

TIMOR?

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opening titles:
~~GRANDE~~ "GRANDE REPORTAGE".

Live. The journalist at
the Dili airport.

"A team from "Grande Reportagem" has just
arrived in Dili, East Timor.

We are going to try, to the best of our
ability and as far as we are allowed to
do so, to assess the situation: the life
that is led here".

View of a circular
instrument for a medium
plan of a musician.

Seven years separate these images.

Aircraft stationed at
the Dili airport.
(Sepia images from the
archives).

Seven years of Indonesian military occupation.
Theoretically, time enough to put an end to
a civil war and to create normal conditions
for a people.

General plan of a
group of musicians
playing at night.

19 thousand square kilometres. The Timorese
100 to 200 thousand dead. An account that
had begun with the civil war culminated in
the invasion and continues even today with
the resistance to the occupier. 2,900 refu-
gees have arrived in Portugal since 1976, on
the eight flights of the only air bridge, and
then through the International Red Cross.
Of these refugees, 1,800/^{the}luckiest emigrated
to Australia. First, they succeeded in
leaving Timor, then Indonesia, and now they
are going to Australia. Travellers between
fear and the unknown, their passage through
Lisbon has a taste of paradise.

Interview with a
Timorese of Chinese
origin, at the Lisbon
airport.

Question: "Was it difficult to get out of
Timor?"

Reply: "That is a controversial subject.
I can't comment. Sorry."

Q.: "Are you leaving for Australia today?"

R.: "Yes, I am leaving for Australia".

Q.: "With your family?"

R.: "Yes".

Q.: "What is your analysis of the situation in Timor?"

R.: "I must apologize. I still have many of my countrymen in Timor and I can't comment".

A divided screen.
A photo of three thin children appears on the upper left hand corner.

Photos of the civil war or photos of the invasion? To the reporter, in search of evidence, the most perceptible element is fear. Fear for relatives, fear for friends who have remained behind. The news that arrive are alarming and the refugees refuse to talk. Interrogations accumulate.

Fixed plan of scattered newspapers.

The international press, particularly the Anglo-Saxon press, and the humanitarian institutions are endeavouring to break down the barrier of silence, but the news continue to be vague.

First letter to fall on the table.

Only letters document that, after all, behind an appearance of peace, a tragedy goes on. They arrive, little by little, categorical, dated 1979, 1980, 1982...

Detail of a letter on a grand plan.

The war continues fiercely. The prisons are bursting at the seams. Atauro has turned into a penal colony for political prisoners. Scores of people have disappeared. When you talk or write about Timor in the newspapers, you'd better not name any people, because of the Indonesian secret police.

Image glimpsed in counter-light.

It is because of these letters that the refugees will not talk. When we succeed in persuading any of them, he demands that his face and his voice should not be identifiable.

Interview with a refugee in counter-light.

"That is, the people still continue to be massacred by the Indonesians, and they are short of food and... tortured too. There is still torture going on".

Q.: "Have you ever been tortured?"

R.: "Yes. I was tortured by the Indonesians when I was a prisoner in BAUCAU, in 78".

Map showing a region in Asia, including Indonesia.

It became imperative to go to Timor.

Interview with Mário Alkatiri, one of the Fretilin leaders.

"At the level of fighting on the military field, the possibilities of obtaining new supplies from outside, in material and human terms, are very slight and there is a need to do a minimum at diplomatic level to follow up the evolution of the fighting on the military field that our comrades have kept up and tried to intensify as much as possible."

Images of buildings in New York. A view from right to left.

First, we tried to approach Fretilin in Lisbon. But Fretilin replied that it was not in a position to help us to visit the island. The opportunity finally cropped up in New York, in July of last year, when we, at last, obtained an interview we had requested long ago with the Indonesian Ambassador to the United Nations.

Indonesian Ambassador to the UNO: H. DJALAL.

Q.: "You mean there is no famine there?"

R.: "No. That talk of famine was an invention. The story of the famine was invented by the forces that are against Indonesia. There is no famine."

Q.: "You say the situation is normal. Can I go there tomorrow and have a look at the situation with my own eyes?"

R.: "In a way, just as if you
other country, you will ha
certain requirements. I
Portugal tomorrow just lik
to apply for a visa. I h
a permit."

Q.: "What if I ask for a visa?"

R.: "Once all the immigration
have been met, there is no
can go there."

Q.: "Can I then go there to see?"

R.: "In principle, you can.
depend on the way in which
your application."

TITLE : "TIMOR ? TIMUR ?"

(over images of the passports)

Inside a helicopter over-
flying the sea, with three
passengers seen in profile.

Camexaman
NUNO JORGE

Assistant
NARCISO GOMES

Images from the archives
Film library, RTP

Two pilots seen from
the back.

Editing
PEDRO SANTOS

Sound
A. DA MATA DINIZ

Documentation
"GRANDE REPORTAGEM"

Reporting
RUI ARAUJO

Text and Film Direction
RUI ARAUJO
JOSE BARATA FEYO

Panel: "Welbome to Ataúro."

Ataúro continues to maintain its
ancient vocation to be a prison island
where bars are unnecessary.

Interview with
Prisoner N^o 1.

"I came to Ataúro as a deportee."

Q.: "Why?"

R.: "Because of what happened in Dili
on 10th June 1980."

Interview with
Prisoner N^o 2.

Q.: "How long have you been here at
Ataúro?"

