

11/11/95  
5 ET'se in BRIT EMBASSY 9/95

① T.J. Temotio

I am Temotio Jose Fernandes, native of Asalaino, Fui Loro, Los Palos and born on 25 May 1972. My parents are Felicidade and Afonso Jose Fernandes, both of whom were killed by the Indonesian occupying forces in Los Palos, along with many other members of my immediate family. I was raised by a Belgian priest in the Don Bosco orphanage of Los Palos. During my time in the orphanage I and the Priests were constantly intimidated by the Indonesian Armed Forces, the excuse being that the orphanage was a well known refuge for children of Fretilin resistance fighters.

After leaving the orphanage, I continued my studies at the SMA Negeri II in Dili. Even in the capital I was not free of persecution by the military who would come regularly to the school and make demands upon the Headmaster, Drs HMR Soemardjo to expel me for being the child of an anti-Indonesian Fretilin fighter.

In 1990 in Dili I was kidnapped by ABRI at night, was beaten, had my face burnt, my hair pulled out of my head and the palms of my hands slashed. This experience strengthened my resolve to actively engage in activities aimed at guaranteeing the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and to be free of Indonesian barbarity. These were some of my activities:

- In 1990 I was appointed Sabalae's courier, operating between the areas of Lospalos- Larimau.

- On 12 November 1991 I took part in the procession which moved from Motael church to the Santa Cruz cemetery.

- On 17 November 1994 I participated in the demonstration at Dili Cathedral.

- On 15 August 1995 on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition in Los Palos to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence, I was tortured and almost killed by Indonesia's Special Territorial (Red Beret) Forces. I managed to flee and escaped to the jungle where I lived amongst the guerillas for one week. After that I made my way to Dili and from there fled to Jakarta (I have been here for approximately one month) where I am now seeking political asylum. My reasons and specific demands are as follows:

\* That the UN demand the immediate release of our leader, Xanana Gusmao, in order that he be permitted to participate in dialogue on the future of East Timor with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Even if Indonesia were to exterminate all of the young people of East Timor, I am convinced that this will not be the end of the struggle and that it will be continued by future generations.

2)

Name: Antonio Baptista Sequira  
Date of Birth: Dili, 13/4/71  
Father's name: Manuel Sequira  
Mother's name: Maria Sequira

ANTONIO SEQUIRA

Two members of my family, ie. Eduardo Joao Sequira and Victor Manuel Sequira, were killed at the time of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

I am one of the group of activists who demonstrated at the time of the visit of the US Ambassador to East Timor. At that time I sought refuge in the Motael church. When the Church was raided by the Indonesian security forces, my friend Sebastiao Gomes was killed. I managed to escape and was able to take part in his funeral procession and the demonstrations of 12 November 1991.

I was detained in Viqueque, and after my release was closely watched by the military.

During the recent violence provoked by the Ninjas in Dili, I became involved in anti-Ninja/vigilante group activities in an attempt to curb their violence. When efforts were made to try to arrest me in connection with these activities, I fled to Kupang, West Timor. Fearing that I had been followed, I left Kupang for Bali and carried on to Jakarta on 29 August 1995.

3) Name: Nelson Turquel Date of Birth: Dili, 3 June 1973 Father's name: Jose Trocel

I took part in the demonstration of 12 November 1991. Earlier this year I took part in the anti-Ninja vigilante group activities, and was consequently pursued by the security forces. I managed to avoid arrest and fled to Kupang, then Bali and finally Jakarta where I have been for the past month and a half. My father was arrested in Dili on 9 September 1995 in connection with recent disturbances there.

4)

Name: Joaquim Alim  
Date of birth: Dili, 20 March 1971 .  
Father's name: Joaquim Antonio  
Mother's name: Maria Isabel Moniz

JOAQUIM ALIM

I took part in the demonstrations of 12 November 1991, but managed to escape from St Cruz cemetery at the time of the massacre. Earlier this year, I and a number of other friends participated in anti-Ninja activities in Dili. At that time, I managed to capture two Ninjas who were members of the army's elite red beret forces and I handed them over to Bishop Belo. Because of the Intelligence Force's attempts to arrest me in connection with these activities, I had planned to sail to Australia with the other 18 refugees now residing in Australia, but at the last minute was unable to join them and fled instead to Kupang, Bali and finally arrived in Jakarta about one month and a half ago.

On 9 September my younger brother, Paulo, was arrested and was questioned by the Intelligence forces regarding my current whereabouts. Because he refused to answer their questions and also denied his involvement in the demonstrations of 9 September, he had both of his ears slashed with knives by ABRI soldiers.

5)  
Name: Egas Soares  
Date of birth: Dili, 25 March 1970  
Father's name: Domingos Soares Faria  
Mother's name: Maria da Silva

EGAS SOARES

I am one of the activists who took part in the demonstrations at the time of Pope John Paul's visit to Dili in 1989, and also that of 12 November 1991. I was forced by the Regional Military Commander, now Simbolon, to act as a spy for Indonesia, and specifically to report on the activities of the Bishop, but also at the time of the visits of the Swedish and Australian Ambassadors. I informed the Bishop of my special "assignment" in October 1989.

Attempts were made to arrest me after I organised youths to demonstrate in front of the Mahkota Hotel in Dili. I fled to Kupang and came on directly to Jakarta where I have been for about 18 months.

5/6/95

Burg  
Schlaining

### BURG SCHLAINING DECLARATION

THE TIMORESE, MEETING IN THE ALL INCLUSIVE INTRA-TIMORESE DIALOGUE OF JUNE 3 5 / 1995 IN SCHLAINING, AUSTRIA, IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INITIATIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL:

Expressing their gratitude and greetings to the Secretary General and his staff for this initiative;

Taking note with appreciation and thanking the generous hospitality of the Austrian Government in welcoming the participants;

Expressing their gratitude for the voluntary contribution by several countries towards the holding of this meeting;

Recognising the invaluable contribution of the Catholic Church in East-Timor in the past and at present in East-Timor;

Bearing in mind the contribution of His Excellency Rev. D. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo in the course of this Intra-Timorese dialogue;

Noting that inspite of the frank and open spirit in which this Intra-Timorese dialogue was conducted, the fundamental different political options are unchanged;

#### DECIDE TO:

1. Salute the presence of H.E. Rev. D. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili, for his invaluable contribution in the course of the debate, such as proposals for concrete measures that were agreed upon with a view to improving the physical and spiritual conditions of the lives of the people of East-Timor;

2. Propose to the UN Secretary General the holding of another Intra-Timorese dialogue in the same framework in which this one was undertaken with a view to continuing the debate on the issues annexed, preceding each round of negotiations between the diplomatic heads of Portugal and Indonesia;

3. Reaffirm the need to implement the necessary measures in the field of human rights and in the various areas with a view to promoting peace, stability, justice and social harmony;

4. Reaffirm the necessity for the social and cultural development of East-Timor on the basis of the preservation of the cultural identity of the people, including tradition, religion, history and language as well as the teaching of Tetun and Portuguese;

5. Express the need to create the basis for the involvement of all East Timorese without discrimination of any sort in the development of East Timor in every sphere of human life in a climate of mutual understanding, tolerance and harmony;

6. **Affirm** the importance of the ongoing negotiations between the governments of Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the Secretary General of the United Nations with a view to finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor according to the provisions, letter and spirit of the UN General Assembly resolution 37/30;

7. **Register** with appreciation the consultations undertaken by the United Nations with the various shades of Timorese opinion, aiming at their gradual involvement, as well as the availability of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Portugal and Indonesia for direct dialogue with Timorese personalities;

8. **Request** the good offices of the UN Secretary General and of the governments of Portugal and Indonesia to facilitate the free movement of the Timorese families to and from East Timor.

Burg Schlaining, 5 June 1995



*From*

*Embassada de Portugal  
Canberra*

The Embassy of Portugal presents its compliments, and has the honour to transmit, for information, the attached text of the Declaration issued at the conclusion of the Timorese dialogue that took place in Burg Schlaining, on June 5, 1995.

Canberra, 14th June 1995.

*via Ales 085 832113*



Cipinang, 27 November 1993

27 Tapel 7/11/93

1)

My Greetings,

It is a pity that I have not mastered English, but I will make an effort to learn it during these years in prison, especially since it will enable me to receive your letters and make the most of your simple gesture to show that you remember - a gesture stemming from real commitment - that moved me deeply.

I am grateful that you are thinking of me but, before me, think too about my people who find themselves captive in a huge prison which was once their country of birth and the country they believed in.

It is a country which has lost the colour of its wild flowers. They have been replaced with plastic flowers which go under the name 'development' (the Indonesian word for development was used here). This has happened because the occupation forces came 18 years ago to burn our forests, our mountains and our plains in military operations designed to persecute those fighting for freedom.

Flowers are nature's way of celebrating and, there is a common saying that life without liberty is like a garden without flowers. If liberty is one of the main aspirations that people have during their lives, liberty must be inherited across generations.

It is my simple duty, along with my compatriots, to struggle for liberty throughout my life, to take on this essential role. I have to do this to rescue liberty for the generations to come and to pass on this precious heritage.

I send you my fondest thoughts in the name of all Timorese who are prisoners, those who are held without trial in Cipinang and in East Timor.

Yours sincerely,

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao.

2)

My greetings,

I am immensely grateful to you for remembering me. I am profoundly moved by your solidarity because it makes it possible for me to believe that in this troubled and egoistical world there are still good people who are willing to concern themselves with the fate of others.

My country, my beloved East Timor, which is still locked in a struggle against continuing colonial repression inevitably belongs in this category. My people have been struggling and suffering for these 18 years of cruel and violent military Indonesian occupation and my people are struggling to be free and are suffering to achieve their right to self-determination and national independence.

We will win, with your support! And in a free and independent East Timor we Timorese will need help from CAFOD, Christian Aid, SCIAF and Traidcraft; our nation will have a strong desire for peace and harmony and will be preoccupied with its national reconstruction in every domain. P2

We are a peace loving and hard-working people. In the Portuguese colonial period we were portrayed as lazy, just because our ancestors ran away from the forced labour imposed upon them. Today, the Indonesian assassins, with their policy of transmigration, still say that we are lazy in order to justify their military occupation and they give all the facilities to the [non-Timorese] transmigrants.

The truth is that, by applying the tactics of burned earth [burning the grasses and the forests], the invaders have destroyed everything during the huge operations against the defenceless population who resisted 'en masse' during the first three years. When they had gained control by the end of 1978, the population of East Timor was herded into the areas surrounding the villages, and today they are living along the roads with just the most restricted piece of land to cultivate.

But we, the Timorese, believe in our ability to develop our beloved country; we believe in our will-power, in the energy of our initiatives and in the creativity of our feelings. However, everything has its limits, because we are poor, and we will need an immense amount of support from you.

We need it now. I believe that you have heard that the grants of 175 Timorese University students, who signed a letter to protest about the Santa Cruz massacre, have been cut by the murderous colonial government. If I understand it correctly, "working together with the poor in developing countries", means thinking that, in the current situation of East Timor, the condition of these students could be included in your objective. Only with a sound education can young people provide for the needs of their country and we are struggling for the right to conduct our own destiny.

Please contact Ramos-Horta, my personal representative outside East Timor and the special representative for the CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance).

Help us to liberate ourselves now and help us to educate people for the future. Help us to build a new nation, which is peace-loving and happy! Until then the slogans in the mouth of every Timorese are: The struggle is continuing on every front! To resist is to win!

Long live international solidarity!

With compliments,

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao,  
Member of CNRM and Commander of FALINTIL

Solomons and so on as far as the middle of the Pacific Ocean."

Should the West Papuans fight for their freedom, as they are swallowed into oblivion by the Indonesian empire? The nations of the world have turned their backs on West New Guinea, have looked away and not wanted to know. West Papua is a forgotten nation, nearly emerged from colonialism, only to be dragged into another people's empire in the power plays of the world. Hardly were they emerged from the dream-time of their tribal ages, when they were stunned in the glare of the lights and hunting rifles of the Indonesian army, equipped with all the modern weapons of war.

West New Guinea was a Cold War sacrifice, no more, and no less, a pawn in the game of realpolitik (power politics). The Cold War is dead now, no longer there as an excuse and justification to overlook the rights of the West Papuans to self-determination, to identity and soul as a nation. Who now will speak for the West Papuan? Who can? The nations of the world have closed their eyes tightly, and looked away blindly, for all the very best of reasons, as is expedient in dealing with power. Can this 'realpolitik' be changed into 'real politics'; from a play for power, into a genuine concern for human welfare? If there is hope of any kind for the West Papuans, it will have to come now from the people of the Earth, awakening with a call from the heart, finding our voice, and raising a song into a chorus around the planet for the freedom of West Papua, a song so strong and loud even the Indonesians must hear, and heed, and let the West Papuans be free.

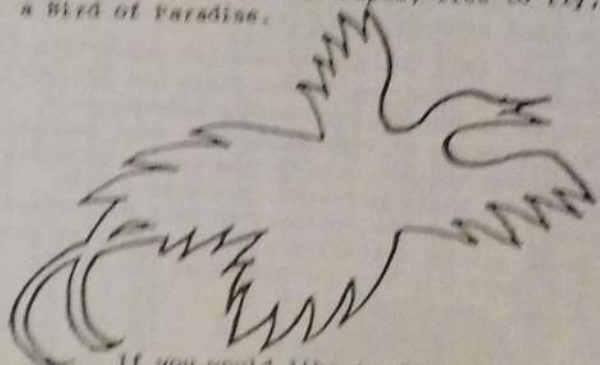


West Papuan human rights?



Ecology + Culture = Life

In a global context we are seeing now the need to learn from the indigenous peoples of the Earth, such as the Papuans, as to how we can live in a healthy relationship with this planet. How can we learn anything from the West Papuans when their cultures are destroyed? It could be suggested that the challenge of achieving a whole and healthy relationship with our planet is comparable to the change in attitude and effort required to free West Papua. Like the wings of a bird, we really do need both to fly free into our future; a healthy Earth, and an independent West Papua, free to fly, like a Bird of Paradise.



If you would like to find out more, have any questions, or are interested in knowing what you could do... contact...

Tasmanian West Papua Association  
22 Cambridge Road  
Bellerive 7018  
Tasmania AUSTRALIA  
Phone 002 44 5713

# WEST PAPUA

Colony or conquered land?

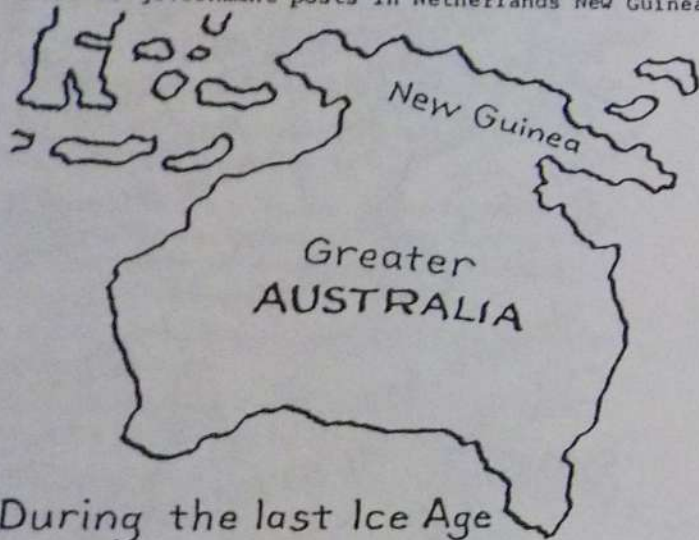


Why is half the island of New Guinea now a part of Indonesia? It was not always so. For the past few millenia, as long as the Aboriginal people have been in Australia, New Guinea has been the home of the Papuan Melanesian peoples, comprising nearly a thousand distinct tribal cultures and languages, a fifth of the worlds total of both. During the last Ice Age, when the sea-level was much lower than now, New Guinea was then part of continental Australia. At that time there was a great deal of contact between the Aboriginal and Papuan peoples, evidence of which can still be found. Much of the flora and fauna of Australia is also found in New Guinea.

During the Ice Age the land areas of Asia and greater Australia were never joined; there was always ocean between, allowing for very different cultural paths and racial identities to exist.

During the colonial period in South East Asia the Papuans fiercely resisted out-siders. A British attempt at settlement in the Bird's Head region in 1793 failed in a couple of years. A similar attempt by the Dutch in 1828 was abandoned in less than a decade because of disease and Papuan hostility at their presence.

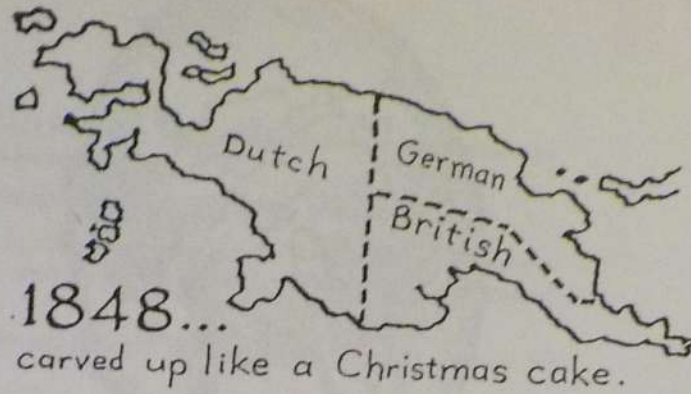
Far away in Europe, in 1848, the island of New Guinea was carved up like a Christmas cake between Holland, Britain and Germany, without any of them having a presence on the ground at the time. Then late in the century, spurred on by British and German activity in the east, Holland established an administrative presence in New Guinea from 1898. When the Japanese invaded in 1942, there were a mere 15 government posts in Netherlands New Guinea.



During the last Ice Age

Upon declaring its independence in 1945, Indonesia also claimed West New Guinea (and also East Timor and Malaysia) as a necessary part of their territory. Finally departing Indonesia in 1949, the Dutch continued with their colonial presence in New Guinea. Through the 1950's Indonesia doggedly maintained their claim to West New Guinea. Invited to present their claim to an International Court of Law, the Indonesians declined, it being clear that they had no legal claim on any part of New Guinea.

In 1957 Australia signed an agreement with Holland to work together toward the independence for all of New Guinea. In 1961 a Papuan Council was elected, a national anthem composed, a flag designed which flew next to the Dutch tri-colour, and 1970 set as the date for independence. This infuriated the Indonesians.



In 1961 Indonesia began an invasion of West New Guinea, sending in 1,419 guerilla forces, with the intention of sending in a main invasion force later. War between Holland and Indonesia now appeared inevitable, which Australia would have been drawn into. It was at this point that the United States under President John F. Kennedy intervened, telling Holland to get out, Australia to butt out, and giving the green light to Indonesia to go in.

Why did the United States support Indonesia? Because, at the time, they feared losing Indonesia to the Communist Bloc. West New Guinea was used as a sacrificial Cold War offering, a bribe, to keep Indonesia in the Western fold, completely disregarding the human rights and self-determination of 700,000 West Papuans.

A shot-gun agreement was rushed through with the Dutch, securing a barbed-wire peace. The Dutch administration was replaced with a nominal United Nations contingent in April 1963, but the Indonesians now had control, at a stroke increasing the land area of their republic by 25 per cent.

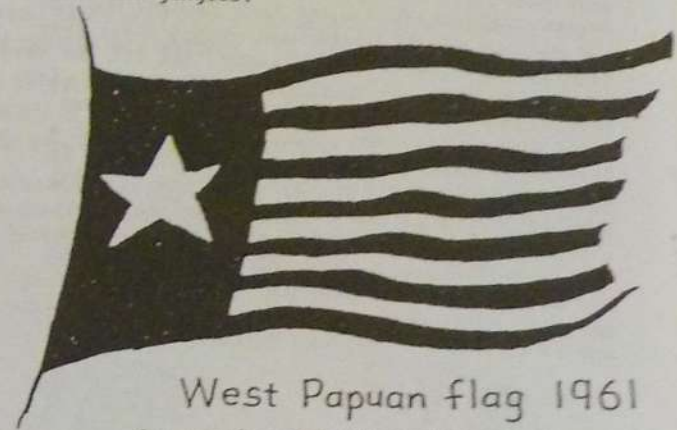
Up to 1963 the non-Melanesian population of West Papua was very small. Now there are 700,000 Indonesians in New Guinea, mostly brought in through a program of transmigration. West Papuans, now numbering 900,000, are on the way to becoming a minority in their own land. The Sierra Club warns that of the 260 cultures in West New Guinea, they could all be culturally extinct within 50 years, within 8 years for the Mol people of the Bird's Head region.



Arnald Ap  
(died after  
being arrested  
24 April 1984)

West Papuans under Indonesia have no land-rights, their sacred sites are not respected, their language is suppressed and their culture is ridiculed. It is the stated intention of Indonesia to make all West Papuans into Indonesians, without a racial identity of their own. It is as if Asian Indonesia is at war with the Melanesian people, and one can only wonder if they may one day look to Papua New Guinea to further expand their empire.

The West Papuans rose up against the Indonesian presence in their land within the first couple of years of occupation. The Indonesian response was fierce and swift. Over the years the West Papuans have risen up many times, to be fiercely suppressed. How many have died is not known; estimates vary between 150,000 and 300,000. What can bows and arrows do against automatic weapons and attack helicopters? The West Papuan resistance, the OPM, still operates in the mountains and jungles.



West Papuan flag 1961

One popular form of protest over the years has been the raising of the West Papuan flag, which can earn an offender 20 years in jail, if they are not shot dead doing it. The Papuans are not permitted to refer to their racial identity, only to be known as Irianese, the same as the Indonesian immigrants to Irian Jaya (West Papua). A great many West Papuans have died in police custody, including the popular exponent of Papuan culture, Arnald Ap (died 24 April 1984). A vast army of refugees have fled across the border in fear of their lives; there are still 10,000 in camps in Papua New Guinea.

The events in West New Guinea led directly to a similar attempt to invade Malaysia in 1964 (in which Australia did fight Indonesia along side the British) and the invasion of East Timor in 1975. As long as Indonesia continues with its presence in New Guinea, how can it not be viewed as a threat to the region. In the words of Indonesia's first vice-president, Mohammed Hatta: "It is possible we shall not be satisfied with Papua only and that we may want to include..."

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# Indonesia Under Suharto Oppression, Brutality & Slaughter

Indonesia wants you to do business in their country but they don't want you to know with whom you are dealing. The Indonesian government of General Suharto is one of the world's most brutal and corrupt military dictatorships.

Suharto's military took power in a coup in 1965, and in the process massacred an estimated 800,000 Indonesians. Since then, tens of thousands more people have been killed, with countless others thrown in jail for such "crimes" as "insulting the government." Basic freedoms, such a freedom of assembly, speech or press, are practically nonexistent. Indonesia is one of the least free and democratic nations in the world, and according to US State Department reports, it is becoming less and less so.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and has conducted a relentless and genocidal campaign against the Timorese people which has claimed more than 200,000 lives, one-third of the population. In violation of UN Security Council resolutions, Indonesia continues to occupy and conduct its war against East Timor. Many experts feel that the issue of East Timor is starting to destabilize Indonesia just as Afghanistan did for the Soviet Union.

Amnesty International has said of the Suharto regime that "few governments have such a casual attitude toward mass murder." Indonesia's military has also been condemned by the US government, the UN and many other human rights organizations for its horrific human rights record both in Indonesia and in East Timor.

In addition to its brutality, the corruption of the Suharto regime is also widely known. Suharto's children and cronies are among the richest people in the country, controlling most of the important industries. Virtually any foreign company conducting significant business in Indonesia is forced to pay substantial bribes in order to continue doing business.

To do business with Indonesia is to do business with a corrupt and ruthless military dictatorship, one which has committed some of the worst atrocities since World War Two, one which oppresses its own people and which has been condemned by the world for its illegal occupation and genocide in East Timor.

For more information contact:

Phone/Fax  
01 99 822 113  
01 99 45 457

Affet  
GPO Box 2155  
Darwin, NT 0801  
Australia



## Affet

Australians for a Free East Timor



## As Indonesia Celebrates Independence, East Timor's Struggle Against Indonesian Colonialism Continues.

"After losing their lives, as well as their political and economic independence, the [Timorese] native people are also losing their cultural identity because of Indonesian Government programs...I don't want the rest of the world to think that everybody in Indonesia accepts what has happened in [East Timor]."

--Dr. George Aditjondro, environmentalist and anthropologist Batya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Central Java  
*The West Australian*, March 12, 1994

"The Indonesian people are not at war with the Timorese; the Indonesian regime and the Indonesian army are to blame."

--Liem Boei Liong, Indonesian exile Statement to the Parliament  
April 23, 1994

"A population of some 650,000 Timorese has, for almost twenty years, lived under the control, and the abusive, harsh and often violent treatment of their Indonesian military overseers."

"We admire the people of East Timor for their bravery, their suffering and their determination to preserve their culture against overwhelming odds..."

--Statement on East Timor, July 27, 1994  
United States Catholic Conference Washington, D.C.

"In many ways-through [the East Timorese's] policies for independence, their organization of resistance and their creation of a nationalist movement, culturally, socially, and politically-the experiences of the people of East Timor are an inspiration and a guide for the peoples of other nations, in Southeast Asia, the Pacific region and elsewhere, who are striving to achieve self-determination and independence."

--John G. Taylor Principal Lecturer in Social Sciences at the South Bank Polytechnic, London.

Quoted from his book *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor* (Zed, 1991).

For Indonesians around the world, including myself, August 17 is a day for much jubilation and pride as we celebrate the independence our people struggled so courageously to attain. The victory Indonesians achieved on this date exemplifies, as history constantly reminds us, that the human struggle for self-determination inevitably triumphs over the tyranny and oppression of colonialism in whatever form it may appear.

