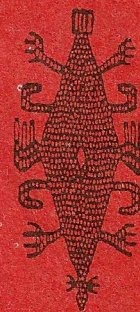


MAUBERE

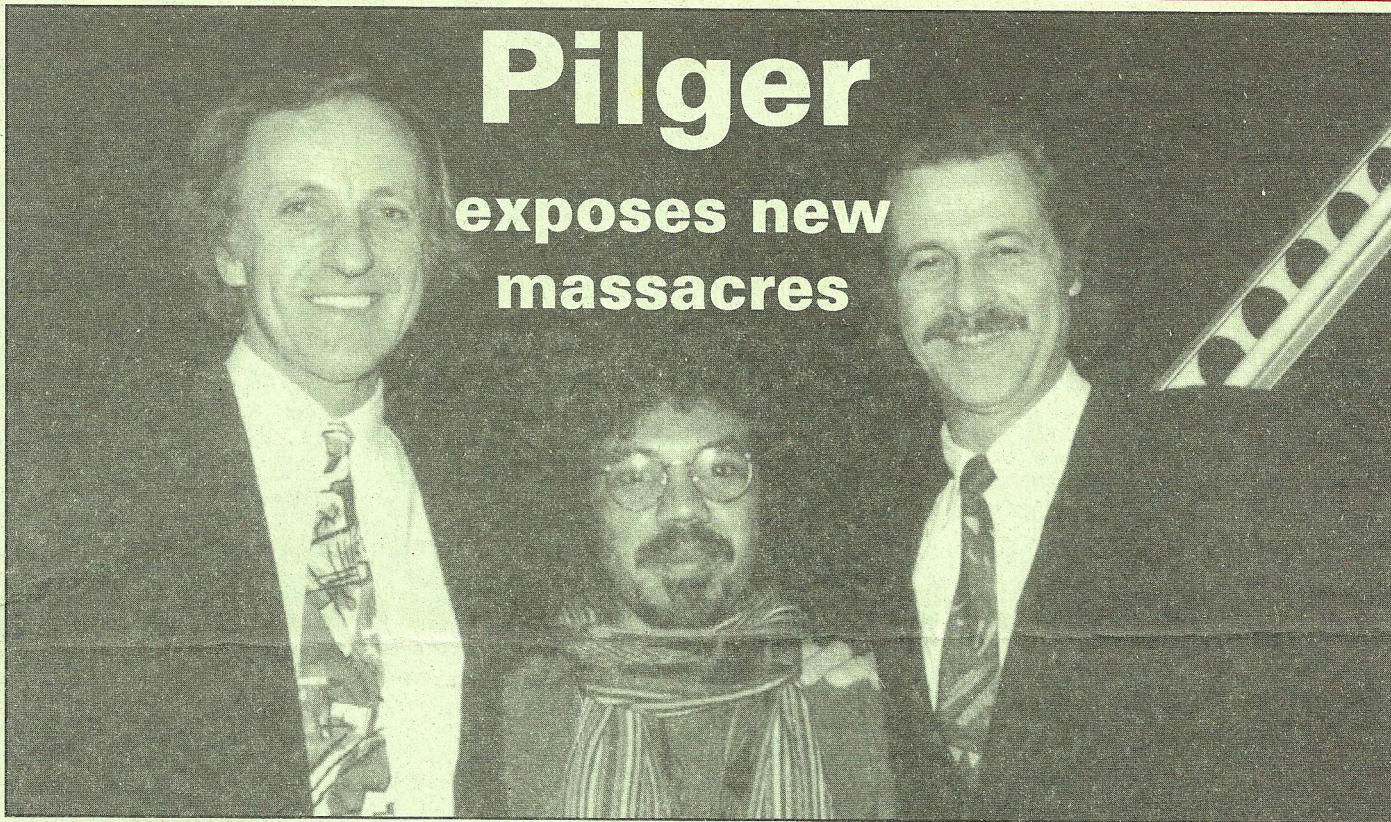


Newsletter of East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign

210 Le Fanu Road, Ballyfermot, Dublin 10. Tel/Fax: 623 3148

No. 5

Pilger exposes new massacres



John Pilger, Estevao Cabral (Timorese Refugee), David Munro. Photo: Peter E. Smith.