R.: "I have been here for two years and
five months."

Plan of a shoulder bag showing a hand pulling out a tape recorder.

Accompanied and followed at all times by the Indonesian security and secret police, all the way, all we ask, all the replies we get, are controlled and even recorded. The coverage you are looking at is therefore the only coverage possible. A strict surveillance will be present throughout our whole trip and the police tape-recorder a symbol of the freedom of information here, just as the island of Ataúro is a miniature of the immense concentration camp that bears the name of Timor.

Interview with the Administrator of the Station of Ataúro.

Q.: "You are the Administrator of the Station of Ataúro. How many people are living here at this moment?"

R.: "The people from Ataúro number over five thousand two hundred."

Q.: "And the people that are not from Ataúro?"

R.: "The people who have come from outside the island total over three thousand."

Q.: "Nearer four thousand... Three thousand eight hundred."

R.: "Yes."

Interview with Prisoner 2.

Q.: "Is the food enough to live on?"

R.: "Yes."

Q.: "Do you eat every day?"

R.: "Every day."

Q.: "What did you have for dinner yesterday?"

R.: "Ground maize."

Q.: "And what are you going to have for lunch?"

R.: "I'm going to have the same."

Q.: "Do you work here at Ataúro?"

R.: "No."

Q.: "Do you live only on the allowance given you by the Red Cross?"

R.: "Yes."

Q.: "And is everybody in the same situation?"

R.: "Everybody."

Interview with the
Administrator of the
Station of Atauró.

R.: "That is to say... the great drought
had a lot of influence, of course..."

Q.: "Do people starve to death at Atauró
or don't they?"

R.: "Up to now, there are no records of
people having starved to death here."

Q.: "He said there was no famine..."

R.: "The people who die here, for the most
part, are either old, or they die of
sickness because there is no adequate
medical service or the food is scarce."

A hand giving red
vitamins.

Nobody dares to acknowledge the situation,
to call things by their own name: Atauró
is a concentration camp with a saving in
barbed wire. It is not like Cambodia,
surely, but only on condition that one
establishes a subtle hierarchy in the degrees
of man's degradation

Interview with a
doctor from the Indo-
nesian Red Cross,
Doctor Rudiono.

Q.: "Why are they here?"

R.: "It is not my responsibility to answer
your question."

Q.: "Are they prisoners?"

R.: "It is not my responsibility to answer
that question either."

Q.: "Can they leave Atauró, if they want to?"

R.: "From a medical standpoint, if they are
in good health, they can leave."

Q.: "So their living conditions are good
enough, at Atauró?"

R.: "So it seems."

Q.: "Are they pleased?"

R.: "You can ask them that."

Interview with
Prisoner 1.

Q.: "You said the prisoners here were all
right. But can a prisoner be all right?"

R.: "That I can't say... You must realize
that I can't clarify everything."

Interview with the
Administrator of the
Station of Ataúro.

- Q.: "Can they leave Ataúro?"
- R.: "He is not competent to say if they can leave or not."
- Q.: "But he is the Administrator of the Station. Then who is competent to give such a reply?"
- R.: "He is - let us say - a subordinate of the Administrator. Therefore the proper person to reply is the Administrator of the Borough of Dili."
- Q.: "But he knows whether the people can or cannot leave?"
- R.: "At the end of the period of time when the people have already..."
- Q.: "What period of time is that?"
- R.: "He does not know definitely. All depends on the instructions he gets from there..."

Interview with
Prisoner 2.

- Q.: "Why did you come here?"
- R.: "We came because we have relatives in the bush."
- Q.: "Before being interned here, were you arrested?"
- R.: "I was arrested."
- Q.: "Why?"
- R.: "Because of the 10th June."
- Q.: "Were you from Fretilin?"
- R.: "Yes."
- Q.: "And were many people left in the bush?"
- R.: "Yes, many."

Helicopter with its
blades rotating.

"Relatives in the bush" is the bashful expression used by everybody to describe those who continue to resist Indonesian occupation. Back in Dili, we went to listen to the explanations - the confession - of the present governor.

Interview with the
Governor of Timor,
Mário Carrascalão.

"What is Ataúro to me? I define that in two ways. First: Ataúro serves military purposes. It served them. Second: when I look at the problem from a humane point of view - if I agree from the military point of view, I don't agree from a humane point of view."

Q.: "What is the military point of view?"

R.: "The military point of view is the physical segregation of the people who were helped, or may potentially come to help their relatives who are still in the bush."

Q.: "From a humane point of view, why don't you agree?"

R.: "I don't agree with Ataúro in view of the bad name Ataúro had in the past, and it still has exactly because of that past, which leaves its mark forever on those who ever pass through there, who go through there. And that means that the children of those people will someday suffer because of the fact that they were once at Ataúro. Nowadays Ataúro may perhaps be considered as an island where people are isolated, but it is no longer so... In the old days, in Ataúro there were prisons within the island itself."

Q.: "Today the whole island is a prison."

R.: "Yes. I can say that the island today is a prison. I won't say the island is a prison. It is an island that is physically separated from the main island."

Brown screen

But the proof of that which the authorities will not acknowledge, and that not even the exiles have the courage to denounce was

subreptitiously handed to our cameraman, a tiny bit of paper that escaped the watchfulness of the guards. -

Letter on the upper right hand corner of the screen and the rest in black.

