) are the liaison with the Federal Parliament and the Commonwealth Government on East Timor, liaison with the East Timorese community in Australia, liaison with national and international solidarity and human rights organisations and the transmission of information to and from those bodies and to the national media.

For the last several years, CIET(ACT) has organised annual national protest demonstrations in Canberra against the continuing Indonesian occupation of East Timor and the Australian Government's complicity with Indonesia and it has recently helped the East Timorese community to set up the "East Timor Embassy", adjacent to the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra.

Within Australia, CIET(ACT) cooperates with other solidarity groups in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Darwin, Alice Springs, Perth and Hobart which form an Australian Coalition for East Timor.

Michael Wagner CIET(ACT)

NAIRN MASSACRE ACCOUNT (NEW YORKER)

The New Yorker December 9, 1991

*From the section: The Talk of the Town.
Notes and Comment (Anonymously written
by Allan Nairn)*

One of our reporters writes: I was in Dili, East Timor, on the morning of November 12th, when a large crowd of East Timorese gathered in a parish church. They were there to attend a memorial Mass for Sebastiao Gomes, a young man who had died just outside the church two weeks before. His blood was still caked on the low stone steps at one side of the building, and mourners occasionally knelt and touched it and then crossed themselves. Sebastiao had been shot when Indonesian soldiers stormed the church, where he had sought refuge after hiding from the authorities for several months. Like many East Timorese, he was fearful of reprisal for speaking out against the government.

East Timor, the part of the island long colonized by Portugal, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, after Portugal withdrew from the country, and it has been occupied ever since by ABRI, the Indonesian Army. During that time, some two hundred thousand people - a third of the population - have been killed by the troops or have succumbed to an army policy of forced starvation. Dili, the capital, is dotted with detention houses, where Intel, the Army's secret police, tortures people suspected of opposing Indonesian rule. The East Timorese, from rural farmers to senior clerics and civil servants, often begin conversation with a warning to speak softly, because the Army is watching and "Intel is every where."

On the morning of the twelfth, as the Mass concluded and the worshippers filed out onto the street, the Intel commander, Colonel Gatot Pursuant, drove by the church in an Army jeep. Soldiers and police officers under his command were standing along the route from the church to Sebastiao's grave, in the Santa Cruz cemetery, about a mile away. They were holding long, polished wooden sticks, and they eyed the passing East Timorese carefully.

Outside the church, a procession formed behind the Gomes family, who were carrying flowers in straw baskets draped with woollen shawls. Some people unfurled banners urging support for the Catholic Church and the cause of East Timorese independence. As the procession got under way, first young men and then women and older men began making V signs at the soldiers they passed. They shouted "Viva Timor Leste!" At times, the younger boys broke into an exuberant job, and older youths reined them in, shouting "Discipline!" Some of the marchers were weeping, but more and more of them were smiling and glancing around in astonishment.

Others joined the procession, from huts and from offices, and by the time it reached the cemetery it had grown to several thousand. Even when there was no chanting, and no banners nearby, the marchers were talking - audibly - to the soldiers and among themselves. East Timor and its occupiers surely hadn't witnessed such a bold public display in years.

When the procession got to the cemetery, no soldiers were in sight. Many people followed the family in, and the rest stood outside the cemetery walls, chatting excitedly. All at once, somebody, looking up, noticed that one end of the street had been closed off by an Army truck full of troops. People began to point, and then one man, looking back in the other direction, said "The Gestapo!" coming down the route marchers had taken ten minutes earlier was a column of soldiers, in dark-brown uniforms and carrying M-16s. The troops moved in formation, walking slowly. There was a small collective gasp, and some of the crowd began to shuffle back.

Another American reporter and I had a camera and a tape recorder out and were standing in the middle of the street, between the troops and the East Timorese. We watched in disbelief as the soldiers turned into the cemetery, raised their rifles, and took aim. Then, acting in unison, they opened fire on the East Timorese. Men and women fell, shivering, in the street, rolling from the impact of the bullets. Some were back-pedalling, and tripping, their hands held up. Others simply tried to turn and run. The soldiers jumped over fallen bodies and fired at the people still upright. They chased down young boys and girls and shot them in the back. Meanwhile, some of the soldiers had begun beating my colleague and me. They took her tape recorder and my camera, and pounded the back of my skull with rifle butts. Then they forced us to sit down on the pavement and trained their M-16s at us, shouting "Politik! Politik!"

We shouted back that we were Americans, and maybe that's what saved our lives. All around, other soldiers were executing Timorese. Right in front of us, they were kicking an old man in the face and slamming him into a concrete sewer. Apparently because we were from the United States, however - a country that provided Indonesia with fifty million dollars in outright aid this year, and sells it most of its weapons, including M-16s - the soldiers decided not to shoot us. We escaped by hopping a passing truck.

What we had witnessed was nothing less than an act of deliberate mass murder. There was no provocation: no stones were thrown, and the crowd was standing still. The soldiers issued no warning; there was no confrontation, no hothead who got out of hand. The soldiers simply shot several hundred unarmed men, women, and children. Out of a crowd of three thousand, some

hundred were killed and two hundred were wounded.

In its first acknowledgement that people had been killed, the Indonesian Army said on the day of the massacre, "There has been unrest in Dili by people who had been incited and influenced by remnants of the Gang of Security Disrupters [but] the situation is now under control." Later that day, it said, "Security officers tried to disperse [the crowd] in persuasive ways, but they put up resistance and attacked the officers," and soon it expanded its story, saying that some hundred-odd Timorese were carrying guns, and that among the crowd was Xanana Guzman, the leader of the East Timorese nationalist movement known as Falintil. Though no foreign governments tried to maintain that those statements approached a true account of what had happened, several of them were conspicuously restrained in their reaction to the slaughter. In Washington, Canberra, Tokyo, and elsewhere, Indonesian Ambassadors were told that the respective foreign ministers were upset about events in East Timor, and Indonesia was asked to explain its actions. Our State Department advocated "a prompt and complete investigation" by Jakarta, to be "followed by an appropriate disciplining of those determined to have used excessive force," but it rejected any reduction in military training and arms sales, explaining that United States military aid actually helped "expose" Indonesians to "democratic ideas and humanitarian standards." Senator Claiborne Pell, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, introduced a resolution censuring Indonesia and urging self-determination for the people of East Timor, but suggesting only a partial reduction in United States aid; it did not address, for example, the sale of arms like the M-16. Proponents of the measure said that it was the strongest action that could be hoped for, and, indeed, even this non-binding resolution met quick opposition from both Senator Robert Dole and Representative Stephen Solarz, the chairman of the Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee. One Solarz aide said that if Indonesia staged another massacre (as unconfirmed reports were suggesting it already had) a cutoff might be considered.

As I left Dili, the Army was marching through the streets, storming into houses and detaining people. I later learned that hundreds of East Timorese had been arrested and tortured - and many killed - in an effort to control the massacre's aftermath.

Indonesia's position was stated by General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces Chief of Staff. Of "disrupters" like the mourners in Dili he said, "They are people who must be crushed...Come what may, let no one think they can ignore ABRI. In the end they will have to be shot down."

CHURCH URGES END TO TIMOR SHAME (AGE)

Sunday Age. 8 December 1991 Slightly abridged.

A senior churchman last night condemned Australia's "appeasement" of Indonesia and called for self-determination for East Timor. Monsignor Hilton Deakin, Vicar General of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, told 2,000 worshippers at a Timorese Mass that many Australians felt shame at the way their country abandoned East Timor in 1975 and were now being told to "go slow" on the issue.

"The appeasement fact, for that is what it is, is still there, governed it seems by the size of the Indonesian population and the loss of trade to our nation," he said.

He said Australia had gone out of its way to take a stand on South Africa, China and Kuwait, but had remained silent on Indonesian aggression in East Timor.

"Let us remember with equal passion and moral indignation these events much closer to home. Let us remember the event at Santa Cruz cemetery. Let us remember the many other sufferings the East Timor people have endured in the silence that we imposed on them. Let us pray this silence is broken. May God grant the East Timorese self-determination, peace and justice at last," he said.

Mgr Deakin said the commission established by the Indonesian Government to investigate the Dili massacre last month was "suspicious from the start. They are in-house, and their objectivity will always be questioned and they have already admitted that witnesses are loath to come forward to give evidence out of fear of reprisal," he said.

He called for an investigation into the killings by an outside body such as the UN, and said the whole question of the persistent violation of human rights in East Timor needed to be examined. "Violation of basic human rights on the scale of what it going on in East Timor is the business of all fair-minded people," he said.

Mgr Deakin said Australia should remember the burdens the East Timorese shouldered during World War II, adding: "We have an unpaid debt to these largely unsung heroes."

* * *

Student leaders throughout Java this week condemned the (Indonesian) Government over the massacre and called for self-determination for East Timor. In a strongly-worked statement, the Forum of Student Senates also called for a UN investigation and urged the international community to exert pressure on Jakarta over its human rights record.

ALP: ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA "MUST STOP"

(AUSTRALIAN)

The Australian 9 December 1991 Unabridged. by Justine Ferrari

The Federal Government should suspend all military aid and arms sales to Indonesia and defer signing further agreements on oil exploration in the Timor Gap unless Indonesia agreed to the United Nations inquiring into its human rights record, the NSW Labor conference agreed yesterday.

A resolution condemning the killing of East Timorese men and women in the capital Dili on November 12 was passed unanimously by the delegates, but, while supporting the Federal Government's response, called for stronger action.

The resolution said the Government should propose a taskforce under the auspices of the UN Human Rights Commission "to investigate the deaths, the circumstances surrounding them and the observance of political and civil rights" in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in 1975.

The Government should also put to the Indonesian Government "in the strongest possible terms" that they should co-operate fully in the inquiry.

The resolution was passed after a day of mourning on Saturday with memorial services held around Australia for the people killed. About 2000 people marched to the Town Hall in Sydney, where the Labor conference was held, after a service at St Mary's Cathedral conducted by the Archbishop of Sydney, Cardinal Edward Clancy.

Mr John Birch, who moved the resolution, said after the debate that the Federal Minister for Resources, Mr Griffiths, was due to sign a contract this week for oil exploration with Indonesia.

Both Mr Birch and Mr Laurie Ferguson, who spoke in favour of the resolution, criticized government policy towards East Timor.

Mr Ferguson questioned the authenticity of the Indonesian inquiry into the shootings because it was run by the military, there were no reliable observers, such as Amenity International, and they had no experience in running an inquiry.

He also criticised the Australian embassy in Jakarta, saying it was quite obvious it had been "part of a protection racket in public relations for the Indonesian authorities."

GENERAL TRY "KNOWS THE MASTERMIND" (JAKARTA POST)

Jakarta Post. 9 December 1991. Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged.

Armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno said the government already knows the mastermind behind the Dili riot but will not reveal the identity until the National

Investigation Commission (KPN) accomplishes its fact-finding mission.

The mastermind has been on the government's black list of suspects. "Once the investigation mission is accomplished, we will clean up all the separatist elements who have tainted the government's dignity," Try said Saturday, while addressing 1,500 students in Medan.

He told Antara that the Nov 12 incident was a planned political provocation by the nation's enemy to destabilise Indonesia's unity, and not just an ordinary demonstration by students and youngsters.

Meanwhile KPN chief Djaelani told Jakarta Post's Yacob Herin in Dili that it had been informed by both Governor Carrascalao and Bishop Belo about the number killed during the bloody incident and that the Commission had also received information from other sources.

Asked whether the KPN had been informed about the 103 people who had been reported missing by their families, Djaelani said he would carry on his investigation by asking reliable sources and witnesses of the incident without any outside interference.

Officials of the International Red Cross told the Post in Dili that they had visited the people still being detained by the police and those still in hospital. "We found those in detention in good condition and those in hospital are recuperating," one of them said, but both declined to say the number of people they had visited.

TIMOR: ALATAS ISOLATED AT OIC? (LISBON CAPITAL)

Translated, digested, and forwarded by fmhv@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos): NEWSPAPER: Capital (Lisbon) 9 December 1991

At the Organization of the Islamic Countries conference, the president of Guinea-Bissau [a former Portuguese colony] will speak on the Timor question, comparing the reaction of the international community in the case of the invasion of Kuwait and in the case of East Timor.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has refused to speak about this question during the meeting even if it is outside the framework of the official program.

Members of the PLO, Yemen, and Syria have tried to speak in private with Ali Alatas about this question but with no success.

According to Domingos Oliveira [General Secretary of the UDT], the clandestine network in East Timor has asked for the intervention of AI [Amnesty International] since prisoners are being taken to unknown locations and have been accused of anti-Indonesian activities.

LBH LASHES ARMY (TFI)

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Jonathan Thatcher, Jakarta, Dec 9)

Indonesia's powerful military, internationally condemned for recent killings in East Timor, came under attack on Monday from the country's leading human rights group.

The military must stop over-reacting if life in the vast Indonesian archipelago was to improve, Legal Aid Institute head Abdul Hakim said.

He noted comments by Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno that not even the smallest risk to stability in Indonesia's diverse string of islands would be allowed.

"There is a wide interpretation over the level of disturbance and threats in that statement," Hakim said.

The general, a potential candidate to replace President Suharto, is unrepentant about the November 12 shooting of mourners during a memorial rally for a slain separatist, saying the soldiers had been provoked and were forced to defend themselves.

Hakim's call for a new attitude was echoed by Interior Minister Rudini, who said Indonesia's approach to security could no longer put stability above all else.

"It will lead to a condition where every public activity ... could be suspected as a cause of instability," the official Antara news agency quoted him as saying at the weekend.

Analysts said the military approach was often brutal.

In the East Timor incident, water-cannon or tear-gas should have been used, not guns, they said.

Hakim said there had been an increase in repression in the past year, including during labour disputes in Jakarta.

About 75 students were injured when the army crushed a protest against a controversial state lottery in [Palu] Sulawesi late last month.

"Facing the masses with guns has happened many times," he said.

EAST TIMOR DISCUSSED IN THE BRITISH COMMONS

On 9 December, Labour Party MP John Evans asked Lynda Chalker, the Minister for Overseas Development whether the Foreign Secretary had any plans to visit Indonesia to discuss aid to East Timor. He was told there were no such intentions, whereupon the following discussion (slightly abridged) ensued in the House of Commons:

John Evans: I suggest that the best aid that could be given to East Timor would be an arms embargo on Indonesia until an independent UN inquiry has been held of the slaughter of many defenceless men,

women and children by the Indonesian army.

Mrs Chalker: The hon. Gentleman will probably know that we do not permit the sale of arms or other equipment that could be used internally against the people; but I fully agree that it is necessary to see the report of the commission of inquiry. I gather that a draft will be presented to President Suharto at the end of this week. That inquiry is not being carried out by the military or the police and when we see what it reports, we will decide, together with our EC partners, what to do next.

Sir Peter Blaker (Conservative): Is my right hon. Friend aware that she is supported by our party in being circumspect about jumping to conclusions before an official inquiry report to which she referred is received?

Mrs Chalker: Together with our EC partners on 13 November we condemned the violence against the people in East Timor and urged the Indonesian Government to ensure that the Indonesian armed forces and police stop using violence and that those responsible for these acts were brought to trial. On 3 December, the European Community repeated its condemnation and called on the Indonesian authorities to respond to the serious concerns expressed by the international community. We supported the demands for a thorough and credible investigation by independent and impartial experts.

I believe that we are right to wait until the independent report has been received, but I assure my right hon. Friend and the House that all EC partners who have worked well together on this are carefully considering future relations in the light of what appears to have happened, as shown on the video which so many of us have seen and which the families of the people involved have had to witness in the suffering.

Ann Clwyd (the Labour Party's Shadow Minister for Overseas Development): I am puzzled by the Minister's reply to (Mr Evans). She continues to maintain that we do not allow the export of arms and equipment that are likely to be used against civil populations. However, in a letter to Canon Michael Doe, who wrote to her, the right hon. Lady said: "it is not practical to monitor their use once they have reached their destinations". How does she square her answer to my hon. Friend with her letter to Canon Doe?

It is incredible that both the Minister and the Prime Minister whitewash the inquiry by describing it as independent. In no way can it be described as independent when the chairman of that inquiry is a former general who is responsible for some of the worst atrocities

against the East Timorese. There are continuing human rights violations against the East Timorese while that farce of an inquiry is being carried out. The Government should freeze supplies of military equipment and aid to the Indonesians forthwith.

Mrs Chalker: I am not prepared to take action until the facts have been established. There is absolutely no whitewash as far as this Government are concerned and nor will there be. Right from the beginning of that terrible saga, I have been absolutely determined that the United Nations and any other body that it may be necessary to involve in order to get to the bottom of this and to resolve matters for the people of East Timor - they have gone on since 1975 - should have our support. We have told the UN Secretary-General of our support for his efforts to resolve the problems of East Timor. On this latest apparent atrocity, I see it as that; I have seen the film as much as anyone has - I have to be absolutely certain of the facts before I take action. I cannot act without facts.

Mr Alexander (Conservative): My right hon. Friend's measured response will be widely welcomed in the House and elsewhere. Although all of us are deeply concerned to know precisely what happened in East Timor, will she bear it in mind that since Indonesia took over East Timor a few years ago, there has nevertheless been considerable development of the infrastructure in that country and that, although no-one condones that massacre, we must know what has been going on before we adopt the language that we have heard from the Labour party.

Mrs Chalker: As I said a moment ago, I will wait until I have heard the facts, but I have already undertaken to review co-operation with Indonesia in the light of the response by the Indonesian Government. My right hon. Friend the Earl of Caithness called in the Indonesian ambassador and expressed our grave concern. We have taken action, indeed led action - at every possible turn, but we must establish without doubt exactly what is going on.

NGO'S INVESTIGATED IN INDONESIA

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (AFP, Jakarta, Dec 9):

Indonesian authorities are investigating non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to find out whether any used foreign funding for anti-government activities.

The armed forces' Angkatan Bersenjata daily Monday quoted Coordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs Sudomo as saying that he knew of several

NGOs which received large amounts of cash from foreign parties, some of them more than one trillion rupiah (500 million dollars.)

"There are some who use the funding for activities against their own government," Sudomo said.

Under Indonesian laws, all social organizations, including NGOs, should report funding received from foreign parties and risk closure if they fail to do so. The government can also ban any organization found to disturb national stability.

Sudomo said that data on the NGOs were currently being gathered.

Authorities have in the past criticized several NGOs, especially those involved in human rights, for inciting mass protests in various cases of labor disputes, land confiscations and other issues.

STOP ARMING INDONESIA (ACT)

Editorial, The ACTivist, newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament peace coalition, Toronto, Canada. Vol. 7, #12 (December 1991).

It would be all too easy to look at East Timor and think of it as another tragedy in a far-off land: genocide, yes, but something we can do nothing about.

But East Timor isn't about itself. East Timor is about us.

Canada, when the invasion happened, was one of the top investors in Indonesia. Companies like INCO and Bata Shoes had more money tied up in the Indonesian economy than even the United States.

Today, Indonesia trails only Bangladesh in the amount of Canadian aid dollars that flow to its government.

Canada has an economic pull in Indonesia that we don't have in Central America or South Africa. But successive governments have refused to use it.

Worse, we've even sold military equipment to Indonesia's military-dominated regime, issuing military export permits worth tens of millions of dollars directly (things like helicopter engines, electronic supplies, and the ammunition used in the 1975 invasion of East Timor). Through third parties like Britain, the United States and Australia Canadian companies have made millions of dollars more.

The worst offender is helicopter engine maker Pratt and Whitney Canada. But there are many other Canadian arms merchants among the more than 300 Canadian companies operating in Indonesia.

Canadian government policy forbids military sales to "countries involved in or under imminent threat of hostilities" and "countries whose governments have a persistent record of violations of human rights, unless it can be demonstrated that there is no reasonable risk that the goods might be used against a civilian population." By allowing weapons-related sales to

Indonesia, Canada is in violation of both these guidelines.

In 1984, External Affairs even organized a military trade fair in Jakarta to cash in on Indonesia's wars in East Timor, Aceh and West Papua.

According to Jos Ramos Horta, the overseas representative for the East Timorese resistance, Canadian-supplied weapons "play an important role in the war in East Timor."

All in all, it's not an impressive showing from a government that likes to talk about controlling the weapons trade and a country that likes to be thought of as a voice for international human rights.

In Toronto this September, the participants at the annual assembly of the International Peace Bureau unanimously called for a ban on arms sales to Indonesia. The European Parliament echoed the call in November. Where is Canada's voice?

CANADA CUTS AID

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (AFP, Ottawa, Dec 9):

Canada said Monday it was suspending approval of development projects that provide direct assistance to the Indonesian Government, in order to protest an army shooting last month in disputed East Timor.