It is indeed a tragedy for the people of East Timor; Indonesia's tiny neighbor, and for the people of Indonesia, that the government of President Suharto has failed to learn this most salient of history's lessons.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia launched a full-scale invasion against East Timor, whose people had just declared independence from 400 years of Portuguese colonialism less than two weeks before. 19 years later, Indonesia continues its brutal occupation.

Indonesia's invasion and ongoing occupation can only be characterized as *genocide*. Over 200,000 East Timorese, approximately one-third of the pre-invasion population, have perished as a direct result of Indonesian military occupation since the invasion, according to numerous credible sources including Amnesty International, the Catholic Church in East Timor, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Australian Parliament, Dr. George Aditjondro of Batya Wacana Christian University in Central Java, and the Governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares, who was installed by Indonesia.

Indonesian forces have employed the use of air and naval bombardment, chemical weapons, napalm, crop destruction and scorched earth campaigns against the Timorese. Many Timorese were herded into concentration camps where tens of thousands of men, women, and children died as a result of the Indonesian military's use of forced-starvation techniques.

Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor has been and continues to be condemned by the United Nations as illegal. Immediately after the invasion, the UN Security Council passed two resolutions (384 and 389) which condemned Indonesia's act of aggression, affirmed the East Timorese people's right to self-determination, and ordered "the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory." Eight similar General Assembly resolutions have been passed, however, the Government of Indonesia continues to defy international law.

The West, particularly the United States, is complicit in the genocide taking place in East Timor. 90 percent of the weapons used by the Indonesians during the invasion was supplied by the United States. Since the invasion, the US has provided and sold Indonesia over \$1.7 billion worth of arms. The US has vetoed all General Assembly Resolutions, while abstaining from the Security Council votes, thus blocking implementation of the resolutions. The US employed arm-twisting tactics to persuade other nations to either veto the resolution or to abstain. The reason for US support of Indonesia's assault on East Timor was best summed up by a State Department spokesperson: "The United States wants to keep its relationship with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, non-aligned nation -- a nation we do a lot of business with" (*The Australian*, January 22, 1976).

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops fired indiscriminately into a crowd of unarmed demonstrators at a funeral procession in Dili, East Timor, killing 271 people and injuring over 150, according to Asia Watch, Amnesty International, and others. The massacre was captured on film and aired around the world, prompting international outcry. A recent film by an Australian investigative journalist documents a second massacre after November 12, as Indonesian troops sought to forever silence witnesses of the massacre and their relatives. Today, the people of East Timor still live in a climate of terror and fear. International human rights organizations and the East Timorese Catholic church continue to document the Indonesian military's use of torture, arbitrary detention, rape, and murder. US and other Western nations' support of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor continues today.

The Suharto Government's act of genocide against East Timor is the cause for much pain and sorrow for me and many of my Indonesian sisters and brothers. Suharto's criminal actions are a stain which disgraces the honor of the Indonesian people, who have purposely been kept ignorant of the facts. Solidarity with the people of East Timor is their only hope for survival. I hope you will join us in the struggle to end the slaughter. Damai Untuk Semua, Dirgahayu Indonesia

Bunil Sharma, Coordinator, ETAN/Bonoma Co. (707)764-8030  
(an Indonesian working in USA)

"Echoes of the aspirations of the Indonesian people and youth reach me through the prison bars in Cipinang, your yearning for a new spirit...We the people of East Timor call on you to help put an end to the oppression of the people of East Timor..."

--Xanana Gusmao, imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader  
Cipinang Prison, November 28, 1993

"I cannot help but think that the destiny of the East Timorese is also a measure of our own humanity."

--Shepard Forman, American anthropologist who lived and conducted research in East Timor from August 1973 to October 1974

# Affet

Australians for a Free East Timor



Free Xanana

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61 89 83 4337

Affet is a member  
of ACEK Australian  
Coalition for a Free  
East Timor

\* cf. amcn@peg.apc.org  
affet@ozemail.com.au

for visitors & locals, Darwin Expo,  
June 1995

Direcao nebe haruka informacao ne'e ho numero FAX(0390)21283. Husu mos  
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number Try to find his number. (THANKS)

FERNANDO DA CONCEIÇÃO  
ESTUDANTE DA UNIVERSIDADE DE  
TIMOR LESTE

Iha dia 17 de Abril de 1995 nebe loron comemoracao indonesia nian, sira  
halo seremonia (upacara bendera). Ho tempo ida ne'e chefe militares indonesia-  
nian (Danrem) fo esclarecimento no aviso ba nia participante ho forcas sira-  
dehan katak :

1. Se comunidade Internasionais ho secretario Geral Da ONU mak fo apo-  
io ona integracao TIMOR LOROSAE ba nacao indonesia, atu nunc'e iha TIMOR LOR-  
OSAE JOVENS ho membros CLANDESTINA sira tomak atu liquida hotu ho tempo dur-  
ante fulan tolu nia laran.

2. Katak indonesia duvida konaba DIALOGO entre TIMOR OAN SIRA nebe atu  
hala'o iha AUSTRIA ne'e. Sira husu nusa mak indonesia nia ema labele tuir h-  
otu ? Tuir sira nia hakarak atu haruka hotu sira nia ema naran :

- a) Dr. Budianto
- b) Francisco De Sena Barreto
- c) Drs. Laedan L. Simbolon (Satgas penerangan Kor-  
em 164 wira dharma ida ne'e militar nia ema)

Tuir povo TIMOR LOROSAE nia hakarak lakohi para ema indonesia nian ho  
naran hirak ne'e ou ema TIMOR OAN nebe mak lori politika indonesia nian atu  
labele tuir. Povo tomak husu ba ONU atu labele halo tuir Indonesia nia haka-  
rak. E labele fiar povo nebe indonesia manipulas iha TIMOR LOROSAE. Hodi forc-  
a ho economia.

Dili, 21 de Abril de '95

A Message recently received from East Timor Resistance elements is roughly translated as follows:

At the Indonesian army day celebration 17/4/95 in Dili the Indonesian army Commander told participants that if/when the UN Secretary General and the International Community support the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, then:

1. the Youth Clandestine will be liquidated/eliminated within 3 months.
2. Indonesia has doubts about the intra-Timorese dialogue due to happen in Austria later this month (in fact cancelled or deferred), and why isn't Indonesia represented? They want to send 3 people:
  - a Dr Budianto (Indonesian)
  - b Francisco de Sena Barreto (notorious)
  - c Dr Laedan L. Simbolon (Indon armed forces spokesperson)

The East Timorese people do not want Indonesians to take part. All the East Timorese people ask that these Indonesian demands be not complied with or agreed to.

Dili 21/4/95

Forwarded by Rob Wesley-Smith Phf/x 61 89 832113 Darwin Australia

Since discovering what appears to be a major oil find in the Timor Gap in February 1994, Brisbane-based oil and gas company Petroz NL has been the focus of protests over Australian exploitation of the situation in East Timor.

Protesters argue the immorality and illegality of Australian oil and gas companies moving into the Timor Gap, saying that by working with the Indonesian authorities, they are taking advantage of the East Timorese and helping to maintain Indonesian control over their country. They contend that for all the dollars in royalties Australia and Indonesia can expect, not one cent will go into the pockets of the East Timorese.

Petroz was incorporated as a business in 1969 under the name of Offshore Oil NL. In 1986 it changed its name to Petroz.

The Sydney-based Australian Gas Light Company had a 59.85% controlling interest in Petroz until it sold its interest to institutional and private investors in September 1993.

Petroz is now seen as an independent oil and gas company, with its largest institutional shareholders being ANZ Bank and AMP, each with an interest under 5%.

However, according to a journalist from one of Queensland's leading business publications, *Business Queensland*, gas and construction giant Boral Limited is emerging as a major shareholder.

Petroz has three interests in the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation.

Following on from the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty, Australia and Indonesia signed the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation Treaty in early 1991.

Basically Indonesia and Australia have divided about 60,000 square kilometres of the Timor Gap into three commercial administrative zones: Zone A, Zone B and Zone C.

The northern Zone C is administered by Indonesia, the southern Zone B by Australia. Zone A, in the centre, is administered by both countries under a Joint Authority which issues exploration licences.

It is in Zone A where most exploration is taking place.

In Zone A, there are two major exploration blocks: Zone of Cooperation (ZOCA) 91-12 in the west and ZOCA 91-08 in the east.

Petroz originally had a 100% interest in oil

and gas exploration in both. But according to a *Business Queensland* journalist, it wasn't able to afford the cost of exploration by itself. So it negotiated what are called farm-out agreements with other companies for both blocks.

In the Elang field in ZOCA 91-12, Petroz divided its share with three other companies so that they would chip in for exploration and development costs.

The companies are BHP Petroleum (which has a 42% stake in any finds), Inpex Sahul Ltd (21%) and South Australian oil and gas company Santos Ltd (21%), with Petroz retaining about 15%.

In the Elang field last February, Petroz, acting as exploration operator or manager for this group of companies, discovered what is believed to be a major oil find. Elang flowed at a rate of 5800 barrels of oil per day, the first significant oil discovery in the Timor Gap.

In November 1994, the semi-submersible drilling rig, *Arwood Eagle*, while assessing the commercial viability of the Elang field for the

group, found oil flowing at 7500 barrels per day just 1.7 kilometres west of the February drill.

The group is currently assessing the field for commercial development. The chances that Elang will be developed appear to be strong.

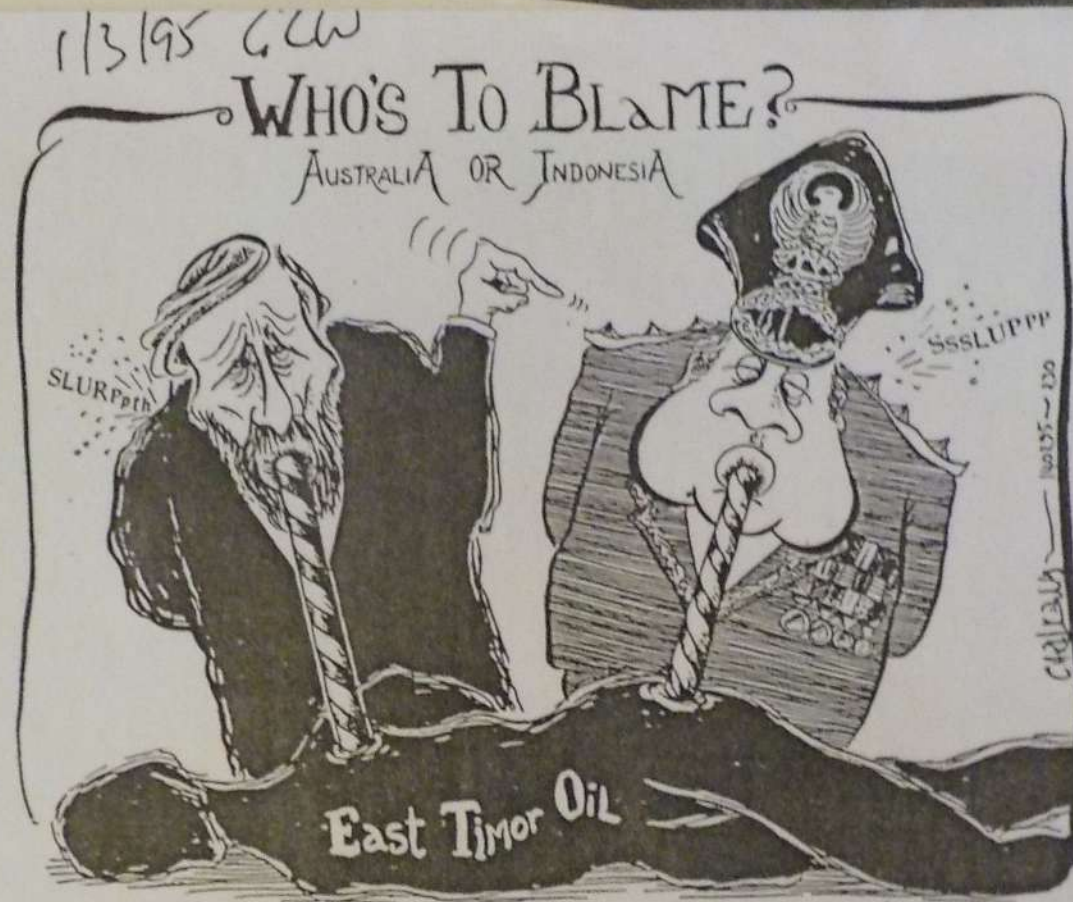
In his address to shareholders at the 1994 annual general meeting, Petroz chairperson Gregory Swindon said the company was optimistic that Elang was a commercial field. Swindon said that if it was a commercial discovery, he expected production to begin in the second half of 1997.

Some analysts predict that the Elang field may hold up to 50 million barrels of oil.

In a memorandum to the Australian Stock Exchange in December, Petroz announced yet another major discovery, about 15 km from the Elang find, at the Kakatua-1 field.

This field produced a flow of 9000 barrels of oil per day. BHP Petroleum, acting as operator, is currently assessing Kakatua-1 for commercial development.

In the ZOCA 91-08 block, Petroz, Shell Development (Australia), South Australian com-



pany SAGASCO Resources Ltd (a Boral subsidiary) and Brisbane-based Crusader Ltd are exploring what some experts believe to be one of the biggest wells in the Timor Gap, the Sikatan-1 well. Each company has a 25% share of a farm-out agreement.

Besides having interests in Area A of the Zone of Cooperation, Petroz also has interests in the Australian zone, Area B. There, Petroz is exploring an area called WA-74-P, where it has an 83.75% interest.

Since the Elang discovery, major stockbrokers such as Wilson HTM and Morgan have been advising investors to buy Petroz stock for its enormous potential.

The company's market capitalisation rose sharply with the Elang discovery: from \$24 million in June 1993 to \$94 million in June 1994 to \$110 million in October 1994 — a rise of some 352%.

Besides its involvement in the Timor Sea, Petroz also has natural gas exploration and development interests in the Surat Basin in western Queensland, Brisbane's main source of gas.

In 1993 Petroz generated about 50% of its revenue from the sale of Surat Basin gas.

This was sold to distributor Allgas Energy Ltd and accounted for about one-third of Brisbane's gas requirements.

All of Petroz's exploration activities are funded by the cash flow from its Surat Basin production interests. In its 1993 annual report, Petroz told shareholders that its Surat Basin interests were mainly mature and likely to decline before production was developed in the Timor Sea.

In the same annual report, Petroz declared that its strategic direction for the future was based on its Timor Sea activities.

In effect, this means that Petroz depends on the sale of Surat Basin gas to continue its exploration of the Timor Sea and the future development of oil and gas there. It also means that as its Surat Basin interests dry up, it needs to develop Timor Sea oil and gas to survive.

According to a recent report in *Business Queensland*, Petroz has just enough Surat Basin gas to supply Brisbane for a little less than 18 months. ■

# Affet



**Australians for a Free East Timor**

**Free Xanana**

Affet  
GPO Box 2155  
Darwin, NT 0801  
Australia

The Editor  
The NT News

Rob Wesley Smith  
150, Dichondra Rd  
H'd Springs  
Ph/Fx 882113

Fx 816045 18/2/95

Dear Sir,

Your Editorial today Saturday 18th Feb is a deliberate distortion, slander, lie and insult to the East Timorese nation and supporters.

These sort of distortions written by Frank Alcoria before have been comprehensively demolished before, so why do they keep coming up? What is your agenda?

I challenge you to supply credible historical accounts to back the statements in today's editorial. I challenge you to withdraw and apologise. I challenge you to allow comprehensive space to debunk the distortions without editorial interference, and I challenge you to pay compensation for hurt.

If not all the above you should resign. The East Timor issue is too close to us and too important for this sort of nonsense to go on anymore.

Rob Wesley Smith  
President, Australians for a Free East Timor  
Darwin

Phone/Fax:  
61 89 832 113  
61 89 85 4557

Affet Human Rights Office  
Phone:  
61 89 48 2010

Affet is a member of ACET, Australian Coalition for a Free East Timor

\* c/- amcn@peg.apc.org  
affet1@ozemail.com.au

NOT PRINTED!

*PLEASE COME TO THE*

**Inaugral Meeting**

*OF*

**The**

**Northern Territory**

**Council for**

**Civil Liberties**

*AT*

**BROWN'S MART**

**7.30 pm Tuesday, Dec. 10**

**▲ ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS**

**EVERYBODY WELCOME**

Category: Australian News Priority: LOW Date: 18-APR-1995 18:45

FED: McGAURAN ACCUSES GOVERNMENT OF PANDERING TO INDONESIA  
WWII TIMOR

CANBERRA, April 18 AAP - A National Party backbencher has accused the federal government of protecting Indonesian sensitivity and attempting to rewrite history through ignoring the Australian campaign in East Timor in the Australia Remembers commemorations.

Senator Julian McGauran said the contribution of the Papua New Guinea Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels was being fully recognised but not that of the East Timorese people who also assisted Australian troops.

"It seems recognition of the islanders' war effort has been snuffed out under the guise of protecting Indonesian sensitivity," he said in a statement.

"The programmers have attempted to rewrite history by ignoring East Timor."

Senator McGauran said the Australia Remembers kit mentioned every Australian field of conflict except East Timor.

He said Veterans Affairs Minister On Sciacca should fulfill Australia's wartime commitment to the East Timorese and include East Timor in the planned pilgrimages.

An information booklet released for the Australia Remembers celebrations, marking the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II highlights many campaigns but the 1942 East Timor campaign is only mentioned very briefly.

No mention is made of Australia's involvement in some other campaigns such as the battle of the Java Sea.

The East Timor campaign was perhaps one of the few bright spots in the almost unremittingly bleak year of 1942.

Australian troops went to Timor in December 1941, the majority members of the 2/2 Independent Company, a unit specially trained for autonomous operations.

While other Australian forces in the then Dutch East Indies quickly succumbed to the Japanese forces, the 2/2 was well placed to wage a guerrilla war after East Timor was invaded in February 1942.

While the group was resupplied by ship and aircraft from Australia, its success was attributable to support provided by the East Timorese people.

However, increased Japanese pressure eventually made its position untenable and it was withdrawn in January 1943.

AAP mb/sb

18-04 1845



**AETA**  
**Australia-East Timor Association**  
 PO Box 93, Fitzroy Victoria 3065, Australia

**RESOURCE LIST**

**Books**

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* A DESCOBERTA SECRETA DA AUSTRALIA by Kenneth Gordon McIntyre. Fundação Oriente, Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, Macau 1989. Portuguese text. 277 pages. Paperback.	18.00	0.00
A TRAVELLER'S DICTIONARY IN TETUN-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-TETUN FROM THE LAND OF THE SLEEPING CROCODILE: EAST TIMOR: by Cliff Morris. Baba Dook Books, Melbourne 1992. Contains an introduction to Timorese culture, grammar, pronunciation, phrases for travellers and English-Tetun and Tetun-English dictionaries. 77 pages. Convenient pocket size paperback with durable plastic cover.	6.95	1.00
* BLOOD ON THEIR BANNER: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific by David Robie. Pluto Press, Sydney 1989. Chapter on East Timor and West Papua. 313 pages. Paperback.	19.95	0.00
DEATH IN DILI by Andrew McMillan. Hodder & Stoughton, Sydney 1992. An Australian tourist from Darwin gets involved in Timor's politics while holidaying on the island. A documentary account, told in a racy style. 235 pages Paperback.	14.95	0.00
EAST TIMOR: Betrayed but not Beaten - The Ongoing Struggle for Independence in East Timor 1975-83 by Ian Bell et al. Australia-East Timor Association, Melbourne 1983. 33 pages. Paperback.	1.00	1.00
EAST TIMOR: Keeping the Flame of Freedom Alive by Robert Domm. Australian Council for Overseas Aid, ACFOA Development Dossier No. 29. Canberra. Interview inside East Timor of Xanana Gusmão, Leader of the Resistance at the time. 33 pages. Paperback. SINGLE COPIES ONLY.	8.00	1.00
EAST TIMOR: The Hidden War - The Struggle for Justice at Home and Abroad by Ian Bell et al. Australia-East Timor Association, Melbourne 1989. 33 pages. Paperback. SINGLE COPIES ONLY.	3.00	1.00
EAST TIMOR, LAND OF HOPE: 2nd Seminar on East Timor of the Oporto University by Barbedo de Magalhães. Rectory of the University of Oporto, Porto 1990. Part I: Historical Introduction, Part II: Seminar Report. 117 pages. Paperback.	10.00	1.00
FUNU: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor by Jose Ramos Horta. The Red Sea Press, Trenton, New Jersey 1987. 207 pages. Paperback.	14.95	0.00
I AM TIMORESE: Testimonies from East Timor. Catholic Institute for International Relations, London 1990. 41 pages. Paperback. SINGLE COPIES ONLY.	6.00	1.00
INDONESIA'S FORGOTTEN WAR: The Hidden History of East Timor by John G. Taylor. Zed Books, London and Pluto Press, Sydney 1991. 230 pages. Highly recommended. Paperback.	24.95	0.00
* LITTLE TREE AND THE EVERLASTING FOREST by Shirley Shackleton with illustrations by Peter Kendall. Little Tree Books/Greening Australia, Perth 1990. A beautifully illustrated 'green' children's book by a Timor activist. It is not about East Timor. Hard cover.	14.95	0.00
'OPENING UP': Travellers' Impressions of East Timor, 1989-1991. Edited by Kirsty Sword and Pat Walsh. Australia-East Timor Association, Melbourne 1991. 50 pages. Paperback.	5.00	1.00
— TELLING: East Timor: Personal stories 1942-1992 by Michele Turner. NSW University Press, Sydney 1992. Interviews with Timorese people about the often horrific events they have lived through. World War II Australian commandos also recollect experiences. 218 pages. Paperback.	19.95	0.00
THE INDONESIAN OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR 1974-1989: A Chronology by John G Taylor. Catholic Institute for International Relations, London 1990. 102 pages. Clothbound.	38.00	0.00
THE LEGENDS OF THE MAUBERES by Fernando Sylvan with paintings and drawings by Antonio P. Domingues. Fundação Austronesia Borja da Costa, Lisbon 1988. Portuguese/Tetum/English text. 109 pages, including beautiful colour plates. Paperback.	30.00	0.00
* THE REDUNDANCY OF COURAGE by Timothy Mo. Chatto & Windus, London 1991. A gripping novel about events in the imaginary island nation of Danu which bears a strong resemblance to East Timor. Shortlisted for the 1991 Booker Prize. 408 pages. Clothbound.	29.95	0.00
	14.95	2.00

*Xanana video*

* THE VIGIL by Jennie Herrera. J. Herrera, Hobart 1988. A novel about East Timor activists in Tasmania. Winner of the 1987 Alan Marshall award. 126 pages. Paperback.	9.95	1.00
TIMOR: Legends and Poems from the Land of the Sleeping Crocodile by Cliff Morris. H.C. Morris, Melbourne 1984. Parallel English-Tetun text. 209 pages. Paperback.	7.50	1.00
TIMOR 1942: Australian Commandos at War with the Japanese by Christopher C. H. Wray. Century Hutchinson Australia, Melbourne 1987. 190 pages. Clothbound.	24.95	0.00

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**Music Cassettes**

✓ I'M STILL FIGHTING by Agio Pereira. 3CR, Melbourne 1990.	14.95	2.00
WE CAN'T BE BEATEN by Paul Stewart and Colin Buckler from Painters and Dockers, David Bridie from Not Drowning Waving and various East Timorese musicians including Zeni Gusmão. Cassette single. B side: Hamutuk by Angelo Madeira. Sung in Tetum. Melbourne 1993. (AETA).	6.00	2.00

**Postcard**

* XANANA. Red/Yellow/Black. (AETA).	1.00	0.45
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Phone orders: (03) 489 7661

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01/04/93 10:45 P=21  
(441) Mon 22 Mar 93 10:52

By: cdpm@gn.apc.org

To: All

Re: CNRM Communiqué

Date: : East Timor

Byline : CNRM - Ma Filipo

original lang: Portuguese

Scope : unabridged

Headline : Communiqué

Communiqué from the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), Fretilin Directive Commission (CDF):

\*The CNRM, based in the mountains of occupied East Timor, wishes to make public its position vis-a-vis the most recent developments concerning two questions: firstly, the trial of our companion Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao at the hands of Indonesian justice; secondly, the statement made by the eloquent Abílio Osório Soares to foreign journalists, including, e.g., Portuguese.

With regards the Xanana Gusmao case, the CNRM rejects any kind of proceedings by the judiciary of our Motherland's occupier against prisoner of war Xanana Gusmao. Furthermore, it considers the argumentation, on which it intends to base the accusations against Xanana Gusmao, to be totally lacking in legal substance.

The basis of the CNRM's position is derived from the fact that the subject of East Timor, in which Xanana Gusmao's case is interwoven, is an international question, because of:

1. the UN's recognition of the Timorese People's right to self-determination and independence;
2. From Portugal's internationally recognised legal/political position, as administering power, it should be reiterated that:
  - a) it maintains the Timorese question under the protection of the UN Charter,
  - b) it reaffirms its position on the decolonisation process of East Timor, so brutally interrupted by the 1975 Indonesian invasion, while endeavouring in every way to achieve for the Timorese People the free exercise of their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic.
3. Xanana Gusmao's trial is implicated in the legitimate Timorese cause, to which the positions taken by certain well-known people with responsibilities connected to the East Timor problem bear witness:
  - a) Portugal's Head of State, Dr. Mario Soares, demanding that Jakarta immediately and unconditionally release the Timorese Resistance leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao;
  - b) UN Secretary General Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali advocating the involvement of the man, now a prisoner, incommunicado, in the hands of the Indonesian military, in the talks aimed at finding an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor problem.

