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The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 108

December 1991

The killing fields of East Timor

At least 180 people were killed and many more wounded in Indonesia's latest atrocity in East Timor. Several foreign witnesses have testified, giving the atrocity worldwide media coverage. More killings are being reported almost daily. Pleas from East Timorese to the UN for a monitoring team to go to East Timor have so far failed to elicit any response.

The massacre occurred early on Tuesday, 12 November 1991, when troops opened fire on a peaceful, emotion-charged procession from Motael Church to the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, to place flowers on the grave of a young Timorese, Sebastiao Rangel Gomes, who had been shot dead by troops at the church two weeks earlier.

Troops opened fire without provocation, killing dozens of people in the first few minutes of heavy gunfire, then shot or stabbed to death many wounded, strewn across the graveyard. One of the many eyewitness accounts that have been published worldwide is reproduced on page

The Santa Cruz massacre is only the latest in a long tragic history of death and atrocity that has engulfed the people of East Timor since their country was invaded and illegally occupied by Indonesia in 1975. During the first years of war, some 200,000 people were killed or died from war-related disease and starvation. Numerous massacres have occurred since then in remote parts of the country. This is the first large-scale atrocity in Dili itself since the horrors that befell the town in December 1975 when invading Indonesian troops rampaged, murdering hundreds of people.

The presence of many foreigners, some of whom had gone to East Timor to be there during the Portuguese parliamentary visit, has helped draw world attention to the East Timor tragedy for the first time. A Yorkshire television film of the massacre, shot by a British cameraman, has been shown in many countries.

Foreigners who have published eyewitness accounts are Allan Nairn, freelance journalist who writes for *The New*

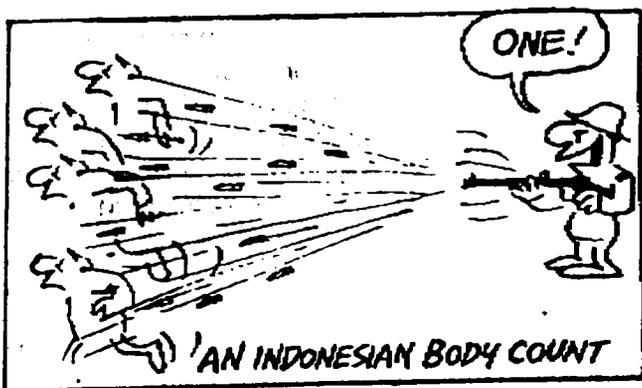
Yorker, who was badly injured himself, Amy Goodman, news editor of New York public radio station *WBAI* who was also injured, Father Stephani Renato, an Italian-born priest living in Japan, Bob Munz, of Australia's *Community Aid Abroad*, Russel Anderson, an Australian freelance journalist and Stephen Cox, a British photographer who works for a Portuguese journal, *O Independente*. We reproduce elsewhere in this issue the report of another eyewitness.

The number of dead is now thought to be 200 or more. Within a few days, Bishop Belo said he believed 180 had died. Many dozens of severely-wounded people were taken to the Dili General Hospital. Of these an unknown number died. Relatives have not been allowed to visit the injured or collect the bodies of the dead. All the victims have been buried in mass graves, prepared some time ago by the army in Taci-tolu and Areia Branca. The army refused per-

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mission to the International Red Cross to visit the wounded, saying that they must first be interrogated.

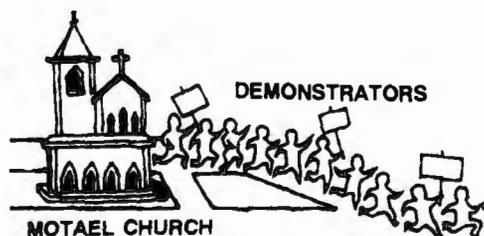
Only an independent and internationally-supervised inquiry will enable the world to know the precise death toll and the names of the dead.

Kamal Bamadhaj, a 20-year old New Zealander of Malaysian extraction, was among the dead. See page 10 for an obituary by his step-brother and extracts from his diary, written in East Timor, in the last few days of his life.

Aftermath of the non-visit

The Portuguese parliamentary mission which was to have arrived in East Timor on 4 November was cancelled after a public row between Indonesia and Portugal about Jill Jolliffe, a Lisbon-based Australian journalist, being among the foreign journalists proposed by Portugal. The Jolliffe dispute was, however, only the final straw. Portugal also raised objections privately to the UN over Indonesia's attempts to control transmission of television reporting during the visit and its refusal to allow the mission to use non-Indonesian aircraft.

In addition, Lisbon's anguish about what might happen during the visit was fuelled by messages from Bishop Belo,



head of the Catholic church, insisting that the mission should only proceed if a UN monitoring mission were to remain in the territory afterwards, to prevent widespread repression.

Whatever the reasons for the cancellation, the decision was devastating for the Timorese. As articles elsewhere in this issue and in *TAPOL Bulletin*, No 107 reveal, the Indonesian army had set in motion a campaign of terror and intimidation to prevent Timorese from meeting the visiting MPs. The Timorese were preparing too, determined to demonstrate and to speak to the visitors.

Bishop Belo has repeatedly warned that the mission could cause a bloodbath. What the Timorese have now got is no mission and a bloodbath.

The first thing to anger the Timorese was the murder at Motael Church on 28 October [see separate item]. This incident and the biased reporting on Indonesian TV so infuriated Bishop Belo that he refused to attend this year's annual meeting of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference.

The killings fields

On 15 November, three days after the Santa Cruz massacre, about eighty prisoners who had apparently been captured after that atrocity, were blindfolded, bound, bundled onto four army vehicles, taken to Be-Musi and shot dead by firing-squad. Some reports say the victims included people who were eyewitnesses of the Santa Cruz massacre. The atrocity was confirmed by an Australian who was in East

Timor but not in Dili on 12 November. He wrote:

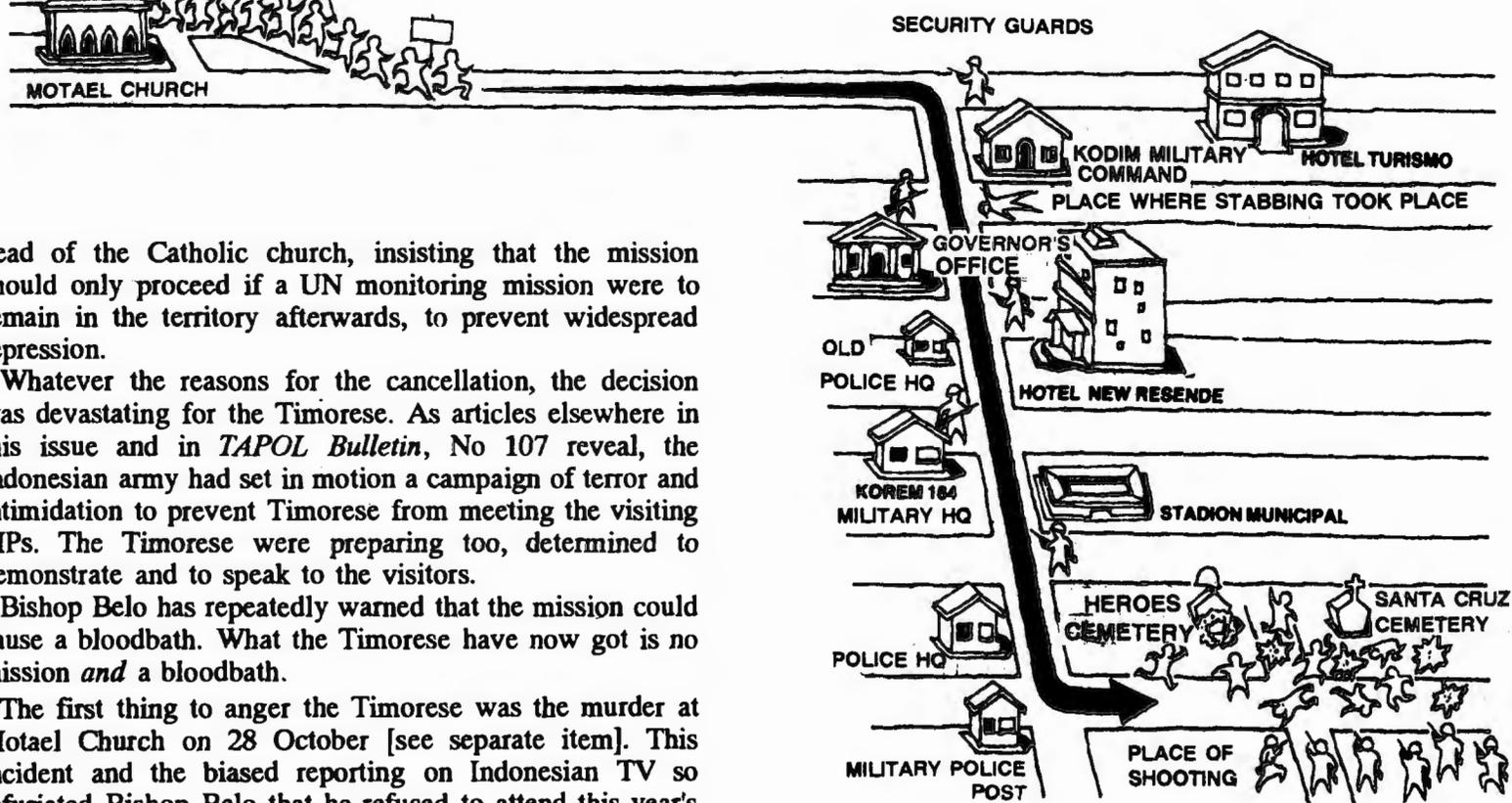
On 15th November, a massacre took place at a location called Be-Musi, just before midday. Be-Musi is close to Comoro, on the western outskirts of Dili. I heard a volley of automatic rifle fire that resounded right through the valley which lasted approximately 45 seconds. After this there was sporadic fire for the next 30 seconds.

I spoke to an East Timorese man who saw the truckloads of East Timorese people being taken to the execution site, a known burial and execution site of East Timorese people in the 16 years of the Indonesian presence in East Timor.

