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# EAST TIMOR

## OUR POLITICAL HYPOCRISY

New Zealand was quick to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, but when it was Indonesia's bloody takeover of East Timor, we found several reasons to look the other way.

by Anthony Hubbard



YORKSHIRE TV

**N**EW ZEALAND has tried to ignore the bloody war in East Timor. Since Indonesia invaded the territory 16 years ago, as many as 200,000 people have died. Wellington has said little.

East Timor campaigner Colin Iles has spent those years trying vainly to persuade New Zealand governments to condemn Indonesian "genocide" in East Timor. Not surprisingly, he has a cynical view of Jim Bolger's statements about the Indonesian massacre in which New Zealander Kamal

Bamadhaj died.

"He's using a platform to make himself look good, and as soon as the issue fades into the background, that's the last we'll hear from Bolger," he says. If the government was sincere, he says, it would put its money where its mouth is: It would publicly condemn Indonesia's invasion of East Timor as it condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. It would cut off military aid to Indonesia. It would stop toeing the Indonesian line on East Timor in the United Nations.

Foreign Minister Don McKinnon has made it clear that this is not going to happen. Iles is not surprised. National, like Labour, has consistently taken an appeasement line over East Timor, he says.

Bolger has publicly expressed his "deep concern" over the "tragedy" of the shootings. McKinnon conveyed this "deep concern" personally to Indonesian Foreign

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JANE USSHER

*Colin Iles: What is the difference between Iraq's thuggery and Indonesia's?*

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ASIA-PACIFIC NETWORK  
PO BOX 79 018 EL/HA 10-99 787 543  
AUCKLAND 1002 AOLE/HA/NEW ZEALAND

ASIA-PACIFIC NETWORK  
PO BOX 78078 EL/HA 0601 787 543  
AUCKLAND 1002 AOLE/HA/NEW ZEALAND

ly rejected the appeasement option. "The time is long past when countries with military muscle can send their armies rolling across internationally recognised frontiers to occupy the territory of small and unthreatening neighbours," he said.

So what is the difference, asks Iles, between Iraq's thuggery and Indonesia's?

McKinnon says the cases are different: "Kuwait was an independent sovereign state at the time of Iraq's invasion. East Timor was in a process of decolonisation, had been abandoned by the Portuguese, and was effectively in a state of civil war. We do not condone what Indonesia did. But a comparison with Kuwait is misleading."

McKinnon appears to be saying that abandoned colonies may be snapped up by their larger neighbours whereas sovereign states cannot. This would seem a fine distinction to an East Timorese looking down the barrel of an Indonesian machine-gun.

Indonesia and its Western sympathisers have long promoted the idea that it had to intervene in a threatening civil war in neighbouring East Timor. A report in 1976 by the UN's Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonisation exposed this as a myth.

War broke out in the Portuguese colony in August 1975, when the right-wing Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) staged a coup. But by November, the fighting was largely over. The pro-independence Fretilin party — the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor — controlled most of the territory and enjoyed widespread popular support.

Fretilin asked the Portuguese authorities, which had fled the territory, to come back to prepare the country for independence. Negotiations between the two broke down. Meantime, the Indonesians, aided by the UDT and other right-wing groups, were provoking clashes on the border.

Fretilin proclaimed independence in late November. On December 7 Indonesia invaded, using as a pretext a plea for intervention from the small right-wing groups such as UDT. This "invitation" has about as much credibility as the "invitation" by pro-Moscow forces in Kabul to the Soviet Union to intervene in Afghanistan.

New Zealand condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but quickly found a way of accommodating the Indonesians. In 1978 the National government decided that the situation was irreversible: East Timor was now part of Indonesia.

Successive governments, Labour and National, have continued the policy. Why? One reason is money.

Iles remembers leading a delegation to National's Foreign Minister, Brian Talboys, in 1978: "The most telling comment he made

was words to the effect that, 'Indonesia's too important a trading partner for us to seriously challenge on East Timor.'"

Certainly Indonesia is a handy export market. In the year to June the Indonesians took \$166 million of our goods. We bought only \$108 million from them.

But geopolitics also has something to do with it. Indonesia has 180 million people and is the dominant nation in South-east Asia. The blunt truth is that New Zealand doesn't want to upset the giant crouched in our backyard.

LES ALSO points to the American connection. The US is a good friend of Indonesia. It shared Indonesia's fears that an independent East Timor led by a left-leaning Fretilin government would prove to be a South-east Asian "Cuba".

Indonesia worried that this would encourage other secessionist groups within its own state. Timor had to be swallowed. There is evidence that the United States tacitly supported the invasion. US President Gerald Ford visited Jakarta shortly before

***"The blunt truth is that New Zealand doesn't want to upset the giant crouched in our backyard."***

Indonesian paratroopers went into Dili in 1975.

Then National opposition leader Robert Muldoon was pushing the "Cuban" line as early as February 1975. National would be gravely concerned, he said after talks with Indonesian President Suharto, if Timor became an independent colony under the influence of the Soviet Union or China.

Iles says we have toed the American line: National, because it has always done so; Labour, because it wanted to balance the trouble it had caused the Americans with its nuclear ships ban.

In 1985 Prime Minister David Lange told Iles that public denunciation of Indonesia's actions in East Timor would serve no useful purpose. "We enjoy reasonably good re-

lations with the Indonesian government and we think that the Indonesians listen to our concerns when we express them privately and respect our views," he said in a letter.

This is a classic statement of the bridge-building policy: don't rock the boat, and you'll be able to persuade the pilot to steer in a new direction. But Iles says the recent massacre shows how little has really changed, despite the years of gentle persuasion.

So will anything change? At least one National backbencher is unhappy about his government's stance. Te Atatu MP Brian Neeson says the protests should have been a lot stronger. New Zealand should suspend its military training programme for Indonesian army officers. "Even though there are 180 million people up there, we shouldn't be cowering before them when we know that something is wrong," he said.

Opposition leader Mike Moore also thinks the government should have made more of a fuss. It should "seriously consider" halting the military aid programme.

So why didn't he get tough when he was in power? Moore says a more "sophisticated" approach was needed. Public protests solve nothing, he said. He says he himself raised the issue "in a respectful, modest way" with the Indonesians, but didn't make the fact public.

Why did Labour recognise Indonesian rule in East Timor? "It was a policy of ostpolitik [sic], of accepting the reality of the situation... Recognising doesn't imply acceptance. For example, I recognise Jim Bolger, but I don't accept him."

Iles has heard all this before. Backbencher Aussie Malcolm was making noises about National's quiet approach in the late 70s. Labour MPs were outspoken in opposition, and became gentle persuaders when they got into power.

Even the death of a New Zealander in East Timor probably won't make much difference in the long run. This, too happened before: a New Zealand journalist, along with four Australians, was killed in the border clashes between Indonesia and East Timor in 1975.

What bothers Iles is the political hypocrisy. People loathe politicians now for their lies and double-talk, he says, but he learnt about it many years ago.

Winking at genocide must be one of the worst forms of political dishonesty. The conduct of foreign policy, he says, is one of the real tests of a government's values. In this case, he doesn't like what he sees.

"If our government has consistently followed policies that are totally uncaring of the people in East Timor," he asks, "what does that say about their attitudes to the ordinary people in New Zealand?" ■

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DOMINION 9/12/91

**Fretilin activist  
 feels snubbed  
 by Government**

By ANAMIKA VASIL

VISITING East Timor independence movement activist Francisco Pang said yesterday he had been snubbed by the Government.

The Australian co-ordinator for the rebel Fretilin movement, Mr Pang said both Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon and Defence Minister Warren Cooper had refused to see him.

His only "official" engagement while in New Zealand is a meeting with a Ministry of External Relations and Trade official today.

Mr Pang, who is based in Melbourne, said New Zealand was the only country in the Western alliance that appeared to be condoning the November 12 massacre.

On that day, Indonesian troops shot dead several civilians including New Zealander Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese territory that was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Mr Pang said he was in New Zealand to ask the Government to put pressure on the Indonesian Government to seek an independent inquiry into the massacre.

For the inquiry to be impartial, the United Nations should be involved, he said.

He said the inquiry being conducted by the Indonesian Government was like "Hitler inquiring into Nazi war crimes".

As a modern, democratic and civilised country, New Zealand had a moral responsibility to put pressure on the Indonesian Government but it was being influenced by trade considerations.

Last week, Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke had a historic meeting with Fretilin leaders, he said.

THE AGE 02/12/91

# Career doubt for Dili general: PM

By MARK METHERELL,  
Canberra,  
and REUTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reuter reported from Lisbon yesterday that the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had said that a UN envoy was on his way to Jakarta to negotiate conditions for a UN mission to vis-

it East Timor to investigate the killings.

Australian officials said last night they had no details of the reported UN move.

In Dili yesterday, the Indonesian Government commission investigating last month's army shooting of mourners in East Timor said that it was difficult to get witnesses to talk.

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

Diplomats said some of those wounded in the shooting were too scared to go to hospital. The 89 people who did have been in a military hospital for nearly three weeks with visitors allowed only from the International Red Cross.

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

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

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

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

The local Governor, Mr Mario Vlegas Carrascalao, has given the commission a 300-page report on the shooting. Local sources said it was critical of the army.

Asked by reporters what he thought of the strong foreign reaction to the shooting, the Governor said: "That's why we have to take measures against those who took a simple decision."

THE AGE 02/12/91  
**Do they want war?**  
What exactly do people who befate Mr Hawke and Senator Evans over the carnage in East Timor want them to do? Declare war with Indonesia with the consequent loss of thousands of lives? Calm and careful negotiation should take place, free of fiery hotspurs.  
George Lee,  
South Yarra.

## DIPLOMACY

# Bismarck's Ghost over Human Rights

After two years of repair work, relations with Indonesia are soured by the massacre in Dili

By JEFF PENBERTHY

Australian overseas aid worker Bob Muntz felt nauseated as he lay in a Melbourne hospital last week waiting for surgery. His arm had been torn open during his escape from the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili after the Nov. 12 massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian soldiers. But Muntz was not sickened by his neglected and now infected wound—he was not even sure how it had happened—but by the response of Australia's chief Foreign Affairs bureaucrat, Richard Woolcott, to the shootings. "I am outraged that the head of an Australian department could show such callous indifference to the murder of so many people," he said.

Australian and U.S. State Department estimates put the number of East Timorese killed at between 50 and 100, plus a Malaysia-born Sydney university student, Kamal Bamadhaj. And scores of people were wounded in the incident, when Indonesian troops opened fire on a large crowd attending a memorial service and pro-independence rally in the capital of the former Portuguese colony, invaded and annexed by Indonesia in December 1975. Before his death, Bamadhaj had travelled with Muntz, Southeast Asia project officer for Community Aid Abroad, as an interpreter.

From his Melbourne hospital bed, Muntz watched Woolcott—a former ambassador to Indonesia and architect of Australia's restored relationship with its giant neighbor—appearing on the ABC's *Lateline* program and stressing the need for Australia to find "the right balance" in its responses to the



Woolcott: need for "right balance"

massacre. "There is a need to draw a distinction between the understandable reaction to the present human tragedy and the longterm need to maintain a working and as close a relationship with Indonesia as possible," Woolcott said. The longtime diplomat expressed abhorrence of the massacre but quickly moved on to say that Australia's response must not seriously harm the wider interests of the Australia-Indonesia relationship. The trick, he said, was to steer a course "between Wilsonian idealism and Bismarckian realism."

Unfortunately for Woolcott, he was unwittingly trapped on the program between two events: the screening of horrific television footage of the actual massacre, with people clawing their way over each other to get away from the bullets, and the disclosure of blatantly unrepentant statements by the commander of Indonesia's armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, three days after the event.

Referring directly to the East Timorese, Try told graduates at a military academy in Jakarta: "People who refuse to toe the line have to be shot. The armed forces are determined to wipe out whoever disturbs stability . . . finally, yes, they have to be blasted. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them." And if the message had not got across, Try said the people responsible for the disturbances in

East Timor—the rally marchers who had tested the patience and restraint of his troops—"must be eliminated." He said the protesters had unfurled posters discrediting the government, yelled "improper words," and "acted even more brutally," causing the soldiers to fire several warning shots.



As Try's comments, reported in the Indonesian newspaper *Jayakarta*, were read to Woolcott, his professional calm seemed shaken. He licked his dry lips and then said he certainly hoped the quotes were not accurate. Such sentiments conflicted with the "deep concern" that the Australian embassy reported as being expressed by government officials in Jakarta, and by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, with whom he had just attended a regional conference in South Korea. "My view," said Woolcott, "is that this (the massacre) was not directed from the center; that this incident arises from not particularly well-trained, and disorderly, troops."

Neither Woolcott's diplomatic *realpolitik* nor his interpretation of the massacre and its aftermath went down well with sur-

NEALE DICKINSON



COMMUNITY AID ABROAD

**Clockwise from left: minutes before the shooting started; a victim's dying moments; marchers scatter amid gunfire; aid worker Muntz in hospital in Melbourne: outraged at Woolcott's "callous indifference"**



vivor Muntz, who believes it imperative that Australia takes action to get a United Nations team to East Timor as soon as possible. "Every day that we delay means that it is highly likely there will be more abuses," says Muntz.

Indonesia's response to the massacre actually hardened last week. Pro-East Timor demonstrators were arrested in Jakarta. Dili airport was closed and the local military commander decided to deny relatives and outsiders access to the wounded in a military hospital. As a result, Australia's protests against the massacre became sterner and privately officials accepted that Australia's relations with Indonesia had suffered a huge setback, potentially far more serious than the Indonesian outrage that followed the publication of a *Sydney*

*Morning Herald* article on the Suharto family's wealth in 1986, which led to a three-year breach in official relations.

**G**radually, perhaps even reluctantly, moral outrage against the massacre seems to be building among government officials and M.P.s, and, as a result, years of careful repair work on the relationship with Indonesia could be lost. A visit to Jakarta by Industry Minister John Button scheduled for Dec. 12 now seems likely to be cancelled and a state visit by Prime Minister Bob Hawke in February is in doubt.

Late last week, Hawke described the comments of Try Sutrisno, with whom he had a cordial meeting in Canberra recently, as "repugnant in the extreme." The Prime

Minister repeated his warning that Indonesia stood to lose the respect of the international community unless it punished the culprits, but said he did not believe the defiant comments coming from the military reflected the attitude of President Suharto, who is visiting South America. "I think the President understands the enormity of what happened," Hawke said.

Thus far, Australia has accepted Indonesia's plan for a judicial inquiry into the massacre, even though members of the panel are former senior military officers, and the U.S. Senate foreign relations committee is calling on the Bush Administration to press for a U.N. inquiry. Although there is now mounting pressure on a reluctant and embarrassed Australia to lead the international move for a proper resolution



of the latest East Timor atrocity, the Australian government is caught in a bind.

Both the Whitlam and Fraser governments gave the wink to Indonesia's invasion plans in 1975, and in 1979 the Fraser government parted ways with the U.N. by recognizing Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. U.N. resolutions still call for an act of self-determination in the strife-torn former colony. Then, in 1989, the Hawke government signed the Timor Gap oil exploration treaty, which depends on Indonesian sovereignty for its legitimacy. Canberra is now defending the treaty before the World Court in The Hague.

The Dili massacre has again cast doubts on the wisdom of Australia's more accommodating stance towards the sensitivities of its Southeast Asian neighbors on human rights and other matters. Many observers believe Australia has tried too hard and been far too apologetic about its own culture and political system in its dealings with Malaysia and Indonesia, in an attempt to gain acceptance as a fully integrated member of the newly rich Asian region.

Australia has played a constructive role as an honest broker in the resolution

of the Cambodian civil war, but it has managed this role because it has few strategic or commercial interests at stake. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his initiatives on Cambodia. On East Timor, where 100,000 to 200,000 people are believed to have been killed by the Indonesians in the past 16 years—a higher proportion of the population than killed in Pol Pot's Cambodia—Evans has been all but silent.

The difficulty, says Bruce Grant, former commentator, diplomat and present chairman of the Australia-Indonesia Institute, is getting regional support on human rights issues. "Nobody else in Asia—not the ASEAN nations, not Japan, not China—seems to be concerned about these issues," Grant says. "Only the Europeans and the U.S. are interested, and they are a long way away. On human rights this happens all the time."

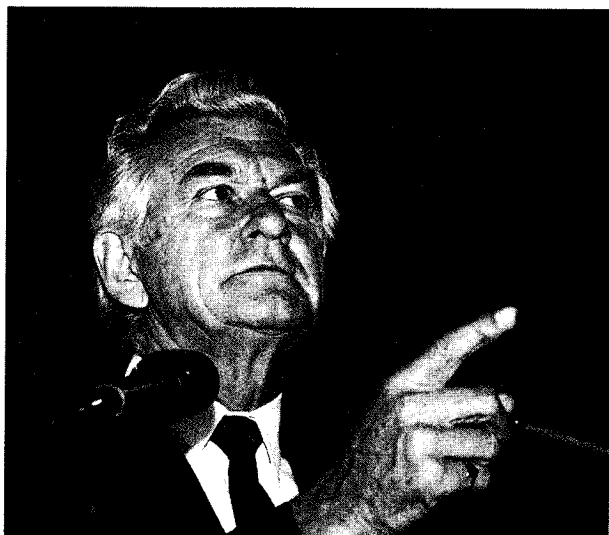
Nevertheless, Grant, co-author with Foreign Minister Evans of a new book, *Australia's Foreign Policy*, says Australia must take a firm position on the killings and show the Indonesians that they cannot get away with it. "If the Indonesians can't understand our concerns they have to be made to understand," he says. Australian public opinion and human rights values—"which we should not resile from"—will require this.

Despite his two-and-a-half years of building both government and private bridges to Indonesia through the institute, Grant says the Dili massacre reveals something about Indonesia that the Australian public has long suspected and is now confirmed—something it does not like. Foreign policy, he says, cannot operate totally apart from public opinion, which is now very strongly against the Indonesians. Grant acknowledges that it was unusual for Australia to have parted ways with the U.N. and recognized Indonesia's claims to

silence, in the face of human rights abuses in the region.

Australian embassy officers who visited Dili last week were unable to confirm East Timorese claims of a second massacre of 60 to 80 people, who were allegedly rounded up in trucks, driven west of Dili and shot on Nov. 15, three days after the Dili massacre. An Australian parliamentary subcommittee will begin public hearings on the Santa Cruz cemetery atrocity within two weeks.

Survivor Muntz, who has been asked to testify, says he lived in a state of anxiety,



Hawke: "The President understands the enormity of what happened"; Try: "they have to be blasted"



the territory. He says Australia may now have to re-examine its position.

But a major difficulty—one that existed even before the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor—is that the East Timorese factions, including the independence movement Fretilin, have never had an administrative structure to run a country. To overcome this problem, Grant believes arrangements could be made with Australia, Indonesia, Portugal and the U.N. to give the local people time to develop administrative skills. Immediately after the massacre, Prime Minister Hawke suggested that, as 16 years of occupation had not broken Fretilin, the Indonesians should sit down with the East Timorese and discuss how best to administer the place.

**A**lthough condemnation of the massacre and calls for cuts in aid to Indonesia have now come from the E.C., Portugal, the Netherlands and the U.S., regional powers—including Japan, Indonesia's biggest aid donor—have been all but silent. In a statement immediately after the shootings, a Japanese foreign ministry official said that if it had happened it would be "quite a matter for concern." It is this disturbing lack of any real response from Indonesia's Asian neighbors that allows some Australian diplomats to counsel restraint, even

"varying from extreme uneasiness to gut-wrenching fear," from the time he arrived in Dili five days before the massacre. He had come to discuss several aid projects—a fishing venture on the north coast, an agricultural project and a women's food-stall cooperative—with Catholic church officials. Palpable tensions in the dusty colonial town were heightened, says Muntz, by the proposed visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation, which the locals thought would bring about the withdrawal of the Indonesian military within two or three months. The visit was cancelled because of Indonesia's refusal to grant a visa to Lisbon-based Australian journalist Jill Jolliffe, whom it regarded as a Fretilin sympathizer. But it was the Oct. 28 shooting of a student activist, Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, at Dili's Motael church and the apparently accidental killing of a pro-Indonesian factional opponent in the same incident that set the later events in train.

The first thing Muntz noticed when Sydney student Bamadhaj picked him up at the airport were three World War II landing barges on the beach at Dili with six cannons trained on the town. Later, swimming at a deserted beach, he and a companion were swooped on by a truckload of heavily armed soldiers. On a trip across the island to Suai village, their bus was repeatedly stopped at roadblocks and all passen-



gers were searched. At one roadblock, two youths were searched and taken away. In Suai, the priest asked Muntz not to talk to locals about aid projects because they would then be interrogated by the military. An earlier visit by British aid officials had brought soldiers by helicopter from Dili to question locals.

When Muntz and Bamadhaj returned to Dili and learned from American journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman that there was to be a memorial service and march to Rangel's grave early the next morning, they sensed impending disaster. Together with the American journalists and other foreigners—British photographer Stephen Cox, Yorkshire Television cameraman Max Stahl, an Australian traveler and his Dutch-born wife—they decided to attend the service with as many cameras and recorders as possible in the hope of constraining the Indonesian military's reaction.

**W**hat happened will be the subject of continuing dispute between Indonesian army officials and eyewitnesses. Muntz says the crowd outside the cemetery was orderly when soldiers arrived in trucks and, for no reason, began firing straight into them. Fleeing around a corner, he saw little more of the massacre, but was injured after blundering into a soldier and scrambling over an iron fence as shots rang out behind him. He ran through yards and houses, and was later hidden by a local resident who locked him in his house and left. The man returned an hour later accompanied by International Red Cross official Anton Marti, who had already taken Muntz's dying companion, Bamadhaj, to hospital.

Since the shooting, East Timor's military commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, has maintained that only 19 demonstrators were killed and 91 wounded after his troops misheard an order "Don't fire" as "Fire." Warouw has denied that the 5-10 minutes they spent pouring automatic fire into the crowd was excessive. But Muntz says he received confidential information the day after the massacre that the actual military count was 83 people killed in and outside the cemetery with 13 others, including Bamadhaj, dying in hospital.

After the Indonesian takeover of East Timor, the killing of six Australia-based newsmen—although also played down by successive Australian governments—soured relations between the two countries. The widow of one, Shirley Shackleton, now an East Timor rights campaigner, last week pointed out in the Melbourne *Age* that the Dili massacre was just a more visible example of the brutality that has been going on for years. The deaths of tens of thousands have been largely ignored. Now, after several promising years of rapprochement, Australians are again reminded of what it is like to live next door to an authoritarian military regime that can react with horrifying violence in the face of demands for freedom. ■

02/12/91

TIME

## Reflections

Ken Edwards

# It's Time . . . Again

**J**ohn Hewson had just finished briefing his colleagues on what was a wide-ranging reform program rather than a simple announcement of the long-awaited Opposition policy on a goods and services tax. Titled FIGHTBACK! IT'S YOUR AUSTRALIA, this was a 500-page manifesto the likes of which no Opposition Leader had produced since, well, since Gough Whitlam launched his program 20 years ago. Whitlam's manifesto had been designed to sweep away the smug apathy that was the almost inevitable result of 23 years of unbroken conservative rule. Hewson's was designed, in his words, to sweep away a tired, divided, paralyzed government.

The briefing came the day before Hewson's manifesto for change was released for public examination. When it ended, the television cameras were called in to register the widespread enthusiasm with which coalition M.P.s were expected to greet the Hewson program. A few overacted, greeting the plan with the sort of delight one would associate with the first flush of a love affair rather than with a blueprint for radical political reform. But there was, nevertheless, a special look on the faces of most M.P.s. There was real spirit, a sense of optimism, a feeling that they had indeed been shown the vision splendid.

There was a memory to match this moment. About a month ago, Gough Whitlam gave a speech to a Brisbane breakfast club in which he had told a few of his characteristic jokes, but, overall, it was fairly dull by his standards. Yet, when he finished, the standing ovation was heartfelt and long. Whatever the mistakes of the Whitlam government, it was obvious on that midweek morning that Whitlam had once given those people something they still valued. Perhaps it was the memory of a vision splendid.

Two decades ago, at a time when politics and issues had become mean and cramped, Whitlam talked of grand change, massive reform, a changed nation.

Here, he said, here are my answers. Here is my vision. It was a kingly challenge to drink from the chalice—to taste the dreams. For a time, Australians understood the notion of possibility.

In some way there is the same spirit of challenge in Hewson's new policies and, whatever comes of them, that boldness is a contribution in its own right. At a time when people have become cautious about phrasing questions, let alone answers, Hewson has ventured a grand solution. It is exciting because, if Hewson can do it, perhaps others can as well.

Certainly Australia needs visions. Of all the habits surrendered in recent decades, it is the lost trait of national optimism that is missed most. Hewson's manifesto may be hard-edged, but it has about it an aura of optimism, a sense that Australians can change their ways and, in the process, change the nation's prospects.



Hewson: subtle shift in status

Hewson may not be an initiator of grand works like the Snowy Mountains scheme, but no one can now doubt that he is a leader determined to do more than just govern, just exercise power. Suddenly, it isn't so hard to imagine Hewson in the role of Prime Minister.

The buildup of the GST launch, the presentation and the media interviews all had the feel of an audition—and Hewson did it well. He managed a subtle shift in status from Opposition leader to alternate Prime Minister, a shift his predecessors, Andrew Peacock and John Howard, never managed.

There was one moment when two of his colleagues lifted his arms high in the salute of a triumphant fighter. For a second Hewson looked embarrassed, but he went along with it. Somehow it would have made him look ridiculous a few weeks ago, but he has made a contribution now and it is hard not to take him seriously. Probably neither man would like the comparison, but for a few days last week a Whitlamesque Hewson held the headlines with a heady scheme. And the memories of a more confident, visionary Australia returned.

# Fretilin leader flies in for talks with PM

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

AS Australia intensifies its pressure on the Indonesian Government to enter negotiations over the future of East Timor, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has agreed to meet one of the top-ranking figures in the Fretilin resistance.

Mr Jose Ramos Horta, who is Fretilin's special representative at the UN, flew into Canberra last night. His meeting with Mr Hawke this morning will be a rare opportunity for the resistance to put its views at the highest level of the Australian Government.

However, government officials in Canberra were stressing last night that Mr Horta would see the Prime Minister in his capacity as a prominent spokesman for the East Timorese people, not because of his close links with the guerilla movement leader, Mr Xanana Gusmao.

Mr Horta is a long-standing critic of Australian policy towards East Timor, accusing Canberra of being too meek in the face of Jakarta's insistence that events in East Timor are an internal matter.

But in the aftermath of the

November 12 Dili massacre — and with growing pressure from Cabinet and Caucus for Australia to toughen its stand — Mr Hawke gave an undertaking to meet a top-level East Timorese delegation. Mr Horta has flown from Europe to attend.

News of the meeting came as the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade sought to defend itself against attacks by Community Aid Abroad and Amnesty International over Australia's response to the Dili massacre.

## Pressure intensifies

Amnesty, the London-based human rights organisation, said the Australian Government was "fundamentally flawed" in the approach it had adopted.

Appearing before the federal parliamentary human rights committee, an Amnesty official, Mr Andre Frankovits, said the Government had erred in expecting the national commission of inquiry appointed by the Indonesian Government to deliver a fair, credible and impartial finding on the massacre.

In response, the head of department's South-East Asian desk, Mr Kevin Boreham, told the committee the Australian Government would seek an undertaking that the Indonesian Government guarantee the protection of witnesses to its inquiry.

Earlier, a Community Aid Abroad field officer, Mr Bob Muntz, had also attacked the department. Mr Muntz was a witness to the massacre, and suffered a wound to his arm during the shooting.

He claimed he had undergone hostile questioning by officials from the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in the immediate aftermath of the incident.

Australian government estimates put the death toll from the massacre at 75 or more.

The role of Community Aid Abroad has itself become controversial. Yesterday, the official Antara newsagency in Jakarta quoted unnamed officials complaining that the Australian-based aid group was dominated by "leftists" who had engineered and masterminded demonstrations in Australia against East Timor's integration with Indonesia.

Mass grave found on army base — Page 7

03/12/91  
Victims of Timor massacre 'buried at remote rifle range'

THE AUSTRALIAN

# Mass grave found on army base

By TONY PARKINSON and AFP

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

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

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

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

Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Phillip Flood is to fly to East Timor today, the first ambassador to go there since the shooting.

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

Witnesses in the vicinity of the camp — which is used as a rifle range — told him they saw an army convoy, including two bulldozers, drive into the camp on the night of the massacre. Mr Shultz believes more shootings may have occurred at the grave site on the night of the massacre, but has been unable to get eyewitness confirmation.

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

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



The ash-covered grave site near Dili ... villagers saw a convoy enter the camp on the night of the massacre. Inset: Indonesian soldiers patrol Dili — Pictures: DENNIS SHULTZ

inquiry appointed by the Suharto Government.

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

The cancellation of the delegation's visit by Jakarta prompted protests which ultimately resulted in Indonesian troops firing on demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery. The Indonesian Government has said 19 people were killed, but the Australian

Government assesses the death toll at 75 or more.

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

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

As they passed by village huts, prisoners were quoted as

screaming in Portuguese: "It is for our country that we die."

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

The Fretilin resistance movement has claimed a second massacre occurred, where some of the demonstrators arrested on November 12 were machine-gunned to death.

Australian officials told a parliamentary inquiry in Canberra yesterday that they had found nothing to confirm the reports.



# DILI WAS HELL — WITNESS

By ADAM CONNOLLY

was giving evidence to the human rights sub-committee of the Joint Parliamentary Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee.

He said one East Timorese lay bleeding for 30 minutes after junior Indonesian soldiers went to his aid but were ordered away by superiors.

Meanwhile, international diplomatic pressure on Indonesia to make its internal investigation open, fair and impartial is increasing.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has indicated he may defer his Indonesian trip planned for February if the Indonesian inquiry is not complete.

He will meet with an East Timorese delegation today amid calls by Amnesty International for stronger action by Australia over the massacre.

Amnesty condemned

the Federal Government's response to the killings, saying the Indonesian investigation had a "basic lack of credibility".

"It is almost inconceivable that the evidence compiled will be accurate," Amnesty spokesman Andre Frankovits told the inquiry yesterday.

Radio journalist Russell Anderson also witnessed the killings and described in a written submission to the inquiry how he saw soldiers systematically gun down protesters.

"In my opinion it was a cold-blooded massacre," he said.

Three truck-loads of soldiers approached, jumped out of their vehicles, then fired into the crowd, Mr Anderson said.

Many victims were uninjured children released from school.

"It sounded like the whole 15 in the front row had their fingers pressed firmly on the trigger," Mr Anderson said.

"They were firing directly into the crowd.

"Most people, especially in that initial burst of fire, would have been shot in the back running away."

The testimony is the most graphic yet on what

happened in the Dili massacre in which the Federal Government estimates 75 people were killed.

The official Indonesian figure is 19 dead and 91 injured.

• Pro-Indonesian youths have criticised Australian protests and the official Antara news agency said yesterday an Australian aid agency could have masterminded the incident.

A spokesman for the East Timor wing of the National Committee of Indonesian Youth said last night in Dili that only

those in East Timor had the right to speak out.

Antara said Community Aid Abroad may have instigated the incident.

It quoted unnamed sources as saying the agency was dominated by Australian Leftists and was known to have organised demonstrations and other activities in the past against integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

It was based on a poignant story by New Zealander Helen Todd, the mother of the only foreigner killed in the shooting, last week in the Asian Wall Street Journal in

which she said her son knew of preparations for pro-independence demonstrations.

She said 20-year-old Kamal Bamadhaj, who was acting as Mr Muntz's interpreter, had urged other foreigners to join the November 12 procession in the hope their presence would restrain the military.

Community Aid Abroad last night dismissed as preposterous Indonesian accusations.

A spokesman said the NZ student had volunteered to act as interpreter for Mr Muntz.

THE AGE 03/12/91  
Accessories to murder

Mr Hawke laments we cannot revoke our recognition of East Timor as part of Indonesia because it would jeopardise our \$17 million aid package for Timor ('The Age', 15/11). He is concerned that the Timorese will suffer. My god, what hypocrisy! We are already accessories to the murder of 200,000 of these brave people.

Larry Marshall,  
Niddrie.

THE AGE  
Bring them to trial

When in Timor in 1975, I was convinced that the only reason Indonesia invaded East Timor was fear of communism. Dili's massacre made me think, are we Indonesians so uncaring about human life and rights? Can this incident pass without deep soul searching? Whoever is responsible should be brought to trial.

02/12/91 Anton Hoitzi,  
North Caulfield.



# Let's have action on Dili

By JOHN KIELY

**More and more readers are demanding that Australia take stronger action over the Dili massacre.**

**O**N SATURDAY 6 December, 1975, Paul Spottiswood of Hamilton, Queensland, was in Dili, having been given a telegram to deliver to Roger East, an Australian correspondent there. The telegram, says Mr Spottiswood, was warning East to leave the country because of impending danger.

"I offered to fly him out, but he replied: 'I can't leave these people. I am the only one prepared to help them. We have sent messages around the world asking observers to come and see what is happening here. We have not had one answer.' As I walked away, an official commented to me, 'One thing you would have to say is that he has got guts.'

"Roger East was murdered by the Indonesians less than 24 hours later when they invaded Dili. The world governments, including those of Australia and America, hardly commented on the bloody invasion and have made little comment since.

"Australia demonstrated a double standard when we sent troops to protect an absolute monarchy in Kuwait (little democracy in sight yet) and turned our backs on our nearest neighbor struggling to implement democracy after hundreds of years of colonial rule. Many times over the years I have thought of that Australian hero Roger East. The Timorese were our friends. Roger East did have guts. By contrast our ruling politicians, over the past 16 years have demonstrated no guts."

**T**HE RESPONSE of many Australians to Indonesia's inexcusable behavior in East Timor is appropriate and encouraging, but misgivings persist, says William L. James of Bayswater.

"Would these same Australians countenance massive rearmament, without which our objections can be dismissed as empty, moralistic bombast? Many, perhaps most, of those execrating Indonesia would condemn illiberal aspects of the Philippines and South Korean governments with equal enthusiasm. But does their moral outrage and activism extend to the far worse Vietnamese, North Korean and Chinese regimes?"

**D**EAN GEOFFREY of Bondi writes: "My dear friend Kamal is now dead, murdered by a soldier from an army and a government out of control. About 200,000 East Timorese have met a similar end. The people want the freedom taken from them 16 years ago.

"The hypocrisy of the Federal Government makes me ill. After waving goodbye to our troops attempting to liberate Kuwait, our Prime Minister said, 'No large country will invade a smaller one and get away with it.' Recently the whole world imposed sanctions and arms embargos against South Africa and Iraq to force change non-violently. We must now immediately do the same against Indonesia."

**T**HE INDONESIAN Government, through its involvement in the slaughter, has become a burden for all Indonesians, says Michael Dahm of Richmond. "Why have



we also been shouldered with this burden of ignorance, with our recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty? There is little we as individuals can do directly about the behavior of the Indonesian Government, but we are responsible for the Government we elect. Indirectly we are involved in this killing if we do not petition directly those we elect to represent us."

**L**OOK OUT, Jakarta! exclaims David Carr of Aireys Inlet. "Here he comes prancing and dancing. The periphrastic senator who put F-111s over Tasmania is about to help you show the world that nothing much really happened in Timor. Funny, but once again we are on the same side as oil.

"Now is the time for us to act with honor and determination, not to offend Indonesia, though that may be a consequence, but to insist on freedom and nationhood for Timor."

**M**MARGARET SHANAHAN of Beechworth was in East Timor with her husband 18 years ago. "As we were going up a steep mountain road, the driver stopped his 4WD and called down the steep side to the valley below to an old man living there in a cottage, telling him that we were Australians. The man walked all the way up to greet us because he had known our boys in the war. These were

the kind, gentle people who thought Aussies were great, someone who would help them if ever they needed it. Within a matter of months we had turned our backs on them. Where was the famous Aussie mateship then and where is it now? What has happened to the Labor movement that they could stand by and do nothing but speak a few cross words to Indonesia?"

**H**AVE OUR POLITICIANS lost touch with most of the Australian public? asks Steven Benedict of Blairgowrie. "Or has the Australian public lost interest in what their politicians do and say? At stake are basic human rights.

"Our Government should withdraw recognition of Indonesia as the legal representative of East Timor. Any government that commits acts of violence against its own people should lose the right to represent them. When a military occupying force starts to execute innocent civilians with impunity in full view of the world media, democratic nations have a moral responsibility to ensure such military force is rendered ineffective. By failing to act resolutely, we place our own democracy at risk.

"And when the cohorts of one of the bloodiest regimes in Europe can stop the sale of a peace song 'Stop the War in Croatia' by threatening terrorist activities here in Australia, I ask you my fellow citizens, what have you done about our Government inaction?"

**O**NE EPISODE in a 16-year bloodbath is captured on film and we all stand pathetic and ashamed, writes Peter Parry of Westbourne Park, South Australia. "Most notably ashamed should be Gareth Evans, Bob Hawke and John Hewson, and topping the list a business leader who claimed that this 'peripheral issue' should not interfere with us selling these butchers our military wares. Maybe he has a large wine cellar to support.

"Perhaps we are all scared. Could this letter mean that one day I may be on an Indonesian Army Battalion 770 death list? ... in 10 years ... in 20 years? I certainly hope not, but the politics of appeasement make it only more likely.

"It was reported that a young Timorese was disembowelled by the Indonesian soldiers. Please excuse the black humor, but that's one thing our leaders need never be afraid of. Humanity and justice demand sanctions and the raising of East Timorese self-determination at the UN."

THE AGE 03/12/91

# Hawke to meet Timor guerillas

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, today will break a long-standing practice of shunning East Timorese leaders and meet representatives of the resistance movement fighting Indonesian control.

Mr Hawke will meet Jose Ramos Horta, an envoy of Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese guerilla leader, and four other Timorese resistance representatives in the first meeting of its kind in many years.

Amnesty International described the Hawke Government's response to the 12 November Dili massacre as

"fundamentally flawed" yesterday. Amnesty told a federal parliamentary committee hearing that the Government had put great store on Indonesia's National Investigation Commission into the killings but the commission's inquiry was incapable of meeting Australia's own criteria of fairness, openness or thoroughness.

The campaign director of Amnesty in Australia, Mr Andre Frankovits, told the parliamentary human rights subcommittee that an independent investigation under the auspices of the United Nations was absolutely crucial.

Mr Frankovits said Amnesty International recognised the significance

of Indonesia establishing the inquiry, which was unprecedented by Indonesian standards. However, the commission did not meet minimum standards of impartiality, independence and forensic expertise, no matter how much the Australian Government might wish otherwise, he said.

The Amnesty call for UN involvement comes amid unconfirmed reports that the Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, has dispatched an official to Jakarta to discuss a possible UN role.

But Mr Hawke's meeting with the East Timor leaders will effectively put more pressure on the Indonesian Government to take a conciliatory

approach towards East Timor, which it annexed in 1975. The Government has avoided such meetings in recent years because of sensitivities about Australia's recognition of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and today's meeting is likely to unsettle the Jakarta Government.

In his address to the human rights subcommittee, Mr Frankovits listed 10 grounds for Amnesty's rejection of the Indonesian inquiry, including:

- The Indonesian Government had never conducted an adequate inquiry into human rights violations in East Timor.
- The commission did not include any delegate of genuinely indepen-

dent or impartial stature.

● Statements and actions of the military and some officials at best cast serious doubt over the commitment to establish the truth or to hold those responsible to account.

● The authorities had hindered efforts to establish accurately the number and identities of victims.

● The official version of events had been steadfastly reiterated despite the evidence disputing it.

● It was almost inconceivable that testimony would be complete and accurate, given questions about whether Timorese witnesses would risk testifying and that to testify the Timorese would in effect be forced to

recognise Indonesian jurisdiction.

The committee also heard an eyewitness account of events in Dili on 12 November from a Community Aid Abroad worker, Mr Bob Muntz, who criticised the hostile way an Australian diplomat had interviewed him about the incident.

Mr Muntz said that an officer of the Australian Embassy who had interviewed him had seemed intent on corroborating Indonesian claims that the shootings had been provoked by an attack by protesters on an army major.

This was denied by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

# Career doubt for Dili general: PM

THE AGE  
02/12/91

By MARK METHERELL,  
Canberra,  
and REUTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reuter reported from Lisbon yesterday that the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had said that a UN envoy was on his way to Jakarta to negotiate conditions for a UN mission to vis-

it East Timor to investigate the killings.

Australian officials said last night they had no details of the reported UN move.

In Dili yesterday, the Indonesian Government commission investigating last month's army shooting of mourners in East Timor said that it was difficult to get witnesses to talk.

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

Diplomats said some of those wounded in the shooting were too scared to go to hospital. The 89 people who did have been in a military hospital for nearly three weeks with visitors allowed only from the International Red Cross.

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

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

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

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

The local Governor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, has given the commission a 300-page report on the shooting. Local sources said it was critical of the army.

Asked by reporters what he thought of the strong foreign reaction to the shooting, the Governor said: "That's why we have to take measures against those who took a simple decision."



