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# SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

Selected Articles from the Australian  
and International Press



"Funerals can be deadly affairs."

## EAST TIMOR TALKS CAMPAIGN

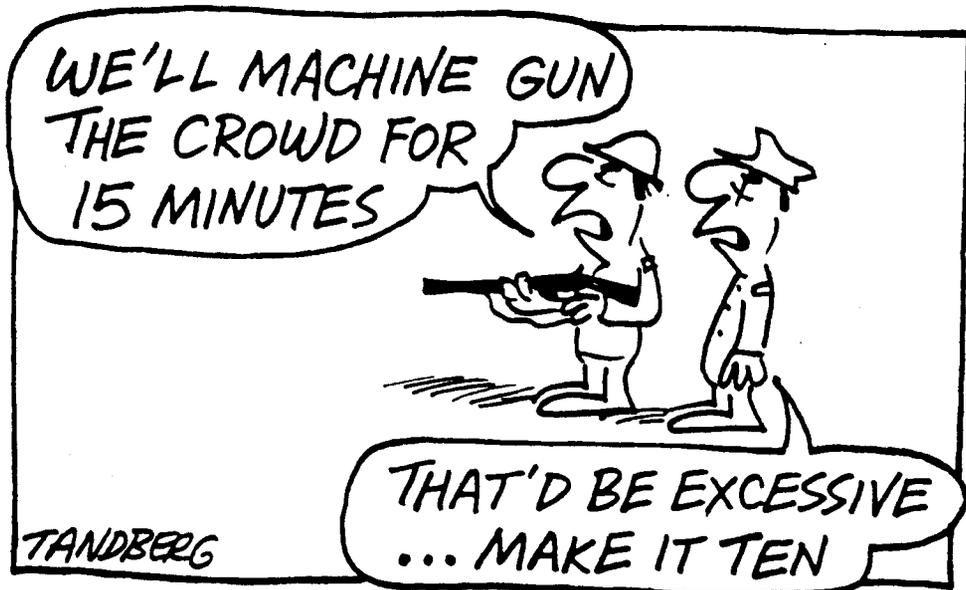
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# The Massacre



## Indonesia blames provocation by demonstrators for Dili attack

# PM depllores killings

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The Indonesian Government last night sought to blame provocative demonstrators for Tuesday's killings in East Timor, in the face of international outrage, including condemnation by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

Mr Hawke told Parliament yesterday that he deplored the loss of life in what he said was "an appalling tragedy" in which many people had been killed.

Latest estimates put the death toll at between 50 and 60, with scores more seriously wounded after the Indonesian military opened fire with semi-automatic weapons on a crowd of mourning demonstrators in the East Timorese capital, Dili.

Mr Hawke said Canberra had urged the Indonesian Government to conduct a thorough investigation and deal appropriately with those responsible for any breaches of human rights.

He said the Government was very deeply disturbed by the reports from Dili. "We deplore the loss of innocent life. While many details remain unclear, it is now evident that an appalling tragedy has occurred in which many people have been killed."

Last night, the Indonesian embassy in Canberra said in a statement that members of the security forces had tried to calm about 2000 demonstrators, marching to the local Santa Cruz cemetery.

The statement, which made no direct reference to the many reports that the forces opened fire on a defenceless crowd, said that some demonstrators had "become excited" and seriously injured an army deputy battalion commander. "That brutal event apparently had forced the security personnel to react," the statement said.

A senior official from the Australian embassy in Jakarta, Mr David Binn, arrived in Dili late yesterday to see if any Australians still required help, and to report on events in Dili.

One Australian resident — a student from the University of New South Wales, Mr Kamal Bamadajaj — is reported to have died yesterday from wounds sustained in the shooting. Mr Bamadajaj, 20, born in Malaysia and the holder of a New Zealand passport, had been living and studying in Australia for the past two years. It is believed he was in East Timor as a tourist.

Two other Australians, Mr Anthony Belmain, and an aid worker, Mr Bob Muntz, who was injured while trying to escape the gunfire, are reported to be safe.

In a day of world outrage over the shootings, the United States urged the Indonesians to conduct a full inquiry, and the United Nations' Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, deplored the incident.

Bowing to the international pressure, Indonesia said it would investigate the killings.

The Indonesian embassy statement released last night said the demonstrators waved Frettila flags, carried placards, and sharp, pointed instruments and long knives, provoking the soldiers.

But an American journalist beaten during the killings, Mr Allan Nairn, of the 'New Yorker' magazine, and a fellow US journalist, Ms Amy Goodman, said the demonstrators had not been asked to disband and were not allowed to



### THE AGE

If Australia does not take the strongest stand on the killings in Timor, what credibility can we claim when laying down the law to, say, South Africa or Iraq? Or do human and democratic rights only become relevant outside our region?

Editorial, PAGE 13.

go home. Instead, soldiers converged on the demonstrators from two sides and opened fire into the crowd, which started to flee.

In Jakarta yesterday, the chief of Indonesia's armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, said that 50 people "at the most" were killed and 20 others injured when troops opened fire.

"If the foreign press said 100 had died, that is too much. The number of those who died, I am certain, would not reach 100 — let us say 50 at the most, 20 injured, and no foreigners are among the victims," General Try told Agence France Presse.

"We regret what happened but it must be realised that they (fighters against Indonesian rule) are brutal," General Try was quoted as saying.

Late last night the Timorese opposition spokesman, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, warned that a crackdown by the Government against activists was spreading to the interior of East Timor.

Earlier, the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, raised Australia's concerns over the shootings with his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas, at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation conference in Seoul.

In Jakarta, the Australian ambassador, Mr Phillip Flood, who conveyed Australia's attitude to the Indonesian Government, said he was certain that no one in authority in Jakarta or Dili had authorised the shooting, and said it would seem it had occurred after soldiers panicked.

But the US journalist Mr Nairn said yesterday he had seen a colonel in charge of Indonesian military intelligence drive by the march shortly before the shootings.

Speaking on Channel Nine's 'A Current Affair', Mr Nairn said: "He (the colonel) evidently had a role in coordinating this whole operation."

The Indonesian ambassador to Australia, Mr Sabem Siagian, who was called in by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to be told of the Government's deep concern, said yesterday his Government was "very regretful of the victims of both sides".



The job must go on: Allan Nairn of the 'New Yorker' speaks to reporters in a Guam military hospital as a radio reporter, Amy Goodman, speaks on the phone about the massacre. Both journalists were beaten in the memorial march.

## 'It's terror, complete terror'

By KEVIN CHILDS

"It was a slaughter. I see Allan's head wounds and I think, 'At least there's blood coursing through him.' We are unbelievably lucky."

These were the words yesterday of an American radio reporter, Amy Goodman, who, with another journalist, Allan Nairn, saw Indonesian soldiers massacre peaceful protesters in Timor.

The pair risked their lives by stepping between the troops and the protesters to try to stop the shooting.

Ms Goodman, 34, news editor for WBAI Pacifica public radio in New York, said she was beaten with rifle butts, kicked and punched. She and Mr Nairn, a freelance journalist working for the 'New Yorker' magazine, were thrown to the ground. M-16 automatic rifles were aimed at their heads.

"When they grabbed me and threw me to the ground and started the first round of beating me, he threw himself over me, so he got a lot of the brunt of it, and when they dragged me away they began to attack him," she said. "He got deep throat lacerations and head lacerations."

His leg injuries made it difficult for him to walk yesterday. But, he said from a military hospital on the American island of Guam, this would not be permanent. The back of his head was also badly swollen.

### INSIDE

PAGE 5: The Indonesian embassy's statement; Hawke's trip to Indonesia in doubt; Australian resident dies of wounds.

PAGE 6: Peace hopes dogged by military shootings; international reaction.

PAGE 12: Letters and Access Age.

PAGE 13: Kenneth Davidson's comment; Tanner.

The day of the massacre began with a commemoration mass in Dili at 7 am. Sixteen days earlier, a young Timorese, Sebastiao Gomes, had been killed after seeking refuge in a church.

About 7.45 am people gathered in the street to repeat a protest march that had followed his funeral.

The marchers carried the banned flag of Frettila, the East Timorese independence movement, and held banners proclaiming "Viva Timor", "Portugal, we are your responsibility", and something like "Portugal, don't be afraid to come, our blood is the people's blood."

The march took about half an hour, Ms Goodman said. "As it wound through the streets of Dili, it got bigger and bigger. I saw people running from their workplaces to join them."

The crowd grew to several thousand, she said. They were moving quickly, some trotting. There were women in traditional dress, small boys and girls, teenagers in school uniforms and workers.

Fear grew as the march progressed. "At one point there were two girls hanging on to my arm. There I was, with a tape-recorder and a microphone, and they had locked their arms around mine. They were crying desperately, terrified, because they saw me as a kind of protection, and I had to dis-

tangle myself and leave these girls; I was no protection after they dragged me off and beat me."

Even when she had tried to run back and record the arrest of a young man during the march, the girls held her and stopped her.

"It was like I was carrying two other people. It's terror, complete terror."

The march reached the cemetery. There the troops arrived.

Mr Nairn, 24, said he saw green-uniformed soldiers, their helmets bearing red insignia, come from one direction. Other soldiers were in jungle camouflage. The reporters said the troops came from two directions.

"Allan and I felt that if we came to the front it would stop the violence, it would prevent it from happening," Ms Goodman said.

"That was not the case. They whipped me forward. At first I think they pulled me by the hair; it's hard to reconstruct the whole thing. Then they threw me on the ground and started kicking me and hitting me with the rifle butts, ripped off my bag which had the tape-recorder and the mike."

"They were shouting and screaming. At the same time, the soldiers formed a line just about even with us, shooting back into the crowd, into a fleeing crowd."

'We are very regretful of the victims of both sides, and the security apparatus'

— Indonesian Ambassador Mr Sabam Siagian



'Everyone feels just a little sick in the stomach about the news'

— The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans



# Punish Timor killers Hawke urges Suharto

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE Australian Government is under pressure to suspend military aid to Indonesia as the world reacts with revulsion to reports of the massacre of up to 115 people by the Indonesian military in East Timor.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, described the killings as "deplorable" and urged the Government of President Suharto to punish the perpetrators. However, the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Mr Sabam Siagian — in Jakarta's first official explanation — insisted the shootings happened only after an Indonesian army officer was attacked by rioters during a demonstration in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

The Indonesian military confirmed late yesterday that at least 50 people had been killed.

As events in Dili cast a shadow over Australia's painstaking efforts to rekindle relations with Indonesia, plans by Mr Hawke to visit Jakarta early in February were under review. Western governments were holding back on consideration of possible sanctions until details became clearer.

Military 'out of control' — Page 7  
Bloodbath a new blot on relations — Page 11

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, sought urgent discussions with his Indonesian counterpart and close friend, Mr Ali Alatas. Both are in Seoul for the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-Operation meeting.

Senator Evans said he did not have enough information about the Dili incident to judge whether Indonesian military forces had abused human rights.

But on the face of the information available, the incident appeared to be a tragic over-reaction to protests, he said.

"Everyone feels just a little sick in the stomach about the news," Senator Evans said. "We don't know yet what the magnitude and the scale of what happened was, but it certainly seems the case that a number of people have died in the context of a military reaction."

The Foreign Affairs Department in Canberra summoned Mr Siagian to tell his Government Australia wanted it to report urgently and openly on the shootings after a thorough investigation.

Mr Siagian said later he

regretted the deaths. He admitted to *The Australian* events in East Timor could affect the "atmosphere" of relations with Australia.

"(We are) very regretful of the victims of both sides, on the people, and also on the security apparatus in Dili," he said.

The Australian Government sent a senior officer from its Jakarta embassy, Mr David Binns, into East Timor yesterday to conduct an independent assessment of the tragedy and to check on the welfare of Australians.

The exact number of civilians shot by the military is still unconfirmed but human rights groups in Indonesia and Australia say they have reliable information that the toll exceeds 100, and that many more have been seriously wounded.

Supporters in Darwin of the Timorese independence movement Fretilin claimed many of the injured would not report to hospitals because of fears that exposing their bullet wounds would lead to arrest and torture.

The Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners near the Santa Cruz cemetery on Tuesday after a memorial service for two pro-independence students shot dead three weeks ago.

Two Australian aid workers, Mr Barry Muntz and Mr Russell Anderson, were caught up in the melee but were believed to be safe and making arrangements to fly out of Indonesia. One Sydney-based student, Mr Kamahl Amed Bamadhaj — a New Zealander of Malaysian descent — is believed to be in a serious condition at the Dili military hospital.

The Indonesian embassy in Canberra said it understood a third Australian, Mr Robert Mand, had identified himself as a journalist. The Foreign Affairs Department said it had accounted for all Australians known to have been in Dili during the incident and none had been seriously harmed.

According to a spokesman for the East Timorese resistance, Mr Alfredo Ferriera, the Indonesian military patrolled Dili after the shootings, conducting house-to-house searches but Indonesian authorities denied the city had been sealed off and said Dili was "calm and under control".

They claimed the incident was "incited" by pro-independence rebels. "Efforts to overcome the worsening situation forced the security members to defend themselves and con-

Continued — Page 7



Faces of despair . . . shocked journalists Amy Goodman and Alan Nairn stand splattered with blood after the massacre in Dili. The picture was taken as the shooting stopped and was smuggled out of East Timor soon afterwards

## Death stared us straight in the face

By PAUL LYNCH and agencies

TWO United States journalists claimed Indonesian troops who battered them at gunpoint had argued over whether to execute them because they had witnessed the massacre of as many as 115 unarmed civilians in East Timor on Tuesday.

New York radio reporter Amy Goodman and magazine colleague Alan Nairn were savagely beaten by soldiers as squads of heavily armed troops began firing indiscriminately during a pro-independence funeral march involving several thousand people in the capital of East Timor, Dili.

In an interview with *The Australian* yesterday, the pair said that as bullets whizzed into the screaming crowd they were dragged into an alley by soldiers near the Santa Cruz cemetery and were punched, kicked and bludgeoned with rifle butts.

The soldiers then argued heatedly between themselves about whether to shoot them, while Goodman and Nairn, dazed and bleeding, were forced to kneel with guns held at their heads.

As details about the massacre began to trickle out of Dili yesterday, East Timorese sources in Darwin also claimed a Sydney student, who had been critically injured in the shooting, had died later in a Dili military hospital.

Mr Kamahl Amed Bamadhaj, a 20-year-old New Zealand passport-holder who was studying at the University of NSW, was visiting Dili when he was caught in the crossfire as troops opened fire on the crowd of mourners.

Malaysian-born Mr Bamadhaj, known to be involved in student and other groups active on Indonesian issues, was reportedly shot several times in the

chest and left for dead in a street during the shootings.

Fretilin resistance sources claimed to have heard from Dili that Mr Bamadhaj had died, but a female friend in Sydney told *The Australian* last night she had heard he was alive but in a critical condition in a Dili military hospital.

"We don't really know any more than that because the hospital is closed to outsiders seeking information," she said.

The editor of the Sydney-based East Timorese Newsagency, Mr Antonio Sampaio, said one Australian national, Mr Antony Balmaln, had been located at Dili's Resende Hotel after earlier being believed missing.

Mr Balmaln's father, Ian, said at his home in Sydney he understood his tourist son had telegraphed a British consulate to say he was alive and well.

Continued — Page 7

## Punish Timor killers: Hawke

From Page 1

control the situation in a firm way," an official statement from Jakarta said.

The chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, denied reports of a death toll exceeding 100. "That's too much," General Sutrisno said. "The number who died, I am certain, would not reach 100. Let us say 50 at most, 20 injured."

General Sutrisno claimed some of the mourners had been carrying guns, grenades and knives. He said the Fretilin movement was making trouble in Dili because it had been forced to flee mountain refuges by the Indonesian armed forces.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975, formally annexing it as the republic's 27th province the following year.

Mr Hawke told Parliament yesterday: "We as the Government are very deeply disturbed by the reports of this tragedy in Dili and we deplore the loss of innocent lives. While many details remain unclear, it is now evident that an appalling tragedy has occurred in which many people have died."

But the Government came under pressure yesterday from the Australian Democrats, Independent senators, its own backbench, and aid and human rights organisations to adopt a tougher stance.

In a direct reference to the growth of defence co-operation between the two countries, the Australian Council For Overseas Aid - the peak body of Australia's non-government aid agencies - called for the suspension of all military aid and equipment sales to Indonesia.

"Under its own guidelines, the Government has said it will not export military or related goods to governments that seriously violate their citizens' rights," ACFOA's executive director, Mr Russell Rollason, said.

The Democrats' foreign affairs spokeswoman, Senator Vicki Bourne, said the Government should condemn the massacre and support an Amnesty International proposal for a human rights fact-finding mission to East Timor.

## Death stared us straight in the face

From Page 1

The most gripping firsthand account of the Dili massacre came from Goodman and Nairn, who were captured by troops as they stood between squads of soldiers and the crowd attending the funeral procession of a man killed by security forces on October 28.

Goodman, 34, is a news editor with the New York radio station WBAI and was in Dili preparing a documentary on East Timor for the Pacifica public radio network. She suffered cuts and bruises.

Nairn, 36, is a reporter on assignment in East Timor for New Yorker magazine. He suffered deep cuts to the head and body during the beating and underwent a CAT scan before being released from the Guam Memorial Hospital late yesterday.

Goodman said of her ordeal: "The soldiers were battering us with their rifle butts, pun-

# Jakarta military 'out of control'

By staff reporters and AFP

THE slaughter in East Timor has reminded Asian Pacific nations that they have been ignoring regular human rights violations in East Timor as the price of maintaining cordial diplomatic relations with Jakarta, human rights groups charged yesterday.

Mrs Shirley Shackleton, the wife of Australian journalist Greg Shackleton, who disappeared during fighting in Timor 16 years ago, told *The Australian* last night the Indonesian army was out of control.

"In a way I am glad that this (the Dili massacre) has happened," she said. "People are hearing about what is going on in the country."

"This happens all the time. It is just that people outside of Timor never hear about it. This is just one incident to have taken place in Dili. People have been kidnapped and tortured every day."

Mrs Shackleton said Indonesians should leave Timor and Australia should exert pressure to achieve this.

Diplomats gathered in Seoul for the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation group regional trade conference yesterday said sanctions were unlikely against Indonesia, although several expressed shock at the possible number of dead.

"I didn't expect it to be that bad. We have to do something now. If we don't, we might as well never do anything," one European diplomat said.

The slaughter of between 50 and 115 Timorese has reminded the world that the United Nations still has not resolved the question of self-determination for this former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

In diplomatic circles here,

the plight of the 700,000 Timorese was already an embarrassment and, as one diplomat put it, after these deaths it could become even more embarrassing.

From the first military intervention in East Timor in 1975 through until 1989, when East Timor National Liberation Front (Fretilin) guerrillas downed their guns and turned to a political struggle, tens of thousands of people - hundreds of thousands, some sources say - have died in the territory.

Meanwhile, the international community, occupied with other issues, said little.

"Timor has been the victim of general indifference, partly because of its isolation and partly because of the Cold War," said one diplomat, explaining why every year since 1982 the UN has simply declined to debate East Timor.

The UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, instead has been given the task of using his good offices to mediate between Indonesia and Portugal.

Whenever East Timor was mentioned, most diplomats replied that whatever the merits of its case, it was necessary to be realistic.

With or without the support of a majority of UN nations, and barring a huge upheaval such as the one that shook the Baltic States free of the Soviet Union, East Timor would remain Indonesia's 27th province.

Many blamed Portugal for abandoning its former colony without completing the process of decolonisation, thereby leaving the field free for diverse factions - of which Fretilin, suspected at the time of being Marxist, would soon become dominant.

AFP

ching us and kicking us. They had guns at our heads and were screaming at us in Bhasa Indonesian, 'politics, politics'.

"They were arguing over whether to kill us or let us go. It was quite an argument and they obviously didn't want any witnesses to tell the world what happened," she said.

Nairn, bleeding profusely from head wounds, also believed the soldiers were on the verge of executing him and Goodman.

"They pointed their M16 rifles at our heads and were on the verge of shooting us. But we kept yelling 'we are from America and the US supplies the M16s' and I think that is what did it," he said.

Both were surprised to be released and, hours later, fled Dili for Guam in the northern Marianas island group.

They said the violence started 20 minutes after the funeral procession had moved through the streets of Dili to

the Santa Cruz cemetery, where soldiers suddenly converged on the crowd from two directions.

"There were thousands of people in the procession ... young people, old people in traditional dress, children, all moving slowly and waving banners and commemorative crosses," Goodman said.

"Suddenly the troops opened fire on these defenceless people and kept firing at the people, who were screaming and crying, tried to flee the bullets slapping into the crowd."

Nairn said that just as he and Goodman were captured and beaten by the soldiers, he looked at the scene of carnage.

"Looking down the road I saw body after body and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing," he said.

Then the soldiers dragged the pair into an alley and beat them savagely.

## WORLD NEWS

# 89 youths still in hospital: bishop

Dili, Thursday

At least 89 youths were in hospital with serious bullet or knife wounds after Tuesday's shootings in Dili, East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Belo, said today.

It was the first time the bishop had spoken publicly on the incident in which Indonesian troops fired on a funeral procession.

The bishop said some of those admitted to hospital had been beaten so badly their faces were almost unrecognisable.

He said the troops had reportedly fired without warning on the crowd gathered at the cemetery for the funeral of a separatist.

Despite the Indonesian Government's latest estimate that 20 people were killed in the shootings, the total number of dead and injured remains in dispute in Dili.

The bishop said separatist militants had put the death toll about 180, but Government officials in Dili admitted to only 19 dead.

The regional military chief, Major-General Slatang Panjaitan, said: "There was a misunderstanding." Troops had opened fire into a crowd of about 3500 people beside the cemetery after a pistol shot was fired from the crowd, and a grenade was thrown towards the soldiers, General Panjaitan said.

The grenade did not explode because only one of its two safety pins had been removed. He said troops later found rifles, grenades, pistols and knives in the cemetery which had been dumped by people fleeing the shooting.

A military spokesman said 91 people had been injured, including an army officer and a soldier. Yesterday, the army commander, General Try Sutrisno, said from Jakarta that 50 people "at the most were killed", while the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation said the toll was 115.

The Indonesian Institute for the Defence of Human Rights said independent sources put the death toll at more than 50.

The International Committee of the Red Cross today released a statement in Geneva saying one of its Swiss delegates reported to headquarters that she had seen the army fire into the crowd "without physical provocation".

The statement noted a large number of deaths and injuries among civilians, but did not provide any figures.

Witnesses said the cemetery was cleaned last night and blood-spattered chapel walls were white-washed.

A Timor opposition spokesman



Youths hold up blood-stained clothing that belonged to Timorese victims of the massacre by Indonesian troops.

in Lisbon said a crackdown against anti-Indonesian activists had spread to the interior of the predominantly Roman Catholic territory of 600,000 people.

In London, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign (TAPOL) said that five more people had died from injuries sustained in the massacre, taking the total to 60. It said the bodies of those who died when Indonesian troops opened fire on East Timor demonstrators at Santa Cruz cemetery had been taken to an unknown place for burial.

Families of the dead had been warned by the army "not to look for the bodies" and relatives were being denied entry to Dili General Hospital, TAPOL said.

TAPOL said several people were rounded up after massacre and taken to Kodim, the district military command, where they were knifed to death.

Of the estimated 200 taken to Powil, the Dili police headquarters, more than 100 were still in custody. Many were stripped naked, tortured and beaten, TAPOL said.

The European Community yesterday condemned the army shootings and urged Indonesia to bring those responsible to trial.

A United Nations spokesman, Mr Francois Giuliani, said a UN Human Rights Commission worker was in East Timor and would be able to provide more information later.

A US State Department spokesman said that American and other witnesses had reported that the military fired without provocation.

"Given the apparent significant

loss of life, we take this incident very seriously, and we are continuing our contacts with the Indonesian Government to express our concerns over these tragic events," he said.

A spokesman for the separatist Fretilin rebels, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, told ABC radio that President Suharto and the Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdani, would "pay for their crimes".

He said Fretilin would step up its campaign against Indonesia after the killings in Dili.

— Renter, AP, AAP

## Fresh graves a reminder of old, underlying tensions

By TERRY FRIEL,  
Hera, East Timor, Thursday

In the small public cemetery beside the Wetar Sea in Hera, 19 freshly dug graves stand out in strange contrast against the hard, dry ground of Timor.

There is no identification, nothing to say who lies in them. No one really knows.

These are the victims of Tuesday's killing in Dili, when Indonesian troops fired on a crowd of 3500 civilians.

Each freshly turned mound is

marked by a single small stone. Each stone marks a person whose death sparked an international outcry, underlining the renewed tensions between the Indonesians and the East Timorese.

In the chapel of another cemetery, Santa Cruz, 12 kilometres away in Dili, smears of blood mark the place where people huddled for shelter from the shooting.

Despite the bloodshed, Dili appears calm. It's business as

usual — people walk about as they do in any other city.

But after dark, most of those on the streets are Indonesian troops wearing camouflage gear and brandishing loaded M16 rifles.

Tension between the East Timorese and the Indonesian authorities increased dramatically over the past month.

The cancellation of a visit by a delegation from the United Nations and the Portuguese Parliament, which was to have started on 4 November, created deep bit-

terness and frustration in East Timor.

Many people believe this may have been the reason some 3500 people marched on Tuesday.

Locals spoke with caution to foreigners today, afraid that their actions were being watched by Indonesian security.

Foreign journalists who arrived to report on Tuesday's shooting were closely followed by plainclothes, pistol-armed security officers who took photographs.

"This place is very bad. This place is very ugly," one local said.

"We are afraid to go out at night because there are so many soldiers in the streets.

"But at night the soldiers come into our homes and take people anyway."

The man says those taken by Indonesian authorities are often beaten, tortured or killed.

The Indonesian military today began an energetic public relations campaign to explain Tues-

day's tragedy and convince journalists and the public of the good Indonesia has done here.

Indeed, East Timor is more wealthy and better developed than ever. But the people are unhappy.

Tuesday's carnage has widened the gap between Jakarta and Dili.

The 19 unmarked graves in this small cemetery stand as a reminder of that.

— AAP

# 15 minutes to death

Picture: BOB MUNTZ



Before the Indonesian soldiers arrived: Timorese mourners chanting slogans and waving banners in protest after a memorial service for two youths, killed by security forces a fortnight before.

## Running from the bullets

By LYN DUNLEVY

Bob Muntz sensed the danger. Indonesian soldiers clutching assault rifles and riot shields were clambering off the back of a military truck and lining up in front of the milling mourners.

He turned to leave, and started to walk quickly from DMU's Santa Cruz cemetery. Then came the burst of machinegun fire, which echoed across the cemetery, setting off a frightening stampede.

"Along with everyone else in the street, I began running as fast as I could to get out of that line of fire," he said.

As the clatter of gunfire continued, Mr Muntz dashed into a nearby housing estate. He darted through back yards, climbed over fences — and came face to face with the soldiers he was trying to escape.

The soldiers were scattered through the housing estate, pressing off bursts of automatic fire at the fleeing crowds.

"At one point, as I was moving



away from one lot of fire, I saw ahead of me, about 30 metres away, an Indonesian soldier come around the corner of a house.

"I heard — although I did not see, because as soon as I saw him I turned and ran in the other direction — I heard a small burst of fire, maybe six, maybe 10 shots. "I ran into a house and when I got in there the children inside the house started screaming and I noticed that I was covered in blood. It was my own blood."

Mr Muntz, Community Aid Abroad's South-East Asian project

officer, returned to Melbourne yesterday and gave his account of events in the East Timorese capital on Tuesday, when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on 2000 people at a memorial service for two youths shot by soldiers a fortnight before.

The first burst of gunfire unleashed by the soldiers lasted about two minutes and thousands of rounds were fired, he said. "It was not a case of isolated volleys of fire, it was not a case of single-shot weapons.

Continued: PAGE 5

### INSIDE

■ Amnesty International reports there is evidence that the shooting of Timorese mourners was "planned and deliberate".

■ The Indonesian army is condemned by the Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor over the shooting. He also accuses the army of arming "rightist terrorists" to crush the East Timor independence movement.

■ The official death toll stands at 19 with 91 wounded, but reports in East Timor say as many as 180 people were killed.

■ The United States continues its sharp criticism of the killings and the US Congress begins moves to cut military assistance to Indonesia.

■ There were emotional demonstrations in two Australian capital cities — Melbourne and Darwin — yesterday against the Indonesian Government. In Darwin more than 200 East Timorese burnt Indonesian flags and, in Melbourne, about 500 people protested in South Melbourne.

PAGE 5: Reports.

PAGE 18: Growing use of torture, says Amnesty

Picture: JOHN WOUDESTRA



Bob Muntz, Community Aid Abroad's South-East Asian project officer, after his return from Indonesia yesterday.

FROM PAGE ONE

## Amnesty International report suggests shootings were planned

By MARK METHERELL, diplomatic correspondent, Canberra

Amnesty International says that the killing of Timorese demonstrators in Dili by Indonesian soldiers appeared to be "planned and deliberate".

According to the report, the most comprehensive on the shootings, the evidence suggests that Indonesian soldiers continued firing on many demonstrators as they tried to flee.

"Some were believed to have been shot in the back while run-

ning away," the report said. "The shooting stopped and resumed several times, suggesting that it was planned and deliberate, rather than a spontaneous reaction to provocation."

The report said accounts of the number killed varied widely, with estimates ranging from 50 to 180. One witness said he saw "dozens and dozens" of bodies.

Hundreds of soldiers had approached, from two directions, the Santa Cruz cemetery, where the demonstrators had gathered. Foot soldiers formed a line at the

entrance, then opened fire on the crowd.

The report, entitled 'The Santa Cruz Massacre', said that no warning was given. "Some soldiers reportedly fired into the air but others levelled their weapons at the crowd."

"The walls of the cemetery and the large number of people made it difficult to escape, but the shooting continued even as people tried to flee ..."

The report, compiled by Amnesty's International secretariat in London, was based on information

available on Thursday from a variety of sources, including a number of witnesses, and statements by Indonesian Government and military authorities.

It said that witnesses had said the procession beforehand was peaceful, although some people had shouted pro-independence slogans and a Fretilin flag was seen.

According to one witness, a scuffle began near the Hotel Resende when a few soldiers pursued some demonstrators and beat them with truncheons. The marchers retaliated by throwing stones and shouting, but no injuries were reported.

Witnesses said demonstration organisers exerted considerable efforts to ensure discipline.

"The shooting took place five to 10 minutes after the crowd had reached the cemetery ... Eyewitnesses said that hundreds of soldiers, carrying M-16 automatic weapons and wearing brown uniforms, approach the cemetery on foot from one direction, while a smaller group, possibly of the paramilitary Police Mobile Brigade (Brimob), arrived in trucks from another direction.

"As the soldiers approached,

there was considerable tension; people in the cemetery began spontaneously to move away from them in fear.

"According to eyewitnesses, the foot soldiers marched to the entrance of the cemetery, formed a line about 12 abreast, then opened fire on the crowd."

The report said unofficial reports suggested that as many as 300 people were detained after the killings. One man who was released from Dili police headquarters said many had been tortured or ill-treated in custody.

Amnesty called for an investigation under the auspices of an international body such as the United Nations special rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions.

It said that while Indonesian military authorities had expressed regret and had promised to investigate, they had tried to justify the massacre by claiming that the security forces used force when attacked by "rioters".

"Eyewitnesses have stated categorically that the procession was peaceful and that the soldiers opened fire without warning and without provocation."

"It was a case of sustained automatic weapons fire from many guns for a full two minutes into a crowded street that had almost a thousand people in it with no possibility of cover."

Mr Muntz had attended the 6 am church service for the two youths and had followed the rally to the cemetery, but at no time did he see any provocative behavior by the mourners.

"For all the time I was with the rally, and certainly for the last half of it, I observed an orderly crowd of people enthusiastically chanting their slogans, displaying their banners but doing nothing that could be described in any way as provocative towards the Indonesians," he said.

There was no doubt the attack was premeditated, unprovoked and well planned, Mr Muntz said. "I can say ... categorically that the claims of the Indonesian forces are nothing but lies designed to cover up the most appalling atrocity that has been perpetrated on the people of East Timor for many years."

After the shooting stopped, Mr Muntz said, he took shelter in the house of a local Timorese where the owner roughly bandaged his wounded arm. The man, who spoke no English, motioned for him to hide, and left him alone.

Mr Muntz said the man returned with a Red Cross officer, who offered to take him to the local hospital. But he declined, fearing he might be arrested. Instead, he waited some time before returning to his hotel in Dili and arranged for the wound to be stitched by a Timorese nurse.

Mr Muntz said a reliable source, whom he could not name for fear of endangering the person's life, had told him that Indonesian military authorities had put the final death toll from the shootings at 97; 84 people had been killed at the cemetery, he had been told, and 13 had died later in hospital.

Mr Muntz said he had also been given graphic accounts of events at the cemetery from two British tourists who were trapped there during the shootings.

One of the British tourists, who had been photographing the rally, told him he had hidden in the Santa Cruz chapel during the shootings, but was discovered by soldiers after the shooting. He was dragged outside and beaten with rifle butts and fists by the soldiers, who demanded to know why he was taking pictures of the event.

The second tourist, who took shelter behind a gravestone in the cemetery, told of watching soldiers turn their gunfire on hundreds of people who ran into the cemetery to escape the shooting in the street. This tourist said the soldiers later entered the cemetery and beat and kicked about 100 injured people lying on the ground.

## E Timor Governor blames Indon army

By MOSES MANOHARAN, Dili, Friday

The Indonesian-appointed Governor of East Timor has condemned the Indonesian Army for opening fire on crowds of mourners this week and accused it of arming "rightist terrorists" to crush the independence movement in the former Portuguese colony.

"I blame the armed forces," Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao told reporters last night in his office in Dili.

The Governor's remarks, which will seriously embarrass Jakarta, were made as the United States stepped up its criticism of the massacre and moves began in the US Congress to cut military assistance to Indonesia.

According to reports in Dili, as many as 180 people were killed when troops fired into a crowd of thousands of mourners at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on Tuesday. The official death toll stands at 19, with 81 wounded.

The Portuguese newsagency Lusa quoted Timorese sources as saying that the army had dug mass graves in an open area outside Dili and taken four truckloads of bodies there.

Mr Carrascalao said most of the 3500 Timorese who had gathered at the cemetery were innocent people mourning Sebastiao Gomes, a student killed last month in clashes between pro and anti-Indonesian activists.

"We are all in mourning because they are innocent people who died." Actual demonstrators numbered only about 1000, he said.

Troops should have controlled the crowd long before it reached the cemetery, said the Governor,



Mr John da Silva: two brothers and a cousin were killed in the Dili shootings.

who is an East Timorese appointed by Jakarta but with no control over the military.

He accused the local military commander, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, of failing to assess the threat and condemned his year-old strategy for putting down the insurgency against Indonesia's rule over East Timor's 750,000 people.

The Governor attacked employment by the security forces of "rightists" who he said often made use of their weapons and training to settle old scores.

"They are bandits and terrorists, the extreme right," Mr Carrascalao said. "The weakness in the armed forces is in accepting these people."

Speaking to reporters separately yesterday, General Warouw

said his men began shooting when the crowd at the cemetery advanced threateningly. But he admitted there had been confusion.

A junior officer told his troops to hold their fire after someone lobbed an unarmed grenade. But they started shooting.

In Washington, the State Department yesterday called in Indonesia's ambassador to urge that those responsible be punished.

The State Department spokesman, Mr Richard Boucher, said: "We're urging a prompt and complete investigation, followed by appropriate disciplining of those determined to have used excessive force."

"We believe that nothing that may have taken place could justify a military reaction of this magnitude, resulting in such a large loss of life by unarmed civilians."

The chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, Senator Claiborne Pell, also condemned the killing and called for a cut in US military aid to Indonesia.

Mr Boucher said President Bush's administration has asked for \$US2.3 million (\$A2.94 million) this year to train members of the Indonesian military.

The Federal Opposition said yesterday that the call by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, for Indonesia to negotiate with the East Timorese raised questions about Australia's recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

The Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Senator Hill, also said that the Dili killings reinforced in the mind of Australians the different values between Australia and Indonesia and made it harder for Australia to integrate with its region.



An East Timorese woman screams her protests past a Darwin police cordon, formed to protect the Indonesian consulate.

## Horrified East Timorese gather to protest and mourn

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY and KAY ANSELL

The horror of the Dili shootings has rocked Darwin's East Timorese community as they have desperately sought news of the fate of family and friends.

For John da Silva, a 31-year-old naturalised Australian, a telephone call to his mother early on Thursday confirmed the death of two brothers and a cousin, and the imprisonment, after army beatings, of two of his other brothers.

Half the male members of his

family are now dead or under arrest.

"I saw them in June when I went home for a holiday, but now they are dead. I am frightened for the rest of my family, but what can I do? Even when I was there I was followed by secret police," he said.

In Darwin yesterday, more than 200 East Timorese had emotional protests outside the Northern Territory Government offices and Indonesian consulate.

The protesters, who burnt Indonesian flags and laid wreaths and candles in symbolic gestures, lay

down to form a chain of 130 bodies, stretching almost 100 metres, on the road outside the NT House government building.

About 100 later marched three kilometres to the Indonesian consulate in suburban Stuart Park. Angry youths attacked the locked doors of the consulate, but were prevented by police from forcing their way into the building.

In Melbourne, about 500 people gathered in South Melbourne to protest against the Timor killings and to mourn for friends and relatives.

Mr Abel Guterez, a spokesman for the East Timorese community, told the demonstration that the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, must use the skills he employed to achieve peace in Cambodia to help the people of East Timor.

Mr Guterez demanded that the United Nations send a team to investigate the deaths.

Some people wept after seeing a symbolic re-enactment of the massacre. Among those most affected was Shirley Shackleton, the widow of Greg Shackleton, killed during the invasion of East Timor 16 years ago.

# AUSSIE TELLS OF MASSACRE

By SCOTT GULLAN  
AN AUSTRALIAN aid worker yesterday told how he was caught in the crossfire of Tuesday's blood-bath in East Timor.

"I began running as fast as I could to get out of that line of fire," Community Aid Abroad worker Bob Muntz said.

Only hours after returning to Melbourne, Mr Muntz described the massacre of 100 civilians at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery.

"I guess you could measure the number of gunshots in the thousands not hundreds," he said.

"It was a case of sustained automatic weapon fire from many guns for a full two minutes into a crowded street that had almost a thousand people in it with no possibility of cover."

Mr Muntz said he walked about 500m ahead of the 2000 marchers who were carrying political banners and chanting.

"All the time I was with the rally I observed an orderly crowd of people enthusiastically chanting their slogans, but could see nothing that could be described as provocative," he said.

Within minutes of demonstrators arriving at the cemetery, a military vehicle with more than 20 armed soldiers in full riot gear appeared.



● Bob Muntz nurses his injury yesterday ... "I ran as fast as I could". Picture: ROBERT CAREW

to his left arm. The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday Indonesia should reconsider its policy on East Timor.

He repeated his threat to cancel a planned visit in February unless the Indonesians dealt with those responsible for the killings.

"The Indonesians should sit down and reflect and say well obviously they haven't won the minds and the hearts of the people of East Timor," Mr Hawke said on ABC radio.

Indonesian ambassador Mr Sabam Siagian told the Foreign Affairs Department yesterday there would be a full investigation into the killings.

The first secretary at Australia's Jakarta embassy, Mr David Binns, will return to Jakarta this weekend after spending several days in Dili investigating the massacre.

Meanwhile, Canberra's Trades and Labor Council will set up a picket line outside the Indonesian embassy on Monday.

A spokesman said the council would ask the ACTU to consider bans on trade with Indonesia.

"I was very apprehensive for my own safety but decided to stay because we thought the presence of several Westerners taking photographs might deter the military from beating up the demonstrators," Mr Muntz said.

He said he began to walk away but had only taken 20 paces when he heard

weapon fire. He said he then ran for his life through yards and over fences before running into a house.

"When I got in there, the children started screaming and I then noticed I was covered in blood," Mr Muntz said.

The social worker suffered a minor flesh wound

Herald Sun, 16 November 1991

## Smuggled film shows horror of massacre at the Dili cemetery

By JILL JOLLIFFE,  
Amsterdam, Sunday

A siren wails, shots ring out and there is a scene of total panic as youths scramble to escape the hail of gunfire. They run screaming through the gates of the walled cemetery, mostly boys of about 16 or 17.

As the shots continue, a pile of bodies builds up — of those who have stumbled at the cemetery gate and are struggling desperately to get free.

A woman takes cover behind a gravestone as a youth running behind her clutches his leg in agony. He has been shot. The shots, the siren and the screams are unceasing.

In the small chapel within the cemetery, a group of boys huddle, raising clenched fists and shouting defiance.

This is the 12 November Dili massacre, the film version, smuggled out of East Timor by Yorkshire film producer Peter Gordon and shown first to a shocked Dutch public on Saturday night on Ikon-TV's weekly current affairs program.

Earlier, Dutch media representatives had gathered at Amsterdam airport to meet the latest foreigner to emerge from Dili after the shootings.

Saskia Krouwenberg fell into

the arms of friends and wept bitterly on arrival. Indonesian officials had twice attempted to drag her back down the gangway of the regular commercial flight to Denpasar on Wednesday, the day after the massacre. It was only the intervention of the UN's rapporteur on torture, Mr Peter Kooijmans, who was on the same plane, that persuaded them to let her board.

The Indonesian suspicion that she might have seen too much led the Dutch embassy in Jakarta to place her under their protection and escort her to the plane to Amsterdam.

"In fact I didn't see what happened at the cemetery," she said, "but I had a clear description of it from those who were there and I think there may have been hundreds killed."

She was in her hotel at the time. When she heard the news she set off in a frantic search for her friends. "At the bishop's house there were about 40 boys and a few girls, not severely wounded. Then at another clinic I saw about 15 people who were more seriously wounded, and then there were about 20 to 25 at the Red Cross. There must have been many more at the general hospital and the military hospital. I heard there were hundreds and hundreds of wounded."

She said that, soon after the shootings, soldiers blocked off the streets, forbidding access to the military hospital where the dead were reportedly taken.

Ms Krouwenberg said her only knowledge of what happened to the bodies was from a woman who said she saw a truck with bodies piled on it pass through the city centre.

The Yorkshire TV film showed earlier parts of the demonstration which ended in death. It showed around 1000 Timorese receiving communion from a priest at the Motael church. They later marched across town to the Santa Cruz cemetery. As they did so, they unfurled banners of the Fretilin and UDT parties, the flag of the armed resistance and a portrait of the guerrilla leader Xanana.

They chanted slogans and raised V signs, but there was no evidence of any incidents along the route.

Indeed the military was not in sight, and appeared to have emerged en masse from a hiding place when they swarmed down on the cemetery. Ms Krouwenberg did testify that she travelled on the Dili-Denpasar plane sitting next to a badly injured Indonesian soldier receiving constant medical attention. She thought he might be dying.

The Age, 18 November 1991

# Survivors hid in crypts and prayed

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY

DARWIN: An English photographer, Mr Stephen Cox, who was present at the massacre in Dili last Tuesday, said yesterday he was lucky to be alive after being trapped for 30 minutes in a crypt in the Santa Cruz Cemetery as Indonesian troops mowed down East Timorese demonstrators with automatic weapons.

"I was in the crypt with dozens of people, with children as young as six or seven piled on top of each other, cowering and reciting prayers over and over again," he said.

"As the military moved around the cemetery, firing, people dragged themselves into the crypts bleeding and dying."

Mr Cox, 29, and an Australian radio journalist, Mr Russell Anderson, 31, arrived in Darwin at the weekend after having to force their way on to a plane at Dili Airport last Wednesday to flee East Timor to get to the relative safety of Kupang.

Both men were present at the memorial service and street march in which an unknown number of East Timorese were killed by Indonesian soldiers.

They confirmed that there were hundreds of bodies on the ground in the cemetery and the street outside.

According to Mr Anderson, who was outside the cemetery, its three-metre-high walls would have prevented all but the fittest from escaping: "They were trapped like rats."

Mr Cox said Indonesian soldiers had dragged him out of the crypt: "After half an hour, they came and dragged the kids out. Many were injured, with head wounds, wounds all over their bodies."

"An Indonesian soldier wearing plain clothes saw me and yelled at me, saying, 'What are you doing here, what are you doing here? You've seen everything!' I tried to reply but he yelled, 'Shut your mouth, I saved you'."

"As I was being frogmarched out to a truck, I can confirm from the limited view I had that I saw at least 60 bodies. The military were dragging them by the feet with their heads bouncing on the ground and piling them on to trucks."

"I was beaten in the truck and then thrown out at a police station on the outskirts of Dili. I was just praying to get out. Before they dumped me at the police station, they stole all my money but left me with my camera and film."

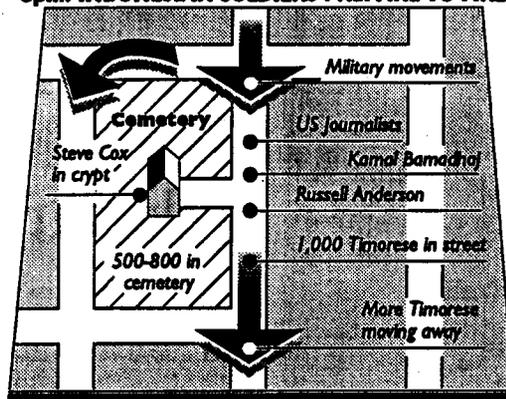
Mr Anderson, a resident of Darwin, said yesterday that Indonesian reports of provocation and use of weapons by East Timorese on the march were false.

"In fact, the opposite was the



Mr Anderson, left, and Mr Cox ... lucky to be alive.

## 8pm: INDONESIAN SOLDIERS PREPARE TO FIRE



## Malaysian burial for student victim

KUALA LUMPUR: The body of a Malaysian student, Kamal Bamadhaj, killed when Indonesian troops fired on mourners in East Timor, was transported from Dili on Saturday and buried in a Muslim cemetery near here.

Mr Kamal was among 19 people listed by the Indonesian authorities as killed.

Members of a Malaysian-based human rights group, Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), who attended the funeral, said Mr Kamal was "properly laid to rest according to Islamic rites".

The Malaysian Government has made no official comment on the incident.

Mr Kamal, who was studying in Australia, was reportedly working in East Timor as a translator for Community Aid Abroad.

case," he said. "The march from the Motael Church was orderly, and youth attendants on the march linked arms to slow down the marchers and keep anything getting out of hand."

"There was absolutely no physical provocation, no arms

displayed. Not one of the seven foreigners on the march saw any rock, knife or stick."

Outside the cemetery, the military had closed off the route and started jogging towards the crowd, he said.

"People started moving away from them, and then the soldiers opened fire. There was a rain of bullets, rapid automatic fire for two or three minutes as they chased demonstrators ... a lot would have been shot in the back. They were like butchers ... they didn't seem to have any human instincts."

Mr Anderson said he had seen two American journalists, Mr Allan Naim and Ms Amy Goodman, just south of the demonstrators, huddled against a wall as they sought refuge. They had urged the student Mr Kamal Bamadhaj to stay with them but he had moved back into the crowd.

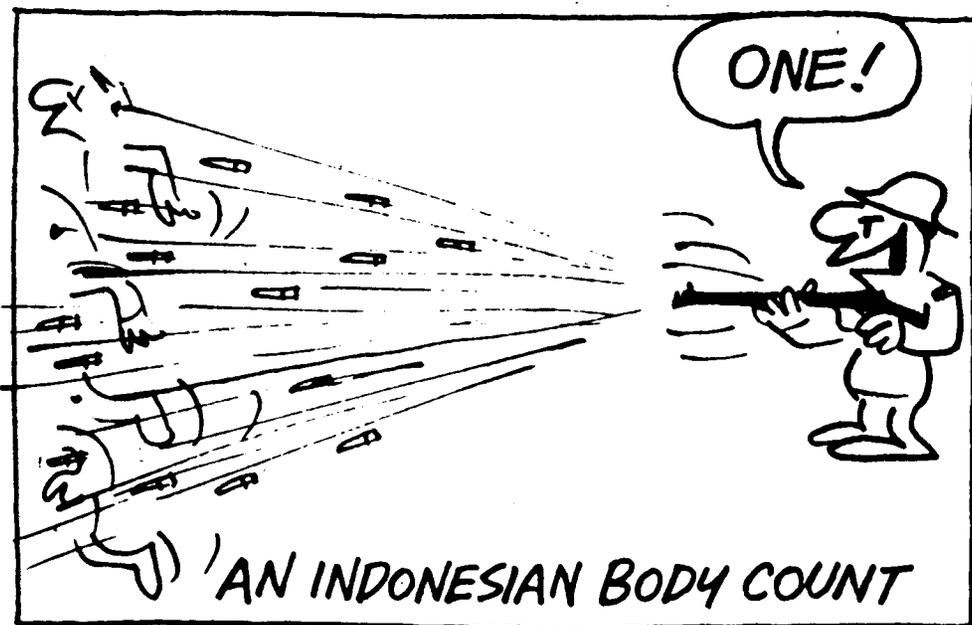
"He was in the front line of demonstrators and didn't stand a chance," Mr Anderson said.

He had also heard accounts of truckloads of dead and wounded being taken away.

"Many were taken to jail rather than to hospital," he said.

Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1991

# The Aftermath



# Leader slams tough Indon army tactics

DILI — The East Timor Governor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, last night condemned the Indonesian army for opening fire on crowds of mourners.

He accused it of arming "Rightist terrorists" to crush an independence movement in the former Portuguese colony.

According to local reports as many as 180 people were killed when

troops fired into thousands of mourners at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on Tuesday.

The official death toll stands at 19 with 91 wounded.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted Timorese sources as saying the army had dug mass graves outside Dili and taken four truckloads of bodies there.

Mr Carrascalao said most of the 3500 Timorese who had gathered at the cemetery were innocent

people mourning Sebastio Gomes, a student who was killed last month in clashes between pro and anti-Indonesian activists.

He accused local military commander Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw of failing to assess the threat and condemned his year-old strategy for putting down the insurgency against Indonesian rule.

The Governor attacked employment by the security forces of "Rightists" whom he said were "bandits and terrorists".

Indonesia's armed forces commander has promised an investigation and the United Nations secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has demanded it be thorough and credible.

Yesterday Brig-Gen. Warouw said his men began shooting when the crowd at the cemetery was advancing threateningly.

A junior officer told his troops to hold their fire after someone lobbed an unarmed grenade, but they started shooting.

It is not clear why the Government waited until yesterday to announce the official death toll when authorities in Dili said the 19 dead were buried two days earlier.

Mr Carrascalao said the military's so-called territorial approach of using troops in civilian roles had been a failure in urban centres like Dili.

In other developments yesterday:

• A New Zealand diplomat flew to Dili to search for the body of New Zealander Kamal Bamadhal, the only foreigner known to have been killed.

• The Indonesian press called for an impartial and thorough investigation into the shooting.

• A team from the US embassy in Jakarta has gone to East Timor and US Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has condemned the killings and called for a cut in US military aid to Indonesia.

By MOSES MANOHARAN

DILI — East Timorese mourned victims of the army shooting in Dili at a memorial service yesterday and said they feared for their safety as troops tightened security around the capital.

"Everyone is afraid of being arrested or being killed after what happened last Tuesday," one mourner said. "They were praying when the army opened fire. This means even God cannot save you from the Indonesian army."

In Canberra, the Federal Government was today awaiting an updated report on the massacre from a senior Australian diplomat who has been in East Timor investigating the killings.

The Australian Embassy's first secretary for political affairs, David Binns, was expected back in Jakarta today after five days in Dili preparing a general report on last Tuesday's massacre in which up to 100 people died.

Local reports put the death toll at up to 180 after the army opened fire on mourners at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery. The official figure is 19 dead and 91 wounded. The incident has sparked international outrage.

The crowd had been marking the death two weeks previously of an East Timorese killed in clashes between pro and anti-Indonesian activists.

East Timor governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao has blamed the army and accused it of arming Rightist terrorists to crush attempts to break away from Jakarta's rule.

At her home in Dili yesterday, 55-year-old Carolina da Silva sobbed: "They killed my son as he was praying to our God."

A photograph of 18-year-old Francis da Silva lay on a table with plastic flowers

## Locals fear reprisal

and candles. Behind was a crucifix and three medals he had won for body-building.

His six sisters and five brothers were quietly weeping for the final-year high school student who had been the hope of the family.

Relatives said the only wage earner in the family of 13 was a sister whose salary was \$A74 a month.

Soldiers patrolled roads outside the house and set up checkpoints on the approaches to Dili. They stopped vehicles travelling to Tasitolo about six kilometres from Dili, warning journalists against straying too far from the area.

Rumours were rife among Timorese that troops had buried scores of other victims in a dried lake bed.

A shepherd said he had been walking along a road on Tuesday when two military trucks went by laden with bodies.

"We could see the heads through the open back of the trucks and our friends said the soldiers took the bodies out and buried them in Tebor (further along the road from Tasitolo)."

East Timor's military commander said the shooting was the result of a misunderstanding over a command. He said a junior

officer had shouted "Don't shoot" when faced with a crowd of more than 3000 mourners who appeared to be advancing threateningly.

"If it was a mistake they sure took their time to correct it," a diplomat said. One witness said troops fired continuously into the crowd for at least five minutes.

An Australian aid worker who witnessed the shooting said in Melbourne that official explanations of what happened were untrue. He called the incident "premeditated, well-orchestrated and unprovoked".

Indonesia has come under sharp international criticism for the killings. Diplomats from Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Britain and Japan have flown into East Timor to try to check the various versions of what happened.

They were joined yesterday by an official from the US State Department, which has expressed serious concern about the human rights situation in East Timor, diplomatic sources said.

Diplomats say up to 200,000 people in Timor have died from war or famine under Indonesian rule. The present population is 750,000.

Herald Sun, 16 November 1991

Herald Sun, 17 November 1991

## A moment of terror frozen



Images of a slaughter: young Timorese men fleeing the scene of the Dili massacre are captured on film smuggled out of East Timor by a Yorkshire Television producer, Mr Peter Gordon. The film of the massacre includes footage of youths being shot, people ducking for cover and sounds of screaming and panic. It was first shown on Dutch television on Saturday.

## Second massacre feared

By MARK METHERELL  
and JOHN MASANAUSKAS

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said last night that the Government was investigating allegations of a second attack by Indonesian forces in Dili in which up to 60 Timorese were reported to have been arrested and executed last Friday.

Mr Hawke said no information was available to the Government about the reports.

Diplomatic and non-Government sources in Jakarta late yesterday told 'The Age' they had received no evidence to substantiate the assertions by the Timorese community in Australia of another massacre in Dili.

But the Timorese Action Committee in Australia said that Indonesian troops were rounding up and killing survivors of last week's massacre before an inquiry started.

The committee demanded that the Federal Government urgently send a team of independent observers to Dili to monitor any inquiry.

But a committee spokesman, Mr Abel Gutierrez, said in a statement that nothing short of a United Nations investigation would suffice.

He had received a report yesterday morning that four army trucks containing up to 70 people were seen heading west from Dili. "The people were naked, blindfolded, with their hands tied behind their backs," he said.

'The Age' was unable to contact Mr Gutierrez yesterday to confirm when the alleged incident took place.

The Government is expected to receive a report by this morning from the first secretary at the embassy in Jakarta, Mr David Binns, who went to Dili to investigate last Tuesday's killings, in which between 50 and 180 are thought to have died. Mr Binns returned to Jakarta yesterday.

Australian sources say that Mr Binns has no evidence to support suggestions of a second attack.

The embassy has sent a third secretary, Mr Mark Napier, to monitor events in Dili, taking over from Mr Binns.

An Australian Government spokesman yesterday welcomed the Indonesian Government's announcement of a broadly based national investigation commission into Tuesday's kill-

ings but urged a full and open inquiry and publication of its findings.

The Australian representative of the East Timorese resistance movement, Fretilin, Mr Alfredo Ferreira, described the investigating commission as "a big joke".

The commission will comprise a Supreme Court judge and senior officials from Government departments, military headquarters and the legislature.

Mr Ferreira said the commission members all came from the same groups within the Indonesian hierarchy. "It is not a democracy. How can we trust them?"

He said that while Mr Hawke had shown some concern, this was not enough and this was because Australia had tied its hands by signing the Timor Gap treaty with Indonesia.

The statement by the Timorese Action Committee said other Timorese community members had received information from terrified relatives in Dili that more killings were occurring.

# Dili massacre gives Church upper hand

By MOSES MANOHARAN in Dili

LAST week's East Timor massacre has brought Indonesian authorities to the brink of defeat in a 16-year struggle with the Catholic Church for the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor, sources said yesterday.

The director of Indonesia's Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Mr Jusuf Wanandi, said the incident was a setback for Indonesia and called for a thorough investigation into Tuesday's bloodbath.

"Without a thorough investigation, we would be in the same league with the Chinese, who acted as if nothing happened after the June 1989 killings in Tienanmen Square," Mr Wanandi said.

Members of the United States Congress yesterday condemned the Indonesian action and introduced resolutions urging a suspension of US military aid to Indonesia.

The European Community also condemned the killings and called for an open and thorough investigation of the incident.

At the heart of the problem is government policy for integrating into

and justice secured the loyalty of the East Timorese.

He attacked the military for creating conditions that led to Tuesday's shootings.

The military armed and trained extreme rightists supporting the merger with Indonesia as part of a strategy called a territorial approach to curb anti-Indonesia activists who had been inspired by Fretilin guerrillas, he said.

In the process, rightists employed the feared security police to settle private scores and divided the people of East Timor, he added.

"In all this, the military is seen as the villain, the Church the refuge," said an official.

East Indonesia's military commander, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, has defended the army's controversial strategy of the territorial approach, which also enlists Timorese in militias to liaise between the people and the military.

Mr Carrascalao said the policy had only succeeded in the villages, not in Dili, and he advised the army to stop recruiting Timorese, who have a long history of fighting among themselves.

Under Indonesian rule, the number of schools in East Timor has risen from 70 to 575, boosting literacy, which was only 8 per cent under Portugal.

But Mr Carrascalao said there were no jobs for the graduates and the per-capita annual income, \$US150 (\$191.24), almost four times that of the colonial era, was only a fraction of the rest of Indonesia.

Analysts say economic development has brought better-educated migrants from other parts of the country who have pushed aside the East Timorese, exacerbating anti-Indonesian sentiment.

The unifying force in East Timor is the Church, whose reach is reflected in the shrines and statues of Christ and the Virgin Mary dotting the territory and the power of the priests who arbitrate social disputes among the people.

"People follow the Church blindly. The army will fail if it doesn't listen to the Church," Mr Carrascalao said.

General Sintong has threatened to close a church-run school, the only one in the territory teaching Portuguese.

Analysts say that would force the two sides into a showdown which the military was certain to lose in terms of winning the sympathy of the people.

"It's a difficult time for optimism," Mr Carrascalao said.

Reuters

## Military seen as villain

Muslim-dominated Indonesia the territory of 750,000 people who are mainly dark-skinned, passionately Catholic and whose cultural outlook is still orientated towards Portugal.

Jakarta has used the military to implement development projects including the building of roads, schools and hospitals in efforts to merge the Timorese with the rest of Indonesia's population, mostly lighter skinned with a strong Muslim or Hindu cultural outlook.