Ottawa said the decision would affect projects worth some 30 million dollars (about 27.5 million U.S.).

Announcing the decision, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said: "Canadians were outraged at the recent killings in East Timor. This decision reflects our concern about the human rights situation in Indonesia."

However, Canada is giving an immediate grant of 150,000 dollars (132,000 U.S.) to the International Red Cross "for humanitarian assistance in East Timor," she said.

Canada also announced Monday that it was supporting "international efforts, especially in the United Nations, to ensure that the findings of the Indonesian Commission of Inquiry into events in East Timor will be objective and independent."

ACTION REPORT: CANADA

Prepared by East Timor Alert Network

Today (Monday 9 December) Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall announced a cut in Canadian bilateral aid to Indonesia from \$46 million to \$16 million. Indonesia had been the second-largest recipient of Canadian aid.

ETAN and other groups have called for a full suspension of non-humanitarian aid, and for humanitarian aid sent through NGOs to be suspended unless the NGOs are given free access to East Timor.

In a hearing the same day arranged by the East Timor Alert Network, the foreign affairs committee of the Canadian parlia-

ment heard testimony on East Timor from Jose Ramos Horta (external representative for CNRM), Li-liane Gibbons (sister of murdered New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj), Elaine Briere (national co-ordinator, East Timor Alert Network), the head of the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, umbrella group for development NGOs, and others. Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman are also in Ottawa for a public forum on Dec. 10 on Parliament Hill.

On Sat, Dec 7, the 16th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor, vigils were held in Ottawa, Toronto, and Guelph Ont. (The University of Guelph operates the largest of several university programmes in Indonesia.) In Toronto, 30-40 in attendance heard from Bruce McLeod, president of the Canadian Council of Churches, New Democrat MP Dan Heap, City Councillor Martin Silva and Father Amadeo Pereira (in Portuguese). Following the vigil, an exhibit of photos from East Timor is on display in the lobby of Toronto City Hall until Dec. 23.

Activists in the Toronto Portuguese community are now planning a public forum for next month and a boycott of Bata Shoes, one of the major Canadian companies operating in Indonesia. The Portuguese Canadian campaign will run while Portugal chairs the European Community, beginning at the end of this month.

In line with a decision to do more on Indonesia, ETAN has just produced a resource kit on Indonesia, funded by the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace. A leaflet will be produced soon with the support of Energy Probe's Margaret Laurence Foundation.

Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor is now an all-party group, with the membership of former cabinet minister and ambassador to Ethiopia David MacDonald from the governing Conservatives. PET is campaigning for "an aid embargo and an immediate halt to arms exports to Indonesia, if not a complete trade embargo."

Since the Nov. 12 massacre, media interest in East Timor has soared -- there has been more coverage in the print media in the past month than during the whole of the 1980s previously. CBC Radio has been particularly good about covering East Timor, with the current affairs programme As It Happens playing interviews virtually nightly since Nov. 13 for three weeks.

U.S. CONDEMNS ARMY AGAIN

State Department briefing, Dec. 9:

Q Yes. I'd like to talk about the situation in East Timor.

MS. TUTWILER: East Timor.

Q The Indonesian government has said that the military was deliberately pro-

voked to shoot -- to fire on the mourners at the cemetery last month during a massacre there. My question is, what exactly is the US government doing in terms of being in contact with the commission that is allegedly investigating the massacre? That's number one.

And number two --

MS. TUTWILER: Wait a minute. Let me do number one, okay?

Q All right.

MS. TUTWILER: It's basically the same question I believe you asked me last week, and not a lot has changed on the United States' position, which I will be happy to restate for you.

As you have accurately stated, the Indonesian government's investigation into the killings in East Timor continues. The Interagency Investigatory Commission has visited East Timor and interviewed persons knowledgeable about what happened there.

The United States has repeatedly condemned these tragic killings. At every opportunity, here or in Jakarta, we continue to press the Indonesian government for a complete and credible investigation by the Interagency Investigatory Commission. This must include appropriate disciplinary action against those found responsible for the use of excessive force.

As we have said before, the United States accepts Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor without maintaining that a valid act of self-determination has taken place. The United Nations General Assembly, in 1983, instructed the Secretary General to resolve the East Timor issue. Our policy is to support the General Assembly's mandate, which continues in force, and the Secretary General's efforts.

Q But the military has said they intend to wipe out those that they feel were responsible for deliberately provoking this action. Where does the US stand with regard to that?

MS. TUTWILER: I'm not aware of a military statement like that. It's something I'd have to look into.

Q Margaret, on December the 4th you actually said here that the Libyan commission of inquiry into the Pan Am accident didn't warrant your confidence because it was a Libyan commission investigating a Libyan affair.

MS. TUTWILER: Right.

Q Why this Indonesian commission investigating an Indonesia affair justifies your confidence as you have expressed it so far?

MS. TUTWILER: I didn't -- I don't believe that I expressed my confidence. I believe what I expressed was the facts as they are on the ground. I did express the United States has continuous -- has continuously condemned these tragic killings. I have said, as I do in many countries, when a process is going on I

acknowledge the process is going on. I said we will be watching it very closely, and we are.

Q You don't actually express formally your confidence on the commission of inquiry at the moment? Did I read you correctly on what you said?

MS. TUTWILER: What you read me correctly as saying is that the United States government continues to press the Indonesian government for a complete and credible investigation by the Interagency Investigatory Commission.

Q Margaret, the ambience that surrounds this investigation, the composition of the commission, does it satisfy, at the moment, the United States? Are you appased that the thing is being conducted properly --

MS. TUTWILER: I'll continue, sir --

Q -- or do you have reservations --

MS. TUTWILER: I will continue, sir --

Q -- madam?

MS. TUTWILER: -- to characterize our position on this matter as I have. I've restated it again twice today. The United States condemned these killings. The United States, I have just told you again, will continue to press the Indonesian government. I don't know how much fuller I can be for you. This is our -- this is our policy.

Q (Off mike) -- the matter of the confidence or not that you have under -- on what's happening there, if you're satisfied with the way things are going? The last time you addressed this was about 10 days ago. Ever since, haven't you had any reports, progressive -- progressive --

MS. TUTWILER: This investigation, sir, is continuing. It is no different. There is a current investigation, for instance, you haven't asked me about in Mexico that is going on concerning those killings. I do not stand here and interject myself in the middle of investigations, whether it's Indonesia, whether it's El Salvador, whether it's Mexico, or wherever it's taking place. I'm acknowledging that this is going on. (FNS, Dec 9)

TIMOR CLOSING UP AGAIN?

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (AFP, Jakarta, Dec 9):

East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao has suggested closing the former Portuguese colony to outsiders to prevent further unrest following the army shooting there last month.

"Since the region has been opened, chaos has come out. For myself, maybe it is better that it be closed," the Jakarta-appointed governor told the weekly magazine Editor in an interview published Monday.

Indonesia lifted travel restrictions into and out of East Timor in January 1989, de-

claring "open" the former Portuguese colony which it unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976.

Carrascalao also said that he was against any foreign investigation into the Dili shooting.

"Their arrival will only cause unrest. As an individual, I am against it but as a governor I will do whatever is decided by the centre," he said referring to the central government in Jakarta.

WHITLAM CRITICIZES HAWKE

From TFI : (Reuter, Sydney, Dec 10)

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke has ignored Indonesia since coming to office in 1983 and so could not protest adequately at the killing of mourners in East Timor, says former premier Gough Whitlam.

"Bob Hawke's lack of interest in Indonesia prevented Australia making a prompt and effective approach to President Suharto himself," Whitlam said in a speech published in the Sydney Morning Herald.

"It should have been as easy for Bob Hawke to telephone President Suharto as it has been for him to telephone (U.S.) President Bush," Whitlam said.

Whitlam said that during his premiership he had an influential relationship and lengthy telephone conversations with the Indonesian president.

Hawke should visit Jakarta to rebuild the relationship between the two countries, Whitlam said.

Hawke, who last visited Indonesia in 1983, is reviewing a visit scheduled for February 1992.

WIRE SERVICE DIGEST 10

DEC

Suharto leaves Senegal

President Suharto has cut short a visit to Senegal, where he was due to give a speech to the Organisation of Islamic Countries later on Tuesday, the official Antara news agency said.

It quoted State Secretary Murdiono as saying that one of the reasons was that Suharto was needed to decide next year's budget. He made no mention of East Timor.

Suharto had been due to leave on Friday. Antara did not say when he would now leave. (Reuter, Dec 10)

PORTUGAL: No Islamic Mediator

Translated, digested, and forwarded by fmhv@minerva.inesc.pt Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos):

NEWSPAPER : Publico 10 Dec 1991

Portugal will not accept the mediation of an Islamic country in the negotiations with Indonesia since these must be carried out in the United Nations, according to Portugal's foreign affairs ministry.

This was the reaction of the foreign affairs ministry to the possibility expressed by Ali Alatas of accepting the mediation of an Islamic country in negotiations about East Timor.

Yesterday in Dakar in the Islamic Conference meeting, the pressure of several countries forced Ali Alatas to discuss East Timor.

In an interview given to Portuguese television, Ali Alatas again deemed as "not neutral" the reports about Dili's massacre made by English and American journalists.

Soares talks with Belgian King

Mario Soares [Portugal's President] has spoken with the King of Belgium about the East Timor problem. The King of Belgium said he was "horrified" by the massacre, according to Mario Soares.

Portuguese Aviation union boycott

Portuguese aviation labor organisations are recommending to their associates to refuse to transport any merchandise or people to and from Indonesia, with the exception of anything or anyone involved in international initiatives which have the objective of solving the East Timor problem.

Sintong Panjaitan defends commander

General Sintong Panjaitan was quoted in the latest issue of the Editor weekly as saying that Infantry Colonel Binsar Aruan -- commander of sector C where the November 12 shooting took place -- had acted according to procedure.

"The commander of the Sector C is not bad. A good work does not always yield good results," Panjaitan said, adding: "I view that the action (Binsar's) was very much according to the procedures. Therefore he cannot be said to be at fault.

Panjaitan said every commander, regional or sectorial, had "to act immediately if there was any problem in their regions. They should not wait for others. There is no question of violation. There is no question of punishment."

"It could be, that after Binsar is withdrawn from his position, he is promoted, who knows?" he said.

Military chief General Try Sutrisno said last month that, following evaluation of the incident, the Sector C commander and the 303 battallion involved would be replaced in East Timor.

Panjaitan said East Timor was an area of "military operation" where soldiers were given the "main task of wiping out the enemy," but added that the commander in Dili had never issued orders to fire.

However, he said self-defence was warranted in extraordinary situations, such as when troops risked losing their weapons. (AFP, Jakarta, Dec 10)

Troops re-enact massacre

Indonesian troops who opened fire on unarmed civilians in East Timor a month

ago, killing more than 100 by some accounts, recreated the event on Tuesday at the behest of government investigators.

"All the soldiers were there," Djaelani, the supreme court judge who is heading a government commission, told reporters.

The reenactment was at sunrise, apparently to avoid journalists who have been following Djaelani around Dili, the East Timor capital. He gave no details of what happened.

One battalion involved in the shooting, the 303, is due to leave East Timor on Wednesday morning.

"We just want to go home," said one soldier, dressed in military fatigues and a T-shirt with the unit's crest of a skull with a knife clenched between its teeth.

Below the crest is written "Setia sampai mati" (Loyalty until death).

"We are terribly sorry for the deaths, they were trying to snatch away our weapons," a junior officer told Reuters.

"We are combat soldiers, but we never had any trouble with the local people before."

Neither soldier, whose battalion is part of the elite Jakarta-based Kostrad or strategic reserve, was involved in the November incident.

The entire battalion of 640 men was deployed near Dili eight months ago and two of its companies were sent there for 10 days of training in riot control in October.

They were picked because of their reputation for discipline to control possible disturbances during a visit by a Portuguese parliamentary team, senior military sources said.

Yosephina Maya, 22, and recently released from hospital for treatment of a bullet wound, said the troops opened fire for about two minutes from behind and gave no warning.

As she lay semi-conscious in the Santa Cruz cemetery a soldier kicked her in the head and called her a communist, she said.

"I saw many fall to the ground at Santa Cruz, at least 100."

Other soldiers helped her into a military ambulance heaped with bodies. Another van at the hospital was unloading more dead, she said. (Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 10)

MASSACRE PROMPTS CUT IN CANADIAN AID TO INDONESIA (TORONTO STAR)

Toronto Star, 10, December 1991.

By Tim Harper

Comment: when announcing the Canadian aid review, McDougall said aid was "very much grassroots aid." She seems to have backtracked and discovered that \$30 million -- two thirds of funds -- were in fact not humanitarian. The CCIC, which represents humanitarian NGOs, is very split on the question of NGO aid. More details on what the cuts mean will follow.

OTTAWA -- Canada has cut \$30 million in funding for projects in Indonesia to protest last month's massacre in East Timor, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall says.

"Canadians were outraged at the recent killings in East Timor," McDougall said yesterday.

"This decision reflects our concern about the human rights situation in Indonesia."

The decision came after McDougall ordered a review of bilateral assistance to Indonesia, stressing that she wished to cut only programs that benefit its government.

Canada, through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), is providing \$46 million to Indonesia this year.

The minister said she was being careful not to slash programs administered by non-governmental organizations that were meant to benefit ordinary citizens in that country.

Also yesterday, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) told a parliamentary committee that it was "extremely important" that any aid suspension based on human rights be evaluated carefully to protect independent, grassroots programs.

McDougall has been under fire for her slow response to a Nov. 12 massacre in Dili, when Indonesian troops fired on unarmed demonstrators who had massed at a cemetery to mourn two people killed earlier by the military.

The Indonesian military has acknowledged 50 deaths but independent witnesses have put the number closer to 200.

McDougall's initial reaction came Nov. 15 when she said she was "deeply concerned."

WHITLAM BLASTS HAWKE ON TIMOR (AUSTRALIAN)

The Australian, 10 December 1991. Byline: Tony Parkinson. Abridged

[With Australian-Indonesian relations declining fast, some old hands at defending Jakarta have re-emerged. Apart from Gough Whitlam, another stout defender of

the Suharto regime has now spoken out: Professor Hans Arndt, head of the Research School for SEAsian Studies at the Australian National University has published an article (newspaper and date not legible on the fax) entitled: "Dili a tragedy but hold fire on Indonesia". We cannot retype the item because of its length; it is also in places unreadable because of poor fax quality.

Arndt argues that East Timor's case for independence "is weak", he disputes the death toll in the war since 1975, says Fretilin is just as much to blame for the deaths as Indonesia and alleges that East Timor could not have become an economically viable state. He concludes that it is "clearly unrealistic" to expect Indonesia to give up East Timor.]

In an astonishing attack, Mr Gough Whitlam [Australian Prime Minister in late 1975 when Indonesia was moving to invade East Timor] accused Prime Minister Bob Hawke of allowing relations with the President of Indonesia to degenerate to the point where Australia's protests over the Dili massacre could not be put forthrightly at the highest level. "It should have been as easy for Bob Hawke to telephone General Suharto as it has been for him to telephone President Bush," Mr Whitlam said.

Speaking at a Labour dinner in Melbourne, he condemned the idea of Mr Hawke cancelling his scheduled visit to Indonesia, and accused the Australian media of "outrageous" reporting on Indonesian affairs.

After acknowledging that the Indonesian military should have acted with far greater restraint, Whitlam launched into a piercing critique of Mr Hawke's response. "He should have directly asked the President to clarify the events, condemn the abuses and punish those responsible," Mr Whitlam said.

"He risks marginalising Australia's influence by floating or countenancing the possibility that he may not proceed with his planned visit to Indonesia. How many times has he visited Indonesia? When did he last make a visit? It is just the time, and not before time, for an Australian Prime Minister to visit Indonesia. (East Timor) would have been a more harmonious society if the administration had been progressively placed in civilian hands in recent years. Concerns about the military presence would have been effective and acceptable if expressed regularly face-to-face with the President."

Bob Hawke has visited Indonesia only once in almost nine years in office, soon after his first election win in 1983.

Mr Whitlam contrasted his three personal meetings with General Suharto between 1973 and 1975 and said he had had several conversations with General Suharto since leaving government.

"(Foreign Minister) Gareth Evans is the first politician since me who has been able

to establish a trusting and effective relationship with his Indonesian counterpart," Mr Whitlam said. "The best foreign ministers and ambassadors however need the backing of their head of government."

"It is Bob Hawke's fault that Australia does not have more influence in Indonesia. As a media and poll-driven politician he has always distanced himself from Indonesia. He can no longer leave it all to Gareth Evans."

Mr Whitlam attacked the Australian media for "outrageous reporting" on General Suharto and Indonesia. "The Australian media have no credibility in Indonesia because they have conducted a vendetta against Indonesia over the deaths of two television teams in Balibo on October 16 1975," he said, adding that some journalists were making a living as professional critics of Indonesia. "It is impossible to work out what policies journalists, editors and proprietors believe Australian governments should follow towards Indonesia."

AUSTRALIAN URANIUM TO INDONESIA?

(Radio Australia 12/10)

Possible Australian uranium sales to Indonesia are foreshadowed in a draft agreement on peaceful nuclear science and technology cooperation between the two countries. Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans has confirmed the details in parliament, though he says a nuclear treaty would not provide for sale of Australian uranium to Indonesia.

Evans said exports in uranium would require negotiations of a safeguard agreement with Indonesia, and there had been no such talks. He said there have been discussions since late 1990 between Australian and Indonesian officials on a nuclear science and technology cooperation agreement.

INDONESIA THREATENS SUBVERSION TRIALS?

(R. Australia 12/10)

Indonesia's official ANTARA news agency says that eight of the 26 people arrested after last month's Dili massacre could face trial on subversion charges. The maximum sentence for those found guilty of subversion in Indonesia is death.

ANTARA, quoting un-named police and prosecution sources in East Timor, said that following initial inquiries eight of 26 people still being detained in connection with the events of November 12 were clearly involved in cases of subversion.

The report did not indicate whether a decision had been made to proceed with such charges. It said that the remaining 18 in detention would face general criminal charges the details of which were not specified.

According to ANTARA's sources, the task force established by the military's operational command in East Timor had discovered a clandestine Fretilin network operating in Indonesian cities such as Jakarta as well as in Dili with overseas links in Australia, Portugal and Angola.

DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON ON TIMOR

A large crowd of people carrying placards and banners condemning the 12 November Santa Cruz, demonstrated outside the Indonesian Embassy in London on 10 December, Human Rights Day. They were joined by Ann Clwyd MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Overseas Development, and Alice Mahon MP. The two MPs handed in a letter from a number of London-based organisations, as well as two Motions that have been tabled in the House of Commons condemning Indonesia for the massacre. One of the Motions calls on the British Government to impose an arms embargo against Indonesia.

James Gibbons, whose step-brother Kamal Bamadhaj was killed during the massacre, was also present, carrying a placard: "Who killed my brother?"

Timorese refugees lit candles and laid flowers on the steps of the embassy. Some of the placards read: "180 Dead. Where are the bodies?", "Stop Arming Indonesia", "Dili Massacre, Let the UN get the facts!", "Dili massacre, the West must act now!"

The London-based Campaign Against Arms Trade also took part in the demonstration.

The two MPs were not allowed into the embassy and had to hand in the documents to an embassy official who only opened the front door slightly to take the envelopes.

The two resolutions, called Early Day Motions, have been gaining support since being tabled in the House of Commons shortly after the Dili tragedy.

The first Motion was tabled by six Labour Party MPs and has already been signed by a total of 83 MPs, all from the opposition Labour Party. It reads:

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

The second Early Day Motion was tabled by four Conservative Party MPs, one Labour MP and one from the Scottish

Nationalist Party, and has all-party support. It has already been signed by 49 MPs, eleven Conservatives, 30 Labour MPs, 6 Liberal Democrats and 2 Scottish Nationalists. It reads:

"That this House condemns the shocking killing of over 200 innocent and peaceful demonstrators on 15th (sic) November 1991 in Dili, East Timor, by soldiers and police of the Indonesian forces; recalls that almost a third of the civilian population of this unlawfully seized territory have suffered a similar terrible fate at Indonesian hands since 1976; and calls upon the United Nations to take the necessary measures to investigate this latest tragic massacre and prevent further repetitions in the future; and to request the Indonesian authorities to introduce a plan for self-determination."

The MPs also handed in a letter urging the Indonesian Government to allow an international commission of enquiry under UN auspices to find out the truth about the killings in Dili on 12 November. "The team should include people from recognised human rights organisations... chosen for their recognised impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. The bodies of those who died should be properly examined by a doctor so that the cause of death can be established before returning them to their families for proper burial."

