

Dr Jose Luis Gomez,
Ambassador of Portugal,
Canberra, ACT.

cc Aust Govt + press

from Gina Bonaldi
Lois Randall
Francisco Vidinha

October 31, 1991

Dear Dr Gomez,

Further to our conversation yesterday we are writing to inform you about recent events that have been taking place in East Timor with respect to preparations for the now cancelled visit by the UN/Portuguese Parliamentary Delegation, and to urge you to stress to the Portuguese government the importance of reversing their decision to cancel this incredibly important and timely visit.

As I mentioned on the telephone, we are three filmmakers who were present in Dili during the shooting of the two Timorese men in the Motael Church at approximately 2.30 am on the morning of Monday, October 28.

We witnessed events prior to the shooting, and in the hours immediately afterwards, and believe that the Indonesian authorities issued a press release admitting responsibility for the killings only as a result of our presence, and recognition that they would suffer severe embarrassment as a result of our eye-witness account of hearing gun-shots and alarm bells.

Our account directly contradicts their initial assertion that there was a riot, the police were summoned at the Church's request, and the two men were killed by stones and knives. We are absolutely certain that there was no riot, and in fact we watched people being summoned by alarm bells ringing at the Church for over half an hour with great urgency and vigour.

Moreover, we were present at the Motael Church that same afternoon, recording on video a church service by a priest who is known to be sympathetic to the Timorese people, and on the night of the killings had provided haven to some Timorese people who had felt their lives threatened by the military.

During our stay in East Timor between October 23 -30, we witnessed this event and many others, and received information and accumulated evidence which confirms without doubt that the consequences of the cancellation of the visit will be absolutely devastating to the East Timorese people, who believe that the visit is the first genuine indication that the international community is finally taking an interest in their plight.

The following information details events which have secretly occurred in East Timor in preparation for the visit. Please note that many of these incidents are still occurring as we write, and will continue irrespective of whether the delegation's visit takes place.

We also believe that the only way these abuses of human rights can be curbed would be by the long-term presence of objective foreign observers who would monitor events to ensure that further atrocities do not take place without some form of accountability and scrutiny.

1. MILITARY PRESENCE

The presence of the military is absolutely overwhelming, and is evidenced in every village, town and roadside throughout the island.

We were told there are now 94 battallions of soldiers stationed in East Timor, with additional artillery, tanks and other military equipment which has been brought in as part of the preparations for the visit. This is over and above the documented 10,000 troops which have been maintained on the island for the last 16 years, apparently to control 200 Fretilin anti-integrationists.

In the small town of Bacau alone, we were told nine (9) new battalions have been installed outside Baucau for monitoring the 100km stretch of road between Baucau and Viqueque.

We witnessed truckloads of soldiers trundling through the streets of Dili, battalions exercising in village squares, massive freighters in Dili harbour for unloading heavy military vehicles, and all along the road throughout the island we saw small squadrons of soldiers moving either openly or surreptitiously through the bush in full camouflage uniform.

In village squares and military compounds we saw local Timorese force-marched and assembled. In some instances it appeared they were being trained in military style display marching and in other villages we saw locals being addressed in large groups by military personnel, or overseen in their work in the rice-paddies or road gangs by soldiers.

To conceal evidence of their presence, we were also told the military are dumping all disused military equipment which indicates previous military engagements in the sea in remote areas. Thus all evidence of the past 16 years of war has been effectively removed.

3

2. SURVEILLANCE AND INTIMIDATION TACTICS

We have enclosed a document which details the extent of the secret surveillance and intimidation tactics which are currently being imposed on the indigenous Timorese.

Our observations and communications with the few Timorese who were prepared to risk their lives to talk to us entirely verifies the information in this document. We also witnessed open intimidation of indigenous Timorese, and experienced constant surveillance and interrogation by individuals who were very obviously non-Timorese, and in some instances openly admitted that they were from other islands in Indonesia. They were the only people who spoke to us openly, and they were very identifiably Indonesian in their dress, physical features and apparent affluence.

The few Timorese people who did speak to us to provide street directions etc admitted that they were in danger in being seen to be speaking to us. One young man actually said, "I must go, we've been having meetings that tell us we cannot speak to you. It's getting dark now and my life is in danger." As we walked away we saw this young man was immediately physically grabbed and questioned by other men who had been watching him talk to us.

In another instance a young girl attempted to present us with a tape cassette, but stopped out of fear of surveillance and reprisal.

We witnessed individuals speaking into communication devices secreted in their clothing (ie. shirts, jackets etc). We also noted many vehicles and taxis with crudely painted wooden number plates that could be removed and changed to avoid identification of the car, and other four (4) wheel drive cars with dark tinted windows and spotlights which pointed towards the side of the road and footpaths.

These vehicles were driven by non-Timorese who would yell greetings at us and follow us as we walked down streets in Dili. On the morning of the Motael Church killings we observed many of these vehicles cruising the streets, along with taxis and individuals on motor-bikes. Given the 9pm curfew which had resulted in us being forced to walk back to our hotel because of the absence of taxis earlier in the evening, we found this preponderance of traffic both curious and disconcerting.

We have also received information that in all the houses in Dili up to two (2) or three (3) soldiers have been installed to monitor the household and ensure that no covert activity takes place in the form of organisation of demonstrations against integration during the delegation's visit, and to closely observe and control the local population from within their own homes.

4

3. CONTROL OF THE EAST COAST

While we were in Baucau we received information that 50 metre pits have been dug in the beach five (5) kilometres from the village. The purpose of these pits is to bury the people who are targetted for reprisals after the delegation's visit. We were told similar pits have been dug in the beaches near Dili and other coastal townships.

We were also told that many people in Baucau with Portuguese names have disappeared without trace. Up to 18 had disappeared in the two weeks prior to our arrival, and many witnesses had seen these people taken from public places such as the market. No reason has been given for their disappearance.

The other information we received in Baucau was that the local people are terrified of any form of contact in public places because crowd infiltrators move among the people, secretly injecting them with needles. People who have been injected in this way have subsequently become ill and died.

4. PROPAGANDA AND ANTI-PORTUGAL MEETINGS

We were told the military have been holding regular meetings in village squares whereby the local population are harangued with threats and anti-Portugal propaganda. They are also given deliberately misleading information about the delegation's visit...long before the visit was cancelled they were given daily bulletins claiming the Portugal had cancelled the visit, or that there was talk of a referendum over self-determination, and then that Portugal had cancelled the referendum.

The intent is obviously to confuse the people, and to impose a form of psychological torture, knowing how much importance the Timorese people are placing on the visit and the publicity it would be receiving from world press.

During these meetings the local people are forced to chant pro-integration slogans. They are told they cannot have any contact with foreigners on pain of punishment or death, they must fly Indonesian flags from their homes and they must perform dances and songs for the foreigners which indicate their pleasure in being integrated with Indonesia and resentment at 'interference' by Portugal and other countries.

We witnessed one of these meetings in the small mountain village of Maubisse, where a nine (9) day fair has been organised to coincide with the visit. A compound has been set up which is lined with stalls showing Indonesian political propaganda and selling appropriated Timorese art. From 6am to 11pm the local people are being forced to dance and sing by the military stationed in Maubisse, who took our visit as an opportunity to hold a dress rehearsal for events that would have presumably taken place during the visit by the delegation.

5

On the afternoon of our arrival in Maubisse we were taken on a tour of the fair by the local Chief of Security. He subsequently invited himself to accompany us to take some scenic pictures of Mt Ramelau. We were not given any choice about whether we desired his presence, and in fact we found it impossible not to be accompanied by either him or other military personnel.

We arrived back in the village at exactly the time that a meeting was taking place in which the people were being harangued and forced to cheer and chant pro-integration slogans. We were immediately surrounded by police and military and ushered from the car by the Lieutenant of the local battalion into a restaurant where we were forced to eat with the soldiers and police until the meeting was finished.

Later in the evening we were guided around the fair, and the local people were made to dance for our video camera, sing songs and generally perform. This continued for several hours, and we observed that the people were being forced to sleep in the township, rather than return to their homes.

We were profoundly shocked by the treatment of the local people by the military during this 'cultural display'. Although it was only Day 2 of the nine (9) day fair, the Timorese people were already showing signs of total exhaustion, and the military herded them around and forced them to perform for us as if they were puppets or playthings, who could be manipulated through command and threat.

5. MISAPPROPRIATION OF INTERNATIONAL AID

The most obvious impression upon arrival in East Timor is of the Timorese people's extreme poverty and starvation. Along the east coast they live in arid resettlement villages where there is very little subsistence farming.

In the mountains their villages are surrounded by hillsides which have been deliberately burnt for kilometres (we were told this was done by the military to clear away foliage that could conceal guerillas), and reduced into blackened, denuded slopes littered with destroyed rice paddies and abandoned coffee plantations.

We were told the Indonesian military deliberately maintain this poverty and denudation of farming areas in order to justify the Indonesian government's requests for aid from international human rights organisations.

The money that has been received in the past has not been allocated to the people, and in fact has found its way into the pockets of the military authorities who have already appropriated the Timorese people's land and businesses, reducing them to the status of labourers on the roads, bridges and administrative buildings which are proudly displayed as evidence of how Indonesia has brought development to Timor.

6

6. THE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

It is of vital importance that Portugal revoke its decision to cancel the visit by the Parliamentary Delegation. The Timorese people believe their very survival against deliberate genocide entirely depends on this visit and some expression of interest in their plight by the international community.

We note Portugal's concern over censorship and reprisals that have been taking place in preparation for the visit, which would appear to negate any positive outcome from the delegation's mission.

However, we must emphasise that the repression will continue unabated, regardless of whether the visit takes place or not.

The Timorese people are fully aware that these reprisals will take place, but are nevertheless prepared to risk their lives to make contact with the outside world, simply so that some form of dialogue can take place.

If the argument over Jill Jolliffe's inclusion in the delegation is allowed to cause the cancellation of the visit the interpretation will be that Portugal and the UN have used this argument as an excuse to irrevocably turn their backs on the situation in East Timor, and the sense of betrayal which will be felt by the Timorese people will be incredibly profound.

Moreover, the violations of human rights which have been occurring for the last 16 years by the Indonesian military occupiers will be essentially vindicated, with the inference that they can be allowed to continue with the tacit consent of Portugal and the rest of the international community, without any form of protest or accountability.

In this way the lives which have already been lost in the lead-up to the visit will have been sacrificed for no purpose.

The political consequences for Portugal with the cancellation of the visit are very alarming and should be noted. The Indonesian military authorities are capitalising on the cancellation of the visit to denigrate Portugal's political 'face' with the international community by inferring that Portugal is "afraid" to visit East Timor.

To prove this point we have enclosed a copy of an article that appeared in the Indonesian Times on October 29 which outlines Indonesia's obvious contempt for Portugal's position, and the manner in which Indonesia is interpreting the circumstances behind the visit to the world press.

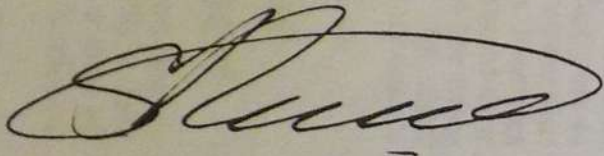
Again, we urge Portugal to respond to this flagrant abuse of its interest and concern over the situation in East Timor.

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In conclusion we urge not only Portugal but also the United Nations and all international human rights organisations to consider our report and take immediate action to resolve the terrible tragedy that is East Timor today.