Analysts say that while economic development has brought the territory into the modern world, the dominance of the military, consistently accused by international human rights groups of brutality against the East Timorese, has only deepened dissatisfaction with Indonesia's presence.

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, said yesterday: "We have even built more churches than them (the Catholic clergy). I have lost some credibility. The army has lost some credibility ... some or all."

But he admitted it did not dent the authority of the Church, whose greater sensitivity to social problems

# Governor to quit if Timor inquiry biased

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON and agencies

EAST Timor's Governor threatened yesterday to resign if there was a cover-up in the Indonesian government investigation into last Tuesday's army shootings at the Santa Cruz cemetery in which up to 100 people died.

East Timor-born Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said: "If the results are not objective, people here would no longer trust our Government. If ... they are not objective I will resign from the governorship."

But the special representative of the Fretilin resistance movement, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, gave *The Australian* last night more details on a second mass execution alleged to have happened at the very time senior government figures were promising the inquiry into the first massacre.

He said 80 young East Timorese were stripped naked, blindfolded, and their hands and feet bound before being executed by a firing squad of hooded Indonesian soldiers.

Asked about the claim, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said last night: "There is no

information available to the Government at this stage but our embassy is pursuing inquiries about it."

Indonesian military spokesman Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro yesterday denied the charges that troops had executed the 80 prisoners.

"The report is a big lie. ABRI (the Indonesian armed forces) is not that brutal because East Timorese are also Indonesians," Brigadier General Nurhadi told the official Antara news agency.

Mr Horta said the second massacre happened at a remote setting outside Dili on Friday and had been confirmed by a contact in East Timor with whom he had spoken at the weekend.

Mr Horta, in Paris to lobby Western governments to push for UN Security Council action against Indonesia, said the incident showed "what a complete farce the so-called investigation is".

"These are the same people who orchestrated the killings. It is the same as asking Pol Pot to investigate the crimes of the Khmer Rouge."

"We totally oppose it. We denounce it completely."

Mr Horta said he had spoken to his informant at the weekend, and was given a detailed rundown of what took place near the village of Bemos.

"Eighty prisoners, most of them young people, were executed on November 15. The prisoners were taken in four trucks from Indonesian military bases in Talbesse and Manteuana to Bemos, which is several miles outside Dili."

"The military forced the prisoners to strip naked, tied their hands and their feet, and blindfolded their eyes. They were thrown into the trucks, and the trucks were covered with canvas so that nobody would see the cargo."

"At Bemos, the prisoners were placed on the edge of special ditches that had been expressly opened for the purpose. They were all machine-gunned. There were several volleys of fire."

"The military which executed this massacre had their heads covered by hoods, so that they would not be identified. But my source said they belonged to battalions 700 and 744."

Mr Horta said he also understood many dozens of prisoners had been taken from East Timor to the West Timorese capital of Kupang.

"We believe Indonesia is seeking to hide them from foreign missions and the International Red Cross," Mr Horta said.

He also claimed the Indonesian military was stopping the Red Cross and church representatives from having access to the wounded in hospitals.

"Many are dying, not from lack of medication, but because the military is preventing doctors from treating the people," he said.

The Minister for Shipping, Senator Collins, yesterday called on his federal ministry colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, to offer medical assistance for wounded survivors of last Tuesday's massacre.

Senator Collins said he had asked Senator Evans's office if it could move quickly on the matter.

More reports — Page 7

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"These are the same people who orchestrated the killings. It is the same as asking Pol Pot to investigate the crimes

## EAST TIMOR

# The mirror that speaks in whispers

In an East Timor village, **Moses Manoharan** finds many of the problems that afflict the abandoned Portuguese colony.

**T**HE impoverished town of Liquica, by the shimmering tropical sea, mirrors the triumphs and failures of the Indonesian army in its battle to win the hearts of the people of East Timor.

The women talk in whispers of the people gunned down by the army in Dili on 12 November. Some live in fear of their lives.

In the heart of Liquica, a school the military helped improve bustles with the activity of neatly dressed children.

"We can build schools and hospitals, but what about freedom of the spirit and the soul?" asks Father Rafael dos Santos, the Roman Catholic priest of Liquica's church.

Father Rafael said life for Liquica's 5000 people was different under the Portuguese, who left in 1975 after three centuries of colonial rule. Indonesian troops moved in the same year,

and the territory was annexed in 1976. "Now we live under pressure," the 47-year-old priest said.

Witnesses said youths were being rounded up and questioned about their movements on 12 November, when the army opened fire on 3500 mourners who had met at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili to mourn a youth killed in clashes between pro- and anti-Indonesian factions.

The army says 19 died in the firing, with about 90 injured.

"We heard that more than 180 people died. We are afraid to talk to you because of the army," said a widow. Her husband disappeared after Indonesian troops swept in as civil war broke out in 1975 to stop an independence movement.

A seamstress earning the equivalent of \$43.20 a week to feed her six children, she lives in a house with a tin

roof, four pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and two beds.

The woman, of mixed Timorese and Portuguese blood, wonders how she will feed seven children as she waits for her jobless husband after another fruitless day's search for work. Her eighth child feeds at her breast.

She, like the other women of the town, is a staunch follower of the Roman Catholic Church, which forbids contraceptives that are used in other parts of Muslim-dominated Indonesia to keep the birth rate down.

To her and many others, the Indonesian language is more foreign than Portuguese. Older residents speak with nostalgia about Portuguese rule, but their views conflict with statistics of a huge increase in per capita income and the number of schools, hospitals and roads since 1975.

Gabriel is a symbol of the success of that change. Picked up by the military and put through school, the 24-year-old is now employed on one of the many military road projects. He is smartly dressed, unlike many of the youths in town who wander the streets

with dirty jeans and unkempt hair.

"They made my life," he said in fluent Indonesian, adding that he hoped Timorese would soon begin accepting Indonesian rule and try to benefit from it.

Even so, he is stopped at a military outpost at the edge of the town where he gets a special interrogation by a fellow Timorese, Fase, a second lieutenant who is part of the military's controversial territorial approach.

The strategy, by which locals were recruited for a dreaded militia, has been denounced by East Timor governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao as a failure that sets Timorese against Timorese, and which laid the foundations for the violence at the cemetery.

"Yes, we have rounded up many young men, but it was not because of Fretilin but because they were drunk or fighting," Fase said, conceding the problems could be caused by unemployment.

Fretilin is the East Timorese guerrilla movement fighting for independence. Diplomats said that the number of guerrillas had dwindled to

less than 100, and that it was a brutal army rule and lack of economic opportunity that had deepened the hatred of Jakarta's rule.

A foreign nun in East Timor for several years said people like Fase often settled personal scores by wrongly accusing their enemies of being linked to Fretilin. This had fuelled hatred between East Timorese.

She said the Indonesians had contributed to the problem by insisting, as everywhere else in Indonesia, that everyone declare a formal religion.

Animists overnight became Christians, since it was the religion they had heard about from the missionaries. It swelled the ranks of the territory's Catholics, who formed only 27 per cent of the population in 1972, to more than 90 per cent.

"I'm afraid the Christians here have learned the message of the Old Testament, an eye for an eye, not the one in the New Testament — turn the other cheek," the nun said. "It is now necessary for the army to remain to prevent Timorese from killing each other."

Reuters

# Timorese Governor berates Jakarta

By correspondents in Lisbon, Dili and Jakarta

AS Indonesian officials continued accusing foreign media of causing and exaggerating the recent blood-bath in East Timor, the province's Governor accused the Jakarta Government of being ill-informed about the issue.

Governor Mario Carrascalao said he had just returned to East Timor from talks with the ministers of defence and the interior and the head of the armed forces in Jakarta.

"They are not very well informed," he told the Lisbon daily, *Publico*. "They have only been told half-truths."

"The massacre was not something that happened on the spur of the moment. There were antecedents," said Mr Carrascalao, who had threatened to resign after the shooting unless Jakarta held a full inquiry and brought to book those responsible.

"Things that happened here in Dili, especially at night, with groups of masked men who fought and created an

## 'Pick-up truck full of corpses'

effective curfew. There was low-level interference by the Indonesians which in fact created problems."

Timorese opposition groups have accused the Indonesian army of setting up a clandestine militia in Dili, which they accuse of secret arrests and killings.

The death toll from the massacre, in which between 50 and 100 Timorese were shot dead by troops during a peaceful funeral procession, has still not been confirmed. There have also been unconfirmed reports of later killings of Timorese who were witnesses to the massacre.

Mr Carrascalao said he had seen a truckful of corpses after the funeral procession shootings.

"I saw with my own eyes 91 wounded - 20 to 30 seriously - in the military hospital and eight seriously wounded in the civilian hospital, and a pick-up truck full of corpses. I can't say how many," he said.

The Indonesian dissident group, the Petition of 50, said the Jakarta Government and its forces were prone to using guns instead of handling such demonstrations humanely.

The Vatican said at the weekend the deaths could

have totalled 200 and took what it called a "diplomatic step" to protest about the brutal repression of independence demonstrations in East Timor.

The Pope had added his personal protest last week when meeting the new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican, the papal spokesman Cardinal Joaquin Navarro, said.

He said the "painful events of last November 12 profoundly struck the Holy See".

However, East Timor's Catholic bishop, Bishop Carlos Belo, yesterday accused pro-independence rebels of trying to use the church for political purposes in demonstrations.

Bishop Belo earlier had charged that troops shot defenceless students in suppressing the anti-Indonesian protest in Dili. However, in a statement yesterday, he declared: "We do not want the church used for a political purpose."

"There have been attempts by a certain group to use the church for a purpose that has nothing to do with religion," he said, in a reference to leftist Fretilin guerrillas.

Indonesia's Co-ordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs, Mr Sudomo, said Jakarta should not be afraid to face foreign pressure over East Timor.

He pointed to past threats by foreign countries to cut off or reduce aid to Indonesia that did not materialise, such as in the wake of the February 1990 executions of four presidential guards involved in a failed communist-backed coup attempt in 1985.

The Police Chief of Dili, Colonel Ishak Kodijat, was quoted yesterday as saying that 29 of 41 Timorese detained after the funeral procession would be freed soon after further interrogation. About 12 of those detained would remain in custody.

● In a clear hint to President Suharto, a leading executive of the Democratic Party of Indonesia has called for limiting the length of time an Indonesian may serve as president to 10 years.

"Therefore the dynamism of the highest leadership of our State should be adjusted by not allowing it to last more than 10 consecutive years," the *Merdeka* daily quoted Mr Kwik Kian Gie as saying.

Reuters, AFP, AP

# 'Shoot on sight' orders to Indon troops

JAKARTA: Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital of Dili have been ordered to shoot on sight masked men roaming the city's streets at night and raiding homes.

"I have ordered members of the Indonesian armed forces [ABRI] to shoot the masked gangsters on the spot if the troops meet them," local military chief Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw said.

Pro-independence rebels have accused ABRI of supporting the gangs, which independence sources say roam the streets at night and are responsible for beatings, abductions, torture and killings.

The army strongly denies the allegations.

General Warouw said he was not certain of the existence of such gangs.

"I don't know; I have never seen them, hence I don't know whether it's true or not," he said.

The Australian Embassy in Jakarta has announced it is investigating allegations of further killings by Indonesian troops after the November 12 Dili shootings.

Indonesian student groups picketed the embassy yesterday, demanding a formal apology from Australia over protests at Indonesian diplomatic offices in Australia.

The group, an association of five Muslim and Christian student organisations known as the Cipayung Group, also picketed the embassy on Saturday to denounce the burning of the Indonesian flag at protests in Australia over the East Timor shootings.

The Indonesian Military Chief, Try Sutrisno, said the student demonstrations were spontaneous and not orchestrated by the authorities.

In a Reuters report, Australian-based Timorese sources, quoting Catholic and civil sources in East Timor, said troops shot dead 10 people on November 17 and a further seven, including a one-year-old boy, on November 18 on the outskirts of Dili.

The same sources said troops on November 15 executed 70 to 80 witnesses of the November 12 killing in the Dili cemetery.

ABRI says 19 people died and 91 were injured when troops opened fire on a procession of 3500 civilians in the capital on November 12.

But foreign witnesses and other sources put the death toll much higher.

A special national inquiry set up to investigate the November 12 incident is trying to get copies of a video of the shootings, taken by a British cameraman.

Supreme Court judge Djaelani, head of the seven-member commission conducting the inquiry, said it was vital for the commission to watch the video.

"We need such video recordings as an input," he said.

The commission will leave for Dili on Thursday to begin investigations.

In Sydney, Amnesty International said Indonesian military officials were being trained in Australia, with "more than a score" in the country at the moment.

Officials of the London-based human-rights group urged the Federal Government to push for an immediate, independent inquiry into the shootings.

— AAP

Double standards at work; Death of a fighter named Kemal. — Page 8; Malcolm Booker's view. — Page 9.



AP picture

Indonesia's President Suharto, centre, receives military honours on arrival in Caracas, Venezuela, on Sunday. At left is the Venezuelan President, Carlos Andres Perez. President Suharto is to attend the Group of 15 summit meeting.

Canberra Times, 26 November 1991

# Amnesty claims another 80 people executed

By GARETH BOREHAM, Sydney

Indonesian soldiers executed up to another 80 people three days after the Santa Cruz massacre and dumped their bodies in mass graves outside Dili, according to unconfirmed Amnesty International reports.

Amnesty said yesterday that it had received reports that between 60 and 80 people, many witnesses to the Santa Cruz shootings, were executed on 15 November. Indonesia has denied the reports, calling them "a big lie".

A witness to the alleged shooting told Amnesty he would provide more details to a United Nations delegation if his safety could be guaranteed.

Amnesty also released the names of 60 people, some as young as 14 years old, killed or feared dead following the Santa Cruz shootings on 12 November.

The organisation's campaign director, Mr Andre Frankovits, said Amnesty was updating its information on Timor hourly as more reports of killings, arrests and torture were received.

Mr Frankovits said the information "put paid to the credibility" of the Indonesian Government's version of events. While the Santa Cruz massacre had attracted considerable public attention, it was typical of many human rights abuses in Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion.

According to reports of the

alleged 15 November killings, the victims were stripped naked, blindfolded with their hands tied and driven to the outskirts of Dili.

There, the reports say, they were shot with automatic weapons on the edge of newly dug ditches.

Mr Frankovits said Amnesty would be seeking a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and would call on him to push for a UN-sponsored investigation.

He said Amnesty was receiving many reports of human rights abuses since the massacre and they were too credible for the Australian Government to ignore.

"We need to have the international community go there. We need to have our representatives report. We need to have the United Nations check the events. We need to open the province."

Mr Frankovits said that while Mr Hawke had offered Indonesia the opportunity to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre, the investigation would lack the necessary "independence, credibility and forensic experience".

"It is the most critical time for a number of years and this is a situation where the international community is in such uproar that some definite result may come from some positive action," he said.

"It will hopefully bring about the punishment of those who are guilty of the tortures and the killings, which will send a message to the military authorities that they cannot get away with it."

# Dili protesters may face death penalty

By MARK BAKER, foreign editor

A group of 70 young Timorese held in isolation since protesting in Jakarta last week over the Dili massacre may face the death penalty under Indonesia's draconian anti-subversion laws.

The intelligence chief of the Jakarta Police District, Colonel Wagiman, has told human rights lawyers that authorities are considering charging the Timorese, mostly students, under the 1963 laws already used to execute about 1000 alleged communists.

The 70, who held a peaceful protest rally last Tuesday, have been detained at the Jakarta metropolitan police headquarters. They have been refused contact with relatives or lawyers.

"A spokesman for the Legal Aid Institute, a leading Jakarta-based human rights group, said last night that Colonel Wagiman had confirmed that all the detainees had been charged under articles 154 and 155 of the Indonesian criminal code.

The alleged offences, "expressing feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt against the Government of Indonesia", carry jail terms of four to seven years.

A spokesman for Amnesty International, Mr Andre Frankovits, said in Sydney that grave concerns were held for the safety of the Timorese because they were being illegally held in isolation.

## THE TIMOR KILLINGS

"Because they are being kept incommunicado, it is more likely they are being ill-treated or tortured. There is a pattern of such ill-treatment. The way these people have been picked up and refused access to lawyers and their families shows total contempt for international public opinion."

Representatives of the Legal Aid Institute held a third meeting with police authorities yesterday to discuss the detainees, but were again denied access to them. A spokesman said Colonel Wagiman had said the detainees were being well treated and the representatives would be allowed to see them tomorrow.

The head of the institute, Mr Abdul Hakim, called at the weekend for the detainees' immediate release as prisoners of conscience.

"In our opinion, they were not doing something illegal," Mr Hakim said in an interview for the ABC Radio program 'Indian Pacific'. "They expressed their opinion peacefully so there is no reason for the authorities to interrogate or detain these people."

The arrest of the 70, which Indo-

nesian officials originally denied, is part of a wave of repression following the massacre in Dili two weeks ago. Scores of Timorese activists and suspected sympathisers have been arrested in cities across Indonesia.

Several leading human rights workers in Jakarta, including the respected director of the Indonesian League for the Defence of Human Rights, Mr Johannes Princen, have been interrogated by security authorities.

Human rights sources said six Timorese were arrested in Bali yesterday after plainclothes police broke into their homes in an early morning raid.

Nine East Timorese youths are reported to have been picked up by police in Bandung after a demonstration against the Dili massacre late last week, and another nine were arrested in Yogyakarta during the weekend.

The international spokesman for the Fretilin resistance in East Timor, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said yesterday that sporadic killings were continuing in the former Portuguese territory. "The situation is very, very bad," Mr Ramos Horta said in Lisbon.

"A lot of peasants have been shot at random in the small hamlets, many priests have been beaten up and the military have been confiscating statues and rosary beads from the churches. No one is allowed to leave the city after 4 pm."

The Age, 26 November 1991

The Age, 5 December 1991

# Dili toll higher: Timor Governor

By MOSES MANOHARAN, Dili, Wednesday

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

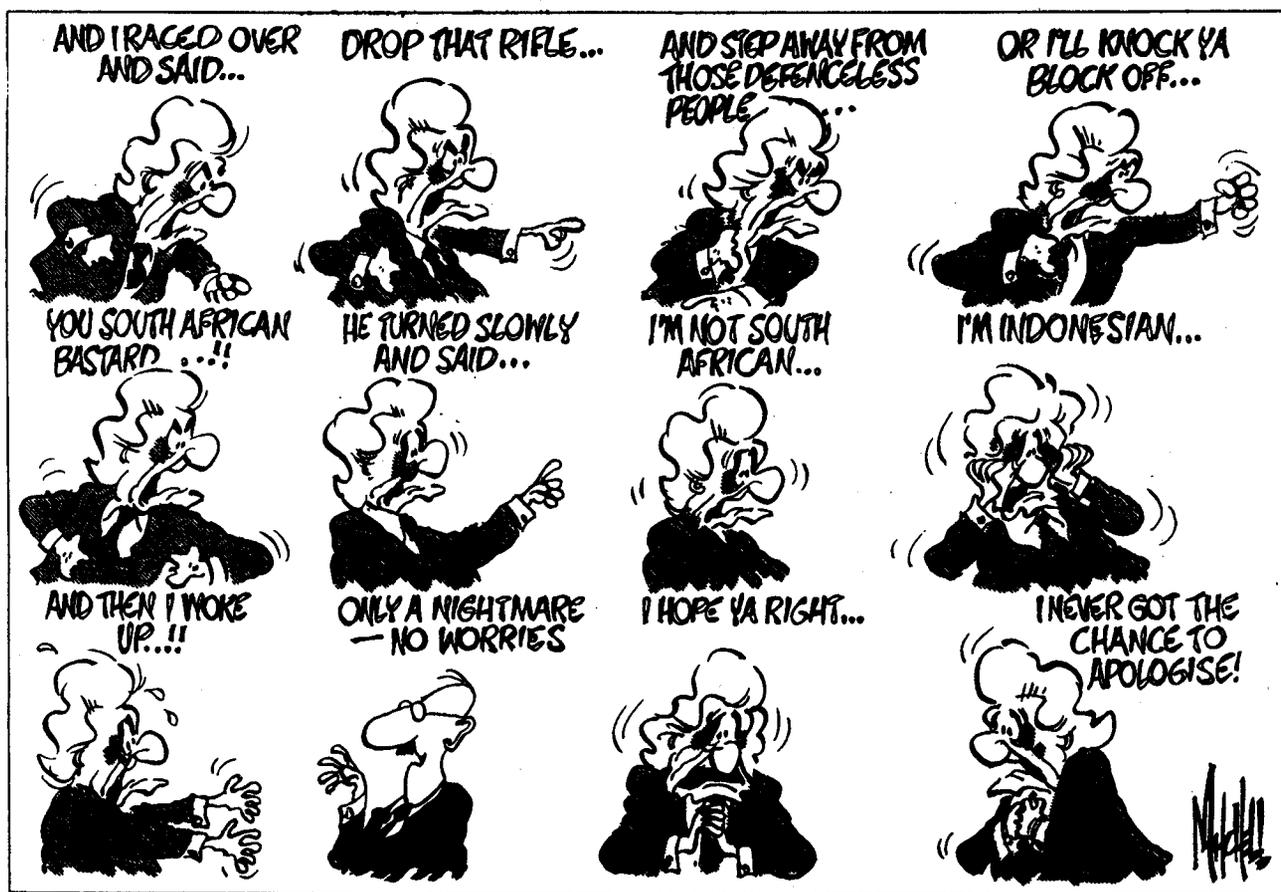
ese issue — a step the East Timorese resistance insists would have to include self-determination for the territory.

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

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

— Reuter

# Australian Reaction: Government



# PM urges Indonesia to talk

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, last night urged the Indonesian Government to negotiate with the East Timorese people, including the resistance forces, to work out a peaceful solution to the conflict in the territory.

In his most forthright statement yet on "Indonesia's handling of East Timor, Mr Hawke said the need for peace talks seemed to be the lesson of Tuesday's killings in Dili.

However, Mr Hawke ruled out Australia agreeing to involvement by the United Nations in the talks, saying Indonesia would not accept this because it would see it as a move towards East Timorese self-determination.

If Australia suggested that East Timor was not part of Indonesia and revoked Australian recognition of that, Indonesia would "bring down the shutters". The East Timor people would suffer as a result and Australia would lose its influence in Indonesia, Mr Hawke said.



Mr Hawke

General Try

But he said that Australia should be steadfast in its unequivocal condemnation of the killings then say to Indonesia, "for God's sake let's now look to the future. Please come to an understanding that you haven't got the hearts and minds of the East Timorese".

He said on the ABC's '7.30 Report' that Indonesia had to recognise that the people of East Timor had a deep sense of cultural identity and Indonesia had not won their acquiescence in the 16 years since it annexed East Timor.

Earlier, Mr Hawke criticised a statement released by the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra on Wednesday.

He said he was disappointed that the statement did not fully reflect the events in East Timor.

The Government would take a close interest in the manner in which Indonesia's inquiry into the shootings was conducted and in the action which followed.

Mr Hawke also responded to comments by Indonesia's military chief, General Try Sutrisno, that "at the most" 50 people died. Mr Hawke said: "I want to stress that, whatever the final number of casualties, it is obvious that an appalling tragedy has occurred. It does not depend on what the final number is, an appalling tragedy has occurred."

However he welcomed General Try's public regret at the deaths and promise of a thorough investigation.

The killings have provoked outspoken reactions from both sides of Parliament.

Mr Kevin Andrews, (Lib., Vic.) accused successive governments of being "completely gutless" on the East Timor issue since the 1975 Indonesian invasion.

Mr Andrews said it was ironic that Australia was prosecuting a former Nazi accused of killing several hundred Jews, when with Indonesia it was jointly prospecting for oil around Timor where Indonesia had been involved over the years in the "mass extermination" of about one third of East Timor's population.

Victorian MPs from all parties have urged the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, to promote talks under United Nations auspices on the future of East Timor.

A petition signed by 58 MPs condemned the shooting of civilians in East Timor this week and said the people there were living in a continual state of fear in their own country.

A Community Aid Abroad field officer feared missing after the Dili massacre was found safe and well yesterday in Bali. Mr Bob Muntz, who was in East Timor both as a representative of CAA and a commentator for the radio station 3CR, had fled over a fence at the Dili cemetery when the shootings began.

The Age, 15 November 1991

—Herald-Sun, Friday, November 15, 1991

## THE DILI MASSACRE

# A dinkum probe must occur — PM

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, last night demanded a "dinkum inquiry" into the East Timor massacre and told Indonesia to punish those responsible.

Mr Hawke said Indonesian troops had to accept responsibility, and even if they were provoked, no justification existed for the massacre of innocent people.

"There should be a dinkum inquiry, not some cover-up," he said.

"And a commitment to punish those found responsible."

Mr Hawke said that without Indonesia's genuine regret, a proper inquiry and punishment of those responsible, he would call off a trip to Indonesia planned for February.

"It is an appalling tragedy," he said.

Mr Hawke told Parliament it was clear that even if there had been some provocation by the crowd, the Indonesian military's response was excessive.

He said the first secretary at Australia's Jakarta embassy, Mr David Binns, would stay in Dili for several days to investigate the massacre.

While the death toll from the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery remained uncertain, Fretilin resistance group spokesman Alfredo Ferreira said in Darwin it was increasingly clear that Jakarta's latest

estimate of 50 was less than half the real figure.

East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop said yesterday Indonesian troops reportedly fired without warning.

Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo said separatist militants put the death toll at about 180.

The military commander of the region, Brigadier Rudolf Warouw, said 91 people had been injured, including an army officer and a soldier.

Two American journalists who later flew to Guam for hospital treatment said soldiers fired repeatedly into the 2000 mourners who gathered for a service marking the death of Sebastian Gomez in riots two weeks ago.

### Casualties

Among the casualties was a New Zealander, Kamal Ahmed Bamadhaj, who had been studying in Australia and who is reported to have died after being shot at least twice.

New Zealand has sent an envoy to East Timor and expressed its concern.

The European Community and the United States have both condemned the violence.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said he was profoundly disturbed by the events and called for a report by a UN official.

In other developments yesterday:

● The Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, expressed Australia's "very deep concern" to his Indonesian counterpart at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Seoul.

● Protesters from the Australian Coalition for East Timor criticised the Government for being inactive in helping Timor's self-determination struggle.

● The brutality of the killings prompted 100 angry protesters to march on Parliament House accusing Canberra of partial blame in the tragedy.

Indonesian officials have acknowledged the need for an impartial inquiry, with public findings.

In Sydney, the Catholic Church said the Australian Government must insist the East Timorese people be given the right to speak freely without fear of reprisals.

## INDONESIAN STATEMENT

Press statement of the embassy of Indonesia in Canberra.

A large demonstration consisting of roughly 2000 people had taken place in conjunction with the memorial service for Sebastiao Gomes who died in the incident on 28 October 1991 at the Motel Church. The demonstration moved toward the vicinity of the local cemetery.

On the way to the Santa Cruz cemetery, the demonstrators were waving Fretilin flags and carrying placards, and sharp, pointed instruments and long knives, provoking the security personnel.

The security personnel persuaded the demonstrators to calm down and carry on with the memorial service. Instead, some of them became excited to the point of seriously injuring an army major who was a deputy battalion commander. That brutal event apparently had forced the security personnel to react.

It has been noted that there has been an increasing belligerent attitude of small activist groups in Dili lately who were opposed to the status of East Timor becoming a province of the Republic of Indonesia. The incident in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz cemetery near Dili could be considered as a climax of this attitude.

It was reported that the Governor of East Timor has visited Dili Public Hospital where 20 to 30 persons were being treated from serious wounds. The International Committee of the Red Cross had estimated approximately 20 casualties.

There were further reports that two foreign correspondents happened to be in Dili. Of the two persons claiming to be journalists, one carried a New Zealand passport but (was) of Malaysian birth and the other person carried an Australian passport with the name of Robert Mand.

The Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Ali Alatas, who is in Seoul leading the Indonesian Delegation to the Ministerial Meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, in his communication with the embassy of Indonesia in Canberra on Wednesday morning, 13 November, 1991 states that the Government of Indonesia is compiling a full report on the unfortunate incident and noted that lately provocative actions have been displayed against security personnel, particularly, in Dili.

The Armed Forces Commander, General Try Sutrisno, in a statement to reporters in Jakarta today pointed out that the Indonesian military in carrying its responsibility to maintain public order operate under strict procedures in handling unruly demonstrations and would not resort to firing after completing established procedure to the point of implementing self-defence measures.

# Former ambassador urges Hawke to visit Indonesia

By KATHERINE GLASCOTT

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, should resist calls to abandon his scheduled trip to Jakarta next year and use the visit to urge a non-military solution to East Timor's problems, the former Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Bill Morrison, said yesterday.

While Australia was not in a position to force its will on Indonesia, Mr Morrison said Mr Hawke should use his influence to ensure a peaceful solution in East Timor.

"I think probably President Suharto would be the first to make this recognition that the military operations (in East Timor) after 16 years still haven't achieved their purpose," Mr Morrison told the Nine network's Sunday program.

Mr Morrison's comments add fuel to the debate over how Mr Hawke should respond to last Tuesday's

massacre, when the Indonesian military opened fire on several thousand mourners near the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, killing about 100 people, according to some reports.

Mr Morrison, who was the Australian ambassador to Indonesia from 1985-88 and a defence minister in the Whitlam government, said Australia could influence Indonesian thinking on East Timor because there were Indonesians in Jakarta who had similar concerns.

A spokesman for the Prime Minister said Mr Hawke had not decided whether he would go ahead with his visit to Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the president of the Business Council of Australia, Mr Brian Loton, said Australia needed to have a closer understanding, involvement and a familiarity with Indonesia.

The Australian, 18 November 1991

## Second envoy sent to probe Timor killings

By ROBERT GARRAN and wire services

Amid reports of a second massacre in East Timor, the Australian embassy in Jakarta sent a second diplomat to Dili yesterday to investigate the allegations.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said the Government had no information about the reported second massacre on Friday, in which it was alleged that up to 100 East Timorese were rounded up by Indonesian troops, driven off in trucks, executed and buried in a mass grave.

Asked what action the Government would take if the reports proved true, Mr Hawke said: "Don't ask me hypothetical questions."

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade said the first secretary in the Jakarta mission, Mr David Binns, who was sent to Dili to investigate last Tuesday's massacre, had seen no evidence of a second attack.

Mr Binns arrived in Dili on Thursday and left on Sunday evening to return to Jakarta.

The third secretary, Mr Mark Napier, was due to arrive in Dili yesterday and the department was awaiting his report, the spokesman said.

A Jakarta newspaper, the *Suara Pembinaan*, said yesterday Indonesia's Supreme Court Chief Ali Said had named Supreme Judge Jaelani to head the National Investigation Committee to probe into all aspects of the bloody shooting in East Timor.

Supreme Court officials contacted could not confirm the appointment of Jaelani, who is one of 51 judges who draw their authority from the highest court.

Timorese community groups yesterday urged the Federal Government to send a team of independent observers to the troubled territory.

Well-informed human rights and diplomatic sources in Jakarta said they had no information on the allegations of up to 100 further deaths but break several other sources confirmed the killings.

Video footage of the first massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery will be presented to the European Parliament today, an envoy for the East Timor independence movement, Fretilin, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said from France.

A spokesman for Melbourne's Timorese community, Mr Abel Guterres, said he and other Timorese living in Victoria received information yesterday from terrified families and relatives in Dili, saying more killings were taking place.

"Early this morning I received an eye-witness report from Dili saying that four army trucks loaded with as many as 70 people left Dili headed west," Mr Guterres said.

"The people were naked, blindfolded, with their hands tied behind their backs, and were being driven away by members of Indonesian Battalion 700 and 744."

Mr Horta said he too had received confirmation of the

executions and had heard that they were people who had been rounded up by the army after the Santa Cruz massacre.

The people had been taken to the Dili Korem, or army headquarters, where they were held before being taken to their executions and burial, he said.

Mr Guterres said Indonesian troops were searching for survivors of last week's massacre, in an effort to kill them before any inquiry takes place.

A Fretilin resistance spokesman in Darwin, Mr Alfredo Ferreira, said Fretilin sources had confirmed the execution of up to 100 East Timorese west of Dili on Friday.

Early reports estimate between 60 and 80 had died but now sources were claiming four trucks had each carried about 25 people to mass graves near the small village of Bemos.

Mr Ferreira said three witnesses saw the prisoners taken to the edge of the freshly dug graves, where they were killed with automatic fire by Indonesian soldiers.

In London, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, alleged 80 executions took place on Friday.

Mr Horta said he would ask the European Community to set up its own investigation into the massacre, in combination with Amnesty International and other international agencies.

Indonesia's decision to appoint an investigative team was totally unacceptable, Mr Horta said.

# Australia may back UN role in Timor

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

A SENIOR federal government minister yesterday raised for the first time the possibility that Australia might yet support proposals for United Nations intervention after last week's massacre in East Timor.

The Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button — a one-time critic of Australia's decision to recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over the province — said the idea of a UN conference to solve the problems of East Timor should not be rejected immediately.

"It is a matter that has to be considered as the facts unfold," Senator Button said.

He said a decision on Australia's attitude to this issue would ultimately be the province of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, who were in touch with other countries' leaders.

Traditionally, the Hawke Government has opposed UN involvement on the ground that Indonesia would not co-operate in any process that called into question its sov-

erignty and consulates as they faced a wave of protests.

He complained to the Department of Foreign Affairs about official trade union pickets outside the embassy in Canberra and the occupation on Tuesday of the consulate in Darwin.

There were also calls for 50 Indonesian officers training in Australia to be sent home, and the Australian Council for Overseas Aid sought the Government's support to send an emergency humanitarian mission into East Timor.

Australian defence officials denied that Indonesian officers training here were being instructed in counter-insurgency methods used by troops in East Timor.

The Coalition for East Timor said Australia was helping train Indonesian officers in military disciplines which were contributing to the bloodshed in the province.

A spokesman for the Coalition for East Timor, Dr Michael Wagner, said yesterday all Indonesian military personnel in Australia should be sent home immediately and that defence co-operation should be suspended.

## Strategic interests

erignty over East Timor. A standing resolution before the UN calls for the self-determination of the East Timorese people.

But as the push for international involvement gathered momentum, the Federal Government was coming under more pressure to toughen its stance.

The Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists added its voice yesterday to the demands for an international inquiry into the circumstances of the massacre, comprising a team of investigators and lawyers working under the auspices of the UN.

In answer to Opposition calls for the Government to put on hold any official visits to Jakarta, Senator Button told ABC radio last night he would decide by the end of the month whether to proceed with a planned trip.

Senator Button conceded the chances of him visiting Indonesia next month were "very uncertain" at this stage.

In other developments yesterday, the Indonesian ambassador to Australia, Mr Sabam Siagian, appealed for more protection for his em-

bassy and consulates as they faced a wave of protests.

In reply, a defence spokesman said: "This is a matter for the Government and (the Australian Defence Force) would not be taking any unilateral action on that."

"We believe that a close defence relationship between Australia and Indonesia is in Australia's strategic interests."

But news of the Dili massacre and subsequent reports of an unrepentant attitude in the Indonesian military, up to and including the Indonesian military chief, General Try Sutrisno, have raised questions about whether the relationship should be reviewed.

Aid groups and some Labor backbenchers have urged the Federal Government to cut links until Jakarta has answered to the charge that its military conducted a systematic and brutal attack on unarmed civilians, which some groups say cost as many as 180 lives.

But a defence force spokesman in Canberra said: "We do not undertake any co-operative defence activity with the Indonesian armed forces that relate to that country's internal security functions."

The spokesman confirmed that 22 Indonesian officers were in training at Australia's Land Warfare Centre at Canungra in Queensland. This was combat instructor training in what were described as "low-level tactics".

## Up to you, Hawke tells envoy

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday called in the Indonesian ambassador, Mr Sabam Siagian, to make it clear that a planned visit to Indonesia next February depended on Jakarta's handling of last week's killings in Dili.

While Mr Hawke last week signalled that his visit would be decided by Indonesian reaction to the Dili tragedy, this was the first time he had presented the position to the ambassador.

Mr Hawke has called for a public expression of regret from Indonesian authorities, for a thorough and public investigation of the killings and for the guilty parties to be punished.

An Australian official, Mr David Binns, who visited Dili, has said in a report partly released by the Government yesterday that while there had been contradictory accounts about what prompted the shooting, credible witnesses had confirmed that the "actions of the security forces were excessive".

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade yesterday handled Mr Binns's report in low-key fashion. A department spokesman said the Government would not release the full contents to avoid any suggestion that Australia was setting itself up as arbiter of events last Tuesday.

Mr Binns, the first secretary at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, flew to Dili the day after the killings. During his four-day stay, he spoke to community leaders, the Indonesian military leadership on the island, foreigners and others.

According to the spokesman, Mr Binns reported that it was impossible to find out the exact death and casualty figures. But based on the information available in Dili, "a tragedy of significant proportions" had occurred.

The Australian Government was yesterday awaiting a response from the Indonesian Government to an offer to send medical supplies and staff to help treat the injured.

The Australian ambassador, Mr Phillip Flood, at a meeting with the Indonesian State Secretary, Mr Mardiana, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Alatas, has also urged them to allow the Red Cross to visit the injured.

Mr Binns has reported that many wounded had avoided seeking military treatment. Other sources say residents fear further retribution if they seek treatment at the hospital.

# Hawke blasts Jakarta over sick remarks

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday attacked Indonesia's military chief, General Try Sutrisno, for "repugnant" comments made in the wake of the Dili massacre.

Mr Hawke also repeated his warning that Indonesia would lose the respect of the international community unless it punished the culprits.

His comments came against the background of growing agitation in the Labor Government, including Cabinet ministers, for a fundamental review of Australia's relations with Indonesia.

There is believed to be broad agreement in the Cabinet that the Federal Government must consider downgrading relations with Indonesia and reappraising its policy towards East Timor if there is an attempt by Jakarta to play down the killing of at least 50 people in the province's capital last week.

While the Indonesian President, Mr Suharto, has issued a decree setting up a national commission of inquiry, fears that Jakarta is beginning to stonewall have been fuelled by the recent strident and inflammatory rhetoric of top military officials, including General Sutrisno, and signs that the Suharto administration is beginning to bristle in the face of scrutiny from the Western press.

Three days after the massacre, General Sutrisno is reported as having sought to justify the incident to graduates at a military academy.

"Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them," he was quoted as saying.

Yesterday, Mr Hawke ex-

pressed his disgust that Indonesian generals could regard the shootings as "an okay way of doing things".

"I find that repugnant in the extreme," Mr Hawke said, adding that he did not believe the comments had represented the view of Mr Suharto himself.

"I think the President understands the enormity of what happened."

However, doubts raised by the strong military flavour of Mr Suharto's commission of inquiry have added to concerns that Jakarta may attempt a whitewash. These were reinforced in Jakarta yesterday when two senior government figures accused the Western media of bias and slanted reporting.

### Review of relations

Also, an influential political commentator, Mr Yuwono Sudarsno, was quoted in the Jakarta Post as saying Western media and diplomats should be banned from East Timor in the months ahead. He said last week's shootings were in part provoked by the presence of foreigners.

Mr Hawke said yesterday that he could find no evidence to support Indonesia's claims that troops had fired on the civilians only after violent provocation.

Senior Australian officials now believe more than 50 East Timorese were killed when troops opened fire on mourners outside a cemetery in the East Timorese capital of Dili on November 12.

It is believed unconfirmed reports of a second massacre, in which hooded Indonesian soldiers were alleged to have

executed by machinegun as many as 80 pro-independence protesters arrested at the time of the first massacre, have also caused anger and alarm in the highest ranks of the Hawke Government.

Australian officials have been unable to corroborate claims by spokesmen for the Fretilin resistance that the second bout of shootings took place at a time when Jakarta was promising to conduct a full inquiry into the massacre three days earlier.

The issue was raised at Cabinet on Tuesday, where several ministers spoke strongly about the implications for Australia's links with Indonesia.

At that meeting, Mr Hawke briefed his senior colleagues on the stance he had taken in the aftermath of the massacre, and received their support, although several ministers voiced strong personal opinions about what action Australia should take if Indonesia did not satisfactorily answer the charges made against its military.

Although a visit by Mr Hawke to Indonesia early next year is still contemplated, the Prime Minister repeated yesterday that Australia's relations with its largest regional neighbour depended on the outcome of the inquiry.

No deadline has been set for the inquiry but Mr Suharto is currently in South America.

They are not due to return to Jakarta until December 16, and there is no prospect of the inquiry's findings being released until the President and his senior advisers have considered the details of the commission's report.

Jakarta protesters, media hit Australia — Page 6

The Australian, 22 November 1991

The Age, 20 November 1991

# Evans may make a protest trip to Jakarta

By MARK METTERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, may visit Indonesia to deliver a tough message to the Jakarta Government over the Dili killings.

The federal ALP caucus is expected to call on Senator Evans today to undertake the mission to urge the Indonesian Government towards a reconciliation with the East Timorese people.

Preliminary soundings by Australian officials suggest that the Indonesian Government is prepared to consider a visit by Senator Evans. The visit would take place within weeks.

The move is part of a caucus plan designed to put Indonesia on notice that Australia will not accept a whitewash over the 12 November shootings by Indonesian security forces in which an estimated 50 to 100 East Timorese mourners died.

In other developments yesterday: Amnesty International said there were unconfirmed reports that up to 80 people had been executed three days after the massacre.

Victorian unions outlined a comprehensive campaign against Garuda Airlines and telecommunication services to Indonesian business and diplomatic interests.

Caucus is expected to demand that the Australian Government explore

## PROTESTERS MAY FACE DEATH PENALTY

Indonesia's anti-subversion laws may lead to the death penalty for 70 young Timorese held in isolation since protesting in Jakarta last week over the Dili massacre.

Human rights lawyers have been told authorities are considering charging the Timorese, mostly students, under 1983 laws already used to execute about 1000 alleged communists. PAGE 6: Report.

Involving the United Nations in the East Timor dispute, a move that has previously been resisted by the Hawke Government and is anathema to the Suharto Government.

The UN step would be part of a graduated plan in which failure by Indonesia to deal appropriately with

the killings would be matched by Australian penalties, including the suspension of defence links.

Caucus will also call on the Government to demand: That Indonesia allow the International Red Cross immediate access to East Timor.

A prompt response to inquiries about people detained in East Timor: The release of all political prisoners in Indonesia.

That the Australian ambassador, Mr Philip Flood, be allowed to visit East Timor to observe the national investigation into the killings.

The proposed mission by Senator Evans would be a diplomatically risky venture given the Indonesian Government's loathing of outside interference in the East Timor conflict, which it regards as a domestic matter.

The plans for the visit were revealed to senior ALP MPs yesterday when factional representatives met Senator Evans to discuss action

against Indonesia in the wake of the 12 November killings and reports of subsequent executions of East Timorese civilians.

After a 90-minute meeting with the representatives early in the evening, Senator Evans met them again late last night to thrash out the details of today's caucus resolution. The leaders were that the resolution would be carried unanimously.

The Evans mission is being proposed as the Government faces increasing pressure to deal forcefully with the East Timor killings. Last night's agreement is seen as a compromise in the face of calls for even harsher action against Indonesia. PAGE 6: More reports.

## Massacre to scuttle pact with Suharto

By foreign affairs writer  
TONY PARKINSON and AAP

THE repercussions of the Dili massacre are expected to scuttle the prospects of Australia signing a friendship pact with the Suharto Government.

The proposal for a joint declaration of principles — which would have put the formal seal on a "special relationship" between Canberra and Jakarta — was being pushed by the Department of Foreign Affairs and was understood to have the enthusiastic support of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans.

It would have elevated relations with Indonesia, in symbolic terms, to the same plane as relations with Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and Japan, although in a less formal arrangement than the alliance with the United States.

The only other country with which Australia has signed such an agreement is Papua New Guinea, because of its special status as a former Australian protectorate.

But a proposal that the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, sign the declaration on his planned trip to Jakarta early next year was being opposed strongly by senior figures in his own department, in the face of pressure from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

And the Timor massacre, in which at least 50 civilians were believed to have been shot dead by Indonesian troops, has cast a shadow over the recent improvement in dialogue with Jakarta.

This is understood to have reinforced the case put by some officials in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet that relations with Indonesia were too unpredictable to see entrenched in a formal document.

While government sources denied yesterday the proposal was "dead in the water", it is understood the idea has lost its impetus.

Plans for Mr Hawke to visit Indonesia have not yet been abandoned. But Mr Hawke has said repeatedly that continued good relations between the two countries hinge on Jakarta's response to the massacre.

Editorial — Page 26

## We'll be proved right, says Whitlam

By SONYA VOUARD,  
Sydney

The Whitlam Government would be vindicated over its attitude towards the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, Mr Whitlam said yesterday.

The former prime minister said that in 1995, when relevant documents were made public, he had "no fear whatever" that he would be vindicated.

Mr Whitlam said this after his speech on human rights was interrupted by a member of the audience at the Australian Human Rights Awards, in Sydney.

The woman said Mr Whitlam's speech on the importance of human rights made her stomach churn in the light of his former Government's record on East Timor. Several people in the audience cheered the woman, who was encouraged by organisers to leave the stage.

Mr Whitlam had been paying tribute to the president of the NSW Court of Appeal, Mr Justice



Michael Kirby, who won the top human rights award, the Australian Human Rights Medal.

After the woman stepped down, Mr Whitlam said "offensive and inaccurate" comments about his Government and the East Timor issue would be revealed to be untrue when relevant documents were made public. "I don't breach confidences in the meantime," Mr Whitlam said.

The winner of the radio

documentary-current affairs human rights award was for a report called 'Australia and East Timor: A debt to repay'. It traces Australia's historical links to East Timor and the repercussions of the 1975 invasion.

Mr Justice Kirby paid tribute to "people living in Australia, agitators who speak out constantly".

He urged lawyers to recognise that there was a place in the law for the defence of human rights.

The Age, 25 November 1991

## Whitlam urged Timor grab, says ex-minister

THE Whitlam government secretly urged Indonesia to take over East Timor just before the invasion in December 1975, a former Whitlam minister claimed yesterday.

Mr John Wheeldon said he had no doubt that in the last month of the Whitlam government in 1975, Australia was actively involved in urging the Indonesians to take over East Timor.

Mr Whitlam challenged the claim, but it was backed yesterday by another former Labor minister, Mr Clyde Cameron.

The allegation by Mr Wheeldon, then minister for social security and repatriation and compensation, goes much further than previous reports that at a meeting with Indonesia's President Suharto in 1975, Mr Whitlam gave Mr Suharto the impression Australia would not protest if Indonesia annexed the Portuguese colony.

The role of successive Australian governments in the acceptance of Jakarta's annexation of East Timor has come under re-



● Mr Whitlam ... sought transition

newed public questioning since the massacre of East Timorese civilians by Indonesian troops on November 12.

Mr Wheeldon, a West Australian senator until his resignation in 1981, said yesterday he had been told by members of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade that Australian Government representatives had urged the Indonesia to "take over" East Timor.

"In Vienna at the beginning of 1976 at (then Austrian foreign minister Bruno) Kreisky's 65th

birthday party, the Austrian foreign minister told me that the Indonesian foreign minister had told him that the Australian Government, of which I was a member, had been urging the Indonesians to take over East Timor," he said.

"I think he (Mr Whitlam) believed that small countries like East Timor, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania couldn't survive and shouldn't survive, and that the progressive thing to do was to see that they were incorporated into a big country," Mr Wheeldon said.

"I think he probably really believed that people there would be better off. Since then, Whitlam has been a fanatic in support of Indonesia."

However, Mr Whitlam said the facts could be found in his book, *The Whitlam Government*, which contradicted Mr Wheeldon's claims.

Mr Whitlam wrote in the book that at a meeting in September, 1974, "President Suharto and I agreed that Portugal should be encouraged to maintain its authority in Timor for probably five years, in order to give the population some experience in managing its affairs".

Mr Whitlam wrote that the caretaker Fraser government, installed after Labor's dismissal on November 11, 1975, criticised the independence fighters Frelim as "communist".

However, former science minister Mr Cameron said "you can bank on what Wheeldon has said".

Mr Cameron said he was sure that in Mr Whitlam's meetings with Mr Suharto the president had been encouraged to take over East Timor.

Herald Sun, 27 November 1991

## Massacre-reaction motion for caucus

to Europe, which at present passes through Indonesian territory.

The United Church also called on the Federal Government to suspend Garuda Airlines' access to Australian airports.

ALP factional leaders and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Gareth Evans, negotiated on an agreed text last night.

One draft text, backed by Mr Gibson and Mr Sherry, sought an end to military exchanges and to major inter-governmental contacts between the two countries and Australian pressure to have the United Nations involved in a conference between all the parties in East Timor.

Mr Aulich said he believed there was value in Mr Hawke going ahead with the visit — provided East Timor was at the top of the agenda and it was not simply a goodwill tour.

Senator Evans, who has just returned from the Soviet Union, accepts the Government may have to do more than issue strongly worded statements, government sources said.

But he is anxious to head off any move that could harm Australia's ability to continue talking to the Indonesians.

Victorian unions will meet this week to plan a campaign against Indonesia.

One of Australia's leading jurists and human-rights advocates, the NSW Court of Appeal president, Justice Michael Kirby, said yesterday that Australia should speak out for the rights of the East Timorese.

Justice Kirby, who was presented with the Australian Human Rights Medal yesterday, said East Timor was one of several international examples where people's rights to self-determination were being denied.

Labor's factions have agreed on a motion to be put to Caucus today, urging the Federal Government take a tougher line against Indonesia over the massacre in East Timor.

The three-part motion was stitched up in fictional talks last night and, although a bid was being kept on the details, it is believed to call for Australia to pressure for a United Nations-backed conference on the future of East Timor.

It will be presented to a scheduled caucus meeting today by Senator Nick Sherry (Centre Left), Terry Aulich (Right) and Garrie Gibson (Left) after a move to suspend standing orders.

The main issue for caucus is its stance toward the proposed Indonesian visit in February by the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke.

The Government wants to keep its options open on the visit, and to avoid a caucus resolution that would make it politically impossible for Mr Hawke to go.

However, a visit next month by the Minister for Industry, John Button, will probably be cancelled in protest against the Dili massacre, government sources said.

The unions moved yesterday to instigate a campaign of bans and boycotts against Indonesia, aimed at Garuda Airlines, Indonesian shipping, and the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne.

The campaign, led by Victorian unions, will also increase pressure on the ACTU — so far silent on the Dili massacre — to make a strong statement on the issue, and could lead to national protest action.

Boycotts against the Indonesian airline and shipping could lead to disruption of Australian air and shipping traffic

# Threaten Jakarta with sanctions, say Labor MPs

By GREG AUSTIN

Foreign Affairs Correspondent

CANBERRA: A resolution to be put to the ALP's Federal parliamentary Caucus today will threaten Indonesia with sanctions if an official investigation into the Timor massacre of November 12 does not satisfy Australia, according to party sources.

The resolution is almost certain to be passed and will increase pressure on Indonesia to ensure a credible outcome for its inquiry.

It may also create a strain in relations between the two Governments that has so far been avoided over the Timor massacre.

Between 60 and 100 East Timorese were gunned down by

Indonesia, expressed regret about the massacre and set up an official investigation commission to report on its cause.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, last night had two separate meetings lasting a total of more than two hours with representatives of the ALP Caucus to try to reach agreement on a compromise resolution which would not immediately threaten relations with Indonesia.

The Caucus members were threatening to present to today's meeting a resolution calling for Australia to cut links with Indonesia.

The text of a draft resolution being sponsored by Timor campaigner Mr Garrie Gibson (ALP



Indonesian soldiers during a demonstration in Dili on November 12. There have been reports of subsequent mass executions of Timorese dissidents.

Morton), which circulated yesterday afternoon, called on the Government to suspend military aid and ministerial visits to Indonesia, and to withdraw Australian recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

The Government is reluctant to cut any links with Indonesia because of the belief that Indonesia is too important to Australia to take an exclusively moralistic view of events such as the East Timor massacre.

It is understood that Senator Evans and the Minister for Defence, Senator Ray, argued in the Cabinet yesterday against any cutting of links at least until the results of the official investigation

are known. It is understood that Cabinet did not overturn this view, which is also held by the Prime Minister.

It is also understood the resolution to be put to Caucus today will link the threat of sanctions by Australia, such as cuts in defence ties or bans on ministerial visits, to a satisfactory outcome of the official Indonesian inquiry.

The resolution is unlikely to include the threat of withdrawal of recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, senior Caucus sources said last night.

But it will call for positive action by Australia, including an increase in aid to the Red Cross for its operations in Timor, a

proposal for Senator Evans to visit Indonesia within four to eight weeks, a proposal for Australia to open a consulate in Dili, and a move by Australia to get the UN Secretary-General involved, according to sources.

The Victorian Trades Hall Council executive added to the pressure on the Government yesterday with a unanimous call for a campaign of bans and boycotts against Indonesia.

The executive called on the Federal Government to take punitive measures, including cancellation of its recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor. UN sanctions on Indonesia similar to those imposed on

Iraq over its occupation of Kuwait; and withdrawal of landing rights in Australia for Indonesia's national airline, Garuda.

Water-side workers and seamen are also considering placing bans on Indonesian shipping in protest against the massacre.

Prominent human rights campaigner and president of the NSW Court of Appeal, Justice Michael Kirby, who was awarded the Australian human rights medal on Sunday, told ABC radio yesterday that he believed the people of East Timor were being denied the right to self-determination.

PAGE 9: Amnesty says up to 200 killed in Dili; Army denies further killings. PAGE 10: Editorial.

# Hawke to be tougher on Indonesia

By Foreign Affairs writer TONY PARKINSON and COLIN WILLIAMS

THE Hawke Government is expected to bow today to overwhelming pressure from the federal Caucus for a tougher approach towards Indonesia over the November 12 Dili massacre.

But in lengthy and intense discussions with factional leaders yesterday, it is believed the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, succeeded in persuading his ALP colleagues not to force the Government's hand on diplomatic measures that could be seen as pre-emptive and provocative.

It is understood the push by some Labor MPs for the severing of military ties and reviewing Australia's recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty will be put on hold, conditional on how the Suharto Government chooses to respond to the worldwide condemnation of its troops in East Timor.

However, in a move likely to aggravate Jakarta, it is understood leaders of Australia's East Timorese community will be invited to Canberra for talks with Senator Evans.

Australia is also likely to adopt a far more active role, including through the United Nations, in the international campaign to ensure Indonesia honours its commitment to properly investigate the massacre.

Today's Caucus meeting is also expected to resolve the question of ministerial visits to Indonesia.

The Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button, is due to fly to Jakarta early next month, with Mr Hawke scheduled to visit Indonesia in February.

While Senator Button's trip is understood to be in extreme doubt, it is believed Senator Evans argued yesterday that Australia should avoid closing lines of communication to the Suharto Government.

Before Senator Evans's discussions with factional leaders, the issues of how, and to

A FORMER Indonesian ambassador to Washington, General Hasnan Habib, said yesterday there was scope for increased co-operation between the defence industries of Australia and Indonesia.

But he gave a warning that future links would depend on friendly relations and mutual respect.

General Habib's presence at a conference in Canberra yesterday provoked a minor controversy.

Three trade union delegates walked out during his address

what extent, Australia should reassess its stance on East Timor were debated in Cabinet.

Negotiations over the final wording of the Caucus motion — which will take in all of these elements — were to resume early today before full Caucus meets in Canberra.

Pressure for the Hawke Government to step up its diplomatic activity intensified yesterday when Amnesty International released a list of 60 people it has confirmed as dead as a direct result of the shootings in Dili.

A spokesman for the human rights group, Mr Andre Frankovits, said this list exposed as

## Apology demanded

fraudulent Jakarta's claims that only 19 people died when troops fired on mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor's capital.

Amnesty also claimed a further 300 pro-independence supporters had been detained since the massacre, some of whom subsequently had been tortured or killed by Indonesian security forces.

Mr Frankovits said Amnesty would be seeking urgent discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, for an "immediate, independent, impartial" inquiry into the killings.

Last night, Colonel Zumar-nis Zeln of the Indonesian

armed forces' information centre said it would check the Amnesty report.

But Colonel Zeln added that Amnesty's reports were not always accurate because they obtained their data from "unreliable sources".

Meanwhile, AAP reports from Jakarta that Indonesian troops in Dili have been ordered to shoot on sight masked men roaming the city's streets at night and raiding homes.

Indonesian student groups picketed the Australian Embassy in Jakarta yesterday, demanding a formal apology from Canberra over protests at Indonesian diplomatic offices in Australia.

The embassy has announced it will probe allegations of further killings by Indonesian troops after the Dili shootings.

A commission of inquiry set up by the President of Indonesia, General Suharto, will leave for Dili on Thursday to begin investigations there.

Protests in Australia against the shootings continued yesterday with the Uniting Church calling on the Federal Government to suspend Garuda International Airlines' access to Australian airports.

Errol Simper writes: Australians and their media have been guilty of "years of cowardly silence" over Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, according to The Catholic Weekly newspaper.

The Australian, 26 November 1991

## Force not the answer: Hawke

By MARK METHERELL, diplomatic correspondent, Canberra

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, urged Indonesia yesterday to understand that military measures would not solve "the running sore and tragedy" of East Timor.

Mr Hawke said that there was continuing conflict in East Timor and the Australian Government was seeking to be constructive by urging the Indonesian Government to understand that "the military solution is no solution".

The Indonesian Government had to make renewed efforts not to meet the people of East Timor just in "some formal tokenistic way" but to sit down with them,

including people from the resistance movement fighting Indonesian control of the territory.

He repeated his warning that Australia would reconsider its policies towards Indonesia if the Jakarta Government's inquiry into the killing of an estimated 75 demonstrators in Dili on 12 November turned out to be whitewash.

But the Australian branch of Amnesty International yesterday raised doubts about how the Australian Government would gauge the fairness of the inquiry.

The director of Amnesty in Australia, Mr Andre Frankovits, said it was not yet known how the national investigation commission would conduct its inquiry, whether

it would take evidence and whether the hearings would be public.

Members of the commission are expected to arrive in Dili today and the Australian embassy in Jakarta is expected to have an official in Dili to monitor the commission's activities.

"We would like to know the basis of the Australian Government's confidence in the national commission of investigation," Mr Frankovits said.

He said that while Amnesty welcomed Mr Hawke's statements on the Dili killings, it believed that the Australian Government should be doing more to help the East Timorese, including pressing more urgently for United Nations involvement.

The Age, 28 November 1991

Confusion over threat to withdraw all diplomats if harassment continues

# Jakarta links strained

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

Australia's relations with Indonesia were in confusion last night after an Indonesian minister's threat to withdraw all diplomats from Australia if harassment against them continued "at a dangerous level".

But in a contradiction later, the Acting Foreign Minister in Jakarta, General Benny Murdani, denied the threat in talks with the Australian ambassador there, Mr Philip Flood, an Australian spokesman said last night.

Earlier last night the Indonesian embassy in Canberra issued a statement quoting the powerful Cabinet minister, Admiral Sudomo, as threatening the withdrawal of Indonesian diplomats.

The Sudomo statement, which the embassy stated had been made on Monday, was issued only hours after



the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, announced plans to visit Indonesia to seek reconciliation between Indonesia and East Timor.