The Be-Musi massacre was widely reported by the world media when a TAPOL press release was picked up by wire services, even before the above testimony had been received. TAPOL wrote to the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva, asking for the Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Killings to go to East Timor immediately to investigate this and other atrocities.

News of the Be-Musi atrocity was received as some western governments, particularly the Bush administration, were asserting that the Santa Cruz massacre, terrible though it was, occurred because troops 'ran amok' after an officer had been 'attacked by rioters', or because troops thought they heard an order to shoot when in fact the order given

The Santa Cruz Tragedy



was 'don't shoot'. State Department spokesperson, Richard Boucher, pressed repeatedly at press briefings, would only say that there was 'a breakdown of military discipline'. It could therefore be said to have been 'unpremeditated'.

But no-one could possibly call the Be-Musi slaughter unpremeditated; hence the Jakarta correspondent of *NRC-Handelsblad*, for example, started writing articles to discredit TAPOL's report.

We have now received reports that ten people who had apparently witnessed the second massacre were killed on 17

November and that on the following day, seven more people, including two infants, were killed because they were witnesses of the third massacre.

Reports of killings so far come only from Dili and surroundings. People in Dili are not able to monitor the situation elsewhere. Our contacts in Dili speak of terror in the capital. Houses are frequently raided, searches undertaken, there is a de facto curfew from 7 pm, and Timorese men dare not venture out for fear of being picked up. The Sao Jose Portuguese-language school is closed. Other schools are open, but only girls attend; boys are afraid of being arrested. Army patrols and road-blocks are everywhere along the roads, in far greater number than previously. Bishop Belo and other priests are not contactable by phone as their lines have been tampered with.

Dozens arrested in Jakarta

As conditions in East Timor rapidly deteriorate, a crackdown has started against East Timorese students in Java and Bali. On 19 November, about 80 students from several Indonesian universities took a petition to the UN information office in Jakarta, calling for action from the UN on East Timor's self-determination and to stop the repression. As they were making their way to the Australian, Japanese and British embassies, they were halted by an Anti-Riot police squad and beaten with clubs. Some demonstrators fled as the police closed in but seventy were arrested. They were held for a whole week at Metro Jaya police command without being allowed to see lawyers. On 26 November, 49 were released. The 21 who are still in detention include Timorese students from universities in Salatiga, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Malang, Bandung, Denpasar, Jakarta and Surabaya.

(See page 23 for more on student arrests.)

Independent inquiry needed

Following the Santa Cruz massacre, the Portuguese government called for an internationally-supervised independent and impartial inquiry.

Faced with an international outcry (see separate item), Suharto's State Secretary, Moerdiono, announced the setting up of a commission of inquiry composed of senior government officials, headed by a Supreme Court judge who is a general (see separate item).

Human rights NGOs in Indonesia paralysed

Shortly after the Santa Cruz massacre, representatives from Infight (Indonesian Front for Human Rights), LPHAM (League for the Defence of Human Rights) and the New Life Foundation visited members of parliament to call for a thorough investigation of the Santa Cruz massacre. On 20 November they announced that a four-person team would go to Dili to begin its own investigation of the situation. However, the four were not permitted to leave for Dili. Instead, three leading human rights activists were summoned for questioning by *Bakorstanasda*, the army's security agency in Jakarta. While **Indro Sukmadji Tjahyono** of Infight and **Poncke Princen** of LPHAM spent three days under intensive interrogation, Yopie Lasut of the New Life Foundation decided not to go and went into hiding. With their premises under constant surveillance and leading activists under house arrest or in hiding, the three organisations have suspended their activities for the time being. ★

Bishop Belo on the massacre

Interviewed in *Tempo* 23 November, Bishop Belo said the following:

Do you know how many died on 12 November?

According to official sources, 13, according to Timorese people, 50, but a member of parliament has said 80. I have only received reports but I don't know the exact number.

Have you been able to speak to any of the wounded?

No. I was only able to go round the wards. It was difficult to recognise the youngsters; their faces were so badly smashed up. But I spoke to the youngsters who came to my residence, some 250 of them. They came here for protection. On the same day from 1 till 6 pm, I escorted them home.

Someone has said that after these youngsters came to your house, you phoned the police....

Yes, I rang them at about 11 am. I wanted to start taking them home but I didn't want the police to interfere. At about 5.30 pm, I noticed that I was being followed by a motor-cycle and a car, so I took the last group home the next day.

Is there tension between church and government?

Yes. Following the incidents in the church and the cemetery, accusations have been levelled at the church. Of course there are tensions. We must avoid this; we must try to live side by side.

Some people say Motael Church was used for political activities.

These things happened outside the church. Far away from the church. Father Ricardo (of Motael parish church) celebrated mass because he was asked to do so.

It's being said that the security forces found evidence in Motael Church.

That is not true at all. I have given a statement to the government.

They say there was Fretilin propaganda.

Everything was outside the pastor's home or the church. They found absolutely nothing in the pastor's home. In the church, they only found three people. They didn't find any flags.

Were the security forces breaching the rules when they searched the church?

No. I wanted them to come. I gave them permission to enter.

If the Portuguese mission had come, what do you think would have happened?

It would have been the same as what happened on 12 November.

What is your comment about the incident?

It was a tragedy. I am trying to study it. This incident reflects the pain being felt by the people here.

What makes the people so unhappy?

Many things. Welfare problems, the stressful feelings and many other things. ★

Worldwide condemnation

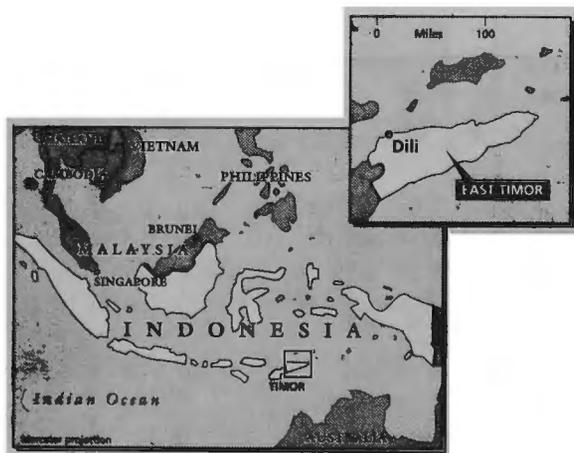
But the UN and governments fail to act

For the first time since the murderous Suharto regime came into being in 1965, there has been international outrage at a massacre committed by the army. There was not a murmur of protest among western powers when Suharto's butchers slaughtered at least half a million communist suspects in 1965/66. His war against East Timor which killed off a third of the population – some 200,000 – also went unchallenged in state chanceries. His death squads murdered some 4,000 suspected 'criminals' with impunity in 1983/4, and slaughtered around a hundred, possibly many more, Muslims in Tanjung Priok in September 1984, as well as a Muslim sect in Lampung in 1988. Several thousand have been massacred in Aceh since mid-1990. Now, at last, the world is beginning to recognise the deadly violence which is the hallmark of the Suharto regime.

There has been wide reporting and numerous editorials around the world and in some countries, pressure on government has been particularly fierce.

Portugal

The strongest reaction to the massacre came from East Timor's former colonial ruler, Portugal, which demanded more from the rest of the world than mere condemnation of Indonesia. The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Joao De Deus Pinheiro said the European Community should reconsider all its relations with Jakarta. And President Mario Soares, who, until a few years ago, appeared to take little interest in East Timor, accused Indonesia of "criminal genocide", and expressed his solidarity with the East Timorese people.



agreements. The European Community has made two strong statements at the UN General Assembly. But the response from some of the Member States of the Twelve has been far more muted.

The Dutch government, under strong public pressure, announced during a heated debate in parliament that it will stop any new aid to Indonesia, but existing projects are unaffected. Last year the Netherlands gave more than US\$ 200 million to Indonesia. Some Dutch politicians want stronger action – Deputy Rob van Gijzel of the PVDA (Labour Party), a partner in the coalition government, demanded an arms embargo – but none has been forthcoming.

And there's been even less reaction from Suharto's number one arms supplier, Britain, where the Foreign Office meekly welcomed the proposed investigation by the Indonesian government, but felt unable to go as far as condemning it for gunning down unarmed civilians. A Minister of State told parliament, shocking both Labour and Tory MPs, that the government awaits the outcome of Indonesia's inquiry before taking a stand. The same minister said that an arms embargo "would be inappropriate and ineffective".

Nor will the East Timorese have drawn much comfort from the Pope. For despite the fact that the victims of the massacre were Catholic mourners at a funeral, it took the Vatican ten days to denounce the killings, and then only after being criticised by Portugal for its inaction.

Australia

Outside Portugal, the greatest public outrage against Indonesia has been in Australia, home to the largest East Timorese refugee community. Trade unions have imposed an embargo on the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, and banned all ships flying the Indonesian flag from docking at Australian ports. And people have been demonstrating outside the Embassy, and the Indonesian consulates in Darwin, Melbourne and Sydney. There are reports of divisions within the government over whether Australia should withdraw its *de jure* recognition of Indonesian rule in East Timor, with one minister, John Buttons, supporting the idea of a UN sponsored peace conference.

A week after the killings, Portugal declared a national day of mourning on 19 November. Flags flew at half-mast across the country and the national football team broke off its preparations for a match with Greece to observe a minute's silence for the victims. The government has dismissed Indonesia's planned investigation into the massacre as a farce; it has asked Portuguese businesses to impose a trade embargo on Indonesia. On 21 November, about 10,000 people demonstrated in Lisbon.

Western Europe

A well-coordinated European response has come from the European Parliament in Strasbourg, which passed a resolution by 160 votes to 8 calling for the UN and the EC to ban arms sales, and for the suspension of EC cooperation

Even Prime Minister Bob Hawke was visibly shocked by Indonesian Armed Forces Chief Try Sutrisno's statement, prominently reported in *The Age* (Melbourne), that the demonstrators needed to be eliminated; he suggested that it was time Indonesia sat down and talked with Fretilin over the future of East Timor. But the famous Hawke tears, shed so readily for those who died in Tiananmen Square in 1989, were not in evidence for the victims of a massacre on Australia's doorstep which, he said, was an internal matter for Indonesia. Trade between Australia and Indonesia is worth A\$ 1.5 billion a year.