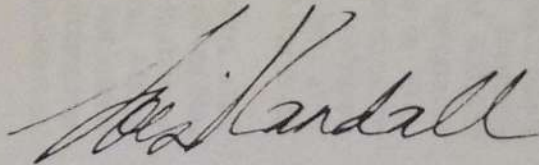
The people are caught in a noose that has tightened to a degree that is unprecedented in the history of a nation that has already undergone the most tragic violations of human rights to have taken place since World War II.

For the sake of those who are prepared to accept their own extermination if it means the world will at least recognise their horror, we urge you to take immediate action.

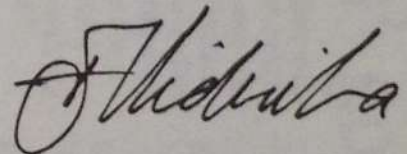
Yours sincerely,



Gina Roncoli



Lois Randall



Francisco Vidinha

INDONESIANS FORM IN EAST TIMOR INTIMIDATIONS' GROUPS

According to informations from the Resistance inside of East Timor, Indonesian's authorities are forming in the territory different groups of intimidation to prepare the visit of the Portuguese parliamentarians to East Timor .

The groups are as following :

"Regu Gelap" is a group composed by guerrillas who were captured by Indonesian soldiers and obliged to work to the Indonesians in order to have the right to be alived . The aim of this group is, to eliminate physically Xanana Gusmao, the guerrillas commander, before or during the visit. The group is also ordered to gather informations about the Resistance and channeling to the Indonesian Intelligence and to practice "misterious executions" to Timorese who are considered as dangerous, traitors and subversives to the Indonesians.

" Regu Railakan ", is a group formed by young illiterated people who are instructed to provoke disturbances, threatening people before and during the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentarians delegation to East Timor. The group is headed by a Timorese, Tome Felipe Gama .

"Regu Ninja-Petrus", is composed by Indonesian soldiers . The group is equipped with sophisticated materials such as pistols Nar's Mar, radios HT , binoculars, tapes, cameras and videos Sony HIS. They wear also masks to cover their faces and armed with knives and axes .

They act during the night by cars without licence plate . The task of the group is to kidnap and eliminate people involved with the Resistance .

INDONESIANS SEND TIMORESE TO INDONESIA

At least 465 young Timorese were sent to Indonesia to work in the factories of General Suharto's daughter Siti Hardjanti Ruklana (Mbah Tutut) . The Indonesian government stated that the measure was taken, to end the unemployment in East Timor . However the Resistance said that young people are sent

to Indonesia to avoid demonstrations against the Indonesian's presence in East Timor during the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation's visit. Many of them have already returned to Timor by their own means because they didn't have work and living conditions and salaries as were promised before.

TIMORESE DISMISSED FROM THEIR JOBS

Twenty two Timorese working to the Indonesian public Institutions as civil servant were dismissed by the "East Timor Provincial Government".

The reason of their dismissal is that they collaborate with FRETELIN. The "Provincial Government" issued four dismissal decisions on the 14th and 18th June. The dismissal decisions were addressed to nine civil servants in Liquisa district, six civil servants in the Bobonaro's district, one person in Dili's district and seven persons in Viqueque's district.

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Subject: "ANZAC DAY - wear black for East Timor"

Date: Sat, 24 Apr 1999 10:27:53 +0930

From: Rob Wesley-Smith <rwesley@ozemail.com.au>

Organization: Australians for a Free East Timor (AFFET) / Troppo Rural Consulting

To: rob AFFET Darwin <rwesley@ozemail.com.au>

ANZAC DAY
1999

Mary MacKillop Institute of East Timorese Studies (Susan Connelly)

MEDIA RELEASE: "ANZAC DAY - wear black for East Timor"

The growing understanding in Australia of the history of East Timor has presented the Australian public with a major dilemma.

* On the one hand, all Australian Governments since 1975 have recognised Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, and therefore all decisions and policies undertaken in the name of the Australian people have been based on this principle.

* On the other hand, Australians are realising that the East Timorese have never recognised the legality of Indonesian rule and have suffered immeasurably as a result. (The UN hasn't recognised it either).

Public disquiet at our Government's handling of all East Timor issues is mounting. There is general acceptance that Australia's response to the Indonesian treatment of the population has been unacceptably soft throughout the years.

ANZAC is a major defining symbol of Australia. It expresses for an overwhelming number of people the essence of "Australianness". It also forms the Australian spirit, with each new generation trying to understand and live the ideals.

The particular significance of Anzac in relation to the East Timorese is that these people died in their tens of thousands in the last World War at the hands of the Japanese as a direct result of their friendship towards Australian soldiers. The Government of the time told them that we would never forget them. The subsequent history of Australia's refusal to honour that promise is surely prophesied by Leon Gellert, when he wrote of that other great slaughter and sacrifice, "....there's an unpaid, waiting debt...." (Anzac Cove)

This Anzac Day is the eve of the departure of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Defence Minister for Bali, where they will speak IN OUR NAME to their Indonesian counterparts. WE CALL on all Australians of good will to WEAR SOMETHING BLACK ON SUNDAY 25 APRIL, 1999, to mourn the dead, to support the East Timorese and to say to our elected representatives, "Don't sell East Timor short again."

We ask you, the media, to take up this call and through your newspapers, radio and television networks, to broadcast this challenge. A suggested wording follows. We expect some flak, but we can wear it. Some have suggested that we are "over the top" in our response to East Timor; (in view of the anniversary, a Freudian slip if ever there was one). We believe that the simple gesture of wearing something black on Anzac Day will give ordinary Australians a way of saying something, doing something, in this frustrating, confusing and frightening mess.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Susan Connelly Josephine Mitchell Manuel Viegas

ANZAC ALIVE!

For 100 years Australians have fought for freedom all over the world. East Timor lost at least 40,000 people during World War II for simply protecting Australian soldiers.

East Timor has lost at least 250,000 people since 1975 resisting the Indonesian occupation.

NOW EAST TIMOR IS FIGHTING FOR ITS LIFE

Let's continue the Anzac tradition and stand up for our friends:

WEAR SOMETHING BLACK ON ANZAC DAY

*to remember all who died for freedom and

*to send a message to our Government:

"Remember our friends, the East Timorese. Don't sell them short again."

Further info: Mary MacKillop Institute of East Timorese Studies
ph 02 9623 2847 fax: 9623 1573 e-mail: mmiets@nareg.com.au

NB in Darwin at invitation of Darwin RSL 2 East Timorese who helped Australian Commandos in WW2 will lay flowers at the dawn service in memory of fallen comrades. RW-S 89832113 0419 807175 24 Apr 99

On November 12 1991, at a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Dili, East Timor, the Indonesian army opened fire on the crowd, killing more than a hundred and fifty men, women and children.

Since Indonesia invaded and illegally annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975, it has murdered two hundred thousand Timorese, one-third of the population, by bombing, massacres, torture and starvation. Amnesty International has catalogued what it describes as the "gross and systematic violation of human rights" in East Timor.

Since the November 12 massacre, military rule in East Timor has become harsher than ever. Scores more people have been taken

from their homes and murdered.

Survivors of November 12 have been charged with criminal offences and have been sentenced to imprisonment for "being involved" in the demonstration. Timorese students who peacefully protested in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, have been given ten years for "subversion". Three others have

been sentenced to life imprisonment. Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor has been condemned by the United Nations, which has called for its withdrawal from the territory. In 1992, the UN passed resolutions, but the world community has taken no action to end the oppression of the East Timorese. Even the UN

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA

12 GAF Nomad 22B aircraft

16 Avon Sabre fighter aircraft

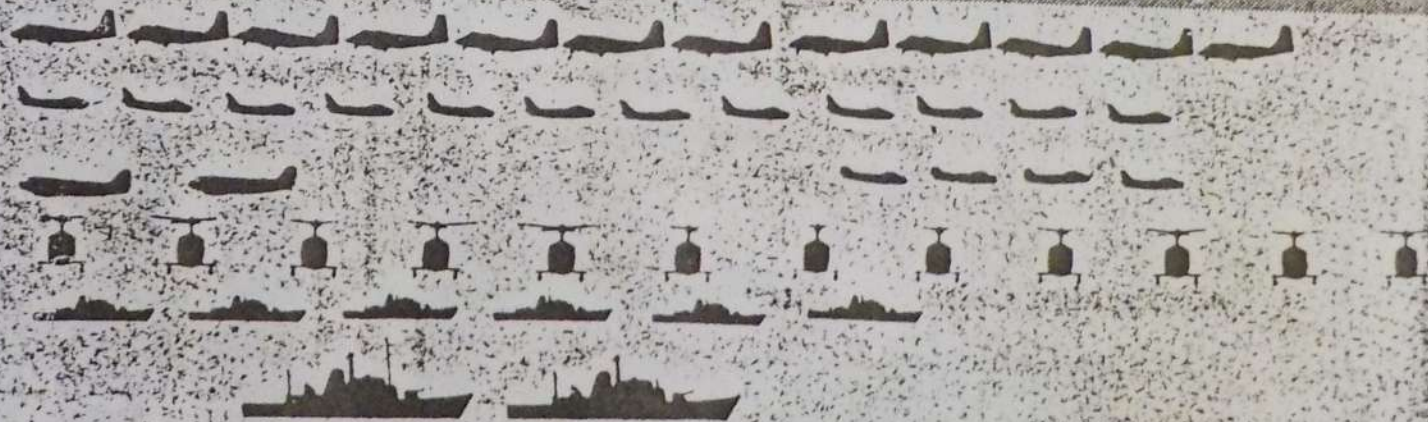
2 Dakota DC3 aircraft

12 Bell 47G Sioux helicopters

6 Carpentaria class patrol boats

2 Attack class patrol boats

1200 Armed Forces Officers trained Mapping projects in Sumatra, Kalimantan, West Irian and the Moluccas.



Paul Keating PM of Australia on the Indonesian Inquiry on the Santa Cruz Massacre

"This is a credible response"

Amnesty International on the Santa Cruz Massacre commenting on the same Indonesian Inquiry

"Is fatally flawed and its findings are unacceptable"

Gareth Evans present Australian Foreign Minister

"What I can say is simply that the world is a pretty unfair place..."

Why Target Paul Keating ? East Timor Week

Darwin 15th - 21st August 1994

Paul Keating has been in Australian ALP governments from 1975, a powerful member from 1983-92, and Prime Minister for more than 2 years. He has been party to their immoral decisions to breach the UN Charter and Human Rights Declarations, and 10 Resolutions from 12/12/75 telling Indonesia to get out of East Timor.

Since being PM we have attempted to get him to change. Letters, faxes, attempted meetings, presenting him and Anita with the book 'TELLING East Timor' by Michele Turner, mild demos, and so on, have only produced an insulting reaffirmation of his government's desire for closer links with Indonesia at the expense of the East Timorese. He denies their right to self-determination.

We are not anti-Indonesia, in fact we believe that the liberation of East Timor will occur at the same time as the liberation of the Indonesian people from the dictatorship of the Suharto military junta. Indonesia was created as a liberal democracy, but Suharto took over in 1965 with a bloodbath of about 2m people. His invasion on 7/12/75 and occupation of East Timor has caused over 300,000 war related ET deaths, (& 50,000+ Indons), total abrogation of human rights, and untold misery. If Keating/Evans/Ray wish to dispute this in any way, we will be happy to debate them, this week in Darwin or anytime.

Australia's sorry history over East Timor - highlights:

1942: 400 Oz Commandos occupy ET, and with great local support kill 1500 Japanese for 40 own, but over 40,000 ETse slaughtered in reprisals. Do we owe ET?

1975: Indon invaders kill ETse, also Balibo 16/10/75 5 Oz journalists murdered, never protested or explained to now.