Admiral Sudomo accused a picket of Fretilin and ALP leftwingers of forcing consulate staff in Darwin to use the consul's residence at their temporary office. Fretilin supporters had threatened the life of Indonesian

diplomats, damaged a car, smashed a consulate window and cut electricity and telephone lines to the Darwin consulate, he said.

Admiral Sudomo, the Minister Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, is reported in the statement as saying "if the disturbances... continue at a dangerous level, then the Indonesian ambassador for Australia, Sabam Siagian, together with all Indonesian diplomats will be recalled to Indonesia".

A Government spokesman said that Mr Flood had raised the issue with General Murdani who had said his Government had no plans to withdraw the diplomats.

A spokesman for Senator Evans said last night: "We are playing it down." He said Admiral Sudomo's statement had not been referred to by the Indonesian ambassador, Mr

Sabam Siagian, in talks with Senator Evans earlier in the evening.

While Mr Siagian had referred to disruption to Indonesian missions, it was not raised in "anything like the stark terms" put by Admiral Sudomo, the spokesman said.

Admiral Sudomo however tempered his statement by concluding that "We don't see the situation as dangerous yet".

The development came after the Federal Government caucus called on Senator Evans to visit Indonesia to discuss all aspects of East Timor, including the 12 November killings in Dili of East Timorese by Indonesian security forces.

For the first time, Senator Evans has put a detailed estimate on the number of deaths and casualties. The Government's "best guess" was that about 75 had died. There were 89 wounded people in hospital, with two

or three still critical, as well as others in hiding who were known to be wounded.

Senator Evans also dismissed reports of successive massacres after 12 November in Dili. "I can frankly say that we have no evidence from any source to give support to those claims."

While the caucus agreed without dissent to a strongly-worded resolution, differences emerged between some MPs and Senator Evans about the resolution's call for the Government to take active steps to explore a role for the United Nations in the East Timor dispute.

Senator Evans described UN involvement as delicate given Australia's recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor. "We would be looking to be satisfying the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese

people by steps short of opening up the whole question of sovereignty."

But a Left MP, Mr Garrie Gibson, who was involved in drafting the caucus resolution, said: "Everybody knows what the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese are. They want independence."

Senator Evans said this was a "slightly robust interpretation of what's involved here".

The caucus however has held its fire on seeking sanctions against Indonesia, saying these contacts should be reviewed if the investigation into the Dili killings is unsatisfactory.

Senator Evans is expected to visit Jakarta for two or three days on his way back from Cambodia around 18 December.

PAGE 13: Editorial; Nicholson's view.  
PAGE 15: Mark Metherell's comment.

The Age, 27 November 1991

# Hawke to meet Timor guerillas

By MARK METHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

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

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

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

"fundamentally flawed" yesterday.

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

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

Mr Frankovits said Amnesty International recognised the significance

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

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

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

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

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

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

dent or impartial stature.

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

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

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

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

recognise Indonesian jurisdiction.

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

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

This was denied by the Department of Foreign Affairs. Page 13: Letters.

The Age, 3 December 1991

# Arms sales to Indonesia 'must stop'

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

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

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

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

The resolution was passed after a day of mourning on Saturday

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

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

Both Mr Birch and Mr Laurie Ferguson, who spoke in favour of

the resolution, criticised government policy towards East Timor.

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

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

— JUSTINE FERRARI

The Australian, 9 December 1991

## ALP pushes for tough Timor stand

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,  
Kuala Lumpur

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Age, 9 December 1991

# Stop human rights hectoring: Hayden

By MARK WETHERELL,  
diplomatic correspondent,  
Canberra

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued: PAGE 6

## Stop hectoring, says Hayden

"If a country makes threats, seeks to intimidate or duress, and proclaims reprisals if certain things are not done — but discovers, when the time comes to put beef into the bluster, that it can only brandish a feather with which to lash the malcreant — then it embarrasses itself," Mr Hayden said.

He asked whether Australians appreciated sufficiently the problems some countries faced such as population pressures, ethnic variation, nascent fundamentalist religious pressures, tendencies towards regional "fissionability" and other barriers to national cohesion. Although he did not say it, these challenges plague Indonesian nationhood.

In further reference to a country that could be Indonesia, he said that for such a country the pluralistic, democratic model of government "might be inappropriate... at this stage of its development".

"A strong leader — but not a tyrant — might be, and, in the

### FROM PAGE ONE

hypothetical case I am thinking of, most certainly would be essential to its stability and success."

Mr Hayden said that to deny such a country's problems would be to consign that country almost inevitably to instability, fragmentation and failure.

"The region might become destabilised, and that might directly engage our interests. I doubt that any humanitarian could endorse that outcome."

If Australia did not take account of other nations' more complex difficulties, "we squander the option of influence with them".

To do other than realise the differences in other nations "is to be guilty of the very considerable offence of ethnocentrism".

Mr Hayden referred to his own experience. He recalled that in 1984, when he was Foreign Minister, Australia was "discreetly vot-

ed off the United Nations Commission on Human Rights... Our offence? Being too pushy on human rights issues for the comfort of some".

The vice-regal advice was given as the Government sought to shrug off unwelcome criticisms from another senior Labor figure, the former Prime Minister Mr Gough Whitlam.

On Monday he accused Mr Hawke of a lack of interest in Indonesia, and said this had prevented Australia making a prompt and effective approach to President Suharto.

Mr Hawke, referring to Mr Whitlam's experience in 1975 before Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, said he would have thought Mr Whitlam was "the last one to be talking to anyone... on the subject of Indonesia".

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, told the Senate that while Mr Whitlam had had a strong personal relationship with President Suharto, this did not stop the annexation of East Timor.

The Age, 11 December 1991

# Fast bans on Indonesia too risky: Button

By GEORGE MEGALOGENIS in Singapore

AUSTRALIA could not afford to jump the gun by imposing trade sanctions on Indonesia because of the importance of relations between the two countries, the Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button, said yesterday.

Speaking at the end of a four-day trip to Malaysia, Senator Button said Australia was not in the same position as Canada which this week suspended approval of \$35 million in development projects in protest at the Dili massacre.

"As I have said on a number of occasions on this visit, we live and trade and work in this part of the world," he said. "And Indonesia is the closest country to us and is in the long term, very important to us."

## Relationship developing

In terms of a whole range of political issues in the region and certainly in terms of trade and business.

We in Australia can feel good about solving any problems which might arise in Iceland because we have no trade with Iceland or very little trade.

But we have to be a little more sensitive and cautious about our relationship with Indonesia.

Senator Button stressed he was not suggesting Australia would tolerate more breaches of human rights in Indonesia than in other countries. The position of the Australian Government remained that it would wait for the outcome of the inquiry into the Dili massacre and the response to it by the Indonesian Government before responding. Senator Button is on the way to Jakarta as part of a week-long business mission to South-East Asia.

Although the Jakarta leg had been planned for some time, it has assumed a greater political significance because Senator Button will be the first Australian minister to visit Indonesia since the November 12 massacre.

He will meet his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Hartarto, today and has already indicated he will raise the East Timor question.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, is due to meet President Suharto next week. Senator Button said yesterday he did not want to comment on the specifics of the East Timor massacre until after he had seen Australia's ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Phillip Flood, who has been in Dili.

Senator Button received criticism by former prime minister Mr Gough Whitlam that Australia's relationship with Indonesia had suffered because of a lack of interest shown by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

"I think he (Mr Hawke) has re-established what was a very close relationship with (the Malaysian Prime Minister) Dr Mahathir," he said.

"I think he has a good relationship with Shinjapore - I don't want to go through all the governments in the region - but as you will realise there was a period when Australia's relations with Indonesia were difficult, but it was only in the past two or three years that we have had a much better relationship developing with that country and of course the Prime Minister was going there in February."

Senator Button said he did not think it was "generally correct" that Australia had earned a reputation for "leaving its neighbours". "There has been a tendency in Australia at times, not just with Asian neighbours but with other countries as well, to comment very liberally about their policies not necessarily with a full understanding of them," he said.

The Australian, 12 December 1991

# Suharto rejects aid with link to action on Timor

By correspondents in Jakarta and Dili

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

"We are not going to accept it at all if there are political preconditions," he said in a televised news conference.

Canada and The Netherlands have suspended aid since soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners in the East Timorese capital of Dili on November 12. Some reports say more than 100 people were killed.

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

Earlier yesterday, the military commander of East Timor, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, admitted that better training for his men might have prevented them from shooting the mourners.

"Maybe with (more) training it would have been a different situation," he told reporters in Dili.

Also yesterday, the Antara news agency in Jakarta reported that Indonesia's National Investigative Commission ex-



General Warouw ... 'disappointing'

said: "Until now I'm only 100 per cent sure that 19 are dead. Anybody can say 100, 1000 or one million - I'm just talking about the fact of 19."

Antara reported last night that five commission members had visited a cemetery in Hera, near Dili, where the military said it had buried 19 people.

The grave, picked at random, was dug up and the coffin opened briefly before it was reburied, while journalists looked on from about 7m, Antara said.

The commission leader, Mr Jaelani, later told reporters the team had received information saying victims of the shooting were buried at five or six other sites.

Team members might visit other sites, he said, adding that journalists would be barred from covering those visits.

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

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

Reuters, AFP

## Button protest to Jakarta

By GEORGE MEGALOGENIS in Jakarta

THE Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button, expressed Australia's "considerable concerns" about the Dili massacre to the Indonesian Government yesterday.

He told his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Hartarto, in Jakarta that Australia welcomed improved relations but the Dili killings might make ties difficult.

Mr Hartarto said he expected the difficulties to be only temporary but he indicated that Indonesia did not welcome criticisms of its East Timor policies.

"I explained our position; I also listened to what he said," he said.

Senator Button said Mr Hartarto would pass on his comments to President Suharto. A formal Indonesian response is not expected before the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, meets President Suharto next week.

Senator Button organised his two-day trip to Jakarta to discuss trade issues several weeks before the Indonesian army fired on protesters in Dili last November 12, killing an estimated 100 people.

He has appointments to meet two other economic ministers today.

Mr Hartarto said Indonesia wanted more Australian investment.

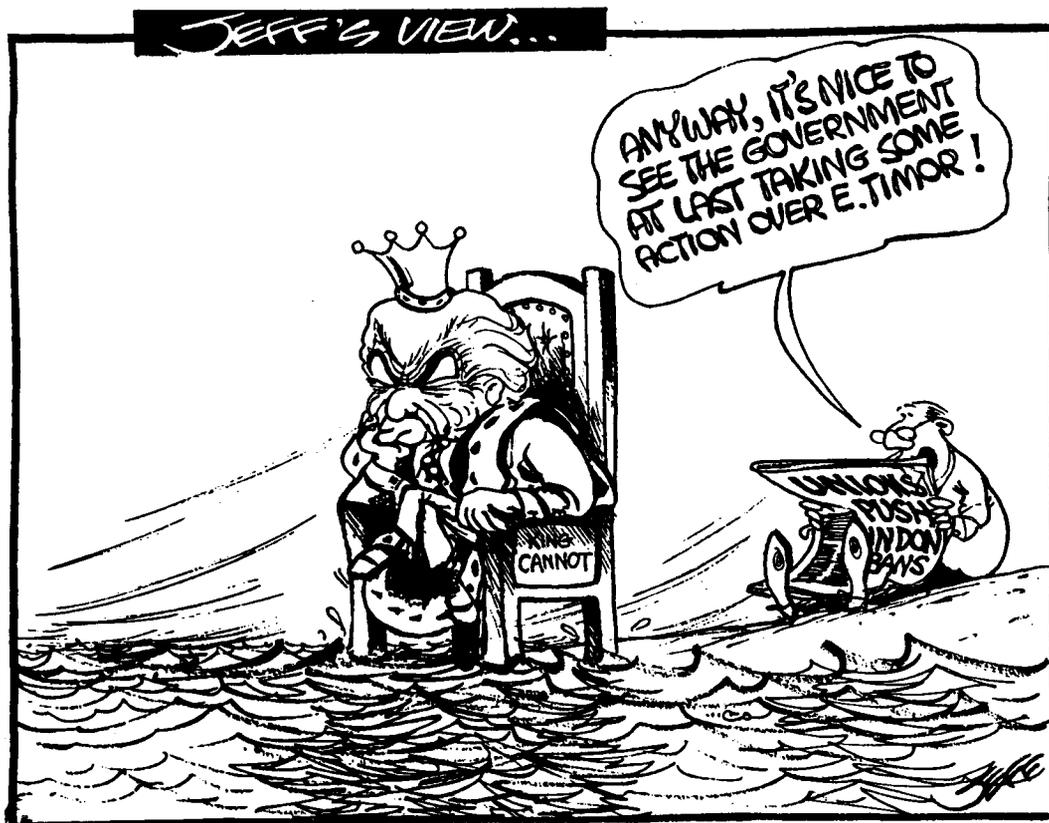
The countries should combine their strengths in joint export ventures.

Indonesia was interested in pursuing areas such as mining, engineering, and wool and cotton manufacturing.

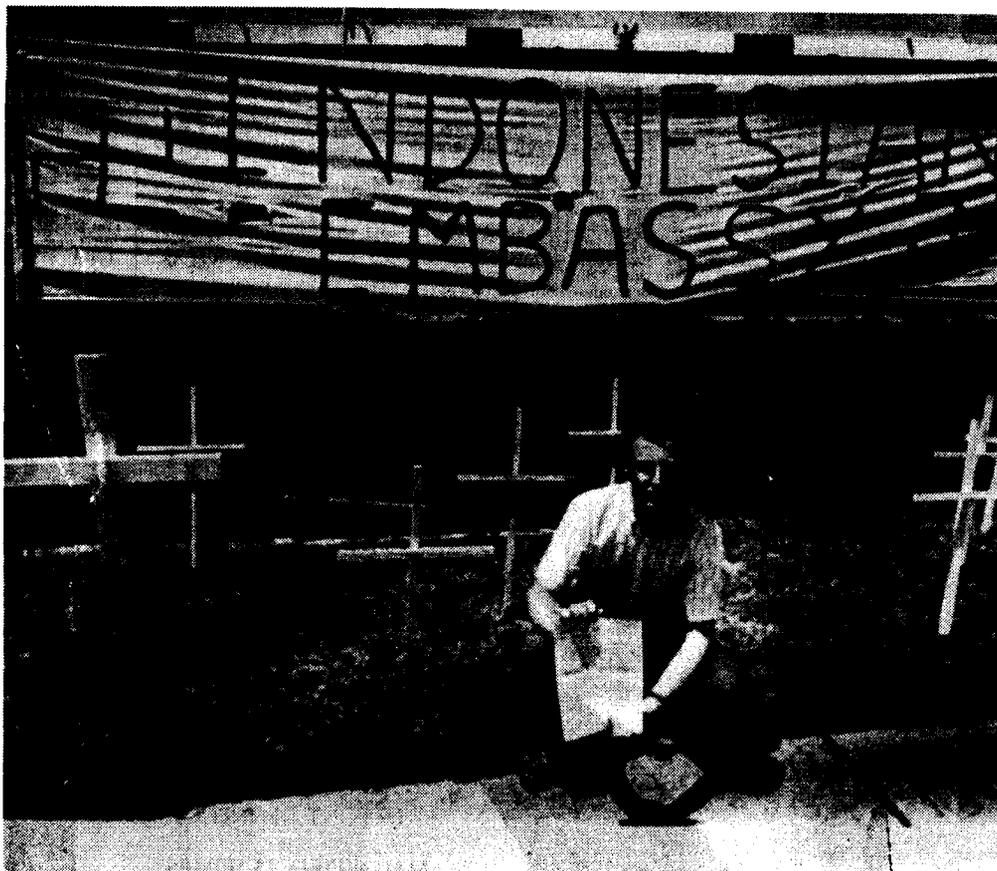
Suharto rejection - Page 10

The Australian, 13 December 1991

# Australian Reaction: Non-Government



# Expel diplomats, Hawke told



Protester Mr Michael Wagner with the list of demands outside the embassy in Canberra — Picture: CHRIS PAVLICH

By KATHERINE GLASCOTT and AAP

THE ACT Trades and Labor Council called on the Federal Government yesterday to expel Indonesian diplomats and close the Indonesian embassy if repression in East Timor continued.

The secretary of the TLC, Mr Charles McDonald, told a rally outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra that Indonesia was ruled by a "fascist regime".

"The murder, the genocide that's going on in East Timor cannot be allowed to continue and I believe the union movement will take every bit of action possible to make sure it doesn't," he said.

The TLC has imposed an official picket at the embassy to condemn last week's massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

A Fretilin resistance spokesman in Darwin, Mr Alfredo Ferreira, said one of seven East Timorese soccer players to return home after a sports festival in Darwin in May was killed in the initial

fusillade by Indonesian soldiers on Tuesday.

Duarte, 21, a member of the 15-man squad that contested the Arafura Games here, was one of 11 players who voted on whether to remain in Australia following the earlier defections of four of their team-mates.

Two of the soccer team defectors, Francisco Lam and Francisco Gama, said yesterday they did not want to com-

## 'Genocide must stop'

ment on Duarte's death for fear of reprisals against their families or other members of the team still in East Timor.

The TLC, which has a long tradition of supporting the independence movement in East Timor, will attempt to stop the delivery of all goods and services to the embassy in Canberra.

The Vienna convention on diplomatic relations states

that a host government must ensure the functioning and services of embassies are carried out unhindered but Mr McDonald said the picket would be maintained until "the Indonesian Government was brought to heel internationally".

The TLC called on the Government to urge the United Nations to set up an independent international inquiry in East Timor, to remain until a referendum under the auspices of the UN took place, to demand that Indonesian troops be immediately withdrawn from East Timor, and to place an immediate military embargo on Indonesia.

The Portuguese ambassador, Dr Jose Luiz-Gomes, said action taken by the Australian Government would have a powerful impact on Indonesia.

"Australia's relationship with Indonesia is considered one of its (Indonesia's) priorities," he said.

The Australian, 19 November 1991

# Union sanctions plan over Timor

**PRESSURE** is mounting on the Federal Government to take decisive action against Indonesia over the East Timor massacre.

Several trade unions, including the heavyweight Metals and Engineering Workers Union and building unions, plan to support a call by Trades Hall Council secretary John Halfpenny for economic sanctions and aid cuts.

The move came as the Indonesian Government said it would set up a special commission to investigate the massacre at a memorial service in Dili last week.

Its state secretary, Mr Murliono, pledged to prosecute anyone found to have violated the law.

Mr Halfpenny said there had been an "incredible

**By PHIL SKEGGS and agencies**

response" from unions and community support for his call last Friday.

He said the ACTU would be asked to endorse a three-point action plan at its December executive meeting, recognising East Timor's right to independence, withdrawal of Australia's recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, and economic sanctions against Indonesia.

The Canberra Trades and Labor Council established a picket line outside the Indonesian embassy in Yarralumla this morning.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman, Mr Jim Dollimore, warned the picket would contravene the Vienna Convention protecting the diplomatic status of embassies and

consulates if it prevented the embassy from conducting normal functions.

"But that doesn't mean you can't protest or picket, as long as it doesn't interfere with (their) operations," he said.

The Canberra Trades and Labor Council secretary, Mr Charles McDonald, said the picket was well-briefed on the Vienna Convention after previous experiences against the South African embassy.

He said the picket aimed to reinforce demands for an independent United Nations inquiry into the massacre.

He said the council also wanted the UN to help East Timorese separatists and the Indonesian Government negotiate on independence.

Meanwhile, a report in London said those killed were victims of "a well-

planned trap" set by police and the army.

Father Stefanie Renato told the weekly *Observer* newspaper: "The mourners were accompanied by police until they reached the centre of the town, when the police suddenly withdrew."

"Troops rapidly appeared from all sides and went with the mourners to the cemetery," said the Italian priest in Japan where he is based.

"When several hundred mourners were inside and hundreds more were pressing to get in, the army opened fire for two or three minutes, reloading their weapons when they were empty," he said.

Fr Renato said he had three tapes of the shooting taken by a journalist, and three others he had taken himself soon afterwards.

The priest said "perhaps a thousand rounds were

fired" in the massacre, which killed 19 and injured 91, according to Indonesian government figures.

But witnesses and civil rights groups have estimated up to 115 people died.

The true death toll may never be known, according to an Australian official in Indonesia.

The Australian Embassy's second-in-command, Mr Tony Healy, said the death toll could rise as 30 people were still seriously ill in hospital.

East Timor's Fretilin resistance movement last night made further claims of bloodshed.

It said the Indonesian army executed 60 civilians arrested after the massacre.

Herald Sun, 18 November 1991

## NT unions ban Indon shipping

**By CRAIG DIXON**

UNION pressure on the Federal Government to sever links with Indonesia mounted yesterday when the Northern Territory Trades and Labor Council imposed bans on Indonesian shipping.

Ships sailing between Indonesia and Australia are now unable to load or unload cargo at Darwin.

The ACTU's international committee will be asked to impose similar bans nationwide when it meets next week.

The NT Trades and Labor Council has also banned maintenance work on communication services and power at the Indonesian consulate in Darwin.

It is also considering action which would affect refuelling and baggage handling when aircraft to or from Indonesia land in the northern capital.



● Mr Halfpenny ... seeks trade sanctions.

The bans would affect Indonesia's Garuda airline which flies twice weekly from Darwin.

The NT union bans have come after the Canberra Trades and Labor Council established a picket outside the Indonesian Embassy on Sunday.

They also follow last week's demand by Victorian Trades Hall Council secretary Mr John Halfpenny for the Federal Government to immediately cut military aid to Indonesia and impose trade sanctions.

The NT action increases pressure on the Federal Government to act decisively over last week's massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian troops in Dili.

NT Trades and Labor Council president Mr Jamey Robertson urged the states to follow the NT lead.

Mr Robertson said the Government had been "lax" in response to the Dili atrocity.

"We're hoping our actions will turn around the Federal Government's attitude to Indonesia's human rights abuses instead of just pushing them under the rug," he said.

● Aussie envoy's terror report, Page 17

Herald Sun, 20 November 1991

## Australian envoy to check claims of seven more deaths

# Timor concern widens

By MARGARET EASTERBROOK,  
CHIPS MACKINOLTY  
and THOMAS TAYLOR

### THE PRESSURE POINTS

■ **TODAY:** The Victorian Trades Hall Council meets to draft a request to the ACTU, asking it to start national action and to pressure the Federal Government. The council will also discuss widening the AWU ban on Indonesian ships and ships carrying Indonesian imports.

■ **TOMORROW:** Federal caucus meets. It will have before it a resolution adopted at the weekend's Tasmanian ALP conference advocating a tougher Australian stand against Jakarta.

■ **FRIDAY:** The ACTU's international committee will meet to discuss the shootings.

The Australian embassy in Jakarta will investigate allegations of further killings by soldiers in East Timor as pressure mounts on the Federal Government to take a tougher line against Indonesia.

An embassy spokesman in Jakarta said yesterday allegations that seven people, including a baby and a girl aged four, were executed last week would be investigated immediately.

The allegations were made by Frettilin, the East Timorese independence movement, which named the seven. The spokesman said the embassy had not heard of the allegation but would instruct an embassy official in Dili, the East Timorese capital, to investigate. The Red Cross would

also be asked to check the allegation, the spokesman said.

The embassy will also investigate other allegations of killings levelled by Frettilin.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, is expected to come under pressure at tomorrow's caucus meeting to take a much tougher stance against Indonesia in the wake of the Dili massacre on 13 November. The official death

toll was 19 but other estimates have put the toll at between 60 and 180.

A motion adopted on Saturday by the Tasmanian ALP council urging the suspension of official ties with Indonesia will be taken to the caucus meeting.

The motion calls on the Federal Government to halt all military and defence cooperation with Jakarta, suspend Government contact, and

withdraw Australian acceptance of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

It says the contact should be suspended until an independent investigation into the killings is carried out by the United Nations and Amnesty International.

In other developments:

● The president of the ACTU, Mr Martin Ferguson, said yesterday that the ACTU would support an independent UN investigation into the East Timor shootings. The ACTU's international committee meets on Friday to discuss the shootings.

● The Victorian Trades Hall Council is expected this morning to draft a request to the ACTU for national union action against Indonesia. The secretary of the THC, Mr John Halfpenny, said yesterday that he expected other state councils to support the request.

● In Dili, according to a newspaper

report, police plan to release all but 12 of 41 people detained in the wake of the 13 November massacre. The paper, "Kompas", quoted the Dili police chief, Colonel Ishak Kodijat, as saying that interrogations of 41 people detained in connection with the killings were still proceeding, but that "several of them would be released soon".

● Frettilin also claimed that the seven people allegedly killed by soldiers on 18 November were witnesses to the mass burial of 10 other East Timorese. These Timorese, Frettilin claimed, had witnessed the killing of between 60 and 80 people on 15 November in a valley near the Comoro River on the outskirts of Dili. The Indonesian Government has denied allegations of a second mass shooting.

Continued: PAGE 6

PAGE 6: The view from Darwin; the view from Jakarta.

The Age, 25 November 1991

# Unions get tough on massacre

THE Victorian Trades Hall Council has urged the Federal Government to push for international sanctions against Indonesia after the Dili massacre.

Trades Hall Council secretary John Halfpenny yesterday accused the Government of being "wimpy" about Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

He outlined a planned industrial campaign against Indonesia in protest at the killings a fortnight ago.

A range of proposals unanimously adopted by the council's executive yesterday called for:

● Australia to seek United Nations support for trade and military sanctions similar to those imposed against Iraq.

● This country to withdraw its recognition of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor.

● The suspension of landing rights for Indonesia's national airline, Garuda.

● A series of bans, boycotts and demonstrations against Indonesian trade and shipping, diplomatic posts and Garuda.

Key Victorian transport, maritime and waterfront unions will meet tomorrow to co-ordinate their action. Bans could be imposed

by Friday, Mr Halfpenny warned.

But he said such measures would not be as effective as a national campaign.

The union move comes as pressure mounts from government backbenchers to force the Industry Minister, Senator Burton, to cancel his visit to Indonesia next month.

Labor backbenchers have taken a hardline view over the East Timor killings.

They are seeking a ban on military aid to Indonesia.

Caucus will consider a resolution today calling on the Government to take strong action over the November 13 massacre.

Mr Halfpenny said the Australian Government had been "pursuing a policy of appeasement towards Indonesia for some years".

It should suspend aid and cut diplomatic and military ties, he said.

If the Government was serious about events in East Timor the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, would cancel his planned

trip to Indonesia next year, he said.

"The similarities between Indonesia and East Timor and Iraq in Kuwait are overwhelmingly clear," Mr Halfpenny said.

The ACTU would be asked to approach the international trade union movement to support sanctions.

Mr Halfpenny said any bans imposed should remain until Indonesia agreed to enter discussions through the United

Nations on a program for withdrawal from East Timor.

Refuelling bans against Garuda and a picket at its Melbourne office would hit Visit Indonesia Year.

About 180,000 Australians visit there annually.

"We hope that it hurts them and we hope that they get angry. That's the whole intention of it," Mr Halfpenny said.

Garuda spokesman Mr Mike Parker Brown said

the airline had six flights a week from Melbourne.

The Australian Telecommunications Employees Association is considering bans on maintenance and telephone links at Garuda offices and Indonesian diplomatic posts around Australia.

And the Australian Workers Union has banned Indonesian shipping and put a 24-hour delay on offloading Indonesian goods at the Port of Melbourne.

## Army told: shoot on sight

INDONESIAN troops in the East Timor capital of Dili have been ordered to shoot on sight masked men roaming the city's streets at night and raiding homes.

"I have ordered members of the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) to shoot the masked gangsters on the spot if the troops meet them," local military chief Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw said.

Pro-independence

rebels have accused ABRI of supporting the gangs, which they say roam the streets at night and are responsible for beatings, abductions, torture and killings.

General Warouw said he was not certain of the existence of such gangs.

"I don't know; I have never seen them, hence I don't know whether it's true or not," he said.

The Australian embassy in Jakarta has announced it is investigating allega-

tions of further killings by Indonesian troops on November 17 and 18 on the outskirts of Dili.

Demonstrations are continuing outside the embassy in protest at union pickets and demonstrations against Indonesian diplomatic missions in Australia.

Armed forces chief General Try Sutrisno has denied that the protests, all by pro-government groups, were part of an organised campaign.

-REUTERS

Herald Sun, 26 November 1991

# Timor: unions demand action

By DANIELLE TALBOT  
and MARK METHERELL

The ACTU yesterday stepped up pressure for a tougher Australian response to the Dili massacre, calling on Canberra to review its relations with Indonesia.

The ACTU's international committee also urged the Federal Government to review its formal recognition of Indonesia's control of East Timor.

In a long list of resolutions, the committee — headed by the ACTU president, Mr Martin Ferguson — called for:

- Suspension of Australia's military links with Indonesia.
- A United Nations inquiry into the killings.
- Union bans on Indonesian ships and planes next Saturday, the 16th anniversary of the Indonesian takeover of East Timor.
- Cancellation by Australians of visits and holidays in Indonesia.

The resolutions, which are expected to be adopted by the ACTU executive in about 10 days, go significantly further than this week's federal ALP caucus resolution. That resolution held back on punitive measures against Indonesia, pending the handling of the Indonesian Government's investigation of the killings.

The ACTU committee also contradicted an assertion this week by the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, that the killings seemed to represent "aberrant behavior" by a group of soldiers. The committee said the massacre "is not an aberration but consistent with a pattern of widespread systematic repression and abuse".

A spokesman for Senator Evans, who was in New Zealand yesterday, had no comment on the ACTU resolution. Senator Evans has estimated that about 75 people were killed in the massacre.

The committee, in its list of recommendations to the 38-member ACTU executive, called on the Government to establish a consulate in East Timor and support talks without preconditions between East Timor, Indonesia and Portugal.

It noted that under the Government's guidelines Australia should

## DEATH COUNT

### QUESTIONED

East Timor's civilian governor has questioned the official version of the Dili killings. The Government says only 19 people were killed, but Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao has told reporters that figure would change. "I am sure it will... I have a feeling that I saw a number of corpses in a truck but I don't have any experience in counting bodies."

PAGE 9: Report.

not export military equipment to governments that seriously violate their citizens' rights.

Despite a strong plea from representatives of the East Timorese community, a Victorian Trades Hall Council amendment for a nationwide campaign of bans and boycotts was narrowly defeated. Mr Ferguson had argued that Indonesia should be given a final chance to hold a proper, independent inquiry into the killings.

The THC secretary, Mr John Halfpenny, said he was disappointed with the decision but believed a tougher stance would be adopted at next month's meeting of the executive.

Mr Ferguson argued that the ACTU had not ruled out taking industrial action in the future. He said a review of trade sanctions would be held once the ACTU had assessed reports on the Indonesian inquiry, the UN investigation and the visit to Indonesia next month by Senator Evans.

"In this context, the ACTU is prepared to consider putting in place in the future a coordinated range of national bans, including a ban on all work in the Timor Sea Zone of Cooperation...

"We are clearly prepared to take decisive action in the future, but it requires the union movement to clearly spell out to the Australian community what action we intend taking."

PAGE 11: Geoffrey Barker comments; Nicholson's view.

# WHARFIES BAN INDON VESSEL

**INDUSTRIAL** action against Indonesian interests in Australia in the wake of the Dili massacre is increasing despite a key ACTU committee recommendation.

Waterside workers in Brisbane yesterday stopped work on the first Indonesian ship to arrive in Australia since the East Timor killings.

And steel unions were taken to the Industrial Relations Commission in Sydney by BHP over bans affecting an \$8 million shipment of steel to Indonesia from BHP's Port Kembla plant.

It is understood the commission recommended the bans be lifted.

Other bans on Indonesian diplomatic posts,

By PETER  
MICKELBROUGH

shipping and aircraft are in place in Victoria, the NT, Sydney and the ACT.

Last Friday the ACTU's international affairs committee said any national industrial action should be deferred until after the outcome of the planned Indonesian inquiry into the killings.

Although its recommendations did not prohibit individual unions from taking action, it suggested the Indonesians should be given a chance to prove a proper inquiry would be held.

But the 38-member ACTU executive, which will consider the recommendations next week is coming under growing



● Tas Bull ... "deterioration mode", pressure to take a harder line.

Waterside Workers Federation general secretary Mr Tas Bull said while yesterday's 12-hour stoppage by workers in Brisbane was not in conflict with the ACTU committee recommendation, bans inevitably would broaden.

"These things don't stand still, either something positive is going to

come out of Indonesia or the position's going to deteriorate and at the moment I would say it's in deterioration mode," he said.

"I don't think that anyone believes that the response to date from the Australian Government or internationally has been anything like reasonable."

Mr Bull said "belligerent statements" since the massacre emphasised the Indonesian Government's support for the killings and its obvious intention to continue persecution of the East Timorese people.

He said the action was likely to be repeated when the ship, the *Anro Djakarta*, reached Sydney.

● Australia next week will sign an agreement with Indonesia to allow 12 firms to explore for oil and gas in the Timor Sea, despite the Dili massacre.

Herald Sun, 5 December 1991

## Bishops call for a wider Dili inquiry

By MARK BROLLY,  
religious affairs reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Age, 7 December 1991

# Business fears Jakarta backlash over Timor

By DAVID BROWNE

ALAN Taylor shared the horror of many Australians on hearing the reports that civilians were killed by Indonesian military forces in the East Timorese capital of Dili on November 12.

A few days later on a business trip to Vietnam, he spoke to a Scottish supervisor who worked for his company and had had extensive experience in Indonesia.

Mr Taylor asked the supervisor, and his Indonesian wife, how the Timor situation would affect business dealings between Australia and Indonesia. He was relieved to find they thought there would be no problems.

The past few weeks have been worrying for industrialists like Mr Taylor who hope the economic opportunities presented by Indonesia are not dragged into a political crisis between Canberra and Jakarta.

Two Indonesias exist in the minds of Australians. One is the political powder keg, controlled by a military all too ready to pull the trigger.

Another is the economic bonanza. Jakarta is beginning to boom and the country as a whole is a magnet for Australian mining and manufacturing companies.

The re-emergence of the Timor issue could not have come at a worse time for those who have been whipping up interest in Indonesia on the business front.

Barely a week passes without ag-



Mr Taylor . . . concerned

reements being signed for Australian companies to become involved there.

Australian investment in Indonesia has been relatively small, but it is what is in the pipeline that counts.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are being poured into mining projects that will take years before they begin to pay their way.

The possibility of our political relationship with Indonesia falling apart is bad news for businessmen who have good reason to want to keep Indonesia's leaders sweet.

Mr Taylor is an Australian businessman who has tasted what the Indonesian economy offers.

He is the group managing director of Bulk Materials (Coal Handling), or BMCH, a Sydney company supplying coal-processing equipment to Indonesia under contract.

The equipment removes shale and rocks from coal. It has been installed at the Ombilin plant on Sumatra, and is in the final stages of being fitted into the Bukatsunar plant on Kalimantan, previously known as Borneo.

Mr Taylor says Indonesia's economic potential is considerable and there is ample evidence of Australia's corporate sector wanting to become involved in Jakarta's development process.

His company has never experienced political problems in Indonesia and he detects no economic backlash so far from the political jousting over Timor.

The cultural distance that many Australians feel with Indonesians applies to business as well.

Businessmen may strike deals with our northern neighbours, but they are often not well versed in the politics and diverse cultures of Indonesia.

Mr Taylor says he is unsure about the state of economic relations between the two countries. However, he is concerned that the flow-on from a political row could mean

limitations for Australian companies in Indonesia.

On the other hand, he thinks Indonesia would be reckless to cut off Australian expertise and finance.

All industrial developments in Indonesia have to be tied to the Government, and joint ventures are needed between Australian and Indonesian companies.

Mr Taylor is apprehensive about the political decisions which could follow the report of the inquiry into the Dili killings.

"It's obvious it could affect our trading position," he said. "I doubt it

## Economic bonanza

will go that far, but it's important it's put right."

Australian companies doing the most business in Indonesia are CRA, BHP, the Wheat Board, Transfield and Kinhill Engineering.

This month, 62 Australian companies took part in two trade fairs in Jakarta - Mining Indonesia and Electric Indonesia.

Boral has recently announced a new joint venture in Indonesia, and the international arm of Telecom Australia has signed a memorandum of understanding with an Indonesian company to provide the fledgling telecommunications in-

dustry with a program of quality assurance.

Australia's senior trade commissioner in Jakarta, Ms Barbara Higgs, refused to comment on the overlap between political and economic policies in Indonesia.

But she said: "As far as Austrade is concerned it is very much business as usual in Jakarta."

CRA has invested nearly \$600 million in coal and gold projects in East Kalimantan.

The Kaltim Prima coal mine is owned 50-50 by CRA and BP, and CRA owns 90 per cent of the Kelian gold project.

Construction of the coal mine was finished in September and the gold mine is under construction.

The bulk of CRA's Indonesian money is tied up in Kaltim Prima and it is being mined under a 30-year agreement with the Indonesian Government.

Holes in the ground in old Borneo and construction cranes on the Jakarta skyline are a long way from blood in the streets of Dili - and Australian businessmen and their Indonesian partners would like them kept well apart.

The clear impression gained from Australian businessmen with bucks at stake is that the bleeding hearts back home must be soothed, while keeping faith with Indonesia's officials.

Continued - Page 34

# Business fears Indonesian backlash over Timor row

From Page 40

Mr Leigh Clifford, CRA's executive in charge of energy investments, trots out the party line that Australia is not alone in expressing concern over the Dili killings, that Timor is not a new political issue, and hopefully the issue will be settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

The platitudes are understandable - people like Mr Clifford are Australia's second line of diplomats in dealings with Indonesia.

"Anything that impacts on our bilateral relationship is important and Timor is a significant issue," he said.

CRA sees it as inappropriate to comment on the impact of Timor. Mr Clifford said Australia's political relationship with Indonesia had been coloured at times by the Timor issue.

However, he feels it is something which companies should not let affect their business arrangements.

Like other Australian companies, CRA has extensive contact with the Indonesian bureaucracy.

Among the economic features which attract the likes of CRA to Indonesia is the large population of 180 million.

The nation has entered a pe-

riod of rapid industrial expansion and has become an attractive destination for mineral exploration and development.

Mr Clifford described the Indonesian officials who had regular contact with CRA as sensible, reliable and long term in their thinking.

He said these contacts have given little feedback on the political situation, suggesting that Timor was in a different part of Indonesia from CRA's investments.

The Indonesian officials CRA

## Blind-eye approach

deals with are not in a position to be well informed on the Timor issue.

Australian politicians and investors are awaiting the results of the inquiry into the Dili killings.

In the meantime, the corporate interests would like Australia out of the spotlight.

Mr Clifford seeks to deflect attention by pointing to the investment in Indonesia by European countries, which are also expressing concern about Timor.

He also believes the political developments will not reach the

point where they hurt the commercial prospects.

The president of the Australia-Indonesia Business Council, Mr Peter Church, would prefer Australia to act through the United Nations or through a big power, rather than act independently on Timor.

The number of Australian companies belonging to his council has doubled in the past 18 months, and the line pursued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, has its endorsement.

Mr Church compliments the Federal Government for showing knowledge of how to behave in Indonesia, and suggests Canberra's approach should not affect the economic relationship if it remains sensitive.

However, a fine line exists between common sense and compromise, and Mr Church is clearly at odds with groups wanting a tougher stance on the Dili killings.

He argues they will not achieve what they want and will hurt Australia's national interest while failing to help the Timorese.

Mr Church openly subscribes to the blind-eye approach - to succeed as a foreigner in Indonesia, do not get involved in the politics.

The Australian, 11 December 1991

# ACTU reins in push for E Timor protests

By SHANE GREEN  
and CARMEL EGAN

THE ACTU executive yesterday headed off moves by left-wing unions for national bans and boycotts on Indonesian interests to protest against the Dili massacre last month.

In other developments yesterday:

**ACADEMIC** specialist Professor Jamie Mackie said East Timor could descend into civil war if granted independence.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, said in the Senate Australia would neither tear up nor put on hold the Timor Gap treaty. Australia and Indonesia are due to sign an agreement under the treaty that will allow 12 companies to explore for oil and gas.

THE Japanese ambassador to Australia, Mr Hiroshi Fukuda, said his Government had expressed serious concern over the massacre to Jakarta and wanted the United Nations to settle Timor's future with Indonesia and Portugal.

Senator Evans also appeared at a Red Cross function on war victims in Canberra yesterday with former Labor prime minister Mr Gough Whitlam, who on Monday attacked the Government's handling of Indonesia and East Timor.

But they managed a friendly exchange.

The ACTU executive, in a compromise move yesterday, left the way open for individual unions to consider action should the Indonesian in-



Mr Whitlam and Senator Evans yesterday . . . friendly exchange — Picture: MICHAEL JONES

quiry into the massacre "prove to be a sham".

This could also occur if either the United Nations investigation or the report of the coming visit to Indonesia by Senator Evans did not provide "practical means of coming to terms with the situation in East Timor".

The ACTU's response has

been limited to a day of protest and action by waterfront unions to delay some Indonesian ships.

The president of the ACTU, Mr Martin Ferguson, said trade sanctions could not be imposed on a country "at the drop of a hat".

Professor Mackie, the recently retired professor of

political and social change at the Australian National University and a specialist on Indonesia, said: "I can foresee an appalling scenario if East Timor does ever succeed in getting independence with many people being killed."

He told a conference on East Timor at La Trobe University in Melbourne that in-

dependence would fall prey to factional politics.

In the Senate yesterday, West Australian green Senator Jo Valentine asked Senator Evans whether it would be appropriate to postpone signing the Timor Gap agreement in view of the massacre.

The Australian, 12 December 1991

## Labor accused of hypocrisy over East Timor

By SONYA VOUMARD,  
Sydney

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

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

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

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

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

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

United Nations auspices".

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

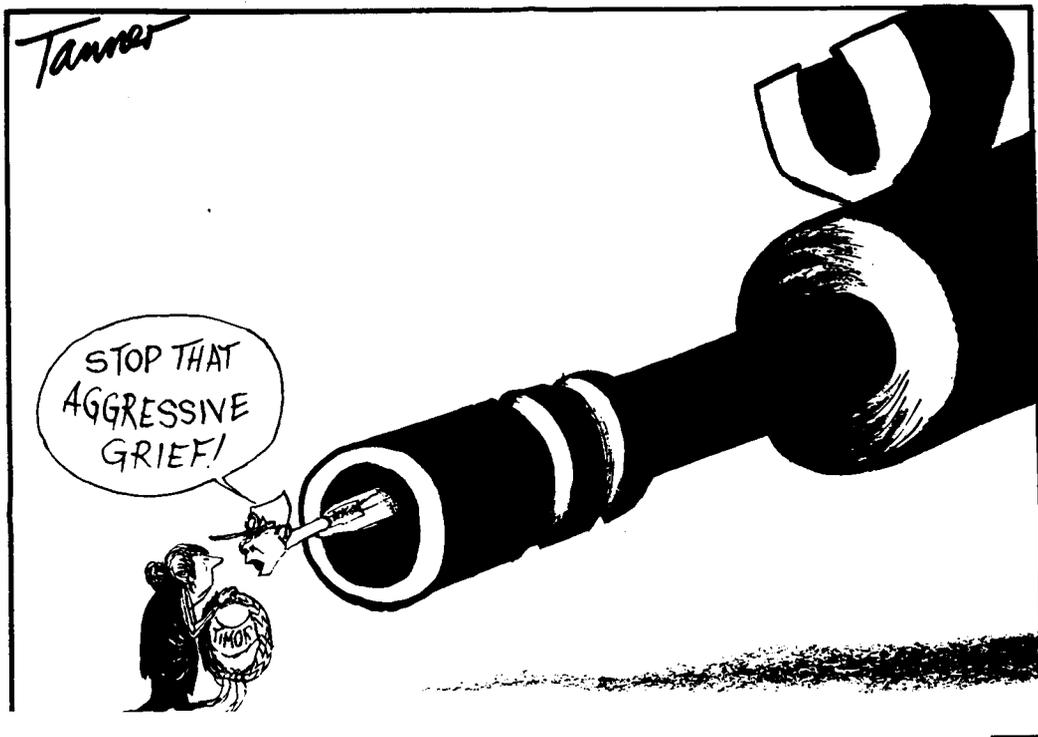
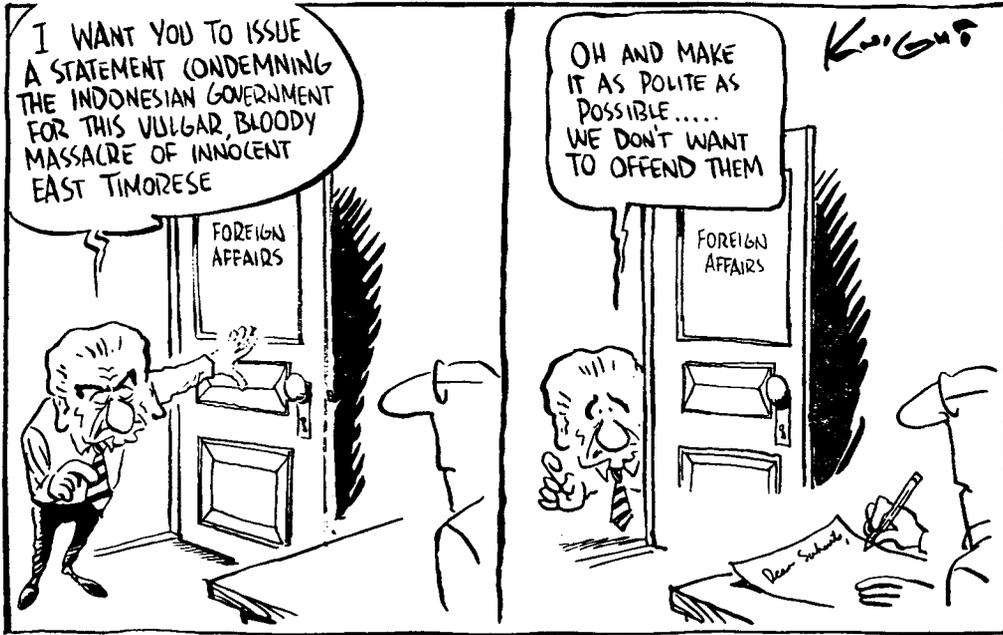
It said that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, should go to Indonesia "with very specific goals", seeking all relevant details about the Indonesian Government's handling of the investigation into the massacre.

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

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

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

The Age, 13 December 1991



## Australian Reaction: East Timorese Exiles



**SYDNEY**—Up to 1000 people, mostly East Timorese, attended a December 7 memorial mass for the victims of the Dili massacre, and later marched to Town Hall, where the state Labor Party conference was being held. Photo by Susan Markie.

'You treat us like animals . . . bastards, murderers!'



East Timorese protesters gather in Canberra (above), while Mr Da-Luz (left) is overcome with grief after learning his cousins were among the dead — Pictures: CHRIS PAVLICH

## Angry protesters burn flag

By KATHERINE GLASCOTT

INDONESIAN flags and effigies of President Suharto were torched yesterday when about 200 Timorese and supporters gathered in Canberra to condemn Tuesday's massacre of at least 80 people by the Indonesian military in East Timor.

Emotions ran high as a group of protesters, who gathered outside Parliament House and then the Indonesian embassy, tried unsuccessfully to climb the embassy fence while another threw a burning flag onto the lawns.

"You treat us like animals, we don't need that flag — bastards, murderers!" the protester shouted.

Protesters called on the Federal Government to suspend all defence co-operation with Indonesia, cease all arms sales and set up an international independent inquiry with a United Nations observer group to monitor any human rights violations by the Indonesian military until an act of self-determination could take place.

Despite a large Indonesian military presence in East Timor, a spokesman for the

East Timorese community, Mr Agio Pereira, vowed continued resistance to the Indonesian Government, maintained by the Fretilin movement.

"Until the day we East Timorese have the right to vote for our future we will consider you as beast," he said.

"We will fight until the last Indonesian soldier is out of East Timor."

He called on the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, to cancel his trip to Jakarta, tentatively scheduled for next February.

Mr Brian Da-Luz's tears stood out among the jeering crowd. He had just learnt of the deaths of his two young cousins, who were shot in the back as they fled the Indonesian troops who opened fire on several thousand mourners near the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

A refugee, Mr Da-Luz, 25, fled to Australia with his immediate family after East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

His anger was not just aimed at the Indonesian Government and military but at the Australian Government,

which he feels has betrayed his country.

"I am disgusted at the Australian Government," he said.

"East Timor is one of Australia's closest neighbours and yet they refuse to consider the fact that we treat the Australian people as our own brothers and sisters.

"It seems the Australian Government has forgotten that in World War II 400,000 Timorese lives were lost while protecting Australian units.

"We deserve some recognition and protection."

Mr Da-Luz called on the Indonesian Government to sit down and talk with the East Timorese and Portuguese people.

"The only way to get peace in East Timor is if every Indonesian leaves it," he said.

Northern Territory MP Mr Warren Snowdon told the rally the events in Dili should be deplored by all Australians.

Mr Snowdon, whose electorate includes Darwin, with a 5000-strong East Timorese community, said Indonesia's continued occupation of East Timor was illegal and unjustifiable.

The Australian, 15 November 1991

# Horrified East Timorese gather to protest and mourn

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY  
and KAY ANSELL

The horror of the Dili shootings has rocked Darwin's East Timorese community as they have desperately sought news of the fate of family and friends.

For John da Silva, a 31-year-old naturalised Australian, a telephone call to his mother early on Thursday confirmed the death of two brothers and a cousin, and the imprisonment, after army beatings, of two of his other brothers.

Half the male members of his

family are now dead or under arrest.

"I saw them in June when I went home for a holiday, but now they are dead. I am frightened for the rest of my family, but what can I do? Even when I was there I was followed by secret police," he said.

In Darwin yesterday, more than 200 East Timorese had emotional protests outside the Northern Territory Government offices and Indonesian consulate.

The protesters, who burnt Indonesian flags and laid wreaths and candles in symbolic gestures, lay

down to form a chain of 130 bodies, stretching almost 100 metres, on the road outside the NT House government building.

About 100 later marched three kilometres to the Indonesian consulate in suburban Stuart Park. Angry youths attacked the locked doors of the consulate, but were prevented by police from forcing their way into the building.

In Melbourne, about 500 people gathered in South Melbourne to protest against the Timor killings and to mourn for friends and relatives.

Mr Abel Guterez, a spokesman for the East Timorese community, told the demonstration that the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, must use the skills he employed to achieve peace in Cambodia to help the people of East Timor.

Mr Guterez demanded that the United Nations send a team to investigate the deaths.

Some people wept after seeing a symbolic re-enactment of the massacre. Among those most affected was Shirley Shackleton, the widow of Greg Shackleton, killed during the invasion of East Timor 16 years ago.

The Age, 16 November 1991

# Fretilin demands end to arms sales, slates inaction

By DAVID TWEED in Paris

THE former Fretilin representative to the United Nations and spokesman for East Timorese rebels called for an immediate arms embargo on Indonesia yesterday.

Mr Jose Ramos Horta also directed his vehemence at the "carefully worded" response to the killings by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

"He simply asked for an investigation... an investigation from the same people who committed the murder," Mr Horta said at a press conference held under the auspice of France Libertes - Fondation Danielle Mitterrand. Mrs Mitterrand is the wife of the French President, Mr Mitterrand.

"We would like to see Australia, as our direct neighbour, take some action in which it would be supported by Europeans and the Americans. We are all waiting for Australia to take the lead. Australia should not fear that it would be isolated if it took action."

Mr Horta said he would like to see Australia forcefully and publicly condemn Indonesia, expel all Indonesian intelligence agents who have been training in Australia, terminate all defence agreements with Indonesia and support moves with Europeans and Americans to impose an arms embargo.

Australia had not moved to force

Indonesia to relinquish control of East Timor in the past because "Australian politicians have no guts. They are afraid of Indonesian generals", he said.

"(Senator) Gareth Evans (the Minister for Foreign Affairs) is a man who dreams of the Nobel Peace Prize. He often boasts of his credentials as a champion of human rights but his actions have been rather selective.

"He was very active when he was in Soweto fist fighting with South African security. He put up a great show. When it comes to East Timor, which is only 364 miles (580km) north

of Darwin, he becomes rather a wimp."

According to Mr Horta the UK is Indonesia's biggest arms supplier with £100 million (\$220 million) a year in sales. But he said the response of the UK Foreign Office this week to his call for an arms embargo was that it would be inadequate and ineffective.

"My reaction to that is that it is another expression of the most refined form of British hypocrisy because they found it adequate and effective when Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands in 1982 and when Iraq invaded Kuwait."

Mr Horta welcomed Portugal's

condemnation of the killings. Portugal, the former ruler of the territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975, condemned the "extreme brutality" of the Indonesian armed forces on Wednesday.

Lisbon called on all countries to put pressure on Jakarta to end its "illegal occupation" of East Timor.

President Soares of Portugal said he had written to the United Nations secretary-general to draw attention to the intolerable disrespect for human rights after a Portuguese delegation postponed a fact-finding mission to East Timor under the aegis of the UN.

Weekend Australian, 16-17 November 1991

# Fretilin says the army executed 60 on Friday

The Indonesian Army executed 60 civilians arrested after the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre in Dili, East Timor's Fretilin resistance movement said yesterday.

A Fretilin spokesman in Darwin, Mr Alfredo Ferreira, said sources in East Timor reported that the executions were carried out on Friday, about 15 kilometres west of Dili.

The reports said four trucks took the 60 East Timorese to Bemut, near the Comoro River bridge, and that a bulldozer was used to push the bodies into mass graves.

Mr Ferreira said witnesses to the shooting wanted to give evidence to a UN-appointed mission, and that the East Timorese wanted a UN fact-finding mission to be sent to the island.

Mr Ferreira said requests for a casualty list by the East Timorese community in Australia remained unanswered.

East Timor sources said yesterday that as many as 200 people were shot during Tuesday's massacre when Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of mourners.

In Dili yesterday, grief-stricken East Timorese attended church in large numbers to pray for friends and relatives who died while the search continued for many still missing.

Witnesses in and around Dili say security forces have been round-

ing up youths for interrogation since Tuesday.

"Many mothers have come to me searching for their sons. What can I tell them?" said Father Britto, the pastor of Balide church near Santa Cruz cemetery, where the shooting occurred.

Father Britto, who came to East Timor 44 years ago from Goa, another former Portuguese colony, now part of India, said he was trying to get the military's permis-

Witnesses to the shooting want to give evidence to a UN-appointed mission, and the East Timorese want a UN fact-finding mission to be sent to the island.

sion to visit a hospital where about 90 people injured in Tuesday's violence were being treated.

Since the annexation of East Timor 16 years ago, Indonesia has tried to improve the island's economy, but at huge social cost. Diplomats estimate that 200,000 people, almost a third of the population, have died in the past 16 years as a result of war and famine in the predominantly Roman Catholic province.

"My brother is still missing," said one youth outside the church. He and his friends have been too frightened to go back to school since Tuesday.

A young woman wearing a badge of an American pop singer said she had no intention of going to mainland Indonesia to work despite the high unemployment rate in East Timor. "We like our freedom, they don't," she said.

Others in the church compound said that in the night, masked men in black have taken away youths who were not seen again. Many say the shadowy men are pro-integration vigilantes who have been stalking Dili streets since last year.

"More than fear of the army is the hatred Timorese have for the Indonesian," said a foreign aid. The army had to stop them killing each other, she said.

"The Christians here have learnt the message of the Old Testament, an eye for an eye, not the one in the New Testament, turn the other cheek," she said.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Belo, in an effort to calm people, had instructed priests not to mention Tuesday's events in their Sunday sermons.

But Father Britto said prayers would be offered for the dead at services today.

— Reuters, AAP

The Age, 18 November 1991

# Fretilin alleges seven more killings in Dili

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY,  
Darwin

Seven people — one a baby and another a child of four — are alleged by Fretilin to have been killed by Indonesian soldiers in what is claimed to be a continuing crackdown by the military.

Fretilin, the Timorese independence movement, said clandestine communications from Dili and Jakarta had "confirmed" the deaths as well as the arrest and jailing in Java and Bali of students protesting against the Dili massacre.

Fretilin's representative in Australia, Mr Alfredo Ferreira, said the seven killings had taken place in Dili on 18 November.

He declined to disclose how Fretilin overcame difficulties in obtaining news from East Timor, but said he tried as much as possible to cross-check information.

"We have a number of quite different sources in East Timor and Indonesia. If I get a single report, I will release the news as unconfirmed. I release information as having been confirmed if I get the same information from two or three quite different sources," he said.

Fretilin claimed that the seven people killed on 18 November were witnesses to the mass burial of 10 other East Timorese. These Timorese, Fretilin claimed, had witnessed the killing of between 60 and 80 people on 15 November in a valley near the Comoro River on the outskirts of Dili. (The Dili massacre which sparked international outrage and details of which have been confirmed by the Inter-

## THE VIEW FROM DARWIN

national community, took place on 12 November.)

Fretilin said the names of the seven killed on 18 November were Maria Castro, 35, Maria Fatima, 19, Gaspar, aged one, Joan Soares, aged four, Terezita, 16, Ines da Silva Soares, 30, and Liberata Mendes, 17. It is one of the very few occasions that names have been put to people allegedly killed.

The so-called Dili underground, East Timorese who are said by Fretilin to have got word of events on the island to the outside world, claim that all of those allegedly killed since 15 November, the day of the alleged second massacre, had also been buried in mass graves, and that the grave sites had been sealed with bitumen.

The second massacre has been denied by Indonesian authorities. However, an Australian tourist, who would only be identified as "John", and who returned to Australia last week, has claimed that he heard 45 seconds of concentrated automatic weapon fire, followed by sporadic shots lasting 30 seconds, from the valley where the massacre was alleged to have taken place.

He said he had spoken to an East Timorese man who had seen between 60 and 80 people taken to the area on military trucks.

A member of Darwin's East Timorese community, Mr Jose Gusmao, said the principal targets in

Dili and elsewhere have been students, priests and nuns.

"They are going for the student leaders and trying to eliminate activism. They are trying to get rid of any witnesses, even if it means killing all of our people. That is because we are all witnesses to daily repression," he said.

"Bishop Belo of Dili is followed by the military whenever he leaves the bishop's residence, and house-to-house searches for young people have included raids on the living quarters of nuns and priests.

"We know that Father Alberto Ricardo from the Motael parish (the scene of the memorial service which led to the first massacre) is being constantly harassed.

"The military have increased their activity in the towns of the eastern part of the country as well, with reports of people being 'disappeared' in Baukau, where 65 people have disappeared, as well as the towns of Same, Lospalos, Vikeke, and Watulart," Mr Gusmao said.

Fretilin sources said there were at least 25 to 300 people still in detention in Dili alone.

Information has also been released by Fretilin sources in Jakarta on the fate of at least two of the 50 East Timorese students arrested after a demonstration outside the Australian, Japanese and Dutch embassies last week.

It is claimed that Mr Antonio Cordoso and Mr Juan Freitas da Camara are still being detained and have been tortured. Both students have records with Indonesian authorities as pro-independence activists.

Picture: THERESE RITCHIE



The flames of defiance. East Timorese children tend candles at the shrine outside Darwin's Indonesian consulate.