---

 COMUNIQUE

We have, therefore, strong evidence which questions the legitimacy of the Xanana Gusmao case, and makes both the prisoner's trial and Indonesia's argumentation void of any juridical value, as for example, the charge of "rebellion", as one of the pillars supporting the accusations against Xanana Gusmao.

It is from within this framework, therefore, that the CNRM drew its position:

1. It demands the immediate and unconditional release of the prisoner of war, symbol of Timorese Resistance, our companion and dear brother Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao.
2. It appeals to the UN Secretary General to use his good offices to secure the protection of Xanana Gusmao by legal, diplomatic and moral means.
3. It reaffirms its recognition of Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao as the symbol of the Timorese Resistance, his functions as Head of the Resistance and Commander of the Falintil being frozen.
4. It reaffirms that it fully supports the administrative power's positions in favour of peace and the right to self-determination for the Heroic Maubere People.

So, in answer to Abilio Osorio :

1. No surrender! We reject surrender because that is the language of the hard-line, the militarist line, which Abilio Osorio corroborates by maintaining the presence of the occupier's troops in East Timor.

2. Talks, yes! This we do affirm, because we are fighting for peace for East Timor and its People.

We reaffirm, therefore, our backing for the demands of the administering power's government (Portugal):

A REFERENDUM for East Timor, which should result from the involvement of Timorese representatives in the UN sponsored talks without pre-conditions. In this way, a fair and lasting peace can be achieved, in the Motherland of all Timorese.

Motherland or Death! The fight continues on all fronts!

Headquarters of the Maubere Resistance National Council, in this 18th year of struggle against Indonesian occupation for a free and independent Timor.

CNRM

(Ma'Huno's signature)

Ma'Huno Bulerek Karathryano (Bukar)

Secretary-CDF\*

UNITED  
NATIONS

UN Sec. Gen's Report Sep 94

A

General Assembly

Distr.  
GENERAL  
A/49/391 16  
September 1994

ORIGINAL:

ENGLISH  
Forty-ninth session Item 67 of the provisional agenda\*

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

Progress report of the Secretary-General

1. The purpose of the present report is to inform the General Assembly, as I have done in past years, of the continuing exercise of my good offices aimed at finding a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. The dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal has been under way since 1983. After an interruption in 1991, it was reactivated towards the end of 1992. Since then, I have held four rounds of discussions with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal. Through my aides, I have also kept in touch with East Timorese groups and personalities representing various shades of political opinion.
2. As indicated in my report last year (A/48/418), the positions of the two Governments on the issue of the Territory's status remain far apart. Nevertheless, an improved atmosphere has recently been achieved in the dialogue. The two sides have shown a manifest interest in avoiding a confrontational approach and have carried out a number of mutually agreed confidence-building measures, primarily of a humanitarian nature. I have urged both parties to build on these steps and to consider a number of concrete ideas that could further advance the talks while improving conditions and fostering confidence inside East Timor. At the last round of talks, held at Geneva on 6 May 1994, agreement was reached on a number of steps to be undertaken by both sides (see press release SG/SM/5283). These points of agreement were arrived at following a series of thorough consultations before the Geneva meeting. The consultations included discussions with the Permanent Representatives of the two sides in New York, and exploratory discussions on a wide range of ideas, in January 1994, in Portugal, Indonesia, East Timor and Australia with senior government officials, East Timorese political and religious leaders and others representing differing trends of Timorese opinion.

UN Sec Gen's Report Sep 94

3. I will highlight three of the points that were agreed upon at the last round of talks. Firstly, the two Ministers agreed that access to East Timor for the United Nations and human rights and humanitarian organizations, as well as visits to East Timor by East Timorese living abroad and visits of East

Timorese to Portugal, should be continued and expanded. Secondly, I underlined to the two Ministers that a dialogue among East Timorese representatives of all shades of opinion could make important contributions to the ongoing bilateral dialogue under my auspices. The two Ministers have agreed that I should explore ways of convening such an all-inclusive

intra-Timorese dialogue. Thirdly, the two Ministers expressed their willingness to meet separately with East Timorese representatives holding opposing views on the political status of East Timor, i.e., the Foreign Minister of Portugal would meet with those who support integration with Indonesia, and the Foreign Minister of Indonesia with those opposed to

integration. I intend to facilitate these meetings in the near future.

4. Human rights issues have figured prominently in the dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under my auspices, among them the full accounting for those who died or are still

missing as a result of the violent and tragic incident which took place at Dili on 12 November 1991. I have continued to discuss with the Indonesian Government the situation of East Timorese in custody, including the leader of the armed independence movement, Jose "Xanana" Gusmao, who is serving a 20-year prison term after his capture in November 1992, and

the need for taking measures aimed at their early release. In addition, the appropriate human rights organs of the United Nations have continued to deal with the situation in East Timor. In March 1994, the Commission on Human Rights adopted a consensus statement on the subject (see E/1994/24-E/CN.4/1994/132, para. 482). The Subcommission on Prevention

of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities also discussed the issue at its forty-sixth session in August 1994. In July 1994, the Commission's Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions visited East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian Government.

5. In the coming months, I intend to assist the two Governments in identifying a series of issues for consideration by them in advance of the next round of talks, including possible avenues towards achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution. I will

shortly undertake a series of consultations with various East Timorese groups and personalities with a view to convening an all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue.

6. The next round of talks between the two Foreign Ministers will be held at Geneva in the first half of January 1995.

East Timor organizations

Dangerous!

When?

Dangerous  
Not  
sure

Agreement between Cecilia Inacio (Reis)  
and Jose Ramos Horta April 1993

This agreement recognises that Cecilia's husband was a co-signatory with Jose Ramos Horta of the deposit and for the withdrawal of \$38,000 or thereabouts of money placed in the Commonwealth Bank, Darwin, in about October 1975, on behalf of the interim administration of East Timor, at that stage Fretilin.

It acknowledges that Cecilia's husband may have asked her to try to ensure that the money was used wisely in the event that he was murdered by Indonesian forces; and that Cecilia herself would like to see some of the money directly benefitting East Timorese women and children.

It is noted that a successful campaign to rid East Timor of the Indonesian military occupation will be the surest way to safeguard the rights of the population.

As a practical compromise way of utilising the money described above including any compound interest paid, this agreement sets out a procedure for the utilisation of the money, as follows:

\* Cecilia signs a statutory declaration that she has not heard from or of her husband since 1976 and believes him to have been killed by the Indonesian military in East Timor probably in 1976 or 1977 at the latest.

\* The money is split 50:50 between (a) Jose Ramos Horta for use in the campaign for freedom for East Timor, as he sees fit; and (b) a simple trust to be set up as signatories of a bank account in Darwin (4 signatories, need 3 for withdrawal), with nominees as follows:

- \* Cecilia Inacio
- Shirley Shackelton if accepting
- a nominee of the Sydney East Timorese women
- a nominee by Jose Ramos Horta

It is agreed that the money be used for projects to assist needy East Timorese women and children, preferably within East Timor, and not excluding human rights promotion, as the nominees decide.

Cecilia Inacio (Reis)

Jose Ramos Horta

witness

witness

Statement by Cecilia Inacio Reis  
April 1993, re Husband and Bank a/c

In August 1975 there was a brief civil war in East Timor. During this time the Portugese governor went to the island of Atauro, effectively leaving the government in the hands of Fretilin.

My husband was the interim finance minister of this government. In association with some Australian relief workers, a barge load of supplies was sent from Darwin, and a return load of coffee was sent. The proceeds of the sale of this coffee paid for the barge, and an amount of, I think, \$38,000 was deposited in the Commonwealth Bank in Darwin for Fretilin, with withdrawal requiring 2 signatures of two only people, my husband and Jose Ramos Horta.

My husband, Juvenal Inacio, was captured by the Indonesians after their full scale invasion of 7/12/75. I and my daughters were only allowed to see him once after this, in month 1976.

To my knowledge, virtually all of the 1975 Fretilin central committee members have been killed by the Indonesian military. I heard that my husband was killed by in about 1976. However I have never been able to get confirmation. My husband told me when I last saw him that he expected to be murdered. I have never heard any news of him since 1976 (17 years ago), and firmly believe him to be dead.

As a result, the money in the C'wealth bank a\c should be released on the signature of Jose Ramos Horta alone.

I have been told by Robert Wesley-Smith that attempts were made to withdraw this money in 1976 or 1977, and failing that, for the money to be placed in an investment a/c. I understand that by about 1980 the money reverted to the C'wealth government, pending proof of the death of my husband. This I have now provided to the best of my ability.

Thus the original sum, plus compound interest, should be released to Jose Ramos Horta.

Cecilia Inacio (Reis)

Witness:

7, Leoben Ct, Karama NT  
Ph 089 278290



STATEMENT . . . R N WESLEY-SMITH  
RE 12/11/92 AT INDON CONSULATE

I organised the demo in 1991 in Darwin in protest against the brutal Indonesian military slaughter of about 300 East Timorese mainly young people holding a mainly mourning march to the Santa Cruz cemetery.

I was one of the organisers of the 1st anniversary demo on 12/11/92, and as such drove from the city to the Indonesian consulate in Westralia St Stuart Park in order to set in place the PA system prior to the people arriving. They marched from the city, with police escort and direction, in an orderly manner (which, by the way, produced congratulations from the police for the exemplary behaviour and adherence to police requests).

At the consulate there was an Indonesian man on the balcony with a camera and quite an up front manner. I asked the police to get him down prior to the marchers arriving as I pointed out that him staying there would be a big provocation under the emotional circumstances prevailing. This is not an inconsequential matter as we well know that photos taken in such a manner are used by the Indonesians both against East Timorese existing in East Timor and those wishing to visit relatives there, and others. The demonstrators had already had to accept the presence of a known and despised collaborator Mike Atkinson filming for Ch 10. We understand that the film he took on that day went also to the Indons for his personal profit and the disadvantage of East Timorese.

Despite my substantial pleas, the police declined to take action. One said that of course they could not, he was entitled to be there. You can see me raising this matter with police on the video, even one officer walking out and looking up. I considered then, and it is obvious now, that this was an error of judgement on their part. (If not, why did they get him down once the throwing started?).

As the crowd of marchers approached, the balcony spy took photos. I have been told that he drew his hand across his throat at demonstrators shouting at him in a contemptible gesture, showing what we know only too well what the Indon military do to East Timorese (to the tune of 300,000 in the last 18 years, with scarcely a murmur of protest from the Australian - bloody - government.)

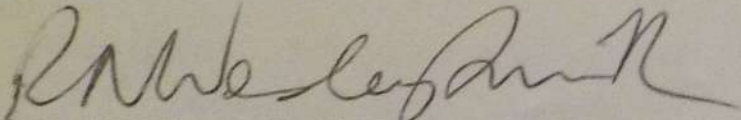
At some point the spy threw tomatoes into the crowd, though I did not see this. I heard a crash as a rock apparently went through the consulate window. Another apparently was aimed at the spy. At this point the police concealed upstairs got the spy off the balcony, an action that should have been done 10 minutes earlier (or have I said this before?). Have the polive been charged with stupidity at best, or perhaps collaboration with the enemy?

I saw police rush everywhere and one grabbed Caesar and frog marched him into the Indonesian consulate grounds, an amazing piece of forward planning and action. The crowd showed amazing self-restraint in not extricating him from this intolerable position immediately (given that he is East Timorese and many knew that they had murdered his father by giving him the old heave ho from a helicopter.)

Another policeman stopped Col Thompson and got his particulars which I thought quite funny because I can't quite see Col throwing a brick anywhere. However it just showed that the police in the melee really could not distinguish anything much.

The police tried to drive Caesar off, which makes me wonder how they intended to speak to him without an interpreter. An anxious and emotional Timorese from the crowd did go in and speak to him while he was in the van in the compound, as briefly did Comrade Alfredo, then soon after Caesar was released.

**Hail Caesar**

  
Rob Wesley-Smith

April 1993

## TWICE IN A LIFETIME

### Australia's Betrayals Of East Timor

Twice in a lifetime Australia has intervened in the affairs of East Timor with tragic consequences for the people of that country. This book argues Australia's (culpability) and complicity, shows how and why it occurred, the consequences of Prime Minister Whitlam's 1974/5 policy and its failures.

East Timor is the only (?) Cold War casualty denied restitution of self-determination. How could a settlement of the 'East Timor Affair' be achieved and this impediment to improved Australian-Indonesian relations removed?

#### Preface

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the purpose  
the spirit of criticism  
deciding on facts  
structure

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visit to Maputo

*Draft -  
completed*

#### Chapter 2 The First Invasion...World War II

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would Japan have by-passed neutral Portuguese East Timor if  
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Timorese.... the 'criados'.....the evacuation, January 1943.  
40,000 East Timorese lives lost .....how and why.  
Australia's post-war plans for East Timor

*Draft*

*Almost certainly no; but  
I am hearing Richard Tanton  
in Japan dig into the archives*

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#### ~~Chapter 4~~ ~~Life, Death And War in East Timor, 1975-94~~ ~~East Timor Untamed~~

summarise accounts of resistance, casualties, Indonesian offensives,  
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the impact of 100,000 Indonesian immigrants  
role of Catholic Church  
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#### Chapter 6 East Timorese In Australian Exile

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for future ("")

attitudes to Australia and Australians (" )  
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### Chapter 7 Australian Responses ... For and Against East Timor

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individuals..Dunn, Shackleton, Walsh, Freney, Wesley-Smith, Preston,  
Sinnot, Domm, et al  
AETA, Talks Campaign

*material for  
the Darwin story.*

### Chapter 8 Paths And Prospects For A Settlement

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proposals, prospects and strategy  
East Timor, the impediment to improving Indonesian-Australian  
relations.....Australia's interests in a settlement

David Scott  
2/23 Eildon Rd  
St Kilda, Victoria, Australia 3182

(03) 534 0078

8 April 1994

TWO LETTERS FROM XANANA GUSMAO WRITTEN TO SUPPORTERS IN THE UK

Cipinang, 27 November 1993

ex Tapel 7/1/94

1)

My Greetings,

It is a pity that I have not mastered English, but I will make an effort to learn it during these years in prison, especially since it will enable me to receive your letters and make the most of your simple gesture to show that you remember - a gesture stemming from real commitment - that moved me deeply.

I am grateful that you are thinking of me but, before me, think too about my people who find themselves captive in a huge prison which was once their country of birth and the country they believed in.

It is a country which has lost the colour of its wild flowers. They have been replaced with plastic flowers which go under the name 'development' (the Indonesian word for development was used here). This has happened because the occupation forces came 18 years ago to burn our forests, our mountains and our plains in military operations designed to persecute those fighting for freedom.

Flowers are nature's way of celebrating and, there is a common saying that life without liberty is like a garden without flowers. If liberty is one of the main aspirations that people have during their lives, liberty must be inherited across generations.

It is my simple duty, along with my compatriots, to struggle for liberty throughout my life, to take on this essential role. I have to do this to rescue liberty for the generations to come and to pass on this precious heritage.

---

I send you my fondest thoughts in the name of all Timorese who are prisoners, those who are held without trial in Cipinang and in East Timor.

Yours sincerely,-

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao.

SENATE QUESTION

EAST TIMOR

(Question No. 1589)

*Countries Evans  
say recognise  
of annex*

Senator Margetts asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon notice, on 9 August 1994:

With reference to changes to Australian foreign policy in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of 1975:

- (1) Please detail any Australian foreign policy changes that led to the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor and the timing of those changes since 1975.
- (2) Please explain the rationale for any changes.
- (3) Please advise whether there are any other countries, besides Australia, that recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Senator Evans - The answer to the honourable senator's question is as follows:

- (1) The Australian Government recognises Indonesia's sovereign authority over East Timor. In 1979 the then Coalition Government extended de jure recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. This has been maintained by successive Labor Governments. The Government explicitly confirmed its recognition policy in a statement to Parliament by the then Prime Minister Mr Hawke on 22 August 1985 (Hansard 22 August 1985 page 222).
- (2) The decision taken by the then Coalition Government to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor in 1979 is not for this Government to explain, but in the context of reaffirming Australia's recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor in 1985, the then Prime Minister Mr Hawke said that the fact of Indonesian control over East Timor had been demonstrated. The Government believes the best way to serve and advance the interests of the people of East Timor is by working constructively with the Indonesian Government within the framework of recognition of Indonesia's claims over the territory, rather than in a spirit of confrontation.
- (3) The Australian Government cannot speak for other Governments concerning their policy on recognising Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. However, according to information available to the Government, at least thirty one countries can be assessed as having indicated that they have recognised the sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor at some time since 1976 by public statement, by explanation of vote in the United Nations or through the signing of a treaty with Indonesia which contains a territorial clause that covers East Timor.

The following countries, apart from Australia, have made public statements recognising Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor: India, Papua New Guinea and the United States of America (which has stated that it recognises incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia without recognising that a valid act of self-determination has taken place).

States that have indicated that they have recognised the incorporation of East Timor, at some stage since 1976, through an explanation of their vote at the United Nations General Assembly include: Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Bangladesh, Canada, Sweden, Papua New Guinea, India, Oman and Jordan.

It is common practice for Indonesia, when it negotiates a bilateral treaty, to insert a clause which defines Indonesia as that territory which is deemed by the laws of Indonesia to be subject to Indonesian sovereignty. A treaty which contains such a provision (if concluded after 1976) can be regarded as evidence that the relevant state party recognises East Timor as being part of Indonesia. The following twenty four states have signed such treaties: Austria, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand and the United Arab Emirates.



## QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE

## East Timor

**Senator BOURNE**—My question is directed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I refer to his statements on the Radio National breakfast program with Peter Thompson this morning. How does he explain the obvious inconsistency between a position recognising Indonesia's annexation of **East Timor** while at the same time continuing to profess support for a process of self-determination for the people of **East Timor**? Does the minister believe that Australia has ever really pursued or campaigned for a process of self-determination for the people of **East Timor**? Will Australia now move to repeal the 1989 Timor Gap treaty, to genuinely work towards a process of self-determination for the people of **East Timor** and, when that is achieved, to negotiate a Timor Gap treaty which would give a fair share of the profits back to the Timorese people?

**Senator GARETH EVANS**—There is a lot of misunderstanding about the concept of the right to self-determination, which it might be helpful for me to clarify at the outset. The right of self-determination of peoples is recognised in general terms in the UN charter in articles 1 and 55, but I think it is fair to say that it has always been a very imprecise concept. It is presently subject to quite a lot of international rethinking, particularly because of the proliferation of claims to self-determination by national entities within larger sovereign states, as distinct from the more familiar colonial context. It is worth acknowledging that at the outset.

The question of what self-determination means in any particular case and how it might be exercised in any particular context is a matter to be pursued by the United Nations. There are a number of UN resolutions on this subject, and they make it clear that self-determination can involve a number of quite different outcomes, including of course the emergence of an independent state, but also integration, or some form of association within or with another state, or a degree of autonomy within another state. I think that is important background.

In the case of **East Timor**, Australia recognises that the people of **East Timor** do have a right of self-determination—to choose, in effect, how they are governed. This has been Australia's position since before the events of 1975, and it has never been reversed. The UN, in relation to **East Timor**, has certainly recognised that there can be no solution to self-determination and related issues without the cooperation of the Indonesian government; thus the consultations with Indonesia which are now being conducted under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General and which Australia fully supports, and has done since their inception.

As to the question about inconsistency, Portugal argues that Australia cannot both recognise Indonesian sovereignty over **East Timor** and, at the same time, say that the East Timorese have a right to self-determination. Senator Bourne seems to want to embrace that Portuguese claim of inconsistency. The situation is that before 1975 Australia recognised Portuguese sovereignty over **East Timor** while, at the same time, simultaneously recognising the right to self-determination of the Timorese people. There is no difference between the situation then and now. A claim of a right to self-determination can exist with a recognition of sovereignty. We recognised Portuguese sovereignty then—and, in fact, up until 1979 before we formalised it—and since 1979 we have recognised Indonesian sovereignty, but we have also recognised right through that period the right to self-determination by the people of **East Timor**.

As to the Timor Gap treaty, which Senator Bourne wants us to repeal, it is important to realise, because this too has got lost in the argument about this case, that Australia negotiated the Timor Gap treaty not to gain access to anyone else's resources but to our own share of the resources of the Timor Gap area. Australia could not do that before the treaty because there was no agreed international boundary line in that area. As Indonesia was in control of **East Timor**, Australia had to negotiate with Indonesia to settle the boundary issue.

Portugal cannot seriously pretend that it is now, or has been since 1975, in a position to give effect to an agreement on the Timor Gap. I have to say that generally, whatever might have been the situation before 1975 or before 1979, we simply do not accept that, in 1995, Portugal, the colonial power which governed that territory so lamentably and ultimately abandoned the territory, continues to have any right whatsoever over **East Timor**.

Finally, Australia has always tried to generate actual results rather than rhetoric for the people of **East Timor**. I have run out of time, but if you want to ask me how, I will tell you how in a supplementary.

# Joint Movement for Self-Determination Referendum for East Timor

PRESS RELEASE FR1 25/11/94 2300 hrs

Important and urgent information received tonight from East Timor indicates that the Indonesian security apparatus in Dili is taking a new fraudulent action against the population.

The people will be forced to openly indicate their support for integration or not.

Of course such a "poll" would have no credibility with the rest of the world ... would it??

We remember that Australian governments apparently have accepted similar Indonesian staged and forced "polls" in Dili 31/5/76, and West Papua in 1969, where the results, at Indonesian gunpoint, allegedly favoured integration with Indonesia in both cases.

The real result is seen by the continued resistance to Indonesian rule by the whole populations to this day.

We demand that Governments around the world condemn such further violations of the dignity of the people of East Timor.

In particular, the Australian government and foreign minister Evans bear heavy responsibility for the Indonesians taking his advice. On Monday this week, in response to the call in Sydney by noted Indonesian human rights activist Dr George Aditjondro for a free and fair referendum on self determination for East Timor, Evans stated that Australia would only support a poll if in effect the result was predetermined that East Timorese be forced to accept its brutal occupation by the Indonesian military.

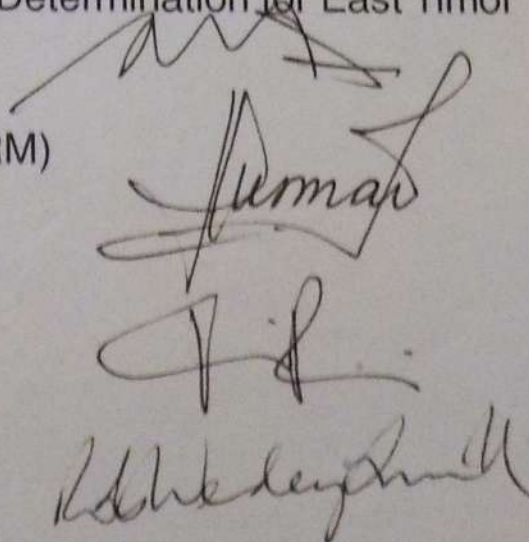
Signed:

Indonesian Campaign for a Referendum for Self Determination for East Timor  
Dr George Aditjondro Ph c/ 61 89 270992

East Timor National Council of Resistance (CNRM)  
Jose Gusmao PhFax 61 89 275478

Timorese Democratic Union (UDT)  
Flavia Pires PhFax 61 89 454066

Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET)  
Rob Wesley-Smith PhFax 61 89 832113



QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE  
East Timor

*Self-deter  
only as part  
of Indonesia*

Senator **MARGETTS**-My question is directed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I refer the minister to his recent meeting with the Indonesian foreign affairs minister, Mr Ali Alitas, prior to the APEC meetings in Indonesia, and particularly to discussions at that meeting concerning 'special status' for East Timor. I ask: given that Bishop Belo has stated that the East Timorese people will support 'special status' only if it is a step towards self-determination, does the minister agree that 'special status' should be seen as the first step for self-determination for East Timor, or is this just a cosmetic attempt to deal with the issue of East Timor and reduce international criticism?

Senator **GARETH EVANS**-Bishop Belo is a very important figure in East Timor and his views certainly ought to be taken very seriously, but they do not necessarily represent the be all and end all and do not necessarily represent a practically workable solution. For example, Bishop Belo has recently gone on record as opposing the establishment of an Australian consulate in Dili, yet we have been asked on innumerable occasions by East Timorese representatives in Australia and many other members of the NGO community to press for that as an important and helpful step forward. So there are questions of judgment involved in this and I think we just have to pick our way through that rather than assuming that the words of any one leader or senior figure are necessarily decisive.

The self-determination that Australia talks about and wants to encourage is self-determination within the framework of Indonesian sovereignty. That is the implication of de jure recognition which the other side of Australian politics initiated in 1979 and which we subsequently endorsed when we came into office.

Self-determination in that context, and in the way in which that expression is being used a lot internationally these days, does mean genuine respect for different ethnicity and genuine respect for human rights claims of particular groups within larger national or state entities. That is the kind of thing we are talking about. In that context, some kind of

special political autonomy or special status--of the kind, for example, that exists in Jogjakarta or Aceh--might be thought to be helpful in that larger process of reconciliation. It is not by itself enough to solve the whole problem but it is at least part of the answer. The other elements of the answer are those I have described, in particular the military drawdown as well as other measures being taken to respect local, religious and cultural sensitivities to a greater extent than has been the case so far.

Senator **MARGETTS**-Mr President, I ask a supplementary question. As the minister mentioned, Aceh apparently has special status. I point out that, during the last year, as many people were killed there as in East Timor. Does the minister feel that the granting of special status will assist in eliminating or reducing the killings, tortures and human rights abuses--I know he mentioned the military drawdown as well--in East Timor? Is Australia's accepting of a largely cosmetic change just a way for Indonesia and Australia to manage the issue, so that they can get on with trade negotiations?