"In the first place, I wish to send my regards and respects... We have come here but our brothers and our families have remained in the bush, and it is only when they die that they will let us out of here.

Interview with the Governor of Timor.

Q.: "What must one do to leave there?"

R.: "People may leave Ataúro, as we gradually learn that their relatives who are in the bush have either died or joined us. Then, there will no longer be any reason for us to segregate those people.

Q.: "And if the relatives of those people who are held in Ataúro today do not surrender, then what will happen?"

R.: "They will continue to stay at Ataúro. Or, at least, they will remain in the new settlements we are going to build here, on the island, and which we expect to have completed up to the end of the year. Anyway, we wish this physical segregation to continue, so that we may all the sooner put an end to this situation in Timor that is neither war nor peace."

Mountain seen from the helicopter.

"Neither war nor peace"... After all, it is the implied acknowledgement that the war still goes on. Another indication in the same sense is the fact that, as a rule, our team could only travel by helicopter. In spite of the roads - the construction and quality of which the Indonesians always underline as an example of the development the Portuguese had never taken to Timor - in spite of the roads, we travel by air and

whenever possible, near the sea. Besides, we must not be the only ones to think that the roads are not safe. In afternoon, on our way to Maliana, we sighted a military helicopter in the distance and, shortly afterwards, another one. All in all, during the five days we travelled in Timor, we saw at least ten different helicopters. This number is not at all surprising but the authorities, in their preoccupation to minimize everything, only acknowledge the existence of three.

Map of Timor Timur.

It was thus by helicopter that we could visit, in addition to Dili, the capital, Liquiça, Ermera and Maliana - the farthest point we reached in the interior of the island.

Image of trees and bridge.

To the West, we went as far as Batugadé, the former frontier. This bridge separates the Indonesian side from the Portuguese side of the island, now considered by Djakarta as the 27th province of the Republic.

Map of Timor Timur.

On the opposite direction, eastwards, we went as far as Baucau, 120 kilometres from Dili, overflying Vila de Ostico, a village where a resettlement centre is being built.

Map showing Ataúro.

On the island of Ataúro we spent a whole morning. We stayed within a perimeter of five kilometres around the camp where we landed.

Maps of Aileu and
Metinaro.

By car we went only to Aileu, forty kilo-
metres to the South of Dili, and to
Metinaro, thirty kilometres to the East of
the capital.

Plastic flowers in
a grand plan.

It was here, at Aileu, that the Fretilin
killed and buried in the first days of 1976
- immediately after the beginning of the
Indonesian invasion - a hundred militants
of the UDT. It is in this common grave
Captain Magiollo Gouveia and the Vice-Presi-
dent of the UDT, Cesar Mouzinho, lie buried

Photo of an old man
with a hand to his
forehead.

We recall that it was under the pretext of
Portuguese neglect and with the object of
putting an end to the civil war between the
Fretilin and the UDT that the Indonesian
troops invaded Timor. The massacres of
the civil war would be followed by the
massacres of the occupation.

Grand plan of jeep
on the right side of
the screen.

It is of this occupation and of the resis-
tance which followed it that Indonesia
endeavours to hide every vestige. Always
controlled by the security jeeps, we quickly
realize the manoeuvres of the authorities.
In a previously established circuit, the car
driving in front of us warns of our coming,
while two other jeeps stick close to ours,
immediately behind us. There is the
obvious preoccupation of not allowing us
to see armed soldiers. In spite of every-
thing and with the complicity of the rain,
we finally see a few of them further ahead.
The military control posts, situated at ten
kilometres intervals all along the road,
were deserted, with their barriers lifted,
when we went through. However, just a
little further on, the make-believe failed:
when we passed a few moments ago, the barrie
was closed and the soldiers armed.

Interview with the
Chief of the Military
Post of Metinaro.

Q.: "You are the Chief of the Post of
Metinaro. This military barrier, this
control... What is this for?"

R.: "There used to be (such control) two or
three years ago. Now all that is over
What you saw a little while ago... a
post has to have a weapon on hand."

Q.: "What you are saying is that your guard
who is over there - if the cameraman
can go there - was armed with a rifle.
When we returned, the barrier had been
lifted and the guard had vanished.
What is the purpose of this post, that
was closed and with an armed man?"

R.: "..."

Q.: "Can people go through without any docu-
ments, can they circulate freely?
Isn't it necessary to have a pass?"

R.: "People must circulate with an identifi-
cation card."

Q.: "An identification card that is issued
by whom?"

R.: "It is issued by the Post."

3 trees seen from
the helicopter.

If it is true that the Timorese have the
right to journey from one place to another,
it is no less true that that right is one
thing and reality another. There is no
shortage of soldiers at the innumerable post
of control. On the border between the two
Timor, the scene of the soldier's flight was
enacted once again. This time it had to do
with the transport of goods. The documents
were carefully inspected and the wait would
depend on the whim of the guards, always
sensitive to a smile and some thousand rupees

Interview with the
Governor of Timor.

Q.: "The Timorese, say the critics, are only free to starve, to have the God others want in the prisons built by them. Is there freedom in Timor today?"

R.: "Yes, sir, there is."

Q.: "Can one travel freely?"

R.: "Travel by helicopter and see that people travel freely on land all over Timor."

Q.: "Isn't there any military control with regard to travelling on the roads?"

