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February 5, 1992

Dear Friends,

Enclosed is a copy of the latest newsletter from the East Timor Alert Network.

There has been a growing debate in the media over Canada's involvement with the military regime in Indonesia, especially in the wake of last year's massacre.

On behalf of the Parliamentarians for East Timor, I hope you find the enclosed to be informative.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ray Funk".

Ray Funk, M.P.
Prince Albert/Churchill River

Encl.



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

104-2120 West 44th St., Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6M 2G2 (604)264-9973

January 26.92

Dear Friends of East Timor,

The events of the past two months have been somewhat overwhelming for myself and our little network. Suddenly East Timor was on the front pages of the western press all over the world! Quite an astonishing turn of events for everyone. But like our counterparts in Portugal, Europe, Japan and the U.S. we all scrambled to make the best of a bad situation. The massacre of Nov.12 was the very first time the Suharto regime has been exposed internationally for its many crimes against humanity.

While the reaction to the Dili massacre by External Affairs was rather weak and minimal there was at least a show of disapproval against a regime that usually gets nothing but handshakes and unquestioning assistance from Canada. Of the 8 or 9 big aid donors to Indonesia only Denmark, the Netherlands and Canada made any aid cuts. On the other hand, unlike Portugal and the European community Canada is not pressing Indonesia to allow an independent international investigation into the massacre. Instead, the Canadian government is throwing in its lot the U.S. and Australia in settling for the Indonesian military's own investigation. A complete whitewash from beginning to end, the Indonesian inquiry exonerates the military high command of any responsibility and blames the deaths on "unorganized security personnel" and the Timorese themselves, against whom "action must be taken". And this all happened when the Indonesian Armed Forces were employing the "prosperity approach based on love and affection". Copies of this investigation are available from ETAN for those interested in a classic piece of Orwellian rhetoric from the New Order Regime.

Interestingly, none of the major aid donors to Indonesia responded to an appeal for an international weapons embargo against Indonesia issued by the European Parliament. Canada included.

While we didn't get the Canadian government to do anything approaching the honourable for East Timor we did manage to put the whole question of our relationship with Indonesia on another footing. In particular I would like to thank David Webster for getting the ball rolling by bringing Jose Guterres to Ottawa. And the Ottawa group did a great job, as usual, in bringing in Jose Ramos Horta, Amy Goodman and Alan Nairn. In particular I would like to thank Maureen Davies, Peter Monet, Basil Modridge, Tim Colby, Doug McGregor and Gary Evans for their great organizing of the events around the cutting of bilateral aid to Indonesia. And

to the International Center for Human Rights and the B.C. Conf. of the United Church for coming up with some quick cash.

We also had strong support in parliament and the media. Special thanks goes to Svend Robinson, Beryl Gaffney and Christine Stewart for their persistent demands in the house that the government live up to its newly stated commitment to human rights. And without the excellent media coverage of David Todd of Southam News and Satinder Vindra of CBC's "As It Happens" its doubtful there would have been any aid cuts at all.

And, of course, to our many supporters across the country without whom there would have been no response from Ottawa. Many thanks for flooding the media and External Affairs with phone calls, letters and generally raising hell. It was great. It worked. Lets do it again.

My life will be going in a slightly different direction for the next year or two. Last week I recieved a Canada Council grant to do a film on East Timor. I have wanted to do something like this for a long time and am really happy about getting this grant. I want to try to tell the story of how people of East Timor lived before the Indonesian occupation and how this way of life should have meaning for us all.

David Webster will be going to the solidarity meeting in Europe this year and be taking responsibility for much of the political work. Li-Lien Gibbons, the UBC student and sister of Kamal who also died in Dili on Nov.12, will take over writing on the newsletter. (not John Sorensen as previously stated) Material for the newsletter can continue to be sent to my address and I'll pass it on to Li-lien.


Donations for the network can continue to come here as well or to David Webster, ETAN of Toronto, Box 562, Stn.P, Toronto, M5S 2K9.

We are also starting to raise money for a full page ad in Saturday Night magazine. The B.C. Conference of the United Church of Canada has agreed to give a tax deductible receipt for these donations. The text of the letter will be send out in a separate mailing and cheques can be sent to ETAN's Vancouver address made out to:
B.C. Conference - United Church of Canada, memo East Timor Relief

There are two Timorese refugees in Canada now, Aze 23, and Abe, 26, both were visiting on youth exchange programs when the massacre happened in East Timor. Both had to make the difficult decision whether to go back to Indonesia or to stay here in a strange country. Hopefully they will soon feel more at home and recieve the support they need to continue their work for East Timor here in Canada.

Best wishes to all in 1992,

Elaine Briere for ETAN





BACKGROUND / East Timor Nov. 15 / 91

Independence bid drenched in blood

BY LINDA HOSSIE
The Globe and Mail

INDONESIA invaded East Timor in 1975, quelling an incipient independence movement struggling to break free of Portuguese colonial rule. Seven months and tens of thousands of deaths later, the government in Jakarta proclaimed East Timor the 27th Indonesian province.

So many people were killed during the invasion and the subsequent repression and starvation that the Center for Defence Information in Washington has cited the conflict as one of the three most violent in the world, the others being Cambodia and Afghanistan. The real death toll is unknown, but the most commonly cited figure is 200,000 out of a pre-invasion population of about 700,000.

The Indonesian takeover of East Timor has been resisted, principally by the Fretilin, a guerrilla force that has been dramatically reduced in number during 16 years of civil war. Although Indonesia dismisses Fretilin's ability to disrupt Indonesian control of East Timor, observers say as many as 25,000 Indonesian troops remain on the island.

Observers also report that land is being transferred from the Timorese to Indonesian settlers, that birth control is imposed on Timorese women and that the languages and cultural practices of the Timorese are being suppressed.

In February, the Canada-Asia Working Group reported the alarm of anthropologists over the gradual loss of East Timor's culture, which in 1975 included 30 ethno-linguistic groups.

Indonesia's invasion of East Timor violated two basic United Nations principles: the right to self-determination and the integrity of territory. UN resolutions condemning the invasion have consistently been resisted, however, by the United States and several of its allies, including Canada.

The explanation for this is widely thought to lie in Indonesia's strategic importance — its islands span the seaways that link Japan and Middle Eastern oil fields — and the West's well-developed trade ties with the country.

Indonesia is the second-largest recipient of bilateral Canadian foreign aid. Canada also has extensive business ties with Indonesia, including arms sales.

Military chief admits East Timor slaughter

DILI, Indonesia (Reuters) — East Timor's military commander has admitted that Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of mourners for up to 10 minutes last week, but he denied the action was excessive.

He also said he would finally allow independent observers to visit those wounded in the shooting.

The government has announced a commission to look

into the shooting. The Indonesian military says soldiers opened fire on a crowd of 3,500 mourners as the result of a misunderstood order and that they had been provoked. It says 19 people were killed and 89 wounded.

Soldiers open fire on Timorese protesters

REUTERS *Amethle Nov 1991*

JAKARTA — Indonesian soldiers opened fire yesterday on a funeral procession of youths protesting against Jakarta's rule over East Timor and separatist rebels said up to 100 were killed or injured.

In a statement in Lisbon, Portugal's president, Mario Soares, condemned what he called "repeated acts of violence" in the former Portuguese colony, where the Fretilin armed independence movement has been operating since the territory was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

There were varying accounts of casualties. One diplomat in Jakarta said more than 20 people were killed in East Timor's capital, Dili. The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted a Roman Catholic priest there as saying troops shot dead more than 50 people and wounded dozens of others.

Abilio Araujo, spokesman in Portugal for the Fretilin guerrillas, said more than 100 people had been killed or injured, but Indonesia's army said in a statement only that several protesters had been killed and others injured.

"Security officers tried to disperse them in persuasive ways but they put up resistance and attacked the officers," the statement said.

East Timor, at the eastern end of the vast Indonesian archipelago, was annexed by Indonesia shortly after Portugal gave up the colony it ruled for three centuries.

Jakarta's rule is not internationally recognized and international human-rights organizations have frequently criticized abuses there.

Diplomats estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died since the region came under Indonesia's control.

Soares said he wrote to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar last week to draw attention to the "intolerable disrespect being shown for human rights and the atrocities being committed by Indonesia in East Timor in flagrant violation of international law and UN resolutions."

East Timor's 600,000 people are mostly Roman Catholic, while Indonesia has the world's largest population of Muslims.

Ottawa reluctant to condemn killing in East Timor

By David Webster

WHEN, ON NOV. 12, Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of unarmed mourners and pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor, international outrage followed quickly.

At least 100 Timorese were killed by the same Indonesian soldiers who invaded their tiny country, off the north coast of Australia, in 1975. The religious procession was held in memory of Sebastiao Rangel, a young man killed two weeks before in a Catholic parish church in Dili, East Timor's capital. "There were thousands of people, and people continued to join them as they marched," said Amy Goodman, an American journalist who witnessed the massacre.

"Young people, old women in traditional dress of East Timor, men, young men, little kids, and they marched up to the cemetery."

Goodman and Alan Nairn, a correspondent for *The New Yorker*, tried to put themselves between the soldiers and the crowd to prevent an incident. But soldiers opened fire.

"And these were truly defenceless people. They had nothing but some banners . . . and the commemorative cloth that they had for this young man, Sebastiao, and they just kept shooting," said Goodman.

"With us, they beat us into a corner and sitting on the ground, the only thing we could say was, 'Please, we're from America,' and they kept beating us and then they went with the guns toward us and we just pleaded and said, 'We're from America,' and I kept thinking that the guns that were pointed on us, the M-16s, were also from America because the U.S. provides the weapons for the Indonesian army in East Timor."

Following the massacre, the U.S. Senate is now considering a bill that would end military aid to Indonesia, one of America's closest friends in Southeast Asia since Gen. Suharto became president in 1965 after an anti-Communist bloodbath.

The European Community, too, condemned the massacre. Portugal, due to take over the EC presidency at the end of the year, expressed "its strongest condemnation of this new act of utmost brutality."

Australia, New Zealand, Britain and other countries de-

plored the latest round of violence. Amnesty International, meanwhile, called for a fully independent investigation.

Days later, Canada was still silent. Of Indonesia's closest Western supporters, "all but Canada have made clear statements against the massacre," said José Luis Guterres, an East Timorese representative at the United Nations, during a hastily-arranged trip to Ottawa. "Why doesn't Canada join the civilized world in denouncing brutality in East Timor?"

Faced with unexpected pressure, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall took two small steps in the right direction. She told the House of Commons "we condemn both the violation of human rights in this specific instance but also the ongoing situation for the people who live there" — strong words from a country that has remained silent for more than 15 years, while Indonesian rule claimed the lives of a third of the Timorese population. McDougall also ordered a "review" of Canadian aid to Indonesia.

It's the least we could have done. For all of Canada's praiseworthy statements on linking aid to respect for human rights, we haven't seen a lot of action.

Indonesia is Canada's third-largest recipient of direct bilateral aid — more than \$50 million a year since 1984, an amount projected by the Canadian International Development Agency to go up substantially over the next five years. CIDA is involved in the controversial transmigration program, which envisages moving vast numbers of Javans to outer islands and has been widely condemned by international human rights and environmental groups.

More than 300 Canadian companies are active in Indonesia, led by INCO, owner of a billion-dollar nickel mining and smelting complex in the jungles of Sulawesi. And it's Canadian companies — not the poor of Indonesia, and certainly not the poor of East Timor — who get the bulk of the cash from Ottawa.

Cutting off aid to Indonesia is not a step the government will be able to take easily. But it's what the government will have to do, if its rhetoric about human rights is to be anything more than rhetoric.

□ David Webster is a Toronto writer and a member of the East Timor Alert Network.

Toronto

Star 4 Dec. 1991

Letters to the Editor:

Canada acted quickly on East Timor

Re the Nov. 25 opinion piece, *Ottawa reluctant to condemn killing in East Timor* by David Webster, of the East Timor Alert Network. Contrary to Webster's assertion, the Canadian government has been anything but reluctant in condemning the events in East Timor.

I raised Canadian concerns directly with the Indonesian foreign minister at a meeting in Seoul only hours after the tragic events in East Timor. Our ambassador in Jakarta immediately made inquiries and representations on my behalf directly to senior ministers in Jakarta.

In Ottawa, I instructed senior officials to explain to the Indonesian ambassador the concern of the Canadian government in very clear terms. Our ambassador in

New York also spoke out on this issue at the United Nations. In the House of Commons, I condemned the violation of human rights which took place, and announced a review of our aid to Indonesia.

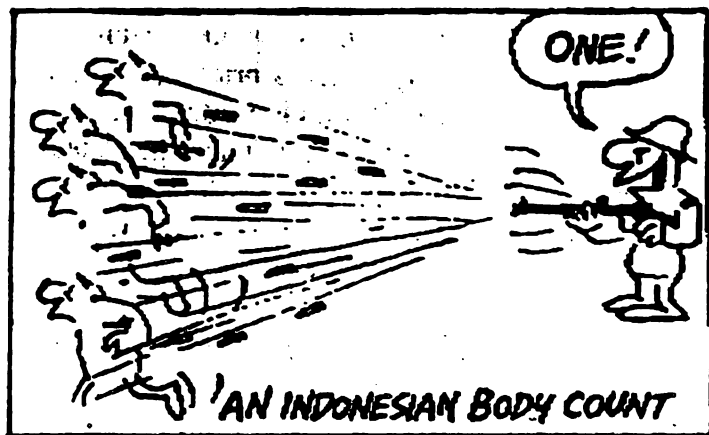
Webster is quick to call for cutting off all aid to Indonesia. I want to be more careful. I want to make sure that any decision the government makes does not, for example, eliminate needed humanitarian assistance, especially that provided by non-governmental agencies.

Canada has a long tradition of co-operation in economic development with Indonesia. The beneficiaries of development assistance are the people of Indonesia, in areas such as rural health care, co-operatives, and women in de-

velopment. The lasting value of these projects flows to the people of Indonesia and not simply to Canadian firms which help deliver the aid and assistance.