Senator **GARETH EVANS**-I do not suggest that it is a sufficient condition but it may be a necessary condition. It would certainly be a helpful condition in establishing a rather different atmosphere, a rather different climate and a rather different set of thought processes in terms of the way the Indonesian government and senior military personnel regard the situation in East Timor. I am perfectly well aware that Aceh has been an occasion for a lot of unhappiness and human rights abuse in its own terms, not so much recently in the last year but certainly for some time before that. Nobody suggests that there are any solutions to this which are simple.

But Australia's motivation in this is not as Senator **Margetts** describes. We are, and always have been, absolutely sincere in our endeavours to do the best we possibly can for the East Timorese people. We believe the best way of doing that is within the context of a broad-based, multi-dimensional relationship in which what we say is taken seriously and not just dismissed as howls of outrage from those who are ignorant and not being especially helpful.

Hayde

20/1/78STATEMENT BY BILL HAYDEN, MP

20 January 1978

By recognising Indonesian control over East Timor the Australian Government places itself in direct conflict with majority opinion in the United Nations.

The actions of Indonesia in their continued occupation of East Timor deserve condemnation, not recognition.

Their intrusion ignores the United Nations General Assembly resolution which calls upon all countries to respect the inalienable right of the Timorese people to self-determination.

What will the decision mean to the welfare of the Timorese people who all Australians should remember played a heroic role alongside Australians during the war in the Pacific.

What is Mr Peacock's evidence that Indonesia does in fact control East Timor effectively?

Reports continue to leak out of Timor that Fretilin is still a formidable force.

In any event the military conquest and forced incorporation of East Timor by Indonesia is unjustifiable, illegal, immoral and inexcusable.

It is inconceivable that the Australian people who have built their nation on a firm belief in the rights and freedoms of people would in the circumstances endorse the Government's action in recognising Indonesia's seizure of East Timor.

One can only assume that this cynical decision means the abandonment of the political rights of the Timorese people.

# VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

1 Oct 94

My wife and I recently completed a 2 month trip through the Eastern Indonesian Archipelago culminating in a month's visit to friends and relatives in East Timor. As frequent visitors to the Eastern provinces we have many long standing friendships and over the years have developed a sympathy and understanding for our Indonesian and East Timorese friends' sensitivities, particularly their religious concerns. Although a Catholic, I have always regarded the religious insecurities and prejudices of my Timorese friends' as petty, childish, sometimes paranoid. The conviction of the East Nusa Tenggara Catholics, the Indonesian province adjoining East Timor, that they form a bulwark against Islam spreading further East and South is an eccentricity I have always understood as being inherited from their Portuguese and Dutch former colonial masters. This Religious rivalry, unfortunately, is turning very nasty throughout much of Eastern Indonesia and East Timor. Although I am fluent in Indonesian and local dialects it is still hard for me to differentiate fact from fiction in what is rapidly becoming a Religious Cold War. Fear and loathing is being sown by a number of underground publications purporting to represent the views of an Indonesian Islamic Intellectuals' organisation, others purportedly from the Middle-East. These papers, usually two or three pages long though some are as long as 12 pages, instruct the local Muslims to kidnap Priests, rape nuns, infiltrate the Churches and desecrate the Host, blow up Churches and Grottoes belonging to Our Lady among other atrocities too numerous to mention here. In all probability these publications are forgeries, but ordinary people and those of little education tend to believe them and the atrocities listed above are eerily beginning to happen as predicted. A host was desecrated during Holy Communion in Ende on the Island of Flores, leading to demonstrations and the burning down of two judges residences in reprisal for not appropriately dealing with the desecrators. The Host was again Desecrated by Indonesian soldiers in the Church of Saint Joseph Remexio in East Timor, Nuns abused and sexually taunted leading to a large but peaceful demonstration at the Catholic University in East Timor which resulted in the inevitable full frontal assault by the Military on the protesters and the deaths of up to three students, with many still listed as missing by the International Red Cross. The inescapable conclusion is that somebody is trying to start a Religious war in Eastern Indonesia, probably as part of a political strategy leading up to the next election and connected with the rivalry of various military and civil factions and personalities all competing to succeed President Suharto. Not to be discounted is the possibility of clandestine successionist movements deliberately fomenting religious discord to Balkanise Indonesia. None of this of course is news to the East Timorese, who for nearly 20 years have watched the Indonesian Army use aggressive Islamisation as part of its strategy to 'Integrate' East Timor, a homogenous Catholic people, into Indonesia. I met women who as children had been taken away by invading Indonesian soldiers to Jakarta, Surabaya and Ujung Pandang and forcibly brought up as Muslims. Elements of the military still use T.B.O's { tenaga bantuan operasi or operational assistants} teenage East Timorese pressed into service and inducted into the Mosques in exchange for food, money and protection. One TBO was recently murdered by a soldier in Vikeke, a town on the Southern coast of East Timor and centre of guerilla resistance to the Indonesian occupation. While we were visiting Bacau, 60 kilometers North of Vikeke local Catholic Youths beat up a Muslim schoolteacher in reprisal for forcing some of his Catholic students to attend a Mosque. Catholic students from Dili, East Timor's Capital City have been sent to every church in the countryside to provide extra protection against Military and Islamic intervention.

I must stress that there has always been a small Islamic trading community in both East and West Timor, generally living harmoniously with the native Christian inhabitants. The new aggressive Islam is so worrying to those few East Timorese Catholics who previously supported the Indonesian Invasion that they now support the Resistance and bitterly regret their flirtations with their unpredictable giant neighbour. Long time Catholic friends in neighbouring West Timor and Flores who once supported the peaceful integration of East Timor into Indonesia as a way of increasing the total strength of the Catholic lobby in Jakarta are now beginning to change their minds, seeing in East Timor a potential safe haven for Indonesian Catholic refugees should Indonesia eventually succumb to Islamic domination, but ever fearful of being labelled subversive cannot be expected to express their opinions openly in the media in the near future. Many Indonesian Priests now living in East Timor or with previous pastoral experience there support the human rights struggle but are afraid to speak out about the basic cause of the abuses, the occupation by a foreign power. I don't feel happy about revealing the contents of private conversations with friends and can only hope that they will forgive me in a spirit of Christian solidarity. After all I am better and more safely placed than they. I have freedom of speech and the luxury of distance.

And what of our stay in East Timor in general? All I can say is that everything bad you have ever heard about East Timor is true. It is a Military occupation. We were followed everywhere by Indonesian intelligence, many old Portuguese buildings in the countryside could not be photographed because they have become military installations, people were scared to talk in public with foreigners, paid informers were everywhere. East Timor is a country of emotionally and mentally disturbed people, sacrificed by the world community to 20 years of brutal Indonesian occupation, finding refuge only in their beloved Church. Yet they refuse to give in. Students are willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom, they talk of beginning an 'intifada' at some more strategic time in the future, they are fully aware that many more sacrifices and martyrs will be necessary before independence is achieved, old 'neneks', grandmothers, still ask those well connected with the guerillas in the mountains, "How's our struggle going?" The Indonesian claim to have developed East Timor's economy and infrastructure is a palpable untruth. The only developments we saw were military bases and Churches, the funds for the Churches coming from overseas, not from within Indonesia. Apart from that a few roads, health clinics, schools and Government Office buildings in almost 20 years of Occupation.

Early in 1994 an Economics student at the Catholic University in Kupang, the Capital City of Indonesian West-Timor, was murdered by a group of up to 30 policemen. After a fight with a plain-clothed policeman he was taken to Hospital for treatment, only to be dragged from his bed by a group of 10 police and taken away to be tortured and killed. The normally placid West Timorese took to the streets an hour later in rolling protests that lasted 3 days and nights, the largest demonstration in Kupang's history. Students set up road-blocks looking for police and soldiers to take revenge upon. My wife and I later talked to an East Timorese public servant from Oekusi who happened to be travelling to Kupang at the time. He told us that he and a group of fellow East Timorese civil servants had been stopped by a roadblock of students looking for Police to beat up. Their public servants' uniforms made them suspicious to the students who asked for their KTP's [identity cards]. When the leader of the students saw that the travellers were East Timorese he apologised and waved them on, saying that this was an 'Indonesian' internal matter. The students obviously know that 'Indonesia' and 'East Timor' are two separate Countries, even if the Indonesian Military are yet to accept this fact. The East Timorese are worried time is running out, every month more

transmigrants from Indonesian Islamic Provinces come to join their families who have already established a business venture there. The Catholic East Timorese will not, cannot ever integrate with Indonesia. The Memory of their Holocaust, over 200,000 dead, approximately one third of the pre-invasion population will be carried forward in the collective unconscious of every generation. The Indonesian Military openly admits another two generations will be hostile to integration with Indonesia. So why prolong the agony? The Titular Head of the Church in East Timor Monsignor Carlos Filipe Belo has advised the Vatican that the best option for East Timor's future would be to hold a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations, so that the East Timorese people can freely choose independence or integration. If the International Community supports Bishop Belo's solution, the extraordinary sufferings of the East Timorese will surely cease.

Allan Dermody, Sydney Australia.



The Hon. Warren Snowdon MP  
 Member for the Northern Territory  
 Parliamentary Secretary to the  
 Minister for Employment, Education and Training

Copy for information.

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Senator the Hon Gareth Evans, QC  
 Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade  
 Parliament House  
 CANBERRA ACT 2600

23 NOV 1992

Dear Minister

I refer to our earlier brief discussion over the weekend about the capture and detention of East Timorese resistance leader Mr Xanana (Jose) Gusmao by the Indonesian military. Again my apologies for ringing you so late at home on Friday night and my thanks for your prompt action on Saturday on gaining assurances from the Indonesian authorities that Mr Gusmao was "safe" and would not be ill treated.

While the assurances you have gained from the Indonesians are welcome they open a range of issues which in my view our Government could profitably address.

Firstly I believe our Government should emphasise to the Indonesian authorities the opportunity that has arisen to see the detention of Mr Gusmao as a catalyst for change in the relationship between the Indonesian Government and the East Timorese. Your call this morning for the Indonesian authorities not to use the detention of Mr Gusmao as an opportunity for revenge but rather as an opportunity for reconciliation was timely.

In that context it would seem appropriate for our Government to join in calls for the Indonesian Government to look favourably on proposals to release Mr Gusmao and assure his safe passage to another country. I seek your assurance that our Government will support any initiatives that might be taken by the United Nations Secretary General in seeking Mr Gusmao's release.

We should in any event be seeking access to Mr Gusmao by our representatives, as Mrs Gusmao and their children are Australian residents, or at least the Red Cross to verify that he is in fact safe and in good health. Should the Indonesian Government refuse to release Mr Gusmao and to proceed with charges under Indonesian law then guarantees should be sought that he will have immediate access to appropriate legal representation.



Another important guarantee to seek from the Indonesian Government is that they will not embark on a process of reprisals against East Timorese people following Mr Gusmao's detention and that any East Timorese who have been or are subsequently detained are treated humanely and fairly. We should emphasise again our total opposition to the detention of individuals on the basis of peaceful political activity and again call on the Indonesian Government to guarantee that individuals who express peaceful opposition to the integration of East Timor with Indonesia are free from intimidation, harassment or detention.

In a wider context the current situation, as you have rightly observed, provides the Indonesian Government with a unique opportunity to demonstrate its bona-fides in relation to East Timor.

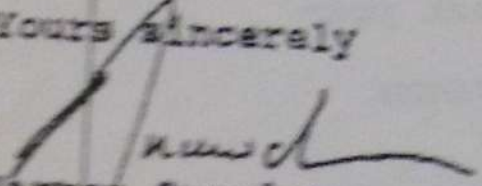
In these circumstances it would seem appropriate for our Government to reiterate to the Indonesian Government the opportunity that now presents itself, in a spirit of reconciliation, for them to 'sit down with the people of East Timor including the resistance forces and try and work out a program of achieving peaceful relations' and to move to meet the longer-term needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people.

It would also seem appropriate for our Government to call for an end of the military occupation and to again stress our concern at the closure of East Timor to visitors and to request that the area be "opened up" to allow a free flow of people and information both within and across its borders.

I appreciate the sensitivity of East Timor as an issue in terms of our relationship with Indonesia and I do not intend to revisit, at this time, the arguments about the appropriateness or otherwise of Australian Government policy. However, as I have consistently asserted, Australia has since World War II owed the East Timorese people a tremendous debt which remains unpaid. The current circumstances at least provide us with the opportunity to demonstrate that we recognise that debt.

I look forward to your early advice.

Yours sincerely

  
Warren Snowdon

cc The Hon P J Keating MP  
Mr Laurie Ferguson MP  
Mr Garry Gibson MP  
Mr Ted Grace MP  
Mr Arch Bevis MP  
Senator Chris Schacht  
Senator Nick Sherry

Hand Delivered note to G.P. Dat 60

Jose Gusmao  
PhFax 089 832113

Rob Wesley-Smith  
Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801  
PhFax 089 832113  
11.4.94

Jose,

I understand that Fretilin is to have a major meeting in Portugal, and also that Comrade Alfredo is to do another of his many overseas trips for this. (One wonders if equivalent amounts money has been sent to the Resistance during this time?)

I enclose my correspondence with Alfredo in late 1992. I have not until now responded to Alfredo's letter to me of 1/12/94, even though it is full of misleading statements, and even though he sent copies to quite a few people. My original letter to Warren Snowden and Alfredo of 30/11/92 was typed in Sno's office so they had the chance to see it. I'm not sure if I sent you a copy, but that would have been the only other one if I did.

I attended a meeting last year with Mari Alkatiri, Alfredo and a few Darwin ET supporters and some of these issues were thrashed out. That was the first time Alfredo had spoken to me since Dec 92. This I find ironic, as I was an East Timor Activist in Darwin for many years before Alfredo, and I taught him the media ropes and gave other support. I believe I have been prepared to give a lot of time and support to whoever was prepared to be activist and sensible in the support of East Timor rights.

Alfredo was not a member of Fretilin as I understand it in the early days, yet he has implemented procedures designed to disenfranchise such militants and heroes of Fretilin as yourself Jose Gusmao. Since my written criticism of him he has generally refused cooperation with the usual Timor militants in Darwin both of T'ese and Austn origin, & apparently tried to rip off the Tetun school money from the authorised account. I understand he told Anni not to report to the community on her trip to Japan. He refused my attempt to promote unity in getting UDT, CNRM, Fretilin and Supporters to sign a Press Release on 22/6/94 (signed by the other 3). He should retire or be retired.

At this point I want to reiterate my view long expressed to Agio and others when Agio was head of Fretilin in Australia and since, as follows. Fretilin should have major leaders in Darwin, Melbourne and Sydney, with the main secretariat located wherever seems best at the time but basically try to rotate between the 3 cities each 2-3 years. CNRM should ultimately probably be similar. UDT's organisation and lack of elections since 1975 or ever is a joke or worse. I don't see that Fretilin needs ONE Australian leader, but if so it should be as chair of the 3.

Why doesn't Fretilin join with CNRM in Australia? As I understand it, this was the structure set up by Xanana and the Resistance inside. Such disunity could be interpreted as stupidity or bloody-mindedness at best, treachery at worst.

To answer Alfredo's letter to me of 1/12/92:

My letter to Warren Snowden was NOT misleading, and was born out of Alfredo's arrogant and self-serving decision to quite rudely, against the decision of the East Timor Action Group, refuse to send Jose Gusmao to Sydney and Canberra. I was NOT interfering with Fretilin, but seeking some consistency of support for ETAC decisions, otherwise we were wasting our time at such meetings, and Alfredo's attitude was an insult not only to Fretilin comrades such as Jose but to all the people attending.

Quite frankly, I had discussed with Alfredo my view of Alfredo's inadequate performance back many months earlier, I think possibly before the Dili Massacre, which in a sense gave him new life due to all the publicity, much of which, mainly the TV side, was handled very poorly, attracting criticism from down south. When Xanana was captured I don't believe Alfredo reacted as much as he might have, along with many Fretilin "leaders", because he and they thought he and they were a step closer to the leadership, unbelievable as this may seem, but look at Abilio too since then.

Back to Alfredo's letter. I'm confident in Jose Gusmao's support, as I well know that Jose is a decent and nice man who tries to avoid conflict and tension if possible, and finds the perhaps Australian political role of "headkicker" quite hard.

His point 1. I asked Alfredo for a copy of the Mau Huno letter of 10/10/92 in English (or Portugese) allegedly giving the gang of 4 the task of restructuring Fretilin, but he has refused. I don't believe Mau Huno ever suggested Fretilin should set its face against CNRM, or kick out people such as Jose Gusmao. The supposed restructure is a joke. The behaviour of so-called Fretilin leaders in Australia towards CNRM has been a sick joke.

His point 2. I'm not quite sure who really initiated ETAG, but later Alfredo said at the meeting with Mari that it was designed only to give him Alfredo advice. What a joke. It was an Action c'tee, if not it was of little point.

3. Alfredo or Fretilin leadership did plan for a demo on Mon 23/10/92, but this was thought to be too late and too inadequate by some East Timorese and some interested press, and the decision was not done in conjunction with supporters eg AFFET (Australians for a Free East Timor). Another open meeting at La Faek Sat 24 evening with a sense of urgency decided to demonstrate on the next day (Sun). This was due to the urgency of Xanana's need, but also to catch the Press on Sunday when media opportunities are often better. 4 or 5 subgroups prepared material for the next day, which was a splendid example of cooperation. Alfredo came, and spoke, but appeared churlish to me. This was a successful media event giving a lot of useful material to them, and to just say the house was empty is trite and pathetic.

RW-S 11/4/94

His point 4. (a) In his point 2 he talks about Fretilin's role in setting up the ETAG and the successful participation by 3 Fretilin members. Now he suggests that ETAG had made decisions "without any consultation whatsoever". Whatever happened to the 3 Fretilin members who were allegedly doing such a good job?, to say nothing of the fact that we would have welcomed Alfredo's attendance at such meetings but he never came.

(b) Also, I presume by mistake, he quotes the wrong month! The ETAG meeting was on 24/11/92, and there was to be a national action in Sydney and Canberra. I don't think the NT had ever been represented at such actions, maybe Agio went to one. But this time Xanana Gusmao had just been arrested, Jose Gusmao was his cousin with the same surname, and it was obvious to all that he should go. A rough split of costs was agreed, eg \$200 each from ETRA CNRM Fretilin and AFFET as I recall. Gusmao left on Thurs 3/12 to get to Canberra by the conference on 5th, and to save \$200 on the airfare it had to be bought no later than on Thurs 26/11. I suppose if we had waited until after Alfredo bothered to talk about it the next day then I would have been up for another \$200. I paid for the ticket on 26th, and gradually got a fair bit of it back, though to this day not one single solitary cent from Fretilin. To say he could go was very big of Alfredo, who is he to say no, but the key point was that he denied any blessing or any cash to the visit.

History shows the success of this visit, leading to Jose doing some studies at the UNSW Diplomacy course, and Horta's appointment of him to a CNRM position, much to the everlasting dismay of the spurned Alfredo, poor chap.

So that's it. But where are the masses of educated or educating activist sensible unified East Timorese the world over?? People generally need to lift their game. The image of old leadership clinging to their positions does not help. To be loyal to Fretilin you should be loyal to CNRM too, after all that is sensible and also the way the internal leadership all want it. If they had any decency, UDT would have disbanded in 1976 and started again democratically from scratch. After all, I think a lot of people have lost sight of the fact that it is the end goal to which we aspire, that of a Free and Independent East Timor. Organisations can come and go, that doesn't matter. Be loyal to the goal and dream.

In Darwin, La Faek club is important to ongoing activity. But it seems that it has become an end in itself to some key players, run almost secretly, (like by Indonesians I heard that someone said). Certainly it is especially hard for an English speaker to know what goes on, and one hears that specific detailed financial statements are never issued. Its membership and attendance have been regrettably low, not helped by the Alfredo thing.

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RWS 11/4/94

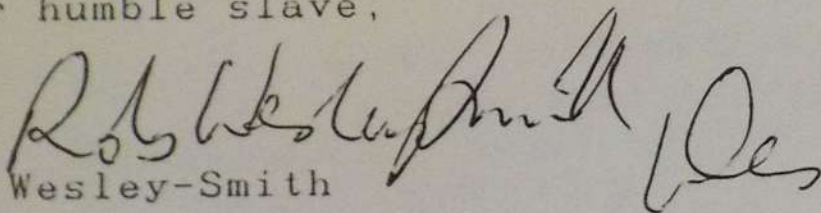
There is a strong move to try to make the Darwin Tetun school a La Faek school. There seems to be little attempt to get non-La Faek members to send their kids to the school, including Chinese Timorese. The school is an important step, but must start to make strides. I'm not aware of any circulars or reports to members or the public. The teachers must come out of their isolation and get some professional help and better organisation.

The cassette Lao Rai in Tetun that was made last year by a group including me has been handled in effect secretly since, with atrocious business skills leading to ineffective sales, and quite a few I know quite upset especially me as I tried to help in advance and had some commitment to the project. No one systematically collects money for activism, no one much wants to demonstrate at present, and AFFET don't want to do much without ET's support. So there.

Hope this is useful and positive results can flow from it.

I am, etc etc,  
your humble slave,

Rob Wesley-Smith



# The truth about Timor

It is likely that you will have heard of Timor, though you may not have heard of my 18 year old brother, Ben, who I believe was murdered in West Timor's capital, Kupang, last April.

Timor is just over an hour's flight from Darwin. It is a pretty place of beaches, palm trees and sunshine. At the same time however, Timor and its population have the proverbial dark cloud looming. It is a cloud I fear will soon rain blood across Timor, Jakarta and Canberra sometime in the future.

The history of Timor has continually been one of occupation, whether that be in the form of the Dutch and Portuguese, or that now being delivered by Indonesia. Since the beginning of European settlement, Timor has been divided into two provinces, East Timor and West Timor. Prior to Indonesian independence from Holland, the Dutch ruled West Timor while the Portuguese ruled East Timor. Australia's first contact with Timor came during the Pacific War - in which the Timorese actively supported Australian troops in

preventing the Japanese from building airfields to attack Australia. More than 40,000 Timorese lost their lives in this struggle.

In 1945 Indonesia won independence from the Dutch and gained control of West Timor. With the withdrawal of the Portuguese administration in the mid-70's, there was a short period of infighting between different political groups, in which the Fretilin movement gained control. In 1975, after fierce fighting, Indonesia annexed East Timor and the killing began.

The Australian government's reaction was one of complacency, with little or no condemnation of the invasion or the abuse of the Timorese people that followed. In 1974, just months prior to the invasion, Australia's then Prime Minister Gough Whitlam met with General Suharto, who is the current President of Indonesia. Whitlam gave approval to Indonesia's plan for the invasion, stating that East Timor is "too economically unviable" to be independent. In 1975 the Australian Ambassador to Jakarta, Richard Woolcott, sent a then-secret cable to Canberra, saying that he believed it would be far more convenient for Australia to acquire the rights to Timor's large off-shore oil reserves from Indonesia, rather than an independent East Timor. A further cable followed from Woolcott, in which he said that the Indonesian had promised to forewarn Australia of the invasion. They did exactly as they promised, and it is now clear that the

Australian government knew exactly what the Jakarta regime was planning.

During the 1975 invasion, two Australian journalists reporting on Indonesian brutality and three British civilians were brutally killed, along with thousands of Timorese. The Australian

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*"To the capitalist governors, Timor's petroleum smells better than the Timorese blood and tears"*  
-Timorese priest.

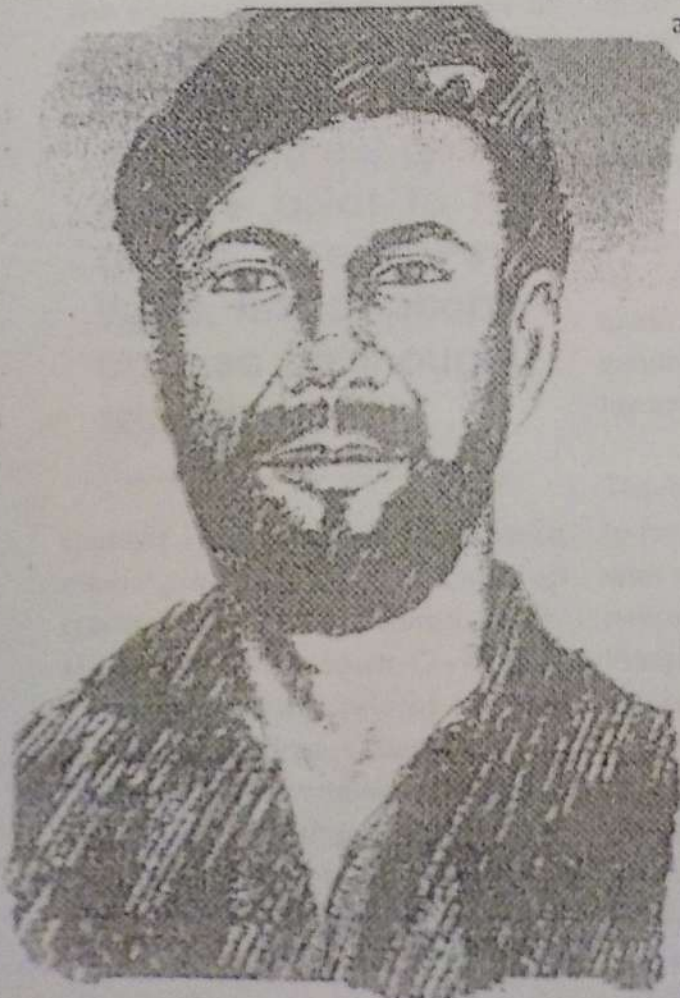
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government's response was total silence - no condemnation, no inquiry, nothing. The families of the Australians killed are still trying to get the Indonesian governments to admit to the killings, and for the Australian government to recognise these deaths for what they were - political murder of innocent civilians.