The letter also called on the Indonesian authorities to enter into dialogue with the Timorese people, including those resisting Indonesian rule, and the Portuguese, aimed at bringing the hostilities in East Timor to an end and allowing the people of East Timor the right to self-determination.

The letter was signed by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, the Christian Movement for Peace, Liberation, the National Peace Council, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Pax Christi, TAPOL (the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign), the United Nations Association/UK, Conference of Major Religious Superiors Social Justice Desk, Sisters of St Joseph of Peace and Michael Campbell-Johnston SJ, Provincial of the Jesuits/Britain.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ELECTRONIC URGENT ACTION

*From: Amnesty International <amnesty>
Subject: AI F408:Indonesia/Legal,to 01/21
(Paper reprints authorized. Electronic re-distributors must request permission from AIUSA UA Office by email or by calling (303)440-0913, 9-5 M-F.)*

10 December 1991

Further information on UA 408/91 (22 November 1991) and follow-up 29 November 1991 - Legal Concern/Fear of Torture, Indonesia/East Timor: Jakarta:

Metodio Moniz*
Felipe da Silva
Fausto Bernardino*
Agapito Cardoso
Jose Maria Belo
Mario Canelas*
Francisco Vasco Ramos
Sergio Dias Quintao*
Benevides Cabral*
Ilidio da Costa*
Antonio Soares
Antonio Lopez
Joao Sarmento
Joao "Travolta"*
Gregorio de Araujo
Avelino Maria Coelho da Silva*
Egas Quintao Monteiro*
Jose Luis de Oliveira*
Joao Freitas da Camara*
Domingos Barreto
Virgilio and Antonio Goncalves (see original UA)
Denpasar:

Jose Pompeia Saldanha Ribeiro
Clemente Soares
Fernando de Araujo
Antonio Matos
and several other students

Yogyakarta:

Nine students, including several who have been released:

Jose Luis de Oliveira* (was Jose Luis)
see under Ilidio da Costa* (was Elidio)
Jakarta

Diometrio
Rogerio
Flavio
Pedrito

Bandung:

Nine students, including:

Agus Jaya Asep
Novi Daniel
Nurdin Pius

*Please note corrections to names

Twenty-one East Timorese students remain in custody at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station, three weeks after they were arrested for taking part in a peaceful protest against Indonesian human rights violations in East Timor. Most are being held incommunicado and one, Joao Freitas da Camara, is reportedly detained in an isolation cell. Antonio Goncalves, thought to have been arrested at the same time, has since been reported missing and there is concern for his safety. Amnesty International has learned the names of 49 other students who were arrested at the same time but released after questioning. They included six students from Semarang, 27 from Bandung, two from Jakarta, eight from Malang and six from Yogyakarta.

Four East Timorese students arrested in Denpasar, Bali, on 23 November, and possibly six others, are believed to remain in custody. Military authorities confirmed that 6 students had been arrested in a raid on a house in Dili, on 2 December, but did not reveal their names. The students are believed

to be held incommunicado and there is concern for their safety.

Amnesty International has learned that at least two students earlier reported as arrested in Yogyakarta were, in fact, detained in Jakarta. Ilidio da Costa and Jose Luis de Oliveira (named earlier as Elidio and Jose Luis) are among the 21 still held at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station. There is no further information about those reportedly arrested in Bandung.

Lawyers and relatives have been denied access to all but a few of the detainees, in contravention of the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP) and international law. Despite repeated requests to the police authorities by the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH), lawyers have not been permitted to accompany any of the detainees during interrogations.

On 5 December an LBH team went to the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station to formally request information on the time and place of future interrogations so that they could accompany their clients. Though required by law to provide such information, police officials did not do so, saying that the only officer with that authority was out of the office. The team was able to meet two of the detainees - Joao Freitas da Camara and Avelino Maria Coelho da Silva - but they were accompanied throughout by a police investigator. The detainees told the LBH team that their interrogation as suspects had been completed, and now they were being interrogated as witnesses.

Amnesty International believes that most of those detained are prisoners of conscience and is calling for the immediate and unconditional release of those held solely for their non-violent political beliefs or activities. It is deeply concerned for the safety of those held in incommunicado detention, and calls on the Indonesian authorities to grant immediate access to their lawyers and relatives in accordance with the law.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters: - expressing concern that 21 East Timorese students remain in custody in the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station after being arrested at a peaceful demonstration on 19 November 1991; - expressing concern that police authorities have denied lawyers access to the detainees in contravention of the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure and international law; - expressing concern about the reported detention of dozens of other students in Denpasar, Yogyakarta and Bandung, for their alleged political or human rights related activities; - expressing concern that the students may be charged under legislation which appears to contravene international human rights law guaranteeing freedom of expression and opinion; - calling on the government to release all those de-

tained solely for the peaceful expression of their political views or activities.

APPEALS TO:

Let. Ismail Saleh
Jalan Rasuna Said, Kav 6-7 (Minister of Justice)
Kuningan, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia
(Telexes: 796 44404 DITJENIM IA)
[Salutation: Your Excellency] (Telegrams: Justice Minister, Jakarta, Indonesia) (Faxes: 011 62 21 32 1625)

General Kunarto
Kepala Kepolisian RI
(Chief of the National Police)
Markas Besar Kepolisian RI Jl.
Trunojoyo 13 Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia (Telegrams: General Kunarto, Kepala Kepolisian RI, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Sespri Kapolda Jaya
Letkol Tryono S.
(Personal Secretary to Jakarta Chief of Police)
Markus Besar Kepolisian Jaya
Jakarta, Indonesia (Telegrams: Sespri Kapolda Jaya, Kepala Kepolisian RI, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Prof Dr Baharuddin Lopa
Department of Justice
(Director General of Corrections)
Jl. Veteran No. 11, Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia (Telegrams: Director General of Corrections, Justice Department, Jakarta, Indonesia) (Faxes: 011 62 21 32 1625)

COPIES TO:

Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia Jl. Diponegoro 74
(Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation) Jakarta 10320, Indonesia

Jakarta Post PO Box 85 Jakarta
11001, Indonesia (Faxes: 011 62 21 549 2685)

Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia 2020
Massachusetts Ave NW Washington DC 20036

PLEASE SEND APPEALS IMMEDIATELY. Check with the Colorado office between 9:00 am and 6:00 pm, Mountain Time, weekdays only, if sending appeals after January 21, 1992. ===

Telexes, telegrams, and faxes can be sent through a number of electronic communications systems reachable by PC, such as MCI Mail, Easylink, Peacenet, CompuServe, and Worldlink. You can find this information in the UA intro on your system or receive a copy from the UA office.

If you would like general information about AIUSA activities and membership,

contact our national office at 322 8th Ave., NYC, NY 10001 (212) 807-8400.

UAs are available from AIUSA on many information services, through a planned distribution system of direct deliveries from AI and from UAN-approved redistributions by interested volunteers.

CANADA CUTS OFF \$30 MILLION IN AID TO INDONESIA

Sanctions against massacre leave some programs untouched

By Dave Todd Southam News (Front page of Ottawa Citizen, 10 Dec.)

Canada suspended \$30 million in foreign aid to Indonesia on Monday to protest the massacre of unarmed civilians in East Timor last month.

But projects already under way -- plus other new projects -- will still go ahead.

"Canadians were outraged at the recent killings in East Timor," said External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. "this decision reflects our concern about the human rights situation in Indonesia."

On Nov. 12, more than 100 unarmed pro-independence demonstrators were slaughtered by Indonesian troops at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital.

McDougall also announced that \$150,000 will be given to the International Committee of the Red Cross for humanitarian assistance in East Timor.

The suspension of the \$30 million in proposed development projects -- of which no details were given -- comes nearly four weeks after the mass killings in the former Portuguese colony, and two weeks after McDougall pledged a review of Canada's aid programs to Indonesia.

The Netherlands, Indonesia's former colonial ruler, postponed new development aid the week after the East Timor massacre, while the European Parliament urged the European Community and United Nations Nov. 21 to ban arms sales.

Monday's announcement did not include a ban on Canadian military exports.

NDP foreign affairs critic Svend Robinson has been pushing for the ban in light of previous deals involving Canadian military equipment believed to have been used against the East Timorese resistance.

Indonesia receives about \$46 million a year in direct government-to-government assistance, making it Canada's second-largest "bilateral" aid recipient. It is also one of Canada's biggest trading partners in Southeast Asia, with two-way trade totaling about \$500 million last year.

"Canada's aid to Indonesia concentrates on human resource development and environmental co-operation. The projects that are already under way will be allowed to continue," said International Development Minister Monique Landry.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia on Dec. 7, 1975, nine days after it declared independence from Portugal. Since then, an estimated 200,000 people -- or nearly a third of its pre-war population -- have died through violence, famine and disease.

Before making her announcement, McDougall met Monday with Jose Ramos Horta, the Australia-based chief overseas representative of the East Timorese resistance movement.

Ramos Horta, also a former official observer for East Timor at the United Nations, urged McDougall to stand up for human rights on his island.

Smuggled reports from East Timor indicate that since the Nov. 12 massacre, up to 500 more people have been rounded up and killed by the Indonesian armed forces, Elaine Briere, director of the Vancouver-based East Timor Alert Network, told Southam News.

According [to] Monday's statement from External Affairs, the results of an official inquiry into the Nov. 12 massacre and "the actions of the Indonesian government" will be taken into account during the next annual country-by-country review of Canada's total foreign-aid budget.

The Indonesian inquiry has been slammed by several governments and human rights organizations as a sham. The Indonesian military's high command has said it will not allow court martials.

The seven-man investigating team includes two retired generals, the chief Indonesian Foreign Ministry official responsible for countering international complaints about human rights abuses in East Timor and the inspector-general of the Indonesian armed forces. The other members are a top Justice Ministry official and two, East Timorese civilians.

REPORT: DEMO AT INDONESIAN U.N. MISSION DEC. 10.

by Charles Scheiner

On December 10, 17 demonstrators picketed and leafleted outside the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations in New York City from 1 to 2 pm. The peaceful demonstrators, carrying signs saying "Stop the Killing," "No More Massacres," "Indonesia out of East Timor," and "Stop U.S. Aid to Indonesia" also chanted and called out to passers-by.

Although press had been alerted, no media showed up. The Indonesian Mission, which had been asked a week earlier for a meeting at this time, was clearly bothered by our presence. Although they refused to let me in the door at 1:00, at 1:45 someone came out to invite me in, and I had a cordial conversation with a Third Secretary who gave me some press releases and explained that nobody there was authorized to discuss substantive matters. The Ambassador is

away until the 16th, and the ranking Minister/Counselor had decided to stay at the U.N. during the lunch break (not surprising, since she knew we were coming).

The picketers, who came from the Westchester People's Action Coalition (WESPAC), the War Resisters League, Mobilization for Survival, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, SANE/Freeze International Office, and other groups, are committed to further public action in support of East Timor and to pressure the U.S. government to oppose Indonesia's occupation.

The leaflet which was distributed had Anthony Lewis' "Realism and Evil" column on one side, and the following text on the other:

Today is International Human Rights Day.

There are no human rights for people in East Timor, which the Indonesian military has brutally occupied for sixteen years.

On November 12, the Indonesian army shot their U.S.-supplied M-16's into an unarmed, peaceful, memorial procession.

They killed over 100 mourners and severely beat several foreign journalists. Since then, they have killed and arrested dozens of witnesses. They still refuse to allow impartial international investigators into East Timor to see what happened.

Since 1975, Indonesia has been responsible for the deaths of 200,000 people -- one-third of the population -- in East Timor.

Their Mission to the United Nations is at 325 East 38 Street, New York City, 10016. Visit, write, or call them at 972-8333. Demand that they stop arbitrary murder and imprisonment of people in East Timor.

The United States provides Indonesia with \$50 million each year, including weapons and military training.

Our government has not questioned their occupation and genocide. Write Secretary of State James Baker III, 2201 C Street, NW, Washington DC 20520. Insist that the U.S. support U.N. resolutions calling for Indonesian withdrawal and internationally-supervised self-determination for East Timor's political future.

Our country needs money to help our own people, not to kill others far away.

Write your Congressperson at House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515, and Senators Daniel Moynihan and Alfonse D'Amato, Washington, DC 20510. Call them at (202)224-3121. Urge them to suspend all aid and weapons sales to Indonesia until East Timor is safe and free.

For more information, or to do more, contact:
Emergency Action Coalition on East Timor
PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.
(914)428-7299.

ORGANIZING U.S. -TIMOR SOLIDARITY GROUP

By Richard Koch, Dec.11.

I now have some more time, so let's get this group started.

First, a report on the demo at New York. About fifteen people showed up. We picketed and leafleted outside the Indonesian mission to the UN for about an hour. Prior to the demo, Charlie Scheiner had requested a meeting with the Indonesians but could not get a response. After about 45 minutes someone from the mission came out and asked for Charlie. Charlie talked to them for something like fifteen to twenty minutes but they didn't say much. He thought they were upset that we were having the demo.

I'm going to try to hold a meeting in New York City for the people who we've found who are interested in Timor. I'll post details once a time and place are set.

I'm about to start to make a bunch of suggestions about activities. I'm not trying to dictate, I'm only making suggestions. I'll check into setting up a mailing list to make communication between people easier. Some suggestions I'll make are probably very familiar to some people receiving this, but please bear with me since some people may not have much organizing experience.

First, I think we should have a name. Suggestions?

Try to find other people who are interested. Talk to your friends about Timor. Find organizations (or any place where people gather) where you think you may find sympathetic people, and ask to talk to them (there are also some videos available you could show). Good places to try are peace and justice groups (e.g. Amnesty International, Sane/Freeze, Central America groups), church groups (especially Catholic) and Portuguese groups. Many people who you will find sympathetic (maybe actively involved in other causes) have never heard of Timor. Don't expect to get the entire organization involved (but you can always try) but try to find individuals to join you, and always ask people to write to their congressman. Bring a fact sheet which you can hand out which includes basic facts about Timor, and an address and a phone number where people can contact you.

Try to place articles, letters to the editor, op-ed pieces etc. in newspapers, newsletters and magazines. In addition to daily newspapers look for alternative sources. It's usually very easy to get things in college newspapers. Churches sometimes have newspapers and magazines. I've been told (although I've never done it myself) that it's easy to get yourself on radio talkshows. When trying to place things in print media, it's usually easiest to get something published if you write it yourself. Also do not just send something to addressed to "The Anywhere News"; call up the newspaper

switchboard and ask for the name of the appropriate editor to send it to; make followup phone calls.

Hold a public meeting. Have a speaker or show a video. This is especially useful on college campuses.

Set up an information table in a public place. Make sure you have easily readable signs (with BIG lettering) that say things that catch people's attention; something like "Help Stop US bullets for Massacres in East Timor".

I mentioned before that lobbying Congress should be an immediate priority. There is someone in the Washington D.C. area who has been lobbying Congress for years on Timor. I'll be talking to him soon for advice on things like particular pieces of legislation to mention, Congressmen to target, etc. I'm sure he'll like some help.

I think we should put together a short resource list to assist in educating others and ourselves about Timor. Things like books, videos, speakers, publications, etc. I have a bunch of things I could already could put on such a list; I'm looking for other suggestions.

Distributing action alerts about particular human rights abuses in Timor. I know of some possible sources. Does anyone else have suggestions for reliable sources on information? I'd also appreciate if someone might be willing to coordinate distributing such alerts.

EAST TIMOR PROTEST IN GERMANY (TAPOL)

Ambassadors put on the spot

TAPOL report, 11 December 1991

The Technical University in Aachen has educated more than a thousand Indonesian engineers. Indonesia's Minister for Technology, Bachtaruddin Habibie, is a graduate from TU Aachen and is proud of his alma mater. Young Indonesians studying in Aachen with a Habibie scholarship have good prospects of a bright career after graduation.

On 4 December, a public meeting was organised at the TU Aachen on "Europe as a bastion, as seen by Indonesia and other developing regions". The main speakers were: Professor Korb from TU Aachen, a close associate of Minister Habibie, and two Indonesian ambassadors: Hasyim Jalal for Germany and Asmono Soeryo, the envoy to the European Community. Indonesian officials seldom 'go public' but speaking in Aachen was like being on home territory; the place is hospitable and the Indonesian students are staunchly pro-government. The room was packed with many sitting on the stairs. More than 50 Indonesian students were present.

But alas, the evening's discussion did not go well; the Indonesian ambassadors were asked many questions regarding the Santa Cruz massacre. Student Pastor Johannes

Kube said a discussion was needed, not one-way communication. Human rights activist Liem Soei Liong then raise the question of East Timor. The ambassadors were trapped and had no alternative but to respond. As is well known, Indonesian diplomats always refuse invitations to take part in discussions about East Timor but, here, the issue was forced upon them and they could not wriggle out.

The Bonn ambassador gave the official version of the government, making accusations against the Portuguese and against foreign non-governmental organisations alleged to have been 'involved'. The Timorese demonstrators were carrying weapons and had provoked the military, he said. "Be assured", said ambassador Jalal, "the investigation of the National Inquiry Commission will reveal the truth". Before sitting down, he said with confidence that nobody in the room had been present in Santa Cruz and could not make a proper assessment.

But unfortunately for the ambassador, Russell Anderson, an eyewitness, was present and stood up to introduce himself; many people wanted to hear his account. Much to the dismay of the Indonesian envoys, Russell Anderson went ahead, giving fact after fact, showing the version of Hasyim Jalal to be false.

From then on activists took over. Members from the ESG (Evangelische Studenten Gemeinde) student union decided to burn a hundred candles as a symbol of the Santa Cruz victims. A group of concerned Catholics protested about German arms sales to Indonesia and the Indonesian consensus started to crack as one student mentioned the killings of one million people in 1965 by the same government. A huge banner was unfurled bearing 60 names, gathered by Amnesty International, of East Timorese killed in the Santa Cruz incident.

Indonesian ambassadors will think twice before accepting an invitation to speak in public again.

MAASTRICHT VIDEO DEMO

IPS, Maastricht, Dec 11

Portuguese students found a novel way of illustrating the horrors of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor today, outside the European Community (EC) summit here.

Placing an enormous 302 square feet video screen a few hundred yards from the EC summit press center here, they showed film of Indonesian troops massacring unarmed protesters in a cemetery in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony, last month.

"We want to confront the population, the press and politicians in the EC countries with these shocking images," said Luis Miguel Palmeirin, a management student from Portugal.

"Europe must see what crimes Indonesia is committing in East Timor every day and do something about it: Cut off trade relations with Jakarta, withdraw aid and stop delivering arms."

Despite of the freezing cold most passers-by were stopped by the 6.5 yard high images of shooting soldiers and demonstrators stumbling over dead bodies.

Remarkably the newly founded "Movement of Students for East Timor" came up with the idea for their display only ten days ago. It cost \$10,000 to rent the enormous "jumbotron" truck borne mobile screen for a day, the money raised by donations from many Portuguese companies, politicians, students and individuals.

Ana Maria de Sousa Tavares, a student of psychology said: "many Portuguese feel guilty because after centuries of colonisation we left East Timor all of a sudden in 1975 and did nothing when Indonesia shortly after invaded the island.

Since 1975 200.000 Timorese out of a pre-invasion population of 800.000 have been killed. Last month EC foreign ministers issued a joint statement demanding an independent international inquiry on the killings in Dili in November.

The EC threatened unspecified "restrictive measures" against Indonesia if it failed to allow the inquiry. Jakarta has promised its own inquiry but few foreign states accept its objectivity.

The hopes of the students and the Timorese resistance are now set on the Portuguese, who take over the EC presidency on Jan. 1.

Though Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavacao Silva is careful about his responses to the issue, observers say that Portugal is operating behind the scenes.

Cavacao Silva reportedly wishes to avoid the impression that the matter is of concern to Portugal alone and wants a joint EC policy on East Timor. (ends/ips/hr/ms/trj)

TIMOR GAP TREATY TO BE SIGNED

(R. Australia 12/11)

Indonesia's Energy Minister is due in Australia in the next few days to sign exploration treaties for the sea-bed resources of the Timor Gap, which will be jointly exploited by Australia and Indonesia. Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said the agreements cannot be deferred. Evans repeated the Prime Minister's cue that the massacre in East Timor was not directed by the Indonesian state, but rather an aberrant action by certain elements in the army.

MILITARY "CONCESSIONS"

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 11):

East Timor's military commander said on Wednesday that better training for his men might have prevented them from killing civilians in the Indonesian-ruled territory last month.

"Maybe with (more) training it would have been a different situation," Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw said.

The Indonesian government says 19 died.

Challenged on that figure, Warouw said: "Until now I'm only 100 per cent sure that 19 are dead...Anybody can say 100, 1,000 or one million. I am just talking about the fact of 19."