In what can only be described as a remarkable piece of investigative journalism, John Pilger has uncovered evidence of previous unreported massacres in East Timor. In the documentary film "Death of a Nation, The Timor Conspiracy", Pilger and his producer David Munro, unearthed eyewitness accounts that survivors of the by now infamous Santa Cruz Massacre were themselves killed at the Indonesian military hospital. The final death toll is now put at over 450 East Timorese.

It is now clear that many western governments including Australia, Britain, and the United States decided that the people of East Timor were expendable and not to interfere in the trading relations with the Indonesian military dictatorship. Without doubt their governments knew of the Indonesian regimes intention to invade East Timor and chose not to oppose this violation of International Law and also the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The role of Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, the then US Ambassador to the United Nations, makes chilling reading. Moynihan candidly admits "The United States wished things to turn out as they did, and worked to bring this about. The US desired that the United Nations proved utterly ineffective in whatever measure it undertook. This task was given to me and I carried it

forward with no inconsiderable success". The role of the then US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, also makes clear his complicity in the East Timor tragedy. In declassified documents, Kissinger clearly shows that he knew what was happening and expresses concern that the US Congress would find out and blame could be attributed to him.

The role of the British government is a cause for major concern. The fact that Her Majesty's Government is now a supporter of international terrorism must send shock waves through the entire British establishment. Despite testimony that British arms were used, and are still being used, to suppress a defenceless people, the UK government seeks to avoid any criticism of the Indonesian military dictatorship. Indeed as we go to press, the British government is seeking ways to support General's Suharto's regime at the upcoming UN Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva.

Australia which shouted so loudly over Saddam's invasion of Kuwait is shown to be guilty of an act of international piracy in dividing up the Timor oil fields with Indonesia. The Australian Foreign Ministers reference to the Santa Cruz massacre as an "abberation" whilst drinking champagne with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, must send shivers down the spine of all of us who value freedom.

Editorial

John Pilger is to be congratulated on his recent documentary which shows how Western powers conspired to hand over a defenceless people to one of the most brutal and barbaric regimes in the world. It is frightening to think that a dictator who came to power on the blood of up to 1 million innocent Indonesian people, can be shielded from criticism or indeed being brought to trial, for his crimes not just against the people of East Timor but also those against the Indonesian people.

If the terms of reference of the Nurembourg War Crimes Tribunal were to be put in place not only would General Suharto be in the dock but he would be joined by his co-conspirators from Australia, Britain and the United States, to name but a few. But we live in a world dominated by the interests of the big and the powerful and any hope of such a thing happening is remote to say the least.

It may not be well known that when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, he said that there was a precedent to his action. This precedent he said did not unleash the full outrage of the western media or indeed the enormous resources that were used in Operation Desert Storm. This precedent was of course the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor. What he also misunderstood was the fact that the West had sided with the aggressor and Australia would divide up the spoils with Indonesia.

Appeal

We recognise that many of our friends and supporters who receive Maubere have already taken out membership of the Campaign but are at present "feeling the pinch". If you have not become a member of ETISC why not think about doing it today?

As a voluntary organisation we run on a shoe string at the best of times.....and these are not the best of times! If any of our supporters are in the position to help us by making a donation of any size we would be most grateful.

We know that our supporters are very good to us and we feel embarrassed at having to make this appeal but at the moment we are under enormous financial pressure. We have reached the stage that our present economic situation is effecting our capability to work on behalf of the people of East Timor.

Please help us and the people of East Timor if you can.

We thank you for your continued support.

However, Pilger has put the issue of the continuing illegal occupation of East Timor and the enormous loss of life very firmly back on the international agenda. This is a welcome move, not only for the people of East Timor but also for the many people who have spent the last 18 years trying to keep this issue alive. Since the formation of our campaign, I have met many people who have selflessly devoted their time and efforts to ensure that the people of this small country are protected from the excesses of a brutal colonial regime. For many of them it has not been easy. Shirley Shackleton, whose journalist husband was murdered by the Indonesian army, is an example of the determination and commitment of one individual to seeing that justice is done. Many East Timorese refugees themselves devote all their time and effort to raise awareness about what can only be described as the worlds largest concentration camp.