During the last few years Australia has strengthened its ties with the Indonesian government, predominantly through economic co-operation. Sadly, East Timor has been ignored, in fact, one could say that the Australian government has sacrificed every shred of morality for economic gain. Australian policy under the present government takes the hypocritical stance that the Indonesian regime will listen to a close, friendly ally such as Australia. In the meantime, over 200,000 East Timorese have been killed since 1975, and it does not take much to realise that this policy is a sham.

*"To the capitalist governors, Timor's petroleum smells better than the Timorese blood and tears"*  
-Timorese priest.

In 1989, Gareth Evans signed the Timor Gap Treaty with Indonesia's



foreign Minister, Ali Alatis. The agreement provides for Australia and Indonesia to share the wealth contained in the oil-fields in the Timor Sea, a wealth which rightfully belongs to the Timorese. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, and on these grounds Portugal is challenging the Timor Gap Treaty in the International Court. In Australia, East Timorese are currently challenging the validity of the Treaty in the High Court. When asked about the international principle of recognising territory acquired by force, Australia's Foreign Minister Gareth Evans replied that "The world is a pretty unfair place".

In the early hours of Friday the 8th of April, 1994, sometime between 1.00pm to 2.00pm, my brother Ben was killed in Kupang. He was the only fatality in a fire which destroyed the Morning Sun Hotel. The Kupang Police say he was drunk, smoking in bed, and wholly responsible for his own death. They adamantly refute any notions of murder. The Victorian Coroners pathology report, forensic scientists and eye witness accounts suggest that murder was highly probable.

Ben finished year 12 last year and was in Kupang with my father to work on the construction of a small tourist resort. He met up with three other

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**As he told me on the phone prior to his death, there were lights, lots of people and, so he thought, security.**

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tourists - at party and by a chance meeting in an airport - who ended up staying with him at Nonsui beach, about 30km from town. On his way back from taking two of his new friends to the airport, Ben was hit on the head with a bamboo stick by two people on a passing motorbike. He followed the bike into town, and it was there that he was severely beaten by a mob of workers from the Eden Hotel. We now know that the

manager of the Eden Hotel had seen Ben at the airport a number of times and knew of his association with the tourist resort of Nonsui. He apparently thought that Ben was taking business from him and ordered the assault to send Ben the 'appropriate' message.

Over the next few days my father and Ben spent many hours with the Kupang police making statements - even though the police attitude was very apathetic. Despite Ben identifying the ring leaders of the mob which beat him, which included the manager of the hotel, the police refused to arrest anyone or take people's names.

By this stage, my brother was fearful for his safety, especially as at the isolated Nonsui site there was no electricity and few people. He decided he would return to Melbourne soon, and would spend the night in the Morning Sun Hotel in the centre of Kupang. As he told me on the phone prior to his death, there were lights, lots of people and, so he thought, security.

On the Thursday night Ben was playing his guitar on the veranda of the Hotel until 1.00am, at which time he ordered some food from the kitchen. He went up to his room, leaving his uneaten dinner behind, and soon after workers at the hotel heard an argument and screaming coming from Ben's room. Shortly after Ben's room and the Hotel were ablaze. Suspiciously, Ben's door was locked and the hotel master key was missing. No one thought of breaking the door or smashing a window, even though they could hear my brother's cry for help.

The Australian government's response to my brother's death has been in line with its foreign policy - nothing ever happened. It has taken the Prime Minister and Gareth Evans more than six weeks to reply to my family's letters asking for action on a government level to make the Indonesian government investigate Ben's murder. As expected, no reply has come from Indonesia's Ali Alatis. The recent disturbing deaths and killings of Australians in Cambodia resulted in the Australian government



sending Federal Police to investigate the deaths. Why can this not be done in my brother's case?

The Australian Government has told my family it has faith in the Kupang police report, despite the suspicious circumstances of Ben's death, despite the Victorian Coroner's pathology report showing that Ben was not drunk and that a cigarette could not have caused the type and amount of damage inflicted on my brother's body and despite the fact that the Morning Sun Hotel was being extorted by criminal elements which had ties to the Eden hotel.

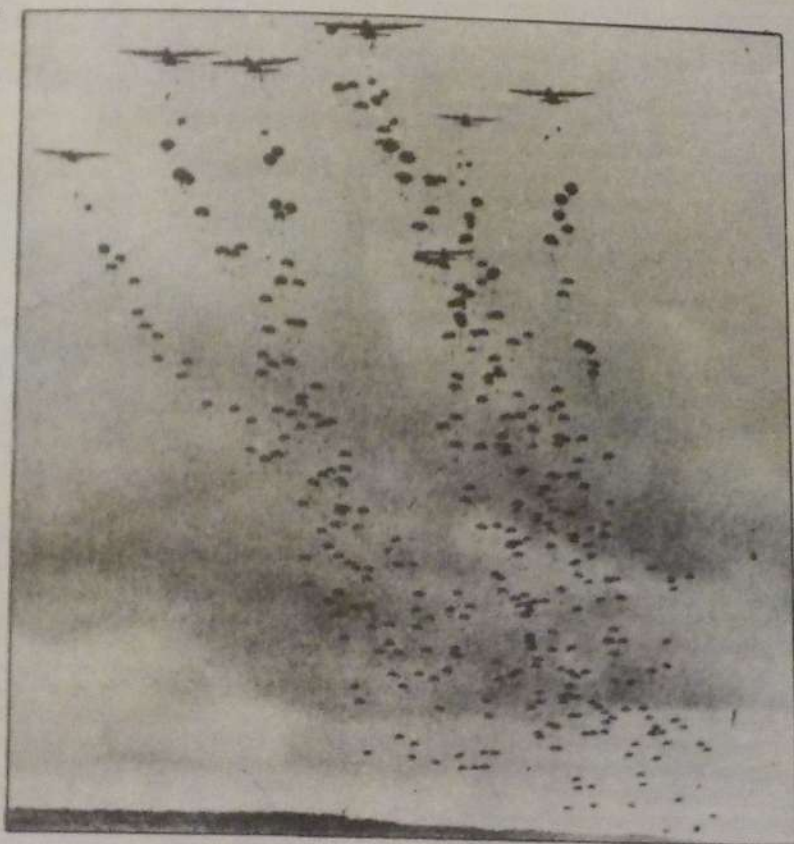
So why have I told you the story of my brother's death and the plight of the East Timorese? It's because I want you to know that our 'democratic' government is sacrificing both Timorese and Australians. Nothing I say will ever compensate for the loss of her brother. You must know that these governments have denied my brother's right to justice as they have denied the rights of the Timorese people. Every time the Australian government sacrifices an individual's rights, or an entire nation's, we all lose

By Sam Moresch.

# EAST TIMOR

## CASUALTY IN THE ARMS RACE

- "... if Australian relations with Indonesia worsened it could hinder US strategy for the region", former Prime Minister Fraser was warned during discussions with Ford Administration and Pentagon officials in July 1976. ( The Age 3/8/'76 )
- US President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta less than 24 hours prior to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.
- At least 100,000 and possibly 200,000 Timorese have died as a result of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.



## NOW IS A CRITICAL TIME

For the first time since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 Australia now has a government with a policy strongly in favour of self-determination and independence for East Timor ( see over ).

All Labor Party national conferences since the invasion have adopted strong resolutions on East Timor. Since Gough Whitlam stopped attending such conferences these resolutions have been adopted unanimously.

Nothing has changed since the ALP last amended its East Timor policy in July 1982 to make it any less valid. With Labor in office the period of Australian servility towards Indonesia should be over. Yet voices are raised inside and outside the Labor government proposing that the East Timor policy be dropped for the sake of good relations with Indonesia.

Strong pressure for uncritical 'close ties' are being exerted by the Foreign Affairs Department, sections of the Defence Department and prominent individuals in academia and the media as well as the US State Department and the Indonesian government. Mr Hawke, who in 1982 signed a petition to the UN supporting self-determination for East Timor, has avoided affirming the Labor policy and has stressed good relations with Indonesia. Reports that he and Mr Hayden told the Indonesian Ambassador that the policy was "an embarrassment" have not been denied.

Concerted pressure from supporters of self-determination and independence for East Timor is needed **NOW**. Another shameful betrayal of the East Timorese people by a Labor government must not be allowed to happen.

The next few weeks will be critical. PLEASE ACT TODAY.

### What you can do

- Write to Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Foreign Minister Bill Hayden ( Parliament House, Canberra, ACT, 2600 ) expressing your support for the full implementation of ALP East Timor policy. Please do not feel that you don't know enough : a letter of three lines giving your view is not too short.
- Ask any organisation ( ALP branch, Trade Union, Church etc. ) to which you may belong to do the same.
- Join the Australia-East Timor Association - see over.

## MAKE HAWKE IMPLEMENT ALP POLICY



# Federal ALP East Timor policy

The ALP recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence and condemns and rejects the Australian government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

The ALP opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor.

Aid to East Timor should benefit the East Timorese but should not support Indonesian Government integration processes or military strategy.

The ALP supports the principle of free migration of East Timorese, including refugees, and believes Australia has an obligation and ability to assist East Timorese to come to Australia.

The ALP will seek out and make publicly available information on all aspects of the East Timor issue.

The ALP opposes the operations of Australian companies in East Timor until self-determination has been achieved.

The ALP will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese.

The ALP will, further—

circulate information on East Timor to governments and political parties overseas;

campaign for the Australian government to release more information;

press for free access to East Timor for the Australian news media;

demand that FRETILIN representatives be allowed into Australia;

press for an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor on a fact-finding mission, ensuring that adequate support is available from interpreters and that unhindered access is available to all parts of the country and population; and

press for a Parliamentary enquiry into all aspects of the East Timor question.

The ALP will also—

press the Australian government to widen its existing programmes to include: the parents and families of isolated children in Australia;

the rest of the 2668 extended family members nominated by Timorese in Australia in 1977; and all other East Timorese who wish to come here;

press the Australian government to send an immigration team to East Timor to bring to Australia the rest of the 600 people on the

Mr Hawke hinted on Sunday that his Government would not feel bound to apply points in the July 1982 ALP national conference policy on East Timor that would cause grave offence to Jakarta and disrupt ties between Indonesia and his Government.

The Age 10/3/83

agreed list and those embraced by categories in the preceding paragraph;

seek direct talks with the Indonesian government on the matter; draw attention to the lack of free migration from East Timor in all appropriate international fora; and

meet with the Timorese community in Australia to enquire into the special problems affecting them.

An ALP government will—

bring to Australia all Timorese included above;

refuse visas to all Indonesian military and government officials until the rest of the 600 people on the agreed list have been admitted to Australia; and

send an immigration team to East Timor to bring direct to Australia all East Timorese specified above.

Adopted at the ALP National Conference, Canberra, July 1982.

The Australia-East Timor Association believes the new government should take the following steps immediately.

- withdraw recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor
- withdraw Australian military advisors from Indonesia
- send home Indonesian military officers training in Australia
- cease deliveries of military hardware
- take joint initiatives with Portugal at the Socialist International (in Lisbon in April), the United Nations and at other international forums
- recall the notoriously pro-Indonesian ambassador, Richard Woolcott, from the United Nations.

## Join AETA now!

The most effective way of supporting the people of East Timor is through joining the Australia-East Timor Association and participating in its activities.

The Secretary

AETA

PO Box 93

Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065

\* SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Individuals \$5.00

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Organisations \$20.00

Please find enclosed cheque / money order for \$ \_\_\_\_\_ \*, being one year's subscription to AETA, plus \$ \_\_\_\_\_ donation.

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**Dr Buyung Nasution  
Tours Australia**

*'The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation is a vital source of energy and advocacy for the community in its struggle for human rights and democracy ... but organisations like LBH are slowly bleeding to death by having their funds restricted.'*

*This is a call for help. Thousands have called on LBH and have been assisted. Can you now do the same for LBH.'*

*What Price Freedom, LBH 1993*

Patron

The Hon. Justice Michael Kirby AC, CMG

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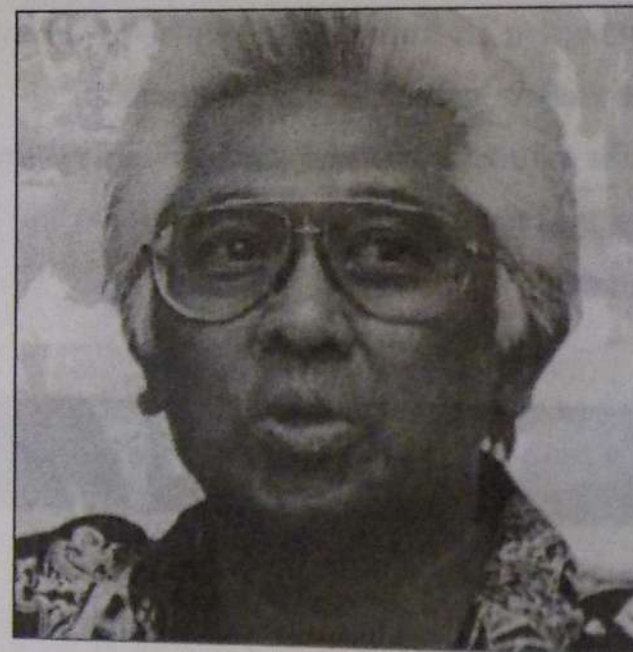
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Legal Aid Commission of NSW

**Strengthening  
Legal Aid  
and  
Human Rights  
in Indonesia**



**Leading Indonesian Lawyer  
Dr Buyung Nasution  
Tours Australia**

**9-20 September 1994**

Quaker Service Australia  
PO Box 119  
North Hobart Tas 7002

AFFIX  
STAMP  
HERE

## Who is Dr Buyung Nasution?

Buyung Nasution is Indonesia's most prominent and outspoken human rights lawyer. An eloquent democrat, he was detained without trial for over a year for his commitment to building a just society.

Buyung Nasution is Chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH), the most important human rights and legal reform body in Indonesia. He co-founded LBH in 1969, drawing on inspiration gained as a legal intern in Australia when he studied the legal aid system in Sydney and the public defenders system in Melbourne.

## What is LBH?

LBH has 200 staff in offices across the Indonesian archipelago. It handles high profile political cases (like East Timorese students), labour cases, land disputes and women's rights. Its lawyers have defended clients in 20,000 cases over the past seven years. LBH also runs legal education programs and is the leading advocate of legal and constitutional reform in Indonesia.

## Speaking dates

### Canberra

Monday 12 September, 5.30-7.30 pm  
Old Canberra House  
1 Liversidge St, Acton.  
(Entry \$30 donation)  
Contact: John Graham (06) 251 4615

### Brisbane

Wednesday 14 September, 5.30-7.30 pm  
Queensland Law Society, 179 Ann St  
(Entry \$30 donation)  
Contact: Tony O'Connor (07) 875 7440

### Sydney

Thursday 15 September, 7.30 pm  
Pitt St Theatre, 264 Pitt St  
(Entry by donation)  
Contact: Brett Evans (02) 261 4766

### Hobart

Saturday 17 September, 7.30 pm  
Friends Meeting House  
395 Argyle St, North Hobart  
and also  
Sunday, 18 September, 12 noon (picnic)  
Waterworks Reserve, South Hobart  
Contact: Sieneke Martin (002) 34 3240

### Melbourne

Monday 19 September, 1.00 pm  
Medley Theatre, Redmond Barry Bldg,  
Melbourne University  
and also  
Monday 19 September, 5.45 pm  
Law Institute, 470 Bourke St  
(Entry by donation)  
Contact: Pat Walsh (03) 417 7505

## LBH Needs Your Help!

LBH's funding base was severely cut in 1992, when President Suharto blocked all Dutch aid to Indonesia (including non-government aid), after the Netherlands criticised Jakarta over the Dili massacre.

Complete this form to support the essential work of LBH, and send it to the address overleaf.

I would like to support the work of LBH in Indonesia. Please accept my cheque (made payable to QSA Overseas Aid Fund) for:

\$50    \$100    \$25    (   )

or, deduct the above amount from my:

Bankcard    Mastercard    Visa

Expiry Date: .....

Signature: .....

Name .....

Address .....

**Donations are tax deductible.**

last part of letter to Jose Gumao 1/4/94

So that's it. But where are the masses of educated or educating activist sensible unified East Timorese the world over?? People generally need to lift their game. The image of old leadership clinging to their positions does not help. To be loyal to Fretilin you should be loyal to CNRM too, after all that is sensible and also the way the internal leadership all want it. If they had any decency, UDT would have disbanded in 1976 and started again democratically from scratch. After all, I think a lot of people have lost sight of the fact that it is the end goal to which we aspire, that of a Free and Independent East Timor. Organisations can come and go, that doesn't matter. Be loyal to the goal and dream.

In Darwin, La Faek club is important to ongoing activity. But it seems that it has become an end in itself to some key players, run almost secretly, (like by Indonesians I heard that someone said). Certainly it is especially hard for an English speaker to know what goes on, and one hears that specific detailed financial statements are never issued. Its membership and attendance have been regrettably low, not helped by the Alfredo thing.

There is a strong move to try to make the Darwin Tetun school a La Faek school. There seems to be little attempt to get non-La Faek members to send their kids to the school, including Chinese Timorese. The school is an important step, but must start to make strides. I'm not aware of any circulars or reports to members or the public. The teachers must come out of their isolation and get some professional help and better organisation.

The cassette Lao Rai in Tetun that was made last year by a group including me has been handled in effect secretly since, with atrocious business skills leading to ineffective sales, and quite a few I know quite upset especially me as I tried to help in advance and had some commitment to the project. No one systematically collects money for activism, no one much wants to demonstrate at present, and AFFET don't want to do much without ET's support. So there.

Hope this is useful and positive results can flow from it.

I am, etc etc,  
your humble slave,

Rob Wesley-Smith

12/10/78

Dear Wesley,

I've just received the coded messages from ET and your note. I wish to take this opportunity to reply to some points you raised in your letter. The reason there has been no contact between me and inside ET is simple: the CC had laid down some rules forbidding the external Representatives from sending individual messages to East Timor. Messages and reports should be sent through Maputo, i.e., the MER. It was also ruled by the CC that messages from inside ET to anyone outside should go first to the MER. Someone, somewhere, has not followed this rule. I have sent dozens of reports of my activities as well as political commentaries on various international issues to Maputo. That's how I understand discipline.

There are some people who have sent false information to the CC about their performances abroad. However, these people haven't done anything positive but fucking up the whole diplomatic front. I am not prepared to work for the benefit of a gang of idiots and opportunists who have been sitting their ass in Lisbon giving the most idiotic Press conferences. I shall send a statement to the CC and I expect their decision to solve the problems I raise. It is unfortunate also that some people in Australia have contributed to the misinformation of the CC on mine and the MER activities abroad.

I haven't had news, absolutely no news, about the struggle in ET for more than a month now! I haven't heard from Denis for many, many weeks now. I haven't seen "East Timor News" for ages. What's going on?

I am leaving here for NZ by the end of the month. I shall pass through Melbourne for one day, 1st and 2nd November, on my way back to NY. If you can manage to come to meet me in Melbourne it would be excellent. We would be able to discuss a number of problems now affecting the external front.

I'll be in touch with David Scott and you can find out from him about my arrival in Melbourne. For future correspondence please use the following addresses: 866 UN Plaza, Suite 523-26, New York, N.Y. 10017, or 417 East 81st St., Apt. 3D, New York, N.Y. 10028.

*Tratepully yours,*

*Jose*

Jose Ramos-Horta

British Campaign for an  
Independent East Timor,  
40 Jonsenon Road,  
London SW 2  
England  
December 14

Dear Friend

We were sent a copy of your open letter on your arrest  
by Kevin F. Sherloc .

We would like to express our solidarity with your  
attempt to take humanitarian aid into East Timor -  
an action which we consider very important and  
admirable- and to express our contempt for the  
Australian Government's attempts to try you on what  
appear to be the most absurd grounds,

Yours in solidarity,

*DM*

David Nacey

op. BJINE.



R. N. Wesley-Smith

# Another radio planned, Timor protest rally told

Another radio receiver would be set up "somewhere in Darwin" to receive Fretilin messages from East Timor as an act of defiance to the Government, a Darwin lunch-time rally was told yesterday.

Mr Brian Manning, the chairman of the protest rally to mark the first anniversary of Indonesian intervention in East Timor, was speaking outside the Indonesian Consulate in Bennett Street.

He called on the Australian people to financially and morally support setting up of the radio.

Commonwealth police have already seized two

such receivers in Darwin during the past year.

About 50 people participated in the protest march, which started off from Wood's Street and proceeded up Knuckey and Smith Streets to the Consulate.

A petition was presented to the Consulate demanding the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. The rally then pro-

ceeded to the Immigration Department in Mitchell Street, where the department was called upon to allow refugees from Timor into Australia to reunite with their own families.

Speakers outside the Government block housing the Immigration Department said that Mr Andrew Peacock (the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs) had recently received information from a group of

Catholic priests that only about 100,000 Timorese were living under Indonesian control in the war-torn country.

The other 500,000 East Timorese were still living in Fretilin controlled territory.

Mr Manning said the Australian Government was in the ludicrous position of wanting bilateral talks with the Indonesian Government on East Timor.

He said Mr Peacock obviously did not want the priests' report to be made public as it was damaging to the Government's stand on the issue.

He urged Darwin people to use the facilities of the Timor Information Centre in the Knuckey Street flea market to acquaint themselves with the position of the war in East Timor.

8/12/76 N.J. News  
**CALL FOR SUPPORT**



Participants in yesterday's peaceful rally congregated outside the Indonesian Consulate in Bennett Street where a petition was handed to an Indonesian government representative seeking the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.



*Photo of Manolis on DAWN in about Mar/April 1979 just prior to going fishing for it time in 2 1/2 years.*

Box 2155  
Darwin N.T. 5794  
23/9/79  
*Let's Home: 89 750*

The Ombudsman  
P.O. Box 442  
Canberra City ACT 2601

Dear sir,

re the "DAWN" refce 77/1633

This letter is an attempt by me to preempt your findings or to try to change what I feel is going to be your findings!! Also to provide a bit of update from this end.

I understand that Customs Dept. were hardly falling over themselves to cooperate with your inquiry. I daresay they regard this as a precedent-setting test case, and so do I. We have to crack them on this.

I find it difficult to understand how any reasonable person could read the survey report of the DAWN done by the qualified surveyor and think that this was anything other than a very conservative report. It emphasised the use of 2nd-hand parts, and does not appear to include due allowance for labour. I have previously pointed out that this survey report did not even cover the need to repair cracked ribs, as these cracks, caused by the 3 severe falls whilst under Customs/Navy care, were too covered in grime ~~xxxx~~ and fallen junk, tanks etc., to be noticed by the surveyor. And to do a report specifying 2nd-hand parts rather assumes these parts are available, and at the price, a situation that is rare in reality, especially in Darwin.

If Customs were to deny the validity of that survey, or claim that it would do anything other ~~xxx~~ than repair the damage done by Customs/Navy neglect/spite, then the only way they could establish their case was to pay for a qualified marine ~~xx~~ surveyor report, as I had to.

The sheer cost of repair in the survey ~~ix~~ terms also of course leaves out opportunity costs of the time spent repairing and not fishing. In fact Manny Manolis has missed 2 whole seasons directly attributable to Customs, and this current one has had its share of problems with repaired and second hand gear.

If the Punny \$16,000 paid by Customs to Manolis had been so grand and so fair, then how come Manolis had to borrow about the same from the NT Development Corporation, plus \$5,000 from me, the latter bit being totally not repaid at present and causing me some concern and relative hardship!? *plus other amounts.*

The Court cleared us of our charges. There is no scope for saying that we ie. Manolis has to bear a proportion of the blame and cost. If that argument is being put, I'd be interested to see if it was somewhat in contempt of the Supreme Court verdict.

I repeat that the inadequate compensation paid only exacerbated the financial and personal difficulties involved in repair. If that was not unreasonable, unjust, oppressive and improperly discriminatory, and in fact, as can be seen by the way they flew Customs to Darwin to hurl an ultimatum at Manolis, Harvey Bates of sheer bastardry, then I'm amazed.

Hoping to hear good news soon. ROB WESLEY-SMITH



*WLF*



MINISTER FOR BUSINESS AND CONSUMER AFFAIRS

PARLIAMENT HOUSE  
CANBERRA 2600

26 SEP 1977

Dear Mr James,

I refer to your letter dated 31 August 1977 concerning the release of the vessel Dawn to your client Mr Manolas Mavromatis.

Following representations by Senator Kilgariff my predecessor agreed to remit forfeiture of the vessel and return it to Mr Mavromatis. He also agreed that some compensation should be paid for hull damage which resulted from the collapse of the cradle in which it was stored.

I now note from the current survey report that considerable damage has also occurred to the internal machinery of the vessel due to flooding and acknowledge that when consideration was given to the payment of \$8,000 as compensation for any damage to the vessel this was not the situation.

Accordingly I have directed the Department to have its legal advisors further consult with you regarding the current survey and discuss what might well be considered a more appropriate amount.

I am taking this course of action rather than acceding to your request for compensation for the full amount of damages as detailed in the survey report for I believe that consideration should be given in these discussions to such matters as the value of the machinery in the vessel at the time of seizure and the fact that Mr Mavromatis has already received compensation by way of my predecessor's decision to remit forfeiture.