Foreign Minister Ali Alatas plays second fiddle, while all the official statements come from the army.

New Zealand

New Zealand might have been expected to issue the strongest condemnation of Indonesia, given that one of its nationals, Kamal Bamadhaj, was shot, dumped away from the scene of the massacre, and died from his wounds when troops prevented the Red Cross from taking him to hospital. But aside from expressions of concern, Prime Minister Jim Bolger said only that he needed to 'think very carefully'. And no, he wouldn't consider cutting New Zealand's military ties with Indonesia.

Japan

Japan is the largest aid donor to Indonesia, giving US\$ 868 million last year in loans and grants, and thus has substantial leverage over the Suharto regime. Any hint that Japan might reconsider its aid programme would seriously undermine confidence in Indonesia's economy. But the closest Tokyo came to a 'hint' was to call the killings 'regrettable'. Indeed, a delegation from the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta returned from Dili with the extraordinary conclusion that there was 'room for debate' on the cause of the massacre. Groups of legislators, Christians and members of the Free East Timor Japan Coalition have deplored the weakness of Japan's response.

North America

Another country bankrolling Indonesia is Canada - Indonesia is the third largest recipient of Canadian aid. There, under pressure from a vocal and angry group of

MPs, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall has said she is reviewing Canada's assistance programme for Indonesia, but the government has been accused by opposition leaders of lacking a policy to deal with countries which persistently abuse human rights.

Two of the eyewitnesses to the massacre, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, were journalists from the United States, and both were badly beaten by Indonesian soldiers. Their accounts have appeared in a number of mainstream US newspapers and journals. But the Bush administration's response so far has hardly matched the seriousness of the atrocity in East Timor. The State Department, while condemning the killings, is waiting for Indonesia's investigating team to produce its whitewash before passing judgement on who was responsible. The furthest the State Department has been prepared to go is to attribute the killings to a collapse of army discipline, while at the same time defending its military aid programme to Jakarta on the grounds that it contributes to the 'professionalisation' of the armed forces. However, the Senate has passed a strong resolution (see separate item) though in the House, there were moves, spearheaded by Rep. Stephen Solarz, to eliminate the Senate's forthright call for US support for Timorese self-determination.

Editorials

There has been much stronger reaction in the media around the world, in North American, Western Europe and Australia, where people have seen film of the massacre on their television screens. Newspapers in Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal and Australia have linked East Timor to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and demanded that the East Timorese be given the right to self determination as part of the so-called 'New World Order'. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Indonesian ministers have spent much of their time attacking the press, whereas Security Minister Sudomo is quoted as saying Indonesians need not fear the actions of foreign governments, as these are merely to appease their own public opinion.

Here are the headlines of some editorials that appeared in the first ten days after the massacre:

Canada:

Montreal Gazette - Horror continues in East Timor
Times - *Colonist* - East Timor genocide: why are we helping?

USA:

Boston Globe - East Timor, symbol of US shame
Boston Globe - Unyoking the Timorese
Washington Post - Shame on Indonesia
New York Times - Tears for the Timorese

Britain:

The Independent on Sunday - In the wrong country
The Guardian - Concern is not enough
The Times - Island of Oppression
The Observer - Eastern atrocities
New Statesman and Society - East Timor's forgotten tyranny

Netherlands

Volkskrant - East Timor

Trouw - Shameful

Thailand:

Bangkok Post - Jakarta should come clean

Australia:

The Age - Human rights fall into a Timor gap.

The Australian - United stand needed on Timor horror

The Age - The clouds darken over East Timor

Many others from Australia have not yet reached us.

Massacre among the graves

By: Max Stahl



Reproduced from the Independent on Sunday, 17 November 1991. The writer uses a nom de plume to protect those who helped him.

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

The two to three thousand pro-independence demonstrators were nervous but excited as they marched last Tuesday through the centre of Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. They went along the seafront lined with Indonesian warships, past the governor's palace and up almost a mile to the public cemetery known as Santa Cruz, waving flags and banners of the occupied colony's independence parties and its continuing armed resistance.

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

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

The leaders of the demonstration had walked into the cemetery and made an announcement over loudspeakers that prayers were to begin for their dead companion,

Sebastian, killed on 28 October by policemen in civilian clothes, who were stoning a church where persecuted students took refuge at night. Sebastian was buried at Santa Cruz, and the march was nominally in his memory.



The grave of Sebastiao Gomes

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

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

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

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

Those who had fallen were left to bleed where they lay. This is where the young New Zealander, Kamal Bamadhaj, lost his chance of survival. Wounded by three gunshots, he was still barely conscious when the international Red Cross picked him up. But the ambulance was held up by soldiers several times before it reached the hospital and he had already lost a tremendous amount of blood before they were allowed to get to him.

Then once inside the military hospital, like at least 89 seriously wounded and perhaps as many as 50 dead, no one was allowed access to him. All information was refused to the Red Cross, to his family, his friends, even, it appears, to his embassy, as he died.

This was not a bureaucratic accident. Relatives of other wounded Timorese who came to enquire about missing relatives were arrested and interrogated. I spoke to some who had fled and dare not go back. Inside the cemetery I saw soldiers clearly commanded by officers in civilian

dress, moving methodically between the tombstones, searching out wounded and fugitive demonstrators. As they got to them they kicked them, severely wounded and unhurt alike, with rifle butts and batons.

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

Several young men gathered around me, thinking that I, a foreigner, might offer some protection. One had blood pouring out of his mouth, another used a shirt to bandage a lower leg in tatters, a third was simply paralysed with fear. He repeated over and over again: "We're all going to die, we're all dead, please help me, mister. You can help me mister, you must not leave us, take us with you mister or we're all dead."

But I could not help them. All I could do was bury my videotape in a grave in anticipation of my own arrest and promise them that this time the cynical carnage of the Indonesian military would not be lost in a welter of international evasion and Indonesian lies, as has happened so often in the last 16 years of East Timor's history, during which nearly one in three of its people – roughly 200,000 out of a population of 650,000 – have died.

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

And yet already the half-truths and outright lies issued to Indonesia's friends and trading partners abroad have begun to cloud the truth about this killing and about the continuing abuse of those still held. The emphasis of diplomats from the Australian and British embassies who approached me was clear. Uppermost in their minds was the case of the alleged stabbing of an Indonesian army major, Girhan Lantara. (As the days go by, another victim has mysteriously been added in some reports.)

I first heard of this stabbing the day after the massacre as a reason for "loyal troops" running amok out of revenge, and then as evidence of the "riot" that official Indonesian forces say they were forced to control. In the words of the official statements: "Stones were thrown at police stations" and "persuasive methods had been tried and failed", then following this, "normal procedures were used to control the riot". Neither I nor any foreign witness or local I know saw any of these events or any reaction to them from policemen or demonstrators during the march (the major almost certainly suffered his wound after the shooting began).

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

Why, I asked, had they carried out this barbarous killing. Why did they need guns at all when the demonstrators had

none? No one at the station offered the unfortunate major as a motive. No one even bothered to suggest there had been a riot. Nor did they add the more recent assertions emerging from General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the Udayana military command that covers East Timor. These include the firing of a shot by demonstrators (I hear no stray shots before the attack), the throwing of a hand-grenade "that luckily didn't go off", and the confiscation of "three hand-grenades, six pistols, three rifles, three swords and a number of knives and blades".



Major-General Sintong Panjaitan (left) and Brig.-General Rudy Warouw: "The hearts and minds days are over".

The truth, as all foreign witnesses have confirmed, is that there was no riot. There was a procession, a demonstration of exceptionally good order, even good humour, despite the fear and apprehension of the participants. All the "provocation" the military needed was in the pro-resistance and pro-independence banners and slogans of the demonstrators, and in their temerity in demonstrating at all. This is not surprising. Every recent pro-independence demonstration has been attacked. Every time the excuse has been the same. And every time what independent evidence there is and the testimony of foreigners tells a different story.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They added to that a widespread campaign of threats. On 28 October, the very day plainclothes police stoned the Motael church and killed the student Sebastian, the *bupati* (senior local administrator) of Dili called three schools together to inform them that anyone who spoke to the Portuguese or approached them "would end up in Tacitolo". Tacitolo is one of the best-known killing grounds used in the early eighties by Indonesian soldiers and death squads disposing of their Timorese victims.

To underline this threat, a mysterious hole, similar to that used in the past for burying bodies, was dug at Tacitolo and at other former killing grounds.

Schoolteachers and government workers were told they would lose their jobs and villages were told that everyone between 10 and 45 would be wiped out. Intelligence agents let it be known that lists were being prepared for torture or extermination.

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

Sometimes it seemed that almost every young Timorese was likely to be *perseguido* (pursued), or was already on the run. They moved houses, towns, night by night, slept rough, left jobs and stayed out of schools in order to stay ahead of their pursuers and prepare for the Portuguese.

And then, because of Indonesian objections to an Australian journalist due to accompany the delegation, the Portuguese cancelled their trip. The students were left exposed, just as they had put their heads above the parapet, and the Indonesians moved in with intensified house-to-house searches, and yet more threats to those arrested.

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

It was a crumb thrown to the students by the outside world that they felt had, once again, let them down. Discipline for the demonstration was to be tight to ensure no hostages were left to fortune or to the Indonesian military. And although in the event the Indonesians needed no hostages, and up to 50 died in the shootings with more than a hundred wounded and up to 400 arrested, beaten, made to walk barefoot across thorns, and tortured with electric shocks; although four more were stabbed to death in the police station, according to some of those released, and although perhaps 150 are still suffering this abuse, on the morning after the massacre there were smiles on the faces of many Timorese.

