

# ARTICLES ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

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**OPEN UP EAST TIMOR**  
 (CALGARY HERALD)

*Editorial, Calgary Herald, 18 November 1991.*

Indonesia's pledge to investigate the actions of its own troops in East Timor rings hollow.

There is little doubt that any inquiry launched by the Indonesian government will only continue to cover up the atrocities its soldiers have committed against the East Timorese since it annexed the island in 1976.

Estimates by diplomats claim that in the last 15 years as many as 200,000 East Timorese people have died, most of them slain by the Indonesian army. Indonesia has consistently denied these figures while also denying the outside world access to the south Pacific island.

In the latest trouble Indonesian troops are alleged to have shot and killed up to 100 people attending the funeral of an anti-Indonesian activist slain in an earlier demonstration in the East Timor capital of Dili.

The shootings were condemned by Portuguese president Mario Soares in a letter to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar as part of a pattern of flagrant human rights abuses carried out by Indonesia in occupying the island.

It's time for the United Nations to demand an international inspection of East Timor and, if necessary, removal of the island from Indonesian control under the protection of the UN itself. Only in this way can the world make sure that the people of East Timor are no longer routinely subjected to the brutal suppression of the Indonesian army.

**SANCTION INDONESIA**  
 (CALGARY HERALD)

*Editorial, Calgary Herald, Nov. 27, 1991.*

The United Nations Security Council should call an emergency meeting to discuss the Indonesian military action in East Timor.

Reports that Indonesia has virtually sealed off the island and is systematically

murdering East Timorese should bring a prompt response from the world body.

Since it illegally occupied East Timor in 1976 Indonesia has reportedly slaughtered 200,000 people. Recently, Indonesian soldiers fired on a crowd at a funeral killing as many as 60 people [sic].

World protests over that incident have only produced a more brutal response from the Indonesian army. It is reportedly murdering any and all witnesses to the graveyard slaughter and is refusing to allow world access to East Timor.

Such a situation cannot continue if the UN is serious about standing up for its principles.

Nor can Canada continue to tiptoe around the issue. If Indonesia persists in its brutal treatment of the East Timorese then Canada must be prepared to apply total economic sanctions to Indonesia (all the better if they are applied in conjunction with the UN). Canada talks a good game when it comes to espousing human rights. In the case of Indonesia it's time to put its money where its mouth is. There is no time to lose.

**TIMOR GOVERNOR TAKES INDEPENDENT PATH (AWSJ)**

*Asian Wall Street Journal, December 10, 1991. By Richard Borsuk, a Staff Reporter for the Asian Wall Street Journal*

After nine years on the job, the governor of troubled East Timor still hasn't learned the basics of the Indonesian civil service.

Instead of toeing the line, he argues about how it has been drawn. He speaks bluntly when others are silent. And now he's prepared to do what senior officials don't do: quit.

"I'm a bad politician," says 54-year-old Mario Viegas Carrascalao. "I'm not the kind of guy who can lie to people."

The chain-smoking governor says that if a national commission now investigating the Nov. 12 shooting of anti-Jakarta protesters in the East Timorese capital of Dili doesn't produce a credible report and punish military officers for wrongdoing, he will resign. The Indonesian army says 19 people were killed when soldiers shot in self-defense at a "brutal crowd" containing

armed protesters, while eyewitnesses say at least 100 died when troops opened fire without warning on unarmed marchers.

Even if Mr. Carrascalao is satisfied with the commission's work and doesn't quit, his tenure as governor will end next September. Under Indonesian law, he can't be appointed to a third five-year term, though he could possibly stay on as a temporary "caretaker" appointed by President Suharto.

And many Timorese, as well as other Indonesians, hope Mr. Carrascalao can stay beyond the end of his term. "He's the only official that Timorese relate to," says Marzuki Darusman, a member of Indonesia's House of Representatives. "When he's gone, who's going to know the real feelings of people?"

A Timorese priest says Mr. Carrascalao should quit if the commission produces a cover-up, but he adds that if the governor departs, "the outlook for Timor will just get darker. He's a rare bright spot."

Mr. Carrascalao's blunt pronouncements since the killings have placed Indonesian authorities in a quandary. Many analysts say his resignation would further damage Indonesia's international reputation and complicate the situation in East Timor. But if the government's investigation results in criticism of army behavior and raises the current official death toll -- as Mr. Carrascalao says it must -- that would risk embarrassing Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno.

The governor says he doesn't know the exact death toll, "but I know for sure there were more than 19. If the commission finds only 19, sorry, we're talking a different language."

Indeed, Mr. Carrascalao seldom speaks the language of Jakarta officials. However, they have refrained from criticizing him, perhaps because they recognize his popularity. After learning of the governor's threat to quit, Home Affairs Minister Rudini -- the governor's superior -- told Jakarta reporters that he respects Mr. Carrascalao as a "noble" man who takes his responsibilities seriously. Asked his opinion of the governor, East Timor military commander Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw says: "We're friends, but we have differences."

Defense Minister Gen. L.B. Murdani, asked in Jakarta if he is unhappy with the governor's critical comments, says Mr. Carrascalao is "free to say what he wants." Still, the governor's frank approach to politics generally doesn't sit well with Jakarta. Says a civil servant in the capital who knows the governor: "Does he have to be so blunt? Couldn't he tell some white lies some time?"

Mr. Carrascalao says he must be blunt if he is to keep the faith of the East Timorese. Since Nov. 12, "people are now feeling I'm not strong enough to prevent mistreatment" of citizens, he says. The leader of the separatist Fretilin group, Xanana Gusmao, now has more "capability than myself," the governor adds. Fretilin has been waging a guerrilla war against Indonesian forces in East Timor since Indonesia's December 1975 invasion of the territory, which came just four months after the end of Portuguese rule.

Mr. Carrascalao says that if Jakarta were to give him a free hand to run the province - something so far unseen in Indonesia's highly centralized political system -- he could "turn around the situation" in three months. He argues that he could bring Xanana down from the hills and persuade him to forget about "crazy independence" and accept integration with Indonesia.

Many analysts say that view is naive, partly because Xanana is a sworn foe of integration, and also because sentiment against Indonesia is running high in East Timor. But they agree that East Timor's attitude toward Jakarta would improve if Mr. Carrascalao had more power.

Even the governor knows his idea won't fly. Fretilin is a security matter, and thus handled by the military. Of the several army commanders he has seen in East Timor, he says Gen. Warouw is the best. But the Nov. 12 shootings have placed the general in a tough position, the governor says, and if he has to go, "I hope he gets a good job somewhere else." (Mr. Carrascalao is less generous when it comes to one of Gen. Warouw's predecessors, who he says took the view that "everybody" should be killed. "He left East Timor without saying good-bye, and I don't care," he says.)

Ultimately, the governor says, he cares only about what Timorese think of him, and that is why he must maintain his credibility. He is discouraged by the killings, but says he will keep working. "We have to fight to make East Timor happy. There's only been endless suffering," he says.

#### FORESTRY MANAGEMENT

Although he considers himself fully Timorese -- and fully Indonesian now -- Mr. Carrascalao is half-Portuguese. His father, an opponent of the Lisbon regime who was exiled to Timor in 1920, married a

Timorese woman. Over the years, he provided well for Mario and his 11 brothers, who grew up on the family's 335-hectare coffee plantation.

In 1956, at age 19, Mr. Carrascalao went to Portugal to study forestry management. After working in Angola and then Portugal, he returned to East Timor in 1970. At the time of his return, he was one of only 10 Timorese in the impoverished colony with more than a high-school education.

While working in the colony's agriculture service, he joined 23 others to found the Timor Democratic Union, a political party seeking independence for East Timor after a 20-year transition period. The party, known as UDT, jockeyed for power with two others: Marxist Fretilin, seeking immediate independence, and the rightist Apodeti, wanting integration with Indonesia.

But the situation exploded when Lisbon abruptly terminated its rule in August 1975. Mr. Carrascalao's faction in UDT eventually teamed up with Apodeti against Fretilin, which unilaterally declared independence in November 1975. Ten days later, Indonesia intervened to crush Fretilin. Integration was completed in July 1976. Indonesia had a new province, but at a very high price: The invasion, civil war and related famine caused as many as 100,000 deaths and great social upheaval.

In the late 1970s, Mr. Carrascalao joined the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and later joined Jakarta's delegation at the United Nations. In 1982, he says, Gen. Murdani asked him to help "clean up" East Timor. Mr. Carrascalao says the general, then serving as armed forces commander, "didn't like what was going on" in the province at the time.

#### SPEAK OPENLY

The new governor built popularity by holding all-day sessions in which citizens could lodge complaints with him face-to-face. Though he often couldn't help them, Mr. Carrascalao says Timorese appreciated the effort and felt they could speak openly to him. "I'm not going to trust only my staff," he says. "Staff aren't going to report faults. It's the people that will report on bad behavior."

In recent months, he has heard many complaints about Timorese vigilantes who -- apparently with some army backing -- roam Dili's streets at night. The governor shows pictures of two teen-age boys with parts of their ears cut off, allegedly by such gangs. "The kids didn't do anything," he says. "I protested to the army about it."

Mr. Carrascalao clearly is devoted to his job, sometimes staying in his office past midnight and returning the following morning before six o'clock. However, some people in Dili criticize his working style. Tito dos Santos Baptista, one of three

assistant governors, says Mr. Carrascalao "during 10 years can't prepare one Timorese to replace him." A priest complains that the governor appears to be a poor manager who doesn't delegate work.

Mr. Carrascalao rejects Mr. Baptista's view, saying that he has brought many Timorese into provincial government jobs and that there are several potential successors. As for not delegating, he says East Timor's problems require long hours. But he also gives the impression of feeling he must do a lot of work himself. "Why do I take a lot on my back? Many civil servants want to go home at 2 p.m., some come just to sign in and leave by 10:30 a.m." he says.

Indeed, he continues to wrestle with one legacy of Portuguese rule and years of strife. The governor says that between 3,000 and 4,000 of the province's 12,000 civil servants are illiterate. There weren't many educated Timorese to start with in 1976, he says, and much talent has been killed by Fretilin or has fled to Australia. "We're left with fifth- and sixth-ranking people," he sighs.

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### SHADOWS, EAST OF JAVA (AWSJ)

*Editorial, Asian Wall Street Journal  
December 12, 1991*

For all Indonesia's economic progress of recent years, President Suharto's government is now struggling to upgrade its world image. Indonesia's standing has been badly hurt by the Indonesian army's Nov. 12 shooting of some pro-independence demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor -- annexed by Indonesia as the 27th province in 1976.

Australia and Canada are protesting the East Timor deaths with embargoes of new aid to Indonesia. A human rights organization, Asia Watch, in a report released today, offers detailed and gruesome accounts of the Nov. 12 confrontation in which at least 19 people and perhaps many more were killed by the army (excerpts appear in the adjacent columns).

The Indonesian government is conducting an investigation into the matter, but Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno recently told Indonesia's Antara news agency that his plan is to "wipe out all separatist elements."

General Sutrisno's cruel logic no doubt finds a duty in protecting Indonesia's integrity as a nation. This is a powerful concern for the government of a huge archipelago that covers an area the size of the United States, inhabited by some 180 million people belonging to hundreds of highly diverse ethnic groups. Indonesian officials may be reflecting that one successful separatist revolt could spark others. And they can hardly be reassured right now by

the daily flood of news about the crack-up of the ethnically diverse Soviet Union.

Indonesia's integrity would be much better served, however, by the Jakarta regime's recognition that until its subjects can enjoy a free and democratic society, they will always have legitimate and severe grievances against their government. The conflict in East Timor is an especially ugly case, but it comes also as a warning that without a serious move toward open politics and democracy, other parts of Indonesia may be heading ultimately for similar showdowns. There is still no clear successor to President Suharto, who has ruled Indonesia these past 25 years. There is no precedent to suggest that the transition, whenever it comes, will be smooth.

Clearly, President Suharto has made a large contribution to his nation. His intervention in the 1965 coup saved Indonesia from going communist -- a fate that would probably have brought it today to the emaciated condition of Vietnam or Cambodia. Indonesians today enjoy a basic system of property rights, a small degree of freedom to discuss politics, and they earn an average income of some \$600 per year -- more than three times that of Vietnam.

But compared to the other non-communist nations of Pacific Asia, Indonesia's economy lags far behind all but the Marcos-ravaged Philippines, and its people are less free. As fears of communism spreading through Southeast Asia begin to look dated, repressive government measures taken in the name of anti-communism look even more dated. It was at least in part to suppress the leftist Fretilin guerrilla movement on East Timor that Indonesia in 1975 -- the year Saigon fell -- invaded the former Portuguese colony at the southeast end of the Java archipelago, and annexed it the following year.

But the important task for Indonesia's government today, if the aim is to build a proud, strong nation, is to catch up with the democratic trend that has been reshaping Asian governments from Pakistan to the Philippines to Taiwan to South Korea. To do this will require relinquishing some of the highly centralized political control that Jakarta now exercises.

Indeed, the governor of East Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, told the Asian Wall Street Journal's Richard Borsuk in an interview published Monday that given a free hand to run East Timor, he could "turn around the situation" in three months. That might be an optimistic schedule, but Mr. Carrascalao's basic approach seems a sound prescription for all Indonesia, where the central government still controls and tightly regulates everything from political commentary to fertilizer, petrochemicals and department stores.

For those in Indonesia still staring mainly into the past, it may seem there are

arguments for an authoritarian regime that rules as sternly as if it might be faced at any moment with revolt. But by depriving people of rights they both crave as human beings, and require in order to prosper, authoritarian rule tends to breed ultimately the kind of rebellion that Indonesia's government apparently fears. The shootings in East Timor last month invite comparison with Burma and China, which is surely not the legacy that President Suharto would want to leave his people. For Indonesians looking to the future, it is surely evident that the best way for the current government to preserve the nation and let it flourish is to ease the central control and hand over both greater responsibility and greater freedom to the provincial governments and to the people.

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### RESPONDING TO INDONESIA (EDMONTON JOURNAL)

*Editorial, Edmonton Journal  
12 December 1991.*

*Comment: This is the only Canadian editorial to back the government line to date.*

Canada's decision to freeze new aid to Indonesia is a sensible and measured response to the Indonesian army's massacre of civilians in East Timor.

It is an unmistakable signal that flagrant abuses of human rights carry serious repercussions. At the same time, there is an implicit promise that the aid might resume if there is an objective and independent inquiry into the massacre.

Given Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's new emphasis on linking aid to human rights, this is an effective approach. The United Nations and other agencies want to ensure that Indonesia will investigate the killings thoroughly, rather than cover up an atrocity that was denounced by the governor and civilian administrators of East Timor.

Canada's pledge to support the UN efforts is welcome. Political and economic pressure should work in this situation. Before the massacre, Indonesia had begun to invest in the economic development of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony it seized 15 years ago. If the army can be brought to heel, and basic guarantees of human rights established, Indonesia knows it can expect a new flow of aid.

Calls for pure democracy in East Timor are less likely to succeed. Indonesia itself is organized as a feudal society, and democracy in the western sense has yet to make substantial inroads. However, guarantees of human rights can be established in such a milieu, if their purpose is to guarantee people a life free of state terror. Indonesia's early years of occupation amounted to an orchestrated campaign of

terror on the island. By some estimates, a fifth of the population may have been massacred in a "pacification" campaign. The army killing of demonstrators last month was, by all accounts, the most brutal act in recent years. It came less than two years after foreigners and tourists were permitted into the region.

Canada's efforts will have succeeded if the systematic oppression and the shadow of genocide can be removed from East Timor.

The Mulroney government has done the right thing by suspending future aid projects rather than cancelling all aid as the Liberal Party wants. The \$226 million worth of Canadian aid benefits people all over Indonesia. Little of it is funnelled through the Indonesian government. Most of Canada's bilateral aid involves health care, irrigation projects, education, and ecological management. Much of it is a transfer of knowledge from Canadian universities, and from non-governmental organizations.

To have done away with all this would have been to punish many innocent Indonesians for the action of their army in a distant part of the world's largest archipelago.

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### "PISS WEAK" AUSTRALIA SLAMMED OVER EAST TIMOR

*The Bulletin. December 17, 1991.  
Dateline: (Australia) By David Leser*

The federal government almost certainly knows the details of the massacre by Indonesian troops in East Timor and is engaged in an act of "gross hypocrisy" by calling for the Indonesian inquiry to run its course, according to Australia's leading intelligence expert.

Dr. Desmond Ball, head of Strategic and Defence Studies at the Australian National University, told THE BULLETIN that Australia has been spying on Indonesia -- and East Timor -- for nearly 18 years, principally through its Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) facility at Shoal Bay, near Darwin. This facility gives Australia 100% access to radio and telecommunications going into and out of East Timor.

Australia has had a cosy 20 year relationship with BAKIN, the Indonesian state intelligence organisation, which would also have given us vital information about events in East Timor. These sources make Australia an accomplice to Indonesian repression, Ball says.

His assertion comes at an extremely delicate time for the government, which has been fending off calls to reverse the highly controversial recognition of Indonesia's forced annexation of East Timor. Australia

is one of the few countries to have extended de jure recognition.

"I believe, through this whole period the [federal] government has been engaging in gross hypocrisy," Ball says. "We're calling for things like an investigation so that we know what's going on when the government already knows what's going on. But calling for an investigation allows [the government] to pretend moral outrage without actually doing anything.

"If the decision to crack down as vehemently as the Indonesians did on November 12 was an order sent from Jakarta to Dili, then we'd know that. If it was simply an action taken on the initiative of the local commanders and they were reporting that back to Jakarta, then we'd know that too. There are only two ways the people in East Timor can communicate with Jakarta. One is by radio and the other is by satellite communications. We've got 100% access to both of them."

The DSD facility at Shoal Bay -- set up in December 1974 -- employs up to 200 people, most of whom are exclusively monitoring radio and telecommunications within Indonesia. It is our most important target country.

Australia also relies on regular meetings between its most senior intelligence agency, the Office of National Assessment (ONA), and BAKIN. This arrangement has been operative for 13 years.

In addition to that, the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS) has had a liaison officer attached to BAKIN in Jakarta since 1971. It is believed that at least another three ASIS officers are operating independently of this accredited arrangement.

Ball says that intelligence ties between Australia and Indonesia are so significant that they are rivalled only by those with our traditional allies the U.S., Britain, Canada and New Zealand. Ties with Indonesia complement the growing military relationship which has seen an increasing number of high level reciprocal visits by senior officers in the past three years, tours of each other's bases, exchanges of personnel and joint military exercises.

### IN JEOPARDY

Since 1990, for example, the two navies have been involved in about four exercises a year. Ball says: "I'm sure there would be a very solid and widespread view among cabinet and senior public servants involved that these forms of cooperation are so valuable we shouldn't do anything to jeopardise them." It makes him feel "very uncomfortable" to know that the Australian government has been privy to an enormous amount of information regarding Indonesian atrocities in East Timor but is pretending not to know.

"The Indonesian intelligence community -- and, therefore, the Indonesian government -- knows that we have known a lot over the past 16 years and that we've never complained. So, to them, basically, we've been giving them the implicit go-ahead. If we took a stronger view, many of them up there would think more highly of us. They wouldn't like what we say but there are a lot [in the intelligence community] who think, 'Well, they know what's going on but they're too piss weak to say anything about it.'"

Ball's comments come as Foreign Minister Gareth Evans prepares for one of his greatest diplomatic tests next week when he travels to Jakarta to voice Australia's concerns formally about the East Timor massacre. In an attempt to placate increasing criticism of Australia's position, Evans raised the possibility last week of reconsidering recognition of Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

On the basis of the most recent reports, it seems increasingly likely that Indonesian troops committed a second massacre against survivors of and eye-witnesses to the first massacre in Dili. The number of dead is thought to be as high as 214. The official body count is still 19.

The slaughter has caused international uproar and led to demands in Australia for a complete re-assessment of our relationship with our most important -- and powerful -- neighbor. They have ranged from expelling Indonesian diplomats and intelligence agents to terminating defence agreements, imposing sanctions, severing aid and reversing recognition of the control of East Timor.

In his two day visit to Jakarta, Evans will try to perform a delicate balancing act between those who argue that Australia has for years been far too timid in its dealings with Indonesia and that nothing less than blunt criticism is called for and those who advise that good bilateral relations are vital to our national interests and that a more cautious and pragmatic approach should still be followed.

Adopting a highly critical line would almost certainly lead to a deterioration in relations when they seemed to be on their warmest footing for years. Following the pragmatic line, however, could see Australia fall out of step with international opinion and would further inflame the passions of those who believe this country already has blood on its hands over the former Portuguese colony.

Although fellow ASEAN nations have been loath to criticise Indonesia, the outcry within the U.S. Congress, the Canadian government and the European Community is growing. A former Australian consul in East Timor, Jim Dunn, who has just returned from Europe and Japan, said the European Parliament had decided to set up

an inquiry into the massacre. The Dutch government has decided to suspend aid and Portugal, the next president of the European Community, has promised to keep the issue high on the European agenda. The Europeans are understood to have told Australia that Indonesia no longer will be let off the hook for its behavior in East Timor.

Not since the breakdown of relations with Indonesia in 1986 -- over a critical newspaper report on the financial dealings of the Suharto family -- has the relationship between Australia and Indonesia been put to such a test. Unlike then, when the pressure came from Jakarta, the push now is from members of the Labor Party caucus, the Australian Democrats, the trade union movement, human-rights groups, academics, former diplomats and large sections of the media.

While the federal government has officially deplored the events in Dili, many believe it has not been strong enough despite Evans' tougher stance last week for the Indonesians to co-operate with a United Nations investigation. He was instrumental in diluting a caucus resolution calling for sanctions against Indonesia.

"Australia makes more nation-to-nation complaints about human rights than any other country," says Dr. Keith Suter, president of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University. "But, at the same time, on East Timor, we have a very bad record."

### "RELUCTANT CRITIC"

Dr. Michael Van Langenberg, head of South East Asian studies at the University of Sydney and an expert on Indonesian affairs, agrees. "There is no doubt that the Australian government is a very reluctant critic of the massacre," he says. "Public statements concerning civil and human rights, which have been made in the context of the Lithuanian and Estonian question, which have been made in the context of Kuwait and other issues in the past two or three years, are simply not being made about East Timor. That seems to me to reflect a particular choice that the Australian government has made about what it regards as the sensitivities or pragmatics of its relationship with Indonesia."

In an interview with THE BULLETIN, Evans repeated the government's position that it would review policy towards Indonesia if its inquiry proved "a manifest whitewash". He refuses to say how the government would conclude there had been a whitewash but says there is no justification for believing there would be one.

"Our working assumption is that we're talking here not about something that can be described as an act of state, as was the situation with Tiananmen Square, as was

the application of the apartheid policy in South Africa," he says. "We are talking about something which may well have been aberrant behavior, by a section of the military."

Amnesty International says the policy of awaiting the outcome of the Indonesian inquiry is "fundamentally flawed", because that government has "never before conducted an adequate inquiry into reported human-rights violations in East Timor since the invasion in 1975."

In a meeting with Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Evans last week, representatives of the East Timorese resistance also claimed that an inquiry by the Indonesians was like "asking a criminal to judge his own actions".

### MASS GRAVES

Representatives from 11 Indonesian university campuses have issued a statement describing their government's commission of inquiry as "untrustworthy" and calling instead for a UN investigation. Jakarta first rejected and then welcomed such a probe, while early indications from its own investigation are hardly encouraging, given the reluctance of terrified eyewitnesses to come forward.

The most recent independent reports from Dili indicate that, on November 12, members of battalion 303 began firing directly into mourners gathered in front of the Santa Cruz Cemetery. (This battalion was previously under the control of Lieutenant Colonel Prabowo, President Suharto's son-in-law.) The soldiers then climbed onto the cemetery walls and shot at those trapped inside. According to the authoritative Far East Economic Review, soldiers were shooting, stabbing and beating to death anyone trying to flee. Bodies were taken away and dumped in mass graves.

Far from aberrant behavior, many observers see the Dili massacre as part of a systematic pattern of repression conducted by Suharto since he assumed power in 1966 -- beginning with the two years of purges that followed his counter-coup. It is estimated that between 500,000 and one million people died as a result.

In a meeting recently with Evans, representatives from various human rights and non-government organisations reminded him of other atrocities committed by the Suharto regime -- not the least being the invasion of East Timor. As many as 200,000 people -- nearly one-third of the population -- are said to have died in East Timor from war or famine. On a per capita basis, there is thought to be no equal in the world to such genocide. (Indonesia has also never explained properly -- nor has Canberra resolved satisfactorily -- the death of six Australian newsmen in East Timor the same year.) In 1984 Indonesian troops are reported to have rounded up hundreds

of demonstrators from the impoverished docklands area of Jakarta known as Tanjung Priok and summarily executed them. The same year between 5000 and 6000 petty criminals mysteriously disappeared after being released from prison. Many are said to have been picked up from their homes by security forces, shot in the head and their bodies dumped in the streets.

In 1989, Indonesian forces reportedly killed people in Lampung, in southern Sumatra, mainly because of a dispute over land. In the north, in the Moslem region known as Aceh, hundreds of people -- possibly thousands -- have been tortured and killed because of their struggle for independence.

In Irian Jaya, an uprising in 1977 by a tribal group known as the Dani resulted in thousands being slaughtered by Indonesian forces. Tribal elders reportedly died when thrown from helicopters.

"We have hardly ever voiced our protest," says Dr. Herb Feith, associate in politics at Monash University and another Australian expert on Indonesian affairs. "When the Army used excessive violence in all these situations, we always refrained from sharp criticism. That's because the priority has always been given to state-to-state relations rather than human rights."

One of the main architects of this pragmatic approach has been Richard Woolcott, Australian ambassador to Indonesia from 1975 to 1978 and now secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs. While expressing horror at the Dili massacre, he has been at pains to stress the importance of maintaining a close relationship with the world's most populous Moslem nation, the leader of the non-aligned movement, a member of OPEC and the most influential member of ASEAN.

"There is a need to handle this situation responsibly in terms of Australia's long-term national strategic and commercial interests," he told THE BULLETIN. "There's understandably a very strong and, in some cases, emotional reaction to the tragic killings in Dili but that incident -- appalling as it is -- needs to be kept in some perspective.

"We are a country of 18 million people. Indonesia is a country of nearly 190 million people stretching across the entire north of Australia and having very considerable influence over our sea-lanes and air space. There is the security situation to consider here. One has to really pause and think -- do we want to double, triple or quadruple our defence budget, because that is what would happen with a hostile Indonesia on our doorstep."

Woolcott also notes burgeoning political, defence, commercial and cultural ties developed since the deep freeze of '86. (He failed to mention intelligence ties.)

On the commercial front, Australian companies have rushed to take advantage of the freeing up of the Indonesian economy, one of the fastest-growing in South-East Asia. Australia has \$1.2 billion of investments in Indonesia, making us the fifth-largest foreign investor. Exports to Indonesia last financial year stood at \$1.3 billion, a doubling in just two years.

For more than a year, Australia has also been involved in informal discussions with Indonesia over the sale of uranium as part of its \$15 billion plan to go nuclear by the end of the century. More than 120 Australian companies are doing business in Indonesia -- one of the reasons why, soon after the Dili massacre, the board of Australia trade implored Hawke not to cancel his planned visit there in February.

Evans has developed a close working relationship with his Indonesian opposite, Ali Alatas. That relationship, coupled with a growing number of high-level political visits between Canberra and Jakarta, has helped to boost Australia's credentials on such regional issues as the Cambodian conflict and the establishment nearly three years ago of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group.

Australia gives Indonesia more than \$57 million in aid, more than any other country in the South-East Asian or North Asian region. The Australia Indonesia Institute -- established in 1989 to foster better relations between the countries -- also points as a sign of the times to growing media exchanges, planned film co-productions, artists-in-residence programs, intensive study courses and live performances by Australian dancers in Indonesia.

While most observers welcome these and other developments, many still believe that bilateral relations will continue to be strained unless the fundamental conflict in East Timor is resolved. According to UN resolutions and the UN charter, that ultimately means self-determination for the East Timorese. The UN regards Portugal as the administering power in East Timor -- which puts Australia out of step with international thinking.

It also means Australia could be in violation of international law because of the treaty the Hawke government signed with Indonesia in 1989 over the Timor Gap, the area north-west of Darwin, between Australia and East Timor, where some of the world's largest deposits of oil and natural gas are believed to be located. This week, Australia is expected to sign another agreement with Indonesia to allow 12 companies exploration rights in the Timor Sea.

### INTO A TRAP

This is despite the massacre and the area being considered to be Portuguese territory -- which is why Portugal has taken the



Australian government to the International Court of Justice for allegedly breaching international law.

Even those who support Australia's pragmatic approach to relations with Indonesia recognise the trap in making such a deal. "Whatever the Australian government does really has to be done in the context of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor," says a senior government source. "Because, if we move away from sovereignty, we erode the Timor Gap treaty."

The treaty, however, has been described by the Australia East Timor Association as a "friendship between thieves" and a natural consequence of Canberra's flawed 16-year-old policy.

The Whitlam government was the first to give the green light to Indonesia's takeover of East Timor. Prime minister Gough Whitlam has denied repeatedly any suggestion that he knew of Indonesian troops being involved in East Timor while he was in office. However, it was Woolcott who in 1975 sent a secret cable from Jakarta to the Foreign Affairs department exhorting the Australian government to tone down any criticism of any Indonesian military action in East Timor.

Woolcott wrote: "Although we know it is not true, the formal position of the Indonesian government is still that there is no Indonesian military intervention in East Timor. If the minister [for foreign affairs, Don Willesee] said or implied in public the Indonesian government was lying, we would invite a hurt and angry reaction."

But, if the Whitlam regime winked at Indonesia's designs on East Timor, the Fraser government nodded by extending de jure recognition to Indonesia's control in early 1979. Almost immediately, talks on the Timor Gap commenced.

According to Suter, Australia is "paying the price for this lack of integrity" in foreign policy in 1975. "What we are looking at is the whole weakness Australia has when it comes to dealing with Indonesia. It's Suter's law of politics -- the further you are away from an issue, the stronger your feelings.

"We don't mind offending South Africa but we bend over backwards to avoid offending the Indonesians."

#### A CHANGING WORLD

Evans describes Suter's comments as a cheap shot. "From the late 1970's on, there was no international mood to do other than recognise Indonesian sovereignty as a fait accompli. So, from then on, it was strongly arguable that Australia's best way of helping the East Timorese people was to operate within that constraint."

According to many observers, however, the international response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the collapse of the Soviet

empire and the clamour for self-determination worldwide has lifted those constraints.

The arguments are running strongly against the federal government.

Max Lane, a former Australian diplomat in Jakarta, says: "Everyone has been fed the line for so long that Indonesia has a different political culture to us and that we shouldn't offend them. The reality is that, like other countries in the world, there are different political cultures competing in Indonesia and the military one has had the upper hand for the past 25 years."

But that situation, according to Lane, could well change when Suharto dies and the momentum towards political reform grows. Then the pressure on Indonesia to decolonise East Timor could prove unstoppable. And, in those circumstances, Australia's policy would look even more self-serving.

"Australia has to recognise that the independence of East Timor is inevitable," Lane says. "We should be pushing for an act of self-determination. It is a matter of principle and something that will come about, anyway."

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### ONLY GHOSTS AND GUARDS WALK IN THE NIGHT

*The Bulletin* December 17, 1991.

*Dateline: (Australia). By Dennis Schulz*

*The Bulletin comments: "The atmosphere in East Timor is thick with fear and tension following the November 12 massacre.*

*Dennis Schulz, who has just returned from the island, describes the scene."*

When the sun goes down, Dili becomes a ghost town. At the very time of day when people across Asia switch on the neon and stroll down the streets taking advantage of the new evening cool, Dili slams up the shutters. By 10 pm, nothing moves. "It's the unofficial curfew," smiles East Timorese provincial governor Mario Carrascalao sardonically. "The people all fear to go out in the night because they are afraid of being beaten. That's when the [Indonesian] Army is most active. Last week, I had two 16-year-old boys in my office who were out after dark and were grabbed by the Army and beaten. One of them had his ears cut off and then sent home. So why? I think they are no better than bandits."

Carrascalao's greatest fear is that young East Timorese, unemployed and continually subjected to mindless brutality by their Indonesian masters, "will prefer being killed than living under these conditions". He sees a time in the not too distant future when they will mass into another deadly impromptu procession, knowing that they will be accorded the same reception as that

delivered on November 12 to the demonstrators at Santa Cruz Cemetery.

"The Army response [at Santa Cruz]," suggested one high ranking Indonesian officer dryly, "was standard operating procedure." Political dissent in Indonesia is simply not permitted.