We are all challenged to respond to the cries for help from our sisters and brothers in East Timor. We can no longer ignore the fact over 200,000 of them have died. We can no longer ignore the fact that if they protest against the occupation of their country, the next day they will be murdered. If at the end of the 20th century, we are to ignore the rights of the small and the weak in the interests of the big and the powerful, if the principles of international law are to be set aside, then what hope can there be for all of us? The case of East Timor has implications for us all. We as Europeans can never allow our governments to arm the bully, to rob the resources of the small, to shield and protect the aggressor for if we do not speak against it, our silence will also make us conspirators to the very same crime.

Membership Form

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- ☐ £4 Unwaged
- ☐ More information on East Timor

Please return to: 210 Le Fanu Road, Ballyfermot,
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Stop the Hawk Deal

Focus on BAe

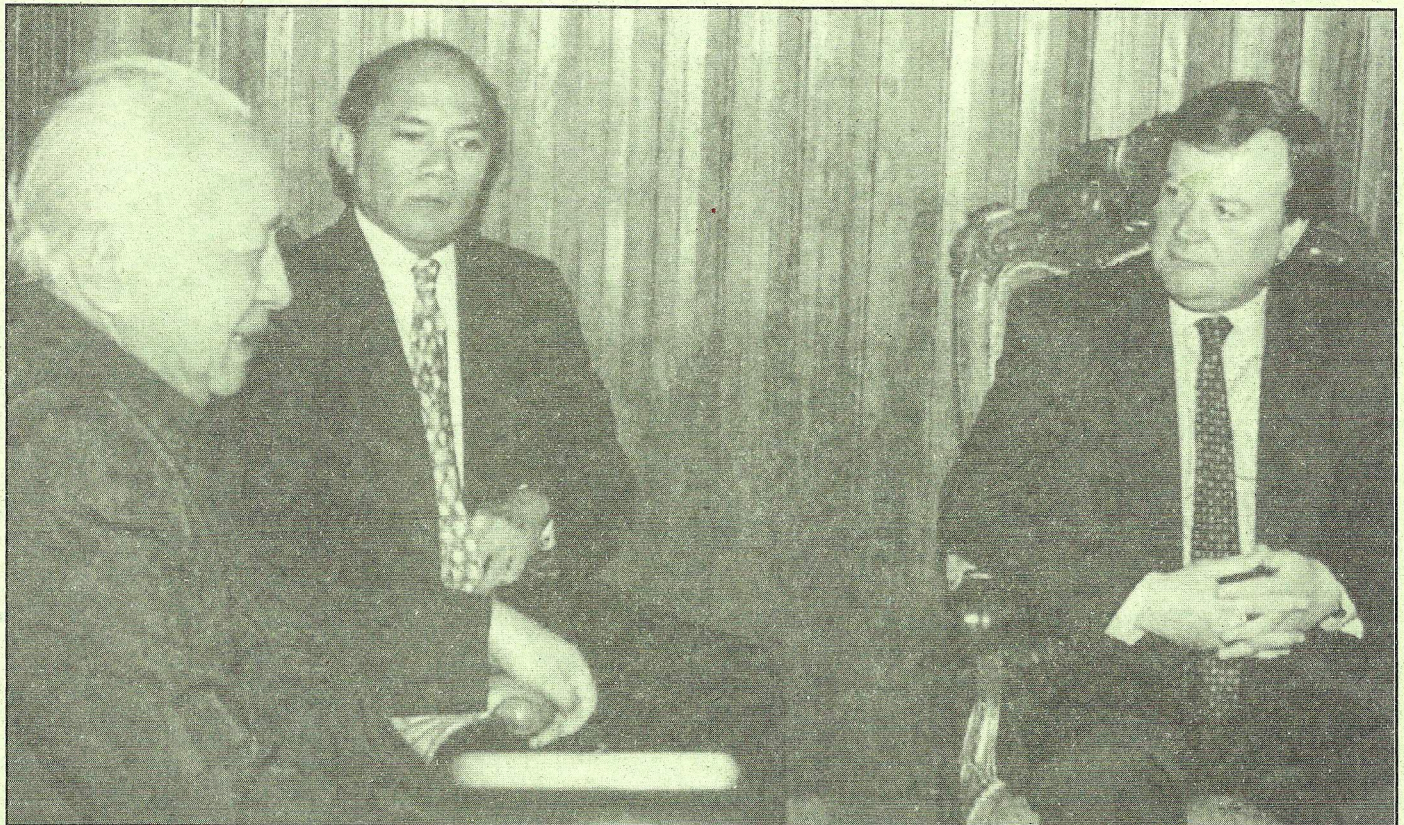
British Aerospace (BAe) is Europe's largest manufacturer of weaponry, with military sales remaining steady at about 4 billion per year. Around 75% of these sales come from exports orders mostly to the Middle and Far East. British Aerospace is in fact a huge multinational which is involved in civil aerospace, construction, and car manufacturing as well as weapon manufacturing. However, even the civil side of the company has become involved in military business, with the construction arm building military bases and runways, and the wholly-owned car manufacture, Rover, building Land Rover and other military vehicles.