# Envoy denies playing down Dili shootings

By TERRY FRIEL  
in Jakarta

**THE Australian embassy yesterday denied reports that the ambassador, Mr Philip Flood, had dismissed the Dili shootings as "a small incident".**

**In a front-page story, the Jayakarta newspaper yesterday quoted Mr Flood as saying the shootings were a small problem which should not be allowed to damage the relationship between Indonesia and Australia.**

**The paper quoted Mr Flood as saying: "Indonesia and Australia have long been friends. In taking an inventory, the value and cost of the co-operation is so significant and positive that it would be unfortunate if a small incident in Dili ... should reverse it to a zero."**

**But a spokesman present when Mr Flood spoke said the report was wrong.**

**"We categorically deny it — the ambassador was misquoted," he said.**

**"What the ambassador actually said was: 'We will not throw all this (good bilateral relations) away because of one problem, although it is an important problem.'"**

**Mr Flood flew to Dili yesterday to prepare a report on the shootings for the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.**

**Senator Evans arrives in Jakarta on December 19 for a two-day visit.**



The head of the Indonesian inquiry into the shootings, Justice Djaelani, left, talks to East Timor's military commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, at a briefing on the team's efforts — AFP picture



It is to the film makers' credit that within the whirl of commercial exploitation of sex they have managed to produce this straightforward and interesting account. It will be fascinating to watch the sacred cows being defended when it reaches the TV screens. ■

## Timely pamphlet on Timor

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

Edited and compiled by Kirsty Sword and Pat Walsh

Australia East Timor Association, 1991.

50 pp. \$5

Available from AETA, PO Box 93, Fitzroy 3065

Reviewed by Melanie Sjöberg

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ple filmed, it would be easy to dismiss this film as just a left over of the '80s "me" infatuation. Not so: *Sacred Sex* shows that the potential for human beings in the area of sexuality is far beyond what we are socially conditioned to expect.

If materialists find the word "sacred" too much to take, at least it is clear from this film that

extraordinary advances in pleasure and health are easily available if people choose to investigate.

The Liberal Party's Waste Watch committee choked on that. It has protested that \$270,000 of taxpayers' money has been wasted on this film. When the shortened version hits the ABC next year, Fred Nile will tie himself in knots (but

## CLASSIFIED ... CLASSIFIED

Sydney Sat, 25 April, 1992 — 21 nights inclusive tour. Write to Holiday Club International Pty Ltd, 278 Stephenson Rd, Mt Waverley, Vic 3149.

### PUBLICATIONS

*Campo Rebelde*, a monthly bulletin of news, analysis and information on El Salvador. A publication of Radio Farabundo Martí — voice of the Salvadoran people in struggle. 30 pp A4. Subscriptions: \$25 per year. Radio Farabundo Martí PO Box 4339, Melbourne University, Victoria 3052. Ph (03) 349 1290. *Blast*, the Canberra-based magazine of social comment and the arts, promises subscribers articles on ethics, morality and culture, science, literature and public life. Their current subscription offer includes a copy of the late Dorothy Green's book, *Writer Reader Critic*. \$25 with book or \$15 to PO Box 3514, Manuka 2603.

*Vival* New national anti-racist quarterly. News, articles, photos, poetry welcome. Subscriptions \$20 for 1 year. To: CARE, PO Box 159, Mt Lawley WA 6050.

*New Left Review* Issue 187 (May/June) now available from Resistance Bookshops, or posted for \$10 from PO Box 515, Broadway, NSW 2007.

*Uranium Mining in Australia*. A Movement Against Uranium Mining publication. Cost \$1.20 plus postage and packing 90 cts. Write to MAUM, PO Box K133 Haymarket NSW 2000.

*Crossroads* — U.S. magazine of contemporary political analysis and left dialogue. Available from Resistance Bookshops, or posted for \$4 from PO Box 515, Broadway, NSW 2007.

*Underdog Magazine*!! Oz culture, b/w art, short stories, poetry, cartoons. Send for free copy PO Box 810 Cowandilla SA 5033. Contributions welcome. (A4 size).

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GREEN LEFT

4/12/91

tember so that they would take me seriously," says Ferry. "Now that they are paying attention, I really don't want blood money. I want to be reinstated. I want the church to invite me back to my rightful place in the church family."

— EDM

## TIMOR JOURNALIST FIRED

Three journalists of the popular Indonesian weekly **Jakarta Jakarta** have been fired for reporting on anti-government demonstrations that ended in the shooting deaths of an estimated 200 unarmed protesters in Indonesian-occupied **East Timor** last November 12.

The Toronto-based **East Timor Alert Network** (ETAN) says the whereabouts of the three, **Seno Gumilra Ajidarma**, **Usep Hermanwan** and **J.J. Waskito Trisnoadi**, are unknown, but their firing has been confirmed by the **Committee for the Protection of Journalists and Asia Watch** in the U.S.

"This is just one in a long string of human rights abuses," says **David Webster**, an ETAN spokesperson. "It's like this in East Timor all the time. There's a real crackdown by the Indonesian military on any kind of dissent.

According to reports smuggled to Timorese refugee communities in Australia and Austria, the demonstrators, about 4,000 strong, were

part of a procession walking to the grave of pro-independence activist **Sebastiao Gomes**, who had been killed by soldiers two weeks earlier.

Although the incident drew widespread international condemnation, its aftermath went unreported abroad. About 80 protesters arrested after the incident were taken to a dry river bed outside the capital. They were ordered to strip and dig their own graves before being shot, says Webster.

**Denys Laliberte**, an external affairs spokesperson, says the Canadian government is unaware of the latter incident, but pointed out that external affairs minister **Barbara McDougall** has asked for a meeting in Ottawa with Indonesian foreign minister **All Aitas** to discuss human rights abuses in Indonesia.

Laliberte noted that Indonesia has issued an interim report of the National Commission of Inquiry into the incident and that president **Suharto** has publicly apologized to the families of victims. The president has also fired two army generals said to be responsible for the shootings.

"We know there are different numbers coming from different sources, but the fact remains the government of Indonesia is taking responsibility," says Laliberte.

A spokesperson for the Indonesian consulate in Toronto declined to comment on the incidents, pointing instead to the report of the National Commission.

— EDM

## TOYOTA TAPS GAY MARKET

In a little-noticed move with potentially dramatic implications, **Toyota** dealers in Australia are testing a series of car ads aimed at gay customers. The ads defy the conventions of automotive advertising and challenge traditional definitions of the family — a move that has already upset some right-wing groups in the United States.

One ad, which ran in December in the gay magazine **Outrage**, depicted two thirtyish men, a pair of Dalmatians and a picnic basket beside a Toyota Seca Ultima. Its headline — **The Family Car**. The text says, "When we talk to you about a family car, we mean a car that is big enough for a couple and their friends to stretch out in comfort."

The ads, created by **Bluestone Media**, a Melbourne agency specializing in gay media, will run in **Outrage** and other publications for two months.

**Mindy Geller**, a Toyota spokesperson in Los Angeles, said there are no immediate plans to expand the campaign to this country. Nevertheless, the ads have angered some right-wing organizations here. The arch-conservative **American Family Association** has called for a boycott of Toyota. — TR

(This article originally appeared in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*.) ●

THE AGE 05/12/91 14

# Dili toll higher: Timor Governor

By MOSES MANOHARAN,  
Dili, Wednesday

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, has said that far more people were killed than the Indonesian army claimed when troops fired on mourners last month. He said most were shot down while praying.

"The minimum figure now, if you take into account all the figures that have been mentioned and what I myself saw, I believe it is between 50 and 100 for sure," he said last night.

Mr Carrascalao is the first Indonesian official to publicly refute the army version of events in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on 12 November.

The army said that 19 died when troops fired to defend themselves from a dangerous mob. Other reports say that the shooting was unprovoked and have put the death toll at up to 180. The deaths sparked an international outcry.

The Governor said that he had himself seen one truckload of bodies after the shooting, and said the figure might be even higher. He warned that he would resign unless a Government commission investigating the shooting published the truth.

The European Community yesterday joined the growing number of countries demanding that Indonesia allow an independent investigation commission to visit the former Portuguese colony.

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

were attending a memorial service for a separatist killed in riots between supporters and opponents of the annexation.

Mr Carrascalao said that only a few people had stood outside the cemetery shouting slogans in support of Fretilin guerillas. He accused a secret force of pro-Indonesian vigilantes for creating the situation that led to the violence.

The Governor said that the army in East Timor appeared deeply divided between hard-liners and those, like the local military commander, who wanted a softer approach. He said Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw had a more humane strategy but he doubted whether the general was in complete control. He said that members of the military had complained to him about the large number of intelligence organisations in East Timor.

Mr Carrascalao said he believed that General Warouw had become the target of hard-liners after the military commander let people demonstrate during a visit by a US official last year.

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

In Brussels, the European Community yesterday called for an independent inquiry into the massacre and warned that cooperation with Jakarta could be threatened by the killings.

MARK METHERELL reports from Canberra: The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, supported an



Mr Carrascalao: the first Indonesian official to refute the army's version of events at Dili.

investigation into the Dili massacre by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

He also risked the wrath of Indonesia by raising the possibility of the UN helping in the longer-term reconciliation of the East Timor-

ese issue — a step the East Timor-ese resistance insists would have to include self-determination for the territory.

Next week, Australia and Indonesia are scheduled to sign agreements allowing oil and gas explo-

ration in the Timor Sea. The ceremony is expected to take place somewhere in Australia, although the venue is being shifted from Darwin because of Indonesian security concerns.

— Reuter

KEEP IT DOWN WILL YA?  
HOW CAN WE CONCENTRATE  
ON SOUTH AFRICA, CAMBODIA,  
CHINA, IRAQ, ETC...



Nicholson  
4/12/91

16

THE AGE. 06/12/91

# Indonesia rejects special status for East Timor

Jakarta, Thursday

The Indonesian Home Affairs Minister, Mr Rudini, has rejected calls to give East Timor a special status like Aceh in northern Sumatra and Jogjakarta in Java, newspapers reported yesterday.

Mr Rudini said that East Timor, where the shooting of civilians by Indonesian troops last month in the capital, Dili, caused an international outcry, would not gain any advantage from a special status.

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

Officials said the special status of Aceh and Jogjakarta was symbolic and all 27 provincial governors, including East Timor's Governor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, come under the Home Affairs Ministry.

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

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

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

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

Mr Darusman did not elaborate, only making a comparison with Aceh and Jogjakarta.

According to diplomatic sources

here some countries including Australia want Indonesia to create a special status for East Timor which does not jeopardise its incorporation into Indonesia.

No foreign power has defined special status. But the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has talked of a cultural identity for East Timor.

Mr Rudini said that despite the special tags for Aceh and Jogjakarta, their administration was no different from the rest of the country.

Aceh, where Islamic feelings and parochialism have fanned unrest for years, and Jogjakarta, the former capital, gained their special status because of their role in the independence struggle against the Dutch.

The Australian ambassador, Mr Philip Flood, told Antara newsagency the reopening of a consulate in Dili, which was closed in 1971, would be discussed during the visit of the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, later this month.

Mr Flood arrived in Dili yesterday as a guest of Mr Carrascalao. He met the Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, and the army commander in East Timor, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw. Mr Flood, Bishop Belo and General Warouw all declined comment on their talks.

On the eighth day of their fact-finding visit, three of the members of the National Investigative Commission met Mr Carrascalao again. The members and the Governor had already met at least three times.

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

— AFP

HERALD SUN 06/12/91

# Indonesia scorns consulate bid

ONE of Indonesia's most powerful ministers yesterday quashed Australian moves to open a consulate in East Timor and accused Canberra of hurting his country by playing political games.

The Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdani, who is also Acting Foreign Minis-

ter, said there was no reason for Australia to open a consulate in the provincial capital, Dili.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said earlier this week he had issued instructions to Australian ambassador Mr Philip Flood to visit East Timor with a view to opening a consulate.

"I consider it strange," Mr Murdani said.

"If there are hundreds of Australians, it would be OK, but because there are not Australia is only pursuing its own interests.

"If the desire to open a consulate is related to this incident (the November 12 Dili massacre) it ... is

clear it will interfere with the internal affairs of Indonesia."

He also scorned reported comments by Mr Hawke calling for a United Nations peace-keeping force for East Timor — suggesting they were in response to domestic political pressure.



# Dili a tragedy, but hold fire on Indonesia

By H.W. ARNDT

WHAT happened in Dili on November 12 is a tragedy — for Timor, for Indonesia, for Australia.

For Timor obviously because of the loss of innocent lives. For Indonesia because it has put at risk a marked trend towards a more open society, domestically and internationally. For Australia because it has aroused dormant hostility towards Indonesia, partly traditionally racist, partly ideologically motivated, in a hate campaign which is liable to set back years of effort to link Australia more closely with its Asian neighbours.

What happened in Dili, how and why, is not yet clear. Whether soldiers panicked when they thought demonstrators were resorting to violence, whether an order to shoot was given by a junior or more senior local officer, all this will have to be determined by the official inquiry. Whoever the culprits prove to have been, they deserve the strongest condemnation and appropriate punishment by the Indonesian Government for their monstrous behaviour.

What is clear is that, as Senator Gareth Evans has pointed out, the Government of Indonesia appears to have been taken totally unawares. To seek to punish it by suspension of diplomatic, trade or aid relations is as unwarranted and irrational as would be an Association of South-East Asian Nations breach of diplomatic relations with Australia to punish the Australian Government for Aboriginal deaths in custody or for the Strathfield massacre.

The anti-Indonesian lobby, of course, maintains that East Timor should have been given independence when Portugal abandoned it in 1975. Many well-meaning people, ignorant of the background, have been taken in by this argument. In fact, the case is weak — diplomatically, historically, pragmatically, politically.

## ‘Independence case is weak’

Indonesia had, and has, as good a claim to East Timor as India had to Goa when Nehru ordered the Indian army to annex that Portuguese colony in 1962. Indonesians do not see why part of their archipelago, inhabited by people identical in ethnic composition and language with those of West Timor, should for all time be separated because Pope Alexander VI in 1494 awarded the eastern half of the world to Portugal, and the Dutch never bothered to take over the uninviting territory. The East Timorese are different from the Javanese, but so are many other ethnic groups in that multicultural country.

For decades after independence Indonesia was content to leave East Timor in Portuguese hands, reluctant to saddle itself with yet another poor province while its own economic resources were severely strained.

But when Portugal, under a left-wing government, decided to abandon the colony in the wake of the communist conquest of South Vietnam, when there was much concern in South-East Asia that Hanoi would spread its influence by encouraging the communist insurgents still active in Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia; when Frelimo (the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Mozambique) was setting up a Marxist regime in Mozambique; and Fretilin (modelled on Frelimo) armed by military emissaries from Lisbon overran the territory by force in a bloody though brief civil war with its rival factions, Uniao Democratica Timorese and Apodate; the Indonesian Government, thoroughly alarmed by the apparent threat of a Cuba on its doorstep, reluctantly sent in its army.

In retrospect, had Suharto not been so cautious and delayed action so long, he might have achieved what Nehru did without any loss of life.

Reckless allegations have been

made about the number of lives lost — 200,000 or 300,000 East Timorese killed during the Indonesian occupation. Such figures have no foundation in fact. They have their origin in a comparison between a pre-1975 census and a survey by the Catholic Church made after 1975, when much of the population had fled from the fighting into the hills and could not be enumerated.

The apparent shortfall was eagerly seized upon by propagandists and has since become entrenched through mutual citation. Careful examination of the evidence by The Sydney Morning Herald journalist Peter Rogers and others at the time suggested that, if allowance is made for East Timorese who fled from Fretilin forces to West Timor and later to Australia and Portugal, total loss of life was probably about 30,000 — including some 5000 deaths during the civil war and Indonesian occupations and another 25,000 who may have died in the aftermath through malnutrition and disease.

Even these are terrible figures, but the blame lies as much with Fretilin as with Indonesia, and nothing justifies a hate-inspired tenfold exaggeration.

It is being argued that East Timor has a right to self-determination and independence, by analogy with the Ukraine or Kuwait. East Timor in 1975, a totally underdeveloped and poverty-stricken territory, neglected for 400 years by its colonial rulers, was in no way comparable to the Ukraine with its population of over 50 million and with rich natural resources or to Kuwait with its vast oil wealth — both of them amply endowed with professional, technical and administrative skills.

An independent East Timor would have become a mendicant State, indefinitely dependent on foreign aid. It is not obvious that any group of people have a god-given right to political independence and statehood, regardless of political or economic viability.

Nor, for that matter, is there much evidence that the people of East Timor want independence.

Fretilin enjoys the support of some hundreds of urban people with aspirations to leadership or government jobs in an independent State, and of remaining pockets of guerillas in the hills. There is no evidence that the majority, who have benefited greatly from very large Indonesian expenditure on health and education services — the number of schools has risen from 15 to more than 600 and a university has been established — and on roads and other infrastructure, are dissatisfied with life in Indonesia's 27th province.

Those are the facts. As to policy, it is clearly unrealistic to expect Indonesia to give up East Timor. One must hesitate to make policy suggestions, for fear that they will be discredited in Indonesian eyes if the Government appears to be acting under foreign pressure, but there are at least two concessions that the Indonesian Government may be willing to make to mollify the activist minority in East Timor.

One is to give East Timor, for a period, the status of special region, with perhaps a greater measure of local autonomy than the two present special regions — Yogyakarta and Aceh.

The other is to earmark for the East Timor provincial development budget part of the revenue from the joint Australian-Indonesian offshore oil project, if and when oil is found.

When Australians indulge in the luxury of moral indignation, they should not delude themselves about the magnitude of political leverage that Australia commands in this situation. What Australians can do, and have been doing in recent weeks, is to uselessly antagonise our most important neighbour.

Professor Arndt is visiting fellow at the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University.



**PRESS STATEMENT..... NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING FOR EAST TIMOR.....SATURDAY DECEMBER 7 1991**

Melbourne's Vicar General, Monsignor Hilton Deakin made an important gesture to the East Timorese when he offered to celebrate Mass in St Patrick's Cathedral on December 7 1991 to commemorate the tragedies that small island nation has endured since Indonesia's invasion sixteen years ago.

The new Dean of St Patrick's, Father William McCarthy quickly took his superior's lead and offered to write a small paraliturgy with East Timorese youth living in Melbourne which incorporated one of the most important documents to come out of catholic East Timor - Bishop Belo's letter to the United Nations written in 1989 to which he has not yet received a response.

Young Timorese, many of whom had spent time in Portugal since their escape from East Timor, then requested Father Bob Maguire, Parish Priest of St Peter and Pauls in South Melbourne and long time supporter of East Timor, to lead a Rosary Procession through the City before the ceremonies in the Cathedral. It is many years since Australian Catholics have participated in or seen a Rosary Procession although the event still forms part of the rich culture of rituals in catholic Europe, especially in Fatima, Portugal.

Since the massacre at Santa Cruz in Dili, the normally silent majority of catholics all around Australia have come to the fore to defend the slaughter of their fellow christians in East Timor. Following an exceptionally strong statement issued by the Bishops' Committee for Justice, Development and Peace on Friday November 22 1991 which called 'for urgent U.N. action on human rights abuses in East Timor', Saturday December 7 1991 has in fact become a National Day of Mourning for East Timor. In Sydney Cardinal Clancy will celebrate a special Mass in St Mary's Cathedral for East Timor. Diocesan Administrator Evan Pembrathy of St Patrick's Cathedral Bunbury, and Vicar General Robert Egarof the Adelaide Archdiocese are doing the same.

The Vatican's statement on East Timor issued last Friday night confirms the strong stand made by our leaders of the faith, and should provide the impetus for those priests who are still in a state of confusion over current thinking on East Timor to join others in this National Day of Mourning.

A papal spokesman, Mr Joaquin Navarro, said the Vatican had taken a 'diplomatic step' to condemn the violent repression of the funeral mass and independence demonstration in the provincial capital of Dili. He said that the Pope had recently reminded the new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican of the need to guarantee the rights of all Timorese.' (The Sunday Age, November 24 1991).

The Holy See did not miss the occasion to stress the rights of all the Timorese to social peace, fundamental liberty, their own religious and cultural identity and human rights. The papal spokesman said the Vatican is in full sympathy with the church of Dili and 'reaffirms its condemnation of the recourse to violence... as a solution to social conflicts'. The Indonesian Episcopal Conference immediately took the same position (Holy See Press Office, Vatican City, November 22 1991).

**NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING: MELBOURNE**

**5.30 pm Rosary Procession from City Square to St Patrick's Cathedral**

Father Bob Maguire will be heralded into the City Square by members of the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra brass, and sixteen East Timorese children in traditional dress carrying sixteen large green candles representative of the sixteen years of occupancy of their homeland by the Indonesian military dictatorship. Recalling the rich culture of the Rosary Procession in European and early Australian Catholic tradition, Father McGuire will be preceded by two small East Timorese children casting a path of rose petals. The Procession will proceed up Bourke Street to St Patrick's Cathedral where the Procession will be met by Monsignor Hilton Deakin and Father William McCarthy.

**6.30 pm Prayer Ceremony for East Timor at St Patrick's Cathedral**

The procession into St Patrick's, which includes representatives of all Timorese communities in Melbourne, and Monsignor Hilton Deakin and Father McCarthy will be followed by The Prayer Ceremony for East Timor. Conducted by Father William McCarthy and co-written with East Timorese youth living in Melbourne, the paraliturgy includes the important document from East Timor written by Bishop Belo, as 'the one responsible for the Catholic Church, and as a citizen of Timor', he says 'We the people of East Timor should be consulted about the destiny of our homeland..... Meanwhile we are dying as a people and as a nation', to the United Nations in February 1989, to which he has not yet received a reply.

In the subtle and gracious manner so typical of the East Timorese people, the other prayers call on the historical links that East Timor has with Australia and Portugal; and include a sympathetic call to those who still live in fear and continue to work for change in East Timor; prayers for those dispossessed East Timorese forced to live in the diaspora since 1975; remembrance of those who gave their lives in the name of justice, change and the East Timorese commitment to self determination.

**7.00 pm Mass at St Patrick's Cathedral**

Mass will be celebrated by the Vicar General Monsignor Hilton Deakin. Monsignor Deakin has indicated that he will be making a statement on the Australian response to the Indonesian presence in East Timor, in particular his own personal views on what we as Catholics in Australia should be doing to alleviate the stress of our closest neighbours. He is urging all Catholics to attend the Rosary and Mass and Prayer Ceremony for East Timor on December 7 1991.

The Prayers of the Faithful have been collected from East Timorese communities all around Australia. The timely Epistle for the Day is the moving poetry of the prophet Baruch in which he requests Jerusalem to 'Take off our dress of sorrow and distress, put on the beauty of God forever' .... Since the name God gives you forever will be *Peace through integrity, and honour through devotedness*'. The second collection will be for the East Timorese people and will later be presented to Ms Emilia Pires, President of the Timorese Association in Victoria.

**Enquiries Louise Byrne (03) 654 8977 (BH) (03) 654 5413 (FAX); Chris Dureau (03) 419 1785 (BH) (03) 419 4280 (FAX)**

# THE AUSTRALIAN 12/12/91 Sutrisno moves to silence media

By correspondents in Jakarta and Dili

INDONESIAN military chief General Try Sutrisno warned journalists yesterday against commenting on a minister's statement that the Government could no longer depend on a "security approach" to internal disputes.

The Antara news agency quoted General Sutrisno as telling journalists after attending a seminar here on Tuesday that only people well acquainted with the State ideology and the Constitution could comment on the statement by the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Rudini, at the weekend.

Mr Rudini said the Government could no longer depend on the security approach to ensure stability as it had discouraged political consciousness in Indonesia. He added that conditions where both institutions and the people could express themselves openly should be created.

Mr Rudini's statement was widely hailed by parliamentarians and newspaper editorials.

But General Sutrisno said: "We want to grow as a strong, physically and mentally prosperous nation, but also safe and tranquil - is that not so?"

General Sutrisno said that in developing the country, the Government was thoroughly considering all aspects and managing them in a balanced and harmonious way with two "main targets": security and prosperity.

Mr Rudini had said that

under a security approach, any mass movement even related to their own rights, including political right, was often viewed with suspicion.

The Indonesian troops who opened fire on unarmed civilians in East Timor a month ago, killing more than 100 by some accounts, recreated the event in Dili yesterday at the behest of government investigators.

The re-enactment was at sunrise, apparently to avoid journalists who have been following the Supreme Court judge who is heading a government commission, Justice Djaelani, around the East Timor capital.

Jakarta says 19 people were killed when the soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners on November 12.

President Suharto set up the commission three weeks ago just before going on a world tour.

One battalion involved in the shooting, the 303, was due to leave East Timor yesterday.

Military commander Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw called the battalion "one of the best in the country".

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

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

AFP, Reuters

## THE AGE Pandering to dictators

Mr Hayden, overpaid, unelected and unnecessary, chooses Human Rights Day to pander to dictators. His apologies for Suharto suggest the worst ethnocentrism and a "democracy-is-too-hard-for-them" attitude. More strength to the Javanese and East Timorese who risk their lives to demonstrate for human rights.

12/12/91

Dorothy Bruck,  
Yarraville.

# EAST TIMOR TALKS CAMPAIGN

124 Napier Street, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065  
ph. 03 4177 505

PRESS RELEASE  
Saturday December 7, 1991

## MONSIGNOR CALLS FOR SELF DETERMINATION IN EAST TIMOR

Monsignor Hilton Deakin, Vicar General of Melbourne's St Patrick's Cathedral, tonight condemned Australia's appeasement of Indonesia, and called for self determination in East Timor.

"It is not for me here during this Mass to be suggesting what the Australian Government should or should not be doing," the Monsignor told up to 2,000 worshippers in his historic statement in the Cathedral. "But many of us remember with shame how the East Timorese were treated officially by this country in 1975, and how we have persistently been advised by public figures to go slow on East Timor. The appeasement factor, for that is what it is, is still there, governed it seems, by the size of the Indonesian population and the loss of trade to our nation," he said.

"This nation has gone out of its way to remember with passion and from intent, the savage sufferings of Soweto and what they signified, the massacre in Tienanmen Square and the atrocities of the Gulf War. Let us remember with equal passion and moral indignation these events much closer to home. Let us remember the event at Santa Cruz cemetery. Let us remember the many other sufferings the East Timorese people have endured in the silence that we imposed on them. Let us pray that this silence be broken. Let us pray that our leaders speak out with moral indignation in the cause of right. May God grant the East Timorese self-determination, peace and justice at last," the Monsignor said.

Monsignor Deakin also condemned what he called "programs of enforced Islamization" in predominantly Catholic East Timor. (See full transcript following.)

The Vicar General supported a letter sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations in 1989 by East Timor's Bishop Belo, calling for a referendum so the East Timorese people could be consulted on their own destiny. "It has always been imposed on them," Monsignor Deakin said, "not least of all now, at the end of a gun".

THE AGE 07/12/91

# Bishops call for a wider Dili inquiry

By MARK BROLLY,  
religious affairs reporter

Australia's Roman Catholic bishops said yesterday that any human rights investigation in East Timor should examine allegations of abuses before and since the massacre in Dili on 12 November.

The bishops, concluding their biannual meeting in Sydney, endorsed the call made last month by their committee for justice, development and peace for a credible and independent investigation by the United Nations into the deaths and other alleged human rights abuses in East Timor.

They said Indonesia's bishops, who had raised questions about alarming details gathered by their own representatives, had insisted on the need for "an objective probe" of events in Dili.

The bishops said that although the events in Dili had been described by some Indonesians as "an internal affair" the world community had a legitimate interest in human rights abuses wherever they occurred or were alleged to have occurred.

The bishops expressed support for the Vatican's defence of the rights of all Timorese to social peace, fundamental liberty, religious and cultural identity and human rights.

"Any investigation into the human rights situation there should not be limited to the events of 12 November but should also examine allegations of abuses, including summary executions, disappearances, detentions and other forms of harassment before and since that date."

Australian Catholics will join East Timorese today in praying for victims of the massacre in Dili and for a just and peaceful solution to the problems of East Timor. In Melbourne, a procession will leave the City Square at 5.30 pm for St Patrick's Cathedral, where prayers will be led an hour later by the Dean, Father William McCarthy.

THE AGE 07/12/91

## E Timor claim

The East Timor Governor's brother, a member of the local legislature, said today he saw at least 50 bodies after Indonesian troops opened fire on anti-Indonesia protesters on 12 November. The Government has said 19 people died and 91 were injured in the Dili shootings. "I saw 35 dead bodies being dumped into an army truck and 15 others lying motionless in pools of blood on the road," said Mr Manuel Carrascalao.

— AP

# Church urges end to Timor shame

**A** SENIOR churchman last night condemned Australia's "appeasement" of Indonesia and called for self-determination for East Timor.

Monsignor Hilton Deakin, Vicar General of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, told 2000 worshippers at a Timorese Mass that many Australians felt shame at the way their country abandoned East Timor in 1975 and were now being told to "go slow" on the issue.

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

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

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

Monsignor Deakin said the commission established by the Indonesian Government to investigate the Dili massacre last month was "suspicious from the start".

"They are in-house, and their objectivity will always be questioned and they have already admitted that witnesses are

loath to come forward and give evidence out of fear of reprisal," he said.

He called for an investigation into the killings by an outside body, such as the United Nations, and said the whole question of persistent violation of human rights in East Timor needed to be examined.

"It is one thing to have the Indonesians claim this to be an internal matter and therefore no one else's business. We would claim otherwise. Violation of basic human rights on the scale of what is going on in East Timor is the business of all fair-minded people," he said.

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

Last week, a conference of Indonesian Catholic bishops disputed Jakarta's version of the Dili massacre, stating that its fact-finding mission had established that more than 100 were killed. The official death toll is 19.

■ Students leaders throughout Java this week condemned the Government over the massacre and called for self-determination for East Timor.

In a strongly-worded statement, the Forum of Student Senates also called for a UN investigation and urged the international community to exert pressure on Jakarta over its human rights record.

## TIMOR: 100 may have died, says envoy

■ More than 100 people may have died in the Dili massacre but there was no evidence the shootings were ordered by Jakarta, Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Philip Flood, said yesterday.

"The Governor, Mario Carrascalao, and the Apostolic Administrator, Bishop Carlos Belo, both told me they now believe the number of people who died ... was over 100," he said.

The Federal Government ordered Mr Flood to visit East Timor to personally prepare a report for the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Gareth Evans.

The Indonesian armed forces say 19 people died and 91 were injured when troops opened fire on a crowd of 3500 demonstrators near Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery last month.

Senator Evans is due in Jakarta on 19 December to personally convey Australia's concerns over the massacre and to ask permission to establish a consulate in the former Portuguese colony.

## PROTEST: Timorese target Garuda

■ Timorese protesters and their supporters demonstrating outside Garuda Airlines' city offices yesterday said they would return tomorrow and stay for "as many days as possible". Demonstrators displayed Timor resistance Fretelin flags and burnt candles for those killed in the East Timor capital last month.

Yesterday was the 16th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor and was marked by a national day of mourning which, in Melbourne, culminated with a mass at St Patrick's Cathedral for the massacre victims.

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"They are in-house, and their objectivity will always be questioned and they have already admitted that witnesses are

loath to come forward and give evidence out of fear of reprisal," he said.

He called for an investigation into the killings by an outside body, such as the United Nations, and said the whole question of persistent violation of human rights in East Timor needed to be examined.

"It is one thing to have the Indonesians claim this to be an internal matter and therefore no one else's business. We would claim otherwise. Violation of basic human rights on the scale of what is going on in East Timor is the business of all fair-minded people," he said.

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

Last week, a conference of Indonesian Catholic bishops disputed Jakarta's version of the Dili massacre, stating that its fact-finding mission had established that more than 100 were killed. The official death toll is 19.

Students leaders throughout Java this week condemned the Government over the massacre and called for self-determination for East Timor.

In a strongly-worded statement, the Forum of Student Senates also called for a UN investigation and urged the international community to exert pressure on Jakarta over its human rights record.

## Recruits ready and willing

**T**HE army has stopped recruiting for the first intake of its Ready Reserve scheme after a massive response, the Minister for Defence Gordon Bilney, said yesterday.

The army needs 1100 recruits in the first year of the scheme. School-leavers who join can serve 12 months full-time in Brisbane, followed by four years part-time while they complete civilian university degrees.

The number of applicants already cleared as suitable has

1100 by about 50 per cent, Mr Bilney said.

"As well, there are more than 1300 applications still to be processed and over 2000 yet to be returned," he said.

Mr Bilney said those selected were of very high quality, reflecting the direction of the recruiting campaign at "young achievers".

"Some 75 per cent of applicants have indicated a preference for tertiary education rather than employment after their first year of full-time military service," he said.

The army will choose 1100 recruits in early January.

# 'No' vote angers police

*The Sunday  
HCF  
8-12-91*

By Adrian Rollins

**T**HE Police Association claims the state Opposition is treating police as "second-class citizens".

The secretary of the Association, Mr Danny Walsh, accused the Opposition of "playing politics" with the livelihood of police by opposing Government police industrial relations reforms.

The Police (Industrial Functions) Bill — intended to transfer the power of the Police Service Board to hear police wages and conditions claims to the Industrial Relations Commission — was passed in the Legislative Assembly last month despite an Opposition "no" vote.

But the Bill has yet to be put to the vote in the Legislative Council. Mr Walsh said the delay had severely disadvantaged his members.

Mr Walsh said the Opposition had been unable to give an explanation for their vote against the Bill, which he claimed flew in the face of Opposition policy in the last election.

"They (the Opposition) are in a state of confusion, and their credibility comes into question," he said. "If the Bill was against their policy, we could cop that, but their position now is just ludicrous."

But acting shadow Labor minister, Mr Rob McLellan, said the Bill was inadequate, and called on the government to introduce a comprehensive policy on all public sector employment.

"We don't want police to get the rough end of the pineapple. They deserve better than the government's half-baked measures," Mr McLellan said.

He said the Opposition had not yet determined whether it would support the Bill when it was put to the upper house.

The Labor minister, Mr Neil Pope, said the Opposition had adopted an "outrageous position by blocking a reform that both the police command and the Police Association want".

Mr Walsh said the association was planning action in the year aimed at forcing the Opposition to rethink its position.

# ALP pushes for tough Timor stand

By LINDSAY MURDOCH, Kuala Lumpur

The Federal Government is under renewed pressure to take a tougher stance against Indonesia over the Dili massacre as the Industry Minister, Senator Button, prepares to visit Jakarta on Thursday.

The New South Wales branch of the ALP yesterday called on the Federal Government to defer signing oil and gas exploration contracts in the Timor Gap unless Indonesia agreed to a United Nations-sponsored inquiry into the massacre.

The ALP state conference also called on the Government to suspend all military and arms sales to Indonesia if it failed to allow an independent inquiry.

The Australian ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Philip Flood, said in Dili at the weekend that the Governor of the province, Mr Mario Carrascalao, and the apostolic administrator, Bishop Carlos Belo, had told him they now believed more than 100 people died in the massacre.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, has previously put Australia's "best guess" at 75 dead. Indonesian authorities have insisted that only 19 people were killed.

Mr Flood said that he saw no evidence during his visit that there had been "a deliberate or calculated decision or action of the Indonesian Government involved in the massacre".

Mr Flood said: "Our information is that the massacre was the result of aberrant behavior by particular groups within the armed forces."

Senator Button, the first Australian minister scheduled to visit Indonesia since the East Timor massacre, said last night that he

hoped the incident would not become "all-consuming" in the relationship between the two countries.

Speaking in Kuala Lumpur, where he is leading a trade delegation, Senator Button said he would raise the massacre with Indonesian ministers and officials when he arrived in Jakarta.

Asked if he had a stern message from the Australian Government, Senator Button said: "I won't be telling them anything different from what senior ministers in the Australian Government have already said."

Senator Button said the relationship between Australia and Indonesia had "improved enormously" in recent years but the East Timor issue "always caused something of a difficulty".

"The recent events at Dili have not helped that black spot in the relationship."

Senator Button said that while "we would like to see a more liberal treatment, perhaps, of the East Timorese situation by the Indonesian Government, we do attach a lot of importance on the strength of the commercial and political relationship".

DANIELLE TALBOT reports that at the ACTU's 38-member executive meeting this week, the secretary of the Trades Hall Council, Mr John Halfpenny, is expected to argue strongly for immediate action against the Indonesian Government. Last month's meeting of the ACTU's international affairs committee voted to adopt a wait-and-see approach.

Senator Evans is scheduled to visit Jakarta late this month to raise Australia's concerns over the massacre and to ask permission to establish a consulate there.



# SENATOR TO FACE INDONS

## Call for calm over boycott

THE Industry Minister, Senator Button, will express Australia's concerns over the Dili shootings when he meets Indonesian ministers in Jakarta this week.

He will be the first federal minister to visit Jakarta since Indonesian troops fired on a crowd of civilians in the East Timorese capital, Dili, on November 12.

In the face of growing anger in Jakarta at Australia's response to the shootings, especially Saturday's union boycott, Senator Button said he hoped there would not be a backlash against Australian business.

"The relationship between Australia and Indonesia has improved enormously in the past few years," he said.

"Of course, while we would like to see more liberal treatment of the East Timorese situation by the Indonesian Government, we do attach a lot of importance to the strength of that growing commercial and political relationship."

Australia has maintained the recent improvement in relations with Jakarta should not be thrown away because of the Dili shootings.

But Australia is insisting Indonesia's special inquiry into the massacre be objective and reliable and that prompt action be taken against anyone found guilty of breaking the law.

Government and community leaders in Indonesia are becoming increasingly angry at Aus-

AN INDONESIAN labor union leader has called on Indonesians to stay calm over the planned Australian boycott of shipping and air services.

"We should remain cool-headed in reacting to the attitude of the Australian labor," the Indonesian Labor Union (SPSI) secretary general, Mr Bomer Pasaribu, said yesterday.

"Even though there is not a single one among us that does not regret the boycott."

Deputy Speaker Sukardi called on the SPSI to

persuade Australian unions to lift the boycott.

Mr Sukardi said Indonesia should not reply to the boycott with another one, especially since the Australian move was based on "lack of information or misinformation" on the Dili incident.

The ACTU boycott is part of protests against the Dili massacre.

The Indonesian Importers' Association called on its members to halt imports of Australian goods should the boycott continue after 48 hours.

- AFP

tralia's response to the Dili massacre, accusing "the kangaroo country" of a colonialist attitude and interfering in Indonesia's internal affairs.

Senator Button and a high-powered business delegation arrived in Kuala Lumpur last night to continue repairing another troubled bilateral relationship between Australia and Malaysia.

"Australian business and industry have a lot riding on the success of this mission," Senator Button said.

"The blip in relations between Australia and Malaysia had the potential

to close off important opportunities for business in both countries."

Business delegation leader John Gough said Australia could not afford to be locked out of the booming Malaysian economy.

"This is one of the most important missions in a trade sense that Australia has ever been involved in," said Mr Gough, who is Pacific Dunlop chairman.

The mission will meet government and business leaders to cement the recent improvement in bilateral relations at the government level.

- AAP

THE AGE 09/12/91

### Culprits by neglect

Mr Hawke appears to have missed the point on East Timor. His calls for an inquiry and that the culprits be punished appropriately (The Age, 22/11), ignores that we are culprits by our neglect. Jailing a soldier or two will do nothing for human rights in East Timor.

Michael Burns, Narre Warren North.  
(ADDRESS AGE)

# Envoy says Dili death toll may top 100

By GEORGE MEGALOGENIS in Malaysia and correspondents in Dili

THE death toll in last month's Santa Cruz cemetery massacre could exceed 100, the Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Philip Flood, said at the weekend after a five-day visit to East Timor.

"It is in the light of discussions with the eyewitnesses that I feel able to also associate myself with the statements by the governor and by the bishop that 100 or more people had died," Mr Flood said.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said last month that preliminary investigations of the massacre indicated that up to 75 people had died.

But the head of the official National Investigative Commission, Supreme Court judge Mr Jaelani, said the revised Australian assessment would have no effect on his team's findings.

"It is up to the Australian ambassador if he wants to tell it that way, he must have a base (to say that). We are sticking to our own findings," said Mr Jaelani, who is in Dili with other members of the commission on a fact-finding mission.

## 'Aberrant behaviour'

The first federal government minister to visit Indonesia since the massacre, the Minister for Industry, Senator Button, intends to raise the issue of East Timor when he arrives in Jakarta for talks on Thursday and Friday this week.

Senator Button was speaking on his arrival in Malaysia early yesterday on the first leg of a business delegation to Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and Jakarta.

Senator Button, who is heading a team of senior Australian company executives, said the Federal Government would prefer to see the Indonesians treat East Timor more liberally.

But he stressed that Australia also attached "a lot of importance to the strength of the growing commercial and political relationship" between Australia and Indonesia.

"The relationship between Australia and Indonesia has improved enormously in the last few years," he said.

"The commercial contacts are

much stronger (and) the government-to-government contacts are also much stronger in that relationship."

The Indonesian investigative commission has gathered information on the shooting from the military, the police and witnesses.

"The reports from the various sources will be processed and cross-checked to obtain an accountable explanation," Mr Jaelani said, declining to compare the team's findings with those of Mr Flood.

Mr Flood said that during discussions with the Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, and Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenez Belo of East Timor, both had said they believed 100 people had died during and subsequent to the shooting.

Indonesian authorities have said that 19 people had died and 91 others were injured after troops shot in self-defence at a mob of demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12.

Other sources, including witnesses, have said troops shot into a crowd of mourners, some of whom were brandishing anti-Indonesian posters and banners. Their estimates were between 50 and more than 100 dead.

Mr Flood, who said his visit to the former Portuguese colony was, among other things, to "learn at first hand about the appalling tragedy", said he had spoken to three witnesses of the Santa Cruz shooting. He did not identify them.

Mr Flood said he hoped the commission would be able to complete its report quickly.

He repeated an earlier statement by Canberra that his Government did not see any evidence of "deliberate or calculated decision or action" by the government in the shooting.