R.: "There may be. There may be in case the person concerned is not properly identified. He may have to produce some identification because the Timorese are all alike. As I said before, there are still some Timorese in the bush and they have no documents. To avoid confusion, whenever there is reason for suspicion, any person who wishes to go through the "what you call it" is asked to produce some identification, and they identify themselves by their card... a card, let us say."

Q.: "A pass?"

R.: "It is not a pass. It is a personal identification card."

Grand plan of a
building.

To carry out the task of telling the "good" Timorese from the "bad" Timorese, Indonesia relies on its armies.

Interview with the
Military Commander
of Timor,
Colonel PURWANTO

A.: "How many soldiers are there at present in East Timor?"

R.: "We have a territorial force of 1,500 men."

Q.: "How many policemen?"

R.: "We also have 1,500 policemen in East Timor."

Q.: "And Timorese?"

R.: "Two battalions. There are around 1,400 Timorese in all."

Q.: "Can you tell me how many bases you have here?"

R.: "Certainly. An infantry battalion at Dili and another at Baucau, Los Palos and Viqueque. It is divided among three places. A company and the headquarters of the battalion at Baucau, a company at Los Palos and another at Viqueque.

Military groups during training.

Four bases and some thousands of men... However, as against the Indonesian data, the Timorese resistance movement opposes a figure of twenty thousand soldiers. Reality is probably situated somewhere between these two extremes - we lack concrete data.

Interview with the Military Commander.

Q.: "What type of material do you use here?"

R.: "Only M-16, the standard weapon of the Indonesian army.

Q.: "How many helicopters have you got at present?"

R.: "In East Timor we have only three helicopters: A BO-105, a Bell and a Sikorsky. Just three."

Q.: "Are you using F-5E and Skyhawk A-1 aircraft?"

R.: "No. We are not using them in East Timor. We do not use them here. We haven't got them... We do not use them."

Q.: "Nor the Bronco Rockwell?"

R.: "No. We don't use those in Timor."

Photo with publicity Bronco Rockwell aircraft.

The Bronco's, anti-guerilla aircraft used by the Americans in the Vietnam war, are not being used in Timor, as the international press has written, but they do exist in Indonesia. One thing is certain, however.

16 Bronco's, supplied by the Americans to Indonesia between 1976 and 1978, were used against Timorese resistance fighters when the guerilla was in full activity.

Interviews with the
Military Commander
Timor.

Q.: "But they are still fighting: How many men do they have in your opinion?"

R.: "Not more than two hundred people."

Q.: "How can you explain the pressure of all these Indonesian forces just because of two hundred people?"

R.: "We only go to the villages to ask them to come back home, we only invite them to join us. We tell their families to come and join us and they end by coming..."

A white sheet on a
brown screen.

Therefore, the Military Commander of Timor also acknowledges the principle of the idolation of families, of turning them into hostages, as a means of exerting pressure on the guerillas. Somewhere in Timor we were handed this list. It contains 116 names of Timorese, with their ages, place of birth and occupation, who disappeared in the "hot" area of Los Palos a little over a year ago. However, the military commander asserts that his troops do not kill civils, because they do not even kill guerillas.

Interview with the
Military Commander in
Timor

Q.- Have you killed many of them recently?

R.- No. We never kill them. They belong to our family, just as our family on the other side of Indonesia. All those from

here are members of our family.

We do not kill them. Of course not.

Q: What are the areas in East Timor controlled by them?

R: They control nothing. They are only 200, and disorganized. They have no organization whatever. Of course they control nothing. You can go where you please.

Q: To Los Palos?

R: Certainly. You can go there, if you like.

Of course we wanted to go to Los Palos. Unfortunately, the authorities explained to us that "there was no helicopter available" for that trip.

General plan from the
helicopter

Interview with the
Military Commander
of Timor

Q: What type of actions do they undertake?

R: Occasionally, those two hundred go in search of food and medicine, perhaps they ask people in the villages. And sometimes they steal. These are petty crimes, such as also exist in the other part of Indonesia. Just petty crime.

Q: Is there no guerilla activity against the Indonesian forces?

R: They are not guerilla forces. They all expect to return to their families. Not to us. To their families.

Men walking in the
street

Fernando Casimiro, a former Fretilin activist, has surrendered. We see him here, wearing a yellow sweater, surrounded by our "guardian angels", the security men from the Indonesian Ministry of Information. Fernando Casimiro admits that life in the

husk was not easy. Today he lives with what is left of his family at Maliana, in the interior of the Island.

Live. Journalist.

"Fernando Casimiro, 22 years of age, former Fretilin activist. He surrendered on 2nd. October 1982, here, at the post of Hatolia."

Interview
former Fretilin
activist, Fernando
Casimiro

Q: Why did you surrender?

R: I surrendered to the Indonesian forces because for seven years in this fight between us, brothers, there had been many hardships. We were short of clothes, medicines, food. Therefore...

Q: Weapons?

R: Yes. Weapons and short of ammunition.

Q: Aren't you afraid that the Fretilin may take revenge on you and shoot you because you have changed sides?

R: Yes. As a matter of fact, I am.

Q: Were you arrested when you surrendered?

R: No.

Q: What did they do to you?

R: They treated us well. They gave us food and clothes.

Q: Do you have any members of your family fighting on the side of the Fretilin forces?

R: In here, you mean? I haven't.

Q: Why are you always looking at those gentlemen who are here watching the interview? Are you afraid of them?

R: No.

Q: Are you happy today? Do you consider that you have taken the best option?

R: Yes. I do.