British Aerospace (Defence) Ltd. is the umbrella structure for the military side of the business. The main subsidiaries within it are Military Aircraft, Dynamics and Royal Ordnance. There are also several dozen other, smaller, specialist subsidiaries. Military Aircraft builds, unsurprisingly, war-planes and the headquarters of this division is at Warton, near Preston. It has three main "products" at the moment: Tornado, Hawk and the Eurofighter. Dynamics is BAe's missile division and has a product list running into the hundreds. It has several sites scattered around the country, but the main ones are at Stevenage in Hertfordshire and Lostock near Bolton. Royal Ordnance is the company's ammunition

and explosives manufacturer with its main sites in Chorley and Nottingham. as well as producing weaponry as diverse as grenades and bombers, BAe also provides services to military forces around the world. These range from training of overseas military personnel to overhauling and refurbishing warheads.

The Hawk Aircraft A little bit of History

Indonesia's first deal with British Aerospace (BAe) for 8 Hawk aircraft was signed in 1978, when Indonesia's war with East Timor was at its height. By 1984, 20 Hawks have been commissioned into the Indonesian air force. The most recent deal, to sell a further 24 Hawk aircraft (8 Hawk 2-seater 100's and 16 Hawk 1-seater 200's) was announced in June 1993. The deal is worth £500 million for BAe. These aircraft are due for delivery in 1996. Further, on 6th December 1993, the Indonesian air force was given the official go-ahead to discuss buying 16 more Hawk aircraft from BAe. Jane's Defence Weekly reported on 9th January 1993 that Indonesia plans long term to buy up to 144 Hawk combat aircraft to replace aging squadrons.



British Chancellor of Exchequer Kenneth Clark, right listens to Indonesian President Suharto during their meeting at the Presidential office.

Lies, lies and more lies

Ever since the first deal to sell Hawks to Indonesia, BAe and successive British governments have claimed that the exported Hawks were for training purposes only. In April 1978, however, BAe pointed out in a press release that "the Hawk has been designed from the outset with a significant ground attack capability. Where Hawks have been acquired in the training version only... they can be modified on site to the five pylon ground attack standard". In January '85, their potential was admitted, when Indonesian Airforce Chief of Staff Marshall Sukardi announced that the Hawks were serving in Indonesia's new Air Force Squadron "for purposes of advanced training and tactical combat". In relation to the 1993 Hawk deal, Indonesian Minister of Research and Technology Dr. Habibie announced that "the planes will be used not only to train pilots but also for ground attacks" (The Times, 18th April '93).

Eye Witness

In 1991, Baroness Lynda Chalker was asked about the government's monitoring of arms sales to Indonesia. She admitted that "it is not practical to monitor their use once they have reached their destinations". This is evident from the eye witness account given by Mr Dias, an East Timorese who was recently on a speaking tour in Britain. Mr Dias testified to the Home Office that he had seen Hawk fighter planes at the Baukau military base in occupied East Timor in 1984. "There, I can personally confirm, I saw Hawk aircraft loaded with bombs" he stated on November 12th '93. This is verified in more detail in Ramos Horta's book, Funu, where he states that "a number of Hawk ground - attack aircraft have been used in East Timor. The Baukau International Airport, closed to civilian traffic and off - limits even to friendly foreign visitors, is the base for British Hawk aircraft....." It is well within the capability of the Hawk aircraft to negotiate the mountainous regions of East Timor, the mountains being the location of the freedom fighters, struggling for independence.