Santa Cruz Cemetery is quiet once again, a lone candle defying the breeze, perpetually kept burning at the grave of Sebastian Gomez. It was the memorial mass and procession honoring Gomez that became an energetic demonstration against East Timorese integration with Indonesia -- the chanting, youthful crowd swelling to more than 2000 before the army intervened. The Indonesian committee of inquiry, set up by the Suharto government to investigate the massacre, has visited this cemetery but local witnesses are not forthcoming. Until the committee sets up procedures to guarantee their safety, witnesses will remain mute, terrified of army retribution for their testimony.

If they could make submissions to the committee, they would tell how the Army arrived at 8 a.m. from four directions, grouping at the southern entrance. Commander Rudolf Warouw, the provincial military commander, was not present. He was busy hosting a human-rights delegation from the United Nations a kilometre away at the Turismo Hotel.

One softly spoken public servant would confirm how he stood 10 metres from the young officer who, without warning the crowd to disperse or ordering a warning volley, stood on the back of a truck shouting the order for his troops to open fire. The automatic weapons bursts would continue for more than 10 minutes, trapping the demonstrators within the cemetery walls. All witnesses reported that the Army loaded three personnel trucks with the bodies of the dead after the shooting stopped, calling in another truck fitted with a water tank to hose down the bloody remnants of the carnage.

The number of dead from the military action at Sant Cruz Cemetery collected by sources in Dili from families reporting their children missing, hospital workers, public servants, the church, and other witnesses stands at 214. That number continues to rise with the deaths of the wounded who returned to their homes rather than face hospital treatment by Indonesian authorities.

Milena Carrascalao, the wife of the governor, arrived at Santa Cruz at 11 a.m., three hours after the gunfire stopped. A public figure above retribution, she will testify to the committee that she saw 10 people still injured -- some mortally wounded -- languishing in the cemetery. "When she asked a soldier why they had not been taken to hospital," recounts the governor, "she was told that there was no

transportation. They gave priority to the transport of the arrested people over the wounded."

The identities of those killed, wounded and arrested continue to be withheld by the Indonesian military, except for 50 names of the wounded that the intrepid Milena Carrascalao managed to wrench from the authorities at the hospital on the day.

The Army waited until dark to move again. Farmers grinding a living out of the barren, drought-ravaged hills outside the capital heard an Army convoy lumbering down the road late on the night of the massacre. They counted nine Army personnel trucks, followed by two bulldozers. Seven of the nine trucks were loaded with the stacked bodies of the dead, the other two carried bound prisoners who had survived the slaughter. "We go to die for our country," they screamed in Portuguese as they passed by the moonlit thatched huts.

Some 20 kilometres outside Dili, within the village limits of the village of Tibar, the convoy of death turned into a military base cum firing range known locally as Faiduma. It was there that a large, open burial pit waited. It was one of seven around Dili that had already been dug by the military in an effort to intimidate the East Timorese against any participation in the now-defunct Portuguese parliamentary inquiry. "I've been concentrating a search for the graves in the Hera area," says Governor Carrascalao, "but without success. I will make sure the Faiduma site is investigated because I, too, have heard of a pit in that area."

Getting to the mass grave isn't easy. One kilometre away is a heavily manned Army roadblock standing as a gateway to the string of huts that make up the village of Tibar. Within the Tibar area is the barbed-wire-rimmed Army base, Faiduma, where the grave site lies behind the home units of the Indonesian soldiers and their families.

The burial pit was exactly where sources reported it to be. Lying in scorched bushland between the Army camp and the rifle range behind it, the cleared area was obvious. The 20-square-metre excavation formed the terminus of a short track that led off the main road to the firing range. All vegetation in the area was obliterated or flattened by heavy machinery, with small depressions of surface soil collapsing around the edges, indicating the existence of a large filled-in hole. The dull crack of M-16 fire from the practice range 100 metres away would have made a common background sound in the isolated area. Little notice would have been paid to the sounds that marked the executions at the Faiduma pit.

An International Red Cross vehicle was seen turning into the site a few days after the massacre, presumably on a confidential inspection exercise. Approached to verify

the grave's discovery a week later, a Red Cross representative declined to comment due to the strict terms of a covenant with the Indonesian government. He did, however, indicate a knowledge of the Tibar site's existence.

As allegations of East Timorese human-rights violations continue to mount, Governor Carrascalao -- his powers do not include defence or the judiciary -- becomes further alienated from the Indonesian military. He now believes that the killings of Santa Cruz were premeditated ("I don't have all the details but I think it's true") but he does retain a cautionary optimism regarding the Indonesian commission of inquiry. "I hope at least this time they do not play games," says the governor. "So many have been killed. I'm not going to play games with them. I believe the first position for Indonesia is to take measures to avoid this kind of thing and to punish those who are responsible. If they are not going to punish these people, then I'm telling them to please replace me."

Dili simmers meanwhile in a rainless wet season's listless heat. Rumors spread like a virus. Did the Army make more arrests last night? What's happening in the upcountry towns? What about the Fretilin leader, Xanana and his rebels in the mountains?

"Up to now, there's been no reaction from Xanana but I believe he is going to act," smiles Carrascalao. "When and where I don't know but he is a very smart guy. The people expect him to act in retaliation for Santa Cruz and I don't think he is going to keep quiet."

### **CARRASCALAO IMPUGNS NAIRN (SUARA PEMBARUAN)**

*Suara Pembaruan, Dili, Dec 20 (translation in full from Indonesian):*

East Timor Governor Mario Carrascalao considers New Yorker magazine reporter Alan Nairn as having play-acted [bersandiwara] to dramatize the misfortune which befell him in the November 12 incident in Dili. "Actually, his wound could just have been treated with mercurochrome [obat merah] and would have healed," he said.

Governor Carrascalao disclosed this to Pembaruan's reporter at his office last Wednesday. He was being asked about the story of this American reporter who was shot when a riot occurred in the Santa Cruz graveyard November 12.

According to the statement of an eyewitness, Alan Nairn rejected medication. With a dressing tied and encircling his head, he flew directly to Guam from Denpasar. There in public he made out as if he had been brutalized and severely wounded. Carrascalao considered Nairn had not acted in good faith.

On his return home with his colleague, Amy Goodman, a reporter for Pacifica radio, Nairn undertook a travel campaign to spread their version of the incident in Dili to attract the sympathy of the public and of Congressmen about the violation of human rights in this Indonesian province.

Pembaruan's correspondent in Dili heard testimony that Nairn, who together with Amy Goodman entered Indonesia on tourist visas, suffered only a small wound near his ear. No information was obtained about a link between the visit of the two US reporters and the coming to Dili of a UN officer in the field of human rights, Prof. Koojimans.

Governor Carrascalao said he met with the reporter at the residence of Bishop Belo after the incident. The Governor offered his good services to accompany Nairn to the hospital to get medication for his wound.

Indeed, there seemed to be a lot of blood, said Carrascalao. He immediately added that Nairn "looked active, like he wasn't suffering from anything. After I examined the small wound, it was almost like there wasn't any. Indeed, I didn't examine it directly, but from his body movements he was like someone who wasn't wounded, only pretending. Later he displayed a severe wound."

According to Carrascalao, his wife Helena Carrascalao also offered a doctor to the US reporter. The doctor would come straightaway, but Nairn rejected this.

The Governor concluded that the American reporter wanted to dramatize matters by putting on an exhibition, boarding an aircraft with "wounds of his own creation."

"So for me, that reporter was not proceeding in good faith. He made a small matter into something big. So I consider he was only an exhibitionist. He left the country in a way he could be photographed as having a big wound so that the newspapers could blow things up more over there. In fact, his wound could have been treated with mercurochrome and would have healed. But he came with bad intentions."

### **Response by Allan Nairn**

*9 Jan 1992:*

"The governor is mistaken. Indonesian soldiers fractured my skull by beating my head with the butts of their M-16s. The beating left wounds and scars across the back of my head, but they are minor compared to what happened to the East Timorese."

## UNE TRAGEDIE ORDINAIRE AUX ANTIPODES (LE DEVOIR)

*Editorial, Le Devoir (Montreal, Quebec), 20 December 1991. Original: French.*

*By Francois Brousseau*

Far, very far from the loud cries and the almost manic scrutiny of the international media on the implosion of the USSR or the latest moods of Yitzhak Shamir, there are real tragedies unfolding that the world does not take note of, or forgets after making one or two protests. East Timor is one such case....

If the Quebecois can justly invoke their past to talk of national alienation or linguistic injustice, nothing that they have suffered in the course of the last two centuries compares to the daily suffering certain national groups around the world, where simply to speak their language in public or to talk of national independence is an almost automatic guarantee of brutal and bloody repression.

The Indonesian regime has been dominated for a quarter of a century by General Suharto, a man who compares to the worst Pinochets and Jaruzelskis. He has physically eliminated, since the brutal annexation of the tiny former Portuguese colony (fleeting independent) in 1975-76, from 100,000 to 200,000 Timorese ... out of a total population today estimated at 550,000 people! A population different by language (Tetum) and religion (Catholic), holding a territory which unfortunately does not count for much next to the immense human mosaic -- some 190 million inhabitants -- that today composes Indonesia, that archipelago of 13,000 islands where "national unity" is an iron dogma, a state religion.

The massacre last November 12 -- from 100 to 200 pro-independence youths shot down by police during a demonstration -- has led, this week, to a report from the authorities in Jakarta which does not challenge the police version in any way. Police claim they fired "to protect themselves against a dangerous mob," and maintain that only 19 people died in the barrage. For good measure, the authorities also announced this week that the death penalty could be required against several of the demonstrators arrested at the event. In Indonesia, they don't kid around with separatists.

Had it not been for the accidental and semi-clandestine presence of several western journalists, this massacre would without a doubt never have been known by the outside world. For one "smudge," spotted and denounced, how many hidden repressions?

The example of East Timor, an everyday tragedy in the antipodes, shows that military repression, censorship and sys-

tematic disinformation as state policy, have certainly not disappeared from the surface of the globe with the death of the communist Devil. It proves, moreover, that the expression "national oppression" remains, alas, on the agenda everywhere.

It recalls, finally, the harshness of international relations and realpolitik towards stateless nations. To affirm their legitimate rights and to reclaim their self-respect, is not always enough -- far from it -- to change the conduct of foreign countries towards a grossly repressive state. A few statements of principle, a few "worries" expressed in western foreign ministries, do not change the relationships of "business as usual" with the criminal. But, since Tiananmen, we already knew that.

## DOZENS OF FOREIGN NEWSMEN BARRED (JAKARTA POST)

*Jakarta Post. 27 December 1991, abridged*

Indonesia has put dozens of foreign journalists on the list of those barred from entering the country for security reasons, Director-General of Immigration, Roni Sikap Sinuraya said.

"The state intelligence body (BAKIN) and armed forces commander requested that they be blacklisted because they are considered to be dangerous to the safety and security of the state and nation," said Sinuraya. Those barred include journalists from Australia, the US and Hongkong.

The recommendations came from a special "reading and listening" team of the information ministry, which monitors all foreign printed and broadcast reports about Indonesia. Biased and misleading reports were discussed in the ministry's clearance house before the decision to blacklist a journalist was made, said Sinuraya. The clearing house consists of officials from the ministry, the directorate-general of immigration, the attorney-general's office, the foreign ministry, the state intelligence and the interior ministry.

*Only two names of barred journalists are mentioned: Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman.*

## TIMTIM CORPORATION TO START OPERATIONS

*Source: Jawa Pos, 27 December 1991. News item, summarised.*

*Comment: It sounds like a desperate bid to push reluctant Timorese into imbibing the capitalist spirit and so forget their political aspirations. While 'fostering' may have little effect, some of the conglomerates involved may soon start to wreak havoc in East Timor as they already have done in many parts of Indonesia.*

Nine major business enterprises and Puskopad Kodam Udayana (Army Cooperative of the Udayana/IX Military Command) have signed a Memorandum of Understanding to set up PT Timor Timur Business Development Corporation (PT Timtim Corp). The MOU was due to be signed [and was indeed signed] in Dili during the Christmas visit to Dili by armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno. The consortium will seek to promote the East Timor economy by involving local inhabitants and the local administration (pemda).

The nine companies involved, together with Puskopad are: PT Astra International, PT Telkom Indonesia, the Matahari Group (represented by PT Puncak Matahari), the Bakrie Group, Bank Rakyat Indonesia, Bank Danamon, PT Great River Garment Industries, Garuda Indonesia, and PT Bintang Cemerlang (a consortium of Pusri, Semen Gresik and other state corporations).

The coordinator for the new venture is Dr Hidayat, President-Director of PT Puncak Matahari. He told the press in Jakarta before leaving for Dili that the aim of the venture is to train East Timorese to become business people, to promote investments and trade involving local people, support the development activities of the local administration, as well as assist the army's territorial operations.

"The unique thing about this consortium is that every investor will be required to involve a local enterprise," said Hidayat. He said the idea was first considered early in 1991, long before the 12 November incident. "That incident only accelerated the setting up of the consortium," he said.

Initially, anyone wanting to invest in East Timor should contact PT Timtim Corp because local companies in East Timor are still very small. Once the business in question has grown through the fostering of the 'adoptive' parent, the shares will be fully held by the local company," said Hidayat.

The provision of capital funds will be discussed in January and the initial financing for PT Timtim Corp will be probably be around Rp. 3 billion [about \$1 million]. Each participant in PT Timtim Corp will also have its own business venture in East

Timor and some already do, like Bank Danamom.

PT Puncak Matahari plans to start a 'teaching store'. "We have already trained a hundred East Timorese for four months in Jakarta and they will be returned to East Timor to launch their own businesses. PT Great River Garment Industries will be the 'foster parent' in various sectors of industries." And so on.

The main thing, said Hidayat, is not the profit and loss consideration but encouraging large companies to get involved. "I have been going back and forth to East Timor over the last 3 or 4 months and I have seen just how low the level of business enterprise is there. It needs to be developed." The new corporation will take concrete action, not confine itself to making promises, which Governor Carrascalao has been complaining about. Businesses have been making promises to invest since 1988 but nothing has been realised.

East Timor needs the help of business venture. "But businessmen should not just exploit its resources, they should give guidance to local businessmen so that they themselves can exploit these resources."

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### INDONESIAN MILITARY TO SEARCH FOR MISSING (UPI)

*UPI, Jakarta, Dec 31*

Military forces will begin a full-scale search for people still missing after last month's bloody shootings in East Timor, government announced Tuesday.

The search, ordered by President Suharto, follows the release of a government report estimating that 50 people were killed and a further 90 were missing after government troops opened fire on mourners at the funeral of pro-independence leaders in East Timor on Nov. 12.

The Indonesian government first said no more than 19 people were killed in the shootings, which sparked an international outcry. Independent reports put the death toll at more than 100 people.

Suharto has instructed Armed Forces Cmdr. Gen. Try Sutrisno to search for further missing bodies, government officials said.

"We will cross-check every piece of existing data and all facts found in the field ...." Sutrisno said. "Please give me a chance."

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### SUHARTO WARNS INTELLECTUALS (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Muklis Ali, Dec 31 - Indonesian President Suharto warned his people on Tuesday in a traditional end-of-year speech to beware that their demands for change do not break up the country.

Some members of Suharto's cabinet as well as other politicians and intellectuals have demanded a loosening of the tight control the government has imposed since Suharto came to power in 1965 after an abortive communist coup.

"The changes that we want need to be undertaken with a responsible attitude, carefully and cautiously," 70-year-old Suharto said in a nationally televised speech.

He was apparently responding to critics who say his policies should be softened following international outrage after at least 50 people in East Timor were killed when the army fired into a crowd at a funeral on November 12.

"The changes should not leave our vulnerable areas exposed and endanger our unity and cohesion," he said.

Suharto said an official commission he had set up to investigate the shooting in the East Timor capital Dili had covered all aspects of the violence.

He voiced his condolences to victims of the shooting, which the report blamed partly on the ABRI section of the powerful military.

Diplomats said the commission's rejection of the military version of the Dili shooting and Suharto's swift response would placate countries giving vital financial assistance.

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### U.S. CONGRESSMEN WRITE INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR

*31 December 1991.*

The following is the full text of a letter sent to Mr Abdul Rachman Ramli, the Indonesian ambassador in Washington, by Congressman John Edward Porter and Congressman Tom Lantos, the two Co-Chairmen of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus:

Dear Mr Ambassador,

As Co-Chairmen of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, we are writing to you out of deep concern for the people of East Timor. Directly following the massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery of up to 100 mourners on November 12, 1991, we organized a Caucus hearing to investigate reports of serious human rights problems in East Timor. According to our information, human rights conditions in East Timor have continued to deteriorate since those tragic events.

We are encouraged by the preliminary report of the National Investigation Commission which recognizes that 50 Timorese were killed, a figure that is closer to eyewitness accounts of 75-100 or more. In addition, we understand that two generals, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan and Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw,

have been fired due to their involvement in the massacre. However, there are major discrepancies between official and eyewitness accounts. According to first-hand witnesses who submitted graphic testimony to the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, as well as information documented by internationally respected human rights organizations, the military acted according to a systematic plan and was not physically provoked. Nevertheless, we understand that the Commission maintains that the military fired into the procession of mourners spontaneously to protect themselves from an unruly crowd.

Despite the Indonesian government's public condemnation of the massacre, we have been receiving reports that human rights violations by the security forces have increased. We understand that the people of East Timor are still being subjected to death threats, beatings and imprisonment -- with some being charged with subversion which is punishable by execution. In addition, we are told that the security forces have intensified their interrogations of individuals suspected of having dissident political views, especially participants in the November 12 procession, senior figures in the Catholic Church, and young people in Dili. We also remain concerned that many relatives of individuals wounded on November 12 and members of the International Committee of the Red Cross have been denied access to the military hospitals where the wounded were taken.

These on-going violations of fundamental human rights in East Timor are outrageous and deeply distressing and could leave no alternative for the U.S. Congress but to cut its assistance to Indonesia and to review trade benefits granted to your country.

We hope you will closely investigate the brutal actions by security forces on November 12, 1991, account for the victims of the massacre and respond to reports of ongoing human rights violations occurring in East Timor. We look forward to your response.

Representative John Edward Porter

Representative Tom Lantos

*The Congressional Human Rights Caucus is a bipartisan organization in the U.S. House of Representatives consisting of 200 members of Congress. The Caucus takes action against human rights violations around the world and is a leading voice in Congress for human rights.*

## EAST TIMOR'S SEARCH FOR PEACE (RAMOS HORTA)

*By Jose Ramos Horta, overseas representative of the East Timor National Council of Maubere Resistance.*

*The Age, Melbourne. Date: 2 January 1991.*

The massacre of an undetermined number of unarmed civilians in Dili, on 12 November 1991, was only the latest in a series of massacres perpetrated by Indonesian armed forces against the East Timorese since 1975.

The 12 November massacre was not an "aberration" as suggested by the Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans. Rather, it followed a pattern in the behaviour of Indonesian troops in East Timor. The only difference was that foreign eyewitnesses, and especially video cameras, were not on location before.

I have no doubt that on 15 November, 80 more people were killed; on 17 November, another 10 were executed and on 18 November, seven more, including a one-year-old baby, a five-year old child and five women, were gunned down. But cameras were not there and hence those massacres became non-events, as when a sister and two brothers of mine were killed in the late 1970s.

However, as I told the former Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and Senator Evans in our discussions early in December, I am not prepared to engage in the grotesque exercise of body count.

The facts are that innocent people including women and children were killed. Should it matter that "only" 50 were killed and not more than 100, as most observers believe?

Should Indonesia now escape international sanctions only because President Suharto decided to "demote" two officers who in all likelihood will remain on active duty elsewhere in Indonesia and even be promoted in a few months from now? How many officers in Indonesia rose in the ranks through their heroic feats in East Timor? One is Suharto's son-in-law, Colonel Prabowo, whose meteoric rise is due in part to the old man and in part to his ruthless behaviour in East Timor.

Are we to be happy that President Suharto, the man ultimately responsible for the destruction of East Timor, "demoted" two officers who were in East Timor under his orders?

Should a regime notorious for corruption, nepotism, disdain for the rule of law and which uses force as an instrument of policy to silence domestic dissent and carry out wanton murders in places like West Papua and Sumatra, continue to be rewarded with international largesse?

In 1975, the East Timorese were underestimated and dismissed by everyone -

Portugal, Australia, the US and Indonesia. It was thought and hoped in 1975 that the East Timorese were not capable of distinguishing between independence and colonial servitude, would not resist Indonesia's military might and the whole issue would be sealed within months so that the Western liberal conscience would not be bothered.

After 16 years of brutal Indonesian occupation, it should be clear to all now that the East Timorese are not going to be frightened into submission and will continue to dare to oppose Indonesia's rule.

Indonesia must be compelled by the international community to desist from the occupation of East Timor. Indonesia must be told firmly that it must disengage from East Timor through a step-by-step process beginning with direct dialogue with credible representatives of the East Timorese resistance movement, either under the auspices of the United Nations or an acceptable mediator. Maybe Jimmy Carter, acting on behalf of the UN or the US?

Xanana Gusmao, the legendary East Timor resistance leader, has renewed his peace proposal based on talks without preconditions. This is undoubtedly the best possible process which would allow Indonesia to save face.

Indonesia and its neighbours should not fear an independent East Timor, which would be the inevitable outcome of the peace talks. I can state authoritatively that two initiatives would be taken on day one of an independent East Timor - application for membership of Asean and for membership of the South Pacific Forum.

Further, the talks could cover security arrangements by which the leaders of East Timor would pledge by treaty that they would honor the republic's borders and would never harbor hostile forces bent on destabilising the republic. Indonesian migrants living in East Timor would be allowed to stay on and properties lawfully acquired by Indonesian nationals would be respected.

The Timor Gap Treaty would be reviewed but pending a final settlement of the boundary dispute, current treaty exploration could continue. In fact, the substance of the treaty, except for the fact that it was signed with the wrong party, would be largely accepted by an independent East Timorese government.

East Timor, in spite of too many disappointments with Australia, would still invite its involvement in the territory's future. After all, more than 10,000 East Timorese now live in Australia. Most will want to retain their Australian citizenship but would want to work and visit from time to time.

The Northern Territory's relationship with East Timor would experience a boom. Presently, the Northern Territory accounts

for only one per cent of all Australian trade with Indonesia, while an independent East Timor and Darwin could forge very close economic and cultural links.

An independent East Timor is in everybody's long-term interests. Past and present policies have proved a failure and should now be discarded.

## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL URGENT ACTION

*Amnesty International issued an Urgent Action on 3 January 1992 entitled: "Arrest and intimidation of suspected political activists in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre".*

*The following are the first five paragraphs, slightly abridged, of the document no: ASA 21/01/92:*

Scores of political activists in East Timor, including many young people and Roman Catholic priests, are reportedly being subjected to arbitrary arrest, incommunicado detention, beatings and death threats. Fourteen suspected political activists, all possible prisoners of conscience, face charges of subversion and may be tried unfairly. These human rights violations have occurred in the wake of the 12 November Santa Cruz massacre when Indonesian security forces opened fire on participants in a memorial procession and killed an estimated 100 people.

Father Alberto Ricardo, the Vicar General of the Diocese of Dili, has been subjected to repeated, intensive interrogation by the security forces since the 12 November incident. Interrogation appeared to have ceased briefly during the Christmas period but has reportedly now resumed. On 2 January 1992 Father Ricardo is said to have been subjected to continuous interrogation from 9 am to 5.30 pm during which time he was threatened and verbally humiliated. As a result of these interrogations, colleagues say, Father Ricardo is in grave danger of a psychological breakdown.

Recent reports indicate that military intimidation has intensified since the massacre and that an atmosphere of fear and apprehension prevails in Dili. Local security forces appear to have used the 12 November incident as an opportunity for intimidating and imprisoning suspected opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor. Participants in the 12 November procession, members of the clergy and people who have spoken with foreign tourists or journalists are among those at risk of arbitrary arrests and beatings. Scores of young people have reportedly been threatened with death and some may be at risk of extrajudicial execution.

The Indonesian government has acknowledged holding 32 alleged political

opponents. This number is believed to include 26 arrested after the Santa Cruz massacre and six thought to be among an estimated 20 people arrested during an incident at Motael Church on 28 October. The government announced on 28 December that 14 of these detainees would be charged with subversion, an offence which carries a maximum penalty of death. The government said that a further 18 will face criminal charges.

Doubts about the forthcoming trials are heightened by reports that most of the detainees have been held incommunicado, interrogated without the presence of a lawyer and may have suffered ill-treatment and torture by their captors.

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## ASIA WATCH CRITICIZES COMMISSION REPORT ON EAST TIMOR

*ASIA WATCH: A COMMITTEE OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH*

*January 3, 1992*

Asia Watch has studied the preliminary report of the National Commission of Inquiry prepared by the seven-person team appointed by President Suharto to investigate the killings in Dili, East Timor on November 12, 1991, when Indonesian armed forces opened fire on unarmed demonstrators.<sup>1</sup> It has also reviewed the Indonesian press covering the two and a half week long investigation and interviewed people in Dili at the time the investigation was taking place. Based on these sources, Asia Watch concludes that the National Commission's investigation was fatally flawed by the Commission's government ties and 'oy the lack of experience of those involved in conducting investigations of this kind. Given the way the investigation was conducted, its findings as published in the preliminary report -- which take the army's position that security forces fired on demonstrators in self-defense -- cannot be accepted, and the need for an international investigation is all the more urgent.

It is true that the appointment of the Commission was the first time the Indonesian government had ever recognized the need to respond so publicly to international criticism of human rights abuses by the army. It is true that the Commission head, M. Djaelani, appeared to take his assignment seriously according to those who met with him in Dili, and that the preliminary report was critical of security forces whose actions, it said, "exceeded acceptable norms." The report also acknowledged that the official death toll of 19 was far too low. Finally, it is true that two senior commanders, Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw (head of the army's Operational Command for East

Timor) and the Bali-based regional commander, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, were sacked after the preliminary report came out. But none of these factors constitute evidence that the investigation was expertly or objectively conducted, and many of the most important questions remain unanswered. Some specific problems with the Commission are as follows:

### 1. Too Much Reliance on Military Sources

The Commission concludes that soldiers at the Santa Cruz cemetery, provoked by the stabbing of an army intelligence officer and a private and by the "provocative belligerence and aggressive attitude of the crowd" fired "spontaneously" to defend themselves, "resulting in excessive shooting." This version of events, which contradicts various foreign eyewitness accounts, was the inevitable result of the way in which the "on-site reconstruction" of the incident was undertaken. According to the Indonesian daily Kompas of December 11, 1991, the Commission team went to the cemetery on December 10, accompanied by the assistant chief of intelligence for the regional military command, Colonel Gatot Purwanto. Twenty soldiers from Infantry Battalion 303, one company of which took part in the shooting, took part in the reconstruction, showing the Commission members where they had been standing at the time the firing began. No one from the side of the demonstrators took part in the reconstruction.<sup>2</sup> A second reconstruction was conducted later after the first was deemed inadequate, but there are no reports of any demonstrator taking part.

A word should be said about the number of eyewitnesses interviewed by the Commission. The preliminary report says 132 such witnesses were interviewed, an impressive number. But this presumably includes the 26 people in custody in the Dili police headquarters (polwil) whom the Commission visited; 66 people interviewed in the military hospital where they were recovering from their wounds; and the 20 soldiers who took part in the reconstruction. The detainees and hospital patients were in military custody and not necessarily in a position to speak freely; moreover, Kompas reported that when the Commission members visited the detainees on December 4, they did not ask the patients many questions except about their health.<sup>3</sup> The detainees, patients and soldiers together comprise all but 20 of the eyewitnesses seen by the Commission, and it is not known how many of the rest were members of the security forces, something that should be clarified in the final report. On December 14, the last day of the Commission's visit to Dili before returning

the Jakarta, Kompas reported that members were going to meet with 50 people at the local parliament building, but it is not known how many people showed up, how many were eyewitnesses, or whether the interviews were conducted in confidence. Throughout the period of the investigation, the Commission had to contend with the fact that many people, including families of victims, were too frightened to come forward and testify.

When the preliminary report does acknowledge contradictory testimony (such as some witnesses saying the troops fired directly on the marchers and others saying that the firing started only after fighting broke out and a hand grenade was tossed), the Commission makes no attempt to assess the relative validity of the two accounts or explain the nature of the respective sources.

### 2. No Assessment of Military Behavior

The preliminary report spends three pages accusing the independence movement Fretilin of fomenting trouble in Dili since 1989 and listing the various incidents in which "anti-integration" youth engaged in demonstrations. It says nothing about abuses on the part of the Indonesian military since 1975 or even since 1989, saying rather that the army employed an "approach based on love and affection."

It says nothing about troop movements on November 12, although this information may be contained in the final report. How many troops were present on the scene? From which units? Who ordered them there? The last point is crucial, since General Warouw, the operational commander for East Timor, may have been in a meeting with United Nations Special Rapporteur Pictet Kooijmans at the time when troop reinforcements were ordered to the cemetery. The preliminary report refers to "another group of unorganized security personnel, acting outside any control or command" who "fired shots and committed beatings." Who were they, and where were they?

If the statement is accurate, one possibility is that they were members of Battalion 700, whose Deputy Commander, Major Gerhan Lantara, was stabbed. According to the Jakarta newsweekly Editor, two platoons from Battalion 700 totalling about 75 men ran to the Santa Cruz cemetery after hearing via a walkie-talkie of Gerhan's stabbing.<sup>4</sup> A local government employee who witnessed the demonstration was quoted in the same issue as saying he heard two army squads and one squad from the Mobile Brigade (Brimob) running behind the demonstrators after the stabbing yelling, "Just shoot! Don't let them get away!" Finally, a policeman interviewed by Editor said the trucks full of troops which arrived at the

cemetery were from Battalions 700 and 744, not Battalion 303 which in theory had territorial responsibility for Dili and on which press attention has focused. These statements taken together appear to lend credence to the idea that the stabbing led soldiers from Battalion 700 to fire not in self-defense but in deliberate retaliation for the wounding of an officer. But there are still far too many unanswered questions. If these were the "unorganized" security forces, who were the others? If soldiers from Battalion 700 systematically took aim and fired, who were the "unorganized" troops?

The sacking of Generals Warouw and Panjaitan in the aftermath of the report's release is curious, since the report stresses that even the organized security forces were acting "without command" and says the killings were not ordered by nor did they reflect the policy of the government or the armed forces. If Warouw and Panjaitan were not responsible, why sack them? If they or their subordinates did give orders, why does the Commission report otherwise? If the reports which the Commission heard are correct that "troops arrayed in anti-riot formation fired shots aimed directly at the crowd", then it would appear that they were shooting on orders. If so, whose, and what is the evidence?

### 3. Poor Use of Exhumation as an Investigative Tool

The Commission, accompanied by four military officers, carried out a highly publicized exhumation of one grave at Hera Cemetery, apparently to see whether rumors that bodies had been tossed in graves without religious rites were true.<sup>5</sup> The preliminary report notes that it was found that the victim "was buried in a coffin, completely dressed in accordance with Catholic tradition." But that should not have been the focus of the investigation.

The graves at Hera contained the bodies of the 19 people of the official death toll. The body of the New Zealand student, Kamal Bhamadhaj, was initially buried here before being exhumed and returned to his family. Who were the other 18? If the Commission was going to go to the trouble of exhuming a body, why did they not try to identify it? Who, or which military unit, brought the bodies to the site? Why were 19 bodies selected for burial out of the many more killed? The allegations of bodies dumped without ceremony in mass graves did not refer to the graves in Hera Cemetery; the exhumation seems in retrospect to have been conducted more to exonerate the army of charges of insensitivity to religion than to collect new information.

### 4. Insufficient Efforts to Assess What Happened to the Others Killed

Commission members did go to areas in Hera, Tasi Tolu, Pasir Putih and Tibar outside Dili where there had been reports of mass graves but the preliminary report concludes that "no evidence could be obtained at these locations in support of these allegations." In fact, Diaelani told reporters that when they got to Tasi Tolu, they did not know where to look.<sup>6</sup> It would have been useful for the report to describe what kind of reports the Commission was working with when they went to the areas in question and who they went with. If Commission members were accompanied by military officers, the chances of getting hard data would have been virtually nil. Of all the information the Commission could collect, the information on mass graves would have been most sensitive and most dangerous for ordinary East Timorese to bring out. While the army could not deny that the killings had taken place at the cemetery because of the presence of foreign eyewitnesses, it could and did reject the idea of mass graves or dumping of truckloads of bodies because no one safely outside East Timor saw actual burials. (An Australian reporter described the site near Tibar in some detail; the Commission made no effort to interview him.) Only those living near the sites would have known the location of those sites in detail, and the possibility and fear of reprisals for giving incriminating evidence would be high. The final report should state the precise nature of the sources for the various accounts of mass graves and an assessment of the Commission's capacity to investigate them.