Q: Do you consider that Timor, occupied by the Indonesian forces, is the best solution for the Timorese people?

R: It is the best solution for the Timorese people.

Grand plan
Church

Life in the bush was not easy. But then what is the life that Fernando Casimiro is going to find in the cities "pacified" by the Indonesian troops, the life that is led nowada by almost all the Timorese people?

Man placing a
cassette in a
tape-recorder

For some, like Mr. Brito, life has a taste of music. He was born at Portalegre 69 year ago. He left for the Colonies in 1939. First Mozambique, then Goa. Since November 1962, he has been living in Timor. A former manager of the "Banco Nacional Ultramarino" (National Overseas Bank), he owns seven coffee plantations at present. During the civil war, he was on the side of the UDT. After the invasion, he applied for Indonesian nationality. He considers himself a liberal. He did not like the Salazarists. He does not like the Fretilin and hates the Communists. In his opinion, Portugal was, and is, the only party responsible for the tragedy of Timor, where, by the way, all problems have been solved. Mr. Brito's vocation is to be a collaborator...

Interview with
Mr. Brito

R: If tomorrow you would care to come for a walk with me, I'd take you around to see for yourself: the shops are full of goods and all the young ladies greet me, they know me... I have no problems either with the Chinese, or the Timorese, or anyone at all. I don't want to boast, but I am a popular man, here in Dili.

Q: The Dili play-boy... Are you happy?

R: Yes. I am happy. As long as there are pretty women and whiskey, I am happy.

Q: You may be accused of...

R: Whiskey and beer, and a shortage of red wine, sausages, codfish, etc.

Q: Being accused of collaborating with the Indonesians does not worry you?

R: It doesn't worry me at all. I do not collaborate with the Indonesians. I merely work with the Indonesians.

A hand
counting banknotes

Mr. Brito is a privileged person. He works and he works for the Indonesians. Like him there are a few others. To encourage the Timorese to "collaborate", Djakarta pays the collaborators generously. They want them to set an example, by contrast, between plenty and generalized penury.

Canal with bridge

Unequality serves, on top of it all, to create, or to emphasize, the abyss that is beginning to separate the Timorese between themselves. On creating 1st. class citizen and 2nd. class citizens, Indonesia is applying the old axiom of "dividing" to dominate

Police in the
street

Public employment is reserved to those Timorese who have chosen Indonesian nationality.

Sitting men

In Dili, where during the last seven years the population has trebled, 30 per cent are unemployed. Business continues to be in the hands of the Chinese and, if it is true that in Dili shops appear to be full, is less certain that the population has

enough purchasing power to do any shopping there. Side by side, but always omnipresent, corruption proliferate at all levels. Many of the goods on display, and even medicines, supplied by international aid, which should be distributed free of charge, end by being on sale in private shops.

In the meanwhile, people drink a lot in Timor. Palm wine and, above all, beer, the cheapest drink.

Boats moored at the
harbour of Dili

The problems arising from the consumption of alcohol are so grave that the Indonesian authorities limited imports in January 1982. At this moment, they are preparing an increase in the taxes applicable to bars and pubs.

A road in the
country

In the country, the situation is not brilliant either. On the east part of the island - which we could not visit - the land should produce enough, so that there need not be famine. It is the region with the highest rainfall. In other regions, the lack of rain has increased the hardships, namely in 1982.

Interview with the
Governor of Timor

R: The food situation has been improving gradually and the year 1982 would have been a good year, if Summer, which was in fact too long, had not affected us. The food produced by the Timorese would have been enough for their needs, if Summer had been a normal Summer. But unfortunately Summer was too long. What we should have had rain here in October: the rains started to fall here, as you

know, only towards the end of January, and because of that we had to resort to aid with food coming from Djakarta.

Q: Only from Djakarta?

R: Only from Djakarta.

Photo of President Suharto

In fact, Djakarta merely channels to Dili part of the international aid intended for Timor, as nothing can be sent directly to the island. As to the prospects for the agricultural year in 83, they are also bleak. In the opinion of the administrator of the village of Liquiça, the possibility that there will be a famine again cannot be excluded, as the last three sowings were unsuccessful.

Interview with an old peasant

Q: Was last year's harvest good?

R: The yield was not good because the rainfall was not normal.

Q: And this year?

R: The same problem.

Q: And what you have here - your plantation is it enough to provide a living for you and your family?

R: It is not enough.

Q: Then, what do you do?

What do you do in order to support yourself?

Roots on a mat

When the harvest is poor, there are still the palm roots.

Rice fields from the helicopter

The official figures are more optimistic naturally. In a first stage, up to 1979, Indonesia's aims were to eliminate famine in Timor. Since then and up to 1984, Djakarta considers it has entered a so-called period of economic "recovery".

A shovel spreading
tar

In practice, the economic "recovery" is expressed by the asphaltting of 250 kilometres of roads (when in 1975 there were only 21 kilometres), the building of 18 new bridges and of 715 irrigation canals.

Air view of the
harbour of Dili

In the harbour of Dili there enter and leave two boats a week to link Timor with the rest of the archipelago. A motor-boat and a vedette are used for transport services around the island. These are the official data provided by the provincial government.

Interview with
children in the
street

Q: Do you speak Portuguese? Come here...
R: ...
Q: Ho you speak Portuguese?
R: ...
Q: You... Who can speak Portuguese here?
R: ...
Q: Do you speak Portuguese?
R: ...
Q: You... Do you speak Portuguese?
R: ...
Q: Come over here. Do you speak Portuguese?
R: ...
Q: Do you speak Portuguese?
R: ...