Profits before lives

Mr Dias's testimony flies in the face of repeated government assurances that British equipment is not used against the civilian population of East Timor, and makes the British government's approval of the 1993BAe sale of 24 more Hawks all the more controversial. The British government, which grants licenses for the sale of military equipment to Indonesia, is clearly at pains to protect BAe contracts and so disregards the consequences of exporting warplanes to an aggressor state.

Suggested Actions;

Write to any of the following expressing concern over Hawks to Indonesia.

British Ambassador D.E.S. Blatherwick	British Aerospace PO Box 87	Rt. Hon. John Major Prime Minister
British Embassy 33 Merrion Road Dublin 4	Farnborough House Farnborough GU14 6YU	10 Downing Street London



Protest at British Aerospace, Warton, Lancs. Feb 23rd 1994.

4 TH ANNUAL

FR. PETER LEMASS

MEMORIAL WALK

TO SUPPORT PROJECTS IN

RWANDA AND ECUADOR

Led by

FR. JIM O HALLORAN

FROM

SEAN Mc DERMOTT STREET CHURCH

TO

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DATE: SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1994

TIME: 2pm

Organised by **Afri**

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The following gives an insight into the minds of those who negotiate the sale of weapons to the oppressive regimes. John Pilger interviews Alan Clark who as defence procurement minister under Margaret Thatcher was responsible for the sale of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia in the deal that recently came to fruition. Pilger put it to Clark that ministers talked about guarantees from the Indonesians that the Hawks would not be used in East Timor. He asked what exactly these guarantee were. "Well I never asked for a guarantee, a guarantee is worthless from any government as far as I'm concerned".

JP: Shouldn't the public be cynical about all this after what happened over Iraq? Shouldn't the public be cynical about assurances, guidelines, and the denials from government about the sales of arms?

AC: Well, I don't know what you mean by the public, but I don't think that the majority of people give a damn about it. Unless those weapons are going to be used against our own troops.

JP: But its the assumption that the public doesn't give a damn that allows ministers and officials to deceive; isn't that correct?

AC: Why should they want to deceive if the public doesn't give a damn?

JP: In your view are there categories of arms that should never be sold?

AC: Yes. Nuclear, ballistic missile technology, chemical/biological precursors, and the like. But in the conventional arms market-place, as far as I'm concerned, its open season.

JP: you have said that where a regime is oppressively outrageous, as the gassing of children is, an arms supplier should back off. Do you consider the mass slaughter of children in East Timor oppressively outrageous?

AC: Do you mean lined up in front of a ditch?

JP: Yes. One of the examples used is of children and their mothers being burnt alive in a house, trapped there and burnt by Indonesians. What's the difference?

AC: I think gassing is dreadful. Its one of those techniques that actually breaks through one's protective indifference and is upsetting. But the other things that you mentioned.... they just occur in combat or violent occupation situations.

JP: I'm still not sure of the difference. Why is gassing any worse than shooting, burning or torturing?

AC: I can't tell. There's something about it that deeply offends one's natural instinct, I suppose. It's a difference

threshold of violence. The other things, the example you've given....I'm not familiar with the situation in East Timor....I mean you can look anywhere, so what's all this about East Timor suddenly?

A billion or something! I mean, if you want to rush around and say gosh, look how dreadful this is, whatever it is, you won't have any problems. British military equipment is being used in Sri Lanka. We don't live in an ideal world.

JP: The fact remains that British aircraft kill and maim people in East Timor, and the government allows the sales of them on flimsy assurances that they won't be used there.

AC: Flimsy, No. I mean, they are given in proper diplomatic context. (But) I attach very little value to such assurances.

JP: Isn't all this , in broad terms, about the right of a small country not to be invaded by a larger neighbour.

AC: Yeah, but they weren't British, were they?

JP: That makes a difference?

AC: Of course it makes a difference.