Even if the likelihood of witnesses coming forward to testify about mass graves was small, the Commission, knowing that this was an issue in East Timor, might have tried to consult experienced investigators from countries where similar reports have surfaced. They could have tried to use a methane probe, easily available from a gas company, for example, which might pick up evidence of decomposing bodies. They could have asked the advice of archaeologists - a simple instrument called a T-probe to test differences in soil density, often used by archaeologists, could have helped the team in its efforts to locate graves. Another technique that could have been used, although perhaps too expensive, is infrared photography. Failure to detect mass burial sites with such techniques would not be conclusive evidence that the sites did not exist, but it would be evidence of a more thorough investigation.

In a critical omission, the report fails to answer the question, if no evidence could be obtained to support allegations of mass graves, what happened to the other 31

killed (the report admits the death toll was "about 50", still too low by most independent estimates) and some 90 still missing? The report faults the "careless handling" of those who died, saying that *visum et repertum* (autopsies) were performed but the deceased were not identified. What procedures were in fact followed in performing these autopsies? How many were performed, and by whom? If there were more than 19 autopsies, the Commission should have tried to find out what happened to each and every body. What happened to the bodies after the autopsies were completed? Where are the autopsy reports?

### 5. Ambiguous Statement on Prosecutions

The preliminary report concludes that action must be taken against all who were involved in the incident suspected of having violated the law, and that those individuals must be brought to trial. Given the publicity about the 26 people in military custody for their involvement in the November 12 demonstrations and five people detained for alleged involvement in an earlier incident on October 28, the report's failure to mention prosecutions of military officers leaves the unfortunate impression that only civilians will be brought to trial.

### Conclusions

The preliminary report does raise serious questions about military behavior on November 12, but it is neither thorough nor objective, and the lack of competence of Commission members in investigating a mass killing is all too clear.

The need for an experienced international team of investigators with no connection of any kind to the Indonesian government to undertake its own fact-finding is more critical now than ever before. There is not much time left. Bodies will decay making identification all the more difficult; memory of specific details will fade; the "official version" will be increasingly accepted as fact. The international community must continue to press the Indonesian government for a full and accurate accounting of what happened. The preliminary report deserves no accolades.

<sup>1</sup> "Advance Report of the National Commission of Inquiry into 12 November 1991 Incident in Dili" (unofficial translation made available by the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, D.C., Jakarta, December 26, 1991. Signed by M. Djaelani, Ben Mang Reng Say, Clementino Dos Reis Amaral, Harisoegiman, Anton Sujata and Sumitro.

For a detailed account of the killings, see Asia Watch, "East Timor: The

- November 12 Massacre and its Aftermath," December 12, 1991.
- 2 "KPN Saksikan Rekonstruksi Insiden Santa Cruz", Kompas, December 11, 1991, p.1.
- 3 "Sebaiknya Terima Dulu Utusan dari Sekjen PBB", Kompas, December 5, 1991, p.1.
- 4 "Dari Yon 303 ke Yon 433", Editor, Vol. 5, No. 12, December 7, 1991, p.33.
- 5 According to Kompas (December 13, 1991), the officers included the subdistrict military commander for East Dili, Lieutenant Wildan Sayuti; the regional intelligence commander, Colonel Gatot Purwanto, and an army doctor from the local health department, Captain Seth Lenggu.
- 6 "Australia tak Salahkan Indonesia", Kompas, December 14, 1991, p.1.

*For Further Information Sidney Jones (212) 972-8400*

## GOVERNMENTS CAN NO LONGER FOOL THEMSELVES

### Eyewitness response to KPN report

*2nd January 1992*

*A response to the KPN Report by Russell Anderson and Saskia Kouwenberg. Anderson was an eyewitness to the Nov-12th Dili massacre. Kouwenberg (free lance journalist) was in Dili at the time. For our contact address and further details see end of article.*

The Preliminary Report by the Indonesian National Commission of Inquiry (KPN) into the Dili massacre is at worst a repetition of the military's unacceptable version and at best a genuine attempt to appease the watchful eye of the international community.

Two aspects in the Preliminary Report are disturbing: the amount of deaths and the cause of the massacre.

"The number of casualties up to now is 19, the Commission thinks it has strong enough reason to believe that the number of dead is around 50". This is peculiar to say the least. The head of this very same Commission, Judge Djaelani, after returning from a 16 day investigation in East Timor declared assertively that definitely not more than 19 people had died.

So it seems the additional deaths were not found in Dili but in Jakarta. Could it be that the Australian Foreign Affairs Minister, Gareth Evans not only succeeded in signing a profitable oil deal but this time secured a very important concession? Early last month Evans left Jakarta, to the surprise of many, daring to contradict the Indonesians by claiming there were at least

75 deaths in Dili. Australian commentators already then predicted a juggling game with the numbers of deaths in the Report.

The international community has also played an important role. However the KPN has tried to secure a safer margin by stating "around 50" in order to test the international waters and probably update the figures again in the Final Report in case the international community is not satisfied enough.

The KPN Report says the shooting started by a "spontaneous reaction by the service men, without any command control because their weapons and lives were in danger". This contradicts eyewitness reports and video material.

It was the military who arrived in trucks after the march had assembled at the Santa Cruz cemetery. The four foreign eyewitness's who stood in front of the cemetery have stated there was initially about 80 meters between the East Timorese and the Indonesian army and that there was no contact between the two groups. There was no "provocative savagery of the masses" as stated in the Report. According to eyewitness's soldiers from three trucks formed lines and were joined by at least several hundred of foot soldiers who arrived a bit later. It were the military who moved towards the crowd and opened fire, without warning, to create a calculated cold blooded massacre.

The situation moments before the shooting, as stated by the eyewitness's was in fact the opposite of the report." I, Russell Anderson, was standing among the East Timorese and noted that the majority of them had already moved away, to the direction of Hotel Turismo. There were about one thousand people left in front of the cemetery at the time the soldiers moved towards the crowd. Of these thousand many were walking away and some were running. Most demonstrators would have been shot in the back, like I could have been when we fled."

But lets assume the initial firing started by a "spontaneous reaction" of some trigger happy soldiers. How then can what followed be explained? The soldiers under command of plain clothes military with walkie talkies systematically searched and surrounded the Santa Cruz cemetery. There was continuing gunfire, stabbing and beatings for at least half an hour later. There seemed nothing spontaneous about the military trucks on standby taking away several hundred people and the speed with which the bodies were taken away.

If the command to fire didn't come from Jakarta then there was a peculiar deathly silence immediately after the massacre. Or was there? With whos permission were the unidentified bodies buried on several different places? On who's command was nobody - including the Red Cross - allowed

to visit the wounded and who kept hundreds of East Timorese in prison? Who is bringing to trial 52 East Timorese - of which eight face a possible death sentence - because they demonstrated against Indonesian activities in East Timor? And why does Amnesty International continue to receive report after report of serious human right violations including imprisonment, death threats and beatings? Why are the East Timorese today living in fear. These matters one could hardly describe as "spontaneous reactions of service men".

The massacre on Nov-12th can in no way be seen as "basically a regrettable mishap". The massacre is an unavoidable consequence of a consistent Indonesian policy. Wasn't what happened on Nov-12th exactly what the Indonesians said would happen? For months the Indonesians had prepared East Timor for the scheduled arrival of a Portuguese / UN Delegation in early November. The army played an important role in these preparations. Military were present everywhere to the smallest village, watching everyone. Checkpoints controlled everyone's movements. More East Timorese than normal disappeared. Essential is the story, confirmed by many sources, that virtually every East Timorese during these preparations was told through meetings at schools, work or market place that if anyone expressed anti-Indonesian feelings to the Delegation they would be killed. It was even spelled out to them were they would be buried! All soldiers must have been fully aware of these threats. So wasn't it logical what followed? The East Timorese publicly showed anti-Indonesian feelings, so ... the soldiers killed. Perhaps the time, place and manner didn't coincide to the letter with the Indonesian scenario, but can the blame lie solely with the soldiers?

Even after Nov-12th the military Commander in Chief, General Try Sutrisno leaves little doubt about the expected behaviour of the soldiers, when he said "Yes, they had to be blasted. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them".

The massacre on the 12th November can not be seen as a "mishap" for another obvious reason. This is not just one bloodbath in the 16 years of Indonesian occupation/integration of East Timor but one of hundreds. In 1980 the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja admitted, in London, that 120,000 people had died since the occupation in 1975. According to Amnesty International another 80,000 have died since.

It might be true that there did exist in recent years streams within the Indonesian government who fought to establish a more human development strategy in East



Timor, but they seem to be all too late and were too little.

Indonesia must recognize it has failed both through military means and by "Operation Sympathy" to create a so much desired Indonesian province of "Tim Tim". This is not solely an Indonesian failure, but it seems an unwritten law: people who are forced to learn another language (culture) then their own will resist. Rebellion is just a question of time. Indonesia knows this from their own experience with their former Dutch colonial rulers. So they should know better. The East Timorese will not give up. As has been seen when they risked their lives on the 12th in a peaceful demonstration calling for independence.

The East Timorese are, after the Nov-12th left with many deaths, disappearances, fear and unavailable bodies for families and friends to mourn. Don't they deserve more than the words of General Sutrisno who stated recently "After the Investigation mission is accomplished we will wipe out all separatist elements who have tainted the governments dignity".

They at least deserve a United Nations Investigation, granted the authority to ask the East Timorese what happened and to offer protection to people once they have gone. The KPN after all admitted it encountered "obstacles" by the refusal of witness's to testify because they were too scared. A thorough investigation by the UN should not be limited to the Nov-12th massacre but also should examine the general circumstances under which East Timorese are forced to live. And even more important: a special UN commission should examine actively ways that can lead to a long term solution. Of course the East Timorese themselves should be part of this commission.

Governments can no longer fool themselves with what ever explanation is given by the Indonesian government of Nov-12th. The juggling of the exact amount of deaths does not change the deplorable circumstances in which the East Timorese have to live. Governments of course know this but are still reluctant to take any concrete measurements out of fear of Indonesian repercussions. This is certainly true for Australia who almost spasmodically tries to secure good neighbourly relations.

But if governments, Australia included, want to take human rights seriously then they should realise it seldom will come with a cheap price tag. Australia should rectify its shameful past policies concerning East Timor before it takes its place in the Human Rights Committee of the UN. Otherwise a foul odour will cling to the words spoken on other human rights issues. The smell will be of dead East Timorese bodies.

*Due to our presence in East Timor before and as eyewitness's to the Nov-12th massacre our eyes have been opened to the brutal occupation of that country by Indonesia. Since leaving Dili we have made ourselves available to give testimony where ever possible, wrote statements and several articles. We will continue to do so for the next two to three months before returning to Australia. We are temporarily based in the Netherlands. For more information please contact the office of aps (activist press service) in amsterdam: Saskia Kouwenberg and Russell Anderson fax: +31 20 616 89 67 E-mail peacenet: aps*

## INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR-FREE LOCAL AUTHORITIES WRITE TO U.N.

3 January 1992.

The President of the International Secretariat Committee of the Nuclear Free Local Authorities, Councillor Simon Sedgwick-Jell, of the Manchester City Council, wrote the following letter to the UN Secretary-General on 3 January:

Dear Sir,

### Massacre in East Timor, 12 November 1991

The International Secretariat Committee of the Nuclear Free Zone Local Authorities (representing over 4,000 municipalities world wide) meeting in Jerusalem between 28 November - 1 December 1991, considered an emergency resolution in the terms attached, and agreed that I should write, urging the United Nations to use its influence to direct peaceful diplomatic and economic pressure towards Indonesia with a view to ending the illegal occupation of East Timor and the prevention of further violation of human rights.

I am copying this letter and attachment to the Indonesian ambassador at the UN.

Yours faithfully

### The attached resolution reads as follows:

*Statement by the International Secretariat Committee of Nuclear Free Local Authorities for Peace, meeting in Jerusalem between 28 November and 1 December 1991, on the massacre by the Indonesian Government of an estimated 180 civilians in East Timor on 12 November 1991.*

The International Secretariat Committee:

- Is appalled by this massacre which is the continuation of 16 years of military occupation by Indonesia;
- notes that during the occupation nearly one third of the population (200,000) people have been killed;

- demands that Resolution 384 and 389 by the Security Council of the United Nations calling for Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor be implemented;
- condemns the Indonesian government for the massacre, and calls for an international and independent investigation into the events of 12 November 1991;
- calls upon national movements of local authorities to press their governments to take a clear position against the Indonesian occupation and to insist that international resolutions about the rights of East Timor people to self-determination be upheld;
- resolves to write to the UN urging that it use its powers to end the occupation and the violation of human rights in East Timor by Indonesia, and that it implement all peaceful measures to achieve this end;
- and through the representation of the International Secretariat Committee at the United Nations to urge that the occupation of East Timor be monitored closely and that UN assistance and protection for the East Timor people be provided.

## PROTESTS FORCE CANCELLATION OF INDONESIA-AUSTRALIA STEEL DEAL (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Sydney, Jan 3*

Australia's biggest company said on Friday that Indonesia had cancelled an eight million dollar (US\$6.1 million) contract because of union protests against the army's shooting of civilians in East Timor in November.

The Broken Hill Pty Co Ltd said a 30,000 tonne shipment of steel slabs from its Port Kembla steelworks south of Sydney was to have been delivered in March to state-owned Krakatau Steel in western Java, Indonesia.

It said it had lost the contract "as a result of industrial action initiated by the South Coast Labour Council."

International marketing manager David Burgess said Krakatau Steel had told BHP that Indonesia needed to ensure security of supply, and that the contract would be awarded to an unnamed supplier, probably in South America or Europe.

Unions in the Port Kembla region, under the umbrella of the South Coast Labour Council, placed work bans on handling a shipment of 35,500 tonnes of steel slabs to Krakatau last month in protest against the Indonesian army's shooting of a large crowd of mourners in an East Timor cemetery on November 12.

The union "go-slow campaign" was criticised by the national Australian Council

of Trade Unions (ACTU), which said local unions were alone in their campaign against Indonesia.

"We are hopeful of continuing our Indonesian business," Burgess said.

"But the cancellation underlies how competitive our international business is. To be successful...it is essential to be viewed as a reliable supplier."

South Coast Labour Council spokesman Paul Matters said he was pleased the bans had an impact. He said his group planned to ask the ACTU to impose a total trade boycott on Indonesia.

"Our actions may give some indication to the Indonesian government we strongly protest the massacre, a message certainly not being given by our Australian government...," Matters told the Australian Associated Press news agency.

"The argument being put forward that Indonesia will just get its steel elsewhere is futile," he said. "Why then did we impose trade sanctions on South Africa?"

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## INDONESIAN ECONOMIC OUTLOOK BLEAK (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 3*

Indonesians, with few happy memories of economic life in 1991, enter the new year with their foreign markets pinched and a cash-strapped government at home showing little sympathy for businesses paying the highest interest rates in Asia.

"They'll be tight," said one economist of the government's draft budget for fiscal 1992 starting April 1, which President Suharto will present to parliament on Monday. Economists say the budget will offer scant relief to business as funds go mostly to social and infrastructure projects.

The key worries are inflation, running at close to 10 pct a year, and a current account deficit that is near five billion dollars and growing fast.

A tight monetary policy adopted 1-1/2 years ago to combat both problems has pushed prime lending rates up to 25 pct and beyond, and this is not about to change.

"The government...Must start stepping up measures to improve infrastructure and remove distortions to facilitate distribution of goods," said leading private economist Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, who is close to Suharto.

Sumitro told a recent meeting of civil servants not to expect the economy to fully recover until 1993, and then only if market distortions -- including monopolies often granted to the politically favoured -- are removed.

Economists say Indonesia's current account deficit could top eight billion dollars in 1992 as growth slows in non-oil exports to major markets, which are suffering their

own economic woes, and imports remain steady.

One senior state bank official said he doubted Jakarta could afford to ease interest rates much without risk of capital outflows. He said fears of a devaluation of the rupiah linger in the markets, though most local economists rule it out.

"The government and big business have the same interest in keeping the rupiah stable. They all have big dollar exposure," he said.

Another constraint on business growth -- and an inflation dampener -- has been the removal of easy access to foreign commercial borrowing, which had been a preferred way of getting round the tight money policy.

Fears that foreign aid, which balances the Indonesian budget, might be reduced in response to the November massacre of separatist sympathisers in East Timor have eased since a government inquiry laid much of the blame on the army, analysts said. The World Bank has called for foreign aid pledges to Indonesia of some five billion dollars this year, about equal to fiscal 1991.

"The current account will take some time to swing around so they'll need aid at around the same level," said one analyst.

The price of oil, which still accounts for around one-third of Indonesia's export revenues, is another worry.

The budget for fiscal 1991 assumed an oil price of 19 dollars per barrel but analysts say 17 dollars might be a safer bet this year.

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## ALATAS: KPN COMMISSION REPORT FINAL (ANTARA)

*Excerpt from Antara, Jakarta, Jan 3*

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the National Investigation Commission's [KPN] report on the November 12 incident was already final. It actually constituted an executive summary, containing final conclusions. Its essentials would no longer be changed, except with the support of new data and details.

Alatas was of the view that the continuation of the effort to deal with the East Timor issue will now mainly depend on the UN, particularly the new secretary general to take new initiatives to resume the talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

He stressed as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, Indonesia would not take advantage of its position to achieve its own end, such as in settling the East Timor problem.

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## TIMOR PROTEST CONTINUES IN CANBERRA (RADIO AUSTRALIA)

*Radio Australia Jan 4.*

The Australian government has been urged to ignore a request from Jakarta to remove East Timorese protestors from outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra.

The government has given the protestors until Monday to remove what they refer to as the East Timorese Embassy, which has been set up outside the Indonesian embassy. The so-called East Timor embassy consists of signs, flags and a portable hut.

Indonesia has launched a strong protest with Australia over a clash on Thursday between the protestors and Indonesian Embassy personnel and has demanded guarantees for the safety of its diplomatic staff.

The Spokesperson for the East Timorese Independent Movement FRETILIN, Alfredo Ferrera(?), said it was unreasonable for Indonesia to say that the embassy staff feared for their safety. Ferrera was speaking in the northern city of Darwin and said that Indonesian staff in Canberra were in no danger from the demonstrators.

He said Indonesia was attempting to limit the right of free speech in Australia.

**Radio Australia, Jan 5.**

There has been criticism in Australia over the government decision to remove the unofficial information office erected by East Timorese protestors outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra.

The government says its decision to remove the so-called "East Timor embassy" follows violent incidents last week involving protestors linked with the office, which was erected a week after the Dili shooting.

However, the East Timorese protest group which put the office up has reacted to the decision by saying it is determined to continue a peaceful picket outside the embassy. The group said it would not be deterred from pressing the Indonesian and Australian governments over what it called the continuing genocide in East Timor.

A main trade union organization in Canberra has also criticized the government's decision, calling it an over-reaction.

## TIMOR LACKS ALLY AMONG THE MIGHTY (STAHL: INDEPENDENT)

by Max Stahl

*Independent on Sunday (London). 5 January 1992.*

Once more, it appears, the East Timorese are being abandoned by the international community. The veneer of legitimacy stripped from Indonesia's occupation of East Timor by the massacre of demonstrators in Dili on 12 November is gradually being touched up again by those foreign governments - particularly the US and Australia - on whom the Timorese had pinned their hopes.

President Bush and the Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, have welcomed the report of Indonesia's official commission of inquiry, published on 27 December, and their officials have described it as "serious and responsible" and a not-unreasonable account of what we, from other sources, know or believe to have occurred".

This "responsible" report deals in military hearsay, half-truths and abstractions. The commission, after weeks in Timor, could not even name the 19 official dead, although Amnesty Indonesia has a list of the names of 52 dead and 15 missing feared dead.

In its conclusion it talks of soldiers "without any command control" who were "exercising self-defence", and refers to the "provocative savagery" of the demonstrators. There is no evaluation of the contradictory evidence of the Timorese, and of five foreign witnesses (including myself), who agree the army fired on the crowd in a disciplined manner and without provocation. There is likewise no mention of the officers I filmed for Yorkshire Television giving orders and the soldiers marching in step to surround and then beat the wounded demonstrators trapped in the cemetery.

The atrocities committed after the shooting are glibly dismissed. These include the killing of wounded demonstrators on the way to the hospital and the torturing of detainees in custody. I myself saw marks of torture on one demonstrator released late on the night of the massacre. According to his testimony, four others died of stab wounds in police custody on that day alone.

The report offers a background and explanatory context to the demonstration which is almost wholly misleading. It alleges that the Timorese who turned out to demonstrate in their capital that day were forced to do so. We interviewed one of those who was to be killed. He was a schoolteacher, and every member of his family - 19 people - had been tortured, raped or killed by the Indonesian occupiers. He was willing enough to protest.

To rebut in detail such a transparent manipulation of international public opinion is to enter a world of Alice in Wonderland. Some 200,000 people have died in Timor in the 16 years since Indonesia conquered it. When at last a massacre was witnessed, reported and filmed by foreign journalists, a report was commissioned to spare the blushes of governments - including the British - which have supplied Indonesia's weapons.

Western foreign ministers, from Australia's Gareth Evans to Douglas Hurd, know what sort of people run Indonesia. But a charade was played out. In the US, Stephen Solarz - Indonesia's principle supporter in Congress - wrote to the Indonesian ambassador stressing that "unless the investigation is satisfactory" he couldn't see any way of approving the US aid" for the coming year. The same warning was repeated by Australia's Mr Evans.

The Indonesian inquiry team got the message that some criticism was needed and the commission found, for example, that it had "strong enough reason to believe that the number of dead is around 50". The international response was warm. And when two senior generals in command of Timor operations were moved on, diplomats were united in the belief that Indonesia had done enough to keep its \$5 billion (2.7 billion) of annual international aid.

In 1989, the UN Economic and Social Council established principles for inquiring into such atrocities. "Members," it said, "must be chosen for their recognised impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular, they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry."

This commission, set up by the Indonesian president, was chaired by M. Djaelani, a former general, a member in retirement of the Indonesian Supreme Court, in his prime a command of the infamous red beret unit involved in numerous atrocities in East Timor. Djaelani has worked closely with General Suharto almost since he seized power in 1966. He was one of those who organised a series of show trials of opposition figures in the late 1960s in an attempt to provide the regime with apparent legitimacy. The commission's other members were another general, a vice-admiral, two senior civil servants, and two civilians, one a token Catholic and the other a token Timorese - both government employees. The US government, having read the preliminary report produced by this team, says it is watching with interest ... the crucial question of how the Indonesian legal system will deal with those members of the security forces who used excessive force". The Foreign Office is

still studying the report. As yet, it has not condemned the killings.

## A FOREIGNER TAKEN INTO CUSTODY

*Source: Jawa Pos. Date: 5 January 1992. News story: The section about the tourist taken in full.*

*Comment: Jawa Pos up to its tricks again! Such an unsubtle hack job. Things have got pretty bad when a journalist boasts of doing the job for the intelligence. Delgado's comments would be most welcome.*

Raimundo Delgado, 39 years old, a Portuguese-born US citizen was taken into custody by security and immigration personnel in Dili, East Timor yesterday afternoon. He attacked someone who did not want to answer his questions.

"He struck an inhabitant of Kolmera because the person didn't want to answer his questions. He even shouted at a security officer who tried to stop him," said an official.

The East Timor police chief confirmed this. "We did not intend to hold him as a detainee. He was taken to the police station only to protect him from the fury of the masses who chased him at the time of the incident in Kolmera," he said.

Jawa Pos journalist who kept an eye on Raimundo (!) from the moment he arrived in Dili on 31 December saw him behave very strangely. For instance, he would leave his hotel late at night and not return till the early hours.

One day at Turismo Hotel he tried to win the confidence of a young man. He also tried to win the confidence of the Jawa Pos journalist who kept close to him. He promised to help young people with their schooling and help them go abroad. He told people they could join the American-Indonesian Friendship Association and be educated to become people capable of developing East Timor, said one person whom Raimundo approached.

Another source said that during his stay in East Timor, Raimundo also did journalistic work. He contacted a number of kampung dwellers and youths and asked them about the 12 November incident. These people did not want to respond to his questions so he soon became very angry with them. According to several sources, Raimundo used Portuguese but he spoke it with a thick accent.

One source says he went to see Bishop Belo on 2 January. "After his meeting with the bishop, he went to Santa Cruz cemetery and took photographs. He was seen writing notes in a small notebook," the source said. [All very suspicious!]

-- Jan 20, 1992

Regarding the reported expulsion of an American tourist from East Timor, TAPOL

was recently informed that a tourist named Raimundo Delgado who holds a US passport was recently expelled from East Timor after being mistreated by Indonesian security forces. Reg.easttimor hopes he is now safely back home and would welcome a report of his experiences and observations.

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### TOP INDONESIAN MILITARY TEAM IN DILI (AFP)

*Excerpt from AFP, Jakarta, Jan 5*

An Indonesian military council has arrived in East Timor to investigate the armed forces' conduct in a bloody shooting in the capital Dili on November 12, the official Antara news agency said Sunday.

The six-member Honorary Council, set up by presidential order Thursday, arrived Saturday in Dili and visited Santa Cruz cemetery where the shooting took place, Antara said.

The council, which will be in East Timor until Saturday, was set up to study the decisions taken by the local command in the shooting and to handle the "follow up," the agency said.

The team is made up of major generals and led by Major General Feisal Tanjung, head of the army's Staff Command School.

The Merdeka daily Sunday quoted Coordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs Sudomo as saying the council would "gather facts, listen and ask for an account of security operations linked to the Dili incident."

Sudomo said that should any member of the security forces be found to have violated military standards, they could face disciplinary or legal action.

He said disciplinary punishment ranged from job transfer to dismissal, while legal measures would involve a court martial.

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### OZ "TIMOR EMBASSY" HOLDS ON (REUTER)

*Excerpted from Reuter, Canberra, Jan 6.*

Protesters who set up an East Timor "embassy" outside the Indonesian mission in the Australian capital have vowed to continue their sit-in despite police efforts to remove them.

Their wooden "embassy" hut was moved on Monday from near the gate of the Indonesian embassy to 30 metres down the road after Indonesia told Australia its presence could harm relations.

The police had wanted to remove the hut altogether. But Terry Connolly, Police Minister in the Australian Capital Territory which administers Canberra's local government, overruled them, saying the hut could stay in its new position as long as the demonstration remained peaceful.

"We respect people's rights to demonstrate peacefully. As long as (the protests) are conducted peacefully they can stay," Connolly told reporters.

About 20 people have occupied the hut since November 12, when Indonesian troops fired on mourners in East Timor, a former Portuguese territory annexed by Jakarta in 1975.

"There will be no further compromise. Our protests on a daily basis will be at those gates. We're determined to stay," Peter O'Dea, of the East Timorese Embassy Support Group, told reporters.

The group has been trying to stop deliveries to the embassy and last Thursday threw bricks at embassy cars.

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### SUHARTO OFFERS SYMPATHY TO VICTIMS (AFP)

*Excerpt from AFP, Jakarta, Jan 6*

Indonesian President Suharto on Monday expressed his condolences to families of some 50 people killed by troops in East Timor and called for introspection after the shooting in the former Portuguese colony.

"Let us draw a lesson from this incident. Let us make introspection," Suharto told the parliament in a speech unveiling the budget plan for the upcoming fiscal year.

Suharto said that most important now were steps "to instill a sense of tranquility and peace in the hearts of the people of East Timor, so that they can continue with the development."

A military council is currently in Dili to investigate the armed forces' conduct in the shooting.

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### INDONESIAN PARLIAMENTARY CHAIRMAN SPEECH (TVRI)

*TVRI, Jakarta, Jan 6, live, excerpts from speech by DPR [People's Representative Council] Chairman Kharis Suhud:*

The DPR deeply regrets the Dili incident.

The DPR has made it clear that the incident was not a result of Indonesian government policy, which is based on Pancasila ideology. This has been confirmed by a report prepared by the KPN [National Investigation Commission] which has made an objective and independent investigation.

The KPN has patiently and thoroughly listened to the views of all concerned parties and gathered information from all witnesses who are open-minded and objective. We appreciate the president's decision to take needed action as a follow-up to the KPN's report. For the sake of upholding justice, all parties involved in the incident and those who masterminded it

will face trial in accordance with existing laws.

All policies on East Timor should be reviewed to search out improper policies. Sociologists and anthropologists are invited to give their valuable contributions toward this end.

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### HOW INDONESIA ENGULFED EAST TIMOR (LIECHTY: W.POST)

*By C. Philip Liechty*

*Washington Post, January 6, 1992*

I was appalled to read the Dec. 21 letter in The Post from the Indonesian Embassy press spokesman, M. Hannief Djohan, re-playing his government's legend of how tiny East Timor became a part of Indonesia in 1975. Djohan also tried to put a good face on the Indonesian killing of Timorese civilian demonstrators on Nov. 12.

While serving our government in Jakarta, I followed the 1975 Indonesian seizure of nearby East Timor. There is no shred of truth in the Indonesian version of events.

By 1975, no longer needing a sleepy tropical military garrison there, Portugal had freed East Timor and departed after 400 years. The tiny colony was not "precipitously abandoned" to the kindly Indonesians, as Djohan implies. There was political and physical confrontation between rival Timorese factions, but before the dust could settle and before isolated East Timorese could agree upon a viable government, massed Indonesian forces swept in; U.S. helicopters and logistical supplies were featured as more of our misdirected Asian largesse.

And why the invasion? East Timor was there, passive, an undefended sitting duck for the expansionist Indonesian generals. A slaughter of tens of thousands of unarmed or poorly defended Timorese followed, but little factual reporting on the bloodiest atrocities left the island; the Indonesians made sure of that, effectively blockading East Timor, cutting off communications, turning back journalists and Western observers, terrorizing the populace and lying to the world about it, as now.

Eventually, Indonesians in civilian clothes (including army officers, I understand) were trotted out to pose as members of four indigenous Timorese political parties seeking "integration with the Republic of Indonesia," as Djohan puts it. Of course, a ruthless form of martial law was in force. A "People's Assembly of East Timor" was concocted by the invaders, providing the fig leaf of legitimacy, or "in full compliance with U.N. General Assembly resolutions," as Djohan puts. In fact, the United Nations called upon Indonesia to get out of East Timor without delay and without qualification. The Indonesian "parliament," President

Suharto's domestic rubber stamp, instantly honored the inevitable integration "request" of the phony People's Assembly, surprising nobody. And U.S. leadership sat quietly on its collective hands.

The Timorese have had no freedom since. But the Indonesian military killing on Nov. 12 of more Timorese, who were laying flowers on the grave of a youth killed a month earlier, suggests that the people have retained their courage and desire for the sort of self-determination our government claims to represent. Djohan insists that this latest unpleasantness was "at the instigation of remnants of the Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)" (exhumed from 1975 mass graves just for the occasion?) and that "the (Indonesian) security forces had to ... defend themselves, as well as to restore order." Perhaps Suharto feels order will be restored when there are no more destabilizing East Timorese around, and there are fewer since Nov. 12.

The role played by my own government was entirely in keeping with our Asian policy of the era as in Vietnam, South Korea of the 1960s, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines and elsewhere. Among some key Americans, the predominant view seemed to be that U.S. cultivation of a newly independent East Timor, to ensure its favorable U.N. vote during those Cold War years, would not be worth the necessary input; better to allow this tiny half of an island to be grabbed by the Jakarta generals, who already ran the other half, thereby hopefully placing them in our political debt. And so it was.

A leftist Fretilin group existed, but it was no more than a small, harmless, historical footnote, significant only for its propaganda value as one of several implausible Indonesian after-the-fact justifications for invasion. While there was strong confrontation among rival Timorese factions in 1975, the situation was not one where major military forces "tried to gain power by force of arms, and through intimidation and terror tried to impose their will upon the majority of the East Timorese people," as Djohan says.

Djohan asks us to "be fair," not prejudging the eventual findings of a National Commission of Inquiry, set up by the same dictator who launched the 1975 East Timor bloodbath, to investigate his own forces' latest 1991 killings there. Instead, let's start being "fair" to Timor.

The Indonesians' feeble whitewash should be recognized for what it is and rejected. And our own image might be improved if our president, a former director of Central Intelligence with more than passing knowledge of East Timor's recent history, might exercise the intestinal fortitude to correct earlier policy blunders by doing what is necessary and possible to put

the brakes on the latest Indonesian thuggery.

Firm bipartisan congressional encouragement would also help. We bear more than minor responsibility for East Timor's 1975 demise, and the original Post editorial ("Indonesia's `Tiananmen'," Dec. 9) was close to the mark in so implying, despite the protestations of Djohan and his apparent President-for-Life, Gen. Suharto.