The Age, 25 November 1991

## Let's open shop in Timor

LAST week was supposed to be a good one for Senator Gareth Evans.

The Foreign Minister had launched his book *Australia's Foreign Relations*, and even appeared in the Ray Martin *Midday* show. He seemed to blush when Martin mentioned his nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize.

But then hundreds of East Timorese were shot by Indonesian soldiers.

The Senator said "everyone feels just a little sick in the stomach". No, it was nothing the Senator ate. As he explained, it was the "recurring irritant", a bug called East Timor.

A cure for Senator Evans' "recurring irritant" has to be found. Here are some suggestions:

● *The Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Department, Mr Richard Woolcott, should be barred from having anything to do with East Timor.*

Mr Woolcott was Australia's ambassador to Indonesia at the time of the invasion of East Timor, and altered a ministerial statement so the Indonesians would not be offended.

On October 30, 1975, the

By CHRIS SANTOS

then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, made a policy statement to the Senate, which began: "The Government has viewed with concern widespread reports that Indonesia is involved in military intervention in Portuguese Timor. The position of the Australian Government is clear. We deplore the fighting in the border areas..."

However, as Jill Jolliffe described in her book *East Timor - Nationalism and Colonialism*: "...This ministerial statement had been altered to conceal the fact that Australia knew Indonesian troops to be active in East Timor..."

"In [a cable to the Foreign Affairs Department], Mr Woolcott said that he had conveyed the ministerial statement [to the Indonesian Government] minus the first paragraph, which he felt might cause problems to Indonesia."

AS Mr Woolcott explained in his cable: "If the Minister says publicly that he regrets the degree of intervention in the affairs of Portuguese Timor, will he not



● Senator Evans

stir up a hornet's nest in Australia itself as well as producing a cold reaction here?..."

"Although we know it is not true, the formal position of the Indonesian Government is still that there is no Indonesian military intervention in East Timor. If the Minister said or implied in public the Indonesian Government was lying, we would invite a hurt and angry reaction."

● *The Government should open a consulate in East Timor.*

Successive federal governments have been often asked (by, among others, then backbencher and now Treasurer John Kerin) to open a consulate as a sign of concern about self-determination in East Timor.

A consulate would also

serve as a deterrent against abuses of human rights in East Timor.

● *The Government should initiate negotiations between the Indonesian Government and the East Timorese.*

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has said (in relation to Iraq) that "big countries cannot invade little countries and get away with it."

Therefore, Senator Evans should try to convince Indonesia "to accept a process of negotiations without pre-conditions with the East Timorese and under the auspices of the United Nations to seek a genuine settlement of the Timor problem", as requested by the East Timorese resistance.

● *The Government should appoint an independent investigator into the massacre and other breaches of human rights.*

If Senator Evans does not pursue these suggestions, the "recurring irritant" will keep recurring and he can kiss the Nobel goodbye.

Chris Santos was information officer of the Democratic Republic of East Timor in the brief period between independence and the Indonesian invasion.

Herald Sun, 29 November 1991

# PM's stand disappoints Timor team

By ADAM CONNOLLY

EAST Timorese leaders described a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday as futile and were "bitterly disappointed" at his reluctance to take a harder line against Jakarta.

They have called on ordinary Australians to ignore the Government's policy on Indonesia and rise up to prevent the slaughter of East Timorese.

The five-member delegation claims Indonesia has wiped out more than half East Timor's population, or 200,000 people, since taking control in 1975.

A representative for the independence movement Fretilin, Abel Guterres, compared the Indonesians' actions with the atrocities of Pol Pot in Cambodia.

"Pol Pot has been documented killing almost one million of his own people with mass burials, that is exactly



● Jimmy Carter ... probe team plea.

what the Indonesians have been using," he said.

"The Australian public out there, Mr and Mrs Australia, are they going to let the Australian Government get away with this murder?"

The delegation met Mr Hawke for 10 minutes and the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, for two hours but left without any new Australian commitment.

The group supports trade union bans against Indonesian companies as a lever for diplomatic concessions.

The delegation wants Australia to:

● Terminate the training of Indonesia's security personnel in Australia.

● Push ahead with an Australian consulate in Dili.

● Direct the \$15 million in East Timorese aid through the Catholic Church rather than through Jakarta.

● Push for a East Timorese referendum on self-determination.

East Timorese leaders have proposed a United Nations-sponsored massacre inquiry led by former US president Jimmy Carter, former Australian governor-general Sir

Ninian Stephen and South African church leader Desmond Tutu.

The Government has indicated it will not review its policy on East Timor's annexation by Indonesia until after the official inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre by Indonesian troops last month.

Timorese Democratic Union vice-president Joao Carrascalao said the world had known about human rights atrocities for 15 years.

"The massacre at Santa Cruz was not isolated, it is part of a process that started 16 years ago," he said.

A street protest in Sydney has been planned for Saturday, the anniversary of Indonesia's push into East Timor.

An American-born journalist claims to have found a site at which a second massacre of East Timorese civilians happened on the night of the Santa Cruz shootings.

Herald Sun, 4 December 1991

# UN, Jakarta in talks on killings

By MARK METHERELL and Agence France-Press

The United Nations has held talks with Indonesia on sending a special envoy to East Timor to investigate the Dili massacre, a UN statement said yesterday.

The UN deputy secretary-general for human rights, Mr Jan Martenson, had been in contact with Jakarta over the visit, the statement said.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, hoped that his envoy, a Kenyan lawyer, Mr Amos Wako, would be able to leave for Jakarta early this month, the statement said. It quoted a UN spokesman, Mr Francois Giuliani.

The Australian Government is believed to have urged the Indonesian Government yesterday to consider UN involvement in the investigation into the massacre.

In a separate move, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday broke with Government practice and met East Timorese resistance movement leaders, who urged him to drop Australia's recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, which it annexed in 1975.

The meeting was cut to 10 minutes because of Mr Hawke's other commitments, but the delegation had two hours of talks with



the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

The delegation leader, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said the group appealed to Mr Hawke and Senator Evans to seize the "historic opportunity" to redress the enormous wrongs done to the East Timorese and support their self-determination.

There was no immediate reaction from the Indonesian Government to the UN's announcement yesterday.

The Age, 4 December 1991

# Timor rebels spurn Hawke

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

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

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

They insisted their claim to self-determination was not negotiable and specified that talks could proceed only under the auspices of the United Nations.

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

"Any talk of a special region status, or reconciliation, is either incorrigible naivete, ignorance, or it is stubbornness in insisting by other means on a failed policy."

The East Timorese have created a diplomatic quandary for Australia. Their comments are an explicit rejection of Mr Hawke's proposition that Indonesia and the East Timorese try to find a formula that would allow the province greater autonomy yet keep it within the republic.

Australia recognises Indonesia's incorporation 18 years ago of the former Portuguese colony. But after the Dili massacre on November 12, which claimed an estimated 75 lives, Mr Hawke said Indonesia's policy towards East Timor could not be sustained.

The East Timorese delegation was invited to Canberra by Mr Hawke, who said the Suharto Government had to accept that military occupation was not a solution to the problem.

The meeting revealed deep-seated anger in the East Timorese resistance movement over what they regard as Australia's inept policy responses. Some delegates left saying they were bitterly disappointed.

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



Mr Ramos-Horta yesterday

Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao.

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

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

Citing their support for Australia during World War II, a spokesman for the Timorese community in Victoria, Mr Abel Guterres, said: "We never called meetings, never called for resolutions, to support your people. We responded to friends in need, and did so at a cost of 40,000 lives."

"We are not asking you to send troops to East Timor. We want political action, industrial action, to redress your mistakes."

Mr Carrascalao added: "We are not satisfied with words. We are not satisfied with tears. Our people are dying."

The delegation also criticised Australia's decision to wait on the report of the national commission of inquiry set up by the Suharto Government to investigate the massacre.

The East Timorese argued that the Hawke Government should support efforts to set up a UN inquiry.

They said they would nominate a prominent Australian — possibly former Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen — to join a fact-finding mission they were attempting to establish.

## Vigil forces Indonesians to shut Darwin consulate

Indonesia's consulate in Darwin stands empty and abandoned because of a 24-hour-a-day vigil by Darwin's East Timorese community and supporters.

Armed only with banners, wreaths of tropical flowers and placards, the protesters have set up a shrine outside the consulate.

Every evening, the strongly Catholic East Timorese hold a quiet prayer service for families and friends who have been killed or arrested, or who have "disappeared".

Hundreds of candles have been lit on the footpath and there is wax 10 centimetres deep at the base of a wooden cross blocking the front door of the consulate. The candles are kept alight even during the torrents that signal the coming of Darwin's wet season.

Posters and poetry in Portuguese

and English have been plastered across the front of the building, including East Timorese demands for an immediate United Nations presence in their homeland.

"The people are planning for it to be the first embassy for East Timor in Australia," says a long-time activist for East Timor, Mr Rob Wesley-Smith. "If that doesn't happen, we will try to keep it closed forever."

This does not please the consul, Mr Rachmat Murni, who sent his staff home and closed the consulate 10 days ago.

The telephone gives an out-of-order signal, and Mr Murni has told the local media that no more visas will be issued until the East Timorese are removed. He has refused to say more.

Until further notice, the shutters are down at the closest consulate to Indonesia in Australia.

## Australian Reaction: The Public

### Condemn Timor killers

**More readers appalled at the Dili massacre are demanding that the Australian Government condemn the Jakarta regime.**

#### **Brutal subjugation**

Mr Hawke urges the Indonesian Government to conduct a thorough investigation. Whom is he kidding? The Dili massacre is only a practical, and for once public, manifestation of a deliberate Indonesian policy of brutal subjugation of the East Timorese, and it starts right at the top.

**Chris Armstrong,**  
Croydon.

#### **Have some courage**

Bob Hawke and Gareth Evans, have some courage for a change. Stop the diplomatic rhetoric and selling out of East Timor. Indonesian military killings must be strongly condemned.

**Maria Bohan,**  
Kallista.

#### **Abandon recognition**

Any Australian with a conscience will feel an awful shame today because of our nation's recognition of Indonesia's takeover of Timor. In the wake of Tuesday's massacre we should reverse that acceptance.

**Peggy Mackian,**  
Sandringham.

#### **Condoning massacres**

Bob Hawke's hypocrisy over human rights in East Timor is Australia's hypocrisy. Shame Gareth Evans, shame Bob Hawke, shame Australia. It's time you stopped condoning Indonesian massacres in East Timor; it's time for self-determination in East Timor.

**Vicky Tchong,**  
Kensington.

#### **Rally against arms**

In light of the Timorese massacre is Australia still inviting Pacific nations to Aidex, the Australian weapons fair? All who oppose Australia arming countries such as Indonesia should come to the rally on Saturday at the GPO at 11 a.m.

**Paul Thompson,**  
Forest Hill.

#### **Stopping bullies**

Appeasement doesn't stop bullies, it encourages them. It didn't stop Hitler and now it isn't stopping Indonesia.

**Jonathan Melland,**

#### **Fresh bloodstains**

If foreign ministers and formulators of foreign policy for Australian governments since 1975 check their hands today, they will surely find fresh Timorese blood. May God forgive us all for our inaction.

**Tony Self,**  
Wheeters Hill.

Access letters must be 50 words or less. Lines are open between 8 am and noon, 1 pm and 4 pm weekdays.

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### Slap on the wrist

PM Deplores Killings, says 'The Age' headline (14/11). In well-known diplomatic language, to "deplere" is equivalent to a slap on the wrist. The Australian Government must "condemn" not "deplere" the massacre.

Tom Spencer,  
Fernree Gully.

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# Hawke response on Timor 'totally inadequate'

By Norm Dixon

Aid organisations, solidarity groups and others supporting East Timor's right to self-determination have severely criticised the Australian government's weak stand on the Indonesian army massacre of mourners in East Timor (see page 24). This pressure, together with community outrage at the massacre, has forced Prime Minister Bob Hawke to concede that Indonesia may have to seek an "amicable settlement" with those struggling for East Timor's independence.

The Indonesian military sought to give the impression that the attack was an act of panicked self-defence. A November 14 statement by the regional commander, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, claimed that there was a pistol shot and that a grenade was thrown before the army opened fire.

"Soldiers thought they heard the order 'fire' when the order was 'don't fire'", he explained lamely. Panjaitan admitted to just 19 deaths. The day before in Jakarta, the chief of Indonesia's armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, conceded that up to 50 people had died.

These official accounts have been contradicted by eyewitness reports. Russell Anderson, an Australian who was in Dili, told ABC Radio on November 13 what he saw: "There was a group that left from the [Motael] church that was about 3000-4000 ...

## No provocation

"When they got to the cemetery, the military started to arrive in truckloads. They got out of the trucks and lined up. People by that stage were getting quite worried and a lot had moved away. There was about a thousand left outside of the cemetery and there were quite a few people in the cemetery ... then the military just started firing, for no reason they just started firing into the crowd."

Allan Nairn, a reporter of the us *New Yorker* Magazine, witnessed the massacre and was badly beaten by Indonesian troops as was his colleague, us public radio journalist Amy Goodman. Nairn told ABC radio: "The army massacred dozens and dozens of people — unarmed civilians who were striking back as the soldiers fired into the crowd. ... The soldiers marched down from two directions armed with M-16s and they fired into the crowd ... and bodies were just dropping right and left. They just kept on firing ..."

A spokesperson for the Indonesian pro-democracy group *INPROT* in Jakarta said supporters in Dili had confirmed the deaths of 97 people. "Our contact in Dili says there was no



Members of East Timorese community picket Garuda Airlines, Sydney, November 13. Photo by Steve Robson.

provocation from Fretilin. No-one made any provocation toward the Indonesian army ... we are sure about that."

The situation in Dili had been tense since the announcement on October 24 that a visit to East Timor by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation had been suspended. Prior to the delegation's scheduled arrival, a large number of troop reinforcements were brought in to prevent pro-independence demonstrations. A wave of arrests began.

Pat Walsh of the human rights office of the Australian Council For Overseas Aid told *Green Left* that three Australian tourists had reported an "overwhelming" military presence in East Timor.

In a letter to the Portuguese ambassador to Australia, they reported that 94 new battalions of soldiers had been deployed, along with artillery, tanks and other military equipment.

"We witnessed truckloads of soldiers trundling through the streets of Dili, battalions exercising in village squares, massive freighters in Dili harbour unloading heavy military vehicles, and all along the road throughout the island we saw small squadrons of soldiers moving either openly or surreptitiously through the bush."

The massacre was condemned by Portugal, East Timor's former colonial ruler and recognised by the United Nations as the legal administering power of the territory. Portuguese President Mario Soares called on UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to end the atrocities and human rights violations in East Timor. Portugal also called on the European Community to consider severing all relations with Indonesia.

The response of other Western nations has been muted. The us State Department expressed "regret" over the "violence" and called for "prompt and full investigation". The British government announced it was considering humanitarian aid for the East Timorese but ruled out any arms embargo against Indonesia.

## Investigation

In stark contrast to his tearful reaction to the Chinese Tiananmen massacre in 1989, Bob Hawke simply urged the Indonesian government "to conduct a thorough investigation, publish a full and factual account of what happened and why" and to see that "those responsible for breaches of human rights should be appropriately dealt with".

Hawke's much-quoted call for a "dinkum" inquiry, however, did not extend to it being conducted by a body independent of the Indonesian government. The clear implication was that Australia would accept as an explanation that this outrage was caused by a few troops losing control for a moment rather than the reflection of a general policy.

In Seoul on November 13, Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans, deftly avoiding the use of the "m" word, told reporters he raised the "event" in Dili with Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas. Evans said Alatas was sympathetic to holding a "full and credible inquiry". But Alatas refused to allow the investigation to be conducted by an independent body.

Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Phillip Flood, told ABC radio on November 13 that he did not believe the killings were the result of a deliberate Indonesian policy: "I am quite certain that no-one in Jakarta would have authorised an action of this kind".

AKSI, a national organisation in solidarity with the Indonesian democracy movement, described the Australian government's response as "totally inadequate and indeed stupid".

"This is not a case of 'the local military getting out of control'", AKSI said. "These murders are the inevitable consequence of military occupation of a country against the wishes of its people."

AKSI has demanded that the Australian government completely withdraw all military cooperation with Indonesia and campaign for the United Nations to send an independent fact-finding mission to investigate the massacre. It also wants Australia to campaign for the UN to force Indonesia to withdraw its military forces and begin talks with representatives of the East Timorese people on the future they desire for their country.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid also demanded that the Australian government suspend all military aid and equipment sales to Jakarta. Australian Democrats foreign affairs spokesperson Vicki Bourne said that the government should condemn the massacre and support the sending of an independent fact-finding mission.

The national director of the Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign, Bob Debus, said, "This latest atrocity highlights that Indonesia's military solution in East Timor is not working, nor is it acceptable to the international community". Debus called on Hawke to urge Indonesia to join international talks on East Timor. "The United Nations, Portugal and Fretilin are interested in talks, but Indonesia refuses to come to the table", Freedom From Hunger reminded Canberra.

Australia is one of the few countries in the world that has accepted Indonesia's rule over East Timor. The UN does not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty. In the past Australia has refused to support negotiations between Indonesia and the East Timorese resistance. Evans is on record as saying: "We simply cannot lend ourselves to an exercise which is premised on non-acceptance of the sovereign incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia".

The Australian government is more interested in exploiting the potentially rich oil reserves beneath the Timor Sea than in the right to self-determination of the East Timorese people.

## Fretilin

The East Timorese liberation movement, Fretilin, has called for an international arms embargo on Indonesia. Fretilin's Jose Ramos Horta told ABC radio from Paris that "It is immoral that the industrial countries continue to supply weapons to Indonesia in the face of these atrocities which have been going on for 16 years. Western countries, including Australia, have turned a blind eye to it."

Horta pointed that the us provides helicopters, tanks, aircraft and machine guns to the Indonesian military — "the same machine guns, M-16s, that were fired on the children, women, almost killed two Americans and killed a New Zealander at the cemetery". Britain also supplies hundreds of millions of pounds worth of weapons each year to Indonesia.

"Australia, since the invasion, supplies lethal military support to Indonesia. Indonesian military and intelligence officers are trained in Australia. The same people who murder our people, our children and our women are trained in Australia by Australian defence and intelligence personnel", Horta added. ■



Street theatre at November 13 protest in Canberra. Photo by Max Lane.

## 'Stop sending weapons to Indonesia'

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

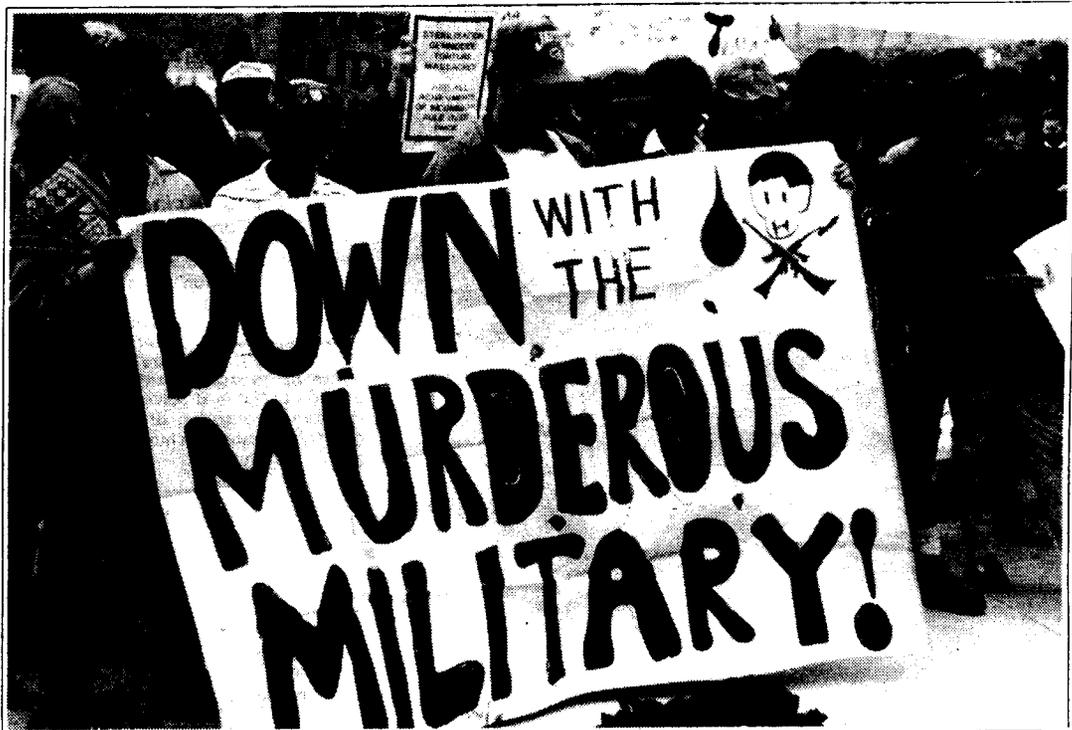
After the massacre of November 12, the Indonesian army, together with the Indonesian intelligence forces, started rounding up all those people they thought would be the organisers of the protest. Information is that between 100 and 300 people were rounded up on the first day after the massacre. These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

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

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

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

Fretilin wants the United Nations to go to East Timor and look into the situation. We also want



Canberra protest, Parliament House, November 13. Photo by Max Lane.

the United Nations to put pressure on the Indonesians to withdraw their forces. In fact, a resolution along these lines was passed in the United Nations in 1976. What we want is to enforce that resolution.

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

There has been an international outcry about the recent actions of the Indonesians. The Euro-

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

We think that there will be enough interna-

tional pressure on Australia to support such a motion. The Timor Gap treaty has influenced Australia against coming out with a strong response so far. This has prevented Australia from playing a useful role in support of the Timorese people.

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

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

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

Green Left, 27 November 1991

# Time for a stand on Timor

**T**HE hidden history of East Timor, under oppressive foreign occupation since Indonesia's first invasion in December 1975, is impressively documented in this timely book. Although not mentioned in 'Indonesia's Forgotten War', the latest massacre at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili and the more recent unconfirmed reports of roundups and executions are merely more episodes in a series of atrocities that have resulted in up to a third of East Timor's population of 750,000 being wiped out as a result of Indonesian invasion, occupation and annexation.

Dr Taylor's well-researched analysis cogently demonstrates how Australia, along with the United States and all western countries (with the conspicuous exceptions of Portugal and the Vatican) have shamefully abetted the Indonesian regime's aggression, largely for economic and geopolitical interests. In Australia, this betrayal of a people who lost 40,000 lives fighting with us against the Japanese has come equally from the ALP under Whitlam and Hawke as it has from the Liberal

INDONESIA'S FORGOTTEN WAR, by  
John G. Taylor

(Pluto Press, \$19.95)

**ROSS FITZGERALD**

Country governments led by Malcolm Fraser. Allegedly pragmatic "regional defence" considerations and the oil riches of the East Timor Sea have constantly outweighed moral considerations.

The hypocrisy of our condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait counterpointed against our acceptance of the illegality of Indonesia's "annexation" of East Timor and the forcible "resettlement" of its peoples is starkly demonstrated. Dr Taylor shows that Indonesia's "resettlement" schemes and the starvation of the East Timorese is per capita as bad as or worse than Cambodia and Biafra. Yet totally unaided by outside forces, the East Timorese Liberation Army (Fretilin) under the

inspired direction of resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, whose wife now lives in Melbourne, continues in the eastern mountains to fight on against the Indonesian aggressors.

It is pleasing to note the prominent role Dr Taylor ascribes to the work of the Lisbon-based, Melbourne-born journalist Jill Jolliffe. Educated at Monash University, Jolliffe's path-breaking book 'East Timor: Naturalism and Colonialism' still remains the most enlightening analysis of Indonesia's occupation and forced annexation.

As both Jolliffe and Taylor make clear, the whole dreadful process really began on 25 April 1974 when the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (AFM) overthrew the fascist and feudal Castano regime. News of the April coup in Lisbon and the Portuguese countryside soon filtered through to East Timor. This eventually resulted in both the proclamation of indigenous independence and then, with dreadful suddenness, the Indonesian occupation. Ironically, the spark to the most recent massacre at Dili was the cancel-

lation by the Indonesians of a Portuguese parliamentary visit which was to have been the first official contact by Portugal with East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. This cancellation was because Jakarta objected to the presence in the Portuguese delegation of Jill Jolliffe, who has lived and worked in Lisbon since 1978.

As Taylor's book, and recent appalling events, must make plain to Bob Hawke, Gareth Evans and even to the former ambassador to Indonesia Richard Woolcott, the issue of East Timor will not go away. Surely the time has come for the Australian Government to take a principled stand in support of a people — quite different in language, religion, color and culture from largely lighter-skinned Muslim Indonesia — who despite all odds will never cease to demand their human rights to self-determination. We must recognise the independence of East Timor, which culturally and morally is not, and ought never to have been, the 27th "province" of Indonesia.

The Age

## MIDWEEK KAZ

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# DO-IT-YOURSELF

To: The Prime Minister  
Parliament House  
Canberra ACT

## CARTOON

DEAR MR HAWKE, DRAW A PICTURE OF HOW YOU FEEL

Somebody is murdering our neighbors.  
We feel heartsick & angry & powerless about the CONTINUING slaughter of our brothers and sisters in East Timor. Since 1975 Australia has behaved like a total wimp in the face of invasion, torture and oppression. You, however, can make a difference. We ask that OUR representative at the United Nations immediately calls for East Timorese self-determination. Remember Tiananmen Square & Kuwait, Bob? PLEASE, walk it how you talk it. Yours sincerely

(NAME & ADDRESS):

Sign here ↑ as an individual, household or family. Only 43¢ to send!

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MATES - GO FAX - CRAZY & WORK

The Age, 27 November 1991



Fighting on: a rare picture of Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao (second from left) in one of the guerrillas' jungle hideouts.

## Letter from a silenced critic

■ This is an extract from a letter to friends by Kamal Bamadhaj, sent shortly before the 20-year-old New Zealand student was killed in the Dili massacre.

MAUBISSE, 2 November: Driving through East Timor today is no longer such a bumpy experience. Roads are being continuously paved with asphalt and bridges being built. Development, or "pembangunan" as the Indonesians call it, is the most uttered watchword around here — from the mouths of Indonesians at least.

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 by the Portuguese — until Indonesia helped liberate East Timor and took the ex-colony under its wing as the 27th

province. Since then, East Timor has shot ahead in leaps and bounds . . .

But scratch a little beneath the surface of uncomfortable Javanese smiles and silent East Timorese faces, and the grim reality of this place will jolt even the most casual observer. One senses that the great bulk of the local population have not willingly accepted Indonesian rule despite the supposed material advances gained through the annexation. Development is by Indonesia and for Indonesia. Timorese people argue that the roads were built to help the Indonesian military move from one region to another quickly, and to ease the process of extracting goods from East Timor into West Timor and beyond . . .

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 people, or one-third of the 1975 population, were killed . . .

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 colonisers need praise and reassurance to assuage their underlying guilt . . .

One could imagine that if the Timorese really began to threaten Indonesia's vested political and economic interests, they (the Indonesians) may quite easily decide to launch another wave of genocide against the Timorese people . . . Whether total genocide occurs in East Timor or not depends not only on the (remarkably powerful) will of the East Timorese people, but also on the will of humanity, of us all.

Sydney Morning Herald

# MUM SLAMS TIMOR DEAL

THE mother of a Sydney university student killed in last month's East Timor massacre has attacked Australia's quiet signing of a new Timor Gap agreement with Indonesia yesterday as "total hypocrisy".

Ms Helen Todd, whose son, Kamal Bamadhaj, died in the shooting, has written to the head of the United Nations and the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, pleading for an international inquiry into the shooting.

Oil exploration of the Timor Sea will begin within a month despite calls for the agreement to be mothballed until the results of an Indonesian inquiry into the massacre were released.

The Resources Minister, Mr Griffiths, said yesterday 11 production-sharing contracts had been approved for petroleum exploration in the Timor Sea.

But he stressed the Federal Government was concerned by the killings in East Timor.

Ms Todd, who lives in Malaysia, said she wrote to Senator Evans and UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on Mon-

day, pushing for an international inquiry into the shootings.

Indonesia acknowledges only 19 deaths in the massacre on November 12, despite some reports that the toll exceeded 100.

Ms Todd's letter to the United Nations says the only way to stop "the continued killings" was "for the UN to accept genuinely its responsibility for East Timor" and establish an immediate presence.

"I don't think that alone I could wake anybody up sufficiently to get action, but I don't think I am alone," Ms Todd said.

Ms Todd asked Senator Evans who would be able to provide anything but official versions of events when he travelled to the region next week because

militant dissenters had been "picked up and disposed of".

● A Victorian waterfront unions' campaign against Indonesian shipping degenerated into in-fighting yesterday as an Indonesian vessel began unloading cargo at Webb Dock.

In what is emerging as a major rift, the Victorian branch of the Australian Workers' Union accused the ACTU and Waterside Workers' Federation of a spineless stance against Indonesia.

AWU state secretary Bob Smith accused the union of undermining action that left the Anro Jayakarta at anchor in Port Phillip Bay for 24 hours before it docked yesterday morning.

## PM backs Cypriots

THE UN should intervene in Cyprus to find a solution to the island's partition, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday.

Turkish troops invaded the northern sector of the Mediterranean island in 1974, partitioning it from the Greek Cypriot community in the south.

Despite several UN resolutions condemning the invasion, Turkey has refused to withdraw its troops. Negotiations for a unification have been stymied.

Mr Hawke told a luncheon for Cypriot President George Vassiliou yesterday Australia supported UN efforts to resolve the problem.

More than 50,000 Greek and Turkish Cypriots have immigrated to Australia, most since the invasion.

# Dear Mr Hawke

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER

WHEN I was asked to comment in the media when my husband, television journalist Greg Shackleton, went missing in 1975 at Balibo, East Timor, I appealed to you. I wanted to use the opportunity to clarify the situation but because I was in a state of shock, I feared that I wouldn't function perceptively.

When I rang you at the ACTU, you explained the Indonesians were adopting classic cover-up procedures and that film from Greg showing Indonesian battleships off the coast of Timor had made redundant the claims that Jakarta was not involved.

I believe you are now in a state of shock and I have something to offer. I urge you to go ahead with your visit to Indonesia. Mr Gough Whitlam made an error of judgment over East Timor and I believe his subsequent denial of the disastrous consequences makes him an accomplice to genocide.

You can be remembered differently. I urge you to use your influence for a United Nations peace-keeping force to be introduced to prevent Operasi Komodo from starting another bogus civil war as they did in 1975.

When a democratically supervised referendum is held, the only people allowed to vote must be fair dinkum Timorese.

Take care when Indonesia agrees to pull out the army that they do not leave the police. The police in Timor are a para-military armed force for combat.

I still believe Australians and Indonesians can be friends: both nations have much to be proud of and the Indonesian people are as unlike those who rule the army as it is possible to be.

Australians supported Indonesia in their fight against their Dutch colonial masters; we owe an enormous debt to the Timorese because of the grass-roots loyalty received by Australian soldiers in World War II. It is in Indonesia's interest to be accepted into the Common Market of Europe. We have quite rightly given Indonesia millions of dollars of aid. Senator Gareth Evans, our Foreign Minister, is best friends with Mr Ali Alatas (Indonesia's Foreign Minister) and has proved he can work miracles.

The head of the resistance, Xanana, called for peace talks two years ago. It is time, Mr Hawke, you sat down with him and used your considerable skills to settle the matter. No settlement which excludes Xanana will hold any credibility with the East Timorese.

Please understand, the Santa Cruz massacre this month was only one of many and the death toll was comparatively small. At Tac-Tolu, on the outskirts of Dili, in the weeks before the Pope celebrated Mass in 1989, huge earth-moving equipment excavated the bones of victims murdered at that site.

There are others - the list is considerable - but I would like to tell you about Jaco Island in particular. Situated in the east, it was a natural sanctuary for the mouse deer - exquisite creatures that used to swim to the mainland every night, then back again in the early hours of the morning.

Because the Indonesian military thought resistance fighters could also use Jaco Island as a sanctuary, it was pulverised by bombing raids. Alas, the Jaco Island mouse deer are no more.

Yet still the tragedy expands. There have been scuffles outside Dili General Hospital because families who fear for their relatives are being denied entry. Patients do not receive medicines in the hospital; families must purchase medicine from the chemist and take it to the patient. Even under normal conditions, to visit a patient in the general hospital one must make a request in writing one month in advance.

Please, Mr Hawke, use your influence to have all the names of the Santa Cruz victims published. Insist that families be allowed into Dili hospital.

All the families of the Santa Cruz victims must be protected from unresolved grief. I know a bit about unresolved grief. So did my mother-in-law: she committed suicide as a result of the lack of official concern over Greg's disappearance. Our suffering was magnified because we had no body, we had no grave. Even today I do not know officially how Greg died because the government of the day (Whitlam's) did not insist upon a fair dinkum investigation. His successor, Mr Malcolm Fraser, went further and accepted that Indonesia was not interested in East Timor because they continually made statements saying they had no territorial rights or claims to that country.

When the invading Indonesian army shot Roger East (another Australian journalist) two months later, official Australian silence was deafening. A separate investigation must be held into the murders at Balibo and the murder of Roger East.

The numbers of young Indonesian soldiers who have given their lives in this ignoble cause must also be considered. I met many who loathe the occupation. They suffer: it is the generals and senior officials who gain, who operate convoluted businesses and plantations, who devise development projects to be built with aid money. They are the ones who give the orders.

I am most concerned at how our army must feel when they hear your call for punishment for soldiers who act under orders. If all the soldiers who have murdered East Timorese were to be punished, you would have to lay charges against the entire army of occupation!

Some of the excuses for the Santa Cruz murders would be funny if they were not so sad. Apply the one about the officer who is supposed to have called out "Don't shoot" to the eye-witness account of the young boy being disembowelled; do they also claim that an officer called out "Don't disembowel!"

The officer who led the attack on Balibo was promoted! Just as the American journalists were threatened by American guns at Santa Cruz, the bullets which kill in Timor could be ours. We make the best bullets in the world. If anything like the debacle in Timor ever occurs in Australia, it could be fair dinkum Aussie-made bullets that kill us.

Please, Mr Hawke, do not ask for revenge. Killing a couple of Indonesian soldiers in reprisals will be just another pointless cover-up.

- Shirley Shackleton

Sydney Morning Herald,

# Massacres add up to genocide

WHEN the true history is written, huge massacres will be revealed to have occurred all over East Timor in the 16 years of the illegal occupation by Indonesian forces. They have reportedly occurred at Mt Lauro, Licisa, Bulico, Lacluda, Kraras, Aria Branca, Baucau, Dili; and the infamous Fence of Legs operations of 1978, '79, '81 '82 and '83, when boys and men were forced ahead of troops to beat the undergrowth to flush out resistance fighters.

According to witnesses I have spoken to, what they found were mostly women and children who had taken refuge in the bush. The witnesses describe incidents where women were raped then killed, children's heads were smashed upon the ground. They say the "beaters" died of exposure and malnutrition because neither food nor shelter were provided. They say those who survived were too weak to plant crops so famine resulted. I believe that the fact that the Fence of Legs operation was repeated five times suggests a policy of deliberate genocide.

While one can draw comfort from recent events, there is still great cause for alarm: there are persistent reports of the army raiding schools, churches and houses to flush out the wounded who escaped from the massacre and of these people being dragged screaming from their hide-outs and taken away - fate unknown.

The Bishop of Dili, Bishop Carlos Belo, has warned that mercenaries in the pay of Indonesia are poised to start another bogus civil war (the first, which preceded the invasion was in fact a coup d'etat stage-managed from Jakarta as part of Operasi Komodo's destabilising plan for East Timor).

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has called for a "fair dinkum" investigation of both human rights abuses and the massacres and has demanded that the perpetrators be punished. These are curious demands.

The soldier cannot be punished for obeying orders. Any attempt by the Indonesians to pass this off as an accident caused by pro-independence rebels will be seen as propaganda.

I BELIEVE that the biggest human rights abuse is the military occupation. The military must go, and all this nonsense about the East Timorese having to accept Indonesia as overlords, must cease.

Mr Hawke should go to Indonesia, but not if he continues to accept the preposterous excuses being offered for the massacre. The fact that Indonesia wants to be host to the non-aligned movement in 1992 and that Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, desires to be appointed to the UN as Secretary-General, will help restrain them and cause them to listen to reason.

So far, Mr Hawke has been asking the wrong questions. Rather than treating the massacre as unusual, I think Mr Hawke should understand that I and many others, including many Indonesians, believe that the soldiers shot at defenceless people because that is what they are used to doing. Rather than demanding a single scapegoat, he should be asking what on earth was the military doing at a memorial service? Imagine that happening here!

The change of policy indicated in recent statements by Mr Hawke indicates a good start. It takes a brave man to initiate change; it takes a great man to follow words with actions. The

**SHIRLEY SHACKLETON**  
whose husband, Greg Shackleton, was one of five Australian journalists killed in East Timor in October 1975, says the latest Indonesian massacre is but one of many.

course Mr Hawke decides to pursue will have long-reaching consequences for Australians and for human rights in Indonesia.

To people who have worked diligently for the past 16 years on behalf of the East Timorese, events this week moved at such a rate that it was almost impossible to keep up. In Jakarta on Friday, Timorese and Indonesians demonstrated and there are reports of many similar demonstrations in the provinces. The day before, a delegation of NGO's, Indonesian and Timorese citizens marched on Parliament. In Indonesia that takes guts!

But I find Mr Hawke's silence over the murder of New Zealander, Kamal Bamadaj, in the Dili massacre is most disturbing. It is reminiscent of the official silence when my husband and his colleagues were murdered. A repeat of the silence which followed the shooting of Australian freelance journalist, Roger East, in December 1975.

WHEN I watched the re-enactment of the Santa Cruz massacre outside the Indonesian embassy in Melbourne on Friday, I burst into uncontrolled weeping. I realised that whenever I am interviewed I steel myself against my emotional outbursts. This time I was unprepared for my unresolved grief.

The United Nations are considering a referendum. This, of course, must happen, but care will have to be taken to prevent Indonesia from flooding the country with bogus Timorese. They did it at the Pope's Mass: they were ready to do it during the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation.

East Timor, like Brunel, will do very well indeed when they gain access to their own much-sought-after riches - freedom to develop the vast tourist potential of their own land; to cultivate without restriction; to gain access to the vast quantities of oil and natural gas in the Timor Sea.

But when the people dare to venture outside to attend memorial services which they know will be seen by the paranoid military as pro-democracy demonstrations, they are not dreaming of fighting, they are dreaming of freedom.

If you think all this is an exaggeration, consider the threats of the Defence Minister, General Murdani, recorded secretly in Dili last year. After announcing that he had without a moment's thought wiped out dissident organisations throughout Indonesia, he threatened to crush any challenges to Indonesia control in East Timor. "All of these movements we can finish up, wipe out. We can take care of them all," he said. General Murdani told his stunned audience that he knew "which of you was Frettilin, which of you didn't become good and which of you present now still supported the guerrilla leader Xanana".

This is the reality under which the Timorese suffer; this is what I fear will continue.

Shirley Shackleton has been a strong campaigner for the rights of the East Timorese.

# Timor barbarism is no surprise

from J. Tully

No one should be surprised by Indonesian barbarism in East Timor, yet the Australian Government appears to have been caught flat-footed by the massacre of civilians in Dili. Mark Metherell reports that Canberra had believed that "the Indonesian military appeared to be taking a more enlightened approach" to the Timorese resistance ('The Age', 14/11). How blind, or stupid, is it possible to be?

These massacres are not an aberration. They are an example of how an army of occupation, frustrated by its inability to suppress nationalist sentiment, uses terrorism as an instrument of state policy. Jakarta's generals and bureaucrats have no fear of their citizens showing displeasure at the ballot box, and they have been able to ignore foreign opposition. Australia, following Washington's lead, condoned the illegal occupation in the first place, just as the Western powers endorsed the earlier grab for West Papua.

Canberra must explain why they believed the Jakarta dictatorship was becoming more enlightened. They are presumably aware that President Suharto consolidated his power in 1965-66 with the massacre of between 500,000 and one million potential opponents; that around 200,000 out of 700,000 East Timorese have died since the 1975 Indonesian invasion; and that the West Papuans are routinely treated brutally and robbed of their land to make way for Javanese and Balinese "transmigrants". With the world turning a blind eye to such horrors, why should Jakarta change?

Hawke's call for an Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre continues the dishonesty and evasiveness that has characterised Australia's Indonesia policy. It is as appropriate as calling on Hitler to investigate Auschwitz. These butchers have no intention of changing their ways unless forced to, or thrown out of office — a tall order in a military dictatorship.

The very least that Australia can do to atone for years of complicity in genocide is to sponsor a move for the United Nations to open negotiations on East Timor. And, if the blood-drenched Jakarta dictatorship still refuses to budge, it must be isolated. Military intervention may not be an option, but trade and diplomatic sanctions are.

John Tully,  
Yarraville.

## Asia-Pacific in firing line

THE massacre in East Timor — a direct legacy of the appeasement policy pursued by successive Australian governments — deepens the concern that AIDEX (the government arms fair in Canberra) is being targeted towards the Asia-Pacific region.

It is no coincidence that Indonesia is the beneficiary of a Defence Cooperation Program with Australia — an arrangement which should be cancelled if the promotion of arms dealing through AIDEX '91 is part and parcel of a world view which has no place in the "new world order".

I believe that many potential customers would use arms and equipment bought from Australia to keep repressive political regimes viable. We promote the sale of arms in violation of the blood of those killed with Australian equipment is on our hands.

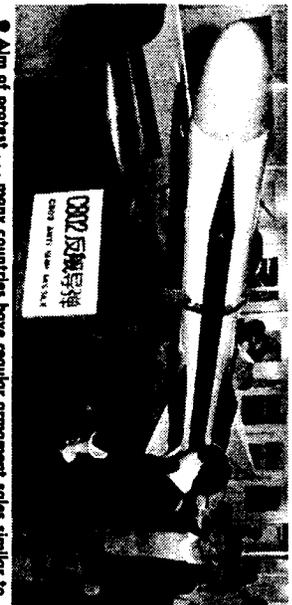
On the credit side, the community campaign against AIDEX is rapidly increasing, and is evidently having some effect. Contrary to exhibition organisers' Desliker's expectations, I understand the number of exhibitors this year is down by more than 25 per cent, compared to the 88 AIDEX.

Conditions of church, peace, environmental, community and political organisations have been formed in Victoria, Western Queensland, South Australia, Queensland, South Wales and the ACT. Protests are also being staged in the Northern Territory and Tasmania against the government endorsement of AIDEX, and to stop further exhibitions going ahead.

People from all walks of life — the clergy, business people, professionals, students, the jobless — will have shown their desire to stop the peddling of arms by our Government.

It is hoped that the Australian Government will accept the message from the community and that AIDEX '91 will be the last arms dealers' fair in Australia.

— Sid Spindler,  
Democrat senator for Victoria,  
spokesman on defence and trade.



● Aim of protest... many countries have regular armament sales similar to AIDEX '91. The anti-air missile (above) was on sale at a Peking show in 1988.

# Letters to the Editor

## Arms, AIDEX and our friend Indonesia

Received 21 November

THE INDONESIAN military's attack on East Timorese mourners received from our Government the condemnation which it deserved. For too long our north-western neighbour has brutally repressed those who dare to oppose its takeover of East Timor in 1975.

Australia's military aid to Indonesia has received less publicity,

perhaps because it doesn't fit with reassurances that we don't supply military assistance or make military sales to repressive regimes. Between 1978-79 and 1985-86, Australia gave \$A74.3 million military aid to Indonesia, the major items being training and study visits in Australia, supply of Nomad aircraft and maintenance capability Attack-class patrol boats and survey and map-

ping of remote parts of Indonesia. Among such areas mapped for the Indonesian military by Australia is Irian Jaya/West Papua which Indonesia took over in 1963 from the indigenous Melanesian people. Australian military sales to Indonesia have also included electronic target ranges.

Australia's protestation now is welcome, but 16 years too late. Had

our diplomatic efforts earlier been strongly in support of human rights, the fate of the East Timorese could have been different. The moral high ground taken by Australia and others over the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait looks totally inconsistent.

Meanwhile, AIDEX '91 will go ahead next week to promote further Australian military sales to South-East Asia and elsewhere. But

not to repressive regimes, of course. Australia has strict control over our military exports to prevent such an occurrence, or so we are told. Heartening news for the families of the 200,000 East Timorese who have died.

SUSAN WAREHAM  
Medical Association for  
Prevention of War  
Spence

The Canberra Times, 24 November 1991

## Australia should end all military aid to Indonesia

from N. Maclellan

The Australian Government's call for an inquiry into the East Timor massacre does not go far enough. A more tangible sign of opposition to human rights abuses by the Suharto regime would be an end to Australian military aid to Indonesia.

In 1988, Jakarta suspended military cooperation programs with Australia after a diplomatic brawl after a newspaper article on the wealth of President Suharto and his relatives. But since that time, the Indonesian and Australian armed forces have been involved in negotiations to re-establish these military links. There has been a series of visits to Jakarta by Australian Defence Force chief

General Peter Graton and other defence officials, and return visits by the head of Indonesia's Armed Forces, General Try Sutrisno.

This renewed military cooperation is now coming to fruition. Two Indonesian patrol boats visited Darwin in July after joint exercises with the Royal Australian Navy in the Arafura Sea. Austrade is encouraging Australian companies to enter joint ventures in military production with Indonesian corporations. Some 50 Indonesian officers are scheduled to attend Australian defence colleges over the next year for training. Defence officials are reportedly discussing transit rights through Indonesia for RAAF aircraft en route to Malaysia.

It is ironic that, this week, Canberra reverberates with cries of concern for human rights at the same time as it prepares to host the major arms exhibition AIDEX.

As with other nations in the region, the East Timorese people are still campaigning for the right to determine their own future, and Australians should work in support of their call for direct talks with Indonesia.

If Australians are sincere about building links with neighboring countries, it should be through cultural tours, development aid and economic ties, not by closer relations between the armed forces.

Nic Maclellan,  
Northcote.

## Focus outrage on Suharto, not the Indonesian people

from R. Muntz, South-East Asia project officer, Community Aid Abroad

It is only right that Australians are outraged about the massacre in East Timor last week. But it is crucial that we do not hold ordinary Indonesian people responsible for such atrocities. They, like the East Timorese, are the victims of the brutal Suharto dictatorship.

Indonesia is controlled by a military dictatorship which came to power after killing as many as one million people in Bali, Java and Lombok — a fact that not even the superficial veneer of a civilian government in recent years can deny.

The Suharto Government has

rigorously suppressed the truth about the events in East Timor over the past 16 years, denying even Indonesians their right to factual information. It systematically crushes all dissent by peasants and urban poor who are deprived of their land and livelihood in the name of government-sponsored development. The people of Bali, Lombok, Sumatra, Irian Jaya and Java, like the East Timorese, suffer at the hands of this callous dictatorship.

Last week before leaving Indonesia, I talked to numerous local people and asked them to protest to their Government about the Dili massacre. Although shocked and angry about the massacre, they

said that if they demonstrated, the military would organise goon squads to kill them.

Australians must focus their outrage at the massacre on the Suharto Government and the military, not the Indonesian people. We must isolate the dictatorship, while maintaining full cultural and people-to-people links with Indonesia. We must reject the Australian Government's policy which sees relations with the military and business figures (often the same people) as the only important thing. With this policy, the Hawke Government has the blood of East Timor on its hands.

Bob Muntz,  
Fitzroy.

## Not just the 'rebels' oppose Indonesians

from L. Rasmussen

In June I was fortunate enough to travel throughout East Timor, making contact with students, villagers, transmigrants, and clergy. What was most striking was that after 16 years, there still remains widespread resistance to the Indonesian occupation that extends well beyond the "rebel forces". Against all odds, the East Timorese, both in East Timor and Australia, have shown remarkable courage, strength, persistence and solidarity in their unheard calls for self-determination.

As suggested in 'The Age' (25/11), our understanding of East Timor is severely limited by our access to information. When in East Timor, one quickly realises that any threat to the status quo can have profound ramifications. In June for example, LosPalos, a small village at the most northern tip of the island, was still reeling from the effects of the recent soccer players' defection.

Curfews, disappearances, victimisation and torture of the East Timorese intensified over a period of two months, as a result of an incident that had little to do with this particular village. One can only presume that, as a result of the recent massacre, life in LosPalos, normally unbearable, is now inhumane.

The "events" in Dili are nothing new for the East Timorese, rather a fragment in the continuing history of atrocities that has occurred since the Indonesians invaded.

Whatever the problems of acquiring information, of media reportage and representation, the time has come to acknowledge the groundswell of protest by the East Timorese, and carry through the necessary political action, regardless of the economic repercussions for Australia.

The solution for the East Timorese is full self-determination, and we must be instrumental in seeing it achieved.

Lisa Rasmussen,  
Carlton.

## 'Stench' in Dili is that of brutality

from D. Armstrong, chief executive, Community Aid Abroad

We agree with Michael O'Connor of the Australian Defence Association that a "very ancient and fish-like smell" surrounds the massacre in East Timor. It is the stench of a brutal occupation and the stink of hypocrisy as apologists for the Indonesian military move into action.

To set the record straight, Community Aid Abroad's South-East Asia project officer, Bob Muntz, was visiting East Timor on legitimate and regular CAA business. CAA supports his comments and actions regarding East Timor completely. Mr Muntz did not "encourage the East Timorese to protest". Nor were the only people to be killed Mr Muntz's "contacts". They were ordinary, overwhelmingly young, East Timorese people who had spent all or most of their lives under oppressive Indonesian rule.

Yes, Mr O'Connor, the Portuguese are not blameless for the long-term problems of the East Timorese people. But they are recognised by the United Nations as the legitimate rulers of the territory and, unlike the Indonesian Government, they have not ruled the territory with such brutal force over the past 16 years.

We agree with Mr O'Connor that "considerable damage has been done to the cause of regional stability and democracy". But we would add that the Indonesian invasion and subsequent occupation has done "considerable damage" — to the level of up to 200,000 deaths — to the human rights of the East Timorese people.

It's time the Australian Government and supporters of the Indonesian military such as Mr O'Connor recognised that armed occupations rarely succeed. It's time to hold genuine talks between all concerned parties, including the UN, on the future of East Timor. As Churchill once said, "Jaw-jaw is better than war-war".

David Armstrong,  
Fitzroy.

## Contrived rage will yield no solutions

from M. O'Connor, executive director, Australia Defence Association

David Armstrong denies (23/11) that Bob Muntz encouraged East Timorese to protest against the Indonesian regime. Mr Muntz's own letter (20/11) says, "I talked to numerous local people and asked them to protest to their Government..." One of us clearly has a problem with plain English.

It is utterly pointless to quote the United Nations as recognising Portuguese legitimacy in East Timor. That is akin to recognising Belgian legitimacy in Zaire. The analogy, so far as it goes, is valid. Both colonial powers simply walked out leaving chaos in their wake. Portugal's record in East Timor prior to 1975 was none too benign, either.

Far from apologising for the Indonesians, let me quote what the Australia Defence Association says in the forthcoming issue of its journal 'Defender': "The Indonesian military in East Timor have been guilty of gross violations of human rights as well as mass murder. And unless the Jakarta authorities act promptly and openly, they will be guilty by association... Indonesia has made a mess of the whole business. Their actions in Dili were excessive and inexcusable. Moreover, their response to the natural outrage has been tentative and confused... Jakarta does have a problem with an incompetent security program in East Timor as well as political confusion and insensitivity in Jakarta."

That said, there can be no confidence that a just and permanent solution will develop from campaigns based on contrived rage and retaliatory measures which damage Australian interests more than they do Indonesia's. There is a need to recognise the various shades of grey in a situation which is all too often portrayed in black and white.

Michael O'Connor,  
East Doncaster.

## 'Wimpish' attitude brings us shame

from J. Henderson

Michael O'Connor (26/11) made quite clear the Australia Defence Association's position on the appalling massacre in Dili when he described the expressions of outrage emanating from Community Aid Abroad and from people all around Australia as "contrived rage... which damage Australia's interests more than they do Indonesia's".

What about the interests of the 80 or more East Timorese slain in the carnage? What about the interests of the 47 still held in detention, or the unknown number of injured afraid to seek medical help lest they, too, be placed in detention to face possible torture and murder?

Since 1975 the people of East Timor have been consistently sold out by successive Australian governments more concerned with "Australia's interests" than with taking a just stand against "the gross violation of human rights" that the Australia Defence Association readily acknowledges has been perpetrated by the Indonesian military.

There is nothing "contrived" about shame felt by thousands of Australians at the wimpish attitude of this Government, which is more concerned with strategic considerations than with justice and the human rights of our nearest neighbors.

Judy Henderson,  
Dunynne, Tas.

## ACCESS AGE 670 1601

Access letters must be 50 words or less. Lines are open between 8 am and noon, 1 pm and 4 pm weekdays.

## Put in United Nations

It is time for the UN to intervene in East Timor, says a reader.

### 16 years of torture

So Jakarta is to probe the Dili massacre. Are they also going to probe the past 16 years of repression, torture and deaths? Hardly. Nothing less than an international investigation and UN intervention will do.

Helen Campbell,  
Vermont.

### Don't be lulled

The Indonesians have moved rapidly to try to defuse the uproar after the massacre by announcing an immediate high-level inquiry. Australians should not be placated by this. It was not a one-off incident.

Neva Finch,  
Albert Park.

### A dangerous path

The Australian Government can no longer ignore the human rights abuses suffered by the Timorese people. It would be extremely dangerous for Australia to allow economic interests to overshadow a strong stand on this massacre.

Betty Masters,  
Blackburn.

### Hardly a prizewinner

Recognising Indonesia's annexation of East Timor is Australia's shame. Gareth Evans deserves the Nobel Peace Prize as much as my armpit deserves world heritage listing.

Jenika Graze,  
Kew

### False doctrine

Now is the time for everyone to question the right of dictators and tyrants to rob, kill, torture and intimidate their unfortunate subjects to maintain themselves in power and to plead that these practices are of no concern to anyone as they are internal affairs of a sovereign state.

Chris Schooling,  
Rosanna East

### Thanks to Kaz

Thanks to Kaz for her do-it-yourself protest cartoon on East Timor (Tempo, 27/11). Please do one for each of our lickspittle politicians.

David Carr,  
Aireys Inlet.

### Condoning massacres

Bob Hawke's hypocrisy over human rights in East Timor is Australia's hypocrisy. Shame Gareth Evans, shame Bob Hawke, shame Australia. It's time you stopped condoning Indonesian massacres in East Timor; it's time for self-termination in East Timor.

Vicky Tchong,  
Kensington.

### Rally against arms

In light of the Timorese massacre, Australia still inviting Pacific nations to Aidex, the Australian weapons fair? All who oppose Australia arming countries such as Indonesia should come to the rally on Saturday at the GPO at 11 a.m.

Paul Thompson,  
Forest Hill.

### Grovelling Gareth

When the Indonesians come and start slaughtering the people of Darwin, I do hope Gareth is still on our team to go and grovel before the generals. He is so good at diplomatic incidents.

Paul Drakeford,  
Kew.

### Have some courage

Bob Hawke and Gareth Evans, have some courage for a change. Stop the diplomatic rhetoric and selling out of East Timor. Indonesian military killings must be strongly condemned.

Maria Bohan,  
Kallista.

### Abandon recognition

Any Australian with a conscience will feel an awful shame today because of our nation's recognition of Indonesia's takeover of Timor. In the wake of Tuesday's massacre we should reverse that acceptance.

Peggy Mackian,  
Sandringham.

### Fresh bloodstains

If foreign ministers and formulators of foreign policy for Australian governments since 1975 check their hands today, they will surely find fresh Timorese blood. May God forgive us all for our inaction.

Tony Self,  
Wheeler Hill.

### Brutal subjugation

Mr Hawke urges the Indonesian Government to conduct a thorough investigation. Whom is he kidding? The Dili massacre is only a practical, and for once public, manifestation of a deliberate Indonesian policy of brutal subjugation of the East Timorese, and it starts right at the top.

Chris Armstrong,  
Croydon.

### Slap on the wrist

PM Deplores Killings, says 'The Age' headline (14/11). In well-known diplomatic language, "deplore" is equivalent to a slap on the wrist. The Australian Government must "condemn" not "deplore" the massacre.

Tom Spencer,  
Ferntree Gully.

### Stopping bullies

Appeasement doesn't stop bullies, it encourages them. It didn't stop Hitler and now it isn't stopping Indonesia.

Jonathan Melland,

The Age, November 1991

# Toughen up on Dili

By JOHN KIELY



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

**P**RIME MINISTER Hawke's response to the latest massacre in East Timor does not go nearly far enough, writes former Labor MHR Tom Uren, of Balmain, on behalf of a group of prominent Australians. "Sixteen years after Indonesia's invasion, it is abundantly clear that incorporation simply is not accepted by the East Timorese," they write.

"Australia should lead the international community in making it clear to Jakarta that only the East Timorese can determine whether they wish to be Indonesia's 27th province. The US Senate reportedly soon will debate a resolution calling for an act of self-determination in East Timor. A UN-supervised plebiscite, free from all forms of coercion, is the only way to determine East Timor's future status. Far from undermining Australia's relationship with Indonesia, such a policy will ensure its long-term health." People joining Mr Uren in the letter include Peter Baume, Thea Astley, Fred Hollows, Peter Hollingworth, Louise Adler, Peter Garrett, Ted Mack, Faith Bandler, Don Dunstan, Phillip Adams, Janine Haines, Max Gillies, John Wheeloid, Sel Enceel, John Ah Kit and Bob Brown.

**T**HE Dili killings are another example of a well-chronicled history of human rights violations in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of 1975, says John Gibsons of Parkville, a member of the Victorian Foundation for the Survivors of Torture. "Our work shows that the use of such violence and torture is about achieving and maintaining political and social control. We have heard the stories of what it is like to be 'questioned' by the Indonesian military; we have seen the scars on the bodies and the fear in the eyes and heard the despair in the voices of East Timorese people who have survived." Australia, he says, should advocate UN-sponsored dialogue between the East Timorese and the Indonesian Government, without preconditions.

**T**HE DISINGENOUSNESS of Mr Hawke in exhorting the Indonesian Government to hold a "dinkum" inquiry into the massacre becomes transparent in

the light of statements made by Indonesia's military and by Foreign Minister Alatas, writes John M. Reid, an East St Kilda psychologist.

"Having stated their versions of the facts — however discrepant from each other and the truth those versions may be — the Indonesians obviously are not going to publish the findings of a genuine inquiry and come up with some mea culpa, or even say, 'Oops, sorry, we got it wrong.' The first efflux from the Timor Gap oilfields will be of Timorese blood."

**T**HE PRIME MINISTER'S statement calling for a conference at which Fretilin would be represented shows that perhaps at long last the Hawke Government realises how Australian people feel, says Evelyn Rothfield of Fairfield. "Is Australia at last going to realise that the policy applied in Cambodia and Kuwait must also be applied in East Timor and West Iran?"

**T**HE AUSTRALIAN Government not only recognises the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, but trains the murderers who enforce the occupation, writes David Nadel of Ascot Vale. "It is hardly likely that Hawke will respond to the Dili outrage in the same way as he responded to similar outrages by Iraq or China. It is equally unlikely that BHP and the other companies who conduct business in Indonesia will allow last week's events to change their behavior."