"Our information is that the massacre was the result of aberrant behaviour by particular groups within the armed forces," Mr Flood said, adding that his inquiries in East Timor had confirmed this.

He said he had been told by both the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the East Timor military operational commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Samuel Warouw, that the ICRC now had full access to the wounded and those detained.

The Dili police chief, Colonel Ishak Kodijat, has said that all but 26 of about 200 arrested after the incident had been released.

AFP, AAP

10.12.91

27

# Jakarta general vows to purge opposition

By correspondents in Jakarta

**THE** chief of Indonesia's armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, vowed yesterday to "wipe out all separatist elements" after a government investigation was completed into last month's Dili massacre.

In an interview with official news agency Antara, General Sutrisno accused pro-independence forces of creating trouble in East Timor.

He suggested pro-independence unrest had provoked troops to fire on funeral marchers on November 12 in Dili, the East Timor capital.

"Once the investigation mission is accomplished, we will wipe out all separatist elements who have tainted the Government's dignity," General Sutrisno said.

Indonesia also reacted angrily to a weekend statement by the Australian ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Philip Flood, who said after returning from a fact-finding trip that he believed at

least 100 people were killed in the massacre.

Mr Flood said he had made the conclusion after talking to East Timor's Governor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, Roman Catholic Bishop Felipe Ximenes Belo, and hearing reports from three witnesses.

A government spokesman said: "It is up to him what he wants to say. But we must wait for the results (of the investigation)."

Mr Carrascalao has told journalists it might be better to close the former Portuguese colony to outsiders to prevent further unrest.

"Since the region has been opened, chaos has come out. Maybe it is better that it be closed," he told weekly Jakarta magazine Editor.

Indonesia lifted travel restrictions on East Timor in January 1989, declaring open the former Portuguese colony, which it declared its 27th province in 1976.

Mr Carrascalao, who was appointed by the Suharto Government, also said he was against a foreign investigation.

"Their arrival will only cause unrest," he said. "As an individual I am against it, but as governor I will do whatever is decided" by Jakarta.

The secretary-general of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said this month that the UN planned to send an envoy to Jakarta to prepare for the possible arrival of a UN team of investigators.

Mr Carrascalao said he believed the unrest that led to the massacre was not engineered by the Portuguese. The Angkatan Bersenjata — the Indonesian armed forces' daily newspaper — blamed Portugal for the violence that preceded the shooting.

Indonesia says 19 people died and 91 were injured after troops shot in self-defence against an attacking mob at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

But witnesses say the soldiers shot

into a crowd of mourners, some of whom were carrying anti-Indonesian posters and banners. They estimate the death toll at more than 100.

A seven-member National Investigative Commission (KPN) has been in Dili since November 28 on a fact-finding mission in its bid to conduct a "thorough probe" on the shooting.

"We stick (to our estimate) based on the fact that 19 were killed and 91 were wounded," Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, the chief of East Timor military command, said.

However, General Warouw said the death toll could rise if the critically injured died of their wounds.

Indonesia's State airline, Garuda, yesterday denied a report it had suspended flights to Perth, Darwin and Brisbane because of union action over the Dili massacre.

A spokesman for the airline in Australia said it was "business as normal".

UPI, AFP

THE AGE 10/12/91

# General talks of wiping out E Timor resistance

By MOSES MANOHARAN,  
Dili, Monday

The commander of the Indonesian armed forces has declared that "the disturbance movement" in East Timor will be wiped out after the official inquiry into the Dili massacre is completed.

General Try Sutrisno said last month's violence, when troops opened fire on mourners, was deliberately provoked. He vowed to eliminate those trying to break from Jakarta's rule.

A Government mission investigating the 12 November massacre has been in East Timor for nearly two weeks trying to reconcile widely divergent accounts of why the soldiers began firing and how many people were killed.

"After it comes up with the results, we will wipe out and uproot the disturbance movement which has tainted the Government's dignity," General Try was quoted as saying.

Those who masterminded the

Dili incident had long been on a watch-list, the military newspaper 'Angkatan Bersenjata' quoted him as telling students at the weekend. The army would wait for confirmation from the commission before acting, he said.

General Try, a possible future president, has been criticised by some political analysts for passing judgment before the commission finishes its inquiry into the shooting, something that has provoked outrage in several countries.

The army says 19 were killed. The East Timorese Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, and East Timor's Roman Catholic leader, Bishop Carlos Belo, have been quoted as saying that at least 100 people died.

But the Indonesians say those estimates are inflated. "They got their information through reports from the people. What we have are the facts," the East Timor military commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, told reporters in Dili yesterday.

Mr Carrascalao was reported today as saying that it might now be better to close the former Portuguese colony to outsiders to prevent further unrest.

"Since the region has been opened, chaos has come out. For myself, maybe it is better that it be closed," Mr Carrascalao told the weekly magazine 'Editor' in an interview.

Indonesia lifted travel restrictions into and out of East Timor in January 1989, declaring open the former Portuguese colony, which it unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976.

Mr Carrascalao said that he was against any foreign investigation into the Dili shooting. "Their arrival will only cause unrest. As an individual, I am against it, but as a Governor I will do whatever is decided by the centre," he said, referring to the Government in Jakarta.

The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said in Lisbon earlier this

month that the UN planned to send an envoy to Jakarta to negotiate for a UN investigative team to inquire into the East Timor shooting.

The Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Philip Flood, was in East Timor for five days last week to get first-hand accounts of the shooting. Mr Flood said before leaving Dili on Saturday that he believed the death toll from the massacre may have exceeded 100.

Mr Flood said on Saturday: "I believe that much of the goodwill that arises from ... development has been undermined, has been lost, as a result of the event on 12 November and it will be a very substantial task to win back respect and the love of the people."

He urged Indonesia to reduce the number of troops in the territory, estimated at more than 10,000.

General Warouw said today: "It can be reduced if we are no longer needed by the local government to carry out development work here."  
— Reuter, AFP

THE AGE 10/12/91

## PM slow on Timor: Whitlam

By SALLY HEATH

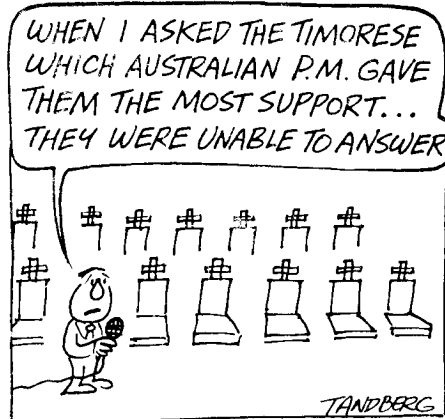
Mr Gough Whitlam last night accused the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, of being slow to react to the shootings in East Timor.

The former Prime Minister said Mr Hawke should have directly asked President Suharto to have the Indonesian authorities clarify the events of the Dili massacre, "condemn the abuses, and punish those responsible".

Mr Whitlam said: "Bob Hawke's lack of interest in Indonesia prevented Australia making a prompt and effective approach to President Suharto himself. He risked marginalising Australia's influence by floating or countenancing the possibility that he may not proceed with his planned visit to Indonesia."

Mr Whitlam criticised Mr Hawke for not having visited Indonesia. He said Mr Hawke had not supported his Foreign Minister, Senator Evans. "It is Bob Hawke's fault that Australia does not have more influence in Indonesia. As a media and poll-driven politician, he has always distanced himself from Indonesia."

The Australian media had no credibility in Indonesia because they had conducted a vendetta against the country since 1975, when two television crews were killed in Balibo, Mr Whitlam said. It was now impossible to work out what policies journalists, editors and proprietors believed Australian governments should follow towards Indonesia.



Mr Whitlam, speaking at an ALP function in Altona, urged Mr Hawke to talk with President Suharto. "Despite Bob Hawke's manifold deficiencies as an initiator, he retains great skills as a conciliator. He himself should try to restore the relationship and influence that I have established with the President. He can no longer leave it all to Gareth Evans."

Mr Whitlam condemned the Hawke Government's record on human rights, saying it could no longer delay granting access to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination into Australia.

PAGE 10: Hawke secure as leader, says Beazley.

THE AUSTRALIAN 10/12/91

# Whitlam blasts PM over Timor

From Page 1

"Bob Hawke should have directly asked the President to have the competent authorities clarify the events, condemn the abuses and punish those responsible," Mr Whitlam said.

The former Labor leader went on to ridicule suggestions by Mr Hawke that he might cancel his scheduled visit to Indonesia in protest at the massacre.

"He risks marginalising Australia's influence by floating or countenancing the possibility that he may not proceed with his planned visit to Indonesia," Mr Whitlam said.

"How many times has he visited Indonesia? When did he last make a visit? It is just the time, and not before time, for an Australian prime minister to visit Indonesia.

"The Indonesian province of East Timor and its capital would have been a more harmonious society if the administration had been progressively placed in civilian hands in recent years.

"Concerns about the military presence and urban unrest in East Timor would have been effective and acceptable if expressed regularly face-to-face with the President.

"Bob Hawke has already let too many years pass without exchanging views directly with him. Australia needs a prime minister who can visit Australia's most important neighbour."

Mr Hawke has visited Jakarta only once in almost nine years in office. That was soon after his first election win in 1983.

Mr Whitlam contrasted this with his three personal meetings with General Suharto between 1973 and 1975. He described the Indonesian leader as "a reasonable and an honourable man" and said he had held several conversations with General Suharto

since leaving government.

"(Foreign Minister) Gareth Evans is the first politician since me who has been able to establish a trusting and effective relationship with his Indonesian counterpart," Mr Whitlam said.

"The best foreign ministers and ambassadors, however, need the backing of their head of government.

"It is Bob Hawke's fault that Australia does not have more influence in Indonesia. As a media and poll-driven politician, he has always distanced himself from Indonesia."

Broadening his attack, Mr Whitlam cited the examples of Mr Hawke's handling of difficulties with China, Malaysia and Fiji, and said the Prime Minister was in danger of a widespread perception that his comments on

## 'Outrageous reporting'

regional issues were conditioned by his domestic political situation. He called on Mr Hawke to restore strong personal relations with General Suharto.

"He can no longer leave it all to Gareth Evans," Mr Whitlam said.

In his speech, Mr Whitlam also attacked the Australian media for "outrageous reporting" of General Suharto and Indonesia.

"The Australian media have no credibility in Indonesia because they have conducted a vendetta against Indonesia over the deaths of two television teams in Balibo on October 16, 1975," he said, adding that some journalists were making a living as professional critics of Jakarta.

"It is impossible to work out what policies journalists, editors and proprietors believe Australian governments should follow towards Indonesia."

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was personally responsible for Australia not having an influential voice with the Indonesian Government over the East Timor crisis, former Labor prime minister Mr Gough Whitlam said last night.

In an astonishing attack, Mr Whitlam accused Mr Hawke of allowing relations with the President of Indonesia, General Suharto, to degenerate to the point where Australia's protests over the Dili massacre could not be put forthrightly at the highest level.

"Bob Hawke's lack of interest in Indonesia prevented Australia making a prompt and effective approach to Indonesia itself... it should have been as easy for Bob Hawke to telephone General Suharto as it has been for

JAKARTA: Indonesia's armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno, vowed yesterday to "wipe out all separatist elements" after a government investigation is completed into the November 12 killings in East Timor.

General Sutrisno accused pro-independence forces of stirring up trouble in East Timor and declared: "Once the investigation mission is accomplished, we will wipe out all

him to telephone President Bush," Mr Whitlam said.

In other comments, he condemned the idea of Mr Hawke cancelling his scheduled visit to Jakarta in protest at the Dili massacre, said Mr Hawke was allowing politics to govern his comments on regional issues, and ac-

complished, we will wipe out all separatist elements who have tainted the Government's dignity."

An Indonesian government spokesman also flatly rejected a statement by the Australian ambassador, Mr Philip Flood, who said he believed 100 people or more might have been killed in the massacre in the former Portuguese colony.

Full report - Page 8

caused the Australian media of "outrageous" reporting of Indonesian affairs.

Mr Whitlam was prime minister in late 1975 at the time Indonesia was moving to invade East Timor. Mr Whitlam has denied he gave tacit approval for the military occupation of

the former Portuguese colony, but last night insisted that the Fretilin independence movement and Portugal had "forfeited" their rights over the province.

Speaking at a Labor dinner in Melbourne, Mr Whitlam said he felt obliged to comment on the Hawke Government's handling of the Dili massacre.

While acknowledging the Indonesian military should have acted with greater restraint in the face of turmoil in the East Timorese capital (at least 75 people were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire) Mr Whitlam then launched into a piercing critique of Mr Hawke's response.

Continued - Page 4

THE AUSTRALIAN 10/12/91

# Whitlam blasts Hawke on Timor

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE AUSTRALIAN  
Timorese help  
10/12/91

FROM December 1941 un-

til February 1943 there were 700 Australian troops in Portuguese Timor, including my brother Steven. Three hundred and fifty were from 2nd-2nd Independent Company (later known as 2nd-2nd Commando Squadron) and 350 were from the 2nd-40th Infantry Battalion, from Tasmania. These men were fed a steady diet of rice, corn, sweet potatoes and eggs by the Timorese. The Timorese fought alongside them in the jungle and helped heal their wounds. Between them all they prevented the Japanese from setting up a base from which to bomb Australia.

Without the Timorese people, men who fought, women who cooked, children who delivered food and messages, my brother and many others would not now be alive.

How are we helping the Timorese today?

Mrs BARBARA AHERN  
Claremont, WA

# Dili colonel may win promotion

By MARK BAKER,  
foreign editor

The Indonesian army's regional commander for East Timor has ruled out any punishment for the officer immediately responsible for the Dili massacre, and says he may well be promoted.

In a further sign of military defiance towards the official inquiry into the 12 November killings and the subsequent international outrage, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan said the Dili area commander, Colonel Binsar Aruan, could not be accused of making a mistake.

"There is no question of any violation. There's no question of any punishment," said General Sintong, the head of the Udayana military region, based in Bali. "It's quite possible that Binsar, after being withdrawn from that post, will be promoted."

General Sintong's comments, in an interview with the influential Jakarta-based magazine 'Editor', follow a declaration earlier this week by the Indonesian military commander, General Try Sutrisno, that the resistance movement in East Timor will be wiped out once the inquiry is completed.

"After it comes up with the results, we will wipe out and uproot the disturbance movement which has tainted the Government's dignity," General Try told the military newspaper 'Angkatan Bersenjata'.

A panel of investigators appointed by Jakarta have spent the past two weeks in Dili investigating the military's attack on unarmed protesters, in which at least 100 people are believed to have died.

General Sintong confirmed that the troops involved in the massacre were from the the 303rd Battalion, based in West Java, and that they were under the immediate control of Colonel Binsar.

But he said the colonel could not be held responsible for the killings. "This is a very procedural matter. He can't be said to have been mistaken. Any commander

will act fast if there is a problem in his area. He can't wait for others.

"East Timor is a military operation region. The basic task of every soldier there is to destroy the enemy. If there are enemy forces in the bush, we kill them. If they run and resist, we kill them."

General Sintong said no order was given to open fire on the demonstrators but "the situation just led to that". He also defended the military's decision to bury victims of the massacre — which Jakarta still claims totals only 19 — in mass graves.

Referring to the fact that the massacre happened during a memorial rally for a youth killed in an earlier military shooting, General Sintong said: "This is how things were — one body was buried by the family and later 19 died. If the 19 bodies had been given to the families, how many hundreds more would have died?"

"So, we say, to hell with that. Bury them first. The important thing is the security of the people. It's not for them to be pitied. If they had buried them, there would have been more Masses. Then how many more people would have been killed? Are we expected to go on working like this?"

The general said that because of foreign television screening of a video of the massacre it "isn't possible for us to deny it". "We were knocked for six, but that doesn't matter. What's important is that things will be OK again in East Timor."

The official Indonesian news agency, Anantara, reported yesterday that eight of the 26 Timorese detained after the Dili massacre might be tried for subversion, which carries a potential death penalty.

Antara quoted police and legal sources in Dili as saying the eight were "clearly" involved in subversion. It said the remaining 18 detainees would be tried under general criminal law. Documentation of their cases would be completed by the end of this week.

# Stop human rights hectoring: Hayden

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The Governor-General, Mr Hayden, warned yesterday against hectoring and threatening neighboring countries over human rights abuses, in a message with clear implications for Australia's handling of the East Timor massacre.

"Public finger-shaking" by a small country like Australia had severe limitations, and moralistic posturing was "most certainly counter-productive", Mr Hayden said in a Human Rights Day address in Canberra.

He did not refer directly to the Dili massacre and Indonesia except to endorse the view of all parliamentary parties that the kill-

ings were "unacceptable and inexcusable". He said it was not proper for him to make further comment.

He said he had written the substance of his speech five or six weeks ago (before the 12 November shootings), and stressed the "generalised" nature of his suggested guidelines for the conduct of foreign relations on the issue of human rights.

But later in his speech Mr Hayden drew a scenario that many would say fitted the circumstances confronting Australia and Indonesia after the Dili killings.

He said a besetting sin was for a country to exaggerate its own power to influence another nation, especially an important regional one.

Continued: PAGE 6

## WEATHER

CITY: Becoming fine. Expe  
(yesterday 17, min. 1



Wednesday 11 December 1991

THE AGE

## Reason and honor and General Try

THE Canadian Government has suspended approval for \$35 million of development projects in Indonesia in protest at the East Timor killings. Unlike the Hawke Government, Mr Brian Mulroney's Cabinet has decided that mere words are not an adequate moral response to such a slaughter. The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, should take note. So, too, should Mr Gough Whitlam. Canada's action may help to impress on Jakarta that its inquiry into the massacre will have no international credibility unless it identifies those responsible, who must then be properly punished. Judging by the latest extraordinary statements by the armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno, and other senior officers, this message is not getting through. Indeed, General Try seems to believe that the purpose of the inquiry is to lay the blame for the tragedy on troublemakers whom the armed forces will then "wipe out and uproot".

Mr Whitlam argued earlier this week that things might have turned out differently if the Prime Minister had established a close personal relationship with President Suharto, as Mr Whitlam once did (at great cost to the luckless people of East Timor). Frankly, we do not believe for a minute that friendly calls from the Lodge to the Presidential Palace in Jakarta would have prevented the Dili killings, or even led to a more appropriate reaction from the Jakarta Government. Mr Whitlam describes President Suharto as "a reasonable and an honorable man". He may be right, but there has been little honor or reason in the recent words of Indonesian military leaders.

The Governor-General, Mr Hayden, himself a former foreign minister, suggested yesterday that Australia should be careful not to push its indignation so far that it became counter-productive, hardening attitudes in Jakarta and endangering an important relationship. This is sensible advice, up to a point. That point was reached outside a cemetery in Dili last month. A friendship that is conditional on one party's remaining discreetly ambivalent when the other party does an infamous thing is no friendship at all. Quite apart from anything else, it makes this country's protests at human rights abuses elsewhere look hypocritically selective.

The Industry Minister, Mr Button, visits Jakarta this week. He should make it clear that General Try's remarks must be repudiated. He should also urge the Suharto Government to rethink its whole attitude towards East Timor. After all these years of blood and pain, the Timorese urge for self-determination is clearly as strong as ever.

# THE AUSTRALIAN Evans attacks Whitlam over Indonesian row

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, yesterday came to the defence of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, over claims that he was personally responsible for Australia not exercising more influence over Indonesia.

On Monday night, former Labor prime minister Mr Gough Whitlam said Australia's standing in Indonesia had suffered as a result of a lack of interest shown by Mr Hawke — and his failure to establish a close relationship with President Suharto.

Criticising Mr Hawke's diplomatic response to the Dili massacre and describing him as a "media and poll-driven politician", Mr Whitlam said Australia's criticisms of Indonesia would have been more readily accepted if Mr Hawke had put more time into developing contacts at the highest level.

But in Parliament yesterday Senator Evans rejected by pointedly noting Mr Whitlam's role at the time Indonesia was moving to invade East Timor.

Senator Evans said that while it was indisputable that Mr Whitlam had enjoyed a very good personal rapport with President Suharto, there were limits on the results that kind of contact produced.

"Manifestly, all the personal relationships in the world that might have existed between Mr Whitlam and President Suharto did not stop the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia occurring without any act of self-determination and by use of force," Senator Evans said.

"I think that is a healthy corrective to any suggestion that personal relationships by themselves can achieve

miracles when other dynamics are at work."

But the federal Opposition claimed later that Senator Evans's defence of Mr Hawke was implicitly a criticism of the style of diplomacy adopted by the Prime Minister.

The Coalition's spokesman on foreign affairs, Senator Hill, said Mr Hawke spoke constantly of his personal relationships with leaders such as President Bush, the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr Mulroney, the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the late Rajiv Gandhi.

"The personalising of Australia's foreign relations with other countries has been the hallmark of foreign policy under the Hawke Government," Senator Hill said.

Meanwhile, as the US and Canada both stepped up their rhetoric

against Indonesia over the Dili massacre, the Governor-General, Mr Bill Hayden, issued a warning that Australia should not allow concerns over human rights abuses to put at risk its broader national interests.

Calling for Australians to show pragmatism, Mr Hayden said: "I am not recommending we run dead, as it were, on the issue of human rights. What I wish to suggest is that there are ways of promoting the cause which are not counter-productive to our national interests."

Mr Hayden, Senator Evans's predecessor as foreign minister, was delivering the Amnesty International Human Rights Day address in Canberra.

Asia, one place Bob forgoes first names — Page 11

# Asia: one place Bob forgoes first names

By GREG SHERIDAN

A FEW weeks ago I began researching a piece on the Whitlam government and the East Timor invasion. I began with the settled, if vague, conviction that Whitlam was guilty. I wasn't exactly sure of the details of what specific actions Whitlam was accused of, but was fairly confident he was guilty of somehow or other giving a wink and a nod to the Indonesians. Moreover, I was under the general impression that had Whitlam acted differently, Indonesia might too have acted differently.

The subsequent few weeks were a sobering experience. The first salient fact is that Whitlam was dismissed from office a full month before Indonesia invaded on December 7, 1975. Moreover, as I wrote on Saturday, there is absolutely no evidence that his government ever did anything other than oppose an invasion, even though it thought the peaceful integration of East Timor into Indonesia the best long-term option.

More importantly, there is not the faintest shred of evidence that Australia could have changed Indonesia's actions no matter what we did. None of the polemicists on East Timor — the former Australian consul to Dili, Jim Dunn, the Fretilin leader, Jose Ramos Horta, any of the journalists who have written on the matter, and certainly not anyone on the Labor Left — has given even a remotely credible argument to suggest that Australia had the kind of influence with Jakarta that could have deflected it from an action which it thought necessary.

But the pervasive feeling that somehow Whitlam, and therefore Australia, is guilty over East Timor has been one factor in a general and profoundly important policy failure on Indonesia.

The substance of Whitlam's criticisms of Hawke on Monday night concerning the Prime Minister's neglect

of Indonesia is absolutely correct. More generally, Australia has managed its relations with Indonesia atrociously since almost the day after Indonesia gained its independence. What has characterised the relationship is inconsistency, faddism and a lack of sustained attention at the highest level.

The fact that Mr Hawke has been to Indonesia precisely once in the nearly nine years of his prime ministership is a shocking indication of a lack of priority to what is one of the's most fundamentally important relationships in which Australia is involved.

As a result of his neglect — as Whitlam points out — Hawke has no personal influence in Jakarta. It is just this kind of influence that could be so vital in responding to the tragic events of November 12. And, if we are at all

As a result of his neglect, Hawke has no personal influence in Jakarta

interested in Australia's own national interests, it is this kind of contact which could help us sustain a working relationship with Jakarta in the face of difficulties such as those we are now facing.

Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has a close relationship with Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. That is useful but it is a different thing from a sustained commitment and involvement at prime ministerial level.

Hawke has been reasonably well-served in office by his instinctive pro-Americanism. It has served his own political interests and the national interests. It has safeguarded our basic security relationship and given us access at the highest level to the most powerful administration on earth (although this has not noticeably helped

us in the politics of trade). But as a regionalist, Mr Hawke has had a much more mixed record.

His big achievement is the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Group. Apart from that, there is precious little to show for nine years of exhortations, from the Garnaut Report to the initiatives on Asian languages. Who can remember a single significant Hawke statement or speech on Japan? He has displayed no feel for Japan nor any closeness to any of its leaders. For a long time his most serious Asian involvement was with China, which he handled appallingly.

It is not that Mr Hawke was wrong to see China as important, or to be excited by the liberalisation initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the early '80s. But to invest the relationship with China — which was essentially a trade relation-

leaving barely a trace of its existence. It was a typically over-sold initiative; typically not followed through.

To his credit, Gareth Evans is less prone to this faddism. He has clearly made Indonesia — and the region generally — a personal priority.

But a foreign minister cannot carry the nation, nor can he transform a national identity.

In the final analysis, Mr Hawke's foreign policy record is not likely to be any better than Malcolm Fraser's.

Both prime ministers have placed far too much emphasis on the Commonwealth, an institution almost wholly irrelevant to the Asia Pacific, and therefore to the national interest. It is bizarre that both Fraser and Hawke probably know half-a-dozen African leaders better than they know most of the leaders of their own region. Their constant grandstanding on South Africa appears to have been motivated at least partly by domestic political considerations and is, in any event, quite marginal to national interests.

Whitlam rightly compared Hawke's frequent telephone calls with United States President George Bush with his inability to get on the phone to an important regional leader such as President Suharto.

But, if anything, Whitlam underestates this point. Are there any regional leaders at all whom Mr Hawke can get on the phone to at a moment's notice?

The point also applies to the Cabinet more generally. Apart from Gareth Evans, are there any of our Cabinet ministers who are on first-name, easy phone call access terms to their counterparts in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore or the Philippines?

The obvious answer to that question is a depressing reminder of how little the distance we have gone on the road we must travel.

# Brutal oppression

11/12/91 WARRERLEY GAZETTE

*A former refugee talks to KATE WATSON about the climate of fear, terror and torture the East Timorese people live through under the Indonesian occupation.*

**A**USTRALIANS reacted to news of the November 12 Dili massacre with shock, disbelief and frustrated outrage.

To the Timorese it was just one more incident in their nation's long history of brutality and oppression.

Sadly, like the Tiananmen Square massacre in China, the only good to come from the bloodshed was the focusing of international attention on East Timor's wretched plight.

Mrs Maria Lurdes, 29, of Clayton, knows all too well the disease plaguing her homeland.

As a member of the Timorese Fretilin independence movement, she fled from Dili with her mother and siblings in 1974.

Ironically, she lived in a house close to the cemetery where 100 people were gunned down by Indonesian troops.

Within days she had heard her cousin had died after being hit by bullets that day.

Maria told how Timorese people had lived with the fear of torture, death and the 'disappearance' of relatives, since 1975 when Indonesia invaded and took over their country.

"The whole issue has just been ignored by Australia. Indonesia has been doing this for 16 years," she said.

"The killings and massacres have been happening all along but there was never a witness on the ground to take the story out.

"This has drawn everyone's attention to the reality of what is happening in Timor.

East Timor may be only two hours from Darwin by air, but in the minds of Australians it is a world away. It has been the subject of sporadic reporting in the Australian media since it was granted independence from Portugal in 1974.

Maria said the Timorese lived with the fear of being identified by authorities as members of the now outlawed Fretilin movement.

"If there is a brother or relative who has been wounded in a massacre, the relatives are too scared to collect the body or to give them treatment," she said. "If you have someone in your family who has been linked to the trouble your safety is also in danger."

**M**aria's husband, Joseph, has lost four brothers and both parents. His parents, he heard, either died or 'disappeared'.

His only remaining close relative in East Timor is his sister who can only visit Australia if her husband remains behind.

It's a common ploy to ensure that she comes back. If she doesn't return her husband would be punished by the Indonesian authorities.



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**MARIA Lurdes: Dili massacre was just one more incident in a long history of brutality and oppression.**

*"Soldiers go into family homes and if there are girls or a wife they will take them out and rape them. A lot of people who have come out here have been victims and they still suffer trauma."*

Even today and living free in Australia, Maria struggles with her feelings and the right words to describe what is happening in East Timor.

"The Indonesian Government — I hate it so much I can't really describe it. They are not welcome. We don't want them there," she said.

Maria said the Timorese were urging Australia to recognise Timor's right to self-determination.

She said Indonesia had no right, on cultural, racial or any other grounds, to govern East Timor.

She argued the Timorese have their own distinct culture and language which are unrelated to Indonesia's.

The Indonesians and Timorese were also fiercely divided in terms of religious beliefs. The Indonesians are devout Muslims and the Timorese, Roman Catholics.

"We had our own cultural identity, our own totally different language and dance.

"When they came in they were dropping bombs and killing people. Our house was burnt down," Maria said.

Maria left Timor with her mother and siblings when fighting broke out between the opposing UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) and Fretilin parties in 1975.

In the ensuing war, many families fled to West Timor where they were housed in Indonesian camps.

Maria and her family were accepted as refugees in Portugal one year later and lived there until migrating to Australia in 1985.

Many of her relatives weren't so lucky. They either 'disappeared', were known to have died or are still there.

One month after Timor's independence, Indonesia invaded and took over.

"The Indonesians said they went in to intervene because Timor was in a state of war and had been abandoned by Portugal," Maria said.

"They also claimed we had the same culture and same color.

"But really, they felt an independent Timor would destabilise the other islands in the archipelago."

**M**aria told how her father experienced first-hand the brutality of the regime when he was jailed by Indonesian authorities.

"When he was about to leave, things got worse. He ended up joining the Fretilin guerillas in the mountains until 1981 when he was put in jail and later deported to an island prison."

He spent the first few weeks of his incarceration in a locked room with no windows or light. For five months he was regularly tortured.

Maria's father was never tried to establish whether he did in fact have links with Fretilin.

Maria and her family only knew he was still alive when they received a letter from him in 1981.

Until then he received messages sent by the family through the Red Cross, but had not been allowed to reply.

They did not hear from him again until 1985 when he was released from prison and returned to Dili. At the age of 59, he was reunited with his family in Australia.

Maria said injustices and worse are a part of life under Indonesian rule.

"They have been treating the Timorese people with no justice.

"If they think you are connected to Fretilin they will take you in the middle of the night and kill you.

"Soldiers go into family homes and if there are girls or a wife they will take them out and rape them.

"A lot of people who have come out here have been victims and they still suffer trauma."

She said any letters they send to relatives are opened by authorities. Many never reach their destinations.

# Indonesia dispute erupts as Try rejects debate

THE AGE  
12/12/91

By JONATHAN THATCHER,  
Jakarta, Wednesday

A rare public dispute between senior Indonesian officials appeared to open today, as the nation's military commander said in an interview the handling of security issues was not open for debate.

Argument on the military's often brutal crackdown on perceived threats to stability has heightened since last month's army shooting of mourners in East Timor with many calls for a change of style.

"We want the nation to grow strong, prosperous and also secure," the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, was quoted as saying by the military-backed daily 'Angkatan Bersenjata'.

"So don't twist it (Indonesia's security approach), don't make comments and don't pit one against the other."

Last weekend, the Interior Minister, Mr Rudini, a former commander of Indonesia's army, said it was time to change and stop putting stability above everything else.

"It will lead to a condition where every public activity including their political rights, could be suspected as a cause of instability," Mr Rudini said.

Both men, particularly General Try, have been frequently men-



General Try: "We want the nation to grow strong."

tioned as possible future presidents, perhaps serving first as deputy to President Suharto if he runs again in 1993 for the post he has held for 25 years.

"It looks like a political argument between the two. My first reaction was that someone's thrown his hat into the ring," a Western diplomat said.

Another said it was more likely that Mr Rudini was trying to smooth over damage he said was caused by General Try's comments on the 12 November shooting in East Timor.

General Try, in a speech to Parliament just before a Government commission went to investigate the incident, said soldiers had been provoked and that 19 people had died. He subsequently warned

that any separatists in the territory, which Indonesia took over 16 years ago, would be wiped out.

Diplomats said it was unwise to stick so vehemently to the initial army version of what had happened when so much of it had been contradicted, even by the local governor.

"His comments have been making life difficult for everyone," a diplomat said, noting that other members of the Cabinet — General Try has the rank of minister — had been quiet about the issue during the investigation.

Mr Suharto has cut short an overseas trip by three days and is due to return tonight. Diplomats speculated that one reason might be connected with East Timor, over which two countries have already suspended aid.

● Eight Indonesian human rights groups called today for greater freedom of association and expression and an end to repressive measures against demonstrations and labor strikes.

"Freedom of association such as the freedom of forming political organisations, freedom to form labor, fishermen and farmers' unions and freedom of expression such as press freedom and freedom to demonstrate . . . should be developed and fought for," they said. The statement coincides with International Human Rights Day.

— Reuter

## Trade links must be considered: Button

By TERRY FRIEL,  
Kuala Lumpur, Wednesday

Australia must consider its business and other interests in Indonesia in responding to the Dili massacre, the Industry Minister, Mr Button, said today.

He indicated that Australia would not join Canada and the Netherlands in suspending aid to Jakarta because of Australia's close involvement with Indonesia.

"We can feel good about solving any problems which might arise in Iceland because we have no trade with Iceland, or very little," he told journalists.

"We in Australia live and trade and work in this part of the world.

"Indonesia is the closest country to us and is in the long term very important to us both in terms of a whole range of political issues in the region and certainly in terms

of trade and business.

"The Australian Government will continue normal and improving relations with Indonesia until such time as we are in a clearer position to make judgments about what happened in Dili."

Senator Button arrives in Jakarta tomorrow for talks with Government and business leaders.

Senator Button, whose visit was planned before the 12 November Dili incident, will be the first Australian federal minister to visit Indonesia since the massacre. He will express Australia's concern about the shootings.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, also arrives in Jakarta next week to discuss the massacre with senior ministers.

Senator Button repeated Prime Minister Bob Hawke's statement that Australia would await the outcome of Indonesia's special in-

quiry into the incident before considering further action.

In Jakarta, a dispute over the handling of Indonesia's security problems appears to have erupted between two of the Government's most powerful leaders — both named as possible presidents.

An armed forces newspaper today quoted the armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno, as saying that Indonesia's handling of security issues was not open to debate. The Dili massacre has heightened argument over the military's treatment of threats to national security.

Indonesia says 19 people died and 91 were injured when troops fired on a crowd of civilians in Dili on 12 November. The Australian Government estimated the death toll at 75, while news agencies said it was as high as 115. — AAP

# Labor's champions of liberty don the blindfolds in Timor's grief

"So long as we continue to make that judgment about the nature of the Dili massacre — that it was not an act of state but the product of aberrant behavior by a sub-group within the country — it would be utterly inappropriate for us to take any steps which might bring the bilateral relationship into disrepair."

— Senator Evans,  
11 December 1991



**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**MARK BAKER**

The great libertarian Labor leaders of our age — Whitlam, Hayden and Hawke — are revealed to be men of faltering memory, blinkered vision or raw self-serving pragmatism.

The former Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, abhors the killing, then suggests that things might somehow be different if the present Prime Minister had worked on building the trusting and effective personal relationship that he enjoyed with President Suharto, "a reasonable and honorable man".

Yet this supposedly great relationship with President Suharto did nought to impede the invasion of East Timor or to moderate the

subsequent slaughter of tens of thousands of Timorese. Indeed, Mr Whitlam is yet to produce evidence to discount the conclusion that his cosiness with Suharto — and his belief that East Timor should be incorporated into Indonesia — actually hastened the invasion.

The Governor-General, Mr Hayden, abhors the killing, then says moralistic posturing and "public finger-shaking" is counter-productive. He suggests that democracy might be "inappropriate" for our less-developed neighbors. And more: "A strong leader — but not a tyrant — might be . . . essential to stability and success."

The Hawke Government, having also abhorred the killing, now appears preoccupied, not with considering substantive measures to demonstrate the overwhelming repugnance of the Australian community to the barbarity, but in finding a course of compromise that will offend neither the generals in Jakarta nor the electorate back home.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, revealed in the Senate this

week the neat formulation which he clearly intends to follow on his visit to Jakarta next week to justify taking no significant action over the massacre and maintaining "business as usual" in the bilateral relationship.

Senator Evans, in legalistic overdrive, said that on the present evidence the massacre was not "something that could be construed as an act of state: a calculated or deliberate act of the Government as such". Rather, it was "the product of aberrant behavior by a sub-group". Therefore, he concluded, it would be "utterly inappropriate" to take steps which might damage the relationship.

This is patent nonsense that cannot be excused, even by Senator Evans's understandable frustration at seeing his considerable efforts over the past three years to build a more stable and coherent relationship with Jakarta in jeopardy.

To describe the troops responsible for the Dili massacre as a mere "sub-group" is a laughable. It denies the reality that the armed forces play a pivotal role in

the Indonesian power structure. To dismiss the shooting as no more than "aberrant behavior" is to ignore the overwhelming evidence that those actions fit a deliberate and long-standing pattern of brutality.

For all the glamor of its rapid modernisation and all the urbanity of the new bureaucrats like Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Indonesia remains, in essence, a military dictatorship. The President is a former general who took control after a military power struggle, the majority of the Ministry are former military men and it is the armed forces, ABRI, that maintains Suharto in power and that will determine, ultimately, who succeeds him.

**W**HILE it might have been possible several weeks ago to brush aside the massacre as a tragic miscalculation by a few gung-ho soldiers, that is now impossible. Statements by a range of senior officers responsible for the troops in Dili have left no doubt that they believe the shooting was justified and that no

punitive action will be taken against those involved.

The military commander in Dili, Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw, has described the troops involved in the massacre as "loyal, disciplined and outstanding in performing their duty". His regional superior, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, says there can be no question of punishment and the responsible colonel may even be promoted.

The armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, in a series of defiant statements, has declared that the unarmed protesters in Dili "had to be blasted", that all secessionists must be shot and that, as soon as the current official inquiry is over, "we will wipe out and uproot the disturbance movement which has tainted the Government's dignity". So much for due process.

In all these bellicose statements is an unequivocal message: the military has done nothing wrong, it has no intention of moderating its tactics in East Timor and, perhaps most disturbingly, it sees the outcry over the massacre as re-

quiring an even more ruthless response.

In these circumstances, the inquiry ordered by Jakarta is becoming an increasingly transparent fig leaf for Australian inaction over the massacre. Senator Evans says the Government is prepared to review the whole nature of Australia's relationship with Indonesia should the inquiry prove "manifestly unsatisfactory". Yet the inquiry already appears to be hopelessly compromised.

While the inquiry, controlled by old military men, continues its closed meetings, the military continues to make plain that it will accept no criticism of its actions and that anyone prepared to give evidence runs a real risk of reprisals. The inquiry chairman, Mr Jaelani, has conceded his problem finding witnesses: "It is not easy to meet them . . . It is not easy to open their mouths."

Meanwhile, relations between Canberra and Jakarta continue as normal. Senator Button is visiting Jakarta for talks about trade, negotiations proceed over carving up the resources of the Timor Gap

and our assistance program for the Indonesian armed forces goes on.

**S**ENATOR EVANS insists, unconvincingly, that what happened in Dili is quite different to what happened in Tiananmen Square and, therefore, a similar diplomatic response is not justified. But the experience of our sanctions against China proves that we can pay more than lip service to human rights without damaging our sacred balance of payments, that we can stand up to a formidable neighbor when they brazenly violate basic standards of international behavior, and that we can, in concert with other concerned nations, act to moderate the excesses of totalitarian regimes.

To do nothing is to betray what we stand for as a nation and to abandon all those courageous people right across Indonesia who are only seeking what we take for granted. Our timidity and inaction help to condemn the people of East Timor to still more bloodshed and abuse.

THE AGE 13/12/91

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# Suharto scoffs at Dili sanctions

**Jakarta, Thursday**

Indonesia's President Suharto has dismissed international sanctions imposed following the Dili massacre as an unwarranted fuss over a "tiny island".

In his first public reaction to the 12 November massacre, Mr Suharto said Indonesia would do without aid if donor countries tried to link it to the killings.

"We are not going to accept it at all if there are political preconditions," Mr Suharto said in a televised news conference broadcast late yesterday. Canada and the Netherlands have

suspended aid since the incident, when soldiers opened fire on a crowd mourning the death of an East Timorese separatist. Some reports say at least 100 people were killed.

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

He blamed much of the international outrage at the massacre on what he portrayed as exaggerated reporting by the foreign media. "Indonesian stability was not disturbed.

Everything is under control," he said.

"But the foreign reports, they were incredible. So that people link it to sanctions or whatever."

Mr Suharto said that while abroad he explained this to Indonesia's friends. "I showed them a map where East Timor is located. The tiny island caused everybody to make a fuss. And they all laughed."

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

Indonesia, one of the fast growing economies of South-East Asia, relies heavily on foreign aid from the West, Japan and international agencies such as the World Bank. Last year, donors pledged nearly \$A6.51 billion, and a similar amount is likely to be needed this year.

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

Japan is the biggest donor but has made no public reference to the East Timor incident. Diplomats say the issue is unlikely to affect assistance from Tokyo or from the two other big

donors — the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Many governments, including Australia's, are waiting for results of an investigation by a Government commission that is due to return to Jakarta at the weekend.

In DILI, the seven-member Indonesian commission probing the massacre searched for reported mass graves but found no new bodies.

"We didn't find any corpses there," the commission's leader, Mr Djaelani, said, after checking sites where soldiers are said to have buried the dead.

The official death toll of 19 has been widely discredited by witnesses and one told Reuters he counted 100 just after the shootings.

Mr Djaelani said he would try to check every witness report before returning to Jakarta on Saturday after three weeks in East Timor. He expects to hand over a preliminary report to the State Secretary for Administrative Reform, Major-General Murdiono, on Monday.