*The writer is a former CIA operations officer.*

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### EYEWITNESSES' TESTIMONY ABOUT EAST TIMOR MASSACRE PUBLISHED

*The Parliamentary Human Rights Group has published a book on the hearing it held when it took evidence from eyewitnesses of the Santa Cruz massacre. Its press release, dated 7 January, reads as follows:*

The massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor, on 12 November 1991, led to such an international outcry that President Suharto who, 16 years ago ordered his troops to invade the former Portuguese colony, was compelled to appoint a team of senior officials to draw up an official version. His aim was clear: to convince governments which provide his regime with massive economic assistance, not to impose economic sanctions. The team's preliminary report was made public on 26 December and the final report will appear very soon.

To examine the question in depth, the Parliamentary Human Rights Groups invited eyewitnesses to the massacre to testify at a hearing on 17 December. The transcript and the written evidence is now available in this new publication. It shows that Jakarta's official version is a cynical distortion of what happened.

The eyewitnesses described the disciplined operation of the troops who opened fire on thousands of peaceful demonstrators after they had arrived at the cemetery to pay tribute to a young Timorese murdered by Indonesian troops two weeks earlier. They saw no violence or threatening behaviour among the demonstrators, only enthusiastic calls for an independent East Timor.

This contradicts the conclusions of the official report which alleges that the soldiers fired in self-defence on an unruly and dangerous crowd which the "security forces deemed could endanger their weapons and their lives".

In his introduction, Lord Avebury, chair of the PHRG, writes that the account given "is of a ruthless and cold-blooded massacre of peaceful demonstrators".

A representative of Amnesty International told the hearing that the

United Nations should conduct an international inquiry into the tragedy; the Indonesian inquiry team is not an independent body and it should not be accepted as such by governments, he said.

This dramatic account comes as a warning to governments and politicians alike not to allow such an atrocity to go unpunished. The Indonesian government is responsible for a huge catalogue of atrocities since East Timor was illegally annexed in 1975. It is estimated that about 200,000 people have died, nearly a third of the population.

*This 32-page book is available from TAPOL for 2.50 including surface mail p&p, or 3.50 overseas airmail. For more information, contact 081 771-2904 or gn:tapol.*

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### FREE EAST TIMOR JAPAN COALITION WRITES TO GEORGE BUSH

*Press Release, January 7, 1992*

The Free East Timor Japan Coalition, composed of grassroots East Timor solidarity groups in Japan and the Japan Catholic Council for Justice and Peace, sent the following letter to United States President George Bush, in Japan from today for an official visit. The letter urges the American president to discuss with Prime Minister Miyazawa U.S.-Japan cooperation in raising the East Timor issue in the United Nations Security Council. The letter calls for urgent Security Council action to guarantee the security of the East Timor population and to set in motion mechanisms to achieve a withdrawal of Indonesian troops and a just act of self-determination by the East Timorese people.

For further information contact: Jean Inglis (tel. 0823-22-0962/fax. 0823-22-2684) Furusawa Kiyoko (after 10PM at 0474-66-1512)

January 7, 1992

President George Bush  
c/o United States Embassy Tokyo

Dear Sir,

We write you on the occasion of your visit to Japan to raise the pressing issue of East Timor and urge you to discuss with Prime Minister Miyazawa concrete steps toward U.S.-Japan cooperation in seeking a fundamental solution to the issue.

The Free East Timor Japan Coalition is composed of ten grassroots solidarity groups (in Sapporo, Sendai, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Okayama, Zentsuji, Kure, Shimonoseki and Oita) and the Japan Catholic Council for Justice and Peace.

The massacre of innocent people in East Timor on November 12 last year drew the attention of the world once again to the

East Timor issue. But except for the Australian Government, which responded to the massacre by expressing support for the holding of negotiations between the parties to the conflict (including the commander of Falintil), no country referred to the necessity of finding a fundamental solution to the issue itself. A fundamental solution would entail the exercise of an act of self-determination by the people of East Timor, something which has been inhibited by the invasion and occupation by Indonesia. Since the invasion tens of thousands of East Timorese have died, and after the recent massacre one wonders how many more deaths will be required before the international community takes action on the issue. It is cause for shame that East Timor is always the prime example that arises whenever "selective indignation" or "double standards" with regard to human rights are discussed.

But we have not lost hope. Japanese people, as well as many others in the world fervently wish for a just solution to the East Timor conflict. Japanese NGOs and lawmakers have petitioned the Japanese Government to take timely and decisive action to achieve a settlement, and on 25 December 262 Diet members from both houses, one-third of all members, submitted a petition to the Prime Minister.

A key point in these petitions, and what we propose to you for discussion with Prime Minister Miyazawa, is swift action by the United Nations to (1) guarantee the immediate security of the population from further violence, and (2) set in motion mechanisms to achieve a withdrawal of the occupation troops and a just act of self-determination on the part of the East Timorese people. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on East Timor call for Indonesian withdrawal and affirm the right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence, and these resolutions are still in force. However a fresh initiative is urgently needed if these mandates are to be realized. Japan, as a newly elected member of the Security Council, is ideally placed to cooperate with the United States in initiating action in the Security Council. The time for such action is now, and it would be no less than criminal neglect on the part of the international community if the recent precedents for negotiated settlements in Western Sahara, Namibia, Cambodia and elsewhere are not quickly followed by action on behalf of East Timor.

Finally, we would like to convey to you a message which our coalition received in a video tape last year from Shanana Gusmao, the commander of the East Timor resistance forces, Falintil, in East Timor. Mr. Gusmao says that he is ready to enter unconditionally into talks with Indonesia to achieve peace. He stated that Falintil has

been fighting without military assistance from any country, communist included, and that after independence the political system in East Timor would be a parliamentary democracy with multi-party participation and that East Timor would adopt a policy of good neighbor non-alignment and might eventually seek to join ASEAN.

We believe that the time has come for both the United States and Japan to free themselves from the misleading Indonesian propaganda that an independent East Timor would become "another Cuba" and turn their energies to ending the unlawful occupation and restoring the right of the people of East Timor to choose their own fate.

Respectfully yours,  
Jean Inglis  
Free East Timor Japan Coalition

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### JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTRY PRAISES KPN REPORT (KYODO)

*Excerpt from Kyodo, Tokyo, Jan 7*

The Japanese foreign ministry on Tuesday praised the Indonesian government's preliminary report on last November's army killings in East Timor, calling it "objective and straightforward."

Foreign ministry spokesman Taizo Watanabe told foreign correspondents that the December 26 preliminary report was "objective and straightforward in its reference to the number of casualties and the overreaction of the troops."

Watanabe hailed the fact that Indonesian president Suharto, on receiving the commission's report, "immediately admitted the responsibility of the military and took the drastic step of removing the two commanders directly responsible, which is rather unusual."

That action, he said, "indicates that the Indonesian government seriously recognizes the gravity of the incident and manifests its posture to respond in a straightforward manner to the international community's concern over human rights."

Watanabe also noted that Suharto called for "self-correction" on the part of the government and the military, while saying that such an incident must never happen again.

He said the Indonesian leader "has also ordered strict legal treatment of rioters, a search for missing persons, and improvement of social conditions for the local residents (in East Timor)."

Japan, Indonesia's largest aid donor, has budgeted 240 billion yen in official development assistance (ODA) to Indonesia in fiscal 1991, which lasts through March 31.

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### LONDON TRIBUTE TO THE SANTA CRUZ MARTYRS (TAPOL)

*TAPOL report, 7 January 1991*

Nearly a hundred people gathered outside the Indonesian embassy in London today to take part in a ceremony in memory of the 180 people reported to have died when Indonesian troops opened fire on peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on 12 November 1991.

Many organisations who attended the ceremony brought wreaths and flowers which were laid at the foot of a large, white cross bearing the words, "Occupied East Timor mourns its martyrs". There were two scrolls, one on each side of the cross, bearing the names of 75 Timorese reported to have died in the massacre. Among those present were four East Timorese refugees, Estevao Cabral, Dolores, Sebastiana and Joao Boavida, and James Gibbons, the step-brother of Kamal Bamadhaj, the New Zealander who died in the massacre.

A service took place led by two ministers, Rev. Vaughan Jones and Rev. John Sherrington. At the beginning of the service, Estevao Cabral, an East Timorese who left his country four years ago, read out the names of the Timorese who fell victims to Indonesian bullets.

Among the organisations which sent wreaths were the Catholic Institute for International Relations, Christian Aid, the Catholic aid agency CAFOD, TAPOL (Indonesia Human Rights Campaign), Christian Aid, the National Peace Council, Parliamentarians for East Timor, the Transport and General Workers Union, Action by Christians against Torture, Pax Christi and the Christian Movement for Peace.

The event was organised by the British Coalition for East Timor which was set up in December to coordinate activity in the UK to further the cause of an independent East Timor.

This was the second demonstration to be held outside the Indonesian embassy, as a mark of protest against the Santa Cruz massacre. The first was held on 10 December 1991, Human Rights Day.

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### SOLIDARITY REPORT FROM FRANCE

*The following is an update of initiatives in France in support to East Timor (mostly from the Portuguese community), posted by Bruno Kahn, January 7:*

a) CCPF, the Council for the Portuguese Community in France, is setting up a documentation centre on East Timor. Since the November 12 massacre, they have been collecting articles on East Timor from the

Portuguese press and sending them to some 150 member associations.

b) The Portuguese Cultural Community of Trappes and Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines has collected some 25,000FF (about US\$6,200) in favour of East Timor. They plan to set up a bank account titled 'Christmas for Timor', in reference to their solidarity party.

c) The Portuguese Association of Houilles, together with a group of other associations, will launch a 1992 campaign for East Timor. They plan a solidarity party every month. The first (organisational) meeting will take place Jan. 12.

d) A musical evening sponsored by Radio Alfa will be held on Jan. 18 at the Zenith, a major concert place in Paris. (I have no details on the program yet.)

e) An afternoon on East Timor, including a conference and cultural features, is tentatively planned for April in Saint-Denis, north of Paris.

f) Solidarity groups are forming in Bourges, Cannes, Dijon, Nancy and Pau.

I am quoting groups and associations which are in contact with us, often through CCPF which acts as a relay between them and us. We collaborate by providing information, sometimes participating their events, but they have their own initiatives and ideas.

Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor

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### JAPAN HINTS AID CONTINUATION (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 7*

Indonesia's finance minister said on Tuesday the major aid donor Japan was unlikely to follow other countries and suspend funds over the army's killing of mourners in East Timor.

"Informally, we gather the Japanese attitude is still positive," Finance Minister Johannes Sumarlin told reporters.

About five billion dollars a year in foreign aid goes to Indonesia, about a quarter supplied by Japan.

Japan's ambassador to Indonesia, Michihiko Kunihiro, was quoted earlier this week as praising the official report for being impartial and Suharto's response as positive.

"Indirectly, it meant there was nothing to make him advocate the stopping of aid," a Japanese diplomat said.

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### HOLLAND WANTS U.N. INQUIRY (PMS)

*Peace Media Service, Jan. 7*

Foreign Minister van den Broek of the Netherlands supports a UN investigation of the East Timor massacre on November 12

when Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners, the Dutch press reported December 28.

The Dutch government is ``interested in the outcome of the consultations between the UN and the Indonesian government regarding an international inquiry into the events November 12 in East Timor," according to a Foreign Ministry statement.

A preliminary Indonesian report conducted on the orders of President Suharto, 50 people were killed and 91 persons wounded in the shooting. According to Amnesty International and journalists who were present, the number of fatalities was more than a hundred.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian [Catholic] Bishops Council appealed December 19 for clemency for Timorese demonstrators facing the death penalty on charges of subversion in connection with the Dili demonstration and subsequent massacre last month.

The Council urgently appealed to President Suharto not to take action against the young East Timorese but to try instead to restore faith and trust in the Indonesian government. "Those children should not be punished," Bishop Leo Sukoto said. "Those to be punished are the ones who manipulated young people for their political ends."

The bishops called for dialogue in East Timor involving the church, the local government, and the movement for Timorese autonomy.

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### LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The London Times 8 January 1992

Sir:

The Indonesian occupation of the former Portuguese territory of East Timor constitutes one of the most flagrant breaches of international law and sustained abuse of human rights in post-war history.

Between 1975 and 1991, upwards of a quarter of the original population of 688,000 have been killed, a worse record than the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. During these 16 years of military rule, numerous massacres have been perpetrated against the civilian population.

Most recently between 75 and 100 died when Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery (report, November 19; leading article, November 22), an incident filmed by a British cameraman from Yorkshire Television. Since that time many more are thought to have died from their wounds or from arbitrary execution by the Indonesian security forces.

Foreign eyewitnesses have denied Indonesian allegations that the massacre was provoked by violence on the part of the East Timorese crowd. Yet, although the Indonesian commission of enquiry has itself

admitted that it was unable to conduct proper interviews with East Timorese witnesses because of the climate of fear now prevailing in the territory, it still sought to endorse the army's line that the massacre was provoked and to excuse it as a "regrettable tragedy" (report, November 27).

Given these developments, it is time for Britain to take a stronger stand. It should support the sending of a UN investigation team to East Timor (an initiative agreed by the outgoing secretary-general), place an embargo on all further arms sales to Jakarta (Britain now being one of Indonesia's major suppliers), and follow the lead taken by Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark in suspending all new aid programmes in Indonesia until the East Timor question is properly resolved.

If the "new world order" so proudly proclaimed in the aftermath of the liberation of Kuwait last year means anything, it must surely encompass an act of self-determination for the East Timorese people and an immediate end to the Indonesian military occupation which has cost so many lives.

Yours sincerely

Joao Baovida (Linacre College) Peter  
Carey (Trinity College) Michael  
Dummett (New College)  
R W Johnson (Magdalen College)  
Rodney Needham (All Souls  
College)  
Bernard Sufrin (Worcester College)  
Oxford

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### YORKSHIRE TV FILM ON EAST TIMOR

*TAPOL review, 8 Jan 1992.*

The much-awaited film, *Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor*, made clandestinely in East Timor by Max Stahl for Yorkshire Television, was shown on the First Tuesday series on ITV, on 7 January 1992.

The 55-minute film included lengthy shots taken by Max Stahl during the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991. These shots have already been shown world wide and are regularly used to introduce any news item about the massacre on either of the UK's two independent TV channels; these harrowing scenes have now become very familiar to television viewers in this country.

Allan Nairn, his fractured head still in a bandage, is interviewed, describing how the peaceful crowd were already moving away from where the troops had appeared, disproving the claim that they constituted a threat to the soldiers.

The film includes interviews of a number of East Timorese who describe, with great emotion, the sufferings they have had to

endure during the sixteen years of Indonesian occupation. One of those interviewed is Domingos Segurado, 27 years, a teacher, who explains how so many of his relatives have been killed; that was before the massacre. Now Segurado is himself dead, a victim of the carnage on 12 November.

Emilia Gusmao, the wife of resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, now living in Melbourne, is also interviewed at some length, often struggling hard to hold back the tears.

The most memorable shots in the film are of a guerrilla encampment where Stahl stayed for several days. He interviews David 'Alex', one of East Timor's best-known guerrilla leaders who has been fighting in the bush ever since the Indonesian invasion. The sense of danger is keenly brought home by the fact that the interview is conducted in whispers because the guerrilla unit is within earshot of enemy troops. "We live in their shadow," David 'Alex' told Stahl.

The film describes the excitement among East Timorese in the months from August to October last year as people waited in anticipation for the Portuguese parliamentary delegation's visit. Stahl took shots of young Timorese working in secret, by candle-light, preparing pro-independence banners and posters to be unfurled during the visit. After the visit was cancelled, the banners were used in the demonstration and procession of 12 November which ended in the Santa Cruz massacre.

The Yorkshire film has contributed greatly to bringing the tragedy of East Timor to a far wider audience in the UK than ever before.

TV companies in many countries, particularly Australia, Portugal and the USA, are hoping to conclude deals for the film. East Timor groups should encourage their national TV companies to contact Yorkshire TV as soon as possible. Contact Peter Gordon, Producer. Phone: 0532 (Leeds) 438-283. Fax: 0532 439-732.

### Package tour to hell

*Here are extracts from a review in The Guardian, 8 January, by the paper's TV reviewer, Hugh Hebert:*

Just as Radio and TV Times are carrying holiday supplements urging you to cast off dull care and head for Costa Exotica, you are faced with programmes that make you resolve to stay exactly where you are.

This is East Timor, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 with the tacit acceptance of Washington, just as the Pacific island was emerging from 300 years as a Portuguese colony. It is also where some estimates suggest that since then 200,000 Timorese have died as a result of Indonesian military repression. All of

which brought ten UN resolutions at the UN, and the steely determination on the part of the British, US and other Western governments to shut up and carrying on arming Indonesia and pursuing profitable trade links.

The scenes of the massacre that Max Stahl filmed in the Santa Cruz cemetery were described in The Guardian yesterday and some have already been seen in news programmes. What makes the film extraordinary is the courage of people willing to go on camera in a country where murder by the army is routine.

Stahl's brave filming from behind gravestones where he and others were sheltering, including those awash in their own blood, invites comparison with Croatia and Georgia; which are likewise not on my itinerary.

There was one strange brief sequence when the telephoto lens focuses (not very sharply) on an Indonesian soldier, not shooting, his rifle perched on top of his shoulder, who appears to be slowly but persistently waving the cameraman away. Maybe he can see this is a Western cameraman and knows that to shoot him would bring disaster. But the effect is eerie, as though in the middle of this slaughter, some despairing spirit of reason is trying to work.

### U.K. PARLIAMENTARY GROUP DECRIES MASSACRE (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, London, Jan 8*

In a report on the East Timor November 12 incident released this week, the Parliamentary Human Rights Group chairman Lord Avebury, said: "The account given here is of a ruthless and cold-blooded massacre of peaceful demonstrators.

"Such acts will continue for as long as the rest of the world declines to act," he added.

He called for "insistence on the same adherence to the principles of the U.N. Charter as the Security Council applied to (Iraqi leader) Saddam Hussein."

Christopher Wenner, a British cameraman who filmed the incident, and Russell Anderson, an Australian tourist who witnessed the shootings, gave evidence at the British parliamentary hearing.

Results from the hearing were published on Tuesday, coinciding with the broadcast of Wenner's footage in a television documentary.

Wenner's film, parts of which were also shown to the hearing, showed a mass for a man allegedly killed by Indonesian troops which developed into a boisterous pro-independence march.

The video recorded the sound of shooting and showed a panic-stricken

crowd fleeing bullets to seek protection in a cemetery.

It then switched to chaotic scenes and showed a young man on the ground, his shirt drenched with blood from gunshot wounds.

More footage showed the military getting closer, dragging a body off, occasionally clubbing people.

Wenner said the protest was not threatening and at the front there were small children and women carrying flowers. "When the shooting started they had just started prayers," he said.

"The soldiers turned up, and almost immediately jumped out of their trucks and fired...fired straight into the crowd," he said.

### TIMOR CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENTS (AFP)

*Excerpt from AFP, Jakarta, Jan 8*

Indonesian authorities plan to retire about 4,000 illiterate public servants, most of them over the age of 40, in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the Antara news agency said Wednesday.

The plan would create more job opportunities for younger and better educated East Timorese, Antara said, quoting East Timor's governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao in the provincial capital Dili.

The governor and others have attributed unrest in East Timor, including a November 12 incident in which troops shot at a crowd mourning the death of a young East Timorese nationalist, to dissatisfaction among young people lacking job opportunities.

### CAFOD CONCERNED ABOUT FR. DOMINGOS SOARES

*CAFOD, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, sent this cable to the British ambassador in Jakarta on 8 Jan.*

Dear Sir,

CAFOD is assisting a small agricultural development programme in the parish of Suai, East Timor.

Our close partner and colleague, Fr Domingos Soares, the parish priest, we know to be under intense interrogation. But communication with Suai is now extremely difficult. Please could you use your good offices to ascertain the welfare of Fr Soares, and make known to the Indonesian government our intense concern for his safety?

His appearance in a recent TV documentary, we believe, will further expose him to severe repercussions.

Julian Filochowski Director, Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD)



NB: Father Domingos Soares was one of a number of Timorese, interviewed to camera on the Yorkshire TV film, "Cold Blood", expressing strong views about conditions in East Timor. Last week, CAFOD sought the intervention of the British ambassador on behalf of Father Alberto Ricardo, Vicar General of the Dili Diocese and parish priest of Motael Church, who has also been under intense interrogation.

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### SINTONG PANJAITAN APOLOGIZES FOR SHOOTINGS (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 9*

The sacked military commander of eastern Indonesia has apologised for the army shooting of mourners in East Timor two months ago which has provoked an international outcry.

Armed forces daily Angkatan Bersenjata quoted Major General Sintong Panjaitan on Thursday as saying he deeply regretted and apologised for "the mistake and shortcomings" of the military in the shooting at Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12.

"If that bloody incident is considered a failure, make it spur us on to a better tomorrow," Panjaitan said in a ceremony to install the new East Timor commander, Theo Syafei.

The ceremony in the former Portuguese colony was watched by Defence Minister Benny Murdani and commander of the armed forces Try Sutrisno.

Panjaitan will be replaced by Major General Herman Mantiri on Saturday.

He said it was vital soldiers show restraint particularly with the difficult conditions in East Timor which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and where it still maintains a large military presence to fight a dwindling band of separatist guerrillas.

"A mistake can fatally disrupt all the good work," he said.

But he added that soldiers should not hesitate to take stern action against anyone disturbing the peace.

Diplomats say the government report on the incident has effectively soothed Indonesia's major aid donors.

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### AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA SIGN FOUR TIMOR GAP CONTRACTS (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 9*

Australia and Indonesia signed four production sharing contracts to explore oil in the Timor Sea.

The Broken Hill Propriety Co Ltd and Indonesia Petroleum Ltd signed for area 91-01. They are committed to invest \$33.36 million in six years.

Petroz NL and Sagasco holdings Ltd signed for area 91-08, to invest \$28.5 million over six years.

Enterprise Oil Plc signed for area 91-09 with \$26.4 million investment commitment. Enterprise together with Nippon Oil Co Ltd also signed for area 91-14 with \$42.4 million investment over six years.

Australia and Indonesia agreed last year to jointly control exploitation of part of the sea which has estimated reserves of one billion barrels of oil.

The signing brings the total contracts to 10 after six were signed in December. Each concession is around 2,000 sq km.

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### JAPAN TIMES NEWSBRIEFS ON EAST TIMOR

*From The Japan Times Weekly International Edition. Dec 30-Jan 5*

Nippon Oil Co. and Japan-based Indonesian Petroleum Ltd. have secured oil exploration rights in Area A of the Zone of Cooperation in the Timor Sea 279 miles off Darwin, northern Australia.

### ASSISTANCE MAY BE LINKED TO HUMAN RIGHTS

*The Japan Times Weekly International Edition, January 6-12.*

Japan may link its economic aid to Indonesia and Myanmar to their governments' human rights records, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa has indicated. "The East Timorese and Myanmar problems are important. Japan will take these problems into consideration when it extends its economic aid," Miyazawa reportedly told an opposition party leader Dec. 24. Tokyo is Indonesia's biggest aid donor, with aid in 1991 totaling \$1.8 billion.

*It seems unlikely that these human rights violations will have a serious impact on the amount of aid awarded.*

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### NEW AUSTRALIAN PREMIER PRAISES INDONESIA REPORT (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 9*

Australian Premier Paul Keating has praised Indonesia's response to the army massacre two months ago in East Timor which provoked international outrage, Australia's ambassador to Jakarta said on Thursday.

Philip Flood quoted Keating as saying the official report on the November 12 shooting was encouraging and that he welcomed President Suharto's desire to seek reconciliation in the troubled former Portuguese colony.

Keating, in a message to Suharto on Wednesday, sought to smooth over the

latest dive in mercurial relations between the two countries.

Last week Indonesia warned its southern neighbour that recent attacks on diplomats in Canberra over East Timor were jeopardising relations.

"Both our countries have benefited from working together in a wide range of bilateral and international areas and I am confident that this lays a good foundation for a friendly and mature relationship," Keating said.

Keating's message was read out during a signing ceremony in Jakarta with oil companies to explore the oil-rich Timor Sea which is jointly controlled by Indonesia and Australia.

"We continue to uphold the validity of the treaty...no country, certainly not Portugal, could suspend the treaty obligations," Flood said.

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### A WHITEWASH THAT DESERVES A BACKLASH (MANCHESTER GUARDIAN)

*by Hugo Young, Columnist for the Manchester Guardian, 9 January 1992.*

This leading article on the editorial page, by one of The Guardian's regular political columnists, raises the level of interest about East in the British press. It is reproduced here in full.

Tyrants and their casual massacres flourish in a closed world. Foetid secrecy is their peculiar oxygen. Opening this world is a way of changing it for the better. What tyrants fear is exposure, because exposure renders no longer so easy the silent acquiescence on which the tyrant depends. A shaft of light can reveal these furtive allies for what they are, and shame them into a reassessment. Or so we imagine.

East Timor, which is half of a small island in the Indonesian archipelago, has been a scene of intermittent massacre for 16 years. The number of those who have died is variously estimated at 100,000 or 200,000: Timorese nationals mostly murdered for resisting the Indonesian invasion which occurred in 1975, after Portugal's retreat from this tiny speck of empire.

Indonesia had no legitimate claim to East Timor, whose people had no desire to exchange Portuguese for Indonesian suzerainty. Starting with bombing, and moving on through the years with starvation, torture and random massacres, the autocrat Suharto, Indonesia's president, used every available method to eliminate the Timorese people along with their demands. But little was heard of all this in the West. Perhaps this was one horror-story too many.

But last November, something happened. Another massacre occurred, among an unarmed crowd attending a cemetery rite in Dili, but this time western reporters were

present, some of them with cameras. These trained observers were able to report the cutting-down of defenceless, and largely voiceless, peasants by units of the Indonesian army. The story travelled round the world. For the first time, East Timor was on the media map, the process culminating on Tuesday evening with a film made by Yorkshire TV, whose cameraman and reporter were there. Some brave Timorese went on the screen to amplify what the cameras witnessed. Here, for once, was evidence enough to render the tyrant, and his silent allies, accountable.

Throughout the years of silence, western governments were inactive or worse. Australia, a rival to Indonesia for the oil offshore from Timor, was worst. The sainted socialist prime minister, Gough Whitlam, actively encouraged Suharto's invasion. Washington is commonly believed to have known about it before, and certainly did nothing afterwards to make life difficult for Indonesia; its helicopters and other supplies, according to the CIA man in Jakarta at the time, having been made available. Britain, for its part, has never "recognised" the Indonesian take-over of East Timor: a show of fastidiousness rendered less impressive by our having done absolutely nothing practical about it. Aid and arms sales have continued for 16 years.

When the news broke of the Dili massacre, acquiescence was no longer a comfortable option. Ministerial expressions of dismay spilled out. The ambassador was summoned for a wiggling. The EC assembled a statement deploring what had happened, demanding that it should not be repeated and asking that any guilty soldiers be brought to justice.

As for further action, the aid-givers and arms-dealers decided to await the findings of Indonesia's own inquiry into the massacre. This did not take long to produce, and was published, presumably to assure it maximum attention, on Christmas Day.

Its eight pages are not an impressive example of the forensic process. Conducted by Suharto trustees, it concludes by attaching a heavy weight of blame for the massacre to those who were killed. They were "yelling" on the road to the cemetery, waving liberation banners, "insulting the security apparatus". Moreover, this was the climax of a series of demonstrations which, as the report does not itemise, related to Jakarta's refusal to let a Portuguese parliamentary delegation make its own visit to East Timor.

The report, however, contains one surprise. It does not accept the original Indonesian claim that only 19 people were killed at Dili. It prefers a figure of "around 50". But upon this modest shift, which in any case is held by several independent witnesses still to make a gross underesti-

mate of the total casualties, the western case for a return to familiar postures is already being prepared. The EC has yet to reach a conclusion on the report. But it seems that the Foreign Office may take comfort from the report's shrewd reluctance to endorse every detail of the government's apologia. Ignoring the blatant partiality of the rest of the document, the official line may be about to declare that it is not a whitewash. End, mercifully, of story.

But the story has not, of course, anywhere near ended. The report many have been hustled out, but the investigation goes on, not of the soldiery but of the people they attacked. In the YTV film, two Catholic priests Fr Ricardo and Fr Soares, played a fearless part. Both, according to reports reaching London, have been brutally interrogated in the weeks since this terrible event. Nobody can know for certain the fate of any other surviving critic of the Indonesian occupation, because all independent witnesses, journalistic or other, are denied access to the area. But there is no reason to believe that, having restored the essential condition of secrecy, Suharto is not behaving as he always has done.

If Britain desired to act in support of its proclaimed dismay, what could it do? Aid is a relatively minor lever. British aid to Indonesia is running at only 10-12 million a year. But Britain also arms Suharto. It is not easy to find out by how much. When I asked the Ministry of Defence yesterday, the spokesman replied with words the Home Office uses about immigration matters: its was not "policy" to discuss individual cases. "Commercial confidence" evidently forecloses all official details of the volume, still less the firepower, of country-by-country arms deals. It also, therefore, prevents any informed testing of the pious official line that no arms are ever sold if they might be used to repress the civilian population. Unofficial evidence shows this to be a sham. Strike aircraft, armoured cars and gunnery computer systems are among Britain's sales to Suharto in recent years. But Parliament itself has been quite unsuccessful in securing the facts, let alone influencing the argument, about this part of the arms trade.

After Dili, how can these arms sales, which offer Suharto moral as well as material support, conceivably be continued? The answer may be depressing. It is bad enough that governments should often be willing to act only when a truth, which they have privately known well enough, emerges into common knowledge and thus obliges them to behave like the decent leaders they pretend to be. What is worse is if the truth does blindingly come out, yet somehow leaves government untouched, free to pursue a policy that fails to evoke, among

ministers or voters, the compelling shock of disgust.

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## US SENATORS 'IMPRESSED'

*From FBIS. BKO901114292 Jakarta ANTARA in English 1000 GMT 9 Jan 92*

Two American senators, Daniel K. Inouye and Ted Stevens said that they were impressed by the steps taken by the Indonesian Government in dealing with the Dili incident.

After meeting with President Suharto here in Jakarta, the two senators said that what has been done by the Indonesian Government in handling the incident was very impressive.

Stevens further said on the occasion that the visit to Indonesia and other countries was aimed at having more comprehensive knowledge on the impact of the political reform in East Europe and the [former] Soviet Union.

The visit was also aimed at seeking more input for the construction [as received] of the American national budget which would be discussed in parliament next October.

Ted Stevens from Republican Party and Daniel K. Inouye from Democrat Party are also scheduled to visit Australia and Taiwan.

During their visit, the two senators had also met with speaker of the House of the People's Representatives, M. Kharis Suhud.

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## RUDINI ON INVESTIGATION OF TIMOR BUREAUCRATS

*Scanned. Source: FBIS.*

*BKO901114892 Jakarta ANTARA in English 1005 GMT 9 Jan 92*

[Excerpt] Jakarta, Jan 9 (OANA-ANTARA)-Home Affairs Minister Rudini said here on Thursday that a number of East Timor Regional Government officials are now under investigation by the police in connection with the November 12 incident in Dili.

"They are under the investigation of the police to find out whether they are involved in the incident," the minister said when installing a number of echelon I and II officials in his ministry.

He said that he has received a report from a team which was sent to East Timor some time ago by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The team, chaired by Home Ministry Secretary General Nugroho, has returned to Jakarta, but its reports still have to be studied further, the minister said.

Rudini refused to name the officials who are being questioned by the police for the sake of the good names of their families.

"We do not know whether they are truly involved and it is the court which could

prove it if they are guilty," the minister added.

Rudini said that the Ministry of Home Affairs team also found useful data which indicate that the technical and operational skills of regional government officials in Dili are still not good so that they still have to be trained.

The team also found that there are no illiterate employees who occupy administrative posts in the East Timor Regional Government office such as previously reported.

Referring to reports which said that about 4,000 employees of the East Timor Regional Government office will enter pension period soon because of illiteracy and over 40 years old age, the minister said that he had not yet received reports from the East Timor governor on that matter.

"If the criterion to put them in the pension period is based on the regulation, the plan is just right," he added. [passage omitted]

## ASIA WATCH CALLS FOR INTERNATIONAL MONITORS AT TRIALS

January 9, 1992

Over 60 East Timorese, many of them students, remain in detention in Jakarta and Dili, capital of East Timor in the aftermath of the November 12 massacre in Dili in which upwards of 75 demonstrators were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire. All are facing trial, some on criminal fact arrested for the non-violent expression of their support for East Timor's independence and should be released unconditionally; any who engaged in violence should be charged with an appropriate criminal offense and have all the rights guaranteed to detainees by domestic and international law. Asia Watch is concerned at reports that several students, including two of four East Timorese transferred from Bali to Jakarta in late December, were severely beaten or otherwise mistreated. For the first weeks of their detention, all the East Timorese were denied access to friends, family, and counsel; some still are being held incommunicado. One Indonesian lawyer, Ponco Atmono, has taken on 20 of the cases of those detained in Dili; he is believed to have been government-appointed.