JP: The Indonesian regime has perhaps one of the bloodiest records of the 20th century.

AC: Well that's a very competitive sphere.

JP: This regime has competed well in the league.

AC: Has it? There's Stalin, Pol Pot and others.

JP: In East Timor it has killed more people proportionately than Pol Pot killed in Cambodia. Isn't that ever a consideration for the British government?

AC: It's not something that often enters mythinking, I must admit.

JP: Why is that?

AC: My responsibility is to my own people. I don't really fill my mind much with what one set of foreigners is doing to another.

JP: Did it bother you personally when you were the minister responsible (and) that British equipment was causing such suffering, albeit to a set of foreigners?

AC: No, not in the slightest. It never entered my head.

JP: You don't loose sleep over it?

AC: No.

JP: I ask the question because I read that you were a vegetarian and you are seriously concerned about the way animals are killed.

AC: Yeah.

JP: Doesn't that concern extend to the way humans, albeit foreigners, are killed.

AC: Curiously not.

We reprint below the testimony of two East Timorese who were present when the wounded victims of the Santa Cruz massacre were taken to the military hospital in Dili. These statements were made at the UN Human Rights Commission in April, 1994.

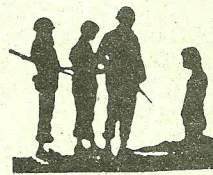
Joao Antonio Dias

I am Joao Antonio Dias, now 26 years old, a survivor of the worst nightmare of my life. I worked as a paramedic in the military hospital in Dili and was witness to the killing of wounded young East Timorese who survived the first massacre on 12 November 1991, at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

The hospital was surrounded by large numbers of elements of 744 Battalion, 433 Kostrad, the mobile Brigade, Military police and intelligence, preventing anyone from leaving the hospital ground.. Between 50 and 200 wounded people were taken there.

I saw with my own eyes how Indonesian security forces used rocks to crush the skulls of wounded people. I saw army trucks crushing to death many wounded students lying on the ground outside the hospital. I saw with my own eyes how Indonesian security forces used lethal pills to poison the wounded. The Indonesians first wanted to inject the wounded with sulphuric acid. But I heard them argue with each other that this would cause a lot of pain and the victims would scream too much. They then asked the doctors for some pills. The doctors brought a jar of pills which were then given to some of the wounded. The victims started to lose strength, breathing became weaker and (they) died quickly.

Indonesian doctors cooperated in the killing and I name Dr Nyoman Winyata, the director of the hospital, Dr Banban, and several other Indonesian doctors who spent six-month duty in East Timor. Nurses Joao Kota and Yohanes also took part in the killing.



Aviono Antonio Faria

I am Aviono Antonio Faria, 23 years old, a survivor of the Santa Cruz massacre and of the second massacre the same day in the military hospital. I was taken to the hospital from the Santa Cruz cemetery. I was among the wounded people taken to the hospital. We were piled up in trucks, dead and wounded. We were then loaded like cargo, thrown on the dirt ground and then taken into the mortuary. I was there, next to the bodies piled up on each other. I pretended to be dead, but when the soldiers locked the room and left, I stood up to identify some friends. Many were alive.

I saw so many young girls and boys severely wounded, but many alive. Some 15 to 20 minutes later, two soldiers came carrying a rock which one of them used to crush the skull of those who were alive. The other used his gun to hit our heads. I pretended I was dead. Then suddenly the one carrying the rock was going to aim at me when I stood up. He was surprised. I told him not to kill me because I was an informer and was taken there by mistake. However, he still used the gun butt to hit my head and fracture it. Then they took me inside the hospital where there were already so many women. I was the only man in that particular room. They told me they had all been raped.

After two months in the hospital, I was forced to sign a statement to work as an informer which I did in order to save my life.

Myself and Joao Antonio Dias fled our country because in the last few months, Indonesian security forces have orchestrated another terror campaign of assassination. Using silencers, Indonesian security elements are assassinating young East Timorese in dark alleys.

Parliamentarians meet Boutros-Ghali

Four members of Parliamentarians for East Timor met UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York on 3 February 1994 to discuss the question of East Timor. They were: Lord Avebury (UK), Senator John Dardis (Ireland), Ingela Martensson (Sweden) and John Langmore (Australia).