— Reuter-AFP

**PAGE 15: Mark Baker's comment.  
PAGE 19: Labor accused of hypocrisy.**

# Labor accused of hypocrisy over East Timor

37  
THE AGE  
13/12/91

By **SONYA VOUMARD,**  
Sydney

The Hawke Government had wept "crocodile tears" for the Timorese people but its real attitude to them was a source of shame to all Australians, the Human Rights Council of Australia said yesterday.

The council said the Australian Government was guilty of complicity in the denial of the most fundamental human rights of the Timorese people.

It said that although it did not deny the genuine shock and distress expressed by Mr Hawke and his Government over the 12 November massacre, "we cannot help but share the public doubt regarding Australian commitment to fundamental solutions".

The council said there was an urgent need for an international inquiry into the reports of arrests and killings in East Timor. "The available evidence deprives the Indonesian version of events of any remaining shred of credibility and adds to the growing dissatisfaction with the National Investigation Commission and within Indonesia itself."

The council was releasing a report on the massacre and its aftermath, which it helped prepare with the New-York-based human rights watchdog Asia Watch. It said: "The situation in East Timor remains tense, with hundreds of people still not knowing whether their missing relatives are detained, in hiding, or are dead. There are reports of ongoing arrests and killings."

The council said the Australian position was "even more unconscionable when this Government won't even support moves to involve the Timorese in talks with Indonesia and Portugal under

United Nations auspices".

The council called on the Australian Government to look beyond its present reliance on the Indonesian National Investigation Commission and to seek the establishment of an international commission of inquiry.

It said that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, should go to Indonesia "with very specific goals", seeking all relevant details about the Indonesian Government's handling of the investigation into the massacre.

The council said that if the national investigation commission did not satisfy all the Australian Government's criteria, Australia should "initiate the promised review of all aspects of Australia's relations with Indonesia. Australia has earned an international reputation for its commitment to human rights. Whether that reputation will endure or even deserves to endure is in the hands of the Prime Minister and his Government".

The Asia Watch report said all countries that had expressed concern over the killings in East Timor should join forces in pressing for a genuinely independent inquiry, including trained, experienced specialists in forensic pathology and human rights investigations.

"To ensure that a proper, thorough investigation takes place, all suppliers of military aid to Indonesia should suspend that assistance until the results of the investigation are concluded," the report said. It said the Indonesian Government must acknowledge the inaccuracy of its first death toll and ensure that a list of all those killed, detained and receiving treatment in Government hospitals is immediately compiled in a central registry to which families, lawyers and others can have access.



THE AGE 14/12/91  
**E Timor warning**

A senior intelligence officer said Jakarta had ignored warnings of a planned demonstration in East Timor last month which resulted in a massacre when soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners. "We had warned long before November 12 that a demonstration was planned, but no one listened," the intelligence officer said in Dili. "But we did not anticipate such a big demonstration."

— Reuter

THE SUNDAY AGE  
**BRIEFS** 15/12/91

**TIMOR: Parliament condemns killings**

■ The East Timor Provincial Parliament issued a statement yesterday saying the shootings in Dili by Indonesian troops last month was an internal matter, and foreign interference was not needed.

But the statement condemned the killing of pro-independence East Timorese students and youths, and called on the Government to take firm measures against those responsible. Mr Guilherme Dos Santos, the Speaker, also questioned the commission's ability to conduct an objective investigation due to constant monitoring by the military. He also expressed concern for the safety of East Timorese who testified to the commission, despite guarantees of their safety.

"The action of the military is not always in keeping with the words of the commander," he said.

ASIA-PACIFIC  
NETWORK  
PO BOX 78028 TEL/FAX: (649) 787 543  
AUCKLAND 1002 AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

HFRAS 14/12/91.

# Indonesia still silent

The Government and the family of a New Zealander killed in a massacre in East Timor are still waiting for an Indonesian Government explanation of the incident.

The Ministry of External Relations and Trade asked Indonesia to investigate and to report on the mass shooting of funeral marchers more than a month ago but as yet has had no reply.

A ministry spokesman said yesterday that although no timetable had been given for the release of a report by a seven-member inquiry team appointed by Presi-

dent Suharto, New Zealand was constantly reminding the Indonesian Government that it expected a full and frank explanation of what occurred in Dili on November 12.

The mother of the New Zealander killed in the Dili massacre has asked the Government to change its policy on Indonesia and to push for United Nations intervention in Timor.

Mrs Helen Todd, whose son, Kamal Bamadhaj, was shot when troops fired on the funeral procession, has asked the Government to press the United Nations to investigate human rights abuses, including the Dili killings.

Indonesian officials suspected of committing atrocities should face trial, Mrs Todd said in an open letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Bolger.

From her home in Penang, Malaysia, Mrs Todd wrote that Kamal's family was still waiting for an official explanation or any form of apology from the Indonesians for Kamal's death.

"We cannot bring back to life the people like Kamal and thousands of East Timorese who have died in the cause of East Timor's freedom," Mrs Todd wrote.

"We can and must do our part to see to it these brutal killings do not continue."

New Zealand's voice would strengthen those from other countries to push the United Nations to accept responsibility for helping the Timorese to exercise their right of self-determination, she said.

The head of the ministry's South-east Asian division, Mr Philip Gibson, said he understood that the inquiry committee had completed its investigations in Dili and was due to return to Jakarta.

He said New Zealand had also repeatedly conveyed the message that it expected any officials accused of human rights abuses in East Timor to be brought to justice.

# Why the perennial politics of apologists is the art of self-delusion

**T**HAT governments — be they Indonesian intent on denying massacres in Dili, or Australian dissembling over Aboriginal deaths in custody — strive to paper over their human rights abuses is to be expected. As Woodrow Wilson correctly noted 80 years ago, "Liberty has never come from government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of government." What is shocking, as Wilson, the inspiration behind the precursor to the United Nations, the League of Nations, understood, is the tendency of theorists to fabricate justifications for state suppression.

History is replete with examples of apologists at work. Some, like Socrates, who devised an argument for slavery, were great independent minds; while others such as 15th Century Italian defender of despotism, Machiavelli, were guns for hire, out to curry personal favor. Whatever the motive, the result has been the same, to shore up injustice.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain did it when he ignored the Nazi excesses to call for "peace in our time" and communists around the world did it when they told themselves Stalin's invasions of Poland and Czechoslovakia were necessary to preserve the ideals of socialism. The West in general was culpable for not doing

**PETER ELLINGSEN** discusses the role of nations who witness human rights abuses in other countries and argues that there is a common human principle to be defended.

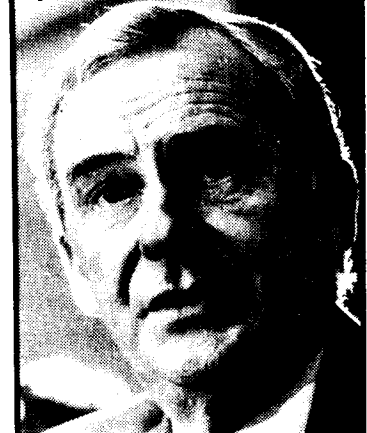
more to question Mao's mauling of China, including Tibet, and there are many in the US who stand condemned for peddling lies over illegal bombing raids on Cambodia. Our own Gough Whitlam looked and sounded like a full-blown apologist when he accepted Indonesia's unlawful annexation of East Timor.

Now we have the Governor-General, Bill Hayden, raising arguments that could be used to rationalise attacks on human rights. Mr Hayden, as he made clear in a speech to the parliamentary branch of Amnesty International last week, abhors such abuse, but feels, if I read his remarks correctly, that nations such as Australia can go too far in raising objections. "Public finger-pointing" by a small country like Australia had severe limitations, and moralistic posturing was "most certainly counter-productive," Mr Hayden is reported to have said.

In a wide-ranging speech, the Governor-General drew attention to cultural and other variations that may underlie the way nations behave. "The point I make is that the reality with which we in Aus-

tralia grapple in developing our lifestyle is often a vastly different one from that which confronts many other countries," he said. There were limits on the sort of leverage Australia could exert to try to bring about change. "That is not to say we should not try," Mr Hayden said, "but rather that we have a realistic appreciation of what we may be able to gain." If Australia did not take account of other nations' more complex difficulties, "we squander the options of influence . . ."

While accepting the Governor-General's benign intent, I beg to differ. Human rights, it seems to me, is not something one can approach in a relative way. I am with Albert Schweitzer, who held that "Humanitarianism consists in never sacrificing a human being to a purpose." To claim there are cultural factors that qualify this in some way is to accept the assumptions of the tyrants. It is the line pushed by China to excuse their brutal crushing of dissidents, and trickles forth from every tinpot dictatorship intent on retaining power. It is a cultural sleight-of-hand, exposed more than a centu-



Mr Hayden: warned against moralistic posturing.

ry ago when English social reformers, the Chartists, noted, "The universal political right of every human being is superior and stands apart from all customs, forms, or ancient usage."

China is perhaps the most adroit at using the cultural difference argument to justify its horrendous abuse of human rights. In 1978, after the crazy cultural revolution in which millions died and the first Tiananmen Square crackdown when troops fired on demonstrators mourning the death of Premier Zhou Enlai, Stephen FitzGer-



Senator Evans: Indonesian denial on the Dili massacre.

ald, Australia's first ambassador to Beijing, defended the communist rule by claiming China, a "society we do not really know", was somehow different.

**I**T was a line, now apparently rejected by Dr FitzGerald, that human rights was relative, and there were no universals which could be applied. ". . . the question of China and human rights has little to in common with the question of human rights in Argentina or South Korea or the Soviet Union," he said, adding that the

"values of the leadership are shared and supported (by the masses)".

Both premises are faulty. The Chinese I watched on the streets of Beijing in 1989, like those imprisoned a decade earlier after the Democracy Wall movement, were at odds with their Government, and showed it by demanding freedoms similar to those advocated by students in South Korea, or the thousands trapped in Argentina's "Dirty War". Human rights — of expression, assembly and choice — are universal and to think otherwise is to ignore the lessons of history. As President Woodrow Wilson noted, "The history of liberty is the history of resistance."

It is, sadly, a resistance often ignored by other nations, not only because of the fraudulent claim that cultural difference means different standards of humanity, but for reasons of sensitivity, trade and bilateral relations. Mr Hayden's argument that hectoring by Australia on human rights can be counter-productive, echoes the line employed by the repressive countries themselves.

China has a slogan for it — "interference in our internal affairs" — but decades of acceptance by Western governments did nothing to relieve the plight of political prisoners. Mr Hayden, when he was Foreign Minister, went to Ti-

bet in 1988, and said nothing that could upset his Chinese hosts, yet there was no let up in the genocide of Tibetans. Amnesty and other agencies long documented abuses in Tibet with little response from Western governments. If anything, the evidence of China's latest outrage, the 1989 Beijing massacre, suggests that uncompromising international pressure is very effective in bringing about change.

In the wake of sanctions and condemnation by the world, China has been forced to deal more carefully with its political prisoners. Australia's hard line over the massacre, rather than entrench the repression, actually led to a delegation on human rights being allowed for the first time to visit the Peoples' Republic and many now believe it was a US threat to withdraw its most favored trading nation status that compelled Beijing to release many of those arrested in 1989.

Similarly, claims that frankly identifying human rights abuses damages trade, also seems to be a chimera. Although trade between Australia and China did fall off after sanctions were imposed two and a half years ago, it was because of an austerity campaign within China, not because of any diplomatic tit-for-tat. As China's massive trade with its arch-enemy Taiwan shows, business is no hos-

tage to ideology, a fact that has also been true of the Soviet Union's dealings with South Africa.

**T**HE lesson also applies to bilateral relations, where strategic and regional concerns will, in the end, triumph over political differences. And even if this were not so, as I believe it is, is there any excuse for Australia to kowtow to its neighbors, as happened recently with Malaysia, in the name of getting along?

Raising alarm over human rights abuses is not just a matter of ethnocentrism, as some have suggested. It is a duty of all nations that have the ability to do so. What has kept, and is keeping, many freedom fighters around the world going is the thought the world is watching in sympathy. A young man about to face the brunt of the Peoples' Liberation Army in Tiananmen Square in 1989 told foreign correspondents, "Let the world know what is happening here." It is a cry from the heart for all time. As a forerunner to Woodrow Wilson, 19th Century British writer, Auberon Herbert, said, "Deny human rights, and however little you may wish to do so, you will find yourself abjectly kneeling at the feet of that old world god, force."

# Six more held in E Timor

THE AGE

16/12/91

**Jakarta, Sunday**  
Indonesian police in East Timor have arrested six more people following the questioning of 26 others detained in the wake of the shooting there last month, the 'Kompas' daily said in Jakarta today.

'Kompas' quoted the Dili police chief, Colonel Ishak Kodijat, as saying yesterday that the total number of people detained in connection with the 12 November shooting stood at 32.

Colonel Kodijat said that police were doing their best to expedite the preparation of cases for trial. "I hope that they can be completed by end this month."

Colonel Kodijat did not say on what charges the 32 would be tried.

Indonesia's military commander, General Try Sutrisno, warned today that he would take a tough line to preserve peace in East Timor, the official newsagency Antara said today.

Stern action, though unpleasant, had to be taken to preserve the authority, reputation and dignity

of the nation, it quoted General Try as saying.

Indonesia has been widely condemned for last month's shooting, in which soldiers fired on a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in the local capital Dili. Several reports said more than 100 died, while the army put the death toll at 19.

On Friday, Denmark became the third country to suspend aid to Indonesia in reaction to the shooting in the former Portuguese colony that Jakarta took over in 1975.

The national commission investigating the Dili killings yesterday ended a 16-day fact-finding mission in East Timor and flew back to Jakarta. It is due to present a preliminary report of its findings to the Government tomorrow.

General Try said that the culprits in last month's incident would be brought to court. He has previously insisted that his soldiers were not at fault and fired to defend themselves against a dangerous mob.

The general appealed to misguided Timorese to stop causing

trouble and help build up the country.

"Shady intentions would be useless. Whatever moves they launch would be opposed by the East Timorese themselves. So let those who had been misguided return to the fold," he said.

General Try warned private Indonesian groups not to spread negative information about their country or they would be "put in order" and their leaders blacklisted.

"Possibly such organisations are money-oriented for they are getting financial aid from foreign countries," he said.

He named no organisation, but Indonesia's leading human rights group, the Legal Aid Institute, said earlier this month that the East Timor incident had stained Indonesia's reputation and called on the military to find a less brutal response to problems.

General Try is expected to spend Christmas in East Timor and meet families of the victims.

— AP, Reuter, AFP

# East Timor rejects foreign interference

16/12/91

THE AUSTRALIAN

**DILI:** The East Timor provincial Assembly issued a statement at the weekend saying the November 12 massacre by Indonesian troops at the Santa Cruz cemetery was an internal matter and foreign interference was not needed.

The statement condemned the killing of pro-independence East Timorese students and youths by the troops in the November 12 incident at the cemetery in the former Portuguese colony's capital of Dili.

It said the local Assembly strongly supported a national investigative commission into the violence and urged the Government to take firm measures against those responsible for the killings.

According to the Government, 19 people were killed and 91 injured.

But human rights groups, East Timorese and foreign



General Sutrisno

witnesses say the death toll was more than 100.

The Speaker of the East Timor Assembly, Mr Guilherme Dos Santos, questioned the commission's ability to conduct an objective investigation because of constant monitoring by the military.

"The military intelligence is always following the com-

mission wherever they go," he said. "How can they be objective?"

He also expressed concern for the safety of the East Timorese who testified to the commission, despite guarantees of their safety given by the military commander of East Timor, General Rudolf Warouw.

"The action of the military is not always in keeping with the words of the commander," Mr Dos Santos said.

The commission, led by Justice Djaelani of the Supreme Court, completed its 17-day inquiry at the weekend and left Dili to report to President Suharto, who formed the body after countries around the world condemned the killings.

While saying his mission had accomplished its task, Justice Djaelani said the team might return to Dili for further verification work.

Indonesian troops intervened in East Timor during a civil war in 1975 and later annexed the former Portuguese colony in July 1976.

Many of those killed were suspected of being leftist Fretilin guerillas, who have been fighting government troops for the past 15 years.

The commander of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, who has blamed the guerillas for the violence, issued a warning that the military would take firm measures against those who continued to create disorder in East Timor.

"We know that it is not nice to be confronted with a security operation," he said. "But the tough action is related to the integrity and dignity of the nation."

General Sutrisno is expected to spend Christmas in East Timor and meet families of the victims.

AP

# Moralising on Timor 'damaging Australia'

16/12/91

By GREG SHERIDAN

**EXCESSIVE** moralising about human rights is damaging Australia's national interests, according to Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Mr Sabam Siagian.

And the ambassador believes the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, is wrong to link his proposed visit to Indonesia in the new year to his proviso that Jakarta satisfies certain conditions concerning the inquiry into the massacre of up to 100 people in Dili last month.

The ambassador also says he thinks Australia's international campaigning for human rights would be more effective if it were more restrained.

He believes the degree of moralising in Australian politics threatens to undermine the sophisticated "niche diplomacy" the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, has identified as Australia's special role in South-East Asia.

"That does not mean you have to become politically

extended public response to the massacre in Dili on November 12 and its effects on bilateral relations.

"I did not expect the intensity of moral outrage in Australia," he says.

Mr Siagian believes the November 12 massacre needs to be put in context.

"Indonesia is the largest archipelagic State in the world," he says.

"It is almost a political miracle that the country remains unified and is also slowly moving ahead in social and economic terms."

It has now achieved a per capita income of about \$US550 (\$710) a year, considerably lower than that of its neighbours but a vast improvement on the "very small base line" the Government inherited when it came to power in the mid-1960s, he says.

Development during the past 20 years has been nearly linear, he says.

"At the same time we have perhaps not fully realised that global politics is now dominated by two great themes, human rights and the environment," he says.

Unfortunately, some countries seems to have come to the view that the sovereign rights of nations were no longer so important, he says.

"If reaction (to the events in Dili) from the outside reaches the point where it is seen as interference, or an attempt to weaken our sovereign rights, you could trigger new nationalistic sentiments.

"A developing country achieving success is a society which is more volatile, more prone to new nationalistic sentiments.

"This is not a threatening statement, it's a simple piece of political sociology."

What happened in Dili was a reminder of the importance of human rights.

Indonesia's concern for this could be seen in the way the issue was covered in Indonesian publications. Mr Siagian produced a copy of the popular Indonesian-language magazine *Tempo* with a cover story on the "Dili tragedy".

Similarly, the Indonesian Constitution and the guiding State ideology of Pancasila were based on human rights.

Indonesia had been forced to telescope the process of modernisation that had taken several hundred years in

More reports — Page 2

Dili rejects foreign

interference — Page 7

Cambodia rolls out red  
carpet for Evans — Page 6

asexual, like Switzerland," he says. "But moral outrage can become excessive and can damage a nation's geo-political interests."

He believes moral outrage is a much stronger ingredient of Australian politics than it is in most other countries.

And he resents the harassment of Indonesian diplomatic missions in Australia, which he says contradicts the spirit of international agreements on embassies.

"There is also the implied assumption that we Indonesians are not upset or distressed at what happened in Dili," he says.

"The reaction here comes to the point of picturing a nation of 180 million people as a nation of murderers."

This could lead directly to harassment of Indonesians in Australia.

In an interview at the weekend with *The Australian*, ahead of the visit by Senator Evans to Jakarta on Thursday, Mr Siagian made his first

Continued — Page 2

## It's not too late for Timor atonement

from J. Dunn, former Australian consul in East Timor

As one who has long been troubled about Australia's stand on East Timor, I must congratulate your foreign editor, Mark Baker, for his perceptive and frank article (13/12), about the way our political leaders have responded to the horrifying massacre at Dili. That such a monstrous abuse of human rights could occur 16 years after the invasion should persuade us that the hour is not too late to strive for an atonement of our shameful accommodation of Timor's annexation.

In the circumstances, Gough Whitlam's contribution to the debate, laced as it was with half-truths, is really quite outrageous. As a chronicler of events at that time, I am in no doubt that in 1975 it was in Whitlam's power to persuade President Suharto to oppose his generals' designs on Timor. Whitlam was advised that the Timorese opposed joining with Indonesia, and that Indonesian military intervention would lead to bloodshed, but seemed to be as uninterested then in the human rights of these people as he appears to be today.

Nor, in this examination of our performance, should the coalition be left off the hook. Malcolm Fraser was in office when the invasion of Dili occurred, and his Government's response was little more than cosmetic. And what an outrage it was when the Fraser Government recognised Indonesia's



Mr Whitlam: could he have persuaded Suharto to curb the generals?

control of East Timor in 1978 when thousands of Timorese were dying in the hands of a ruthless invading army. Today there are few signs that the coalition has any regrets about its dark past in the Timor saga.

The remarks by our Governor-General, Bill Hayden, are disappointing. When he should be urging us to give more attention to human rights, he warns us against "moralising".

Ordinary Indonesians are just as interested in the enjoyment of ba-

### THE AGE IN BRIEF

17/12/91

#### Portugal in oil threat

Jakarta, Monday

Portugal will take action against Indonesia's agreement with Australia for oil exploration off East Timor, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Joao De Deus Pinheiro said today. As the administrative power in East Timor recognised by the United Nations, Portugal would "take action and ask for compensation", he told Editor, an Indonesian news weekly. Mr Pinheiro did not say what kind of action was being contemplated, but added that Indonesia and Portugal must resolve the East Timor question through UN-supervised negotiations.

— AFP

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THE AGE 17/12/71

# Whitlam explains Australia's Timor role

IN his article on December 13 Gregory Clark forgets and misrepresents the attitude which Australia expressed on East Timor at the United Nations in 1975.

I attach the text of the speech which the Australian representative made on December 2 when the "Question of Territories under Portuguese administration" first came before the 1975 General Assembly.

He was speaking on instructions from the Fraser Government, which succeeded mine on November 11, 1975. I agree completely with what he said.

The UN record reads, in part:

18. Mr Campbell (Australia) thanked the representative of Portugal for his extremely detailed and informative statement. The representative of Australia, a neighbour of Timor, hoped that his statement would add a regional perspective to the problem of Timor.

19. Since the overthrow of the Caetano regime and the decision of the Portuguese authorities to get rid of their overseas Territories, the

Australian Government had hoped that the decolonisation of Timor would proceed in an orderly fashion and that Portugal would remain in control long enough for the political consciousness of the population to develop to the point where there was a substantial measure of agreement on the future of the Territory.

The countries of the region, Indonesia and Australia in particular, would like the process to take place in an orderly fashion so as to avoid all risk of trouble in the area, especially in view of the lack of maturity of the rival political factions.

20. One month before the outbreak of the current crisis in Timor, the Portuguese authorities had introduced a program of decolonisation, known as the Macao Plan, which would have made it possible to achieve the above mentioned objectives. In particular, the plan provided for the election in October, 1976, of a popular assembly which would decide the political future of the Territory.

The three main political

groups in Timor, Fretilin, UDT and Apodeti, had taken part in the preliminary discussions at Dili and, although Fretilin had not been present at the talks held at Macao in June, all three parties would have been invited to take part in the elections the following year and in the governmental organs established in the meantime. The Macao Plan in no way prejudged the choice to be made by the population and it made no decision regarding independence or integration into Indonesia. That choice would have been left to the population itself.

21. Unfortunately those hopes had not materialised. A conflict had broken out in August and from the beginning Fretilin had emerged stronger than its rivals.

Australia would have liked to see a rapid end to the struggle, followed by an agreement on the future of the Territory resulting from direct negotiations between Portugal and the parties concerned.

The Australian Government therefore welcomed the

joint press statement issued at Rome on November 3, 1975, following the meeting held by the ministers for foreign affairs of Portugal and Indonesia, according to which the two governments would make a joint effort to promote talks, to be held at as early a date as possible, between Portugal and all the political parties in Timor. His government had issued an invitation for the talks to be held on Australian soil.

22. However, Fretilin, which controlled Dili and part of the remaining Territory, had unilaterally declared its independence, had stated itself to be the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the population of Timor.

23. The attitude adopted by Fretilin had aggravated a situation that was already tense. It had been spurned by the other parties in Timor, which, for their part, had proclaimed their integration into Indonesia.

24. His Government did not recognise the unilateral declaration of independence by Fretilin and did not re-

gard the counter-declaration by UDT and Apodeti as having legal force. It continued to regard the Government of Portugal as legally and constitutionally sovereign on Portuguese Timor.

25. Australia did not pretend to know what the people of Portuguese Timor wanted, but it did want them to have the opportunity to say what they wanted. It might be that they wanted independence under Fretilin, but that could not be assumed to be so merely because of the initial military successes of Fretilin against its rivals.

Similarly, neither UDT nor Apodeti could claim to speak for the people of Portuguese Timor simply because they had demonstrated some military capacity in conflict with Fretilin. It might well be that the people of East Timor preferred to achieve their independence by uniting with the ethnically identical people in Indonesian Timor. Those matters should not be settled by force.

E. G. WHITLAM  
Sydney



# Ultimate mission for Evans

Comment by GREG SHERIDAN

THE AGE 6/12/91

THE visit to Indonesia later this week by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans is perhaps the single most important mission he has undertaken.

He will need to give effective expression of Australia's views on the massacre in Dili on November 12.

At the same time, he must seek to preserve the substance of a relationship that is of over-riding importance to Australia's interests and which is essential for everything else Senator Evans wants to achieve in regional diplomacy.

His close friend, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, will be working to make the visit a success.

But the Indonesian Government cannot fail to be aware of the crisis in the Labor Government and the uncertainty about what Australia's attitude to recent events, as well as wider regional issues, will be should former treasurer Mr Paul Keating take over the prime ministership.

A measure of the visit's success will be who Senator Evans gets to see.

Sources in the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed yesterday that the itinerary of Senator Evans's visit was still being negotiated.

But several firm appointments have been arranged.

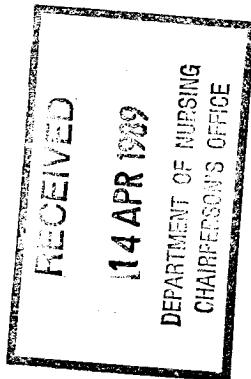
Senator Evans arrives in Jakarta on Thursday morning.

His first meeting will be with Mr Alatas.

Most importantly, it is believed he has been granted the opportunity to call on President Suharto.

Meetings have been arranged with the powerful Minister for Political and Security Affairs, Admiral Sudomo; the State Secretary, Mr Moerdiono; and the head of the Indonesian armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, who has been the most outspoken defender of the military's role in the events of November 12.

The high level of access Senator Evans is being afforded is a demonstration that the Indonesians wish the visit to be a success.



THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD 16/11/91

# Hawke sound and fury no solace for East Timor



DAVID JENKINS

The Prime Minister strongly condemned the bloodbath in East Timor and called on Indonesia to initiate talks with Fretilin, the small resistance force which carries on its shoulders the hopes and aspirations of so many East Timorese.

Mr Hawke has demanded a show of "contrition" by the Soeharto Government, called for a "dinkum" inquiry into the killings, and a guarantee that Jakarta will deal with those responsible.

This, as the prime ministerial handlers have been quick to point out, is an important change in Australia's position. Until now, we have said that East Timor was an internal affair of Indonesia.

The Hawke statements are useful. They will serve as a reminder to regional countries that they can't expect neighbours to turn a blind eye to flagrant breaches of human rights. They may help nudge Jakarta into talks with the East Timorese resistance.

But when all is said and done, Mr Hawke is using the old Chinese device of "firing off an empty cannon". There is a lot of

noise and smoke but not much damage.

Australia, the Prime Minister makes clear, has no intention of withdrawing its recognition of East Timor as a province of Indonesia - even though the territory was incorporated at the point of a bayonet, and even though there has never been a proper act of self-determination.

And he is sidestepping calls for mediation by the United Nations, a body which, after 16 years, is yet to recognise Indonesia's annexation of the territory.

This is probably about as much as anyone could have expected from Canberra. When it comes to Indonesia, our reactions are shaped by realpolitik.

Mr Hawke knew he had to come out strongly on the killings. You can't weep for the dead of Tiananmen Square one day and turn a blind eye to a massacre 500 kilometres from Darwin the next. But he also knew he had to avoid giving too much offence in Indonesia.

The Prime Minister seems to have squared this circle quite well.

In the meantime, those in charge of "spin control" in Jakarta seem to be moving smoothly to downplay the extent of the massacre, which may raise doubts in some minds about just how dinkum the inquiry will be.

Jakarta is claiming that only 19 died - a day after Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno acknowledged that the toll was

close to 50 - and is promoting the line that the trouble was largely the fault of an unruly, well-armed

Timorese mob, a claim that flies in the face of reliable eyewitness accounts.

Journalists have been shown 19 freshly dug graves.

This wouldn't be the first time an Indonesian death toll has dropped mysteriously with each passing day. When troops opened fire on Muslim protesters in be making an effort to appease international opinion. Local military commanders have spoken of their "deep regret" over the incident.

The killings in Dili could not have come at a worse time for Canberra.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, has been

Jakarta in 1984, killing about 60, the Government is said to have got the toll down by only counting those it could actually identify. If you didn't have an ID card, you weren't considered dead.

At the same time, officials seem to be tripping over themselves with conflicting explanations of what happened. One explanation

- that the local commander said "Don't shoot!" and his troops thought he said "Shoot!" - isn't likely to inspire much confidence in the Indonesian Army. If the matter weren't so tragic, it would be worthy of Basil Fawlty - "When I said, 'Don't shoot', what I meant to say was ..."

That said, Jakarta does seem to

talking up the relationship with Indonesia. He has stressed the warmth of his ties with Ali Alatas, his Indonesian opposite number. He has hailed the Timor Gap treaty with Indonesia as exemplary creative diplomacy. He has said that the relationship with Jakarta is now "so much more substantial" that only a very large storm would disturb it.

Mr Evans deserves credit for his efforts, in this as in other fields. They have been positive. They will help Canberra and Jakarta ride out the new storm. But Mr Evans is a hyperactive foreign minister. He is sometimes in danger of getting too far out in front.

Most Australians remain deeply sceptical of Indonesia. Jakarta has resorted to force three times in 15 years to achieve its foreign policy goals - over Malaysia, West New Guinea and East Timor. It has sent troops across the border into Papua New Guinea. It has a poor record at home on human rights.

The events in Dili won't do much to persuade Australians they have been wrong about Indonesia. Nor will it help for Gareth Evans to claim that the Timor Gap treaty "illustrates eloquently how differences between the two systems can be overcome to mutual benefit".

On talk-back radio, many Australians have been voicing their disquiet - even disgust - at the treaty, under which Canberra and Jakarta have carved up a potentially oil-rich seabed to their mutual advantage, ignoring objections from Portugal, which still claims sovereignty over East

Timor, and which wants a proper act of self-determination.

The suspicion that we negotiated the treaty simply because we had expectations of an oil bonanza is misplaced. We signed because we wanted to prove we could get on with our large and populous neighbour.

But at a time like this, the treaty leaves a nasty taste in the mouth.

Bob Hawke says that one reason we continue to recognise East Timor as part of Indonesia is that this enables us to go on channelling aid into the territory. That doesn't sound quite so philanthropic when you have just divided up oil leases that would in different circumstances have gone to the East Timorese.

Mr Hawke, so ready to claim the high moral ground on issues like China and Kuwait, looks more than a little hypocritical when it comes to East Timor.

During the Gulf War, he expressed outrage that Saddam Hussein had annexed Kuwait and declared it the 19th province of Iraq. He stopped saying that when it was drawn to his attention that President Soeharto had invaded East Timor and declared it the 27th province of Indonesia.

Now the Prime Minister is saying we should "look to the future" on East Timor. That phrase has a history. It was introduced by Australia's ambassador in Jakarta shortly after Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. We have been looking to the future for 16 years. In East Timor, the future never seems much better than the past.

AAAAARGH!

I EXPECTED SOMETHING  
A LITTLE MORE ERUDITE  
FROM A PERSON I HIRED  
FOR HIS COMMUNICATION  
SKILLS



THE ECONOMY





**Left: Veterans of the Dili massacre, 303 Regiment troops perform their morning exercises only 300 metres from Santa Cruz Cemetery**

**EXCLUSIVE**

# Only ghosts and guards walk in the night

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

**W**hen 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 10pm, 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 15-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 honouring Gomez that became an energetic demonstration against East Timorese integration with Indonesia – the chanting, youthful crowd swelling to more than 3000 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 8am from four directions, grouping at the southern entrance. Brigadier 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.

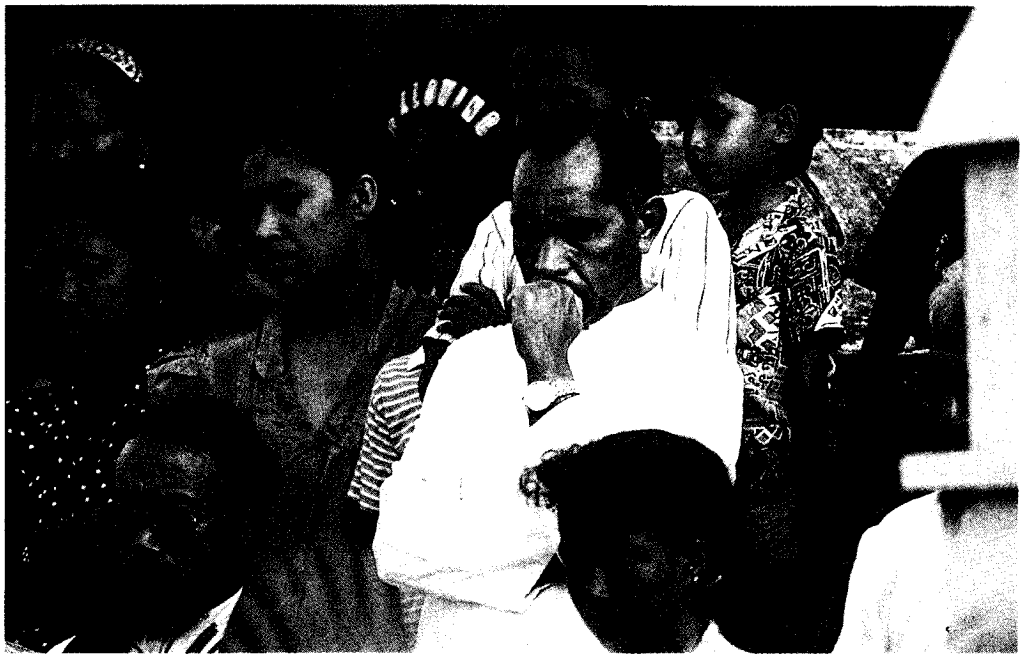
The number of dead from the military action at Santa Cruz Cemetery collected by sources in Dili from families reporting their children missing, hospital workers, public servants, the church, and other witnesses stands at 214. That number contin-

ues 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 11am, three hours after the gunfire stopped. A public figure above retribution, she will testify to the committee that she saw 18 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



**A funeral at Santa Cruz Cemetery two weeks after the massacre; funerals have become a form of protest in Dili. Below: The mass grave site at the Indonesian Army camp at Tibar, 20 kilometres from Dili**



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.

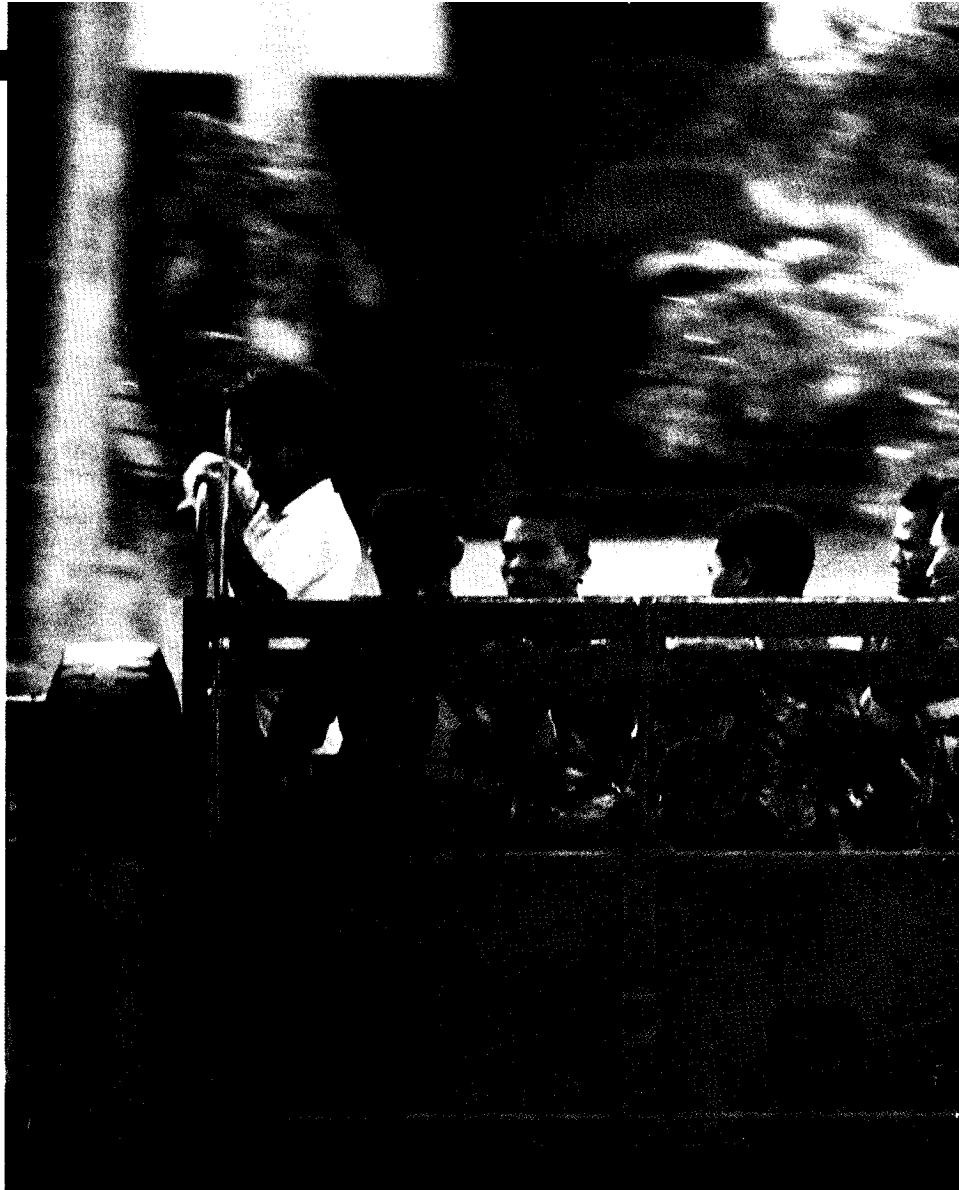
An International Red Cross vehicle was seen turning into the site a few days

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. Rumours spread like a virus. Did the Army make more arrests last night? What’s happening in the upcountry towns? What about the Fretelin leader Chanana and his rebels in the mountains? “Up to now, there’s been no reaction from Chanana 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.” ■

Our refusal to strongly criticise Jakarta over the Dili massacre is damaging our international reputation. David Leser reports how our attitude is seen as self-serving and out of step with the rest of the world



# 'Piss weak' Australia slammed over East Timor

**T**he 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 assertions come 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 army personnel carrier like those which carried the dead from the cemetery**

ernment – 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 (see pages 28-29). 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 – neighbour. 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 US Congress, the Canadian government and the European Community is growing. A former Australian consul in East Timor, Jim Dunn, who has just

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 US, 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 co-operation 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 gov-



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 behaviour 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 behaviour ... 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 eye-witnesses 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 (see pages 28-29).

Far from aberrant behaviour, 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 3000 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

erable 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 politic-

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 Co-operation (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 take-



A newly placed grave in Santa Cruz

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 consid-

al, 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 Aus-trade implored Hawke not to cancel his planned visit there in February.

over 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 "pay-

ing 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 1970s 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." ■

## What can we do?

**A**ustralia has more to lose than does Indonesia should we decide to step up confrontation over the Timor killings. Indonesia's strategic concerns lie to the north and west of the archipelago. Ours lie entirely in the area which Papua New Guinea and Indonesia dominate.

Furthermore, in either military or aid terms, there isn't much we can do. Presumably, we are unlikely to threaten to use force. And, given our capabilities in peacetime, if we did, it would be a bluff.

If we were to decide to "send the Indonesians a message", it would set us on a risky course. We could maintain a naval presence off Timor or ostentatiously send air patrols just outside its maritime boundary.

There is a fair chance that the ill-equipped Indonesian forces in Timor wouldn't even know we were there. To raise the ante, we would have to infringe Indonesian territory – perhaps by photographic overflights or landing agents – but this wouldn't tell us much more than we already can find out and would justifiably lead to Indonesian and ASEAN protests.

On aid, our military co-operation is symbolic rather than of material assistance for the four Indonesian services and the three Australian ones.

In the past few years, the Department of Defence says, only a few Indonesians have been on courses in Australia

and only five Australian officers are in the republic. The department clearly wants to get over the message that any training Indonesians receive in Australia at the Land Warfare School, Canungra, is purely tactical – at the small unit level. It says no Indonesians are attending courses in intelligence, counter-insurgency or internal policing.

Incidentally, it's little known in Australia that our biggest aid projects to Indonesia – apart from supplying obsolete Sabre fighters (most of which were grounded when the spares stock was lost in an accident) – has been surveying. Australian aircraft and military surveyors have mapped virtually the whole of the republic. Apart from being a neighbourly gesture, the information this provides in an era of reducing maps to digital information for automatic navigation systems is pure gold from an intelligence point of view.