Australian people, he says, should put a tourist boycott on Indonesia until it withdraws from East Timor.

**T**HE massacre, says Bin Tehen, of Elwood, with a touch of irony, demonstrates once again our total lack of appreciation of the subtleties of well-guided democracies. "What is certain is that something will be done about the local army commander. A serious mistake was certainly made: two foreign journalists were allowed to walk away, or at least to be carried away — alive!"

# Let's have action on Dili

By JOHN KIELY

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

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

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

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

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

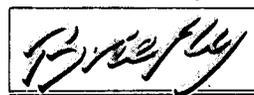
**T**HE RESPONSE of many Australians to Indonesia's inexcusable behavior in East Timor is appropriate and encouraging, but misgivings persist, says William L. James of Bayswater.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Perhaps we are all scared. Could this letter mean that one day I may be on an Indonesian Army Battalion 778 death list? ... in 10 years ... in 20 years? I certainly hope not, but the politics of appeasement make it only more likely."

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



# THE AGE EDITORIAL OPINION

Thursday 14 November 1991

## Human rights fall into a Timor gap

**A**USTRALIA, rightly, has demanded a full inquiry into reports of a massacre in East Timor's capital, Dili. After previous incidents, the outside world had to rely mainly on second-hand reports, but this time at least two independent observers, American journalists, were caught in the violence and have told their stories. Jakarta cannot hope that a verbal smokescreen will obscure their eye-witness accounts of dozens of people killed as they paraded to commemorate the death of one of two young men shot by security forces a fortnight ago.

The minimum requirement, as the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, noted and Jakarta's ambassador to Australia has apparently been bluntly told, is that those responsible be brought to justice. An internal inquiry by the Indonesian military would lack any credibility. The Suharto Government should announce an open and independent inquiry, ideally under United Nations supervision.

Even if Indonesian claims of provocation can be sustained, there could be no justification for such dreadful retribution. It may be that the incident was an act of panicky stupidity by a regional force. It would be beyond comprehension if such brutality was sanctioned by people like the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Alatas, who has worked hard to win international respect for his country, particularly through its role in the Cambodian peace process, and to improve relations with Australia. The ugly fact remains, however, that somebody, in Jakarta or Dili, must have given the orders. The effect is to shatter the credibility — already shaken by last month's cancellation of a Portuguese parliamentary mission to East Timor — of Indonesian claims that, apart from the activities of "small activist groups", all was going well in the territory.

Notwithstanding Mr Hawke's prompt and firm reaction, this well-documented slaughter of innocent mourners places Canberra in a difficult position. The present Government has accepted the Fraser Government's recognition of East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia. Mr Hawke went so far in 1985 as to acknowledge what he called Jakarta's "sovereign authority" over the former colony, while referring to the East Timorese as "Indonesian citizens". What is now clear is that even after 16 years of strong-arm control, many East Timorese do not consider themselves Indonesian. This week's tragedy will strengthen the demands, among them and internationally, for an act of self-determination.

Australia is understandably sensitive to the feelings of neighbors such as Indonesia. It is not purely a defence issue; trade comes into it; economic matters, such as the Timor Gap mineral reserves; the wish to get on reasonably well with the people next door. But as someone with pretensions to world statesmanship recently said, the West should not be bashful about advocating universal rights. He criticised the Asian perception that human rights advocated by countries like Australia derived from different histories and cultures. The speaker was the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans. If Australia does not take the strongest stand on the killings in Timor, what credibility can we claim when laying down the law to, say, South Africa or Iraq? Or do human and democratic rights only become relevant outside our region?

## East Timor in the spotlight

IT did not take long for the gulf between accounts of what happened in East Timor last Tuesday to widen into a yawning chasm. Witnesses to the massacre reported how Indonesian security forces began firing for no apparent reason on unarmed mourners in a Dili cemetery and that the whole bloody operation went "like clockwork". The Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Monsignor Ximenes Belo, accuses troops at the very least of not taking precautions to prevent a tragedy and of beating some members of the crowd until they were almost unrecognisable. Indonesian military authorities tell a different story. They say soldiers were provoked by several armed extremists and retaliated only after orders were misunderstood in the heat of the moment.

Jakarta has said it will undertake a full investigation into the incident and has promised that the results will be made public. But Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, has ruled out suggestions that foreign observers or investigators should be invited to participate. Given the fact that the Indonesian Government has never undertaken a thorough investigation of human rights abuses in East Timor in the 16 years since it sent troops to capture the territory, a closed-shop inquiry hardly inspires confidence. Among prospective East Timorese witnesses it is likely to instil much fear. But even if Jakarta sticks to its word, doesn't shy away from apportioning blame for the loss of innocent lives, and punishes those responsible, it is not about to delve too deeply into the underlying causes of the massacre. After all, that would reveal that East Timorese have never accepted their forced incorporation into Indonesia and that the former Portuguese colony is a land under military occupation.

Until the Indonesian Government faces that fact, the conflict in East Timor is not about to go away. Mr Hawke is right to say that he may cancel a planned visit to Jakarta next February unless Tuesday's massacre is properly investigated and Indonesia expresses "genuine contrition" over the tragedy. But his suggestion that the Indonesian authorities must now realise the need for a negotiated settlement with the people of East Timor strikes at the very heart of the matter.

Jakarta is smarting from the international condemnation now coming its way. And it certainly will not have taken much comfort from last week's moves in the US Congress to ban military assistance to Indonesia, reconsider Washington's de facto recognition of the annexation of East Timor, and press for a UN-sponsored referendum on the future of the territory. But Indonesian authorities will not be bullied into meaningful compromise by Congressional resolutions which are not binding on Mr Bush and which, if ever acted on, could seriously threaten Indonesia's national cohesion.

Still, it may be possible to convince Jakarta of the sense of negotiating a settlement in East Timor before the next tragedy occurs. That there will be another tragedy as things stand is beyond doubt. Pro-independence Fretilin guerrillas will have been encouraged to step up their insurgency by the criticism of Indonesia's security forces. More importantly, Tuesday's massacre will have deepened the anti-Indonesian feeling among East Timorese. Without steps towards genuine autonomy, future clashes are inevitable. As in the past, Indonesia will try to keep them secret and keep East Timor closed to the world. That will be much harder now than it was a week ago.

Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1991

## The dangerous liaison that is Indonesia

THE continuing allegations of human rights abuses in East Timor in the past week have unfortunately presented Australia with a fundamental test of its new-found determination to be a fully fledged member of the Asian club.

After the successes of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation initiative, the peace plan for Cambodia and more specifically the developing economic bonds with Indonesia, the Timor massacre has only served to highlight that there are still differences of outlook that can't be ignored if the relationship with regional neighbours is to mature.

As the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, is fond of saying, a mature relationship with a country such as Indonesia cannot be based simply on political platitudes but needs ballast in the form of a web of ties ranging from cultural exchanges to joint investment.

It may be tempting for some business interests — hard-pressed to break into the competitive Asian markets — to argue that strong Australian criticism of the Indonesian army actions in Timor will only be a deadweight in the quest for that essential commercial ballast.

In fact this appeared to be the approach being adopted by the Business Council of Australia chairman, Mr Brian Loton, in a weekend television interview where he answered a question about the massacre by describing East Timor as "peripheral" and criticised an hysterical approach to Indonesia in Australia.

It was not clear whether Mr Loton considered the Australian Government reaction to the Timor massacre as falling into the

"hysterical" category but if that was the case he would not have been serving Australia's long-term economic interests in Asia.

There is no doubt that for Australia to develop economic ties with its regional neighbours, Australian business people will have to learn to accept that Asian customs and approaches to government are different from what they might be used to at home.

But to allow that recognition of cultural differences to obscure the fundamental breaches of universal human rights that have been occurring in East Timor would both undermine Australia's international credibility in the field of human rights and expose the country to even more difficult diplomatic eruptions in the future.

Australian business interests will not be served by allowing a festering issue such as Timor to be continually swept under the carpet in the forlorn hope that the threads will never wear thin enough to pose a serious threat to what might then be an established investment.

Long-term business projects also will not be served by allowing a festering issue such as Timor to be continually swept under the carpet in the forlorn hope that the threads will never wear thin enough to pose a serious threat to what might then be an established investment.

Australian politicians have been in contortions over East Timor since both major parties gained joint culpability by ignoring the original Indonesian invasion during the 1975 constitutional crisis.

Having provided Indonesia *de jure* recognition for the takeover and with an awareness of the fragile ethnic balance in the diverse archipelago nation to the north, it would be extremely difficult for the Federal Government

to embark on an even bigger contortion and back secession.

Australians should also not delude themselves about how much influence they can exert on Indonesia because it will be the reaction in the major sources of foreign aid and investment such as the US and the European Community that will really count.

But the very fact that Australia was complicit in the original Timor takeover — unlike many members of the United Nations — surely gives the Federal Government a right and a responsibility to embark on a serious dialogue with Indonesia to resolve the issue more humanely than has been the case in much of the past 16 years.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has rightly adopted a more critical position by demanding a major inquiry into the massacre and by warning that his long-awaited bilateral visit to Indonesia early next year has been endangered. Indonesia has demonstrated an awareness of the horrified international reaction to the killing by establishing an inquiry and Mr Hawke has time to hold off a decision on the visit until the credibility of the inquiry is established.

But as Australia's former Ambassador to Jakarta, Mr Bill Morrison, has pointed out this week, a visit by Mr Hawke would provide the highest level forum for Australia to stress that basic human rights violations will not be allowed to be swept under the mat of understanding cultural differences.

Mr Hawke should stress that after 16 years armed force has not quelled the East Timorese yearning for independence and there is now a whole new generation of urban dissidents

drawing as much solace from the Catholic Church as the Fretilin fighters.

How Indonesia moves to peaceably resolve the issue is substantially its own internal business. But it has previously shown a preparedness to negotiate over limited autonomy for special regions.

As the outrage over the Timor violence grows, the role of the former colonial power, Portugal, also deserves some scrutiny. The Lisbon Government is taking Australia to the International Court of Justice over Australia's agreement with Indonesia over the Timor Gap oil reserve in a move some observers say will backfire on the Timorese argument for independence if Portugal loses the case.

The Portuguese, of course, left the East Timorese in a wretched state when they suddenly withdrew from the island in 1974, facilitating the Indonesian invasion.

In their most recent effort they cancelled a major parliamentary mission to Timor designed to expose the human rights abuses there ostensibly because of an argument with Indonesia over the participation by one journalist. Within weeks the frustration on the part of the Timorese resulted in last week's violent crackdown.

In the longer term the latest diplomatic eruption over Timor has demonstrated that a long-term relationship clearly does need Senator Evans' ballast.

It has also shown the dangers of trying to elevate Australia's relationship with Indonesia to become something special or unusual when what is really needed is a hard-headed approach to finding common interests and discussing potential areas of conflict.



## THE WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN

November 23-24 1991

### United stand needed on Timor horror

THE firm line of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, in his reaction to the massacre in East Timor is required both by Australian public opinion and by our national interests. It is also necessary in terms of the evolution of Australian-Indonesian relations on a realistic basis. "Repugnant" is not a word of diplomacy — but in this case Mr Hawke cannot be faulted in its use to describe the reported remarks of the Indonesian military chief, General Try Sutrisno. In calling those killed in the Dili massacre "delinquents" and "agitators" who "have to be shot", General Sutrisno has given the strongest indication yet that Indonesia has not fully realised the international reaction to the mass killings on the troubled island.

There is now serious doubt as to whether Mr Hawke will pursue the signing of a joint declaration of principles during his planned visit to Indonesia next year. The Department of Foreign Affairs has been keen for this agreement between our countries to be signed but the Prime Minister is coming under increasing pressure from the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet to avoid the issue should his visit go ahead. Public opinion along with ALP sentiment makes it virtually impossible for Mr Hawke to endorse such an agreement. Nor should Australia until Indonesia begins

to reform its outlook towards East Timor.

The fact is that the immediate course of bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia must depend on the outcome of the Indonesian Government's investigation into the events in Dili — both the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery and the later reported machine-gunning of 80 witnesses to those killings.

The flavour of the commission of inquiry announced by the President, General Suharto, has caused some foreign observers to speculate that the Indonesians may attempt to whitewash the incidents. However, General Suharto and his colleagues must be aware of the strong international interest in the inquiry, including from the United States. The Indonesian Government must ensure the investigation is fair and complete and that justice is done and seen to be done. This is a daunting challenge given Indonesia's internal power structure and the outlook of its military.

Indonesia needs to demonstrate to the international community that it has the maturity, judgment and internal strength to investigate and punish those responsible for the events in East Timor. This is no longer an isolated matter on a remote island. The events have assumed a powerful symbolism. The issues involve Indonesia's policy in East Timor and, in a wider sense, Indonesia's ability to evolve towards more representative governing institutions.

Mr Hawke has acted correctly in not abandoning his planned visit to Indonesia next year. But it is obvious that whether that visit occurs depends upon the manner in which Indonesia responds to the East Timor situation. Meanwhile, within Australia the signs grow that church, political and community leaders are responding to the plight of the people of East Timor in a way that will inevitably affect the future bilateral relationship. By putting the joint

declaration of principles on the backburner, Canberra is merely recognising how seriously the Australian public has reacted to the events in Dili. The way in which Jakarta handles and reacts to the report of its commission of inquiry will be closely watched by Australia. Mr Hawke should have total support from all sides of politics in continuing to demand that Indonesia recognise the enormity of the events in East Timor and that the Indonesian Government answer to the international community.



## Tragedy for Timor – and for Indonesia

THE massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital, is a tragedy which can neither be justified nor pushed aside. It is a crime against humanity; it deserves the most forthright international condemnation. Although the full facts of the incident are yet to emerge definitively, there is no justification for the degree of lethal force that was used by the Indonesian armed forces. Some Indonesian authorities have claimed various degrees of provocation by members of the crowd in Dili and establishing the facts of the matter will be critical in working out just what is to be done – by Indonesia and by the international community – in response to the massacre. But the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was correct to say that whatever provocation might have occurred, the reaction of the Indonesian military was tragically excessive.

The massacre continues East Timor's unhappy history. The people suffered a long period of unwelcome colonial control under the Portuguese (a period characterised by neglect and lack of development) only to find themselves plunged into civil war on Portugal's abrupt withdrawal in 1974. Their land was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. And this

tragic island has seen massacres before. During World War II it was occupied by the Japanese and tens of thousands of the population were killed. During the Indonesian invasion, and the subsequent years of intermittent guerilla warfare, it is estimated that more than 100,000 East Timorese have died needlessly.

This massacre indicates that Indonesia's policies towards East Timor are not working. It has not won the acceptance of the Timorese people. There is an urgent necessity for Indonesia to reassess its approach.

In a wider sense, however, the whole Indonesian nation is a victim of this massacre. Throughout the past decade Indonesia has established itself as a stable country of immense potential. It achieved rates of economic growth almost comparable with those of the Asian "tigers". After the turbulent Sukarno years, which reached their bloody climax in the mid-1960s, President Suharto's regime had presided over steady growth and relative social stability.

Indonesia, by far the most populous country in South East Asia, became the natural leader of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. Its regional diplomacy was shrewd and effective. It played an important role in the formation of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation group. It was indispensable in shepherding through the Cambodian peace settlement. Until the tragedy in Dili, its Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, was a credible candidate to become secretary-general of the UN and achieve for Indonesia unprecedented recognition.

At the most obvious level, the massacre will damage gravely Indonesia's international standing. This, in turn,

could have direct effects on foreign aid and investment, both of which are important to the economy.

But the massacre has deeper, more troubling dimensions for Indonesian society. Regimes sustained by military force are as much an anachronism today as those that owed their inspiration to Marxism-Leninism. The challenge for the elite who run Indonesia, that mixture of senior military figures, businessmen and intellectuals, is to guide the political evolution of Indonesia in a more democratic and liberal direction, to develop political and social institutions which allow their nation to be run in a more representative and effective fashion. The massacre in Dili symbolises the scale of this challenge and the extent of failure.

### Room for far more freedom

The Indonesian Government, because it has overseen economic development, has achieved broad legitimacy with its population. But there is room for far more freedom as Indonesia matures and its population becomes more affluent and more literate. Indonesia's official ideology of Pancasila embraces elements of tolerance and democracy, though this ideology has been used mainly to promote social stability and national unity and, on occasions, it has been abandoned in favour of control through military force. The Government has neutralised much of the potential for a Muslim fundamentalist movement to gain support. Although there has been financial corruption in official Indonesian circles, it has not been sufficient to halt

development. None the less in East Timor, in northern Sumatra and in Irian Jaya the Government's policies have been inadequate and, in large measure, have failed.

The consequences of the Dili massacre for relations between Australia and Indonesia are not necessarily disastrous. The relationship has been soured by East Timor since 1975. Our capacity to influence directly what happens in East Timor is limited, a reality which those advocating a more radical response have rarely been prepared to concede. Mr Hawke has condemned the massacre and called for genuine contrition on the part of the Indonesian Government, a credible inquiry to establish what happened and judicial punishment for those found responsible. Indonesia should realise that its relations, not just with Australia but with more powerful nations, will be affected by the way it addresses its tragedy.

Mr Hawke was acknowledging reality when he called, effectively, for a new approach by Indonesia towards East Timor. Any Australian government will recognise, correctly, that it is in our interests to have a mature and sensible relationship with Indonesia. Claims that the relationship since 1975 has been based upon Australian appeasement misread the public record and distort official intent, since appeasement is no basis for any policy.

The heavy moralism that Mr Hawke has shown in various ways, notably towards South Africa, also puts him under an obligation in this instance. Australia cannot stay silent in the face of such events. The challenge is now before Indonesia to show the massacre was a shocking aberration, not an act of chosen policy, and to institute the reforms that will make a recurrence of such events as unlikely as possible.

# Sunday Herald-Sun

## Hypocrisy on Dili slaughter

HYPOCRITICAL is a word that comes to mind when assessing Australia's official response to the massacre in Dili, East Timor, nearly a fortnight ago. A spineless Government has left it to trade unions, angry writers and protesters to project the Australian community's outrage.

It has lost its voice. It has been found wanting because its foreign policy is a sham when it comes to Indonesia's occupation of one of our closest northern neighbors.

The best the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, can come up with is a restrained condemnation. As for our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, he seems to have gone missing, perhaps in pursuit of the Nobel peace prize dangling before him like a carrot for his good work in Cambodia.

Senator Evans might need some lessons in both history and geography before he qualifies for those laurels of high order.

The Timorese are a people crushed by the boots of the Indonesian military, yet we choose not to feel their pain. Theirs is a nation occupied by a mightier force, yet we do not hear their plea for freedom. They are brutalised, yet we close our eyes to atrocities committed by an Indonesian regime that flouts the human rights tradition we claim to hold dear.

Since 1975, when Indonesia invaded East Timor, killing many Timorese, not to mention five Australian journalists, Australia's reaction has been notable only for its curious timidity.

There is evidence to suggest many massacres have happened since. Indeed, informed observers such as Shirley Shackleton, whose husband was one of the Australian journalists killed in East Timor, believes the process is a form of genocide. At the very least, Indonesia has dealt cruelly with resistance to its illegal occupation.

Timorese have fought and died in the name of freedom. Indonesian commanders have had their troops gun them down in cold blood. Some apparently have been tortured.

Australia, however, has been silent.

### Heroes in the Gulf

This is the country that sends its boys off to fight in the Gulf. This is the country that joined its allies in Vietnam, in Korea and, before that, in world wars that began on the other side of the world. We are heroes in faraway places. Sadly, our leaders will not speak so loudly against the actions of the big military nation that is our close northern neighbor.

The United Nations does not accept Indonesian sovereignty over Timor yet Australia — struggling to demonstrate its leadership in the region — has not raised its voice in condemnation through the UN.

Against this backdrop, the posturing on the world stage of our much-travelled Foreign Minister appears hypocritical, to say the least. Senator Evans stands alongside Nelson Mandela with raised fist, saluting the courage of blacks struggling to get out from under white supremacy. Yet he lends no support to the Timorese, despite cries of hurt as great as any in South Africa.

Of course, credit must be given for his leading role in the Cambodian peace plan. If he can help stop the relentless slaughter there, then he has done well. However, even with this success, there is still a good measure of hypocrisy with the peace process in Cambodia.

It was evident last week in the return to Phnom Penh of one of Pol Pot's chief aides, Son Sen.

He was an architect of the "killing fields" in which a million Cambodians were murdered by the fanatical Khmer Rouge. Giving him a role in the healing process is, many would suggest, a little like putting Hitler in charge of refugee camps.

But at least there is diplomatic progress in Cambodia, none in East Timor.

The only good news was the announcement yesterday that a parliamentary committee will hold a public hearing on the latest East Timor shootings. Senator Evans, on the other hand, remains mute. As a Liberal MP pointed out, it is ironic that Australia is prosecuting a former Nazi accused of killing several hundred Jews while at the same time jointly prospecting with Indonesia for oil around the island upon which the Indonesian army has been involved in the mass extermination of Timorese.

If we expect any respect as a leader in our own region, we must stand up and be counted on East Timor.

## Timor, morality and human rights

In its actions on East Timor over the past two weeks, the Hawke government has demonstrated just how hollow is its commitment to human rights, proclaimed so loudly earlier this year when George Bush was looking for allies against Saddam Hussein. The loud declarations of January become a whisper in November when Australian business interests are stacked up against Timorese lives.

Yet compared to President Suharto's regime, the Iraqi dictatorship looks almost saintly. Suharto puts even Pol Pot in the shade as one of the 20th century's bloodiest dictators. Apart from the 500,000 people massacred in the 1965 coup that brought him to power, Suharto's troops are involved in ongoing slaughter in West Papua and Aceh as well as East Timor. This leaves aside the death squads operating around Jakarta and other Indonesian cities, and the regime's numerous judicial executions of political opponents. Since 1975, Indonesian forces have slaughtered a larger proportion of the East Timorese population than even Pol Pot could manage against the people of Cambodia.

The Hawke position was put most bluntly by Department of Foreign Affairs secretary Richard Woolcott on November 19, when he told ABC television that Australia's relationship with Indonesia was too important to permit an "exclusively moralistic view" of human rights. The Australian government calls meekly for a "credible" inquiry into the massacre rather than one independent of the Indonesian regime. It rejects any United Nations role in either investigating the killings or initiating a negotiated settlement in East Timor, and recognises Indonesian sovereignty, based on invasion, over East Timor.

The Australian government refuses even to cut or suspend, let alone end, aid and cooperation with the murderous Indonesian military. At the moment, at least 50 Indonesian military officers are being trained in Australia, 22 of them at the Land Warfare Centre in Queensland, where they are learning what is described as "low-level tactics".

While international reaction was generally negative regarding the composition of President Suharto's commission of inquiry, the Hawke government found it acceptable.

There is no mystery as to the forces driving this sordid collaboration of the Hawke government with the butchers of the Suharto regime. Industry minister John Button is preparing for a visit to Indonesia in December to study investment prospects. Bob Hawke will also go there early next year. In 1990, Australian exports to Indonesia — led by wheat, alumina, cotton and petroleum — were worth \$1.2 billion, and Indonesian exports to Australia topped \$480 million. Australian business has \$864 million invested in Indonesia.

It was reported in April that Australia and Indonesia are discussing cooperation in designing and building military aircraft. Some of the biggest Australian mining companies — BHP, CRA and Renison Goldfields — have set up offices in Jakarta. BHP has two major coal operations in Kalimantan province, with combined reserves of 225 million metric tons. Australian food giant Goodman Fielder Wattie is building a multimillion dollar margarine and cooking oil plant in Jakarta in a joint venture with the Indonesian conglomerate Sinar Mas.

Perhaps the most complete symbol of the Australian government's international policy is the notorious Timor Gap Treaty of 1989, signed by Nobel peace prize candidate Gareth Evans, which carved up the oil fields of the Timor Sea by denying the people of East Timor the right to self-determination.

Green Left, 27 November 1991



# THE AGE

## EDITORIAL OPINION

Saturday 23 November 1991

### The clouds darken over East Timor

**D**ETAILED of the East Timor shootings could not, it would have been thought, become more horrendous. Further independent accounts by foreign witnesses indicate a considerably higher death toll, in more brutal circumstances, than Indonesian authorities admit to. In particular, Jakarta's efforts to contain damage have been shattered by the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno.

General Try has undermined the credibility of official expressions of regret and the claims that there was provocation on the part of East Timorese marchers. On the day he promised a full investigation, the commander told another audience that the armed forces were "determined to wipe out whoever disturbs stability". More moderate Indonesian diplomats and officials may well have shuddered, but foreign observers are entitled to ask whether such hard-line words reflect official thinking. General Try's audience were graduates of the National Security Institute in a country where the armed forces, ABRI, play a very active role in national life.

Nor were Indonesia's long-term interests served by officials' initial claims, after a round-up of protesters in Jakarta, that no one had been arrested. Detentions were admitted only after it was realised that, again, there were witnesses. Such denials are worrying to all looking for a full inquiry on Timor. There is no reason to doubt the personal propriety of the seven-member investigation team, but given the past military links of the presiding judge and several of his group, the Suharto Government would have been better advised to appoint a more demonstrably independent body, and to accept foreign observers.

It is obvious, as the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has made clear, that his proposed trip to Indonesia cannot proceed unless the inquiry is credible and suitable punishment is meted out to those found responsible. Anti-Australian demonstrations in Jakarta unfortunately show that international protests are striking the wrong chords. Australia may be the closest neighbor with a strong human rights tradition; our Timorese community may be in the vanguard of protest. Reaction by larger powers — witness the anger of the European Parliament or the United States Senate foreign relations committee — threatens to hurt Jakarta far more. This is not a regional squabble. The Indonesian military is flouting world opinion.



# THE AGE

## EDITORIAL OPINION

Wednesday 27 November 1991

### Timor vote puts Evans on the line

**Y**ESTERDAY'S resolution on East Timor by the federal caucus suggests that Canberra is getting the message about the depth of the Australian people's shock at the Santa Cruz massacre and their instinctive feeling that it is time the Government stood up to Jakarta on human rights. The resolution was given added weight because Mr Hawke and Senator Evans voted for it, although one interpretation is that they did so to head off something even stronger. Interpretations aside, the signal sent to Jakarta must be forthright and unambiguous: Australia values good relations but it will not stand silent or inactive in the face of outrages of the kind perpetrated on 12 November, made worse by statements from the military that they would, in effect, do it all again. The resolution echoes the Government's initial reaction to the shootings: condemnation of the killings; "repugnance" at General Try Sutrisno's reported matter-of-fact reaction; the need for a free and thorough inquiry.

Exactly what effect the caucus resolution will have on Government policy is impossible to say. It calls on the Government to "explore all constructive avenues for meeting the longer-term needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people". Does this mean support for self-determination? If it does, it requires a dramatic reversal of policy. In August 1985, Mr Hawke recognised Indonesian sovereignty over the province it had invaded 10 years previously, at the end of 400 years of Portuguese rule. Jakarta formally annexed East Timor in 1976. The Prime Minister went further than previous administrations in Canberra that had recognised the fact of East Timor's incorporation. None agreed with the method of annexation, or harsh actions that followed, but recognition was seen as a way ahead in the often vexed relationship with Jakarta. As this newspaper put it at the time, Mr Hawke had "merely accepted publicly the reality of one of Australia's most important bilateral relationships".

Two of the sponsors of yesterday's resolution claim it at least represents a fundamental shift, but Senator Evans disputes this. He will be in no doubt, however, that his every word and gesture on his forthcoming very difficult mission to Jakarta will be tested against the strong tone of the resolution and the manifest expectation in the community that he should not pussyfoot around. It is right to keep the diplomatic channels open and working, but Jakarta must get no sense of complacency from Australia. Senator Evans has a duty to insist on an independent investigation witnessed by foreign officials and media. There should be a clear understanding that Mr Hawke's Indonesian visit in February will not go ahead if the inquiry does not meet international expectations. The Suharto Government must be made aware, if it is not already, that the horror of Dili cannot be swept away, and that Australia will show a lead in international forums if attempts are made to do so. History is a harsh judge of appeasement.



# THE AGE

## EDITORIAL OPINION

Wednesday 11 December 1991

### Reason and honor and General Try

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

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

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

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



# THE AGE

## EDITORIAL OPINION

Thursday 19 December 1991

### Evans and the victims of Dili

**T**HE victims of the Santa Cruz massacre will loom over today's visit to Jakarta by Senator Gareth Evans, despite frantic efforts by Indonesian authorities to make them disappear. Whether the Foreign Minister will have the political and moral courage to take an effective stand against the Indonesian behavior in East Timor remains doubtful. Certainly there are no grounds for optimism in the history of Australian appeasement since the Indonesian invasion 16 years ago, or in the Hawke Government's response to last month's bloody massacre in the Dili cemetery. But there are reasons for hoping that Senator Evans might be tempted belatedly to demonstrate to Indonesian authorities that Australia's professed concern for human rights is serious and consistent. We trust that he will do so.

Senator Evans' visit coincides with the apparent whitewash of the Dili killings by Indonesia's Justice Jaelani, who, not surprisingly, is said to have supported the Indonesian military's claim that no more than 19 people were killed and 91 injured in the massacre. These figures are utterly inconsistent with the estimates of the Australian Government, Amnesty International and the Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, all of whom put the death toll at between 60 and 100. The actual numbers are irrelevant, but the transparent attempt to minimise the massacre is deeply disturbing. Justice Jaelani's reported finding is consistent with the defiant attitude of the Indonesian military that its troops deserve promotion for mowing down unarmed civilians.

In a timely and potentially important policy shift, Senator Evans has told the Jakarta weekly 'Editor' that Australia now wants an independent United Nations investigation into the 12 November massacre. He also declared Australia's concern about other Indonesian human rights violations, including torture. Earlier, Senator Evans had pledged to review Australia's relationship with Indonesia if its inquiry proved unsatisfactory. If he has said what he meant, and meant what he said, he would seem positioned to abandon his ludicrous view that the massacre resulted from "aberrant behavior" by a group within the Indonesian military. He ought, therefore, to insist on a disinterested UN investigation of the massacre and on a UN-supervised act of self-determination for the East Timorese people. For Senator Evans to demand less in the hope of appeasing a large and unpredictable neighbor would be to retreat from Australia's highest moral standards and to condemn the East Timorese to more of the same from Indonesia. He has to do better — for the international honor of this country, and for the people of East Timor.

# Jakarta's Reaction



# Killings were not ordered: Alatas

By TOM ORMONDE,  
Seoul, Thursday

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, tonight broke his silence over Tuesday's massacre in East Timor, saying the Government in Jakarta neither condoned nor ordered the killings.

Mr Alatas, speaking to journalists at an international conference in South Korea, declared that he very much regretted the killings, promised an inquiry into their circumstances, and said that "whoever was at fault will be pursued in accordance with the law".

Unofficial reports suggest that more than 50 people were killed. Mr Alatas challenged the reports, saying his "best estimate" was that about 20 were killed and 60 or 70 injured.

Indonesian authorities in Dili confirmed that a New Zealander, Mr Kamal Bamadhaj, was among the dead.

In Canberra, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, urged the Indonesian Government to negotiate with the East Timorese people, including the resistance forces, to try to end the conflict in the territory.

He said Australia should be steadfast in its unequivocal condemnation of the killings and say to Indonesia "for God's sake, let's

now look to the future. Please come to an understanding that you haven't got the hearts and minds of the East Timorese".

Mr Alatas said the killings were "not something that the Government ordered". "What is there in it for us to do so? There is no reason to depict what happened as something the Government was condoning or perpetrating."

Mr Alatas sought to dispel any impression that the incident was unprovoked. "Give us a break. The picture is not of very peaceful, gospel-singing people suddenly being shot at. Come on."

Mr Alatas said that from what he had been told, the problems began when the people leaving the church to go to the nearby cemetery were joined by others.

"The crowd became very wild and unruly, presumably because, apart from regular churchgoers, they were joined by younger people whom we believe to have their own views about (the East Timor issue).

"The security officers, led by the deputy commander of the local battalion . . . tried to tell them: 'Look, you can demonstrate, but please don't be so wild . . .'

"These persuasive efforts were met by even greater violence, un-

fortunately, and it was then that he was stabbed . . .

"The procession went on until the cemetery. It went on being very wild. And so the security unit that had first tried to stop them was joined by other security units.

"Then it became a very wild melee. They started to fire, they started to attack. Several (officers) were wounded and, unfortunately in such circumstances, the security forces had to take this action which we very much regret."

Reuter reports from Dili that the regional military chief, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, told journalists that the shooting resulted from a misunderstanding.

"Soldiers thought they heard the order 'fire' when the order was 'don't fire,'" he said.

In the first official announcement of casualties, Major-General Panjaitan said the 19 confirmed dead were all men aged between about 20 and 25. He said 91 people, including two soldiers, were hurt. The New Zealander, Mr Bamadhaj, was among them. He had been working in East Timor as a translator.

— with Reuter

PAGE 10: PM urges Indonesia to talk.

PAGE 13: Mark Baker, Glenda Korporaal comment.

The Age, 15 November 1991

## EAST TIMOR

# Prominent MP wants Timor probe

Jakarta, Saturday

**I**NDONESIA must re-evaluate its rule in East Timor after the army opened fire on mourners there this week, a prominent parliamentarian said today.

"There needs to be an evaluation of the whole policy of our approach in East Timor," said Marzuki Darusman, a member of the ruling Golkar party and one of the country's few outspoken members of parliament.

East Timor's Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo said he had reports that up to 180 people were killed in the shooting last Tuesday. The official death toll was 18, and 91 wounded. He also accused the troops of not firing warning shots before opening fire into the crowd. The army claimed it did.

Indonesia has promised a team to investigate the shooting. It will be headed by the deputy chief of Strategic Intelligence, Major General Arie Sudewo.

Mr Darusman said Jakarta must set up an independent commission to send a strong message to the international community on the Government's seriousness in clarifying what happened. He suggested it be made up of Indonesians independent of government.

Witnesses dispute the army version of Tuesday's incident: that it was a misunderstanding of orders and that troops had been provoked into firing at the crowd which was mourning an independence sympathiser killed during riots two weeks earlier.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, who returned to Indonesia last night, said foreign media reports were exaggerated, but admitted it was bound to affect his country.

"We are equally aghast that this has happened, and please take note that it happened in a situation that got out of control because there was clear, serious, provocation," Mr Alatas said.

East Timor's Governor, Mario Vargas Carrascalao, condemned the army, saying it undermined his credibility to rule and charging it with backing pro-Jakarta extremists.

"People used to sleep with daggers in bed to protect themselves from those who were against us, and now they do it to protect themselves from us," he told 'Kompas' newspaper.

■ A British journalist said yesterday he was beaten by Indonesian troops and feared for his life after narrowly avoiding a wall of gunfire during the Dili massacre.

Stephen Cox, 29, a London freelance photo-journalist who was working for the Portuguese newspaper 'O Independente', was one of a handful of foreign journalists and aid workers to witness the shooting.

He arrived in Darwin by plane with another journalist who survived the massacre, Darwin-based Russell Anderson, 31.

Mr Cox said he had sheltered with 40 to 50 others in a cemetery crypt from an "absolutely phenomenal" volley of automatic gunfire by 30 to 40 soldiers.

When he was later taken from the crypt, Mr Cox estimated seeing 50 to 60 dead, but claimed the toll would have been much higher.

He said the shooting was random and uninterrupted for three to four minutes, while sporadic gunfire continued for 30 minutes.

He said he had later been surrounded by about eight Indonesian soldiers, who beat his head with their fists, kicked him and slammed rifle butts into his back.

■ In Sydney, more than 700 people marched yesterday to protest against the massacre. The demonstrators called on the Australian Government to stop all military aid to Indonesia and recognise the sovereignty of East Timor.

Reuters, AAP

The Sunday Age, 17 November 1991

## Indonesian Govt pledges full investigation

**JAKARTA, Sunday:** The Indonesian Government will set up a special commission to investigate why troops opened fire on the mourners at the memorial service.

The State Secretary, Mr Mardiono, said today an independent committee would investigate all aspects of the incident, and he pledged to prosecute anyone found to have violated the law.

He said the committee would include representatives of the home, foreign and justice ministries, the armed forces and the House of Representatives. A Supreme Court representative would head the committee, which would begin its inquiry immediately, and the results would be made public "in due time".

The Indonesian Government regretted the incident, he said, but it also "notes with deep concern that there were provocations, previously prepared by certain elements, which had sparked the bloody incident".

The military has said the shootings resulted from the misunderstanding of an order. Witnesses have said it was unprovoked.

In Dili, grief-stricken East Timorese people flocked to church today to pray for their friends and relatives who died in the shooting.

And the search continued for scores of other people who they said were still missing.

Witnesses in and around the seaside capital said security forces had set up road blocks and had been

rounding up youths for interrogation since last Tuesday, when the soldiers shot at mourners attending the service for an East Timorese killed two weeks ago in clashes between pro- and anti-Indonesian activists.

The Indonesian Government has said that only 19 people died in the shooting in the former Portuguese colony, annexed in 1976. However, other estimates put the death toll as high as 180.

Father Britto, the pastor of Balide Church, near Santa Cruz Cemetery, where the shootings occurred, said: "Many mothers have come to me searching for their sons. What can I tell them?"

He said he was trying to get

Indonesian military permission to visit a hospital where about 90 people injured in the violence were being treated.

People had become frightened since the shootings and were living under pressure, he said.

Since the annexation of East Timor, Indonesia has tried to bring the local economy up to the level of the rest of the country, but at a huge social cost.

Diplomats estimate that 200,000 people — or nearly one-third of the population — have died in the past 16 years in war and famine in the predominantly Roman Catholic province, where Indonesia has been charged with consistent human rights abuses.

One youth outside Balide Church said his brother was still missing and that he and his friends had been too frightened to go back to school since Tuesday.

Others in the church compound said masked men in black came at night to their houses to take away youths who were not seen again.

People in Dili said the shadowy men were pro-integration vigilantes who had been stalking the streets since last year.

Despite rumours that Roman Catholic priests had been told not to mention Tuesday's events in their sermons, Father Britto said prayers would be offered for the dead at services tomorrow.

Reuters

Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1991

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# Suharto names investigators

By correspondents in Jakarta

THE President of Indonesia, Mr Suharto, last night officially named the seven members of a national team to investigate last week's bloody shooting in East Timor before leaving on a three-week trip.

Supreme Judge Jaelani was confirmed as the chairman and concurrently a member of the National Investigative Team, appointed to examine "in a free, detailed, just and thorough manner" all aspects of the November 12 Dili massacre.

Judge Jaelani has served in several military units in west Java, including as commander of the army's para-commando regiment in Batujajar, Bandung in the 1950s, served as head of the legal guidance body of the country's defence and security ministry and was appointed supreme judge in 1988.

The six other members include the deputy chairman of the Supreme Advisory Board, Mr Beng Mang Reng Say, MP Mr Clementino dos Reis Amaral and the Home Ministry's director-general of socio-political affairs, Mr Harisugiman.

A native East Timorese, Mr Reis Amaral, represents East Timor's chapter of the ruling Golkar Party in Parliament and is a member of the House's first commission,

which deals with defence and security issues.

The Foreign Ministry's director for international organisations, Mr Hadi Wayarabi, the Justice Ministry's general inspector, Mr Anton Suyata, and the armed forces' general inspector Mr Sumitro were also named.

The announcement came after Indonesian police detained about 70 East Timorese students who had taken to the streets demanding the United Nations pressure Jakarta to allow self-determination for East Timor.

The students, claiming to belong to the Movement of East Timorese Nationalist Students in Indonesia, staged

## Likened to Kuwait

the demonstration one week after Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in Dili, killing up to 100 people.

Wearing black bandanas, the protestors toted banners calling for the pull-out of troops from East Timor.

Police cornered the demonstrators in a hotel parking lot near a busy traffic point and took them all to an unknown destination in several police trucks and a bus.

A statement by the demonstrators, in Portuguese, called on the UN to "exercise strong and continuous pressures" on

Indonesia to allow a process of self-determination for the East Timorese people as contained in the world body's resolutions on the former Portuguese colony.

It likened Indonesia's annexation of East Timor to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

At the World Court in The Hague, Portugal accused Australia of undermining the rights of East Timor by negotiating with Indonesia for oil exploration rights off the East Timorese coast.

Portugal claimed that by striking a deal with Indonesia, which unilaterally annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976, Australia was helping to deny East Timor its resources and sovereignty.

East Timor, an oil-rich territory on an island 2240km across the Timor Sea from Australia, was under Portuguese rule for four centuries until it was invaded and annexed by Indonesia.

In the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty, Australia and Indonesia agreed to co-operate in oil exploration and drilling in a section of the Timor Sea between East Timor and Australia.

The section, known as the Timor Gap, lies within the coastal waters of both East Timor and Australia.

Portuguese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Paulo Chades said from Lisbon his country was asking the court to rule that the treaty violated international law.

AP, AFP

The Australian, 20 November 1991

# Timor dissidents have to be shot: Indon army chief

By MARK BAKER,  
foreign editor

The commander of the Indonesian armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, has endorsed the use of extreme military force in East Timor and declared that dissidents should be "wiped out".

The day after the Dili massacre, General Try told graduates of a military academy in Jakarta that people responsible for disturbances in East Timor must be eliminated.

"People who refuse to toe the line have to be shot," he said, according to a report published in 'Jayakarta', a newspaper controlled by the Jakarta military region. "The armed forces are determined to wipe out whoever disturbs stability."

On the same day, last Wednesday, General Try promised a full investigation of the massacre and told Western journalists in Jakarta that he regretted the killings, which had occurred after troops failed to impose order through "sympathetic and persuasive" means.

But General Try told his military audience that those killed in Dili were delinquents who had been attacked after ignoring repeated

## ACTIVISTS IN JAKARTA PROTEST

In Jakarta, about 50 East Timorese activists marched down the main street yesterday to protest against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Police and security officials made no attempt to break up the demonstration. The marchers carried placards bearing messages such as "Integration is extermination" and "The victims were guilty because they had no guns".

warnings from the military. "Finally, yes, they had to be blasted," he said.

The tough remarks have raised grave doubts about Indonesian promises of a full and impartial inquiry into the massacre, given the dominant role of the military within the Indonesian hierarchy.

The secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr Richard Woolcott, when asked about General Try's comments on ABC's 'Late Line' program last night, said he hoped the quotations were not correct. He said all the evidence he had seen was that there was serious concern about the killings at the top levels of the Indonesian Government.

General Try, who toured Australia earlier this month as an official guest, is widely regarded as the man most

likely to succeed President Suharto.

Further doubts about Indonesia's willingness to pursue those responsible for the massacre were raised yesterday with the disclosure that the judge appointed to head the investigation is an army man. Supreme Judge Jaelan, a graduate of Jakarta's military law academy, is a former commandant of the army's elite paracommando regiment in Batuajar, Bandung.

General Try yesterday denied claims by a human rights group that troops had executed 80 prisoners three days after the Dili massacre.

He said the charges by the London-based Indonesia Human Rights Campaign were "entirely untrue and baseless".

In its report of General Try's

speech to graduates at the National Security Institute, 'Jayakarta' said he had been "extremely irate" when talking about the circumstances of the Dili massacre. Indonesia says 19 people died when troops opened fire on the protest rally, but unofficial reports say as many as 180 people may have been killed.

General Try said the protesters were former guerilla fighters who had come to the city to "stir things up". He said the agitators had unfurled posters with slogans discrediting the Government and had yelled out "improper" words.

Despite their anger at the provocation, troops surrounding the area had been patient and restrained until members of the crowd had "acted even more brutally", after which several shots were fired into the air.

"They continued to be obstinate. In any case, the armed forces cannot be underestimated," General Try said.

"Finally, yes, they had to be blasted. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them."

PAGE 12: Letter from Bob Muntz.

Picture: Channel 9



Video film of last week's massacre in Dili arrived in Australia yesterday. This picture shows people fleeing under gunfire from the entrance to Santa Cruz cemetery. Mourners appear to be clambering over the fallen, injured or dead to escape.

The Age, 20 November 1991

# INDONS: WE SHOT FOR 10 MINUTES

EAST Timor's military commander yesterday admitted that Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of mourners for up to 10 minutes, but denied it was excessive.

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

"No, I don't think it was too long a time," Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw told Reuters, saying the firing had gone on for five to 10 minutes.

Meanwhile, in Jakarta, protesters shouted abuse and spat at Australian embassy staff yesterday in a pro-Indonesian protest.

The protest, organised by a pro-government national youth group, was in response to anti-Indonesian pickets and demonstrations in Australia since the massacre last week.

About 30 to 40 people in Jakarta carried Indonesian flags and placards which read "Respect our sovereignty" and "Australia, where is your attitude of friendship?"

The few police and security officials present made no attempt to break up the demonstration, which was monitored by Indonesian security offi-

cialists who entered the grounds of the embassy.

A group of East Timorese activists was taken away by police soon after marching peacefully past the Australian Embassy yesterday. The military later denied anyone was detained.

Anti-Indonesian protests have been staged outside Indonesian missions in Canberra, Sydney, Darwin and Melbourne.

The Indonesian government has announced a commission to look into the Dili shooting, but Brig-Gen Warouw declined to comment on whether any soldiers would face a court martial.

The military says it opened fire into a crowd of 3500 mourners eight days ago in the former Portuguese colony as the result of a misunderstood order and because it had been provoked.

It claims 19 people were killed and 89 wounded.

Witnesses have said the troops opened fire without provocation. And some reports have put the death toll at more than 100, with nearly 300 wounded.

Film of the shooting has been shown in several countries and one diplomat described it as "gruesome and graphic".

Warouw said observers would be allowed to visit the military hospital, until

now barred even to relatives, where the wounded are being treated.

"Observers will not be allowed to talk to them until our interrogations are over because the sight of foreigners could make them start talking about wild rumors," he said.

The observers would also be shown the 42 people who were arrested after the incident, which has provoked an international outcry.

Last week, Indonesia's armed forces commander Try Sutrisno said the army had had no choice but to fire after warning shots were ignored.

"They continued to be obstinate. In any case, the armed forces cannot be underestimated. Finally, yes, they had to be biased. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them," he was quoted as saying last week by the Jayakarta daily.

Warouw said rumors about the number of dead, of a secret mass grave had been dug and of subsequent executions were baseless, and spread by Fretilin guerrillas to influence international opinion.

Indonesia, whose rule over East Timor is not internationally recognised, invaded the territory in 1975 shortly after the Portuguese rulers of three centuries had pulled out.

Warouw said there were no more than 125 guerillas left but they still exerted some influence, especially in Dili, the East Timor capital, where conditions were good for them because of high unemployment and local politics.

Fretilin leader Xanana Guarnao, who has eluded the Indonesian army for 16 years, slipped into Dili two months ago to organise public protests during an eventually cancelled visit to territory by a Portuguese parliamentary mission, Warouw said.

- REUTER

# Indonesia blames Portugal for riots

Jakarta, Saturday

A member of an Indonesian commission investigating the army killing of East Timorese protesters in Dili on 12 November accused Portugal of being behind the incident, the official Antara news agency said today.

Up to 180 people were reported killed when troops fired on mourners in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony, on 12 November. The official death toll is 19.

"The Dili incident was created by the government of Portugal by setting up an organisation (which is against Indonesia) and pitting (East Timorese) against each other," said Hadi Wayarabi, a director in the foreign ministry and member of a seven-man government commission set up to investigate the shooting.

The head of the commission, Supreme Court Judge Jaenani, appealed for a copy of film taken during the shooting. "Help us find it to use as material because it certainly includes data we must collect," he told reporters.

The film, shown in several countries, includes graphic scenes which appear to contradict the army version of events that the soldiers were provoked and opened fire after misunderstanding an order, according to diplomats.

The commission will go to East Timor on Thursday.

The Portuguese Government yesterday pressed businesses to halt all trade with Indonesia, amid continued protests against the killings of demonstrators by Indonesian soldiers in the former Portuguese colony.

The leaders of Portugal's main business associations said they supported the Government's call for a voluntary suspension of trade in reaction to the massacre.

The Trade Minister, Mr Fernando Faria de Oliveira, said the Government could not order a suspension of commerce with Indonesia because Portugal had to respect European Community trade accords.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH) said today that 70 East Timorese students who demonstrated in central Jakarta on Tuesday for self-determination for their homeland are in police custody. Three lawyers have been denied access to the students, an LBH statement said.

Indonesian officials earlier this week said that none of the students had been detained.

The LBH statement was the first indication that the students were in police custody.

Military Spokesman Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Antara news agency shortly after Tuesday's demonstration that none of the students had been detained.

Colonel Wagiman, head of the Jakarta police intelligence department, told the lawyers today that arrest warrants had already been issued against the students and copies sent to the representative office of the East Timor Provincial authorities here.

LBH officials said the students could be charged with expressing enmity, hate or insults towards the lawful government, offences which carry jail terms of up to seven years.

The lawyers' greater fear, however, was that subversion charges might be levelled against the students later. Subversion carries the death penalty in Indonesia.

# Indonesia hits at Aust 'lies' over Timor

## Wounded: army bars Red Cross

JAKARTA: An official Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) newspaper condemned Australian reporting of the Dili shootings yesterday, and pro-government groups are demanding the Australian Government distance itself from anti-Indonesian demonstrations in Australia.

In its editorial, the *Angkatan Bersenjata* accused the "kangaroo country" media of biased reporting over the Dili shootings.

"We are deploring the incident in Dili that was provoked by the GPK [security disturbing group] and was not reported in an objective and proportional way by the Australian press and radio," the paper said.

"[The incident] was turned upside down, overblown and padded with sensationalist lies.

"These sensationalist lies have excited the emotions and unfriendly attitudes of part of the population of this kangaroo country towards Indonesia.

"The [Indonesian] embassy in Canberra was made the target of demonstrations, as well as the consulate-general in Sydney and in the city of Adelaide."

Indonesia says 19 people died and 91 were injured when troops opened fire on a crowd of about 3500 civilians in the East Timorese capital on November 12. But foreign witnesses and other sources put the death toll higher, at 50 to 60.

Pro-government groups demonstrated outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta on Wednesday and Thursday to protest against the treatment of Indonesian diplomatic missions in Australia and the burning of an Indonesian flag outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra last week.

The groups, two pro-government youth organisations and the state union SPSP, are angry at the public protests, during which windows were broken and the Darwin consulate occupied by protesters.

Other similar groups have issued public statements attacking Australia. They want the Australian Government to publicly dissociate itself from the demonstrations and guarantee they will not happen again.

If not, the groups say they will consider Canberra "took part in masterminding the events".

Meanwhile, the New Zealand embassy in Jakarta publicly rejected Indonesian reports yesterday that the New Zealander killed in the Dili shooting had been a journalist masquerading as a tourist.

Consul-General Brian Marshall wrote to the English language daily, the *Jakarta Post*, to clear up what he called distressing inaccuracies about the death of Kamal Ahmed Bamahaj, 21, a student at the University of New South Wales in Sydney.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976, but the United Nations has not recognised the move.

• Three members of separate In-

LOS PALOS, East Timor: East Timor's military commander refused on Thursday to yield to Red Cross demands for permission to visit those wounded when the Indonesian army opened fire on mourners last week, saying a visit "might disrupt interrogations".

An official of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Dili, the East Timor capital, asked on Thursday to be allowed to talk alone to the wounded in a military hospital.

"For this time, it is not yet right," Brigadier-General Radolf Warouw said in a military helicopter on the way to the eastern end of the former Portuguese territory which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

He said the ICRC official would be allowed to ask the names of the wounded and where they were from. But more than that might disrupt interrogations, he said.

He appeared to contradict armed forces commander Try Sutrisno who, according to the official Antara news service, told a meeting of Indonesian editors in Jakarta there had never been any difficulty over visiting the wounded.

In his meeting with editors, General Try warned foreign countries not to interfere and referred to a US Senate resolution that suggested the United Nations should set up a team to investigate.

"East Timor is Indonesia's internal affair. We will not accept any foreign interference," Antara quoted him as saying.

The UN does not recognise Jakarta's rule over East Timor. About 80 Indonesian youths demonstrated outside the Australian Embassy in Jakarta for the second day on Thursday against Australia's reaction to the shootings.

Timor, at the far eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, is closer to Darwin than it is to Jakarta.

Making his first trip outside Dili since the shooting, Mr Warouw, 47, said the situation was back to normal and the military was reviewing last week's incident.

"If there is a mistake we will correct it," he said.

— Reuter

Indonesian non-governmental organisations have been prevented from visiting East Timor and were under the obligation to report to authorities, one of the organisations said on Thursday.

Johannes Princen of the Indonesian League for the Defence of Human Rights, Indro Cahyono of the Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights (INFIGHT) and Yo-

pie Lasut of the Institute for the Assimilation of Justice were obliged to report daily to authorities, an INFIGHT spokesman said.

They had been held for questioning on Wednesday when they were due to fly to East Timor "to seek facts" on the shooting of demonstrators in Dili last week, he said.

• In The Hague, the Netherlands Government suspended new aid to Indonesia on Thursday until the former Dutch colony's investigation into last week's massacre of East Timorese demonstrators yields an "acceptable result".

A Dutch Development Cooperation Ministry spokesman, Jan Jaap Kleinrensink, said the aid suspension will remain in effect "until there's more clarity on the course of events in East Timor".

• In Strasbourg, France, the European Parliament urged EC governments and the UN on Thursday to slap an arms embargo on Indonesia.

In a resolution passed by a vote of 160 to eight, the Parliament also asked the 12 European Community nations to consider curtailing or suspending aid and cooperation agreements with Indonesia to protest the killings.

• An Australian joint parliamentary committee will hold a public hearing in the next two weeks on the massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian soldiers.

Chairman of the newly-formed human rights sub-committee of the joint committee on foreign affairs, defence and trade, Chris Schacht (Lab, SA), said in a statement that members wanted to take evidence from at least one eyewitness to the killings. Senator Schacht said the sub-committee would speak to Amnesty International and others as well as collect written evidence from witnesses overseas.

• The Australian Workers Union banned Indonesian ships from the Port of Melbourne yesterday and the Victorian Trades Hall Council will next week consider a range of boycotts against Indonesian interests in Victoria.

Earlier this week, the Northern Territory Trades and Labour Council banned the handling of Indonesian trade goods and halted all industrial work affecting Indonesian government employees.

The Australian Council of Trades Unions has so far made no comment on the Dili massacre, but its international committee is expected to consider the issue when it meets in Melbourne next Friday. The council's international policy supports East Timorese independence.

• The International Press Institute protested on Thursday to the authorities in Indonesia about assaults by troops in East Timor on two US journalists.

The institute, representing journalists throughout the world, said Indonesian troops beat Allan Nairn of *The New Yorker* magazine and Amy Goodman of the New York radio station WBAI.

— AAP, Reuter, AP, AFP

The Canberra Times, 24 November 1991



Indonesian military heads off student demonstration, 1990.

## Crackdown in Jakarta after East Timor massacre

By Max Lane

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

While the regime has appointed a so-called Commission of Inquiry, it is headed by a former senior military officer and commando, who has recently been appointed a Supreme Court judge. Other members of the commission are middle-level civil servants or backbenchers in Indone-

sia's rubber-stamp parliament. Even if there are honest men among this commission, they will not be able to buck orders from above.

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

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

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

At the same time, INFIHT began preparations to send a fact-finding mission to Dili. The four-person team was to comprise Indro Cahyono, a convener of INFIHT; Haji Princen, from the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights; Yoppie Lasut, a well-respected freelance journalist and member of the prisoner rehabilitation group, New Life Foundation; and a fourth person from the Bandung Legal Aid Foundation.

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

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

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

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

GREEN LEFT November 27 1991

# Indonesia threatens to recall envoy

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE Indonesian Government threatened to recall its ambassador, Mr Sabam Siagian, and all its diplomatic staff yesterday as Australia became more vocal and active in its protests over the Dili massacre.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, succeeded in heading off a Caucus push for diplomatic sanctions to be imposed against Indonesia yesterday but announced plans to fly to Jakarta next month to raise Australia's concerns over the plight of the East Timorese directly with Indonesian leaders.

However, in an indication of Jakarta's growing unease with the scale of protest in Australia, a senior Cabinet minister, Admiral Sudomo, said Indonesia would withdraw all its diplomats if their security could not be guaranteed.

Senator Evans said yesterday the Hawke Government would seek to preserve good relations with Indonesia at least until the formal inquiry ordered by the President, General Suharto, had reported on the November 12 shootings. There are no plans to cancel visits to Jakarta by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, or by the Minister for Industry, Technology and Commerce, Senator Button.

But Senator Evans also revealed new estimates yesterday suggesting at least 75 people were killed when troops fired on mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery, in a bloodbath he described as

"savage, brutal and unconscionable".

This contrasts with Indonesia's official claims that only 19 people were killed.

In a significant development, the PNG Government added its voice to international condemnation of the massacre yesterday. "We abhor the atrocities that have been committed," the Prime Minister, Mr Namaliu, said.

But the PNG Government reiterated that it regarded events in East Timor as the internal affairs of Indonesia.

In Canberra, the Hawke Government was under pressure to quell growing Caucus agitation over what is seen as Australia's inactivity on the issue.

Editorial — Page 8

A high-risk gamble — Page 9

After negotiations on a Caucus resolution, the Hawke Government undertook to instruct the Australian Ambassador in Jakarta, Mr Philip Flood, to make regular visits to East Timor and to seek approval to set up a permanent consulate in Dili.

Senator Evans has also undertaken to explore all avenues for involving the United Nations secretary-general in resolving the Timor conflict.

He is expected to arrive in Jakarta on December 19 or 20.

However, he was quick to reject claims by some Labor MPs that this represented a significant shift in policy on the crucial issue of East Timor's status under interna-

tional law. Australia has given de jure recognition to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor since 1979.

Queensland MP Mr Garrie Gibson said he believed a commitment by Caucus to support the longer term aspirations of the East Timorese signified an acceptance of the case for self-determination.

Senator Evans denied this, saying a UN-supervised act of self-determination was something that would continue to be vigorously resisted by Indonesia, and was unlikely to attract sufficient support in the international community.

"We would be looking to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people a step short of opening up the whole question of sovereignty," he said.

But if the Suharto Government's inquiry proved inadequate, there would be a complete review of Australia's position on all issues.

"I do not in any way seek to reside from that," he said.

If the Suharto Government responded satisfactorily to Australia's calls for a fair and impartial inquiry into the massacre, the Hawke Government would continue to recognise Indonesia's incorporation of the province.

Later, the Indonesian Ambassador, Mr Siagian, called on Senator Evans at Parliament House.

Commenting after their meeting, he said he had felt the need to seek clarification from Senator Evans on what the resolution meant.

Continued — Page 2

From Page 1

"Although I am familiar with the English language, the formal, written one needs some background explanation," he said.

Different interpretations in the ALP over how far the resolution went was also raised by the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Senator Hill. He said it was not helpful for Australia to send out confused signals on the issue of self-determination.

Mr Siagian doubted Indonesian leaders would take offence at the resolution.

"In the process, I think it is an example of constructive dialogue between men and women of goodwill on both sides overcoming a crisis that has occurred and looking forward," he said.

Mr Siagian said the initial view of his Government on Senator Evans' trip was "favourable" and it would not be regarded as undue interference.