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

ABRI chief: "They must be wiped out"

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

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

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

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

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

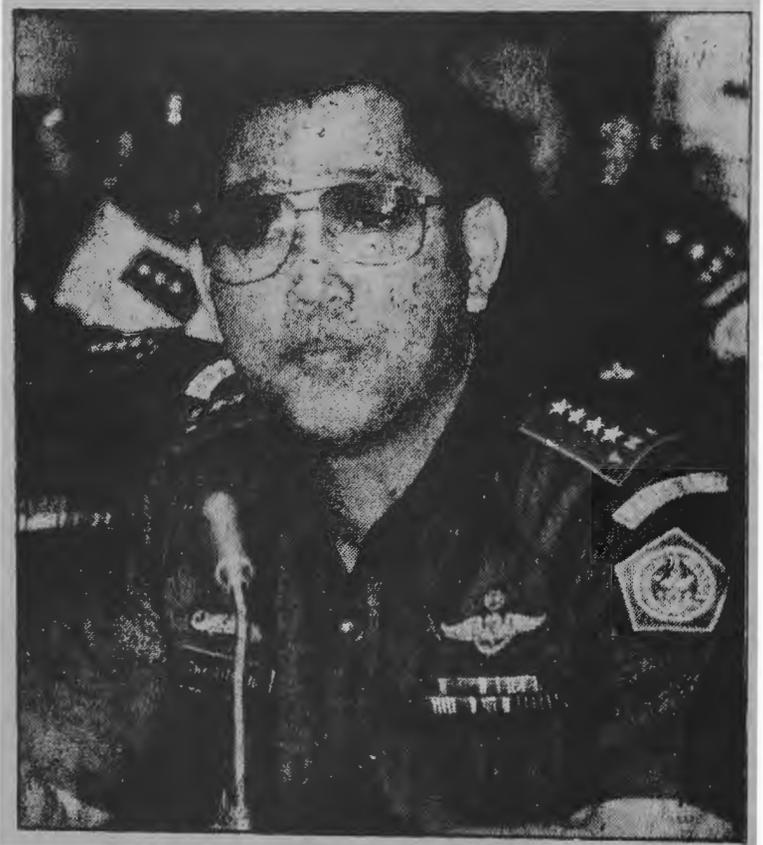
However, he went on, members of ABRI who were on guard at the place of the incident restrained themselves. These officers, he said, showed a great deal of patience in coping with a situation that was actually goading them into anger. "Our armed forces are not like armies in other countries. Our people's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

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

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

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

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



General Try: "Our army is very tactful".

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

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

East Timor Document collection

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

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

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

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

The Death and Life of Kamal Bamadhaj

By: James Gibbons

When my stepbrother Kamal Bamadhaj was shot by Indonesian troops on the morning of 12th November, he didn't die at once. He managed to stagger 500 metres down a road before collapsing at the spot where he was later found by the Red Cross.

He got away from the soldiers who waded through the wounded in Santa Cruz cemetery, slashing, clubbing and shooting at those still alive. But he didn't escape the soldiers who stripped him of all his belongings, save the New Zealand passport that he waved in a frantic bid to attract help.

Shortly after arriving in the military hospital, Kamal died from loss of blood. "He could have lived", said the doctor who saw our parents - if the army had let the Red Cross get to him earlier.

Kamal, who was of mixed Malaysian-New Zealand parentage, was born and raised in Malaysia. He was intelligent, fun-loving, and totally free of prejudice or bigotry. People always found it difficult to place his nationality. When asked, he used to say "a Malaysian with green eyes". I hadn't seen him for almost two years, but the sheer force of his character kept him vivid in my mind.

He was an honours student of, amongst other things, Indonesian at the University of New South Wales, and an articulate campaigner for human rights, peace and environmental groups. He once put Gareth Evans, the Australian Foreign Minister, on the spot by asking him to justify the government's implicit support of Indonesian policy in East Timor. Evans' reply was an unwitting admission of guilt: "We can't be in the business of mediating in a situation we have accepted to be an internal affair of the Indonesians," he said.

Kamal's visit to Timor stemmed from a desire to observe

the events surrounding the anticipated arrival of the Portuguese delegation. He knew it was an important event for the Timorese, and that official channels could not be relied upon to record faithfully everything the world should know.

He travelled extensively around the country, documenting everything he saw. His command of Indonesian and infectious good humour made it easy for him to move amongst the people for whom he felt such strong sympathy.

In one scene he describes a young Timorese heckling a military officer during one of the many mandatory public lectures put on to warn people against passing information to the Portuguese delegation. One thinks of the horrendous history of suffering and death, of intimidation of the most barbarous kind - and of how these people can still stand on their feet and shout their defiance, knowing that in doing so they expose themselves to imprisonment, torture and death.

It was this courage that moved Kamal. Perhaps it was this example that was in his mind on the day of his death. We shall never know. What is certain is that it was this sort of courage that Kamal himself possessed in full measure.

A recent photograph of Kamal shows him wearing a T-shirt with the inscription: "I am a witness to the sufferings of my struggling people, and I'll bear witness to their liberation." The East Timorese were not strictly Kamal's "people". But where the rights of humanity were concerned, Kamal wasn't interested in racial or national distinctions. They were his people because they were an oppressed people.

In his death there is one thought that comforts those who feel privileged to have known him in life: the massacre amongst the gravestones of Santa Cruz has outraged the world, and raised hope for the struggling people for whom Kamal gave his life. ★

Extracts from the Timor diary of Kamal Bamadhaj

Dili, East Timor, 29 October 1991

Ten youths wallow in a cell waiting for their next session of beatings and slashings from razor blades as they recall their companieros, Sebastian, who yesterday was added to the ever increasing toll of brutal deaths in East Timor. Sebastian was one of the many youths staying overnight at Motael Church, Dili, when it was attacked by Indonesian forces yesterday.

The attack began at midnight when plainclothes soldiers began stoning the church. The church grounds were surrounded by armed troops who finally invaded the church at about 2.30 a.m. Some youths tried to escape as about 30 people inside the church grounds were arrested (all but ten were later released temporarily). It was in the midst of this attack that Sebastian was shot dead with three bullets. A Timorese member of the Indonesian assault forces was also killed when he was stabbed by a Timorese youth shortly after Sebastian's slaying. Two other youths suffered gunshot

wounds.

The attack on the church has further alienated the devout Catholic population of East Timor. Although the official Indonesian version of the Motael affair (which can only be described as a ludicrous fabrication) has been publicised throughout Indonesian media channels, the news about the attack and the death of Sebastian reached remote areas through East Timor's extensive and effective clandestine network before the Indonesians could even assemble their official version.

It is speculated that the Indonesian forces targeted the church because of its humanitarian views, because of the practice of giving refuge to youths seeking protection from Indonesian secret police and most importantly, because it voices the aspirations of the people for an end to 16 years of occupation and gross human rights violations by Indonesian troops.

Maubisse, 2 November 1991

Scratch a little below the surface of uncomfortable Javanese smiles and silent East Timorese faces, and the grim reality of the 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. Just like with Dutch colonialism in Java, most capital infusions into East Timor are made to facilitate the extraction of goods and consolidate the socio-economic and political dominance of the colonisers over the local populace.

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. Probably every East Timor survivor today has lost a close friend or relative. Materialistic development (for which the Indonesians demand gratitude) cannot pay for what the Timorese can put no price on – human lives. And what

EAST TIMOR

The youths were told to show their appreciation of the development the Indonesians had brought them rather than highlighting human rights violations or other negative aspects of Indonesian rule. One reckless youth stood up and declared that Indonesian development was just for show and did nothing for the people, sparking a wave of anti-Indonesia comments from the bitter audience. The military speaker then asked the crowd if they would prefer to return East Timor to the theatre of war of the mid to late seventies. Expecting a no, he was answered with a resounding YES.

Dili, 3 November 1991

It has been a tense past two weeks in East Timor. A kind of lull before the storm has prevailed as Timorese prepare themselves for the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation scheduled to have started tomorrow. Some saw the visit as a first step towards a referendum in East Timor, some hoped the Portuguese would somehow help bring about immediate independence while others saw the visit as a long awaited opportunity for an uprising against the



A photograph of Kamal Bamadhaj, taken in Maubisse, East Timor, on 1 November 1991. The photo was taken by his colleague, Alison Murray

about the rapes, beatings and other dehumanising experiences? Will the construction of new roads placate the humiliation and bitterness, or compensate the denial of Timorese language in schools, the domination of political decisions, local administration and the economy by the Javanese? The Timorese say no.

At a recent public lecture held at a Baucau school, local military leaders warned youths not to speak to delegates of a Portuguese official fact-finding mission in November.

Indonesian occupiers. After 15 years of integration with Indonesia, and all the methods the Indonesians have used to persuade the Timorese to accept their rule, everyone here seems to have roughly the same aspiration – independence.

Youths in Dili and in other towns in East Timor have been secretly painting pro-independence banners, organising demonstrations and, as many admitted to me, preparing to die for their people if the Indonesians try to stop them. Timorese of all ages and walks of life have been

signing up to be on the list of interviewees for the Portuguese fact-finding mission. Considering that talking to any foreigners about the situation in East Timor is risky, there are large numbers who have decided to take the plunge and talk to the Portuguese when they come.

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

deny the Portuguese the opportunity to meet with this much revered figure.

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

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

Suharto's inquiry commission a farce

The call for an independent fact-finding mission to East Timor has been the most persistent demand in press comments and from human rights organisations, since the tragic events of 12 November. Suharto announced that a National Inquiry Commission would be set up. Some governments now say they await its findings although the Commission lacks all credibility.

The international community has developed a set of well-defined criteria to make an inquiry credible and impartial. It should include people who are familiar with local customs and language and experienced people from well-established international human rights organisations. Persons with forensic and medical expertise should also be included. Moreover, as *Asia Watch* states, a commission should comply with the "Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal Arbitrary and Summary Executions" adopted in May 1989 by the UNESCO. They should "be chosen for their recognised impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular, they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry".

None of these criteria is met by Suharto's Commission. The majority are top-ranking civil servants who are political appointees of the government. *Pancasila* democracy does not recognise the separation of powers and the inclusion of an MP and a member of the Supreme Advisory Council is mere cosmetics. Two members are particularly unsavoury characters, Chief Justice Jaelani and Hari Sugiman, *sospol* chief at the Interior Ministry.

Chief Justice Jaelani, a retired major general, who chairs the Commission, belongs to the first generation of the notorious red beret commandos (*KOPASSUS*, previously known as *RPKAD*). He finished his studies at the Military Academy Law School. In the 1965-1966 witchhunt years, he was a prosecutor in several anti-subversion trials.