The closest contacts have been at the top. General Peter Gration, Chief of the Defence Force has taken the lead in establishing close contacts with his opposite numbers in Indonesia and encouraged his service chiefs to do the same.

Defence doesn't want to see these personal links severed. They pay off in helping our service chiefs keep in touch with high-level Indonesian military thinking and help explain internal Indonesian policies which otherwise could heighten distrust between the nations.

One area of co-operation is at risk until overall relations return to normal. Australia's Jindalee over-the-horizon radar routinely provides images of the South China Sea to the north of the republic. This is Indonesia's main area of strategic concern and an area of high risk, given the claims by China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia to islets which may or may not hold ownership of sea bed oil deposits. Australia has discussed providing "product" from Jindalee when fully operational.

If Australia wants to take a more active role in any dispute over Timor, stepping up surveillance and monitoring of Indonesian communications seems most likely. We have an advanced eavesdropping station at Darwin, less than 500 kilometres east of Timor. We deploy ships into the Timor Sea and regularly patrol with P3C Orion aircraft.

John Stackhouse



# Dili massacre inquiry backs military



By MARK BAKER,  
foreign editor

The Australian Government faces renewed pressure to take a stand over the Dili massacre amid growing signs of a whitewash by the official Indonesian inquiry into the killings.

The head of the inquiry was reported yesterday to have backed precisely the military's claim that no more than 19 people were killed and 91 injured when troops opened fire on a crowd of unarmed protesters on 12 November.

"We have already dug up several places designated by people, but discovered no more corpses," the inquiry's head, Mr Justice M. Jaelani,

told the official Antara newsagency.

His statement, which contradicts all other independent estimates of the death toll, poses a challenge to the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, who

is due in Jakarta tomorrow to discuss the massacre with Indonesian authorities.

Senator Evans has promised to review the nature of Australia's relationship with Indonesia if its inquiry proves to be manifestly unsatisfactory.

The Australian ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Philip Flood, who spent five days in Dili earlier this month investigating the killings, has supported estimates by both the Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, and the Roman Catholic Church of a death toll of about 100.

Three weeks ago, Amnesty International published the names of 60 people killed or missing, presumed dead. A spokesman said the toll was being continually updated "and could very easily be as many as 200".

But Mr Justice Jaelani, whose five-member inquiry team returned to

Jakarta at the weekend after spending 17 days in East Timor, said no evidence had been found to support claims of more than 19 dead and 91 injured.

He said the 19 were buried fully clothed in coffins in a cemetery at Hera on the outskirts of Dili: "Until the day we left (East Timor) there were no indications that there were more."

Asked to comment on those who questioned the low official death toll, Mr Justice Jaelani said: "It is up to them, but the (inquiry) will continue to work objectively."

He claimed also that the names of the dead were not known. But in an interview with the Jakarta magazine

'Tempo' at the weekend, Mr Carrascalao said he had the names of 90 missing people.

"This is a list of people who haven't returned home," he told the interviewer. "I got it from the people. There are 90 people."

Mr Justice Jaelani said the report of his inquiry would be handed to President Suharto within 10 days and its evaluation was expected to be completed by the end of the year.

In an interview with the Indonesian magazine 'Editor' published on Saturday Senator Evans, who has already supported a United Nations probe into the massacre, appeared to challenge the impartiality of the Indonesian inquiry. — with agencies

# backs military

THE AGE 18/12/91

## Dili massacre: inquiry

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He claimed also that the names of the dead were not known. But in an interview with the Jakarta magazine

'Tempo' at the weekend, Mr Carrascalao said he had the names of 90 missing people.

"This is a list of people who haven't returned home," he told the interviewer. "I got it from the people. There are 90 people."

Mr Justice Jaelani said the report of his inquiry would be handed to President Suharto within 10 days and its evaluation was expected to be completed by the end of the year.

In an interview with the Indonesian magazine 'Editor' published on Saturday Senator Evans, who has already supported a United Nations probe into the massacre, appeared to challenge the impartiality of the Indonesian inquiry.

— with agencies

THE AUSTRALIAN 18/12/91

# Dili inquiry supports army's death count

**JAKARTA:** An official Indonesian commission investigating the army shooting of civilians in East Timor has backed the military's estimate that only 19 people were killed, the news agency Antara said yesterday.

Antara quoted the head of the commission, Justice Djaelani, as saying yesterday that no evidence was found in East Timor to confirm reports of a higher death toll in the November 12 incident.

Other reports have put the death toll as high as 180.

"We have already dug up several places designated by people, but discovered no more corpses," said Justice Djaelani, a retired military officer.

The seven-member commission returned to Jakarta on Saturday after a 17-day trip to East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 after the departure of the Portuguese colonial rulers.

The investigators searched several places in the East Timor capital of Dili that were believed by residents to be secret burial sites.

The army said soldiers opened fire to defend themselves when attacked by a crowd in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery which had been mourning the death of a slain pro-independence activist.

Justice Djaelani said the 19 listed as dead were buried fully clothed in coffins in a cemetery at Hera on the outskirts of Dili. He said their names were still not known.

He said another 91 people had been wounded, again supporting figures given by the Indonesian military commander, General Try Sutrisno, in an emotional speech to the People's Consultative Assembly last month.

The shooting provoked an international uproar and led to some countries

suspending aid to Indonesia, whose annexation of East Timor is not recognised by the United Nations.

Asked to comment on those who questioned the low official death toll, Justice Djaelani said: "It is up to them, but the (commission) will continue to work objectively."

He said the commission's report would be handed to President Suharto within 10 days and that a second trip to East Timor could not be ruled out. The evaluation was expected to be completed before the new year, he said.

General Sutrisno has warned that he will act sternly to preserve peace.

He also warned private Indonesian groups not to spread negative information about their country and threatened to blacklist their leaders.

The general named no organisation, but Indonesia's leading human rights group, the Legal Aid Institute, said the East Timor incident had stained the country's reputation and called on the military to find a less brutal response to problems.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, is due to arrive in Jakarta on Thursday for a two-day visit aimed at persuading the Indonesian Government to let Australia open a consulate in Dili.

Jakarta is expected to reject the request, indignant over what it says is foreign meddling in Indonesia's internal affairs by the West, including Australia.

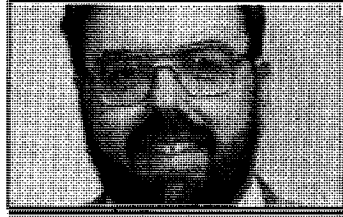
Canberra treats East Timor's merger with Indonesia as a fait accompli.

The two countries agreed last week on the companies allowed to explore the area of the Timor sea which they jointly administer. The area contains rich oil reserves.

Reuters

# Evans and the Dili conundrum

THE AUSTRALIAN 18/12/91



GREG  
SHERIDAN

TOMORROW the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, begins his visit to Indonesia. During his three-day stay he has to please two essentially contradictory constituencies.

The first is his Indonesian interlocutors. The massacre in Dili has changed the power relationships within the Indonesian elite.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas — as the sponsor of the aborted visit by Portuguese officials and international journalists to East Timor which raised expectations which were subsequently dashed and, therefore, contributed to the heightened tensions within East Timor that led up to the massacre — can be assumed to have suffered some damage.

This is important for Australia because Alatas has been a good friend not only of Evans but of the Indonesian/Australian relationship.

However, it can also be fairly assumed that President Suharto is not best pleased by the military hardliners and the damage they have done to Indonesia's international standing.

The politics of Indonesia are complex. The relationships of individuals and the various interest groups they represent have been seriously shaken up by the events in Dili.

The other group Evans must satisfy is the Labor Cabinet and the Labor Caucus. The Caucus, in particular, is subject to considerable influence by numerous anti-Indonesian activist groups and the Left generally.

The double standards of the root-and-branch condemnation of all things Indonesian by some of the activist groups, who are silent in the face of far greater and more sustained human rights abuses elsewhere and who fail to acknowledge the real progress in both economic and political terms which Indonesia has made in recent years, is no bar to their having great influence on the Caucus.

These groups will want all of Australia's national interests to be sacrificed in the act of making the loudest and longest protests possible.

This is a great weakness in our foreign policy debate, that it is frequently driven by the politics of domestic political protest.

This is one reason why it is so often so difficult to get a nuanced or balanced position adopted. Everyone involved in Australian politics believes it was essential for the Government to make a vigorous protest at the massacre in Dili. If such massacres were standard Indonesian policy then it would be very difficult for Australia to maintain more than a formal and commercial relationship with that country.

But the massacre is not a standard or acceptable part of Indonesian policy.

Indonesia is a society racing ahead economically, with a stable middle class of 50 million to 60 million. It is a liberalising society, becoming more sophisticated, more tolerant. If Australia were to engineer a rupture in the relationship with Indonesia our ability to encourage that process, not least in Timor, would be nil.

Australians have not accepted at all the importance of a successful, stable Indonesia to our national interests. Following only the United States and Japan, no country is more important to us than Indonesia. Its command of the sea and air

approaches to Australia is obvious. Its size — 180 million, the world's fifth most populous nation and the largest Islamic nation — is also obvious.

What is less well understood is the commercial, political and cultural stake we now have in Indonesia. As the dominant nation in South-East Asia, a hostile Indonesia could block virtually any Australian initiative in the region.

Moreover, our direct commercial ties have expanded exponentially in recent years. More than 120 Australian companies are active in Indonesia, it is our eighth largest export market and direct Australian investment is now more than \$US1 billion (\$1.3 billion). The two-way trade balance is heavily in our favour.

The real challenge to Evans will be to manage the politics back in Australia. His Indonesian hosts — by arranging a call on Suharto, and meetings with ministers such as General Try Sutrisno, the

‘Trade balance  
in our favour’

head of the Indonesian armed forces, and Admiral Sudomo, the Security Minister, as well as Governor Carrascalao, the Governor of East Timor, plus the officials conducting the inquiry into the massacre — have demonstrated a desire to make the visit a success.

But Evans and the Government he represents have made Australia-Indonesian relations a hostage to the Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre. Evans has said the Government will review the whole relationship if the inquiry is not satisfactory.

What does this mean? Is the question of Indonesian sovereignty over Timor, which underlies the Timor Gap Treaty which the Hawke Government committed itself to in December 1989, up for grabs?

It would be quite possible for the Indonesian authorities to repudiate the massacre and move to discipline those responsible for it without coming out publicly in the way that generally happens in Australia. In fact, this is likely to be the Indonesian response. But the Hawke Government has generated immense political expectations within Australia that the inquiry must produce a public scapegoat.

The dangers of the bilateral relationship being caught up in the ebb and flow of domestic Australian politics are great, particularly in the middle of this leadership crisis. After all, how better for the Prime Minister to shore up his support with the Left than by taking a super hard line with the Indonesians?

Similarly, Evans's ability to speak definitively for the Government is limited by the drift and malaise in Canberra. Will commitments, or less precise understandings, entered into by Evans on behalf of the Hawke Government be honoured by a Keating government, should Keating become prime minister? Indeed, would Keating necessarily keep Evans as foreign minister?

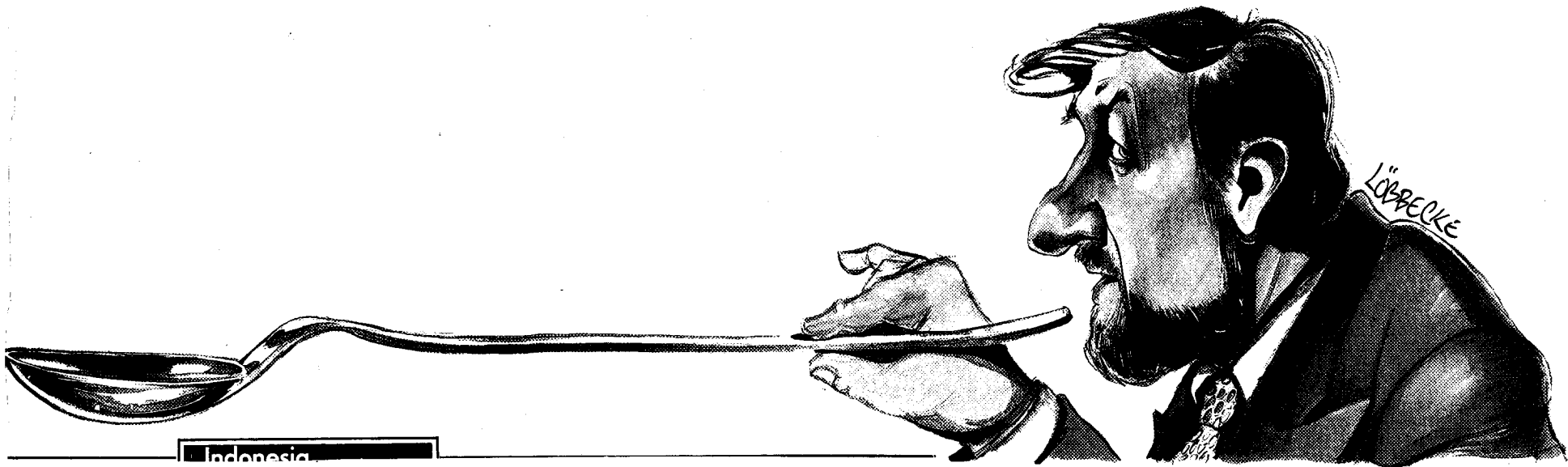
One thing is certain, Jakarta will not be unaware of the crisis of the Hawke Government.

Evans argued in his recent book on foreign policy that the relationship with Indonesia had recently acquired much more ballast and would only be blown off course by a storm. It may be that in future the so-called ballast will be more important than the high political profile the relationship has recently had.

It could become a relationship of regions, with the Northern Territory's involvement in the economic growth of eastern Java a good example.

But for Evans, the first task is to keep the relationship on an even keel, while restating Australia's objection to Indonesia's methods in East Timor. Given the crisis in which his own Government is caught, this will be no small feat.





Indonesia

# 8 facing death charge over Timor protest

THE AGE  
19/12/91

By MOSES MANOHARAN,  
Jakarta, Wednesday

Indonesia will bring charges carrying the death penalty against eight people arrested by soldiers after last month's massacre in East Timor.

The 'Jakarta Post' has quoted senior officials of the Attorney-General's office as saying eight of the 32 people arrested after the 12 November shooting would be charged with subversion, a charge that carries a maximum punishment of death.

"Not everyone will be charged with subversion. Some were inactive participants," the Attorney-General, Mr Singgih, said.

Another official said a team had been sent to Dili to help local officials prepare the cases. He did not say whether the other 24 detainees would be brought to court on other charges.

The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, is due to arrive in Jakarta tomorrow to discuss the massacre with senior officials.

Witnesses say more than 100 people were killed in the cemetery, a figure disputed by Indonesia's military, which puts the death toll at 19.

The military says the crowd of 3500 people, gathered in Santa Cruz cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser, provoked the soldiers, but many witnesses say the troops opened fire without warning or provocation.

The issue may be raised in talks between Senator Evans and Indonesian leaders, including President Suharto, the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, and the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno.

Senator Evans will press for the opening of an Australian consulate in Dili, a request Jakarta is expected to turn down on the ground that it would constitute meddling in Indonesia's internal affairs.

Diplomats said the focus of the visit would be to persuade the Government to publish the facts about the shooting and to ensure that the report of an official commission set up to inquire into the violence contained the true death toll.

Senator Evans has said he believes at least 75 people died. Residents say mass burial sites were dug around Dili to bury the victims.

## Jakarta bans 'Age' reporter

Indonesia has barred the 'Age' South-East Asia correspondent, Lindsay Murdoch, from covering the visit to Jakarta by Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

Indonesia gave no reasons last night for the decision to refuse the visa application, which was lodged more than three weeks ago. More than 20 other Australian journalists and film crew have been given visas to accompany Senator Evans on his trip, starting today.

Senator Evans is making the visit to express Australia's concern about the 12 November massacre in Dili.

The editor of 'The Age', Mr Michael Smith, said last night that the selective banning of Australian journalists was unfortunate and would do nothing to help build trust between the Australian and Indonesian communities.

Mr Murdoch said in Bangkok last night: "I am extremely disappointed. My reporting over three years has been accurate, fair and sensitive to cultural differences between our two countries.

"If Australia and Indonesia are to have an open and friendly relationship, we have to understand each other. Retarding the free flow of information by selectively banning journalists, as Indonesia has consistently done, will only add to suspicion and distrust."

Mr Murdoch was to have covered Senator Evans' visit for 'The Age' and 'The Sydney Morning Herald'. He has been refused a visa twice before, although he has been allowed in the country about 10 times.

Senator Evans will meet Indonesian Government leaders, including President Suharto.

The commission chief, Mr Justice Jaelani, appeared on Monday to come out in support of the military's death toll, saying a search of the suspected burial sites yielded no new corpses.

His comments could undermine the credibility of the commission's final report, diplomats said.

The commission returned to Jakarta on Saturday after three weeks seeking evidence in the former Portuguese colony. The seven-man commission is to present its report to President Suharto within 10 days.

Several Western countries have said they may take action if the report appears to be a whitewash, and Canberra has said it would review its ties with Jakarta. The Netherlands, Denmark and Canada have already suspended aid.

Canberra's indignation might be tempered by strategic interests, diplomats said. Australia, one of the few countries to recognise Indonesia's takeover of East Timor, is anxious to tap rich offshore oilfields between Australia and East Timor and to improve ties with Indonesia.

Australia and Indonesia this month granted permits to 55 oil companies to explore the Timor

Gap, a move being challenged by Portugal.

Jakarta has charged that foreign media coverage of the shooting was exaggerated and partly to blame for the ensuing international outrage. The Information Minister, Mr Harmoko, said today that foreign media reports were aimed at discrediting Indonesia.

● More than 100 prominent Australians have urged Senator Evans to press the Indonesian Government to accept a United Nations role in talks on East Timor.

A letter signed by church leaders, judges and politicians of all the main parties disputes Senator Evans' statement that the Dili massacre was an aberration and urges him to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. To deny self-determination and worthwhile dialogue to the East Timorese is a certain recipe for both continued conflict and deep misunderstandings between Australia and Indonesia, the letter says.

● In Washington, the human rights group Asia Watch is pushing for an international inquiry into the massacre.

— Reuter, AP

# THE AGE

## EDITORIAL OPINION

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Thursday 19 December 1991

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### Evans and the victims of Dili

**T**HE victims of the Santa Cruz massacre will loom over today's visit to Jakarta by Senator Gareth Evans, despite frantic efforts by Indonesian authorities to make them disappear. Whether the Foreign Minister will have the political and moral courage to take an effective stand against the Indonesian behavior in East Timor remains doubtful. Certainly there are no grounds for optimism in the history of Australian appeasement since the Indonesian invasion 16 years ago, or in the Hawke Government's response to last month's bloody massacre in the Dili cemetery. But there are reasons for hoping that Senator Evans might be tempted belatedly to demonstrate to Indonesian authorities that Australia's professed concern for human rights is serious and consistent. We trust that he will do so.

Senator Evans' visit coincides with the apparent whitewash of the Dili killings by Indonesia's Justice Jaelani, who, not surprisingly, is said to have supported the Indonesian military's claim that no more than 19 people were killed and 91 injured in the massacre. These figures are utterly inconsistent with the estimates of the Australian Government, Amnesty International and the Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, all of whom put the death toll at between 60 and 100. The actual numbers are irrelevant, but the transparent attempt to minimise the massacre is deeply disturbing. Justice Jaelani's reported finding is consistent with the defiant attitude of the Indonesian military that its troops deserve promotion for mowing down unarmed civilians.

In a timely and potentially important policy shift, Senator Evans has told the Jakarta weekly 'Editor' that Australia now wants an independent United Nations investigation into the 12 November massacre. He also declared Australia's concern about other Indonesian human rights violations, including torture. Earlier, Senator Evans had pledged to review Australia's relationship with Indonesia if its inquiry proved unsatisfactory. If he has said what he meant, and meant what he said, he would seem positioned to abandon his ludicrous view that the massacre resulted from "aberrant behavior" by a group within the Indonesian military. He ought, therefore, to insist on a disinterested UN investigation of the massacre and on a UN-supervised act of self-determination for the East Timorese people. For Senator Evans to demand less in the hope of appeasing a large and unpredictable neighbor would be to retreat from Australia's highest moral standards and to condemn the East Timorese to more of the same from Indonesia. He has to do better — for the international honor of this country, and for the people of East Timor.

# Timor losses include refugees

THE lot of the people of East Timor, abandoned by Portugal first to civil war and then to invasion by Indonesia, must command our sympathy. The brutal slaughter of unarmed civilians on November 12 must also be condemned.

But we must not allow emotion to obscure or distort the facts, as Mr Ken White does in his letter (13/12).

Mr White's picture of East Timor as a thriving economy in 1975 ignores the yawning gap between the relative — and superficial — prosperity of Dili and the subsistence-level poverty of the countryside, where the bulk of the population lives. Per capita income in East Timor is now very much higher than when Portugal withdrew, but the province nevertheless remains one of Australia's poorest neighbours both in terms of per capita income and longer term potential.

Fretilin no doubt had a "populist Catholic" dimension. The movement was, however, predominantly

Marxist in orientation and there were solid grounds for Indonesia's fears at the time of a "Cuba" on its doorstep. Fretilin's "modest and constructive efforts" towards democracy and independence prompted an exodus of 40,000 refugees into West Timor.

As to claims of "genocide", the figure of 60,000 was first cited in 1976 by the leader of one of the East Timorese political factions as comprising those who "had lost their lives or homes", including the 40,000 refugees who fled over the border. The numbers of those killed in the civil war and subsequent invasion were certainly swollen afterwards by malnutrition, famine and disease in the countryside. Deplorable as these losses are, they clearly do not constitute proof of a policy of genocide.

**DAVID ANDERSON**  
Executive Director  
Pacific Security  
Research Institute  
Sydney

AUSTRALIAN 19/12

19/12/91 THE AUSTRALIAN

# Minister faces tough stance on Dili

From Page 1

us to start making comments about what may or may not be the contents or the conclusions of the report before it is actually finalised," he said.

However, the developments in Jakarta, coming on the eve of Senator Evans's visit, are seen in government circles as unhelpful in the extreme.

The Hawke Government is coming under increased pressure to harden its stance against Jakarta.

The Portugese embassy yesterday issued a statement protesting against the signing in Jakarta yesterday of 11 contracts for oil exploration under the Timor Gap Treaty between Australia and Indonesia.

The statement says the signing of the deal, attended by Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Philip Flood,

and his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Sabam Siagian, aggravates the dispute between Portugal and Australia over the legitimacy of the treaty.

Portugal, as the former colonial master of East Timor, says the deal to share exploitation of the Timor Gap's resources is illicit and indicates Australia's "open collusion" with Indonesia.

In London, a British parliamentary human rights committee was told Australian foreign affairs officials seemed reluctant to investigate properly the details of the Dili massacre.

Cameraman Mr Max Stahl, whose footage of the massacre was shown in Europe, the US and Australia, told the committee he had a "bad experience" with one Australian official in Dili who seemed more concerned about reports of injuries to an Indonesian

officer than the fate of East Timorese civilians.

Meanwhile, the East Timor Military Operational Command yesterday banned demonstrations in the territory.

It said demonstrations were no longer merely "expression of aspirations" but "actions running against the regulations and (held) to undermine the authority of the Government".

The Indonesian Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Rudini, yesterday defended his recent call for greater encouragement of political diversity.

"I am not against the security approach," he said. "But we need other approaches."

The emphasis on security had discouraged political consciousness and mass movements.

His statement, widely reported in Indonesia, has brought criticism from his colleagues other top officials.

THE AUSTRALIAN

# Evans faces hardline stance on Dili massacre

19/12/91

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, flies into Jakarta today with the diplomatic crisis over the Dili massacre threatening to deteriorate further.

Foreign affairs officials in Canberra were refusing yesterday to respond to strong indications that the Indonesian Government intends to adopt a hardline response to Australian and international concern over the November 12 shootings in East Timor.

This followed reports in the Indonesian media that the head of the Indonesian inquiry into the massacre, Justice Djaelani, was playing down the number of civilian deaths. His comments appeared to support the official military position that 19 people died in the massacre.

Australian officials believe the number may have been closer to 100.

Human rights group Asia Watch yesterday began pushing for an international inquiry into the massacre to check reports that 70 to 200 people were killed.

"Even a month after the massacre took place, the need for such a commission remains urgent," the United

States-based group said.

Jakarta will press subversion charges - which carry the maximum penalty of death - on eight people who were detained following the shootings.

The Hawke Government, under pressure from the Labor Caucus, has pledged a fundamental review of relations with Australia's largest regional neighbour if the inquiry into the deaths proves inadequate. Mr Hawke has said he will not accept a whitewash.

Reports of Justice Djaelani's views appear to add weight to fears that Jakarta may seek to tough out the incident. Recent unrepentant remarks by powerful Indonesian figures - most notably the chief of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno - have set the tone of Indonesia's public response to international criticism.

But a foreign affairs spokesman said yesterday that Australia would await the formal response from the Indonesian Government before deciding its next course of action.

"It would not be proper for

Continued - Page 6  
Evans ignores attack to visit temple - Page 6

# Suharto balks at plans for meeting with Evans

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,  
South-East Asia correspondent,  
Singapore, Thursday

Indonesia's President Suharto has refused to schedule a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, who is in Jakarta to press Australia's concerns about East Timor.

A meeting Senator Evans had scheduled with President Suharto for tomorrow morning is now unlikely to take place.

Australian officials were tonight still trying hurriedly to arrange a meeting before Senator Evans returns to Australia on Saturday.

But the refusal of President Suharto to set a meeting signals that Senator Evans' mission may be trouble, Western diplomats in Jakarta said.

Senator Evans has so far declined to comment on the meetings he held today with senior Government representatives, including the Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, and the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Rudini.

Senator Evans said on his arrival in Jakarta this morning that the main objectives of his three day visit were to convey Australia's deep concern at the Indonesian army's 12 November massacre of East Timorese, to encourage Indonesia to conduct a fair inquiry and to try to work out a long term solution to the East Timor issue.

Diplomats say the attitude of President Suharto will dictate Indonesia's response to the visit.

Australian officials in Jakarta were tonight attempting to play down suggestions that President Suharto has decided to snub Senator Evans.

During Senator Evans' other visits to Jakarta, President Suharto has agreed to meet him. Senator Evans worked closely with Indonesia in pushing a United Nations peace plan for Cambodia. He is friends with Mr Alatas.

A spokesman for Senator Evans said tonight he would not be able to say whether a meeting would go ahead. "The senator's program is still being worked on. No meeting is confirmed."

Senator Evans' printed Jakarta program lists a meeting with President Suharto for tomorrow morning.



Senator Evans meets his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Alatas, for talks in Jakarta.

Asked about this, the spokesman said: "It was always (a) tentative program. It was the ideal time for him (Senator Evans) to see the President. Other important meetings have taken place."

Mr Suharto's only public comment on the massacre so far has been to dismiss international sanctions imposed by some countries as an unwarranted fuss over a "tiny island". He said that Indonesia would do without aid if donor countries tried to link it to the killings.

"If we get aid with a precondition that East Timor should be like this or that, we'd better not (take it) because it's a violation of ... our principles," Mr Suharto said.

Earlier, Senator Evans urged

Indonesia to ensure that its inquiry into the Dili massacre is credible and that its findings are acted upon promptly.

Senator Evans stressed that the purpose of his three-day visit was not to lecture Indonesia or to interfere in its internal affairs.

"I come as a concerned friend and neighbor to Indonesia, not as some kind of international commissar on human rights," he said.

"I come, moreover, as someone deeply conscious of just how difficult it is to maintain unity and cohesion in a country as vast and complex as this one is.

"The main objective is to communicate as a friend and neighbor our very deep sense of concern about what happened in Dili on

November 12. That deep concern is felt not only in Australia and in the wider international community, but also here in Indonesia."

Senator Evans said it was in Indonesia's interests to ensure the official inquiry was not a whitewash.

"Obviously when a people's army turns its guns on its own people something has gone very sadly wrong," he said.

"Obviously, there needs to be an inquiry which is free, accurate, just and thorough. The important thing now, however, is to finish the job that was started so well.

"The most important reason for completing the job well is from Indonesia's own national interest perspective. If the job is not seen as being complete, questions will arise of stress on a number of bilateral relationships and questions will arise about international confidence in Indonesia. Questions of particular difficulty will arise in resolving the East Timor question in the United Nations once and for all."

Senator Evans said Australia was not trying to push its own beliefs on Indonesia. These beliefs were "the principles of just and civilised humanity".

Senator Evans said Australia's recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor was not in question.

"We recognise, as we have done since 1979, Indonesia's de jure sovereignty over East Timor. What we want to explore is that within that framework, it is possible to develop economic, social and political strategies which will give East Timorese greater confidence, greater comfort," he said.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

Senator Evans is expected to meet the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, and the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno.

● In Canberra: MEGAN BACKHOUSE reports that East Timorese resistance groups yesterday rebuked Australia for recognising Indonesia's invasion of East Timor and called on the Federal Government to impose economic sanctions.

— with agencies

# PM faces foreign policy challenge

ONE of the most urgent priorities facing the new Prime Minister, Mr Keating, will be to address himself to pressing questions of Australia's role in the world and its relations with our closest neighbours.

Surprisingly little is known of the Keating world view. But, with Australia engaged in an unusually intense period of high-profile diplomacy, Mr Keating will be called on to take a direct, hands-on role in the coming weeks in prosecuting Australia's interests in the region, in world trade, and in our most important bilateral relationship with the United States.

It will be a hectic and difficult schedule.

President Bush is to arrive in 10 days for the first visit by a US leader in almost 25 years.

The Uruguay Round of trade negotiations, which could see the world fracturing into three key trading blocs, is reaching its climax.

And an official inquiry into the Dili massacre will lodge its report with the Indonesian Government before the end of the year.

## Infuriated officials

If the feared whitewash occurs, this could, on the basis of criteria laid down by Mr Hawke, bring on a fundamental breach in relations with our largest neighbour.

Mr Keating must play an upfront role in all these areas, not only to steer a path through significant difficulties — most acutely with Indonesia — but to ensure that Australia is again perceived as sending clear signals.

The leadership crisis has created a degree of confusion among foreign governments. The federal Opposition claims it has diverted Mr Hawke from assuming a proper role at an international level.

Indonesian commentators have attributed some of the anger in Australia's response to the November 12 massacre as partly due to the domestic pressures on Mr Hawke.

Mr Keating's challenge is to end that confusion. His words and actions will be watched closely, and nowhere more than in south-east Asia, where he is regarded, to some extent, as an unknown.

A significant factor will be whether he chooses to bury past rivalries and differences with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans. Any move to shift

Evans out of that portfolio at such a crucial time would be widely seen here and overseas as questionable political judgment.

Mr Keating has travelled extensively, but more in Europe and North America than in Australia's immediate surrounds. The Opposition released figures last night indicating Mr Keating had made only four trips to Asia in eight years, but had travelled the "antique circuit" — the US and Europe — 14 times.

But Australia has defined its future as tied inextricably to the Asia-Pacific region, and it is the region taking in south-east Asia, north Asia and the south Pacific that is of primary strategic interest to Canberra.

Mr Keating once described Asia as the "stopover" on the way to Europe. As Prime Minister in a region where cultural sensitivities run deep, he will not have the same luxury to engage in flippancy.

Mr Keating apparently recognised the need to bring the focus closer to home when he issued his first challenge.

In an interview prior to the Caucus ballot, he said he felt Australia needed to pay more attention to Japan, Indonesia and New Zealand. It was an argument which infuriated some senior Foreign Affairs officials, given the emphasis placed on relations with these countries over recent years.

Another of Mr Keating's off-the-cuff remarks during the first challenge was his reference to relations with the US. "I am not going to be in a position where I spring to attention the moment an American president picks up the phone," he was reported to have said.

In just over a week, Mr Keating must enter direct head-to-head discussions with Mr Bush on the state of the alliance, and the dispute over US agricultural subsidies which has so angered Australian farmers.

The Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Senator Robert Hill, said it was vital in the lead-up to the Bush visit that Mr Keating end the perception that he was anti-American.

The Indonesian relationship shapes as the most troublesome. Relations are on the verge of crisis.

One of Mr Keating's toughest early decisions will be whether to proceed with plans for a prime ministerial visit to Jakarta early next year.

It would be his first to Indonesia. If he goes, he will face dissent within an already divided Caucus. If he cancels, it is almost certain to put the chill into relations.



# Bishops plead for Timorese clemency

By correspondents  
in Dili and Jakarta

THE Indonesian Bishop's Council last night appealed for clemency for Timorese demonstrators under arrest and facing the death penalty on charges of subversion in connection with the Dili demonstration and subsequent massacre last month.

The council called on 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," the council's vice-chairman, Bishop Leo Sukoto, said.

"Those to be punished are the ones who manipulated young people for their political ends."

Indonesian government leaders have been blaming foreign media and alleged interference by Portugal for causing the tensions that led to the demonstration and subsequent massacre at Dili in which eyewitnesses say up to 100 Timorese were killed. Jakarta claims only 19 people died.

The bishops yesterday also called for more dialogue in East Timor to promote mutual understanding and trust in the wake of the Dili bloodshed.

"One step which can be taken is to open a dialogue between the church, the local government and the ABRI (Indonesian armed forces) there," the chairman of the council, Bishop Darmaatmaja, said.

He told reporters after meeting President Suharto that, through dialogue, the aspirations of the people in East Timor — a former Portuguese enclave annexed by Indonesia in 1976 — could be heard.

The bishops were prepared to help the Government with this dialogue, the council said, adding: "This mechanism will help a lot because through dialogue, mutual understanding can be developed".

Bishop Darmaatmaja pointed out that following the November 12 shooting in Dili people there were feeling "not so at peace" and afraid.

Foreign observers in Dili report that young East Timorese are in a state of psychological shock.

"With that firing, they broke our hearts but strengthened our will to fight," said a young man after attending evening mass at the Motael church in Dili.

He ignored the warning of an older man to stop talking to a foreign reporter because security officials were approaching.

The November 12 shooting was a turning point for his generation, the first to reach adulthood under Indonesia's 16-year rule.

Young people like him believe supporting the Catholic Church, the dominant religion of the former Portuguese colony, is the only way left to them to demonstrate their separate culture.

Most of the rest of Indonesia follows Islam, including the majority of the 10,000 or more soldiers Indonesia keeps in East Timor to fight a dwindling band of guerillas and help build up the local economy.

Young men loiter in the main shopping area of Dili, scowling or staring in fear at outsiders. They disappear into their shanties in the evening, leaving the streets of Dili in a silence sometimes broken by a ramshackle taxi hurrying home before dark.

"It was not always like this," a foreign aid worker said.

Once the dusty roads of the provincial city of 126,000 people bustled with life and colour late into the evening.

She recalled shops selling luxury goods, brought into Dili by ships from Singapore, staying open until late at night until three months ago.

Now, the town comes to life only on Sundays when the East Timorese turn up in strength for church services.

"They look to the church as a kind of resistance to change," said the Governor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao.

Women students in the decrepit University of East Timor said they had not had any discussion on the November 12 violence.

20/12/91  
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THE AGE 20/12/91

# Suharto refuses to meet Evans

Indonesia's President Suharto has refused to schedule a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, who is in Jakarta to press Australia's concerns about East Timor.

Australian officials are still trying hurriedly to arrange a meeting before Senator Evans returns to Australia on Saturday, but the refusal of President Suharto to set a meeting signals that Senator Evans' mission may be trouble, Western diplomats in Jakarta said.

Senator Evans has so far declined to comment on the meetings he held yesterday with senior Government representatives, although diplomats say the attitude of President Suharto will dictate Indonesia's response to the visit.

**PAGE 7: Report.**



*President Suharto: refusal signals that mission may be in trouble.*

THE AUSTRALIAN  
By GREG SHERIDAN  
in Jakarta 30/12/91

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, began his three-day visit to Indonesia yesterday greeted by Indonesian newspaper editorials telling Australia to mind its own business.

The influential English-language Jakarta Post said it would not be difficult to classify Senator Evans's visit, and previous resolutions by the federal ALP Caucus on East Timor, as "a blatant act of interference in Indonesia's internal affairs".

While acknowledging the importance of human rights in the global political culture, the Post said the "harsh reactions in Australia, the strident statements made by a number of organisations and political leaders, especially the Australian Labor Party, and by members of the Government, as well as the bellicose actions against a number of Indonesian diplomatic and consular offices in Australia, must surely have diminished the efficacy of whatever overtures Minister Gareth Evans intends to make during his visit".

Senator Evans said he had come to Indonesia as a "concerned friend and neighbour of Indonesia, not as some kind of international commissar on human rights".

He also said the values of human rights were universal values, not just Australian values. He quoted an editorial earlier this week from the Post which endorsed "the principle of just and civilised humanity to which we adhere".

Senator Evans, who began the day not knowing who his prime minister would be at day's end, refused to be drawn on the leadership battle within the Government, saying he did not want to preempt Caucus's decision in any way.

However, he did say he had spoken to the former prime minister Mr Bob Hawke early yesterday morning, just before he left Singapore for Jakarta.

When asked whether the leadership crisis affected the credibility and effectiveness of his visit, he replied: "I am still the Foreign Minister and expect to remain so."

"It is entirely reasonable to assume complete continuity so far as Australian foreign policy is concerned."

Senator Evans was also critical of Indonesia's decision to deny a visa to an Age journalist, Lindsay Murdoch, describing it as "an unhelpful step".

"During the last two years, about 200 Australian journalists have visited Indonesia. Their reporting has done a great deal to develop a better understanding of the country."

It was not in Indonesia's long-term interests to stop communication and Senator Evans said he would be raising the matter with the Indonesian Government.

His visit had three main objectives. The first was to communicate "our deep sense of concern about what happened in Dili on November 12".

The second was to "encourage Indonesia's Government to conclude the inquiry into the killings in a way that will be seen as appropriate by the international community. Obviously when a people's army turns its guns on its own people something has gone very sadly wrong."

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Senator Evans then quoted the words of Indonesia's President Suharto saying the inquiry needed to be "free, accurate, just and thorough".

He said he wanted to acknowledge the significance of the inquiry being set up, adding: "It was an entirely unprecedented development."

He would not be drawn on reports that the commission had accepted the Indonesian military's figure of 19 dead, saying it was too early to know what the commission's final report would be.

If the inquiry was not completed in a credible way, Indonesia would face strains on a number of its bilateral relations, as well as straining international confidence in Indonesia. It would also make a final resolution of the East Timor question in the United Nations more difficult.

Senator Evans said the third purpose of the visit was to explore with the Indonesian Government what might be done towards the long-term

resolution of the East Timor conflict.

Australia's "starting point" was de jure recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. That had been official Australian policy since 1979.

Within that framework, he hoped economic, social and political strategies could be developed which would give the East Timorese greater confidence in their relations with Indonesia.

Senator Evans denied the suggestion the Australian response to the East Timor issue was determined by domestic politics.

"Of course, it's a delicate, difficult, controversial issue in Australia but we make our judgments from the perspective of Australia's overall national interests not on the

### Straining confidence

basis of transient political pressures."

Senator Evans's first meeting yesterday was with his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas. He subsequently lunched with the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Rudini.

It was unclear whether he would meet General Try Sutrisno, chief of Indonesia's armed forces, or be given the opportunity to call on President Suharto.

Mr Alatas was quoted in yesterday's Indonesian press as saying the visit would provide the opportunity for a "heart-to-heart" meeting.

He also indicated the Indonesians were unhappy with the strength of the Australian action, saying: "I have a few things I want to raise about, our evaluation of statements and actions made by Australia."

THE AUSTRALIAN 30/12/91

# Senator struggles with a delicate balancing act

By GREG SHERIDAN in Jakarta

IT would be impossible to imagine a more spectacularly forlorn or inauspicious set of circumstances for one of the most delicate and difficult diplomatic missions the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, has ever undertaken.

Not only did Senator Evans not know yesterday who the Australian prime minister would be at the end of the day, he could not even be totally sure who the foreign minister would be.

It was the worst possible coincidence for a foreign minister already walking a dangerous tightrope.

On the one hand, during this visit, Senator Evans has to show the folks back home that he has impressed on the Indonesians the strength of Australian feeling over the killings in East Timor.

On the other hand, he has to do this in such a way as not to threaten Australia's fundamental national interests in its relations with Indonesia.

Senator Evans was expected to raise the possibility of Australia opening a consulate in Dili, as well as the possibility of the United Nations Secretary-General using his good offices to help solve the conflict in East Timor.

But, judging by the tone of the Indonesian press yesterday, he was not likely to get very far.

Last month's statement by Indonesia's Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani,

## COMMENT



Senator Evans yesterday ... accomplished

was quoted on the front page of the Jakarta Post to the effect that there was no reason to have a consulate in Dili.

But all of Senator Evans's Indonesian interlocutors were acutely aware of the crisis in Canberra and the inevitably weakened position in which this put Senator Evans.

The Jakarta Post, in an editorial devoted to Senator Evans's visit, opined that: "Another factor weakening the efficacy of Minister Evans's mission is the present instability of Prime Minister Bob Hawke's Government. Our hope is that Foreign Minister Evans will not feel too tied down by the Australian parliamentary resolution regarding East Timor or feel tempted to try to achieve the

maximum in that context in order to safeguard his own political future."

The indications were that Indonesia's authorities were not in the mood to be making too many apologies.

The Indonesia Times reported on its front page that the President, Mr Suharto, had asked members of the Press Council to discuss the impact of foreign media reports on the Dili incident because the reports had damaged Indonesia's image.