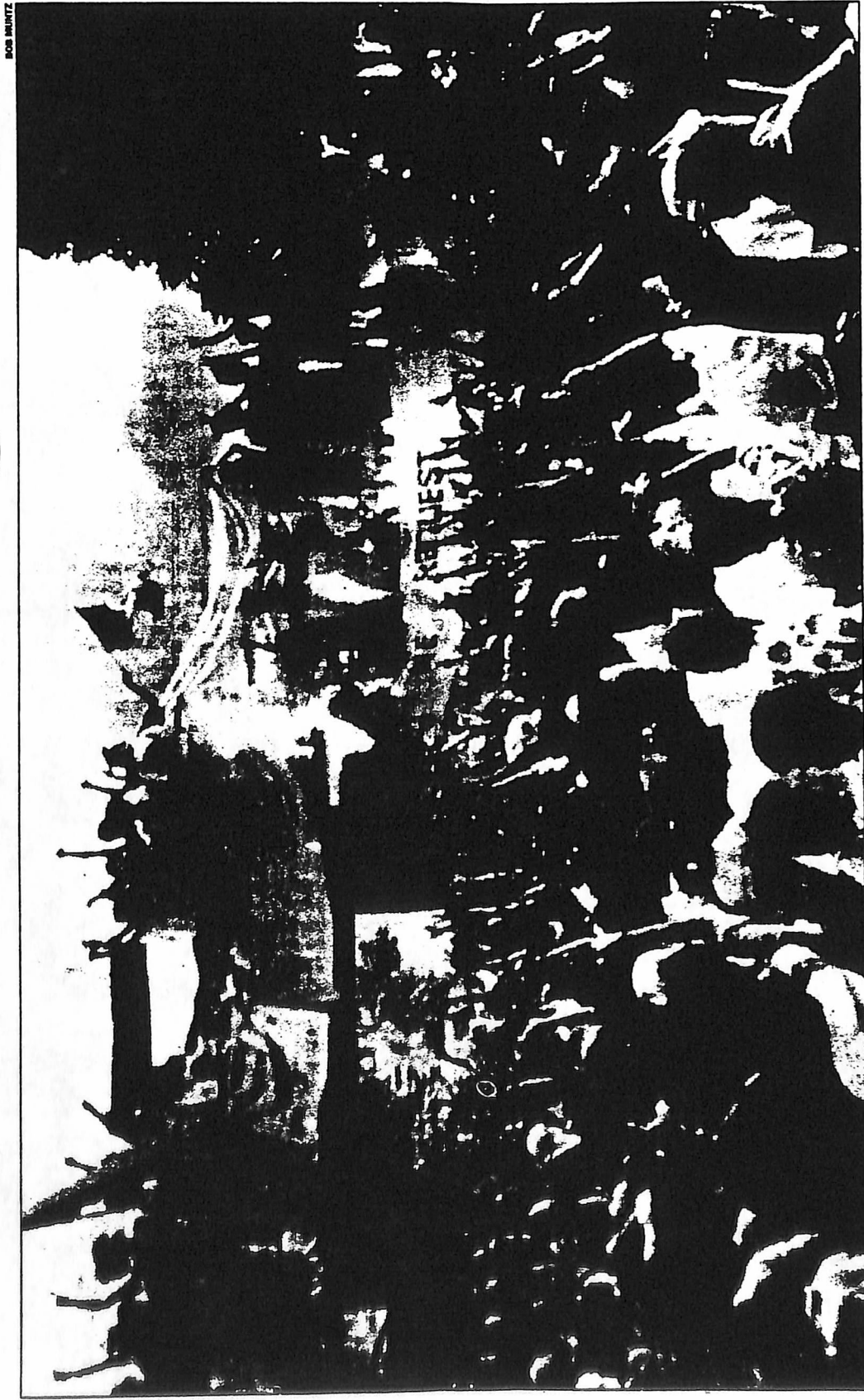
Finally, I wish to correct three points in Webster's article. First, the Canadian International Development Agency has no involvement in the transmigration programs of the Indonesian government. Second, disbursements in Indonesia are approximately \$45 million a year, not \$50 million; and, third, there are no plans to increase this amount.

BARBARA McDOUGALL
Secretary of State
for External Affairs
Ottawa





Massacre among the graves



BOB MUNTZ

Timor's history of neglect

WHEN the Indonesian armed forces invaded East Timor in December 1975 it was only months after communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia. The United States, in particular, and its allies greatly chastised Jakarta and then got on with containing the Soviet threat to the region. East Timor, a Portuguese colony, was in the throes of a civil war. A left-wing nationalist movement, Fretilin, had pushed its opposition across the border into the Indonesian-held side of Timor island and declared the territory independent.

Indonesia, it was said at the time, did not want a Cuba, and was defending Western interests. East Timor was a scorched-earth offensive started against Fretilin and the secessionist threat. Around 200,000 people died over the next seven years.

East Timor has been a colony of Portugal since 1702, and it has always been neglected. It lies about 400 miles north-east of Darwin and its people are ethnically different from the light-skinned Javanese who dominate the archipelago. There is a cultural difference, too: Indonesia, as a Dutch colony, was little affected by proselytising Christianity. East Timor was Roman Catholic. The colony's distance from Lisbon also encouraged an autonomy that made its people less willing to accept outside authority. Indonesia was clearly a foreign power.

It was a crumb thrown to the students by the outside world that they felt had, once again, let them down. Discipline for the demonstration was to be tight to ensure no hostages were left to fortune or to the Indonesian military. And although in the event the Indonesians needed no hostages, and up to 50 died in the shootings with

Minutes after this picture of a peaceful demonstration was taken last week, Indonesian soldiers fired on the crowd. It was the latest of many outrages in East Timor, a conquered territory whose plight the world has long ignored. But this time was different. Max Stahl, a British journalist, was there in the midst of the bloodshed. This is his story.

It seemed that almost every young Timorese was likely to be *perseguido* (pursued), or was already on the run. They moved

them "would end up in Tacitolo". Tacitolo is one of the best-known killing grounds used in the early 1980s by Indonesian soldiers and

and apprehension of the participants. All the "provocation" the military needed was in the pro-resistance and pro-independence



IT WAS a cold-blooded and premeditated massacre. The Indonesians, at least 200 uniformed soldiers and police, perhaps a whole battalion, drove up in trucks, took up position and on the order opened fire with automatic weapons straight into the crowd.

The two to three thousand pro-independence demonstrators

several times before it reached the hospital and he had already lost a tremendous amount of blood before they were allowed to get in him.

cond

marched last Tuesday through the centre of Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. They went along the waterfront lined with Indonesian warships, past the governor's palace and up almost a mile to the public cemetery known as Santa Cruz waving the flags and banners of the occupied colony's independence parties and its continuing armed resistance.

They were almost all students and young people. There were women and even some children protesting against the 16-year-old invasion of their country and its subsequent bloody and illegal "integration" into Indonesia at a cost of some 200,000 Timorese lives.

But such protest has never gone unchallenged by the 60,000 or more soldiers, policemen and paid informers who keep the 650,000 Timorese in a state of fear. I was inside the cemetery when the shooting started outside its walls where some 2,000 people were on the street, waiting to file through the gate into the graveyard.

The leaders of the demonstration had walked into the cemetery and made an announcement over loudspeakers that prayers were to begin for their dead companion, Sebastian, killed on 28 October by policemen in civilian clothes who were stoning a church where persecuted students took refuge at night. Sebastian was buried at Santa Cruz, and the march was nominally in his memory.

I was knocked to the ground and trampled in the stampede for the safety of the cemetery chapel. I scrambled for cover among the tombstones and dust, and screams filled the air. The scene at the cemetery gate was frozen into my mind.

A young man, badly wounded but still not dead, lay across the entrance. Others had tripped and fallen in the dirt. A solid wedge of people were stuck in the embrace, pressed from behind by hundreds of others desperate to escape the bullets. Then the wedge broke, and the people poured screaming through the gap, trampling over the bodies, the wounded and the whole altar.

Outside in the street the soldiers kept up a sustained volley of fire, perhaps two minutes long — thousands of rounds poured into the crowd and down into the cemetery where I was hiding.

Then there was a pause, with sporadic fire, and then another volley shorter than the first, and then more sporadic shots as the soldiers moved, in ordered ranks, to surround the cemetery and trap those inside.

Those who had fallen were left to bleed where they lay. This is where the young New Zealander, Kunal Bamadaji, lost his chance of survival. Wounded by three gunshots, he was still barely conscious when the international Red Cross picked him up. But the ambulance was held up by soldiers.

hospital, like at least 80 seriously wounded and perhaps as many as 50 dead, no one was allowed access to him. All information was refused to the Red Cross, to his family, his close friends, even to his fiancée.

This was not a bureaucratic accident. Relatives of other wounded Timorese who came to enquire about missing relatives were arrested and interrogated. I spoke to some who had fled and dare not go back. Inside the cemetery I saw soldiers clearly commanded by officers in civilian dress, moving methodically between the tombstones, searching out wounded and fugitive demonstrators. As they got to them they lacked them and beat them, severely wounded and without allies, with rifle butts and batons.

I was flinching all this, ignoring the shouts and the pointed fingers of the soldiers who had now mainly stopped firing but were not yet, in this methodical scheme, allowed to get to me in the centre of the cemetery.

Several young men gathered around me, thinking that I, a foreigner, might offer some protection. One had blood pouring out of his stomach, another used a shirt to bandage a lower leg in pain. A third was simply paralysed with fear. He repeated over and over again: "We're all going to die, we're all dead, I'm going to die, please help me survive."

But I could not help them. All I could do was bury my videotape in a grave in anticipation of my own arrest and promise them that this time the cynical carnage of the Indonesian military would not be lost in a welter of international evasion and Indonesian lies, as has happened so often in the last 16 years of East Timor's history, during which nearly one in three of its people — roughly 200,000 — have died.

In this the presence of seven more foreign witnesses may help.



Three of these, two Americans and an English photographer, were themselves severely beaten and by their own reports only narrowly saved from death at the hands of the soldiers. The English photographer was threatened with bayonets and saved by the intervention of a captain who thought of a soldier who thought "the spoke Portuguese", a language still spoken by many Timorese but not by the Indonesians, and therefore a cause of great suspicion.

And yet already the half-truths and outright lies issued to Indonesians abroad have begun to cloud the truth about this killing and the truth about this killing and the truth about this killing.

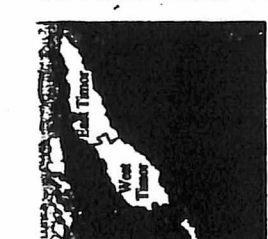
I first heard of this stabbing the day after the massacre as a reason for "loyal troops" running amok out of revenge, and then as evidence of the "riot" that official Indonesian forces say they were forced to control. In the words of the official statements: "Soldiers were thrown at police stations" and "persuasive methods had been tried and failed", then following this "normal" procedure we used to control the riot.

Neither I nor any foreign witness or local I know saw any of these events or any reaction to them from policemen or demonstrators during the march (the mayor almost certainly suffered his wound after the shooting began).

I was held at the police station where the arrested students and demonstrators were taken. I saw 12 trucks with young men stripped to the waist and tied, seated 30 or more to a truck with the police on the rails jabbing at them with rifle butts. During my nine hours of comfortable captivity I spoke to the police chief, to officers involved in the "operation" and to my interrogators.

Why, I asked, had they carried out this barbarous killing. Why did they need guns at all when the demonstrators had none? No one at the station offered the unfortunate major as a motive. No one even bothered to suggest there had been a riot. Much less did they add the more recent assertions emerging from General Sintoang Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana military command that covers East Timor. These include the firing of a shot by demonstrators (I heard no stray shots before the attack), the throwing of a hand grenade "that luckily didn't go off", and the confiscation of three hand grenades, six pistols, three rifles, three swords and a number of knives and blades.

The truth, as all foreign witnesses have confirmed, is that there was no riot. There was a procession, a demonstration of exceptionally good order, even good humour, despite the fear.



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Youths at Santa Cruz cemetery, scene of the massacre, examine the bloodstained clothes of the victims

strators waved and shouted, and in their tenacity at demonstrating at all. This is not surprising. Every recent pro-independence demonstration has been attacked. Every time the excuse has been the same. And every time what independent evidence there is and the testimony of foreigners tells a different story.

One such attack, in 1989, took place in full view of the Pope, who was celebrating mass on his visit to East Timor; another in 1990 occurred in front of the US ambassador's hotel. In the latter case even those Timorese officially invited to speak to him were later arrested and beaten.

And the run up to the day of this demonstration had been a sustained campaign of intimidation and arrest by the army, "Intel" (the Indonesian Intelligence Service), the police and their numerous hired informers known as "buffos" or "downs" to the local Timorese.

This campaign was related to the planned visit of Portuguese parliamentarians in November "to gain information in the cold hand" on the situation in the colony which, according to international law and UN resolutions, they are still legally responsible for administering.

High hopes were placed on this visit by the Timorese, many of whom believed the Portuguese were coming back to ensure a referendum on independence be held and to finish the decolonisation process they started 17 years ago.

Preparations were made in secret to receive the delegation. Over many months, banners were prepared, slogans agreed, demonstrations planned and position papers worked out in secret meetings among the students and the resistance. During almost two years in the mountains the 1,000 to 1,500 guerrillas "softened" their war and refrained from offensive moves, under orders from their commander, Xanana Gusmano, "to stabilise the situation".

On the Indonesian side the army doubled its normal garrison and launched a series of sweeps and offences with upwards of 30,000 men (on the estimates of resistance commanders). The police and the intelligence service hired more informers and embarked on a campaign of quick arrests followed by interrogations and beatings in an attempt to frustrate the political resistance and turn the victims into informers with a promise of money for information, and a safer future.

They added to that a widespread campaign of threats. On 28 October, the very day when plainclothes police stormed the Misael Sebastian, the bishop (senior local administrator) of Dili called three schools together to inform them that anyone who spoke to the Portuguese or approached

Timorese victims. To underline this threat, a mysterious hole, similar to that used in the past for burying bodies, was dug at Tacilado and at other former killing grounds. Schoolteachers and government workers were told they would lose their jobs and villages were told that everyone between 10 and 45 would be wiped out. Individually, intelligence agents let it be known that lists were being prepared for torture or extermination.

Thousands of students, former fighters or refugees of the earlier periods of the war — this includes most Timorese — anyone suspected of contacts with foreigners, anyone outspoken, or unpopular for a private reason with local police or their allies feared being taken. Sometimes it

It was in this climate that the independence demonstration was planned by the political clandestine front (OCR) and authorised by the resistance commander in chief, Xanana Gusmano, to coincide with a visit of the UN special rapporteur on torture, Peter Kujumians, to Dili.

slept rough, left jobs and stayed out of schools in order to stay ahead of their pursuers and prepare for the Portuguese.

And then, because of Indonesian objections to an Australian journalist due to accompany the delegation, the Portuguese cancelled their trip. The students were left exposed, just as they had been on the morning after the massacre there were smiles on the faces of many Timorese.

This was because the foreigners had been there and filmed the event, and the foreigners, for once, were also beaten up and this they believe will be noticed. This, they believe, may lift a little the curse which is worse than oppression and death for Timorese, the curse of their total and relentless isolation in their struggle.

The writer is using a nom de plume to protect those who helped him. Leading article, page 24

four hundred arrested, beaten, made to walk barefoot across thorns, and tortured with electric shocks, although four more were stabbed to death in the police station, according to some of those released, and although perhaps 150 are still suffering this abuse, there were smiles on the faces of many Timorese.