A blue stone with
the sentence:
"Alas. There is no
comfort for us".

Today it is difficult to find in Timor a child under nine who can still speak Portuguese. They can only learn it at a single school in Dili: the "Sao José" (Saint Joseph) Day School. Without funds, it fights against the shortage of material and human means, from books to teachers. It appears as the only survivor in this whole shipwreck.

Live. Journalist
+ interview with
priest/teacher
Leão da Costa

Name: Leão da Costa.
Age: 45. Priest, teacher of Portuguese.
In short, a rarity in East Timor.

Q: How many students has this "Sao José"
Day School, in Dili?

R: At present we have 200 students.

Q: For how many teachers of Portuguese?

R: Portuguese... we have five teachers,
and the teaching staff numbers 14 in
all.

Q: How many hours of classes a month does
that represent for you?

R: Personally, I have 27 hours of classes
a week.

Q: Therefore, 108 hours a month. And
what is your salary?

R: The salary... I have nothing except
the ecclesiastical allowance that is
granted by the Diocese to all of us
priests. Equally to all.

Q: Very concretely, what does that repre-
sent?

R: Practically..., with the present cost
of living; it hardly amounts to anything

Interview with Scouts

Q: Do you also march?

R: Yes.

A young girl
Scout

In fact, even what remains of the teaching
of Portuguese risks to disappear within 4
years. This uncertainty suits Indonesia.
It is a means of putting pressure on Por-
tugal, a sort of exchange coin for the day
when there may be negotiations around a
table for "detimorization" and for the
presence of Portuguese culture against the
acknowledgement of an "accomplished fact".

Interview with
Scouts

Q: Can you sing a song?

R: Yes.

Q: What is the song you want to sing?

R: "A very good night to you, ladies and gentlemen".

Q: Then, sing that one all together.

Interview with the
Governor of Timor

Q: A form of passive resistance is the language and, more concretely, the Portuguese language. A language children are no longer learning, a language old people ignore "manu militari" in favour of the Indonesian language, of course. What do you think of this situation?

R: I believe that, if the Portuguese language particularly here in Timor, has not developed ... or if it has not developed more, that is due, above all, to Portugal's neglect in having abandoned us in this way. And we have nothing against the Portuguese language. We do have something against the Colonialism that existed here in Timor, that is a fact. Against the Portuguese language, against Portuguese culture, against the Portuguese people, we have nothing.

Q: Another form of resistance is religion, is the fact that the Indonesians strongly favour Islamism, in their own way, to try and divide the people, a reality or not?

R: Perhaps... You may not believe it, but they don't favour Islamism here in Timor. Before the integration of Timor into the Republic of Indonesia, there used to be about 200 Catholics in Timor. Today there are over 400 thousand.

A music group

The Governor, in his role, wishes to play the game in his own field. For him, the problems of Timor are not a direct consequence of the Indonesian invasion, but rather the result of Portugal's failure to endorse the occupation... However that may be, the Portuguese language and the Catholic religion are today two undeniable forms of passive resistance to the Indonesian occupation. Some interviews that have nothing political are a real X-ray examination of the disquiet and hardships of the situation as it exists in Timor. This interview, like all the others, took place in the presence of the Indonesian secret police.

Interview with the Bishop of Timor Monseigneur Lopes da Costa

R: The main activity is the evangelization of the people of Timor, the assistance to Catholics in everything concerning that the missionary evangelization of Timor, continuing the tradition left by the first missionaries who cristianized this island.

Q: What are the activities of the Catholic religion here in respect of the social welfare of the population?

R: As to social welfare, the Church serves the population of Timor by means of what it succeeds in obtaining: for instance food or clothes, or foodstuffs it has succeeded in obtaining through the Episcopal Conference of Mavi. Therefore, it is that that we have (been helping) - the Church has been growing fantastically particularly in recent times, while doing what it can to save Man because it is very important to save Man. So it does its best to give the people food, clothes, medicine, and, as far as possible, also some pl

live, I wouldn't say a good house but, at least, some place where they can live.

Q: With regard to the schools, there seem to exist some problems yet...

R: Yes, for the schools, as you know, we have received help from the Indonesian Episcopal Conference. This is very important because if it were not for that help, we would not have built so many schools, rehabilitated others that were degraded, ruined by the war.

Q: Monseigneur, are the Timorese assiduous in the practice of their religion?

R: Of Catholicism. Oh, yes, generally they are. Like everywhere else, there are those who defect, but generally they are assiduous and, in addition, exactly because of this war, of this scarcity of things, they are even impelled by a spiritual and psychological need for spiritual objects in their search for God, through their devotion to the Virgin, in search of help from the Mother of God because they are very attached to Our Lady of Fatima. And they also turn to God in the midst of their bitterness, of their uncertainties...

Q: For many of them the Church is, to a certain extent, a form of passive resistance. Do you agree with this analysis?

R: Up to a point I don't agree, although it is a fact that it happens. But it has no foundation because the Church has its own objects. The Church, in general, does not interfere with politics. Its own work is evangelization, the spiritual side - and, in addition to the spiritual side, it also treats Man's body, as far as possible. This is the aim of our work. We do nothing, absolutely nothing, against the Government, on the contrary. We sincerely collaborate with the Government

Q: With the Indonesian Government...