Further, there appeared to be some shrinkage in Senator Evans's official program, although this was hotly denied by his minders who said the program was still not finalised and several appointments were still up in the air.

But if the Australian-Indonesian relationship is to go into deep freeze, it will not be through lack of effort by both country's foreign ministers.

Indeed the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, might have cause to be grateful he has Senator Evans to handle this complex situation.

Senator Evans's lawyerly approach, his negotiating skills and his accomplished quality as a draftsman of compromise resolutions with just enough ambiguity to allow two essentially contradictory points of view to co-exist may be very much in need in the coming months.

## your own business, Evans told



Mr Ramos Horta yesterday . . . 'we understand Australia's dilemma' — Picture: DAVID GRAY

### Canberra delaying inevitable, Horta says

AUSTRALIA was trying to delay inevitable action against Indonesia over the November 12 massacre in Dili, East Timorese resistance leader Mr Jose Ramos Horta said yesterday.

Australia has said it is awaiting the report of an official Indonesian government inquiry into the massacre before taking action.

Former prime minister Mr Bob Hawke and other government leaders have said the inquiry must be full, open and "dinkum".

The head of the inquiry, Justice Djaelani of the Indonesian Supreme Court, has been quoted by the official Indonesian news agency Antara as supporting

the army's widely disputed account that only 19 people were killed.

Australia believes more than 70 people were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd in Dili, the capital of East Timor, with witnesses putting the toll past 100.

Australian government spokesmen refused to comment on Justice Djaelani's comments, claiming they did not represent the official view until the inquiry report was presented to Indonesia's President Suharto.

Mr Ramos Horta told the National Press Club in Canberra yesterday that Australia had to take decisive action against Indonesia to protest against the killings.

Australia was trying to use the inquiry to "delay the inevitable", adding that Canada and European countries had already cut aid to Indonesia.

"We understand Australia's dilemma, Australia's difficulties, but this time Australia would not be alone . . . if it was to take decisive action," Mr Ramos Horta said.

Australia had to impose economic sanctions against the Indonesian regime, and that it was Indonesia which would be affected by sanctions — not Australia.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, arrived in Jakarta yesterday to discuss the massacre with Indonesian officials.

# Evans says his piece despite Jakarta rebuffs

By TERRY FRIEL, A.C.E. 2/12/91  
Jakarta, Friday

The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, has told Indonesia that its reaction to the Dili massacre will determine whether it becomes a more important player in international affairs or loses any real influence.

Senator Evans told journalists today that there was an internal struggle in Indonesia over whether the response to the 12 November massacre should be aimed at satisfying international demands or be focused on domestic concerns.

Senator Evans, in Jakarta to press Australia's concerns over the incident, said his talks with Indonesian ministers had "gone as well as could

reasonably be expected".  
"I have pursued the nature of Australia's concerns, why we are concerned, what we are concerned about," he said. He rejected suggestions that Australia's domestic political turmoil was undermining his mission, but conceded Australia's influence was marginal.

Later, he said that Indonesia realigned the report of its inquiry into the Dili massacre must be fair.

An important indication of how much weight the Indonesian Government gives Senator Evans will be whether President Suharto agrees to reschedule a meeting with him before the Australian delegation leaves tomorrow.

Late today, Australian officials had

still failed to set a new time to meet President Suharto in place of a scheduled meeting that did not go ahead yesterday.

In a further apparent rebuff, the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, left Jakarta and it was considered unlikely that he would return in time to see Senator Evans before his departure for Australia.

Senator Evans said: "The discussion going on about how to react to the killings in Dili has merely become a discussion about the whole future course of Indonesia; where the country is going."

"Is it going to go further down the path of being a confident, outward-looking, sophisticated participant in developed world issues or is it going

to become more defensive, inward-looking; becoming more reliant again on its traditional, developing-world, non-aligned-movement constituency?"

"How the issue of the inquiry (into the massacre) is handled really boils down fundamentally to that sort of question and those many people within the Indonesian system who want the issue handled in a way that will be seen by the international community as sensitive and responsive... are essentially those who are unequivocally committed to Indonesia continuing to go down this path of modernisation, both physically and psychologically."

"Those who are giving weight to other things, more defensive values, anxieties about security, worries about precedence elsewhere within

the archipelago, are less concerned about international reactions."

Indonesian leaders are reported to be furious at conditions that the former Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, set on his planned February visit to Jakarta.

He said his visit depended on the massacre inquiry being fair and accurate, Indonesia punishing those responsible for the massacre, Jakarta showing remorse over the killings and seeking a peaceful solution to the East Timor problem.

Senator Evans said today that the new Prime Minister, Mr Keating, had decided to go ahead with the visit to Indonesia, but it would be delayed by one or two months.

— AAP

AGE. 2/12/91

## The real culprit in Dili massacre

from J. M. Sinnott, Australia-East Timor Association

Mark Baker reports growing signs of a whitewash by the official Indonesian Inquiry into the Dili massacre ('The Age', 18/12).

The Australia-East Timor Association believes that even if the inquiry found the army and its officers guilty of murder it would still be a whitewash. It would let the real culprit, the Indonesian Government, off the hook. Any inquiry whose terms of reference were restricted to the immediate circumstances surrounding the killings would be a whitewash.

'The Age' editorial (19/12) points out that the massacre did not result from aberrant behavior by an Indonesian military group as Foreign Minister Evans ingenuously claims. The Roman Catholic Vicar General, Monsignor Hilton Deakin, at the Mass for East Timor in St Patrick's Cathedral, said, "Last November's massacre was not an isolated incident, but just the latest in a chain of killings, imprisonments, and violations of human life and rights."

It is the Government of Indonesia which ordered the 1975 invasion of East Timor, it is the Government of Indonesia which kept its army of occupation there.

## Vice-Regal Notes

mazel Hawke will also be remembered by Australian communities for her great interest in their welfare and the help she has given. Let us hope that we can continue to benefit from her dedication and energy.  
Katherine Kingsbury,  
Arthurs Creek.

It is the same government which must be held responsible for the massacre.

By reiterating in the strongest terms its claim to East Timor, Indonesia precludes any possibility of its inquiry finding the real reason for the massacre. Because the Australian Government supports Indonesia's illegal claim to East Timor it also has no interest in exposing the real reason for the massacre.

John Sinnott,  
Fitzroy.

## Test walk before implementation

from R. Friedman

I agree with 'The Age' News Diary suggestion (9/12) that instead of spending millions of dollars on public works that cannot be changed except by spending more millions, the MCC should slap up some inexpensive and easily removable barriers, and take three months or so to see if the plan works.

The Conservation Council of Victoria's assertion that "the MCC

THE

21.12.91

# Timor: a different history

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IN his letter (17/12) Mr Whitlam quotes at some length from an Australian submission to a United Nations committee to show us that he cared about the fate of the East Timorese. But if we examine this record against what was really happening at that time, the opposite conclusion is inescapable.

This submission, which reflects the Whitlam government's policy, was little more than empty rhetoric, based as it was on totally false or misleading assumptions.

The statement that "Indonesia and Australia in particular would like the process of (decolonisation) to proceed in an orderly fashion so as to avoid the risk of trouble ..." is outrageous, if only because, at that very time, Indonesian forces were operating in East Timor, their intervention having commenced two months earlier. And this was known to the government from observers on the spot like myself, as well as from the intelligence community.

It was in one of these operations, under the command of Colonel Dading Kalbuardi (now Lieutenant-

General), that five newsmen from this country were killed by Indonesian troops at the village of Balibo. Although the circumstances of their deaths were quickly disclosed to the Whitlam government, so reluctant were they to embarrass the Suharto regime that neither Whitlam nor Fraser could bring themselves to lodge a formal protest with Jakarta!

The statement endorsed by Mr Whitlam also subtly distorts the position of the Timorese. It does not mention that the civil war between Fretilin and UDT was not really the result of political incompatibility. It was the intended result of an Indonesian intelligence operation, code-named Operasi Komodo (masterminded by General Benny Murdani, now the Defence Minister), the existence of which became known to Canberra months earlier. Judged against the realities on the ground, the careful wording of this statement illustrates the deepening accommodation of Indonesia's illegal action by the governments of the time.

This UN submission records another big lie: that

Australia did not know what the preferences of the Timorese were at that time. The preferences were obvious and the Whitlam government was repeatedly advised, including by this writer, that the clear preference of the vast majority of the Timorese was for independence, with the main differences being the time frame.

But if anything is overstated in this statement it is Australia's efforts to find a just and peaceful solution. The Whitlam government responded coolly or negatively to approaches from the Timorese, from our NGOs and from the Portuguese, then weakened by a political crisis.

Mr Whitlam and many of his advisers, it seemed, desired that East Timor become part of Indonesia and were opposed to any measure that would obstruct such a course. Suharto, as the government knew, was sceptical about his generals' illegal plan, and only agreed to it in late September when he was persuaded that friendly governments in Australia and the US would react understandingly.

And so began one of the bloodiest episodes in the modern history of our region. When Indonesian troops began their attack the Timorese population was about 690,000: today it should be near 950,000 people. That it is now, 16 years later, little more than 600,000 gives us some idea of what the most irresponsible and heartless response in the history of this nation has cost a neighbouring people who were persuaded 50 years ago by Australian commandos that we were trusted friends.

It is against this sorry background that our response to the present situation in East Timor should be considered.

(The writer is author of *Timor: a People Betrayed* (Jacaranda, 1983). A former foreign affairs adviser in the Parliament, he once served as Consul in East Timor, and was a member of a two-man fact-finding mission sent by the Whitlam government to the colony in 1974. He was in Timor as the leader of an aid mission when Indonesia's military intervention began.)

**JAMES DUNN**  
Moruya, NSW

## WORLD NEWS

# Jakarta's future turns on report: Evans

By GREG SHERIDAN in Jakarta

THE debate in Indonesia over the response to the Dili massacre on November 12 had become a discussion on the future course for Indonesian society, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, said in Jakarta yesterday.

"Is it (Indonesia) going to go further down the path of being a confident, outward-looking, sophisticated participant in developed-world issues or is it going to become more defensive, inward-looking, becoming more reliant again on its traditional developing-world, non-aligned movement constituency," Senator Evans said.

The way the inquiry into the killings in East Timor was handled would be a reflection of this divide, he said.

Australia's influence on the debate would be marginal but any influence was worthwhile, he said.

Those in Indonesia who wanted the inquiry handled in an internationally acceptable way were those unequivocally committed to Indonesian modernisation, "both physical and psychological".

The inquiry's report would be given to the Indonesian Government within a few days, he said.

He expected some public indication of the report and the Government's reaction to it by the end of the year.

Senator Evans is visiting Indonesia for three days to express Australia's concern over the killings and explore with the Indonesian Government possible ways to improve the situation in East Timor.

His discussions went as well as could reasonably be expected "given the 9.9 degree of difficulty" involved, he said.

However, Senator Evans has been denied an appointment with the head of the Indonesian armed forces, General Try Sutrisno.

A number of other appointments, including one with the Security Minister, Admiral Sudomo, have fallen through.

The Indonesians are treating

Senator Evans correctly but do not appear to be doing any more.

It was still unclear yesterday whether Senator Evans would be given an appointment with President Suharto this morning.

But he has had extensive meetings with the Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, and the Home Affairs Minister, General Rudini, and yesterday had a long meeting with the powerful State Secretary, Major-General Murdiono.

Senator Evans has been stressing the need for Indonesia to take positive steps to heal the wounds in East Timor.

He has pressed the idea of Australia setting up a consulate in Dili and Indonesia allowing the United

Nations a role in solving East Timor's problems.

The Indonesian-language Kompas newspaper reported that these proposals received a stony reception from members of the Indonesian Government.

Senator Evans said that among the ministers he met, there was "a very acute appreciation" of the points he made and a "willingness to wrestle very seriously with them".

But his guarded optimism did not seem to be shared by the Indonesian press.

The Jakarta Post said in an editorial yesterday: "No one will deny that relations between Indonesia

and Australia — never among the most stable in the world — are at present once again at a low point as a result of the recent developments in East Timor."

The Indonesians were particularly upset after former prime minister Mr Bob Hawke linked a proposed visit to Indonesia to a satisfactory outcome from the inquiry into the killings.

Asked whether the leadership crisis and the change in prime minister had undermined the credibility of his mission, Senator Evans said: "I honestly don't think it's impacted either way on the visit ... the basic issues are larger than that."



# 12 EXTRA



GOODWILL TO ALL WHIPPETS

# Indonesia keen to meet new leader: Evans

MR Keating was keen to visit Indonesia and the Indonesian Government was keen to receive him, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, said yesterday.

Senator Evans said in Jakarta that the visit, which was set for former prime minister Mr Bob Hawke for February, would have to be postponed.

The Indonesian Government, which had been annoyed by Mr Hawke's repeated shuffling of dates for his proposed second visit to Indonesia, was totally understanding of Mr Keating's position as someone who had come into the prime ministership suddenly and not as part of a predictable timetable, he said.

Senator Evans said he had spoken to both Mr Keating and Mr Hawke in the preceding 24 hours.

Mr Keating had to establish some foreign policy credentials and it would be better to do this in Asia than in Europe, he said.

The new Prime Minister had made clear to him that he was interested in the region and would like to make an early visit to it.

Senator Evans had not discussed with Mr Keating whether he would remain Foreign Minister in the long term.

"He (Mr Keating) has indicated he wants some time to think about the whole question of the shape of the ministry," Senator Evans said.

But he said it was no secret that he would like to remain Foreign Minister.

He had not given any consideration to the question of running for Mr

Hawke's Lower House seat of Wills, pointing out that Mr Hawke had indicated he was going to stay on as the Member for Wills.

Senator Evans paid tribute to Mr Hawke's role in Australian foreign policy.

Mr Hawke's achievements "remain of the first magnitude, particularly in international relations", he said.

As soon as he heard about the impending Caucus ballot in Singapore he got someone to check the airline's timetables and determine whether he could get back in time for the vote.

It quickly became clear that there was no chance of getting back.

"The judgment had already been made in the Prime Minister's office that there was no point trying to get back," Senator Evans said.

"I think if it had been only one vote in it, it still would not have mattered ... it would have been too close for comfort."

Senator Evans defended the fact that Mr Hawke only made one visit to Indonesia in the entire 8½ years of his prime ministership.

"If you look at his travel schedule, he was not a much-travelled prime minister," he said.

"It was not as if he was always flying over Indonesia to get to somewhere else."

The Indonesian government leaders Senator Evans had met were "interested but not judgmental" in their reaction to the Australian leadership change, he said.

- GREG SHERIDAN

## News hits front page in Jakarta

By GREG SHERIDAN in Jakarta

PAUL Keating's triumph over Bob Hawke was front-page news in Jakarta yesterday and lead item in numerous television and radio news broadcasts.

The Indonesian-language Kompas newspaper, which has a readership of about 3½ million, led its front page with the story under the headline: Hawke replaced by Keating as PM of Australia.

The English-language Indonesian Observer similarly splashed with the story, under the heading: Secret ballot ends Bob Hawke's reign.

The Jakarta Post also gave the change front-page treatment. All three papers also carried front-page reports of the visit to Indonesia by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

Kompas found Hawke's personal financial circumstances fascinating. High up in its front-page story it repeated Hawke's remark that he was now far poorer, his income had gone down and he had a lot of debts and would have to work out how to pay them.

(The average per capita income in Indonesia is about \$700 a year.)

Inside the paper on page 9, Kompas ran an extensive profile of Keating.

The new Prime Minister's build was not tall, and his face was small, but his eyes were sharp and bold, it said.

Kompas said Keating was "born for politics" and reported his remark that Australia had not given sufficient attention to Indonesia.

None the less, Kompas pointed out that Keating had not come to Indonesia while Treasurer.

DECEMBER 21ST 1991-JANUARY 3RD 1992

LEADERS

The  
Economist

# From Tiananmen to Timor



## Why Indonesia may want to listen to outsiders

**T**HE parallels are plain: unarmed civilians killed by army gunfire; the horrified reaction of the outside world; the instinctive rejection of foreign criticism; instant arrests and further repression after the event. Last month's massacre of scores of demonstrators in East Timor has, inevitably, become "Indonesia's Tiananmen".

Yet the analogy is exact neither in background nor in detail. As communism crumbled beyond China's borders, the gerontocrats of Beijing viewed the student occupation of Tiananmen Square as the start of a much bigger protest and so the beginning of their end. The slaughter of June 4th 1989 and the repression that followed were deemed necessary by China's old despots for their own survival. By contrast, the government of President Suharto has no such excuse: the Fretilin secessionists of East Timor are no military threat; the 3,000 who gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on November 12th to mourn a young political activist killed two weeks earlier were no threat to the government in distant Jakarta.

Those differences matter. A secure government is likely to be more amenable to foreign views of human rights and political freedoms than one that is an anachronism. Whereas China dismisses any foreign criticism as "interference", a UN human-rights delegation had arrived in East Timor (gobbled up by Indonesia in 1975) on November 11th at the government's invitation. The foreign ministry in Jakarta now says (disingenuously) that foreign journalists "have been free to enter and cover events in provinces in Indonesia, including East Timor" and will continue to be so.

In which case, the questions for the outside world are how great is its influence and how should it be used. The same questions were asked after Tiananmen Square; the answers involved western financial sanctions against China and a ban on visits by senior officials. China was unimpressed. All it had to do was wait until the Gulf war and the wrangles with Britain over Hong Kong compelled its inclusion in the West's counsels.

## The power of the foreign purse

Many Indonesians, aware of foreign demand for their country's oil and gas, will advocate the same mix of patience and chauvinism. They should not be too confident. Indonesia will

hold an election for part of its legislature next April, to be followed by a presidential election in March 1993. Social stability during this period depends on economic growth—which in turn depends partly on the largesse of foreign donors. Last year they pledged \$4.5 billion; for the year ending next March it will be \$4.7 billion. Indonesia's foreign debt is \$57 billion, and servicing that consumes 30% of each year's export earnings; the government in Jakarta is in no position to thumb its nose at foreigners.

Foreigners, however, some of whom have suspended aid in reaction to the massacre, must use their power not simply to punish Indonesia but to nudge it towards greater tolerance. This does not necessarily mean that donors should take up the cause of the secessionists of East Timor. Nor does it mean the outright condemnation of a regime which, for the past quarter century, has not done badly in meeting the basic needs of a nation that spreads, with a bewildering array of languages and races, over more than 13,000 islands.

What it should mean is some steady pressure. Let foreign governments press for an international inquiry into the massacre (Indonesia's "independent" one may wash too white), with appropriate punishments to follow. But let them also press more widely, for an uncensored press, free trade unions and an independent judiciary—the institutions needed to make the government, and the armed forces, properly accountable. Above all, let them discreetly (a public loss of face would be unproductive) remind the president that the outside world is becoming much less tolerant of institutionalised corruption, nepotism and the abuse of human rights. President Suharto is wise enough to realise that Indonesia is a long way from China.

# Dili's broken childhood

By Moses Manoharan,  
Dili

SINARM AGE  
2/11/78

**T**HE sullen faces of East Timor's young people reveal deep psychological wounds inflicted by the Indonesian army's massacre of mourners in a cemetery last month.

"With that firing, they broke our hearts but strengthened our will to fight," a young man said after attending evening mass at the Motael church in Dili, the provincial capital.

He ignored the warning of an older man to stop talking to a foreign reporter because security officials were approaching.

The shooting on 12 November — when up to 180 people were killed, according to some accounts — was a turning point for his generation, the first to reach adulthood in Indonesia's 16-year rule.

Young people like him believe that supporting the Roman Catholic church, the dominant religion of the former Portuguese colony, is the only way left to them to demonstrate their separate culture, he said.

Most of the rest of Indonesia follows Islam, including most of the 10,000 or more soldiers Indonesia keeps in East Timor to fight a dwindling band of guerrillas and to help build up the local economy.

Young men loiter in the main shopping area of Dili, scowling or staring in fear at outsiders.

They disappear into their shanties in the evening, leaving the streets of Dili in silence, occasionally broken by a ramshackle taxi hurrying home before dark.

"It was not always like this," a foreign aid worker said. Once the dusty roads of the provincial city of 126,000 people bustled with life and color late into the evening.

She recalls shops selling luxury goods, brought into Dili harbor by ships from Singapore, and staying open until late at night until three months ago. Now the town comes to life only on Sundays when the East Timorese turn up in strength for church services.

"They look to the church as a kind of resistance to changes," the Governor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, said.

A recent survey by a Government institute found that most East Timorese youths were upset with the four representatives they last elected to Parliament.

One of them, Clementino dos Reis Amaral, said his first visit to East Timor after 12 November was more than two weeks later, as part of a Government commission investigating the killings.

"So I really don't know what

the situation is like in East Timor," Mr Reis Amaral said with a smile.

The commission said it found no evidence that the death toll was higher than the official figure of 19.

Salvador Suarez, another East Timorese member of Parliament, said the violence would have no impact on his re-election because of his party's hold on the territory.

But the youths, bereft of political representation, say they fear most the threat to their cultural identity, built around the church, Portuguese tradition and their dialects.

Under Indonesian rule, all schools but one that once taught Portuguese have closed. Tetum, the main local language, is a fading memory for the children who are taught Indonesian at school.

The dramatic increase in schools since the Indonesians arrived has presented a new problem of educated youths with no jobs to go to and who are seen as being the most vulnerable to separatist sentiment.

Governor Carrascalao said the 42,000 children who were orphaned in the turmoil after Indonesia invaded in 1975 were now reaching adulthood, with a feeling that no one helped them in their adversity.

Reuter

# Intruder on a mission of futility

By John Schauble

**T**HE futility of this week's mission to Jakarta by Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, to clobber the Indonesian Government around the head with the obvious ought by now to be quite apparent.

Unwillingly dispatched by the Labor caucus on a mission to protest the killings in Dili on 12 November, Senator Evans would have been acutely aware that his presence in the Indonesian capital on such an errand would have been seen by many Indonesians as nothing short of an insulting intrusion in their domestic affairs. Given the recognition accorded by Australia to Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, this perception would be all the more in Indonesian eyes.

While no doubt given a cordial reception, Senator Evans' visit will do nothing to enhance relations between the two countries. The irony is that it is Senator Evans who has worked hardest over the past three years to lay the foundations of a relationship between Australia and Indonesia based on mutual understanding and trust.

More importantly, his visit will have done little to improve the lot of the East Timorese in the short term.

The sad reality, however influential we might like to think we are within the region, is that Australian protests over human rights abuses in Indonesia carry little weight. Australia, in regional terms, remains little more than a marginal influence.

The Indonesian Government's attitude to East Timor does not appear to have been shifted by the broader international reaction to the killings. Judging from the remarks of President Soeharto this week — to the effect that if countries want to link aid to human rights issues in East Timor, then they can keep their aid — the Indonesian Government will not be moved.

It seems clear that significant change to the situation in East Timor will hinge on substantial change in the political and social situation of Indonesia. The prospects of such change occurring within Indonesia in the immediate future are slight.

Another reality in the context of a nation of 13,000 islands and 185 million people: the annexed territory of East Timor and its population of 700,000 are considered small beer in the domestic political arena. That President Soeharto dismissively referred to the Dili massacre as a fuss over a "tiny island" reflects this.

The dynamics of power and patronage in Indonesia are themes that have largely been ignored in Australia, particularly by the media. The position, power and influence of the Indonesian armed forces are barely understood. Nor are the current tensions between the military and civilian elites which will largely determine the future of Indonesia and East Timor.

The military's role in Indonesian society — and the efforts of reformers in the political system to contain it — are at the core of many of the dilemmas facing Indonesian society today. The military's grip on East Timor is in a real sense an expression of those conflicts.

While some observers have argued since the events in Dili that the writing is on the wall for Soeharto's New Order, the way in which the Indonesian Government and Indonesian society in general have closed ranks behind the miscreants in this affair would suggest otherwise.

The emergence in recent years of new political forces in Indonesia, such as the Democracy Forum and the high-profile Petition of 50 (a group of prominent political dissidents which includes former Cabinet ministers and senior military), are signs that there is a significant spirit for change within that country.

The future of the people of East Timor and Indonesia will be determined by whether that change comes and the manner in which it is achieved.

■ John Schauble is the Foreign Editor of 'The Sunday Age'.

SUNDAY  
AEE 22/11/91

# Evans snubbed by key Indonesian leaders

By Terry Freil,  
Jakarta, Saturday

INDONESIA'S senior leaders have snubbed Australia's Foreign Minister Gareth Evans after warning Australia and the international community not to lecture Indonesia on how to respond to the Dili massacre.

Senator Evans today met his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas, but was unable to meet the most senior figures involved in the issue — President Soeharto, Defence Minister Benny Murdani and Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno.

Mr Alatas later said Australia and the international community should not lecture Indonesia on how to resolve the East Timor problem, and accused foreign countries of exaggeration and ignoring the principles of fair play.

Senator Evans today concluded a three day visit to Jakarta to express Australia's concerns over the massacre to Indonesian leaders and push for a peaceful solution to the long-running East Timor problem.

He yesterday told Indonesia its reaction to the Dili massacre would determine whether it would become a major player in international affairs or lose any real influence.

Mr Alatas today told foreign critics to give Indonesia's special commission of inquiry into the massacre a fair chance to complete its probe.

"You have been telling us how to handle the situation — may I respectfully conversely also say one thing about the international community hand-

ling of the situation," he told a joint news conference with Senator Evans.

"Don't rub things the wrong way. Don't exaggerate, don't insinuate where there is no reason. In these very difficult circumstances . . . I think the hallowed principles of fair play (should apply)," he said.

"Give the benefit of the doubt and give the commission a chance to come up with the facts. Because some of the earlier reports especially were very unhelpful to find the right atmosphere to come out of this very difficult situation."

Senator Evans and Mr Alatas, who are close friends, met for more than seven hours over the past two days.

Senator Evans also met State Secretary Moerdiano and Home Affairs Minister Rudini.

**'It's important to maintain a dialogue on issues like this.'**

He said he was "disappointed" not to meet President Soeharto, General Murdani and General Try, but said he had "no doubt whatsoever" his comments would be passed on.

He said he had been well received during his meetings here. "I have been greeted and treated with nothing but absolute courtesy," he said.

"More than that, I have been treated as a friend, as a representative of a friendly neighbor with whom it's important to maintain a dialogue on issues

like this — sensitive and difficult and troublesome in the relationship as they may be.

"I am impressed by the high level of consciousness that exists here about the nature of the particular problems in East Timor. I am left in no doubt that the significance of the East Timor issue, the November 12 killings, is fully appreciated here in Jakarta," Senator Evans said.

"There was no disposition among anyone . . . to say that this was a minor issue. There was no disposition to say robustly that this was none of Australia's business, it's none of the international community's business."

Senator Evans said Indonesia was already considering many of the suggestions Australia had made on bringing peace to East Timor. These included negotiations with the East Timorese, including rebels, more financial autonomy and a bigger role for the Catholic church.

Indonesia had also said it would welcome a special United Nations emissary if the UN wanted to send a representative here to talk with Jakarta about East Timor.

Describing the massacre as "regrettable" and "tragic", Mr Alatas refused to comment on the death toll, saying that was up to the inquiry to determine.

The Indonesian military says 19 people died and 91 were injured when troops opened fire on a crowd of 3500 demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili on 12 November.

But witnesses and other sources put the death toll much higher. Evans has said Australia estimates 75 people died.

Australian Associated Press

◆ Analysis, P15

HCE 23/12/91

# Timor may ban foreigners

By LINDSAY MURDOCH  
Singapore, Sunday

Indonesia is considering closing East Timor to outsiders. The move would be a blow to East Timorese activists, who believe the presence of foreigners will help to prevent military brutality.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, said yesterday that his Government was reviewing a 1989 decision to make East Timor an open province but he hoped it would not be closed.

Referring to foreign journalists who were in Dili, the East Timor capital, on 12 November when soldiers opened fire on civilians, Mr Alatas said: "We find that the no-visit rule has been taken advantage of."

The Indonesian military was furious when it realised that journalists who had not declared their occupations witnessed the killings. Their reports led to an international outcry against Indonesia.

Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said in Jakarta yesterday that Australia would be unhappy if East Timor was closed to foreigners.

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, was quoted this month in the weekly magazine 'Editor' as saying: "Since the re-

gion has been opened, chaos has come out. For myself, maybe it is better that it be closed."

Indonesia has rejected a request by Senator Evans for Australia to establish a consulate in Dili. He said the Indonesian response had been "not yet" and he would pursue the matter at a later date. The request was made during a three-day visit to Jakarta during which Senator Evans was snubbed by President Suharto, the Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdani, and the Armed Forces Commander, General Try Sutrisno. The three will decide what action will be taken over the Dili killings.

Senator Evans told a joint news conference with Mr Alatas before returning to Australia yesterday that he was satisfied with his talks on the massacre with several Indonesian ministers, including Mr Alatas.

But Mr Alatas warned Australia and the international community not to lecture Indonesia on how to respond to the killings.

He said: "You (the international community) have been telling us how to handle the situation. May I respectfully conversely also say one thing about the international community handling of the situation. Don't rub things the wrong

way. Don't exaggerate, don't insinuate where there is no reason. In these very difficult circumstances... I think the hallowed principles of fair play (should apply).

"Give the benefit of the doubt and give the (investigating) commission a chance to come up with the facts. Because some of the earlier reports, especially, were very unhelpful to find the right atmosphere to come out of this very difficult situation."

Senator Evans said he had succeeded in meeting the objectives of his visit: to convey Australia's concern over the violence, to encourage Jakarta to conclude its inquiry in a way acceptable abroad, and to work for a resolution of the East Timor issue.

"I am impressed by the high degree of consciousness that exists here about the nature of the particular problems in East Timor. I am left in no doubt that the significance of the East Timor issue, the November 12 killings, is fully appreciated here in Jakarta," he said.

The head of the Indonesian inquiry into the killings, Mr Justice Jaelani, is expected to report to President Suharto this week.

## 'Friend' Evans treated like an enemy

The refusal of three of Indonesia's most senior leaders, including President Suharto, to see the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, signals that Jakarta will not let international pressure dictate military policy, especially on East Timor.

The snub sent a clear message to Australia: mind your own business. Senator Evans's visit to Indonesia was a mistake, not because of what he had to say but because Indonesia chose to refuse to hear the advice of a friend and neighbor.

The snub by the three key Indonesians who will decide on any action over the massacre was particularly disappointing because of Australia's soft response to the

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### COMMENT

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LINDSAY MURDOCH

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incident so far.

The treatment of Senator Evans in Jakarta was shabby, and surprising, given that he has consistently recognised Indonesia's claim to sovereignty over East Timor.

Despite the senator's best efforts to play down the snub (he had "no doubt whatsoever" his comments would be passed on) he was denied the chance to put Australia's views to President Suharto, the Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdani and the Armed

Forces Commander, General Try Sutrisno.

Indonesia's attitude to Senator Evans's visit adds to the dilemma Canberra will face if the Indonesian inquiry into the killings is a whitewash, and can only add to the concerns of the Labor caucus and Australian unions that Australia has not done enough to protest against a massacre of civilians on our doorstep.

Senator Evans said at the weekend that the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, will still visit Indonesia next year. Given Jakarta's treatment of a so-called friend, one wonders how it will take to advice from a virtual stranger, if indeed Mr Keating still goes.



Frankly, the more the better.  
There is no valid reason why

Government has had deregulated the domestic airlines. M  
Keating should finish the job

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# East Timor: the next move

S. M. H.

23/12/91

THE test of Senator Evans's visit to Jakarta is what happens next. Senator Evans was snubbed by an Indonesian Government grimly determined to whitewash the events in East Timor. President Soeharto was unavailable. So was the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani. And so, after Senator Evans extended his visit for the meeting, was the commander of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno. And yet Senator Evan believes that he did get his message across. The Australian Government now should be in a better position to make its next move on the Timor issue.

suppressions and all the international protests, Indonesia has received \$60 billion in aid in the past 25 years.

However, it is also a strategy of declining utility, as Indonesia's prosperity and stability makes brutal suppression less excusable, and the collapse of communism makes the West more fussy about the people it aids. Indonesian political leaders, such as the Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, know that. So do Indonesia's many enlightened generals.

Officially, the Australian Government, like everyone else, is waiting for the commission of inquiry, headed by Judge Djaelani, to report on the Dili massacre. That report should be given to President Soeharto within two weeks. However, it seems clear that the report will be a whitewash. Judge Djaelani, himself a former military officer, says he has found no evidence to contradict the military's claim that only 19 people were killed when soldiers fired on the demonstration outside the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The evidence of witnesses, accepted by the Governor of East Timor and most Western Governments, is that about 100 civilians were killed.

Eventually the Ali Alatases will win. Even in the short term they may be able to curb the suppression in East Timor where eight civilians arrested at the time of the massacre now face subversion charges and the possibility of the death penalty. But they need evidence that the world is watching, and that unnecessary brutality will provoke an international response. Despite Indonesian claims to the contrary, Australia and other Western nations are doing something potentially useful when they protest about the events in East Timor. And the more nations that protest the better.

The Indonesian Government, it seems, will stand by the military and simply wait for the international storm to blow itself out. It is an old strategy, used by Jakarta after the massacre of the communists in 1965 and all the brutal suppressions since, including the invasion of East Timor. And it has generally been successful, not least because pragmatists in the West have accepted that Indonesian nation building involves a measure of brutality. Despite all the

What should Australia do next? If, as expected, Judge Djaelani produces a whitewash, Australia should review its relations with Indonesia, as promised by the Government. Military aid should be suspended. The prime ministerial visit to Jakarta, planned for February, should be called off. The aim is not to seriously disrupt Australia's extensive relations with Indonesia, or punish ordinary Indonesians for the excesses of their army. Rather it is to make clear to the Indonesian Government Australia's disgust at the events in East Timor, and perhaps to have a small but constructive influence on Indonesian policy and political development.

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Inevitably t and usage in some of our came from W grateful if Y journalists, a Walsh, that. "access" and verbs. It is au journalists in pa take up the dis language so

# Dili shootings planned: witnesses

By JILL JOLLIFFE,  
Lisbon, Monday

AGE  
24/12/91

Witnesses to last month's Dili massacre have identified the commanders and several military units involved. They believe the evidence points to a deliberate and planned assault sanctioned by senior officers.

After reading the evidence of East Timorese refugees now living in Portugal, Amnesty International has supported their view that the massacre was premeditated.

The refugees examined film of the shooting smuggled out of Dili by Yorkshire Television and shown throughout the world. Their evidence is reinforced by an American journalist, Allan Nairn, who was wounded in the 12 November massacre.

Between 100 and 200 unarmed Timorese died when Indonesian troops opened fire during a pro-independence demonstration and funeral march. Results of the Indonesian Government inquiry into the killings are due to be handed to President Suharto this week.

The East Timorese refugees named two Indonesian intelligence agents, Lieutenant Mursani and Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto — both accountable to the Timor regional commander, Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw — as instigators of the massacre.

From their viewing of the film, the East Timorese refugees claim that the coordination of several military groups by secret police agents means that the massacre was deliberate and cold-blooded rather than an enraged response

to provocation, as a leaked version of the report by the Indonesian commission of inquiry suggests.

The agents responsible are attached to a special military intelligence command structure known as Kolakops.

The Asia researcher for Amnesty International, Mr Geoffrey Robinson, said in London: "It's very disturbing and confirms what we had thought earlier, from eye-witness testimony, that this was not a spontaneous reaction to provocative behavior by a riotous mob, but a planned military operation."

Of six East Timorese refugees who studied the film separately, five recognised Lieutenant Mursani instantly as the officer who directed troops inside the Santa Cruz cemetery, scene of the killings, in the final moments of the massacre.

Of the five who identified Lieutenant Mursani, three asked to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals against relatives in East Timor. Two said they had suffered ill-treatment at his hands.

Mr Eusebeio Corsino, who arrived in Lisbon 16 months ago, is a former resistance fighter who was captured in 1979 and conscripted into the Indonesian Army for six months. He knows its structure well.

"Mursani is a well-known secret police agent," he said. "In the cemetery he is shown in civilian clothing coordinating several military groups. They include Kodim, the local command, to which he is normally attached, troops from at least one elite Indonesian battalion, who would normally act under their own commanders, as well as



*Lieutenant Mursani, left, who commanded operations in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The picture is taken from video film.*

a Brimob riot police unit, local police, and other plainclothes intelligence agents.

"To me, this indicates a special intelligence operation, whose main commander must have been Mursani's superior, Gatot-Purwanto, the head of Indonesian intelligence operations in East Timor."

Mr Corsino said that Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto in turn was accountable to General War-

ouw and "in the final analysis to General Benny Murdani". General Murdani, Indonesia's Defence Minister, commissioned the inquiry into the killings.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto (known as Gatot to distinguish him from another officer called Purwanto who was previously active in Timor) does not figure in the video scenes. But Mr Nairn reported that he saw Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot, whom he

had interviewed earlier, in the area.

Both Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto and Lieutenant Mursani are familiar to Timorese independence supporters and to former prisoners, who claim to have been abused by them.

Mr Donaciano Gomes, a student who arrived in Portugal in mid-1990, was jailed for three months and tortured for organising a pro-independence demonstration when the Pope visited in October 1989.

He said Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto organised intelligence operations during the Pope's visit, when soldiers attacked demonstrators at the end of the papal Mass.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto's experience in East Timor is extensive. In 1983, as a major, he participated in ceasefire talks with the resistance leader Mr Xanana Gusmao, which were led by Colonel Purwanto on the Indonesian side.

Lieutenant Mursani emerges as a seasoned but relatively minor secret policeman, whose presence indicated that the massacre was an intelligence operation, part of a wider scheme prepared before the proposed 3 November visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation, later suspended.

All the witnesses said Lieutenant Mursani was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Gatot-Purwanto, who delegated authority to him within the cemetery where, by gestures and shouted orders, he directed the entry, positioning and withdrawal of the soldiers.

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# Youth must change Indonesia, says general

JAKARTA: A former head of Indonesia's internal security agency has called on the "young generation" to change the country's presidential and political systems.

"It is time to review regulations and practices (that are) no longer suitable," retired General Sumitro reportedly told a student seminar at the weekend.

The present lead-up to elections next June and the presidential race in March 1993 were the ideal period to correct the system, General Sumitro, who headed the now defunct but powerful internal security agency from 1968-72, said.

The younger generation should push for reform because the older

generation was captive to old political patterns.

The present regulations and practices established by the New Order Government of President Suharto since 1966 could hamper national growth, he said.

"I want an end to the old political style," he was quoted as saying in the Jakarta Post daily newspaper.

"At the beginning of the New Order, we corrected the Old Order totally. But we committed a great mistake because we did not decide that a president could be re-elected only once."

However, any correction should come through constitutional and non-violent means.

General Sumitro also criticised the growth of feudalism in Indonesian politics, saying it presented the "top leadership as an official who can do no wrong, does not need to be controlled and appears like holding unlimited power".

President Suharto is serving a fifth consecutive five-year term, which ends in 1993. He has yet to indicate his intentions but he would probably win another election.

Indonesia's Constitution does not limit the number of times a president can serve.

General Sumitro said the New Order's priority when established 25 years ago was to restore security. But it had resulted in political

engineering that had affected democratic expression.

He cited many prerogatives of the national legislature which had been curtailed to ensure security at the start of the New Order.

Next June, Indonesians will indirectly elect 400 candidates for the legislature's 500 seats. The remaining 100 will be allotted to the military. Every successful candidate is then vetted by the country's leaders.

The MPs will then join another 500 politicians appointed to form the highest legislative body, the People's Consultative Assembly, which elects a president and vice-president after the elections.

# EVANS CALM ON DILI

## Massacre report 'not unreasonable'

By ANGELA LEARY  
and CHRISTINE GILES  
THE report into the East Timor massacre was better than expected, the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, said yesterday.

Senator Evans said the preliminary report, by an independent commission appointed by the Indonesian Government, made it clear the military had over-reacted.

The commission announced on Wednesday it had "enough strong reasons" to believe about 50 people died when Indonesian armed forces opened fire on about 3500 demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12.

It rejected army claims that only 19 people were killed and found more than 91 were injured.

The violence erupted at the end of a memorial procession for a Timorese man killed by Indonesian security forces on October 28.

Soldiers said they fired in self-defence.

Senator Evans, speaking on ABC radio, said it was encouraging that the commission had estimated the death toll at 50, saying that after his visit to Jakarta he believed the death toll was 50 to 75.

He said language like "fired excessively" and "exceeded appropriate

limits" was used in the 16-page summary he had read.

"By and large, I think one has to say that it is a pretty crisp and not unreasonable account of what we, from other sources, ourselves know or believe to have occurred," he said.

Senator Evans said he was waiting for the Indonesian Government's response to the report.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, also said yesterday that the preliminary report was encouraging.

But an American journalist, beaten by Indonesian troops during the massacre, said yesterday the findings were a farce.

Alan Nairn, a reporter for *The New Yorker* magazine, told the *Herald-Sun* by phone from the US yesterday that if the Australian Government was serious about human rights, it would urge the

release of those detained after the incident.

Nairn said the findings were designed to silence international outrage and condemnation.

"I think the report is very much a lie," he said.

"This is not a report separate from the army. It is a government commission headed by a former army intelligence member."

Nairn said an Amnesty International estimate that 200 or more had been killed was more plausible.

"I have read what the report says... that this is a case of individual soldiers, defending themselves, acting spontaneously and outside command," he said.

"But in fact what I saw was hundreds of soldiers marching up in formation, turning the corner and opening fire on the crowd.

"There was no warning and they kept shooting for five to 10 minutes, leaping over fallen bodies and shooting people in the back as they fled."

Nairn said the attack was a "planned, disciplined military operation".