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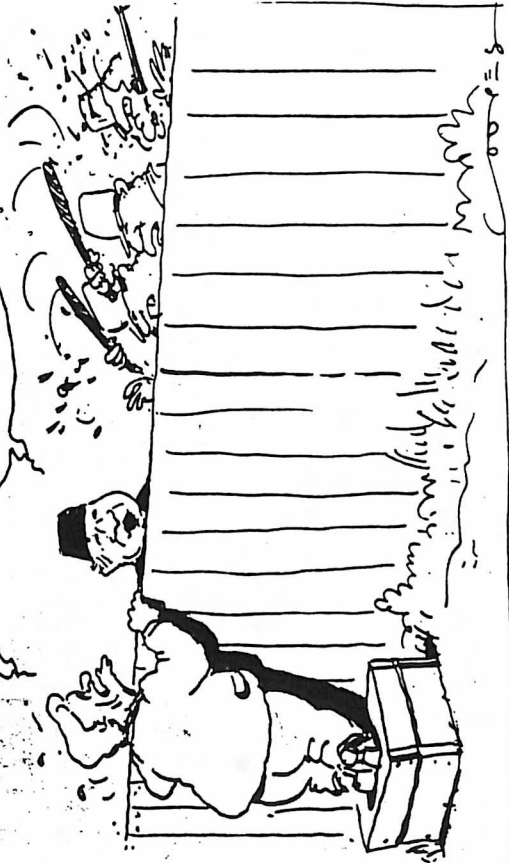
The writer is using a nom de plume to protect those who helped him. Leading article, page 24

The Sun-Herald

NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH

Plenty of blood and bone Mr Hawke!

Mr Suharto! Mr Lovely roses



■ WHO'S DRIVING THE UNITY TRAIN?/B2
 ■ 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEARL HARBOR/B4,5

THE WEEKEND Observer

SECTION **B**
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President Suharto
 Got Canadian aid

A DEADLY SILENCE

The tiny island of East Timor has endured 16 years of brutal repression at the hands of Indonesia. Yet Canada has consistently ignored the carnage — in sharp contrast to the image it tries to present on virtually every other international human rights issue.

By DAVE TODD

SOUTHAM NEWS FOR THE CITIZEN

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

Although East Timor and the 16-year conflict it has endured are both small in relative terms (the entire island of Timor is roughly the size of Vancouver Island), there are two measurements by which it exceeds in horror even the three-year reign of terror that Khmer Rouge dictator Pol Pot forced on Cambodia.

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

If one accepts repeated United Nations resolutions declaring the people of East Timor, 650 kilometres north Australia, have the right to exist as a sovereign nation, this essentially means the "country" has among the highest rates of war deaths for any nation in the world — fully one-third of its population within a generation.

Mourners massacred

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

Yet amazingly, through all of this, successive Canadian governments have stood all but silent.

Two weeks ago, after a slaughter by Indonesian soldiers of more than 100 unarmed East Timorese mourners at a funeral in the capital of Dili — recorded for the world by Western journalists — External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall issued what is described by the Mulroney government as the strongest complaint about the situation in East Timor ever made by an elected Canadian government official.

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

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

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

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

"It's one of those issues where Canadian policy has actually been worse than American policy," Kohen said.

The evidence?

Trudeau rejected charges

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

► On Dec. 7, 1975, Indonesia launched its land, sea and air invasion of East Timor.

Two days later, Trudeau told the House of Commons he rejected charges that the government of Indonesian President Gen. Raden Suharto was "corrupt and barbaric."

On Dec. 12, Canada abstained in the United Nations General Assembly on a vote calling for Indonesia's immediate withdrawal from East Timor.

OVER..

4

► In 1976, Suharto visited Ottawa and won a \$200-million foreign aid package from the Trudeau government.

Canada again abstained at the UN on a vote calling for East Timor's right to sovereignty. In 1980, it started opposing such resolutions.

► In 1977 and 1978, Indonesia launched intensive air raids on villages and croplands, using napalm and phosphorus.

Villagers were forced into concentration camps where tens of thousands died of starvation and disease.

One purpose of the camps was to keep the peasants in lowland areas away from highlands where it was feared they might stray from villages and take part in the insurgency against their Indonesian occupiers. The result was disastrous for traditional forms of agriculture.

► In 1978, Indonesia for the first time permitted an international diplomatic delegation to visit East Timor.

It included Canadian ambassador Glen Shortliffe. Despite "Biafra-like conditions" in the concentration camps, Shortliffe recommended Canada continue to oppose UN resolutions endorsing East Timor's right to self-determination.

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

► In 1983 and 1984, the incoming commander of Indonesia's armed forces, Gen. Benhy Murdani, launched Operation Clean Sweep.

This was a counter-insurgency operation against

Timorese rebels that he claimed was intended to crush them "without mercy."

The Canadian government, despite an official pledge in 1981 to withdraw aid programs "from those countries whose scarce resources are devoted to war and conquest" not only stepped up its foreign aid for Indonesia but sponsored a military trade fair in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital.

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

These are "things that happened upwards of five, six, seven, eight years ago. The situation is now quite different than it was then," he said.

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

Its troops slaughtered the entire population of a village called Fo-Mono.

► In 1987, Canadian ambassador to Indonesia Jack Whittleton accompanied the Indonesian government's official candidate on an election tour of East Timor, attending rallies.

East Germany's and Nigeria's ambassadors also joined the tour that other diplomats shunned as indiscreet or worse.

In the rigged vote, in which Indonesia's ruling Golkar party won more than 90 per cent, there was no secret ballot.

All candidates were required to uphold Pancasila, Indonesia's official state ideology and were banned from criticizing government policy.

► In October 1989, Pope John Paul visited East Timor. The Indonesian military required him to hold his open-air mass at a place called Taci-Tolu, where it had executed thousands of Timorese since the war started.

Canadian weapons sold

Canadian military sales that year included body armor for Indonesia's security forces and navigation aids for the country's air force.

The last time a Canadian diplomat visited East Timor was in December 1990, according to External Affairs sources.

There are no current plans, they say, for any Canadian officials to enter the occupied territory to report on human rights atrocities that have occurred in recent weeks.

Amazingly, the main reason being cited by Canadian officials is that they are not sure they could find out what is really going on if they did show up.

On the other hand, critics of Canada's policy have long contended that getting the real story on the Suharto government's human rights abuses has always been well behind most other considerations in dealing with his regime.

Topping all of these is the fact that two-way Canada-Indonesia trade last year was worth \$510 million.

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

Protests stiffen over East Timor massacre

from Ron Schrerer, in Sydney

AUSTRALIA IS gradually taking a stronger stance on the Indonesian Army's Nov. 12 massacre of demonstrators in Dili, East Timor.

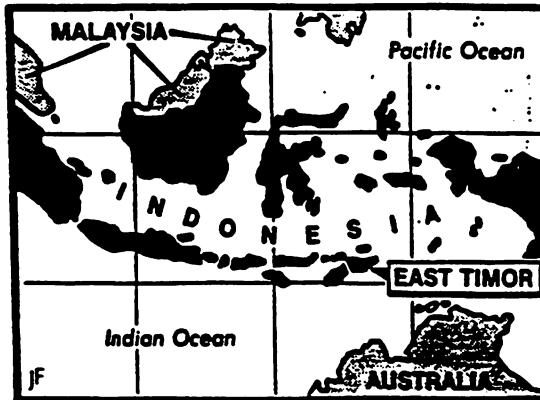
The massacre took place in a cemetery where demonstrators had marched to protest the death of a student. The Indonesian government now says it regrets the actions and has announced an inquiry. Indonesian President Suharto has called for a "free, accurate, just, and thorough" investigation. This investigation is supposed to begin in Dili on Nov. 28.

Exactly how many people were gunned down is still unclear. The Indonesian Army says it killed 19 people. But the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Sen. Gareth Evans, said at a press conference that officials here estimate the number at 75. Amnesty International says it has documented 60 deaths. Rumors of more shootings in East Timor abound in the Australian media, but officials say they lack evidence.

Senator Evans said Australia's "acceptance of the de jure incorporation (by a legal or official act) of East Timor within Indonesia" will remain unchanged. Indonesia is a major trading partner for Australia, and the Australian government has signed an agreement to share revenue with Indonesia from oil found in the Timor Sea, off East Timor. But Evans will visit Jakarta in mid-December to discuss the incident with Indonesian officials. In addition, he will seek to get the United Nations secretary-general involved in resolving longer-term issues.

The Australian government's cautious words follow a flurry of activity by the rank and file of the ruling Labor Party. The Parliament's Human Rights Committee, dominated by Labor members, recently announced its own investigation into the massacre.

IF INDONESIA'S investigation is not fair, the Labor caucus has called on the government to take still more action, such as the suspension of military training.



Evans says an unsatisfactory investigation will cause a "complete review of Australian policies."

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 after Portugal granted independence to its former colony. The Indonesians justified the invasion because of fears of communism. "They said they did not want a little Cuba next door," says Ines Almeida, a refugee living in

Sydney and a member of the East Timor Fretilin resistance.

Since the invasion, the Indonesian Army has been fighting Fretilin guerrillas. Indonesia maintains a large military presence in East Timor, and the island has been off-limits to journalists for many years.

Mrs. Almeida says she gets re-

ports of the army hunting down people at night. "Students are assaulted, innocent people picked up at random," she says. The military is trying to intimidate eyewitnesses to the massacre, she adds.

Although the international community has condemned the incident, the reaction in Australia has been more intense in part because of the closeness of East Timor. Many Australians recall the help East Timorese gave Australia during the Second World War. The Victorian Trades Hall Council, a representing unions in that state, has had workers manning a picket line outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra. "It's annoying," says S. Wienardi, press counsellor for the embassy.

NEARLY 10,000 East Timorese refugees live in Australia. Many have been protesting outside Indonesia's embassy, its consulates in Darwin and Sydney, and at Garuda Indonesia Airlines offices. The Indonesian ambassador was quoted as saying he will shut down consulates in Australia unless the disturbances stop in Darwin.

Christian Science Monitor

East Timor acid test of Ottawa's resolve

By Portia Priegert
Canadian Press

OTTAWA — An obscure island in the Indonesian archipelago with a long history of bloodshed will be the acid test of the Canadian government's new drive to link human rights and foreign aid.

Many Canadians have never heard of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia that was forcefully annexed by Indonesia in 1975, just nine days after it gained independence.

Indonesia has continued to kill and torture the Timorese, but remains one of Canada's top aid beneficiaries.

Human rights groups estimate that 200,000 people — almost a third of East Timor's population — have died in violence during the last 16 years.

The conflict was ranked among the three most violent in the world, along with wars in Cambodia and Afghanistan, by the Centre for Defence Information in Washington.

Two weeks ago troops massacred dozens of pro-independence demonstrators at a funeral in Dili, the capital.

Winnipeg Free Press, Monday, November 25, 1991

Soon after, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall announced a review of Canada's aid to Indonesia, some \$46 million last year. Her decision is due this week.

Prime Minister Mulroney is under mounting pressure to suspend aid as opposition parties call him a hypocrite for promoting human rights on the international stage while Canada continues to assist repressive regimes.

Indonesia, despite pockets of acute poverty in its eastern extremities, is not among the most needy Third World countries.

But it is an important trading partner for Canada. Two-way trade last year totalled more than \$500 million.

East Timor, an impoverished land of rugged hills cloaked in coffee bushes and fragrant sandalwood trees, continues to suffer from years of neglect under colonial rule.

Although it is believed to have rich offshore oil deposits, the average income is less than half of the rest of Indonesia.

Virtually no Canadian aid goes to East Timor.

Eyewitnesses recall 'unmitigated evil' of East Timor killings

Canadian Press

OTTAWA — They've told their story a hundred times and each time they shake their heads in disbelief.

Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman were in a memorial procession at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on Nov. 12 when they saw hundreds of Indonesian soldiers fire M-16 automatic rifles into the crowd.

When it was over, up to 180 East Timorese and a New Zealand citizen, 20-year-old Kamal Bamadhai, were dead.

Both Nairn, a foreign affairs writer for New Yorker magazine, and Goodman, news editor for public radio station WBAI Pacifica in New York City, were beaten and covered in blood. Nairn, 36, had a fractured skull from blows to the head.

"It was unbelievable," said Nairn. The two journalists were in Ottawa Tuesday and yesterday talking on Parliament Hill at an information session sponsored by the East Timor Alert Network.

"As it was happening we thought 'this is impossible,' but there it was, people were dropping all around us. Within seconds the street was full of bodies and the soldiers just kept shooting."

"They kept it up for five to 10 min-

utes, then hopped over the bodies to pick off the people who were still upright."

The 34-year-old Goodman was horrified to find herself in the middle of a massacre.

"This was not a couple of renegade soldiers or hotheads who got carried away," she said. "They were extremely disciplined. They marched in formation, never skipped a beat. They spread out across the front of the demonstration and started firing in cold blood."

"We witnessed unmitigated evil. I kept thinking 'This is hell on earth. This is a country that has no laws except the rule of the military, but if we get out we will be able to tell the world what happened and change things.'"

"So far we've been wrong," she said. "So far it's been a political discussion about how much should we support evil."

East Timor, the eastern portion of the island of Timor about 650 kilometres north of Australia, was ruled by the Portuguese from 1512 until 1974.

On Dec. 7, 1975, nine days after declaring independence from Portugal, it was invaded by Indonesia. Since then, 200,000 Timorese — one-third of the 1975 population — have died from violence, famine or disease.

TERROR IN EAST TIMOR

Indonesian government plotting
murders of witnesses to massacre,
say rights workers and bishop

By Dave Todd
Southern News for the Citizen

The Indonesian government has begun a systematic campaign to murder witnesses — including Western journalists — to a military massacre in the occupied territory of East Timor two weeks ago.

Human rights workers involved with the East Timor issue are steering clear of Indonesia for the foreseeable future, sources said. Meanwhile, Carlos Ximenez Belo, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, has appealed to the world — through a message he smuggled out of the island last week — to help prevent mass murder by Indonesian government forces.

Belo's desperate message, details of which were provided to Southern News, says:

- Young men and women throughout East Timor are being transported to camps.
- On Nov. 15, three days after a massacre of up to 180 people witnessed by foreign journalists, scores of young people were murdered. The women were raped in front of the men and then all were killed and dumped in a common grave.
- Throughout East Timor, the Indonesian occupying forces are openly taunting the Timorese, telling them Americans won't save them, because the United States did nothing after the 1989 slaughter in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.
- Catholic Church leaders in East Timor are being openly threatened in a manner that has never happened in the 16 years the Indonesians have occupied East Timor.

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

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

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

According to Southam's sources, accusations that Indonesian troops this month killed up to 180 unarmed civilians at a graveside ceremony, and injured hundreds more, are accurate. However, the Indonesian military has refused to permit the International Red Cross any access to the survivors.

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

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

Bishop Belo's urgent appeal follows the decision by Indonesian military authorities last week to cut his telephone line to the outside world.



Timor toll 50
JAKARTA — The Indonesian army acknowledged yesterday that at least 50 people were killed during a demonstration for independence in East Timor. It had said only nine died.

Envoy checking report of new Timor killings

Associated Press
JAKARTA — Australia sent a diplomat to East Timor yesterday to investigate last week's killing of dozens of pro-independence protesters and check rumours of more slayings by Indonesian troops.

Timorese activists in Australia charged that soldiers killed up to 100 people on Friday in the East Timor capital of Dili and also were hunting for survivors of the earlier clash. The oil-rich territory was invaded by Indonesian troops in 1975 and annexed a year later. The United Nations and many countries have refused to recognize Indonesian control of the area, 2,000 kilometres east of Jakarta.

Last Tuesday, troops fired on demonstrators attending a funeral march for two youths killed by police. The government, which says the soldiers fired in self-defence, has put the death toll at 19. Witnesses' estimates of the number killed varied from 50 to more than 100.