"Between neighbours, we keep talking," he said. While Mr Siagian did raise the security of Indonesia's embassy and consulates with Senator Evans, it is understood he made no mention of his Government considering recalling its diplomats.

There are more than 20 Indonesian staff at the embassy in Canberra, along with smaller staff units at consulates in Sydney, Melbourne and Darwin.

Protests at the Darwin consulate appear to be causing most concern.

In a statement in Jakarta, Admiral Sudomo, the Minister Co-ordinator for Political and Security Affairs, said demonstrations against Indonesia were continuing at a "dangerous level".

Admiral Sudomo singled out supporters of East Timor's Fretilin rebel movement and "members of the Left of the Australian Labor Party" as responsible for the worst disturbances.

"There are diplomatic rules which warrant for withdrawal of our ambassador. If the security of our ambassador is not guaranteed, he will be recalled," Admiral Sudomo said.

The Australian, 27 November 1991

## Dili probe to be secret

INDONESIA'S inquiry into the East Timorese cemetery massacre is to be held behind closed doors.

Despite assurances by Jakarta that the investigation would be thorough and open, foreign representatives will be barred.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that despite reports that Australia would be invited, Jakarta had made it clear the inquiry would be internal.

"They are saying it will be a closed hearing and

By ADAM CONNOLLY and agencies

there will not be outside observers," he said.

Jakarta has not set a firm timetable for the hearings and it is unlikely they will begin before the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, visits the country next month.

Reports claim up to 150 people were killed on November 12 when Indonesian troops opened fire on a funeral procession in the East Timorese capital of Dili. The official

Indonesian death toll is 19, with 91 injured.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday Australia's relationship with Indonesia would come under review if the inquiry was flawed.

Mr Hawke warned Indonesian authorities to carry out a thorough investigation or risk Australian isolation.

"If the inquiry is a whitewash then we will have to consider steps to review our policies," Mr Hawke told Parliament.

Senator Evans will visit Jakarta to discuss the

massacre and broach a peaceful resolution to the vexing questions of East Timorese independence.

Australia accepted Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1979 but other countries have largely opposed the takeover.

In another development yesterday, the Indonesian Co-ordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, Admiral Sudomo, backed away from his threat to withdraw Indonesia's ambassador to Australia.

In a bid to defuse tensions between Canberra

and Jakarta, Admiral Sudomo told yesterday's *Media Indonesia* newspaper he had not called for ambassador Sabam Siagian's recall.

"That's not right. The power to recall the ambassador is the foreign ministry's, not mine," Admiral Sudomo said.

The Acting Foreign Minister, Defence Minister Benny Murdani, on Tuesday assured Australia's ambassador in Jakarta, Philip Flood, that Indonesia was not considering recalling its diplomats.

● In the first official ex-

planation to Parliament of the Dili shooting, armed forces commander Try Sutrisno yesterday produced photographs to support the army's claim that the Dili crowd was violent.

He told the House of Representatives foreign affairs and defence commission the soldiers were forced to shoot.

Waving one of the photos, he said loudly in English: "Peaceful demonstration? Bullshit."

Herald Sun, 28 November 1991

# Indonesia rejects UN Dili probe

DILI, East Timor, Friday: The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, defended his Government's decision to set up a commission of inquiry into the massacre of mourners on East Timor and rejected suggestions that there should be an international probe.

In an interview with British television, broadcast last night, he said the seven-man commission of mainly government officials, which arrived in the East Timor capital of Dili yesterday, should be allowed to do its work.

Asked whether Indonesia would bow to calls for an international inquiry, Mr Alatas said: "We believe that this commission should be given the opportunity to do its work and have its findings."

His comments appear to put paid to suggestions made on Wednesday in Madrid by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that the UN send a mission to East Timor to investigate the Dili massacre.

A Supreme Court judge, Mr Djaelani, who is head of the government investigation team that arrived yesterday, said its work "could take two weeks but it could also take one month. We are not bound by time."

Meanwhile, East Timor's civilian governor and an Indonesian Catholic church group have questioned the official version of the army shooting on November 12, which sparked an international outcry.



Mr Djaelani, head of the investigation team, left, is greeted by Governor Carrascalao at Dili airport.

The Government says only 19 people were killed when troops fired on mourners at a cemetery in Dili nearly three weeks ago.

But Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said he was sure that figure would change.

Foreign witnesses to the incident said between 50 and 60 were killed, with some estimates as high as 180.

The Indonesian Bishops' Conference, which recently returned from the predominantly Roman Catholic territory, said accounts from witnesses it met were very different from the official story.

"Many people questioned why the army killed so many people," the group said. "It happened at the gate of Santa Cruz cemetery, which was far away from the place where the two soldiers were stabbed. If that was for defence, were that many victims necessary?"

It also suggested that troops had planted weapons on youths who had hidden in a church after earlier riots in Dili.

While the army says its troops shot to defend themselves from a dangerous mob after an officer was stabbed, several witnesses said

troops launched an unprovoked attack and fired into the crowd for several minutes.

Opponents of Indonesia's rule of East Timor have said they will boycott the inquiry.

Diplomats say many Timorese may be too frightened to speak out, despite assurances by the local military commander of no victimisation.

"It is the same as asking Pol Pot to investigate human rights abuse by the Khmer Rouge," said Mr Jose Ramos Horta, the Lisbon-based spokesman for a broad opposition alliance of rebel guerrillas and clandestine civilian groups.

● Indonesian troops thwarted a planned rally in East Timor yesterday to mark the 15th anniversary of the Fretilin guerrilla group's vow to win the territory's independence from Indonesia.

According to an anti-Indonesia activist, troops turned away groups of East Timorese relatives of the November 12 victims as they tried to enter Dili from the town of Baukau, 100 kilometres to the east. He said there were no clashes and no arrests.

The aim was to focus world attention on the Fretilin guerrilla movement's efforts for independence for East Timor, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976, he added. Fretilin declared independence on November 28, 1976.

Reuter

Sydney Morning Herald, 30 November 1991

## East Timorese detained after the massacre face trial on capital charges

# Jakarta accuses eight of subversion

By correspondents in Jakarta

EIGHT of the 26 people detained during the bloody shooting in East Timor last month could be tried for subversion, the official Antara news agency reported yesterday.

Antara, citing Dili police sources and East Timor's higher attorney's office, said preliminary inquiries showed eight of the 26 people still in police custody from the November 12 massacre were "clearly" involved in subversion. Under Indonesian law, subversion charges could carry the death penalty.

The 18 other detainees would be tried under general criminal law, Antara said, adding that the documentation on their cases was ex-

pected to be completed by the end of this week.

Meanwhile, the United States said yesterday that the seven-member National Investigative Commission, which is in Dili to conduct an inquiry into the shooting, had to be thorough and those found responsible should be disciplined.

"The United States has repeatedly condemned these tragic killings. At every opportunity here or in Jakarta we continue to press the Indonesian Government for a complete and credible investigation," State Department spokeswoman Ms Margaret Tutwiler said.

"This must include appropriate disciplinary action against those found responsible for the use of excessive force."

Canada said yesterday it had sus-

pected direct aid for proposed development projects in Indonesia.

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

The proposed aid projects total \$C30 million (\$33.62 million). Development projects already under way will be allowed to continue.

Antara also cited its sources as saying a taskforce, set up by the East Timor military operational command, had discovered "a clandestine network" run by rebel group Fretilin with operations in Dili, Denpasar in Bali, Malang in East Java, Jakarta, Australia, Portugal and Angola.

The taskforce — composed of ele-

ments of the attorney's office, the Dili police, military police and the military operational command — said the network was set up two months before the visit by Pope John Paul II to East Timor in October 1988.

It said the network, identified as the Council of the East Timorese People's Nationalist Resistance, was led by Mr Gusmao Xanana, who is the Fretilin leader in East Timor.

The taskforce said the network comprised youth organisations in several Indonesian cities, including the Anti-Indonesia East Timorese Students Association and the Resistance Commission of East Timorese Youth.

It said preliminary investigations had uncovered foreign funds behind the November 12 shooting.

Jakarta Post quoted members of the KPN as saying they planned to visit the cemetery where the military had buried the victims.

"We may dig up the graves, if necessary," the commission leader, Justice Djaelani, said.

According to the official version of events, 19 people died in the shooting and the bodies were buried at the Hera cemetery, 12km east of Dili.

But Jakarta Post cited police and military sources in Dili as saying the victims were buried at three different sites: Hera; behind the Dili General Hospital; and at Tibar, 12km west of Dili.

The KPN also checked with village chiefs yesterday on the number of their people still missing.

AFP, Reuters

The Australian, 11 December 1991

# Suharto scoffs at Dili sanctions

Jakarta, Thursday

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

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

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

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

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

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

Everything is under control," he said. "But the foreign reports, they were incredible. So that people think it to sanctions or whatever."

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

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

Indonesia, one of the fast growing economies of South-East Asia, relies heavily on foreign aid from the West, Japan and international agencies such as the World Bank. Last year, donors pledged nearly \$46.51 billion, and a similar amount is likely to be needed this year.

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

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

Asian Development Bank.

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

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

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

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

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

— Reuters-APF

PAGE 18: Mark Baker's comment.  
PAGE 19: Labor accused of hypocrisy.

## No punishment for killings

# Dili colonel may win promotion

By MARK BAKER, foreign editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PAGE 13: Editorial.

The Age, 11 December 1991

The Age, 13 December 1991

# Death penalty in East Timor kill trial

INDONESIA will use anti-subversion laws, which carry the death penalty, in the trials of those detained after last month's shooting in East Timor, according to the Attorney-General, Mr Singgih.

"There is no difference between law enforcement in Jakarta and Dili... and elements of subversion cases, such as political backgrounds, will also be considered," he said.

He said legal action against those involved in the Dili shooting would go ahead, independently of the result of an investigation by a national team into the shooting.

The Indonesian Government has said 19 people died and 91 others were injured after troops shot "in self-defence" against an attacking mob of demonstrators in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on November 12.

Witnesses, human rights groups and the Governor of East Timor have said the shooting was unwar-

ranted and the death toll could have topped 100.

A seven-member National Investigative Commission is preparing a report on the shooting for the Indonesian President, Mr Suharto.

The team spent 16 days in Dili and its chairman, Mr Jaelani, has said he hoped the report would be ready in 10 days.

The *Jakarta Post* reported today that the team had confirmed figures provided by armed forces commander General Try Sutrisno that 19 people were killed and 91 others injured in the shootings in the East Timor capital.

## Rejected

A team member, who wished to remain anonymous, said the team was still processing information gathered in interviews with about 140 officials and East Timorese in the former Portuguese colony, but had concluded that only 19 people died.

Mr Jaelani said "there was no evidence or indica-

tion of a higher casualty figure".

Asked about the possibility that the commission's findings might be rejected by many countries, Mr Jaelani replied: "That's up to them."

Mr Jaelani, a member of Indonesia's Supreme Court, made the statements after an eight-hour meeting of the commission to consider the results of its investigation.

The team dug up several grave sites, including one shown to it by the military.

Mr Jaelani said the burial site shown by the military had 18 graves containing 18 remains, while other grave sites shown by East Timorese did not reveal any remains.

The body of the 19th person, a student from New Zealand, had been taken home by his mother.

Dili police chief Ishak Kodijat was quoted by *Kompas* newspaper as saying 32 people had been detained in Dili after the shooting and that police were doing their best to complete the preparation



● Australia's ambassador to Indonesia, Philip Flood (right), shakes hands with his Indonesian counterpart, Sabam Siagian, after the two countries signed a contract with oil companies for exploration in the Timor Sea despite criticism over the Dili massacre.

of the cases for trial by end of this month.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976, derailing Portuguese plans to grant independence to the former colony.

The United Nations continues to recognise Portugal as the legal authority in East Timor.

Countries around the world have denounced the

Dili killings, with Canada and Denmark stopping economic aid to Indonesia and the Netherlands stopping future aid pending the results of the team's investigation.

But Mr Suharto said Indonesia would not bow to political pressure from Western aid-donor countries over the killings.

— AP, AP

Herald Sun, 18 December 1991

## Dili inquiry supports army's death count

JAKARTA: An official Indonesian commission investigating the army shooting of civilians in East Timor has backed the military's estimate that only 19 people were killed, the news agency Antara said yesterday.

Antara quoted the head of the commission, Justice Djaelani, as saying yesterday that no evidence was found in East Timor to confirm reports of a higher death toll in the November 12 incident.

Other reports have put the death toll as high as 180.

"We have already dug up several places designated by people, but discovered no more corpses," said Justice Djaelani, a retired military officer.

The seven-member commission returned to Jakarta on Saturday after a 17-day trip to East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 after the departure of the Portuguese colonial rulers.

The investigators searched several places in the East Timor capital of Dili that were believed by residents to be secret burial sites.

The army said soldiers opened fire to defend themselves when attacked by a crowd in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery which had been mourning the death of a slain pro-independence activist.

Justice Djaelani said the 19 listed as dead were buried fully clothed in coffins in a cemetery at Hera on the outskirts of Dili. He said their names were still not known.

He said another 91 people had been wounded, again supporting figures given by the Indonesian military commander, General Try Sutrisno, in an emotional speech to the People's Consultative Assembly last month.

The shooting provoked an international uproar and led to some countries

suspending aid to Indonesia, whose annexation of East Timor is not recognised by the United Nations.

Asked to comment on those who questioned the low official death toll, Justice Djaelani said: "It is up to them, but the (commission) will continue to work objectively."

He said the commission's report would be handed to President Suharto within 10 days and that a second trip to East Timor could not be ruled out. The evaluation was expected to be completed before the new year, he said.

General Sutrisno has warned that he will act sternly to preserve peace.

He also warned private Indonesian groups not to spread negative information about their country and threatened to blacklist their leaders.

The general named no organisation, but Indonesia's leading human rights group, the Legal Aid Institute, said the East Timor incident had stained the country's reputation and called on the military to find a less brutal response to problems.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, is due to arrive in Jakarta on Thursday for a two-day visit aimed at persuading the Indonesian Government to let Australia open a consulate in Dili.

Jakarta is expected to reject the request, indignant over what it says is foreign meddling in Indonesia's internal affairs by the West, including Australia.

Canberra treats East Timor's merger with Indonesia as a fait accompli.

The two countries agreed last week on the companies allowed to explore the area of the Timor sea which they jointly administer. The area contains rich oil reserves.

Reuters

The Australian, 18 December 1991

# 8 facing death charge over Timor protest

By MOSES MANOHARAN,  
Jakarta, Wednesday

Indonesia will bring charges carrying the death penalty against eight people arrested by soldiers after last month's massacre in East Timor.

The 'Jakarta Post' has quoted senior officials of the Attorney-General's office as saying eight of the 32 people arrested after the 12 November shooting would be charged with subversion, a charge that carries a maximum punishment of death.

"Not everyone will be charged with subversion. Some were inactive participants," the Attorney-General, Mr Singgih, said.

Another official said a team had been sent to Dili to help local officials prepare the cases. He did not say whether the other 24 detainees would be brought to court on other charges.

The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, is due to arrive in Jakarta tomorrow to discuss the massacre with senior officials.

Witnesses say more than 100 people were killed in the cemetery, a figure disputed by Indonesia's military, which puts the death toll at 19.

The military says the crowd of 3500 people, gathered in Santa Cruz cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser, provoked the soldiers, but many witnesses say the troops opened fire without warning or provocation.

The issue may be raised in talks between Senator Evans and Indonesian leaders, including President Suharto, the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdaani, and the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno.

Senator Evans will press for the opening of an Australian consulate in Dili, a request Jakarta is expected to turn down on the ground that it would constitute meddling in Indonesia's internal affairs.

Diplomats said the focus of the visit would be to persuade the Government to publish the facts about the shooting and to ensure that the report of an official commission set up to inquire into the violence contained the true death toll.

Senator Evans has said he believes at least 75 people died. Residents say mass burial sites were dug around Dili to bury the victims.

## Jakarta bans 'Age' reporter

Indonesia has barred the 'Age' South-East Asia correspondent, Lindsay Murdoch, from covering the visit to Jakarta by Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

Indonesia gave no reasons last night for the decision to refuse the visa application, which was lodged more than three weeks ago. More than 20 other Australian journalists and film crew have been given visas to accompany Senator Evans on his trip, starting today.

Senator Evans is making the visit to express Australia's concern about the 12 November massacre in Dili.

The editor of 'The Age', Mr Michael Smith, said last night that the selective banning of Australian journalists was unfortunate and would do nothing to help build trust between the Australian and Indonesian communities.

Mr Murdoch said in Bangkok last night: "I am extremely disappointed. My reporting over three years has been accurate, fair and sensitive to cultural differences between our two countries."

"If Australia and Indonesia are to have an open and friendly relationship, we have to understand each other. Retarding the free flow of information by selectively banning journalists, as Indonesia has consistently done, will only add to suspicion and distrust."

Mr Murdoch was to have covered Senator Evans' visit for 'The Age' and 'The Sydney Morning Herald'. He has been refused a visa twice before, although he has been allowed in the country about 10 times.

Senator Evans will meet Indonesian Government leaders, including President Suharto.

Gap, a move being challenged by Portugal.

Jakarta has charged that foreign media coverage of the shooting was exaggerated and partly to blame for the ensuing international outrage. The Information Minister, Mr Harmoko, said today that foreign media reports were aimed at discrediting Indonesia.

More than 100 prominent Australians have urged Senator Evans to press the Indonesian Government to accept a United Nations role in talks on East Timor.

A letter signed by church leaders, judges and politicians of all the main parties disputes Senator Evans' statement that the Dili massacre was an aberration and urges him to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. To deny self-determination and worthwhile dialogue to the East Timorese is a certain recipe for both continued conflict and deep misunderstandings between Australia and Indonesia, the letter says.

In Washington, the human rights group Asia Watch is pushing for an international inquiry into the massacre.

— Reuter, AP

PAGE 13: Editorial.

The Age, 19 December 1991

# International Reaction



# THE TIMOR KILLINGS

## Condemnation as inquiry urged

By JONATHAN THATCHER,  
Jakarta, Wednesday

Indonesia today came under international pressure to investigate the killings in East Timor.

A spokesman for the US State Department said in Washington: "We have urged them (Indonesia) to conduct a prompt and full investigation."

In New York, the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar deplored the killings.

A UN spokeswoman said: "The Secretary-General has seen the press reports regarding events in East Timor and he deplores the loss of innocent lives."

She said Mr Perez de Cuellar hoped effective measures would be taken to avoid any recurrence.

Earlier, the Portuguese President, Mr Mario Soares, condemned the violence by Indonesian forces.

In a press statement Mr Soares condemned the "escalating violence by Indonesian occupation forces against the defenceless population of East Timor".

He said he had written last week to Mr Perez de Cuellar to complain about the "intolerable situation" in East Timor, where he said human rights were systematically violated by Indonesian forces.

Mr Soares asserted that the Indonesian Government had "committed violations of human rights and atrocities in flagrant violation of international law and United Nations resolutions".

Late yesterday, the Portuguese



Mr Soares: an "intolerable situation" in East Timor.

Foreign Ministry summoned all diplomats in Lisbon and told them of the Government's concerns over the Dili killings. It requested accredited governments to condemn Indonesian human rights violations and to press Jakarta to end its occupation of East Timor.

An informed source said the Government would try to convince the US administration to accept a diplomatic settlement on East Timor's sovereignty, involving Portuguese, Indonesian and Timorese representatives.

In Jakarta, Indonesian military officials said the troops in Dili moved in only after "persuasive" attempts to break up a demonstration failed and soldiers were attacked.

"The authorities will never be in any doubt about taking tough action against any abuse of our

persuasive approach. The only order is: To kill or to be killed," the daily 'Media Indonesia' quoted the regional army commander, Brigadier Sintong Panjaitan, as saying.

An army spokesman told another daily, 'Berita Buana', that the incident started when the army discovered that more than 100 undercover separatists, carrying Portuguese-made G-3 rifles and grenades, had gone to Dili to join the mourners.

He said East Timor's deputy military commander, referred to only as a victim in an earlier army statement, had died.

"You can imagine what the soldiers would do if they saw their commander die," he said.

Diplomats said Indonesia, trying to become a leading voice in international politics, had seriously embarrassed itself with the incident in East Timor, where its rule is still not internationally recognised.

"Internationally it won't be easy for Indonesia. Ali (Alatas, the Foreign Minister) will be spitting blood," one said.

Mr Alatas is among the hopefuls to be UN Secretary-General after Mr Perez de Cuellar's term ends this year.

Diplomats said it was too soon to say whether there would be any sanctions against Indonesia, although several expressed shock at the possible number of dead.

"I didn't expect it to be that bad. We have to do something now. If we don't we might as well never do anything," one said.

— Reuter, AFP

The Age, 14 November 1991

## Muted reaction reflects ASEAN sensitivity

By staff reporters

THE muted response of Indonesia's South-East Asian neighbours to the Timor tragedy reflected the sensitivities of ASEAN countries that "are very reluctant to comment on each other's affairs". Western diplomats in Kuala Lumpur said yesterday.

In a typical response, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry and Prime Minister's office in Thailand said there had been no statement about the incident and none was expected.

Many newspapers in the region emphasised Australia's prominent role in leading international condemnation of the massacre, although most led their coverage with the official Indonesian view of events.

The Bangkok Post newspaper, in a front-page story headlined Jakarta to probe Timor bloodbath, highlighted the call by the Prime Minister,

Mr Hawke, for a full investigation.

The "long and serious" discussions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, with his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas, during an economics gathering in Seoul were also reported.

The Thai paper suggested tension increased in East Timor after an unnamed Australian journalist was excluded from a party accompanying a Portuguese parliamentary mission.

The visit to the former Portuguese colony, scheduled for last week, was cancelled as a result.

The Singapore Straits Times carried a report yesterday, headlined Jakarta promises full probe into E Timor shooting.

The story began with 12 paragraphs from its Jakarta correspondent presenting the official Indonesian view of events from the

Foreign Ministry and the Antara news agency.

This was followed by eight paragraphs of wire agency copy on Australian reaction, followed by a paragraph each on United Nations, US and Portuguese response.

In Kuala Lumpur, English language dailies gave varying prominence to the story.

The New Straits Times front-page story was headlined Jakarta Blames Pretin for Killings.

The Star newspaper used wire service reports for a story printed in its South-East Asia Regional News section, headlined Jakarta to Probe E Timor Shooting.

No Kuala Lumpur newspaper carried specific references, other than those in agency stories, to the New Zealand citizen of Malay background killed in the shootings.

Further afield, Japanese and South

Korean reaction to the massacre has been almost non-existent, despite the fact that Japan is the largest single aid donor to Indonesia.

A counsellor at the foreign ministry in Tokyo summoned an Indonesian embassy official and told him that if reports that more than 50 people were killed were true "it is quite a matter of regret".

Japanese newspapers carried brief reports about the incident on Wednesday and yesterday, but editorial writers ignored the issue completely.

The same was true in Seoul, where South Korean newspapers also reported the incident only briefly.

In Hong Kong, The South China Morning Post provided the most extensive coverage with a front-page story headlined Slaughter in East Timor 'Deliberate and Unprovoked', a full page inside and an editorial

concluding that "Jakarta needs to act quickly to improve its human rights record if it is to restore its credibility".

Its opposition, The Standard, placed the story on page 18, headlined East Timor Massacre To Be Probed.

Yoshihiro Otsu, the respected Australian correspondent for Japan's biggest-selling daily newspaper, Yomiuri Shimbun, said he had only sent a small story to Tokyo outlining the matters of fact from Australia's point of view.

"It may not receive as much prominence in Japan but news value of a particular story is always commensurate to the distance from the home country," he said.

— Reporting from Paul Hunt, Bangkok; Matthew Franklin, Seoul; Richard Vines, Hong Kong

The Australian, 15 November 1991

# Growing use of torture in E Timor, says Amnesty

"We do acknowledge there are continuing problems (in East Timor), although the trend over that whole period has been towards improvement." — The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, 31 October 1991.

"It (Amnesty International) is particularly concerned by an accelerating pattern of short-term detention, torture and ill-treatment of alleged political opponents..." — Amnesty International, 7 August 1991.

When Amnesty International introduced its submission on East Timor to a United Nations committee in August it welcomed Indonesia's moves towards a more active role in international human rights.

From there on Amnesty's submission parted from the more optimistic view taken by Senator Evans. It plunged into a gruesome litany of recent human rights abuses by Indonesian authorities against the people of their annexed territory.

"Serious violations have continued to occur in East Timor over the last year," Amnesty told the UN special committee on decolonisation.

It was concerned by the accelerating pattern of torture and ill-treatment, and by persistent reports of extrajudicial executions, hundreds of unresolved cases of "disappearance" and the continued imprisonment of at least nine alleged Fretilin supporters after trials Amnesty believed were unfair.

Amnesty said that human rights abuse, which it had reported on previously, "has accelerated in the past year". In Amnesty's view, "it appears to be part of a systematic strategy to silence real or suspected political opponents of the Government and to obtain political intelligence through coercion and intimidation".

More than 400 people had been detained since late 1988 — at least 200 of them since early last year — for alleged involvement in pro-independence political activities.

They were held for periods ranging from a few hours to several weeks, in detention centres seldom seen by visiting journalists or government delegations.

MARK METHERELL reports on a recent Amnesty International document on human rights abuses in East Timor.

Many detainees were tortured or ill-treated. "The forms of ill-treatment and torture alleged include beatings with iron bars, batons, fists and lengths of cable and bamboo, burning with lighted cigarettes, sexual molestation and rape, slashing with razor blades, food deprivation, immersion for long periods in fetid water, death threats and electrocution."

Amnesty also told the UN committee that at least 30 people and possibly many more were killed by Indonesian security forces in 1990 and early 1991 in apparent extrajudicial executions.

Amnesty said that the Indonesian Government had been reluctant to respond substantively to detailed allegations of human rights violations in East Timor. It had questioned the political motives of those, including Amnesty, which had reported them and claimed that security officials accused of violations had been brought to justice.

"Yet, to date, Amnesty International does not know of a single police or military officer who has been convicted of torture, extrajudicial execution or any other serious human rights offence committed in East Timor."

A spokesman for the Foreign Affairs and Trade Department said yesterday that when the Government is told of cases of human rights abuse, it refer them to the Australian embassy in Jakarta. It checks the claims with both the Indonesian Government and with non-government sources such as human rights groups.

Where, after assessment of often conflicting accounts, the claims were believed to involve grave breaches, the Government would express its serious concern to the Indonesian Government.

# US sends diplomatic team to investigate

By correspondents in Washington and Jakarta

A TEAM from the United States embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, would go to East Timor today to assess the situation there after Indonesian soldiers fired at a demonstration for independence, State Department spokesman Mr Richard Boucher said yesterday.

Both Houses of Congress were expected today to pass motions condemning the killings. The detail of the motions was still subject to negotiation last night.

Mr Boucher said the State Department was gratified by the Indonesian Government's promise to investigate.

"We're making our very serious concern known to the Government in Jakarta and by calling in the Indonesian ambassador here in Washington," Mr Boucher said.

The Indonesian ambassador, Mr Abdul Rachman Ramly, was seeing Mr Kenneth Quinn, deputy assistant secretary of State.

"We're urging a prompt and complete investigation, followed by appropriate disciplining of those determined to have used excessive force," Mr Boucher continued.

"In addition, our embassy in Jakarta is sending a team to East Timor early tomorrow to assess the situation. We believe that nothing that may have taken place could justify a military reaction of this magnitude, resulting in such a large loss of life by unarmed civilians."

Mr Boucher said he agreed with Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who condemned the killing. Senator

Pell also asked for a cut in US military aid to Indonesia.

Mr Boucher said the Bush administration had asked for \$US2.3 million (\$2.94 million) for training Indonesian military personnel this year.

"We think that a continued and well-focused military assistance program for Indonesia can contribute to the professionalisation of the Indonesian military, and these kinds of programs expose the trainees to democratic ideas and humanitarian standards," he said.

In Jakarta, the Indonesian press called yesterday for an impartial and thorough investigation into the shooting.

But editorials in the Jakarta press did not question that the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976, was definitely part of the world's fifth most-populous country.

"As far as Indonesia is concerned, after all, East Timor is a legitimate part of Indonesia," said the English-language Jakarta Post daily, which is believed to follow the Government's line on most issues.

"Nevertheless, it is important to the restoration of Indonesia's credibility that the impartiality of the investigation be guaranteed and that the inquiry be held promptly," it said.

The ruling Golkar party newspaper, Suara Karya, said the Dili incident had a negative impact on the image of Indonesia abroad which could "rapidly have wide implications if we do not expeditiously take neutralising actions".

AP, AFP

The Age, 16 November 1991

Weekend Australian, 16-17 November 1991

## REACTION

### Sunday

■ The Indonesian Government announces a seven-member commission, headed by Supreme Court Judge Jaelani, to probe last week's shootings in East Timor.

### Monday

■ Unions set up an official picket of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra.

■ A British television station broadcasts footage showing Indonesian security forces opening fire in East Timor.

■ Canada announces a review of its aid to Indonesia.

### Tuesday

■ The Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, says a planned visit to Jakarta next year hinges on the Indonesian Government's response to last week's massacre.

■ Australia urges Indonesia to allow the International Red Cross to visit the casualties of the Dili shootings and offers medical supplies and personnel to help with their treatment.

■ Indonesian police arrest about 50 East Timorese activists after a demonstration in Jakarta.

■ An Australian diplomat sent to investigate the massacre reports there is no doubt killings did take place and that the Indonesian military used excessive force.

■ A US Senate committee on foreign relations approves a resolution urging the President, Mr George Bush, to press for a UN probe in East Timor. Legislators also called on the president to introduce another UN resolution that would provide for self-determination.

### Wednesday

■ The Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, criticises international "hypocrisy" in the East Timor conflict, and calls on the United States and the Vatican to take a firmer stand on the issue.

■ United States officials studying the massacre say the incident was a serious breakdown of military discipline.

### Thursday

■ The International Press Institute protests to the Indonesian Government about assaults by troops on two US journalists.

■ East Timor's military commander refuses to yield to Red Cross demands for permission to visit those wounded in the massacre.

■ The European Parliament urges EC governments and the United Nations to impose an arms embargo on Indonesia.

■ The Netherlands Government suspends new aid to Indonesia.

■ About 150 protesters from the Government-endorsed Indonesian workers' union, SPSI, and a pro-Government youth group demonstrated for an hour outside the Australian embassy, in Jakarta's main street.

### Friday

■ The Australian Workers Union bans Indonesian ships from the port of Melbourne.

■ The Indonesian Vice-President Sudharmono tells the outgoing Dutch ambassador "he personally would see to it that the investigation (into the massacre) would be thorough and objective".

## US confirms Dili toll of 100

BETWEEN 75 and 100 civilians were killed in the November 12 Dili massacre by the Indonesian army, the State Department in Washington said yesterday after a three-day visit to East Timor by United States officials.

And Australian officials confirmed last night that the toll from last week's massacre in East Timor was more than 50 dead.

Despite Indonesia's official estimates of only 19 killed when troops opened fire on protesters, there are fears in Canberra that the final toll may yet exceed 100.

But it is understood Jakarta has made an important concession by agreeing to allow the International Red Cross access to the wounded in Dili.

The findings contradict the official Indonesian toll of 19 dead, suggesting a comprehensive army cover-up.

The US team found the massacre represented a serious

breakdown of military discipline.

"The team heard several reports that the stabbing of an Indonesian army major at some point prior to the shootings at a cemetery may have sparked the violence," said the deputy spokesman of the State Department, Mr Richard Boucher.

"However, almost all of the team's sources concluded that the shootings constituted a serious breakdown of military discipline, disproportionate to any threat actually posed by the crowd, and we agreed with that judgment."

The announcement coincided with the passage of a resolution by a US senate committee calling on the President, Mr Bush, to move for a United Nations inquiry into the massacre.

In Lisbon, the Democratic Union of Timor, a clandestine opposition movement, published a list of 30 people who it

said had been killed in the massacre.

Indonesian military officials yesterday reiterated that a full inquiry would be held into the massacre. But they also continued to stonewall on the expanding list of contradictions between official accounts of the massacre and the subsequent events, and independent witness reports.

The commander of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, angrily denied yesterday reports of a second massacre of up to 80 witnesses to the killings, saying: "This is really crazy ... it is really a lie."

But General Sutrisno's credibility was badly damaged in Western eyes this week after he was quoted in a speech to graduates of a military academy as saying: "People who refuse to toe the line have to be shot."

Australia may back UN role in Timor — Page 5

The Australian, 21 November 1991

## Pope sends protest over Dili massacre

Vatican City, Saturday

THE Pope has formally protested to the Indonesian Government over the massacre of civilians in the East Timor capital, Dili, on 12 November.

The Vatican said today that it had taken a "diplomatic step" to protest against the brutal repression of independence demonstrations in East Timor.

A papal spokesman, Mr Joaquin Navarro, said the Vatican had taken a "diplomatic step" to condemn the violent repression of the funeral mass and independence demonstration in the provincial capital of Dili.

He said that the Pope had recently reminded the new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican of the need to guarantee the rights of all Timorese.

The Indonesian Government says 19 people were killed and 91 were injured in Dili.

Human rights groups and Western witnesses, who accuse the military of firing without provocation, said between 50 and a 100 were killed.

The Vatican said the deaths could have totalled 200.

"The Holy See did not miss the occasion to stress the rights of all the Timorese to social peace, fundamental liberty, their own religious and cultural identity and human rights," the papal spokesman said.

He said the "painful events of last 12 November profoundly struck the Holy See", which, he said, reacted immediately with a "formal diplomatic step deploring the violence and asking the competent authorities to determine the truth, to condemn the abuses and punish those responsible".

The papal spokesman said the Vatican is in full sympathy with the church of Dili and "reaffirms its condemnation of the recourse to violence ... as a solution to social conflicts."

The Pope was the first world leader to visit East Timor after the annexation when he went to the former Portuguese colony during an October 1989 trip to Indonesia.

Associated Press

The Sunday Age, 24 November 1991

## PNG stays silent on Dili massacre

By MARY-LOUISE O'CALLAGHAN,  
South Pacific correspondent,  
Honiers, Friday

The Papua New Guinea parliament has thrown out a motion condemning the Dili massacre after the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Akoka Doi, warned against interfering in the internal affairs of Indonesia.

Mr Doi said PNG enjoyed good relations with Indonesia, and these should not be jeopardised.

"As far as I am concerned the motion will destroy the good relationship between Papua New Guinea and Indonesia," he said.

A Port Moresby MP, Mr David Unagi, who moved the motion, said earlier that the Namaliu Government appeared to be cowardly by remaining silent on the killings by Indonesian troops.

Many overseas countries had condemned the killings and yet "we, the nearest neighbor have been very quiet indeed," Mr Unagi said.

"When there are troubles in New Caledonia or other areas we scream aloud and let the whole world know we disagree. And yet when we have similar problems next door of similar magnitude, or more, we get a deafening silence from out of the Government."

The defeated motion would have said that the Parliament "deplores the reports of recent atrocities committed by Indonesia in East Timor".

Earlier in the week, the PNG Prime Minister, Mr Rabbie Namaliu, declined to comment on the massacre.

Mr Namaliu said he was waiting to be briefed by PNG Foreign Affairs Department officials and did not want to comment on what he had read in the papers.

"I read that the Indonesian Government will set up a special commission to investigate the killings. It's a matter for them to deal with and resolve," he said.

PNG, which shares a land border with Indonesia that runs the length of the island of New Guinea, has enjoyed an improving relationship with Indonesia in recent years.

● Mr Namaliu has foreshadowed a tough new stance against people who use blackmail to pursue compensation claims in Papua New Guinea.

Mr Namaliu said the PNG Government was considering new laws to stop landowners from threatening sabotage and disruption in their compensation claims.

The Age, 23 November 1991

## PNG goes in softly over Dili massacre

By MARY-LOUISE O'CALLAGHAN,  
South Pacific correspondent,  
Honiers, Tuesday

The Papua New Guinea Government today condemned the Dili massacre in East Timor, two weeks after the killings took place.

The PNG Prime Minister, Mr Rabbie Namaliu, told Parliament today that his Government condemned "the atrocities committed" but added PNG still considered it an internal matter for Indonesia to resolve.

"Anybody who believes in human rights would obviously have to abhor and condemn any atrocities committed by anyone . . . We, of course, condemn the atrocities that have been committed," Mr Namaliu said.

"But we are, at the same time, pleased that the President (Suharto) has himself set up an inquiry . . . into this situation in East Timor."

Mr Namaliu's comments contrast with the stance taken by PNG's deputy Prime Minister, Mr Akoka Doi, last week.

Speaking against a motion to condemn the massacre, Mr Doi warned that PNG could destroy its relationship with Indonesia and he ensured the motion was defeated.

Later today, the Foreign Minister, Sir Michael Somare, announced that he had written to his Indonesian counterpart, Mr Ali Alatas, requesting a briefing on the events in Dili.

Sir Michael's statement, which condemned "the brutal killing of any persons", also reiterated that it was an internal matter for Indonesia and applauded President Suharto's moves to investigate the incident.

"Although we condemn the brutal killing of any persons, regardless of their ethnic, religious or political ideologies, the incident in Dili is an internal matter for Indonesia to resolve," he said.

"The Government of Papua New Guinea continues to recognise East Timor as an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia and therefore, it has refrained from making any hasty statements on the incident."

PNG's sometimes troubled relationship with Indonesia, especially along their common border, has been steadily improving during Sir Michael's term as Foreign Minister.

The Namaliu Government's own difficulties with a secession movement on Bougainville Island has also given Port Moresby a good deal more insight into Jakarta's position.

In a separate statement to Parliament today, Mr Namaliu warned that if successful, the Bougainville secession movement could lead to the disintegration of PNG.

"If we allow Bougainville to secede simply because they are different, then my people (the Tolai) may as well ask for the same thing and the Sepik people might ask for the same thing," he said. "You will open up the floodgates for this country to disintegrate into 700 different nations."

The Age, 27 November 1991

# UN investigators to probe Dili massacre

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON and AAP

AS Indonesia's national commission of inquiry began taking evidence in East Timor yesterday on the November 12 massacre, the United Nations signalled it was planning to send a mission into the province to conduct its own investigation.

The move was foreshadowed yesterday by the UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, who told reporters in Madrid: "I have the necessary facilities from the Indonesian Government and would like to send a totally independent and impartial mission to present me with a report for the benefit of the international community on what has happened in East Timor."

There was no official response reported from Jakarta but Mr Perez de Cuellar's indication that Indonesia had agreed to the proposal of a separate UN fact-finding mission would mark a significant shift by the Suharto Government.

## Fact-finding mission

Indonesia still maintains just 19 people were killed and 90 wounded when troops opened fire on mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery outside the capital. It also claims that its troops were provoked by pro-independence demonstrators.

But independent estimates suggest the death toll was much higher, with intelligence assessments available to the Australian Government claiming 75 or more people were killed in the incident.

In another twist in Jakarta's response to the massacre, Indonesia's Defence Minister, General Benny Moerdani, has said he would not be opposed to screening video footage of the massacre on Indonesian television.

"If the press have the recordings, please tell me. It can be broadcast on television," General Moerdani was reported as saying in Jakarta this week.

Film of the massacre taken by British cameraman Mr Max Stahl has already been shown in Europe, North America and Australia.

Meanwhile, East Timorese demonstrators complied last night with requests by Northern Territory police to remove protest signs and candles from Darwin's Indonesian consulate. They plan to continue their protest outside the consulate.

AAP reports that the president of the ACTU, Mr Martin Ferguson, yesterday split with sections of the labour movement when he urged unions not to rush into taking industrial action against Indonesia over the Dili massacre.

His comments, on the eve of a meeting of the ACTU's international affairs committee today, put him at loggerheads with the Victorian and Northern Territory trades and labour councils.

Both councils have strongly condemned the massacre and backed industrial action directed at Indonesian interests in Australia.

The secretary of the Victorian Trades Hall Council, Mr John Halfpenny, said yesterday he would urge the ACTU committee, of which he is a member, to adopt a national campaign of bans and boycotts.

Mr Ferguson, on the other hand, said Indonesia had one last chance to "put its house in order" through a full, independent investigation.

Mr Halfpenny told journalists that the Victorian, West Australian, South Australian, ACT and Northern Territory councils were in favour of action over East Timor.

Mr Halfpenny's comments followed a meeting of Victorian transport, maritime and building unions which endorsed boycott action against Indonesia.

The Australian Workers Union has already imposed bans at the Port of Melbourne on Indonesian ships and cargo, and Victorian unions and community groups are planning a picket of the city office of Indonesia's Garuda Airlines.

## EAST TIMOR

# At least 100 killed in Dili: Church

Jakarta, Saturday

INDONESIAN troops killed more than 100 anti-Indonesian demonstrators in East Timor on 12 November, a fact-finding team from the Catholic Church said yesterday, citing witness reports.

The account by officials of the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia contrasted sharply with testimony by Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno. He told a parliamentary hearing on Wednesday that 19 people died in the shootings and 91 were injured.

The fact-finding mission said eyewitnesses testified they saw dead bodies being dragged by Indonesian troops and dumped into waiting trucks. About three truck loads of bodies were counted.

"There are those who said three truck loads and there are others who said more than 100," the team said in an announcement.

"Many families still do not know whether their husbands, sons, relatives are still alive, because there are still many being treated in the military hospital and that the patients were not allowed to receive visitors," the release said.

The fact-finding mission also said the military had buried the dead in an unknown place and that the families were not notified.

The mission's conclusions are close to those of Indonesian human rights groups and Western witnesses, who have said the death toll ranged from 50 to more than 100. They said troops opened fire on defenceless students.

In his testimony, the general said the troops opened fire on the demonstrators in self-defence after firing warning shots into the air during the pro-independence protest in Dili.

Yesterday's report questioned that statement, asking why it was necessary to incur so many deaths in an act of self-defence.

The statement, however, expressed doubts about a report from Lisbon alleging a second massacre by the army following the bloodshed.

"We regret the moral integrity, dignity and credibility of the nation is put at stake in the international world, be-

cause of the action of a group of armed forces," the report concluded.

The report follows the announcement of an investigation to be conducted by a commission formed by President Soeharto.

Meanwhile, the head of the International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC), Mr Pierre Pont, said in Dili that the Red Cross finally has been allowed to meet the injured victims of the incident at the army hospital.

Mr Pont declined to give details on the number and condition of the patients but said, "We have been allowed to carry out our work at the military hospital."

■ In Lisbon, a spokesman for the East Timorese resistance said today that Indonesian forces were continuing to crack down on suspected supporters of independence.

Mr Jose Ramos Horta said dozens of people have been killed, beaten or arrested since the 12 November massacre.

Mr Ramos Horta is spokesman for the Timorese National Resistance Council, an umbrella group that includes various Timorese nationalist groups.

Meanwhile, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said today the UN was negotiating with the Indonesian Government to send a team to investigate allegations of human rights abuse in East Timor.

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

He added that it was now important to "work so that the Timorese people can have the government and legislation they desire".

■ The Indonesian commission investigating the massacre visited the bullet-scarred cemetery today to try to reconstruct the event.

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

Associated Press

The Australian, 29 November 1991

The Sunday Age, 1 December 1991

# UN seeks go-ahead for Timor mission

By correspondents in Jakarta, Lisbon and Dili

A SPECIAL United Nations envoy left Lisbon for Jakarta yesterday to negotiate with Indonesian authorities over the dispatch of a UN fact-finding mission to East Timor to investigate the November 12 massacre in the territory's capital, Dili.

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

But the governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, said he opposed the UN plan to send a team because it could spark further riots.

However, the Indonesian government commission investigating the shootings said in Dili yesterday it was having trouble getting witnesses to talk.

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

Justice Djaelani said another problem for the commission was the division of the people of Dili into factions for and against integration with Indonesia.

"If one group gives information to us about the other group, the other group will re-

port to the police," he said.

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

A fact-finding team from the Catholic Church said at the weekend that more than 100 demonstrators were killed in the massacre, and three truckloads of bodies were counted after the shooting.

The account by officials of the Bishops Conference of Indonesia contrasted sharply with testimony by Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno. He told a parliamentary hearing on Wednesday that 19 people died in the shootings and 91 were injured.

The fact-finding mission said witnesses testified they saw dead bodies being dragged by Indonesian troops and dumped into waiting trucks.

"There are those who said three truck loads and there are others who said more than 100," the team said in an announcement.

"Many families still do not know whether their husbands, sons, relatives are still alive."

The fact-finding mission also said the military had buried the dead in an unknown place and that the families were not notified.

The statement expressed doubts about a report from Lisbon alleging a second massacre by the army after the bloodshed.

Mr Carrascalao released at the weekend more than 300 pages of documents and six photographs on the bloody incident to the government-appointed investigation team.

AP, AFP, UPI, Reuters

The Australian, 2 December 1991

# UN, Jakarta in talks on killings

By MARK METHERELL and Agence France-Press

The United Nations has held talks with Indonesia on sending a special envoy to East Timor to investigate the Dili massacre, a UN statement said yesterday.

The UN deputy secretary-general for human rights, Mr Jan Martenson, had been in contact with Jakarta over the visit, the statement said.

The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, hoped that his envoy, a Kenyan lawyer, Mr Amos Waco, would be able to leave for Jakarta early this month, the statement said. It quoted a UN spokesman, Mr Francois Giulani.

The Australian Government is believed to have urged the Indonesian Government yesterday to consider UN involvement in the investigation into the massacre.

In a separate move, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday broke with Government practice and met East Timorese resistance movement leaders, who urged him to drop Australia's recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, which it annexed in 1975.

The meeting was cut to 10 minutes because of Mr Hawke's other commitments, but the delegation had two hours of talks with



the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

The delegation leader, Mr Jose Ramos-Horta, said the group appealed to Mr Hawke and Senator Evans to seize the "historic opportunity" to redress the enormous wrongs done to the East Timorese and support their self-determination.

There was no immediate reaction from the Indonesian Government to the UN's announcement yesterday.

Continued: PAGE 6

## FROM PAGE ONE

On Monday, Indonesia's Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Suteja Kartawijaya, said his country had not had any contact with the UN on the subject.

"If it is true that the Secretary-General wants to send an envoy to Indonesia for a simple visit, we maybe would accept it. But if he wants to negotiate sending a fact-finding mission to East Timor, the problem would be different," Mr Suteja said. "It would be necessary for Indonesia to agree."

A Bandung newspaper, 'Pikiran Rakyat', reported that a council grouping Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu and Buddhist religious leaders declared itself against an investigative UN mission, judging the Timor affair an internal matter.

The Australian Government has previously said that the Indonesian commission investigating the 12 November massacre, in which an estimated 75 people died, should be given a chance to prove itself.

But Government sources last night raised the possibility of Australia supporting the concept of UN officials assisting in the Indonesian investigation.

Mr Hawke said yesterday that the Government was trying to get the UN involved "as much as we can in the ongoing processes now". But he said Australia's recognition of East Timor was "not in question now".

Mr Ramos-Horta said the 16 years of occupation by Indonesia had proved Australia's policies on East Timor to be wrong and unsuitable. It was the same perceptions that had led the Australian

Government to recognise Soviet sovereignty of the Baltic States, which were now independent.

Mr Ramos-Horta said that any talk of Indonesian reconciliation with East Timor while it remained part of Indonesia showed naivete, ignorance or stubborn persistence with a failed policy.

"How can we expect to quickly reconcile with Indonesians after 16 years of brutality. It's simply not on, we can't accept it."

He said there were ample opportunities for Australia to take a lead on the issue. He had just returned from the European Parliament and London where "people asked, what is Australia going to do?" Mr Horta said.

Australia would not be alone if it took the initiative to challenge Indonesia. "Indonesia would be alone."

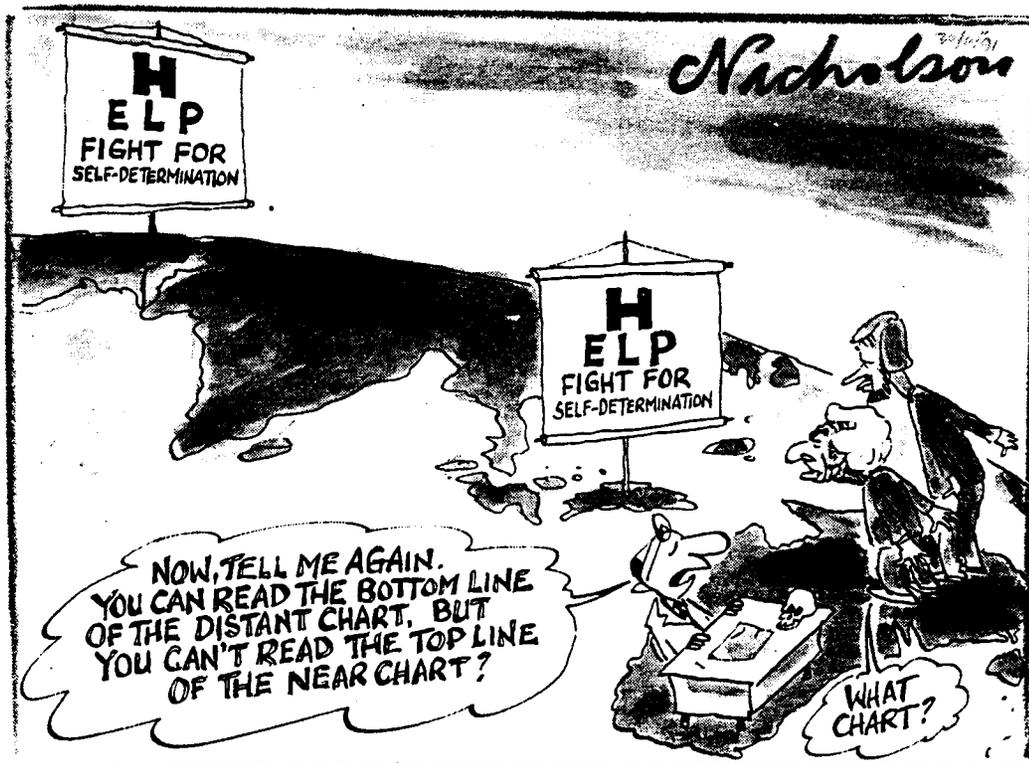
The vice-president of the Timorese Democratic Union, Mr Joao Carrascalao, who was in the delegation, said he was bitterly disappointed by the Government's position, and described the meeting as futile. Australia was out of step with world trends on the Timor issue.

Mr Ramos-Horta said the East Timorese proposed a UN-sponsored team involving international figures of standing such as a former United States President Mr Jimmy Carter, South Africa's Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the former Australian Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen.

"The whole talk of reconciliation in the context of an Indonesian republic is just totally unacceptable, unrealistic, he said."

The Age, 4 December 1991

# Analysis



# Timor's bloodbath a new blot on relations with Indonesia

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

FOR 16 years Australia has been a queasy onlooker to Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor and brutal and heavy-handed tactics by the Indonesian military are nothing new.

But the reports of Tuesday's massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery have unleashed a fresh bout of anger and revulsion in this country at the behaviour of our largest regional neighbour.

The tragedy of East Timor remains the single biggest obstacle in attempts by Canberra and Jakarta to bridge the gulf of misunderstanding that for so long has made full and effective relations awkward, if not impossible. Although both governments might wish otherwise, it continues to poison the climate.

The Indonesian military's determination to forcibly transform the former Portuguese colony into the Indonesian Republic's 27th province has never been a pretty sight. But, for Australian-Indonesian relations, this latest demonstration of brute force could not have come at a more inopportune time.

The stark inhumanity involved - attested to by horrifying but as yet unconfirmed accounts of eyewitnesses - makes the violence in East Timor more visible than at any time since the 1970s. And the scale of ugliness, with claims of up to 115 dead, is something that Western governments, including Australia, cannot lightly dismiss.

There will be calls for Australia to adopt a sterner profile in registering its objections with the Government of President Suharto.

There will be pressures to somehow punish the Indonesians for conduct viewed as intolerable. The Australian Council for Overseas Aid called yesterday for the suspension of all military aid.

And plans for a visit to Indonesia by

Prime Minister Bob Hawke - well advanced, with an itinerary pencilled in for early February - will be under review.

Before it formulates its response, the Australian Government has said it will await Jakarta's explanation of the tragedy. There are hopes the Suharto Government will make a clean breast of the incident, admit culpability and punish those responsible.

But that may be overly optimistic. While nobody in Canberra is putting the view that this atrocity resulted from an explicit central directive, there is strong evidence of feuding at the highest levels of the Indonesian Government over policy towards East Timor.

One widely-held theory is that senior military figures were determined to reassert their control and lessen the influence of Indonesia's respected foreign minister, Ali Alatas.

The postponement of the Portuguese visit prompted student unrest in Dili and tensions were clearly heightening.

The alarm bells sounded on October 28 when two students were shot dead at the parish church of Motael, outside Dili.

The Indonesian military claims the youths died in a skirmish with rival "passers-by". But an Amnesty International report on the incident cites witnesses insisting the "passers-by" were, in fact, military intelligence agents.

Indonesia's military chief, General Try Sutrisno, visited Australia soon afterwards. He held talks with Hawke as well as with the chief of the Australian Defence Force, General Peter Gratton, and Defence Minister Robert Ray.

The deaths in East Timor were not officially raised with the general. Increased military co-operation between Australia

mourners were unarmed and innocent civilians, the victims of an unprovoked attack.

Canberra has reacted often and indignantly to well-documented human rights abuses in East Timor, most vigorously over the deaths of five Australian journalists in the 1970s. While it has never sought or contemplated the reversal of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor 16 years ago, it has continued - at least in its rhetoric - to take issue with Jakarta on the steady flow of claims about oppressive military activity in the province.

The Suharto Government bristles at the claims of extra-judicial executions and torture by its troops and traditionally has not welcomed Australia's close attention.

It regards internal security as entirely its own business and the maintenance of political stability as one of the military's foremost priorities. If that involves suffocating dissent in East Timor, it is done in the name of national unity.

In his recent book on Australia's foreign policy, Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans described East Timor as the "recurring irritant" in relations with Indonesia.

Despite painstaking efforts over the past three to four years to rebuild links - politically, culturally, militarily and commercially - the continuing strife in East Timor continues to influence heavily the atmospherics of the relationship.

In his book, however, Evans expressed optimism that the relationship had been fortified to the point where it could withstand most flare-ups. He wrote: "The relationship is so much more substantial that it is reasonable to assume that only a very large storm would seriously disturb it."

This may now be put to the test. The ripple of machinegun fire at Santa Cruz sounds awfully like another clap of thunder.

‘This demonstration of brute force could not have come at a worse time’

According to this theory, the tug-of-war climaxed with the decision to invite a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to visit the province. It was believed to be Alatas, eager that Indonesia regain the complete respect of the international community, who pressed the case for permitting the delegation, consistent with his "open-door" policy.

It is understood high-ranking generals fought a rearguard action against the initiative and succeeded in having it stopped by portraying the Portuguese mission as a deliberate campaign to discredit Indonesia. The presence of journalists in the Portuguese party was used as evidence to support this argument.

and Indonesia was the main agenda item.

Did the Hawke Government err by not taking up with Sutrisno the church shootings? It is a question that, in hindsight, will be asked. For it was the memorial mass for one of the two dead students - Sebastiao (Gomes) Rangel - which somehow erupted into the Santa Cruz massacre.

How exactly that happened remains unclear. The Indonesian military has claimed that some of the mourners/protesters carried guns and that an army officer had been assaulted.

Certainly, there was a Fretilin resistance flag being displayed. Certainly, pro-independence slogans were being chanted. But some eyewitnesses have insisted the



# A lesson on our doorstep

**A**USTRALIA'S economic problems are the material manifestation of a deeper cultural malaise that stems from our psychological dependence on the United States and grows from a belief that we cannot defend ourselves without the support of "great and powerful friends".

Further, we are a nation of immigrants so that more Australians are concerned about what is happening in the Baltic states or Croatia and Serbia than what is happening on our front doorstep in Bougainville or East Timor.

As important as the disputes in Europe are, they are not as important strategically to Australia as the civil war in Papua New Guinea, the ongoing tensions on the PNG/West Irian border, the Kanak struggle for independence in New Caledonia, Fijian apartheid, and the ongoing fight for independence by the East Timorese and the murderous response by the Indonesian army.

Thus, as the Dibb Report on Australian defence in the mid-1980s pointed out, any credible threat to Australian security is likely to come via the Indonesian archipelago. Since then we have been assiduous in cutting aid to PNG, so exacerbating the ability of the central Government to maintain its authority.

Strategic realities for Australia have not changed much since the 1940s when Australia sent naval ships to Noumea to expel the Vichy Governor after Japan entered the war and left 400 commandos on East Timor to harass a full division of Japanese troops.

The 12,000 troops Japan left on Timor were not available for the campaign to take Port Moresby via the Kokoda trail, in which Japan unsuccessfully used one-and-a-half divisions.

On Timor, the aptly named "sparrow force" caused 1500 Japanese casualties for the loss of 40 Australians. The real casualties were suffered by the East Timorese who lost 40,000 as the Japanese wiped out whole villages suspected of offering succor to the Australians.

The Whitlam Government repaid Australia's historic debt to these brave people by indicating to the Indonesians in 1974 that we would not oppose a takeover, provided it was done nicely. The Indonesians responded with a murderous invasion in November 1975.



**KENNETH DAVIDSON**

The five Australian journalists who remained in East Timor to witness the invasion were murdered by the invasion forces. In 1979, the International Red Cross and the Roman Catholic Church estimated that between 100,000 to 200,000 of the estimated 700,000 East Timorese population before the invasion were killed or died as a result of the occupation.

No people in modern history have been so comprehensively betrayed by a people to whom they were owed so much as the East Timorese by the Australians.

Australia's betrayal grew out of the general population's ignorance of its history. It was only the tiny number of surviving soldiers on Timor and their relatives who understood Australia's debt. This was coupled with the ultimately corrupting and impoverishing belief held by most Australians that this country is incapable of defending itself.

Even if the worst reports are true and Indonesian soldiers gunned down as many as 100 civilians in Dili in the latest incident, it is trivial by comparison to the murderous behavior of the Indonesian troops during and immediately after the 1975 invasion.

Yet this incident may have far more adverse repercussions for the Indonesian Government than any earlier atrocity.

In 1975, the US was not interested. It followed that even information about the murder of five Australian journalists in Balibo, which was available to the Australian Government virtually in "real time" because of its ability to listen to Indonesian army radio traffic to command headquarters in Denpasar, was suppressed by Australia because of the damage this might do to the larger relationship between the two countries.

**T**HE mistake the Indonesian army made this time around was to murder civilians in front of two American journalists and, even worse, wound or rough them up.

The offence to US sensibilities, which has led to a Washington expression of diplomatic regret, has been the trigger for a similar diplomatic protest by Australia.

How pathetic. Australia must learn that Australia's interests are not necessarily synonymous with those of the US.

There has not been one issue in which Australian and Indonesian interests have clashed since Anzus was signed in 1951, where the US has sided with Australia rather than Indonesia for perfectly good reasons in terms of US perceptions of US national interests.

Similarly, the US fought the battle of the Coral Sea (and prevented Japan invading Port Moresby, not the east coast of Australia) because it was in the interest of the US to do so, and only incidentally because it was in Australia's interests.