Indonesian authorities reportedly detained 32 people in Dili after the shootings and charged eight with subversion, a charge which carries the death penalty.

The US Government said the commission appeared to have taken a "serious and responsible approach" to the inquiry.

A State Department spokesman said officials wanted to read the report fully before commenting further.

"A key consideration will be how the Indonesian Government addresses the crucial question of how the Indonesian legal system will deal with those members of the security forces who used or condoned excessive force," he said.

271291 -100-100

# Dili toll 50, Indonesian inquiry finds

By **TERRY FRIEL,**  
**Jakarta, Thursday**

Indonesia's special investigation into the Dili massacre has found that 50 people died in the incident, rejecting army claims that only 19 were killed.

In a preliminary report to President Suharto, the special commission of inquiry has also criticised the actions of some soldiers, accusing them of overreacting.

"The commission has enough strong reasons to believe that the number of victims who died were around 50 people and that the injured (were) more than 91 people," the commission's head, Mr Justice Jaelani, said today after giving his report to President Suharto.

Indonesia's armed forces had insisted that 19 people died and 91 were injured when troops fired on a crowd of 3500 demonstrators in the East Timor capital, Dili, on 12 November. The army says it shot in self-defence.

The commission's preliminary report also said soldiers and police were forced to open fire to protect themselves, but that some went too far. "Some security force members overreacted, which caused more victims," Mr Justice Jaelani said.

The report said the situation became tense after an army major was stabbed by demonstrators as they passed.

President Suharto is expected to announce his response within days.

**MARK METHERELL** reports that the Australian Government last night reacted cautiously, declining to comment on the report's findings. A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade said the Government would give a considered response once it had studied the report.

The commission's reported death tally of 50 contrasts with the Australian Government's estimate of about 75 dead.

If the latest report is correct, it will put the Australian Govern-

ment in a testing position. It had said it would review its links with Indonesia if the commission's report was not fair and thorough and the guilty were not punished.

At the end of his visit to Jakarta last week, the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, who was snubbed by President Suharto and senior defence figures, said he was impressed by "the high degree of consciousness" in Indonesia about the nature of the problems in East Timor.

One senior Western diplomat in Jakarta welcomed the report as a "significant and excellent" development. Others said the report represented an unprecedented contradiction of the Indonesian armed forces.

"It really is a decisive difference," the diplomat said. "It is also a kick in the face of a major kind for (the armed forces commander) General Try Sutrisno."

In evidence before a parliamentary commission on 27 November, General Sutrisno insisted that the death toll was 19. Mr Justice Jaelani said his commission of inquiry based its estimate of 50 deaths on the evidence of "adult witnesses whom we can trust".

The witnesses had either been in the demonstration or had arrived at the scene soon after the shooting, he said.

But he said that the commission had been unable to find any evidence of other graves, apart from the 18 at Hera, near Dili, where the army said the victims were buried. Another victim, a New Zealander, Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj, was buried in Malaysia.

Witnesses and other sources have consistently claimed that more than 19 people died, with some estimates at more than 100.

Yesterday, Japanese MPs urged their Government to suspend economic aid, a move that would seriously hurt Indonesia. Japan is Indonesia's largest aid donor, providing about half the \$4.5 billion that Jakarta receives in annual aid.

AUSTRALIAN  
28.12.91

# Budget



Picture: PETER MARS

upon the treasury bench after Mr Keating's abortive first challenge - Messrs Dawkins, Willis and Kerin - each displayed body language appropriate to their changed circumstances.

The luckless John Kerin, who has undergone four ministerial changes in the past six months (primary industries, treasurer, transport and communications and now trade and overseas development) and now finds himself dumped from Cabinet altogether, was the first of the three to arrive at Government House yesterday.

Sporting a big grin and slapping his big farmer's hand into the hands of his colleague,

## Military to charge soldiers over Dili

By ANNE CONNOLLY  
and agencies

THE Indonesian military yesterday promised to prosecute the soldiers responsible for the Dili massacre after a preliminary report which was welcomed by both the Australian and United States governments.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, described the report as credible and encouraging. The US said the investigating commission appeared to have taken a "serious and responsible approach".

In a rare move, a military spokesman, Brigadier-General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, said: "Some people (soldiers) will be tried based on the applicable laws."

President Suharto expressed his condolences to the families of the dead and the document was given widespread publicity by State-run media organisations.

But the Fretilin resistance group, overseas aid groups and Amnesty International said the report only pushed partial blame on to the military to alleviate international pressure on the Indonesian Government.

The report found that the army used excessive force at a Dili funeral on November 12 and that 50 people were killed and 91 injured.

Mr Keating said he would be waiting to see what action would be taken over the final report, which is expected to be released in about six weeks, but said he was encouraged by the document.

"I think the preliminary report was much more credible than that which we've seen before, and I think we regard it as an encouraging document," he said.

He would be considering a trip to Jakarta but the scheduled visit planned by former prime minister Mr Bob Hawke for February was at an inopportune time considering the change of leadership.

Senator Evans said the report used the "language of disaster" and made it clear "there was a manifest over-reaction by the military forces".

"The findings are that around 50 people died which is very much a rebuttal of the

Continued - Page 2  
Beginnings of victory - Page 17

PTD.

# Jakarta revises toll to 50 dead

By GREG SHERIDAN and AFP

FIFTY people died after troops shot into a crowd at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on November 12, an official committee set up by the Indonesian Government to investigate the shooting said in Jakarta yesterday.

In an unprecedented move the report into the killings, prepared by Justice Djaelani of the Supreme Court, criticised the military's handling of the disturbance in Dili that led to the massacre.

The report is certain to be criticised internationally for having too low an estimate of the numbers killed.

However, it is a much more credible report than had been widely expected.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said on November 26 that the best estimate of those killed was about 75, perhaps a little more, perhaps a little less.

Independent human rights groups have put the numbers dead closer to 100.

However, the report also acknowledges that some 90 people are missing after the shootings and that a number of these may also be dead.

After receiving a copy of the report, Indonesia's President Suharto expressed his condolences to the families of those killed in East Timor.

"Fifty (dead) is accountable ... the figure of 50 people we use is based on witnesses," Justice Djaelani, the leader of the National Investigative Commission, told journalists after reporting the findings to President Suharto.

Indonesian authorities had said 19 people died and 91 others were injured when troops shot in self-defence into a crowd of demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

Witnesses said the army massacred up to 100 people in an unprovoked attack on a peaceful procession.

"The commission feels it has strong enough reasons to be of the opinion that the number of dead victims stands around 50 people and those injured at more than 91 people," the commission says in its preliminary report on the shooting.

By settling on the figure of 50, the commission has repudiated the earlier version of the incident favoured by the

Continued — Page 2

27.12.91

The Australian



THE AGE 28/12/91

## CONCLUSIONS OF THE INQUIRY INTO THE DILI KILLINGS

*These are the conclusions of Indonesia's national investigative commission, comprising a chairman and six members, which inquired into the incident in Dili on 12 November. The conclusions were contained in the commission's preliminary report summary. This is the official Indonesian translation.*

1. The Dili incident of 12 November 1991 was as the culmination of a series of demonstrations and incidents initially organised by the group of anti-integration/the Fretilin disturbance movement in order to attract international attention of their existence.

2. It was not an incident premeditated or deliberately ordered by neither the central Government nor the Indonesian armed forces headquarters as well as the local military command of East Timor. It was, however, a regretful accident.

3. It was a provocative demonstration designed by the group of anti-integration/the Fretilin security disturbance movement; not a peaceful memorial service for Sebastiao Gomes.

4. The largely comprised youth demonstrators had acted violently, emotionally and destructively. They were presumed to have been long influenced and agitated by the group of anti-integration/Fretilin security disturbance movement. They intentionally carried and unfurled the Fretilin and the Galentil flags, picture of Xanana Gusmao, posters and shouted anti-integration and insulted yells to the security apparatus.

5. Some foreigners had actively

been participating in the demonstration.

6. The heightening strenuous conditions which was initiated by the stabbing and wounding of two young security officers, the provocative and brutal mass had led to spontaneous reactions from the lower ranking security officers as to defend themselves and the weapons in the form of unguided shootings which subsequently caused death casualties and injuries. At the same time, an unorganised and uncontrolled group of security apparatus had opened fire and tortured some demonstrators which increased the number of casualties.

7. Despite the presence of the anti-riot units, the commission is of the view that the standard procedures of handling riots are not properly applied. Some security apparatus had conducted excessively which caused more casualties. Although the claimed number of victims so far has been 19 dead and 91 injured, the commission has enough strong reason to believe that the number of victims who died were around 50 and the injured were more than 91 people.

8. The handling of the dead body of the victims, apart from the availability of the visum et repertum, was not carefully managed and identified accordingly. The opportunity to identify the victims was not given to their relatives or friends.

9. The commission is of the opinion that legal action should be taken to those involved in and responsible to the incident in accordance with the existing law in Indonesia which upholds Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

THE AGE. 28/12/91.

# Evans mistaken on Dili: Amnesty

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

Amnesty International yesterday rejected the Australian Government's favorable response to the preliminary findings of the Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, described the report as much better than many people had expected, and said the findings that about 50 people had died was a rebuttal of the Indonesian military's figure of 19.

An Australian spokesman for Amnesty, Mr Andre Frankovits, said last night that the Government was mistaken to place any credibility on the inquiry and that all independent evidence suggested that more than 100 had died in the massacre.

Mr Frankovits said that from what Amnesty had been told, the

inquiry had failed to meet the Australian Government's own terms for it to be open and fair. He said the Government should be pursuing its demand for an international investigation under the auspices of the United Nations.

It was regrettable that Senator Evans seemed to be moving away from demands for that investigation, Mr Frankovits said.

Senator Evans's comments also angered an East Timorese resistance spokesman, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, who claimed that Senator Evans was engaged in a "whitewash".

A summary of the report issued last night by the Indonesian embassy in Canberra describes the massacre of mourning demonstrators in Dili on 12 November as "a regretful accident".

According to the embassy version of the findings, five of its nine conclusions lay blame against the demonstrators, while only three

conclusions are clearly critical of the military. The embassy version of the findings states that the commission found 70 bullet marks in the area of the massacre.

In Jakarta, an Indonesian military spokesman pledged prosecutions as a result of the commission's report. "Some people will be tried based on the applicable laws," said the spokesman, Brigadier-General Nurhadi Purwosaputro.

The US State Department yesterday also cautiously welcomed the report, saying the commission appeared to have taken a "serious and responsible" approach, but added that officials wanted to study a full text of the report before commenting further.

Mr Allan Nairn, an American journalist who witnessed the massacre, yesterday described Senator Evans's comments as "outrageous . . . Evans is becoming part of the cover-up".

Mr Nairn told 'The Age' from New Jersey that there was no factual basis for Senator Evans to agree with the commission's preliminary finding.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, said yesterday that the initial report of the National Investigative Commission was "much more credible than that which we've seen before and I think we regard it as an encouraging document".

Mr Keating said that it was important to wait for the commission's final report and to see what the Indonesian Government's response would be to that.

Senator Evans described the preliminary report as by and large "a pretty crisp and not unreasonable account of what we, from other sources ourselves, know or believe to have occurred".

He was speaking after studying an Australian translation of the 16-page summary.

**PAGE 8: Inquiry conclusions.**

# Soeharto sacks military chiefs

AGE. 29.12.91

Jakarta, Saturday

**I**NDONESIA'S President Soeharto today sacked the military commanders responsible for East Timor six weeks after Indonesian troops opened fire on civilian mourners in a Dili cemetery.

The sackings follow a critical report by the special national commission of investigation into the Dili massacre.

"As the highest commander of the armed forces, (Soeharto) has taken the decision to replace... the Udayana military commander and the East Timor military operational commander," State Secretary Minister Mardiono said.

The Udayana command, with its headquarters in Bali, oversees East Timor and is headed by General Sintong Panjaitan. The East Timor military operational commander is Brigadier General Rudolf Samuel Warouw.

"Whatever happened in Dili on 12 November is the full responsibility of the local security apparatus," Mr Mardiono quoted the president as saying.

The statement tends to suggest that the commander-in-chief of the Indonesian military, General Try Sutrisno, will not be censured.

Speaking in Dili yesterday, a defiant General Try again warned that the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) would use force to quell separatist activities in the former Portuguese territory (*Full report, P11*).

An inquiry set up by President Soeharto said this week that about 50 people died in the Dili massacre. The report found another 90 people were still missing and might be dead, injured or in hiding.

The army had earlier put the death toll at 19, and said its soldiers had acted in self-defence. Other sources said as many as 115 died, and that the incident was unprovoked.

Agence France-Presse

◆ Comment, P12

EAST TIMOR

# Army chief threatens dissidents

29.12.91

Jakarta, Saturday

**A** day after the Indonesian armed forces were condemned by a Government inquiry into the massacre of civilians in Dili on 12 November, the country's military chief has told separatists in East Timor to give up their struggle for an independent state or face military action.

General Try Sutrisno, speaking in the East Timorese capital yesterday, urged separatists "here and abroad, who still harbor the ambition and obsession of creating chaos, unrest and security disturbances", to end their fight, the state-run news agency Antara reported.

General Try again threatened that military force could be used to crush dissident groups.

"The result of all their doings and actions is that the people have become the victims, experiencing prolonged suffering," he said at a Christmas gathering for servicemen and their families.

In a provocative speech, General Try warned that if East Timorese separatists did not end their struggle, Indonesia's armed forces were ready to take "strict actions" to ensure security and development.

He also alleged that the November massacre in which Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd in Dili was "intentionally engineered" by East Timorese separatists in co-operation with "certain parties here and abroad".

The Indonesian daily 'Suara Pembaruan' reported today that 14 people detained after the Dili shootings will be charged with subversion, which carries a maximum penalty of death.

East Timor police chief Colonel Ishak Kodijat said in Dili that 14 of the

33 detained following the shooting would be charged with subversion, the paper reported.

The police chief today handed over to the state's high prosecutors office in Dili documents on the case of one of the detainees, suspected of leading several anti-Indonesian demonstrations in East Timor in the past few years, including during the visit of Pope John Paul II in October 1989.

Fretilin guerrillas have been fighting for East Timor's independence since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Jakarta declared East Timor its 27th province in 1976, but the United Nations still considers the predominantly Roman Catholic province to be under Lisbon's domain.

An Indonesian Government inquiry said on Thursday that about 50 people died in the Dili shooting. The military had put the death toll at 19 and said the soldiers shot in self-defence.

Other sources say as many as 115 died and that the shooting was unprovoked. The inquiry said at least 91 other people were wounded in the shooting, while others remain missing.

Meanwhile, Portugal has rejected the findings of the Indonesian inquiry into the massacre and called for an international investigation.

A Foreign Ministry statement said Indonesian authorities had "behaved shamefully" and were trying to improve their image.

It said the shooting of mourners in the former Portuguese territory was not an isolated event and there should be an internationally supervised investigation.

Several Western governments suspended aid to Indonesia following the killings.

Agence France-Presse, Reuter

◆ Comment, P12

SOVIET UNION

# Military fiefdom in East Timor in no one's interests

By John Schauble

THE decision of Indonesia's President Soeharto to dump the military commanders in charge of East Timor comes as no real surprise.

Once it was decided to establish a special commission of inquiry into the 12 November massacre in the East Timor capital, Dili, the heads of the local commander General Rudolf Warouw and his superior General Sintong Panjaitan went on the chopping block.

The extent of their actual involvement in the shootings remains unclear. Some will argue that the dismissal of General Warouw, seen as something of a moderate, may not necessarily be in the best interest of the East Timorese.

It appears, however, that the commander-in-chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), General Try Sutrisno, will live to fight another day. Judging by President Soeharto's remarks yesterday — exhorting General Try to root out and punish the miscreants — and General Try's own defiant comments in Dili on Friday, his position is not in jeopardy for the moment.

General Try is a protege of President Soeharto and has often been mentioned as a possible successor when the 70-year-old Soeharto eventually vacates the presidential palace.

Nothing approaching the whole truth is ever likely to emerge from the various accounts of the Dili massacre, including those of western aid workers and journalists.

It is unlikely that the true death toll

from the incident will be known. Estimates from a variety of sources have placed it anywhere between 19 and 200. This week the Indonesian Government's commission placed the death toll at "around 50" with more than 91 injured and missing.

The commission's full report will not be presented to President Soeharto for several weeks, but its preliminary findings on the killings, released on Thursday, have already served to take some of the heat out of the international condemnation.

The sighs of relief from Washington and Canberra have been almost audible. The governments of the United States and Australia have cautiously welcomed the findings as evidence of genuine efforts on the part of the Indonesian authorities to conduct a full

and proper investigation into the incident. The Japanese Government, facing pressure from Parliament to review its aid policies towards Indonesia, has yet to respond.

From a cynical viewpoint, which assumes the commission of inquiry was set up purely in response to international pressure and to serve Indonesia's external political ends, it would seem the annual injection of \$US4.5 billion in foreign aid to the world's fifth most populous nation will not be affected for the time being.

But the findings — already under fire from human rights groups and East Timorese in exile — may yet have far wider implications within Indonesia. The commission, headed by Indonesian Supreme Court Judge Djaelani has directly contradicted the Indonesian military's version of what

happened in the Santa Cruz cemetery.

The inquiry's findings on the excessive violence and lack of discipline by the Indonesian military involved are unprecedented in the country's history. The commission's criticisms are tempered only by the suggestion that the military was provoked in some fashion by the demonstrators in Dili.

Even so, the preliminary findings are a poke in the eye for General Try. In what could yet prove to be a gross political misjudgment, he backed away from his original assessment of 50 deaths and swung behind the local military commander's toll of 19 shortly after the incident. His remarks since the shootings have been at best provocative and at worst ("people who refuse to toe the line have to be shot") barbaric.

The credibility of General Try has

now been openly called into question. How he responds to the commission's findings will determine his political future, which in many other countries would be bleak.

Crucial will be the approach Indonesian authorities take towards the role of the armed forces in East Timor. Given the reality that Indonesia is not willingly going to abandon the former Portuguese colony, how it chooses to exercise control in future is a matter of considerable international concern and of particular concern to Australia.

Perpetuating a military fiefdom in East Timor is not in Indonesia's interests, and it is most certainly not in the interests of the East Timorese people.

■ John Schauble is the foreign editor of 'The Sunday Age'.

# THE BEGINNINGS OF A

## INDONESIA AND THE TIMOR MASSACRE

# VICTORY FOR COMMON SENSE

The release this week of Indonesia's unexpectedly frank report on the Dili massacre has provided a ray of optimism for improved relations with our biggest and most powerful neighbour. Yet GREG SHERIDAN, who has just returned from Jakarta, reports that rapprochement still balances on a knife-edge and that the stakes — diplomatic and economic — are high for both countries

AUSTRALIA'S relationship with Indonesia, our most important neighbour, stands at the crossroads in the wake of the report by the Indonesian National Investigative Commission into the shootings last month in East Timor, which found that 50 people had died.

The report is unprecedented in Indonesian terms. It criticises the military, saying it used excessive force and did not behave in a way consistent with an "acceptable norm", that there was "excess shooting" and other forms of assault by the military, and that riot procedures were not used optimally.

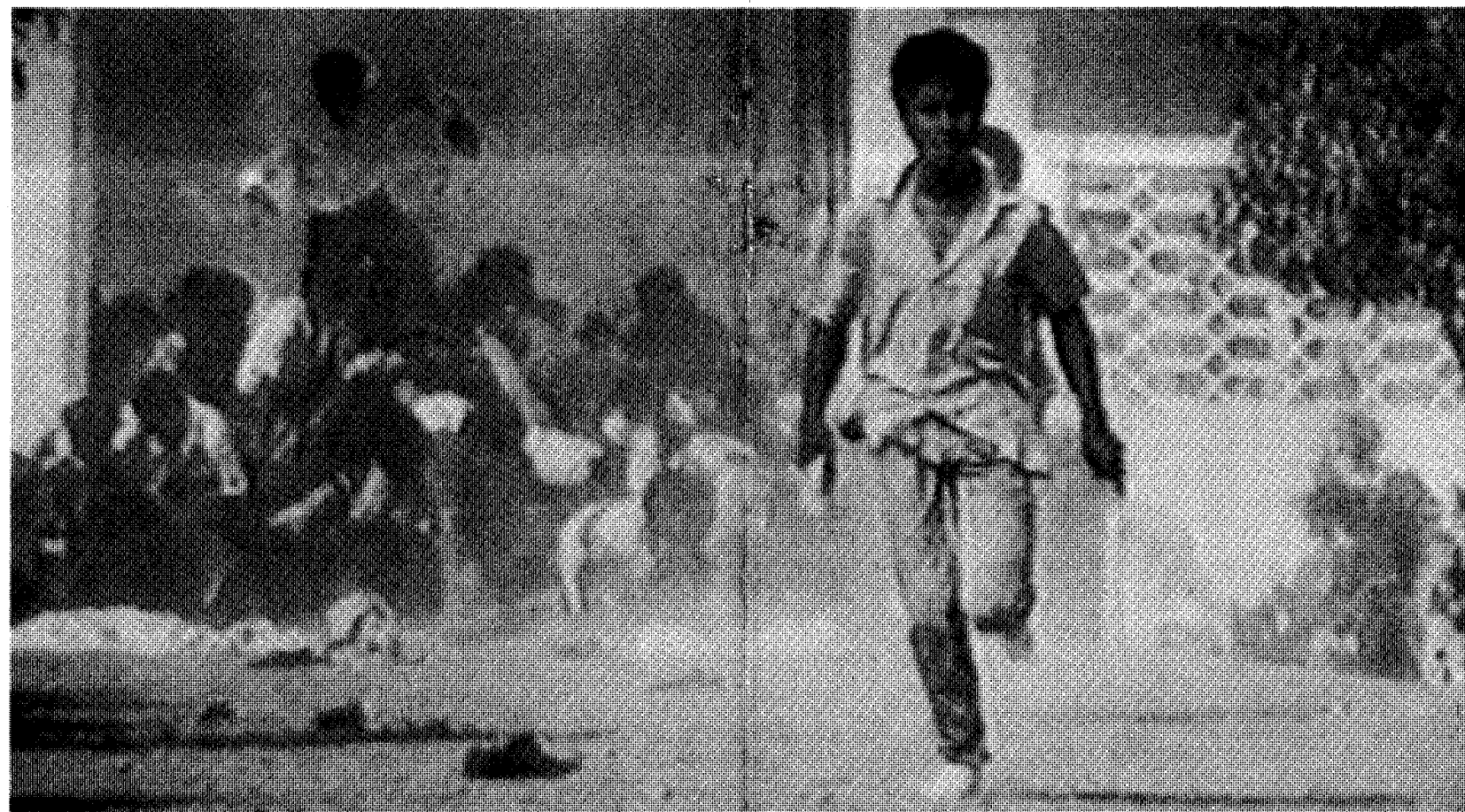
Immediately after the report's release, President Suharto expressed his condolences to the families of those killed in Dili on November 12.

Although the report undoubtedly understates the true death toll — which the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, has estimated at about 75 and which other groups have put at nearer to 100 — it is anything but the whitewash that had been feared.

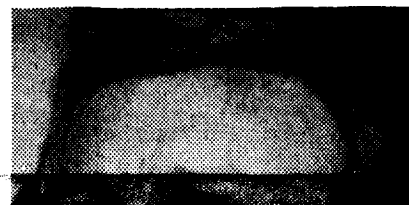
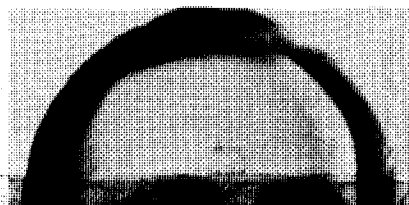
Moreover, in a country still partly run by the military, in which it has been the guarantors of stability since putting down a communist coup in the mid-1960s and in which it has been intimately involved in civil administration and economic development, this is a radical departure for a government report to criticise soldiers so forthrightly.

The terms of the report, and the tone in which it was written, constitute a significant victory for the moderates within the Jakarta political elite.

The challenge now for Prime Minis-



Relations soured over the Dili massacre as the key players (clockwise from below), President Suharto, Benny Murdani, Ali Alatas, Gareth Evans, Paul Keating and Bob Hawke, became caught up in diplomatic wrangling





elite. The challenge now for Prime Minister Paul Keating and Evans is to preserve the substance of our relationship with Indonesia.

Yesterday, Keating said that the preliminary report was encouraging, that it was better than expected and that the important thing now was to wait for the final report.

Evans, too, said the report was much better than many people had expected. He drew attention to its "crisp, sharp" language, its criticism of the military and its clear statement that there had been a great over-reaction by the military.

He also said he came back from Indonesia thinking the number killed was in the 50 to 75 range and that the inquiry's conclusion was "not unreasonable".

The Dili killings have thrown Indonesian politics into a state of flux, as the nature of the official report demonstrates, and have added new dynamics of uncertainty into the Jakarta/Canberra relationship, as well as Indonesia's relations with the wider world.

For all the players, the stakes are high.

Evans can be credited with a reasonably successful three-day visit to Indonesia last week. He was politely snubbed by being denied a meeting with Suharto, Defence Minister General Benny Murdani or Armed Forces Chief General Try Sutrisno.

However, he was treated courteously and correctly and he did see three senior Indonesian Cabinet ministers.

More importantly, he helped refocus the debate within Indonesia on the Dili killings squarely on the issue of human rights. He conducted himself with dignity and some restraint, while never wavering from setting out Australia's fundamental concerns over the killings. Uncharacteristically, he was prepared at times to keep silent, listening patiently and without interrupting to a 50-minute lecture by Cabinet secretary Murdiano.

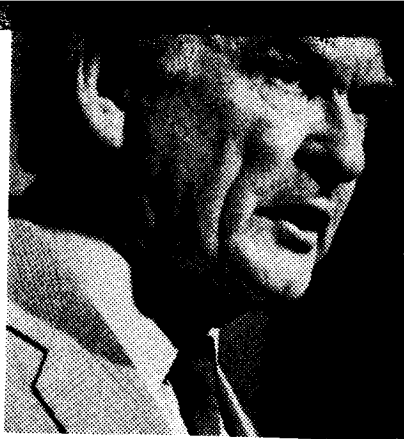
Evans's brief was not easy. Both he and former prime minister Bob Hawke had said Australia was prepared to re-examine the entirety of policy towards Indonesia if the inquiry into the killings was not satisfactory.

The Indonesians are confused by this. They have been unable to get a straight answer from Canberra about what this formulation of words means. Does it mean, for example, that Canberra's *de jure* recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor may be withdrawn? Evans seemed to suggest not.

In fact, it seemed that no one in Canberra had a clear idea of what this "comprehensive re-examination" meant, and there was more than a suspicion that was a term designed for public consumption but with little substance.

In terms of domestic politics, the Evans visit served a crucial purpose. It will be evidence he can offer to Labor's federal Caucus, and an argument he can use against the Left, when he is charged with having taken too soft a line on the killings in Timor. No one could be in any doubt about the force of the Government's feelings on the killings after Evans's visit.

The finding that 50 were killed,



while probably understating the truth substantially, is also a long way from the original line of the Indonesian military that 19 people died.

The question for Keating and Evans is whether the relatively credible Jakarta report, combined with the Evans visit, will be enough to ward off the inevitable demands from Labor's left wing, as well as from the numerous anti-Indonesian aid and activist groups, which are all likely to still want the Government to take tougher action against the Indonesians.

Every indication is that Evans and Keating will be predisposed to resist this. Their ability to do so will be something of a test of the maturity of Australian politics.

This certainly is the hope of Indonesia's leaders.

There is a widespread hope within the Jakarta elite that Keating will be more pragmatic than Hawke in foreign policy, that he will be less emotional, less bombastic, more predictable, easier to deal with, that he will look more to long-term national interests in framing foreign policy.

Moreover, the Indonesians had come to dislike Hawke heartily.

They felt he had treated Suharto with great discourtesy. Indeed, in almost every official meeting Evans had in his visit, they made it known that they were acutely annoyed by Hawke putting conditions on his proposed visit to Indonesia in February.

Twice already the Australians had changed the dates of the proposed Hawke visit. The Indonesians felt that we were behaving as if a visit by Hawke was a great gift — a gift they felt they could easily do without.

Now they are keen to establish a sensible working relationship with Keating.

Indeed, the credibility of the report just issued is a sign that Indonesia wants to maintain the momentum it had generated towards much greater international respectability.

A weakness of the debate on Indonesia is the assumption that the Indonesian Government is a monolithic, unified whole. In fact, Indonesian politics is at least as complex, and not much less diverse, than domestic politics.

Some losers are clearly identifiable in Indonesian politics as a result of the massacre.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, a key moderate within the administration, is one of them. He was the sponsor of the proposed visit by Portuguese officials and Western journalists to East Timor. The anticipation of this visit led to heightened

tensions within East Timor, ultimately contributing to the atmosphere that helped cause the massacre.

However, the feeling in Jakarta last week was that Alatas could substantially recover his position. This will likely be assisted by the relatively credible nature of the interim report. He is likely to maintain his position as Foreign Minister; moreover, Suharto is aware that Alatas has helped gain immense prestige for Indonesia internationally.

A man of great erudition and considerable charm, Alatas in his way is as important to Indonesia's international image as Eduard Shevardnadze was to that of the former Soviet Union. Although he is not really a first division player in Indonesian domestic politics, Alatas's international credibility does give him a significant degree of leverage within Jakarta.

The nature of the report suggests Indonesia wants to continue to maximise its international standing, which can only help Alatas.

A much bigger loser is Sutrisno. In Indonesian terms, the head of the armed forces is an immensely power-

ful position. The general, young, good-looking capable of a good deal of charm in private, is possibly the biggest loser among Indonesia's top leaders.

The first problem is that he let the massacre happen at all. A shrewder commander, in greater control of his troops, would have made sure that the soldiers in East Timor were capable of controlling a crowd without massacring civilians.

Sutrisno's extremely hardline statements since the massacre, which have now been contradicted by the Djaelani inquiry, have not done him any good. Previously he was looked on as a potential vice-presidential candidate and even possibly a long-term successor to Suharto. He is now much diminished.

Rumours were circulating throughout Jakarta last week that he had offered his resignation but that Suharto had declined to accept it — at this stage.

A big winner, potentially, is Murdani. He and Suharto have been known to have a troubled relationship, and Murdani is generally thought of as

leading a military faction that has reservations about the Suharto style of government.

Although generally regarded as a hardliner who wants the military to continue its intimate involvement in the civil administration, Murdani is also looked on as the protector of all minorities within Indonesia.

He is one of the most complex and fascinating characters thrown up by Indonesian politics — a Catholic, a man of extraordinary charisma and presence, the architect of the Indonesian takeover of East Timor and with a great deal of support within the military, a few years ago Murdani was moved from the position of head of the armed forces into the paradoxically less important position of Defence Minister.

In some ways, he has been the Paul Keating of Indonesian politics, sitting on the sidelines watching other people get it wrong. Now, however, there is a great push within Jakarta for Murdani to become more intimately involved in military policy. There is a feeling that had he been running things, they would not have

gone so wrong as they did under Sutrisno.

There is certainly an understanding throughout the Jakarta political elite of the need for the Dili massacre not to be repeated and to be dealt with in a credible way.

On the part of many, there is a genuine humanitarian revulsion at the killings.

Many Australians have far too monochromic a view of Indonesian society and politics — Western diplomats in Jakarta believe, for example, that liberals form a clear majority in the Cabinet.

The liberal English-language Jakarta Post newspaper supported the holding of a full and fair inquiry from the start. In a key editorial earlier this month, it said: "We for our part believe that the incident warrants a thorough, open and impartial investigation.

"All this should be done, not to allay international pressures, but because of the principle of just and civilised humanity to which we adhere."

At the same time, the international political and financial consequences

of the mishandling of the Dili incident are clear to Indonesia's leaders. Indonesia receives \$4 billion a year in aid, some \$2 billion of which comes from Japan. A further \$1 billion comes from the World Bank, while Australia is one of the largest aid donors, giving \$100 million a year (which makes Indonesia the second-largest recipient of Australian aid after Papua New Guinea).

The International Monetary Fund has praised the way Indonesia has used its aid. It has not disappeared into a black hole of maladministration as has been the case with so much aid donated to so many African countries.

In the wake of the Dili killings, the Netherlands, Canada and Denmark suspended future aid projects. Hundreds of United States congressmen and Japanese politicians have signed petitions calling on their governments to link aid to human rights, while Portugal, unworried by the hypocrisy of its own record of gross maladministration and neglect of East Timor, is Indonesia's greatest international critic. It leads a virtual perpetual international campaign against Indonesia. Portugal also becomes president of the European Community for six months from January 1.

The key players, so far as Indonesia is concerned, are Japan and the US. Japan has told Indonesia privately that it wants to continue providing aid to Jakarta. It regards a stable and successful Indonesia as vital for its own interests and the wider interests of the region and believes that Indonesia has used its aid well. The Japanese Government believes that it can withstand any pressure from a Portugal-led Europe to cut or withhold aid but that if the US were to take such a course it would become impossible for Japan to hold the line.

So holding Japan as an aid donor is dependent on holding the US. While the US administration of President George Bush is sympathetic to Indonesia, the situation in the Congress is less clear.

Thus there are compelling financial reasons for Jakarta to handle the Dili killings in a way that is internationally acceptable.

Evans was right when he said in Jakarta last week that the debate over the response to the killings had become a debate on the very future of Indonesian society itself.

Would it continue to develop as an increasingly prosperous, sophisticated, outward-looking member of the international community or

would it retreat into a negative obscurantism, a withdrawn, sullen, security-obsessed society able to count only on the friendship of other, similar Third World regimes?

There is no doubt that such a debate is going on in Indonesia. The trend of the Djaelani report suggests the liberals are somewhat in the ascendant, although it would be easy to overstate this.

The Djaelani commission will deliver its final report in six weeks or so.

The Australian stake in the report being acceptable internationally, and in preserving the substance of the bilateral relationship with Indonesia, is enormous.

Indonesia, our nearest powerful neighbour, controls the vital sea and air approaches to Australia. It has become our eighth-largest export market, while the balance of two-way trade is heavily in Australia's favour. More than 120 Australian companies operate there, and direct Australian investment is more than \$1.3 billion.

An unfriendly Indonesia could probably block any significant diplomatic move Australia made on any subject in South-East Asia.

A best-case scenario is that the Djaelani report is broadly accepted by the Australian Government and that after a period of some frostiness, the relationship proceeds more or less as normal. Even in this scenario, it is unlikely that the closeness of the past three years, the Evans-Alatas travelling diplomatic roadshow, the duet performances in so many international forums, will continue.

In a worst-case scenario, the relationship could be soured for years to come. Ambassadors could be withdrawn, Indonesia could set up a permanent road-block to Australian integration in the region, and it could make us pay heavily in economic terms. In calendar year 1990, our exports to Indonesia were worth \$1.3 billion, while Indonesia's exports here were worth only about \$500 million.

It would be easy for Indonesia to buy most of the commodities it now buys from us elsewhere with very little price disadvantage. A "buy Australia last" policy could harm us drastically.

Similarly, in a worst-case scenario, our ability to make any constructive contribution to the welfare of the East Timorese, through the provision of aid and by the use of our good offices, would be nil.

Gareth Evans, and to a lesser extent Paul Keating, must lead the debate in Australia to make sure this does not happen.

## 'Widespread hope for Keating pragmatism'

# THE AGE

## EDITORIAL OPINION

Monday 30 December 1991

### Dili: judgment is reserved

**T**HE Dili massacre death toll of 50 reported by Indonesia's Jaelani commission of inquiry falls between the outrageously low figure admitted to by the military forces and the higher estimates of human rights groups. President Suharto's prompt response to the findings, welcome in many ways, also comes somewhere between minimal action and a fuller answer that would admit the fact of 16 years of Indonesian brutality towards dissent in East Timor. The middle ground is a convenient place for a Government battered by worldwide criticism and fearing aid cuts. If such sceptical thoughts cloud positive signs in both the inquiry and the President's acknowledgement, the Suharto Government has its own policies and its own armed forces to blame.

It seems on present knowledge only fair to accept Justice Jaelani's preliminary findings as the most reasonable and credible result that might have been expected in a nation in which the military plays a pervasive role. The report does not claim 50 as the definitive toll; it acknowledges that 90 people are still missing and admits that at least some could be dead. The Supreme Court judge has also shown a degree of independence, a stance requiring some strength of character, in his criticism of military responsibility for the tragedy. In the same historic context of military influence, the President's acceptance of the report and speedy reprimands are a positive development. But in his decision that the regional command bears responsibility he, like Justice Jaelani, makes the fundamental error of treating the Dili killings as an isolated incident. Conveniently forgotten is continuing violent rule of a people seeking autonomy. An acceptable response to the investigation would concentrate also on a credo of national command that seeks, in the reported words of armed forces commander General Try Sutrisno, "to wipe out whoever disturbs stability". It is disturbing that the President has not reprimanded General Try for hardline sentiments expressed as late as last Friday about East Timor. The decision to press subversion charges against 14 civilians arrested after the shootings fuels scepticism that Jakarta will ever accept that there must be a peaceful way to work through the Timor problem.

Canberra has been relieved of embarrassment that would have arisen had the Jaelani inquiry resulted in an obvious whitewash. But fresh responsibilities now arise for Australia. The Suharto statement will increase pressure on Indonesia not only to make amends for this tragedy but to try to heal the sore of the treatment of the East Timorese. The Keating Government should not be found lagging behind concerned international opinion.



# Dili sackings ease Canberra pressure

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The reported sacking of two military officers following the preliminary inquiry into the Dili massacre has reduced pressure on the Australian Government to give Jakarta the cold shoulder.

President Suharto was reported at the weekend to have ordered the action against two senior officers responsible for the military in East Timor.

He acted two days after the national investigative commission found in its preliminary report that about 50 had died in the 12 November killings in Dili, a rebuttal of the persistent



Gen. Panjaitan



Gen. Warouw

claim by the military that only 19 died.

The report prompted a largely favorable response from the Australian Government. But it was criticised

by Amnesty International and an East Timorese resistance group.

The subsequent disclosure that President Suharto had ordered the sacking of the two officers is expected to reduce pressure within the federal ALP caucus for tough Australian action against Indonesia.

The two men, relieved of their posts on Saturday, are the commander of eastern Indonesia, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, and the commander of East Timor, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw.

Military analysts say General Panjaitan, 50, a special forces officer, was on track for the top job in the armed forces after successfully leading a commando operation to free a

hijacked Indonesian airliner in Bangkok in 1981.

General Warouw is a 48-year-old infantry officer who won his spurs in counter-insurgency operations in Irian Jaya.

A spokesman for the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said yesterday that from the limited reports the Australian Government had, the Indonesian Government's reaction "appears to be positive and helpful".

Other sources said President Suharto also ordered the military to consider "self-correction and introspection" and ordered the establishment of a military council to study in depth the way the commanders handled the 12 November killings.

According to Agence France-Presse reports from Jakarta, Indonesia's State Secretary, Major-General Murdiono, said that action against members of the military involved in the incident would depend on the results of the study by the council.

The Victorian federal Labor MP Dr Andrew Theophanous said last night that the Indonesian reaction seemed a better outcome than expected by those who feared the inquiry would be a cover-up.

"Obviously these moves by the Indonesians have made the likelihood of a straightforward negative reaction less," said Dr Theophanous, who chairs a parliamentary committee inquiry into relations with Indonesia.

Dr Theophanous said the Government should still urge Indonesia to allow a United Nations role in seeking a settlement between the Indonesian Government and East Timor, a step Indonesia has so far avoided.

A spokesman in Canberra for the Australian Coalition on East Timor, Mr Michael Wagner, said last night that while President Suharto's action was fairly strong by Indonesian standards, no action had been taken against the supreme military commander, General Try Sutrisno.

It was General Try who had said that agitators should be wiped out, frightening off witnesses who were critical of the military from appearing at the inquiry, Mr Wagner said.

PAGE 9: Editorial.

# E Timor massacre sackings welcomed

By ANNE CONNOLLY, NATASHA BITA and agencies

THE sacking of two generals accused in the killing of at least 50 people at a Timor funeral last month has been welcomed by the Australian Government.

At the same time, 14 of the 33 demonstrators detained after the November 12 massacre have been charged with subversion - a crime carrying a maximum penalty of death.

Indonesia's State Secretary, Mr Murdiono, said the military commander of East Timor, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, and the military commander of eastern Indonesia, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, would be replaced soon by the armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno.

A spokesman for Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs,

## Servicemen addressed

Senator Evans, said of the sacking, the "Indonesian Government's reaction appears to be positive and helpful".

The spokesman said the Government was seeking further details on what action Indonesia would take as a result of the inquiry.

But the move has been labelled by the Fretilin resistance and aid groups as a "publicity stunt" designed to placate the Australian and US governments which have already registered their approval of a preliminary report on the incident.

Last week's report, which says that soldiers were provoked by mourners at the Dili funeral and killed 50 people, was described by the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, and Senator Evans as encouraging.

Fretilin and aid groups believe the generals will secretly be given positions elsewhere but Mr Murdiono said President Suharto sacked the generals because "whatever happened was the responsibility of those in charge of local security".

"So, as the supreme commander of the armed forces, he took the decision to change

the local commanders," Mr Murdiono said.

President Suharto also ordered army chief General Edi Sudrajat to establish a council to study in depth the way the commanders handled the November 12 shooting.

"The President stressed that what happened in Dili should not be repeated. He asked government officials and the security apparatus to correct themselves," Mr Murdiono said.

But Fretilin's special representative to the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said the Australian Government's acceptance of the Indonesian response showed naivety.