Asia Watch believes that international observation of these trials, expected to start next month in Jakarta and Dili, is critically important as an indication of continuing concern with the aftermath of the November 12 massacre, with the situation in East Timor more generally, and with the administration of justice by Indonesian officials.

### 1. DETAINED IN DILI

Two groups of East Timorese are detained in Dili, 26 suspected of taking part in or organizing the November 12 demonstration and seven others, at least five of whom are believed to have been arrested for their role in an earlier incident on October 28 when a group of motorcyclists backed by the military sparked a clash with pro-independence youth living in the Motael Church in Dili. The Indonesian army stormed the church, killing one man, Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, whose death became the focus of the November 12 demonstration. A man with the cyclists was also killed.

Those arrested after November 12 including several senior local government officials, including Filomeno Gomes, 50, an official in the office of East Timor governor Mario Carrascalao, and Bonifacio Barrero (Pereira?), head of logistics for the governor's office. A nurse named Matias Gouveia Duarte, employed by the Indonesian Red Cross, is also in custody, accused of having hidden resistance leader Xanana Gusmao in Dili for 12 days prior to the November 12 demonstration.<sup>1</sup>

Another nurse at the state hospital in Dili, Gregorio Saldanha, is accused of having been a leader of the demonstration and is one of the 14 charged with subversion. A partial list of other detainees appears at the end of this section.

The total of 33 detainees may rise as those wounded in the demonstration are released from the military hospital where all the injured were taken for treatment (despite the fact that the civilian hospital was closer to the site of the shootings). As of early January, the Dili detainees were being held in various police commands; it was expected that after their dossiers had been prepared for prosecution, they would be moved to one of Dili's two civilian prisons to await trial.

According to East Timor's police chief, Colonel Ishak Kodijat, told reporters on December 28 that 14 of the 33 would be charged with violations of Presidential Decree 11/1963, the so-called "Anti-Subversion Law." The charge carries a maximum penalty of death, although it is unlikely that the death penalty will be imposed. (Until this group was arrested, no East Timorese had been charged with subversion; the hundreds tried in the mid-1980s for support of the armed independence organization Fretilin were charged under the Indonesian Criminal Code with engaging in separatist activities, a lesser offense.)

The names known thus far of the Dili detainees are as follows:

1. Filomeno Gomes
2. Bonifacio Barrero (Pereira?)
3. Bonifacio Magno
4. Francisco Branco

5. Carlos Lemos
6. Juanico dos Santos
7. Jacinto Alevos
8. Filomeno Periera
9. Aleixo da Silva Gama
10. Mario Abel
11. Joao
12. Jose Francisco
13. Dobento de Jesus
14. Joaquim
15. Marcio
16. Simplicio
17. Akau
18. Lourenco
19. Matias Gouveia Duarte
20. Ano Pereira
21. Francisco Gregorio da Costa Saldanha

### II. DETAINED IN JAKARTA

As of early January, 25 East Timorese students remained in police custody in the Metropolitan Jakarta Police station (Polda). Of these, 21 had been there since November 19, when they took part in a demonstration to protest the killings in Dili one week earlier. The demonstration was broken up by security forces.<sup>2</sup> The 21 were joined in late December by four students from Bali, two of whom are believed to have been badly beaten.

The four East Timorese from Bali were arrested on November 24 from their rented house in Denpasar. Three, Fernando Araujo, Jose M. Pompeia, and Clemente Soares, are students at Udayana University in Denpasar. The fourth, Antonio Matos, is an economics student at the National Education University there. Two other Udayana students arrested with them were released after three days. Police claim to have found two grenades and flags of Fretilin and Falintil, the Fretilin guerrilla army, in their house; the students say they were planted.

The four were first brought to the Badung-Denpasar Police Resort (Polres). On December 20, Fernando Araujo was moved to Jakarta, followed by the other three on December 22. Lawyers from Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute, an independent human rights organization, were allowed to visit Antonio Matos and Clemente Soares earlier this week (week of January 6) but they were not permitted to see Fernando Araujo or Jose Pompeia, apparently because the two were still suffering from the results of severe beatings received earlier. It was not clear whether the beatings had taken place while the two were detained in Bali or after they were moved to Jakarta.

The 21 students accused of taking part in the November 19 demonstration were part of a larger group of 70 arrested when the demonstration was broken up. The Indonesian government initially denied that anyone had been 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. The 21 are expected to be charged under Article 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code, spreading feelings of hatred or enmity toward the government, which carries a maximum penalty of seven years.

One of the 49, a woman, issued a statement on December 29, describing the treatment of the group after the arrests. She said they were first taken to a smaller police station (police resort or polres) where for the first three nights, all 70 had to sleep on the floor. They were called one by one for interrogation sessions which could last as long as eight to ten hours. They were asked who had ordered them to come to Jakarta (most were students at universities elsewhere in Java), who funded them, why had they embarrassed the Indonesia, who had thought up the ideas for the petition the group submitted to Jakarta-based UN representatives and posters carried in the demonstration, and who was their leader in Jakarta.

They were then moved to the Metropolitan Jakarta Police command where men and women were separated. The statement said the women were ordered to strip naked and jump in place. Interrogations continued, and the woman said she was forced to sign a "confession." Among other questions she and others were asked was whether they knew H.J.C. Princen, a well-known human rights activist, and Indra Tjahjono, leader of an environmental activist organization called SKEPHI. Both men were called in for questioning about their role in organizing the November 19 demonstration, but were allowed to return home when the interrogation was over.

In addition to the four students from Bali, the 21 students still detained at the Metropolitan Jakarta Police Station 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 Sarmento	Polytechnic, ITB, Bandung
14. Fausto Berhadang	Ikopin, Bandung

15. Joao Travolta	Udayana, Den Pasar
16. Agapito C.	Udayana, Den Pasar
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

- 1 Agence France Presse, Jakarta, December 23, 1991.
- 2 See Asia Watch, "East Timor: The November 12 Massacre and Its Aftermath", December 12, 1991, for an account of this demonstration.

## AUSTRALIAN E.T. EMBASSY CALLS FOR SUPPORT

AUSTRALIAN COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR  
**Campaign for an Independent East Timor (ACT)**  
**GPO Box 2583 - Canberra ACT 2601**  
**Australia**  
 10 January, 1992

1. You will be aware that there has been a peaceful picket of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra since the Dili massacre last November. The picket comprises a small site shed which is labelled "East Timor Embassy", three wooden crosses and a tree planted by Archbishop Carroll and more than 100 smaller crosses with names of known Dili victims on them.
2. The picket has been entirely peaceful with no harrassment of diplomats and no violations of the Vienna Convention.
3. In an incident last week **which was unrelated to the picket**, an East Timorese protester was provoked by an obscene gesture from an embassy driver and cracked the windscreen of an embassy car. Embassy staff then hurled bricks and timber at protesters causing a fractured hand to one 14-year old East Timorese boy. The whole incident lasted about five minutes.
4. The Indonesian embassy, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Australian Federal Police are trying to play up the incident and link it to the picket in order to remove the picket as a powerful reminder of the continuing brutal occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces.
5. After being warned twice by Australian Federal Police Commander Rick Ninnnes of the possibility of sniper fire and incendiary bomb attacks from within the embassy grounds the picketers have

moved the "East Timor Embassy" 20m away from the embassy gate in order to avoid any violent provocation. This move has been endorsed by the ACT government.

6. The Department of Foreign Affairs and the AFP are now putting heavy pressure on the picketers to remove the crosses and banners from the public land in front of the embassy fence.
7. The picketers are, however, determined to continue their peaceful protest with banners and crosses remaining in place until the Indonesian government accepts an international inquiry into the Dili massacre and an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor conflict.

### WE ASK YOU URGENTLY

- to publicly support the peaceful picket of the Indonesian embassy, including the present position of the "East Timor embassy," the tree, crosses, and banners;
- to make known to the Prime Minister the Foreign Minister and the Attorney-General the widespread support by the Australian public for an international inquiry into the Dili Massacre and for an internationally acceptable solution of the East Timor conflict; and
- to demand that the Foreign Minister take appropriate action against the threat of violence from the Indonesian embassy and especially against the embassy staff member who threw the brick which injured the East Timorese boy.

Thank you very much for your support.  
 Dr Michael Wagner CIET(ACT)

*[This letter was sent to a number of politicians, church leaders, NGOs etc.*

*The contact numbers for Foreign Affairs in Canberra are 06-2777500 (Tel.) and 06-2734112 (Fax), the address is Sen. Gareth Evans, Parliament House, Canberra 2600]*

## NEW ZEALAND 'REASSURED' BY INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT REPORT (AFP)

*Excerpt from AFP, Wellington, Jan 10*

The New Zealand Government said Friday it was reassured by Indonesia's report criticising its military for the killing of civilians in East Timor.

Foreign Minister Don McKinnon said in a statement he was also reassured by the response of President Suharto, who had expressed regret over the November 12 shooting, ordered the removal of two leading commanders and ordered a review of Indonesian policy in East Timor.

However, McKinnon said the New Zealand Government was concerned about the fate of 90 people unaccounted for in the

shooting, in which New Zealand student Kamal Bamadhaj, 20, died.

There was also no indication yet of what action would be taken against the soldiers involved, he said.

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## EAST TIMOR UPDATE (CANADIAN ACTIVIST)

*The ACTivist (Toronto) Vol 8 #1, Jan. 1992*

### CANADA SLASHES AID

Canada has suspended two thirds of its \$46 million programme of aid to Indonesia following a parliamentary hearing into recent violations of human rights in East Timor. With the announcement, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall reversed sixteen years of Canadian policy towards Indonesia, the second-largest recipient of Canadian bilateral aid in the world.

McDougall made her announcement after meeting with Jose Ramos Horta, external representative for the Timorese resistance movement, and members of the East Timor Alert Network. Canadian aid will be shaved by \$30 million, she said. Among major Western donors (who collectively give Indonesia \$1 billion a year) only the Netherlands has gone further, suspending all aid. Japan is now considering a similar move.

The aid cuts are the only concrete action in the international chorus of condemnation of the Nov. 12 massacre of over 100 unarmed Timorese civilians at Santa Cruz cemetery by Indonesian soldiers.

McDougall would not specify what aid programmes would be cut, and did not answer a question from New Democrat MP Svend Robinson about Canada's weapons sales to Indonesia. (Since 1975, Canada has sold tens of millions of dollars worth of military equipment to the Indonesian armed forces. In 1991, a military export permit for \$15,000 was issued, but External Affairs would not disclose what the sale was.)

In Canada, December editorial comment from the Montreal Gazette, Le Devoir, the Calgary Herald, Edmonton Journal and Vancouver Sun has called for stronger government action, including several calls for economic sanctions.

### MASSACRE INQUIRY BLAMES VICTIMS

Indonesia's official commission of inquiry into the Nov. 12 Santa Cruz massacre, where Indonesian soldiers gunned down between 100 and 200 Timorese demonstrators in plain view of Western journalists, has released its report. The military-dominated commission did not accept the army claim that only 19 people were killed, and placed part of the blame for the massacre on the military men who

ordered it -- leading to the dismissal of Brig. Rudy Warouw, commander of Indonesian armed forces in East Timor. At the same time, however, the report accuses demonstrators of being "savage, emotional and destructive" and blames the East Timorese resistance for "provocation and incitement of the youth."

International human rights groups including Amnesty International rejected the report, renewing their call for an independent investigation under United Nations auspices.

"There is not much time left," said Washington-based Asia Watch. "Bodies will decay, making identification all the more difficult; memory of specific details will fade; the 'official' version will be increasingly accepted as fact. The international community must continue to press the Indonesian government for a full and accurate accounting of what happened. The preliminary (government) report deserves no accolades."

The Portuguese foreign ministry called the report "a desperate attempt" to fend off international sanctions.

And Tapol, the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, pointed out: "The Santa Cruz Massacre is not an isolated event; it is only the latest in a long history of mass slaughter inflicted on the East Timorese people ... East Timor will never be free from repression and fear until the forces of occupation withdraw and the people can express their wishes in a referendum held under UN supervision."

In the wake of the massacre, 50 Timorese students studying at Indonesian universities are up on sedition charges. Supporters fear they will be made into scapegoats.

### BISHOP RENEWS PEACE CALL

East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximines Belo has reiterated his call for peace talks without preconditions between Indonesia, Portugal, the Timorese resistance, and the Catholic Church in East Timor.

"We are living in fear, not in peace. We suffer, hate, cry and lose hope," Belo said in his Christmas message.

Belo said he was especially concerned about the daily "interrogation" of Father Ricardo, Vicar-General of the East Timor diocese. After a let-up for Christmas, security forces resumed their torture of the priest on Jan. 2.

Without little support from the Vatican, the Timorese Church remains the sole protecting force for the Timorese people living under Indonesian rule. On Christmas eve, thousands gathered for an informal ceremony on the beach in front of Motael parish church, where 18-year old Sebastiao (Gomes) Rangel was shot by Indonesian soldiers on Oct. 28 and where the Nov. 12

procession to Santa Cruz ceremony set out from.

In recognition of the role of the Church, several groups are planning to nominate Bishop Belo for the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize, won in previous years by Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi and Tibet's spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama.

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## SOARES-BOUTROS GHALI TALKS (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 10*

Portuguese President Mario Soares flew to Paris on Friday for talks with new U.N. Secretary - General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on violence and human rights in Portugal's former colony of East Timor.

The United Nations does not recognize Jakarta's rule in East Timor, a remote territory of 750,000 people at the eastern end of the Indonesia chain, and Portugal gives moral support to clandestine groups seeking its independence.

Portugal has called for an inquiry into the Dili massacre, and is pressing its European Community partners and the United States to link aid for Indonesia with its performance on human rights issues.

Soares will meet Boutros-Ghali, who replaced Javier Perez de Cuellar on January 1, at a dinner at the Egyptian embassy in Paris on Friday night.

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## NEW TIMOR COMMANDER TAKES HARD LINE (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 10.*

The new military commander of East Timor has told residents still shocked by the army shooting of mourners two months ago that he will come down hard on anyone who steps out of line.

"I am not as patient as Warouw," the Jakarta Post newspaper quoted Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

The Post quoted Syafei as telling reporters after a farewell reception for Warouw on Wednesday that while he would listen to locals he would not tolerate anything which disrupted stability.

"The (November) incident might reflect the people's aspirations, but it was a rebellion," he said.

Diplomats say they now expect the army to clamp down much harder, especially in Dili where high unemployment has helped the small Fretilin guerrilla movement in its campaign against Jakarta's 16-year rule.

Warouw had in his two years as head of the military there pushed for a softer approach to win over the East Timorese, but diplomats said it was not always clear he was in full control.

Political analysts said it was almost certain he was not directly responsible for the shooting, which has been blamed officially on soldiers going out of control.

Warouw was given a tearful farewell on Thursday by soldiers and their wives who sang the locally-popular Japanese song 'Sayonara' (Goodbye) and shouted "Long Live Warouw," the official Antara news agency said.

"Study hard and keep sending me letters," it quoted him as telling the nine East Timorese children he had fostered during his stay.

"I feel happy to be among the East Timorese. I love them. The last thing I wanted was to find them living in an unsecured situation or to see them beaten or killed," he said.

Diplomats in East Timor recently confirmed large-scale interrogation of locals in the past two months.

One also repeated reports that the vicar-general of the mainly Roman Catholic territory, Father Alberto Ricardo, was close to mental breakdown because of incessant questioning by authorities.

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## AFRICA LUSOPHONE SUMMIT

*Excerpted from Reuter, Sao Tome, Jan 10*

The presidents of Portugal's five former African colonies will hold their 10th summit in the island state of Sao Tome and Principe on February 8-10, a foreign ministry official said here.

The summit will be preceded by a meeting of foreign ministers on February 6-7, which will prepare cooperation projects to be approved during the summit.

The last summit of the leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the tiny archipelagos of Cape Verde and Sao Tome e Principe was held in Cape Verde in 1989.

Cooperation with Portugal and the human rights situation in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1975 where Indonesian troops opened fire on demonstrators last November, will be on the agenda.

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## TIMOR (ECOLOGIE INFOS)

*From: kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr (Bruno Kahn)*

*Ecologie Infos Jan. 10, 1992 By Alain-Claude Galtie*

*Original language: French.*

*Ecologie Infos has been appearing since 1973 in various guises. After a quite long interruption, it has now reappeared as a bimonthly.*

Just as in [West-] Papua, just as in Aceh (North Sumatra's northern province), the Indonesian oppression continues.

Amnesty International confirms the new killings perpetrated by the occupation army, in Dili (the capital). At least 200 people would have been massacred since the end of October.

The new episode of the Timorese martyrdom is the indirect consequence of a first visit of Portuguese parliamentarians (the Portuguese took root in Timor four centuries ago), which was to take place under the supervision of the UN between November 4 and 16. The perspective of this event had created much hope among the Timorese population, which has been cut from the [outside] world for sixteen years. The Timorese were expecting this visit to allow for a release of the information on their situation. On their side, the men from the Indonesian dictatorship were also preparing the observers' visit with intimidation schemes and persecutions aimed - if at all necessary - to stress the suicidal character of any attempt of contacting the delegation.

On October 28, young men who in a Dili church were attacked by Indonesian forces. Sebastien [sic] Rangel and Alfonso [sic] Henriques were killed, the others were imprisoned.

On Tuesday November 12, during a ceremony in homage to the October 28 victims, the Indonesian army encircled a Dili cemetery and opened fire on the crowd there, killing 100 to 120 people. Since then, a group of 60 to 80 people was machine-gunned, then thrown in a grave at once filled up. The victims would all be witnesses of the first killing that the occupiers were eliminating, perhaps thinking to suppress evidence or, more likely, to destroy any will of resistance by this new terror. Several sources report that other massacres were committed by the Indonesian troops.

Meanwhile, the visit of the Portuguese parliamentarians was postponed indefinitely, following the opposition of the Indonesian dictatorship to three journalists joining the delegation.

### A STRATEGIC INTEREST

The United States interest for this region is essentially of a strategic nature. The sea between Timor and Australia is a very important passageway for the American ships and submarines.

The economic and, first of all, ecologic collapse of authoritarian communism, and the changes in strategic balance logically should loosen the ties between the United States and the dictatorial regimes on which they were resting during the Cold War against the Communist world. Is it the sign of an evolution? A report of the State Department on human rights worldwide is rather critical towards the 'non-democratic' Indonesian regime. Besides, a few months ago, a letter asking the President to act for peace in East Timor was signed by 223

members of the Congress (more than half the Chamber).

Like the USA, Australia hinders the circulation of information and any international action in favour of East Timor. The various Australian powers aimed at the sharing of petroleum resources of the Timor sea with Indonesia (one of the 25 richest fields on the Earth). This was done in December 1989, in blatant violation of the international right (in 90/91, Australia did not fail to participate the international force against Iraq). However, the recent massacres have shaken the Australian public opinion; especially as the chief-of-staff of the Indonesian army was paying a courtesy visit to his Australian colleagues a few days before. Demonstrations were organised in front of the diplomatic missions of Indonesia and trade unions boycotted ship traffic and Indonesian planes. Very embarrassed, Bob Hawke's government which - as so many others - has [sic] as its main political ambition to 'conquer the market' of its neighbours, asked for negotiations between Indonesia and the Timorese resistance. The important point of this declaration is the recognition of an existing resistance in Timor, hence of the reality of the Timorese refusal to be assimilated to Indonesia; which the Australian power always feigned to ignore. On its side, the Australian parliament voted a motion asking the UN to perform an enquiry on the 12 November killing.

Japan, which is strongly implanted in Indonesia, is also starting to exert pressures for a softening of general Suharto's regime. A parliamentary group of 92 people sensitised to the Timorese tragedy plans, for 92, - after a first refusal of the Indonesians last summer - the visit of a parliamentary delegation in Timor.

### EUROPEAN VIGILANCE

On the European side, the Council of Europe, on June 28, 1991, demanded that the Indonesian government observe international norms guaranteeing human rights and rights of peoples, took position for self-determination of the Timorese people and called for an embargo on arms sales to Indonesia. But the United Kingdom is the most important European arms supplier to Indonesia. Then come Germany, the Netherlands and... France whose helicopters do wonders in chasing resistants.

The presidency of the Council of ministers of the EC has also just taken position for self-determination. As for the European parliament, which already voted several resolutions condemning the Indonesian invasion, it will give special attention, in 1992, to the Timorese situation.

In France, little movement on the official side except for, somewhat marginally, the initiative of Danielle Mitterrand who, on November 14, sponsored a press con-

ference of representatives [sic] of the Timorese people in the premises of her foundation 'France Libertes'.

*Two boxes also appear:*

### RESPONSIBILITY OF THE USA

Since the invasion - in December 1975 - of the eastern half of Timor island, which is still a Portuguese territory according to the international law (1), more than 200,000 people - that is, more than a quarter of the 1975 population - died, executed, tortured, starved by the Indonesian occupier (2).

In spite of several resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the UN, condemning the aggression, no international pressure was exerted on general Suharto's regime. This, no doubt, is due to the fact that the US, who seem to have been the great arrangers of the coup which brushed aside Sukarno in the benefit of Suharto in October 1965, are not foreign to the invasion of Timor. This was launched the day following the visit of Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger to Suharto. The US power feared that East Timor would become a kind of "Cuba of the Pacific" (sic) [this 'sic' is the author's]... or a new North-Vietnam.

The Indonesians used massively the military material from the United States which, according to US law, can be used only for defence. Consequently, American military aid was suspended for six months. But, as Noam Chomsky later [testified] at the UN: "arms deliveries never really stopped. They included attack helicopters and other equipment necessary to wipe out hundreds of villages from the face of the world, destroy recolts and lead the survivors into concentration camps".

The American navy participate[d] to the blocus of the island.

In May 90, an American journalist, Kathy Kadane, published the results of long years of investigations and interviews. Her work was widely quoted in the American and international press. She disclosed the implication of the American services in the terror which bloodied Indonesia for months, starting October 1, 1965. The Americans, who had set up lists of communist militants and all 'suspicious' people, gave those lists to the militaries of General Suharto in order that they suppress all opponents to the US interests in Indonesia (TAPOL, bulletin no 100, August 1990).

Then, more than 500,000 people were killed, tens of thousands were imprisoned. Some prisoners were still recently executed!

(1) Every year, a Commission of study [sic] for decolonisation of East Timor by Portugal meets in the UN.

(2) The population of East Timor was nearing 700,000 in 1975. The natality rate was then 1.7%. A projection of these figures would have given 754,000 inhabitants

in 1980, when the actual population was only 425,000 people. Today, East Timor counts 650,000 inhabitants, among which 140,000 Indonesian colonisers deported by 'transmigration' (see again no 395 of *Ecologie*, pages 19 to 21, and the articles of no 396, pages 21 to 24).

*Second box:*

### MISSIONS OF OBSERVATION AND REPRESSION

In this case, as in many other circumstances, one may question the usefulness of the visit of foreign observers who - one knows it in advance - endangers the life of many people and worsens the survival conditions of the population as a whole.

The miserable condition of the Timorese is sufficiently well-known of governments and international instances for impulses of action in their favour concentrate on quite a different thing than a stay on site.

The paper mentions Agir pour Timor as an address, TAPOL bulletin as a periodical and John Taylor's chronology as well as Asia Watch's Human Rights in Indonesia and East Timor as two recent books.

### PORTUGAL BEGINS CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDONESIAN ANNEXATION

lisbon, jan 10 (ips/mario dujisin) -- portugal launched a campaign friday to alert the world to the tragic consequences of the 1975 indonesian annexation of east timor, through talks at the highest level with the white house and the united nations.

portuguese president mario soares travelled to paris friday to meet new united nations secretary-general boutros boutros-ghali, at the egyptian embassy on the quay d'orsay.

on sunday soares will then fly on to washington to keep an appointment at the beginning of next week with u.s. president george bush.

the initiative is intended as the first step in a broad international portuguese offensive conducted through personal meetings between soares and the presidents of friendly countries.

according to sources in the office of the president of portugal consulted by ips, soares in his talks with boutros-ghali on the timor case "will insist on the right, based on international law which portugal has on its side, to denounce the illegality of the indonesian annexation".

soares will ask the secretary-general to make an intervention to indonesia to seek the release of arrested timorese students and guarantee the life of one of them, jose maria saldanha ribeiro, who could face the death penalty for "crimes against the state".

though timor was not on the official agenda of bush's recent asiatic trip, a group

of deputies in japan did deliver a letter to the u.s. president denouncing the case.

"it would be criminal on the part of the international community if the recent precedents for negotiated solutions in the westrn sahara, namibia and kampuchea were not applied to timor," said the letter from the japanese members of parliament.

in addition to his meeting with bush, soares will also meet senators and congressmen, as well as influential personalities, both in washington and new york.

east timor, a former portuguese colony in the java archipelago, won independence from lisbon in december 1975, but indonesia invaded and annexed the territory after a brief week of freedom, ostensibly to prevent the establishment of a marxist republic in the region.

according to amnesty international, the occupation forces of djakarta were responsible for the genocide of some 210,000 people, almost one third of its 650,000 inhabitants, during the first year of annexation. (more/ips)

portugal was recognised as the administering power over timor "until the holding of a referendum on its autonomy" under a u.n. resolution of dec. 22, 1975, which urged indonesian withdrawal.

jakarta has continued its occupation, according to the timorese resistance movement, "with the support of important western interests in indonesia, especially of the united states, japan, australia, holland and the united kingdom".

timor won worldwide attention when four western journalists witnessed by chance the indonesian army's massacre of timorese protesters in the capital dili in november.

portuguese diplomats noted that western countries "have reacted to the massacre only under pressure from the dispatches from the journalists: two americans, one british and one dutch.

after the massacre, which according to the timorese resistance claimed 183 lives, portuguese foreign minister joao de deus pinheiro deplored the fact that western governments, "which denounced so energetically iraq when it ran roughshod over kuwait" remain indifferent to what is going on in timor.

soares himself wrote in a letter to pope john paul ii that timor was "an old and forgotten kuwait".

one source in the office of the portuguese presidency told ips that soares would insist on the appointment of an international commission under u.n. auspices to investigate the massacre.

the indonesian army high command reluctantly admitted 19 deaths three days after the repression, a figure which was repeated by a presidential commission in mid-december.

under pressure from western governments which threatened to suspend aid if the figures should be considered "not credible," Jakarta finally admitted to a death toll of up to 50 people.

"with a little more international pressure, we could have succeeded in getting them to admit to some 200 deaths," commented spokesman for the union of independent timorese groups, Jose Ramos Horta, on the telephone to IPS from Australia.

"haggling over the number of human lives lost as though it were a question of getting a cut in the price of a sack of potatoes in a market, reveals the essential nature of the Indonesian regime, and clearly demonstrates the need for an independent international inquiry," he said.

Ramos Horta considered Soares' tour to be "of vital importance" because "there are small states which have statesmen whose international prestige exceeds the size of their countries".

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### EYEWITNESSES OF A TRAGEDY (JAKARTA, JAKARTA)

*The 4 - 10 January 1992 issue of the weekly, "Jakarta, Jakarta" publishes many eyewitness accounts of the 12 November 1991 massacre. The accounts are preceded by a short introductory paragraph:*

Here are some eyewitness accounts of the 12 November incident obtained by JJ reporters in Dili, after the KPN [National Commission of Investigation] had left Dili.

\*

Guilherme do Santos, chair of the East Timor Regional Assembly (DPRD I), the third person whom the KPN met, on 29 November, from 11.00 - 11.30 am:

"I saw the Governor pass by, going in the direction of the Dili General Hospital. I went there too. The emergency room was covered in blood. Then I went to Santa Cruz, just in time to see the last corpse and another person who was being beaten by an 'oknum'. ['Oknum', meaning person or element, is used frequently in these accounts. It has a negative connotation. Lacking a suitable word in English, we have used the word 'fellow'.] There was a truck there, if I'm not mistaken a Toyota Hino. The windscreen was completely smashed."

\*

A young person who speaks Tetum fluently but doesn't have an East Timorese name:

"I saw seven dead people, not in Santa Cruz or at the Hospital but at another place. I wept when I saw them..."

\*

An eyewitness who was hit by five bullets (in the left elbow, the waist and the back):

"People in Senggol Market (red-light district, Ed. JJ) who live at the back of

Santa Cruz, who knew nothing at all, were also arrested. They even arrested a mad person as well, who had just follow others."

\*

An eyewitness who had a gunshot wound:

"I was waiting at Santa Cruz at 09.00. I was in the front and was hit but I was able to run off and hide in the cemetery. But I couldn't run any further. Soldiers entered the cemetery. Some of these fellows beat us with their weapons. They hit me on the head, and it started bleeding. I was taken away in a truck. Some people on the truck were dead. We were all mixed up. When we arrived at the hospital we were all taken to the morgue. The dead ones were separated out.

"All the lights in Dili went out. It was then that the bodies were taken away. This was on the evening of 13 November. Goodness know where they were taken..."

\*

An eyewitness, a tall, thin person:

"I was able to escape. I ran and asked for protection at the International Red Cross (ICRC). There were 30 of us. We were there for four days. Then we were taken home by the ICRC. All our names are registered there."

\*

An eyewitness who was a demonstrator:

"There were several groups of demonstrators. The first group wanted to move quickly. The second group walked more slowly. The first group had reached the crossing at Kodim (military command office). The second group were coming round the corner. I was in the first group and unfurled the banners. I saw a scuffle with soldiers, and the second group ran forward to help the first group. We didn't know who stabbed (Major) Gerhan..."

\*

Armindo Soares Marianu, Dili district head (bupati) who met the KPN on 29 November:

"... The shooting went on for about two minutes. The kids on the demonstration ran away but didn't go across Pramuka field although that would have been the shortest way. Perhaps they knew there was a ceremony going on there which meant that people would be on guard. They took a roundabout way and ran off.... I didn't go to Santa Cruz until the next day."

\*

A student at East Timor University, 22 years old:

"We had prepared posters and flags because we knew that Sebastiao Gomes had died because he was an anti-integration youth. Some of the posters we brought had been prepared for the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation six days earlier (4 November); we made the others on the day before (11 November)."

\*

A young demonstrator, 20 years old:

"On the day of the incident, I left home at 6.00am to go to Mass at Motael Church. During the Mass, Father Ricardo did not preach or say anything to encourage us to demonstrate. He gave a sermon about death. When the Mass came to an end, there were many people outside, many young people, about two thousand. They all went out onto the road in front and started walking to Santa Cruz. I myself was in the rear.

"There were some soldiers on guard at Motael Church, about 30 of them, just walking to and fro. On the way to Santa Cruz, we were halted by soldiers in front of the Governor's Office. But I pushed my way through and ran ahead. At the police office (Polres), all the police came out. When we arrived at Santa Cruz, there were many soldiers there; we were blocked in and couldn't get out.

"At the time of the shooting, I was in front but I got away and ran into the cemetery. I didn't count the number of people who died but there were very many indeed. They were firing in all directions.

"At the time of the shooting, they were split into two groups. There was a group in front and a group behind. The commander fired once into the air and shouted: 'Those in front get down, those behind shoot!'. As those behind were shooting, the ones in front crawled forward in amongst the demonstrators and stabbed them with their bayonets, striking at everyone. All I could do was run off without knowing where to go, because all around me, people were falling to the ground as they were hit by bullets, like in a movie.

"After the shooting stopped - it went on for 5 or 10 minutes - they blocked the area around the cemetery so that no-one could escape. When they found anyone still alive, including me, they told us to strip naked. They threatened us, shouting: 'Now, go ahead and pray, your time has come, you're all going to die.' I was stripped naked and then beaten with a wooden club, then one of these fellows grabbed hold of a ballpoint in my shirt and thrust it into my penis. I saw them strike a friend beside me on the head with a knife.

"After they had tortured me, I was taken to an office. Altogether about 30 of us were taken there. When we arrived there, we were again tortured, beaten and kicked by these fellows. And I was interrogated and asked which of my friends had taken part in the demonstration.

"I was detained for two weeks. We got food but it was always late. We got breakfast at 10.00am, midday food at 3.00pm and the evening meal at 12 midnight. All we got was rice and a piece of tempe (soya-bean cake). There were more than 20 people to a cell. The fellows took turns to torture us. We were ill-treated in the cell as



well, a number of them coming to beat us all together. After two weeks, I was allowed to go home..."

\*

A young demonstrator, 21 years old:

"I saw an officer 'over-acting' (Eng. original). He used his HT (handy-talky) to call more officers. One of these fellows hit a woman from behind; this made some of the young demonstrators angry and they began to attack this person.