R: With the Indonesian Government, of course.

Q: Islamism is developing in East Timor. How do you explain this phenomenon?

R: It is easy to explain. As you know, Indonesian battalions have come here and, as you are aware, the Indonesian population is mostly Islamic. When they come, they bring their religion with them and they try, little by little, to find adepts for their religion.

Q: What contacts have you, Monseigneur, or your Diocese, with the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities?

R: Up to now, practically no contact. I must tell you the truth. I have no contact with them exactly because Portugal has not yet any diplomatic relations with Indonesia, and therefore all that comes from Portugal seldom arrives in Timor. So that, once in a while, there comes a letter, but generally things do not arrive here exactly because of this lack of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia.

Q: Have you ever thought of returning to the Vatican, to Lisbon, for instance?

R: I would like to pay a visit to my friends in Portugal. I have quite a number of friends (there). I'd like to see them, to visit them, but, as you know, for the same reason that there are no diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia, this is almost utopic, so to speak. But I hope that in the future, when at last an understanding has been reached between Portugal and Indonesia, it will also be possible to go from here to Portugal, like it is to any other place, for that matter.

That is what happened with the Indonesians who formerly belonged to Holland. In the old days they could not enter (the country). Now they already can. They come and go,

with permits to go and return. Therefore, it is a question of time. It will perhaps take some time, but let's have hope. We have patience and hope.

Q: Is it that hope that gives you today the strength to live on, that sustains you?

R: Precisely. We live in that hope. Catholicism is a religion of Hope. Therefore we live in that hope. We trust in God. We expect nothing from men any longer. But, above all, we put our trust in God. It is God that can help us. Particularly, at the difficult moment, when we live almost completely isolated from the World, from the outside world, the world of our acquaintance and of our friends, of our... well, of those we love, those we are parted from, as you know.

Bishop of Timor
outside his
residence.

Outside the Bishop's residence, the security photographers are busy.

Live. Journalist
+ interview with
Portuguese citizens
at the Bishop's residence

We are here, in the Bishop's residence. We have just interviewed him and, on leaving, about half a hundred people, among whom the mother of Fretilin leader Ramos Horta. I think that, if they are here, it is because they want to say something. Concretely, what do you want to tell us?

R: About our position, as foreigners; we wish to return to Portugal. The Portuguese Government should help us in our difficulties so that we can return immediately. Here we have no help from anybody.

Q: Is there anyone who wishes to say anything else?

R: I have all my sons here.

Q: Where are they?

R: They are in Lisbon. Here I have no home, husband has no work, we have no place to go. I want to join my sons. I ask for your help to get me out.

Q: And how do you manage to live here?

R: I sell sweets in the street...

Q: And before that what did you do?

R: Before... my sons were working but they were discharged... We are foreigners. Now I make toffee to sell, I make sweets, all that sort of thing. I sell old clothes in the market.

Q: And do you manage to live on that?

R: No. Because I have a lot of people at home. I still have small children at school.

Q: How many people have you at home?

R: I have six people. I have two sons and a daughter-in-law already out of here. They are in Lisbon.

Q: Is there anyone else who wishes to say anything?

R: I am unemployed... I only want to emphasize the need for quick action. Because the rights the Portuguese from Europe have are the same as ours. I want to emphasize it.

An old man dressed in blue

R: I can't leave Timor...

Mother Ramos Horta

R: To go from here to Djakarta costs such a lot of money that we can't manage it. If we go for the trip, then we go hungry on the way back.

Q: Is there anyone else wishing to say anything?

R: I used to be in the Army...

Q: What was your rank?

R: First Sergeant. I have no job and I am here without my children. I still have my Portuguese nationality. So I request my return to Portugal. I have two sons who are in Portugal and that is all.

Q: Is there anyone else who wants to speak?

R: The Portuguese government should send her some allowance. And call the children to Portugal to be educated there...

Journalist

to people

I do not represent the Portuguese government. I'll surely tell them. Now, if...

Indonesian
Ambassador
to the UNO

As far as we are concerned, the question of Timor does not exist. For us, therefore, there are no diplomatic problems. The diplomatic problems are for Portugal. Not for Indonesia. As far as we are concerned, the question of Timor is over. And that question of Timor only existed when there was civil war here and when all of a sudden the Government from Portugal deserted the country.

Q: At the present moment have you any contact with the Portuguese government?

R: Not I, personally.

UNO papers
scattered on
a table

In fact, at the margin of their official position scattered on , Portugal and Indonesia maintain contacts: in their embassies in Paris and London, according to the Indonesians; in The Hague and New York, according to the Portuguese. In the sequence of these contacts, which the Indonesians say are ^{not} the only ones, a new meeting would be foreseen in London for the middle of 1982. Up to now these contacts have not been conclusive. Portugal and Indonesia continue to wrangle at the United Nations.

Pinto Balsemão,
Portuguese Prime
Minister, at the
UNO in 1982.

"Nothing moves us except the fulfilment of a moral and national duty. I clearly state once again Portugal's earnest desire to cooperate with the UNO, by resorting to all the mechanisms foreseen in the Charter, so that through ^{open} dialogue it may be possible to find a path that really respects the interests and the cultural identity of the people of Timor, and may allow them to define their collective destiny,"

Panel with results
of the Timor question-
UNO voting

In this diplomatic battle, Portugal is still the winner. But from 1975 to 1982 the number of countries that condemn the Indonesian invasion has been steadily diminishing. Today, in this battle, only 4 votes separate victory from defeat.