"President Suharto and General Sutrisno are directly responsible for the war in East Timor and not the soldiers. Those are the ones who should be put up on trial," he said.

General Sutrisno's recent calls for the East Timorese to give up the struggle for an independent State were only a recognition that nothing had changed in the Government, he said.

In addressing a group of servicemen and their families in Dili this weekend, General Sutrisno reportedly said the massacre had been "intentionally engineered" by separatists in co-operation with "certain parties here and abroad".

He urged all separatists "who still harbour the ambition and obsession of creating chaos, unrest and security disturbances" to end their fight.

"The result of all their doings and actions is that the people have become the victims, experiencing prolonged suffering," he said.

Originally, only eight of the 33 people arrested after the funeral were to be charged with subversion but it was announced on Saturday that 14 would be charged.

The move has drawn strong criticism from Fretilin, which has supporters among those arrested, and aid groups in Australia.

Documents have already been filed with prosecutors concerning a Dili hospital worker suspected of leading several protests.

# Dili probe positive — Evans

INDONESIA'S response to a special inquiry into the East Timor massacre appeared to be positive, a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, said yesterday.

"From the limited reports we've seen so far, the Indonesian Government reaction appears to be positive and helpful," the spokesman said.

Reuters has reported that two generals were relieved of their posts yesterday after President Suharto held them responsible for the deaths of about 50 people in the East Timorese capital of Dili last month.

Agence France-Presse also reported yesterday that subversion charges — carrying a maximum penalty of death — would be brought against 14 of the 33 people taken into custody after the Dili massacre.

President Suharto reportedly also yesterday ordered his Attorney-General to take firm action against those in the crowd in Dili found to have broken the law.

Senator Evans' spokesman said the Australian Government would watch with interest all action taken by the Indonesian Government in reaction to the special inquiry.

"(The Australian Government has) always said that after a credible inquiry, appropriate follow-up action has to be taken, and we would expect that

to happen under the processes of Indonesian law," the spokesman said.

"We'll be watching that with interest," he said.

President Suharto's action follows last week's preliminary report of a special commission set up to investigate the massacre which, while agreeing that troops had been provoked, blamed a section of the military for losing control and for firing into the crowd excessively.

The preliminary report also found that about 50 people had died during the firing, far more than claimed by the military which had said only 19 deaths had occurred.

Another 90 people are still missing, and President Suharto has ordered armed forces commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno to find them.

Dili residents have reported that the missing people are buried in mass graves.

President Suharto also ordered army chief General Edi Sudrajat to set up a council to study in depth the way the commanders handled the November 12 shooting.

Replacements for Major General Sintong Panjaitan, military commander of eastern Indonesia and Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw, military commander of East Timor, are expected to be announced soon.

# Sutrisno replaces generals

JAKARTA: Two generals were named yesterday by the chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, General Try Sutrisno, to replace the top military brass responsible for East Timor, who were recalled after the shootings in Dili last month.

General Sutrisno said Major-General Mantiri would replace Major-General Sintong Panjaitan as chief of the Bali-based Udayana military command, which oversaw East Timor. Brigadier-General Theo Syafei would replace Brigadier-General Rudolf Samuel Warouw as the mili-

tary operational chief in East Timor.

General Panjaitan and General Warouw had been recalled to army headquarters.

President Suharto ordered the replacement of the generals on Saturday, saying they were responsible for the November 12 shootings in Dili.

An investigation team, set up by President Suharto a week after the shooting, said last week 50 people had died and 90 were missing after the shooting by a group of soldiers acting "over the level of acceptable norms".

AFP

AUSTRALIAN. 31.12.91

## Negative stream

HEARTY thanks to the Indonesian ambassador, Mr Siagian, for his comments about the "excessive moralising" of the Australian media concerning his country (*The Australian*, 16/12).

For years our great northern friend has been subjected to an almost incessant stream of negativity from sections of the Australian media, and in particular from the ABC.

From day one of the Dili episode, for instance, the ABC had decided it was a "massacre", and waded in with the word ad nauseam — never mind such legal niceties as the inquiry to follow, or the facts not all being on hand, or the provocation the authorities may have been under. Compare the same ABC's caution in reporting the communist slaughter of thousands in Tienanmen Square, which it not infrequently chose to call an "incident" in the early days. Or its coverage of the Korean KAL airline massacre in 1983, which it persisted in calling an "alleged" shooting down up to the very day of the United Nations resolution condemning the Soviet action!

Clearly the "moral outrage" of the Left is highly selective. One does not have to approve of everything the Indonesian military has done in East Timor to deplore the

bias of such a coverage. Like Australia, Indonesia is not without its faults, and a healthy criticism of them surely has its place. But this is a far cry from the unbalanced, and almost obsessive, Indonesia bashing of sections of our media.

Thank God for our northern neighbour. Without its strong and moderating influence since 1965, ours would have been a far less stable region in which to have been living. It is high time for Australian journalism to remember this, and to show something more than a surly face towards our friend.

BRENTON MINGE  
Kingston, Qld

## Politicised grant

PHILIP Stevens (Letters, 27/12) supports the Queensland Government's \$200,000 grant to the pro-abortion political lobby group Children by Choice on the grounds that it "provides women with independent counselling".

One has to question the impartiality of this so-called "independent" counselling and its value to women in helping them make a free and informed decision when 97 per cent of Children by Choice's clients end up having an abortion and the organisation does not offer

AUSTRALIAN. 31.12.91

## Features

NETWORK

PO BOX 78028 TEL/FAX: (649) 787 543  
AUCKLAND 1002 AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

## TIMOR'S TROUBLES

IT WAS December 7, 1975, and a desperate voice was heard through the crackle of static on a Red Cross radio: "Indonesian forces have been landed in Dili by sea ... they are flying over Dili dropping out paratroopers ... aircraft are dropping out more and more paratroopers ... a lot of people have been killed indiscriminately ... women and children are going to be killed by Indonesian forces ... we are going to be killed! SOS, we call for your help, this is an urgent call ..."

As a group of journalists huddled round the radio in Darwin, Alarico Fernandes, a Cabinet Minister in the ill-fated Democratic Republic of East Timor, made a last plea for international help.

Indonesian paratroopers and marines began landing in the East Timor capital of Dili at dawn that day. Six warships were in the harbour. At about 5am Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, the papal representative in the predominantly Catholic colony, opened his window and looked out.

"The warships and airplanes fired on the capital of Dili with rockets and cluster bombs," he said. "They burned everything and everybody."

The Indonesian soldiers smashed their way into houses, looting them. Shops were ransacked.

"They raped women ... sometimes even in front of their husbands," Monsignor Lopes said. "It was very bad. That day remained forever ingrained in my memory. I will never forget."

During the next days hundreds of people were massacred by Indonesian troops. Amnesty International and Tapol, the London-based Indonesian human rights group, also reported widespread slaughter in other Timorese towns, including Baucau, Venilale, and Maubara.

Eyewitnesses described random executions beside Dili's harbour and near the former Portuguese military police barracks in suburban Vila Verde.

Among those killed was Isabel Lobato, wife of the East Timor Prime Minister, Nicolau Lobato. She was travelling with about 15 other people to safety at the Catholic bishop's palace (palace). They were stopped by soldiers.

Ordered to go to public gardens beside the port, the

DAVID ROBIE reviews the background to the latest East Timor tragedy. Human rights groups say that about 100 people died in the massacre that claimed the life of a New Zealander. The killings are just the latest in 16 years of Indonesian atrocities.

was singled out from the group by an informer and dragged off by two soldiers. She was shot on the wharf and her body was still lying there the next day.

Thus began the Indonesian invasion of East Timor and 16 years of oppression. The people, ethnically closer to the Melanesians of the western Pacific than the Javanese colonisers, were integrated the following year into Indonesia as the Asian country's "27th province".

Amnesty International and other human rights organisations estimate that more than 200,000 people — a third of the population — died in the fighting, or from hunger and execution. The genocide was said to be comparable on a per capita basis with that of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

Last January New Zealand supported the United States-led coalition forces which went to war because oil-rich Iraq invaded its neighbour, Kuwait, and declared it a province. Yet, ironically, the New Zealand Government said little when Indonesia, also oil-rich, did the same thing against East Timor in 1975. Wellington has remained pragmatic ever since.

Kamal Bamadhaj, a 21-year-old aid volunteer who was one of the scores of people who died from wounds in the recent massacre among the tombstones in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery, was the second New Zealander to die brutally at the hands of Indonesian troops in the colony. The full circumstances of his death are probably no more likely to be unearthed by any independent inquiry than information about the first victim.

On October 16, 1975, during a border "probe" by Indonesian troops before the full military onslaught, 27-year-old television cameraman Greg Cunningham was killed along with a four-member Australian television crew at the western town of Balibo.

Refugees and other sources said the reporters had painted an



Jose Ramos-Horta: New Zealand stance "pathetic".

"Australia" on the wall of the house where they were sheltering. One or more of the journalists were machine-gunned, and the rest were executed with their hands in the air.

No full inquiry was ever held. The "investigation" into the Santa Cruz massacre announced by Indonesian authorities is being headed by a retired judge — a former military general — and has already been condemned by human rights groups for lack of impartiality.

A British journalist who filmed the massacre has reported on the events under the nom de plume of Max Stahl to protect Timorese people who helped him. He has denounced attempts by Indonesian authorities to explain the killings as "half-truths and outright lies".

Stahl estimates that about 50 people died in the massacre. Indonesian authorities say there were 19 deaths, and human rights organisations have reported figures of up to 115.

team has said that more than 100 anti-Indonesian demonstrators were killed.

Timorese opposition sources have accused Indonesian soldiers of arresting up to 80 witnesses to the shootings and executing them.

Stahl reported in the "Independent on Sunday" that Bamadhaj, wounded in the chest during the shootings, was barely conscious when he was picked up by Red Cross workers. "But the ambulance was held up by soldiers several times before it reached the hospital and he had already lost a tremendous amount of blood before they were allowed to get to him," wrote Stahl.

"Then, once inside the military hospital, like at least 89 seriously wounded and perhaps as many as 50 dead, no-one was allowed access to him. All information was refused to the Red Cross by his family, his friends, even, it appears, his embassy, as he died."

Stahl said this was no bureau-

of other wounded Timorese being arrested and interrogated when they made inquiries about their missing family members, near the western border of East Timor.

He is critical of attempts by diplomats from the Australian and British to "cloud the truth" about the massacre.

"The truth, as all foreign witnesses have confirmed, is that there was no riot." He described the procession of mourners as of "exceptionally good order". He rejected the alleged stabbing of an Indonesian soldier, Major Girhara Lantara, and military reports claiming that a hand grenade had been thrown from among the crowd of mourners, or that a variety of firearms, grenades, and other weapons had been seized from demonstrators.

Bamadhaj's uncle, John Todd, and another relative, Bruce Picot, told a memorial rally in Auckland on November 24 that they believed he had not died in vain.

Amnesty International's New Zealand executive director, Colin Chiles, has appealed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Don McKinnon, to raise urgently the issue in the United Nations General Assembly.

"The original massacre at the cemetery was horrifying enough," he said, "but the continued reports of military murders require urgent action. We believe that a thorough, impartial, and internationally supervised investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath is urgently required."

Although he congratulated the New Zealand Government on its actions so far, Chiles said that only "urgent, highly public, concerted international action is likely to stop these atrocities". Australia, Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, and the United States have also condemned the killings.

Amnesty International has released a list of 83 people reportedly killed, missing, or wounded in the massacre.

In spite of attempts by Indonesian authorities to project an "open door" image of East Timor in the last two years, reports of persecution and brutal repression have persisted.

A planned visit to the colony by a group of parliamentarians from Portugal, a country still officially recognised by the United Nations as the administering power, was cancelled when the



Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao (second from left, with cap and belt) inspects Fretilin guerrillas.

an Australian journalist from going to Timor. The Lisbon-based journalist, Jill Jolliffe, author of "East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism", is widely recognised as the most informed reporter on Timorese affairs.

In a letter to Tapol shortly before the visit was called off, Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao said the Indonesian military authorities had been "creating an atmosphere of insecurity and panic".

Xanana, commander of the nationalist movement Fretilin's military wing Falintil, said: "Anyone who tried to organise rallies against integration were warned they would end up in Santa Cruz cemetery".

The letter said that preparations were being made in other towns, such as Laleia and Same, for "receptions" with dark threats to the population if they failed to fly the red-and-white Indonesian integration flag.

"You must all have a flag and when I give the order you must raise them high," the Timorese were told by authorities. "Anyone who shouts words like 'Maubere (Timorese) people', 'independence', 'Portugal' or 'Fretilin' will be shot after the MPs leave."

Indonesia was reported to have sent seven extra battalions of troops to East Timor three months ago, including the crack security Battalion 212 said to have been used in a wave of repression before the papal visit in 1989.

East Timor had been a Portuguese colony since 1702. By the time it was invaded by the Indonesians, the Portuguese colony had been

ousted after a political upheaval in Portugal. The dictatorship in Lisbon had been deposed the year before, in 1974, and the Fretilin nationalist movement gained control, declaring the country independent.

Indonesia, refusing to have a "Cuba on its doorstep" launched the invasion, sealed off the colony from the outside world, and waged a brutal war of attrition against Fretilin nationalists and civilians over the next seven years.

In December 1989, the Timor Gap Treaty was signed by Australia and Indonesia, giving illegal access to oil in this "southern Kuwait".

Earlier this year Portugal filed a complaint with the International Court of Justice at the Hague, accusing Australia of breaching East Timorese sovereignty.

Many Timorese feel particularly betrayed by Australia. They still speak of the wartime sacrifices their people made to help Australian commandos in the fight against the Japanese. They cannot understand why their "ally" failed to support them against Indonesia.

Leading Indonesian human rights campaigner Liem Soei Liong says Australia's "unprincipled and corrupt decision, taken even before Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor, has been crucial in influencing the attitude of the West".

In the preface of his book "Timor: A People Betrayed", former Australian consul James Dunn condemned Australian, American, and — by implication — New Zealand acquiescence in the brutal Indonesian annexation

"It is a shameful story of a cruel conspiracy against a small and vulnerable people," he wrote, "an episode marked by deceit, hypocrisy, mendacity, and plain irresponsibility. Many would prefer it not to be told, but the truth must be brought out."

He accused former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam of expediency because of American pressure, and of misjudging Australia's responsibility to a small and vulnerable neighbour.

But he also blamed the Malcolm Fraser Government, in power by the time East Timor was seized militarily, of remaining "unmoved at the brutal suppression of the Timorese resistance, while loudly assailing the Russians for their intervention in Afghanistan".

East Timor's former Foreign Minister, Jose Ramos-Horta, is now director of the school of diplomacy at Sydney University. He is bitterly disillusioned with Canberra and Wellington. When Horta was granted a brief interview with Australia's then Foreign Minister Bill Hayden in 1984, the concession provoked diplomatic sanctions against Australia by Indonesia.

The following year the New Zealand Prime Minister, David Lange, fearful of a similar response, snubbed Horta during the envoy's visit to Wellington. Horta described the New Zealand Government stance as "pathetic and crude", adding that if the Timorese were white Anglo-Saxons instead of Melanesians, then New Zealand would care.

Tragically, it has taken the death of Kamal Bamadhaj for New Zealanders to finally notice the plight of the Timorese.

## LETTERS TO

# Whitlam rewriting history to justify Timor blunder

from K. L. Fry

I was astounded to read of Gough Whitlam's audacious attack on Bob Hawke in a report of his speech in Melbourne on 9 December. I am no champion of Hawke, but Whitlam should be the last person to criticise any politician about East Timor.

To speculate that events may have been different in East Timor if Hawke had established a closer relationship with Suharto raises many "if" questions about Whitlam's role in the tragic events. If Whitlam had consulted his Labor caucus he would have received a clear message that the takeover of East Timor was not acceptable and if he had conveyed a strong protest on the phone to President Suharto and to President Ford the tragedy may have been avoided.

Instead, both Whitlam (in Townsville, April 1975) and Peacock (in Bali, September 1975) connived with the Indonesians not to interfere in the annexation. Both should accept some responsibility for our shameful role in this continuing illegal act of aggression.

I was the MHR referred to by Whitlam in his speech as being flown around East Timor by an ASIS agent, a Dilli hotel proprietor who had a vested interest in the



Whitlam: "no limit to his audacity".

Indonesian takeover. As in other parts of his speech, Whitlam is careless with the facts. Senator Gietzelt and myself were the only politicians on the flight. By that time, early September 1975, the civil war was over.

Fretilin had prevailed, not only because they had arms (UDT were not short of weapons) but also because they had the support of a large majority of the people. We saw no signs of fighting and not a shot was heard in our day-long

trip. Fretilin leaders had restored order and I believe that East Timor would have survived had they been given material aid at this critical time. During our journey the Indonesians were broadcasting their propaganda line that the civil war was still raging and that they had to intervene to restore order.

When we returned to Canberra, I wrote a detailed report of our visit and gave it to Whitlam. He acknowledged it, but his only response was that he did not wish to discuss it with me. Instead, he has consistently accepted the Indonesian propaganda and uses the civil war (about 2000 casualties) as a cover up for the massive casualties inflicted on the Timorese by the Indonesian armed forces. He refers to us as "fellow travellers" — fellow travellers indeed!

Gough Whitlam made many courageous and progressive decisions while prime minister, but, unfortunately, his decision on East Timor was not one of them. It is quite pathetic that he now attempts to rewrite history and malign others in the process to justify a bad decision.

There appears to be no limit to his audacity.

Ken Fry,  
Broulee (NSW).

## Petition to seek Bush action on Timor

By MARGO KINGSTON

A Labor backbencher plans to use Thursday night's parliamentary dinner in honor of President Bush to deliver a petition signed by more than 50 politicians calling for his personal intervention over East Timor.

A Left-wing Labor MP, Mr Laurie Ferguson, will collect signatures for the petition in the next two days, mainly from members

of the all-party Parliamentarians for East Timor Group.

Although the United States is a strong ally of Indonesia, Congress split with the President on the issue, adopting resolutions threatening to cut off military aid unless an independent inquiry was held.

The Prime Minister's office would not say whether Mr Keating would discuss East Timor with Mr Bush.

The petition says: "In view of the influence and standing of the United States in this region, and of the positive leadership you yourself have given in situations involving small nations in captivity, we make this personal appeal for you to intervene on behalf of the East Timorese."

It asks Mr Bush to get the United Nations involved in a settlement of the issue, and to suspend military aid.

# Indonesia blacklists dozens of journalists

AGE. 31.12.91

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,  
South-East Asia correspondent,  
Singapore, Monday

Indonesia has banned dozens of foreign journalists, including Australians, from entering the country in response to international media coverage of the Dili massacre.

The journalists have been put on a blacklist of 17,000 foreigners and Indonesians, according to the daily 'Jakarta Post' newspaper.

The director-general of immigration, Mr Roni Sikap Sinuraya, was quoted as telling a news conference that the state intelligence body (Bakin) and the Armed Forces Commander, General Try Sutrisno, had asked that the journalists be blacklisted "because they are considered to be dangerous to the safety and security of the state and the nation".

Those barred included journalists from Australia, the United States and Hong Kong, he said.

The report did not name the Australian journalists concerned. A spokesman for the Australian embassy in Jakarta said he had no information on the decision.

The Indonesian military was furious that journalists who entered the country on tourist visas witnessed the 12 November massacre of civilians in Dili, the East Timorese capital. Their reports caused an international outcry.

The Speaker of Indonesia's House of Representatives, Mr Kharis Suhud, has publicly blamed the Australian news media for "fanning the anti-Indonesian sentiments through exaggerated reports" about the incident.

The 'Jakarta Post' reported that Mr Suhud told journalists after meeting the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, in Jakarta that Radio Australia's reports on East Timor "hurt our ears". He said: "Even before the incident it had shown an unfriendly attitude."

The Indonesian Government has been a long-time critic of Radio Australia, which has millions of Indonesian listeners.

Mr Suhud said he was not convinced by Senator Evans's assurance that Radio Australia was independent. "It is receiving grants from the (Australian) Government, so it could still be controlled, though not 100 per cent," Mr Suhud said. "The Australian Government should try to calm its public."

'The Age' was refused permission to cover the three-day visit of Senator Evans from 19 December.

Two Jakarta-based Australian journalists, Mr Ian MacIntosh, of the ABC and Radio Australia, and Mr Terry Friel, of Australian Associated Press, have not been affected by any bans or restrictions.

The blacklist, which includes dissidents and criminals, prevents listed foreigners from entering the country and listed Indonesians from leaving it. It is controversial

## BAN DEFENDED

Kuala Lumpur, Monday

The Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Mohamad, has defended a Government ban on a tabloid newspaper that carried articles calling his administration a failure.

The publishing permit of the 'Mingguan Waktu' was revoked because its reports were of "no use to the nation", 'The Star' newspaper quoted Dr Mahathir as saying.

Dr Mahathir denied allegations that he had revoked the permit because the newspaper had published articles saying he was a failure in his 10-year premiership.

— Reuter

in Indonesia because it prevents some well-known Government critics going abroad.

Indonesia banned all Australian journalists in 1986 after the publication in 'The Sydney Morning Herald' of a report on the business interests of the family of President Suharto.

In the past two years, access has been given to Australian-based journalists on a selective basis, usually to cover specific events and rarely with permission to cover politically sensitive issues.

Mr Sinuraya was quoted by the 'Jakarta Post' as saying that the recommendation to ban the journalists came from a special "reading and listening" team of the Information Ministry which "monitors all foreign printed and broadcast reports about Indonesia".

He said reports considered biased and misleading were discussed in the ministry's clearing house before the decision to blacklist a journalist was made. Mr Sinuraya named as abusers of the tourist visa system two American journalists who were in Dili at the time of the massacre.

AFP reports: General Try today named two generals to replace the top military officers who were responsible for East Timor and were recalled in the wake of the massacre.

General Try told journalists that Major-General Mantiri would replace Major-General Sintong Panjaitan as chief of the Bali-based Udayana military command which oversees East Timor.

He also said that Brigadier-General Theo Syafei would replace Brigadier-General Rudolf Samuel Warouw as the military operational chief in East Timor.

General Try said the two new commanders met the criteria of the region, but did not give any details. General Mantiri and General Theo are Christians. The former Portuguese colony of East Timor is predominantly Roman Catholic.



1/1/92 (JAN) 92.

# All causes great and small vie for attention

THE AGE  
01/01/92

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

Protest groups are vying to gain attention during President Bush's visit to Australia.

Croatians seeking recognition of their homeland began a vigil outside the United States embassy in Canberra yesterday and East Timorese say they will converge on the embassy this afternoon to proclaim the struggle for self-determination.

A Tamil group is also expected at the embassy to appeal for Mr Bush to intervene in the Sri Lankan conflict.

When President Bush arrives at Parliament in Canberra tomorrow, he will be greeted by thousands of Australian farmers demonstrating against American agricultural export subsidies.

Other groups along the way seeking to make their presence felt include Women Against Abortion and the Mobilisation Opposing Bush group protesting at the cost of the visit.

The protest will continue even inside Parliament. The Australian Democrats are boycotting Mr Bush's address to the special sitting in protest at the cost of bringing MPs to Canberra.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, yesterday rejected the Democrats' gesture. "The Democrats waste more parliamentary time than anyone else put together ... bearing in mind what they

have cost the taxpayer through their crazy manoeuvres in Parliament over the past few years, it really is a bit of a cheek."

Senator Evans said that, given the central importance of the US alliance to Australia, "it's very churlish, very superficial and very narrowly focused of the Democrats to react to this very important visit as they have".

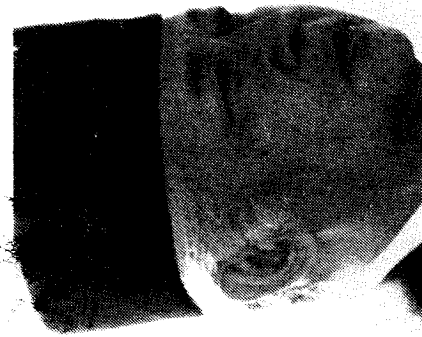
A parliamentary group on Timor hopes to present Mr Bush with a petition signed by about 50 MPs calling on Mr Bush to intervene on behalf of the East Timorese.

Mr Laurie Ferguson, a NSW Labor Left MP, said that if he got the opportunity he would hand the petition to Mr Bush.

Mr Ferguson said he believed the Australian Government had been "over-positive" in reacting favorably to the Indonesian Government's response to the preliminary report on the 12 November massacre of East Timorese in Dili. The dismissal of two senior military officers was a minimal reaction to the massacre.

The East Timor Foundation has also sent an open letter to Mr Bush and Mr Keating calling on them to consider the withdrawal of recognition of Indonesia's control of East Timor, the replacement of the Indonesian military by a United Nations peacekeeping force, and asking the Indonesian Government to allow a UN-supervised act of self-determination.

# THE AGE 11/11/91 Suharto warns against change to placate Dili critics



Mr Suharto: warning of caution.

Jakarta, Tuesday

The Indonesian President, Mr Suharto, warned his people today in his traditional end-of-year speech to beware that their demands for change do not break up the country.

Some members of Mr Suharto's Cabinet, as well as other politicians and intellectuals, have demanded a loosening of the tight control the Government has imposed since Mr 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," Mr Suharto said.

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 12 November.

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

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

The commission agreed with military accounts that troops were provoked, but said some had gone out of control and fired excessive-

ly. It raised to 50 the military's death toll of 19 and said another 90 people were missing.

Mr Suharto relieved two high-profile generals of command over East Timor in a dramatic censure of the military on Saturday. He ordered the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, to undertake personally a search for the missing 90, who Dili residents say are buried in mass graves.

General Try said yesterday that the search would begin as soon as army command changes were implemented.

Diplomats said the commission's rejection of the military version of the Dili shooting and Mr

Suharto's swift response would placate countries giving vital financial aid.

Mr Suharto said he was aware the Government's tight monetary policy, implemented 18 months ago to control inflation and an adverse balance of payments, was causing problems for businessmen.

"But that hard step had to be taken ... so that our economy could develop safely and healthily. Our economic picture this year shows that we remain able to be economically resilient." He pledged to continue deregulation, which has brought prosperity.

1/11/91 — Agencies

## Violent Timor rule will not prevail

from A. Hewett, director, public policy unit, Community Aid Abroad

You are right to argue that Justice Jaelani's report into the Dili massacre is fatally flawed by its treatment of the killings as an isolated incident (editorial, 'The Age', 30/12).

The killings were only the latest, albeit most public, manifestation of the "violent rule" of the Indonesian authorities. Reliable estimates suggest that something like 200,000 East Timorese have been killed since Indonesian troops invaded in 1975.

While the proposed action against generals Panjaitan and Warouw is welcomed, it should not

be allowed to obscure the essentially cosmetic nature of the report. Justice Jaelani persists in arguing that the Indonesian soldiers were provoked and acted unilaterally and without orders. This is contrary to eyewitness reports by journalists and aid workers (none of whom incidentally was interviewed by the commission).

It is time that the international community, including the Keating Government, recognised the unviable nature of Indonesian rule of East Timor. "Violent rule" of the sort seen there tends to "succeed" only at massive cost and only in the short term.

In the longer term, more peaceful approaches are needed. The call for talks without pre-conditions between the Indonesian Government, representatives of the East Timorese and the Portuguese Government under UN auspices now should have even greater force.

Andrew Hewett, Fitzroy.

THE AGE 11/11/91

# Investigators plan new Timor visit

Jakarta, Thursday

The team set up by Indonesian President Suharto to investigate the Dili massacre plans to return to East Timor next week to complete its inquiry, according to news reports today in Jakarta.

"The plan is that we will return to Dili," the 'Berita Buana' daily quoted a team member, Mr Clementino dos Reis Amaral, as saying.

In its preliminary report, made public last week, the National Commission of Investigation, which has already spent 17 days on a fact-finding mission in East Timor, said soldiers acting without command killed around 50 people when they shot into a crowd in Dili on 12 November. About 90 others were still missing, the report said.

Military authorities had said 19 people died, while witnesses and other sources have put the death toll at more than 100.

Mr Reis Amaral said the team still needed between one and two months to complete its final report.

Indonesia's chief army commander, General Eddy Sudrajat, set up a military council today to probe the armed forces' conduct during the massacre. The official Antara newsagency said the commander of the army's staff command school, Major General Feisal Tanjung, will head the "honorary council" that will decide whether any action should be taken against members of the armed forces found implicated in the shooting.

President Suharto ordered General Sudrajat to form the council.

— AFP

THE AGE  
Edited by JOHN KIELY 03/01/92

## Our children may pay for hostility

from D. Martin

In 1992, and for years to come, how we conduct our relations with Indonesia will be Australia's most important foreign policy concern. With a population of some 160 million and rich in resources, Indonesia, our near neighbor, is potentially the most powerful.

Australians cannot ignore Indonesia's human rights record, especially in East Timor, with which our ties are close. We cannot be indifferent to the bloodshed in Dili last November.

But to denounce Senator Evans as a pragmatic "appeaser" and to demand strong action in belligerent language helps nobody. Australia, as with other countries and the UN, can do nothing practical to bring independence to East Timor. To urge Canberra to take the lead in making the impossible possible is not in the national or international interest.

Australian governments should consistently promote solutions which will give the East Timorese a fair chance to live in dignity, respecting their traditions, without crudely antagonising Indonesia.

The alternative is lasting hostility between our two nations, for which our children and grandchildren may have to pay heavily.

David Martin,  
Beechworth.

AGE.

3-1-92.

# East Timor's AGE. 2.1.92 search for peace

**T**HE 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 Evans. Rather, it followed a pattern in the behavior 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 in 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 Prabow, whose meteoric rise is due in part to the old man and in part to his ruthless behavior 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 a direct dialogue with credible representatives of the East Timorese resistance movement, either under the auspices of the United Nations or an acceptable mediator.

The recent killings in East Timor have prompted many calls for peace talks to resolve problems there. **JOSE RAMOS HORTA** writes that Indonesia must be firmly told to disengage from East Timor.

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 pre-conditions. This is undoubtedly the best possible process which would allow Indonesia to save face.

Indonesia, and its neighbors, 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 in Asean and for membership in 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 and others would be respected.

The Timor Gap Treaty would be reviewed but pending a final settlement of the boundary dis-

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

pute, current treaty exploration agreements 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 Timorese, 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 proved to be a failure and should now be discarded.

*Jose Ramos Horta is a special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CMEM), an umbrella body comprising Fretilin, Falintil, the guerrilla army, and Renetil, East Timor's largest student and youth organisation.*

# Jakarta stops BHP deal

Indonesia has cancelled an \$8 million contract with Australia's biggest company, BHP, because of union protests against the Dili massacre, the company said yesterday.

BHP's international marketing manager, Mr David Burgess, said the 30,000-tonne shipment of steel slabs from the Port Kembla steelworks on the New South Wales south coast was to have been made in March to Krakatau Steel in Western Java.

Mr Burgess said the contract would now go to an alternative supplier unknown to BHP, although BHP believed the supplier was either South American or European.

He said the reason given for Krakatau switching was that it needed to ensure security of supply.

The NSW South Coast Labor Council placed bans on the shipment last month after soldiers killed at least 50 demonstrators in East Timor in November.

Meanwhile, the strained diplomatic relationship between Australia and Indonesia continued yesterday when the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, warned that the ties could be at risk after a crowd protesting over the Dili shootings harassed Indonesian diplomats in Canberra.

"We want those actions stopped. If they are not stopped they will clearly jeopardise our relations," Mr Alatas said.

He said demonstrators threw

bricks at two embassy cars leaving the Canberra compound on Thursday and diplomats had been harassed. Police had failed to do more than shout at the mob to stop, he said.

"What makes us deeply concerned ... (is that) those demonstrators have acted with apparent ease and complete freedom to do so," Mr Alatas said.

A spokesman for the Trade Minister, Mr Kerin, said the Federal Government regretted Krakatau Steel's actions in cancelling the BHP order. He stressed that the Government did not support sanctions against Indonesia.

The council's go-slow campaign has been criticised by the ACTU president, Mr Martin Ferguson, who

claimed that the unions were out of order in "going alone" in their protest against the Indonesian Government.

Mr Burgess said the labor council's bans on the December shipment followed hard on the heels of a serious industrial dispute over contract labor at BHP's sheet and coil products plant at Port Kembla in November.

"The Indonesians are evidently not satisfied that Port Kembla had overcome its industrial problems," he said.

Mr Burgess said the union bans had endangered BHP's regular dealings with the Indonesian company, which were worth about \$25 million a year.

Mr Burgess said BHP had worked hard with the labor council to resolve

their differences. "Our position is no bans at all."

A spokesman for the labor council, Mr Paul Matters, yesterday welcomed the loss of the contract. He said he was pleased the unions' bans had had some effect. The council would ask the ACTU to impose a total trade boycott on Indonesia.

Mr Matters said his trade union council firmly believed that BHP and other Australian companies should not be trading with Indonesia.

"The argument being put forward that Indonesia will just get its steel elsewhere is futile," he said.

The Federal Opposition has warned that the contract cancellation could have disastrous flow-on effects

on Australian trade with the rest of South-East Asia.

"We've always been opposed to trade sanctions against Indonesia but the South Coast Labor Council unilaterally imposed them," the Opposition trade spokesman, Mr Downer, said.

"All it's done is lose potential jobs for their own members in the Illawarra. It's utter madness and a real tragedy. It hasn't changed anything in Indonesia, plus it only needs one outbreak like this to seriously damage our reputation overseas; \$8 million is quite a large contract."

Future orders expected after March may also have been lost.

4/1/92. (JAN '92)

THE AGE.

**THE AGE**  
**US rights group attacks Jakarta's massacre report**

By JONATHAN THATCHER,  
Jakarta, Friday

The United States human-rights group Asia Watch said today that Indonesia's official report on an army massacre in East Timor was unacceptable and demanded an international investigation.

Late last month, a Government-appointed commission found that about 50 people had been killed and another 90 were still missing after troops opened fire into a crowd of mourners in East Timor's capital, Dili, on 12 November.

Some local reports put the death toll as high as 180. They dispute the Government's claim that demonstrators among the mourners provoked the shooting.

"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," Asia Watch said.

"The international community

must continue to press the Indonesian Government for a full and accurate accounting of what happened."

Diplomats said Japan, Indonesia's main aid and trade partner, and the US had largely accepted the Indonesian version of events. They said that the question of punishment of the soldiers involved still remained unsettled.

However, the report appeared to have successfully prevented the shooting from being linked to vital supplies of new foreign aid.

President Suharto, who has expressed his condolences to the bereaved, sacked the two most senior generals involved in East Timor after the report, which criticised soldiers for overreacting.

● The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, said tonight it was up to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Ghali, to revive negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal over East Timor.

— Reuter

2/1/92

**THE AUSTRALIAN.**

**THE AUSTRALIAN 2/1/92**  
**Path of truth**

WE call on Senator Evans and the Government to press the Indonesian Government for the reinstatement of three senior Indonesian journalists recently sacked from their posts after furnishing details, in the weekly magazine *Jakarta, Jakarta* of January 4, of witnesses to the Dili massacre in East Timor.

TAPOL, an Indonesian human rights body, also reports the imminent indictment of three East Timorese for purportedly leaking State Secrets to Portugal; and of the 32 demonstrators detained after the Dili massacre, at least one faces execution.

Diplomatic tact won't stay the executioner's bullet.

While there is consensus from all quarters that the official inquiry into the Dili massacre was a whitewash of sorts, the persecution of those who reserve their judgement, and now cast indeed a wider net of reckoning, shows so many untarnished reputations as the

## Fretilin discredited by own brutality

from E. G. Whitlam

You published a letter from Ken Fry about "a report of (Gough Whitlam's) speech in Melbourne on 9 December".

In reporting my speech in your issue of 10 December you did not include the passages on East Timor and the reference to Mr Fry. These passages were in the text given to your paper. You should, I suggest, now give them to your readers:

"Australians need to be reminded how Fretilin forfeited its position in East Timor 16 years ago. Fretilin was one of the parties which emerged in May 1974. In January 1975 Fretilin and UDT formed a coalition which fell apart at the end of May; in August hostilities broke out between them. During the night of 27 August the Portuguese Governor and officers left Dili for the island of Atauro. They left 15,000 rifles as well as Nato bazookas and mortars to Fretilin. In the following weeks Fretilin swept all before it.

"Parliamentary views were distorted when the Asis agent in East Timor flew my Liberal opponent at the 1974 elections, a Labor MHR and two senators, one Labor and one Liberal, to three Fretilin strongholds. These fellow travelers did not observe that Fretilin was perpetrating the first massacres in East Timor since World War II and that 40,000 refugees had fled from Fretilin into West Timor. The Red Cross appealed to me for funds for the refugees.

"Fretilin's proclamation of independence on 28 November 1975 prompted the Indonesian takeover of the territory on 7 December 1975. On 29 November 1975 the other Timorese parties had proclaimed integration with Indonesia. Fretilin's UDI was repudiated by Andrew Peacock, who had been installed as Foreign Minister after the 11 November coup against my Government. Sixteen years later, Fretilin wants to recover the position which it held in East Timor before it was discredited by its own brutality and impatience."

Gough Whitlam,  
Sydney.

## Military team to probe Dili shootings

**Jakarta, Sunday** <sup>THE AGE</sup> 06/01/92  
An Indonesian military council has arrived in East Timor to investigate the armed forces' conduct in the 12 November shooting of demonstrators in Dili, the official Antara newsagency said today.

The six-member council arrived in the East Timorese capital yesterday and visited the Santa Cruz cemetery, scene of the shooting. The 'Merdeka' daily newspaper today quoted the Coordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs, Admiral Sudomo, as saying the council would "gather facts, listen and ask for an account of security operations linked to the Dili incident".

He said any member of the security forces found to have violated

military standards could face disciplinary or legal action.

An inquiry set up by President Suharto one week after the shooting reported last week that 50 people had died and 90 were missing after the incident, during which a group of soldiers acted "over the level of acceptable norm".

MARGO KINGSTON reports from Canberra: East Timorese have promised to resist attempts by the Australian Federal Police to move their "East Timor embassy" down the road from the entrance to the Indonesian embassy.

A police spokesman said officers had told protesters to move. The action came after Indonesia lodged a formal protest about the

picket on Friday.

The Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, on Friday sent a letter to the Indonesian ambassador "regretting" an incident on Thursday when bricks were thrown at embassy cars.

A spokesman for the Australian Coalition for East Timor, Mr Michael Wagner, said the picket, operated by the Trades and Labor Council with the ACTU's approval since the Dili massacre, had been peaceful.

"Thursday's regrettable incident was the result of protests by East Timorese from Sydney." He said the picket would continue.

Mr Wagner said he would tell the federal police that the picket would continue.

— AFP



# Indonesian consortium backs \$172m satellite

**FORTY-three Indonesian companies have underwritten the \$US131 million (\$172 million) insurance on the country's seventh telecommunication satellite to be launched in May, the Kompas daily reported.**

The consortium of private companies, headed by PT Asuransi Jasa Indonesia (Jasindo), will also reinsure 70 per cent of the liability to Intech Corp of the United States, Kompas quoted Jasindo executive director, Mr Mustafa Ashari, last Wednesday as saying.

The premium was reported to stand at 18.05 per cent, but this had not yet been confirmed by Jasindo.

The Palapa B-4 satellite, produced by Hughes Aircraft Co of the US, will be put in orbit on May 14 by a Delta II McDonnell-Douglas rocket.

Indonesian officials have said Palapa B-4 should be operational in orbit by July.

Originally planned for 1995, the launch had to be advanced to enable Indonesia to cope with rapidly growing domestic and regional telecommunications demands.

Local newspaper the Berita Buana, quoted Mr Sahala Silalahi, chief of the Indonesia's satellite operation, as saying he had wanted the

Palapa B-4 to be launched in April.

After discussions between government officials and McDonnell Douglas, however, it was set for May from Cape Canaveral, in Florida.

Since 1976, the Indonesian archipelago of more than 13,000 islands has depended largely on US-launched satellites for its telecommunications.

It also leases part of its 48 satellite transponders to State and private firms in neighbouring countries, including Malaysia, Singapore,

## Growing demands

Thailand, The Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam and Papua New Guinea.

Indonesia chose the US Delta rocket over the French Ariane system and the Chinese Long March rocket for the launch.

Australia's Aussat, however, will use the cheaper Chinese launch for its first two B-series satellites built by the Hughes Aircraft Co.

The satellites are being tested. A third will be completed late next year.

The first of the B-series will be launched by a Long March

rocket from south-west China in March.

Aussat was recently sold for \$800 million to Optus Communications, a consortium granted the licence to become the second telecommunications carrier in Australia.

The Federal Government has absorbed Aussat's \$740 million debt — the cash-strapped satellite company has derived most of its modest revenue from sales of transponder services.

However, the market continues to be sluggish because the local commercial television industry is depressed.

Aussat is not expected to improve its bottom line until pay television is introduced in October. It's B-series satellites have been designed to carry the pay television signal.

Aussat already has three A-series satellites in orbit. The first two will run out of fuel late this year and mid-next year respectively while the A3 is expected to retire from service in 1997.

The B-series has been promoted strongly in the mobile communications market, since it will be the conduit for a new satellite-based service known as Mobilesat.

— HELEN MEREDITH  
and wire services

## Dili massacre THE AUSTRALIAN under review

**JAKARTA:** An Indonesian military council arrived in East Timor yesterday for a six-day visit to investigate the army's conduct in the Dili massacre that claimed up to 115 lives.

The Co-ordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs, Mr Sudomo, said any soldier found to have violated military standards could face disciplinary or legal action.