He said "you have to provide the proof" when asked about reports that soldiers had buried many more victims outside Dili.

When asked his reaction to the troops opening fire on civilians, Warouw said: "The policy is no shooting, no shooting. (There were) no orders to shoot...yes, it was disappointing."

The men involved were experienced troops, some from the elite strategic reserve, and were among the best in the world, he said. But some had only had 10 days training in riot control before the shooting.

Warouw said that if the security situation improved in East Timor all the combat troops deployed in the region since 1975 to fight opponents to Jakarta's rule would be replaced.

Instead, Jakarta would send soldiers trained in what Warouw calls the "territorial approach" designed to win Timorese hearts and minds -- working with civilians to build roads, hospitals and schools in the impoverished territory.

He realised there was still resentment among young people against Indonesian rule, especially in Dili. "But Dili is not East Timor."

Two of the six combat battalions now in Dili will be replaced next year with those trained in the territorial approach implemented two years ago, Warouw said.

Training in this method will be extended for one year from the current six months. Tear gas and rubber bullets will become the main weapons in future for troops handling civilian unrest, he said.

One battalion of combat soldiers, some involved in the November 12 incident, started moving to Dili harbour on Wednesday morning, preparing to depart for its base in Western Java on Thursday, after being questioned by the government commission set up to investigate the incident.

The commission's head, Djaelani, said the investigations would end on Saturday.

Warouw disputed Carrascalao's charge that he was not in full control of all the military units in East Timor. And asked which side he would favour in the reported

split in Jakarta over whether to take a hard or soft line in East Timor, the 48-year old general said:

"I am the military commander here. I am responsible here for what the people do and for what the people don't do. I will not change my policies."

AID CUTS, 'NO EFFECT'

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 11):

The recent suspension of foreign aid by Canada and the Netherlands following the killings in East Timor will not effect the Indonesian economy, Indonesia's state minister for national development planning Saleh Afif said.

"Foreign aid from Canada and the Netherlands is only a fraction of the whole aid in the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), but let's just wait and see what kind of project loans will be suspended," Saleh Afif said.

IGGI is an international aid consortium on Indonesia which comprises 12 other industrialized countries beside Canada and the Netherlands.

"I don't know whether the aid suspension by both Canada and the Netherlands could affect other IGGI countries," Saleh Afif said.

THE GENOCIDAL BEGINNINGS OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO (GREEN LEFT)

By Norm Dixon, Dec. 11.

"He might be a son-of-a-bitch, but he's our son-of-a-bitch" - US President Franklin Roosevelt's description of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza also describes the attitude the west has taken towards Indonesia's President Suharto.

Suharto and his henchmen have been feted as defenders of the "free" world for decades. Human rights organisations have assessed his role far differently.

Earlier this year Amnesty International, in newspaper advertisements to mark its 30th anniversary, said: "In 1961 we believed, didn't we, that the world would never tolerate another genocide? Since then we've had Suharto, Pol Pot, Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein ... Between them [they] have executed and tortured to death more than a million people."

The United Nations Development Program ranks Indonesia 77th out of 88 countries in its index of human rights. In terms of official corruption, it ranks Indonesia, together with Zaire and the Dominican Republic, as the worst.

Suharto's bloodletting began in 1965 when he seized power. Indonesia had been experiencing a wave of radical agitation by peasants demanding the implementation of land reform laws passed by parliament.

Peasants, had begun to seize land. The powerful Communist Party (PKI), which was working closely with the then-president Sukarno, was growing rapidly. In August 1965, it had 3.5 million members and the mass organisations affiliated to it were supported by 20 million more.

The US government feared that revolution like that unfolding in south Vietnam was about to erupt in the world's fifth most populous nation.

Suspecting a US-backed coup attempt, a group of left-wing junior army officers calling themselves the "September 30th Movement" moved to head it off by kidnapping the generals they believed were involved in the plot. Six of the generals were subsequently killed (by whose hand remains unclear). Suharto and the military command seized the opportunity to launch a coup, take power and then drown the mass movements in blood.

With little evidence, Suharto accused the PKI of being the force behind the September 30th Movement. The Indonesian military and ultraright goons rounded up anybody with the vaguest association with the PKI, left groups and the mass organisations. Between 500,000 and 1 million people were murdered. Accounts of the carnage at the time sound like those that came out of Pol Pot's Cambodia a decade and half later.

Time magazine on December 17, 1965, reported that "Communists, red sympathisers and their families are being massacred by the thousands. Backlands army units are reported to have executed thousands of communists after interrogation in remote jails. Armed with wide-bladed knives called parangs, Moslem bands crept at night into homes of communists, killing entire families and burying the bodies in shallow graves.

"The murder campaign became so brazen in parts of rural East Java, that Moslem bands placed the heads of victims on poles and paraded them through villages. The killings have been on such a scale that the disposal of the corpses has created a serious sanitation problem in East Java and Northern Sumatra where the humid air bears the reek of decaying flesh. Travellers from those areas tell of small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies."

In Medan, north Sumatra, "For six months, no-one wanted to eat fish from the river because they often found human fingers inside the fish", said one resident in 1990.

In October 1990, the Jakarta weekly Tempo published a series of articles about the "1965 affair". One CIA document indicated the agency already knew in September 1965 of the plans to kidnap the generals.

The US was not just a passive observer of the carnage. Professor Gabriel Kolko has written that "no single American action in the period after 1945 was as bloodthirsty ... for the US tried to initiate the massacre, and it did everything in its power to encourage Suharto, including equipping his killers, to

see that the physical liquidation of the PKI was carried through ..."

Kathy Kadane of the States News Service in 1990 interviewed former US embassy officials who boasted of the help they gave Suharto and his executioners in the hunt for Indonesian communists. The officials told her they compiled comprehensive lists of PKI members, from top echelons down to village cadres. Over 5000 names were provided.

"It was really a big help to the army", said Robert Martens, a former Jakarta embassy official. "They probably killed a lot of people, and I probably have a lot of blood on my hands, but that's not all bad."

The murders continued for many years. In 1969, a journalist for Indonesia Raya wrote about central Java: "I got tired of writing down the names of villages where there were supposed to have been executions and burials ... There was an official who told me that the arrests had gone for a month from 27 July [1968]. When the prisoners had been collected, they took 75 away [to be killed] each night, in two lots. Later this became less and they only took away 75 prisoners every Saturday night."

A decade after the 1965 massacres, there were still at least 70,000 political prisoners held in hundreds of prison camps. The deaths rates in these camps were astronomical because of the harsh treatment and lack of adequate food and medicine. Prisoners were refused clothes, soap and bedding. Torture was widespread. Many prisoners were forced to do forced labour.

Amnesty International estimates that there are still at least 50 detainees from the 1965 period. Since 1985, 22 "PKI" prisoners have been executed after spending 20 years in jail. Amnesty believes eight more prisoners are in imminent danger of execution.

STUDENTS TO MAASTRICHT, MARIO SOARES SPEECH (PUBLICO)

Translated, digested, and forwarded by fmhv@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos):

NEWSPAPER: Publico Date : 11 December 1991

Six students from universities in Portugal went to Maastricht in order to make known what is happening in East Timor. They screened the film that shows the massacre in Dili's cemetery on a giant screen near the place where the Maastricht conference took place. They also contacted Dutch students. They were surprised by the general level of ignorance of the situation in East Timor.

Portugal's President Mario Soares spoke in the national assembly in commemoration of Humans Rights Day.

In his speech Mario Soares said:

"Timor will one day know freedom. I have no doubts about that." He also described the events in Dili's cemetery as "a crime against humanity."

He called Indonesia "a cruel invader with no respect for international law or human rights."

Generally, this was considered a very tough speech against Indonesia.

In other speeches, some members of the Portugal's parliament accused the United States and Australia of covering up the crimes of the Indonesian regime.

This session of Portugal's national assembly on Human Rights Day was dedicated to East Timor.

BBC ON THE TERROR IN DILI

Transcript of Claire Bolderson, the BBC's correspondent in Jakarta, interviewed on the BBC World Service, on 11 December, following a 4-day visit to East Timor:

CB: I'd say the atmosphere is really one of terror. The people are extremely frightened, particularly in Dili, the capital of East Timor, which is where the shooting took place. They're really very, very frightened there. They're convinced that if they talk to anybody - particularly to foreigners - they will be visited by the army, and in fact there is evidence of that happening. A woman I spoke to, not about political matters but just a casual conversation in the street, and she introduced me to her family - later that night she was visited by the army to ask what she was telling the foreigners. And that atmosphere goes all the way through Dili. People are very frightened, they don't know what's going to happen next. But they're very angry as well, and that's important because that's making them determined.

Q: How visible is the military presence in East Timor?

CB: Oh, it's extremely visible. There are many soldiers in Dili, there are checkpoints on all the main points out of Dili. There are checkpoints in all the big towns, I'm told - I didn't manage to travel very far this time, but I saw many soldiers myself. Within Dili itself, they're on every street, they're hanging around. There are trucks driving past, some with soldiers in them, some just military vehicles - they have military numberplates on them so you can tell. So you do feel very much that the military is there, it's making its presence known.

Q: You say you spoke to a lot of people. Did they say they wanted complete independence for East Timor, or would they just be happy with a greater degree of autonomy from Indonesia?

CB: It's very mixed, it's difficult to say. It's difficult to pin them down on how they

would like East Timor to be governed, what kind of East Timor they want. At the moment what they want is Indonesia out, that's what they're emphatic about, but beyond that, there doesn't seem to be very much that's firm in their minds. Some people say, well why doesn't Portugal come back and finish the process of decolonisation, because Portugal just upped and left in 1975, and they feel Portugal should really come back and govern them through a period of decolonisation. Some say what about another country - we could be part of another country while we decolonise and learn to stand on our own two feet. The thing they're absolutely clear about is that they don't want to be part of Indonesia - that's what they're emphatic about. And when I suggested that it perhaps was best just to take the army out of East Timor, that there was nothing wrong with the Indonesian government, they said no, what we have now is colonialism, and we don't want colonialism. We want to go through a process of decolonisation and stand on our own.

Q: And what kind of support did you find in the people that you spoke to for Fretilin, the guerrilla movement that has been fighting an armed struggle against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor?

CB: Well, there is support from some of the people, the young people in particular. It's difficult to tell what kind of connection they have with the Fretilin. Of course, the army says Fretilin masterminded the demonstration that took place during the memorial procession in Dili one month ago, which is where the shooting took place. They say the Fretilin was behind that. It's really difficult to say what connection Fretilin has with the people in the city, although it is possible to say that the young people really admire Xanana, the leader of Fretilin - they think of him as their leader. They carried flags with his picture on them during the memorial procession. So they do really feel some allegiance to him and his movement. Among the older people it's less clear. They really just want peace. They don't want any more trouble. They've been through civil war, they've been through an invasion by Indonesia, they've been through a lot of suffering, and they don't really want trouble. They just want peace.

Q: You've spoke of the fear, you've spoken of the terror that the Indonesian military inspires in East Timor. But has the Indonesian administration brought any kind of benefits at all to East Timor?

CB: Oh certainly, and those mustn't be ignored. And I do put that on all occasions to the East Timorese people. What the Indonesians have brought - and in particular through the army - is a fantas-

tic growth in the infrastructure of the province. They've really brought it from being a backwater to being on the way to becoming a modernised territory. They have paved roads, they've built hospitals, they've built schools, literacy rates have increased enormously. In those terms there are tremendous benefits from Indonesian rule, because the Portuguese did neglect it - there's no doubt about that. But the people say that's all irrelevant. We have these things but we're terrorised. Mentally we have no freedom, we're not treated as human beings, and that has now become more important to them, much more, than the fact that they can travel around their territory more easily, and that they can go to better hospitals and get better education. In a way that has been outdone, that's become irrelevant, because the people are so concerned about their own security, their personal security, and about their families, really.

JAPAN'S BISHOPS WRITE TO BISHOP BELO AND U.N.

Original documents, abridged

At a meeting of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan held on 12 December 1991, all three archbishops and 14 bishops of Japan signed a letter of condolence to Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church of East Timor. They also wrote to UN Secretary-General, Xavier Perez de Cuellar.

The letter to Bishop Belo said:

"We wish to express our great sorrow about this incident... and to convey our heartfelt sympathies to you."

On 20 November, a press conference was held in Tokyo by Father Stefani Renato, a priest from Nagoya Diocese. Fr Stefani who was in Dili on the day of the Santa Cruz massacre, "told everything he witnessed and heard from the people. He stressed how cruel the incident was because the Military fired on unarmed and helpless citizens."

After referring to the earlier incident at Motael Church where young people who demand self-determination were taking refuge, the bishops said:

"We wish that this right of self-determination which is the right of every nation and one that is guaranteed by the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be given back to the East Timorese through appropriate ways and means."

After reiterating support for Bishop Belo's call for a referendum in February 1989, and calling on the UN to carry out a thorough investigation of the massacre while doing its best to find a total solution to the question of East Timor, the bishops ended their letter:

"Japan occupied East Timor for three years and a half years during the

Second World War and destroyed its beautiful cathedral. We remember this crime committed by our nation and sincerely repent of this action. Because of this sad history we feel a very strong solidarity with you. We wish that freedom will be established as soon as possible in East Timor and pray for you and your people that our Mighty Lord will help you with all His great strength."

The letter to the UN Secretary-General expressed deep concern as an ecclesiastical community in the same Asia-Oceania region.

"Not only the church in Motael but many others throughout East Timor have been carrying out a humanitarian role in protecting the citizens whose fundamental rights have been and are continuing to be violated. Many of them have been in danger of losing their lives. The reason why the churches have acted in this way is because of the continuing violation of the various rights of the East Timorese people. In fact it was because of these violations that Bishop Belo felt compelled to ask you, in a letter in February 1989, to conduct a referendum in East Timor.

"We support this demand made by Bishop Belo and we plead with you to find a complete solution to the East Timorese problem. You expressed your intention to send a UN human rights specialists team to make a thorough investigation of this massacre. We strongly appeal that you quickly put this intention into practice so that there will be no more precious lives lost in East Timor."

MALAYSIA PUBLIC MEETING CONDEMNS MASSACRE

On 12 December 1991 the following press release was issued in Penang, Malaysia:

Participants at a public meeting last weekend signed a statement to President Suharto of Indonesia to condemn the East Timor massacre where a Malaysian student, Kamal Bamadhaj, was killed among 100 over casualties. The statement joined increasingly vocal international demands to ask for an independent international investigation into the massacre and all past human rights abuses in East Timor. The meeting on Dec 7 was held by friends of Kamal to commemorate the victims of the massacre as well as to join international observance of the 16th anniversary of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor.

The main speaker Mr. Ariffin Omar, also new President of Aliran, cited the example of Kuwait to show how the international community including Malaysia don't have to accept armed aggression against the national sovereignty of any country or people. The military occupation of East Timor by

Indonesia is reminiscent of Indonesia's past territorial attempt at Malaya and Malaysia before. The United Nations have so far refused to accede to the occupation of East Timor which has been condemned worldwide and brought about a tragedy of immense proportion. It has been estimated that 200,000 East Timorese or 1/3 of the East Timor population has perished since the military occupation beginning 1975, according to the speaker.

The meeting also resolved to set up a Kamal Bamadhaj Memorial Award to encourage Malaysian students and youth to live up to the ideal that Kamal had lived and dies for viz standing up for the human rights of fellow human beings irrespective of social or national boundaries. A committee has been set up to look into the setting up of such an Award.

Statement of Condemnation

To: President Suharto, Indonesia
December 7th 1991

Re: CONDEMNATION OF NOV 12th MASSACRE IN DILI, EAST TIMOR

We as concerned people and organisations in Malaysia who are committed to peace and justice in the South East Asian region, strongly condemn your Government over the massacre of over 100 unarmed civilians in Dili, East Timor, Nov 12, which involved a Malaysian student, Kamal Bamadhaj. On today, Dec 7 - 16th anniversary of Indonesian Army's occupation of East Timor we urge you to end the illegal occupation, as urged by United Nations' Resolutions No. 1514 & 1541 on East Timor, as a means to remove the root cause of the East Timorese' incomparable suffering....

We learned the massacre occurred at the end of a peaceful procession by over 3000 East Timorese through Dili, to commemorate the death of an East Timorese youth which happened two weeks before. Hundreds were injured, including foreign journalists, and hundreds more were arrested subsequently. This unfortunately represented only an episode in a long chain of brutal repression and terror campaign aimed at forcing the submission of East Timorese to Indonesia's occupation since 1975. We also learn that up to 200,000 East Timorese could have been wiped out through the military operations so far - either directly or through the widespread famine caused by it. This occurred while the rest of the population live in daily feat - testifying to the dismal failure of the 16 years of Indonesia's military policy in East Timor.

As a part of the peaceful and justice loving international community we cannot stand by such a long standing atrocity which happens in the proximity of our region. Therefore we join the international community and in support of the cries of

East Timorese, call upon your Government to:

1. invite a independent international investigation into the November 12 massacre as well as all previous human rights abuses in East Timor;
2. stop all transmigration program to East Timor so as not to threaten the demography of East Timor;
3. respect the rights of East Timorese to their natural resources by revoking the Timor Gap Treaty which ceded oil mining rights in Timor Sea to Australia;
4. begin an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all military units from East Timor as a first step to facilitate self-determination in East Timor.

[This statement was signed by lecturers of the Science University of Malaysia (USM) in Penang, individuals and members of Aliran]

'SECRET MASS GRAVES' SEARCH

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 12):

A government commission investigating the incident spent Friday in a hectic round of evidence gathering before it was due to return to Jakarta on Saturday.

It is still searching for secret mass graves reported to contain the victims but has not found any so far.

Commission members met officials of the International Red Cross and planned to visit the nearby town of Baucau to talk with Father Locatelli, a leading Roman Catholic priest in the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia invaded 16 years ago.

An independent foreign observer said the commission appeared to be sincere in seeking evidence though whether that would emerge in the final report was yet to be seen.

PORTUGUESE MEDIA DEC.12

Timor Gap Oil Explorations to Start (Publico)

Translated, digested, and forwarded by fmhv@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos):

NEWSPAPER : Publico (Lisbon): 12 December 1991

One dozen enterprises will begin exploration for oil in the sea off East Timor despite of the claim Portugal presented in the International Court of Justice. This claim considers the Timor Gap treaty made between Indonesia and Australia as illegal.

Among the twelve enterprises are Shell (Dutch and British), Chevron (USA) and Enterprise Oil (British).

Portuguese Unions mourn

The two Portuguese union federations organized today one minute of silence as a tribute to victims of Dili's massacre.

Portuguese Parliamentarians go abroad

Some members of the Portuguese parliament will travel to the USA and Canada in order to make clear what is happening in East Timor. The members of the Portuguese parliament will next travel to some European countries and Australia.

Resistance fears army threats

The East Timorese resistance is concerned with statements by Indonesian army leaders saying that they will exterminate the resistance after the conclusion of the inquiry into the events in Dili. The East Timorese resistance fears that this will mean another massacre of the civilian population.

Portuguese Ambassador meets Ghali

In New York, the Portuguese Ambassador has met for the second time with UN Secretary-General designate Butros Ghali. The Portuguese ambassador wants to know if the UN is still planning to send an inquiry commission to East Timor as outgoing Secretary General Perez de Cuellar announced.

SOEHARTO: TO HELL WITH YOUR AID

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Dec 12):

President Suharto said Indonesia would do without aid if donor countries tried to link it to the killing of mourners by soldiers in East Timor last month.

"We are not going to accept it at all if there are political preconditions," Suharto said in a televised news conference broadcast late on Wednesday.

"...if we get aid with a precondition that East Timor should be like this or that, we'd better not (take it). Because it is a violation of...our principles," Suharto told reporters on a flight back to Jakarta as he cut short a three-week foreign trip.

Diplomats speculated that one reason the president returned three days early was his need to deal with the international criticism over East Timor, which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

Indonesia, one of the fast growing economies of southeast Asia, relies heavily on foreign aid from the West, Japan and international agencies such as the World Bank.

Last year donors pledged nearly five billion dollars, and a similar amount is likely to be needed this year.

"If they don't give us any more aid we have to develop with our own capabilities," Suharto said.

Japan is the biggest donor but has made no public reference to the East Timor incident.

Diplomats say the issue is unlikely to affect assistance from Tokyo or from the two other major donors -- the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Many governments are waiting for results of an investigation by a government commission which is due to return to Jakarta from the former Portuguese colony at the weekend.

If the report is seen as a whitewash, there is likely to be strong reaction by several donors, diplomats said.

Suharto blamed much of the fuss on exaggerated reporting by the foreign press. "Indonesian stability was not disturbed...Everything is under control," he said.