The mission handed a Memo to the Secretary-General calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the holding of a referendum in East Timor. The Memo also proposed that the UN set up a commission to study the events leading to Indonesia's invasion and annexation of the territory.

Dr Boutros-Ghali said he would consider the idea but felt it might be seen as 'confrontational'.



A number of people have contacted ETISC expressing dismay at responses, to their enquiries, from the British Embassy in Dublin. The main points are dealt with below.

B.E.: "It is wrong to suggest that the widespread abuses of human rights persist in East Timor..."

FACT: "The perpetrators of human rights violence (in East Timor), enjoy virtual immunity...torture is practiced routinely".

(Report to the UN Human Rights Commission)

In East Timor, detention, torture, ill-treatment of political opponents, political killings and 'disappearances', long-term political imprisonment after unfair trials, and the intimidation of human rights workers (have) continued unabated". (Amnesty International)

B.E.: "The military commanders accused of excesses at Dili were put on trial".

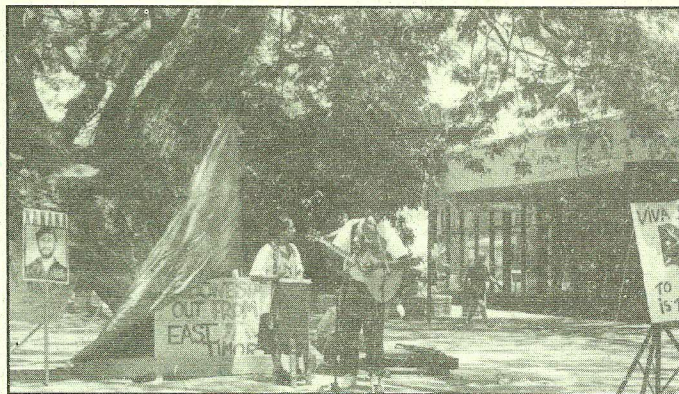
FACT: Following the Dili massacre, ten low-ranking officers were given a few months detention, including one who served his "sentence" on a holiday in Bali.

Immediately after the massacre, Indonesia's top military commander, General Try Sutrisno, boasted that: "if people make trouble for us, they will be shot and we will shoot them". He has since been elevated to vice-president of Indonesia and is a possible successor to Suharto. In contrast, eight Timorese who survived the massacre were given sentences ranging from five years to life for the crime of taking part in a peaceful demonstration.

B.E.: "We are encouraging Indonesia to live up to its human rights obligations".

FACT: There is not the slightest evidence to support this, but a great deal to support the opposite. In June last year, Foreign Office officials deliberately misled critics of Indonesia into believing that the government was pushing for International Red Cross access to political prisoners in East Timor. A "restricted access" telex from the British Embassy in Jakarta advised the opposite: that "pressure from outside would contribute little".

Six days after this was received, foreign Office minister, Alastair Goodlad, wrote to Labour MP Greg Pope saying that the Embassy was currently pressing the Indonesians to allow resumed ICRC access to Xanana Gusmao" and other political prisoners. A later version of the same letter, repeated the same deception. An internal Foreign Office memo attached to both the telex and the second letter read: "The letter is for Stonewalling".



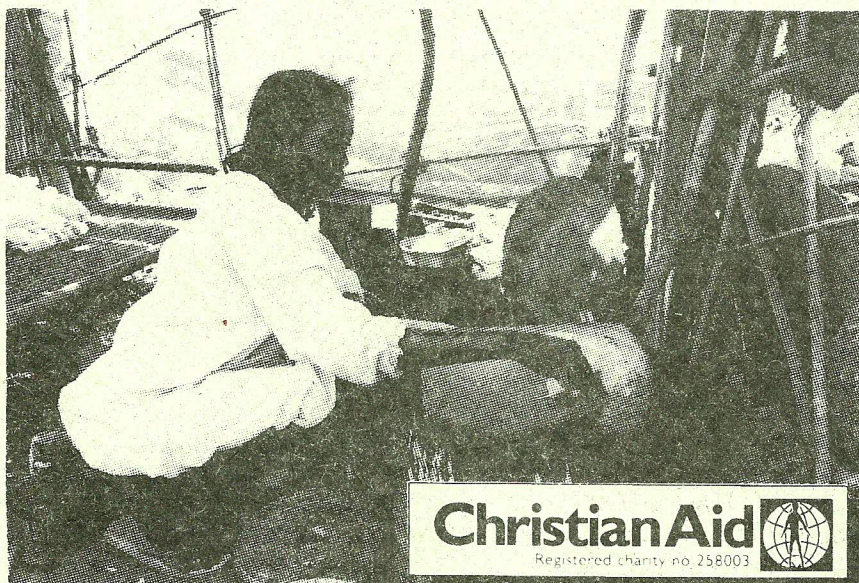
Timorese performance in Raintree Park in Darwin's city centre on 2nd anniversary of November 12 Dili Massacre. 12-11-93