In Australia, Alfreda Ferreira, a Timorese rebel spokesman, said his sources reported that up to 100 people were killed west of Dili on Friday. Antonio Sampaio, editor of the East Timorese news agency in Sydney, said at least 70 civilians were killed and buried in mass graves.

A statement from a Portuguese monitoring group said 80 Timorese prisoners were executed by hooded soldiers on Friday. The statement, which cited unidentified resistance sources in Dili, said the prisoners were bound hand and foot and lined up in front of a mass grave before being shot.

In Ottawa, Denis Laliberté, an External Affairs Department spokesman, said Canada has taken several steps to deal with the situation in East Timor. Last week, while

External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall was in Seoul for an Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation meeting, she met with Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas to convey Canada's "shock" at recent events and to demand a full report, Mr. Laliberté said.

Yesterday, Mrs. McDougall said Canada will review its foreign aid to Indonesia. "It is a tragic situation in East Timor and we condemn both the violation of human rights in this particular instance but also the ongoing situation for the people who live there," she told the House of Commons.

She did not say when a decision would be made about Indonesia, one of Canada's major aid recipients.

Mrs. McDougall said Canada gave Indonesia \$46-million last year for grassroots projects to promote development.

Soldiers blamed

JAKARTA — An Indonesian government commission investigating an alleged massacre in East Timor said yesterday soldiers had gone out of control and killed about 50 people. The report called for legal action against those responsible for the army's Nov. 12 clash with mourners. The rare public criticism of the politically powerful army, which insists it was forced to open fire on the mourners, is likely to soothe the worries of the United States and other major aid donors that Indonesia would gloss over the killings.

Reuter

Globe & Mail Nov 19/91

The Globe and Mail, Friday, December 27, 1991

Page Two

WITNESSES TO SLAUGHTER

Two American journalists in East Timor found themselves in the middle of a nightmare — and vowed to tell the world

By Louise Crosby
Citizen foreign affairs writer

They've told their story a hundred times and each time they shake their heads in disbelief.

Allan Naim and Amy Goodman were in the midst of a memorial procession at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on Nov. 12 when hundreds of Indonesian soldiers carrying M-16 automatic rifles marched up the street and started firing into the crowd. When it was over, up to 180 East Timorese and a New Zealand citizen, 20-year-old Kamal Ramadhai, were dead.

Both Naim, a foreign affairs writer for New Yorker magazine, and Goodman, news editor for public radio station WBAI Pacifica in New York City, were beaten and covered in blood. Naim had a fractured skull from blows to the head.

"It was unbelievable," Naim, 36, said in an interview. The two journalists spoke Tuesday at a public information session on Parliament Hill sponsored by the East Timor Alert Network.

"As it was happening we thought 'this is impossible,' but there it was, people were dropping all around us. Within seconds the street was full of bodies and the soldiers just kept shooting."

"They kept it up for five to 10 minutes, then hopped over the bodies to pick off the people who were still upright."

The 34-year-old Goodman was horrified to find herself in the middle of a massacre.

"This was not a couple of renegade sol-

"They marched in formation, never skipped a beat. They spread out . . . and started firing in cold blood."

—Amy Goodman
Journalist

diers or hotheads who got carried away," she said. "They were extremely disciplined. They marched in formation, never skipped a beat. They spread out across the front of the demonstration and started firing in cold blood."

"We witnessed unmitigated evil. I kept thinking 'This is hell on earth. This is a country that has no laws except the rule of the military, but if we get out we will be able to tell the world what happened and change things.'"

"So far we've been wrong," she said. "So far it's been a political discussion about how much should we support evil."

East Timor, the eastern portion of the island of Timor just 600 kilometres north of Australia, was ruled by the Portuguese from 1512 until 1974. On Dec. 7, 1975, just nine days after declaring independence from Portugal, it was invaded by Indonesia. Since then, 200,000 Timorese — one-third of the 1975 population — have been died from vi-

olence, famine or disease. The Timorese, who are still fighting for independence, were eagerly anticipating a visit from a Portuguese parliamentary delegation in early November, hoping it would mean support from the outside world.

The Indonesians prepared for the visit by "essentially issuing a nation-wide death threat against the Timorese, telling them that if they talked to the Portuguese they'd be killed," Naim said.

The Nov. 12 procession and mass in Dili marked the death of a young Timorese man, Sebastiao Gomes, by Indonesian soldiers two weeks earlier. He was one of those the army feared would talk to the Portuguese.

Naim and Goodman arrived in East Timor Oct. 28 to report on the visit by the Portuguese delegation, which was later cancelled. They're lucky to be alive today.

Standing between the East Timorese and the soldiers, Naim's camera and Goodman's tape recorder in plain sight, they expected to serve as deterrents to violence. Instead they were almost killed.

Later that day they caught a flight to the American military base at Guam, and immediately placed calls to contacts in the U.S. Phone calls began flooding in, most from journalists wanting interviews. Naim talked as his head was being bandaged.

And since then they've been talking about their experience and working on lengthier reports. Next week in New York, they address the Council on Foreign Relations, a powerful foreign policy group.

Thanks to them, the massacre has made



— Pat McGrath, C

Headlines: Goodman, right, describes how Indonesian soldiers attacked the procession and beat her and colleague Naim, left

headlines in western newspapers for the past three weeks. Japan is reconsidering a \$1.5-billion loan to Indonesia and Japanese TV is preparing a one-hour documentary on East Timor, Naim said.

The European Parliament has urged the European Community and United Nations to ban arms sales. The Netherlands has suspended aid. Fifty-two senators sent a letter to President George Bush calling on the U.S. to support self-determination for East Timor.

But Naim and Goodman want foreign aid

Indonesian troops slay East Timor funeral marchers

TIMES-COLONIST, Wednesday, November 13, 1991 AC

Reuters

JAKARTA — Indonesian soldiers opened fire Tuesday on a funeral procession of youths protesting Jakarta's rule over East Timor and separatist rebels said up to 180 were killed or injured.

Portugal's president, Mario Soares, in a statement in Lisbon, condemned what he called "repeated acts of violence" in the former Portuguese colony, where the Fretilin armed independence movement has been operating since the territory was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

There were varying accounts of casualties. One diplomat in Jakarta said more than 20 people were killed in the East Timor capital of Dili. The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted a Roman Catholic priest there as saying troops shot dead more than 50 people and wounded dozens of others.

Abilio Araujo, spokesman in Portugal for the Fretilin guerrillas, said more than 100 people had been killed or injured, but Indonesia's army said in a statement only that several protesters had been killed and others injured.

"Security officers tried to disperse them in persuasive ways but they put up resistance and attacked the officers," the statement said.

East Timor, at the eastern end of the vast Indonesian archipelago, was annexed by Indonesia shortly after Portugal gave up the colony it ruled for three centuries.

Jakarta's rule is not internationally recognized and international human rights organizations have frequently criticized abuses there.

Diplomats estimate up to 200,000 East Timorese have died since it came under Indonesia's control.

Soares said he wrote to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar last week to draw attention to the "intolerable disrespect being shown for human rights and the atrocities being committed by Indonesia in East Timor in flagrant violation of international law and UN resolutions."

East Timor's 600,000 people are mostly Roman Catholic while Indonesia has the world's largest population of Muslims.

Portuguese radio quoted Ramos Horta, a member of the Timorese separatist movement, as saying he heard news of the killings in a phone call from East Timor.

"I was woken up by a phone call. . . from a key resistance member who said in a very distressed voice: 'Please help us, save us. We are being massacred,'" Horta said in a report monitored by the British Broadcasting Corp.

"According to this person, thousands of Timorese formed a religious procession travelling from the church to the cemetery. . . When they reached the cemetery the Indonesians opened fire on them with machine-guns. Hundreds of bodies fell to the ground dead or injured," Horta said.

World



— Chris Mikula, Citizen

Candlelight vigil: East Timor deaths remembered

INDONESIA

Canada will review aid because of killings, McDougall says

The Canadian Press

Canada will review its foreign aid to Indonesia following last week's killing of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said Monday.

"It is a tragic situation in East Timor and we condemn both the violation of human rights in this particular instance but also the ongoing situation for the people who live there," McDougall told the Commons.

She did not say when a decision would be taken about Indonesia, one of Canada's major aid recipients.

Last Tuesday, Indonesian troops fired on demonstrators attending a funeral for two youths killed by police in East Timor, an oil-rich territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed a year later. Witnesses estimate more than 50 people were killed.

The United Nations and many countries have refused to recognize Indonesian control of the area, 2,000 kilometres east of Jakarta.

McDougall's review announce-

ment was greeted as "a step in the right direction" by Doug McGregor, a spokesman for the East Timor Alert Network.

About 50 members of the organization staged a brief demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy on MacLaren Avenue, protesting last week's shootings.

McGregor said that until McDougall's statement the Canadian government has largely turned a blind eye to human-rights violations in Indonesia.

Opposition MPs, meanwhile, urged the federal government to take a stronger stand and end aid to Indonesia.

Second Robinson, the NDP external affairs critic, called on the government "to practise what it preaches" by suspending aid.

He was referring to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's campaign to link foreign aid to human rights in developing countries.

McDougall said Canada gave Indonesia \$46 million last year for grassroots projects to promote development.

(Files from Robert Sibley, Citizen staff)

Condemn massacre, Canada told

'Clear stand' urged by resistance group

BY LINDA HOSSIE
The Globe and Mail

TORONTO — A founder of the East Timorese resistance called on Canada yesterday to condemn an Indonesian army attack Tuesday in which dozens of unarmed East Timorese were killed.

"I'm surprised that the Canadian government did not take a clear stand against a massacre that was denounced worldwide by many countries," said Jose Luis Guterres, a founder of Fretilin, the clandestine military group that opposes Indonesia's takeover of East Timor.

"Why doesn't Canada join the civilized world in denouncing brutality in East Timor?" Mr. Guterres asked.

The incident in question occurred in East Timor's capital, Dili, when troops opened fire on a group of mourners at the graveside of a young nationalist who was killed by Indonesian security forces on Oct. 28 after disturbances in the city.

Several Western witnesses of the assault have released statements through the media indicating that the soldiers opened fire without provocation. U.S. journalist Allan Nairn told Reuter that "it was a case of a planned and systematic operation; this was a very disciplined operation."

The shooting has prompted outrage around the world. Both the European Community and the United States have condemned the action.

Canada's government has released no formal statement on the shooting. Calls to External Affairs were not returned.

Winnipeg Free Press Nov 29/91

Probe in East Timor

DILI, Indonesia — Indonesian government investigators arrived in East Timor on yesterday to investigate the killing of protesters by Indonesian troops.

Human-rights groups and western witnesses said troops fired on students Nov. 12, killing at least 50. The government said troops fired in self-defence and the toll was 19 dead and 91 injured.

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

Accounts at odds

JAKARTA — Indonesian troops killed more than 100 pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor on Nov. 12, a fact-finding team from the Catholic Church said yesterday.

The account by officials of the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia, which cited witness reports, contrasted sharply with testimony by armed forces Cmdr.-Gen. Try Sutrisno. He told a parliamentary hearing on Wednesday that 19 people died in the shootings and that 91 were injured.

Editorial Page

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MEMBER OF THE B.C. PRESS COUNCIL PUBLISHED BY PACIFIC PRESS LTD. 2250 GRANVILLE STREET VANCOUVER B.C. V6H 3G2

A18

☆ Friday, November 22, 1991

EDITORIALS

Death in paradise

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

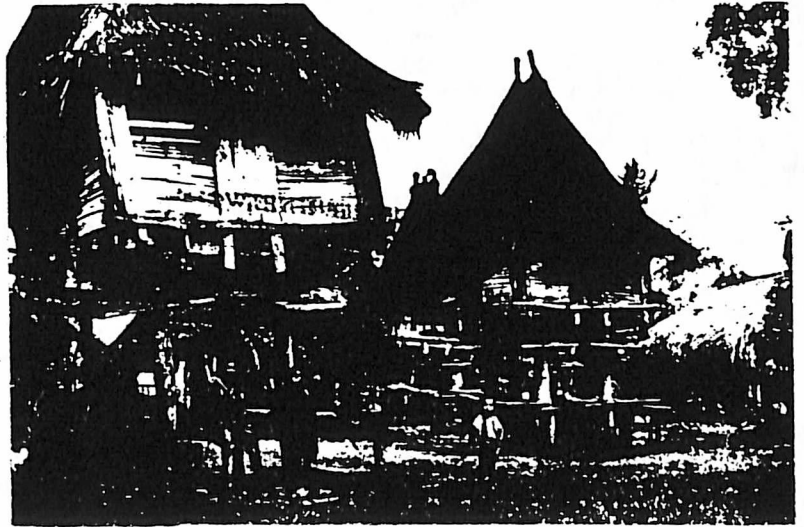
If that, from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, sounds like your idea of a tropical paradise, it's because you weren't staring down the barrel of an M-16 at the massacre in East Timor this month. Like many parts of what we recognize to be Indonesia, East Timor has everything except good government. But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

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

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

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

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



Editorial Montreal Gazette Horrors continue in East Timor

Montreal Gazette Nov. 15, 1991

East Timor has seen more than its share of horror. Some 100,000 to 200,000 Timorese died as Indonesia brutally consolidated its rule after illegally annexing the long-time Portuguese colony in 1976.

Things have greatly improved in recent years. There has been less repression, and much more economic development. But Tuesday's shocking massacre — soldiers armed with automatic weapons mowed down dozens of members of a crowd commemorating an earlier killing — is a reminder that horrors and injustices continue.

The incident occurred as a marching crowd of about 5,000 arrived at a cemetery containing the grave of a man killed in unclear circumstances Oct. 28 after having taken refuge in a church.

In the past couple of years, popular resistance to Indonesian rule has been gathering steam. The presence of foreigners, including journalists, since Indonesia "opened up" East Timor in 1989 seems to have encouraged the Timorese to demonstrate, in hopes of winning international support.

The visit of Pope John Paul in 1989 was a rallying point. Feelings in East Timor also have been inflamed by an influx of non-Timorese migrants. And the world's reaction to Iraq's illegal annexation of Kuwait gave supporters of East Timor a chance to raise it as a case deserving similar attention. After the 1976 annexation, the United Nations passed about a dozen resolutions calling for self-determination for the East Timorese. But it

seemed to give up several years ago.

Indonesian rule is not as repressive as it was up until the mid-1980s; executions and long detentions without trial are rarer, though torture, intimidation and surveillance continue. In an effort to win popular allegiance, Indonesia set about developing the Timorese economy.

The resurgence of Timorese nationalist activity is still a long way from posing a threat to Indonesian control. But the situation bears watching; if it does become a threat, there would be reason to fear a new wave of abuses by Indonesia.

After various countries publicly condemned Tuesday's massacre or expressed their concern, Indonesia said it would investigate, and the local army chief admitted that his men were at fault for opening fire. Those statements are a good start, but much room for improvement remains.

Regrettably, Canada did not issue any public statement on the massacre. But when contacted, an External Affairs spokesman said the Canadian government was shocked and has asked the ambassador to Indonesia to register Canada's concern to authorities there.

Canada, which has significant commercial ties with Indonesia, has tended to tread softly around the East Timor issue. More vigor would be welcome, especially given Prime Minister Mulroney's declared interest in promoting human rights.