7/12/75: Full scale Indon invasion, Oz complicity??

17/7/76: After bloodbath to then of 100,000, Indons declare ET incorporated, tacit support Oz.

1976: Oz hinders UN Envoy, arrests medi-aid mission.

Jan 1978: Oz recognises Indon annexation, confirmed as de jure by the Timor Gap talks starting 1979.

1983: 5/3 ALP elected, 18/8 Hawke grovels in Jakarta.

21/8/83 3-500 ETse massacred at Kraras.

1990s: Keating/Evans/Ray:- joint exploration of Timor Gap oil, minimise Indon Human Rights violns, subvert US Govt pressure on Indons for Human Rights, slag off against Pilger's film Death of a Nation, unstinting praise of Suharto, Oz/Indon military involvement, Dili Massacre 12/11/91 only "regrettable", ignore Bishop Belo's cries for support to end the living hell. Lovely!

NO BLOOD FOR OIL!

SHAME OZ Keating SHAME

** FREE EAST TIMOR NOW **

Join Us ET Action Group Box 2155 Darwin PhFax 832113

pto

East Timor Week

94

Darwin Program (Monday 15th - Sunday 21st August)

Monday 15th Free for preparations and study
Tuesday 16th University NT Casn, Auditorium Bldg 35
7.00 pm Timorese Dancers
7.30 pm John Pilger Film "Death of a Nation"
(a Blue Stocking Week event with Students for ET)
Wednesday 17th Indonesia's so-called National Day
8.30 am Flag and effigy burning Indon Consulate
(INDONESIA, GET OUT of EAST TIMOR! and West Papua)
Thursday 18th (Hawke grovelling in Jakarta Day)
5.30 pm Opening of new absurd Parliament House,
& 7.30 their dinner

* Friday 19th 8.30am Parliament House for DEMO
9-9.30 Keating and Premiers arrive
"Keating/Australian Government: Support East Timor NOW"

Saturday 20th 4.30 East Timor "Tetun School"
9.30 Old Workers Club, McMinn St

"Darwin to Dili Dance"


Featuring the "PECKAS" and "Ilimanu" (=undefeated)
Sunday 21st Catholics for a Free East Timor - Pray?

WHISKY'S VIEW



Support East Timor Week, JOIN US, pressure Keating
pto

WAKING
8/2/94



East Timor Coalition - Darwin

Box 2155 Darwin 0801 Phones (61 89) 832113 855678 275478 482010

Media Release 27th October 1995

Torture details of boat people asylum seekers show the realities for East Timorese in Operassi SAPU RATA ('eliminate'), the current Indonesian military offensive .

We present to you the details of experiences of the boat people asylum seekers presently residing in Darwin on bridging visas. They are here to testify about the human rights violations in Timor and a summary of their experiences is attached. Also here to talk is Mr Pat Walsh, Human Rights officer of ACFOA. The latest news from East Timor about the current offensive by Indonesia follows.

A major offensive is under way against East Timorese both in the cities and in the mountains. Large numbers of extra troops and equipment have been poured in to reinforce the 20 plus battalions (admitted to by Gareth Evans) already present . Repression and terror in the urban areas seems to have reached a peak not seen since the "Dili Massacre".

Colonel Prabowo (President Soeharto's son -in -law) the instigator of the 'Ninja' terror squads and ABRI 'hard man' is associated with previous drives to stamp out opposition to Indonesian rule. He is currently training troops in the area of Aileu and Ermera for a major offensive - Operassi SAPU RATA ('eliminate') . In the Viqueque area alone there are 4 army battalions nos 327, 328, 413 and 406, plus Nangalla units, Kodim and support units. In the Ermera area there are 5 battalions.

The latest wave of repression is timed to coincide with the 4th anniversary of the Dili Massacre and the 20th anniversary of the invasion. It is almost certainly aimed at squashing any local reaction to these anniversaries and may also be a reaction, or over-reaction, to sustained and mounting criticism of Indonesia internationally. The Indonesian military may seriously hope to "eliminate" all East Timorese opposition once and for all although similar attempts in the past have failed. Previous attempts have invariably resulted in chronic and wide-scale human rights abuse.

News Summary East Timor: October 1995

September : Tension and disturbances throughout East Timor sparked off by deliberate Indonesian provocations to the Catholic Church of East Timor.

9 October: Indonesian military intelligence (INTEL) arrest Bobi Xavier (aged 21). Timorese youth demonstrate in front of INTEL headquarters demanding Xavier's release. 3pm. Xavier is released.

10 October: INTEL agents attack the suburb of Matadouro in the early hours of the morning and kill Francisco Sertorio and Salomao Araujo. Sertorio's head and limbs are severed from his body. Provocations by Indonesian transmigrant *agent provocateurs* follow leading to clashes with pro-independence East Timorese youth. Riot police and two military battalions are deployed on the streets of Dili. Three Indonesian officers sent to negotiate with the Timorese are temporarily held hostage.

11 October: 8.00pm. Shooting started all over Dili ; to date 5 killed, many wounded and at least 70 arrested. Five of the dead have been identified :

Francisco Sertorio (aged 16 years) of Matadouro suburb
Salomao Araujo (aged late 40's) of Manleuana suburb
Francisco Soares of Santa Cruz
Domingus Ameu of Santa Cruz
Amilcar Goncalves of Santa Cruz

11 October The Timorese people of Colmera, Villaverde, Becora and Santa Cruz, in order to try to protect themselves from the military patrols and attacks, begin to erect barricades in some streets. Continuing violence.

15 October: continued hunting of youths and resistance members throughout Dili. Around 300 people arrested to date. On arrest East Timorese are routinely bashed, and as well, often tortured.

16 October: 30 young boys were taken from inside a Canossian convent on a Sunday. Twenty young men were taken from the Hera polytechnic school to Polwil (Police HQ) in Comoro. At least 20 taxi drivers have been seized.

18 October INTEL go to the home of Luis Barreto but on finding him not there beat his wife, smash the house contents, and take his 4 year old son to prison.

End of October: 14 known killed; over 400 arrests.

East Timor Coalition - Darwin Fri 27/10/95

Box 2155 Darwin 0801 Phones: 61 89 932113 855678 275478 482010

Summaries of tortures of 3 recently arrived East Timorese asylum seekers

Victim (1) Male in his early twenties, has not seen his father for 20 years, was involved with resistance activities and demonstrations since at least 17 years of age, and therefore was under constant surveillance by the Indonesian occupation intelligence services (Intel). He was in a friend's house one night when the military came at night, broke down the door, used an iron bar to beat the man's pregnant wife in the belly, beat the man, slashed his face with a razor blade, stripped him, dragged him outside for more beatings, and took him away. A gun was fired next to his friend's father who came to talk to the military.

After this, victim (1) went into hiding, mainly sleeping in the bush. He escaped once from a group of soldiers, and his mother was interrogated about his whereabouts. He was in the Motael church 2 weeks before the Dili Massacre when the military invaded the church and killed Sebastian Gomez. He hid in the roof of a house to escape and hide until the procession on that fateful day 12th November 1991 when the world was to see on TV the reality of the Indonesian butchery that is a frequent event in East Timor.

He was arrested in 1992, but after intervention by the small Red Cross group in Dili was released with the demand that he spy for the hated Intel. Soon he was arrested again, his home ransacked, he was stripped and had electric shocks to his fingers and toes. He was blindfolded and beaten with iron bars, kicked in the face, tied to a wall and kicked in the chest, told to pray for death and often threatened with it. He was taken to both the Colmera and Farol detention and torture centres, questioned and beaten continually, taken to a cliff blindfolded and told to jump but this proved to be more psychological torture.

He was thrown naked and handcuffed into a tiny dark room, where he found a colleague. Later others were thrown in too. The beatings continued. After a few weeks 2 friends were taken out in the middle of the night and have never been seen again since. After further weeks he was taken to Bacau and whipped with a stingray tail, and kicked in the legs and knees such that he has pain there to this day. (He also has chest, shoulder and other pains). Red Cross was told he was not there.

Later he was released in Dili under strict surveillance and reporting conditions. After a year he escaped to Jakarta, but returned to escort a journalist into the mountains. He and others were caught again, and he was beaten and gaoled. Again he was blindfolded and forced to lie down, heard Intel say to bring a bag so his blood would not make a mess when they stabbed him, a large rock was dropped and a shot fired near his head, a chair was smashed on his body, and a pistol poked into his ear. He was placed in a sack and jumped on. He got very hot and thirsty but was only taunted. Later that day another commandant intervened and released him from the sack and eventually back into Dili. However he was singled out for attack by the notorious Ninjas, the para-military organised by Suharto's son in law Col Prabowo. So he thought he'd better get out of East Timor while he could!

He is a lovely gentle decent man, who has deserved better than this from life. No Australian government counselling or medical services are available for this man, but an early psychological assessment indicated depression and anxiety, fear, nerves, pounding heart, feeling worthless, low energy, sad and lonely, physical pain, yet resilient character.

Victim (2)

A female also in her early twenties, from a large family, and took part in the procession that became the Dili Massacre 12th November 1991. She got hit by police batons, and girlfriends with her were shot and wounded and a cousin died. She had expected a bullet herself, and was distressed at her friends being killed yet having no knowledge of where the bodies were. Later the military threatened her so she hid at home for many weeks. Later she attended other demonstrations including one where tear gas was used and a colleague was killed. She had to attend the Police station to get an identity card and was very fearful and may have been assaulted.

She had very high anxiety and depression levels on arrival in Australia but these are now reducing as she feels safe, but is still very sad and worried thinking of her friends and family. She has dreams and flashbacks, feelings of worthlessness and hopelessness, and needs supportive care for some time.

Victim (3)

A male about 20 years old. He was present at the Dili Massacre but escaped. In the next few days though he witnessed brutal beatings, and his cousin was tortured in detention. Later he was arrested and taken to military headquarters. A chair was placed on his feet and the Indonesians jumped on it, damaging his feet. He was punched and kicked and interrogated about demonstrations, but then allowed home. A little later his cousin was shot dead by the military, and he also feels bad because the family does not know where the body is.

At new year this year he was involved in an event where the military got involved in a dispute and stabbed a friend to death. They felt very angry so that night set fire to the market stalls. Three friends got shot and wounded and were then summarily hanged. Victim (3) stayed in hiding since then until he could escape.

His psychological assessment was similar to the others, and needs care and security.

To summarise:

These reports not only tell us about the tortures inflicted on many people in East Timor today, but they point to the way the occupying Indonesian military forces act without regard to human rights or normal decent behaviour. Whilst they treat the East Timorese as somehow sub-human, it is thugs such as these brutal callous military who are sub-human. What proportion of the occupying forces are like this we cannot tell, but it appears to be the majority. When the corrupt Indonesian military regime falls as fall it must, they will leave behind a nation of traumatised and dispossessed people, whose needs will still be great if different. From a world which has not helped until now, what can be expected then?

(Notes adapted from a speech to be given in Japan in November)

ONE STORY OF TORTURE IN EAST TIMOR

ANTONIO PINTO GOVEIA - One of the Timorese Boat People

In November 1994 Australian writer and long time East Timor activist now living in Portugal Jill Joliffe made arrangements to meet up with an East Timorese contact in Jakarta. Antonio Goveia was chosen as the most capable young man to go. He told everyone he was going on holidays, met up with Joliffe in Jakarta, was given money and papers to take back with him to East Timor and arranged to meet her again in West Timor after she'd travelled around.