Hari Sugiman is also a retired major general. He is a top intelligence operator which is why, for many years, he has been *Sospol* chief of the Interior Ministry. A *sospol* chief is



Major-Generaal Moerdiono, Suharto's 'Prime-Minister'

like an octopus, with powers to interfere in anything. In the interests of law and order, Major-General Hari Sugiman can stop a poetry reading, prevent people from going abroad, ban organisations and much more. He has earned the nickname of 'Chief Censor'. He will retire after the

elections but a seat in parliament has been secured for him.

Hadi Wayarabi from the Foreign Office was for years chief Indonesian envoy at the UN in Geneva. He has had a great deal of experience, lobbying against moves at the UN to censure Indonesia's human rights abuses. Without even waiting for any evidence, he has already made up his mind; he told the press in Jakarta on 23 November, that Portugal is responsible for the 12 November tragedy.

Clementino dos Reis Amaral and the Florinese Ben Mang Reng Say are nonentities and have most likely been chosen because the former is a Timorese and the latter a Roman Catholic. The seventh member is Rear Admiral Sumitro, Inspector General of *ABRI*, the Indonesian armed forces.

Timorese unlikely to testify

The very idea that any Timorese might want to testify to such a team of regime hacks is preposterous. The *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Adam Schwarz, who visited East Timor immediately after the massacre, said [*FEER*, 28.XI.1991] that the composition of the commission "would prevent it from getting at the truth".

Timorese sources dismissed the investigation 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.'

Commission chief Jaelani has announced he will seek a copy of the Yorkshire television film of the massacre for his team. He should know that television companies are not in the practice of providing footage to investigatory bodies. TV companies in the UK have always refused to give the police footage of demonstrations, strikes etc, for fear of it being used to identify participants.

Before Suharto set his commission up, *ABRI* commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno, had announced another fact-finding team from *BAIS*, the military intelligence agency. The fate of this commission is not clear now. State Secretary Major-General Moerdiono downplayed it as being of a lower status than Suharto's commission.

The Portuguese Government has denounced the Commission as 'a farce', stressing that Indonesia has no legitimacy to carry out such an inquiry; the commission in any case, fails to meet the conditions of credibility and impartiality.

Several Indonesian organisations have also reacted. The *LBH*, the Legal Aid Institute, surprised many people by welcoming the Commission, while urging the government to add members from NGOs and journalist circles. The Petition-of-50 was more principled, casting doubt on the government's intentions. Referring to other tragedies, Tanjung Priok (1984), Ujungpandang (1987), Lampung (1989) and Aceh (1990), where no investigations were held, the group called for a parliamentary commission to investigate all the tragedies. President Suharto should be asked to give a full account to parliament, it said. The Indonesian League for the Restoration of Democracy has also demanded an independent inquiry into all the massacres. ✪

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Osttimor Information, Swedish language bulletin published by the East Timor Committee, c/o Pollak, Wiboms vag 12, 2 tr, 171 60 Solna, Sweden. Tel (08) 27 24 27.
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Timor Informations, French language bulletin of the Paris based Association de Solidarite avec Timor Oriental.
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Video

Buried Alive: The Story of East Timor, 1989, 59 mins VHS & Beta.
A Shadow over East Timor, 1991, 58 mins.

Computer

Two computer conferences carry information on East Timor: reg.indonesia, and reg.easttimor. They are accessible through subscription to Pegasus (Australia), Peacenet (US), GreenNet (Europe), GeoNet (worldwide).

The Motael Shooting

Four days after it was announced in Lisbon that the Portuguese parliamentary delegation's visit to East Timor was being suspended, Indonesian troops attacked Motael Church in Dili. Renetil, the clandestine students' organisation in Indonesia, has sent us this report.

28 October 1991

At 1.30 in the morning, a gang of masked killers, known as *ninja* (a unit formed by Prabowo, President Suharto's son-in-law), came to Motael Church, called out the pastor and broke into the church because they suspected that anti-integration activists were hiding inside. Father Ricardo protested; he refused to allow them in because the church is a place of worship.

But the troops and the *ninja* who had planned this operation in advance, started attacking the activists in the church, shouting, "Thief, thief!" Responding to this violent attack, things grew tense; the activists had no alternative but to resist the *ninja*, with the result that one of them, Afonso Hendrique, was killed. When this happened, the troops - known for their sadism and inhumanity towards the Timorese - shot dead an activist named Sebastiao Gomes. They did this in the church, a holy place for the Timorese people. Then the soldiers and the *ninja* withdrew, leaving behind an atmosphere of panic and terror.

After this, the activists organised an action in the streets of Dili, protesting against the death of Sebastiao Gomes. Nearly half the population took part in this protest. The army responded with a show of force against the unarmed people and arrested 20 of those involved in the solidarity action. They were taken to the Dili POLWIL (district police) detention centre. Among those arrested were **Aleixo Gama** and **Aleon**; they have both been detained and tortured by the military on previous occasions for participating in actions when the Pope and the US ambassador visited East Timor.

29 October

There was great distress and anger over the arrests during the solidarity action and the killing of Sebastiao Gomes. Many thousands of people took to the streets just as the funeral of Sebastiao was about to take place. This started at 2 pm. A number of fathers and sisters joined the huge procession which followed the cortege as Sebastiao was taking to his last resting-place. Those taking part emphasised the need for people to stay calm in the face of the kind of threats we have suffered since the beginning of the Indonesian occupation.

Bosco Fatumaca School

It has also been reported that the *ninja* attacked the D. Bosco-Fatumaca Technical School (near Baucau) which is run by Salesian fathers. We have been told that about forty activists have been arrested and taken to an unknown destination. Similar things have happened in the sub-district of Ossu and the district of Viqueque. The main targets in these operations are the pro-independence activists. Brigadier-General Warouw gave the order some time ago that the territory of East Timor must be cleared of pro-independence activists before the Portuguese parliamen-

tarians visit East Timor.

On 30 October, the English-language *Jakarta Post* reported a claim by Brig.Gen. Warouw that 150 Fretilin members have surrendered to the armed forces. This is pure fabrication. Clandestine sources in Dili have confirmed that no such thing happened. On the contrary, activists and the people in general are consolidating their forces, in readiness to tell the visiting parliamentarians and UN representatives of their anti-integration and pro-independence aspirations.

[The Timorese did not yet realise, when writing this report, that the mission had already been cancelled.] ★

TAPOL OCCASIONAL REPORTS

- No.1 Exchange of messages with Fretilin commander Shanana Gusmao with Lord Avebury, chair Parliamentary Human Rights Group and Carmel Budiardjo, Tapol Organising Secretary.
- No.2 Joint Statement by Union of Democratic Timorese and Fretilin, March 1986.
- No.3 Reactions from Indonesia to Transmigration Campaign. Indonesian press clippings reacting to the campaign by Survival International and TAPOL.
- No.4 Statement on East Timor to the UN Committee of 24, August 1986.
- No.5 The 1987 Indonesian Election in East Timor. An analysis written by TAPOL.
- No.6 TAPOL Statement on East Timor to the UN Committee of 24, August 1987.
- No.7 July 1987 Statement on the Joint Decision of the Chairman of the Supreme Court and Minister of Justice, by IKADIN, the Indonesian Lawyers' Association.
- No.8 World Bank maintains support for Transmigration. Survival International and TAPOL write to World Bank, 22 January 1988.
- No.9 TAPOL Statement on East Timor to the UN Committee of 24, August 1988.
- No.10 Open Letter to the World Bank on the Kedung Ombo Dam.
- No.11 TAPOL Statement on East Timor to the UN Decolonisation Committee, August 1989.
- No.12 IGGI and Human Rights. Press coverage on IGGI Chairman Pronk visit to Indonesia. INFIGHT notes presented to Minister Pronk.
- No.13 TAPOL statement to the UN Decolonisation Committee, August 1990
- No.14 UN resolutions on East Timor, 1975-1982
- No.15 TAPOL statement to the UN Decolonisation Committee, August 1991
- No.16 Freeport and the Tribal People

A heavy blow for the resistance

The Indonesian military intelligence targetted the East Timorese resistance for some time. Last year they reached the conclusion that the East Timorese resistance in the cities (including East Timorese students in Indonesia) had become a political movement. A crackdown was predictable but who would have thought it would be on such a scale?

From resistance documents received since 1990, it has become clear that the underground movement was taking strides towards become a fully-fledged political organisation. Communication lines with the armed resistance had improved, as well as with student groups in many Indonesian cities. The movement was known as the *Frente Clandestine* [Clandestine Front]; this year an Executive Committee was formed to coordinate activities. The FC consists of several organisations, the largest and best-known being *Renetil*, a youth and student organisation with chapters in East Timor and Indonesia.

From military documents, captured by the resistance, it is clear that these developments had not gone unnoticed; by mid-1990 military intelligence assessed the urban movement as posing a greater threat than the guerrillas in the bush.



Kopassus units arriving at Baucau airport

In many ways this is true, although *Falintil* guerrillas are still inflicting casualties on the Indonesian military. One important aspect of the urban movement was the growing network of communications and information, coinciding with the 'opening up' of East Timor by the Jakarta authorities. It became an important asset abroad. Solidarity groups and Timorese refugee organisations received a wealth of information from inside East Timor. The quality of the information greatly improved, in speed, accuracy and variety of information, resulting in far better reporting abroad. The impossible became possible. Robert Domm's interview of Xanana Gusmao was an outstanding achievement of the clandestine front.

Another aspect was the growing number of young East Timorese getting an opportunity to organise politically. In the mushrooming youth organisations, many young Timorese emerged as skilful and dynamic organisers. Another aspect was contact with Indonesian human rights organisations.

From clandestinity to semi-clandestinity

In the last two years or so, two different lines of practice developed, one to maintain communications with the leadership in the mountains, the other to communicate with the outside world. The first remained strictly clandestine while contact with the outside world became increasingly open. Several experiences like the Pope's visit in 1989 and the visit of US ambassador John Monjo in January 1990, convinced many Timorese youngsters of the value and effectiveness of protesting. The events were widely reported and for a few days East Timor was spotlighted in the international press. Timorese youth organisations became more creative and skilful in finding ways to attract world opinion. Detailed reports about human rights violations were channeled out. The Amnesty International Report to the UN Decolonisation Committee in August 1991 is the most elaborate report ever. Other reports like *Repression and Resistance: A Review of the 15th Year of Indonesian Occupation*, published by the Lisbon-based *Peace is Possible in East Timor* is another example of the wealth of information and graphic material smuggled out, at great risk.