Yours sincerely,

WAL. FIFE

Mr A.G. James,  
Waters, James & O'Neill,  
Barristers, Solicitors & Notary,  
P.O. Box 380,  
DARWIN NT 5790

Box 2155  
Darwin N.T. 5794

7/10/79

The Ombudsman  
P.O.Box 442  
Canberra City ACT 2601

Dear sir,

Just following up my last letter to you on 23/9/79  
I came across the enclosed document of 26/9/77 from Customs  
Minister to Mavromatis' lawyer.

The last para I guess ~~xxx~~ says it all as the crux  
of the Customs argument. It says, that although Customs  
improperly held the Dawn, improperly wrecked it, and improperly  
refused access and hung on to it for a year.... that despite all  
this, that somehow, giving back the wreck was somehow  
"compensation". The argument astounds me. It has no logic.  
After all, Customs have the outrageous power, akin more to a  
Fascist State than to our own & (as yet), of being able to  
enter any one's property anytime, board one's boat, and seize  
anything they bluddywell like, anytime, so the fact that they  
did so in our case can be no argument for saying that Fife's  
"predecessor's decision to REMIT FORFEITURE" is any excuse at  
all for not paying just compensation. If they refuse, then it  
seems proper for you to kick them in the slats as it were.

My kindest regards,

Rob Wesley-Smith

Box 2155 Darwin N.T.  
21/1/78

Dear Neal,

Tape enclosed has some examples of interference to radio transmissions - did you see the N.R. article of yesterday? I think I sent you a tape recently, too, possibly with the Horta sister death reported, and perhaps some interference - I've forgotten. Anyway, do you think A.E.F.A. could make it a project to take up continuing trade bans, and putting pressure on John Hollands and perhaps others, with the A.C.T.U.... very necessary I would say. We ought to approach them before they lift bans. The communique on the tape summarises the last 2 months fighting and should assist convincing people that its not all over. Perhaps The Age people should hear it too.

On other matters, no parcel has arrived yet, I checked yesterday with TAA. I'm not sure if you had to pay for it yet, and if I owe you etc, but if it has not been paid for and is causing problems, forget it. I've learnt that fuel economy is not as good as it could be and may use alternatives. Even though I've been disappointed to date, I'm confident of getting somewhere soon. Also, I've bought veterinary "Triplopen" Penicillin, as in a good form, cheaper and available! I will get more unless it is convenient for you to get some or something similar. I could handle another rucksack-full. Please let me know, within 1-2 weeks.

Enclosed also is the Star version of the letter from Dili, which I helped get translated in Darwin in what is a better version I think than N.R. Needs wider circulation.- even printing as a poster etc, with perhaps a choice Peacock quote contrasting on the bottom.

David Woodgate, a filmmaker of Adelaide, did a "semi-professional" review tape on Timor matters with me for alternate radio stations. If it was of any use, his address is

14, Gloucester St, Place, North Adelaide. SA  
PH work I think ; 2769055

That's about all I think. Venceremos, best wishes, thanks, regards, hi to David, etc,

Wes



Box 2155 Darwin N.T.

24/12/77

Dear Neal and David,

Talk about frustration! I thought I'd got away to "Wattie Creek" several times, but instead I've been let down. People are just so unreliable and chicken. As a matter of interest, Victor Lingiará and others have been at Brian Mannings block for a couple of weeks, and often when I get home I have people to give a lift to. Still, I'm well organised now, all systems go, and when I get a chance to travel then I will. I don't need any more goods. I'm fairly happy with what I've got, and certainly its to my limit. Its been funny at work, with requests for me to take on extra duties, and me thinking up all sorts of excuses. On the other hand, a realisation that the ideal time has passed, but one can't have everything. Boy, did you cop the hollow sound of the last phone call! Makes me wonder if they are a little suspicious. the rotten bastards.

On a different topic, we have not had any radio contact either way from ET for a couple of weeks. If there is nothing for Xmas I'll be really worried.

Bad news on the election, good news re Hayden. I think I told you he called at my flat and sympathetically listened to Radio Maubere.

We've had foul weather for a few days. I may slip down to Suvergne Station (past Timber Creek) to see my great mate Bobby Widitburu, as I have some PawPaw trees in pots for him and the great crowd that stays there at "Bulla" at times, usually half-starving. Also have some paper work I'd like to do.

So, apart from feeling a bit hassled and frustrated, I'm fine, looking forward to interesting times ahead, and I hope all stays well with you and yours. David, my regards to Diana and thanks for being so pampered when staying at your place - I'm quite unused to that sort of thing. Even when I lived in domestic bliss it was always me what got the morning cuppa etc!

Any info from Dennis Reichle? You know, I've been increasingly recognising over recent times that the genuine hero of recent times was Roger East, who perceived a great need, one which others were too chicken or too slow to act on, and he acted on it at great but perceived risk, and was slaughtered for it. I'd like to establish, one day, the "Roger East prize for courage in Australian journalism".

All the best for 1978,

sincerely,

Wes

That the following resolution from this meeting be sent to Darwin for transmission to East Timor.

That this meeting of the Australia-East Timor Association in Melbourne on September 18, 1977 conveys its warmest support to the East Timorese people and Democratic Republic of East Timor liberation forces and informs them that we resolve to strengthen our efforts for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timorese soil and the return of international aid organisations. We also express our grave concern at news of the current escalation of Indonesian military activity in defiance of international opinion and UN resolutions.

AETA 2.11.77

Box 2155  
Darwin NT 5794  
7/9/77

Dear David Adrian Neil

Hi.

We are still impatiently waiting on the judge to tell us how much costs he will give us, but I fear it will be minimal.

We have not heard anything sensible from Customs either. We had Manny's boat surveyed at \$22000 to repair if some 2nd hand ~~xxxxxx~~ stuff was around, so Customs are contemplating this. They did offer it back earlier plus \$600.

I enclose some items of interest. The STAR article is fantastic. Its ~~xxxx~~ a little hard to know exactly what's going on in ET at present. The radio has been a bit short on hard fact.

One important point, and please can I leave it with you to fix, and if this is not possible, please let me know. There were 2 french journos in Darwin recently who did some stuff on East Timor and who may end up achieving a lot, including what we know to be necessary. They asked if some of the wives of the 5 Austn, journos killed in Balibo would kindly write for him a personal letter to be used on European TV to explain a bit what happened, but mainly the sort of efforts made by themselves and others to find the truth and to gain satisfaction, and the negative roles of the Australian (and Indon) governments in this matter. eg I was telling them of the US Congress C'tee reaction to Jim Dumn, that why wasn't he telling the Austn. govt. about things, and why wouldn't they do something. I'm convinced that the eventual TV program will have important impact, so cooperation with this request is desirable if it is possible. Such letters should say if the wives are satisfied, and/or want the matters left, or further investigated. Letters should be sent with good security to : Denis Reichle, 99Ave Mozart, 75016 Paris, France. Hope this is OK and let me know if its not.

I'm vaguely thinking of coming to Sydney for my brothers concert multi-media piece for East Timor, at the Seymour Centre, in October sometime. Could even be worth trying to hang a sort of posh seminar around it ie to make East Timor respectable to the establishment.

Finally, can I through you be put on the mailing list for Review (incl. May/June) and CAA gleanings. Bruce M. showed me both.

My best wishes to all of you,  
VENCEREMOS  
Rob Wesley-Smith

The Indonesian Government  
care Indonesian Consulate  
Darwin N.T. Australia.

To the government of Indonesia, we know that in September you will launch a massive further offensive against the citizens of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Our information is that the offensive will involve 15 or 16 battalions of troops, and will be launched on or soon after the 1st September 1977.

Such an act of callous barbarity can serve no useful purpose. Indeed it can only be seen as further gross violation of the civil rights of the people of East Timor who have done nothing to harm or offend Indonesia and yet have already suffered genocidic death and deprivation at your hands in the last two years.

Is 30 years since Indonesia itself threw off the yoke of colonialism such a long time that you have lost identity with others who also just want to run their own lives? Why is it that Indonesia is now itself a leading colonial power, with all the repression that this implies?

We protest the intended further offensive against the people of East Timor. Even now, we demand that you call off this action. Further, we demand that you get out of East Timor. The people themselves successfully governed themselves from end August 1975, leading to the declaration of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28/II/75, and indeed even now still control most of the land and most of the population.

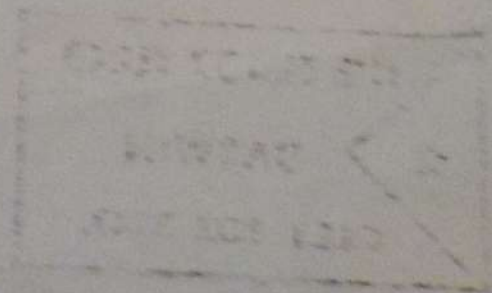
This letter will also be handed to representatives of the Australian government who are also implicated in the shame of the invasion of East Timor, and who have full knowledge of the planned dry-season offensive. They, and you, also know that the coming offensive is the real reason for the refusal to admit a delegation of Australian parliamentarians to East Timor.

For the SX sake of the suffering people of East Timor - get out.

N.N. Wesley-Smith

Bill Day

*W. Day*  
*my names Spooey*  
*Dutchess*





Box 2155  
Darwin NT  
19/9/77

The STAR, Darwin

The Editor,  
Dear sir,

The STAR has featured some splendid journalism of late that is making it for me at least compulsive reading. It's time for the truth: Timor - article by Pandanus on 25/8 would be the most accurate and savagely honest ~~xxx~~ commentary I have read.

On the Dawn Timor-relief saga, ~~IX~~ I'm glad your heading said "draws to a close" as there is still a long way to go. As of writing, Manny still has not got his boat back, there is much other property outstanding, and costs and compensation have not been paid.

Earlier this year the Minister for Customs refused to send the medical supplies to refugees as requested, and claimed that most drugs had expired earlier anyway. He lied in that, and showed his contempt for humanity by denying needy people their use.

He has so far refused to offer Manny fair compensation for the damage suffered to his boat whilst in the Minister's tender care, damage conservatively and formally surveyed at \$22,000. The first offer was \$8,000, and the second is thought to be twice that, but nothing less than the full amount could be accepted. Even at this, there is no compensation for loss of earnings of Manny and son Mark.

Similarly, the ~~xx~~ costs awarded to us by the judge represent at best only about one quarter of normal-type legal charges, and this in a complex case ~~xxx~~ in which our lawyers Geoff James, John Waters and David Avery established quite a bit of legal history. They successfully ~~xxxxxxx~~ beat the charges as charged, all that has to be done, and other innuendoe is inappropriate.

A lesson for the whole community to note in all this is the unbridled power given to Customs by ~~xx~~ an Act which denies most basic civil liberties. This must be given to the Law Reform Commission for revision without further delay.

"Smuggling" doesn't come into it. We went about our business as normal concerned citizens, wishing only to help relieve a little of the suffering and isolation of the people of East Timor. To our nation's continued shame, this has not yet been achieved.

Rob Wesley-Smith, "that bastard".

*Rob Wesley-Smith*

Robert Wesley-Smith  
P.O. Box 2155  
Darwin. N.T. 5794

18 November 1976

Dear friends,

ARREST BY CUSTOMS AND NAVY 16 SEPTEMBER 1976

This letter is to explain a little of some of my recent activities. As legal charges have not yet been resolved, I will be more circumspect than otherwise I would have been.

Many of you will know of my concern over the last few years for East Timor. I have always been a bit of an Internationalist, especially interested in near neighbours, S.E. Asia, and southern Pacific regions.

In 1974 Portugal began to visibly loosen the bonds of the Salazar dictatorship, and this freedom movement spread rapidly in the colonies. In East Timor, the best organised group initially was the U.D.T., of small businessmen mainly. Fretilin, though largely led by leftish Portuguese/Timorese, was interested in the mass of people, and soon became the populist party. A third small group was fostered by Indonesia, that was Apodeti.

During 1974, Jose Ramos Horta visited Darwin and a group of us formed to provide for support and increased contacts with East Timor. I initiated an informal group in the Agriculture Branch, and we intended to develop liaison at any level we could. I discussed potential education and accommodation with the Director of Education, and so on. Before much action could take place, Darwin was hit by Cyclone Tracy.

Tracy has had its influence in more ways than may be obvious. I enjoyed aspects of the crisis, the community, the need for hard and reasonably selfless work, and for socially urgent work, including the usual trying to keep the bureaucracy under control (usually unsuccessfully)!

The N.T. cattle industry became depressed about this time, and the Animal Industry and Agriculture Branch suffered cut-backs in staff and facilities, leadership was not good and morale dropped - a continuing situation. My position seemed to deteriorate even more than usual. Initiatives that I thought worthwhile were generally squashed; after producing in late 1974 a Top End Rural Newsletter (TERNON), this was dropped and my articles became censored; and so on. Apart from that, for a while it seemed somehow obscene to spend time in an ivory tower writing up old fertiliser trials when there was so much to do outside in Tracy-devastated Darwin (and when no one could afford fertiliser anyway!).

In June 1975 I became secretary and convener of the N.T. Council for Civil Liberties, and this took/takes a lot of my time and also heightened my awareness. The N.T.C.C.L. has been very active generally, and on Australian bastardry towards East Timor.

In Timor in May 1975 officials of U.D.T. visited Djakarta and Australia, and on return to Dili broke the coalition they had formed with Fretilin. This persuasion by right-wingers in Indonesia and Australia can be seen to be the beginning of the destructive events in Timor.

In August 1975 the U.D.T. launched an amateurish coup d'etat against Fretilin. Because much of the Fretilin leadership was out in the villages it survived, re-grouped, got access to the Portugese army armoury and defeated U.D.T. in a brief civil war. Fretilin then established a humane, idealistic government in East Timor, all the while appealing for Portugal to come back and take over the government for, say, 5 years until self government. Fretilin also appealed for help from Australia and other countries, for visits by journalists and so on. No country heeded no country helped, and few individuals.

Indonesia launched a series of border attacks by its armed forces with a few Timorese for cosmetic purposes, but were held off by determined Fretilin

It's hard for an individual to do much. I tried with helping other  
resisting officers, with aids, etc. etc. In May 1976 Trade Unions and Roman  
Catholic bishops talked of sending in aid ships, and I decided to be available  
for a role. However little happened, and the people of East Timor remained  
isolated. So began some months of more active involvement by myself, of which  
I shall say little at this stage.

On 16th September 1976 the good ship Down was boarded by Navy and Customs  
officers as it steamed out of Darwin Harbour. The boarding was carried out  
under the barrel of a 50 m.m. machine gun and with several sub-machine guns  
used as rams and/or pointed directly at the crew. Customs officers reported  
to the senior investigator, Roy Neale, after searching the holds: "there's  
nothing". It turns out that what they were looking for was guns and ammunition  
in quantity, a clear case of projection of their own militaristic attitudes.

We were denied free movement on the boat as it returned to port, denied  
access to any belongings or to privacy for a leak, and I personally was violently  
chased off the boat as I adopted a non-violent, non-cooperation attitude at  
that point. We as a group have few complaints about Navy personnel, but it  
appears from our experience that the more senior in Customs you become the  
greater liar you become. Mr. Neale has already been described in court in  
very critical terms. He has pursued out of court a most unhelpful attitude  
to the return of personal property, delighting in use and abuse of his powers,  
and insulting the suggestion of being a public servant. I have written to the  
Attorney General asking for the Customs Act to be referred to the Australian  
Law Reform Commission to ensure basic civil rights, but have fat hope of this!

Now, we are not proven guilty of anything, nor are we likely to be. Yet the  
Crown holds onto the fishing boat whilst a man supporting six kids is left  
destitute and denied social services for four weeks to show he needs them;  
the Crown holds the Regional Council for Social Development Kombi Van - a  
totally useless exercise; and they hold much of our personal property as well  
as the medicines, etc. Goods deteriorate, and Customs disclaim responsibility  
etc. etc.

Our Charges. These must be seen to be the contemptuous charges that they are.  
In our Customs building the night of our arrest we were told we could go. We  
waited for Henry, and a flurry of activity, including, we know, a phone call  
from Malcolm Fraser resulted in us being charged with exporting and attempting  
to export firearms and ammunition.

It turns out that these are: 3 old shotguns on the boat, registered in Darwin  
and used for sharks, etc., except one too rusty to operate; one automatic  
shotgun and one 410 (baby) shotgun of mine, both registered in Darwin; one  
semi-automatic .300 rifle also registered; plus a few hundred rifle bullets  
and a few boxes of sports shotgun shells. None of this is offensive military  
weaponry. Nothing is beyond what would be carried by many sports charters or  
professional fishing boats.

The government used these charges to convey a bad image of us, and to try to  
give Fraser status as the man who stopped this just before his visit to  
Indonesia, just as he stopped communication with Fretilin, and as he has now  
refused entry to Fretilin external delegates.

The government also used the court to achieve media silence by making events  
unjudicial, a much abused procedure, and by getting a high bail (\$2,000  
surety/cognissance). I will always be grateful to our present magistrate  
for recognising the fraud in this, despite the Crown asking for  
\$2,000 bail again, and letting us attend court simply at our own word.

Eventually we were also charged with attempting to export medical supplies.  
On board we had thousands of dollars worth of medical supplies, including  
antibacterial, antiseptic, antibiotic and other preparations. There was also  
full cream powdered milk and rice. Little enough, but who else has tried as  
we?

Do not follow the logic of the facts right through, and I appeal to you  
to do likewise in general but especially on the East Timor issue. Don't  
allow world governments and our own in disposing of the  
country just like swatting a troublesome cockroach (they  
too are good survivors). Pressure the government, the media, your friends.  
Support pro-East Timor groups with time and money. Support the Timor Relief ..../A

KEN WHITE

NTNEWS AA85004

DITEL AA85037 15 DARWIN 1.10.76 2.30PM AB

THE FOLLOWING UNAUTHENTICATED MESSAGE WAS RECEIVED ON OUTPOST  
RADIO DARWIN 10.50AM 1.10.76

A typical message as it  
used to be received & sent  
by Telecom. No longer!

ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR I WISH TO EXPRESS TO  
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OUR HIGHEST APPRECIATION  
AND SYMPATHY BY THE HONOURABLE POSITION TAKEN BY THE AUSTRALIAN  
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE BY ITS DISAGREEMENT TO THE INDONESIAN  
ARMED AGGRESSION TO EAST TIMOR AND FOR THE STRONG SUPPORT TO  
THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OVER EAST TIMOR STOP  
THOUSANDS OF TIMORESE HAVE DIED WHEN FOUGHT SHOULDER ON SHOULDER  
WITH THE AUSTRALIAN SOLDIERS AGAINST THE JAPANESE FORCES IN  
EAST TIMOR DURING THE 2ND WORLD WAR STOP NOW - BLOOD IS RUNNING  
AGAIN IN EAST TIMOR - BECAUSE THE UNJUST INDONESIAN WAR AGGRESSION  
THAT IS MASSACREING THE TIMORESE PEOPLE IN LAST EFFORT TO  
INTERGRATE EAST TIMOR INTO INDONESIA WHICH IS COMPLETELY AGAINST  
THE WISH OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR AND MORE BY TOKEN - OVER  
NINE <sup>MONTHS</sup> MILES OF INDONESIA FULL SCALE ARMED AGGRESSION HAVE GONE  
AND THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR ARE STILL RESISTING AND CTOEEE  
CONTROLLING OVER 80 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL SOIL STOP THROUGH  
THE AUSTRALIAN TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY -  
THE WORLD CAN ALWAYS BE INFORMED ABOUT ALL EVENTS AND THE  
SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE IN EAST TIMOR STOP FOR THE KIND  
COMMUNICATIONS ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN - WE MANIFEST OUR DEEPEST  
GRATITUDE TO THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE AND HOPE  
WILL CONTINUE NORMALLY HOWEVER STOP FINALLY - WE APPEAL TO  
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE - LOVERS OF PEACE - PROGRESS  
AND FREEDOM TO CONVINCE JAKATA GOVERNMENT TO RESPECT THE UN  
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AND SUPPORTED BY AUSTRALIA - AND  
TO WITH DRAW WITHOUT DELAY ALL ITS FORCES FROM THE TERRITORY IN  
ORDER TO LET THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR LIVE FREE AND INDEPENDENT  
ACCORDING TO ITS TRUE WISH STOP  
  
INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH STOP TO RESIST IS TO WIN THE FIGHT  
CONTINUES STOP RESPECTIVELY YOURS

ALARICO GEORGE FERNANDES MINISTER FOR INFORMATION  
AND NATIONAL SECURITY

1.10.76

Press statement. 13/9/75

On the early mornig of August 11, Dili and the whole of East Timor was shaken by the criminal and undemocratic attempt of the Timorese Democratic Union ( UDT ) to seize power. Intelligence sources of the Revolutionary Front for Independence of East Timor ( FRETILIN ) had informed the Central Committee some days earlier that UDT was preparing a coup to eliminate all FRETILIN leaders and seize power. FRETILIN warned Portuguese authorities to take necessary action to prevent such a coup. Long before that many FRETILIN members had been arrested without charge by the chief of Police, Lieutenant-Colonel, Maggiolo Gouveia who later was the commander of UDT military operations. Until the last hour Governor Lemos Pires took no action. At 23.45 hours of August 10, exactly 15 minutes before de UDT coup, FRETILIN leaders took to the hills. On August 11 the Central Committee of FRETILIN presented to Portuguese authorities a proposal for talks with UDT, but with the precondition of the rebels being disarmed. This proposal was ignored by Governor and military commander, col. Lemos Pires. Several other proposals were presented in order to avoid direct confrontation between FRETILIN and UDT, but were ignored too.

Meanwhile many people, FRETILIN followers, had already been massacred in Maubisse, Same, Turiscai, Aileu, Ermera, Baucau and many other villages. Women and children as well as students were killed. Villages were burnt. On August 15, 15.45 hours, the Central Committee of FRETILIN, realising that there was no peaceful resolution, decided to call for armed resistance throughout the national territory. On August 17, 23,30 hours, the Central Committee was having the unconditional support of the military unit of Aileu. On August 18 1.00 hours FRETILIN had already the support of the army unit of Maubisse, in the centre of the island. On August 19, the Central Committee issued a communique addressed to the Timorese troops to be prepared for military action. On August 20, 00,30 hours, all the army units in Dili, the capital, had joined FRETILIN. Military operation against the enemies of the people began.

The following days demonstrated FRETILIN's high popular support and organisational ability. In a short period of time the FRETILIN counter-attack was a complete success. Peace and Order were restored.

Despite the fact that FRETILIN has achieved military victory, the Central Committee of FRETILIN has proposed already talks over the future of East Timor. The talks are expected to take place in Baucau, East Timor, on September 20. FRETILIN also has stressed its recognition of Portuguese Government as the only authority and the unique valid mouthpiece in the process of decolonization. Portuguese flag is flying in Dili. In proposing Baucau as a venue FRETILIN stresses that the affairs of East Timor must be decided within the national territory without foreign pressures.

Through the Portuguese Government, and directly, FRETILIN has addressed invitations for fact-finding missions from the ASEAN nations, particularly Indonesia, as well


from Australia and N. Zealand to assess the situation. It must be understood that FRETILIN has de facto control of the whole territory and welcomes foreign observers to visit East Timor.

The Central Committee of FRETILIN has already indicated on a number of occasions its willingness to promote friendship and co-operation with the neighbouring countries, particularly with Indonesia and Australia. FRETILIN understands that only the cooperation of the neighbouring governments in guaranteeing that the right of the people East Timor to independence can be exercised will retain peace and stability in the area. Any attempt to suffocate the will of the Timorese people will cost thousands of lives and bring long-term instability to the area. Accordingly, FRETILIN stresses that now and in the future after Independence will continually strive to promote friendship and co-operation with Indonesia and Australia.

APPEAL - APPEAL - APPEAL - APPEAL --- APPEAL

PEACE AND ORDER HAVE BEEN RESTORED BY FRETILIN. LIFE IS RETURNING TO NORMALITY BUT THE WAR LEFT BEHIND IT COUNTLESS PROBLEMS. AS A MATTER OF URGENCY FRETILIN APPEALS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID, SUCH AS FOOD ( RICE AND FLOUR ), POWDERED AND CONDENSED MILK FOR CHILDREN, MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND CLOTHING. FRETILIN would welcome Red Cross co-operation in the distribution of such aid, which would be distributed throughout East Timor without discrimination of race, religion or political belief.

FRETILIN Central Committee in Dili, East Timor, on September 13, 1975

  
FRANCISCO XAVIER DO AMARAL

- PRESIDENT

PRESS STATEMENT

The Central Committee of Fretilin held a special meeting on 16 September 1975 called by the Secretary-General of the Political Committee, Jose Ramos Horta to debate matters of internal and external policy. The meeting, (held in the Fretilin Army Headquarters in Dili), was presided over by the President, Francisco Xavier Do Amaral, Vice-President Nicolau Lobato, Secretary-General Alaxio Fernandes, and by the Military Commander Rogerio Lobato and Second Military Commander Hermenegildo Alves.

Following this meeting the Central Committee consider as Party Policy the following points:

1. The affairs of East Timor must be decided by the Timorese people within national territory without external pressures. Fretilin still recognises Portugal's sovereignty over East Timor and seeks talks with the Portuguese Government's representatives on September 20 1975, in Bacau (East Timor).
2. The Central Committee of Fretilin would welcome a joint peace force by East Timorese troops and Indonesian troops to jointly control the border areas, to avoid any misunderstandings and unnecessary conflicts. The Central Committee believes this peace force must be of equal numbers on both sides. It is imperative that it starts immediately.
3. The Central Committee of Fretilin would welcome a joint conference with representatives from Portugal, Australia and Indonesia, and the leaders of East Timor in order to eliminate rumours and misunderstandings and to promote friendship and co-operation amongst the people of the region.
4. The Central Committee of Fretilin welcomes fact finding missions from ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations), Australia and New Zealand, as well as observers from other nations and the press, to assess the situation in East Timor, which is now fully controlled by Fretilin.
5. The Central Committee of Fretilin believes that regional stability is of utmost importance for the development of the South East Asian nations, therefore, now and in the future, we will strive to promote friendship and co-operation between ourselves and the countries of the region.
6. The Central Committee of Fretilin considers that ASEAN is a factor of stability and a driving force of regional co-operation. East Timor would greatly benefit from integration into ASEAN after independence.