Goveia with three friends was able to get Joliffe and her friend into Dili by driving through the mountains by an old track. The next day (30th November) they left Dili at 5pm to drive to Bacau. They arrived after dark but soon realised they were being followed. Managed to get the two women out near a bridge and Goveia took them to a small cave underneath. Goveia's friends drove off. One of them was able to jump out of the car further on and disappear but the driver was caught by the military pursuers and in his terror told them where the three were hiding.

Goveia was captured at 3am by himself. He was taken to Red Beret headquarters and the interrogations and beatings began. He was kicked, punched in the face and told to tell them where the women were. (The military had information from Dili about the group.)

"At the hotel" he kept telling them.

"You liar, you liar, they're not there, we've checked".

A kick to the belly made Goveia feel like he was dying but he kept standing up. The soldiers dragged him to a car and they went searching for Joliffe, who was found because she put her head up into a spotlight not because Goveia told where she was.

He was taken separately back to headquarters and the interrogations began again. "Why are you with these women"?

He told them he had met them in Jakarta when he was on holidays and offered to show them around Timor. It appears Joliffe stuck to the same story. He was locked in a tiny room and left there till the next night when the soldiers came and got him at 1am, blindfolded him, tied his hands behind his back and took him to a car. The threats of execution began.

"You are going to tell the truth or we will kill you". Goveia was terrified. They interrogated him about the guerilla leaders, who had sent him to meet these women, where did the money come from for the trip....They drove him around still blindfolded then got him out of the car somewhere.

"Get the knife" he heard. They sat him down put the point of the knife to his back and left it there while the questions continued.

The knife was taken away and he heard someone groan as though he'd been stabbed. Someone fell down. Was it acted or real? He didn't know.

"We've just killed one of your friends. If you don't tell the truth the next person to die will be you."

Three shots rang out. "Wrap the head in plastic so the blood doesn't smell tomorrow" he heard then the sound of dirt being thrown as though someone was being buried.

"Now two friends have gone, it will be you next if you continue lying". Goveia stuck to his story so they lay him down as though ready for death.

"Now you are going to tell the truth"

"I've told you everything".
They bundled him into the car saying "your destiny hasn't come yet" and drove him to another place to continue the interrogations. He heard the metallic chime of 2am. A long hour.

Another car, driven around for a long time arriving in Los Palos.

"Tell us the story or die"
The head military told him if you tell us where Koni Santana is we'll let you go."
"I don't know".

The next interrogation session began at 7pm that night (1st December). They showed him a letter signed by the military commander saying Goveia must die if he didn't tell the truth.

"If we don't have the truth say goodbye".
They made him sit on the floor and kicked and punched him. A chair was thrown at him and broken over his head. At 1am he was taken to Dili where his hands were untied but the beatings and kickings continued. A gun was pointed at him and fired.

Goveia does not know where the bullet went - he was still alive.
The Red Berets here stood on his face and kicked him in the head with their boots. His face no longer felt like a face and he no longer cared whether he lived or died.

He was then transported to another building where he was put into a sack, it was tied up well and he was dumped into a car. He got very hot and thirsty and asked for water.

"No water for you"
He begged for dirty water or even urine. They put a pistol into his mouth
"This is what you're asking for"

Then the Commander came out who had been the first to kick him when he arrived there. He asked for Goveia so they took him out of the sack. He was given a drink of Sprite and the Commander pretended they had mistakenly mistreated him. He was given food but was too sick to eat.

He was taken back to Bacau where they gave him some medication for his injuries. He was interrogated again the next day. He signed a paper saying only what he'd told them. They kept him imprisoned till his injuries had faded and then let him go on the 7th December.

Antonio Pinto Goveia 26/10/95
Translated from Portuguese by Fatima Gusmao
Summarised by J. Conway



National Council of
Maubere Resistance

13 10 95
EAST TIMOR
MEDIA RELEASE

Urgent Update on East Timor State of Siege

Information immediately to hand from East Timor confirms that the present unrest and the riots are the worst to occur in the East Timorese capital city of Dili this year. The serious unrest commenced on Wednesday 11 October at 8.00pm when shooting was heard all over the city of Dili. Recent information from East Timor indicates that the current toll is in excess of 5 dead, 17 seriously wounded and in excess of 70 arrested last night.

Currently available names of the dead are:
Francisco Sertorio (16 years) from Matadouru suburb
Salomao Araujo (late 40) Manleuana suburb
Francisco Soares Santa Cruz
Domingus Ameu "
Amilcar Goncalves "

Currently available names of the injured are:

Currently available names of the more than 70 arrested are:

Jose Manuel; Aleixo Cobra; Jorge Tailalak; Alau; Abilio; Rui Pedro Lopes

Background

Monday 9 October: Indonesian military intelligence arrested Bobi Xavier, (21) from the suburb of Matadouru.- this is Bobi's fourth arrest. He has a long history of arrests and torture dating back to when he was 16 years old.

The young people of Matadouru demonstrated in front of the military intelligence (SGI) headquarters and demanded Bobi's release by 3pm on that day, failing which

They would take retaliatory action. SGT was promptly released at 10am on the same day. Fearing retaliation from the military intelligence the youth erected barricades on the roads of every street into the suburbs. However, disorganised SGT agents managed to infiltrate Westvillage in the early hours of the following day and killed Satoro and Salomao. Satoro's body was dismembered - limbs and head severed.

Distraught by the savagery of the murders, the youth went on the rampage through the streets of the capital burning shops and cars. The head of Police Col. Andres Sugianto sent a Timorese police officer, Captain Paulo Wae and two Indonesian officers of equal rank to negotiate with the young people and the three were taken hostages for the security of the youths. Following mediation from representatives of the Church and from Timorese community leaders, the three were released unharmed. Meanwhile riot police and two military battalions disembarked from ships and planes in Dili and were immediately deployed on the streets of the capital.

Wednesday 11 October from 8.00 pm shots were heard in most Dili suburbs. People, in fear of their safety, immediately erected barricades on the roadsides of the suburbs to prevent the Indonesian military and riot police enter the areas. All vehicles were stopped and checked. In spite of these precautions disorganised SGT agents driving civilian vehicles approached the barricades and when asked to stop, they opened the doors, fired shots on the people and sped off. This is what caused the death and injuries.

Col Prabowo (President Suharto's son-in-law and vice-commander of Kopassus) has been in East Timor recently leading military exercises in Bauca, Ermera and other East Timorese cities. Sources within East Timor believe that his presence and the current tension is part of a crack-down against the resistance in the lead up to the possible announcement of Bishop Belo as recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize; the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre; and the twentieth anniversary of the invasion; and is a prelude to an intended major offensive against the East Timorese armed resistance. As part of this operation East Timorese civilians are being forcibly conscripted into a civilian defence militia. Col Prabowo's frequent past visits to East Timor have resulted in bursts of night and other vicious military action.

Twenty years of Indonesian repressive military rule in East Timor have brought only misery and destruction to the East Timorese in spite of Indonesia's claims to having invested millions of dollars in improving the welfare of the local people. The current situation in East Timor and the reactionary statements of the Prime Minister Paul Keating and his Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, make them an international joke and accessories to the current genocide of their neighbour East Timor.

The National Council of Resistance of East Timor requests friendly governments and human rights organisations to immediately express their concern to the Indonesian government and the UN to safeguard the lives and well being of the East Timorese.

End

CNAM Jarwin 13/10/95



National Council of
Maubere Resistance

STATEMENT ON RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN EAST TIMOR

October 1995

1. In the last few weeks, the Indonesian government, through the military intelligence, has launched an orchestrated campaign against the East Timorese bishop of Dili, Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Church and the people of East Timor as a whole.

Now, the Indonesian Religion Minister Tarmizi Taher is visiting the Vatican to seek Catholic Church pressure on the East Timorese. For years Indonesia has used the threat of making the situation of Indonesia's Catholic minority difficult, as a means of pressuring the Vatican not to unduly oppose the illegal annexation of East Timor.

2. It is possible to trace back the origins of the current campaign against the East Timorese Catholic Church and its Bishop. In January 1995 there were riots in many parts of East Timor which took a new dimension. For the first time in the almost 20 years of occupation, Indonesian civilians (read immigrants) and their properties were targeted by the people. Street shops and vendors were attacked. Some Indonesian civilians were killed.

3. It must be noted that the January 1995 incidents were sparked by the killing of an East Timorese by Indonesian merchants. There is not one single instance of an incident provoked by East Timorese.

Most of the incidents took place in the following sequence: Indonesian military personnel desecrate a religious object of cult such as stamping on the holy wafer, insulting a nun, breaking a Virgin Mary statue; the East Timorese react and attack the offenders; in the ensuing violence, the army intervenes and attacks the East Timorese. In every single instance we have been able to identify Indonesian intelligence agents on the ground instigating the violence.

4. A question might be asked: what is the interest of the army in instigating the violence. There are several answers to this simple question. The hard-liners in the military are not interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Even the modest and limited idea of granting some sort of autonomy to the territory with a drastic reduction in the troop presence, as argued by the local governor and supported by MFA Ali Alatas, is opposed by the military. Their view is that East Timor is a conquered territory and hence the military earned the right to treat East Timor as a private domain. So as long as the territory remains in limited turmoil, the hard-liners have a justification to pursue their one-track policy of brutal repression. A lessening of their influence in East Timor is always a dent in their prestige (after all the army is supposed to be invincible and untouchable) and in their economic monopoly of East Timor's natural wealth (coffee, sandalwood, marble, fishing) and lucrative trade.

5. There is another answer: having lost the battle of the international opinion and now gradually losing credibility on the home front, the hard-liners are resorting to an old tactic they are good at: instigate ethnic and religious tension and violence to divert peoples attention from the real issues.

6. Throughout Indonesian history both in the period leading to and after the imposition by a bloody military coup of the New Order regime of gen. Suharto, there were always anti-Chinese violence instigated by the military. In the 1965-66 coup several hundred thousand innocent Chinese were slaughtered. In the 80s there were a series of church and Chinese shop burning incidents in Java and Sumatra. In 1994 there were serious anti-Chinese incidents in Medan, Sumatra.

7. The conflict in East Timor has absolutely no ethnic or religious basis. Prior to the Indonesian Invasion of East Timor, the nearly 700,000 East Timorese, ruled by Portugal for almost 500 years, were divided in a majority animist, minority Catholics (30%) Buddhist (the 15,000 Chinese settlers) and a very small Moslem community of no more than 1,000 East Timorese of Arab descent.

East Timor was extraordinarily harmonious during the Portuguese rule. Even though the Portuguese fascist state favoured the Catholic faith as the State religion, there was never any religious incident among the four religious groups. One might accuse the Portuguese of neglect, but they never engaged in such callous and counter-productive tactic in instigating inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence.

8. The East Timorese resistance was always guided by a code of conduct of not harming Indonesian civilians and the Indonesian government could not show one single instance where the resistance deliberately targeted Indonesian civilian settlers even though the latter are willing instruments and participants in the occupation and rapacious exploitation of East Timor.

9. Why this sudden attack on the East Timorese Church and people claiming that they are intolerant and anti-Moslem?

10. The Church of East Timor is a model of moderation and tolerance. It has incurred the anger of the army not because it does not accept other religions. Quite the contrary, Bishop Belo has a strong relationship with Rev. Arlindo Marcal, head of the minority Protestant Church who is also under attack by the army. There is not much on-going relationship between the Catholic Church and the Moslems in East Timor only because the majority of Indonesians in East Timor are not devout Moslems.

There are thousands of prostitutes brought in by the Army to service the soldiers and there are thousands of small traders from the nearby islands who in fact are overwhelmingly Christians. Here we have an army that operates like most armies of occupation in the middle ages where women are herded to service the soldiers and this is the army that today uses religion to attack the Church of East Timor. Only a few thousand are Moslems and the army discourages the local Moslem leaders from consorting with the bishop.