Taking risks

This more 'open' strategy inevitably led to open confrontation with the military which became a general pattern. The *Kapan Pulang?* campaign (asking Indonesians in the streets when they were going home) or the Fretilin flag-raising actions in several schools were instances of open defiance of the military. By the end of 1990, things had grown tough and more sinister. For a brief period, young East Timorese 'took over' the Dili streets in the evenings. Patrolling military or police vehicles became an easy target for stones and bricks. This became known as the *intifada* period. It did not last long; the military created special paramilitary units, dressed in black, known as the *ninja*, after the old Japanese warrior tradition. Many street battles were fought; the East Timorese were no match for the well-trained and well-equipped *ninjas*. The *ninja* squads created an atmosphere of terror among the people in Dili. These terrorist gangs include Moluccans, West Timorese, Buginese as well as East Timorese.

Communication lines with the outside world also improved. Letters from abroad to the leadership of the resistance, deep in the mountains, used to take many months, but in the last few months before the *Santa Cruz*

EAST TIMOR

massacre, a letter could reach its destination in less than a week. The 'opening up' of East Timor helped the urban resistance; communication lines greatly improved.

Some actions, like writing letters to President Bush, took the form of appeals along with names and signatures. Every time, the Timorese had to weigh the pros and cons of any action. On the plus side was the international attention, on the minus side, the risk of arrest, interrogation and harassment. Another example of public exposure was the video made by the Portuguese clown Batatinha of a handful of East Timorese activists in Bali. The film, shown on Portuguese TV made a deep impression on the Portuguese public. The emphasis of East Timor's struggle shifted from the protracted armed struggle to the political struggle. The Indonesian military intelligence realised this and acted accordingly; the *Frente Clandestine* (which had in fact become an open political front) became the major target.



Timorese students demonstrating in Jakarta on 19 November.

Arrests, torture and blacklisting

The many arrests in the last two years show a general pattern, mentioned in Amnesty International reports: short-term detention and release after intense interrogation and torture. The military intelligence developed a strategy of patience, not wanting to strike until the entire organisational structure had been laid bare. All the standard intelligence methods were used, monitoring, bribing, infiltrating, blackmail and torture. In the last few years the Indonesian intelligence must have collected a huge list of names of activists. In May this year, *Renetil*, the main student organisation, managed to obtain a secret army intelligence document which named 20 East Timorese students in Bali, Jakarta, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Salatiga. Many are now detainees from the 19 November demonstration in Jakarta and the round-ups in Den Pasar, Bali and Yogyakarta.

Climax or anti-climax

The visit by Portuguese MPs became the most important event on the political agenda of the Timorese. Foreign delegations, such as the visit of Australian MPs, were deliberately ignored; the Timorese resistance was saving itself for the big event. The Indonesian army was also preparing to strike a heavy blow against the Timorese resistance. Things reached boiling point in the weeks before the visit was expected. East Timor looked like early 1976; in every street corner there were military, in every village, Indonesian platoons. A second military invasion had taken place. The postponement (now indefinitely shelved) of the visit was an anti-climax for the Timorese. For many years they had waited, and in the last few months it seemed as though the visit would materialise. Then suddenly, zilch.

The aftermath is clear. The 12 November procession was intended to replace the big event that never happened. The military were ready and did what they did in Tanjung Priok, Lampung and Aceh: indiscriminate shooting of an unarmed crowd. The killing has not stopped with the *Santa Cruz massacre*; other massacres have taken place. East Timorese students in Indonesia have been taken from their homes. The military intelligence are, step by step, implementing a plan to destroy the East Timorese political movement. Only the international community can prevent this from happening. ✱

European Parliament and European Community speak

On 21 November 1991, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on East Timor by a massive majority. The resolution was co-sponsored by members of the Socialist Group, the Christian Democratic Group, the Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Group, the European Democratic Group, the Green Group, the Unitarian Left Group, the Rainbow Group and the Communist Group. There were 167 votes for, seven against and four abstentions. The text of the resolution is as follows:

The European Parliament:

- A. Appalled by the reports of the killing and wounding of many mourners by Indonesian troops at a funeral in Dili in East Timor on 11 (sic) November 1991,
B. whereas the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve, meeting

in conclave in the Netherlands on 13 November, have utterly condemned the massacres.

- C. recalling that Amnesty International had previously asked for an inquiry into the shooting by the police of Mr Sebastio Rangel, the man whose funeral was taking place,

D. considering the reports that after the massacre at the funeral, the Indonesian military took out of prison between 70 and 100 witnesses of the massacre and killed them standing in front of a grave,

E. whereas Indonesian soldiers recently attacked Catholic churches where young people had taken refuge; whereas these attacks caused deaths and injuries and political prisoners were cruelly tortured in order to make them reveal the names of bishops and priests who might have collaborated with the resistance,

F. recalling that a planned visit by Portuguese parliamentarians has recently been postponed because the Indonesian authorities refused to allow a journalist to accompany the Portuguese deputies,

G. recalling the history of mass murder and brutal repression by the Indonesian Government since the occupation of East Timor in 1975.

I. recalling its previous resolutions concerning East Timor,

1. Condemns the brutal murder of these latest victims of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and denounces and condemns the very serious violations of the most fundamental human rights;

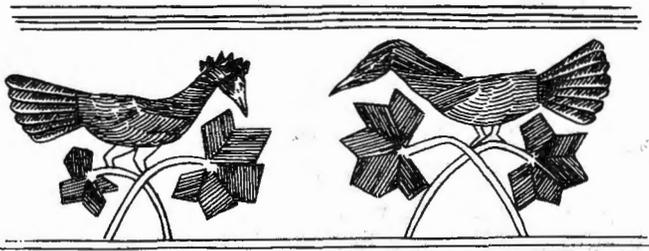
2. Urges the Indonesian Government to ensure that the occupying security and military forces refrain immediately from using violence and that those responsible for the massacre are brought to trial;

3. Calls for and immediate, thorough, impartial and internationally supervised investigation into the killings;

4. Asks for the release of those detained for their non-violent political activities or for their beliefs, and seeks assurances that those in detention will be treated humanely, and that lawyers, doctors and relatives will be allowed access to the detainees;

5. Calls on the ministers meeting in the EPC to take up this matter in the strongest possible way with the Indonesian Government and asks the EC and the United Nations to declare an embargo on the sale of weapons to Indonesia;

6. Calls on the European Council to make its position clearly known on this matter as soon as possible and to revise cooperation agreements between Indonesia, the EC and Member States, as long as the situation has not changed;



7. Instructs its delegation to ASEAN to raise the gross violation of human rights in East Timor at the earliest opportunity;

8. In view of the decision of the subcommittee on human rights to hold a hearing on East Timor in Lisbon, decides to send a mission of its own there, to meet leaders of all the parties to the conflict;

9. Instructs its President to transmit this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Ministers meeting in EPC, the Government of Indonesia, the Secretary-General of the UN and the Secretary-General of ASEAN.

European Community statement

The European Community made the following joint statement at the UN General Assembly in New York:

The European Community and its Member States are gravely concerned about reports that on 12 November members of the Indonesian armed forces in Dili opened fire on a group of demonstrators, killing and wounding a considerable number.

The European Community and its Member States vehemently condemn such violence which is in clear contravention of the most fundamental human rights.

The European Community and its Member States urge the Indonesian Government to ensure that members of the Indonesian armed forces and police in East Timor immediately refrain from using violence and that members of the armed forces and police who were responsible for the tragic outcome of this incident are brought to trial.

This incident occurs in the context of a deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor which adds to extrajudicial execution and a practice of arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment, disappearances and political imprisonment which continue to occur.

The European Community and its Member States view favourably the authorisation that was given to the special UN Rapporteur on Torture to visit the area, and are looking forward to receiving his findings.

They also expect that NGOs and other independent bodies will be allowed to visit the territory. The European Community and its Member States hope that a just, comprehensive and internationally-acceptable settlement may be found, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, including respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, taking full account of the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people of East Timor. ★

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US Congress condemns Indonesia

Calls for reassessment of US de facto recognition

The US Senate has adopted a Declaration on East Timor which was incorporated into the 1992 and 1993 Foreign Relations Authorization Act. The Declaration was sponsored by Senator Claiborne Pell and co-sponsored by Senators Wallop, Cranston, Durenberger, Kerry, Kennedy and Murkowski. The text of the resolution follows:

H. Con. Res. 340

(a) FINDINGS - The Congress finds that -

1. on November 12, 1991, Indonesian security forces killed 20 to 60 and injured as many as 100 people when they fired on a Roman Catholic funeral procession in which demonstrators were attempting to place flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991, in Dili, East Timor;

2. Indonesian soldiers also beat several foreign journalists, including two Americans from The New Yorker and Pacifica Radio, who were observing the procession;

3. Indonesia in violation of international law illegally invaded East Timor in 1975, annexing the territory without consideration for the rights of self-determination by the East Timorese;

4. tens of thousands of the population of approximately 600,000 died in the fighting, famine and disease that followed Indonesia's invasion of East Timor;

5. since Indonesia's invasion, a state of intermittent conflict continues to exist in East Timor, and Amnesty International, Asia Watch and other international human rights organisations frequently report evidence of human rights abuses, including torture, arbitrary arrest and repression of freedom of expression;

6. the Government of Indonesia continues to restrict access by international organisations and foreign journalists to East Timor, and;

7. the United States and Indonesia have maintained close bilateral relations for the past 25 years, including a program of economic and military assistance which totalled \$50 million in FY 1991.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY - It is the sense of Congress that --

1. the President should suspend immediately all International Military Educational Training program funds to the Indonesian government;

2. the American ambassador to Indonesia should immediately visit East Timor in order to investigate reports of the atrocity and reports of additional repression by Indonesian authorities;

3. the President should request a report by the Special Rapporteur on Torture, who was in East Timor during the massacre, to be made available as soon as possible to the General Assembly;

4. the President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human

Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timor conflict, providing for self-determination by the East Timorese people;

5. the President should request that the Government of Indonesia permit an investigation by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions of the situation in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia;

6. the American policy of de facto acceptance of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor should be reassessed until the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia, Portugal and the East Timorese have arrived at an internationally acceptable solution which addresses the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor; and

7. the President should request that the Government of Indonesia establish an independent commission to investigate the cause of the atrocity and to assist the prosecution of those responsible for the massacre.