"But the foreign reports, they were incredible. So that people link it to sanctions or whatever...I explained this to our friends...I showed them a map where East Timor is located. The tiny island called East Timor. That small thing caused everybody to make a fuss. And they all laughed."

"NO MORE BODIES?"

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 12):

An Indonesian commission probing last month's massacre by soldiers in East Timor searched for reported mass graves on Thursday but found no new bodies.

"We didn't find any corpses there," commission leader Djaelani (repeat Djaelani) said on Thursday, after checking sites where soldiers are said to have buried the dead.

The government commission ordered one of the victim's coffins to be dug up at Hera cemetery outside Dili where the military says the 19 who officially died are buried.

Wearing surgical masks to block the stench from the brown sand graves, each marked by one small rock, the investigators told soldiers to shut the coffin and asked watching journalists to put away their cameras and join a prayer service.

Djaelani said he would try to check every witness report before returning to Jakarta on Saturday after three weeks in East Timor. He expects to hand over a preliminary report to State Secretary Murdiono on Monday.

Some of the troops involved in the shooting on November 12, battalion 303, were given an emotional farewell by East Timor military commander Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw, on Thursday.

"I'm very proud of you. You have performed excellently, beyond what was expected of you," Warouw told the soldiers at a farewell ceremony at the end of their 10-month tour in the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia invaded 16 years ago.

A crowd of East Timorese watched silently outside the barred gates of the harbour as the troops filed into the ship to take them back to west Java.

SCHOOLGIRL DESCRIBES SLAUGHTER

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 12)

"What the soldiers did has lost Indonesia our generation," said a 13-year old East Timorese schoolgirl who was at the Santa Cruz cemetery when the firing took place.

She told Reuters she had gone after school to her grandmother's grave when a crowd of people surged towards the cemetery.

They were mostly teenagers from schools unfolding flags, others holding pictures, shouting "Viva, Viva" -- the chant of East Timorese wanting to break from Jakarta rule.

Troops suddenly appeared in two trucks, jumped down and began firing into the crowd from behind, before it had entered the cemetery, she said.

She ran to the middle of the cemetery and saw other teenagers jumping over the back walls to escape.

The soldiers then came up to the cemetery gate, put their guns through its holes and opened fire on those who had run in.

"They got a lot of the people. I saw one man standing near me shot in the back. He ran to the grave of Sebastiao, sat on it and began to cry."

The crowd on November 12 had been mourning the death two weeks earlier of Sebastiao Gomes, a separatist sympathiser killed in riots between pro- and anti-Indonesia factions.

She said she ran to the back walls and escaped from the cemetery after stepping around several teenagers lying on the ground with bullet wounds.

"Not many escaped from the cemetery," she said.

Her father, a member of East Timor's legislature, said he had reached the cemetery about 20 minutes after the shooting to search for his daughter and saw a military truck with bodies parked at the gate.

"I counted 50 people, mostly men. When I was there 35 bodies were put into the truck, 15 were on the ground." Another two trucks stood nearby but he could not see what was inside.

The huge crowd of about 3,500 people turned up mainly because of a broadcast by the military-run radio station in Dili, announcing the memorial service for Sebastiao, he said.

He shrugged his shoulders when asked why the military radio would make this announcement.

"Even Sebastiao's family did not want this," he said, adding that only relatives were told at church the previous Sunday to come to the memorial service at the cemetery.

INDONESIA LOSES 'CREDIBILITY'

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Sydney, Dec 12):

The Indonesian version of the massacre of mourners in the East Timor capital Dili a month ago has lost all credibility, the human rights group Asia Watch said on Thursday.

The New York-based organisation said the Indonesian version of events of the November 12 killings had been compiled from second-hand information.

"No soldier who was in the units which did the shooting has come forward to say why the troops opened fire," it said in a 29-page reconstruction of events surrounding the massacre.

Asia Watch put the death toll from the shooting at between 75 and 200, but added it could not confirm reports of subsequent killings by Indonesian troops.

It said that Indonesia's claims that the march on November 12 was a well-organised protest, involving the separatist organisation Fretilin, were correct.

However, Asia Watch described as implausible the Indonesian excuse that the shooting was sparked by a scuffle between protesters and troops in which two soldiers were stabbed.

"Even if the Indonesian account is accurate, these knifings took place almost an hour before the troops opened fire and in a very different part of Dili," the report said.

The report added that the troops involved in the shooting were different from those involved in the scuffle.

Asia Watch said the use of troops armed with rifles but no teargas to control a mass demonstration they knew would occur was "either a deliberate decision to use force or incompetence of the highest order."

Indonesian reports that a hand grenade was thrown at troops just before the shooting were misleading and did not justify a plea of self-defence, it said.

Asia Watch called for the immediate suspension of military aid and training to Indonesia until the Indonesian investigation -- an inquiry it said was not independent -- was completed.

It said that if the inquiry finds the military responsible then the ban should remain in place until people are prosecuted.

It also called for all troops on East Timor to be disarmed until an international investigation has been carried out.

TIMOR GAP OIL CONTRACTS LET

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Sydney, Dec 12):

Eleven production sharing contracts were approved for petroleum exploration in area A of the Zone of Co-operation in the Timor

Sea. Australian Resources Minister Alan Griffiths said.

Areas, operator, other interest holders and six-year commitments are:

91-01, Broken Hill Proprietary Co Ltd <BHP.AX> unit BHP Petroleum, <Indonesia Petroleum Ltd>, 5000 km seismic, four wells, 33.36 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-02, Royal Dutch/Shell Group <RD.AS><SC.L> unit Shell Australia Ltd, Chevron Corp <CHV.N> unit Chevron Asiatic Ltd, 2,500 km, one well, 11.8 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-03, Woodside Petroleum Ltd <WPL.AX>, Shell, BHP, British Petroleum Plc <BP.L> unit British Developments Ltd, 2,300 km, one well, 8.19 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-04, Woodside, Shell, BHP, BP, 2,300 km, three wells, 19.77 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-05 applicant withdrew, 91-06 and 91-07 no bids.

91-08 Petroz NL <PTZ.AX>, SAGASCO Holdings Ltd <SAG.AX>, 6,000 km, three wells, 28.5 U.S. Mln dlrs.

91-09 Enterprise Oil Plc <ETPL.L>, 4,500 km, three wells, 26.4 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-10 <Marathon Oil Co>, Santos Ltd <STO.AX>, <Korea Petroleum Ltd>, 4,000 km three wells, 21.48 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-11 Marathon, Santos, Korea Petroleum, 6,000 km, nine wells, 64.48 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-12 Petroz, Western Mining Corp Holdings Ltd <WMC.AX>, 6,000 km, six wells, 47.4 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-13 Phillips Petroleum Co <P.N>, Oryx Energy Co <ORX.N>, Hardy Oil and Gas Plc <HOG.L.L>, Bridge Oil Ltd <BRG.AX>, 7,500 km, seven wells, 58.54 mln U.S. dlrs.

91-14 Enterprise, Nippon Oil Co Ltd <5001.T>, 6,000 km, five wells, 42.4 mln U.S. dlrs.

Griffiths said the contracts would be executed within 30 days between the successful applicants and the Australia-Indonesia Joint Authority for the Timor Gap Zone of Co-operation.

The agreement was made at a meeting of the Ministerial Council for the Zone of Co-operation -- on which Australia and Indonesia each have two members -- attended by Griffiths and Indonesian Mines and Energy Minister Ginanjar Kartasasmita.

Griffiths said bids were received for 12 of the 14 contract areas in area A when bids were open between June 24 and October 7 but one applicant subsequently withdrew.

He said 55 oil companies, including some that previously held exploration interests in the area, lodged applications.

SOEHARTO CALLED 'SOFTIE'

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 12):

A former Indonesian security chief blasted President Suharto as being soft on countries that have cut off aid over last month's mass killings in East Timor.

The daily Suara Pembaruan quoted retired Gen. Sumitro as saying the President could have responded to foreign pressure with the words of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, "Go to hell with your aid."

Calling the shootings an internal affair, Sumitro accused major countries of returning to "neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism with threats and pressures to developing countries through their financial aid."

TOKYO HUNGER STRIKE

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Tokyo, Dec 12):

A small group of protesters began a sit-in and hunger strike on Thursday demanding that Japan take a tougher stand towards Indonesia over last month's army shooting of mourners in East Timor.

The protesters, numbering fewer than 10, sat in front of the Japanese Foreign Ministry with signs saying: "Indonesia, return the bodies (of the victims)" and "Japan, don't assist in East Timor massacre."

In the 30-hour action the demonstrators want Japan, the largest economic aid supplier to Indonesia, to suspend new assistance until Jakarta withdraws its troops from East Timor.

They also demand that Japan press for a United Nations fact-finding mission to be sent to East Timor.

MORE GRAVEDIGGING UNWITNESSED?

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (AFP, Jakarta, Dec 12):

An Indonesian team probing an army shooting in Dili last month had a suspected grave of one of the victims dug up Thursday.

Five of the seven members of the National Investigative Commission (KPN) visited a cemetery in Hera, near Dili, East Timor, where the military said it had buried 19 people killed in the November 12 incident.

The grave, picked at random, was dug up and the coffin opened briefly before it was reburied, while journalists looked on from a distance of about seven meters (23 feet), Antara said.

The KPN members stayed on at Hera while journalists were ordered to return to Dili, the agency added.

KPN leader Jaelani later told reporters that commission members had also visited

areas around Hera to look for signs of other graves.

Jaelani said the team had received information saying victims of the shooting were buried at five or six other sites in addition to Hera.

The Hera cemetery has been under military guard since the shooting.

Jaelani said that in the next two days, team members may visit several other sites where more victims have allegedly been buried, adding that journalists would be barred from covering those visits.

Two other members of the KPN went Thursday to the Dili police headquarters "to complete" previous investigations. KPN members said last week that they have interviewed the 26 people detained at the headquarters since the shooting.

TRIALS FOR 21 TIMORESE STUDENTS

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (AFP, Jakarta, Dec 12):

Police will next week hand over to the state prosecutors' office the cases of 21 East Timorese held since they demonstrated last month to demand self-determination.

Jakarta's Chief Detective Colonel Wagiman was quoted as saying the 21 would be charged with publicly expressing enmity, hate or insults toward the lawful government, punishable by up to seven years' jail under the Indonesian penal code.

Police were continuing their questioning, the *Suara Merdeka* daily reported.

The 21 students were among 70 who took to the street here November 19 to protest an incident in Dili, East Timor, a week earlier in which troops fired on an unarmed crowd.

They also called on the United Nations to pressure Jakarta into allowing a process of self-determination for East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which Indonesia unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976.

Wagiman said lawyers of the Legal Aid Institute, a leading Indonesian legal aid and human rights organization, would defend the 21 students.

AID CUT TO INDONESIA NOT ENOUGH, CANADIAN TIMOR SUPPORTERS SAY (ETAN)

Press release, East Timor Alert Network, 12 December 1991.

Supporters of East Timor are welcoming the decision of the Canadian government to cut \$30 million in aid to Indonesia in protest over human rights violations by the Indonesian military, but say the move does not go far enough.

"By cutting aid, (External Affairs Minister) Barbara McDougall has moved light years from Canada's previous support

for Indonesia," said Elaine Briere, national co-ordinator of the Vancouver-based East Timor Alert Network. "But McDougall still hasn't done any of the things East Timor is asking her to do."

On Monday, Jos Ramos Horta, special overseas representative for the East Timorese resistance, asked Canada to take a leading role in pressuring Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975 in defiance of international law. More than a third of the Timorese population has been killed since the invasion.

In a meeting with McDougall, Ramos Horta called on Canada to support an embargo on the sale of military equipment to Indonesia, support for United Nations resolutions that call for a free and fair act of self-determination for East Timor, and an international inquiry into a massacre of over 100 Timorese mourners at a religious procession in East Timor last Nov. 12.

Ramos Horta will be in Toronto tomorrow, Friday 13 December. He is available for interviews.

"Canada has been silent through 16 years of genocide in East Timor," Ms Briere said. "Canada should take action that Indonesia will have to listen to, both in international forums like the United Nations and by moving towards trade sanctions if the people of East Timor are not given their rights to choose their own future and live in peace."

CUT OFF ARMS TO INDONESIA (TORONTO STAR)

Toronto Star, 13 December 1991. Weekly column by Bruce McLeod, a United Church minister and president of the Canadian Council of Churches.

Two cheers for External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. Not three; but two good ones. Her November condemnation of Indonesia's cruel occupation of East Timor, together with this week's announcement suspending aid to the occupiers, ended 16 years of eloquent Canadian silence before a major human tragedy.

McDougall's refusal, however, to stop arms trading with Indonesia, and her pious hopes for an army-dominated "inquiry" into recent atrocities, leave Canada still lagging embarrassingly behind the international conscience on East Timor -- sadly, not an unaccustomed position. In 1975 East Timor, being decolonized by Portugal, was invaded by Indonesia. By 1982, 200,000 people (a third of the population) were killed or starved to death. Two years later, Canada, firmly joining hands with the oppressors, hosted an arms bazaar in Jakarta. Canadian-built engines power Indonesian army helicopters to this day.

Sixteen years of terror in East Timor were accompanied by growing Canadian business involvement with Indonesia. Over

300 Canadian companies operate there. Indonesian trade consistently balances in Canada's favour. Until this week, the Indonesian government was the third largest recipient of Canadian bilateral aid.

During this period, Canada's international indignation was saved for countries where we've less stake in the way things are.

Twelve times the UN, condemning the invasion, reaffirmed East Timor's right to self-determination. Twelve times Canada abstained or (more recently) voted against. As recently as September, McDougall said East Timor was a "fait accompli."

But then the Prime Minister's trumpeted announcement tying foreign aid to human rights was followed by the November massacres in East Timor. Over a hundred were slaughtered in a cemetery on Nov. 12.

Indonesian explanations that the army was provoked by "agitators" were blown away by irrefutable British television footage and eyewitnesses like The New Yorker's Allan Nairn. Nearly killed himself, Nairn wrote, "there was no provocation, no stones ... thrown. The soldiers is sued no warning. (They) simply shot several hundred unarmed men, women and children. They chased down young boys and girls and shot them in the back." Six days later, 80 Timorese witnesses were rounded up and killed beside a bulldozed grave.

The mask was off. World outrage demanded an independent UN investigation, and the ending of military trade. Our External Affairs Minister spoke out at last, and strongly; but she didn't go that far.

Her officials assured us Monday "no permits for the export of offensive military equipment to Indonesia have been issued" for two years. Canada screens arms exports, they said; "there's no reasonable risk any might be used against civilians."

But terrorized Timorese can't distinguish between their oppressors' offensive and defensive equipment. Worse, External Affairs never screens indirect exports through third countries (Garret Canada freely sends components, through the U.K., for Indonesian mobile missiles). Arms sales analyst Ernie Regehr reports "from 1988-90, 42.4 per cent of Canadian military (exports) went to countries engaged in frequent use of official violence against the public." To promote human rights in Indonesia, he says, choke off the arms trade first.

McDougall started with bilateral aid instead. Just starting deserves two cheers for raising Canada's voice at last. But write her; tell her don't stop now. Face down the weapons-makers' lobby, Barbara, quit arming Indonesia's military regime. Get Canada on the right side of UN resolutions on East Timor. Forget the local generals; call for independent investigations into November's atrocities. Keep us cheering; bring Canada's conscience back to world-class level at last.

DENMARK CUTS OFF NEW AID

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Copenhagen, Dec 13):

Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen has blocked new Danish aid to Indonesia because of a massacre of mourners by troops in East Timor a month ago.

Denmark, like other European Community members, will review plans for future development aid when the official Indonesian report on the killings has been completed, he told Denmark's Ritzau news agency on Thursday night.

"Our assessment will depend very largely on the Indonesian authorities' own reaction to the report," he told Ritzau. He said Denmark had already protested over the killings, along with its partners in the EC and the Nordic Council.

Denmark gives only small amounts of aid to Indonesia. Current projects include backing for the cooperative movement, a drinking water scheme and aid to training centres. Planned 1992 aid totals 25 million crowns (four million dollars).

Earlier this year Denmark froze aid to China in protest over Beijing's human rights performance, and halted aid to Kenya because it said corruption was diverting the cash.

PORTUGUESE MEDIA DEC. 13

Translated, digested, and forwarded by fnhv@minerva.inesc.pt (Fernando Manuel Vasconcelos):

NEWSPAPER : Publico 13 Dec. 1991

Commemoration in Santa Cruz cemetery

A source in the East Timorese resistance told the Portuguese news agency LUSA that the East Timorese people assisted yesterday in a religious commemoration 30 days after the massacre. The population then went to the Santa Cruz cemetery where they put flowers on the graves of the victims of the massacre.

Portuguese unions' minute of silence

The minute of silence organized by Portugal's two union federations had the following consequences:

- 1) Portuguese television and Portuguese radio stations ceased to broadcast for one minute.
- 2) The Portuguese parliament also observed the one minute of silence.
- 3) In some factories, alarms were sounded.
- 4) In some schools, students organized meetings. In Alcobaca [city in the center of Portugal], more than one thousand people gathered in front of the monastery with burning candles.

Portuguese Newspaper & Artists support Timor

The newspaper *Publico* is carrying out an original project. The newspaper invites artists to come to a spot where they make some drawings. Those drawings are then sold and the money goes to support the East Timor cause. The newspaper also sends faxes of these drawings to foreign governments, including presidents. Today the newspaper is sending the faxes to foreign newspapers.

AI Cannot confirm execution rumors

Amnesty International cannot confirm rumors regarding the imminent execution of five students who are prisoners on Bali. This allegation was reported by Joana Saldanha Ribeiro from Sydney who said that the students had already been sentenced and could be executed over the weekend. Jose Manuel Cabral from the Portuguese section of Amnesty International said that AI had no confirmation regarding any trials of those students.

Belo for Nobel Peace Prize?

NEWSPAPER : O Jornal. 13 Dec. 1991

Personal note: This is a weekly newspaper generally considered to be close to the Socialist party.

O Jornal is conducting a campaign to promote the idea of proposing Dili's Bishop Ximenes Belo for the Peace Nobel Prize. According to the newspaper, it has already received a number of lists of signatures, including the signature of former President of Portugal Ramalho Eanes.

DEATH IN TIMOR

Asiaweek December 13, 1991. Letter to Editor

To the editors of *Asiaweek*

The other day I attended a public debate in Lisbon on the work of a controversial architect. More than 1,600 young people from arts colleges were there, representing a wide variety of political opinion and cultural trends. In all this diversity, one thing drew everyone together: a minute's silence for the victims of the Indonesian military in East Timor.

A South African would describe me as a single white southern European male. But there are just two races in the world: those who have and those who have not.

As a Portuguese poet wrote at a time when my country was fighting one of its colonial wars, the tears of an African mother weeping for her dead child are as salty as any white woman's. I too feel the suffering of those who are in distress in Portugal, or who are hungry in India, or hit by natural disasters in the Philippines, or imprisoned in China for political beliefs, or oppressed in Timor.

Those who command world affairs should put aside hypocrisy (which they call diplomacy) and start helping the Timorese in practical ways. Like all other people, the Timorese should have the right to determine their own future.

After sixteen years it is clear that talking at the U.N. will not halt their extermination. We Portuguese may have to take some blame for the colonial period. But in those days, we ourselves were not free.

Rafael Prata
Lisbon, Portugal

ARMY DAMAGES INDONESIA IMAGE

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (Reuter, Dili, Moses Manoharan, Dec 13):

A senior intelligence officer said Jakarta had ignored warnings of a planned demonstration in East Timor last month which resulted in a massacre when soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners.

"We had warned long before November 12 that a demonstration was planned, but no one listened," the intelligence officer, who asked not to be identified, told Reuters on Thursday night in the East Timor capital of Dili.

"But we did not anticipate such a big demonstration."

An Indonesian military analyst criticised the East Timor army for allowing the crowd to get so large in the first place.

Efforts by Indonesia to establish its credentials as a major voice in the Third World have been severely damaged by the killings.

"They have handled it badly," said one Asian diplomat who criticised subsequent hardline comments by military commander-in-chief Try Sutrisno that he would wipe out anyone wanting to break from Indonesian rule.

His comments only worsened the image of Indonesia as run by a brutal military, he said.

THERE MUST BE AN INDEPENDENT TEAM

Editor. 14 December 1991.

Yet again, East Timor is the cover story in this week's edition of the Jakarta political weekly, Editor.

In its introduction to an interview with Australia's Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, the journal points out that in an interview in the previous week's issue, Prime Minister Bob Hawke said that there is no need for a special international investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre. Now, however, the Australian government has changed its mind. The following interview with Gareth Evans was conducted over the phone by Editor correspondent, Francis Song:

Q: What is your opinion about the 12 November affair?