Bishop Belo has never uttered a word of intolerance against other religions. Quite

the contrary. He is a very humble man, modest like most of his Salesian order. When he was appointed in 1983, it was hoped in Jakarta and in Rome that he would be much more malleable than his predecessor, the late Bishop Martinho da Costa Lopes. His consecration in Dili was boycotted by most East Timorese priests because he was perceived to be a puppet of the Vatican and Jakarta.

Just imagine the pain and loneliness he must have endured all these years when faced with so many conflicting interests and pressure. After all, he turned out to be such a humble, modest, self-effacing and courageous man of the people and public enemy number one of the army. That's why the Indonesian army does not tolerate him and that's why they are now engaged in this vicious campaign.

The East Timorese priests are extremely tolerant, generous and courageous. Most might be inspired by the Latin America liberation theology and some are theologically conservative but they all share strong notions of justice and human dignity.

11. The army has the blood of thousands of Moslems in its hands. It is quite extraordinary that it should pretend now to stand for Islam when in fact it has massacred thousands of Moslems in Aceh-Sumatra. Countless Moslem women in Sumatra were raped and murdered by the army in 1983-84 with the full knowledge of the army high command and not one single soldier or officer was brought to justice. The infamous massacre of several hundred civilian moslems in Jakarta's port of Tanjung Priok in 1984 is another major crime of the Indonesian army. The government has tried to suppress any information about this massacre, which as a result remains unexposed to this day.

12. Unlike even in China where there is a large foreign presence (journalists, diplomats, businessmen) and an explosion in the private sector, East Timor must be the most isolated place on earth. The only foreign presence there consist of three ICRC delegates. The Church and to some extent the resistance are the only links to the outside world. The Church is the only institution capable of sheltering the people physically and morally, the only one around which even the resistance turn to for protection.

13. Few conflicts in the world are so clear-cut and simple as the East Timorese. Here we have a people with a clear historical identity, invaded and occupied by another country without a prior and clearly established claim to it. There are no overlapping, conflicting claims on East Timor by the neighbouring countries. Only Indonesia stands in the middle between the people of East Timor and self-determination. It is tragic that the Indonesian occupation forces are now irresponsibly attempting to obfuscate the issue by inciting religious conflicts.

Jose Ramos-Horta
October 1995

"East Timor - my country of birth and heart"

by Cesarina Rocha

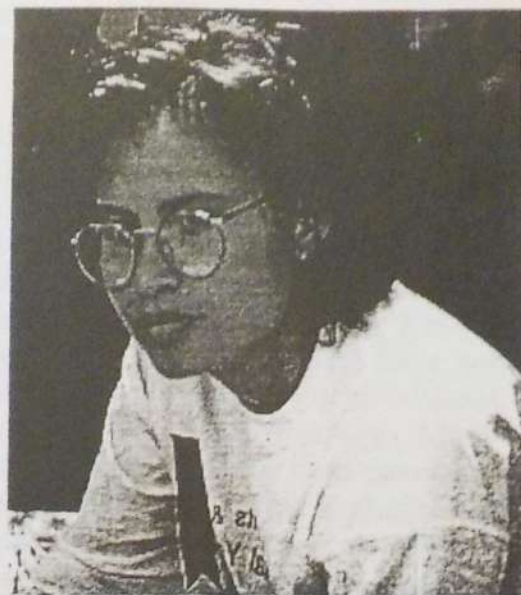
[This speech was delivered at the International Youth Camp on Human Rights and Peace, Kwangju, Korea, 14 - 20 May, 1996.]

Mae ho laran diak, or Greetings in my native Tetun language. Thank you for the invitation to this important gathering at which I am happy to represent my people of East Timor, my country of birth just 21 years ago. It is a small island just north of my present home in Darwin, Australia, where we live in hope of the expulsion of the Indonesian military occupiers of our country. I grew up in Darwin, and attend the Northern Territory University now studying Southeast Asian history and politics and Indonesian language. I am president of the Student Supporters of East Timor in Darwin and in the last 2 years have taken part in humanitarian and cultural activities in support of East Timor's basic human rights.

History and background of East Timor

Timor is an island 450 km (300 miles) NW of Darwin on the north coast of Australia. It is geographically close to the Spice Islands of the "Indonesia Archipelago" and was valued for its Sandalwood so was subjected to invasions and colonisation by greedy European nations. Over 400 years ago Portugal occupied the island but soon the Dutch occupied the western half so that Timor had 2 European colonial masters for a long time. Apart from savagely putting down uprisings against its authority, the Portuguese rule was benign.

The native language is Tetun but with several dialects, and Portuguese was the language of administration for 400 years. Now the Indonesians ban the use of Portuguese, and force the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia. East Timor had more than 12 tribal groups, each tribe and each family group had their own land to look after, their own sacred ob-



jects and houses, distinctive traditional ordinary house designs, and they negotiated with neighbours. Animism was the religious force, with the Portuguese bringing Roman Catholicism but this became the main religion only after the Indonesian invasion when the church stood alone in support of the people, and the Indonesia Pancasila edict requiring belief in 'God.' Timorese grew Rice on the valley floors, and upland grew Maize with many kinds and varieties of fruit and vegetables, and they harvested many foods and medicines from the natural vegetation. Coffee was the cash crop under the Portuguese. The men made swords, war and love in that order, while the women wove beautiful cloth called 'Tais,' some of which I am wearing. Districts and even families have their own motifs and designs. The people love their land and culture.

During World War 2 the Japanese military forces swept down through Asia towards Australia. (and even bombed Darwin many times). In the territory controlled by the Dutch East Indies Company the Japanese pushed out the Dutch and established their own rule. They trained a Javanese army, teaching many Japanese military traditions of that time. A movement for Independence formed, led by such people as Sukarno and Hatta, who declared

Independence on 17/8/45, though it was another 4 years of struggle before this was achieved.

Japan also invaded East Timor in early 1942. Japan lost 1500 troops in 1942 to Australian commandos, so brutal reprisals were taken against those East Timorese who had supported or who may have supported the Australians. These Killings and tortures, plus the starvation caused by the pressures of war and extra demands for food, resulted in the deaths of about 60,000 East Timorese from a population of about 600,000. No apology or compensation has been received by my country people to this day. Last year 2 venerable East Timorese friends of mine came to Japan to point out these facts, and ask its help to remove the present brutal coloniser Indonesia. The best way to do this is by denying Indonesia its present massive foreign aid of \$2b until it gets out of East Timor. Please help pressure Japan to do this.

In 1975 the Indonesian armed forces invaded my country and established a brutal and illegal occupation, with deaths to this day of about 300,000 people from its initial population of 700,000. No human rights exist in my country today, with arbitrary arrest, torture, rape, sterilisation, disappearances, murder, theft of property, removal of land ownership and forced resettlement of traditional owners, transmigration, destruction of the environment especially the forests and sandalwood almost totally, denial of native language and customs, and so on. The world has stood by and watched this happen without effective intervention of any sort. We have been brutally colonised by Indonesia, but we resist with all our hearts. Please help us.

The full scale invasion took place on 7th December 1975. During the next few months the Indonesian troops executed about 60,000 of my people. Much of the population went to live in the mountain-

interior and put up a fierce armed
istance, killing many Indonesian sol-

was mainly due to the graphic TV im-
ages of the shootings filmed by Max

*Why should this have been so? Was it just to make the
map more tidy, or was it fear of Indonesia under its
present military dictatorship of General Suharto and his
clique of family and generals ~ the smiling assassins.*

diers. To break the stalemate, the USA
supplied special ground attack aircraft
called the Bronco OV10, and other so-
phisticated weapons including the cruel
phosphorus fire-gel "napalm" bombs,
which my people could not resist so
well. Crops, villages and people were
targeted. Terror reigned. By the end of
1978 about 100,000 Timorese had died
and East Timor was plunged into fam-
ine. During the next year or so over
100,000 more people died of famine and
assault and the Indonesian army and
its agents murdered nearly all Timorese
leaders and fighters. Of course also bru-
talised and killed were many innocent
women and children, the often under-
recognised victims of war, some of
whose stories are told in a wonderful
book of testimonies called 'Telling-East
Timor' by Michele Turner. The total
invasion and occupation deaths are
about 300,000, this being a genocide of
about 40%.

So Indonesia thought it had my
country subdued and under its control.
However under Xanana Gusmaos lead-
ership the Timorese Resistance
regrouped and fought so well that a
cease-fire was brokered in early 1983.
General Murdani ended this cease-fire
late in 1983 and the war has not stopped
to this day. In the late 1980s the strat-
egy of Resistance was widened, with a
broad political front called the National
Council of Resistance having the lead-
ership and the clandestine work spread-
ing to the cities, to Indonesia and to the
world.

Then we had our equivalent of your
Kwangju Massacre. On 12th Novem-
ber 1991 the Indonesian military
opened fire on a peaceful procession in
Dili in what is known as the Santa Cruz
or Dili Massacre. They shot dead about
200 young people on the spot, with
about another 200 wounded and wit-
nesses killed off in the next few days,
including people killed in the hospital
and their houses, and a second massa-
cre of 80 people shot into a mass grave.
The intense public interest in this event

Stahl. However, no changes for the bet-
ter inside East Timor itself have resulted
from that interest.

Until 1989 Indonesia maintained an
illegal and immoral blockade of East
Timor, with no communications or visi-
tors allowed in or out. From 1975-1982
the United Nations passed 10 Resolu-
tions condemning the Indonesian inva-
sion of my country including 2 in the
Security Council, but these have not
been enforced by a world without
enough morals and courage. Many
other resolutions have been passed by
the UN Human Rights Commission,
and our country is still regarded as non-
decolonised and under a UN mandate,
and many UN reports using UN Diplo-
matic language designed to avoid of-
fending Indonesia, achieving nothing.
How much more do we have to suffer
before the UN and the world acts and
not just talks?

Why has no country helped us?
Australia did not even protest when 5
of its journalists were killed by Indone-
sian invaders at Balibo East Timor on
16th October 1975, so it was obvious that
no objection would be put in the path of
the all-out invasion of East Timor on 7th
December 1975. Why should this have
been so? Was it just to make the map
more tidy, or was it fear of Indonesia

*We want action! In Bosnia they have poured in im-
mense resources to assist, and now there is an Interna-
tional War Crimes Tribunal. We want both of those.*

*The world put to flight the invader of the undemocratic
but oil rich Kuwait. The then Australian Prime Minis-
ter said "the world cannot allow a big nation to invade a
little one and get away with it," yet he did just that over
his neighbour East Timor.*

under its present military dictatorship
of General Suharto and his clique of
family and generals ~ the smiling assas-
sins.

The world had seen the Suharto re-
gime come to power in a controversial

military coup in 1965, when it killed or
encouraged the killing of about one mil-
lion Indonesian people. It allowed in
the 1960s Indonesia annexation of West
Papua, a nation of Melanesian people
who had nothing to do with Indonesia,
where it has been pursuing exploitative
genocide rather like East Timor. Por-
tugal had its own problems, and was
emerging from its own military dicta-
torship, so did not have much energy
for the region. Plus Australia and Indo-
nesia both knew that massive reserves
of oil lay beneath the Timor sea which
they wanted for themselves. The USA
was in a vitriolic anti-Communist phase
and feeling shame about its defeat in
Vietnam, so did not mind a small 'in-
significant' country like my own being
swallowed up by its greedy neighbour
Indonesia if that kept Indonesia quiet for
a while. The Japanese government and
others wanted Indonesian fuels and tim-
ber and was unwilling to jeopardise
these, as is the case still today for many
countries no doubt including Korea.
Indonesia also controls vital sea lanes
essential for world trade. So, in sum-
mary, fear, appeasement and perceived
economic advantage, lay behind the
world not supporting us.