7. In addition, Fretilin believes that close co-operation with the countries of the Pacific region, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and New Guinea along with ASEAN will greatly contribute to the development and progress of East Timor and the political stability of the whole region.
8. The Central Committee of Fretilin believes that the development of East Timor will depend greatly on foreign capital. We therefore welcome foreign investments provided that the superior interests of the people of East Timor are safeguarded.
9. The central Committee wishes to stress strongly once again that the Revolutionary Front for the independence of East Timor is a front for national liberation that unites all Timorese Nationalists without discrimination of race, religion or political belief.
10. The Central Committee of Fretilin declares that its foreign policy is based on independence and non-alignment.

With peace and order restored in East Timor Fretilin is striving to return the country to normality and we hope that the coming talks with the Portuguese Government's representatives will enable an orderly and peaceful process of de-colonisation and development of independence.

The war has left behind it countless problems and Fretilin appeals again for humanitarian aid from Government and non-government organisations as a matter of urgency.

FRETILIN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

IN DILI, EAST TIMOR, ON 16 SEPT. 1975.

FRANCISCO XAVIER DO AMARAL  
PRESIDENT.



# TIMOR: The dragon and the mouse (cont.)

(Mark Raper)



'I RESPECT YOUR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AS LONG AS YOU DECIDE TO JOIN US.'

Acknowledgements to Morgan Chua and FEER 5.9.1975.

On returning from Timor in October last year, where they had been sent to assess humanitarian needs, the ACFOA team remarked that outside bodies had made two serious miscalculations: first that the then de facto authority in East Timor, the Fretilin government, was communist, or most likely to follow such a pattern in internal and external policies; and secondly as to the strength of support for the nationalism of this new leadership. A government official remarked that the Australian government had never made the first mistake and that anyhow whatever their ideology or creed, the right of self-determination should be upheld. But as to the second, it was conceded then that there had been a miscalculation: Fretilin in October, 1975 was stronger and represented a more solidly based nationalist movement than had been realised.

Nevertheless, my argument is not that we should not base foreign policy on miscalculations — that is self-evident. But I would ask also that our foreign policy decisions be principled.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that Portugal had decided, by about mid-August 1975, to withdraw entirely from the colony. And the Indonesian build-up and plan to wage an undeclared war was evident even in early 1975. The Australian government was and still is in the nasty position of being a bystander in a fight it does not want to see, but cannot stop without taking sides. But whatever it did it was taking sides. Taking the pragmatic course, Australia sided with the stronger side, against the weaker. We chose to put our relations with Indonesia above all other considerations (higher, incidentally than our relations with any other country have ever been — even U.S.A. — even Japan).

As Mr Whitlam said, Indonesia had become the "pivot of Australia's foreign and defence policies."

The cables of Mr Woolcott, Australian Ambassador in Jakarta reveal the mechanics of this logic:

"I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than a principled stand. But that is what national interest and foreign policy is all about..." (cable of August, 1975, published in *The Sun*, 1st May, 1976)

Similarly in a cable to the new Liberal Government, published in *The Canberra Times*, January 16th, 1976:

"On the Timor issues we face one of those broad foreign policy decisions which face most countries at one timor (sic) or another. The Government is confronted by a choice between a moral stance, based on condemnation of Indonesia

for the invasion of East Timor and on the assertion of the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination on the one hand, and a pragmatic and realistic acceptance of the longer-term inevitabilities of the situation on the other hand.

It is a choice between what might be described as Wilsonian idealism or Kissingerian realism. The former is more principled and principled but the longer term national interest may well be served by the latter. We do not think we can have it both ways."

We should of course encourage good relations with Indonesia. But relations bereft of principle become grotesque. Indonesia now knows, as do the other countries of ASEAN, that they should not expect Australia to be guided by principle in any future crisis that befalls them.

In the parliamentary debates of April and May, 1976, members of the Labor Party have raised the Timor question in a way that is of course critical of the Liberal Party presently in office but also critical of the Labor Party itself under Mr Whitlam. It emerged in these debates that the government had ignored public opinion, and had withheld factual information not simply from the public but from the ministers of the government, so that it would not be required to treat this matter as a question of principle.

Four reasons can be deduced as to why the Indonesians delayed their attack in August — waiting as long as December for a full scale invasion. One is the opinion of other Third World countries: they have by and large lost out here: even support from within ASEAN has not been wholehearted.

A second was their standing in the U.N.: until late November none of the parties (Portugal, Indonesia, Australia) had sought to raise the matter in that forum, but when the Fretilin government declared independence unilaterally and attempted to internationalise the issue, Indonesia moved quickly and savagely. A third was the position of the U.S.A.: President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta 12 hours before the Dili invasion of December 7. President Ford had remarked: we are in complete agreement with Indonesia's foreign policy. Fourthly, there was Australian opinion. It became clear that the Australian government itself, however, did not respond to the opinions of Australians until about December.

Why have the generals of Indonesia done this?

It is possible within their historical and cultural context to sympathise with their fears and aspirations. The Timorese had never been very political, nor did the generals any longer have an appreciation of the strength of nationalism, though they should. Timor was in their area, in their archipelago. From a Javanese point of view, 450 years of different social and cultural history would count for little against sheer geographical presence.

Also, an independent Timor would need to identify itself with a separate voice in regional matters and might claim friends with a viewpoint distinct from Indonesia's. It would be an irritant, and, if successful, might encourage other incipient independence movements. The Indonesian army is ever wary of such movements.

And so, in the manner of the traditional Indonesian shadow theatre, the wayang, the long slow build-up culminated in a furious, violent outburst. But unlike the wayang, the drama has not ended. If Jakarta continues to spend lives and resources to put down an irritant at her borders, what will be needed to maintain control closer to home? It seems the hero is not the strong one; and the struggle is by no means over. And still Australia is the compromised spectator.

There is a favourite character in Indonesian folk-lore: the Kancil, a mouse-deer, the hero of the little people, the small, the weak, the defenceless. Threatened by larger creatures, like crocodiles, and giant lizards or dragons, he survives by sheer cleverness, courage and planning. The Indonesian people identified with Si Kancil during the years of the struggle against the Dutch. Now their role is reversed. Indonesia is the dragon. The Timor operation is named 'Operasi Komodo'. Komodo is the giant lizard or dragon found in Indonesia.

# Last Communication from Roger East in Dili

Nov/Dec. 1975

AUSTRALIA'S nearest neighbour, tiny East Timor, has cast the die. It's "Independence or Death", a Western cliché, but here a daily salutation — and the Timorese people mean it.

The mortar that binds the East Timorese is the thoughts of independence after 400 years of colonial rule. They will settle for nothing less.

Fretilin's army is basically anti-colonial, strongly Catholic-tinted and, not surprisingly, has many vehement anti-Communists in its midst.

Djakarta has elected to win support from its nervous neighbours by attaching the Red label to Fretilin.

However, Fretilin's initial planning is a blending of socialistic and co-operative policies which would appear natural for a colony bereft of secondary industry and winning only a subsistence existence from the soil.

Membership of Fretilin by Australian standards would include thinkers from the centre to the extreme left — the latter a fringe grouping in the Central Committee.

Secretary of the East Timor Department of Foreign Affairs, Jose Ramos Horta, admits the committee's views vary on many issues, the sole exception being independence.

"I expect to see a multi-party set up in East Timor after we cross the present hurdle.

"We are a tolerant people who have waited a long time for the democratic process. We'll share it when it comes."

Fretilin believes the Governor, Colonel Lemos Pires, now living on the Island of Atauro, the St. Helena of his choice, aided and abetted the UDT to stage its ill-fated August coup.

Fretilin had been told of the coup plot and a request to the governor to disarm the plotters is said to have been turned down.

Fretilin was defenceless when the fighting started and its members hounded, jailed and some murdered. UDT lost when the Portuguese-trained Timorese soldiers defected in favor of Fretilin.

UDT's leadership is now split three ways. Some are languishing in Timorese jails and others in the more comfortable surrounds of Australian cities.

The remaining standard bearers are in Indonesia, hosted and promised a triumphant return, albeit in the wake of mortar bombs.

Their platform of independence, which over a year ago saw them in a political alliance with Fretilin, is now abandoned. They are opting for Indonesia after 450 years of Portuguese domination.

Apodeti, the party pressing for union with Indonesia, is a bad bar-room joke. Its political rallies could be staged in the proverbial ten by four room which includes a table.

Founder and President, Arnold Araujo, 62, a respected horse thief, is currently being detained at Fretilin's pleasure.

The Portuguese jailed him for nine years for war crimes committed against the Timorese during the Japanese occupation.

This leaves only Fretilin which wants to embrace an offer of a United Nations supervised plebiscite.

East Timor's problems grow daily. Its primary ricebowl in the Maliana Valley is now a battlefield. Other crops have been destroyed or neglected in the turmoil of the fighting. Hunger is a reality and starvation a growing threat.

\*Veteran Australian journalist Roger East gave up his job with the Darwin Reconstruction Commission to report on the scene in Timor.

He has elected to stay and see it through even if it means heading for the hills.

Fretilin's Foreign Minister, Jose Ramos Horta, has sanctioned Roger's presence and given him the freedom to write it as he sees it.



To :  
Mr. Jose Manuel Ramos Horta  
D I L I  
Portuguese Timor.

Dear Mr. Horta :

I was pleased to meet you during your recent visit to Jakarta, Indonesia.

We, the people of Indonesia, and the Government of Indonesia, have been heartened by the recent changes that have taken place in Lisbon, Portugal.

This change of government and of policy outlook came as something of a surprise to most people, including you and your people in Timor.

In our view, these developments offer a good opportunity to the people of Timor to accelerate the process towards independence, as well as to generate overall national development and to promote the progress of the people of Timor.

The Government of Indonesia until now still adheres to the following principles :

- I. The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people in Timor.
- II. The Government as well as the people of Indonesia have no intention to increase or to expand their territory, or to occupy other territories other than what is stipulated in their Constitution. This reiteration is to give you a clear idea, so that there may be no doubt in the minds of the people of Timor in expressing their own wishes.
- III. For this reason, whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence, can be assured that the Government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries.

Please convey my message to your people in Timor.

With my best wishes and warm regards to you and to all the people in Timor.

Sincerely yours,

ADNAN MALIK.

Jakarta, 17th June 1974.

## Independent company

A writer for an R.S.L. newsletter, the 2/2 Commando Courier, says the Timorese People have a special claim on Australians.

"During World War II, an Australian force fought in Portuguese Timor for months without communications or help from Australia at a time that was possibly the worst.

"The activities of this small force caused the Japanese High Command to divert into the area an experienced army division of some 57,000 troops, who could have been used more effectively against Australia.

"The survival of the Australians and their effectiveness was entirely dependent on the loyalty and sacrifice of the Portuguese, both European and Timorese.

"Some died heroically for us and all suffered greatly.

"The Australians have many friends there. All would feel betrayed by an Australian Government which made a facile political decision on the future of these friendly, loyal and courageous people.

"Ample time and facilities should be given them in their time of uncertainty."

Latest reports from Trade Unions and those concerned with the campaign for an independent East Timor, say that numerous distress signals have been received by Overseas Telecommunications at Cox's Peninsula.

The distress signals, which have been continuous since the Indonesian invasion, request urgent evacuation of women and children from East Timor. The signals say that upwards of 1,000 injured and wounded are in need of immediate help.

According to our sources, this information has been suppressed. What will Australia's response be?

This page was paid for by a group of concerned individuals in Darwin of no particular political faith. They include Rob Wesley Smith, Box 2155, Darwin, Clive Scollay and Penny Tweedie, 5 Luxton St., Stuart Park, and John Ball, of THE NEW DARWIN. 10/12/75

# INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH

JIM DUNN... Ex-Consul Speaks out

The New Darwin  
10/12/75

prior to Dec. 7/12, 75.

"Urgent steps should be taken to get Indonesia to abandon what is little short of aggression in East Timor."

This is the view of Mr Jim Dunn, who as leader of a fact-finding mission sponsored by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, spent 19 days in East Timor a little over a month ago.

From 1962 to 1964, Mr Dunn was Australian Consul in Timor.

In a 20 page report, Mr Dunn said that the war was largely an Indonesian operation in the sense that it would not get beyond the border skirmish stage if Indonesia withdrew her involvement.

"From our point of view, the most compelling reason — apart from the denial to the people of Timor of an opportunity to determine their own future — is the enormous human suffering it will result in.

"Obviously Fretilin troops will not be able to withstand an Indonesian backed assault along the coast, but it is in the mountains that, in my opinion, they will be able to struggle on as guerillas for months, even years.

"The Governor, Colonel Lemos Pires, with his staff, is on Atauro, and appears to be opposed to seeking contact with UDT or Fretilin.

"His attitude seems dominated by his hurt pride.

"Clearly Fretilin leaders still want Portugal to return and resume decolonisation and this they should be encouraged to do.

"In a sense the Portuguese share responsibility for the present situation and they very least the Atauro "Government" could do is to open communications."

Mr Dunn said he was disturbed at a statement by Colonel Pires broadcast from Indonesia referring to the five dead Australian journalists as "communists."

"In such circumstances, what protection can we offer any aid volunteers who might happen to be here when an attack take place?"

Mr Dunn said he had been impressed with most Fretilin leaders in terms of their spirit of dedication, their will to resist an invasion, even in the face of very little moral support from the outside world and their moderations and tolerance in most social and political matters.

"It is clear that Fretilin is not a Communist Party, though it does have a left wing.

"The failure of Communist states to show any real interest in the problems of Timor has not served Communist interests.

Mr Dunn said basically Indonesia was afraid of threats to its security by having a nearby launching pad for independence movements.

"Ironically, Indonesia could probably have had East Timor if they had used a more peaceful and longer term approach rather than the present programme of aggression and the sowing of social divisions.

"Fretilin leaders had already indicated that they might be prepared to allow Indonesia to have custody of Timor's defence and possibly even Foreign Affairs."

## The New DARWIN - GATEWAY TO SHAME

10/12/75

THE NEW DARWIN  
NOT NOW, THANKS 10/12/75

Thought provoking good sense is not exactly a mark of present day politics so it is doubtful that if Robert Wesley Smith, agronomist, had stood for the Senate that he would have achieved as much as he has with his sprinkling of advertisements in the local daily.

Wes is one of the rare people concerned about honesty and has the vision to follow through.

Apart from his present spate of ads, Wes is also involved in producing papers on new ways for Northern Australia to yank itself into the Asian scene next door.

In August, he was campaigning for an Australian Consulate in East Timor, our nearest neighbor.

He can also talk with authority when it comes to schemes for producing cheap foods for sale to hungry nations.

. Thanks to the "ocker" politics emanating from Canberra, Darwin, "Gateway to the North" is rapidly becoming Darwin, "Gateway to Shame."

. Australia discovered Asia in the battlefields of the last World War. The valiant struggle by our untrained soldiers earned their children a welcome mat in any home from Timor to even Tokyo.

. The horrors of war forged bonds of friendship that no tribe of starched collar diplomats or a pandering Radio Australia could ever hope to achieve.

### FORTY THOUSAND

. Our greatest little allies during those times of horror were the East Timorese. Forty thousand gave their lives and all suffered greatly because they chose to support 300 Australian commandos in a highly successful resistance movement that held up 57,000 crack Japanese troops for the duration of the War.

. For months now the East Timorese, in their time of strife have looked to Australia as big brothers to help arrange a United Nations plebiscite on their future.

. We folded our Liberal and Labor hands and did nothing.

### NOT COMMUNIST

. No less a person than our last consul to Dili, Mr Jim Dunn, who recently visited East Timor at the head of an Australian aid team, says that Fretilin is not Communist.

. He says the failure of Communist states to show any real interest in the problems of Timor has not served Communist interests.

. What sort of bed fellows have we now got with the Indonesians? They have specifically refused to observe the Geneva Convention, which means they can do anything from raiding hospitals to shooting civilians on sight as they already have done.

. And what of the Chinese being murdered by Indonesian soldiers? Placid business people carrying TAIWANESE passports.

. MOVE OVER UGLY AMERICANS, HERE COME THE UGLY AUSTRALIANS!

John Ball,  
Editor  
The New Darwin

COMMUNITY AID ABROAD

MEMORANDUM

From MICHAEL CROTTY, Development Issues Officer.

Date August 12, 1977

To CAA STAFF & NATIONAL COMMITTEES

SUBJECT: EAST TIMOR & "CAA GLEANINGS"

1. East Timor

The attached report from Mr. J.R. A. Dowd, MIA (Shadow Minister for Industrial Relations in the NSW Parliament) and the two articles by Richard Carleton are forwarded for your information. These reinforce the earlier evidence (e.g. the report from Mr. James Dunn) of great atrocity and continuing need in the former Portuguese colony. CAA groups and supporters are asked to continue their protests and especially their efforts to have humanitarian aid granted entry into East Timor.

As announced at the National Convention (cf. Review, May/June 1977, pp. 1-2), CAA supported an attempt in September 1976 to ship medical supplies to East Timor. The four men on the boat concerned were prevented from leaving Australian waters and charged with the illegal export of medical supplies and, because the boat carried four shotguns and two rifles (normal equipment on Darwin fishing vessels) with the illegal export of arms. The men were convicted last February, but, when they appealed against the conviction, their appeal was upheld and the conviction dismissed. However, the Government then appealed against this decision. So the matter dragged on, until this week when it was learned that the Government has decided to withdraw its appeal. This means the end of a very long legal battle and no doubt a period of great strain for the four men involved. David Scott, CAA Chairman, described them at the Convention as four very brave men who were attempting to assist the people of East Timor with humanitarian relief after it had been isolated from the rest of the world.

2. "CAA Gleanings"

Also attached is the first edition of "CAA Gleanings". Quite an amount of development literature is received regularly by the Development Issues Unit. In "Gleanings" we intend to edit and comment on some of this so as to share it staff, committee members and interested CAA groups.

31.7.78

Dear Wes,

Thanks for your letter of the 17th, with news of activities. Sorry for the delay but there hasn't been much to write about.

The investigation into 8 days journey of your last letter revealed that a poor overworked Greek delivery van man found it under the seat of his vehicle. It's a long involved story of profuse apologies and extenuating circumstances as far as the bloke is concerned. He has wife and kids and a long and faithful record with Jet Express and we managed to ensure he wouldn't be sack sacked.

Re Mand J and R. R seems nice guy but my impression is that he is easily influenced and has been by people who should leave the Fretilin Committee to sort out their own affairs. It's an involved business which Chris can explain. M is the boss and J and others except A accept him as such. So do does the Central Committee in KT, and so so do I if an when I have to be involved with Fretilin.

I have just spoken to Chris, the main story about the Rockwell suit for Bronco's which I'm sure you followed in the Age has reduced his credibility with the press altho he acted in good faith and there's no doubt that the Broncos are there. Rockwell have threatened to sue the Age for a large amount but I don't think they would proceed.

J is in Cuba and Chris has had no reply to his urgent requests for clarification.

He said to tell you that the messages to R are private one from Al. Not they are probably not political but they are not from the Central Committee.

Chris hopes you will come to Melbourne some time but he is waiting to hear from J and to get some money which is supposed to be on the way.

Well I'm signing off for a while. I leave for Jerusalem on Aug 8 and on to New York about Sept 5. Back home about Oct. 15.

If you wanted to write to me in New York, put the letter in an envelope addressed to Sue Nichterlein,

# 45/35 Claremont Avenue  
New York  
New York 10027.

Don't do anything too foolishh.

Cheers; and to Manny.

LET EAST TIMOR SPEAK !

PUBLIC RADIO TRANSMITTER-RECEIVER FOR TWO-WAY  
CONTACT BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND  
EAST TIMOR

A two-way public radio transceiver will shortly be established in Darwin to allow contact with areas in East Timor not occupied by Indonesian invading forces. The radio will be established for three purposes only :

- 1) to allow humanitarian organisations to contact the East Timor Red Cross to discover health, food and clothing needs of the population in Fretilin-controlled areas ;
- 2) to allow East Timorese refugees in Australia and overseas to exchange messages with relatives and friends in the Fretilin-controlled areas, and
- 3) to allow journalists to interview Fretilin leaders in the liberated areas so that they may put their view to the world.

The Australian Government and the Overseas Telecommunications Commission (OTC) have refused to allow any two-way contact with the Fretilin-controlled areas, where the majority of the East Timorese live.

They have ,however, reopened telegraphic links with Indonesian-occupied areas, via Jakarta -- an act which is seen by many as another step towards recognition of Indonesian aggression against East Timor.

On two occasions last year the Australian Government ordered the seizure of two-way radios used to exchange messages between Fretilin leaders abroad and those in the mountains of East Timor.

The public radio transmitter-receiver to be established in Darwin shortly will be restricted to the three functions above. However, if the projected Senate Committee investigating atrocities in East Timor wish to use it, they will of course have access to talk to Fretilin leaders, to collect their evidence.

THE TWO-WAY RADIO WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ALL WHO WISH TO USE IT. WHILE TECHNICALLY ILLEGAL, IT MUST BE RECALLED THE FIRST PERSON FOUND OPERATING THE FRETILIN RADIO TRANSMITTER WAS NEVER CHARGED, WHILE THE NEXT TWO LAST SEPTEMBER WERE CHARGED ONLY TWO MONTHS LATER AND NO CONVICTION WAS RECORDED AGAINST THEM. THE MAXIMUM FINE IS \$100. WE CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW THIS RADIO TRANSMITTER TO OPERATE UNHINDERED FOR ITS HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.

IT WILL COST AN ESTIMATED \$4000 TO SET UP AND OPERATE THE RADIO IN DARWIN FOR SIX MONTHS. WE ASK YOU NOT ONLY TO GIVE YOUR MORAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT TO THIS PROJECT, BUT ALSO TO DONATE GENEROUSLY TO ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

PLEASE COLLECT AS MANY SIGNATURES AS POSSIBLE AND SEND THEM AND DONATIONS TO THE LET EAST TIMOR SPEAK FUND, fourth floor, 232 Castlereagh St., Sydney NSW 2000  
Phone: 617089.

The first Let East Timor Speak Fund successfully established a public radio receiver which through your support has been picking up messages from East Timor since December 10, 1976.

# LET EAST TIMOR SPEAK!

## TWO-WAY RADIO TRANSMITTER

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RADIO TRANSMITTER-RECEIVER IN DARWIN SHORTLY TO ALLOW TWO-WAY CONTACT BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND EAST TIMOR TO :

- 1) ALLOW CONTACT WITH THE EAST TIMOR RED CROSS, TO DISCOVER THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE EAST TIMORESE PEOPLE IN FRETILIN-CONTROLLED AREAS ;
- 2) ALLOW EAST TIMORESE REFUGEES HERE AND IN PORTUGAL TO EXCHANGE MESSAGES WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN FRETILIN-CONTROLLED AREAS, and
- 3) ALLOW JOURNALISTS TO INTERVIEW FRETILIN LEADERS , SO THAT THEIR VIEWS CAN BE PUT BEFORE THE WORLD.

WE REGRET THAT THE OVERSEAS TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION HAS REFUSED TO ALLOW CONTACT WITH FRETILIN-CONTROLLED AREAS OF EAST TIMOR, WHILE RE-ESTABLISHING TELEGRAPHIC LINKS WITH INDONESIAN-CONTROLLED AREAS.

WE CALL ON ALL AUSTRALIANS TO GIVE FULL MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE DARWIN PUBLIC RADIO TRANSMITTER- RECEIVER.

NAME

SIGNATURE

ADDRESS

DONATION

Please return this form with donations as quickly as possible to  
LET EAST TIMOR SPEAK FUND, 4th floor, 232 Castlereagh St., Sydney (617089)

February 17, 1977.

The Hon. Andrew Peacock,  
Minister for External Affairs,  
Parliament House,  
CANBERRA. 2600

Dear Mr Peacock,

The Executive Committee of the Australia-East Timor Association has asked me to express our deep concern at newspaper reports that Mr Richard Woolcott, presently the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, is likely to be appointed the Australian Ambassador to the United Nations.

Last year, several extensive press reports revealed that Mr Woolcott was recommending to the Australian Government that Australia should sympathise with, and acquiesce to, the illegal and brutal actions of the Indonesian Government in its attempted occupation of East Timor. Mr Woolcott's actions and recommendations were widely publicised both here and overseas. They were also known to national missions to the United Nations at a time when the Security Council had unanimously condemned Indonesian aggression, called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and asserted the right of the people of East Timor to independence and self-determination. The resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly have been reaffirmed and, as you will know, the committee of 24 of the General Assembly has asked that a fact-finding mission be sent to East Timor.

It would clearly be difficult for Mr Woolcott to support, or be seen to be supporting, the policy of the Australian Government on East Timor. From statements made by the Prime Minister, this policy is still the same as that stated by you last year - Australia calls for a withdrawal of Indonesian troops, the implementation of an act of self-determination and a resumption of humanitarian aid through the International Committee of Red Cross.

We believe that Mr Woolcott's attempts to identify Australian interests so closely with Indonesian policies, and his recommendations which completely disregarded the well-being and rights of the people of East Timor, disqualify him from appointment to be Australia's representative at the United Nations.