A: We have proposed that the UN should send an investigation team to East Timor. This is very important. The truth and the facts must be brought to light. If the Indonesian Armed Forces do not feel guilty and did not violate human rights, they should agree to a UN team (of investigation). It would be a different matter if the UN were to want to cover up things that have been concealed. If its true that ABRI is not at fault, there should no question about anyone investigating.

Q: Will Australia play a role in this matter of an investigation team?

A: The UN Commission has already appointed Amos Wako to carry out an investigation into the bloody incident in Dili. We will give our full support to the discharge of this UN duty. We are ready to help.

Q: Prime Minister Bob Hawke said last week that there was no need for an international team and that he would wait for the results of the national team.

Q: After examining the matter again, we feel that the national team is not 'fair' [English word used]. It must be an independent team. The Australian government is not only concerned about the 12 November Affair in Dili; we are concerned also about reports of human rights violations, including charges of torture.

Q: What is the aim of your visit to Jakarta next week?

A: To discuss the possibility of re-opening a consulate in Dili. [The consulate was closed in 1971.] I will propose that Indonesia should agree to the proposal about a UN team. This idea also has the support of the countries of Europe. We'd like to be the mediator. We want to cooperate. This week, Minister Griffiths [Australian Minister for Resources] and Minister of Mines, Ginandjar Kartasasmita, will sign an agreement for 12 Australian companies to carry out exploration for oil and gas in the Timor Sea.

VATICAN ENVOY IN DILI!

Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia(Reuter, AFP, Dec 14):

An envoy of Pope John Paul II has arrived in the East Timor capital of Dili for a three-day visit but declined to disclose the purpose of his stay.

Vatican envoy Monsignor Giovanni de Andrea arrived on Friday, the leading Kompas daily said. It quoted an East Timorese priest, Alberto Ricardo da Silva, as saying the envoy's visit was purely a "pastoral mission" and in no way linked to the shooting in Dili on November 12.

De Andrea was met at the airport by East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenez Belo and two other clergymen and was immedi-

ately whisked off to the Lahane seminary, the Jakarta Post said. They declined to comment on the visit.

The Jakarta Post cited sources close to Belo as saying that de Andrea came to get first hand information on the November 12 incident when troops shot into a crowd killing 19 people according to the official count.

The Berita Buana daily said the envoy had already been briefed on the Dili shooting by KWI Chairman Bishop Darmaatmaja in Jakarta where he spent three days before flying to East Timor.

CAMPAIGN TO RELEASE 52 EAST TIMORESE DUE TO GO ON TRIAL (TAPOL)

TAPOL has today (Dec. 14) written to Prime Minister John Major, calling on the British Government to intercede for the release of 52 East Timorese due to go on trial shortly.

TAPOL calls on all solidarity groups to join us in a campaign to secure the release of these East Timorese.

TAPOL's letter to John Major reads as follows:

Dear Mr Major,

We appeal to you as Prime Minister to intercede with the Indonesian Government on behalf of fifty-two East Timorese who are to be brought to trial on charges which relate to their support for East Timor's right to self-determination. We urge you to call for their immediate release.

Twenty-six of them are in detention in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The Dili prosecutor's office says they were "involved" in the demonstration which took place in Dili on 12 November. This was a peaceful demonstration to commemorate an East Timorese killed by Indonesian forces two weeks earlier, and to express opposition to Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor. That demonstration ended in a bloodbath at the Santa Cruz cemetery, when Indonesian forces opened fire, killing up to 200 people and wounding many more.

Eight will be tried for "subversion", a charge which carries a possible death sentence. The other eighteen will be tried for "criminal" offenses. Yet, while these people will go on trial, nothing has been done to bring to justice those in the army who were responsible for the massacre.

Another four to go on trial are East Timorese students under detention in Bali; all are students at Udayana University, Denpasar. They too may be tried for "subversion". According to press reports, preliminary investigations sought to prove that they maintained contact with Dili, Lisbon and London to inform the outside world of human rights abuses in East Timor. The authorities also claim to have found grenades and anti-Indonesian posters in their homes. But the searches took place without

warrants; nor were the accused or any lawyers present to confirm any findings.

The remaining twenty-two are East Timorese students from a number of Indonesian universities who took part in a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November when they protested against the Santa Cruz massacre and called on the United Nations to arrange for an act of self-determination in East Timor. Besides demonstrating outside the UN office, they planned to visit several foreign embassies, including the British embassy, but were prevented from doing so by the police. Another forty-nine arrested during the demonstration have been allowed home and are under house-arrest.

The very fact that the authorities will lay charges against the 52 detainees underscores the irrelevance of Indonesia's Commission of Inquiry which has not yet submitted its report and recommendations. The authorities appear to have made up their minds already about where the "guilt" lies.

TAPOL firmly believes that there are no grounds for any of these East Timorese to be tried. They were all engaged in lawful pursuits and should be released without delay. It would be wrong to argue that these trials should proceed on the grounds of due process of the law. They are political trials and cannot be justified on any grounds. There is no reason to believe that the trials will be fair. Already, there have been violations of Indonesia's procedural code; for instance, far from allowing them unhindered access to legal assistance, all fifty-two detainees have been held in incommunicado detention.

The British Government has made it clear that it does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. These East Timorese will go on trial because they refuse to accept annexation. It is therefore appropriate for your Government to intercede on their behalf and call for their immediate release.

In light of the fact that the Council of Ministers of the European Community has issued a number of statements on East Timor, a copy of this letter in being sent to the Dutch Presidency, in the hope that the EC will also respond to this appeal.

The names of the detainees in Jakarta and Bali are appended to this letter; nothing is yet known about the identities of the detainees in Dili.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

WHICH HEADS WILL ROLL?

by peg:dbourc Sunday 15 December 1991

Well placed sources in Jakarta said today that the Commander of the Armed Forces General Try Sutrisno will shortly be removed from office in the wake of the international uproar over the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili.

The decision is said to have been taken as a result of strong pressure from the United States administration, which has been pressing Jakarta for a firm response to the massacre. Once Try Sutrisno has been removed, the United States and its allies would consider Indonesia's response as adequate and say no more about the massacre.

If this is true it would indicate severe tension at the top levels of government, which would in turn open the way for a potentially explosive shakeup among the senior brass. But such a move would seem out of character, especially since it could so easily be perceived as a response to foreign pressure. It would go against the spirit of Suharto's recent statements about the massacre. Suharto has publicly scoffed at foreign concern over the massacre and has said that he will reject any foreign aid which is conditional on Indonesia responding to the Dili massacre. Although Try Sutrisno is not popular in the army, he has built a network of political clients during his time as Commander and it would seem suicidal for Suharto to sacrifice him at a time when he needs all the allies he can get.

Several commentators have suggested that it would be easy for Suharto/the Commission of Inquiry to throw a couple of low ranking officers to the lions for appearance's sake. But this might not be as easy as it sounds. The importance of the notion of 'kesatriaan' [soldierliness/chivalry] in Indonesia's 'military culture' should not be underestimated. The West Javanese 303 battalion, according to Sintong Panjaitan (Editor 7 Dec), enjoys a very good reputation. Only four months ago it is said to have captured a senior Fretilin commander at Emera near Dili.

To blame the massacre on the 303 troops would be to suggest that their commander, Lt Col Asril, was not in control. To blame Lt Col Asril would be to sacrifice the leader of a battalion for doing what is widely conceived of as being his duty. If we take Try Sutrisno and Sintong Panjaitan's account as the established 'truth' of the massacre then the 303 battalion only did what would be expected of any battalion. Try Sutrisno has in a sense made it impossible for any of the local military involved to take the blame without himself losing face.

Who else could get the chop? Perhaps the East Timor commander Brig Gen Warouw is the most likely candidate, even though the massacre was not his style and he was reportedly with the United Nations envoy Kooijmans at the time. Sintong Panjaitan? He might be an attractive candidate, as he is thought of as a Murdani man and a key contestant (against Suharto's preferred candidate Kostrad commander Wismoyo Arismunandar) for the strategic position of Deputy Army Chief of Staff. But this would also be difficult, because Sintong is celebrated in military circles as a highly

competent and ruthless commando - best known for his dramatic storming of the hijacked Garuda at Bangkok airport in 1981. Moreover, although Sintong is in charge of the Udayana area command which covers East Timor, he has recently pointed out (Editor 7 Dec) that 303 is not an Udayana battalion. Battalion 303 is under Kostrad, and therefore the ultimate responsibility of Wismoyo Arismunandar, the hardliner Suharto is said to favour as Indonesia's next president. Suharto's choice will not be easy.

TRY SUTRISNO IN PERIL?

*Written 9pm 15 December 1991 by
peg:dbourc, Melbourne*

Rumours are this evening rife in Jakarta that Try Sutrisno will indeed be removed.

Suharto is said to be in a very tight position, primarily because his economists are unable to formulate a budget for next year. Normally the budget is passed down in early January. In the wake of the Dili massacre however, and before the Commission of Inquiry delivers its report, there is no certainty how much foreign aid will be forthcoming. The budget situation is even more uncertain due to intensifying domestic pressure to abandon the controversial SDSB lottery, which is believed to be a significant source of indirect government revenue.

A meeting of IGGI (the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia) due to be held in Japan this week has been postponed for one week.

Faced with such uncertainties, Suharto may have decided that Try's sacrifice as the price he has to pay to guarantee Indonesia's financial stability.

If Try is removed, a host of questions arise. On what grounds could he be removed? What will his supporters, such as Major General Arie Sudewo, (the key person in the powerful strategic intelligence body BAIS) have to say about it? How many other important political clients does he have? How will it affect Suharto's own chances of survival? What might the political crisis mean for Timor?

TIMOR GAP CONTRACTS DENOUNCED (IPS)

*Excerpt by Task Force Indonesia (IPS,
Lisbon. Dec 15):*

Portuguese analysts have denounced Indonesia and Australia for signing contracts with 12 companies for the exploitation of oil in the Timor sea, even if the territory is legally still under Portuguese authority.

They pointed out that the United Nations never recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1975 and had given Portugal the mandate to administer its former colony until the holding of a referendum on the island's independence.

Analyst Antonio Sampaio said the signing of the contracts yesterday had been done "in an atmosphere of great mystery and secrecy."

"Despite Portugal's appeal before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, companies from the European Community, the United States, Japan and Australia are preparing to exploit one billion barrels of crude from the Timor Sea," said international analyst Adelino Gomes.

At the start of an official visit to Jakarta yesterday, Australian Industry Minister John Button said Canberra would avoid possible sanctions on Indonesia as requested by Portugal. "Australia has to consider its business and economic interests in Indonesia," he explained.

EAST TIMOR: THE NOVEMBER 12 MASSACRE AND ITS AFTERMATH (ASIA WATCH REPORT)

1. Introduction

On November 12, 1991 in Dili, the capital of East Timor, anywhere from 75 to 200 people are estimated to have been killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on a demonstration. The demonstrators were calling for the independence of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony of some 700,000 people on the eastern half of the island of Timor, off the north Australian coast. As of mid-December, the situation in East Timor remained tense with hundreds of people still not knowing whether their missing relatives were detained, in hiding, or dead. One local source reported that the atmosphere of fear and terror was worse than at any time since the 1975 invasion. There were reports of ongoing arrests and killings, but no international commission of inquiry had been put together to investigate them. Even a month after the massacre took place, the need for such a commission remains urgent. In this report, Asia Watch evaluates conflicting versions of the massacre and its aftermath and recommends measures which governments could take to try to ensure that the violence is stopped, a thorough inquiry is undertaken and those responsible for the killings are brought to justice.

2. Lead-up to the Demonstration

The political atmosphere in Dili had been highly charged in the months leading up to the planned visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation, and became even more so in the weeks just prior to its scheduled November 4 arrival. In an interview published in the Portuguese newspaper, *Publico*, on October 22, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the outspoken bishop of Dili, said that Indonesian authorities were warning East Timorese not to take part in demonstrations or say anything to members

of the delegation; if they did, they would be killed after the deputies left. Belo called for an international force to monitor the situation after the delegation left. Other sources have reported widespread intimidation of the populace prior to the visit.

At the same time, it was clear that those active in the resistance movement in East Timor, consisting not only of the armed Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente, or Fretilin, but the two other pre-1975 political parties as well, had been planning to use the Portuguese visit as a way of demonstrating their opposition to Indonesian rule in full view of the international media.

As it turned out, the delegation's visit was "suspended" by the Portuguese government on October 26, after the Indonesian side refused to allow an Australian journalist, Jill Jolliffe, to take part in the Portuguese press contingent, calling her a "Fretilin crusader." Many sources say the decision not to come left many of the young activists in Dili feeling frustrated and exposed. They decided, these sources say, to use the visit of Pieter Kooijmans, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture who planned to visit East Timor on November 10-12 as the focal point for a demonstration. If the resistance could not use the Portuguese parliamentarians and accompanying journalists to get their message across, it would focus on another international figure.

But the day after the suspension of the Portuguese visit was announced, October 27, the situation took a sudden turn for the worse. A mass had taken place as usual that Sunday at the San Antonio church in the Motael area of Dili, a church which had been used as a refuge by some activists since a wave of arrests in October-November 1990. About midnight, according to one source, the sound of motorcycles began to be heard; by 1 a.m. on October 28, a group of Timorese on motorcycles in civilian clothes were riding by the church, throwing stones and shouting insults. It was as if the church were under attack, according to one observer. Some of the youths living in the church went outside to fight the cyclists. A fight broke out, and shortly after 2 a.m., soldiers and police arrived, fully armed, then reportedly opened fire and stormed the church. One of the resistance activists, Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, 18, was shot dead just outside the church. One of the men on the other side, part of what one witness called the "assault force" on the church, was stabbed to death. His name was Afonso Henrique, 30, who was married with four children. At least two other participants in the clash are said to have been seriously wounded when the military opened fire.

The security forces then entered the church and took away 40 youths for questioning. Of these, 18 were kept in custody (no one from the "assault force" is known to have been arrested and it is widely believed

that the motorcyclists were working in tandem with the military in a planned attack on the church.) As of the end of November, some seven remained in a police lock-up in Dili.

Soldiers also began searching the church and the homes of church staff, finding what they said were anti-government documents, Fretilin banners, knives, Portuguese flags and brochures. Church sources said all of the material confiscated was found not in the church itself but in the home of domestic staff on the church grounds.

The assault on the church was reported on Indonesian television news later on October 28 with the broadcaster saying that two people had been beaten up and killed by "anti-integration" youth. Governor Mario Carrascalao was quoted in the Jakarta newspaper, Berita Buana, as saying youths against integration had hit "passers-by who backed East Timor becoming part of Indonesia. 'I think they wanted to show their disappointment. They are frustrated because the Portuguese did not come to visit.'" The government version accused the youth inside the church of "initiating the brawl" and later indirectly blamed the church for harboring political activists. An army spokesman in Jakarta, Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, said on October 30 that the military was investigating links between the Catholic church in Dili and Fretilin. Bishop Belo, who arrived on the scene of the shooting at the Motael church shortly after it happened, condemned the military action and said of the army, "They are treating our church like the enemy."

The Bishop later gave his own account of the incident in a letter he sent to Portugal; his account is appended as Appendix 1.

The November 12 massacre occurred following a mass to commemorate a period of 14 days after the funeral of Sebastiao Gomes Rangel who was buried in the Santa Cruz cemetery on October 29.

3. The Massacre

All versions of the massacre more or less agree on the basic chronology of November 12. At about 6 a.m. people began gathering for a mass at the Motael Church which had been announced over the radio. When the mass was over, they began to march down the street carrying pro-independence banners and flags. When they reached the district military command, it is not clear whether one group planned to turn toward the Hotel Turismo where UN Special Rapporteur on Torture Pieter Kooijmans was staying, but in any case, the way was blocked by security forces and the marchers turned the corner to head for the Santa Cruz cemetery. It was at this point that a scuffle took place between a small number of demonstrators and security forces in which two soldiers were stabbed. The marchers proceeded on to the Santa Cruz cemetery to lay flowers on the grave of Sebastiao

Gomes. A large group of demonstrators were already waiting outside the cemetery for the marchers to reach them. After the two groups had joined and people were milling about in and around the cemetery, some of them standing on the cemetery walls and shouting slogans, additional troop reinforcements arrived. Their arrival, about 8:00, apparently caused some panic on the part of the demonstrators, some of whom ran out of the cemetery to the streets. Troops opened fire and killed a still unknown number of people. Most estimates range between 75 and 100. Bishop Belo estimated that 180 were killed, and some estimates were over 200.

4. The Public Accounts

The killings have sparked two very different public versions of events. Foreign eyewitnesses, all of whom were at or near the Santa Cruz cemetery when Indonesian troops opened fire, report that a peaceful march to commemorate the death of a pro-independence activist, Sebastiao Gomes, had ended at the cemetery and people were milling about when, without warning or provocation, Indonesian troops began shooting into the crowd. The Indonesian government version is that elements of Fretilin, the armed independence organization, deliberately organized a mass political demonstration using the pretext of a mass for Gomes to do so, stabbed an Indonesian army officer, then lobbed a hand grenade into the crowd, causing the Indonesian army to open fire in self-defense.

The Indonesian version, with numerous variations depending on which government official or army officer is speaking, seems to be based on a single, detailed report prepared shortly after the shooting took place. Asia Watch has appended a translation of key excerpts from this report as Appendix 2. The report appears to be from the perspective of someone who was gathering facts from subordinates; it is not an eyewitness account. We have obtained one eyewitness account in a mixture of Tetun and Portuguese from an East Timorese, a member of the resistance, who took part in the demonstration; the account has not been made public. No soldier who was in the units which did the shooting has come forward to say why the troops opened fire. This leaves the only public sources as foreign eyewitnesses, whom the Indonesian government has tried to discredit because they were journalists traveling on tourist visas and therefore flouting Indonesian laws, and the anonymous official report which reconstructs which troops moved where and why. There is also the crucial visual evidence in the form of a videotape shot by Yorkshire television in the cemetery during and just after the shooting.

The original official account has been distorted as it is repeated by officials increasingly further in distance and rank from the soldiers who did the shooting. The

ultimate distortion was Commander of the Armed Forces General Try Sutrisno's statement on November 27 before a parliamentary hearing: "It was a dangerous mob and forced the soldiers to take strong measures... [Foreign reports] said it was a peaceful demonstration. What peaceful demonstration? It's bullshit...".

If the original account is compared with eyewitness reports, however, it becomes clear that it is possible for many of the allegations in the Indonesian version to be true without in any way discrediting the eyewitnesses or lessening the culpability of the Indonesian army for excessive use of force, at best, or deliberate execution of civilians, at worst. The Indonesian version makes the following points:

a. The demonstration was planned by GPK (the Indonesian acronym for "gang of security disturbers", a catch-all phrase for independence supporters) to take place during a visit by Portuguese parliamentarians scheduled for November 4. When the visit was "suspended" by the Portuguese government, activists decided to focus the demonstration around the visit of Kooijmans and used a memorial mass for Sebastiao Gomes as the pretext.

On this point, the Indonesian interpretation seems largely correct. Sources in Dili confirm that the demonstration was planned for the Portuguese visit, that young people had gone to great risk to make banners and other preparations, and that elements of Fretilin were involved in the reorganizing of the protest for November 12 to coincide with the visit of UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Pieter Kooijmans. It is also clear that large numbers of East Timorese took part of their own volition, especially as the mass for Gomes was announced over the radio, according to Governor Mario Carrascalao in an interview with Kompas, the Jakarta daily, on November 16 as well as other sources.

It may have indeed been disingenuous for some press accounts to suggest, as some did, that the march was nothing more than an outpouring of sympathy for a youth killed by Indonesian forces two weeks earlier. But whether the march was planned long in advance or not, whether Fretilin had any role in organizing it, is ultimately irrelevant to the use of force by Indonesian troops. The only relevant question is whether the marchers posed a security threat to Indonesian troops, and as will be seen below, there is no evidence to suggest they did.

b. The brutality of the marchers and their violent intent was demonstrated when they stabbed Major Gerhan Lantara, deputy commander of Battalion 700 and an East Timorese soldier, Private Domingus. They also threw stones at the Dili branch of Bank Summa (owned

by a prominent Chinese financier) and at the old police station (Polwil Lama).

The East Timorese who wrote down his account of the demonstration says that he himself witnessed the stabbing of the Timorese soldier. The incident took place in a scuffle in front of the district military command (KODIM No.1627) as security forces tried to take banners and posters away from a group of marchers. He says a "hot-blooded" demonstrator, angered by the soldier's actions as well as by the fact that he was a Timorese working for the Indonesian military, pulled a knife and stabbed him.