Human rights in East Timor

In the wake of the massacre of up to 100 people in East Timor on November 12, there are serious doubts that an investigation by any of the Indonesian authorities will produce a positive result (November 24). These doubts are compounded by unconfirmed reports of a further massacre on November 15, in which it is alleged that 70 to 80 people were shot by Indonesian forces. These later victims are said to include witnesses to the first massacre as well as suspected and known political opponents.

These latest allegations make an independent and impartial investigation of the events in Dili in East Timor all the more pressing.

Given that the political future of East Timor is being discussed under the auspices of UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar, Amnesty International believes the international community has a particular responsibility to ensure that human rights are respected throughout the disputed territory.

We urge the British Government at the current session of the UN General Assembly to press for an immediate investigation by the UN special rapporteur on summary and arbitrary killings and for those responsible for these killings to be brought to justice.

David Bull, Director,
Amnesty International
British Section,
London EC1

Manchester Guardian Weekly, Dec. 8, 91

The Gazette

FOUNDED JUNE 3, 1778 BY FLEURY MESPLET

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Publications Mail Registration number 0619

EDITORIALS

Step up pressure on Indonesia

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

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

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

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

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

perilling their lives.

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

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

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

If even only part of what the Indonesian government is now alleged to be doing to the Timorese turns out to be true, there is good reason to take a similar tough line with it.

Sanction Indonesia

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

Reports that Indonesia has virtually sealed off the island and is systematically murdering East Timorese should bring a prompt response from the world body.

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

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

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

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

Nov. 27
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and what was its Australian connection?

24. Who wrote the book upon which one of the year's most successful and perhaps its most controversial film, *Silence of the Lambs*, was based?

25. Who succeeded Javier Perez de Cuellar as secretary-general of the United Nations?

26. Actress Elizabeth Taylor has had eight weddings. But how many husbands has she had?

27. How many Federal Treasurers did Australia have in 1991?

28. Who will be ABC-TV's chief Melbourne newsreader in 1992?

29. What is the name of the company selected by the Federal Government to compete with Telecom in the domestic telephone market?

30. Who said: "People who refuse to toe the line have to be shot"?

31. Who won the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize?

32. Who played the beefy Sister Agnes in the ABC's top-rating TV show of 1991?

Quiz in The
Melbourne Age
31/12/91
Australia

Head of the
Indonesian Armed
Forces, General Tny
Sutrisno after the
Dili massacre.

Times-Colonist

THE COLONIST: founded 1858 THE TIMES: founded
Published by Canadian Newspapers Company Limited, P.O. Box 300, Victoria, B.C. V8Y
Second class mail registration number 0516
Friday, November 15, 1991

East Timor genocide: why are we helping?

While the world tut-tuts the killing of up to 115 people in East Timor by Indonesian troops, what is really needed to stop the slaughter on that faraway island is sanctions and an immediate halt to foreign aid.

As a significant provider of funds to this southeast Asian nation (\$450 million in the current five-year program), Canada is in a good position to pressure the Indonesians into respecting the human rights of the East Timorese. But the genocide under way in East Timor doesn't seem to bother Ottawa or many others.

Amnesty International reports that since the Indonesians invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1976, more than a third of the country's 700,000 people have been killed. The rest have been subjected to torture, rape, forced labor and forced sterilization.

Some observers are convinced that had the United States not provided the Indonesian army with attack helicopters, the East Timorese could have successfully repelled the Indonesian invaders. Despite the brutal repression of the past six years, hundreds of East Timorese showed up in the capital, Dili, recently to protest the death of a demonstrator in a riot two weeks earlier. Indonesian troops opened fire.

At the Commonwealth Conference last month, Prime Minister Mulroney was unequivocal in his declaration that Canada would be linking foreign aid to human rights. If ever a country deserved to be cut off, it's Indonesia, but Mulroney is doubtless under pressure to maintain aid: more than 300 Canadian companies are doing business there, and Canada is reputedly Indonesia's third largest investor.

If he ever gets around to explaining why his government isn't ending aid to Indonesia, the prime minister should also spell out why Canada has consistently voted against the United Nations motion calling on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor. And why Canada voted in 1985 to have East Timor dropped from the UN Human Rights Commission's list of nations with widespread human rights abuses.

An External Affairs spokesman said recently a "friendly and conciliatory" approach was needed to convince Indonesia to respond to the desires of the East Timorese. It's now obvious that velvet-glove approach has failed; Mulroney should match his tough words in Zimbabwe with a tough approach to Indonesia.



TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1991**

Canada cuts off \$30 million in aid to Indonesia

Sanctions against massacre leave some programs untouched

By Dave Todd
Southam News for the Citizen

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

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

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

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

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

The suspension of the \$30 million in pro-

posed development projects — of which no details were given — comes nearly four weeks after the mass killings in the former Portuguese colony, and two weeks after McDougall pledged a review of Canada's aid programs to Indonesia.

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

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

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



McDougall
Cites outrage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEWS RELEASE

No. 280

December 9, 1991

CANADA SUSPENDS APPROVAL OF NEW AID PROJECTS TO INDONESIA

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, and the Minister for External Relations and International Development, the Honourable Monique Landry, today announced that Canada has suspended the approval of development projects that provide direct assistance to the Government of Indonesia. Proposed projects worth \$30 million will be affected.

"Canadians were outraged at the recent killings in East Timor. This decision reflects our concern about the human rights situation in Indonesia," stated Mrs. McDougall.

The Ministers said that Canada is giving an immediate grant of \$150,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross for humanitarian assistance in East Timor. They said that Canada will also support international efforts, especially in the United Nations, to ensure that the findings of the Indonesian Commission of Inquiry into events in East Timor will be objective and independent.

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

External Affairs & International Trade Canada

Winnipeg Free Press, Tuesday, December 10, 1991

Canada suspends aid to Indonesia

Canadian Press

OTTAWA — Canada will suspend future aid to Indonesia worth \$30 million to protest the massacre last month of dozens of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor.

But projects already under way will still go ahead.

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

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

Human rights groups around the world pushed for tough sanctions after the Nov. 12 massacre.

A 16-year holocaust on the mountainous island has claimed the lives of an estimated 200,000 people — about a third of its population.

Canada couldn't last if it restricted trade to nice guys, says PM

The Canadian Press

OTTAWA — Canada could not exist on an international economic basis if it stopped trading with countries that have poor human rights records, Prime Minister Mulroney said Monday.

"Canada would cease to exist on a commercial basis," Mulroney told the Commons as he fended off complaints Monday from opposition MPs about the government's record on human rights.

The prime minister said Canada could not sell wheat to the Soviet Union or China if it stopped doing business with countries that have violated human rights.

Opposition parties accused Mulroney of being hypocritical when he said the Commonwealth should tie foreign aid to human rights.

They said Canada should practice what it preaches and noted that Canada has given Iran a \$1 billion line of credit and trades with other repressive regimes.

NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin called on the prime minister to pull out of trade talks with Mexico, recently criticized for human rights abuses by Amnesty International.

"The policy of linking economic assistance to human rights is a good one, but I think the prime minister could go further and decide to implement it," she said.

Mulroney defended the government's policy, saying there is a big difference between linking human rights to foreign aid on the one hand and tying it to business deals on the other.

"Canada has commercial relations



MULRONEY: cites wheat sales

... with many foreign countries even though we, from time to time, have serious disagreements with them about policies that they have at home," he said.

Mulroney also praised the Mexican government for making "remarkable strides" in improving human rights.

Liberal Leader Jean Chretien called attention to an Iranian woman who faces deportation after a Toronto refugee tribunal refused her asylum even though she was viciously whipped for failing to wear a veil at a party.

"At the very moment he was making these speeches about human rights, his government was vetting sending back to Iran a woman who had been beaten 35 times with a steel cable," said Chretien.

"Where is the government's so-called commitment to human rights?"

Tuesday, December 10, 1991

The Province

Canada lifts aid to Indonesia

Canadian Press

OTTAWA — Canada will suspend \$30 million in aid to Indonesia to protest last month's massacre of dozens of pro-independence protesters in East Timor.

"This decision reflects our concern about the human-rights situation," External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said yesterday.

But projects under way — and several planned — will proceed. Human-rights groups around the world pushed for tough sanctions after the Nov. 12 massacre in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia.

East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in 1975, nine days after it won independence. A 16-year holocaust on the mountainous island has claimed an estimated 200,000, a third of its people.

Indonesia got about \$46 million in Canadian aid last year. Two-way trade was \$500 million last year.

Virtually no Canadian aid has gone to East Timor, but yesterday Ottawa announced a \$150,000 grant to the International Committee of the Red Cross for humanitarian assistance there.

Ottawa suspends Indonesian aid

Southern News

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

"Canadians were outraged at the recent killings," said External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. On Nov. 12, more than 100 unarmed pro-independence demonstrators were slaughtered by Indonesian troops at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital.

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

However, the suspension of the \$30 million in proposed development projects comes nearly four

weeks after the mass killings in the former Portuguese colony.

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

McDougall's announcement did not include a ban on military exports. Indonesia receives about \$46 million a year in assistance, making it Canada's second-largest "bilateral" aid recipient. It is also one of Canada's biggest trading partners in Southeast Asia.

The Indonesian inquiry into the slayings has been slammed by several governments and international rights groups as a sham.

Vancouver Sun
Tuesday Dec 10, 1991
page A2

NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS/LETTERS

FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1991

In Indonesia, New Human Rights Abuses

To the Editor:

"Strong Quake Kills 21 on Indonesia Islands" merits a prominent place in your July 6 pages. But you have given no coverage over the last two years to the more than 1,000 Indonesians killed in the course of a counterinsurgency campaign waged since mid-1989 by the Indonesian army in Aceh, a region of almost four million people on the northern tip of the island of Sumatra.

That campaign, against a small number of Libyan-trained guerrillas fighting for independence from Indonesia as part of the Free Aceh movement, has been marked by summary executions, the dumping of bodies along roads and rivers, and widespread disappearances.

When I was there last month to investigate human rights abuses, banners were strung up along roads throughout the region urging the public to "exterminate" members of the movement, and the local press reported lynchings by villagers of sus-

pected guerrillas as security forces stood by.

Trial were under way in six district courts of suspected members of Free Aceh. Some of those on trial had been involved in violent crimes; others had only been present at meetings where the goals of Free Aceh were discussed. But all had been held incommunicado in military detention more than six months, and most had been severely tortured.

Troops were transferred last year from East Timor to Aceh to quell the rebellion. Tensions have increased between Indonesia and Malaysia, where the operational command of the movement is based and where villagers fearing military reprisals have fled.

One would think that the situation in Aceh, resulting in the worst human rights violations by the Indonesian army in almost a decade, would be newsworthy.

SIDNEY JONES
Executive Director, Asia Watch
New York, July 8, 1991

Liberal MP not convinced aid to Indonesia suspended

Canadian Press

OTTAWA — A Liberal MP says she is not convinced the government is actually suspending aid to Indonesia as it announced Monday.

"I'm not convinced that they have cut, given what our expenditures have been in past years, and what they say they have done this year," said Christine Stewart, the party's foreign aid critic.

External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said Canada will suspend \$30 million in aid to protest against the massacre last month of dozens of unarmed protesters in East Timor. Government officials said three projects are suspended but are unable to say which ones they are.

External affairs department spokesmen have referred inquiries to the Canadian International Development Agency. Spokesmen there have referred callers back to the external affairs department.

Stewart said she believes a turf war may be under way between McDougall, and Monique Landry, the external relations minister responsible for CIDA.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia, was annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

Human rights groups around the world have pushed for tough sanctions against Indonesia following a massacre of pro-independence demonstrators Nov. 12 by government troops.

The Globe and Mail,

December 10, 1991

Aid to Indonesia on hold

OTTAWA — Canada will suspend future aid to Indonesia worth \$30-million to protest against the massacre last month of dozens of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said yesterday in a written statement. But projects already under way — plus other new projects — will still go ahead.

CP

Too little for Timor

After more than a month of dithering External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall has finally come up with a milktoast response to Indonesia's slaughter of more than 100 peaceful demonstrators in East Timor.

Canada, she announced, will chop \$30 million from its \$46-million annual aid packet to Indonesia. The two country's multi-billion dollar trade and investment relationship will not be affected and Canada will continue to supply the South Pacific regional power with military hardware.

While McDougall's tardy wrist-slap is better than nothing — which has been Canada's traditional response to Indonesia's periodic purges of East Timor's independence movement — it's not worth praise.

In fact, it could be argued that Canada is making the situation worse by cutting off aid money intended to relieve the suffering of Indonesia's oppressed population while continuing to supply the weaponry that makes that oppression possible.

The difference is, of course, that Indonesia buys the military hardware, as Canada's favorable trade balance with the harsh dictatorship attests, while the aid is a direct charge to the federal government's beleaguered treasury.

Arguably then, the only direct beneficiary of McDougall's cut-back in aid to Indonesia is the Progressive Conservative government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney that she represents.

Canada has still done nothing to help resolve the basic issue — Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and the brutal subjugation of its citizens fighting for the independence that repeated United Nations resolutions have declared to be their right.

Although the UN has pressed to have East Timor put under Portuguese direction while it establishes an independent government, Canada has tacitly recognized the occupation and never protested the Indonesian army's ruthless purges of suspected "Marxist" insurgents.

If McDougall seriously wants to help resolve the tragic situation in East Timor, rather than simply mollify critics of her policy, she could start with a sternly worded note to Indonesia demanding that it comply with UN directives and end its illegal occupation.

EDITORIALS

MULRONEY'S SPEECH

And yet words are no deeds

Prim Minister Brian Mulroney has perfected The Speech on linking foreign aid to human rights, and taken it on what seems to be his personal after-dinner circuit — the Multilateral Belt.

It was a crowd-pleaser in October at the Commonwealth meeting in Harare, and this week, at the Francophone summit in Paris, it was a crowd-pleaser again — although not, perhaps, with the Third World despots at whom it is directed. They don't object too strenuously, however, because they know it's just words. Almost as soon as the prime minister finishes speaking, a "senior Canadian official" always rushes out to explain that Canada has no plans to radically alter its foreign aid policy.

The Speech would merely be posturing, no worse than most political speeches, except that it mires an immensely important debate on linkage at the level of crude generalities.

Assuredly, most Canadians want their aid money to actually improve the lives of people in the Third World, and to go into the hands of tradespeople and farmers rather than generals and despots. That's what linking aid to human rights is

all about. The problem is how to do it. When the experts talk about linkage, they see all sorts of quandaries that are very hard to resolve.

Take China, for example. Beijing is a gross violator of rights — but also an indiscriminate exporter of weapons, and perhaps of nuclear technology, too. Should western nations hold back aid because of abuses in Tibet or Tienanmen Square — or would everyone be better off if they tied aid to restraint on arms sales abroad?

Or take Indonesia. Diplomats would love to punish the government for its murderous policy in East Timor, but development experts can't agree on whether an aid cut-off would do that. Some think Canadian aid goes directly to the poor, and ought to be maintained; others think it really goes to the government, and ought to be cut off. Whose pockets are being lined is not always clear.