As a result of this last 20 years of
history, we East Timorese are a nation
of traumatised people. Trauma means
injury/ damage/ hurt/ shock/ severe
upset and maybe collapse, and is an
ongoing result of torture. Because this
is happening to us does not mean that
we as a nation have given up the strug-
gle, far from it. But we all bear the scars.
I know that Korea also has had its wars,
and its Kwangju, but its struggle for
democracy is succeeding.

Torture

Torture is defined by the UN Con-
vention Against Torture as any act by
which severe pain or suffering whether
physical or mental is intentionally in-

ted. Amnesty International records show torture occurring in over 100 countries around the world, and it has become more widespread and intense over the last two decades, despite Declarations condemning or forbidding its use. Recent research by refugee organisations in Sydney indicates that torture was experienced by about 80% of people in their refugee communities, many of whom include children. At least that figure applies to the East Timorese community, as most have suffered torture and organised violence in the last 20 years.

So as we seek together to make the world a better place how do we do better than we have so far done to achieve this? We all know to meet together as we are doing, to talk to write letters use the arts, influence local groups and unions, use the Internet as well as the media directly, demonstrations where appropriate, and so on. Yet when we see the ineffectiveness of the UN in achieving anything at all of value to the people of East Timor, where a current physical political and cultural genocide takes place while the world courts the corrupt government of Indonesia we can see that all the diplomatic talk is just that — diplomatic talk!

We want action! In Bosnia they have poured in immense resources to assist, and now there is an International War Crimes Tribunal. We want both of those. The world put to flight the invader of the undemocratic but oil rich Kuwait. The then Australian Prime Minister said "the world cannot allow a big nation to invade a little one and get away with it," yet he did just that over his neighbour East Timor. He even sent warships. And he visits Burma while the inspirational democratic leader Aung Sung Suu Kyi remains a victim of the SLORC.

We want a permanent International War Crimes Tribunal and we want those who breach human rights to know that they may be sent before it and face gaol sentences and heavy fines. This must include the political leaders, such as President Suharto, the greatest regional mass murderer and I think Korea is showing the way here by taking former leaders to court. We must make it cost more to exploit and to bully than it does to be a good corporate citizen and a good moral ordinary citizen of this world. We must persuade countries

and multi-nationals to be good world citizens, and not to support the dictators nor rip off the poor workers. We must help persuade them by international boycotts of the goods of the worst offenders. An International Human Rights Institute may have a role but we need muscle to stop the bullies and the relentless seekers of economic advantage at the expense of the weak. We want your government to support East Timor, not Indonesian oppression and greed. We need money to fight internationally. (Thanks for my airfare by the way). We want you and many more to visit East Timor with cameras and tape recorders and tell the world of the oppression. We want your student unions to adopt East Timorese students as honorary members, as mine has done, and then to try to keep in touch. And much more. Then do the same for West Papua.

Our vision for East Timor lies in the dreams of our youthfulness, the dreams of a just peace, because to now our tears are dry from the ocean of bodies and graves. Our dreams and your solidarity give us hope for the future, hope which gives us strength to carry on our struggle for the right to self-determination and for all other human rights in our own country and in the region. Please help us realise our dreams, like Bono of the Irish pop group U2 who wrote to East Timor last year:

*There is no silence deep enough
No black out dark enough
No corruption thick enough
No business deal big enough
No politician bent enough
No heart hollow enough
No grave wide enough
To bury your story and keep it
from us*

- Thank you

[Cesarina Rocha is a 21-year-old Timorese who had to flee East Timor when she was a baby. She now lives at Darwin, Australia. She is the president of Student Supporters for East Timore at Darwin and a representative of National Council of Manbere Resistance (CNRM).]

CAMBODIA

The promotion and protection of human rights requires dialogue

Justice Michael Kirby

Justice Michael Kirby, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Human Rights in Cambodia identified the following as the problem areas of human rights in Cambodia in his final report entitled "CAMBODIA — A DEPARTING ASSESSMENT" delivered on 1 APRIL 1996 at Geneva to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The following is an extract from his report.

Problem Areas

Amongst the problem areas called to notice in my report are the following:

Opposition Parties: Despite the commitment in the Paris Peace Agreements to multi-party democracy, reinforced in the Cambodian Constitution and endorsed in UN human rights treaties, various obstacles have been put in the way of the registration of an Opposition political party. These obstacles are unreasonable. They should be removed. There can be no democratic freedom without the privilege to organise parties and express dissenting views. The way the Government and the National Assembly of Cambodia defend the right of Opposition Parties, including the Khmer Nation Party and the Son San faction of the BLDP, is a litmus test for the true commitment of the Cambodian Government and legislature to multi-party democratic elections. It would be a tragedy if Cambodia were to return to a system of government where only one point of view could be given an effective voice. After the genocide and their great sufferings, the Cambodian people deserve better than this. The United Nations must defend their rights against those who would put the clock back because they cannot tolerate criticism and the expression of a

OPEN LETTER from ALARICO JORGE FERNANDES
Minister for Information and National Security
of the
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC of EAST TIMOR (D.R.E.T.)
To INDONESIAN SOLDIERS & INDONESIAN PEOPLE

Broadcast on RADIO MAUBERE on 4/3/77.

Transcribed and published by members of the Campaign for Independent East Timor (C.I.E.T.), C/- Timor Information Centre, Knuckey Street, Darwin, N.T. Australia.

* * *

Brother Indonesian soldiers, on behalf of the people of East Timor, we want to ask you again:

What are you fighting for ? What are you seeking for in the beloved country of your brother Maubere people ?

Brother Indonesian soldiers in East Timor - Nothing, NOTHING, you are dying for nothing, you are fighting for nothing.

Maubere people are not your enemy. Maubere people are essentially your brothers.

Indonesian people are essentially our brothers, and you are dying, INGLORIOUSLY DYING in East Timor, fighting for nothing, fighting just in the interests of the corrupt murderer Suharto, Adam Malik, Murtopo, and other corrupt Indonesian officials.

Brother Indonesian soldiers, we want to call you attention that Maubere people, that the glorious Fretilin revolutionary forces, don't want to kill you, but if you insist remaining in East Timor with rifles, then we have to kill you, we have to defend our own liberation, the liberation of the entire people of East Timor, that was oppressed over 400 years from the Portugese shameful colonialists.

But now we are free and independent, a sovereign country already recognised by many countries all over the world. And you, what are you doing here ? Go back to your country ! Exactly in this moment, when the situation is deteriorating in Indonesia.

Look at yourself, you are poor, you have nothing, you have LOST, you have lost your liberation, your freedom.

Comrades, brothers, sisters, Indonesian soldiers in East Timor, go back to Indonesia and help your brothers, your families, and help the brother Indonesian people to fight the corrupt Suharto and other corrupt elements over there.

You have the obligation to help your brothers that in this moment are fighting for the brother Indonesian people liberation in Indonesia, in Irian Jaya, in South Moluccas, in Sumatra and South Kalimantan.

Comrades, we should be brothers and not enemies. We are fighting each other for nothing.

Australians for a Free East Timor
Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801 PhFax 089 832113

PRESS RELEASE 5/2/94 early am

"Evidence Accumulates Against
Indonesian Brutality East Timor"

East Timorese refugee Vicente Ximenes has arrived in Darwin, having escaped from Timor after being tortured and harrassed.

While Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Ali Alatas resorted to trying to ridicule his story, to sycophantic chuckles from the pliant local media, Vicente further explained on the ABC 7.30 Report how he bribed his way out as follows:

"The corruption made by Indonesia affects Generals to a soldier. A soldier must seek a living, the important thing for them is money... they've got no ideology"

The corruption in Indonesia comes from the top, with President Suharto and all his family and cronies and top generals being the biggest thieves. For example in a widely not reported Press Release last year I highlighted that Suharto's favourite Minister Habibie is a Billionaire, with many European castles, and who pushes for the development of high tech industries such as these ridiculous Atomic Reactors so that he can extract huge bribes, without which a project or Company is not authorised to proceed.

Ferdinand Marcos learned too late you can't take it with you.

This corruption has bastardised the Indonesian nation, with huge disparity in wealth, plus a rampant military which has attacked Malaysia, forced the takeover and now genocide of West Papua, and the military takeover rape and genocide of East Timor, and is the real power in Government - but its a great friend of successive Australian Governments. Why? And what's in it for them?

However the fight in East Timor is not yet over, and Indonesians should not be surprised given their own experience in the late 1940's, see later.

Vicente Ximenes called for International Red Cross and bodies such as Amnesty International to have access to East Timorese prisoners, indeed we would say to prisoners throughout Indonesia. It is amazing that such access has declined in the 2 years since the Dili Massacre and the world attention that at last brought. But this is explained by the fact that the real rulers on the ground are the unrepresentative swill that are the brutal military, and there is no big pressure from Australian leaders.

* * * * *

On the same 7.30 Report two other East Timor refugees nervously recounted some of their torture and abuse experiences as follows, but also expanded from the raw material. Beri Seree was arrested along with her sister, father, brother and husband, and was interrogated. The military used to go to the womens gaol and say they were going to do interrogations but it was often just an excuse to go in to "see the women" (read raped, often gang-raped). (One old Timorese man was forced to have sex with a young girl in front of the Indonesians). The memories of this time still haunt Beri Seree.

Sahe was subjected to daily tortures, including electric shocks and cigarette burning. Once he was kicked to the point he was badly injured and thought he would die, and begged for medical assistance. He was sneeringly told he was a prisoner and could not expect any. In fact in his 3 years in gaol he knows of no visits from Red Cross, nor any medical assistance. Two friends died in gaol with him from malnutrition and torture.

Conditions were very cramped and unhygienic. The ration was a handful of rice a day. One torture was to force him and others into a tank of sewage, where they might be held for days, and "lizards" (actually small crocodiles) are put into the tank, with jaws unbound if the "correct answers" are not provided.

Every Thursday night from 12 1 the military took people away from the prison, and these "disappear" (read murdered) - among them Sahe's cousin. The memories of those 3 years in gaol still haunt Sahe.

* * * * *

'RIDE THE TIGER' quotes:

The excellent ABC TV program "Ride the Tiger" continued last night, part 2 having some great bits relevant to the above.

The old farm man who fought against the Dutch after WW2 was asked why he joined the struggle for independence. His answers were as follows:

So we could be free
For the people
Not just for ourselves
We wanted freedom, you see
For the people, not just ourselves
Everyone wanted freedom
So we all fought together
We weren't fighting for our own sakes.
HEART AND SOUL?

... 3

It was for the people
FREEDOM OR DEATH?

Yes, we were ready to die for the people
Heart and soul!

I ask, is it so hard for Indonesians, and Australian Governments, to understand that these sentiments also fuel East Timorese, West Papuans, and I guess Freedom Fighters most places?!

Amongst the many remarks of the old intellectual freedom fighter were the following:

We were fighting for 3.5 years ... how are you able to sustain for one year in the mountains without supplies, money, nothing, just yourself and your gun ... only how to fight ... even beaten by tanks and planes ... still they are not surrendering ... its a kind of tenacity.

(Ask Xanana Gusmao now in gaol in Jakarta, he lasted 16 years like that, other heroes continue to this minute in East Timor).

(In 1949 with victory against the Dutch) ... I felt so free, I felt so emotionally involved, involvement so deep and profound - and it doesn't seem to exist any more. A revolution in the classical sense is starting now, but that moment was just the creation of the National State, that's all. I mean, how to get our own Republic of Indonesia?