It is now in the interests of the US (and the USSR) to pull back from the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, so that hopefully it will become apparent that Australia must begin to think how it will confront its strategic and economic problems.

It is not in the interests of Australia (or ASEAN) for the superpower vacuum left by the US and USSR to be filled by China, India or Japan.

That vacuum (or scope for regional mischief-making) will be minimised if potential trouble spots such as East Timor and Bougainville are resolved in a way that satisfies the legitimate aspirations of the local populations rather than by occupation or siege.

The Age, 14 November 1991

# EASY ON THE INDONS

**The killing of Timorese civilians by Indonesian troops was terrible, HAROLD CROUCH says. But our outrage won't solve anything.**

**T**HE shooting of dozens of Timorese who had been to a commemoration service for a young man killed by Indonesian security forces a fortnight earlier again highlights a fundamental dilemma in Australia's foreign policy.

On the one hand Australia obviously benefits from maintaining a good working relationship with the government of our biggest neighbor.

The last thing Australia needs is a hostile Indonesia on our doorstep.

And, on a more positive note, Australia and Indonesia have co-operated on major international and regional issues, such as negotiations over the future of world trade and the peace settlement in Cambodia.

At a more mundane level, the two countries gain from working together on a host of everyday issues involving trade, transport, education, health, and so on.

But, on the other hand, Australians are often "appalled" — to quote the Prime Minister — by political happenings in Indonesia.

The Dili massacre is only the most recent in a long series of events which have dogged the Australia-Indonesia relationship.



● Indonesia's armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno . . . let's not offend the military.

Human rights issues have often attracted the attention of Australian and other critics of the Indonesian Government.

**U**NTIL the late 1970s much of the focus was on Leftist political prisoners held on the island of Buru in eastern Indonesia.

In the early 1980s there was a severe clamp-down on Muslim dissidents, and in the late 1980s several students received sentences of up to eight years for possessing and circulating banned books.

The Indonesian takeover of Irian Jaya from the Dutch in the 1960s and the

invasion of East Timor in 1975 were also met with protests by Australians concerned with human rights.

Indonesian military operations against the Free Papua Organisation in Irian Jaya and Fretilin in East Timor often resulted in killings and other abuses.

More recently, military operations against rebels in the north Sumatran province of Aceh have led to refugees fleeing across the Straits of Malacca to Malaysia.

The dilemma for Australia is how to reconcile its commitment to human rights with its interest in preserving at least a work-

able relationship with the Indonesian Government.

It is important for Australians to realise that Australia's influence in Jakarta is quite limited.

The Indonesian political system is not going to become more democratic because of Australian pressure. Nor is Indonesia going to withdraw from East Timor in response to Australian protests.

This does not mean the Australian Government should not express its outrage at developments in Timor, but it does mean we should understand the problem is not about to be resolved.

We are going to have to

deal with the same authorities about similar issues in the future.

The Australian Senate has protested "in the strongest possible terms" and called on Indonesia to provide a full explanation of what happened in Dili.

But this does not address the fundamental issue. Indonesia has no intention of relinquishing East Timor, while it is clear that much of the Timorese population is opposed to Indonesian rule.

**I**F IT is very difficult to imagine circumstances in which Indonesia would relinquish East Timor, the next best thing would be an arrangement under which Jakarta granted it a special status with enhanced autonomy.

There is, of course, no certainty that Jakarta would accept such an arrangement, but it seems a possible compromise.

In reacting to the present crisis in Timor, the Australian Government should be careful to avoid using language that offends not only the "hard-liners" in the Indonesian military, but also those Indonesians who share our dismay over the recent killings and seek some compromise.

The massacre in Dili also raises serious questions about the current thrust towards increased security co-operation with our south-east Asian neighbors.

Australia's concern is with security against external attack, but Indonesia's preoccupation is with what it calls "internal security".

Should Australia be seeking increased security co-operation with a country whose perception of "security" is so different to ours?

*Dr Harold Crouch is a senior lecturer in the Australian National University's Research School of Pacific Studies.*

# A tragedy overshadows closer trading ties

**I**N 1975 Indonesia was able to take advantage of the constitutional crisis going on in Canberra to launch its invasion of East Timor.

Despite strong public concern within Australia, the response from political leaders in Canberra was first one of deafening silence, followed by Prime Minister Fraser's push to paper-over the situation in the interests of not offending a powerful neighbor.

Some 16 years later, when the situation in Timor is still clearly not resolved, Australia's economic links with Indonesia have grown considerably — particularly over the past few years.

This time around, Prime Minister Hawke, who was planning his second official visit to Indonesia early next year, has been quick to speak publicly against the Dili massacre.

But the stronger economic ties mean there will also be strong pressure on him to return to a business-as-usual approach to Jakarta.

Total trade with Indonesia grew by more than 30 per cent last year. Australia exported some \$1.3 billion worth of goods to Indonesia — more than double that in 1988. Imports from Indonesia were worth \$20 million in 1990.

But the big attraction has been



**GLEND A KORPORAAL**

the dynamic growth in the Indonesian economy, which has created some very profitable opportunities for Australian business. After the big fall in oil prices in 1986, President Suharto's Government adopted a deliberate strategy of reducing the country's economic dependence on the petroleum industry.

The strategy included a widespread easing of restrictions on foreign investment, opening up the country's banking system, measures to increase competition and expand the country's manufacturing sector. The economy has grown more than five per cent a year in the late '80s, rising to seven per cent in 1990.

Australian companies have been criticised for taking a long time to wake up to the tremendous growth potential in Indonesia — a fact which is partly a result of the Indonesian authorities' prickliness about Australian journalists covering the country. But over the past few years many Australian compa-

nies have seen Indonesia as an exciting new frontier.

More than 100 Australian companies are operating in Indonesia — either through joint ventures or representative offices. A whole host of Australian gold mining companies is operating in the country while other companies are exploring the advantages of Indonesian coal reserves. Mining giants such as CRA and BHP have been expanding their operations in Timor. Coca-Cola Amatil is actively marketing soft drinks in the country and Coles Myer makes shoes in Surabaya. The rapid development has attracted Australian construction and engineering companies such as Thiess Contractors, Transfield, John Holland and Clough Engineering. Other Australian companies in Indonesia include BTR Nyltex, Transfield, Rheem, CIG and Westpac. The State Electricity Commission of Victoria was recently appointed the lead technical consultant for a World Bank study on the restructuring of Indonesia's tin mining industry.

Indonesia attracted a huge inflow of foreign investment in the late '80s. Approvals for new foreign investment projects jumped by more than 80 per cent last year to some \$US9 billion. The Indonesian Government

has been planning a big increase in infrastructure investment to keep up with this growth. The 'Far Eastern Economic Review' estimated in August that this could involve spending some \$US20 billion over the next five years to build power plants and possibly another \$US30 billion to \$US40 billion on communication and oil and gas related projects. Since then the Government has announced a tougher line on new projects which will require offshore funding because of the country's foreign debt problem. But the trend is still obvious.

Estimates are for Indonesia's growth rate to continue at rates of more than six per cent over the next few years — a far brighter picture than the two to three per cent figures Australians can look forward to when our economy finally does recover.

**C**LEARLY, if all goes well, there are some even bigger opportunities for Australian companies to make money in the country.

In a recent survey of major investors, 'AsiaMoney' magazine ranked Indonesia as the second most attractive country, after Malaysia, in the Asian region in terms of expected returns from investment over the next five years. Australia ranked well down in the sur-

vey at 11th place.

The business community has been encouraging Hawke to further improve ties with Indonesia.

But the fact that we have more at stake economically should be no excuse for Canberra to quickly turn a blind eye to the situation in East Timor.

It is important for a Western country such as Australia to accept the fact that Asian customs and systems of government are different.

But that does not mean that gross human rights violations by authorities should be ignored. Other Western countries with concerns over issues of human rights and atrocities have been more than active in making their views known despite trade ties. Earlier this year there was a huge debate in Washington about human rights violations in China with many congressmen strongly opposing the renewal of its most favored trading status with the US.

Foreign investors — who now play a much bigger part in the Indonesian economy — also closely watch such political events, not so much out of any great human compassion but out of a concern to protect their own investments from future political risk.

The same 'AsiaMoney' survey also classed Indonesia as one of

the more risky countries in Asia in which to invest over the next few years — not as bad as Vietnam or the Philippines, but considerably worse than Singapore, Australia and New Zealand.

**B**UT even before this week's events, 'AsiaMoney' was warning foreign investors in Indonesia to closely watch any violence in the run-up to the elections in Indonesia next year for a "measure of underlying political stability".

Even before this week's events, Indonesia has been coming up against some severe economic constraints as a result of its frantic dash for growth in the '80s. The country's huge foreign debt — at \$US66 billion it is one of the highest of any developed country — was causing balance of payments problems and making lenders nervous about future exposures. The Government recently announced plans to curb foreign borrowing.

It is too early to judge the economic impact of this week's events in East Timor. But it would be dangerous — and in the longer term economically risky — for Australia to allow what could be short-term economic interests to foster a return to the bipartisan policy of appeasement which followed the events of 1975.

# A blind policy's dead end in Dili



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MARK BAKER

"The human rights situation has, in our judgment, conspicuously improved, particularly under the current military arrangements."

— Gareth Evans, Bali,  
9 February 1991

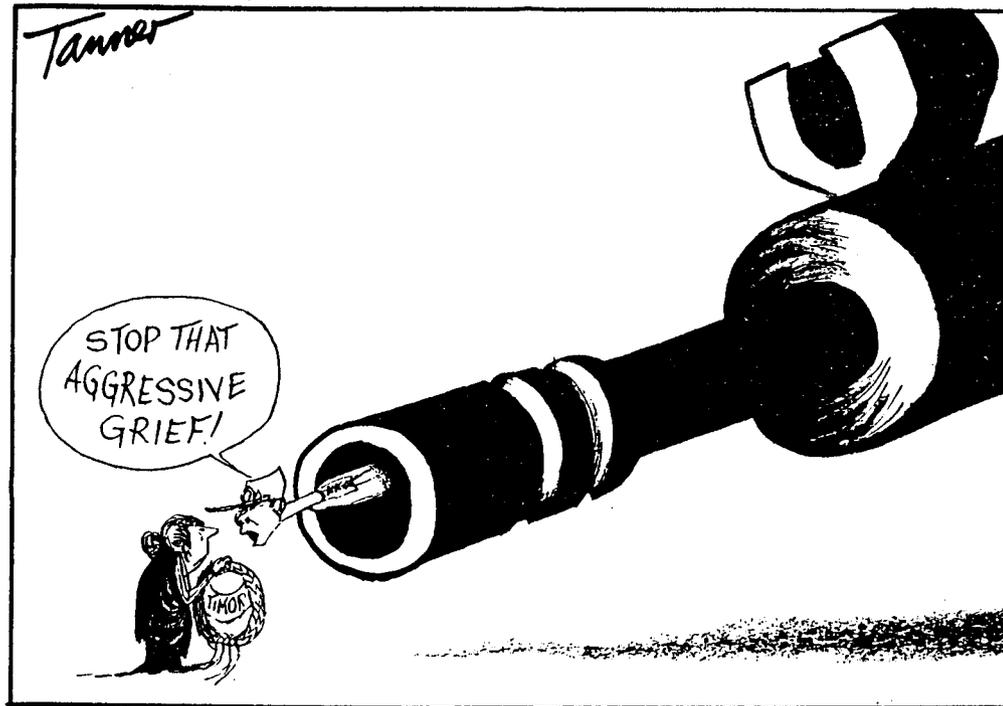
ABOUT 9 am on Tuesday morning, on the dusty, dirt poor streets of Dili, the human rights situation of the Timorese people conspicuously deteriorated. Under the latest military arrangements — a barrage of M16 gunfire — dozens of unarmed men, women and children died. With them should also die the fiction that has underpinned Australian policy on East Timor.

The Dili massacre has exposed in an unequivocal way the brutal reality of what has been happening in the former Portuguese territory for 16 years — and the transparency of efforts by successive Australian governments to ignore or dismiss that reality in the quest for a harmonious relationship with Indonesia.

This was no isolated incident, no unhappy mistake. It was, by all available evidence, a premeditated use of extreme force against peaceful protesters by an army that has, since the invasion of East Timor in late 1975, enforced its rule with a systematic program of intimidation, torture and murder.

It is the same army that killed Australian newsmen Greg Shackleton, Tony Stewart, Malcolm Renne, Brian Peters and Gary Cunningham at Balibo in October 1975 and, later, Roger East in Dili. The same army responsible for the deaths of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese since then. The same army that, according to cases documented by Amnesty International, has carried out the extra-judicial executions of another 30 Timorese since late last year, and has imprisoned and tortured hundreds more youths in recent months.

THE only difference between this and several earlier mass killings is that this time two American journalists were there to document the truth and made a miraculous escape to



tell the world. Their vivid testimony gives the lie to Jakarta's claims that the troops were provoked. They confirmed that the protest was entirely peaceful, that a senior military officer arrived moments before the shooting began and that many of the victims were shot in the back. A Red Cross worker also on the scene has reported that the army opened fire "without physical provocation".

The response to the massacre by military officials in Jakarta has shown only token remorse and a clear conviction that such methods are justifiable.

The Indonesian armed forces chief, General Try Sutrisno, has expressed regret, but says it must be realised that the opponents of Indonesian rule are "brutal". The regional military commander, Brigadier Sintong Panjaitan, is totally unrepentant: "The authorities will never be in any doubt about taking tough action against

any abuse of our persuasive approach. The only order is: to kill or be killed."

The massacre has ignited a diplomatic time bomb for the Australian Government. After years of intensive effort to stabilise our accident-prone relations with Indonesia, the worst fears of the Foreign Ministry have been realised: a violent eruption in East Timor that will rekindle public outrage towards Jakarta in Australia and end the veneer of normality in the bilateral relationship.

The underlying problem is that Australia-Indonesia relations have been built on shallow foundations — from the Whitlam Government's acquiescence to the invasion of East Timor, to the Fraser Government's *de jure* recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in 1979 and the Hawke Government's disregard for the continued abuse of the Timorese people and denial of their aspirations.

Perhaps there was nothing Australia could do in 1975 in response to Indonesia's decision to swallow another nation, but our subsequent appeasement — when the United Nations has continued to deny legitimacy to the takeover — has been a shameful stain on our professed role as a champion of universal human rights and, in particular, the right of peoples to self-determination.

In his recently published book, 'Australia's Foreign Relations' — a treatise that hoists our flag on the global stage with awesome gravitas — Senator Evans has precious little to say about what has been one of the biggest thorns in the side of our foreign policy during the past two decades.

In three brief mentions we learn of the "embarrassment" caused to Gough Whitlam, not when Indonesia invaded East Timor but when the Indonesian military "moved

with less than decent haste to take the place of the hastily departed Portuguese colonialists". We read also of the problems caused by that infamous 'Sydney Morning Herald' article about the Suharto family, but how the two nations have been able to explore "a more practical approach" through the "warm personal relationship" quickly established between Gareth Evans and his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas.

Australia must, of course, strive to live in harmony and cooperation with Indonesia, a nation with which our future is inextricably bound by geography, but at what price? If we fail to take a stand on what is happening in East Timor, we risk further damage to our international credibility and risk also being seen to condone the further abuses that inevitably will follow.

If the calls by Senator Evans and Mr Hawke, and many other

world leaders, for a full investigation fail to answer the pervasive evidence of a deliberate atrocity — and the military response so far is hardly encouraging — Australia is bound to act as decisively and volubly against Indonesia as it did against China in the aftermath of the Tiananmen massacre. While the death toll in Dili might have been in dozens rather than hundreds, the Suharto Government is as culpable and as accountable as the discredited regime of Deng Xiaoping if its troops were also ordered to slaughter defenceless civilians.

THE Dili massacre and events leading up to it have further demonstrated that, despite Jakarta's best efforts to crush dissent and enforce its rule, Timorese nationalism is as potent as ever, if not more so, and that, while the remnants of the Fretilin guerilla movement may have been neutralised, a new generation is maintaining the struggle in the urban areas.

While Australian officials continue to argue that the East Timor question is a closed book (just as they dismissed the aspirations of the Baltic States to regain their independence) many other countries are recognising that there is no distinction between the claims of the Timorese and those, now achieved, of the people of Namibia, Western Sahara and Eritrea.

The latest violence in East Timor, including several other alleged military killings in recent weeks, is seen by human rights groups and Timorese activists in Australia as a consequence of the recent cancellation of a visit to the territory by a United Nations-sponsored delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians. The cancellation of the visit, after petty Indonesian objections over media arrangements, is said to have left the Timorese in a state of despair and to have emboldened the military to launch another purge against dissent.

But it is now obvious that a defiant spirit that has withstood 16 years of military repression will not be wished away and will be assuaged only when Indonesia agrees or is pushed by the international community to negotiate with the Timorese people on their legitimate demand for self-determination. Australia's long-term interests are not served by encouraging Jakarta to believe that it can deny the inevitability of this course.

● *'Australia's Foreign Relations'*, by Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant. Melbourne University Press.

# THE TIMOR KNIFE EDGE



Under pressure . . . Suharto (left) and Alatas



Flashpoint . . . Indonesia's military in action, but will it face the Government's wrath after the Santa Cruz massacre?

By foreign affairs writer  
TONY PARKINSON

ON Melbourne Cup Day, Australia's much-sought-after camaraderie with Indonesia was blossoming like the roses at Flemington.

Australia's armed forces chief, General Peter Gration, was hosting his Indonesian counterpart, General Try Sutrisno, at the spring racing carnival, and both men were having the better of the bookies.

In the feature race, Gration backed the eventual Cup winner, Leti's Elise. Sutrisno had a wager on the second placegetter, Shiva's Revenge - a gelding named, ironically, after the Hindu god of destruction.

That day at the races for the two nations' defense supremos may signal an end to the good times - brief though they were - in relations between Australia and Indonesia.

A week later, at the Santa Cruz cemetery last Tuesday, mourners gathered for a memorial service for one of two youths shot dead at a church outside Dili on October 28. Some carried the flags of Fretilin, the Timorese resistance movement. Some chanted slogans.

What exactly happened when the mourners moved on to the streets of Dili is now the subject of hot debate. But what is not in doubt is that something quite horrific happened that morning, catapulting President Suharto's Indonesia into a full-blown crisis, seriously undermining its international image . . . and demonstrating yet again the fragility - perhaps even the futility - of attempts by Australia to link arms with its largest regional neighbour.

The Santa Cruz massacre, in which at least 60 people are believed to have died, is an unmitigated disaster for Indonesia and its aging leader. It also carries the potential to short-circuit much of the laborious work done over recent years to build and consolidate relations between Jakarta and Canberra.

Theories abound as to how and why the Dili massacre happened, none of which will carry much weight until investigations have been concluded. If, as some fear, the Indonesian Government returns to its past habits of pulling down the shutters on incidents of this kind, the whole truth may never be known.

At worst, the incident could come to be seen as a ruthless drive by military hardliners - in the cruelest and most primitive way imaginable - to reassert their long-dormant grip on East Timor's destiny.

A less sinister explanation would be that Indonesian commanders and their troops simply panicked in a gruesome overreaction to provocation by pro-independence rebels.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas - who in recent years has put a highly respectable face on the Suharto Government's dealings with the world - spoke somberly in Seoul on Thursday. He said his Government neither ordered nor condoned the killings and promised those responsible would be dealt with under Indonesian law.

Indonesian-watchers in Australia agree that it is most unlikely the Dili massacre flowed from any explicit cen-

tral directive from the military command in Jakarta.

Certainly, there were tensions in Jakarta over policy towards East Timor.

Even as Sutrisno continued his informal visit to Melbourne and Canberra, disquieting reports were emerging from the province. Two students had been shot dead at a church outside Dili, the capital of East Timor, during a rally by pro-independence supporters. They were protesting against Jakarta's decision (at the insistence of the conservatives in the military) to veto a Portuguese fact-finding mission to the troubled province. The military had arrived and shots were fired.

The circumstances of how the young men died remain in dispute. But the effect was that tensions were running extremely high and those deaths were the catalyst for what became the bloodbath at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Dr Andrew MacIntyre, one of Australia's foremost specialists on Indonesia, said this week: "On East Timor there were differences over whether to allow the visit by the Portuguese. While Alatas and the Foreign Ministry were inclined to take a gamble, to open up to the world, the military were very distrustful."

But MacIntyre, a senior lecturer in international relations at Griffith University, says it is incomprehensible that this internal politicking could have reached the point where the Indonesian military would have undertaken an act of such brutality as a deliberate policy choice. Indonesia, according to MacIntyre, had far too much to lose.

"You do not run the country's nose through the mud just to fix up Alatas," he said. "This will really hurt Indonesia. It has been trying for some time to clean up its image overseas and they will be worried about the reaction of their big aid donors who were already making noises about human rights."

"I find it very hard to imagine this (the massacre) was an act of policy. My guess is that the problems occurred at a lower level. I cannot imagine that Suharto welcomes this at all."

It will be President Suharto who will make the ultimate decision on how Indonesia manages this crisis. More likely than not, his decisions will be based on a pragmatic political choice with an eye to next year's presidential election.

He must decide whether to protect his military by whitewashing the whole affair or seek to placate the international uproar by being seen to deal vigorously with the perpetrators of the massacre.

According to MacIntyre, Suharto has already been seeking to diversify his power base and will be worried that Indonesian Muslim leaders will take fright at the prospect that what happened in Dili might easily recur in Aceh, the republic's other separatist trouble spot.

"Suharto needs not to rely just on the army anymore, so you could picture a

changes has been invariably of a government-to-government nature and, more often than not, based on political and cultural differences rather than mutual economic benefits.

But since 1982, both countries have steered relations towards achieving practical, tangible and measurable outcomes, and private-sector activity is regarded in Canberra and Jakarta as the best yardstick for judging whether the relationship is achieving the maturity both want.

As relations emerged from the freeze that followed media reports on financial dealings by the Suharto family, Australian business began to take up the opportunities in Indonesia. Australian business has an increasing presence in communications, engineering, construction, mining and legal services.

But, compared with the north Asian manufacturing giants, Australian companies were slow movers in establishing subsidiaries and joint ventures in Indonesia. They looked for greener and more familiar pastures in Europe and North America.

Partly this was cultural, with Australians regarded by the Indonesians as impatient with the Asian way of doing business. Partly, it was a function of the poor state of relations between the two countries, with business apprehensive about the stability and security of investments in a country with which Australia seemed forever in a state of tension. East Timor, clearly, was always one of the factors at work.

"I think it made Australian companies nervous," said Gavin Williams, a former Australian diplomat in Jakarta and now a consultant with public relations group Hill & Knowlton. "A lot of federal ministers talked about the opportunities, but nothing much happened."

Williams says, however, that the climate has changed dramatically in recent years. "There has been a hell of a lot of movement, with a lot of companies looking to offshore production, and plenty of opportunities there for companies in the service industries."

Indonesia first invaded East Timor 16 years ago. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans had established a close personal rapport with Alatas. The governments had set up the Australia-Indonesia Institute. Stronger trade and commercial links were being pursued assiduously in an effort to broaden and deepen the level of interdependence of two countries which, despite their proximity, had always seemed half a world apart.

The height of this new co-operative spirit was the Timor Gap Treaty, signed earlier this year, in which Australia and Indonesia settled a dispute over oil reserves by agreeing to exploit the field as partners.

Doubtless, some of the aches has been taken off the symbol of that arrangement by events in East Timor this week. But will the Dili massacre, of itself, bring about a fundamental shift

This has yet to be reflected in trade and investment statistics. Australian investment in Indonesia, while now at more than \$800 million, is still negligible as a proportion of total investment overseas. Total bilateral trade is nudging \$2 billion, but with the balance heavily in Australia's favour. Indonesia is in the top 10 export destinations for Australia. We are not in Indonesia's top 40.

The same goes for aid. While Indonesia may be Australia's second biggest aid beneficiary, behind Papua New Guinea, Australia's \$100 million in development assistance is dwarfed by the \$4 billion Jakarta receives annually from Europe, North America and, most prominently of all, Japan.

The Dili atrocity will raise new concerns about whether the steady progress made in recent years might now be thrown into reverse. Williams, who has worked in establishing contacts between businessmen in the two countries, said: "There will be some concern. Relations between the two countries have been so up-and-down, people may now ask whether we are back on the same slippery slope."

Richard Acock, of the law firm Allen, Allen and Hemsley, is more sanguine. He believes the relationship is now such as to withstand the fallout from East Timor.

"I do not think it is going to have any impact," he said. "To be frank, politicians and journalists tend to focus on things occurring on a completely different plane. The Indonesian bureaucrats involved in these transactions are nothing if not pragmatic, and most businessmen will keep their eye on the fundamentals. I think it will be business as usual."

Whether this is wistful thinking will become clearer in the signals sent by the two governments over the coming days. Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke already has uttered harsher words than ever before in his condemnation of the Indonesian military and in his call for an "amiable settlement" of the East Timor issue.

His planned trip to Jakarta is also under review, along with proposals that he be accompanied by a delegation of high-profile Australian business leaders to give fresh nourishment to the growing commercial ties. Clearly, a cancellation of that exercise would be a setback.

The Indonesian ambassador, Sabam Sjaftan, conceded to The Australian this week that events in East Timor could affect relations. "I recognise the atmospheric matter in this country," he said.

One reason why Canberra viewed as so crucially important the need to develop stronger business links was its lack of leverage. This, says MacIntyre, remains the scabbing reality: "Jakarta will be looking more to reaction from Washington, Bonn, The Hague and Japan. In that sense, as things stand, I cannot see that this will necessarily test severely the new, mature relationship."

"I think the Indonesians can live with everything we have said. Obviously, they would be expecting strong criticism. But if we were to continue to raise the pressure, and Hawke sought to lead world opinion from out in front, our protests might begin to touch on nerves. That is our choice to make."

## 'They will be worried about the reaction of aid donors'

scenario where he actually cracked down on some people in the army in order to reach out to other groups," MacIntyre said.

But the more likely scenario, in MacIntyre's estimation, would be for Suharto to do his utmost to keep the fundamental bond with the military solidly intact: a rallying around the flag.

While this could still see a handful of officers "hung out to dry", Suharto will stone-wall if that is how his senior commanders, such as Sutrisno, want the issue handled.

How the Suharto Government ultimately seeks to purge itself of this incident will be watched closely by the international community - and nowhere more so than in Canberra.

Australia's relations with Jakarta were, before this week, looking at their most promising and productive since

in direction in the dialogue between Canberra and Jakarta?

Obviously, much depends on Indonesia's response. Equally, much will depend on the judgments Australia makes about whether that response is credible. At stake in this process is a concerted campaign by both sides - still in only its embryonic stages - to give the relationship real substance.

"The Australian Government has been coasting business here to take up a greater interest in trade and investment links with Indonesia, pointing to the considerable efforts by Jakarta since 1982 to open up its economy to the world.

One of the biggest weaknesses in the relationship in the past has been the absence of a strong commercial nucleus: what Gareth Evans describes as the ballast in relations.

This has meant the focus of ex-

changes has been invariably of a government-to-government nature and, more often than not, based on political and cultural differences rather than mutual economic benefits.

But since 1982, both countries have steered relations towards achieving practical, tangible and measurable outcomes, and private-sector activity is regarded in Canberra and Jakarta as the best yardstick for judging whether the relationship is achieving the maturity both want.

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Partly this was cultural, with Australians regarded by the Indonesians as impatient with the Asian way of doing business. Partly, it was a function of the poor state of relations between the two countries, with business apprehensive about the stability and security of investments in a country with which Australia seemed forever in a state of tension. East Timor, clearly, was always one of the factors at work.

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# Massacre may change thinking in Jakarta

ONE likely consequence of Tuesday's massacre in Dili is that Indonesians outside the Government will be thinking about East Timor in new ways.

The statement of Armed Services chief Try Sutrisno that "not more than 50" were killed in the shooting outside the Santa Cruz cemetery has sent shockwaves through politically conscious Indonesians.

Much of the Indonesian discussion of what happened in Dili on Tuesday focuses on army factionalism. Theories abound on who and what military faction was "behind" the massacres, who was trying to provoke and discredit whom. Many of them are theories involving contenders for the succession to President Soeharto.

But Tuesday's shootings have also generated much new thinking about the relevance of East Timor to the struggle for democracy in Indonesia.

## COMMENT

By Herb Feith

Many Indonesians are becoming aware that the Soeharto Government has a major problem on its hands.

East Timor is a subject on which censorship of Indonesia's domestic media has always been especially tight. That has made it almost impossible for all but a handful of Indonesians outside the territory to work out what is happening there.

The small number associated with human rights organisations are well aware of the violence which pervades East Timor, the extraordinary intensity of repression and resistance there.

These people have engaged in highly courageous protest in the past few days. Some have taken the issue

of the massacre to the Indonesian Parliament.

But outside that small group the tendency has been to see East Timor as a problem of relatively minor importance. Many of the people I have talked to over the past five years seem surprised that outsiders, and Australians in particular, are so preoccupied with the issue.

They see East Timor as no more than another small, remote, backward province. My impression is that they regard its problems of poverty and abuses of military power as all too similar to problems in other remote parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

This week's events, and what happens in the next few weeks, may well change a lot of that. Democracy-minded Indonesians who see a clear benefit to themselves from the worldwide pressure for governments to respect human rights and take le-

gal norms seriously will be paying a lot more attention to East Timor henceforth.

They will be doing so with a new awareness that the Government's decisions about what to do in East Timor could affect them themselves, that the decisions could threaten Indonesia's limited advances of the past few years towards more open and constitutional politics.

One group of Indonesian reformists who have long been well-informed on East Timor — but hitherto reluctant to push the issue — are the leaders of Indonesia's proliferating non-government organisations: environmental and legal aid bodies, village uplift, educational and village development bodies.

For NGO leaders, as for so many other people in opposition to the Government, the East Timor problem has up to now been in the too-hard basket. Their problem is the linkage

between East Timor and such other places as West Irian or West Papua and Aceh in Northern Sumatra. If self-determination is accorded to one of these, why not to the others?

It is not easy to see what people like this can recommend to their Government which will not leave them vulnerable to the charge that they are unravelling the unity of the country.

One approach they may opt for is to urge the Government to go back to the options which were canvassed when the Soeharto Government negotiated with the Timorese guerrillas in March 1983. Those were clandestine talks, but they led to a ceasefire which lasted for three months.

■ Herb Feith teaches politics at Monash University and is a long-time Indonesia watcher. His most recent visit there was in August-September.

# East Timor tragedy underlines a modern Indonesian dilemma

ONE diplomat in Jakarta observed this week that Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, would be "spitting blood" over the massacre of innocent civilians in the East Timor capital, Dili, on Tuesday.

The urbane Mr Alatas has played a pivotal and highly successful role as Indonesia's international front man in recent years. This year Indonesia becomes chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. Indonesia, along with France, co-chaired the lengthy talks that saw Cambodia move closer towards democratic rule this week. Mr Alatas himself has been mentioned as a possible candidate to replace Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar as secretary-general of the United Nations.

Overnight, Mr Alatas saw his efforts

## ANALYSIS

By John Schauble

to elevate Indonesia's credibility on the international stage brushed aside with unwitting contempt by a junior military commander.

The Foreign Minister waited two days before making a public statement on the massacre. It was not convincing. One suspects Mr Alatas is wearying of explaining to the world the brutal blunders of sections of the Indonesian military establishment.

For the East Timorese, the killing of a still undetermined number of innocent people was another in a succession of bloody tragedies endured since the Indonesian invasion of the former

Portuguese colony in 1975.

But this shooting, witnessed by foreign journalists and aid workers who survived to tell the tale, will perhaps come to be the turning point in the fortunes of the people of East Timor. Not since Indonesia's invasion of the former colony has world attention been so clearly focused on the plight of the 700,000 East Timorese.

Many of the reasons the Indonesians put forward in justification of their intervention after a brief civil war in East Timor and the withdrawal of the Portuguese administration have ceased to have relevance. The main one — fear of an emergent communist enclave bordering a country where up to 500,000 people were slaughtered in the wake of an abortive communist coup in 1965 — has disappeared with

the rearrangement of the world's political order.

For Indonesia, this latest tragedy underscores a fundamental dilemma of the modern state: the role of the military in the government and rule of a nation of 185 million people.

For the past 25 years, the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) have played the central role in the Government of that country. As the generator of the revolution against the Dutch and the spearhead of independence in 1945, ABRI has traditionally seen itself as the dominant force in Indonesian political life. The military has a dual function (known as "dwi fungsi"). In other words, ABRI has both a defence-security role and the function of promoting social stability and development.

One-fifth of the seats in the Indonesian Parliament are reserved for the armed forces. President Soeharto, of course, is himself a retired army general. ABRI figures — retired and serving — are prominent in the country's cabinet. Until quite recently, provincial governors were almost entirely selected from the military.

In recent years, there has been a trend in Indonesia to gently move ABRI officers out of such positions, replacing them with civilians. The dominance of the armed forces in the giant state corporations and monopolies has gradually diminished. A new generation of post-revolution military leaders is seen as more professional, more intent on their role as military men than in commerce or government. This has led to divisions and

power struggles within the military.

The annexation and subsequent control of East Timor, however, has been almost purely a military operation. East Timor, in effect, has become an ABRI fiefdom where military commanders have been allowed to run things as they see fit.

The fact that a small band of Fretilin resistance fighters has managed to survive in East Timor has been a constant irritation to ABRI, which despite a force of 10,000 troops has failed in its attempts to obliterate the opposition.

Whatever protests Australia makes to Jakarta over this disgraceful episode will have less impact than the protests of big aid donors and investors such as Japan and the United States. Indonesia's response to the collective protests of the international

community will determine the extent to which it can expect to be taken seriously within that community on issues such as human rights.

Future relations between the ordinary people of Australia and Indonesia will be deeply scarred by the events in the Santa Cruz cemetery. The killings will serve to reinforce many Australians' worst fears about their huge neighbor.

Recent relations between Australia and Indonesia have been problematic. It remains important for Australia and Indonesia to develop close relations based on mutual understanding and trust. The killing of innocent civilians and flagrant abuses of human rights do not enter that equation.

■ John Schauble is the foreign editor of 'The Sunday Age'.

Timor

# Evans' Dili delay a high-risk gamble

By TONY PARKINSON

THE Cambodian peace process is spoken of as the high-water mark of Gareth Evans's record as Foreign Affairs Minister in dealings with Asia.

But his intense negotiation with Labor MPs over the past 48 hours - in crafting a response to the Dili massacre - could yet prove far more significant in the direct and immediate impact it has on our relations with the region.

At a series of meetings on Monday with Cabinet and Caucus colleagues, Evans succeeded in discouraging the party from forcing the Government's hand on a program of sanctions against Indonesia.

Some MPs wanted military co-operation scrapped and all ministerial visits cancelled in protest at the gruesome reports of death and torture in East Timor. Evans negotiated the redraft of a Caucus motion to postpone consideration of these measures until the Suharto Government had been given an appropriate opportunity to make its explanations.

In doing so, he has bought crucial time for the Government to come up with a

formula for seeking to extricate itself honourably from one of its most precarious foreign policy tests. At the same time, he has steered relations with our largest regional neighbour - at least for the moment - away from the precipice.

He has also raised the stakes - for himself and for the Government.

He has agreed to fly to Jakarta next month to take up Australia's concerns with a sullen and defensive Suharto Government. This immediately creates the expectations that, first, the Indonesians will listen and, second, that Australia has the capacity to shape or influence Jakarta's response.

On past experience, these can only be seen as heroic assumptions. Yet Evans holds the view that the deepening and broadening of Australia's links with Jakarta in recent years provides some leverage.

Yesterday, he said it was time to use some of the "accumulated assets" of better relations to engage in frank talks with the Suharto Government not only about the massacre itself but also about the longer-term outlook for a "reconciliation" between Indonesia and the East Timorese people.

This is entirely untested territory for an Australian government. It would also be unusual in the extreme for the Suharto administration, which has always bristled at interference from the outside world, to give Canberra's special pleadings too much of a hearing.

Much rides on Evans's calculation that the painstaking rebuilding of relations since the mid-1980s will bring a dividend.

petrators identified and punished. It has said so in the belief that the massacre in Dili was an aberration by lower-order troops, and not a case of the military simply acting on a deliberate policy directive from central authorities in Jakarta.

Given the historical context of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor - and the violence that has characterised it - the notion that the soldiers were acting

many see as the lily-livered tradition of our policy towards East Timor.

By that time, of course, Evans's credibility will be the least of concerns. Under yesterday's Caucus resolution, Jakarta's failure to deliver would trigger a fundamental review of the entire relationship.

Meanwhile, Caucus passions have been placated. Australia will become more vocal and active on East Timor, without actually engaging in the decisive - but admittedly knee-jerk - responses that would have pushed relations with Indonesia to the brink.

There is breathing-space. Evans has won the argument that long-term interests are best served by doing everything within reason to preserve Canberra's improving links with Jakarta.

As one senior backbencher said later: "Gareth always does that. He is a great wordsmith. He looks at what's on offer, says he doesn't have any great problem with it, then comes up with an alternative which normally is accepted."

But powerful passions are at work in the ALP, with years of pent-up frustration and self-reproach over Australia's perceived meekness in the face of Indo-

nesia's military clampdown in East Timor.

Yesterday they opted for realpolitik ahead of what Evans calls "feel-good" politics. But that patience won't last indefinitely.

As Tasmania's Senator Nick Sherry, one of the prime movers behind the Caucus motion, said yesterday: "There are times when your good friends are wrong, and you should tell them."

"They (Indonesia) are wrong on East Timor, they are wrong in the behaviour they have adopted over the last 15 years."

"They are wrong by any international criteria. It is a military occupation."

"That sort of principle should be upheld very strongly by this Government because that is the sort of principle we are supposed to live by."

Evans has hosed the party down. For the moment.

His more onerous assignment now - with a persistent shadow hanging over security operations in East Timor - is to produce a similarly respectable outcome in talks with Indonesian leaders. It is a big ask. And far more than honour is at stake.

‘On past experience, this can only be seen as a heroic assumption’

A second danger is that the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade appears to be investing considerable faith in the ability and willingness of the Indonesian ruling order - albeit heavily dominated by the military - to deliver a fair judgment on the events of November 12.

Evans revealed yesterday that Australia now believes at least 75 people died when troops opened fire on civilians at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Australia has said it wants the per-

outside of orders stretches credulity, but sensible judgments on that issue cannot begin to be made until President Suharto's national commission of inquiry has reported, probably not before the end of the year.

Evans will have much riding on the outcome. His strategy of adopting a "constructive" approach will be either vindicated or exposed as fanciful and, worse still, another chapter in what

# Focus on Indonesia

## Dili killings' reaction to test recent gains in bilateral dealings



"NO two neighbours anywhere in the world are as comprehensively unlike as Australia and Indonesia. We differ in language, culture, religion, history, ethnicity, population size and in political, legal and social systems. Usually neighbours share at least some characteristics brought about by proximity over time, but the Indonesian archipelago and the continental land mass of Australia might well have been half a world apart . . . Traditionally, when a dispute arose, there was little to prevent that particular issue from dominating the relationship and assuming an unwarranted prominence and seriousness. The situation today is very different. The relationship is so much more substantial that it is reasonable to assume that only a very large storm would seriously disturb it."

— Senator Gareth Evans and Mr Bruce Grant in their book *Australia's Foreign Relations*



Senator Evans and Mr Alatas, the architects of closer ties at a conference and (inset) a man flees during the Dili killings

By GREG SHERIDAN

BEFORE the November 12 massacre of civilians by Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital of Dili, Australia's much improved relationship with Indonesia was a source of great pride and satisfaction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

The relationship had recovered from its nadir in 1986 when a press report concerning the financial activities of Indonesia's leadership had led to a fierce, furious interruption to the normal bilateral intercourse.

The Indonesian Government protested officially, and vociferously, at the Australian media reports. Australian tourists were temporarily denied visa-free entry to Indonesia and Australian journalists prevented from travelling there.

The worst elements of the dispute were settled fairly quickly but it was not until 1988 when Australia and Indonesia both acquired new foreign ministers, Senator Evans and Mr Ali Alatas that the tempo of the relationship quickened significantly.

Evans and Alatas soon became close friends. The appointment of Alatas, a professional diplomat, as foreign minister was part of a push by the Indonesian Government to achieve greater international prominence and respectability.

Both the Australian and Indonesian Governments invested serious political will in reviving the relationship.

At this stage the impetus for the renewal in the relationship came distinctly at the government level.

The commercial relationship was stunted, a hostage to the ups and downs of the political relationship and a function of the lack of compli-

## Relations shaken by massacre

mentarity in the two economies.

The sustained high rates of economic growth which Indonesia has achieved in recent years, combined with an easier environment for foreign investment and reforms in the financial system, have made a deeper and broader trade relationship a possibility.

Nonetheless, in the late 80s the relationship was still driven by the two governments. The Australian Government established the Australia-Indonesia Institute. Similarly, high level official talks were instituted.

The most significant government-to-government action was the signing, in December 1989, of the Timor Gap Zone of Co-operation Treaty.

This treaty was regarded as a singular legal innovation by international treaty experts.

It did not divide the Timor Gap into two areas, one to be possessed by each side. Rather, for a significant area of the sea divide between Australia and Indonesia, the two countries would share the proceeds of any resources discovered.

This treaty not only solved a prob-

lem, who was to get what, but assumed there would be an ongoing, long-term degree of close co-operation between the two countries.

At the same time the two nations were co-operating on a host of regional, and even global, diplomatic initiatives. Alatas and Evans worked hand-in-glove throughout the long, tortuous Cambodian peace process.

Indonesia played an important part in the formation, on Australia's initiative, of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation group.

Indonesia was also an enthusiastic member of the Cairns Group of non-subsidising agricultural trading nations.

In calendar year 1990 Australia's exports to Indonesia totalled \$1.3 billion, which made Indonesia our eighth biggest export market. And the trade balance is heavily in Australia's favour.

In 1990 Indonesia's exports to Australia totalled some \$522 million. Australian mining companies have been expanding rapidly in Indonesia.

There is plainly a vast potential in trade in services between the two countries.

Somewhere in the vicinity of 200,000 Australian tourists will visit Indonesia this year. In 1990 there were 6500 Indonesian students studying in Australia. This made Australia the second most popular destination for Indonesian students after the United States.

Moreover, the volume of two-way trade is growing rapidly.

Indonesia's high level of sustained economic growth, combined with its huge population of 180 million, means that it will offer enormous potential, and challenges, to the Australian economy in the coming decade.

Similarly, Australia has an overwhelming interest in the economic success and social stability of Indonesia.

This concern has been part of the security obsession Australia has always had with its near north.

It is also reflected in Indonesia's being the second greatest recipient in recent years of Australian aid, with annual aid totalling about \$100 million in the five years to 1991-92.

It is because Australia's interests, security interests, regional diplomacy interests and economic interests, are so vitally engaged in Indonesia that the Australian Government is faced with diabolical dilemmas in the face of the Dili massacre.

It is inevitable that an Australian Government would respond to the Dili killings with strong condemnation and with an attempt to keep political pressure on Jakarta to reassess its policies in East Timor.

To some extent Australia is assisted by the fact that similar responses will come from the United States and several West European countries although not, significantly, from other South-East Asian nations.

But whether Australia's protests lead to real trouble in our relations with Indonesia is largely up to Jakarta.

# The Timor fiction

**F**OR an incandescent moment this week the Australian Government seemed to have summoned up the courage to reverse 16 years of national dishonor and moral cowardice over Indonesia's genocide in East Timor.

It happened when federal caucus unanimously passed a resolution supporting "the longer term aspirations of the East Timorese people", prompting claims that Government policy had shifted dramatically to acceptance of East Timorese demands for self-determination.

But not so. The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, was quickly in front of TV cameras dismissing this interpretation of the caucus resolution as too "robust", and declaring that Australia still recognized Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. It was the signal that, notwithstanding Canberra's expressions of official outrage over the 12 November Dili massacre, Australia would continue its policy of appeasing Indonesia.

Senator Evans may speak firmly to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas when he visits Djakarta on 19 December. But in the end, Indonesia's latest act of mass murder in East Timor will be swept under the carpet as quietly and as indecently as possible.

This should come as no surprise. The Whitlam, Fraser and Hawke governments have all acquiesced in Indonesia's blood-soaked repression of East Timor since the 1975 invasion. Their failure to resist Jakarta's genocide has been, and continues to be, a shameful denial of a national debt of honor to people who saved the lives of many Australian soldiers during the second world war.

What is surprising is how brazenly Senator Evans is prepared to expose the logical absurdity and moral spinelessness of Australia's policy. His remarks, particularly on the ABC's '7.30 report' on Tuesday, were the weasel words of a



**GEOFFREY BARKER**

minister appealing to a dubious concept of political reality to justify his failure to offer diplomatic resistance to a massacre of unarmed civilians on Australia's northern doorstep.

Perhaps the most obvious logical absurdity was Senator Evans's assertion that Australia's "working assumption" was that the Dili massacre was "aberrant behavior by a section of the military".

As an intelligent and literate

What is surprising is how brazenly Senator Evans is prepared to expose the logical absurdity and moral spinelessness of Australia's policy.

English speaker, Senator Evans presumably understands that "aberrant behavior" is behavior that deviates from an established norm. Yet he acknowledged that the number of deaths in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion had been "horrifyingly large", and agreed that they might indeed number 200,000.

**G**IVEN these assumptions, it was absurd for Senator Evans to maintain that the latest killings were an aberration. They were utterly consistent with the violent norm established by the Indonesian authorities during their 16-year reign of terror.

Senator Evans's fatuity was further exposed by the defiant remarks of Indonesia's military leaders. Supreme Commander General Try Sutrisno said people

who did not "toe the line" had to be shot. The military commander in East Timor, Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw, reportedly said it was not excessive for the Indonesian forces to have fired automatic weapons into an unarmed crowd for up to 10 minutes.

These remarks also reflect the consistent reality of Indonesia's East Timor policy, which Senator Evans cravenly ignores. The same reality should discourage anyone from hoping that Indonesia's military-dominated inquiry into the Dili massacre might be other than a whitewash.

Not Senator Evans. He told the ABC Australia had "no reason to believe otherwise" than that the inquiry would be genuine. All the evidence, of course, argues against his optimism — just as it argues against his refusal to accept that Indonesian sovereignty

represents a yoke for the East Timorese.

represents a yoke for the East Timorese. And yet Senator Evans unblushingly defended Australia's appeasement by appealing to the "reality" of international recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and to the "reality" that there is no visible international consensus to challenge it.

Finally, it is not obvious that Australia's economic relations with these regimes will be significantly damaged by anything short of abject appeasement. The need to trade is independent of, and not diminished by, political disputes.

If Senator Evans were to factor these considerations into Australia's posture towards East Timor, he might achieve an acceptable balance between political reality and moral decency. At present his policy is bereft of both.

Nor is likely that nearby vicious regimes will moderate their conduct if Australia merely feigns anger and threatens to review bilateral contacts. Their conduct is more likely to be modified by the prospect of serious Australian pressure for diplomatic sanctions against them. Bullies ultimately are deterred only by those who are brave enough to resist them.

Finally, it is not obvious that Australia's economic relations with these regimes will be significantly damaged by anything short of abject appeasement. The need to trade is independent of, and not diminished by, political disputes.

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THE TIMOR MASSACRE AND

# INDONESIA'S SECRET WAR OF SUCCESSION



Suharto... a showdown



Generals in the frontline... Murtandi (left) and Try

By TONY PARKINSON

INDONESIA'S generals are not accustomed to being called to account for their actions.

The post-independence history of their country - and the political culture that has sprung from it - has elevated the military to a status that places its huge officer class above the normal rules of accountability.

And so the reverberations from the Dili massacre represent not only a full-blown diplomatic crisis but a political crisis that goes to the essence of how Indonesian society is ordered.

There is now unprecedented scrutiny of the way the Indonesian armed forces go about their business. How its generals react in the face of that pressure - and how President Suharto chooses to play his hand - will be vital in determining what sort of Indonesia emerges at the end of the process.

In that sense, the Dili massacre is already a catalyst. But what exactly, nobody can yet be sure.

Australia and other Western nations are hoping it will serve as a force for greater liberalisation of the Indonesian system.

A more disturbing - but equally credible - scenario is that it will reinforce the arguments of hardliners in Jakarta who believe the "open door" policy has compromised political stability and threatens the "consensus" that has existed for most of the past 30 years within the country's political and military elites.

Probably the biggest danger - perhaps unavoidable - is that Indonesia's handling of this issue will become a slave to the most unscrupulous intrigues surrounding the issue of the leadership succession.

Even before its soldiers opened fire on a crowd in East Timor, elements in the army had been abuzz for a showdown with Suharto and the political management team that makes up his inner Cabinet... not so much over who runs the country now, but over how power will be dispersed - and by whom - when Suharto eventually departs the scene.

This has been the intricate subtext of Indonesian politics since 1988, with palpable tensions between the 70-year-old President, who has led the country for 33 years, and a significant and powerful military faction, led by the Defence Minister, General Benny Murtandi.

The Murtandi camp has never issued a direct challenge to Suharto's authority, nor is it likely to do so.

But it was anticipated there would almost certainly be behind-the-scenes jostling in the lead-up to the 1993 presidential election, with the military clique - known to some as "Benny and the Boys" - moving to frustrate any attempt by Suharto to create a dynasty in his own image.

There is widespread resentment - not confined to the military - at the extensive and ever-expanding business interests of Suharto's sons and daughters, helped along by the patronage of the presidential palace and access to handsome government contracts.

There are also fears among senior ranks of the military that they are in danger of being outmanoeuvred in laying the framework for the post-Suharto era, and that the President is using his office to pre-empt members of his family to take over the reins at a time of his choosing somewhere near the end of the decade.

Under this scenario, the Suharto family empire would be entrenched as the central repository of political and commercial power in the country. This would be very nature, relegate the army in status: a loyal soldier would carry less clout and authority than a courtier.

While on the surface it would seem to be Indonesia's military leadership which has most to lose in the East Timor investigation, the unpredictable course of this crisis creates at least the possibility that the playing out of these tensions over future political leadership may also be brought forward.

Suharto is a master of political strategy and his office carries quite staggering power and authority. But such are the forces unleashed by the bloodshed in East Timor - with so much clearly at stake - not even Suharto may be able to keep events firmly under his control.

One of our most respected Indonesian analysts, Professor Jamie Mackie, spoke this week of an "unravelling" of some of the certainties that had governed political life in Jakarta, and warned that this carried considerable dangers.



Running scared... crowds flee the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre on November 12

"One can imagine two types of outcomes of the present situation," he said.

"One is that the Indonesian authorities recognise that they are under pressure from international opinion and respond to that in a more liberal or open way.

"The other is that they turn their backs on it and simply try to tough it out and put the blame for what has happened on the process of openness that has been going on for the last two years."

"In that case, I think the hard-nosed men of the army will carry the day and it could become a much more repressive regime than it is now."

The responses over the past fortnight of senior political and military figures in Jakarta suggest there are already divisions over what approach the Government should adopt in grappling with international criticism. The vague and crisscrossing power constellations make it difficult to discern whether this signifies the ruling order dividing into two camps, or whether it is merely the ad hoc utterances of officials caught on the hop.

The blunt remarks of armed forces chief General Try Sutrisno in the immediate aftermath of the massacre - suggesting the military was perfectly entitled to shoot "agitated" crowds - continue to do so - raised the ire of Prime Minister Bob Hawke and were read as a signal that Indonesia would opt for an obstructive response.

## Blunt remarks a chilling omen

Coming from a military leader who is a close personal confidant of Suharto, it was a chilling omen. Try, after all, has been regarded here and elsewhere as affable and charming, one of the new generation of academy-trained officers.

An army engineer, he leapt through the ranks after serving for four years as aide-de-camp to Suharto. It has made him the subject of derision in some quarters, with the accusation that he was luxuriating at the presidential palace in the days when the guerrilla war with the mountains of East Timor.

His outburst two weeks ago - described by Hawke as "repugnant in the extreme" - took many people aback. Last week, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said he believed Try's remarks were of the "top-of-the-head" variety and in direct response to early reports that Indonesian troops had been mobbed and provoked by the East Timorese demonstrators.

Meanwhile, Murtandi, as Defence Minister, has been sending out some mysterious signals. As the man who commanded the invasion in 1975, Murtandi has come to be regarded as the belle noire of East Timor, a ruthless and remorseless soldier.

But in Jakarta on Tuesday, he told Japanese journalists he favoured the idea of showing video footage of the massacre on Indonesian television. He also countermanded a threat by a senior Cabinet minister, Admiral Sudono, to withdraw diplomatic staff from Australia.

Army chief of staff General Edi Sudrajat - thought to be a close

ally of Murtandi - also took an unexpected tack. "People nowadays reject those military people who take an aggressive stance... society now is not like it was in the past."

It would be dangerous to read too much into any of these remarks. Clearly, the Suharto Government is groping to find a position it can sustain credibly until the national commission of inquiry set up by the President delivers its report.

The internal dynamics mean that most of the key players - including the top layer of the military - will measure their words carefully in public forums. Not unlike the rest of the world, Jakarta is to some extent in holding pattern.

When will the inquiry report, and what views is it likely to take?

The fact that the United Nations Human Rights Commission convenes between January and March may be one factor to support the contention that the commission of inquiry will deliberate long and hard over its findings.

The commission head, Judge Djajanti, is a lawyer by trade but trained as a commando with Murtandi back in the 1950s. While his decree is signed by the presidential hand, he is doubtless aware of all the sensitivities.

It is almost universally expected that one or more senior military officers will pay the price for the Indonesian Government, and its army - having to undergo this unenvying process.

The man most in the gunights is the local military commander in East Timor, Brigadier Rudolf Warouw. Before November 12, he has been viewed by many outside observers as one of the better officers sent from Jakarta to run the province.

Evans said of him last week: "By every account, he has been running a much more low-key, conscientious and generally calmer approach to the military presence there."

One irony is that at the very time his troops were gunning down protesters at the Santa Cruz cemetery, Warouw was discussing the affairs of East Timor with a UN official, Pieter Kooljman.

Like many of the senior officers posted to East Timor, Warouw is neither Muslim nor Javanese - which makes him slightly more convenient as a scapegoat.

Another officer who may figure in the findings is the commander of the Udayana military region, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan.

Although based in Bali, Panjaitan is the commanding officer of the regional headquarters responsible for East Timor.

He is also a leading candidate to become the next deputy army chief of staff.

Suharto, however, is understood to be eager that the position goes to his wife's brother-in-law, General Wisnoro, who would then be firmly in line to become armed forces chief.

That move would guarantee the Suharto family enormous influence in the one powerful constituency where it lacks direct top-level representation: the military.

For this reason, it will not be entirely unexpected if Panjaitan is either removed or otherwise penalised.

Not surprisingly, considerations such as this have tempted some to suggest that the political opportunities presented by the massacre were not altogether unwelcome in Jakarta.

One of the many theories is that the massacre was perfectly timed to embarrass Suharto before he de-

massacre was so messy and ill-disciplined - and in full view of foreign journalists - that it was difficult to conceive it could have been a deliberate policy act.

Other observers in human rights groups are not so persuaded.

They point to the involvement of Major Gerhan Lantara, deputy commander of the 700 airborne battalion. It was Gerhan, according to Indonesia's official version, who was mobbed and stabbed by protesters.

He has not been seen in Dili since the day of the massacre, and his soldiers saluted out on a troop ship within days.

But the TAPOL organisation has compiled a lengthy and detailed dossier on Gerhan, recounting his past exploits with the military in East Timor.

In an eight-year posting, he headed a special task force known as the Sontoko Company, which has been accused of killing in 1978 the Fretilin leader Nicolou Loboto, and of systematic torture.

His presence coincided with the increasing phenomenon of masked vigilante groups roaming the streets of Dili, attacking suspected Fretilin sympathisers.

There is certainly evidence that the army was embarked on special operations of some intensity in the lead up to the events of November 12. Whether that included orders to crush all protest - and from how high up any such orders might have come - remains the great imponderable, as does the question of what possible strategy all this might have served.

Professor Mackie pointed out that questions of this kind would also be on the minds of many people in Jakarta itself. The Indonesians, he said, love nothing more than a conspiracy theory.

"Indonesians always believe there is a *dalang* (puppet-master) manipulating events from behind the scenes."

"The truth is, this can only be speculation and guesswork."

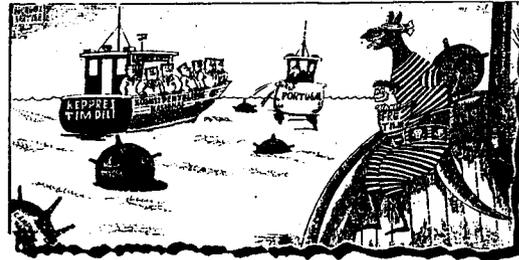
# What do Indonesians think of us?

By Richard Chauvel,  
Jakarta

**T**HE most general image that Indonesians have of Australia is that of a prosperous, Western industrialised society, which happens to be located next door to Indonesia. In the Indonesia of today, as opposed to the last years of the Sukarno period, this is a positive perception, tempered perhaps by the free-wheeling, free sex and pleasure seeking image evoked by Australian tourists in Bali.

Our geographical position as a near neighbor of Indonesia gives Australia a special status in Indonesian eyes, indeed for some Indonesians, a particular responsibility. There is an expectation that relations between the two countries should always be close and cordial as befitting good neighbors. Hence, there has been surprise and upset on those not infrequent occasions when Australia has sided against Indonesia about the status of West New Guinea, Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia and the annexation of East Timor.

The expectation of being a good neighbor has had the consequence that Australia tends to be singled out among Indonesia's foreign critics. The Netherlands and Canada have indicated that they will suspend or review their aid programs to Indonesia without waiting to hear the results of the Indonesian Government's commission of inquiry. The Australian Government has taken less concrete measures, yet it is our embassy which has



Caustic cartoon: an Indonesian view of Australia as a blindfolded kangaroo with Fretlin in her pouch laying mines around the Timor investigators.

been subject to counter demonstrations.

Being a neighbor brings with it, in Indonesian eyes, a responsibility to understand and to conciliate. At times, and not least now, we are thought to be insensitive and arrogant towards Indonesian society and its values. The posters outside the Australian embassy in Jakarta bear testament to this sentiment: "Respect our Nation's Sovereignty", "Don't interfere in our Nation, We will resolve it (Dili) according to our own National Laws". Also, Australia's provision of a home for East Timorese refugees and permitting their leaders to engage in political activities against Indonesia are not considered the acts of a friendly neighbor.

Perhaps what has provoked the sharpest response has been the burning of the Indonesian flag by protesters in Australia. The demonstrators

outside the Australian embassy described this as a "brutal act which insulted our nation". A senior student of Australian Studies suggested that Australians did not appreciate the significance of the national flag for Indonesians because Australians did not have a tradition of revolutionary struggle, of which, in the Indonesian case, the national flag was the central symbol.

The leading parliamentarians as well as protesters in Jakarta hold the Australian Government responsible for the "hostile attitude of its people" towards Indonesia. Outside the more cosmopolitan intellectual circles, Indonesian perceptions of Australia tend not to distinguish government policy from the expressions of opinion and activities of individuals and non-government organisations in Australian society. One of the ironies in the recent history of our relations with

Indonesia is that, beyond Government circles in Jakarta, the Australian Government's *de jure* recognition of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province has gained little credit.