Any leader who seriously wants to design a policy linking human rights and aid will have to address the nuances of doing it right. And as long as we're hearing just the crowd-pleasing rhetoric of The Speech, you can be sure such a policy is a long way away.

A strange set of priorities

The news that there had been more killing in far-off East Timor did not make it big in Canadian media.

It should have.

The small territory in the Indonesian archipelago is largely unknown to Canadians, and until this latest incident it appeared that was the way Canada's politicians wanted it.

East Timor and its 15,000 square kilometres are now ruled by Indonesia, which forcibly took over the territory in 1975 when the Portuguese colonial rulers left.

A year later it was declared to be part of Indonesia and named its 27th province.

But the Timorese, or at least a good portion of them, do not want Indonesian rule. They want independence.

Bloodshed has become a way of life and many thousands have died in intensive efforts by the Indonesian military to extinguish the independence movement.

The United Nations has consistently

endorsed East Timor's right to self-determination, to no avail. It is one of the most troublesome, yet anonymous, problems in the world today.

Ironically Canada, which prides itself on its fine record in such matters, has long been on the other side of the fence.

But events in Dili, the capital city, on Nov. 12 may finally force a change of heart here. Independent witnesses say Indonesian troops killed at least 200 civilians attending a funeral ceremony in Dili. The official government toll was 19 dead.

Canada has much at stake here.

Ashley
Ford
Pacific
Rim



At \$46 million a year, Canada is Indonesia's third-largest source of foreign aid.

But the killings have finally had some impact. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall has said Canada will review its entire program of aid to Indonesia.

Finally, some reaction to an issue that Canada has chosen to ignore or at least stay remote from.

Thus it is somewhat puzzling (chilling?), to say the very least, to see the response of Vancouver's board of trade.

In a letter to McDougall, board chairman Robert Stewart said: "We are very concerned that the tone of the Canadian government's response could prove detrimental to Canadian business and trade interests. In fact several board of trade members are active in business in Indonesia at this time."

"I am aware our ambassador has been recalled and that our aid budget to Indonesia is under review. I am concerned that

this response may be an over-reaction. Often our western values on human rights are not fully understood by other cultures and are viewed with suspicion.

"I believe Canada should promote the right of living, but we must guard against appearing sanctimonious and, as well, including in human rights those concepts that are not consistent with the behavioral value of other cultures."

What culture includes random killing as a behavioral value?

What sets this incident apart from Tiananmen and other like incidents?

Canada is sending representatives into Cambodia to help bring peace there; it has instantly recognized a newly independent Ukraine; Haiti and its military were vilified when its president was dumped.

But going by the board's view, we should not act where our business interests might be hit.

That is shameful.

OUR BRUTAL FRIENDS

Canada lavishes aid on the government that's killed one-third of East Timor

BY TIM COLBY
SPECIAL TO THE CITIZEN

OTTAWA CITIZEN
Nov. 22 '91
P-A 11

Canada is the peacemaker, the aid-giver, a nation truly kinder and gentler than our great neighbor to the south. Canadians have always been told such things by their governments, yet few have dared to ask if such flattery was warranted. In some cases the answer is yes, in others a resounding no.

On the morning of Tuesday, Nov. 12, Indonesia, a close Canadian ally, opened fire on a peaceful memorial gathering in East Timor, killing over one hundred innocent people.

Alan Nairn, an American journalist who witnessed the massacre and was himself badly beaten, described the scene as horrific.

"The street was full of bodies. Looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing."

Was this an isolated incident that could be answered by a simple diplomatic protest, or was it symptomatic of a more serious condition, one that Canada has helped to create?

The history of East Timor reads like those of many former colonies — that is, until the tragedy of 1975. When four hundred years of Portuguese rule over the mountainous, arid eastern half of the island of Timor came to an end that year, neighboring Indonesia sought control.

It invaded in force on Dec. 7. Within three months — by Indonesia's own admission — 80,000 East Timorese had been killed and the stage had been set for many more deaths to follow. By 1985, Amnesty International and Asia Watch were reporting the deaths of more than 200,000 East Timorese — about one third of the population.

Since the invasion, the world community, including Canada, has done little to stop this suffering.

In a series of resolutions similar to those designed to force Iraq out of Kuwait, the United Nations called for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces. It also called for the East Timorese to be allowed their right to self-determination.

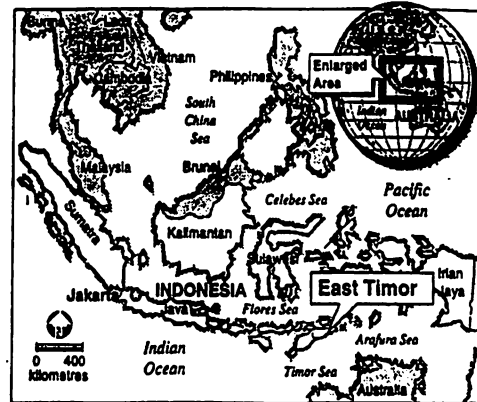
Canada initially abstained from voting on the UN resolutions, fearful of upsetting what was then a significant trading partner. Later, in 1980, it began to openly support Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

External Affairs conveniently ignored many reliable reports of killings, torture, and other abuses in East Timor. Responding recently to a question in the House of Commons, Minister Barbara McDougall stated that Canada considers Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor a fact.

While the European Community and the United States were quick to condemn last week's massacre, McDougall waited almost one week before doing so. Under pressure, she announced that Canada's foreign aid to Indonesia will be reviewed.

Indonesia has so far been a favored recipient of Canadian aid. According to the Canadian International Development Agency, government-to-government assistance to Indonesia totalled almost \$52 million in 1989-90. This makes Indonesia second only to Bangladesh as a recipient of Canadian government-to-government bilateral aid.

This is precisely the type of aid that should be cut when it comes to linking human rights and aid. Aid channelled through non-government organizations (NGOs) to Indonesia represents less than one-tenth the amount given through bilateral channels. NGOs are generally able to bypass the Canadian and Indonesian governments' traditional pre-occupation with large-scale projects and target their assistance to the poor who need it the most.



If Canada is to stand up to its self-proclaimed belief in the promotion of human rights, then bilateral aid is a good place to start. Channelling aid to Indonesia through NGOs rather than through a government guilty of massive human rights abuses would be a step forward in making Canada the kinder nation it purports to be.

The Department of External Affairs should review all arms exports to Indonesia and pressure the Indonesian government to comply with UN resolutions calling for an end to the occupation.

The time is ripe, too, for Canada to sponsor the deployment of peacekeeping forces to East Timor and to see that the East Timorese are allowed to exercise their right to self-determination through a free and fair election.

(Tim Colby is an Ottawa free-lance journalist.)

B16 TIMES-COLONIST Monday, November 25, 1991

Bloody E. Timor will test Canada's bid to tie aid to human rights

The Canadian Press

OTTAWA — An obscure island in the Indonesian archipelago with a long history of bloodshed will be the acid test of the Canadian government's new drive to link human rights and foreign aid.

Many Canadians have never heard of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony north of Australia that was forcefully annexed by Indonesia in 1975, just nine days after it gained independence.

Indonesia has continued to kill and torture the Timorese, but remains one of Canada's top aid beneficiaries.

Human rights groups estimate that 200,000 people — almost a third of East Timor's population — have died in violence during the last 16 years.

The conflict was ranked among the three most violent in the world, along with wars in Cambodia and Afghanistan, by the Centre for Defence Information in Washington.

Two weeks ago troops massacred dozens of pro-independence demonstrators at a funeral in Dili, the capital.

Soon after, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall announced a review of Canada's aid to Indonesia, some \$46 million last year. Her decision is due this week.

Prime Minister Mulroney is under mounting pressure to suspend aid as opposition parties call him a hypocrite for promoting human rights on the international stage while Canada continues to assist repressive regimes.

Indonesia, despite pockets of acute poverty in its eastern extremities, is not among the most needy Third World countries.

But it is an important trading partner for Canada. Two-way trade last year totalled more than \$500 million.

East Timor, an impoverished land of rugged hills cleaved in coffee bushes and fragrant sandalwood trees, continues to suffer from years of neglect under colonial rule.

Although it is believed to have rich offshore oil deposits, the average income is less than half of the rest of Indonesia.

Virtually no Canadian aid goes to East Timor.

Indonesia, an archipelago of 13,677 islands that extends through three time zones, has strategic importance for the West.

The strong central government of President Suharto is praised for promoting stability in a country plagued by a dizzying array of ethnic and religious rivalries.

For years, the guerrilla group Fretilin — the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor — has been operating in the Timorese hills, although its numbers have reportedly dwindled into the hundreds.

Information is sketchy because few outsiders are allowed to visit East Timor. It is under such tight control that villagers have been forced to submit to morning and evening roll calls.

Journalists got a rare glimpse of the predominantly Catholic country during a 1989 visit by Pope John Paul.

They found hillside cemeteries bristling with new crosses, many of them marked with the word *gugur* — shot — a silent testimony to the island's torment.

The United Nations has never recognized the Indonesian annexation and has passed resolutions calling on Indonesia to withdraw so the Timorese can determine their own future.

Canada considers Indonesian sovereignty over the island a fact, although it does not condone the takeover or the violence.

That stance has angered a small, but active, network of Canadians trying to help the Timorese.

Canada's response has been very bad on the issue," says Maureen Davies, a law professor at Carleton University in Ottawa. "Canada has been complicitous in maintaining the silence."

Yes, I would like the struggle for East Timor's independence to continue.
Please find enclosed my donation of: \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____



East Timor Alert Network, 104-2120 West 44th St., Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6M 2G2

Condemn Timor trials, Ottawa told

Survivors of attack by soldiers facing legal action

BY DEBORAH WILSON
Ottawa Correspondent

The federal government has called upon yesterday to condemn a series of "show trials" of East Timorese soldiers and government officials that were held on by soldiers.

The East Timor Alert Network said this week that one woman has been convicted and sentenced to seven years imprisonment, on charges of stealing military documents. Two more East Timorese are in prison in Dili, and a total of 11 are charged, a spokeswoman for the human rights group, Elaine Briere, said yesterday.

The network, which is affiliated

with the Canadian Council of Churches, said the charges are related to an Indonesian government report that accuses Timorese soldiers of provoking Indonesian soldiers to shoot at them last Nov. 12, an incident that left dozens dead.

A Canadian External Affairs Department spokesman said yesterday that no official government comment was available concerning the trials and that Canada will wait until the final report of an Indonesian government inquiry before deciding whether to accept its findings or call for an independent probe.

Denis Laliberte noted that Canada has shown its condemnation of the November shootings by suspending \$30-million in aid.

He said, however, that "Indonesia made several steps which were well received internationally," including an internal report of the government inquiry — which more than doubled initial government estimates of the Nov. 12 killings to 50 — and President Suharto's apology to the relatives of the massacre victims.

Ms. Briere, however, noted that nearly \$50-million in annual aid to Indonesia is not affected by the sanctions.

Ms. Briere said other sources in East Timor, an oil-rich territory invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the 1970s, have placed the death toll at well above 100.

Bangkok Post Saturday January 11, 1992

New East Timor commander will get tough with dissidents

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

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

Syafei's predecessor Rudolf Warouw and his regional commander were sacked after soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12.

An official investigation put the death toll at 50, with another 90 missing. Witnesses say up to 180 were killed when a crowd gathered in a cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist killed earlier.

Government-appointed investigators contradicted an army account of the shooting and largely appeased major international donors who were threatening to cut aid over the incident.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 after its former Portuguese colonial rulers left. The United Nations has not recognised Jakarta's annexation of East Timor in 1976.

The Post quoted Syafei as tell-

ing reporters after a farewell reception for Warouw on Wednesday that while he would listen to locals he would not tolerate anything which disrupted stability.

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

Several of the mourners on their way to the Dili cemetery before the shooting had shouted anti-Indonesian slogans and waved banners in support of Fretilin guerrillas.

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

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

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

Warouw was given a tearful farewell on Thursday by soldiers and their wives who sang the lo-

cally-popular Japanese song 'Sayonara' (Goodbye) and shouted "Long Live Warouw," the official Antara news agency said.

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

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

The human rights group Amnesty International expressed concern yesterday for the safety of four East Timorese arrested on the nearby island of Bali after the November 12 massacre.

In a report from London, Amnesty said one of those arrested had been beaten beyond recognition and could not walk.

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

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

ACTION ALERT ON INDONESIAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Dear friends,

This is a very important time for the East Timorese. External affairs is quietly accepting the recent results of the Indonesian Inquiry into the Dili massacre. East Timor's future is in the hands of the International Community. The situation is the worst it's been since 1983, when the generals instigated a crackdown in response to a cease-fire and peace talks between the resistance and the local Indonesian commander.

Elaine Briere received a call on Jan 15 from a student in Dili saying "help us, please help us. There are very many persons being killed and many still being jailed."

The Indonesian Inquiry results must not be accepted for the following reasons:

1) The massacre of Nov.12 was not an isolated incident. Since the Indonesian occupation began in 1975 human rights groups have documented a persistent pattern of such massacres, arbitrary arrests, torture and disappearances of at least 200,000 Timorese. The attack by the Indonesian military was highly organized, not a spontaneous one from low-level officers as the report suggests.

2)Indonesia has no jurisdiction in East Timor, and no authority to try anyone in East Timor. But President Suharto has ordered that all who took part in the funeral procession be tried under Indonesia anti-subversion laws which carry the death penalty.

3)Under the UN Economic and Social Council's guidelines for inquiring into atrocities of this nature, the chosen members "shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry". According to Michael Leifer of the London School of Economics, "within Indonesia, there are no effective independent institutions."

4)The head of the Inquiry, M.Djaelani, is a former general, a member in retirement of the Indonesian Supreme Court, in his prime a command of the infamous Red Beret unit involved in numerous atrocities in East Timor.

5)Gen. Try Sutrisno, the commander in chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, last month endorsed the Indonesian policy towards East Timor by saying "we will annihilate all separatist elements that taint the dignity of Indonesia" (International Herald Tribune).

6)Indonesia does not respect human rights and still refuses to sign United Nations Conventions on human rights. It refuses to allow an internationally supervised investigation into the massacre and situation in East Timor. It continues to deny international human rights organizations like Amnesty International access into East Timor and Indonesia.

Please write to :

The Hon. Barbara McDougall
Minister of External Affairs
House of Commons, Parliament Bldgs
OTTAWA, K1A 0A6

THANK YOU

Li-Lien Gibbons

(Li-Lien Gibbons)

ABRI chief: "They must be wiped out"

On 14 November 1991, the Jakarta military command's daily newspaper, Jayakarta, published a report of a speech by armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, to a Seminar at the National Defence Institute. We reproduce the item unabridged, translated from the Indonesian.

Commander-in-chief of the armed forces (ABRI) General Try Soetrisno is seething with rage towards those who carried out the disruption in Dili, East Timor. He said that they are people who must be wiped out, "These delinquent people have to be shot," said the C-in-C, when opening the seminar of the Association of Lemhanas Graduates [Lemhanas = National Defence Institute] on Wednesday.

He went on to say that these disruptors are people who used to fight as guerrillas in the bush. They can no longer do this because the population in the interior oppose them. "As a result, they are causing disruption in the towns."