What has been lost since 1945? Everything's been lost, even the dream's been lost. Seemingly we have to fight again to get our dream realized maybe. How does it feel? BAD, SAD.

You lose an atmosphere

You lose an emotion

You lose a world of freedom and integrity, you see.

The explanation for how this dream of freedom for the people has been corrupted and shattered in Indonesia was also supplied in the program by General Nasution, founding military commander, and instigator of the limited "dual function" role. "Sukarno would like to do more, but after Suharto was President he used military officers in political and economic positions ... no longer middle of the road".

Thanks ABC Australia for that which we do get from you. In the USA, from the time of President Ford and Henry Kissinger leaving Jakarta on 6/12/75 or the massive invasion of 7/12/75, until the Dili Massacre of 12/11/91, East Timor was not mentioned by USA's ABC, the NBC and CBS evening news shows, while to now Nightline and the McNeil-Lehrer shows have never mentioned it.

But the struggle continues. There are more Indonesian soldiers than Timorese civilians in many parts of East Timor, and the gross abuses continue. For example last month at Oessu the red Berets arrested boys from the Mission and beat and tortured them. We need to redouble our efforts to FREE EAST TIMOR.

Rds Wesley Smith

WELCOME

to EAST TIMORESE
victims of Indonesian
bloody aggression

Occasion of 100 refugees
arriving in Darwin from
Dili in January 1979

The SCORECARD:

—	1975	650,000	East Timorese
Aug	75	2,000	killed in civil war
		2,000	refugees to Australia
		20,000	held in West Timor for propaganda & bribery
Oct	75	5	Aussie journos murdered & largely unmourned
Dec	75		full-scale invasion of the Democratic Republic of East Timor by Indonesian armed forces by land, sea & air
....early	76	100,000	Timorese killed
....early	79	100,000	further timorese murdered, starved, tortured
1975- 79			Indonesia ignores U.N. instructions to GET OUT OF EAST TIMOR & International Red + denied entry
1978. early			Fraser govt. gives <u>de facto</u> then <u>de jure</u> recognition to the Indonesian fascist colonial aggression
			FRETILIN & MAUBERE people defeat Indonesian campaigns of encirclement and annihilation
		25,000	poor Indonesian soldiers have been killed ^{incl. 3 Generals.}
.late			U.S.A. increases arms, money, & advisers, so that the people are bombed & shelled into starvation
1979			as reward, 100 old & very young Timorese allowed to Aust. Oil rights to be negotiated
....			How many deaths will continue ?
			How many families reunited ? (100-600-2,500-450,000)
			The heroic war resistance towards freedom will continue
			Australia & world wash their bloody hands

LEST WE FORGET

by Rob Wesley-Smith Box 2155 Darwin N.T. 13/1/79
for East Timor support movement

UPDATE, Sep. 79.

Refugees | No more refugees out of East Timor officially.
Deaths | Unofficially now only 2-3/week after big bribes.
leaving only 300,000 alive, most starving. RAW'S.

1980 general resistance in the country continues

JILL JOLLIFFE, who was first to tell the world that 200,000 had died in East Timor after the 1975 invasion, tries to estimate the number of violent deaths since then.

LAST AUGUST, a group of East Timorese belonging to the Jakarta underground were at a small party to farewell a friend. The conversation turned to how many people had died in East Timor since Indonesia invaded the former colony on December 7, 1975. They could agree on only one thing: that if the much-cited figure of 200,000 dead of a population of around 635,000, given in late 1978, was correct, the deaths that

Indonesian army and resistance forces. The death toll grew with the conversation.

In almost 20 years of war and occupation, there has been no single independent body in East Timor to monitor human-rights abuses. In present circumstances, all that is possible is to piece together evidence from available statistics and descriptive accounts for a future occasion when more scientific evaluation may be possible and perpetrators, whether Indonesian or East Timorese, may be called to account by a body similar to the recently established UN war crimes tribunal on Bosnia and when the sites of mass graves may be examined by experts. The recent successful suit in a US court by Helen Todd, mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, the New Zealand student killed in the Santa Cruz massacre, against commanding officer

Timor... It was war... Then what is the big fuss?"

The source of the much-quoted but rarely questioned figure of 200,000 deaths in the initial period of the invasion was a confidential interview by this correspondent with a senior Indonesian public servant in the presence of UN officials in December 1978. Asked whether he believed a figure of 100,000 deaths to be accurate he replied: "I believe double that number might be more accurate". He listed disappearances, mass executions and deaths by starvation, and went on to describe a helicopter tour of East Timor made shortly before, where he discovered that whole villages had disappeared. He did, however, qualify his statement at the time with the words that "we cannot really know accurately how many are dead".

THE BODY COUNT

had occurred in the intervening years had rendered this figure long obsolete.

"Everybody talks about the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, when around 200 were killed," Pedro, a young Catholic seminarian, pointed out, "but that's because it was filmed. What about all the other massacres before it?"

The group began to list and describe similar events unreported by the media: the siege of Mount Matebian in late 1978, when tens of thousands of Timorese civilians streamed down from this eastern mountain to surrender after intensive bombing, including napalm; the bombing of Zumalai on the south coast in the same year when, according to one letter, the Mota Mor river ran red with the blood of corpses; the mass starvation of 1978 and 1979 after crops were burnt; the Dili uprising of June 10, 1980, when punitive action by the Indonesian army led to the burning of traditional houses on the outskirts of Dili and secret mass executions at Taçi Tolo Lake nearby; the massacre at Kraras in August 1983 after a ceasefire broke down between the

General Sintong Panjaitan, has established an important precedent.

The two earliest declarations of the death toll after 1975 provided the benchmark for future evaluations. The first came from a pro-Indonesian East Timorese, Francisco Lopes da Cruz, who had been nominated vice-governor of East Timor soon after the Indonesian landing in Dili, the capital. On February 13, only nine weeks later, he made a press statement which shocked observers of the war. He said 60,000 people had been "killed in the six months of civil war in East Timor". It was known that the death toll before the December 7 landing was only around 2,000 at the highest, so this meant that tens of thousands of people had died within nine weeks. Da Cruz said that most of the dead were women and children and admitted there had been some "excesses" against supporters of Fretilin, the pro-independence movement. Certain Australian government officials tried to claim that Da Cruz was really including refugees and general "victims of war" in this figure, but it was later repeated by Indonesia's then foreign minister, Adam Malik, who said "50,000 or 80,000 people might have been killed during the war in East

Contacted recently by *The Independent Monthly* and asked whether, all these years later, he might reveal his identity, the source said he preferred anonymity, and that his 1978 remarks had been made off the top of his head and could not be construed as having scientific accuracy. "Only a scientific study, based on census figures, for example, can give us the truth," he said.

An examination of Portuguese census figures and Indonesian censuses taken after 1975 shows them to be broadly consistent with this key source's initial statement.

Portuguese censuses were conducted in 1950, 1960 and 1970. Indonesia's first census in East Timor was in 1980, and the most recent in 1990. According to East Timorese who were present, they included Indonesian military and civilian personnel. Figures provided by Portugal's Instituto Nacional de Estatístico gave the 1950 population as 442,378. In 1960 it was 517,079 and in 1970 it was 609,477, indicating an average growth rate of about 17 per cent in these two decades, on an analysis provided by Paulo Antunes of the science faculty of Lisbon University. If population growth had continued at this rate, the population in 1980 should

Jill Jolliffe is a journalist based in Lisbon.

have been 715,390. However, the Indonesian census of 1980 gave a result of 555,350—a figure 160,040 below this projection. The 1990 Indonesian census, published by the Kantor Statistika, Timor Timur, gave the population as 745,557.

There are many variables which render these figures as only rough indicators of the real population. The pre-1975 Portuguese figures probably were an underestimate, given that in the time of the Portuguese dictatorship (until April 1974) a poll tax was in force, as well as obligatory military service, which meant that Timorese tended to evade registration. In the Indonesian period, the undifferentiated inclusion of Indonesian nationals increased the difficulty of defining the indigenous population. Soldiers and Indonesian civil servants could account for tens of thousands. For example, an estimated 40,000 troops were used in the 1975 invasion force. By 1980, these figures would have reduced considerably, but there had been a new civilian influx of civil servants and transmigrants. There was also an outward flow of East Timorese as refugees under International Red Cross and Portuguese repatriation programs, accounting for several thousand—perhaps up to 10,000 people by 1980. In August 1994, guerrilla leader Nino Konis Santana estimated the Indonesian troop presence at between 13 and 15 battalions—between 11,000 and 12,000 men, and there may be a similar number of civil servants and transmigrants present. Presumably, too, the guerrillas and their closest civilian supporters did not check in for the census, but if Santana's description of only 400-450 hard-core fighters under arms is an indication, this is a negligible factor, even if the 1980 figures were somewhat higher.

In summary, the census results showing a substantial drop in the population after the 1975 invasion are consistent with the 1978 claim that around one-third of the population had been killed.

The 1978 witness spoke at a time when the original resistance leadership was being destroyed. By year's end, guerrilla leader Nicolau Lobato was dead and most of Fretilin's 1975 central committee had been imprisoned or killed. Civilians who

had fled to the mountains with them had surrendered *en masse*.

In April 1979, an East Timorese wrote to a friend in Portugal: "The situation is indescribable. The war still rages. The deaths, from bullets, starvation and disease, continue at a terrifying rate. Dozens of those who have surrendered die each day at the concentration points without the minimum hope of first aid. Can it be an exaggeration to say half of the population of East Timor has perished? When will the extermination end? Here we have the impression that the true war is beginning, now that the resisters have been annihilated . . . All



Dili—15 minutes before the 1992 shooting.

those who surrender as Fretilin combatants are received by firing squads . . ."

In the same month, a young guerrilla fighter named José Guterres surrendered to Indonesian officers at Babulo, near Manatuto. He later testified that the Indonesian commanders had a list of Fretilin political and military leaders which they were crossing off as they surrendered and were shot. There were few names left. He was taken three times down to a river to be shot but survived by luck. He later settled in Dili and went to school. In June 1980, when he was 16, he took part in an uprising in Dili. He was arrested, tortured and transferred to a prison settlement on Ataúro island, offshore from Dili, where the population of political prisoners grew to 3,000. "As the numbers grew, people began to die of starvation and illness," he recalled. "We made the coffins ourselves. Until ICRC [the Red Cross] was allowed there, in February 1982, two or three people died every day."

In August 1983, a cease-fire which had been in place for several months between Fretilin and the Indonesian

army broke down with the killing of 17 Indonesian soldiers at Kraras, on East Timor's south coast. Vengeance was swift and bloody. Virgilio dos Anjos, a family friend of Captain Arthur Stevenson, an Australian digger who had fought with dos Anjos's father Celestino against the Japanese, wrote to Stevenson telling of the death of his father and around 800 villagers in reprisal. Celestino was the only Timorese decorated by the Allies at the end of the Second World War. Virgilio, who is now a regional commander of the East Timorese resistance, wrote: "Mr Stevenson, on 27 September 1983, they called up my father and my wife . . . my father had to dig his own grave. A round of machine-gun fire finished off the old man. My wife was told to dig her own grave, but she said she preferred to be buried with her father-in-law. They pushed her in and killed her in the same way."

Bishop Carlos Belo later went to the scene. He told Reuters newsagency that he had seen mass graves, one of which contained 70 bodies, another containing 14. He spoke of 200 dead.