B.E.: "There is no evidence to support allegations, that Hawk aircraft...are being used for repression purposes against the people of East Timor".

FACT: Jose Gusamo, a Timorese now exiled in Australia stated: "I watched a Hawk attack on a village in the mountains. It used its guns and dropped incendiary bombs. The Hawk is quite different from the US planes; it has a particular nose. You can tell it anywhere".

Jose Amorin, now exiled in Holland, stated: "The Hawks have a terrible sound when they are coming in to bomb."

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Dublin 6 Ph: 01 4966184**

Four of my cousins were killed in Hawk attacks near Los Palos. Most people in East Timor know about the British Hawks."

Jose Amorin, came to London in November 1993 and presented his evidence to a senior official at the Foreign Office. "He could give me no categorical assurance that the Hawks were not being used in East Timor", he said.

B.E.: "The Hawks that Indonesia has are two-seater trainers".

FACT: British Aerospace's own literature, used for promotion in Indonesia, says the Hawks have been "designed from the outset with a significant ground attack capability".

Jakarta's weapons chief, BJ Habbiie says the Hawks "will be used not only to train pilots, but for ground attack".

The independent Centre for Defense Information in Washington describes the Hawks as "ideal counter-insurgency aircraft, designed to be used against guerrillas who come from among civilian populations and have no adequate means of response against air attack".

B.E.: "HMG...has an assurance from the Indonesian government that (the Hawks) will not be used against civilians. We have not reason to doubt these".

FACT: There is every reason to doubt them. There is Amnesty's assessment that few other regimes "are so casual about mass murder". And the last British minister to negotiate a major Hawks deal with Jakarta, Alan Clark, has said that such an assurance "is worthless from any government".

B.E.: "The government would not license for export any defence equipment likely to be used for internal repression".

FACT: In response to a letter from Alex Palmer asking if the government "has ever approved any form of British military equipment... to be situated in East Timor", the Ministry of Defence wrote: "The siting of equipment, once purchased, is a matter for the purchasing country".

B.E.: "(The Hawks) were delivered in the early to mid-1980's - too late to have been used in the bombing raids that followed the 1975 invasion".

FACT: The Hawks went almost straight into service in East Timor. The first were sighted at the air force base at Baucau in 1984 by Jose Amorin. During the 1980's, they have been used in the Matabian mountains. Last year, another eyewitness, Koni Satana, the resistance leader, said: "The British-made Hawks have been used against the population, often bombing on a daily basis".

B.E.: "Under the UN Charter, all Sovereign States have the right to their own self-defence. So there is nothing wrong with selling arms to friendly countries to allow them defend themselves. Indonesia is no exception".

FACT: Letters from persistent members of the public asking the Foreign Office to name those countries that in any way threaten the security of Indonesia have gone unanswered. One writer has inquired how 700,000 East Timorese can threaten the fourth largest nation on earth. Again, this has not been answered.

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STOP PRESS

As we go to press Tom Hyland and one of our Nobel Peace Laureate Patrons Mairead Maguire have decided to defy a ban on their attending the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor to be held in Manila. The conference was due to be taking place between 31 May and 5 June in the University of the Philippines.

At this time we are unsure as to what action the Filipino government will take in response to the decision of our two delegates to break the exclusion order. We will inform members of developments.

ETISC thanks those who sponsored the air-fares.