What is most outrageous of all, said Try, is that they take advantage of the social infrastructure, even places of worship, for the purposes of their activities. In the recent period, even the church has become a basis for operation. "So, I ask the church to beware of such people. We have built many churches but we didn't build them for the disruptors."

He said that the gangs of people spreading chaos began by unfurling posters with slogans discrediting the government. They also shouted many unacceptable things.

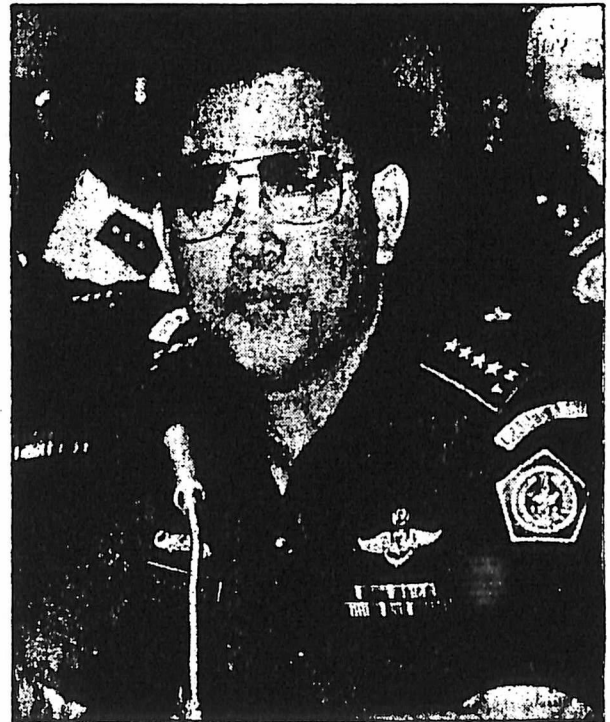
However, he went on, members of ABRI who were on guard at the place of the incident restrained themselves. These officers, he said, showed a great deal of patience in coping with a situation that was actually goading them into anger. "Our armed forces are not like armies in other countries. Our people's army is very tactful."

It turns out, the four-star general continued, that the patience shown by our officers was not appreciated; on the contrary, the disruptors became even more brutal. Then, some shots were fired into the air. "But they persisted with their misdeeds," he said.

General Try Soetrisno then said that ABRI would never allow itself to be ignored. "In the end, they had to be shot," he said, reiterating his words that such disruptors had to be shot. "And we shall shoot them," he stressed. Try did not reveal who was the leader of the disruptors. "Let us pray that he will soon be caught," he said, without saying anything about what was being done to catch him.

After the incident on 12 November, ABRI members searched Motael Church in Dili and found some weapons, including a grenade. "From the results of this search, it is very clear that their movement is extremely dangerous," he said. There was one casualty on ABRI's side, a battalion deputy commander of battalion 700, while on the side of the disruptors, 19 people were killed.

The disruptors began their movement on Tuesday after holding a mass at Motael Church. They demonstrated along the road leading to the Governor's Office. According to the version of the ABRI Information Centre, the action was originally to have been aimed at the Portuguese parliamentary delegation. But because the visit was cancelled, the group became very frustrated and switched the target of their action. It is thought that the incident was connected with the disturbance in Motael Church on 29



General Try: "Our army is very tactful".

(sic) October. But the situation is now under control.

The commander-in-chief called on the public not to panic, not to be influenced and to remain confident in ABRI's ability to resolve everything. "ABRI is determined to wipe out anyone who disrupts stability." ★

East Timor Document collection

The E-mail conference, reg.easttimor, has contained a massive quantity of media reporting on East Timor since the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991.

Charles Scheiner, a regular reader and contributor to the conference, has downloaded, formatted in small, organised type, and printed out, all this material, with a Contents Listing.

It is being produced in volumes of about 40 pages each and is available for \$10.00 a volume, just enough to cover postage and copying costs.

Send your orders with cash to: Charles Scheiner, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602. Charles can also be contacted on cdp:cscheiner.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

20D-219

Department of Linguistics and Philosophy
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

January 12, 1992

Dear Elaine,

It's been very good to see how much of an opening the latest atrocity gave for some publicity about Timor, and I've been most impressed as always to see what you've been doing (reports drifting in from all over). I've been getting a ton of stuff from Australia, some from Canada. There is a kind of grass roots movement developing here, mostly it seems through the electronic networks, which have been flooded with material. I hope it works, but frankly, I doubt it; the general mood is so depressed that initiation of something new seems unlikely. Also, the system is so well-designed to roll with the punches on this one that it's hard to be too optimistic about the consequences. I wish I shared the hopefulness that Arnold, Alan and others feel. I'm afraid I don't. But, one has to keep at it.

I'm off for a week of talks, and want to get this to you quickly before leaving. Laudatory comment follows: one long, one short. Edit as you like.

(1) The tragedy of East Timor is one of the most terrible of the modern period. The shameful complicity of the West is relieved only by the work of small numbers of dedicated activists, who have kept the issue alive, brought the story to a broader public, and pressured their governments to live up to the principles they profess. The East Timor Alert Network has been outstanding among these groups. Its work has already saved many lives, and if they can bring others to join them, may yet bring about a day when the people of this tortured land will enjoy the right of self-determination for which they have struggled with such courage.

(2) The East Timor Alert Network has compiled a remarkable record of achievement in bringing the terrible story of East Timor, and Western complicity in its fate, to a broader public, and in organizing the kind of public response that may yet enable the people of this tortured land to enjoy the right of self-determination for which they have struggled with such courage.

Best,



Noam Chomsky

Reinstate funding

CUSO has just had to cut 25 people. About a year ago, the World University Service of Canada went bankrupt. Canadians might think there's a real problem in Canadian development organizations. However, the two cases are quite different.

WUSC didn't challenge the system that makes the Third World poor, nor did it challenge the repressive governments that keep it poor. WUSC's largest program was in Indonesia, a country that has been slaughtering the East Timorese for 15 years. Many WUSC programs there benefited the Indonesian government.

Maintaining a system where the poor stay poor is the Conservative government's policy for Canada, so the government allowed WUSC to continue long after it knew that WUSC had financial problems. Finally, WUSC had to declare bankruptcy.

CUSO's projects try to help people break the cycle of poverty in their country. Often this means supporting the same people who oppose the repressive government in their country. These repressive governments are friends of the United States, and therefore of our Conservative government.

So the Conservative government cuts funding to CUSO, at the same time as it spends millions to resurrect WUSC. These cuts mean people will die in the Third World because CUSO isn't there to help start community self-sufficiency projects.

Canadians can be sure that money they give to CUSO, Oxfam-Canada and Inter Pares will support real self-sufficiency for the Third World. We should demand that our government spend our tax dollars the same way.

Larry Reid, Ottawa

OTTAWA CITIZEN NOV. 20 '91 p. A10

LETTERS

Time to make good on human rights

Scores of unarmed civilians in East Timor were massacred Nov. 12 by Indonesian government troops. The Canadian government has repeatedly claimed that human rights criteria will be applied to countries receiving Canadian foreign aid.

Not only has Indonesia violated international law in its invasion and continued occupation of the separate nation of East Timor, but the military regime has been guilty of causing many thousands of deaths in East Timor and has tortured and detained people.

By all international standards the East Timorese deserve self-determination.

External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney are both recent advocates of Canada's policy of applying human rights criteria to our foreign aid practices. Previous human rights violations in East Timor have not been enough, however. Canada has voted in the minority against UN resolutions which call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops.

Letter of the Day

much the same as those passed and supported by Canada against Iraq.

Indonesia has been charged by international human rights groups like Amnesty International and Asia Watch for gross and systematic human rights violations. Even so, Indonesia has been Canada's second largest recipient of foreign aid dollars (\$266 million, 1984-1989).

Canada allows the sale of military equipment to Indonesia that has been used in the destruction of entire Timorese villages. At least eight Canadian weapons companies have factories in Indonesia.

Canada should take part in the arms embargo on Indonesia that is being called for around the world.

Doug McGregor
Ottawa

Editor's note: External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall has announced she will review Canadian aid to Indonesia as a result of the killings in East Timor.

AS CALGARY HERALD, January 10, 1992

Occupation must cease

Re East Timor.

I must congratulate the Herald and Southam for the excellent coverage of the East Timor situation.

The (invasion and) appalling oppression of East Timor by the occupying forces from Indonesia has gone on for too long and must be stopped....

However, what most people do not realize is that this is not the first time that Indonesia has done this. West Papua (now named Irian Jaya) was similarly invaded in the '60s....

Canada must act. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney must live up to his pledge of linking human rights to trade and aid....

STEPHEN GODDARD,
Calgary.

LETTERS

Vancouver Sun Editorial p A20
Friday January 17, 1992

Controversy surrounds report on East Timor killings

I would like to know why we were getting news about the killings in East Timor one week, and the next week there was nothing. It is not as if there has been nothing new to report.

Thirty-one of the people arrested at the time of the shooting are to be tried, 14 of them on charges of subversion, a charge which carries the death penalty. Both the Dutch and the Portuguese governments have rejected the findings of the Indonesian investigation into the massacre.

The Australians, after a pause, decided to praise the report as a big improvement. In London, the member of the House of Lords in charge of the committee on human rights rejected the report.

He also condemned the Australians, saying that their actions were like accepting "blood money."

explaining that the Australians had received permission to drill (I presume, for oil) in the straits between Australia and West Papua from the Indonesians.

He claimed that under the UN's law of the sea, the Indonesians had no right to grant such permission.

Then, it was announced that the general who will replace the one involved in the shooting, had been involved in the original slaughter, when Indonesia invaded East Timor.

He was quoted as saying that he will not show as much patience with dissidents as his predecessor. Some improvement.

Judging from the phone calls on CBC's As It Happens, the Canadian public is quite interested in the subject, so why the silence?

IVAN TENTCHOFF
Gibsons

Bruce McLeod



Cut off arms to Indonesia

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

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

Sixteen years of terror in East Timor were accompanied by growing Canadian business involvement with Indonesia. Over 300 Canadian companies operate there. Indonesian trade consistently balances in Canada's favor. Until this week, the Indonesian government was the third largest recipient of Canadian bilateral aid.

During this period, Canada's international indignation was saved for countries where we've less stake in the way things are. Twelve times the U.N., condemning the invasion, affirmed East Timor's right to self-determination. Twelve times Canada abstained or (more recently) voted against. As recently as September, McDougall said East Timor was a "fait accompli."

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

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

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

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

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

McDougall started with bilateral aid instead. Just starting deserves two cheers for raising Canada's voice at last.

But write her; tell her don't stop now. Face down the weapons-makers' lobby, Barbara: quit arming Indonesia's military regime. Get Canada on the right side of U.N. resolutions on East Timor. Forget the local generals; call for independent investigations into November's atrocities. Keep us cheering: bring Canada's conscience back to world-class level at last.

And Canada collaborates

In November, for the first time, there was mainline media coverage of East Timor in Canada. A lot of people had to die in a peaceful demonstration (two American reporters were badly beaten and a foreign national died) for the story to be told. The Canadian stepfather of Kamal Bamadha, a 20-year-old visiting student, who died in the massacre, has written an open letter to our prime minister from Malaysia telling of his sorrow and concern about Canada's involvement with Indonesia and our support for that country at the United Nations.

I have sent letters to people in government, to the CBC, letters to this newspaper and letters to friends. I have probably bored people with repetition about East Timor. Why?

It isn't just for the people of East Timor; I haven't yet met anyone from there. But I am a Canadian surrounded by Canadians, and my country has collaborated with the oppressor of the East Timorese who are victims of proportionately the worst genocide since World War II. A third of their population is reckoned to have perished since their territory was invaded in 1975.

Canada still supports the perpetrators of these crimes at the United Nations. Why do we do it? Canada has been the third largest investor in Indonesia. Our foreign aid has been reckoned as nearly equivalent to U.S. aid (and that's not divided by 10).

We can't keep telling the world what humane people we are while we continue to accept the Indonesian annexation of East Timor as a "fait accompli" (to use external affairs terminology). The United Nations has never accepted it.

GEORGE ADAMSON
Ennismore, Ont.

PETERBORO UGH EXAMINER
JAN 13*/92



THE TALK OF THE TOWN

Notes and Comment

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

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

On the morning of the twelfth, as the Mass concluded

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

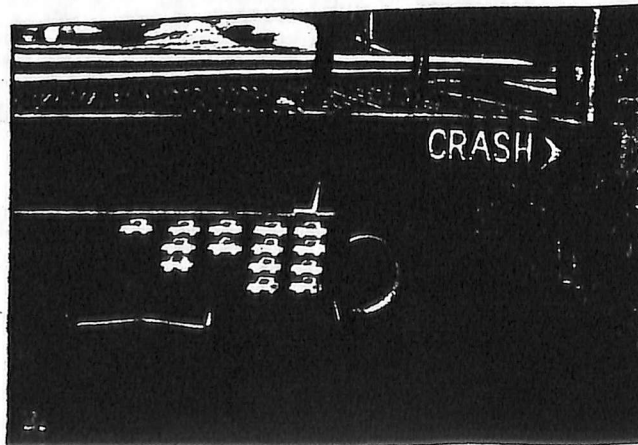
Outside the church, a procession formed behind the Gomes family, who were carrying flowers in straw baskets draped with woollen shawls. Some people unfurled banners urging support for the Catholic Church and the cause of East Timorese independence. As the procession got under way, first young men and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

the cemetery it had grown to several thousand. Even when there was no chanting, and no banners nearby, the marchers were talking—audibly—to the soldiers and among themselves. East Timor and its occupiers surely hadn't witnessed such a bold public display in years.

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

Another American reporter and I had a camera and a tape recorder out and were standing in the middle of the street, between the troops and the East Timorese. We watched in disbelief as

the soldiers turned in to the cemetery, raised their rifles, and took aim. Then, acting in unison, they opened fire on the East Timorese. Men and women fell, shivering, in the street, rolling from the impact of the bullets. Some were backpedalling, and tripping, their hands held up. Others simply tried to turn and run. The soldiers jumped over fallen bodies and fired at the people still upright. They chased down young boys and girls



and shot them in the back. Meanwhile, some of the soldiers had begun beating my colleague and me. They took her tape recorder and my camera, and pounded the back of my skull with rifle butts. Then they forced us to sit down on the pavement and trained their M-16s at us, shouting "*Politik! Politik!*"

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

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

en, and children. Out of a crowd of three thousand, some hundred were killed and two hundred were wounded.