Presidency table at
the UNO

Perez Cuellar, the Secretary General of the UNO, who received a personal mandate to present a solution for the case, limited himself to express his best wishes for a solution to be found

Interview with Perez
Cuellar, Secretary
General of the UNO

I have already started a few discussions, some contacts with the Indonesians and Portuguese authorities. I am waiting for a suitable moment to make new contacts with the parties concerned. I think one has to be patient wait for the most appropriate moment to start new contacts with the parties all over again. I hope that, with the help of the UNO, a solution may be found for the problem of Timor. But of course that is the political aspect of the problem. From a humanitarian aspect, the UNO maintains its interest in its presence, so as to solve, if possible, the problems of the Timorese, the humanitarian problems of the Timorese.

Flags in the wind

The humanitarian problems, as well as the values of freedom and independence did not affect the Summit of the Non-Aligned, at New Delhi. The occupation of Timor was not even mentioned in the final communication of the heads of State.

Ironically, for many of these countries, freedom and independence were only valid arguments as long as it was a matter of fighting their direct oppressor. Colonialism, expansionism and oppression, when exerted on others - on Timor, in the present case - are purely and simply ignored. Some signs even allow it to be thought that India was actively opposed to this question being submitted to the Summit. The sound installation ceased to function when the President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, condemned the Indonesian occupation. In turn, the part of the speech made by the President of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, in which reference was made to the case of Timor, was suppressed in the French version. This silence regarding the claims defended by the Portuguese-speaking African countries is a sign of an implicit acceptance of the Indonesian claims. It is not a good omen for the voting at the UNO in the present year. In 1982, although Portugal appeared for the first time as one of the proponents of the project voted at the UNO, and in spite of an outstanding effort made by the Portuguese diplomats, it was not possible to alter the sense of the vote of many countries, theoretically allied to Portugal. Nam said that Timor was outside the area that concerned it. Most of the member countries contacted by our ambassadors have not even replied.

Article in "Time" magazine

Even France, the traditional defender of the rights of Man, has abstained. "A whole people has been killed in Cambodia and another one is being killed in Timor" wrote François Mitterrand before he was elected President. In December 1981, in Lisbon, he repeated his pre-occupation.

Interview
François
Mitterrand
in Lisbon

"Of Lebanon? Oh, of Timor. As a member of the opposition before the month of May last, I had the opportunity of expressing several times my worry about what was happening in Timor where, according to information in my possession, it seemed that an extremely harsh repression was being exerted on a part of the population of Timor. And I truly believe that it would be necessary for the United Nations Organization, that has let this problem sink a little, to carry out a serious investigation for, whichever country may be in question, it is not acceptable that the stronger shall crush the weaker and shall carry out physical eliminations, that may lead to the elimination of a whole people. I am not dealing here with politics or, let us say, with the International Law of the Statute of Timor. I am speaking here of the defense of the rights of people. And, if the United Nations fail to take an initiative, then France, if such should be the case, would fulfil this duty.

Graphic of the
voting of France
in the UNO

By continuing to abstain, France must consider that it is unnecessary to take any initiative.

Warships off
the Malvinas
(Falklands)

Europe, while asserting the need to safeguard the principles of International Law, united to support England against the invasion of the Falklands by the Argentine. In the case of Timor which, from a juridical and diplomatic point of view, is not even subject to the controversy caused by the Falklands, there was not a single reaction, a single protest, either from Europe or from Great-Britain. And even more grave: at the time of the invasion of Timor, Portuguese public opinion was less indignant than when the disembarkment on the Falklands took place. It seems completely uninterested in

in the drama that is being lived on an island lost on the other side of the world, as though their collective conscience, suffering from a trauma, preferred to turn its back on part of its past, close its eyes and ears and refuse to face reality and accept its responsibilities.

Interview with
a Timorese re-
fugee

Q: Have you any knowledge of cases of violence on the part of the Indonesian authorities?

R: Violence... first of all, there was a girl under arrest...

Q: What was her name?

R: Maria Goretti, she was the daughter of a male nurse. She was arrested and then vanished and has been missing until now.

Q: And what happened to her, in your opinion?

R: There was also torture in the prison. They raped the young girl. There were burns, electric shocks, and they beat her all the time while they interrogated her.

Q: Did she die?

R: I have no definite proof as to whether she is dead or not. But I can say that she has been missing from 1979 to the present date. Her parents do not know her whereabouts.

Q: Are there many cases like that one?

R: Many. Some prisoners from this division have been missing up to now...

Q: Have you seen or heard of women being thrown out of helicopters?

R: One called Lido Gusmão. He was a boy from Dili. He was arrested at Viqueque and vanished. They threw him out of a helicopter.

Q: Have you heard of any cases concerning children? or pregnant women?

R: Yes. Nicolau Lobato's sister reported to Viqueque with her husband, Moises Sarmento.

They wanted to take the husband alone. As the wife already knew of previous facts told by others, she would not let her husband go alone, so that she accompanied him. They had the intention of doing away with the man. At that moment the wife went too and they have both been missing since then. It is said that they killed the husband and also the wife who was pregnant.

Q: And children?

R: The child died too. And now there are two orphans who live in Dili with their uncle and aunt.

RTP - colour - 1983.