"I was tortured in the cemetery. Then I was taken to an office and they beat me again there. I was taken away in a truck with 25 friends. On the journey, I occasionally lost consciousness because my head was bleeding. I was only at that office for about three hours because I was severely wounded and was taken to Wira Husada Hospital. There were many other victims there, and there was blood everywhere. There were buckets full of water mixed with blood; the water had been used to wash the wounded and the dead. One of these fellows ordered me and some others to drink the water in the buckets. They pushed our heads down into the buckets and told us to drink straight from the buckets. When we refused to do so, they struck us with their weapons. We were all still naked, including three injured women and one who had been shot in the thigh.

"We weren't given any medication at all at Wira Husada Hospital; on the contrary, we were again tortured. Then, they took us back to the same office, where we were held for a day, then released...."

\*

Manuel Carrascalao (member of the regional assembly, DPRD-I), the older brother of Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao (who met the KPN for an hour), together with one of Manuel's business associate:

"On that day, I got up as usual at a little after 05.00am. At about 7.00am I went to fill up my petrol tank but there were very many people queuing for petrol. After queuing for a long time, I returned home. Then a friend phoned me and told me about the shooting. He phoned because he knew that one of my children goes to Santa Yosef School, near Santa Cruz. Together with him, I went to the school. My child wasn't there and no one knew where he was.

"It was about 8.00am and things at Santa Cruz cemetery were in a state of chaos. I asked for permission to enter the cemetery complex but I wasn't allowed to. As I was waiting and looking for my son, my friend stood there counting the bodies that were being loaded onto a truck. He counted 36 [the figure is unclear in the faxed copy we have - it may be 38] bodies being loaded onto a truck and there were another 15 bodies lying on the ground. There were three trucks, but we could not see what was in the other trucks because they were very high and the back sections were closed.

"Those who were arrested were dealt with very harshly. I happened to see one person who had probably only fainted, but as soon as these fellows saw his head move, they immediately struck him with a stone. Someone else I saw was still alive, on the truck which was full of corpses; then a fellow dragged him off and struck him on the head. After that, he was loaded onto the truck again."

\*

Paulo, a member of the DPRD, who, from the time the demonstration left Motael Church, followed it, driving in his jeep, right up to Santa Cruz, the only vehicle to go along with the demonstration:

"When they came out of the Church, they began to shout: 'Long live Xanana! Long live Fretilin!' unfurling anti-integration banners and posters as they made their way to Santa Cruz cemetery. Outside the Kodim office, near the Governor's Office, one group was harassed by a soldier. There were altogether three groups, each of about 1,000 people. I think there were 3,000 people or more on the demonstration. The two forward groups has passed the Kodim office, and the group in the rear was harassed by soldiers. They began to hit the demonstrators with wooden clubs and two people were hurt. Meanwhile, there was a major standing at the roadside, taking photos, so one of the demonstrators attacked him with a knife. The group of demonstrators went into a panic and started running; some went towards the Governor's Office and some ran back the way they had come. But some of the demonstrators were determined to keep going and catch up with the two forward groups.

"I continued to follow in my jeep because I could see there were no older people around who might be able to prevent anything untoward from happening.

"In front of Resende Hotel, there were some intelligence agents in plain clothes who were trying to beat the demonstrators with their clubs. I shouted out, warning them to stop. It so happens that one of them was from my part of the country, so he was afraid.

"At the Santa Cruz junction, there were three trucks full of soldiers. And there were also around 1,500 people who were getting ready to lay flowers in the cemetery. There were two kinds of troops; some were fully dressed in army uniforms but they weren't carrying firearms, only bayonets. Others who were wearing trousers and were bare from the waist up, were carrying firearms. They started getting ready to shoot.

"Then their commander who was wearing a camouflage T-shirt and army trousers shot once into the air and the troops got down from the trucks. The soldiers who were not wearing shirts and were carrying machine-guns immediately began to shoot at the demonstrators. They fired

from a distance of about 10 metres. The shooting went on for about 5 minutes. Everyone in the front fell as they were hit by bullets. At that moment, the soldiers who were fully dressed and carrying bayonets got down to see whether anyone was still alive, kicking them with their feet. Anyone who still seemed to be moving and was still alive was stabbed with a knife. I watched this brutality for about ten minutes, but then the commander shouted at me, telling me to leave the area immediately. I quickly left Santa Cruz, but soon after (about three minutes later), I heard a second volley of shooting which went on for only about two minutes. I think that at the very least 200 people were wounded. I went straight home and didn't return.

"I have made a similar statement to the KPN and to the Australian ambassador, Philip Flood."

\*

Antonio da Silva, whose younger brother, Francesco, is the champion body-builder:

"On 12 November, I went there after the shooting was over. All I saw was fire-engines washing away the blood from the road. The water was red, it was ghastly..."

*[One of the photographs illustrating the story is of a memorial shrine of flowers surrounding a photo of Francesco, displaying his body. The caption says that the memorial will remain in place until his body is returned to the family.]*

\*

A Catholic priest:

"Demonstrators hid in the Bishop's residence, and were taken back (home). The Bishop took them home, assisted by Father Markus Wanandi.

"It has been said that the burials were conducted with religious rites, but we know nothing about how these rites were conducted. We would certainly have known if any East Timorese priests had been present..."

\*

A senior officer:

"Tear gas? You know which way the wind was blowing at the time. The soldiers were facing northwards, with their backs to the south. The wind was blowing from the north, from the coast. That morning the wind was blowing inland from the coast. If tear-gas had been used, the soldiers themselves would have fallen unconscious..."

**Interviewed by JJ reporters about the credibility of eyewitnesses, the chairman of the KPN, M. Djaelani, responded as follows:**

*Is it true that the KPN did not meet any of the eyewitnesses who came to Mahkota Hotel to meet you?*

"How was the KPN supposed to know that there were eyewitnesses who we could have met? That's difficult. Who are these people? Where are they? We didn't know, unless those people came themselves. And we had no basis for calling anyone without getting information first from other people. Actually, there were some witnesses who came, following information from others. And these were people who were not afraid to give information to the KPN. It's not true to say that the KPN didn't call any witnesses. We called some and some came to see us of their own accord. The location of the meetings depended on what had been agreed. But there were many witnesses who were afraid to speak to the KPN. Some wanted to make statements but would not mention their names. The KPN spoke to and questioned many witnesses who took part in the demonstration.

"But don't imagine that East Timor is like Java. Things there are in a mess and people make all kinds of contradictory statements; sometimes they say anything that comes into their heads. They appear to be simple folk but they are different. In Java, someone who appears to be rather simple can be trusted, but there, apparently not. This is possibly because the basis is anti-integration."

*According to the eyewitnesses, the demonstrators did not carry machetes, only knives.*

"Those who gave testimony like that were only a small section of the people who took part in a demonstration in which thousands of people were involved. They didn't know what the others were carrying. They can say that, but in actual fact, they didn't see (what the others had). And anyway, those who brought things would have concealed them under their clothes. Some were showing them, but most people were concealing (them) under their clothes."

*Note: Following the appearance of this issue of "Jakarta, Jakarta", the editor was summoned by the Information Centre of the Armed Forces and given a stern warning. According to Information Ministry sources, the weekly's demise is only a matter of time. It will be for Harmoko, the Minister of Information, to issue a ban.*

### **JAKARTA JAKARTA JOURNALISTS SACKED**

*TAPOL. the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign issued the following Press Release on 15 January 1992:*

### **INDONESIAN JOURNALISTS DISMISSED FOR PUBLISHING MASSACRE TESTIMONY**

Three journalists of the popular Jakarta weekly, *Jakarta, Jakarta*, have been dismissed for publishing East Timorese

eyewitness testimonies of the 12 November massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, in occupied East Timor. The journalists are: Seno Gumira Ajidarma, Executive Editor, Usep Hermawan, Domestic Editor, and JJ Waskito Trisnoadi, Artistic Editor.

TAPOL strongly denounces these dismissals as a violation of press freedom and welcomes this bold attempt by Indonesian journalists to publicise testimonies of East Timorese for the benefit of the Indonesian public.

The testimonies contradict the report issued in December by the National Inquiry Commission (KPN) appointed by President Suharto, which alleges that demonstrators behaved "savagely and destructively" and that the soldiers opened fire in "self-defence" while criticising the troops for behaving "excessively".

In its issue of 4-10 January 1992, *Jakarta, Jakarta* reproduced testimonies by a number of East Timorese. Some are demonstrators (whose identities are not revealed) who survived the shooting and were thrown onto trucks with dead colleagues; they give graphic descriptions of wounded survivors being dragged of the trucks and stabbed to death by soldiers. Two eyewitnesses are identified members of the regional assembly; one described the shooting and stabbing of demonstrators and explained how he watched soldiers stabbing wounded victims for about ten minutes. One eyewitness is Manuel Carrascalao, brother of the governor of East Timor. JJ also reproduced extracts from an interview of M. Djaelani, chair of the KPN, who explains why the Commission did not interview these eyewitnesses, complaining that evidence from East Timorese tended to be reliable.

The dismissals came after the proprietor of the journal, Yacob Oetama, Director of Gramedia Press, was warned about the published testimonies by armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, and other cabinet ministers. Regrettably, according to our sources, Oetama did nothing to defend his journalists; on the contrary, he washed his hands of the affair and suggested that the authorities should withdraw *Jakarta, Jakarta's* publication licence.

### **THREE JOURNALISTS SACKED (Guardian)**

*Source: The Guardian. Date: 16 January 1991. Byline: John Gittings. News report, reproduced in full.*

Three Indonesian journalists have been sacked after publishing the first full eyewitness accounts of the East Timor massacre last November.

More than a dozen interviews were published by the popular weekly, *Jakarta, Jakarta*, which has received a 'warning' from

the armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno.

The witnesses include Timorese who would normally support the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, as well as independence demonstrators. They contradict the official version that soldiers fired without orders and in self-defence.

A member of the territory's regional assembly describes how he saw a local army commander lead the massacre of unarmed Timorese outside the Santa Cruz cemetery.

"He shot once into the air and the troops got down from the trucks. The soldiers ... immediately began to shoot at the demonstrators. They fired from a distance of about 10 metres. The shooting went on for about 5 minutes... [Then] the soldiers, who were fully dressed and carrying bayonets, got down.... Anyone who was still alive was stabbed with a knife."

Another witness, the elder brother of the governor of East Timor, says that he and a friend saw 36 bodies being loaded onto one truck and 15 others on the ground. Many more people are believed to have died later.

The inquiry team made no effort to seek out most of these witnesses. Its chairman, M Djaelani, claimed that the East Timorese said "anything that comes into their heads".

Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, has denied the need for an international inquiry.

The weekly *Jakarta* magazine, *Tempo*, has reported that at least one East Timorese of the 32 demonstrators arrested after the massacre faces execution.

## **WORLD JOURNALISTS PROTEST**

### **JOURNALISTS DISMISSED FOR DOING THEIR JOB**

The Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, which represented more than 200,000 journalists in 54 countries protested in a letter to President Suharto on 17 January against the dismissal of three journalists from the Jakarta-based weekly, *Jakarta, Jakarta*.

The letter which bears the above title as its heading, ends as follows:

"The International Federation of Journalists, on behalf of its 67 member unions, urges the Indonesian government to allow Indonesian journalists to undertake their professional activities without fear of retribution. We further call on Your Excellency to allow journalists reporting from East Timor unrestricted access to information."

## MOROCCANS MASSACRE EYEWITNESSES?

Scanned. Source: FBIS.

"Antara English" plus some "Antara logic." Precisely who the Moroccans are, if indeed they are Moroccans, is not clear from the story. It is also not clear what their activities were, if any, in East Timor. But the story again illustrates the close attention now being paid by ABRI to foreigners visiting East Timor in the wake of the November 12 massacre. If foreigners on tourist visas depart from "tourist behavior," it seems clear they will now, after the intensified surveillance, minimally get a quick jackboot out.

### Police Detain Moroccans

BK1101072292 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0621 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Ambon (Maluku), Jan 11 (ANTARA)

Four Moroccans were picked up by the police in native Kecil village here on Tuesday evening for alleged involvement in the November 12 incident, at least as eyewitnesses, police sources here said on Tuesday.

The four Moroccan nationals - Mohamed, Arnalis Idris, Mustafa and Azis - were picked up after the police received reports from residents who were suspicious about their presence in a villager's house.

Police preliminary investigation indicated that their visas had expired, and therefore they were handed over to the immigration office.

The police said that Mohamed and Azis obtained a tourist visa respectively from Sweden and Scotland for Jakarta destination.

When their visas expired, the two went to Kuala Lumpur to extend their visas and entered Indonesia again.

The other two, Mustafa and Amal Idris, meanwhile, obtained their visas from Morocco, and, when arriving in Jakarta, continued their trip to Surabaya, Bali and East Timor.

When questioned by the police, Mohamed said they arrived in Ambon from Dili aboard "KM Daya Nusantara" motor vessel.

In fact, this vessel does not serve this route.

Alex Joseph, a villager who hosted the Moroccans in his relative's house and was also arrested by the police, said the Moroccan nationals arrived in Saumlaki using a sailing boat and then they embarked on "Daya Nusantara" for Ambon.

Joseph who is also a crew member of "KM Daya Nusantara" said they met the foreigners on the vessel and when they arrived in Ambon, he asked them to stay in a house of his relative. At first, their

presence in the village did not make the local people suspicious because they thought they were tourists.

But some residents began to be suspicious when they saw that they rarely went out of the house.

The four Moroccans are now put in the immigration office's quarantine because besides visa expiration, they are also suspected of implication in the November 12 incident in Dili, at least as eyewitnesses.

## PRISONER'S MOTHER APPEALS TO ALL GROUPS

Lisbon, 12 January 1992

I am the mother of Jose Maria Saldanha Ribeiro, a Timorese student who was imprisoned on 24 November 1991 along with 5 other students in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia. Two of the young people were released shortly afterwards, but my son, along with Fernando Araujo, Antonio Matos and Clemente Soares, remained in prison and have been tortured. On 22 December the four were transferred to Jakarta, where they were put with 21 other students who had been detained during a peaceful demonstration in front of the UN representative's building, in Jakarta, to protest against the Santa Cruz massacre which took place in Dili on 12 November.

My son, who is 27 years old, finished his veterinary course in 1990 and is at present on placement fieldwork, the final report of which was due in December last; since he was arrested on 24 November he has remained in prison, awaiting trial, it is said.

I have received word that he and the other students have been maltreated and tortured, that his face is unrecognizable and that he is unable to walk. For this reason, my son and Fernando Araujo have up to now not been allowed any visitors.

The Indonesian authorities have forged evidence in an attempt to incriminate them for things they did not do. It is said that, if they go on trial, they will not have access to a defence lawyer and that they are liable to be condemned to death if they are convicted of a breach of the anti-subversive law.

As a mother, I appeal in the name of the mothers and families of all the Timorese prisoners both in Indonesia and East Timor, to you to do all in your power to win their liberty. If they are brought to trial, they should be guaranteed the possibility of a proper defence and international lawyers should be present during all phases of the judicial process. I also appeal for a just solution to be found without delay to the question of East Timor because many people are dying there each day.

Sebastiana Saldanha

## SOARES: U.N. INQUIRY STILL POSSIBLE (REUTER)

Reuter, Lisbon, Jan 11 - U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is open to the idea of an international inquiry into the killing of demonstrators in East Timor by Indonesian troops, Portuguese President Mario Soares said.

Soares discussed human rights in the former Portuguese colony with Boutros-Ghali in Paris on Friday night and later told Portuguese reporters the secretary general "was extremely sensitive to my arguments and to the need of a new inquiry."

"I think some action will now follow," Soares said.

Portugal gives moral support to clandestine groups seeking East Timor's independence and has called for an inquiry into the Dili killings. It is pressing the European Community and United States to link aid for Indonesia with human rights.

Soares said he would discuss East Timor with U.S. President George Bush in Washington on Monday.

## SOARES, BUSH CONCERNED ABOUT TIMOR

Excerpted from AP, Washington, Christopher Connell, Jan 13

Portuguese President Mario Soares said Monday that President Bush should show "some understanding" for the European Community's efforts to protect its farmers.

Portugal took over the rotating presidency of the European Community this month.

Both leaders voiced concerns about the recent killings of scores of demonstrators in East Timor by the Indonesian army.

"Of course we've been concerned about human rights violations there," Bush said at the outset of their talks.

The Indonesian army fired on a peaceful protest in the Timorese capital on Nov. 12, killing at least 50 people, according to an investigating commission. State Department officials who visited East Timor say they were told at least 75 died during the incident.

Soares said he told Bush that concern is growing among the American public about the "massacres" in East Timor.

"Human rights must be respected in East Timor," said Soares.

"What you can't have here is a double standard. You can't on the one hand condemn the attack by Iraq against Kuwait and then on the other hand stand by when Indonesia has invaded East Timor illegally," he said.

Soares was here to attend an exhibit at the National Gallery of Art on the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's voyages of discovery.

**Excerpt from AFP, Washington, Jan 13**

President Mario Soares of Portugal pledged Monday to keep pressuring Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor.

"What you can't have here is a double standard," Soares said after a meeting with President George Bush. "You cannot on the one hand condemn the attack by Iraq against Kuwait and on the other hand stand by when Indonesia has invaded East Timor."

"Human rights, resolutions of the U.N. and the right for self-determination of the people of East Timor must be respected," Soares said. "I will exercise pressure on Indonesia to respect all the resolutions of the U.N."

**SOARES MAKES LITTLE HEADWAY WITH BUSH (IPS)**

washington, jan 13 (ips) -- portuguese president mario soares left the white house here monday with apparently little to show for his efforts to persuade president george bush to reconsider its support for indonesia on the issue of east timor.

after the half-hour meeting, the white house released a statement which failed to even mention east timor, the former portuguese colony invaded and annexed by indonesia in the mid- 1970s.

instead, the white house said only that the "two presidents discussed asian developments" -- wording taken to refer to east timor where indonesian troops have been accused of killing between 75 and 100 timorese at or near a dili cemetery in november.

the statement added that bush expressed his "strong desire to cooperate closely with portugal as president of the european community" and stressed the importance of a successful conclusion to the uruguay round of multinational trade negotiations.

along with "asian developments," the two leaders also discussed events in the former soviet union and issues relevant to southern africa, the white house said.

soares' trip here was billed in lisbon as the first shot in a portuguese campaign to alert the world to the consequences of indonesia's annexation of east timor.

soares wants united nations secretary-general boutros boutros- ghali, whom he met in paris over the weekend, to gain the release of timorese students arrested since the massacre and to create an international commission to investigate the killings.

portugal also reportedly wants the united nations to actively pursue negotiations between lisbon and jakarta over east timor's eventual status. portugal is recognised as the administering power "until the holding of a referendum on its autonomy," through a u.n. resolution adopted shortly after the invasion.

the bush administration has been reluctant to condemn indonesia's treatment of the timorese and have rebuffed congressional efforts to cut u.s. military aid to jakarta.

washington accepts indonesia's incorporation of east timor but also maintains that no valid act of self-determination has ever been offered the timorese. (more/ips)

it condemned the november massacre, which was witnessed by two u.s. journalists, and pressed the government to carry out a credible investigation of the action.

the suharto government appointed a commission which reported last month that 50 people had been killed in the incident and that as many as 100 more were missing. it also said the soldiers used "excessive force" but insisted that no order to fire on the people had been given by officers who were present.

that version of events, while more critical than an initial report by the army, was nonetheless strongly denounced by witnesses and human rights groups who claimed that the attack on the timorese had been ordered by officers and that many more had been killed.

two days after the report was issued, suharto replaced the two most senior officers with authority over east timor and ordered a new investigation to determine whether any soldiers or officers should face charges in the killings.

soares' efforts to secure u.s. support for portugal's position on timor are likely to be more favourably received in talks this week with u.s. lawmakers on capitol hill.

a number of legislators are expected to introduce measures over the next few weeks including legislation cutting military aid to indonesia.

**GERMANY "ACCEPTS" KPN REPORT**

*Source: AFP report from Jakarta. Date: 13 January 1992. Summarised.*

Visiting German Minister of State at the Foreign Ministry, Ursula Seiler-Albring, said in Jakarta on Monday that those responsible for an army massacre in East Timor last November should be brought to trial. She also said: "Correct procedures must be guaranteed for those detained and the fates of those missing must be clarified."

She told a press conference that Germany "agreed with the findings of the recent advance report" by a presidentially-appointed National Commission of Investigation (KPN).

Albring said she intended to report "on the positive elements" to her government and added: "East Timor will be on the agenda of the next meeting of the 12 European Community foreign ministers on

3 February." The EC, in a December declaration, called for a thorough investigation.

**SINTONG, WAROUW INVESTIGATED**

*Excerpted from AP, Jakarta, Jan 13*

The army's chief of staff said Monday that a special military panel would investigate two generals who were removed from their commands after a massacre in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Last month, President Suharto ordered the removal of Maj. Gen. Sintong Pandjaitan as commander of the eastern Indonesia military region and Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw as military commander on East Timor. He said he considered them responsible for the massacre.

The army's chief of staff, Gen. Eddy Sudradjat, told reporters that Pandjaitan and Warouw would be investigated by an army honor council formed to study the action of the former commanders in connection with massacre.

**MANTIRI INSTALLED**

*Excerpted from AFP, Jakarta, Jan 13*

Army chief Eddy Sudrajat on Monday replaced the head of the Udayana military command who is held responsible for November's massacre by soldiers of dozens of civilians in Dili, East Timor.

At a ceremony in Denpasar, the main city on the resort island of Bali where the command is headquartered, General Sudrajat appointed Major General Herman Bernhard Leopold Mantiri to replace Major General Sintong Panjaitan, the Suara Pembaruan daily said.

Several key posts in the command in East Timor have also changed hands since last week.

## SUDRADJAT SHOWMANSHIP

Scanned. Source: FBIS. Remarks: Better start becoming accustomed to "Antara English," which varies greatly in quality from story to story. Translations by FBIS personnel from Indonesian sources vary in similar ways. Some significant points in this story: emphasis on territorial operations by Sudradjat, attendance of the big brass Moerdani, Sutrisno, and Wismoyo; attendance of Brig. Gen. Syafei, Bishop Belo and Governor Carrascalao (reflecting in appearance the triumvirate recommended by the Universitas Gadjah Mada report praised by Sintong as 'accurate;' and ABRI's devolution into domestic and international pleasing "introspeksi" after the appearance of the KPN report.

### Continuing Reportage on 12 Nov Dili Incident; New Regional Commander Named

BK1301102892 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0955 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] Denpasar (Bali), Jan. 13 (OANA-ANTARA) Army Chief-of-Staff General Edi Sudrajat said on Monday the November 12 bloody incident in East Timor's capital of Dili clearly reflected that potential disturbances of security still prevailed in the province.

The troublemakers continue to create restlessness and dissension among the public and hide themselves inside the houses of worship. Gen. Sudrajat said while installing Major General Herman Mantiri as the new commander of the Udayana Ninth Military Garrison, replacing Major General Sintong Panjaitan.

Panjaitan, along with a number of military officials held responsible for the Dili tragedy which claimed the lives of around 50 people, was relieved of his post upon the instruction of President Suharto.

Sudrajat said that serious attention should be given to the vulnerable condition and that firm but wise measures should be taken to ensure the public of the stability and security in the province.

Strategic efforts to restore, anticipate, and overcome the problems should be made wisely and correctly, by among others continually launching the territorial military operation, which so far has been successful, he added.

The territorial operation, according to Sudrajat, had proved the success of participation by the military in boosting up the welfare of the East Timorese people.

The hand-over ceremony which many considered as a special event was attended by Defence and Security Minister L.B. Murdani, Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno, Chief of the Army Strategic Command Major General

Wismoyo Arismunandar and a number of other top military officials from Jakarta.

Other important attendants were four governors whose provinces are overseen by the Udayana Division: Ida Bagus Oka of Bali, Warsito of West Nusa Tenggara, Hendrikus Fernandez of East Nusa Tenggara, and Mario Viegas Carrascalao of East Timor.

East Timor's Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and the province's new military commander, Brigadier General Theo Syafei, who assumed his present post only last week, were also present at Monday's ceremony.

Citing that the Dili incident had been proportionately handled and accounted for by the Armed Forces and other related government's offices, Sudrajat said that the ceremony of Udayana's commander replacement was part of the government's move in the aftermath of the Dili incident.

Other moves made by the government following the Dili tragedy were the setting up of an inquiry team, the National Investigation Commission (KPN), and a military council.

The military council, which had been set up a few weeks ago, is designed to study the incident and inquire troopers and officers involved in the Dili incident so as to prevent that such a tragedy would not happen again in the future.

Saying that Panjaitan had well fulfilled his duty as military commander of the Udayana military garrison, Sudrajat said: "I expect that we (the military) could take the experiences in East Timor as a lesson to develop the province into a better future."

The army chief-of-staff also aired his expectation that Mantiri could bring new dynamism and changes to province, a more solid secured situation, and a more conducive atmosphere to boost development in East Timor.

## INDONESIA REJECTS UN TEAM

Excerpted from UPI, Jakarta, Jan 14

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Tuesday the Indonesian government would reject any attempts by the United Nations to field an inquiry team probe into the East Timor killings last November.

He said while a U.N. emissary would be welcome to discuss the East Timor incident in which at least 50 people were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on protesters at a funeral on Nov. 12, a U.N.-led inquiry would be out of the question.

After a meeting with President Suharto Tuesday, Alatas told reporters that Indonesia had been in contact with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali to find a solution to the East Timor problem that was acceptable to Indonesia and the international community.

"Indonesia would welcome a U.N. emissary. But if it's a special human rights team to probe the Dili incident, we will reject it," Alatas said, referring to a Lisbon report which quoted Portuguese President Mario Soares as saying the U.N. secretary-general was open to the idea of an inquiry into the Dili incident.

Alatas stressed if the U.N. chief intended to send an inquiry team, the move would have to be ratified by proper procedure through the U.N. including a vote by all countries involved.

He said the U.N. could not force Indonesia to accept an inquiry team and that so far, the U.N. secretary-general had not approached Indonesia about sending an envoy.

## TIMOR, AGAIN... THEY MAY READ (PORTUGUESE TV CRITIQUE)

Translated from the Portuguese by Nancy Lutz. Concerning the program on RTP (Portuguese TV) yesterday, January 14:

- 1) Television's effort (I don't know about other means of communication, because I haven't given them any attention) is commendable in not letting the subject of Timor die. It may not be the best approach (I don't know...). It may even be less effective than other means, eventually foreign. But, in whatever form, the idea I retain is: the subject cannot be forgotten. It already has been for too long. Thus I will note a phrase of Rodrigues dos Santos in conclusion saying that yesterday's program, in having spread across our country, should have done more on behalf of Timor than years of Portuguese diplomacy. Strange, for RTP to criticize authority...(hmm...)
- 2) Timor, in my point of view and in the point of view of many people, is our disgrace. A disgrace in all ways, even in the fact of having to have a FILM of a massacre (because there have already been many massacres) in order to make noise about the situation. Nevertheless, my position on this remains firm: it is sad that yet another massacre was necessary, but since it happened, we must make the maximum use of it, in the sense of seeking a solution.
- 3) Therefore, this is not the time to fall asleep. The situation is once again at a point to be forgotten. The Indonesians have already closed the inquiry and it appears that the North Americans have declared themselves satisfied with the results. THIS CANNOT BE! This is the time to AGITATE.
- 4) It seems to me that discussions over who should or should not do this or that, or whether decolonization was or was not badly carried out, interest no one. I

am ashamed that my country has let the situation reach this point. I feel responsible and in solidarity with the people of Timor. And I was only 7 years old in 1974. But that doesn't interest me. It is absolutely necessary to do something. And whoever has ancient wounds from decolonization or from whatever else, either participate or keep quiet and go cure them at a psychoanalyst! What is at issue is the extermination of a people.

- 5) Likewise, I have a tendency to conform and to feel very sorry for the people of Timor. I admit it. But I have the urge to do something. I don't know what, I don't have much time for that, but I have the desire.
- 6) I'm waiting for reactions...
- 7) Salutations,

czater xarax

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### OFFICIAL VISITS TO HOLLAND CANCELLED IN AID CUT PROTEST

the hague, jan 14 (ips) -- the indonesian government has for the time being cancelled all official visits to the netherlands, a dutch government official said here tuesday.

no official reason was given by jakarta, but dutch government officials believe that indonesian president suharto took the action in protest against the freezing of dutch development aid to his country.

the netherlands is among several countries to suspend aid in the wake of the indonesian army massacre of demonstrators in the east timor capital dili on nov. 12. indonesia annexed east timor in 1975, since when ten of thousands have died under occupation.

the massacre was strongly criticized by western governments, which demanded a "credible" international investigation into the killings. a presidential commission was swiftly convened, but its conclusions have been contradicted by eye witnesses, including four western journalists.

indonesian foreign minister ali alatas said in jakarta tuesday that suharto has refused an international investigation, claiming that the presidential commission had been both fast and efficient.

"an international investigation is not needed", suharto said.

but dutch officials added that here was not question of recalling the dutch ambassador to jakarta for consultations on this issue. the situation, said one diplomat, was not that serious.

the present ambassador, h.j. van royen, is a new appointment and was still in the hague when the massacre occurred.

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### ARMS TO INDONESIA DEBATED IN U.K. HOUSE OF LORDS

*Here are extracts from the U.K. House of Lords Hansard of 14 January 1992.*

*Readers should forgive the quaint forms of address in our outmoded Upper House. Yet existing procedures make the Lords a far more useful chamber for substantive discussions on foreign affairs matters than the House of Commons.*

#### EAST TIMOR

Lord Hatch of Lusby (Labour): Is (the Government) aware that a British photographer, Stephen Cox, was not only arrested but beaten up by the Indonesian police on 12 November? Is this not a case in which the Government should take action to protect a British citizen? Is the noble Lord aware that according to firsthand eye witness accounts by journalists on the spot, British machines were used by the police and army during the massacre on 12 November? Does my noble Lord not agree that the British Government should not supply any military equipment to a state that was declared an aggressor by the United Nation 15 years ago?

Lord Cavendish of Furness (Minister of State at the Foreign Office): We became aware that Mr Cox had been detained and beaten by Indonesian soldiers when the matter was reported by a colleague, by which time Mr Cox had left East Timor. We are deeply disturbed by those events although a commission of inquiry has been set up by the Indonesian Government to look into the matter and we have evidence that it has a fairly earnest intent.

As regard the question of arms, I believe that the machines referred to may have been Land Rovers which are about 23 years old. I do not think that amounts to us aiding the arms situation in that part of the world....

I believe that two officers involved in the incident in Dili have already been dismissed, as have others, and there is evidence of charges outstanding.

Lord Rea (Labour): Is the noble Lord aware that the instance that we are discussing - the shooting of unarmed civilians in East Timor -- is only one of a series of such incidents in Timor and elsewhere since 1965 when... 500,000 people died and from which the present government emerged? Is it defensible to provide aid and sell arms to such a regime given that aid to newly emerging nations, for instance of the former Soviet Union, is dependent on their progress towards democracy and the reputation for human rights.

Lord Cavendish: I share your views about the violence and deterioration of human rights. There is a political dimension; we do what we can to influence the

Indonesian authorities. With regard to arms, all countries have a sovereign right under the UN charter to secure the means of their defence.

Lord Wyatt of Weeford [Independent]: Is it possible to take stronger action at the UN to halt the mass genocide by Indonesia in East Timor? It is far worse than what is happening to the Kurds.

Lord Cavendish: I do not think I can add to what I have said.

Lord Ennals [Labour]: Bearing in mind that the government has never recognised the right of Indonesia to occupy East Timor, is it not to the UN Security Council that the issue should now be referred? Secondly, regarding arms, now that we know that British arms have been used for that purpose, will the government review the point in an earlier debate, namely that we should now consider stopping the supply of arms to Indonesia altogether while that situation continues?

Lord Cavendish: I do not accept that arms are being used for repressing the local population. Arms sales are selected on the basis that they cannot be used for that purpose.

Lord Judd [Labour]: Does the noble Lord appreciate that there is profound misgiving about the danger of British arms being used in the repressive massacres that repeatedly occur in Indonesia. It is not high time for a new drive for a settlement on the basis of Resolutions 384 and 389? Do not the government feel able to raise the matter at the special summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January?

Lord Cavendish: The resolutions to which the noble Lord refers are not included under Chapter 7 and are therefore not mandatory.

Lord Hatch: In the light of what has happened, is it not the task of the British Government to go to the Security Council and make them mandatory? Does he agree with the new UN Secretary-General that the UN should now set up an international investigation into the massacre?

Lord Cavendish: As I said, there has been an investigation into the massacre. As regards the resolution, we went along with the majority of members of the European Community and abstained on all resolutions passed in subsequent debates because we felt that it would help the process of reconciliation in the search for a political solution between Indonesia and Portugal.

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### DEATH FOR GREGORIO?