In its first acknowledgment that people had been killed, the Indonesian Army said on the day of the massacre, "There has been unrest in Dili by people who had been incited and influenced by remnants of the Gang of Security Disrupters [but] the situation is now under control." Later that day, it said, "Security officers tried to disperse [the crowd] in persuasive ways, but they put up resistance and attacked the officers," and soon it expanded its story, saying that some hundred-odd Timorese were carrying guns, and that among the crowd was Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese nationalist movement known as Falintil. Though no foreign governments tried to maintain that those statements approached a true account of what had happened, several of them were conspicuously restrained in their reaction to the slaughter. In Washington, Canberra, Tokyo, and elsewhere, Indonesian Ambassadors were told that the respective foreign ministers were upset about the events in East Timor, and Indonesia was asked to explain its actions. Our State Department advo-

cated "a prompt and complete investigation" by Jakarta, to be "followed by an appropriate disciplining of those determined to have used excessive force," but it rejected any reduction in military training and arms sales, explaining that United States military aid actually helped "expose" Indonesians to "democratic ideas and humanitarian standards." Senator Claiborne Pell, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, introduced a resolution censuring Indonesia and urging self-determination for the people of East Timor, but suggesting only a partial reduction in United States aid; it did not address, for example, the sale of arms like the M-16. Proponents of the measure said that it was the strongest action that could be hoped for, and, indeed, even this non-binding resolution met quick opposition from both Senator Robert Dole and Representative Stephen Solarz, the chairman of the Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee. One Solarz aide said that if Indonesia staged another massacre (as unconfirmed reports were suggesting that it already had) a cutoff might be considered.

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

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

ESSAY • LETTERS • ANALYSIS • BACKGROUND

THE OTTAWA CITIZEN

Protesters call for action on East Timor

More will die if Indonesian invasion ignored, say activists

BY SHERRI DAVIS-BARRON
Citizen staff writer

The grieving stepsister of an activist killed recently in East Timor says Canada must "stop recognizing the illegal occupation of East Timor."

Li-Lien Gibbons told about 30 demonstrators Saturday that her stepbrother's death during an Indonesian army massacre must "urge us on to continue with our work — we must continue because a lot more people are going to die."

Protesters gathered outside the Indonesian Embassy on MacLaren Street to mark the 16th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, a tiny South Pacific Island about 650 kilometres north of Australia.

They had been there only weeks ago to protest a Nov. 12 massacre by Indonesian troops in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Up



Li-Lien Gibbons remembers stepbrother killed in violence

to 180 East Timorese were killed when Indonesian troops fired on 3,500 mourners at a funeral. Gibbons's stepbrother, 20-year-old Kamal Bamadhaj of New Zealand, was among those who died.

Gibbons said Canada should support UN resolutions, which have demanded that Indonesia withdraw from East Timor and called for a referendum to let the East Timorese decide their future. She also said the UN should carry out "an immediate and impartial inquiry to stop the killings and tortures."

Although the UN has repeatedly said East Timor has the right to exist as a sovereign nation, Canada has been opposing such resolutions since 1980. Gibbons is one of several speakers to address Canada's external affairs subcommittee Monday.

Elaine Briere, head of a national lobby group concerned about East Timor, said Canada is reticent because Indonesia is a strong trading partner.

Indonesia is Canada's second-largest aid recipient. Two-way Canada-Indonesia trade last year was worth \$510 million.

A DIARY OF DEATH IN EAST TIMOR:

An aid worker's first-hand account of repression — before he was shot to death

Reproduced from the Ottawa Citizen, Saturday December 7, 1991, Weekend Observer, pg. B4

By Kamal Bamadhaj

Note:

This edited excerpt of Bamadhaj's diary is distributed by Southam News; These are the last known lines of Bamadhaj's journal. He died nine days later. His family says many of his personal effects including, it's believed, a more detailed diary, disappeared from the Dili hotel room in which he was staying before being slain.

But for the rare presence of foreign journalists in East Timor on Nov. 12 — including a television cameraman — the worldwide outcry over the Indonesian army's massacre at a churchyard would almost surely not have happened. More than 100 — some reports say in excess of 200 — unarmed people were gunned down without warning that day in Dili, capital of the occupied ex-Portuguese colony. One foreigner also died: 20-year-old Kamal Bamadhaj, a human rights activist and Indonesian studies scholar who had been serving as translator for an official from an Australian aid organization. In the days before Bamadhaj died, the New Zealander kept a journal for family and friends. Dave Todd of Southam News has obtained the diary which describes, in a clear and compelling manner, the horror that is life in East Timor today — and the rage of its people to become free after a 16-year military occupation which it would be no exaggeration to describe as Hitlerian. Today is the anniversary of the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia and a demonstration is planned outside the Indonesian Embassy. Parts of Bamadhaj's diary will be read by his sister to a meeting of the Commons External Affairs committee Monday night. The New Zealand government, although it has strongly protested Bamadhaj's death, has had no satisfaction from the Indonesian authorities. They continue to depict him, and the handful of Western journalists at the massacre scene on Nov. 12, as outside agitators who worked up the Timorese demonstrators and provoked troops to shoot. Indonesia has produced no plausible evidence to support this claim, which has been universally condemned by eyewitnesses to the killing and by foreign governments. According to a representative of the International Red Cross, who came across Bamadhaj's profusely bleeding body, the young man died because the army would not let him be taken to hospital until almost an hour after he was shot. At one military roadblock, the Red Cross worker, driving a clearly marked Red Cross vehicle, was himself threatened with being shot — even after explaining he had a wounded man with him. Bamadhaj was alive when he eventually did reach a hospital. He died 20 minutes later.

Dili, East Timor. Oct. 29, 1991:

Sebastian (a local youth) yesterday was added to the ever-increasing toll of brutal deaths. . . The attack began at midnight when plainclothes soldiers began stoning the church. The church grounds were surrounded by armed troops who finally invaded at about 2:30 a.m. Some youths tried to escape as about 30 people inside the grounds were arrested. It was in the midst of this attack that Sebastian was shot dead with three bullets. A Timorese member of the Indonesian assault forces was also killed when he was stabbed by a Timorese youth shortly after Sebastian's slaying.

The attack has further alienated the devout Catholic population of East Timor. Although the official Indonesian version of the Motael (church) affair. . . has been publicized throughout the Indonesian media channels, the news about the attack and the death of Sebastian reached remote areas throughout East Timor's extensive and effective clandestine network before the Indonesians could even assemble their official version.

Maubisse, Nov. 2:

The Indonesians (particularly the Javanese) seem to have a

well-rehearsed script when explaining East Timor to the outsider. They say it was a hapless colonial backwater under the Portuguese. Its inhabitants were uneducated, culturally backward and generally unhygienic people. What's more, they were oppressed. . . until Indonesia took the ex-colony under its wing as the 27th province. One Javanese taxi driver proudly told me that the capital of Dili, which was once "covered with trees like a jungle" has now been transformed into a true city of large buildings, roads and concrete.

Timorese I have talked to complain that no amount of roads and schools can bring back the thousands killed by Indonesia during the war and occupation. Some 200,000, or one-third of the 1975 population, were killed. Probably every East Timor survivor today has lost a close friend or relative. Will the construction of new roads placate the humiliation and bitterness, or compensate the denial of Timorese language in schools, the domination of political decisions, local administration and the economy by the Javanese? The Timorese say no. At a recent public lecture held at a Baucau school, local military leaders warned youths not to speak to delegates of a Portuguese official fact-finding mission in November. The youths were told to

show their appreciation of the development the Indonesians had brought them rather than highlighting human rights violations or other negative aspects of Indonesian rule.

One reckless youth stood up and declared that Indonesian development was just for show and did nothing for the people, sparking a wave of anti-Indonesia comments from the bitter audience. The military speaker then asked the crowd if they would prefer to return East Timor to the theatre of war of the mid- to late seventies. Expecting a No, he was answered with a resounding Yes.

Travelling through East Timor on a bus recently, I was asked by a Javanese man what I thought of the province, its roads and development. To avoid being hassled, I gave a typical East Timorese answer, that everything was great. One imagines that the colonizers need praise and reassurance to assuage their underlying guilt. My answer was greeted with a broad smile and the comment: "There are no bad people in Indonesia, mister." Little did he know that just before, I had overheard him in the back of the bus asking the same question to two young Timorese bus conductors he had summoned over.

Because of the precarious position in their own country, the Timorese (conductors) had to be much more crawly than me. They gave lengthy assurances about how much they loved Indonesia and "development" and ended: "We are good now, we have come to our senses." The Timorese, myself, and the Javanese man all realized this was too overacted to be believable. The man had no broad smile for the Timorese after they had answered. Instead, he said that if they even thought of participating in pro-independence rallies when the Portuguese delegation arrived, "We would have no qualms about wiping you all out -- until there are no Timorese left." The two youths nodded thoughtfully and were told they could get back to their positions.

Dili, Nov. 3:

It has been a tense past two weeks in East Timor. A kind of lull before the storm has prevailed as the Timorese prepare themselves for the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegations scheduled to have started tomorrow. Some saw the visit as a first step towards a referendum, some hoped the Portuguese would somehow help bring about immediate independence, while others saw the visit as a long-awaited opportunity for an uprising against the Indonesian occupiers. After 15 years of integration with Indonesia, and all the methods the

Indonesians have used to persuade the Timorese to accept their rule, everyone here seems to have roughly the same aspiration -- independence.

Youths in Dili and in other towns have been secretly painting pro-independence banners, organizing demonstrations and, as many have admitted to me, (are) preparing to die for their people if the Indonesians try to stop them. Timorese of all ages and walks of life have been signing up to be on the list of interviewees for the Portuguese fact-finding mission. Considering that talk to any foreigners about the situation is risky, there are large numbers who have decided to take the plunge and talk to the Portuguese when they come.

The Indonesians too have been preparing for the visit, launching an intensive campaign of intimidation and rounding up Timorese for public lectures, where they are threatened with imprisonment or death if they dare to speak up. Freshly dug mass execution sites have been discovered throughout East Timor, perhaps another method of intimidating the locals into silence. The Timorese Church has also come under heavy military surveillance for its role in helping the people prepare for the visit. The Indonesian discomfort with the Church was epitomized by its early morning attack on the Motael church last Monday. Moreover, an all-out campaign was launched by the military to capture and kill resistance leader Xanana Gusmao so as to deny the Portuguese the opportunity to meet with this much-revered figure.

However, less than a week before the delegation was supposed to arrive, news started filtering in that the Portuguese were not coming. Hearts sank. People cannot believe it. The disappointment here today is not only the deflating of so many high expectations but, more worrying still, the indefinite delay gives the Indonesian military the perfect opportunity to eliminate all those East Timorese who had exposed their identity while preparing for the visit.

In the past month or so, Timorese have been taking extraordinary risks organizing among themselves in anticipation of the delegation. They claimed that any risk they took was worth it, because the visit offered them so much hope. And they were banking on placing themselves on a security list held by the Portuguese, which would guarantee them (under UN agreements) freedom from persecution if they spoke up. But now the visit is off, and the Timorese are once again in the all-too-familiar position of being defenceless from arbitrary arrest, maltreatment or even death.

EDITOR'S NOTE: These are the last known lines of Bamadhaj's journal. He died nine days later. His family says many of his personal effects including, it's believed, a more detailed diary, disappeared from the Dili hotel room in which he was staying before being slain.

NEWS RELEASE
(for immediate release)

GOVERNMENT MUST GO FURTHER ON EAST TIMOR: M.P.'S

OTTAWA, Dec. 11/91 -- Opposition M.P.s are demanding from the Government clarification of the types of aid to Indonesia which Canada will suspend. The Government made an announcement on Monday that it would suspend \$30 million in proposed development projects. Few details were offered despite Opposition questions in the House of Commons.

"We still do not know specifics about the projects which have been supposedly put on hold," says Beryl Gaffney, Opposition Critic for Human Rights and Liberal Chair for Parliamentarians for East Timor. "By this announcement, the Government is clearly trying to take attention away from the fact that it is actually doing little about Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor."

"The Government still refuses to endorse UN Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389," she says. These resolutions call, among other things, for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops and for a referendum on self-determination for the East Timorese people.

Jose Ramos Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, says that if the Canadian government really wanted to see an end to the bloodshed in East Timor, it should also be supporting a full arms embargo against Indonesia.

"No where in the Government's announcement of Monday did the government address any of these other issues," says Horta. "They're all inter-connected. None of the demands which we are making are unreasonable, and they are all in accordance with international law. Canada could play a leading role in bringing peace to the people of East Timor, if it chose to do so."

Gaffney and Horta made their comments at a press conference held earlier today to discuss the ongoing situation. The conference capped several days of events aimed at raising public awareness of the ongoing brutal repression of the East Timorese by the Indonesian military.

Other in attendance at the press conference included: M.P. Svend Robinson, NDP Chair of Parliamentarians for East Timor, American journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman (both witnesses to the November 12, 1991 massacre in Dili), Li-Lien Gibbons (whose brother was murdered during the attack), Elaine Briere, Coordinator of the East Timor Alert Network, and M.P. Ray Funk, a member of Parliamentarians for East Timor.

Adds Funk: "The situation in East Timor should have been plaguing the conscience of the world community much more actively than it has been. Now that some attention has finally been focused on the tragedy, we can't afford to let the issue slip away again before it is resolved."

Melbourne Age (Australia) Dec. 31.91

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.

Oral Questions
INDONESIA

Mrs. Christine Stewart (Northumberland): Mr. Speaker, my question is to the Prime Minister.

Yesterday, reacting to recent killings in East Timor, the government supposedly suspended \$30 million of bilateral development projects in Indonesia. Yet, despite inquiries we do not know what projects are suspended. What is more, resumption of Canadian aid will depend incredibly upon the report of Indonesia's own commission of inquiry into the East Timorese killings.

Will the Prime Minister today demand an independent objective UN commission of inquiry into the East Timorese killings?

Hon. Michael Wilson (Minister of Industry, Science and Technology and Minister for International Trade): Mr. Speaker, Canada has suspended some development projects, as my hon. friend has suggested. It is about \$30 million in projects that will be affected.

As far as the role of Canada in calling for an independent UN inquiry into this, my understanding is that the UN Secretary-General has announced that he is sending an envoy to Jakarta. We want to see what the outcome of that visit is, consult with the United Nations as to what those findings are. Once we have that information then we will be able to make a decision as to which way we should be going.

Mrs. Beryl Gaffney (Nepean): My question is to the same minister.

A \$30 million suspension of aid to Indonesia is significant, but it is still only a fraction of what Canada should be doing.

Will the minister today assure the House that Canada will finally withdraw its total support of this despotic regime and immediately support United Nations Security Council resolutions 384 and 389 which call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor?

[Translation]

Hon. Monique Landry (Minister for External Relations and Minister of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)): Mr. Speaker, as my colleague answered

Oral Questions

the hon. opposition member, we indeed suspended three aid projects totaling \$30 million.

I would like to ask the opposition where it stands on aid to Third World countries. The projects being maintained in Indonesia—and I would be very happy to list them in this House if I had enough time—directly help the people.

I have the list of projects—and I could name them—which directly support the people through Canadian non-governmental organizations. What does the opposition want? Does it really want to help the people? Mr. Speaker, that is what we are doing by maintaining some aid projects that really help people at the grass roots.

...

Important Notice

We have been lobbying CBC's "The Journal" to do a special on East Timor, especially after they spent a huge amount of money doing a documentary on the threatened existence of the Orang-utans of Borneo. Though we have some junior editors on our side that have made repeated presentations, the senior editors continue to say that they aren't interested though ample television footage is available. Recently, Yorkshire Television in the U.K. aired a 55 minute documentary called "In Cold Blood - The Massacre in East Timor."

There is no reason in the world why CBC cannot air part of this on the Journal and have a panel discussion afterwards - or the 5th Estate for that matter. We would appreciate letters to the CBC requesting that they show this material to the Canadian people.

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