We have as yet no eyewitness accounts for the stabbing of Major Gerhan, but the Indonesian account charges that it took place in the same scuffle. A local government official in East Timor was quoted in the Jakarta newsweekly Editor as saying Gerhan was stabbed only after he slapped a woman marcher. An official account, published in the newspaper Jayakarta, noted that the officer was wearing civilian clothes at the time, suggesting he may have been in intelligence. Even if the Indonesian account is accurate, these knifings took place almost an hour before the troops opened fire and in a very different part of Dili. (The Indonesian report says the stabbing occurred at 7:20, the shootings at 8:10). The troops present when the firing started were from different military units than Major Gerhan, and it is not even clear that they knew about the stabbing. If they did not, then the knifing cannot have "provoked" them to shoot; if they did know and they deliberately opened fire in retaliation, then shooting on the crowd is not so much responding to provocation as wreaking vengeance, and the deaths are still wholly inexcusable.

c. When troop reinforcements arrived at the cemetery and some of the thousands gathered there tried to run out, a stray shot rang out and someone lobbed a hand grenade that did not explode into the crowd. The army was convinced it was under attack and opened fire.

First, if the army command knew its troops would be confronting thousands of people they wished to disperse, they should have been equipped with tear gas, not guns. There have been enough demonstrations in East Timor in recent years, and enough expectation of a major one during the Portuguese parliamentary visit, that a supply of non-lethal methods of crowd control should have been an elementary precaution. Since the Indonesian report acknowledges that officials believed such a mass demonstration was planned, the fact that they sent troops with guns shows either a deliberate decision to use force or incompetence of the highest order.

Second, none of the eyewitnesses can recall hearing a single shot before the volley of gunfire started. If there were such a shot, it is far more likely to have come from one of the hundreds of armed soldiers than from the crowd at the cemetery whom eyewitnesses attest had no firearms of any kind. The same Indonesian report, indeed, which mentions the shot, notes that it was impossible to tell where it came from or who fired it.

The report of the hand grenade is also misleading. The official report says, "A hand grenade was thrown in the direction of officials." It does not say where; the implication was that it was in the middle of the crowd by the cemetery. But according to the Associated Press, Bishop Belo in a letter on November 18 indicates that someone lobbed a grenade at the local police station, not in the midst of troops at the cemetery. There have been no other reports to substantiate the grenade-throwing at all. Certainly the Indonesian version does not justify the army's plea of self-defense.

The Indonesian version has become wildly distorted in subsequent statements by officials, however. The army spokesman, Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro was quoted in the November 23 issue of Tempo as saying of the demonstrators, "They just charged like that, throwing grenades." And a statement issued by the Indonesian embassy in Washington, DC on November 17 says, "Instead of responding positively to the appeal [no indication of what appeal] and persuasion of the police and security officers, the crowd became even more violent and started to attack the police and security officers, resulting in the death of a security officer." No such death occurred.

Another explanation for why the troops opened fire, quickly abandoned by officials perhaps because it acknowledged fallibility, was that a junior officer shouted "Don't shoot," and the order was misinterpreted for its opposite. "It was a misunderstanding by the soldiers, and they shot because of the tension," General Warouw was quoted as saying. He said at the same time that there would be no courts martial. Such a "mistake" would at least explain why eyewitnesses reported the methodical way in which the troops took aim and fired, at odds with a situation of mayhem or pandemonium that might lead a trigger-happy soldier to shoot. The alternative, of course, is that someone very deliberately gave orders to shoot to kill.

One question is why the firing apparently went on for so long. General Warouw, in an interview on November 19, acknowledged that the soldiers could have fired for up to ten minutes but said

he did not think ten minutes was too long.

- d. Various weapons, including three hand grenades, a Mauser pistol and a shotgun were found in the cemetery, indicating the crowd was armed.

Weapons are easy to plant, and there has been no evidence brought forward thus far by the Indonesian government to indicate when or by whom the guns and grenades were left in the cemetery, if indeed they were. But even if Indonesian soldiers searching the cemetery after the massacre did find the arms, one could not conclude that therefore the marchers intended violence or that it was not a peaceful march. The shooting took place before the arms were found; there can be no justification for opening fire based on what was found after the killings had already taken place.

5. Troop Movements

From the Indonesian account, it is clear that there were security forces already stationed at Santa Cruz cemetery. As the crowd grew larger, reinforcements were called in, with one platoon from the mobile police brigade (Brimob) and one company each from army battalions 303 and 744, both combat units normally stationed outside Dili. One interesting question is who ordered that those reinforcements be sent in, since according to the Indonesian account, they were not called until 7:50, by which time General Warouw was presumably already in his meeting with Professor Kooijmans.

According to eyewitness accounts, there were hundreds of armed troops following behind the marchers. It was after the marchers were already at the cemetery that the reinforcements arrived. The Brimob troops arrived in two open vans; they carried batons and riot shields but not guns. The two army companies, however, were not only armed, but the names on their jackets were covered over, according to one source. They were reportedly followed by an open van filled with a "garnezun" or garrison patrol --that is, soldiers stationed in the local KODIM -- in camouflage uniforms, white helmets and yellow shoulder insignia. It was this last group which opened fire, according to one account Asia Watch received, and the other troops, including from Battalion 303, joined in. More investigation is needed, however, to determine conclusively who fired first.

In late November, General Try Sutrisno ordered Battalion 303 immediately withdrawn from Dili but said the withdrawal should not be construed as wrongdoing. Battalion 303, from the Army Strategic Reserve Command (KOSTRAD), was said to consist of 544 persons altogether. It was responsible for territorial operations in Sector C of East Timor, encompassing the city of Dili. It was also announced that the

commander of Sector C troops, Binsar Aruan, would be changed. The newsweekly Tempo on December 7 also reported that Battalion 700 from Ujung Pandang, Sulawesi, had returned to barracks.

6. The Immediate Aftermath

No explanation, however questionable, about how or why the shooting started can adequately justify what happened in the aftermath of the killings:

- the Yorkshire videotape clearly shows soldiers in green fatigues bending over and beating people with sticks and rifle butts.
- by the Indonesian government's own estimate, some 300 people were arrested immediately after the shootings. All accounts, including that of Governor Carrascalao, say people were rounded up in trucks; an Asia Watch source says that people were taken to the district and regional police commands and the regional and district military commands (Polres, Polwil, Korem and Kodim). So many people were arrested that according to one report, the wounded were fearful of seeking medical treatment for fear it would lead to arrest. One man interviewed was in a group of some 200 taken to the West Dili police station (Polres Comorro) and held until 19:00 when the village head came to identify him. Others were held for almost two weeks at the Polwil; the Indonesian government says 42 remain in detention at the Polwil and KODIM. Asia Watch is concerned for the welfare of all those in custody in connection with the demonstration, as torture during interrogation is routinely practiced by Indonesian security forces.
- roadblocks set up by the military prevented the wounded from reaching the hospital in time. It reportedly took the ICRC vehicle carrying the severely wounded New Zealand citizen, Kamal Bamadhaj, some 20 minutes to get to a hospital in what should have been a five minute trip, because of these barricades.
- bodies of the dead were apparently buried immediately without attempts to identify the dead or inform the families. Families in some cases were afraid to ask about their relatives for fear of being arrested and interrogated themselves. To our knowledge, no final list of the dead has been compiled, and many families are unaware of the fate of their relatives.
- despite repeated requests, the ICRC was not able to hold confidential interviews with prisoners or the wounded in the Wirahusada military hospital in Lahane until November 25, almost two weeks after the shooting. (All of the wounded who sought treatment at the civilian hospital, Toko Baru, immediately after the shooting were forcibly transferred to the military hospital. The Toko Baru hospital was much closer to the Santa

Cruz cemetery than the military hospital.) They were then able to visit 89 patients and speak to 32 in private. In a blatant untruth, General Try Sutrisno told a group of 30 editors summoned to the Defense Ministry to discuss reporting on East Timor that the ICRC had no difficulties visiting the victims of the November 12 incident. The ICRC, however, reportedly continued to encounter obstructions and restrictions even after November 25.

- There is a strong likelihood of further arrests. General Warouw was quoted by Associated Press as saying, "Quite a lot of wounded would be questioned as soon as they are well in order for us to determine whether they are involved in the incident or not."
- traces of the shootings at the cemetery were reportedly cleaned up almost immediately, making it difficult for any investigative team to determine the exact circumstances of the killing.

7. The Death Toll

The Indonesian figure given in the original report which Asia Watch obtained was 20 dead and 91 wounded. That seemed to have been based on a hasty, on-the-spot assessment which was never updated to include those who died of their wounds. It was later amended to 19, far below independent estimates ranging from 75 to over 200.

The East Timorese account gives at least one plausible explanation for how the figure 19 was arrived at. He says 19 bodies were buried in Hera, the area on the northeastern shore of Dili, on November 13 and 14, including Kamal Bamadhaj, the New Zealand citizen who was killed. According to that account, 13 bodies including those of two women were buried on November 13 and five, including those of Kamal, one woman and four men, the following day. It may be that there are only 19 bodies the army can readily account for, having, according to still unconfirmed reports, dumped others near Tasitolu on the northwestern shore and in the Faiduma area of a village called Tibar. The latter site was visited by an Australian journalist, Dennis Schultz.

Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Ninth Regional Command (IX/Udayana) said that those who died were buried in a religious ceremony in Hera after families had been given the chance to view the bodies for three hours prior to burial. This statement both lends credibility to the East Timorese account and tends to strengthen the possibility that the official death toll reflects only those victims who could be identified before burial.

Asia Watch has been unable to verify reports of subsequent killings by Indonesian troops in the first two weeks after the massacre. There were widespread reports

of executions of witnesses to the massacres on November 15, 17 and 18 and thereafter into early December. One source says that 40 people were taken by soldiers from battalions 700 and 744 from the place where they were detained and shot at Alto de Comorro, a flat, dry riverbed area some nine miles west of Dili. The source, however, did not witness the killings and has no names of those allegedly killed. Another report, also unconfirmed, said that seven people were shot dead on November 18 in Dili, including Maria Castro, 35; Maria Fatima, 19; Gaspar, a one-year-old child; Joao Soares, 4; Terezita, 16; Ines de Silva Soares, 30; and Liberto Mendes, 17. Yet another killing of 10 people was reported on November 18. These reports and others remain unconfirmed, but they appear to be widely believed in Dili, contributing to the atmosphere of fear. It is imperative that an independent investigation, not linked in any way to the Indonesian government or military, which includes experienced forensic specialists, be sent to East Timor to investigate allegations of executions, to excavate reported mass gravesites and to conduct exhumations as necessary.

8. Investigations

On November 14, following a cabinet-level meeting led by Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security Admiral Sudomo, it was announced that a military team led by Maj. Gen. Arie Sudewo, deputy director of the intelligence agency, BAIS, would undertake an investigation. Sudomo promised the results would be made public, and there was no need to convey them via the United Nations or any other international body because the incident was an internal affair.

When it was clear that a military investigation would not be enough to satisfy international demands for an impartial inquiry into the killings, President Suharto on November 18 ordered the establishment of another investigating team through Presidential Decree No.53/1991 on the Formation of a National Commission of Inquiry into the November 12 Incident in East Timor. Supreme Court Justice M. Djaelani, a former military judge, was appointed to head the panel. Other members are Drs. Ben Mang Reng Say, vice-chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council (Dewan Pertimbangan Agung); Clementino Dos Reis Amaral, a member of the national parliament from East Timor; Harisugiman, Director General for Social and Political Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior; Hadi Wayarabi, Director of International Organizations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Anton Suyata, SH, Inspector in the Ministry of Justice and Rear Admiral Sumitro, Armed Forces Inspector General. No time limit was set for the completion of the investigation, but Judge Jaelani assured reporters that the commission's conclusions would be made public. All members of the commission were

wholly identified with the government; by no stretch of the imagination could they be called independent. The team arrived in Dili on Saturday, November 29, but East Timorese were reportedly fearful of coming forward to give information.

9. Domestic Reaction

There was a striking contrast in reactions to the killings between Indonesian officials and non-governmental bodies in Indonesia on the one hand, and between officials in Jakarta and the governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, on the other.

In an extraordinary interview published in the daily Kompas on November 16 (extraordinary for the honesty of the feelings as well as the fact that Kompas published the interview at all), Carrascalao, said, "Maybe it was our fault. Those who are against us were in fact able to touch the hearts of many people -- this is the crux of the problem...If before people slept with knives to protect themselves from those working against us, now they defend themselves against us..."

We need a special approach now, because the Timorese value justice so highly. All guilty parties must be disciplined...People must see that we are being just and honest, the guilty must be called guilty, the innocent innocent. Anyone who has done wrong, anyone, must be punished. We cannot any longer play God...We must be courageous to face the mistakes we have made and honest enough to admit our faults, so that we keep the trust of the people.

The [military] preparations prior to the Portuguese visit cancelled out any positive inroads the army might have made before then. In the last two or three months, people in the cities have felt unhappy, so much so that a strange thing happened. As the Portuguese visit approached, the people were no longer afraid of Fretilin; they were afraid of us. We have to understand why, and find the proper medicine to cure it.

We must be honest and fair in facing this situation; we must ask the forgiveness of innocent families. We won't ask the pardon of GPK [Fretilin] because they are our enemies. But to their families, who are innocent, who unwittingly became victims, we must beg their forgiveness."

Carrascalao offered to resign if he is unsatisfied with the findings of the National Commission. His honesty and frankness, which led to his being called in for nine hours of discussions with General Try Sutrisno on November 20, stand in stark contrast to the belligerent tone taken by Indonesian officials in Jakarta. The government spin on events of November 12 had three points: the demonstrators were responsible for the incident, there were no fundamental problems in East Timor, and the foreign journalists present in Dili at the time were there illegally and interested only in propaganda. Officials distorted basic information to further the propagation of that

version of events. Thus, the head of information for the Ninth Regional Command (Kodam IX/Udayana), Lt.Col. Anton Tompodung, told reports, "They started it. One hundred GPK came down from the jungle with arms, including G-3s, knives and so on. They began to oppose the military. The army tried persuasive methods such as urging them to surrender. But they responded with shots and throwing grenades. After seeing their own comrades fall, security forces were forced to respond with guns, killing dozens of GPK." Just as the word *peristiwa* or "incident" became the operative government term instead of "massacre" to describe November 12, the adjective quickly adopted by all official spokesmen to describe the demonstrators became brutal. The army seemed more out for vengeance than for finding out the truth; Reuters quoted Major Sintong Panjaitan as warning that now in East Timor, the army's "Operation Smile" would be replaced by "Operation Combat".

Rather than acknowledging, as Carrascalao did, that actions of the Indonesian government and military might have caused the problem, the official reaction was stout defense of past and present policies. According to Minister of the Interior Rudini, for example, it was wrong to say that the November 12 incident was caused by enmity between ABRI (the armed forces) and the people, because the army was very close to the people. Lessons drawn from the incident by members of the Indonesian parliament such as Imron Rosyadi or Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a pro-Indonesia deputy from East Timor, were that the Indonesians had failed to give sufficient "guidance" to the East Timorese or that those involved in the demonstration were too young to understand how far East Timor had progressed under Indonesian rule.

Finally, the government lashed out at the foreign press, and the lashing became harsher as time went on. Initially, the reaction was just a distinct lack of sympathy -- if they got hurt, it was their own fault, since they never should have been posing as journalists on tourist visas. Gradually the criticism became much more pointed. The videotape shown on Yorkshire television constituted propaganda, said General Try, filmed to fit a scenario that had already been sketched out. Moreover, the five foreign journalists present in Dili on November 12 made the whole incident suspicious. "It's not impossible that they themselves were involved or used by anti-Indonesian elements to spread tendentious stories and sway world opinion for political reasons."

But outside the government, the enormity of what happened in East Timor registered with Indonesian individuals and organizations in a way that no incident in the territory had since the invasion in 1975. The Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta, the country's largest human rights organization, began issuing a series of press statements,

demanding an investigation, and sent a staff member to investigate. The moderate opposition group, the Petition of 50, criticized the behavior of government troops and noted the similarity between what had happened in East Timor in November with what happened at Jakarta's port area of Tanjung Priok in September 1984 when army troops opened fire on a Muslim demonstration, with an official death toll of 30 and unofficial estimates far higher. (No investigation was ever conducted into those killings, and members of the Petition of 50 group who called for one were prosecuted on subversion charges.)

The Indonesian Catholic Bishops' Conference of Indonesia issued a short statement on November 14 that it was going to study the situation in Dili but then almost immediately sent two separate delegations there to talk with members of the Church and others. The Bishop's Conference, known by its Indonesian acronym KWI, has been by and large a conservative voice in Indonesia; it is all the more important, then, that it produced such a strong statement following the two visits. The statement of November 28 noted that the data obtained by its delegates was far different than the official data:

"For example, many families do not know whether their husbands, brothers or children are alive or dead because many people are still being treated in the military hospital and they are not allowed to receive any visits. No one knows where the graves of those who died are. Some say that the treatment of the corpses taken away by trucks was inhumane in the extreme -- they were just picked up and thrown into the back of the trucks. Families were not told when the burials took place. Nor is it known whether the burials were accompanied by any religious ceremony. As for the number who died, some say three truckloads, some say more than 100 people. The identities of those who died is not known; it is thought some were Fretilin, some were provocateurs, and some were the faithful who came on the basis of the radio announcement aired beforehand. Many people ask why the armed forces open fire, with so many casualties, when the shooting took place at the Santa Cruz cemetery, far from the place where the two soldiers were stabbed. If in fact the purpose was to defend themselves, was it necessary that the death toll be so high?"

Indonesian university students from all over Java attending a meeting of student senates at Parahiangan University in Bandung on November 20-21 also issued a statement condemning the killings, urging that the National Commission of Inquiry be dissolved because of its lack of independence, and demanding the release of the East Timorese students detained during a protest march in Jakarta on November 20 (see below.) The student statement also called for the imposition of an arms embargo

against Indonesia and possibly economic sanctions as well.

10. Demonstrations and Arrests

Consistent with the government effort to blame the demonstrators, security forces proceeded to arrest East Timorese outside East Timor who protested the November 12 killings. Seventy East Timorese students were arrested on November 19 after a march in Jakarta. The students, from universities all over Java and Bali, had gathered at about 10:30 a.m. in front of a United Nations building in central Jakarta, and marched passed the embassies of the Soviet Union, Japan, Britain and Australia, under the watchful eyes of security forces.

They carried banners, some of them with slogans such as THE MASS MURDER ON NOVEMBER 12 WAS ONLY A SMALL PART OF THE MASS MURDER CARRIED OUT FOR THE LAST 16 YEARS; INDEPENDENCE IS THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES, WHERE ARE OUR RIGHTS?; BETTER DEATH THAN INTEGRATION; and WHERE ARE THE CORPSES?

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

The Indonesian government initially denied that anyone was detained. It was not until November 27, over a week later, that the government acknowledged the detentions, releasing 49 and keeping 21 others in custody. They were expected to be charged under Article 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code, spreading feelings of hatred or enmity toward the government, which carries a maximum penalty of seven years. The names of the 21 are listed in Appendix 3; as of early December, they were still detained at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station on Thamrin Avenue in Jakarta and had not been allowed access to counsel or family. Police said they were being "intensively interrogated" -- a phrase which can often indicate physical abuse or torture.

The youth suspected of being one of the leaders of the demonstration, Joao Freitas Camaro, was being kept in isolation from the others. According to the Legal Institute Foundation, he had not had a change of clothes or soap since he was arrested, and no one had been able to go into his house to get additional clothing for him as security forces had prevented anyone from entering it.

In addition to those arrested in the November 19 demonstration, two leading human rights activists in Jakarta were called in for interrogation on charges of having helped organize it. H.J.C. Princen, director of the Institute for the Defense of Human Rights, and Indro Tjahjono of the organization called INFIGHT, were "invited" for eight hours of questioning by the internal security apparatus,

BAKORSTANAS, on November 20 and for several days thereafter, although they were allowed to return home each night. The questioning initially focused on the role of the two men in the demonstration but shifted to an examination of the full range of their human rights activities. Indro Tjahjono was asked about transcripts of telephone conversations he had had from the INFIGHT office, clearly indicating that all calls in and out had been monitored.

Government actions in arresting the 70 East Timorese marchers on November 19 were put in perspective by the treatment accorded several pro-government demonstrations in subsequent days. Some 50-60 members of the Indonesian National Youth Organization (KNPI) held gathered in front of the Australian embassy on November 20, carrying posters protesting anti-Indonesia demonstrations in front of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra. And on November 22, a government-organized crowd variously estimated at 80 and 200, representing different youth organizations, marched in front of the Australian embassy. No one in these demonstrations was arrested or in any way harassed.