The House of Representatives has adopted a similar resolution. It is more specific on halting military aid and amends other paragraphs. The House and the Senate must consult in Conference on the two drafts before a final text is agreed. This is likely to happen in early December.



Senator Pell addresses the Senate

On 14 November, just two days after the massacre, the chief sponsor of the amendment, Senator Claiborne Pell spoke on the floor of the Senate. He said:

Since 1975, when Indonesia illegally invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, that distant island has suffered under foreign rule. An estimated 100,000 people out of a population of approximately 600 000 died from the war and accompanying famine and disease. Although open warfare declined under the heavy fist of the Indonesian military, resistance by the predominantly Roman Catholic population continued.

Yesterday, we learned to our dismay the lengths to which the Indonesian military is still willing to go in order to contain even the most peaceful of protests. On Tuesday, 20 to 60 people were killed with automatic weapons and an additional 100 were wounded when the Indonesian military

opened fire in front of a church on a group of East Timorese attempting to lay flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian forces last October 28th.

Two American journalists who attempted to intercede in the massacre were brutally beaten by the Indonesian security forces. Let me quote from the female American reporter [Amy Goodman]: "They beat me and dragged me over and started slamming me with rifle butts and kicks and punches." The other journalist [Allan Nairn] from *The New Yorker* magazine recounted how "looking down the road, I saw body after body, and the soldiers kept firing at those who were still standing."

Indonesia has demonstrated that it is out-of-step with a changing world bent on greater respect for human rights and self-determination. The violence in East Timor casts serious doubt on Indonesia's ability to be a civilised nation or to be a credible spokesman for the Non-Aligned Movement in a changing world environment.

The resolution I am introducing today calls for a suspension of American military aid to Indonesia as the

only credible response to this atrocity. In FY 1991 these funds totalled \$1.9 million.

In addition this resolution calls for an investigation by the American ambassador to Indonesia and additional investigations by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

I also believe it is time for our policy of implicitly accepting Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor to be reviewed. It is clear that the East Timorese do not willingly accept Indonesian subjugation. As we have seen elsewhere in the world, the tide of self-determination is rising. The East Timorese deserve the right to decide their future under the aegis of an United Nations sponsored referendum which would determine their association with Indonesia. As long as a people feel repressed, they will resist.

I urge my colleagues to join in co-sponsoring this resolution. ★

"It's hard to be a Christian in East Timor"

Clare Dixon, who visited East Timor after the killing of Sebastiao Gomes at Motael church but left before the Santa Cruz massacre, described her impressions in The Catholic Herald [21.XI.1991]. Here are some extracts from her article.

"When I arrived in East Timor, the atmosphere was highly-charged. It is impossible for a European to blend into the crowd in East Timor - foreigners are rare and even now there are many children who have never seen white skin before. Everywhere I went I was aware of being watched or followed. After my first night at a small family-run boarding-house on the outskirts of Dili, I decided it was better to leave for a 'safer' hotel in the centre of town. Apparently police and agents of the 'INTEL' - Timorese in the pay of the Indonesian army - had kept overnight watch and sent spies in to the hostel to find out who I was. On my second day, the local commander turned up to find out where I was from and what I was doing there. I felt my hosts would be safer if I left.

"Numerous visits to military dictatorships in Latin America had made me think that I was used to living in situations of tension. East Timor brought a new dimension altogether. No-one knows just how heavy the military presence is in East Timor but Bishop Belo estimates it between 45 and 50,000 troops. In addition, the Bishop says that 'half the population is paid to spy on the other half'.

"If we take his figures, then there are proportionately ten times as many troops in East Timor as in El Salvador. In El Salvador there is a civil war whilst in Indonesia, the Indonesians claim that in the last two years, they have reduced the armed resistance from 200 to just 50 men and that the Timorese are perfectly happy to be part of Indonesia."

"Wherever I travelled I was subject to questioning by the military and the police - just a sampler of what people in

Timor experience every day. On a visit to a provincial town, I received a message from the community of sisters with whom I was to spend the night. They begged me not to go to their convent or try to make contact with them as they were too frightened of reprisals from the military if they were seen talking to a foreigner. The priests told me that they had received warnings that 'their graves were ready' if they tried to make contact with the Portuguese delegation.

"On the same day I watched as four frightened 15-year-olds were hauled from their church-run school for interrogation by the police. Their crime? They had refused to sing the Indonesian national anthem at the school's weekly flag-raising ceremony and so their Indonesian teachers, after physically assaulting them, called in the police.

"'It is so hard to be a Christian here,' said one Timorese priest. 'We know that we have to love our enemies, but how do we reconcile that with the hatred and bitterness we have endured over these years?'"

"Bishop Belo knows the church lives with danger. As we sat on the verandah of his house, he pointed out the intelligence agents posted constantly at the entrance to his garden. Although by nature and experience he is a cautious man, there was no hesitation in his response to my question as to what he considered the most important sign of support that the church outside East Timor could make. 'You must work to get the troops withdrawn.' Not an easy proposition in the face of indifference on a massive scale from the international community."

The army's casualty – who is he?

The Indonesian armed forces have their own casualty from the atrocity which killed and wounded hundreds of people at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on 12 November. His name is Major Gerhan Lantara, deputy-commander of *Linud* (airborne) Battalion 700 of the Wirabuana VII Military Command, based in Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi. Major Gerhan Lantara is now a hero, who suffered injuries at the hands of the 'rioters' demonstrating on the streets of Dili.

There are several versions of what happened. One has him in plain clothes, carrying a handy-talkie and monitoring the demonstration. The sight of Fretilin and Portuguese flags enraged him; when he tried to grab the flags, there was a scuffle and he was beaten by several youngsters. Another says he was stabbed with a knife while another says he was slashed with a parang, or sword. Whatever happened, he was spirited out of Dili the very next day.

Indonesian journalists found it quite hard to track him down. Some reports say he suffered slight stab wounds, others say he was mortally wounded. Most sources confirm that after being flown to Jakarta on 13 November, he was treated in the Gatot Subroto Army Hospital. Some journalists say, privately of course, that Gerhan, a keen motor-cyclist, was not wounded by demonstrators but sustained injuries when he fell from his motor-cycle in a collision. Whether true or not, the rumours reflect cynicism in some circles about the alleged victimisation of this hardened warrior.

An experienced Timor veteran

But what about his army career? This is described at length in the Jakarta weekly, *Editor* [23 November 1991]. Born in South Sulawesi, he is 35 years old. After graduating from the Military Academy in 1979, he was assigned to East Timor. As a cadet he fought many battles with Falintil, the armed wing of the East Timorese resistance. His tour of duty in East Timor lasted eight years, an unusually long period of service. East Timor is a tough assignment, a hardship post, and few officers stay there for any length of time. This makes Major Gerhan Lantara's career unique.

After being promoted from platoon commander to company commander he became commander of the Special Task Force for the Destruction of Fretilin known as the Comodo Company. Serving under Captain Gerhan was the young Lieutenant Prabowo, the future son-in-law of President Suharto. This company was responsible for the murder of Nicolau Lobato, the Fretilin leader, in December 1978.

After eight years in East Timor, Gerhan Lantara served in Bali and Bandung as a paratroop instructor. In October 1990 he was appointed deputy-commander of Battalion 700 in Ujung Pandang and four days later was assigned to go to East Timor on a special mission, to crush the East Timorese clandestine front. As the army knew, the strength of the Timorese resistance was shifting from armed resistance to popular resistance in the cities.

A special mission

Battalion 700 has a particularly notorious reputation in East Timor. Torture, murder and the rape of Timorese women are their hallmark. Some months ago the Timorese resistance smuggled documents abroad which had been captured from military intelligence. They disclosed that the army decided to crush the *Frente Clandestine*, the political resistance in Dili and other towns. It was the special mission of Major Gerhan Lantara and Battalion 700 to handle this operation. This explains why he was out in the street as the demonstrators made their way to the cemetery. A few days later, Battalion *Linud* 700 returned home from Dili harbour on troop carrier 503 but not before killing off dozens of detainees, arrested after the massacre, on 15 November.

Mission accomplished. ★

*** STOP PRESS ***

UN to investigate massacre

UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar announced in Madrid on 27 November that he plans to send a mission to East Timor to investigate the killing of an undetermined number of East Timorese by Indonesian troops this month.

"I have the necessary facilities from the Indonesian authorities 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 happened in East Timor," he told reporters. [*Associated Press*, 27.XI.1991]

As we went to press, nothing was known about the terms of reference or composition of the UN mission, nor how soon it would go. Speed is of the essence as well as an absolute guarantee that Timorese who testify to the UN would be safeguarded from reprisals after the mission ends its work. From Dili we heard on 27 November that Dili was petrified by roundups of people who would be forced to testify to Commission set up by Suharto. The commission was scheduled to start its work in Dili on 28 November.



Timorese students demonstrating outside the UN on 19 November.

East Timor: Australian roundup

Reactions to the killings in Dili have been by far the most powerful in Australia. Australia's policy of granting de jure recognition to Indonesia's integration of East Timor is now under severe strain. Here is a brief round-up of what happened in the first fortnight after the tragedy.

* Parliamentary inquiry

An Australian parliamentary committee will hold a public hearing into the East Timor shootings in a move expected to place new pressure on Canberra's relations with Jakarta.

The human rights subcommittee of the joint parliamentary committee on foreign affairs plans to hear evidence in the next two weeks from at least one witness to the tragedy and from Amnesty International and will collect written evidence from overseas. [*The Age*, 23.XI.1991]

* ALP caucus pressure on Hawke

A meeting of the ALP caucus in the Federal parliament on 26 November may force Prime Minister Hawke to bow to overwhelming pressure for a tougher approach towards Indonesia on the massacre. Some members pushed for military ties to be cut and Canberra's recognition of integration to be reviewed.