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 14*

The weekly magazine *Tempo* said on Tuesday that at least one East Timorese of the 32 arrested after the Dili shooting faced execution.

It quoted military sources in Dili as saying Gregorio da Cunha Saldana might be

sentenced to death because "the incident he incited had had a serious impact."

Police said he had been involved in several anti-Indonesia demonstrations, including the one on November 12 which the government says led to the army shooting.

Witnesses have said the demonstrators were unarmed and the government investigators themselves accused soldiers of overreacting.

The police said at least 14 of those arrested would be charged with subversion which carries a maximum penalty of death.

No soldiers have yet been charged over the shooting.

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### SPECIAL SYAFEI INSTALLATION (ANTARA)

Jan 14, 1992 Scanned. Source: FBIS.

Brig. Gen. Theo Appointed East Timor Commander BKO901013592 Jakarta ANTARA in English 1400 GMT 8 Jan 92

Dili, Jan 08 (OANA-ANTARA)-The commander of the IX Udayana Military Garrison, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, said on Wednesday that the November 12 bloody incident in Dili should be taken as a lesson and that such a tragedy should not repeat in future.

If the bloody incident is considered as a failure, let's take it as a lesson to give (East Timor) a better future, Sintong said while installing the province's new military commander, Brigadier General Theo Syafei, who replaced Brig. Gen. Rudolf S. Warouw.

The change of military commander in East Timor was made upon the instruction of President Suharto in his capacity as the Supreme Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), following a clash between the East Timorese people and the security troops last November during which around 50 people were killed.

Syafei, 50, a graduate of National Military Academy in 1965, has held several important posts, including a four-year duty in East Timor between 1976-80, was a chief of staff of the Sriwijaya Division, before his Wednesday's appointment to replace Warouw.

Expressing his deep regret over the Dili tragedy, Sintong said ABRI members assigned in East Timor apologized to the East Timorese public for any shortcoming and error made by the security troops that led to incident in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery.

He reminded ABRI members, however, that they should always be vigilant against tougher challenges in the future by taking wiser and preventive measures in maintaining the security and enhancing the development of East Timor.

Give priority to preventive measures in handling things and enhancing territorial development... A mistake in action may

lead to an unexpected tragedy. Such a tragedy should not happen again in the future, Sintong added.

But ABRI members should not hesitate to act sternly against trouble makers (GPK) who create disturbances to the people's safety, he stated.

He said that Warouw had done well during his two-year tenure as East Timor's military commander. With hard work, perseverance and gentle approach, Brig. Gen. Warouw had succeeded in stepping up the welfare of the East Timorese people, Sintong said.

Warouw is a loyal officer and the best one I've ever had in my command. And that he had done good deeds in the province. But even good deeds could end up in failure, due to external problems that are beyond human reach, Sintong said and cited that man proposes, God disposes.

The replacement ceremony, held at the courtyard of East Timor Governor's office, was attended by Defence and Security Minister L.B. Murdani, ABRI Commander General Try Sutrisno, Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edi Sudrajat, Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo, and a number of military and civilian officials.

According to Sintong, the presence of top military officials from Jakarta showed that the ceremony was an important event.

A number of East Timor's public leaders, including Governor Carrascalao, Bishop Belo, and a number of Catholic priests in the province had lauded both Warouw and Sintong's military leadership in the province.

Sintong, whose command oversees Bali and other islands in Indonesia's eastern provinces, including East Timor, is also going to be replaced by Major General Herman Mantiri. Both he and Warouw would assume new post at ABRI headquarters in Jakarta.

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### BUSH "VERY AWARE" EAST TIMOR

Excerpt, Jan 15. U.S. State Dept. briefing:

*Q On East Timor, are you satisfied with the replacement of Indonesian generals in East Timor?*

MS. TUTWILER: I'm not aware, sir, personally of a replacement of a general in East Timor.

*Q Yes.*

MS. TUTWILER: I'd be happy to look into that for you.

*Q Military commanders. And the Portuguese President met with President Bush last night -- well, yesterday evening --*

MS. TUTWILER: Correct.

*Q -- and he reported, when leaving the room, that the President was very aware of what's going on in Timor, that he mentioned that he has been asked about it in Australia. And then he asked President Soares of Portugal what can we do? What exactly did the President have in mind?*

MS. TUTWILER: Sir, I would refer you to the White House, if that was a White House meeting. I read a White House statement that the White House released last night concerning that meeting that President Bush had. I haven't seen, unfortunately, any comments that he and the Portuguese Prime Minister made at the conclusion of their meeting. (Source: FNS, Jan 14)

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### UN MUST INVESTIGATE THE DILI MASSACRE (TAPOL)

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued a Memorandum on 15 January 1992 stressing the importance of an international investigation of the Santa Cruz massacre. The Memorandum reads in full as follows:*

A plan by the former UN Secretary General to send a UN commission to East Timor to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November, when an estimated 180 people died, has not yet materialised. Instead, the new Secretary General plans to send his personal envoy to Jakarta. In the absence of pressure at the UN, Indonesia may succeed in preventing a UN investigation, claiming that Jakarta's own inquiry has made a UN investigation unnecessary. This should not be allowed to happen.

Publication of the Report of the National Inquiry Team (KPN), set up by President Suharto to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre, has not resulted in any amelioration of conditions in East Timor. Most Timorese did not trust the investigation and refused to testify. The two generals who have since been appointed to take command in East Timor have said they will be tougher than their predecessors.

Suharto set up the KPN as a gesture to his major aid donors who were under pressure from public opinion to impose economic sanctions. As long as it could produce conclusions that fell short of endorsing the army's widely-discredited version of what happened, foreign aid could be safeguarded. Besides serving this political purpose, the KPN was intended to undermine calls for an international inquiry.

The Report appears to have undermined pressure for an international inquiry. Australia 'warmly welcomed' the Report, the Dutch government described it as 'a

move in the right direction', though said an international inquiry was still needed. The German Foreign Minister of State said she "agrees with the findings". The British government has not yet made its views known. Independent eyewitnesses of the massacre, however, have denounced the Report as a crude distortion of the truth.

### The KPN Report

The KPN is not an independent group, nor do its members have the necessary expertise to investigate a massacre. This is evident from its Report which produces no evidence for any of its conclusions. It made no mention of evidence from foreign eyewitnesses and ignored the scenes shown on a video film taken during the massacre. (Although the Report published on December is called a 'Preliminary Report', State Secretary Moerdiono has said that the final report will not differ in its conclusions.)

### Casualty figure:

It claimed that 'around 50' died, contradicting the earlier official death toll of 19. This is an arbitrary figure, the 'mean average' of a number estimates. The KPN admits that it had evidence of only 19 deaths and made no attempt to explain why it came out in favour of 'around 50'. No names of victims were produced, not even the 19 dead whose graves it visited.

### Causes:

The demonstrators were described as "savage and destructive", who were "incited" by anti-integration rebels, and who "endangered" the weapons and lives of the troops. This led to "spontaneous reaction" by troops acting in "self-defence". The KPN blamed local troops for "overreacting" but exonerated the armed forces and central government on whom rests the responsibility for army rule in East Timor.

### Witnesses:

The KPN said it encountered "obstacles" in getting testimonies from Timorese who were "too afraid" to meet the group. However, Timorese testimonies have been reported by foreign press agencies, including the BBC and Reuter. In January, the weekly, Jakarta, Jakarta, published testimonies by Timorese eyewitnesses which contradict the KPN Report. One witness saw 36 bodies being loaded onto a truck and 15 more bodies on the ground; he could not count the bodies on two other trucks. The weekly quotes the KPN chairman as saying that most Timorese could not be trusted to give reliable evidence.

### Victims:

Families of the dead and disappeared still know nothing about their lost relatives. Many people wounded in the massacre

have gone into hiding, fearing arrest or worse.

### Consequences

1. More than 50 East Timorese are in custody, awaiting trial. The 32 in Dili include 14 who will face subversion charges - maximum penalty, death. The others will face criminal charges and penalties of up to 7 years. The 25 awaiting trial in Jakarta include 4 from Bali; some will face subversion charges.
2. By contrast, although troops involved in the shooting have left East Timor, no soldier has yet been arrested or dismissed for opening fire on unarmed civilians or stabbing the wounded to death.
3. Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana military command which covers East Timor, and Brig.Gen. Rudy Warouw, commander of Kolakops, the special army command in East Timor, have not been dismissed; they have been transferred to army headquarters. Before getting new posts, they will defend their reputations before an Honourary Military Council.

### New 'get-tough' army leadership in East Timor

The officers who replace Sintong and Warouw promise to clamp down hard on opponents to Indonesian rule. Both are para-commandos. The new Kolakops commander, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, has served more than 8 years in East Timor. "I am not as patient as Warouw," and will not tolerate "anything which disrupts stability". He called the 12 November demonstration "a rebellion". [Reuter, 10.I.1992]

Major-General Herman Mantiri, the new Udayana military commander, was commander of Kolakops from 1986 to 1989 when he handed over to Warouw. Asked about the 12 November demonstrators, he said: "They are security disruptors. Action must be taken against security disruptors. You have read their [anti integration] posters. That is rebellion." [Jakarta, Jakarta, 3-10.I.1992]

These statements imply that their predecessors were too lenient, not too tough. The army's grip on East Timor will continue, there will be more retribution, more repression.

An international inquiry commission is essential

It is essential for the UN to appoint a team of independent experts to examine the evidence, investigate numerous reports of mass graves and of more massacres after 12 November, search for the dead and return the bodies to bereaved families for burial. Governments should press for a UN inquiry commission; without government

pressure, especially from countries like the US and the UK, nothing will happen.

It is the people of East Timor who have been worst affected by Suharto's KPN strategy. International outrage is now giving way to acceptance of a move the aim of which was to persuade governments eager to protect their ties with Jakarta to abandon calls for an international inquiry.

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## JAPAN CONTINUES AID

*Excerpted from Kyodo, Jakarta, Jan 16*

Japan will not follow some western countries in suspending aid to Indonesia in the wake of the East Timor shootings last November, Japan's parliamentary vice foreign minister Koji Kakizawa said Thursday in Jakarta.

Kakizawa told Japanese reporters that Japan will continue to contribute to Indonesia's economic development.

The Netherlands, Canada, and Denmark suspended aid after the shootings in the East Timor city of Dili.

### Excerpted from Kyodo, Jakarta, Jan 15

Japanese deputy foreign minister Koji Kakizawa told Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas on Wednesday that Japan wants Indonesia to satisfy international concern over the shootings in East Timor.

Referring to the Indonesian government's statement that it will take legal action against those responsible for any violation of the law during the incident, Kakizawa said, "We hope Indonesia will continue to take balanced measures in order to gain the consent of the international community."

During his meeting with Alatas, Kakizawa also said that Japan welcomes the government's appointment of a commission to inquire into the incident.

Kakizawa also said that the replacement of two generals who oversaw military operations in East Timor was an "objective and fair" measure, the sources said.

Kakizawa was also reported as calling the measure, taken by president Suharto, a "brave action."

In response to Kakizawa, Alatas reiterated his statement that Indonesia will not accept an international inquiry commission into the shooting because Indonesia has already finished its own investigation.

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## ALATAS REBUKES MANGLAPUS ON U.S. BASES

*Excerpted from UPI, Jakarta, Jan 15*

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas denied Wednesday that Indonesia has offered to host some of the United States military forces who are due to vacate the Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines later this year.



"Indonesia has never offered to host part of the United States military bases," Alatas told reporters. "There has not yet been any request either by the United States."

Alatas was reacting to a statement by Philippines Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus that Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand had offered to take in some of the U.S. forces.

Manglapus was quoted as saying he found it interesting that while "we are phasing out the Americans, the other countries in Southeast Asia are phasing them in."

Alatas responded: "I don't understand the content of that statement."

Alatas confirmed that Indonesia had once said the country's PT PAL dockyard in Surabaya, East Java, was able to accommodate U.S. Navy ships "if it's requested," but added that the United States has so far not approached Indonesia on the matter.

Alatas said the U.S. Navy was anxious to explore the possibility of servicing and supplying their ships and aircraft from other Asean countries such as Malaysia and Thailand.

The U.S.-Singapore deal is expected to be raised during the Asean summit meeting in Singapore, set for Jan. 27-28.

#### Excerpted from AFP, Jakarta, Jan 15

Indonesia denied Wednesday that it had offered to host U.S. forces leaving the Philippines.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Indonesia had only opened one of its shipyards for commercial repairs on foreign vessels, including U.S. warships.

Research and Technology Minister Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie, however, said in November that P.T. PAL and the U.S. Navy were in the "final phase" of negotiations for the shipyard to conduct commercial repairs on U.S. warships.

### EVANS ORDERS CROSSES REMOVED

#### Excerpted from AFP, Canberra, Jan 16

More than 100 wooden crosses symbolising the victims of the East Timor massacre on November 12 are to be removed from the lawn in front of the Indonesian Embassy here by order of Foreign minister Gareth Evans.

At the same time, pro-East Timorese demonstrators involved in a picket at the embassy have agreed in "amicable" discussions to move to a vacant plot of land about 50 metres (yards) away, Evans told a media conference here.

With them will go their transportable hut "embassy", banners and flags which had been posted at the embassy since the massacre by Indonesian troops on November 12.

Evans said the demonstrators had also agreed their "embassy" would in future be called the East Timor Information Office.

Special regulations giving the minister power to order police to remove protesters near embassies or diplomatic missions became law on Thursday.

The demonstrators have included East Timorese refugees, their supporters and representatives of Canberra's union movement.

Their presence has irritated the Indonesian Government which has made several complaints to Evans.

He said the Indonesians had already told him they were not happy with the decision to move the East Timor Information Office and banners to a position diagonally across the road from their embassy.

Evans said it would be up to police to decide when to remove the crosses, but he would make it clear he expected them to be removed "with dignity" and placed near the information office.

A spokesman for the minister said later the decision to ask the demonstrators to move 50 metres was a compromise acceptable within Australia's obligations under the Vienna Convention which recognised the right to demonstrate peacefully.

### OUTDOOR EMBASSY FOR E. TIMOR IN AUSTRALIA

By PETER D JONES

Reprinted from *Peace News*, February 1992.

Following the 12 November massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili (*Peace News* December 1991) the Australian Coalition for East Timor (PO Box 2543, Canberra ACT 2601) and the local Australian Capital Territory Trades and Labour Council began a picket of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra, and established an "East Timor embassy" at the front gate.

On the anniversary of Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor, people from the East Timorese community in Australia joined church leaders in planting a tree at the "embassy"; this now grows alongside crosses marked with the names and ages of those who died during the massacre.

The Indonesian ambassador has made frequent objections to the presence of the picket and the "embassy", which is staffed 24 hours a day by a rota of volunteers from Sydney and Canberra. After a stone-throwing incident by Indonesian embassy officials, during US president George Bush's 2 January visit to Canberra, the Australian authorities made the picket move about 20m up the road.

Police also said they were afraid that the angry Indonesians -- deprived of their rubbish collection and other deliveries by the picket, as well as irked by the sight of

banners and flags supporting Fretilin and the UDT (the armed and unarmed independence movements, respectively) -- might shoot at the picket. The shooting of a policewoman at the Libyan embassy in London in 1985 was cited as a precedent.

The ambassador continued to protest against the picket, invoking a clause in the Vienna Convention on the "impairment of the dignity of the Embassy". On 16 January, Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans ordered the picket to move again, this time across the road and further away. However, the flags and the "embassy" were to be allowed to stay on a vacant lot and police assisted demonstrators in moving the crosses there.

Evans admitted that he had been under great pressure from the Indonesians and could stand it no longer, although the ACT attorney-general -- a fellow Labor Party politician -- said that Australia's "cherished" principles of freedom and democracy should not be given up merely to appease another nation.

### COURT ASKED TO LET CROSSES STAY

Source: *The Melbourne Age*, 24 January 1992. Byline: Peter Gregory. Abridged.

The Indonesian government had brought unusual and extraordinary pressure to bear to ensure the removal of the 124 memorial crosses from land near the embassy in Canberra, the Federal Court was told.

Mr Ron Merkel, QC, said the crosses were placed near the embassy as a dignified, accurate and timely reminder that the civilised world did not forget a massacre of innocent people in Dili last November.

Mr Merkel said the Federal Government, with extraordinary speed passed a regulation on 15 January giving unprecedented power to the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

He said the regulation gave Senator Evans unlimited power to remove the crosses if he believed it was appropriate to do so according to an international diplomatic convention. Senator Evans has issued a certificate for their removal, he said.

Mr Merkel was representing Mr Geraldo Magno, whose cousin, 18, was shot and killed in the massacre, and Ms Ines Almeida, a spokeswoman for East Timorese demonstrators.

Mr Merkel asked Mr Justice Ryan to extend an injunction preventing the removal of the crosses until a further hearing of a legal challenge to the regulation.

He said the memorial was not an insulting or a 'fringe' demonstration but followed a process that had been adopted and acted upon throughout the civilised world over the massacre.

Mr Merkel said Indonesia had made high-level representations to the Australian

Government, reminding it of its obligations under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Under the Convention, a host country was responsible for protecting a diplomatic mission against intrusion or damage and preventing any disturbance of the mission's peace or impairment of its dignity.

Mr Merkel said he had little doubt that the Indonesian Government might honestly believe the crosses might impair the embassy's dignity but the view might not be sustainable in regard to the massacre of 50 innocent people.

He said the Federal Government had taken a quantum leap in its interpretation of its obligations. The regulation had gone beyond the power of the statute that governed it. He said the Federal Government and other governments had indicated that Indonesia must bring to justice those responsible for the massacre.

Dr Chris Jessup QC, for the Federal Government, said that if the crosses stayed, other nations would perceive Australia as incapable of preventing an affront to the dignity of another country.

### **TIMOR "LEAKED DOCUMENT" TRIAL**

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 17*

Three East Timorese will go on trial next week for leaking state secrets to Portugal, Indonesia's daily newspaper Media Indonesia said on Friday.

It quoted a court official in the East Timor capital Dili as saying one of the defendants, a civilian member of the local military command, had been charged with stealing classified documents.

The other two are accused of passing documents to East Timorese pro-independence leader Ramos Horta, who lives in exile in Portugal.

The documents later made their way to Portuguese President Mario Soares.

The official said the charge carries a maximum jail sentence of seven years.

Military officials in Jakarta were not available for comment and the newspaper did not say what was in the documents.

### **THREE WHO LEAKED STATE SECRETS TO PORTUGAL WILL SOON BE TRIED**

*Source: Media Indonesia, 17 January 1992. Translated from the Indonesian. News item - sections about Dili trials reproduced in full. Everything is square brackets is added by TAPOL.*

Three persons who are accused of leaking state secrets by sending them to Portugal are to go on trial next week, according to Pandapotan Sinaga, acting chair of the Dili district court.

The three are AA, 28 years old, a mechanic, FS, 29 years old, a civilian working at Korem 164/Wira Dharma [East Timor military command], and AR, a businessman.

According to Sinaga, the three will be tried one after the other - FS on Monday, AA on Tuesday and AR on Wednesday.

The presiding judge will be A.R.T. Bolang with two other judges, AAGL Adnyana [as received] and Sudarmono.

The charge sheets say that important documents were stolen by FS who, after hiding them, handed them on to AA who passed them on to AR. It was the businessman who then sent them to Ramos Horta, Fretilin representative abroad, who passed them on to the President of Portugal, Mario Soares.

Because of these acts the three will be charged under article 112 of the Criminal and face a maximum penalty of 7 years.

[The middle section, which is not reproduced here, is a report of Brigadier-General Nurhadi, head of the information centre of the armed forces, complaining about foreign press reporting on East Timor. Worth quoting is his remark that the Dili incident "is something quite normal and happens everywhere".]

#### **31 accused**

Media correspondent last night also reported that, according to a statement by East Timor police chief, police colonel Ishak Kodijat, the BAPs (interrogation reports) of 31 persons involved in the Dili incident when 50 persons died will be handed to the public prosecutor early in February. Kodijat said that there are 36 accused persons but five of them were involved in the incident at Motael Church on 28 October.

The police said that 18 of the 31 will be tried on criminal charges and the other 13 on subversion charges. The 18 accused include two students, five secondary school (SLTP/SLTA) pupils, two government employees, a stone-mason and others who are not identified.

Twenty-nine eyewitnesses will testify at the trials and the accused will be defended by Ponco Atmono. "Only after the documents have been handed over will I seek the help of colleagues in Kupang and Java," said Ponco.

Prior to this, the police chief handed over the trial documents of another accused, GS [= Francisco Gregorio da Saldanha] to the public prosecutor; GS was also involved in the Dili incident but it is not clear when his case will come to court because it has not yet been handed on to the Dili district court.

### **JAPANESE TOURIST ACCUSED, DEPORTED**

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 18*

Indonesia has deported a Japanese man suspected of spying on East Timor following the army massacre in the former Portuguese colony late last year, the Jakarta Post said on Saturday.

The newspaper quoted immigration officials as saying they deported tourist Tatsuo Wada last week after he had secretly photographed military facilities and interviewed pro-independence activists in the East Timor capital, Dili.

He was reported to have retraced the route of an anti-Indonesia demonstration on November 12, which the government says led to the army shooting.

Tatsuo is the second person thrown out of East Timor since the bloody incident. Officials said an American tourist was deported earlier this month for similar reasons.

### **MAN SAYS JAKARTA OUSTED HIM FOR ALLEGED SPYING**

*by Sachiko Hirao, Staff writer*

*Source: Japan Times, January 18, 1992*

*[The following article has appeared in a leading English paper in Japan, Japan Times. The similar news was reported by Asahi Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun and Kyodo News Agency. Full text reproduced here.]*

Osaka --- A librarian from Hyogo Prefecture said Thursday he was forced to leave Indonesia this week, apparently because authorities thought he was spying during a visit to East Timor.

The Indonesian military shot dead citizens who joined a rally for independence there last November. More than 100 people were reportedly killed in the massacre.

Tetsuo Wada, 30, of Nishinomiya, arrived in Dili, the capital of the region, Jan. 9.

He met with local clerics to probe the killings and took photographs of local people and scenes, including military facilities, he said in an interview.

Wada also visited the site of the incident. These activities were done purely out of personal interest, he said.

On Jan. 11, two local immigration officials, along with other men who said they were security officials, visited him at a hotel and interrogated him for about seven hours.

The immigration officials demanded that he submit his passport and airline ticket.

After they left, security officers confiscated six rolls of film and a videotape after

searching his room for one and a half hours, he said.

Wada said he was forced to sign six blank forms. He said he is afraid that they may be used to forge documents.

The following day, he was taken to the airport in Denpasar. Three officers stayed with him for more than 10 hours and made him return to Nagoya a day earlier than he intended.

Before leaving Dili, the videotape and part of the films were returned. More than 40 frames were missing, however.

"I am most concerned about the lives of local people whom I took photographs of," Wada said. "I am afraid that many of my photos might be used by local authorities as a reason for oppression or to commit violence against these people."

In Dili, Wada phoned the Japanese Consulate General in Jakarta for help and was told to wait until the consulate contacted him.

Wada did not receive any response from the consulate until he left the country.

He was later told that a consular official was unable to contact him.

Wada said the consul general asked him to submit a report on the case.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy said he does not acknowledge that Wada was forced to leave.

#### **Jawa Pos - Intel Paper!**

*January 20, 1992 by Akihisa Matsuno*

As was reported in previous items, a Japanese tourist has been deported from East Timor after being interrogated and roughed up at a hotel in Dili. From newspaper articles and his press release, it seems that he has done nothing special. What the Indonesian security authorities branded "suspicious activities" were nothing more than roaming around the city in the daytime taking pictures of people and scenes. He also took pictures of "military installations" but they were just the gates of military posts in the city and humble military ships at the port, which everybody can see openly.

But one interesting point in this expulsion incident is the role of Jawa Pos, a Surabaya daily, which made this Japanese tourist the subject of a front-page article headlined "Again, A 'Mysterious' Foreigner in Dili" in its January 11 edition. Wada, the tourist, arrived in Dili on January 9 and was visited by Intelligence on January 11 after the Jawa Pos article appeared. Wada said, during the interrogation, the intelligence officers showed him a copy of the Jawa Pos. The Jawa Pos "journalist" who had ostensibly filed the article chronicling Wada's "suspicious" movements around Dili, was present during Wada's interrogation. The article quotes a Dili intelligence officer as saying "extra

vigilance" was being taken with Japanese tourists.

The Jawa Pos article, which had been written one day before Wada was visited and interrogated by intelligence officers, wrote many things that he had not done actually and described his movements in such a way so that readers begin to suspect him.

For example, it says that he went into a house near the Logistics Office. But he claims he didn't enter any house during the stay.

In another paragraph, it says he made phone calls to Japan twice, once in English (incredible!) and in the other in Japanese. This is true except that he spoke English over phone, Wada says. But why can these calls be suspicious? The article says, Wada said "I videotaped many things, but have not succeeded yet to contact the intended source." The journalist himself is saying here, he was monitoring the telephone conversation, though the content was not like that.

Also the article says, he was always changing shirts in a taxi. Wada says, he put off his jacket once in a taxi because it was hot and that's all. He didn't have a black T-shirt as the article describes.

The article says, he changed taxis in an evening 20 times (!). Wada says, he changed taxi a few times when he told the driver a wrong name of the hotel where he was staying. The trouble was the driver either didn't understand his English well.

Further, an intelligence officer was quoted as saying that he checked the passengers list of the Merpati plane Wada took from Denpasar to Dili but could not find his name. The officer concluded that Wada had used a false name. This is impossible, Wada says, because he booked a seat to Dili through a Japanese travel agency before going to East Timor.

According to Wada, he was approached only once by a man who said himself a journalist on the street and tried to take a picture of Wada. Wada said, "No thank you". But later this "journalist" was introduced to him by another intelligence officer as a local intelligence man when they came to his room at Hotel Turismo.

Wada was knocked down on to the bed and his pictures and other items were confiscated. He was forced to sign three kinds of form (each two copies) which had not been filled in. Wada asked for copies of the documents but was refused. When the intelligence officers confiscated pictures he had taken of ordinary people on the street, Wada asserted that the people had nothing to do with him. The officers said, however, that they would check to ascertain whether or not they had links with "people in the bush" (guerillas).

He telephoned the Japanese Consulate in Jakarta to seek help on the evening of the

11th. He was told to wait until the Consul General contacts him. But no contact came from the Consulate until Wada arrived in Japan. Upon arriving Wada telephoned the Japanese Consul in Jakarta, and he was consoled with the words: "This country is just like pre-war Japan. Consider yourself lucky to be alive." (Pre-war Japan was a fascist military regime.)

### **WADA'S CONVERSATION WITH CONSUL GENERAL HARUTA**

*by Tetsuo Wada, posted Jan 21, 1992 by amatsumo*

*[Wada has noted down his conversation with Japanese Consul General in Jakarta Mr. Haruta. The telephone conversation was carried out on January 13 after Wada returned to Japan. Wada got angry with the Consul's unsympathetic response. There are also some interesting and honest remarks in the Consul's words. Translated from Japanese.]*

Wada: I'm Wada. I've heard you called me...

Haruta: Oh, are you Mr. Wada? You are lucky indeed.

W: Lucky? What do you mean? Does it mean the Consulate is not going to do anything about this unlawful treatment?

H: This is Indonesia and different from Japan. Indeed you are lucky. There is a Japanese who has been detained for three months.

W: Is it allowed from the viewpoint of international law?

H: You say international law. Yes, I tell you, from the viewpoint of international law, if we intervene a case of detention which is based on the country's domestic law, it is regarded as an intervention in domestic affairs. Indonesia is just like pre-war Japan. They have no ears about things like human rights. We face difficulties if you think as if you are in Japan.

W: So, the Japanese government is not going to do anything about my case?

H: I'm saying I want to hear about your case.

W: I contacted the Consulate General at 6 o'clock on 11th, but you have provided no help at all up to this time.

H: The telephone number of the hotel you gave us was wrong. It was difficult to contact you. Here, different from Japan, the telephone condition is bad. We could only contact you after you left for Denpasar. We tried our best on those Saturday and Sunday. You could by chance contact us because on that day I

and Mr. Orita (?) were working overtime.

W: But you knew I had been taken to Denpasar and you didn't come there to see me.

H: It was Sunday. We couldn't. And we were not very anxious because we knew you had succeeded in contacting the outside.

W: Then how can I place a protest to this kind of unlawful treatment?

H: We can't judge whether your case was unlawful or not until it has been investigated. And there are no evidences to prove it was unlawful.

W: [Here I explained what happened.] What I'm most afraid is East Timorese who have nothing to do with me can be persecuted after my case. I wish the Japanese government to do something.

H: If they have nothing to do with you, why do you worry about them?

W: In East Timor in last November more than a hundred were killed only because they demonstrated.

H: Then it's your fault to behave like that if you knew such a thing. I know well that Australia and the Netherlands are protesting Indonesia regarding that incident. But our government has no intention to do anything about this.

W: What I want our government to do is to place a formal protest to the Indonesian government about this unlawful treatment against me, to take measures to prevent new repressions against those who were in my pictures, and also to take measures to prevent them from forging any case from the blank forms I was forced to sign.

H: Well, well. Then would you write down what happened and what you want us to do?

W: Do I send it to you?

H: No, that's not what I mean. I only said you do that in case we ask you to. Don't think it's a request from the Consul.

About half an hour later, the Consul called me up again and requested to me to send my report to him.

## JAPAN - INDONESIA AID WILL CONTINUE DESPITE EAST TIMOR KILLINGS

*Japan Times, January 18, 1992*

*A Kyodo item from Jakarta was picked up by Japan Times. Full text reproduced here.]*

Jakarta (Kyodo) --- Japan will not follow some Western countries in suspending aid to Indonesia in the wake of the East Timor shootings last November, Koji Kakizawa, parliamentary vice foreign minister, said here Thursday.

Kakizawa told Japanese reporters that Tokyo will continue to contribute to Indonesia's economic development.

The Netherlands, Canada and Denmark suspended aid after the shooting in the East Timor city of Dili.

An Indonesian government commission investigating the shooting said 50 people were killed by "excessive shooting" by Indonesian troops and 90 people remain missing. Eyewitnesses and other independent sources said more than 100 people who had just attended a funeral were gunned down in the incident.

## REPORT: MEETING WITH SENATOR PELL

*From: Loren Ryter*

This is to report the outcome of a meeting with Senator Claiborne Pell regarding East Timor that occurred on Friday, January 17th, 1992 at his office in Providence, Rhode Island.

Senator Pell is the head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and he has been a leader in the issue of East Timor in the past.

The meeting included Allan Nairn of New Yorker magazine, Amy Goodman of Pacifica radio, a Portuguese Priest who has been in East Timor who wishes to keep a low profile, Dean David Targan of Brown University, Carolina Matos who edits the Portuguese American, and myself, a student at Brown.

Senator Pell would:

- 1) support a bill which would cut off ALL aid to Indonesia contingent on its adherence to human rights.
- 2) support a congressional hearing on the matter
- 3) like to see a statement written by Nairn entered into the congressional record.

He has opened up ties to us through his office to work through this issue.

Also, a group at Brown is working on sponsoring a forum in Providence, and if anyone would like to help, please contact me.

## TIMOR GAP OIL

*Excerpted from IPS, Kupang, Jan 20*

Over 20 companies, grouped in eight consortia, from Australia, Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, South Korea and the United States, have won 11 contracts to find oil in the Timor Gap.

Over 130 oil firms, of which 70 operate in Indonesia and 60 in Australia, were invited to bid the tender from June through October last year.

Indonesia and Australia signed the Timor Gap Cooperation Treaty in 1989 for joint exploration for sea-bed oil and gas reserves in the Timor Gap area. Last February, Canberra and Jakarta established the joint authority for the Timor Gap zone to oversee oil exploration activities.

Under the treaty, Australia and Indonesia will get an equal share of the net oil output from overlapping zones as well as 10 to 16 percent rent resource tax from oil contractors.

Geological analyses and seismic surveys indicate that the Timor Gap waters, which divide Timor island from Australia's northern territory, hold more than one billion barrels of oil and gas reserves.

Any oil and gas production from zone A, the largest area, will be shared equally by the two countries.

"God willing, exploration in zone A could begin in 1993," said Suyitno, the Indonesian director-general for oil and gas.

If initial results are encouraging, annual exploration expenditure could reach more than \$100 million, with obvious spin-offs for service industries in Darwin.

On the Indonesian side, Kupang and Dili would probably serve as the land bases to support the operation and benefit from the growth in services.

## MASSACRE SURVIVORS TO GO ON TRIAL IN DILI (TAPOL)

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, has issued the following Press Release embargoed for Monday, 20 January:*

Not satisfied with murdering up to two hundred young East Timorese on 12 November in cold blood, the forces of occupation in East Timor now intend to bring to court 32 of the survivors of the massacre. Fourteen will be tried under Indonesia's vaguely-worded anti-subversion law which means they face harsh penalties including death. Eighteen will be charged for 'lesser offenses' under the Criminal Code allowing penalties of up to seven years.