Given Indonesia's political experience of the past three decades, one of the most difficult aspects of Australian society for Indonesians to understand is its political pluralism. It is hard for them to interpret and evaluate the strength, influence and representativeness of the opinions and activities of the Government, political parties and interest groups. Also, the robust and direct manner in which contending political opinions and arguments are often expressed in Australia has not been part of the Indonesian political scene since the 1950s.

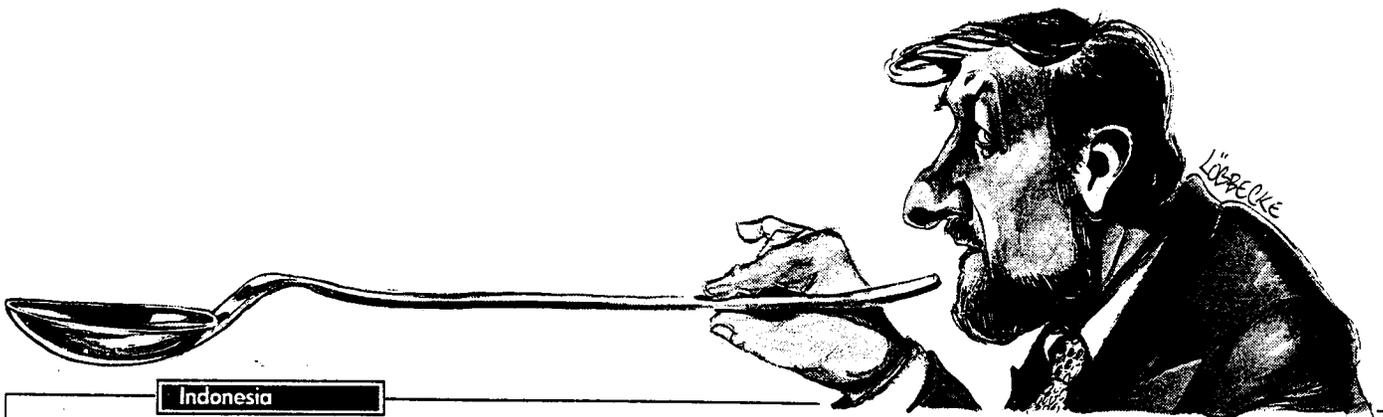
The events of 12 November in Dili have heightened Indonesian sensitivity to foreign reporting. General Try Sutrisno described the foreign press reports of further massacres in Timor as "mad". "These reports just seek anything which can smear our face. What do the foreign press want? The Minister of Internal Affairs, Rudini, warned Indonesians not to be influenced by the foreign press reports which suggested that all the Timorese people were antipathetic towards the Indonesian army. While the Australian media has not been specifically identified in Government statements, it should not be forgotten that our media forms a particular and a negative part of Indonesians' image of Australia. David Jenkins' 1986 article on President Soeharto's family business activities cast a dark shadow over bilateral relations for more than two

years and is still referred to in the Indonesian press.

An important part of Indonesians' view of Australia is the fate of the Aboriginal community. Many Indonesians, particularly university students, have a genuine interest in Aboriginal culture, art and political aspirations. The Australian embassy's exhibitions of Aboriginal art during the past three years have done much to stimulate this interest. Indonesian press coverage of the Bicentennial gave a great deal of space to Aboriginal protests. It is rare to talk publicly in Indonesia on almost any subject to do with Australia without being asked about some aspect of Aboriginal culture, many Indonesians find it difficult to understand how in the midst of Australia's material wealth the original inhabitants of our continent have a standard of living which is impoverished even by the standards of much of the Third World. At times like the present when Indonesian images of Australia are sharpened and the more negative aspects are emphasised. Australian criticism of Indonesia's human rights record is seen as hypocritical. As one of the posters on the fence of our embassy suggested: "Look in the mirror Australia!! ... What about the Aborigines?"

Given the strong Indonesian reaction to demonstrations in Australia, one of the unintended effects of those activities has been that the events of 12 November have tended to be pushed to the side.

Richard Chauvel is lecturer in Australian studies at the University of Indonesia, Jakarta.



Indonesia

# Evans and the Dili conundrum

TOMORROW the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, begins his visit to Indonesia. During his three-day stay he has to please two essentially contradictory constituencies.

The first is his Indonesian interlocutors. The massacre in Dili has changed the power relationships within the Indonesian elite.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas — as the sponsor of the aborted visit by Portuguese officials and international journalists to East Timor which raised expectations which were subsequently dashed and, therefore, contributed to the heightened tensions within East Timor that led up to the massacre — can be assumed to have suffered some damage.

This is important for Australia because Alatas has been a good friend not only of Evans but of the Indonesian/Australian relationship.

However, it can also be fairly assumed that President Suharto is not best pleased by the military hardliners and the damage they have done to Indonesia's international standing.

The politics of Indonesia are complex. The relationships of individuals and the various interest groups they represent have been seriously shaken up by the events in Dili.

The other group Evans must satisfy is the Labor Cabinet and the Labor Caucus. The Caucus, in particular, is subject to considerable influence by numerous anti-Indonesian activist groups and the Left generally.

The double standards of the root-and-branch condemnation of all things Indonesian by some of the activist groups, who are silent in the face of far greater and more sustained human rights abuses elsewhere and who fail to acknowledge the real progress in both economic and political terms which Indonesia has made in recent years, is no bar to their having great influence on the Caucus.



GREG SHERIDAN

These groups will want all of Australia's national interests to be sacrificed in the act of making the loudest and longest protests possible.

This is a great weakness in our foreign policy debate, that it is frequently driven by the politics of domestic political protest.

This is one reason why it is so often so difficult to get a nuanced or balanced position adopted. Everyone involved in Australian politics believes it was essential for the Government to make a vigorous protest at the massacre in Dili. If such massacres were standard Indonesian policy then it would be very difficult for Australia to maintain more than a formal and commercial relationship with that country.

But the massacre is not a standard or acceptable part of Indonesian policy.

Indonesia is a society racing ahead economically, with a stable middle class of 50 million to 60 million. It is a liberalising society, becoming more sophisticated, more tolerant. If Australia were to engineer a rupture in the relationship with Indonesia our ability to encourage that process, not least in Timor, would be nil.

Australians have not accepted at all the importance of a successful, stable Indonesia to our national interests. Following only the United States and Japan, no country is more important to us than Indonesia. Its command of the sea and air

approaches to Australia is obvious. Its size — 180 million, the world's fifth most populous nation and the largest Islamic nation — is also obvious.

What is less well understood is the commercial, political and cultural stake we now have in Indonesia. As the dominant nation in South-East Asia, a hostile Indonesia could block virtually any Australian initiative in the region.

Moreover, our direct commercial ties have expanded exponentially in recent years. More than 120 Australian companies are active in Indonesia, it is our eighth largest export market and direct Australian investment is now more than \$US1 billion (\$1.3 billion). The two-way trade balance is heavily in our favour.

The real challenge to Evans will be to manage the politics back in Australia. His Indonesian hosts — by arranging a call on Suharto, and meetings with ministers such as General Try Sutrisno, the

It would be quite possible for the Indonesian authorities to repudiate the massacre and move to discipline those responsible for it without coming out publicly in the way that generally happens in Australia. In fact, this is likely to be the Indonesian response. But the Hawke Government has generated immense political expectations within Australia that the inquiry must produce a public scapegoat.

The dangers of the bilateral relationship being caught up in the ebb and flow of domestic Australian politics are great, particularly in the middle of this leadership crisis. After all, how better for the Prime Minister to shore up his support with the Left than by taking a super hard line with the Indonesians?

Similarly, Evans's ability to speak definitively for the Government is limited by the drift and malaise in Canberra. Will commitments, or less precise understandings, entered into by Evans on behalf of the Hawke Government be honoured by a Keating government, should Keating become prime minister? Indeed, would Keating necessarily keep Evans as foreign minister?

One thing is certain, Jakarta will not be unaware of the crisis of the Hawke Government.

Evans argued in his recent book on foreign policy that the relationship with Indonesia had recently acquired much more ballast and would only be blown off course by a storm. It may be that in future the so-called ballast will be more important than the high political profile the relationship has recently had.

It could become a relationship of regions, with the Northern Territory's involvement in the economic growth of eastern Java a good example.

But for Evans, the first task is to keep the relationship on an even keel, while restating Australia's objection to Indonesia's methods in East Timor. Given the crisis in which his own Government is caught, this will be no small feat.

‘Trade balance in our favour’

head of the Indonesian armed forces, and Admiral Sudomo, the Security Minister, as well as Governor Carrascalao, the Governor of East Timor, plus the officials conducting the inquiry into the massacre — have demonstrated a desire to make the visit a success.

But Evans and the Government he represents have made Australia-Indonesian relations a hostage to the Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre. Evans has said the Government will review the whole relationship if the inquiry is not satisfactory.

What does this mean? Is the question of Indonesian sovereignty over Timor, which underlies the Timor Gap Treaty which the Hawke Government committed itself to in December 1989, up for grabs?

## Massacre deals blow to East Timor integration

# Over the edge

By Adam Schwarz in Dili, East Timor

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

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

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

Abri has not identified any of the detainees or casualties, or described the condition of the injured. It did confirm that a New Zealand volunteer worker, Kamal Bamadhaj, had been killed. The 20-year-old student was critically wounded immediately after the shooting started, eyewitnesses said.

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

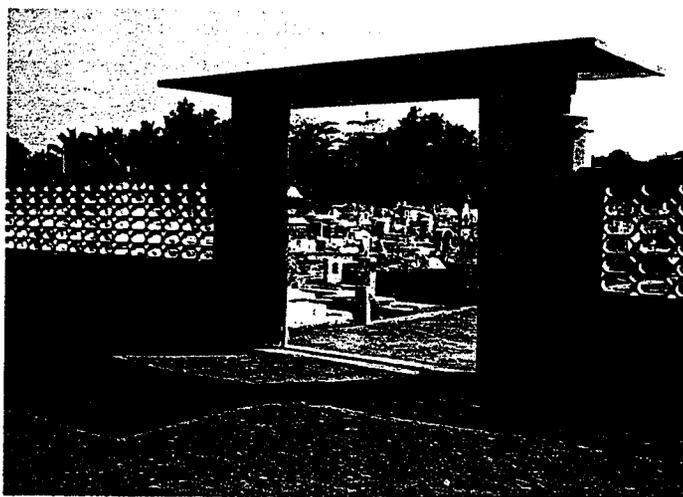
The credibility and effectiveness of the governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, and the senior military officer in the province, Brig.-Gen. R. S. Warouw, have been seriously jeopardised by the killings, analysts said. The position of respected Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who had lobbied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

also been weakened.

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

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

The province remained closed to outsiders for 13 years and human rights groups claim more than 100,000 Timorese died during that period in fighting or from



Santa Cruz cemetery where the massacre occurred.

starvation and neglect. Since the late 1970s, the army has waged a low-intensity campaign against guerillas of the Fretilin independence group who are said to currently number no more than a few hundred.

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

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

torture and ill-treatment of political opponents" in East Timor.

The procession on 12 November was partly intended as a memorial for one of two Timorese youths who died two weeks earlier in a clash at Dili's Motael church. One of the victims was a Timorese intelligence agent working for the army, said the senior clergyman in Dili, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo. The other, Sebastio Gomes, was sleeping in the church on the night of the attack.

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

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

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

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

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

According to Panjaitan, who gave the

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

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

At this point, an officer yelled "Don't shoot," but the order was misunderstood or not heard and the soldiers opened fire, he said. Panjaitan expressed regret at the loss of life but said the soldiers were left only with the choice of "kill or be killed." He said soldiers later collected three rifles, three pistols, six grenades and hundreds of knives from killed, injured or captured demonstrators.

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

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

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

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

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

A truck carrying 30-40 troops came

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is more understandable, analysts say, to view the killings as the culmination of a period of extremely high tension. Emotions had

been running high for months in preparation for the Portuguese visit. Timorese say the army had launched a systematic intimidation campaign to discourage Timorese from demonstrating during the Portuguese visit. There are many allegations of night-time arrests and torture.

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

Even if the stabbing had not occurred, soldiers may have been sufficiently enraged simply by the boldness of the demonstrators in shouting anti-Indonesian slogans in the centre of Dili, suggests Belo.



Sintong: provocation.

Both Belo and Carrascalao said they had feared the same kind of violence would have occurred had the Portuguese come.

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

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

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

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

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

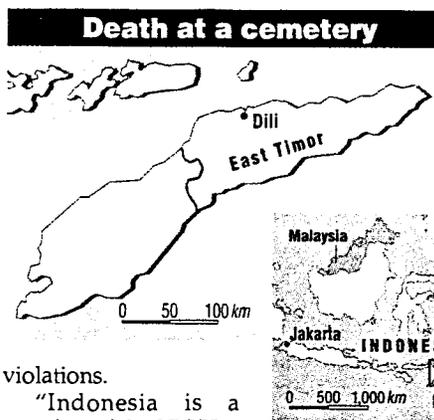
A partial explanation for Alatas' miscalculation is the scarcity of accurate news coverage out of East Timor. Domestic news organisations rarely report on it except in quoting official sources. Few local publications have dared veer far from the official account of the 12 November killings.

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

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

There have been strong reactions to the killings from many of Indonesia's most important trading partners. Australia, the US and Japan have all expressed concern and urged a full investigation. The UN and the International Red Cross, which has been denied access to detainees and wounded, made similar statements.

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



violations.

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

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

the team would prevent it from getting at the truth.

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

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

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

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

# A dinkum inquiry

PETER MARES

**B**ob Hawke has called for a 'dinkum' inquiry into the massacre in East Timor on 12 November, but the chances for a truly independent Indonesian investigation look slim.

Already Home Affairs Minister Rudini has dismissed the massacre as 'a small incident' and three leading Indonesian human rights activists have been prevented from travelling to the territory from Jakarta to make their own assessment of the situation.

If there is anything positive about the Indonesian inquiry it's the fact that it sets a precedent. Already a pro-democracy group in Jakarta has called for similar investigations of a string of past shootings. In 1984 troops opened fire on Islamic demonstrators in the Jakarta port district of Tanjung Priok, killing as many as 400 people, according to unofficial accounts (the official toll was 30). In 1989 at Lampung in south Sumatra troops shot members of a breakaway Islamic sect, officially killing 38 people, and over the past two years there have been numerous reports of massacres and extra-judicial killings from the troubled province of Aceh in northern Sumatra.

This history of violence is the backdrop against which we should read the chilling comments on the Timor massacre by Indonesia's military commander General Try Sutrisno. 'The armed forces are determined to eliminate whoever disturbs stability,' he told an audience at a Jakarta military academy. 'It is necessary to fire on delinquents, which is what agitators are, and we will fire on them.'

Mr Hawke described Try Sutrisno's comments as 'repugnant in the extreme'. Yet he took no steps to send home 22 Indonesian military officers currently undertaking a combat training course at Kanungra in Queensland as part of Canberra's \$2 million defence cooperation program with Jakarta.

And while the prime minister has called on President Suharto to open a dialogue with the Timorese people, including the nationalist resistance, the federal government continues to resist calls that it initiate action on East Timor at the United Nations. Australia's active foreign minister, Gareth Evans, has built an international profile with initiatives on the Antarctic, APEC, chemical weapons and Cambodia

— a stark contrast to his reluctance to take any kind of stand on East Timor.

Given the serious doubts attached to the Indonesian inquiry into the massacre, it is understandable that Australian MPs have set up their own public hearings into the shootings. The hearings were announced by Senator Chris Schacht, who chairs the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade.

Yet this is getting into dangerous territory. Australian politicians will be perceived in the region to be setting themselves up in a 'holier than thou' fashion to pass judgement over the affairs of another nation. A more appropriate response would be to encourage the UN to send a special human rights investigator to Indonesia and East Timor to compile an independent report, as has been done in Burma.

Plenty of questions would be left over for discussion at Senator Schacht's public hearings, which should focus attention on Australian policy towards East Timor since 1975. Should Canberra have recognised Indonesian sovereignty in 1979? Has policy been unduly influenced by the desire to exploit the oil and other off-shore minerals in the Timor Gap? Is the Timor Gap Treaty between Australia and Indonesia valid — in both legal and moral terms? Should we suspend defence cooperation with Indonesia or put human rights caveats on future aid?

AS AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY goes to press the ALP federal caucus is at last about to debate a motion raising exactly these issues. For years people concerned about East Timor have found it difficult to get a hearing. It is no coincidence that film maker Gil Scrine titled his Timor documentary *Buried Alive*; the story of East Timor has been smothered by silence.

Yet the massacre in Dili has set off an avalanche of articles, protests, letters to the editor, talk-back phone calls and trade union action. It is clear that beneath the surface Australians were always deeply troubled by the morally bankrupt policies towards East Timor pursued by successive federal governments. It remains to be seen what consequences will be drawn in Canberra, and that will depend in part upon how long the public maintains its rage. ●

## DIPLOMACY

# Bismarck's Ghost over Human Rights

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

By JEFF PENBERTHY

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

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

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



Woolcott: need for "right balance"

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

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

Referring directly to the East Timorese, Try told graduates at a military academy in Jakarta: "People who refuse to toe the line have to be shot. The armed forces are determined to wipe out whoever disturbs stability . . . finally, yes, they have to be blasted. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them." And if the message had not got across, Try said the people responsible for the disturbances in East Timor—the rally marchers who had tested the patience and restraint of his troops—"must be eliminated." He said the protesters had unfurled posters discrediting the government, yelled "improper words," and "acted even more brutally," causing the soldiers to fire several warning shots.



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

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

NEALE DICKSON/REUTERS  
DERRICK HARRIS/REUTERS



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Australia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# US pressure on Jakarta

*Australian officials in Washington are frustrated by the United States' lack of concern about Indonesia's role in East Timor. Margot O'Neill examines the relationship between the island nation and the US, its largest supplier of arms*



**W**hen US journalist Allan Nairn recounted his harrowing frontline experience of the East Timor massacre for US congressmen, he noted it was executed with US weapons. "The United States has blood on its hands in East Timor," he said. Including his own. Nairn made his presentation with a bandaged head, the result of M-16 rifle butts.

Horrified congressmen scrambled to find the tiny half-island on the map. They also checked to find that the US has indeed been the largest arms supplier to Indonesia and funds a \$2 million military education program as well. Faced for the first time with US witnesses to an Indonesian Army atrocity, Congress backed strongly worded resolutions threatening to cut off military aid unless there was an independent investigation and demanding that the United Nations address "the underlying causes" of conflict in East Timor.

It was the most significant congressional statement on East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in 1975 and, according to a senior Senate staff member, it represented "the first considerable break between the [US] administration and Con-

gress" over East Timor. "This massacre has stirred a lot of interest. Members of Congress are starting to get very agitated that the administration is not responding as strongly as it should be," another staff member said.

While the State Department called in the Indonesian ambassador to express its "serious concern" over the incident, it has maintained a measured response in condemning the violence and calling for an inquiry while promoting continued military assistance to help "expose [Indonesian officers] to ... humanitarian standards".

Some exasperated congressmen, accusing the administration of being too protective of Indonesian interests, raised the possibility of more aggressive action - including slashing \$50 million in aid to Indonesia. New York Democrat Thomas Downey, who admitted that he had not paid too much attention to Timor but who serves on two influential economic committees, said he might also propose limiting trade preferences to Indonesia.

While they lack the numbers for such drastic action, the congressmen who have highlighted the plight of the Timorese for

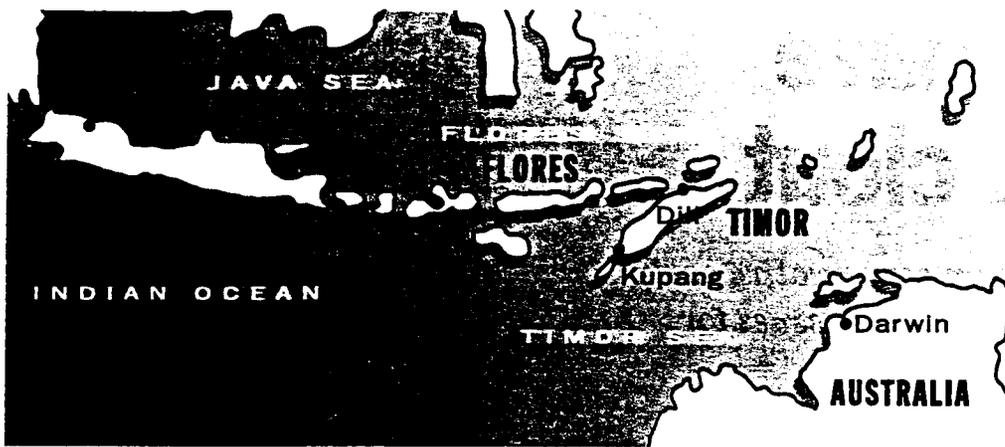
the past 16 years believe East Timor is back on the US agenda. One congressional staffer says: "People are talking about dusting off the UN resolutions on East Timor's right to self-determination. It's not a dead issue. Just a few years ago this wouldn't have been possible. But look at the Baltics. If they can win their independence after all this time, why not East Timor?"

Besides being the fifth most populous nation and the largest Moslem nation in the world, Indonesia is also the turnstile for military and commercial shipping - including vital oil tankers - between the Indian and Pacific oceans. But its strategic

value as a bulwark against the spread of communism has diminished. The end of the Cold War, say East Timor advocates, means that Washington needs no longer subordinate human-rights concerns to strategic imperatives.

This view is gaining some momentum, reflected in recent prominent editorials. *The Washington Post* noted that, with the "East-West conflict gone, almost everyone is readier to consider legitimate calls for self-determination". It urged the US to use its influence to convince Indonesia to "abandon an exercise in Third World colonialism". *The Boston Globe* was more vociferous: "Indonesian rule in East Timor is comparable to the mass murder of Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge... The agony of East Timor stands as a shameful symbol of American hypocrisy towards Third World peoples."

Senior State Department officials concede that human rights abuse is the "main point of friction" in relations with Jakarta; not only in East Timor but especially in the northern Moslem province of Aceh, where the human-rights group Asia Watch says up to 1000 people may have been killed in



ording to reports this year, some embassy officials gave the army thousands of names of people they believed to be Communist operatives.

With Suharto as president, the US played a leading role in underwriting a spectacular economic recovery program designed and supervised by US-trained technocrats and which opened up vast oil and gas reserves to US companies.

Despite Indonesia's non-aligned status, relations have been in broad alignment since. Until the massacre, they had shown signs of further im-

provement with signals from Jakarta that it was becoming more open to US military presence in the region.

US officials have often complained that Australia is paranoid about Indonesian intentions and Canberra readily admits that it likes to remain abreast of US military sales to Indonesia, especially when they involve hi-tech F-16 jet fighters and Harpoon missiles as they did during the '80s. But Australian officials say they would like to see Washington and Jakarta expand their relations.

Indonesia's strategic value transcends the Cold War. From Washington's point of view, it remains a key economic partner and a moderating voice among developing and oil-producing nations. No matter what the global political configuration, US ships have to sail through Indonesian straits.

But as the relationship moves on to a new footing, with the Indonesian government keen to assert itself in more international forums where there will be greater emphasis on human rights, the environment and issues of democracy, East Timor will remain the greatest problem.

And, as Suharto's era draws to a close, Jakarta's ability to bind together its islands - despite secessionist movements in East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya - will be tested anew. So will the price it is willing to exact for success. ■

On patrol in East Timor: human-rights abuse is the "main point of friction"

eyes of Americans, which means there's not much pressure put on the State Department. I've had Indonesian officials complain to me that most Americans think Indonesia is a part of Bali, rather than the other way around. I tell them they should be glad they get so little attention."

Last month's massacre was not the first time an American had witnessed Indonesian Army brutality. The US ambassador, John Monjo, saw police attack a group of hundreds of Timorese who had gathered to greet him during a visit to Dili last year. He demanded a guarantee that none of the participants in the rally would face prosecution and visited three of the injured in hospital.

It was also not the first time the US has been accused of indirect complicity in the subjugation of East Timor. US officials have confessed that 90% of the military equipment used during the 1975 invasion was American. The Indonesians used US war planes delivered after the invasion to quash insurgents as they fled into the hills.

Washington issued little more than a feeble protest over the invasion, launched a day after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta. But the most notable instance when the US turned a blind eye was during the '60s when it publicly ignored, but privately applauded, the extermination of the Indonesian Communist Party after a military takeover by General Suharto. US officials say they did not protest at the time because they were not aware of the extent of the bloodbath, which by some estimates ran to 500,000 people killed.

While the US may have been caught by surprise by the timing of the takeover and by its ferocity, US diplomats had urged the army to move against the Communists. Acc-



the past two years. But, despite the heat in Washington and heightened media awareness, Indonesia remains a largely invisible issue in the US.

"It just does not register here," says James Clad, a former New Zealand diplomat now with one of Washington's premier think-tanks: the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "There is no significant émigré community, which often drives American interest in smaller countries from Africa or the Caribbean, and there is no history of US involvement as there is in Vietnam or the Philippines. Also, Indonesia keeps a low international profile. It does not conduct its foreign affairs in a rancorous way."

Even with two US witnesses, the East Timor massacre rated page 11 in *The New York Times* and was mentioned by only one major television evening news.

Dr Donald Emmerson, an Indonesian specialist at Wisconsin University, says: "American diplomats in the past have referred to a special relationship with Indonesia. But they're not talking about a relationship like that with the Philippines. What makes it special is its obscurity in the



# Misunderstanding sets off shooting

DILI (JP): The shooting by security troops at demonstrators on Tuesday that claimed the lives of several people was caused by a misunderstanding, a military commander told journalists here yesterday.

Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana Military Command that also covers East Timor, said that although the protesters had fired a shot at and thrown a hand grenade towards the troops, the officer in charge had actually ordered his troops not to open fire at the demonstrators.

"But the soldiers apparently misheard the order, and they began to shoot at the demonstrators, causing the loss of several lives. Luckily the grenade did not go off," Sintong said.

He said that 20 people were killed during the incident, including a New Zealand national, known as Kamal Bamadhaj. They all had been buried in a mass grave, while 91 others who had been injured during the riot were still being treated at the military hospital.

Sintong said that when a soldier felt cornered he would retaliate. The demonstrators had turned wild and they had opened fire at and thrown a grenade towards members of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI).

## Mass

The incident took place near the Santa Cruz Catholic cemetery. Around 1,000 to 1,500 people had just attended a mass at the Motael church to commemorate the death of two East Timorese youths who were killed during a previous brawl and were marching near the cemetery.

"The crowds thronged the streets and paraded toward the governor's office and were then to go to the Turismo Hotel, where officials of the UN Human Rights Commission were staying. While marching they threw stones

at police stations," Sintong said.

He said ABRI members had remained calm and patient, but they could not stand the situation any longer after the demonstrators stabbed Maj. Girhan Lantara and another army officer. The security troops wanted to open fire at the demonstrators, but they were ordered to refrain from shooting.

"Arriving at the Santa Cruz cemetery, around 20 to 30 of the marchers climbed the wall and raised a banner, Fretilin and Portugal flags, asking some foreigners who were present during the parade to take a picture of them," he said, adding that some of them yelled anti-Indonesia slogans and that it was there that the bloody incident took place.

The chief of the East Timor Operational Command, Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw, said that Tuesday's demonstration was launched by the East Timorese separatist group, Fretilin.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony integrated itself into Indonesia in 1976, shortly after the Lisbon government withdrew its administration following an outbreak of a civil war in the territory.

Sintong said that ABRI had confiscated three hand grenades, six pistols, three rifles, three swords and a number of knives and blades and around 30 Fretilin and Portuguese flags.

"None of us want to damage the church. Even the ABRI members, who are mostly Moslems, have helped build a number of chapels in various parts of East Timor," explained Sintong, himself a Christian.

The province's chief police, Ishak Kodiat told *The Jakarta*

*Post* that up to yesterday, 49 people were still being held for interrogation on Tuesday's incident.

## Not interfere

In Jakarta, Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno told reporters yesterday that foreign countries should not interfere in East Timor since it was entirely Indonesia's internal affair.

Try also denied that Indonesia had violated any human rights in handling the rioters on Tuesday, saying that "We (Indonesia) are a member of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations."

Reports from Canberra said that yesterday around 200 protesters burned the Indonesian flag outside the Indonesian embassy. Earlier, the protesters, including members of Australia's East Timorese community, demonstrated outside parliament, calling on Prime Minister Bob Hawke to cancel a planned trip to Indonesia next February.

In Seoul, Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas, who was in the South Korean capital to attend a two-day regional economic meeting, said yesterday that people behind Tuesday's shooting in East Timor would be punished after a full inquiry into the incident.

"We are going to investigate what has happened. Whoever is at fault will be pursued according to the law," Alatas said during a press conference in Seoul.

Meanwhile in Jakarta, a visiting delegation from the UN Human Rights Commission, which was in Dili at the time of the clashes, met with Armed Forces Commander

Gen. Try Sutrisno at the latter's office yesterday.

The Armed Forces Information Center said in a statement that Gen. Try briefed the delegation, led by Dutchman Pieter Koymaans, about the Nov. 12 incident.

The delegation asked the military to refrain from violence in handling the detainees and Gen. Try in response said the Pancasila ideology respects human rights and that Indonesia as a constitutional state is bound by existing laws.

Koymaans, who leaves Indonesia later today, was not available for comment.

A United Nations spokesman said in New York yesterday that Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar would seek first hand information about the Dili clashes from Koymaans.

Perez de Cuellar, who has been sponsoring talks between Indonesia and Portugal to resolve the East Timor question, on Wednesday deplored the loss of lives and urged Jakarta to ensure no repetition of such an incident.

In Jakarta, Roman Catholic leaders expressed "concern and regret" at the incident and urged all parties involved to settle the matter through the judicial process.

The Bishops' Conference of Indonesia (KWI) in a statement said it "feels compelled to stress that the Church is not a political institution which could determine the political activities of its members."

"The political activities of some of its members could not be regarded as the activity of the Church or conducted on behalf of the Church."

The military have said that some church workers in Dili were involved in the demonstration and that the Motael Church, the site of a mass before the march to the governor's office, had been used as a rendezvous place for the perpetrators.

## Belo

East Timor's Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo yesterday told foreign journalists in Dili that 257 young East Timorese sought refuge in his episcopal office shortly after the clashes. They had since been returned to their respective homes, he added.

Belo also said he had written to East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao refuting the military charges that the Church and some of its members were responsible for the demonstration.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva said yesterday that it was "dismayed" at the violence in Dili.

The ICRC in a statement demanded "immediate access to all persons detained" after the clashes.

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## PT PAL may service American warships

JAKARTA (JP): President Soeharto has approved PT PAL's plan to provide service to U.S. warships at its dockyard in Surabaya, says State Minister for Research and Technology B.J. Habibie.

"The President has allowed PT PAL to provide repair services for foreign commercial vessels and warships, including those of the U.S. Navy," Habibie told reporters after meeting with Soeharto at the Merdeka Palace here yesterday.

Habibie said PT PAL's facilities were adequate and its workers were skilled enough to service U.S. Navy ships.

He said however that the state-owned shipbuilding company would not provide maintenance for U.S. carriers and other vessels which carried nuclear weapons.

The Surabaya dockyard currently repairs Indonesian warships, including frigates and corvettes, built in the United States and Britain.

The dockyard also constructs tankers of up to 16,000 dead weight tons, tug boats and freighters of up to 3,000 DWT.

"However, we will have to improve our capability in writing reports in English and provide additional laboratory facilities to meet the requirements of U.S. standards," said Habibie, who is also president of PT PAL.

He said PT PAL and the U.S. Navy also still had to finalize negotiations on the schedules of reparation.

The minister said the maintenance services would help the country earn foreign exchange from both the services themselves and the visits of crews of repaired vessels.

Armed Forces Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno said earlier this week that he did not have any objection to the planned service of U.S. warships at PT PAL as long as it was strictly based on commercial purposes.

THE TABLET 16 November 1991

**East Timor****Indonesian military shoot protesters**

Indonesian troops opened fire on a protest demonstration by young Timorese in the East Timor capital of Dili on Tuesday. It is officially admitted that as many as 40 young men may have died. Other estimates put the number as high as 200.

The clash occurred at a cemetery after a requiem Mass for two young Timorese who had been killed by security forces. Western journalists present, and injured in the violence, have said that the soldiers used their firearms against the protesters without provocation.

The former Portuguese colony of East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year. Armed resistance to the occupation has not been entirely eradicated by the occupying forces. Indonesia's occupation is not recognised by the United Nations which regards Portugal as still having formal responsibilities.

President Mario Soares of Portugal condemned Tuesday's massacre and set it in the context of "repeated acts of escalating violence by the occupying Indonesian forces against the defenceless population of East Timor".

A Portuguese parliamentary delegation, due in East Timor early this month, suspended its visit after the Indonesian authorities had refused to admit one of the accompanying journalists chosen by the delegation (*The Tablet*, 2 November). The prospect of that visit and its effect on Timorese nationalists — Portugal has called for a referendum for self-determination — has caused nervousness in the local Indonesian administration and security forces, which have reacted by issuing threats and adopting repressive measures. *Chris McGillion writes from Sydney, Australia:* The Church has played an essential role in keeping the East Timor issue alive. Internationally Bishop Ximenes Belo of Dili has drawn attention to the struggle by repeatedly condemning human rights abuses by Indonesian security forces, and by advocating an internationally supervised act of self-determination for the East Timorese. Locally, the Catholic Church has resisted attempts by the Indonesians to destroy East Timorese language and culture and Catholic schools have become major centres of anti-Indonesian activity.

There is no doubting the courage of Bishop Belo. Indeed, many observers suggest that he is heading for the same fate as El Salvador's Archbishop Oscar Romero who was assassinated by a military-backed death squad in 1980. But Belo's motives may be more complex than they at first appear.

Jakarta's attempt to integrate East Timor forcibly with the rest of Indonesia has encouraged a large influx of new

arrivals from elsewhere. Most are Muslim and have neither time nor affection for the Catholic Church. A degree of autonomy, if not necessarily independence, for East Timor would put an end to this particular challenge to the local Church. Even more important, East Timorese Catholics are resisting attempts to incorporate their Church into the Indonesian Church. Indonesia's 34 Catholic bishops have accepted that East Timor is now the 27th province of Indonesia. And soon the entire Indonesian episcopate will be native-born and even less likely to want to rock the boat in a country where Catholics represent less than 3 per cent of the population.

By contrast, Bishop Belo holds his office directly from Rome as the apostolic delegate and represents the last bastion of the Portuguese Church in Asia. The survival of that Church — established nearly 400 years ago — is inseparable from the survival of East Timorese culture.

To all intents and purposes, the end of a distinctive Church in East Timor was signalled during the visit by Pope John Paul II to Dili in October 1989. The Vatican does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, partly in the interest of maintaining good relations with Portugal, partly out of deference to the United Nations' position which is to continue recognising Lisbon as the administering authority for the territory. But many East Timorese watched in disappointment as the Pope disembarked at Dili airport without kissing the ground — which would have been a symbolic acknowledgement that he had left Indonesia and was entering a separate country.

During his stay, the Pope urged Indonesian authorities to respect human rights in East Timor and to work for a peaceful settlement in the territory's on-going guerrilla war. But he did not condemn the 1975 invasion or take up Belo's call for an act of self-determination and he pointedly called on the East Timorese to show restraint and to "love and pray for their enemies".

At the time, John Paul's thoughts were fixed on the larger issue of encouraging a Muslim-Christian dialogue — Indonesia is the most populous Muslim country in the world — and a joint effort for peace in the Middle East. In the wake of the Gulf war and the continuing uncertainty in the Middle East, there is no reason to believe that the Pope is any less concerned to foster good relations between Muslims and Christians. Nor is there any reason to believe that Bishop Belo will stop championing the cause of East Timor. He has warned that the Indonesian authorities are carrying out "tremendous abuses against the people" of East Timor. That was a cry for help that Rome, and for different reasons the Indonesian bishops, may choose to ignore.

# Jakarta orders inquiry into East Timor massacre

John Gittings

**T**HE Indonesian government appointed a commission yesterday to investigate the East Timor massacre, as it struggled to close ranks against international criticism.

The commission will be led by a supreme court judge and will include members of the foreign, internal, and armed forces ministries as well as members of parliament. It is unlikely to satisfy calls by the United States and the European Community for an independent inquiry into last Tuesday's slaughter in the East Timor capital of Dili.

Conflicting statements from military and civil authorities have shown up marked differences within the regime.

A leading MP of the government-sponsored Golkar party, Marzuki Darusman, has called for a re-evaluation of policy in East Timor. He said "the people have no sense of identity with the government", although ownership of the territory (annexed by Indonesia in 1976) was now "a fact of life".

The regional commander of the army in East Timor, General Sintong Panjaitan, has threatened to launch a new offensive against the Fretilin independence movement involving "combat operations". The general has a ruthless reputation as a former member of the "red beret" special forces.

The civilian governor of East Timor, Mario Virgas Carrascalao, has, however, accused the military of backing pro-Jakarta extremists and destroying trust in his administration. People were "going to bed armed with long knives" to protect themselves against the army.

Military sources continue to issue conflicting versions of the massacre. They admit that 19 people were killed and 91

wounded, although independent claims put the death toll at between 50 and 180. An order not to open fire is said to have been "misunderstood" as an order to fire.

The army still insists it was provoked by local Fretilin activists, although eyewitness reports agree that the demonstration — held to mourn the earlier killing of two Timorese — was peaceful. Troops armed with M-16s are said to have opened fire indiscriminately on the crowd at the cemetery.

The killings have embarrassed the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, and put paid to his chances of becoming the new UN secretary-general.

Returning to Indonesia at the weekend, he said those responsible should be punished. While denying that the shootings had been unprovoked, he said ambiguously that he was convinced there was "something behind the incident".

There has been speculation that it was deliberately staged by an army faction to discredit the regime, as political manoeuvring intensifies in the run-up to next year's elections and the presidential election in 1993. No challenger has yet emerged to run against President Subarto.

However, Indonesian specialists recall that brutal measures of this kind are not unusual in East Timor, where up to 200,000 people are believed to have either been killed by the army or succumbed to famine since the 1976 takeover.

The Suharto regime came to power after a massacre on a far greater scale in 1966 in the main islands of Indonesia. Thousands of communists and other opponents were killed over a period of months in round-ups encouraged or led by the army.

Estimates of the final death toll range between 100,000 and a quarter of a million.

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## Ghost of E Timor starts to haunt Canberra

Kevin Brown analyses the events behind a rising tide of public opinion in Australia

**T**HERE HAVE been angry demonstrations in Canberra and other Australian cities this week as details have slowly emerged of an Indonesian massacre of civilians in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The demonstrations are aimed at the Indonesian regime of President Suharto, which invaded East Timor in 1975 after the Portuguese withdrew in the wake of a democratic revolution.

But they also raise awkward questions about the direction and consistency of Australia's approach to its Asian neighbours, with whom it shares a geographical location and little else.

Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province in 1976, ignoring widespread condemnation of the invasion. It has since had little trouble in suppressing the small and badly armed Fretilin independence movement.

Jakarta, which has announced an inquiry into the massacre, blames Fretilin for provoking a confrontation between its troops and the mourners at a funeral last week.

Indonesia admits that at least 19 people were killed, but foreign witnesses say dozens may have died, and Fretilin claims 80 prisoners were machine-gunned three days later.

The massacre poses a dilemma for Australia, which has been trying for several years to "embed" itself in the Asia-Pacific region, which Can-

berra once saw as a military and economic threat but now views as an opportunity.

In trade terms, the policy has paid dividends - Asia buys more than 55 per cent of Australian exports - and Canberra's efforts are now directed towards tapping future growth in the region.

Australia has also increased its role in regional affairs, including helping to negotiate the recent UN settlement in Cambodia and to establish the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (Apec) group.

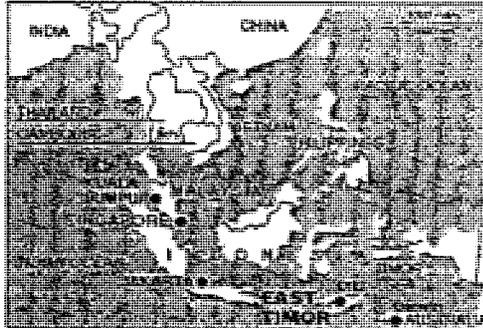
However, Canberra has found it difficult to reconcile the robust openness of Australian society with the more restrained cultures of many of its neighbours.

The gulf was illustrated recently by a lengthy row with Malaysia over the television soap opera "Embassy," which deals with the adventures of a group of Australian diplomats in a fictional South East Asian country.

The programme provoked strident protests from Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia, who was incensed by references in the credits and storylines which he believed were based on historical events in Malaysia.

The dispute was eventually solved by an Australian acknowledgement that offence had been caused, together with an assurance that the government would dissociate itself in future from inaccurate presentations of Malaysia.

But the rapprochement with Dr Mahathir was gained at the cost of domestic criticism that



the government had "grovelled" to a country which does not permit editorial freedom to its own media.

There is also a contrast between Australia's forceful response to anti-democratic activity in other regions and its restrained reaction to similar events close to home. For example, Australia was eager to help defend far-away Kuwait from aggression and was one of the first countries to offer assistance to the US-led allied forces.

**Y**et Canberra has never sought either military or diplomatic action to remove Indonesia from East Timor, which lies less than 400 km north-east of Darwin across the Timor Sea.

Mr Bob Hawke, the Prime Minister, cried when China's Communist leaders smashed the country's pro-democracy movement, but, when told of the Dili massacre, said it was

deplorable but called for talks to reconcile the 700,000 Timorese to Indonesian control.

Senator Gareth Evans, the Australian Foreign Minister, rejects suggestions that Australia has soft-pedalled on criticism of Indonesia's human rights record and claims Canberra has been a restraining influence.

Yet the interests of the Timorese appeared to be far from the Australian government's mind last year when it concluded a treaty with Indonesia that allows the two countries to develop oil fields in the Timor Sea.

The deal was signed by Senator Evans and Mr Ali Alatas, his Indonesian counterpart and friend, in a Champagne ceremony held on board an aeroplane flying over the oilfields East Timor was not mentioned.

Mr Sabam Siagian, the ebullient former newspaper editor recently appointed Indonesian ambassador in Canberra, says

Jakarta's relationship with Australia has been strengthened in recent years by growing trade, now worth around A\$1.5bn (US\$1m) a year.

The increased trade, together with military co-operation, has done much to reduce tensions which had their roots in the confrontational policies of President Sukarno, who led Indonesia to independence from The Netherlands after World War Two.

Mr Siagian even felt able to refer to a series of Indonesian military visits to Canberra as an "invasion" in a recent conversation with Mr Hawke.

The Prime Minister, whose predecessors were kept awake by nightmares of invasion from the north, was sufficiently relaxed to share the joke. The exchange reflects Australia's perception of itself as a role model for Asian countries struggling towards democracy, free speech and respect for human rights.

Nevertheless, there is a great deal of private nervousness in Canberra about Jakarta's likely response if growing public anger forces the government to react more strongly to the events in Dili.

So far, Mr Hawke has not considered cancelling a planned trip to Jakarta next year. But the massacre adds a further complication to an already volatile relationship.

It also puts a question mark over Senator Evans' recent claim that "there is every reason to believe that we are on the way to becoming the odd man in [in Asia], rather than the odd man out."

# The Washington Post

## Dead in East Timor

**B**Y CHANCE a couple of American journalists were in East Timor, an isolated territory in Indonesia, last week at the precise time and place when the security forces opened fire. The context was a long and in this instance entirely peaceful struggle by the Timorese, a small people rendered culturally distinct and cohesive by three centuries of Portuguese control. They want to assert their nationalist cause against Indonesia, which swallowed the territory as the old Lisbon regime fell in 1975. Up to a third of the population may since have been killed under Indonesian rule. In that moment on Nov. 12, the American reporters saw tens of unoffending demonstrators—they were mourning the victim of an earlier army shooting—massacred. "Troublemakers" who provoked violence, the government later explained.

Back in the '70s, most of the world had other things on its mind than a remote colonial backwater named East Timor. The American government was in the throes of its Vietnam agony, unprepared to exert itself for a cause—one with no domestic constituency—that could only end up complicating relations with its sturdy anti-

Communist ally in Jakarta. But that was then. Today, with the East-West conflict gone, almost everyone is readier to consider legitimate calls for self-determination. It is time to dust off the question of East Timor and to give it the priority that justice and, now, international sentiment require.

The United States has supported the Indonesians over the years and should be able to bring its influence to bear on this issue. A hesitant Bush administration should take note that in an aroused Senate, GOP conservatives were among the first to take a strong East Timor stand. On its part, Indonesia, which otherwise can claim many successes in its national life, has been pondering whether to move out onto the global stage. This latest flurry of international attention cannot be what it had in mind. It should treat the incident not simply as a public relations problem but as the occasion for a policy review. Indonesia has the opportunity to pull the thorn of East Timor, to abandon an exercise in Third World colonialism that represents an abiding embarrassment to a country seeking respect and a wider role.

## European Parliament Backs Arms Embargo on Indonesia

By Peter Wise

Special to The Washington Post

**LISBON, Nov. 21**—The European Parliament today called on European Community governments and the United Nations to impose an arms embargo on Indonesia following the Nov. 12 killing of independence demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The resolution, approved 160 to 8 at the parliament in Strasbourg, France, was the latest in a series of international condemnations of Indonesia over the shooting. It is not binding on governments.

A U.S. delegation that visited East Timor last week was told that between 75 and 100 people probably were killed when Indonesian security forces opened fire on demonstrators. The Jakarta government says 19 were killed and 91 wounded.

East Timor's military commander today refused to yield to demands by the International Committee of the Red Cross for permission to visit those wounded in the shooting, the Reuter news agency reported from East Timor.

Meanwhile, in Jakarta, Indonesian armed forces commander Try

Sutrisno, in a meeting with Indonesian editors, warned foreign countries not to interfere, Reuter reported. "East Timor is Indonesia's internal affair. We will not accept any foreign interference," the official Antara news service quoted him as saying.

East Timor, half of Timor island off northern Australia, was ruled by Portugal for 300 years until 1975. Indonesia invaded during civil strife later that year and annexed the territory in 1976. The United Nations does not recognize the annexation and regards Portugal as the legal authority in East Timor.

The Netherlands, the former colonial ruler of Indonesia, today suspended all new aid to Jakarta "until there's more clarity on the course of events in East Timor" and a Dutch investigation into the shooting yielded acceptable results, a spokesman for the development cooperation ministry said.

The Lisbon government said in a statement it had no confidence in a promised Indonesian investigation, saying a lack of credibility and impartiality would turn the inquiry into "a sad farce." Lisbon called for an internationally supervised inquiry.

# The Washington Post

## Timorese Allege Rights Violations

### *Catholic Bishops Criticize Jakarta*

By Peter Wise  
Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, Nov. 29—East Timorese refugees living in Portugal say the Nov. 12 shooting of independence demonstrators by Indonesian security forces was the latest in a long line of human rights violations committed during 16 years of Indonesian rule.

In Indonesia today, a fact-finding team from the country's Roman Catholic Church gave an account of the killings at a Catholic cemetery that contrasted sharply with testimony by the armed forces commander, Gen. Try Sutrisno, news agencies reported. The church team said in a statement that more than 100 demonstrators were killed; Sutrisno said on Wednesday that 19 people died and 91 were injured.

It was believed to be the first time in the country's recent history in which the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of Indonesia took such a clear stand against the authorities, blaming the military for the shootings that occurred in the cemetery as people gathered for a memorial service for a man killed in an earlier disturbance.

The church mission's conclusions are closer to those of Indonesian human rights groups and Western witnesses than to Sutrisno's. Amnesty International said it has the names of 60 people either killed on Nov. 12 or missing and presumed dead, and believes the final death toll may reach more than 100. U.S. officials who visited Dili, the capital of East Timor, said they were told 75 to 100 people were probably killed.

Most of those killed were students in their teens or early twenties, according to Amnesty International. The shooting, part of which was filmed by a cameraman for British television, has led to international condemnation of the Jakarta government.

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

Indonesia invaded East Timor, which occupies half of Timor island off northern Australia, during a period of civil strife in 1975 when Portugal had withdrawn its administration. Jakarta annexed the territory in 1976, but its rule is not recognized by the United Nations.

Humanitarian organizations estimate that more than 100,000 people, a sixth of the population, died in the wake of the invasion from hostilities, famine and disease.

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

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

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

Refugees said attempts to telephone Dili were rarely successful.

Many of the 2,000 East Timorese refugees living in Portugal have related stories of family members who have been killed, tortured or imprisoned in past years by Indonesian forces, speaking on con-

dition of anonymity for fear of reprisals against family members living in East Timor.

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

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

Amnesty International has called for an urgent investigation by the United Nations into unconfirmed reports of at least two more massacres after the Nov. 12 shooting. East Timorese resistance officials have alleged that between 77 and 97 people who had witnessed killings were subsequently executed. Indonesia has denied the reports.

U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, arriving in Portugal for a private visit today, told reporters that the United Nations was engaged in negotiations with Indonesian authorities on sending a delegation of human rights specialists to East Timor.

## Behind the Timor massacre

ONE of the most violent shows in the history of television has just been screened in a number of countries. The short news video shows hundreds of young demonstrators fleeing the sustained automatic gunfire of soldiers. The wounded seeking sanctuary in a cemetery, to which they were marching to protest the shooting of a friend a week before, are shown hiding among the gravestones as gunfire continues.

One young man, Ulisses Goncalves, is bleeding to death in the arms of his friend. The fugitives recite the Lord's Prayer as the soldiers enter the cemetery gate and take positions inside its walls.

Sinister figures in visored helmets, they are directed by a man in plain clothes wielding an M-16 rifle. They work their way between the gravestones, dragging the youths to trucks outside and systematically clubbing anyone found hiding, including the wounded.

The scenes that shocked the world occurred in Portugal's former colony of East Timor on November 12. The demonstrators were nationalist students opposing Indonesian occupation of their country, which began with a paratrooper landing in Dili, the capital, in 1975, accompanied by widespread human rights abuses.

In the years since, there have been regular reports of mass killings, but none has shocked so much as the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre, captured by a courageous cameraman from Britain's Yorkshire Television. An estimated 100 people died. The youngest was ten. The exact toll may never be known.

The Indonesian army hastily dumped many of the bodies in mass graves, denying Roman Catholic parents the right to burial and refusing to give International Red Cross access to the surviving wounded. Many of the injured are thought to be hiding in Dili homes or dragging themselves to the mountains, fearing to report to Indonesian doctors.

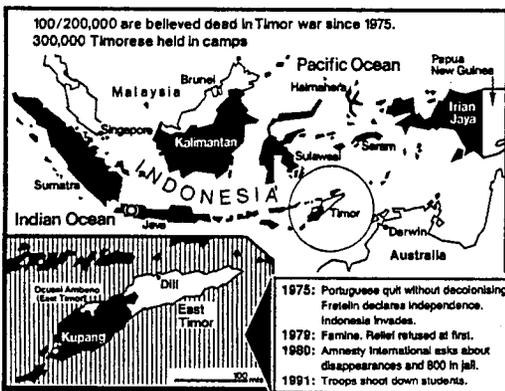
Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno showed no regret, telling a Jakarta daily the soldiers "had no choice — they continued to be obstinate. In any case, the armed forces cannot be underestimated. Finally, yes, they had to be biased. Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot and we will shoot them."

The background to the massacre was a near-successful attempt by Portugal to bring about a peace settlement in East Timor under UN auspices, a few months after it had brokered a successful peace agreement in Angola, another ex-colony.

The United Nations has never recognised Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor, and considers Portugal the administering power. Portuguese officials abandoned the territory during a civil war in August 1975 — a time when Lisbon itself was on the brink of civil war — but protested vigorously to the UN Security Council when Indonesia invaded months later. From around 1986 there was a decision that continuing reports of atrocities demanded a sustained campaign.

In 1987, after the Indonesian parliament invited members of the Portuguese parliament to send a delegation to East Timor, Lisbon opened UN talks with Jakarta to plan the visit. Then followed three years of very complex dealings, until an accord was signed in September.

Under the accord, the parliamentary mission would be "fact-finding, but not investigative." It



would travel during 12 days on a route agreed in advance between the two sides, but from which Portuguese deputies could request impromptu changes. It would have free and private access to any East Timorese it wished to interview.

And, finally, it would be accompanied by journalists: ten Indonesian and ten Portuguese and six foreign correspondents from Lisbon, chosen by Portugal. It was to be a free choice, although the names of the foreign press chosen were to be exchanged before the visit. There was no provision for a veto.

By late October the visit had been planned to its last detail and the delegation prepared to enter Timor on November 3. Its mandate included the right to contact Jose Alexandre Gusmao, nom de guerre Xanana — the guerrilla leader who has fought a lonely but effective struggle from the mountains for 16 years.

It was a contact encouraged by some Indonesian military officers.

By Jill Joliffe

Hopes were that UN talks could be enlarged from discussions between Indonesia and Portugal to include Xanana as representative of his people. With the problem of Namibia solved last year, East Timor is now the leading item on the UN Decolonisation Commission agenda.

Then, things went badly wrong. In the last days of talks Indonesian diplomats raised obstacles, including changes to the already agreed itinerary, and objections to three of the journalists chosen by Lisbon: two Portuguese reporters and this correspondent, an Australian.

All of us had visited East Timor before, and spoke the language. Under pressure, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas dropped the veto on the two Portuguese but insisted on my exclusion, describing me as "a crusader for Fretilin," the East Timorese liberation movement. I have written two books on East Timorese nationalism, which included criticisms of Fretilin's own human rights record.

Portugal made this a sticking point, having conceded generously on other points, but deciding that a press ban was intolerable. Parliamentary Speaker Vitor Crespo announced suspension of the visit and opposition to the veto grew; the International Federation of Journalists condemned the move. America and Australia formally denied Alata's claim that they supported his position, and Portugal awaited a ruling from UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, hopeful that the visit could still

go ahead before Christmas.

In East Timor itself, there was rising tension. The nationalists had secretly prepared anti-Indonesian demonstrations to greet the deputies, who would travel with UN representatives, including the UN ambassadors for Norway, Cuba, and Tanzania, appointed for the purpose by Perez de Cuellar.

The young students in Dili were ardent and impetuous, by contrast to the more seasoned Xanana, who in 1983 had lost a good chance to negotiate peace when his representatives abroad failed to act quickly on a ceasefire he had made with Indonesian officers.

On October 26 after the suspension was announced a student was shot dead by an Indonesian soldier. From the mountains, Xanana appealed for calm: "Can nothing deter them from their sanguinary madness? We will deter them, by remaining serene. It is difficult not to react, but we cannot, we must not. We run the risk of losing the opportunity we desire so much..."

By November 12, the students could no longer be contained, but by one account (of Yorkshire cameraman Max Stahl), Xanana had then authorised the demonstration. The view was current in Dili, boosted by Indonesian provocateurs, that the visit was definitively cancelled.

The demonstration they had planned for the Portuguese deputies, UN observers, and press corps, was held instead before a small handful of foreign journalists. It was entirely peaceful, with banners of the charismatic Xanana, flags of the resistance army, and the two main Timorese political parties Fretilin and the conservative Timorese Democratic Union (UDT). They were gunned down as they marched with the tragic results visible in the Yorkshire Television footage.

Indonesian authorities are now closing the territory to air traffic and threatening the International Red Cross with expulsion. The few peace-makers influential in Indonesia have been shoved aside in favour of right-wing military extremists.

The European outcry is growing, and the US has said its aid to Indonesia is now conditional on a full and impartial inquiry. If Indonesia ignores these pressures, in the coming weeks the East Timorese must take to the mountains to fight the bitterest survival test of all.

Jill Joliffe is an Australian-based freelance correspondent, author of *East Timor: Nationalism & Colonialism* (University of Queensland Press, 1978) and *Timor: Terra Sangrenta* (editora O Jornal, 1989).

DECEMBER 6, 1991

## Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

### *Realism and Evil*

BOSTON

Sixteen years ago this week Indonesian troops invaded East Timor, a Portuguese colony on an island north of Australia. They crushed the local independence movement, which was about to take over as Portugal left, and annexed the territory.

The United States turned a blind eye to that bloody act, and to years of murderous repression that followed. So did the other major powers. Indonesia had a free hand, and used it cruelly. Of the 750,000 people in East Timor, between 100,000 and 200,000 were killed or died of hunger and disease.

Why have we done nothing about such massive inhumanity? Why have we not put pressure on Indonesia, a recipient of much American aid?

Whenever I asked such questions over the years, State Department officials told me that it was not "realistic" to object loudly and strongly to Indonesia's butchery in East Timor. That would only anger President Suharto and his Government, they said. The best hope was quiet diplomacy — not to get Indonesia out of the territory but to persuade it to behave more reasonably.

The effectiveness of that "realistic" policy was demonstrated last month in Dili, the Timorese capital. At 8 A.M. on Nov. 12 Indonesian soldiers fired without warning into a group of young people marching into a cemetery to protest other killings. The Roman Catholic Church said that more than 100 were killed.

This massacre was different from others in East Timor in one important respect: Western journalists were there and saw it. Two American writers walking alongside the marchers were themselves injured. A courageous British television cameraman filmed the whole thing. The footage, which was shown in part by CBS in this country, is grisly viewing.

Indonesian authorities said the soldiers had fired "in fear of their lives." But that and other evasions were unpersuasive in the face of testimony by witnesses that it was a deliberate, unprovoked massacre.

President Suharto appointed a commission to investigate. But a commission of Indonesians is hardly likely to persuade anyone of its good faith.

What is needed right now — urgently needed — is obvious. It is to have observers from the outside world on the scene in East Timor to check on the human rights situation

and prevent further loss of life.

The need is urgent because reports filtering out since the massacre say that military repression and brutality are worse than at any time since the 1975 invasion.

East Timor is small and far away. Indonesia has counted on that — counted on the world not caring. It has closed the territory to outside visitors for most of the time since 1975.

The United States of all countries should care, and act. For it has had a responsibility from the beginning.

The day before Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, President Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, were in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, while on an Asian tour. Mr. Kissinger knew that the Indonesians might well move on East Timor, but he chose not to warn them against invading. Brent Scowcroft, who was President Ford's national security adviser then, later explained why:

"It was fundamentally a matter of recognizing reality. ... It made no

### U.S. blindness on East Timor.

sense to antagonize the Indonesians. ... East Timor was not a viable entity."

The Indonesian forces used arms received from U.S. aid in the invasion — which violated American law. That was pointed out to Mr. Kissinger in a cable sent to him from the State Department while he was abroad. When he got back, he excoriated his aides for letting the cable go out.

"I know what the law is," Mr. Kissinger told a meeting of top State Department officials on Dec. 18, 1975, "but how can it be in the U.S. national interest for us to ... kick the Indonesians in the teeth?"

So far, such "realism" has permitted the death of up to 200,000 people in East Timor. More are dying all the time.

Indonesia has no legitimate reason to be in East Timor at all — no more than Iraq had to be in Kuwait. American policy should be to end the occupation. But the immediate requirement is to get international observers on the ground and stop the killing. □



THE NEW YORKER

THE TALK OF THE TOWN

by Allan NAÏRN

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 "Disciplinal!" 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."