East Timorese students were also arrested in Bali. One of them was Fernando Araujo. About 7:00 on Sunday morning, November 24, one of his housemates opened the door to leave for church, and military intelligence agents in civilian clothes rushed in. Four students living in the house and two friends were arrested and taken away in four vans by some 30 men, according to one account. The agents searched the house and confiscated Fernando's diary, notes, photo albums and some videotapes. Four of the six, Fernando Araujo, Clemente Soares, Antonio Martus and Domingus Bossa were still in incommunicado detention as of early December; Jose Paulo and Joaquin de Costa were released after questioning. All were reportedly asked to sign statements that they do not support Fretilin. The four still in custody are apparently suspected of anti-government activities and may be charged under the same Article 154 as the students in Jakarta. Some 270 East Timorese are studying in Bali, most of them strong nationalists.

Arrests of East Timorese also took place in Yogyakarta.

11. International Reaction

The international reaction to the Dili massacre was one of outrage over the killings and concern for the East Timorese, but with a few exceptions, governments and governmental organizations by mid-December had not backed up their anger with concrete measures.

The United Nations

Outgoing UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar quickly issued a statement regretting the loss of life and said he had

asked for a report from Pieter Kooijmans, the Special Rapporteur appointed by the UN Human Rights Commission who was in Dili when the killings occurred. On November 30, Perez de Cuellar told journalists in Portugal that he was sending a special envoy to "negotiate conditions for a UN mission to visit East Timor," according to a November 30 report from Reuters. Amos Wako, the Kenyan Attorney-General who is concurrently the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions, was initially designated as the envoy, but previous commitments on Wako's part, and obstacles reportedly raised by the Indonesian military, had by mid-December delayed this "mission to negotiate a mission."

The European Community

Foreign ministers of the EC, meeting in the Netherlands, issued a statement condemning the killings on November 13, the same day the news reached Europe. In Brussels, the European Parliament on November 21 adopted a resolution by a vote of 167 for, seven against and four abstentions, condemning the "brutal murder of these latest victims of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor", urging prosecution of those responsible, and asking for the release of all those detained for non-violent political activity and that they be granted full access to lawyers, family and doctors while in detention. The resolution, which is not binding on governments, also called for the EC and the United Nations to declare an embargo on the sales of weapons to Indonesia and for a review of cooperation agreements between Indonesia on the one hand, and the EC and member states on the other.

On November 25, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed Order No.470, demanding that the Indonesian government "withdraw the armed forces from the territory of East Timor so that the governing authority can fulfil the mandate recognised by the United Nations and create the political conditions necessary for the free exercise of the right to self-determination." The Council order supported the call for a "detailed, impartial and internationally supervised inquiry" into the killings and called for an arms embargo to Indonesia and suspension of all military support for Indonesia."

On December 2, at an informal meeting of the EC foreign ministers in Brussels, the ministers issued a declaration calling for a "thorough and credible investigation by impartial and independent experts" and said the review of economic cooperation urged by the European Parliament would take place. They also reiterated their support for a "just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the East Timor issue." Such a review would be in line with a policy adopted on November 28 to link eco-

nomic aid to the human rights situation in countries receiving that aid.

Bilateral European actions

Strong protests came from most West European capitals. The Netherlands on November 21 decided to postpone all new development assistance in the strongest unilateral action taken by any country to date. Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek said he would consider asking the UN to conduct an international investigation into the killings. Sweden, Norway and Denmark made official protests via the Indonesian ambassadors in their respective countries and had their own ambassadors in Jakarta deliver the same message to Indonesian officials on November 25. Portuguese President Mario Soares strongly denounced the killings on November 12 and as of mid-December was continuing to press the EC to send an independent investigating mission to East Timor. The British government was more cautious, saying it would look into how humanitarian aid might be provided for the East Timorese people but that any arms embargo "would be neither appropriate nor effective."

Japan

Japan, in an unprecedented move, sent two diplomats from the embassy in Jakarta to East Timor on November 14 to "get the facts straight." They returned on November 21 saying their visit was "inconclusive," and that it was unclear who provoked the massacre. However, a government spokesman suggested that Japan, too, might link its huge aid program to Indonesia to the results of the government-appointed National Commission of Inquiry. Japan is Indonesia's largest donor, having given some \$867 million in Official Development Assistance in 1990.

The United States

The State Department called the Indonesian ambassador, Abdul Rachman Ramly, in to express deep concern over the killings and sent a team to Dili on November 15 which included the Washington-based desk officer for Indonesia in the State Department as well as embassy officials in Jakarta. The team returned on November 17, having concluded that the death toll was closer to the 75-100 range than to the 19 claimed by the Indonesian government.

On November 18, five leading members of the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee sent a letter to Ambassador Ramly, expressing concern about the "excessive, indiscriminate and highly disproportionate" use of lethal force by the Indonesian military both on November 12 and on October 28. The letter applauded the appointment of a "non-military investigating commission" and called for the prosecution of those responsible and the release of those arrested for participating in the November 12 demonstration.

Resolutions condemning the killings passed both houses of Congress. The Senate version, Concurrent Resolution 77 passed on November 21, called for a reassessment of a military training program known as IMET or International Military Education and Training to "ensure that these training programs are advancing effectively human rights." The \$1.9 million program under the Foreign Assistance Act is used for training senior Indonesian military officers. The Senate also called for the US to seek a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly instructing the UN Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur on East Timor "to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination by the East Timorese people." The House version, Concurrent Resolution 240, passed on November 23, called for the provision of IMET to be "contingent on the government of Indonesia conducting a thorough and impartial investigation" of the killings. Both versions call on the US to work with the UN, Indonesia and Portugal to "develop policies to address the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor." State Department spokesman Richard Boucher, however, said that IMET should be continued because it can "contribute to the professionalism of the military and expose it to democratic and humanitarian standards."

On November 25, 51 US Senators joined Wyoming Senator Malcolm Wallop in writing a letter to President George Bush, urging the US government to take a stronger stand on East Timor, particularly in light of reports of continuing repression.

Canada

Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, announced after the massacre that Canada's \$52 million aid program would be reviewed.

Australia

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke strongly condemned the massacre and called for a full, genuine and open inquiry and the punishment of those responsible. In a policy shift, he threatened to review Indonesian-Australian relations of the Indonesian investigation did not address the concerns of the international community. Foreign Ministry Gareth Evans is going to Jakarta on December 19-20 with the specific brief of explaining Australia's concerns over any investigation. As well as calling for the establishment of a consulate in Dili, Hawke said that the Indonesians had to hold talks with the Timorese including the resistance, and that there should be United Nations involvement in the search for a resolution to the conflict.

Guinea-Bissau

The President of Guinea-Bissau announced on December 5 that he would speak out on East Timor during the Organization of the Islamic Conference

summit meeting in Senegal beginning the following week.

12. Recommendations

1. All those countries which have expressed concern over the killings, including the United States, Australia, the European Community, Canada, Japan, the Nordic countries, Venezuela, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique and others should join forces to press for a genuinely independent inquiry which would meet the standards set forth in the "Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal Arbitrary and Summary Executions" adopted in May 1989 by the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The investigation should be an international one and include trained, experienced specialists in forensic pathology and human rights investigations, as well as people who can speak Portuguese and Tetun.
2. To ensure that a proper, thorough investigation takes place, all suppliers of military aid and training to Indonesia should suspend that assistance until the results of the investigation are concluded; if the investigation concludes that particular military units were responsible, the assistance should remain suspended until the commanders responsible for those units are prosecuted.
3. The Indonesian government must acknowledge the inaccuracy of its first death toll and ensure that a list of all those killed, detained and receiving treatment in government hospitals is immediately compiled in a central registry to which families, lawyers and others can have access. When a final list of those killed is compiled, families of the dead should receive compensation.
4. All military units involved in the East Timor killings should be disarmed until the results of an international investigation are completed, and any soldiers or units found to be responsible for the shootings and subsequent abuses should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. The commanders of those units should also be held accountable for the actions of those under their command.
5. All impediments to the work of ICRC should cease immediately, and ICRC staff should be given full and unhindered access to prisons, military hospitals and suspected places of detention on their own terms.
6. Concerned governments should send officials of their Jakarta embassies to Dili on a frequent and regular basis to ensure that the above recommendations are being carried out and that the violence and human rights abuses have ceased. A joint policy might be worked out so that there was a constant diplomatic presence in Dili for the next three months.

7. All persons detained after November 12 for participation in peaceful demonstrations to protest the killings, such as the East Timorese students arrested in Bali, Yogyakarta and Jakarta, should be immediately and unconditionally released.
8. Concerned governments, including the US, should work together at the Commission on Human Rights meeting in February 1992 in Geneva to support the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on East Timor.

APPENDIX 1: BISHOP BELO'S ACCOUNT OF THE 28 OCTOBER INCIDENT

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

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

OFFICIAL STATEMENT

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

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

In these terms, the following should be known:

1. Since November 1991, a group of youths took refuge in the premises of the Presbytery of Motael, on the basis of personal security.
2. Contacts were set up between the civil and military authorities and the Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Dili and the Parish Priest of Motael, to seek a solution for the situation of these youths.
3. The military authorities, especially, were determined that these young people should leave the Presbytery before the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentarians and the delegation of the United Nations.
4. In these last weeks, and most intensely in the week of 21-26 October, culminating in the attack in the early hours of 28 October, there was a notable presence in the area of individuals on motor-cycles keeping watch on the Presbytery, generally after the "dead hours" of the city.
5. In this official statement we call "dead hours" the time from midnight to four in the morning, when the city of Dili is practically without life. Normally, between these hours, there are only police, military, information agents of INTEL in

the streets, with an occasional late member of the civilian population.

6. In the early hours of 28 October, a group of individuals on motor-cycles began to circle the perimeter of the Presbytery and the Church of Motael, shouting abuse. This time, from mere words they moved to action, throwing stones against the front of the Church and at the side known as "Taman Mini", and entering the grounds of the Church. Physical contact was inevitable (2 a.m.). Meanwhile, a number of individuals with pistols drawn began to advance, coming from the beach and entering the front door of the Church, where the young man, Sebastiao, was killed, riddled with bullets he was found dead some 18 metres from the door of the wall of the Church, on the verge of the other side of the road. The other victim, Afonso, was some 23 metres distant from the corpse of Sebastiao. Following the signs of blood on the road, a pool of blood was found some 57 metres from Afonso's body, killed by stabbings and wounded with a blunt instrument.
7. Later on in the morning (6 a.m.), the police proceeded to search the residence of the Parish priest, in adjacent property (the parish polyclinic, office and hall and the house of the parish domestic staff where the youths were gathered); the search inside the Church was only carried out after eight in the morning with the authorisation of the Bishop, who accompanied the policemen who were allowed to enter, in a number no more than four.
8. During these Searches were found anti-Indonesia pamphlets, Fretilin and Portuguese flags, as well as some objects (knives, sticks and iron bars) in the house of the domestic staff and outside of the parish offices, but not inside the Church as has been tendentiously broadcast. Within the Church three individuals were captured - two in a corner of the Church and one in the tower - who had taken refuge there in the midst of the confusion.
9. Finally, after the Bishop spoke to the people who had gathered after hearing the ringing of the Church bells (2 a.m.), everyone returned to their homes (9 a.m.) going in groups to different areas, the Bishop taking those who lived furthest away in his own car. Of those who stayed, fifteen persons were handed over to the police, who picked them up in a truck. The people handed over to the police were eighteen in total: the other three were accompanied by the Parish priest of Motael to the Police (POLRES), more than an hour earlier.

These are the facts that the Diocese believes should be made known to the public.
Dili, 2 November 1991 Diocese of Dili
Signed
Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo SDB

Titular Bishop of Lorium
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

APPENDIX 2: EXTRACT FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY REPORT

Excerpt from *"Report on the Visit to Indonesia of Professor Pieter H. Kooijmans, Special Rapporteur on Questions Relevant to Torture, UN Commission on Human Rights"*

INCIDENT OF NOVEMBER 12

17. The incident broke out as members of the group were getting ready to go to a meeting with the commander (pangkolakopskam) about 7:30-8. A short round of gunfire could be heard by the group when they were still in the hotel Turismo, but there was no increased activity of security forces or security disturbances either around the group or in the city, and the meeting with the commander went as planned and encountered no hindrance whatsoever.
18. At lunch, about 12:30, the commander gave a short summary of what happened to Professor Kooijmans. But it seemed Kooijmans couldn't understand the translation clearly; over and over again he complained about the quality of the translation. Several times the Liaison Officers (consisting of members of the Foreign Ministry, Interior Ministry and BAIS, the intelligence agency) had to intervene to clear the atmosphere.
19. At the dinner program at the official residence of the Governor, Kooijmans got a short summary of the incident from Governor Carrascalao.
20. Based on the information that could be compiled about the incident, the chronology unfolded as follows:
 - a. about 5:30, waves of youths could be seen heading toward the Motael Church, Dili to attend a memorial mass for the two victims of the October 28 incident, some walking, some using public vehicles.
 - b. To prevent any unwanted occurrence from taking place, security forces stepped up their city patrols, particularly around the Motael Church at the top, and in certain positions army units were placed to prevent the possibility of a mass action which it was thought might head toward the Hotel Turismo where Kooijmans was staying.
 - c. At 7 am, the mass in the Motael Church finished and a large proportion of the participants in the mass, especially youths totalling about 1,500 people poured out into the streets and lined up carrying banners, Fretilin flags and cloths with the portrait of Xanana Gusmao and the Vatican flag.
 - d. When the demonstrators reached the KODIM 1617 (Dili District Command of the military) around 7.15, they changed

direction to evade security forces who were preventing the movement from reaching the Hotel Turismo. At that point, the mob began to show its brutality by throwing stones at people who stood along the road and at nearby buildings.

- e. At 7.20, the crowd attacked two security officers, Major Gerhan Lantara (Deputy Commander of Battalion 700) and Private 2nd Class Dominggus. They received stab wounds that were quite bad in the chest, head and arm.
- f. At 7.25, security forces received information that about 2,000 people were gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery. To prevent them from gathering strength, security forces sent one platoon of Brimob (mobile brigade police.)
- g. At 7.40, the Brimob unit arrived at the Santa Cruz graveyard to act as a barricade for the people advancing from the Motael Church. But they still moved forward, shouting and pushing until in order to avoid a confrontation, the forces had to give way. The result was that the two massed mobs were able to join forces in the Santa Cruz graveyard.
- h. At about 7.50, the masses in the Santa Cruz cemetery reached 3,500, and were becoming more brutal. To prevent the action from spilling over into other areas, the security forces added two more companies, from Infantry Battalion 303 and Infantry Battalion 744. Seeing the arrival of these additional forces, some of the group who were in the cemetery complex tried to run outside, where they ran into the security forces.
- i. At 8.10 in the middle of the confusion, a shot was heard from a source that could not be determined together with movements and shouts to advance and attack and grab the guns of security forces. A grenade was thrown in the direction of the troops but it didn't explode. Because the situation was getting out of hand, the security forces were forced to fire warning shots in the air but it didn't restrain the mob, they kept moving forward. Facing this critical situation and with the goal of defending themselves, the troops were forced to fire on the crowd. The result was that a number of victims fell and the final death toll was 20 dead including one New Zealand citizen of Malaysian origin and 91 wounded, including a tourist from the United States and 41 arrested.
- j. At 9.00 the situation in Dili was under control and after an investigation in the Santa Cruz cemetery, security forces found 1 G-3 rifle, 1 Mauser, 1 FN pistol and four hand grenades.
- k. to determine the main perpetrators, a preliminary investigation was conducted and the suspects were turned over to the police for further investigation..

CONCLUSIONS

21. The visit of the team of Professor Pieter Kooijmans was successfully carried out in accordance with his request
26. With regard to the November 12 incident and the facts compiled, we can draw the following conclusions:
 - a. The GPK [acronym for security disturbers, a euphemism for Fretilin--tr] had planned this incident for the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentarians. The postponing of the visit caused great frustration among the GPK so they were searching around for another target, including the team of Kooijmans.
 - b. The GPK groups took advantage of religious activities as a tool for gathering crowds together who in fact for the most part were ordinary citizens who were not guilty. The issues used by the GPK to heat up feelings of the people were:
 - Islamicization
 - Economic disparities between the local people and the newcomers
 - harassment/arrests/unjust treatment by soldiers of the local people
 - c. In truth, the incident happened as a result of provocation by the demonstrators in wounding the members of the armed forces who were on duty, causing victims from their side. The warnings given by security forces were not obeyed, rather the GPK responded with shots and throwing a hand grenade. The threat posed to the safety of the security forces pushed them into take the necessary steps, in accordance with established procedures.
 - d. the fact that foreigners were among the victims was by and large their own fault. Tourist visas are often used by them to enter Timor whereas in fact they aren't ordinary tourists but foreign journalists who are trying to carry out their tasks surreptitiously. Surveillance of "foreign tourists" in East Timor must henceforth be tighter and if it is proven that they are not ordinary tourists, they should be prevented from entering the territory (wilayah) of East timor.
 - e. the fact that ordinary people fell victim was in fact desired by the GPK with the hope that this would diminish sympathy among the people for the government of Indonesia, especially the armed forces, so as to keep the East timor issue alive.
27. Recently the city of Dili has been used frequently by the GPK as a focus for their anti-government activities, to the point that it can be said the GPK has changed its guerrilla strategy from the hills to the city, making GPK elements more difficult to detect. Most of their

- members are now interspersed among inhabitants of Dili which has a population of about 200,000. The change in strategy is the consequence of their setbacks suffered from military and territorial operations launched by the armed forces working together with the people.
28. There is a tendency for the GPK to take advantage of visits by foreign guests to create insecurity in the city and give the impression that they have the support of the people.
 29. Based on the above, we suggested that each visit of a foreign visitor to East Timor be carefully considered and undertaken selectively to prevent these visits from being used by elements of the GPK to discredit the government both domestically and abroad.
 30. Visits should be handled by an interdepartmental team and visitors should be accompanied by officials from each agency involved who are given the authority to take steps/decisions on the spot if the situation requires.
 31. With respect to the report of the team, Prof. Kooijmans said that the problems behind the outbreak of the November 12 incident would not be mentioned because it was not within the mandate of the team he led to do so. But given the fact that he was there when the incident happened and there have already been several arrests, Kooijmans will mention the incident in general terms and exhort the government of Indonesia to investigate, respecting the human rights of the suspects in accordance with domestic law.

APPENDIX 3: EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS ARRESTED AFTER NOVEMBER 19

Those still detained are as follows:

STUDENT	UNIVERSITY
1. Joao Freitas Camara	unknown
2. Benevides C.	Barrol Satya Wacana, Salatiga
3. Domingos Barreto	Atmajaya, Jakarta
4. Metodio Muniz	Diponegoro, Semarang
5. Francisco Vasco Ramos	Atmajaya, Jakarta
6. Joselius De Oliveira	API, Yogyakarta
7. Sergio Dias Q	Atmajaya, Jakarta
8. Judio da Costa	IKIP Santa Dharma, Yogyakarta
9. Antonio Lopez	IPI, Malang
10. Virgilio	Nat'l Inst. of Technology, Malang
11. Antonio Soares	Malang
12. Felipe da Silva	Ikopin, Bandung
13. Joao Sarmiento	Polytechnic, ITB, Bandung
14. Fausto Berhading	IKOPIN, Bandung

15. Joao Travolta	Udayana, Denpasar
16. Agapito C.	Udayana, Denpasar
17. Gregorio de Araujo	LPPU, ITB, Bandung
18. Jose Maria Belo	Polytechnic, ITB, Bandung
19. Avelino Maria	Satya Gama, Jakarta
20. Mario Canecas	Surabaya
21. Egas Q.	Monteiro Surabaya

As all 21 were arrested for peacefully exercising their rights to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, Asia Watch calls on the Indonesian government to release them immediately and unconditionally. It also notes that the Indonesian government has violated domestic and international law by preventing them from having access to counsel and family.

For More Information

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Asia Watch was founded in 1985 to monitor and promote internationally recognized human rights in Asia. The Chair is Jack Greenberg and the Vice Chairs are Harriet Rabb and Orville Schell. The Executive Director is Sidney Jones and the Washington Director is Mike Jendrzeczyk.

Asia Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which also includes Africa Watch, Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch, Middle East Watch and the Fund for Free Expression. The Chair of Human Rights Watch is Robert L. Bernstein and the Vice Chair is Adrian DeWind. Aryeh Neier is Executive Director and Kenneth Roth is Deputy Director. Holly Burkhalter is Washington Director.