The defendants facing subversion charges include Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, who is likely to go on trial soon. Gregorio, a male nurse at the Bidau General Hospital, is said to have been the leader of

the peaceful demonstration. According to Indonesian press reports, he was "only wounded" when troops opened fire and was discovered among the wounded in a Dili hospital, under a false name. It is more than likely that some of the other defendants were also wounded during the massacre.

Besides trying those who survived the slaughter, the illegal occupants of East Timor have announced that three persons, identified only by their initials, will go on trial in Dili, on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday this week. 'FS' is accused of "stealing" documents from the Dili military command and giving them to 'AA' who gave them to 'AR' to be smuggled to Jose Ramos Horta, special representative abroad of the National Council of Maubere Resistance. The documents were then said to have been handed over to the Portuguese president.

It is preposterous for people to be tried for "stealing" military documents. If the charges are true, those involved would have merely been trying to expose army plots to provoke and intimidate Timorese people who wanted to give vent to their aspirations during the aborted visit to East Timor of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation.

TAPOL strongly denounces these trials as being without a shred of legal justification. It is outrageous for an Indonesian court to sit in judgement over people who were demonstrating peacefully for their country's right to self-determination, in conformity with United Nations resolutions. These trials are not "due process of law"; they are political trials in a country where the judiciary functions on behalf of the Executive, in violation of the principle of the Separation of Powers. This is evident from the fact that while survivors are to be tried, not a single member of the armed forces has yet been dismissed, still less charged, for opening fire on unarmed Timorese outside and inside the Santa Cruz cemetery.

TAPOL calls for the immediate and unconditional release of all the political detainees in Dili as well as those awaiting trial in Jakarta. Governments which succour the Indonesian regime with aid and arms sales should press for their release. They should impose economic sanctions, halt the sale of military equipment and insist on an international inquiry into the 12 November massacre. The dead must be restored to their bereaved families. Those responsible for the slaughter should be identified by reputable and independent international investigators and then charged with murder.

## CDPM LISTS 37 TIMORESE TO BE TRIED IN DILI

Jan 20.

The Lisbon-based Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM) has strongly condemned the trials of 37 East Timorese which are soon to commence in Dili. In a statement issued on 20 January 1992, the CDPM said the trials were unlawful. The prisoners had had no access to legal assistance during their interrogation and they were being forced to accept defence lawyers appointed by the authorities. No facilities were being provided for interpretation, for their proper understanding of the charges and for the preparation of their own defence.

The CDPM called on the Portuguese authorities to protest in its capacity as the Administering Power, and to approach the appropriate international authorities to ensure the presence of international lawyers at the trials.

The names of the 37 persons were supplied by reliable sources whose identity cannot be divulged. The names, with their ages and places of residence, are as follows:

1. Carlos dos Santo Lemos, 30, Becora-Dili
2. Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves, 34, Taibesse-Dili
3. Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, Balide-Dili
4. Filomeno da Silva Ferreira, 34, Campo Alor-Dili
5. Juvencio de Jesus Martins, 29, Campo Alor-Dili
6. Saturnino da Costa Belo, 22, Bidau Santana-Dili
7. Aleixo da Silva Gama, 22, Bidau-Dili
8. Augusto Felipe Gama Xavier, 24, Bidau Santana-Dili
9. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29, Santa Cruz/Audian-Dili
10. Matias Gouveia Duarte, 40, Taibesse-Dili
11. Jacob da Silva, 22, Vila Verde-Dili
12. Boby Xavier, 18, Matadouro-Dili
13. Joanico dos Santos, 24, Bairro Pite-Dili
14. Lourenco Rodrigues Pereira, 21, Vila Verde-Dili
15. Antonio Baptista Sequeira, 20, Vila Verde-Dili
16. Bonifacio Barreto, 20, Maliana
17. Aleixo Lay, 21, Bidau-Dili
18. Jose Barreto Marques, 19, Bairro Pite-Dili
19. Bonifacio Magno, 35, Taibesse-Dili
20. Janio Ferdinando, 17, Santa-Cruz-Dili
21. Fernando Tilman, 21
22. Januario Gomez, 18, Caicoli-Dili
23. Filomeno Gomez, 50, Caicoli-Dili
24. Joao Pereira, 18, Becora-Dili
25. Simplicio de Deus, 19, Vila Verde-Dili
26. Marcio da Graca, 18
27. Jose Felipe, 24, Dili
28. Antonio Belo, 33, Baucau
29. Francisco Guterres, 21, Becora-Dili

30. Jose Francisco da Costa, 22, Baucau
31. Eusebio Pinto Pedroso, 24, Lahane-Dili
32. Renilde Guterres Corte Real, 24, Ossa
33. Basilio Francisco Bento, 18, Culu-Hun-Dili
34. Manuel Eduardo dos Santos, 26, Baucau
35. Domingos Joaquim Pereira, 20, Dili
36. Mario Abel, 24, Baucau
37. Joao dos Santos, 22

## A WOMAN GOES ON TRIAL IN DILI

TAPOL report, 20 January 1992

One of the three East Timorese who are going on trial in Dili from today is a woman, Filismine da Conceicao, 29 years old. She was employed at Korem 164/Wira Dharma, the military resort command. She was arrested shortly after the 12 November massacre.

Another defendant, a businessman, has been identified as Afonso Rangel, 48 years. The full name of the third defendant, 'AA' is not yet known.

They are being charged under article 112 of the Criminal Code which has to do with assisting enemies of the state. This has a maximum penalty of seven years.

## TIMORESE PLEADS "GUILTY"

Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 21

An East Timorese has admitted leaking Indonesian classified documents to Portugal, the daily newspaper Media Indonesia reported on Tuesday.

"Yes, I am guilty," it quoted Felesmina dos Santos Consecacao as telling the court in Dili.

Dos Santos Consecacao, a civilian worker at the local military headquarters, and two others have been charged with stealing state secrets and passing them to East Timor rebel leader Ramos Horta.

The documents, whose contents were not detailed, later made their way to Portuguese President Mario Soares.

The charge carries a maximum punishment of seven years in jail. The other two -- Alfonso Rangel and Amarao de Araujo -- go on trial this week.

Court officials said another 14 East Timorese will be tried from next month on subversion charges.

Military officials said they arrested three members of the East Timorese guerrilla group, Fretlin, in the Bobonaro area last week. The three were caught on their way back to the jungle after looting villagers.

The guerrillas are now under investigation, officials said.

## BELO IMPLICATED IN TRIAL ?

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Jan 21*

The prosecution on Tuesday demanded the maximum penalty of seven years in jail for an East Timorese accused of leaking classified Indonesian documents to Portugal.

A local newspaper said Felesmina dos Santos Consecacao had pleaded guilty at his trial in Dili.

Antara said the documents had been leaked to local Bishop Ximenes Belo, an outspoken critic of Indonesia's 16-year rule over predominantly Roman Catholic East Timor. The bishop allegedly forwarded the documents to Portugal.

It was not clear whether Belo's role was mentioned by the prosecution or by the defendant.

Dos Santos Consecacao, a civilian worker at the local military headquarters, and two others are charged with stealing state secrets and passing them to East Timor rebel leader Ramos Horta, who lives in exile in Portugal.

The documents concerned an interview by Portuguese television with the local governor and the arrival of a United Nations fact-finding team last year. They later reached Portuguese President Mario Soares.

## TIMORESE WOMAN SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS

*TAPOL report, 21 January 1992*

According to Radio Renascenca, the Portuguese Catholic radio station, Filismine dos Santos Conceicao, the woman who was accused under article 112 of Indonesia's Criminal Code of stealing military documents from Korem, the East Timor military command where she worked, was sentenced at the Dili district court to seven years on Monday, 20 January 1992.

The trial lasted only a day and the defendant is said to have pleaded guilty.

Two others have been charged with receiving documents from Conceicao and sending them abroad to be passed on to the Portuguese president. They are Afonso Rangel and Amaro Araujo. According to the latest information, they will be tried on Friday, 24 January. Presumably, they too will be sentenced on the same day.

This outrageous travesty of justice comes as no surprise. Many political trials held in Dili in the mid-1980s were one-day affairs, with defendants given no chance to appoint their own defence lawyers or prepare a proper defence. Defence lawyers were provided by the court for the sake of appearance.

### Note regarding sources:

Information yesterday from the radio came from an interview of Mario Carrascalao who gave the names of the woman and Afonso. Today's information originates from Joao Carrascalao who presumably received it from Mario as well.

Since Media Indonesia announced the three trials on 17 January and hinted that they might last only a day, there is no reason not to believe these latest reports.

A report in Media Indonesia on 21 January, filed by Reuter, said the trial had taken place but did not mention the sentence.

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## PORTUGAL LASHES OUT

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 21*

Portugal said the Felesmina dos Santos Consecacao trial was an attempt by Indonesia to shift the blame to the East Timorese themselves for "an act of the most shocking brutality committed by Indonesian troops."

A foreign ministry statement in Lisbon said Jakarta's attempt to imply some sort of Portuguese involvement in the massacre was ridiculous and unfounded.

It said Jakarta's inquiry into the shooting had failed to explain the "cool, calm and disciplined way the shots were fired, and the systematic attacks and even stabbings of the wounded and detained which followed."

Despite Indonesia's admission that some soldiers acted wrongly, not one had yet been arrested while some of the dozens of East Timorese arrested after the shooting had been tortured and denied access to lawyers, the statement said.

Lisbon repeated its call for a detailed international inquiry into the events of November 12. Indonesia has rejected such an investigation.

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## TIMOR MEETING / ACTION ALERT - NEW YORK

*From Richard Koch, Jan 21 1992*

This Sunday (Jan 26) there will be a meeting to discuss organizing work for East Timor in Manhattan. The meeting will start at 10:30AM (don't worry if you're late) and take place at 339 Lafayette Street (Lafayette and Bleecker); the nearest subway stop is Lafayette-Broadway. The meeting will not take place at the Muste Institute as previously announced, but at another office in 339 Lafayette. Most people receiving this have already received notice in the mail; a few did not because I got your postal address after the bulk of the mailing went out.

On the afternoon of Jan 25, WBAI-FM(99.5) in New York City will devote an afternoon of coverage to East Timor.

The following legislation is relevant for East Timor. All provisions apply to countries with a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights.

Foreign Assistance Act, Section 502B prohibits US government security assistance

Foreign Assistance Act, Section 116 prohibits US government economic aid "unless such assistance will directly benefit the needy people in such country"

International Financial Institutions Act, Section 701, requires US representatives to multilateral development banks to vote against loans of the banks

International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act, prohibits commercial arms sales

Some of these provisions have exceptions, e.g. the President can certify that there are "exceptional circumstances" that justify aid despite a poor human rights record, or the President can certify that there have been "significant improvements" in a country's human rights record. An excellent discussion of relevant US law is contained in a 1988 report by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (330 Seventh Avenue, 10th Floor, New York, NY 10001), Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Report and Recommendations. The Lawyers Committee has also issued several other good reports on human rights and US foreign policy.

The New York Times reported on December 29 that President Suharto relieved two generals of their commands because of their responsibility for the Nov 12 massacre. The commander of the armed forces, General Sutrisno, was not removed; a report I had mentioned earlier predicting that he would be removed was incorrect. The Bush administration will undoubtedly attempt to use the removal of the two generals as excuse for not taking stronger action.

Congress is now back in session, so now's the time to get letters out to Congressmen.

Richard Koch

### N.J. Program: Indonesia in East Timor: US Arms and Genocide

Speaker: Allan Nairn

Date: Wednesday, January 29

Time: 7:30PM

Place: Wilson Hall, Wilson Auditorium, Monmouth College,

Long Branch, New Jersey

Sponsors: Monmouth People for Peace and Disarmament and

Monmouth College Anthropology Society

Info: (908)747-1901

## THE TIANANMEN IN EAST TIMOR (NYT EDITORIAL)

*New York Times editorial, 21 January 1992*

What President Bush has called "the tragedy in East Timor" is finally eliciting more than ritual sympathy. The former Portuguese colony was forcibly seized by Indonesia in 1975, an act comparable to Iraq's devouring Kuwait. This was largely ignored until last Nov. 12, when Indonesian troops killed 50 Timorese at a wreath-laying ceremony for a slain youth, an act reminiscent of China's 1989 massacre of pro-democracy students in Tiananmen Square.

Unable to ignore protests, Jakarta's military rulers ordered an inquiry. They now acknowledge the 50 deaths, but say they resulted from a "spontaneous reaction by soldiers" provoked by mourners waving "anti-Indonesian" banners. Numerous witnesses, including two American journalists, say the troops acted with cool deliberation.

Creditably, Portugal has mounted a campaign in behalf of its former colonial subjects. In Washington the other day, President Mario Soares sought President Bush's active help in holding Indonesia accountable for its misdeeds. Jakarta insists that it seized East Timor for humanitarian purposes to save lives threatened by civil strife and says that a largely Roman Catholic people have welcomed their annexation by Islamic Indonesia. If so, the Portuguese ask, why not let the East Timorese express their wishes in a genuine referendum?

Mr. Bush condemned the situation as "a tragedy" at a news conference on Dec. 19, before his Asian trip. He went on to say, "We pride ourselves, and I think properly so, on standing up for human rights, and I think we've made clear to the parties that are interested there the U.S. position." But after his meeting with President Soares, a White House statement - much to Mr. Soares' dismay, did not mention East Timor at all, alluding only to "Asian developments."

This skittishness harks back to the cold war deference to a huge Asian country that has been a major buyer of U.S. arms. Times have changed. Less deferential members of Congress rightly condemned Indonesia's Tiananmen and are weighing trade and loan sanctions. That may be the kind of "Asian development" that Jakarta's rulers will take seriously.

## DUTCH RESUME AID (REUTER)

*Excerpt from Reuter, Amsterdam, Jan 20*

The Netherlands said on Tuesday it would resume development aid to Indonesia

which it suspended in November following an incident in which the army opened fire on a crowd in East Timor.

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek and Development Aid Minister Jan Pronk said in a letter to parliament they were encouraged by Indonesian government measures taken in response to the shooting.

Dutch aid to Indonesia, a former Dutch colony, amounted to just over 400 million guilders (220 million dollars) in 1990.

The Dutch ministers said they attached particular importance to Indonesia's recent undertaking to receive a special envoy of the United Nations Secretary General to discuss the massacre.

"The government considers these developments encouraging and will continue to monitor them closely," they said.

## DUTCH WILL MAKE DEMANDS

(AFP)

*Excerpted from AFP, The Hague, Jan 21*

The Netherlands will shortly resume aid to Indonesia which it cut off after troops killed at least 50 people in East Timor last November, Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek said in a letter to the Dutch Parliament Tuesday.

He said talks on the specifics of aid resumption would be held early next month, along with political talks on development cooperation.

The letter followed what the Dutch government termed an "encouraging" provisional inquiry report by Indonesian authorities, the sacking of two generals and creation of a military council to take action within the army.

The Dutch government on November 21 said it would launch no new development projects in Indonesia after the November 12 shooting in Dili.

The Netherlands had earmarked up to 147 million florins (82 million dollars) for development projects in Indonesia for 1992.

In the February talks, said Van der Broek's letter, The Hague will insist on Indonesia's "application of measures ordered by the president". These included identification and punishment of those directly responsible for the shooting, a search for those still missing, and measures aimed at preventing a recurrence of such incidents.

Dutch authorities will also insist that Indonesia change its administrative, military, economic and social policies with regard to East Timor.

## AID RESUMES, UN FOLLOWS IN WAKE (IPS)

*Excerpted from IPS, Amsterdam, Jan 22*

Indonesia welcomed today the Netherlands' decision to resume development aid, suspended in November after Indonesian troops killed dozens of pro-in-

dependence East Timorese demonstrators in the East Timor capital Dili.

Canada and Denmark have already said they will resume their aid to Indonesia.

An Indonesian foreign affairs ministry spokesperson in Jakarta, contacted by telephone, also confirmed to IPS that a special envoy sent by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will visit East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian government.

A precise date of the visit has not been decided yet, but "it will be very soon," the spokesperson added.

## Correction Jan 24 from E.T.A.N.,

### Canada:

Note: The report that Canada has said it will resume aid is not accurate. External Affairs In Ottawa today reaffirmed their aid cut. Although who knows ...

## JAKARTA WELCOMES DUTCH RESUMPTION OF DEVELOPMENT AID

*IPS, Jan 22:*

Dutch foreign minister Hans van den Broek, in a letter to the lower house said Tuesday that the government has based its decision on "hopeful developments" in Indonesia.

He mentioned the coming visit of the U.N. envoy and the conclusions of an "independent" team, sent by Indonesian president Suharto to East Timor to investigate the 12 November massacre.

In a report the investigation team said that the army used "excessive force" and estimated that "more than 50" were shot dead during the incident.

Two days after the killings president Suharto, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, sacked two generals in charge of operations in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which was annexed by Indonesia in 1976. He also sternly warned the army that "it must not happen again".

Van den Broek said, that formal talks with the Indonesian government on resumption of development aid, will restart in the first week of February.

He warned, however, that the investigation of the U.N. special envoy must not be restricted. The Dutch, he said, with its European Community (EC) partners, will act if Indonesia and the U.N. do not agree on free access for the special envoy.

He added that decisions on further sanctions will be "taken in the light of the resolution on human rights, democracy and development, which was approved by the EC development council on November 28".

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## AT LEAST 56 TIMORESE DETAINED

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 22*

Indonesian state prosecutors are questioning at least 56 East Timorese in connection with an army massacre in the former Portuguese colony in November, a spokesman at the attorney general's office said on Wednesday.

He said the authorities were looking into the involvement of the East Timorese in pro-independence demonstrations, including one in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12 which the government says led to the army shooting of mourners.

Of the 56, 22 are detained in Jakarta, two in Bali and the rest in Dili.

Officials said some would go on trial for subversion, which carries a maximum punishment of the death penalty.

Three other East Timorese are now on trial for leaking classified documents to Portugal last year.

Press reports said two of them had already pleaded guilty. The public prosecutor has asked that one be given the maximum penalty of seven years in jail.

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## TALKS WITH TIMOR RESISTANCE?

*Excerpted from IPS, Lisbon, Jan 22*

Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro is to seek the backing of the U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a plan to bring East Timorese groups into direct dialogue with their Indonesian occupiers.

Contacts between Portugal and Indonesia were cut after the Nov. 12 Massacre of Timorese pro-independence demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili.

During his talks with Boutros-Ghali, the Portuguese foreign minister will deliver an official letter from his government, which, according to analyst Adelino Gomes, expresses Portuguese desire for a "just and internationally acceptable" settlement.

Though it does not overtly ask for Timorese participation in negotiations, Portugal calls for "the participation of all parties involved in the conflict," said Gomes.

The Portuguese diplomatic assault against Indonesia has received a fillip with the change in the U.N. leadership.

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## INDONESIAN ASSASSINATION PLOTS?

*Excerpted from IPS, Lisbon, Jan 22*

Former U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was accused by Timorese independence group spokesperson Jose

Ramos-Horta, of "being a prisoner of the U.S. State Department" and choosing to "systematically ignore the genocide" in East Timor.

The appointment of Boutros-Ghali was, Ramos-Horta told IPS, cause for optimism. He said all the Timorese resistance saw "better prospects" because the new secretary-general "simply could not possibly be worse for our cause than Perez de Cuellar."

Lisbon also denounced an alleged plan by the Indonesian Secret Service (INTEL) to assassinate Ramos-Horta, who lives in Sydney, Australia, and the representative of the Timorese Liberation Front (FRETILIN) here in Portugal, Abilio Araujo.

Independence campaigner Alfredo Ferreira told journalists that INTEL planned to hire professional assassins "to silence forever the voices of Ramos-Horta and Araujo, whose vigorous international actions have denounced Indonesia before the world".

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## SOARES: TIMOR NOT GOA

*Excerpted from IPS, Lisbon, Jan 22*

At a foreign press club dinner here in Lisbon yesterday, Portuguese President Mario Soares rejected parallels between the cases of the Indian invasion of the Portuguese colonies of Goa, Diu and Damao in 1961, on the one hand, and the 1975 Indonesian annexation on the other.

Soares emphasized that in the first place "India was and is the most populated democracy in the world, whereas Indonesia is one of the worst dictatorships on earth."

He recalled that in 1975, a democracy was installed in Portugal which decreed the decolonization of its empire, while in 1961 "the obstinacy of the dictator (Antonio de Oliveira Salazar prevented negotiations on Goa, Damao and Diu with the democratic government of India."

Another difference was the fact that "Portugal is not claiming the territory of Timor for itself, but only its administration until the holding of a referendum in the territory."

He said East Timor also had "a different history, language and religion than Indonesia," said Soares, explaining Portuguese preference for a U.N.-backed settlement.

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## U.S., AUSTRALIA VIEW TIMOR DIFFERENTLY THAN EUROPE

*By Bruno Kahn., Agir pour Timor, 23 Jan.*

An important difference between the US and Australia, on the one hand, and European countries on the other, is that the former officially accept the Indonesian

annexation of East Timor, while the latter have never recognised it. This position of principle has been recently reaffirmed by England, Germany and France (also by Japan).

What strikes me is that official statements seem to directly contradict these stands. Ursula Seiler-Albring, the German Minister of State at the Foreign Ministry, has said in Jakarta last week that "correct procedures must be guaranteed for those detained and the fates of those missing must be clarified", speaking of the Timorese prisoners. If they don't recognise the annexation, then they cannot logically accept that Indonesia has any right to judge Timorese. Dutch authorities will insist that Indonesia "change its administrative, military, economic and social policies with regard to East Timor". Again, such a language held officially amounts to recognising the annexation.

It seems to me that such a question should not be underestimated. Clearly, in actual conversations or negotiations one has to be realistic. But official statements are quite a different matter. They are a matter of principle. It may be very dangerous to let governments contradict their own official positions without reacting.

For example, there should be no way in which European governments (and the Japanese government) can 'accept' the KPN report, only because they stand that Indonesia has no authority on the territory. Now the new UN Secretary General seems to rather have this position and to favour a UN investigation. If he gets no support from Western governments there is no chance for such an enquiry. So I suggest that we should put these governments in front of their dilemma and ask them to clarify this contradiction.

It would be especially important to do this now, as Holland will hold talks with Indonesia in February and the EC will discuss East Timor on Feb. 3rd.

A possible action would be for solidarity groups to write individually to the German and Dutch governments to ask them explanations, and to forward a copy to Portugal which presently holds presidency of the EC. The letter to the Dutch government could also contain a protest on its resuming aid. Then to write to their own government asking to compare its position to the Dutch and German one, again with a copy to Portugal. This would hopefully secure that this question is debated at the EC foreign minister meeting.

We could also ask our governments to support sending a UN enquiry commission on the basis of the KPN illegality, at the occasion of the Human Rights Commission, and also to condemn the trials on the basis of their illegality (and their unfairness only as an afterthought). It will most likely fail,



but this would put some pressure on these governments.

## MASSACRE: ONLY THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

*Translated and forwarded by Nancy Lutz.*

Dear friends:

I am once again alerting you to the situation in Timor and to practical steps which everyone can take.

The more I read, the more anguished I become over the past (and future) situation of the Timorese.

Prof. Paulo Tavares de Castro brought me the "proceedings" of the 2nd Journey of the University of Porto, organized by my former professor and colleague, Barbedo de Magalhaes.

The document is very well done, and the information it contains causes nightmares. I am trying my best to get an ASCII version of the documents in order to put them in the network.

Some details in advance, with the warning that more sensitive people should not read them, because the barbarity of the Indonesian troops is such as to cause nightmares and bring tears to the eyes (in mine, from the rage of impotence and sorrow for only now having begun to do some (small) thing for our compatriots...)

### (1) PORTUGUESE HOSTAGES:

When APODETI fled beneath the protection of Indonesia, after a strike against the Portuguese administration (which failed due to the reaction of indigenous troops connected with FRETILIN), they took with them 23 metropolitan military personnel who remained hostages of Indonesia, and who were used as an element of "persuasion" for Portugal to hand over the statute of administrative authority to Indonesia, which would legalize the invasion.

It was only almost a year later, after the annexation of Timor as a province, that the Portuguese were liberated.

### (2) THE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENTS:

At the time of the surrender of the populations in the mountains, who had been without food resources after the aerial bombings with napalm and phosphorous by Indonesian aircraft, there were reports of massacres of entire villages having been slaughtered, despite promises delivered over megaphones, no sooner than they had arrived at the "reception sites".

### (3) ASSASSINATION OF BABIES:

There were reports (obtained through Jesuit missionaries) of children whose fathers were suspected of belonging to FRETILIN: a mother pleaded that they kill

her and spare her child. The soldiers burst the head of the baby against a wall, and before killing the mother, said to her (in front of the whole village, presumably with the purpose of removing, through terror, any thoughts of resistance), "When we clean a yard of cobras, they all die, whether large or small."

### (4) TORTURE OF PRISONERS:

A FRETILIN prisoner was captured. After being beaten, he was taken to his village, where his mother was tied up, and then repeatedly raped by the soldiers (on top of the poor unfortunate man) in front of the whole village, before they killed the two with such nauseating sadistic refinements (involving the sexual organs of the two) that I have no way of describing them here (for those who so desire, I can send photocopies).

ETC .. ETC .. ETC ..

As can be imagined, this would disturb the sleep of a saint!

It is fundamental that we all collaborate in removing the smoke screen which Indonesia has put over news about Timor (with the connivance of many western countries and the quasi-apathy of the Portuguese regime!)

Towards this end, since in 16 years, the diplomatic channels and the U.N. (which worked only for Kuwait) :- ( have done nothing to improve the situation of the Timorese, I propose the following:

**A JOINT TELEVISION CAMPAIGN BY THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES TO SHOW THE FILM "COLD BLOOD: THE MASSACRE OF EAST-TIMOR"** by Max Stahl.

Send your letters, telephone, organize your friends to also exert pressure!

I am sure that, at least here in the States where no one (aside from the intellectual elite who read the New York Times and the Washington Post) knows anything, after being shown on TV, the problem of Timor would be half resolved.

In order to remind those who might have lost contact, it is important to refer in your letters to the source of the documentary:

**YORKSHIRE TELEVISION**

Peter Gordon, Producer Phone: (England - Leeds) (0532)

438-283 FAX: (idem) 439-732

**FRIENDS:** This is not the time to comfortably sit back and hope that the governments will resolve the problem: it is the time to ACT!

Jose Barros BASTO; 11 Duh Drv, Apt 222; BETHLEHEM, PA. 18015. USA. (215)758-1846 Office: (215)758-5518

## OVERZEALOUS TIMOR PROSECUTORS

*Excerpted from Reuter, Jakarta, Jan 23*

Indonesian state prosecutors have demanded more than nine years imprisonment for an East Timorese accused of leaking state secrets to Portugal, the official news agency Antara said on Thursday.

It quoted a state prosecutor in Dili as saying Alfonso Rangel had leaked classified documents to an East Timor rebel leader in Australia, Ramos Horta.

Prosecutors demanded more than the maximum seven-year sentence for Rangel, noting he was jailed for five years in 1985 on similar charges.

They have demanded seven years each for Rangel's two alleged accomplices.

The documents eventually made their way to Portugal.

## PORTUGAL ONE-UPS GREENPEACE

*Excerpted from Reuter, Lisbon, Stephen Brown, Jan 23*

An ageing Portuguese car ferry set sail from Lisbon on Thursday on a peace mission to lay a wreath of flowers in a cemetery in East Timor, where Indonesian troops killed at least 50 demonstrators last November 12.

The 28-year-old Lusitania Expresso weighed anchor two and a half days late, bound first for Darwin, Australia, to pick up more than 100 students and journalists from around the world.

It will try to land them in the East Timor capital, Dili, on February 27 to lay their wreath, a gesture meant to remind the world how soldiers opened fire on mourners at the funeral of a pro-independence activist in the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

"The aim of the Peace in Timor mission is to remind the world what has been happening in Timor for the last 16 years and of the constant, incredible violations of human rights," said Rui Marques, spokesman for the Mission for Peace in Timor.

"We want to show them that the world is with them."

The organisers, a Portuguese student group backed by unions and businesses, do not expect Indonesia to let them land.

"The Indonesians are not going to let us in," said Marques.

Indonesian President Suharto's adviser on East Timor, Lopes da Cruz, told Portuguese radio that the ferry would need "very, very special authorisation" to enter Timorese waters.

The Portuguese government does not back the voyage publicly but a government

source said it had probably given assistance.

The organisers have launched a public appeal to help towards the mission's 150-million-escudo (1.09 million dollars) costs.

Marques would not say what the ship's tactics would be if Indonesian gunboats block its path to Timor.

"If they deny us entry we will have no alternative but to head the ship around and go home," said Captain Luis dos Santos. "But this is a peace mission and I don't see why they should use force."

The blue-and-yellow painted ferry sailed up Lisbon's river Tagus on Wednesday to check navigation equipment and convince journalists it was seaworthy after more than a year in dock. Its last job was carrying cars and tourists between Portugal and Morocco.

Ship's carpenter Jose Sales said the crew were treating the peace mission as just another job. "But I feel Timor like Portugal," he said. "I went there lots of times before the Indonesian occupation. The people are fantastic."

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## CONDEMN TIMOR TRIALS, OTTAWA TOLD

### Survivors of attack by soldiers facing legal action

*By Deborah Wilson The Globe and Mail (Toronto, Canada), 24 January 1992.*

VANCOUVER -- The federal government was called upon yesterday to condemn a series of "show trials" of East Timorese survivors of a pro-independence demonstration that was fired on by soldiers.

The East Timor Alert Network said this week that one woman has been convicted and sentenced to seven years imprisonment on charges of stealing military documents. Two more East Timorese are set to face trial today, and a total of 37 are charged, a spokeswoman for the human rights group, Elaine Briere, said yesterday.

The network, which is affiliated with the Canadian Council of Churches, said the charges are related to an Indonesian government report that accuses Timorese demonstrators of provoking Indonesian soldiers to shoot at them last Nov. 12, an incident that left dozens dead.

A Canadian External Affairs Department spokesman said yesterday that no official government comment was available concerning the trials and that Canada will wait until the final report of an Indonesian government inquiry before deciding whether to accept its findings or call for an independent probe.

Denis Laliberte noted that Canada has shown its condemnation of the November shootings by suspending \$30 million in aid.

He said, however, that "Indonesia made several steps which were received very well internationally," including an interim report of the government inquiry -- which more than doubled initial government estimates of the Nov. 12 killings to 50 -- and President Suharto's apology to the relatives of the massacre victims.

Ms Briere, however, noted that nearly \$50 million in annual aid to Indonesia is not affected by the sanctions. [sic]

Ms Briere said other sources in East Timor, an oil-rich territory invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the 1970s, have placed the death toll at well above 100.

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## KOOIJMANS: TORTURE IN PARTS OF INDONESIA ROUTINE

*Source: NRC Handelsblad. Date: 25 January 1991. Byline: Willem Offenbergh. Abridged slightly.*

The UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor P.H. Kooijmans, believes that the torture of detainees in Indonesia, especially during the first days of detention, is not exceptional. In politically unstable regions like Aceh, East Timor and Irian Jaya, torture is routine.

These are the conclusions of a report of a visit to Indonesia by Kooijmans from 4 - 17 November last year. For the first time, the United Nations, in an official document, has unequivocally confirmed that torture occurs in Indonesia.

In a 24-page appendix attached to his annual report to the UN Human Rights Commission, Kooijmans says:

"The Rapporteur cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that torture indeed exists in Indonesia, particularly in cases which are considered to threaten state security."

Besides being a leading UN expert in the examination of human rights abuses, Kooijmans also heads the Dutch delegation to the Commission.

Kooijmans was in Dili on 12 November when the Santa Cruz massacre occurred, but he was not an eye-witness as he was with the army commander, Brigadier-General Warouw, at the time. Later, he was prevented by the army from meeting any of the wounded. [The demonstrators had intended to go to the hotel where Kooijmans was staying after laying wreaths at the grave of Sebastiao Gomes' grave but the massacre prevented that from happening.]

In his report, Kooijmans places the blame for these human rights violations on the "virtually unlimited and unbridled power of the police". He says that the police exert unrestricted control over detainees during the first twenty days of detention. This means that it is impossible to deal properly with complaints about torture. He

met prisoners who had been detained for more than ten years without seeing a lawyer.

The report will be tabled at the UN Human Rights Commission which meets in Geneva for 6 weeks from 27 January. The Kooijmans report will be of considerable political significance as Portugal, which now chairs the European Community, is planning to persuade the Commission to adopt a strong resolution condemning Indonesia for the Santa Cruz massacre and the human rights situation in East Timor.