In a move 'likely to aggravate Jakarta', leaders of Australia's East Timorese community will be invited to Canberra for talks with Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans.

A visit to Indonesia next month by Industry Minister John Button is unlikely to take place. [*The Australian*, 26.XI.1991]

* Vigil closes down Darwin consulate

Indonesia's consulate in Darwin stands 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. Hundreds of candles have been lit and there is wax 10 centimetres deep at the base of a wooden cross blocking the front door of the consulate.

"The people are planning for it to be the first embassy for East Timor in Australia," said East Timor activist, Rob Wesley-Smith. "If that does not happen, we will try to keep it closed for ever." [*The Age*, 25.XI.1991]

* Victoria ALP Foreign Affairs Committee resolution

The Victoria Labour Party Foreign Affairs Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on 20 November calling on the Australian government:

- to withdraw recognition of East Timor integration into Indonesia,
- to stop training Indonesian troops and arms sales to Indonesia,
- to cancel the Prime Minister's 1992 visit to Indonesia,
- to demand a UN-supervised withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor,
- to facilitate talks without pre-conditions between East Timor, Indonesia and Portugal,
- to demand a UN-supervised act of self-determination in East Timor,
- to demand a genuine international inquiry into the

massacre, under UN supervision. [Original document]

* Protests everywhere

About 700 gathered outside the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne on 15 November. They were addressed by Shirley Shackleton whose journalist husband, Greg, was murdered by Indonesian troops in October 1976.



Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, Indonesia's best buddy.

In Perth, 80 people, including Timorese and Latin Americans angrily picketed the Indonesian consulate. Further actions are planned.

In Sydney, there were actions at Garuda Airlines or the consulate every day from 13-16 November, ending in a 1,000-strong memorial service for the victims on 16 November.

In Canberra on 13 November, a largely Timorese crowd of around 300 was addressed by Senator Sid Spindler, Warren Snowdon MP, ACFOA secretary-general Russell Rollason, Ken Fry and others.

In Brisbane, a 200-strong rally called on the Australian government to end military ties with Indonesia. The protest ended at Garuda Airlines office.

In Adelaide, some 300 gathered outside the Garuda office on 16 November, addressed by state MPs and members of the East Timorese community.

Further actions are planned for 7 December, the anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975. [Greenleft Weekly, 19.XI.1991]

* Trade unionists take direct action

Melbourne dockworkers are refusing to handle Indonesia ships. Union members will not handle any ship carrying the Indonesian flag and other ships carrying Indonesian imports face 24-hour delays. [Radio Australia, 17(?)XI.1991] Wharfies in Sydney are taking similar action.

Victorian unions have outlined a comprehensive campaign against Garuda Airlines and telecommunications services to Indonesian business and diplomatic interests. [The Australian, 26.XI.1991]

* Canberra embassy picketed

The Indonesia embassy in Canberra today lodged a protest with the Australian Foreign Ministry, asking that a situation enabling the embassy to carry out its routine activities be restored immediately. Employees of the Post and Telegraph Agency have failed to deliver letters and goods to the embassy, said ambassador Sabam Siagaan. [Antara News Agency, Jakarta, 19.XI.1991]

* Alice Springs residents to send team to East Timor
The residents of Alice Springs have proposed to church groups, trade unions, aid groups, aboriginal groups and human rights organisations that an independent non-Government group of observers travel to Dili. 1. To observe the activities of the Indonesian authorities investigating the massacre. 2. To provide independent non-Government information to the Australian people about the situation. 3. To monitor any continuing abuse of human rights.

* Suspend Garuda access

The Australian United Church has called on the Federal Government to suspend Garuda International Airlines' access to Australian airports. [The Australian, 26.XI.1991]

* Australian Amnesty presses government

AI's Andre Frankovits in Australia has called on Canberra to press for an international investigation of the massacre. Publishing the names of 59 people dead or missing after the bloodbath, he expressed concern that Indonesian military personnel who had served in East Timor had been trained in Australia, with "more than a score" of Indonesian soldiers here now. [AFP, 25.XI.1991] ★

International jurists platform

An *International Platform of Jurists on East Timor* was set up in Lisbon at a conference of jurists from 8 - 10 November 1991. Jurists have a specific and important role in resolving the question of East Timor and ensuring that law and justice are the guidelines, the founding document said.

The Platform aims to do all within its power, by investigation, analysis and debate, to contribute to the recognition of the de jure right of the East Timorese people to achieve self-determination and live in peace and security. It will make representations to international organisations concerning human rights violations. It will set up a database on juridical issues concerning East Timor as well as a computerised bibliography of materials. It will also promote research and publications concerning East Timor and disseminate such papers widely.

More than fifty jurists from fifteen countries, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, India, Macau, Nepal, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom and the USA attended the meeting. Among those present were Roger Clark of Rutgers Law School, Ian Scobbie of the University of Dundee, Joao Loff Barreto, a Lisbon attorney, Professor Fausto de Quadros of the University of Lisbon, Michael van Walt van Praag of UNPO, Joost Kooijmans, a jurist from Leiden, Manuel Tilman, an attorney from Macao, Professor Maureen Davies of the University of Carleton, Ottawa, and Professor Garth Nettheim of the University of New South Wales. Pedro Pinto Leite, a Portuguese jurist based in Leiden was elected as the Secretary-General of the Platform. ★



Pedro Pinto Leite (left), the convenor of the conference and Jose Ramos Horta (right), CNRM representative.

Timorese students in Indonesia rounded up

On 19 November, a week after the Santa Cruz massacre, 80 East Timorese students went to the UN office in Jakarta to deliver a statement by the National Movement of East Timorese Students in Indonesia. They were not able to enter the building, but four handed in their document. As they made their way to several embassies, police anti-riot squads roughed them up and arrested almost everyone.

The petition to the UN said:

We East Timor Nationalist Students in Indonesia, in our own name and in the name of all Heroes who have been killed by Indonesian military assassins in the last 16 years, and in particular, our brethren who were cruelly and inhumanely killed en masse on November 12 1991, ask the United Nations:

1. To maintain continuous pressure on Indonesia so that effective measures can be taken to implement UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions recognising the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination and independence.

According to these resolutions, Indonesia has no right to try and to condemn East Timor nationalists who have arduously fought for their right to self-determination and Independence.

2. To exert strong political, economic and military pressures on Jakarta as happened with Iraq;

3. To demand that Indonesia respect the fundamental rights of the East Timorese People and their identity as a people and a nation;

4. To demand that Indonesia immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its repressive apparatus, military as well as bureaucratic, from East Timor.

5. To call on the Portuguese Government as the Administering Power to co-operate fully with the United Nations to create the conditions for the people of East Timor to enjoy freely their right to self-determination and independence;

6. Finally, we vehemently protest against the GENOCIDE barbarously perpetrated by the Indonesia army on 12th November 1991. We ask the UN General Assembly and the Security Council to take urgent and effective measures to safeguard the lives of all Timorese nationalists, particularly, political prisoners;

7. We ask the UN and the Indonesian Parliament to grant safe-conduct to safeguard the personal security of all Timorese Nationalist Students who are under coercive resistance in Indonesia.

Incommunicado for 7 days

The 70 detainees were taken to the Jakarta police command. Despite efforts by lawyers of the Legal Aid Institute to visit them, they were without contact for seven days. On 26 November, lawyers met Jose Antonio Loyola, a student at the Bandung Institute of Technology, and Gabriel Antonio, a student in Bandung. They also met separately with Jose Freitas Camara who was isolated from the rest and under special investigation by police intelligence.

The lawyers were told that 49 detainees would be released, after 'being given guidance'. It is understood that



Anti-riot squads manhandling Timorese demonstrator.

some of the students will be charged under articles 154 and 155 of the Criminal Code.

Students arrested in Bali and Yogyakarta

On 24 November, six East Timorese students were arrested in Bali and nine in Yogyakarta. The six in Bali are: **Fernando Araujo, Clemente Soares, Jose Paolo, Jose Pompeia Sandanhu Ribeiro, Antonio Matos and Joaquim**. Several were named earlier this year in an army intelligence document as members of the student organisation, *Renetil*. They were said to be under close surveillance, suspected of keeping contact with embassies, journalists and overseas human rights organisations.

Six of the nine arrested in Yogyakarta have been named as: **Jose Luis, Elidio, Diometrio, Rogerio, Flavio and Pedrito**. ★

On 27 November, **Jose Paulo da Silva and Joaquim Costa da Freitas** were released. The home of **Fernando Araujo** was extensively searched after his arrest.



Demonstration on 12 November heading towards Santa Cruz cemetery, Photo: Stephen Cox

Stephen Cox meets the press

British photographer Stephen Cox, whose photo we reproduce above, addressed a TAPOL press conference in the House of Commons on 19 November. The press conference was chaired by Ann Clwyd, MP, Opposition Spokesperson for Overseas Development and attended by other MPs. BBC Radio 4 interviewed Stephen Cox, Ann Clwyd MP, Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, and Michael Leifer of the London School of Economics, for that evening's World Tonight programme.

Parliamentary motions

Two Early Day Motions have been tabled in Parliament condemning the Santa Cruz massacre.

An all-party motion [No 232], sponsored by 4 Conservative MPs, 1 Labour MP and 1 Scottish Nationalist MP, reads:

That this House condemns the shocking killing of over 200 innocent and peaceful demonstrators on 12 November 1991 in Dili, East Timor, by soldiers and police of the Indonesian armed forces; recalls that almost a third of the civilian population of this unlawfully seized territory have suffered a similar terrible fate at Indonesian hands since 1976; and calls upon the United Nations to take the necessary measures to investigate this latest tragic massacre and prevent further repetitions in the future, and to request the Indonesian authorities to introduce a plan for East Timor's self-determination.

Tabled on 21 November, the motion had a total of 35 signatures from all sides of the House by 26 November.

Call for arms embargo against Indonesia

Another Early Day Motion [No 187], tabled by six Labour MPs on 18 November, had gathered 79 signatures by 26 November. It reads:

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

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