Yours sincerely,

(Dr Bill Roberts)  
Chairman



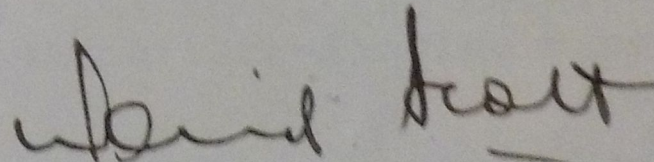
AUSTRALIA-EAST TIMOR ASSOCIATION  
75 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy 3065  
41 7055

February 18, 1977.

MEMO. TO: East Timor Support Groups

The Executive of AETA, Victoria, are very concerned at press reports that Mr Woolcott may be appointed Australian Ambassador to the United Nations.

He has identified himself with Indonesia's position regarding East Timor and we believe his appointment to the U.N. would be most inappropriate. Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Andrew Peacock on this matter. We suggest you might take similar action.



David Scott  
Member Executive Committee

Enc.

W

JANUARY 1970

15 THURSDAY 15-350

16/4/77

ON BEHALF OF TIMORES COMMUNITY, DARWIN

- 1- WE WORRY ABOUT GIVEN NAMES AND ADDRESSES IN AUSTRALIA TO INDONESIA, IN ORDER TO ALLOW OUR FAMILY IN ~~DI~~ Dili TO COME TO AUSTRALIA.  
INDONESIA ~~SHE~~ SHOULD GIVE US THE NAMES OF TIMORES STILL WHO WANT TO COME HERE
- 2- ~~FOR~~ WE KNOW THAT INDONESIAN TROOPS WERE DRESSING IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES DURING THE AMERICAN CONGRESS MEMBERS VISITING Dili, ALL THE WAR MATERIALS WERE HIDDEN. WE HEARD THIS IN RADIO MAUBERE.
- 3- WE DENY THAT 500 FRETILIN GAVE UP, IF ANY DID WERE INDONESIAN SOLDIERS WHO PRETENDED THEY ARE TIMORES.
- 4- THE POPULATION IN Dili WERE FORCED BY INDONESIAN OFFICIALS TO SHOUT FOR INTEGRATION.
- 5- IF AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA WERE SINCERE THEY SHOULD LET INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS INTO EAST TIMOR IMMEDIATELY, ACCORDING GENEVA ~~CONVENTION~~ CONVENTION, AND U.N.

H.C. MORRIS  
MOYSTN PARK  
DENILIQUIN

2/12/76

Dear Wes,

Today I received your letter and Timor information bits and pieces which were extremely interesting.

When I returned home I found my son had not been doing some of the jobs, he should have done. He missed two waterings of the lay paddocks, he was milking some cows and letting the rest go, and only partly washing the milking machines, as well as many other sundry things being neglected. - I sacked him. We have baled and stored the hay, 980 bales when there should have been 3,000. This week we will dry off about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the herd (probably the  $\frac{1}{3}$  that was rarely milked when I was in Darwin). The herd are only averaging 2 gals/day when at this time of the year it has always been  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 gals per cow. I expect that the days I spent in Darwin at the court house are going to be very costly on the farm, but more important I now have to work the farm on my own which means that I will have a full time job without any time or effort ~~then~~ being available for outside interests.

I expect that by the time you receive this note the court case could be finished and I hope we will then be able to give our small effort better publicity than it has received up to date.

I remain

Yours etc.

Public Knowledge Clippings.

41 4151 (B)  
419 3374 (H)

67 Brunswick Street,  
Fitzroy. 3065

February 8, 1977.

Mr Rob. Wesley-Smith,  
P.O. Box 2155,  
DARWIN. 5794

Dear Wes.,

Thank you for your letter and cuttings of the 4/2/77.

1. 'The Star' cutting was very good - it will help to add some human interest to the radio monitoring services. We will circulate some copies to AETA, TIS and one overseas. I have not heard anything about the plans to transmit from Australia other than some brief references in the press.
2. Thank you for the cheque for the rice - you have done an excellent job on this. I will send the money off to Mick Sullivan.
3. I hope the magistrate makes his finding this week. Could you please telephone me or Adrian as soon as there is any news. Would it be possible to obtain a copy of the transcript after the case is closed so that we can see if anyone can be found to write a story on it. We also look forward to hearing prospects for return of Mannie's vessel. Is your other acquaintance still in business?
4. I was very concerned to see what has happened to the med. aid account. I can see no record of the balance of the money from sale of the Bartram being deposited nor does there appear to be any record of the returned bail money being paid in. My understanding was that you and Jim should be refunded and that no money should be paid to Bill in addition to that sent previously from CAA until we receive some statement from him regarding the medical supplies purchased in Sydney (we have not had any word from him since September).

I am not quite clear whether you have actually received your refund although I imagine it is the payment of \$2,300 made on September 10. I think Jim would have been entitled to his reimbursement but we, you in particular, should have been involved in decisions about payments from this account. I do not have an address for Jim, but I have a 'phone number in Sydney and will try to find out whether I can write to him, asking for explanations.

4. (cont'd.)
- I do not know at this stage whether CAA can make any contribution towards legal costs, but we will certainly look into it. From the figures we discussed in Darwin, I believed that after you and Jim have been paid and the Bartram has been obtained, there would be some money left over towards legal costs, but it all seems to have been cleaned out. Of course, we will try to get donations to the Defence Fund once the verdict and the costs are known.
5. I had a letter from Jose in London yesterday. He is uncertain of his plans, but it looks as if he will return to the U.N. to try and activate the Security Council and a special committee to send a mission to East Timor. He said that he would then like to come to Australia and would apply for a visa on a personal basis. I hope he will come here soon as there are many things I would like to discuss with him.
6. I spoke to John Dowd, the Chairman of the Australian Committee of the International Jurists. You may have subsequently heard that they asked if they could visit East Timor to interview prisoners and investigate the human and legal rights' situation. John Dowd 'phoned me yesterday to say that the request had been refused because of inadequate transport facilities. He will be calling their bluff. He will advise them that ICJ is willing to charter a light aircraft to fly from Australia to Dili. We all know what the answer will be, but it is good to keep this initiative going.
7. The CAA National Committee in consultation with State Committees and a reasonable number of groups, has decided to step up its interest in East Timor. CAA will concentrate mainly on humanitarian issues and trying to get ICRC back into Timor, but this will also help to keep the wider political issues alive.
8. Jim Dunn is completing two reports; one for CAA and Catholic Relief on the refugees in Portugal who wish to come to Australia. The second report will be based on information he has gathered about what has happened in East Timor over the past fourteen months. He will incorporate this in his own Parliamentary briefing to M.Ps. and we will be able to obtain a copy for wider use.
9. What a small world - Jose met Neil O'Sullivan in a hotel lobby in Lusaka, Mozambique; Neil was accompanying a CAA East African Study Tour.

That's all for now -

Cheers - David

Dear Wes,

Thanks for the press cuttings and letter which arrived today. (The mails from Darwin seem to be either very good or very bad -- I received Radio Maubere tape for 2/2/77 yesterday !)

On your points :

15/2/77

1) We desperately need at least one copy of all East Timor-Indonesian news that appears in the Darwin papers. This is because we will print next week the first edition of the EAST TIMOR NEWS, the bulletin of the East Timor News Agency which will include press cuttings. As the Darwin press has some of the best coverage of East Timor in Australia, it is invaluable to be able to reproduce these cuttings, particularly for overseas ...

We've asked CIET there to appoint someone with responsibility for press cuttings, and so it would be good if you or Bill (he also sent some cuttings today) could work that out. Also time is of the essence, as ETN will be fortnightly.

You had better write to TIS in Melbourne directly to clarify their desires -- but I think they will be happy to pick up ETN cuttings, as they come out with a much later time span.

Also ETNA will need a correspondent there, to send news reports of activities etc that don't appear in the press. Could you make sure this is raised at the next CIET meeting?

2) Re: your trip and trial. It has always been unfortunate that we have not been able to throw our full weight behind the case. I've outlined the reasons, particularly to David Scott, and for the record, I'll put them down here, in a ~~k~~ fashion that might not please you, but at least it will get the whole thing above board :

a) The association of Bill Bancroft with the trip. Although Bancroft did not take part in the last run, he was in it from the beginning. We are certain Bancroft is linked with ASIO -- he has said that to people. He is also linked with the most reactionary of the UDT people, particularly one Marito Pires, who has sworn to kill Alarico and Fretilin leaders, and who is by all reports capable of violence. Pires was in Darwin recently, and Bancroft was running around the hostel here trying to find him. He spends many hours closetted with Pires. Bancroft threw a party for the UDT reactionaries around Xmas. Bancroft boasts of links with security. We have had a policy that anything Bancroft or Darby are in we do not touch.

b) Cliff Morris. From Canberra (from Jolliffe actually) the report came that Morris was working with a known ASIO operative on a Tetum dictionary. Morris does not deny this, but says he did not know the guy's links. In any case, there are some doubts, and again we do not like (being associated with such people.

c) the message for Xavier. We have seen this document and are of the opinion it was extremely dangerous and could have (and could still as it is on the court record) been used by the police or government.

d) carrying guns -- even though it is normal on a ship and they were few in number, it naturally gave bad publicity. The Indonesians picked it up, and Alarico had to make denials over Radio Maubere about "gun running" and that crap. I discussed this with you and Jim and stressed that it was vital that no guns be taken. It was a big mistake from all angles.

e) police awareness of the trip. You yourself said you knew they knew what was planned. It was a mistake to believe because they had ignored the earlier abortive trips that they would ignore something more serious.

So, if such an effort is to be made again it must be done with strict security, with unknown faces involved and without doubtful individuals such as Bancroft in the know. (Was it by chance they didn't pick you up when Bancroft was aboard, but did when he was not involved?)

I want to stress I have never questioned your sincerity in the whole venture but that does not change my, and others, views about the whole venture.

3) Radio transceiver... any secret one can only be for Fretilin use -- otherwise who is to control what goes over and what does not? As for what is now happening, no comment, except that Fretilin Ministers are fully aware and involved.

4) Public radio transceiver. There has been one or two hitches. But it should be ready for launching for a public campaign in a week or two. We have already received from Holland enough to actually by the set, (one thing I arranged when there). However, we'll need a lot more money, for this and to keep the public radio receivers operative, and help the Darwin OIEP and Timorese committee to keep things rolling. I agree we need to be careful how the set is opened for transmission, to make sure there is at least one session of as many hours as possible succeeds before it is grabbed. I do not agree we should make a non-public broadcast first -- it is being set up for specific purposes. But at the beginning all such organisational details (eg best time for public reception of messages, time of English news on Radio Maubere, etc.) can be fixed up -- shouldn't take long. Then we'll have to decide access to aid groups, journalists, and Timorese refugees messages etc..

5) Radio Maubere and public radio receivers. Andrew is investigating whether another type of receiver would be better. One possibility is a transceiver with only the receiver part operative, but he says it would make a very marginal difference.

Obviously, the two major considerations for Radio Maubere and the public radio receiver are the best possible reception and second, to get the news to here and overseas as quickly as possible. I made some suggestions in a letter to Bill yesterday on this last point. We can only leave it to the two committees there to work out the best reception...

6) I hope Fretilin Ministers will make a public application. The first thing I will do when parliament reassembles is to try to get the ALP to invite Abilio here to meet them, and then he can make his application. Not much can be done until ~~we~~ they reassemble in a week or so. Then we'll have a basis for an invitation to them Ministers.

7) Then we can launch a public campaign for the Minister chosen by Fretilin to be invited here, once the invite comes from the Labor pollies. Perhaps ~~&~~ you could ~~xxxx~~ whisper into Ted Robinsons ear on this (or Bill or someone else?) The best idea would be if the Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee of the parliamentary ALP caucus invited him. ?

8) On other questions of getting stuff in etc.. I'll communicate in other ways.

9) Horta is in Maputo and has not seen new Varter people, but saw them before the elections.

10) On your case. Despite our criticisms, we think we must move on trying to save Manny's boat at least -- but it seems late days now. As soon as we hear anything we'll try to mobilise forces here.

OK this letter is already too long. Bibi and all the best

Denis

Feel free to show this to Bill, Brian etc.

1. To the Indonesian Consulate:

The 7th December 1976 is the first anniversary of the invasion of the Democratic Republic of East Timor by the assassin forces of Indonesia. East Timor was brutally occupied by the Imperialists' lackey Suharto and his fascist colonialist troops who for months murdered women and children. The people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor were guided by only one party, the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor, and will continue to fight heroically for their own country.

We Timorese in Darwin who love the Democratic Republic of East Timor demand the withdrawal of all the assassin colonialist troops of Suharto.

We demand that the Indonesian government not interfere with negotiations by the Australian government and the Democratic Republic of East Timor for the relief of refugees and the re-uniting of families.

We demand that the Indonesian government allow into East Timor the International Red Cross, and journalists to report openly to the world.

\* Power to the Maubere people

\* Power to the Bibere people

\* Defeat to the Suharto colonialists in the Democratic Republic of East Timor

For peace . . .

The Committee of Timor groups in Darwin supporting the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

---

2. To the Department of Immigration:

We ask you to

Conduct all negotiations about refugees with the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

Allow into Australia refugees from East Timor, especially to re-unite families.

Allow visas to visit Australia to ministers of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

Facilitate citizenship for Timorese in Australia.

---

3. To Telecom, c/o Post Office, Darwin

We ask you to

Recommence receipt and reporting by Outpost Radio of messages from Fretilin.

Licence a radio receiver/transmitter for 2 way contact with Fretilin.



41 4151 (B)  
419 3374 (H)

c/- 67 Brunswick Street,  
Fitzroy. 3065

December 3, 1976.

Mr Rob Wesley-Smith,  
P.O. Box 2155,  
DARWIN, N.T.  
5794

Dear Wes.,

I had meant to write to you well in time for December 6,  
but I have set the letter aside for too long.

Thank you very much for your comments. We were very  
pleased to receive the good news this morning about  
Estanislau - it could not be a better prelude to Mon-  
day's hearing.

I have passed the cheque for \$710 on to ACFOA with an  
explanation of the way in which you are disposing of the  
grain. Mick Sullivan is overseas so my letter will pro-  
bably await his return. I will see that a receipt is sent  
to you.

Of course, we were very interested in your post-mortem and  
comments on your colleagues, most of which seem well based.

We also take your point about CAA; the whole situation was  
a most unusual one and we had to take a risk in dealing with  
people in a way that we would not normally do. As you and  
the others are prepared to take risks and we had not  
planned for the consequences of apprehension, we feel ob-  
liged to contribute towards costs to the extent of the  
funds available from the exercise.

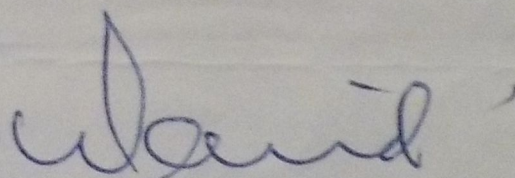
I think it is important to try and get a good journalist to write the story. John Edwards comes to mind as a suitable person, and the NATIONAL TIMES as probably the only paper that would be prepared to publish a rather lengthy story which would bring out the purposes and the politics. He would need to have background notes and a copy of the transcript of the proceedings. If you think this is a sensible suggestion, could you see if the transcript could at least be borrowed.

Please let me know what should be done regarding return of Mannie's boat - I guess this will depend on the magistrate's verdict.

I still have a sinking fear that the prosecution might try and use some of the material in Neil's letter to allege that there was a plan to export arms. If so, this must be strenuously denied as must any suggestion that Fretilin was involved.

Best wishes to you all for Monday,

Yours sincerely,



David Scott



A Uniting Movement of the Australian Inland Mission (Presbyterian), the Methodist Overseas Missions, the Federal Methodist Inland Mission and the Congregational Union of Australia.

Telephone: 81 8444  
Telegrams: UNITEDCHURCH DARWIN

THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED CHURCH  
P.O. BOX 717, DARWIN 5794

15th October, 1976.

Mr. Robert Wesley-Smith,  
Supreme Court Building,  
DARWIN.

Dear Mr. Wesley-Smith,

As we meet in Darwin for our Annual Conference, we are conscious that you are standing trial for participating in an attempted mercy mission to East Timor.

We do not presume to judge the rightness or wrongness of your particular actions, but we wish to convey to you our admiration and respect for taking the actions which you were conscience-bound to take.

Our Prime Minister and others continue to reiterate that our Australian policy on East Timor includes the importance of sending humanitarian aid. We confess that we share in the guilt of this Nation for not having ensured that such aid was provided to all parties long ago. We applaud your motives in making an effort, although it failed in its intention, and trust that you will not be subjected to any great penalty for breaches of the law you may have made in the extravagance of your zeal.

We believe that your example will help to awaken the rest of us to the desperate needs of thousands of our near neighbours.

Peace be with you.

For: Rev. G. Bucknall  
On behalf of members of  
the United Church in North  
Australia Conference.

THE NORTH NEWS

# The Northnews

VOL. 2 NO. 121

OCTOBER 18, 1976

P.O. BOX 39761, WINNELLIE.

GUN RUNNING CASE : The case against four men charged with attempts to export firearms and ammunition to East Timor to assist the Fretlin forces could become a major political embarrassment to the Fraser Government. It is known that when Customs men aided by Police swooped on a small craft inside Darwin Harbor to arrest the four men and seize quantities of medical supplies along with four registered shotguns and a small quantity of ammunition, some of the arresting squad felt the whole thing was a little over-dramatised..... FOUR shotguns seems a pretty insignificant contribution to any war even if the medical supplies might have been important to wherever they were intended. There has already been talk that Mr Malcolm Fraser personally telephoned the Attorney General's Department in Darwin on the night of the arrest - on the eve of his trip to Indonesia - a trip on which he publicly accepted for Australia, the Indonesian invasion of the tiny former

Portugese colony on Timor .....

THERE can be little doubt that the four, all known sympathisers of Fretlin, and there are thousands in Darwin, would have been preparing to leave the harbor to run medical supplies to Timor. But few among the authorities even feel comfortable about the four guns which were almost certainly aboard for the four people's protection should they be necessary.... AT all events ... the Crown is pushing ahead with the prosecutions. Moves have been made already to change the charges to ones with lesser penalties attached. Agronomist Robert Wesley-Smith is seen as the leader of the foursome. Others are James Zantis of Bondi N S W, Harold Norris of Deniliquin N S W and Manolas Mavromatis of Darwin. Strong public demonstrations and other activities are certain if the men are convicted and dealt with heavily for what probably a majority here see as perhaps a foolhardy action, but a positive humanitarian one for all that.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# TIMOR CALLING....CALLING TIMOR.....OVER....

DARWIN OUTPOST RADIO RECEIVES REGULAR MESSAGES FROM EAST TIMOR. THESE MESSAGES ARE ACKNOWLEDGED AND DELIVERED TO THE ADDRESSEE. EVERYONE IS GRATEFUL TO THE WORKERS OF THE OUTPOST RADIO, FOR THEIR "THANK-YOU, MESSAGE RECEIVED" IS THE ONLY PERSONAL CONTACT THE TIMORESE HAVE WITH AUSTRALIANS.

ON NOVEMBER 28TH, THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EAST TIMOR, MANY OF US WOULD LIKE TO RELAY TO TIMOR, MESSAGES OF HOPE AND SYMPATHY.  
FOR EXAMPLE :-

AUSTRALIAN POST OFFICE  
**TELEGRAM**

Presented for transmission subject to the Post and Telegraph Act and Regulations

Please use BLOCK letters

Please give full address to ensure delivery

Words  
Charge  
Time  
By

TO ALARICO JORGE FERNANDES  
MINISTER FOR INFORMATION  
EAST TIMOR

STATE /  
(not chargeable)

CASH REGISTER OR STAMPS  
T.X. 41 Sch. C6400 70

CONGRATULATIONS FIRST ANNIVERSARY  
DECLARATION INDEPENDENCE STOP  
OUR THOUGHTS ARE WITH YOU

FROM (for transmission) **DARWIN TIMOR INFORMATION CENTRE**

WE SUGGEST THAT INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS APPROACH THE POST OFFICE WITH SIMILAR TELEGRAMS FOR TRANSMISSION ON OR ABOUT NOV 28TH. PLEASE DO NOT BE OBJECTIONAL TO POST OFFICE OR TELECOM WORKERS IF YOU ARE REFUSED. POLITELY ASK WHY THE MESSAGE CANNOT BE SENT. OUR AIM IS TO SHOW THAT MANY OF US ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH AUSTRALIAS BETRAYAL OF TIMOR.

TIMOR INFORMATION CENTRE,  
FLEAMARKET,  
KNUCKEY ST. DARWIN.

P.S. DONT FORGET THE DEMO ON DEC 7.

"IT'S UP TO YOU AND ME TO MAKE AUSTRALIA SEE"

A SONG FOR EAST TIMOR.

When you sing this song, remember that although Timor is not much more than 400 miles across open sea from DARWIN, the agreement our own Mr Malcom Fraser has made with the corrupt ruthless Suharto regime means that the bloody war goes on with very little public news getting out. The determined people of East Timor will win, there is nothing more certain, and Suhartos butchers will also fall.

But now the song, to the tune of 'You can hear the whistle blow 500 Miles'. Sing loudly and with feeling, it is deadly serious.

400 miles, 400 miles, 400 miles, 400 miles  
Can you hear the bombs explode 400 miles ?

400 miles, 400 miles, 400 miles, 400 miles,  
Can you hear the cries for help 400 miles ?

Have you heard about the war, people dyin' in Timor ?  
Oh how can you ignore, 400 miles.

People fightin' to be free, and its up to you and me,  
To make Australia see, 400 miles!

400 miles, 400 miles, 400 miles, 400 miles,  
Can you hear the cries for help, 400 miles.

TIMORESE SONG OF LIBERATION -- FOHO RAMELAU  
EH, FOHO RAMELAU, FOHO RAMELAU, EH!  
SA BE AS LIU O TUTUN SA BE BEIN LIU O LOLON EH!

TAN SA TIMUR ULUN SUDUR UAI-UAIAN?  
TAN SA TIMUR OAN ATA UAI-UAIN?  
TAN SA TIMUR OAN HAKRUK BEI-BEIK?  
TAN SA TIMUR OAN ATAN BEI-BEIK?

HADER RAI-HUN MUTUN ONA LA!  
HADER LORO FOUN SA'E ONA LA!

LOKE MATAN LORO FOUN TO'O IHA O KNUAK  
LOKE MATAN LORO FOUN IHA ITA RAIN.

HADER KAER RASIK KUDA TALIN EH. !  
HADER UKUN RASIK ITA RAIN EH!

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NOTE.

Borja da Costa, the poet of the Timorese revolution was brutally murdered by invading Indonesian paratroopers on December 7th 1975. Foho Ramelau is one of the most popular songs sung by the people and Fretilin guerillas in East Timor today and represents the invincible will of the MAUBERE (the poor, downtrodden) people for their INDEPENDENCE after 500 years of rigid Portugese colonialism. VICTORY IS CERTAIN.

(TRANSLATION)

Eh mt. Ramelau, Mt Ramelau eh!  
What is higher than your peak?  
What is greater than your majesty?  
Why Timor, is your head forever bowed ?  
Why Timor, are your children en-slaved?  
Why Timor, do your children doze like chickens?  
Why Timor, do your children doze like slaves ?  
Awake! The mountain is light!  
Awake! Anew sun has arisen!

Open your eyes! A new sun is in your village.  
Open your eyes! A new sun is over your ~~land~~ land.

A wake! Sieze the reins of your horse  
Awake! Let us rule our own country!

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PERSONAL.

41 4151 (B)  
419 3374 (H)

c/- 67 Brunswick Street,  
Fitzroy. 3065

November 4, 1976.

Mr Robert Wesley-Smith,  
P.O. Box 2155,  
DARWIN. 5794

Dear Rob.,

From a brief conversation with Jim over the telephone and from what Adrian has told me of his conversation with Cliff, my understanding is that no further evidence will be produced, that Neil's letter will not be read and that resumption of the hearing is on December, 6 when defence and prosecution will present their summing-up addresses.

Adrian advised that Cliff said that it was expected the hearing would then adjourn to February with the magistrate's decision. This seems difficult to believe.

What is the situation regarding Mannie's boat? Does he have to wait until the case is over before he can make an application for its return? If not, when will he do this and would it be helpful for us to try and arrange some letters to the Minister for Customs and to seek support from M.Ps on the grounds that it would be excessively and obviously punitive for the Government to hold on to the 'Dawn' when the case has been stretched out over three or, possibly, five months. Any acts of this kind would probably need to be done without publicity that might influence the case and the verdict. However, some of us could get to work quietly if this is desirable.

What is Mannie's financial position? Is he obliged to continue his repayments? If he does not, will he lose whatever equity he now has in the 'Dawn'?

I am enclosing a copy of the SUN news item that might be helpful to John Waters. Would you please ask John if he could send me a revised copy of the statement I dictated. Would it be possible to obtain a copy of the transcript of the proceedings and when would this be available? This could be used to interest a good journalist in writing a story on the whole venture. Until a decision is made, it would probably have to be more of a review. After the verdict, it could cover wider ground.

I am also enclosing two cheques for the Timor Relief Legal Defence Fund. How much money do you have in hand? Cliff seemed to think that all of his expenses would be met by the Legal Aid Office and that the balance of costs would be around \$2,500. Do you agree with this figure?

I spoke to Mick O'Sullivan of ACFOA about the 20 tons of rice. He would be very pleased if you could arrange its sale. The proceeds should be credited to Timor Task Force - Australian Council for Overseas Aid.

The East Timor issue is expected to be debated in the U.N. this week and it seems fairly certain that the General Assembly will stick to its original resolutions.

Not much other news from down south at the moment. I hope you are well and look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*David*

David Scott

Encs. 3.