The bishop has been a faithful witness in the years since. In February 1984, he wrote to his predecessor, Dom Martinho da Costa Lopes, who had been expelled by the Indonesians, describing further massacres, including public executions at Maupitini, in the Lospalos area. In November 1991, he spoke against the Santa Cruz massacre, and in early January this year he travelled to the Baucau area, east of Dili, after several young East Timorese were shot by the military. If the official death toll today is not inscribed in any year book, Bishop Belo is a silent, ever-present witness who one day will update it.

INDONESIAN BOOK REVIEWS

Turn to page 88 of this issue for Peter Mares's review of four new books about Indonesian society and politics.

Allan Nairn
New York, New York

December 1994

Dear Supporter of East Timor,

As a recipient of this letter you probably already know the story of the U.S. role in the genocide of East Timor.

You also may already know the story of the November 12, 1991 Dili massacre. I was there, with Amy Goodman, and saw those courageous people slaughtered. They were gunned down - in a deliberate act of state - with American M-16s for the crime of daring to behave and speak like intelligent, thinking human beings.

All I can add is a reminder - as one who has seen and felt the blood first hand - that this terror has to stop and that we are uniquely placed to stop it.

Since that massacre, some concerned people here, understanding that Washington is the senior partner in this crime, have organized the East Timor Action Network (ETAN), which has already succeeded in changing the course of U.S. policy.

ETAN led the way in pushing for the 1992 cutoff of IMET military training aid to Indonesia, the Feingold Amendment (by Senator Russell Feingold [D, Wisconsin]) to condition major arms sales on improvements in human rights in East Timor (which passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee), and the recently-passed Congressional prohibition on small arms sales to Indonesia. It also played an important role in getting the U.S. to reverse its adamant pro-Suharto stand at the UN Human Rights Commission and the successful 1993 campaign to block the transfer of F-5 fighters to Indonesia.

When Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned leader of the East Timorese resistance, recently smuggled out a letter to President Clinton, he cited four improvements in U.S. policy since the massacre. It's worth noting that each of the changes he cited grew out of ETAN campaigns and initiatives.

Building on the foundation work of those conscience-driven Americans who since 1975 have kept the Timor issue alive, ETAN has moved the issue into new dimensions and has, I think, now helped to set the stage for a long-overdue victory for freedom in East Timor.

Noam Chomsky, who has informed and energized generations of East Timor activists, recently wrote in an unsolicited letter to an ETAN member: "ETAN has been doing wonderful work, which I really appreciate very much, having been deeply involved in this issue since almost the beginning. Seemed pretty hopeless for a long time, but ETAN has made a tremendous difference, maybe even a decisive one."

ETAN has done that by reaching out across the country to build a working grassroots movement while at the same time moving boldly to change the terms of the Washington debate.

After the Dili massacre, ETAN went up front to insist that words of condemnation were not enough, that the U.S. had to concretely cut off military aid. That campaign, backed by dozens of church, human rights and peace groups and led on the floor of Congress by Reps. Ron Machtley (R, Rhode Island), Tony Hall (D, Ohio), and David Obey (D, Wisconsin), culminated in the IMET training cutoff, a move which stunned Jakarta.

Last Spring, when ETAN members went to Washington to lobby Congress, the conventional wisdom - shared by Suharto's defenders and many liberal and human rights groups alike - was that it was simply impossible to attack U.S.-Indonesia weapons sales.

But ETAN believed otherwise and doggedly went ahead. The result was the unprecedented small arms ban (spearheaded in Congress by Senator Patrick Leahy [D, Vermont] and, once again, Senator Feingold) which dealt Jakarta yet another political blow.

These hard-won shifts in U.S. policy have not yet freed the Timorese. Indeed, the U.S. still *de facto* backs (and arms) the occupation, and consequently, Indonesian troops still terrorize East Timor.

But those victories have changed the dynamic of the entire East Timor issue. For the first time ever in the shameful history of this crime, the once-unstinting U.S. backing for Suharto's running terror has been thrown into doubt and been made an open, contested, question.

This is not because Clinton or the State Department have glimpsed the light (indeed they have, in defiance of explicit Congressional intent, continued to sell some training in spite of the IMET ban). It is rather because they have had their arms twisted by grassroots action and Congressional work. Left to their own devices they would revert to the core policy of writing off the Timorese to placate Suharto, their dictator-friend.

But facing growing agitation on East Timor, it's quite possible that Washington will reach the point of turning to Suharto and saying "it's time to cut our losses." That would be the beginning of the end of East Timor's agony.

But the only way to reach that point is for more people to organize and fight. That's why ETAN, right now, has such a crucial role to play.

Just last month when President Clinton was in Jakarta, some bold young Timorese stunned the world by hopping the fence of the U.S. Embassy. Coupled with unprecedented uprisings back in East Timor, their action succeeded in confounding the plans of the assembled APEC presidents and corporate moguls.

Before the meeting, Winston Lord, Suharto's point man in the State Department, had declared that Clinton would only raise East Timor privately, and even then, would not refer to the (illegal) occupation but only to "concerns" about human rights. But once the Timorese succeeded in stealing much of the world press spotlight, Clinton had to abruptly, and in mid-course, modify his plans. He was publicly asked repeatedly about East Timor and, in the end, went beyond human rights to say that the Timorese should have more say in their own governance.

While falling far short of calling for Indonesian compliance with the Security Council resolutions (which call on Jakarta to withdraw from East Timor "without delay"), his statement was, nonetheless, a breakthrough; a breakthrough won by those courageous Timorese. Their victory (which was bitterly, as usual for this occupation, paid for in new tortures and disappearances) was emblematic of the way in which this issue can be won: up the exposure, up the embarrassment, up the pressure, and they *can* be moved.

This happens to be an issue and this happens to be a moment in which victory is conceivable.

But if more people in this country don't mobilize and take advantage, then the moment - and many more lives - will be lost.

That was clearly the view of the Timorese I spoke to recently, when, during APEC and the uprisings, I was able to slip back into East Timor. They said that things now hang in the balance and could go, drastically, either way, depending in large part on what is done right here in the United States. They knew about the IMET cutoff, the Feingold Amendment and the small arms ban, and they said that U.S. activism had helped to stay Jakarta's killing hand. But they also said that they believed that the occupation army was spoiling to strike back, and that, especially in the wake of the APEC humiliations, they would do so ruthlessly if slackened foreign pressure gave them the chance.

Whether or not they get the chance is largely a function of what happens here. And in many ways the stakes on Timor are now higher than ever before. On the one hand, there is the chance for victory. But there is also, simultaneously, increased danger of a catastrophic reverse.

The danger arises from two developments, one straightforward, the other complex. First there is the corporate counteroffensive, which surfaced about a year ago, when, in response to Congressional human rights pressure, U.S. firms angling for China business called in their markers with the Democrats and got the administration (led most openly by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown) to downplay the pretense of human rights and embrace the credo: business first. This has spilled over into Indonesia policy (at APEC the U.S. and Jakarta signed \$40 billion worth of business deals). While this new trend does not as directly impact Timor as it does other places (since U.S. corporate interests are almost entirely in *Indonesia*; except for some in offshore oil, occupied East Timor is all but devoid of U.S. investment), it obviously cuts against efforts to improve the U.S. East Timor policy.

More directly pertinent, but somewhat harder to predict, is the impact of the Republican Congressional takeover. On the one hand, the Congress has, in general, moved to the right, but on the other, some of the most recalcitrant straight-up corporate Democrats have now been displaced by Republicans whose agendas are somewhat more ideologically complex.

And like an increasing number of the key global questions emerging today, East Timor is not an issue that breaks along conventional ideological lines. It is not Democrat/Republican or even liberal/conservative. On East Timor, each party and each political camp has leaders whose hands are steeped in blood, as well as people who have chosen, in this case, to speak for decency.

Two of the key new committee chairs (Mark Hatfield of Senate Appropriations and Benjamin Gilman of House International Relations) have strong records in support of East Timor. Of course, there are other powerful figures who are likely to be hostile. But, on the whole, things are complicated and unclear, but not predetermined or uniformly negative.

It is possible to imagine, with this Congress, a fierce regression in U.S. policy, but there is also a chance that continued progress can still be won. The point is that this is a fluid situation, one susceptible to being shaped by aggressive, informed grassroots action.

When a person in East Timor decides to stand up for freedom they must make a personal choice that's as unavoidable as it is vicious. They must weigh the risk that they or their loved ones might be tortured or killed. Here, though, we face a lower-level choice: whether we feel it is worth some time, some inconvenience, some effort, or some money.

The East Timorese are doing all they can. They are putting their lives and families on the line. But they can't demonstrate on U.S. streets, vote in U.S. elections or lobby the U.S. Congress.

And when it comes to East Timor, Americans don't have the option of deciding whether they want to "get involved." Whether we like it or not, we are *already* involved - and involved, via the U.S. government, on the side of lawbreaking and genocide. If Americans want to change that, they have to do some work, and ETAN provides an effective means of joining together and doing so.

I urge you to support the work of ETAN in any way you can.

UNITED
NATIONS

UN Sec. Gen's Report

Sep. 94

A

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September 1994

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Forty-ninth session Item 87 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.

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 those 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 Subcommittee 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.

END

no ET gp organize!

Dangerous!
Not to
print

To Darwin TV mainly.

re ADS, AMNESTY, ARTISTS for EAST TIMOR

An ad published by Amnesty International in British Newspapers in March contains the following text:

AMNESTY'S UNHEEDED WARNING

Amnesty has been tracking the Indonesian Government for nearly 30 years.

We have found every form of human rights abuse - and on a staggering scale - imprisonment without trial, political murder, killing of petty criminals, execution of the old and sick, torture, rape, 'disappearance' and mass murder.

The regime holds on to power by a sophisticated ideological and military apparatus. The courts work alongside the military to suppress dissent.

Just owning the wrong book can get someone thrown into gaol for many years.

The United Nations? Alas, the deeper you delve, the redder the faces.

The cynicism of realpolitik extends even to the UN Commission on Human Rights, of which Indonesia is a member.

When Amnesty attended the Commission in Geneva last month to urge action on Indonesia and East Timor, we met only embarrassment.

The governments to which we spoke repeated what they've been promising us for 30 years: they will pursue a policy of 'quiet diplomacy'.

THEY MIGHT AS WELL GO FISHING.

The picture on this page is the result of 'quiet diplomacy'. No wonder governments are embarrassed.

* * * * *

In the NT we have a copy of the dramatic TV Ad produced by Artists for East Timor who include Paul Stewart, who's brother was murdered by Indonesia at Balibo on 16/10/75.

The challenge for you and us is what will be done with it?

And are the Australian governments embarrassed? No way, they hope to grow wealthy on the oil of the Timor Gap which rightfully belongs to East Timor. How nice, but must our citizens accept this immorality? Do they? I think not.

Rob Wesley-Smith
Rob Wesley-Smith

a spokesperson for AFFET PhFax 089 832113 Wed 13/4/94

EAST TIMOR
C.N.R.M.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
MALAYSIAN RESISTANCE

NYT: Will Indonesia listen?

New York Times editorial, 19 September 1994, published in
the
International Herald Tribune on 20 September 1994

WILL INDONESIA LISTEN?

Indonesia's military regime used the occasion of a visit by the Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans, to urge another democracy to silence protests against Jakarta's lawless grab of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975. A few months ago, Indonesian prevailed on the Philippines to censor a human rights conference that was to discuss East Timor - the instrument of persuasion being the threat to cancel \$700 million worth of Indonesian investments. Now Indonesia urges Australia to crack down on activists who demonstrate in front of the Indonesian consulate in Darwin, the northern Australia city closest to East Timor.

Jakarta's way with dissenters was nicely expressed by the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, at a news conference with Mr Evans. "These things don't happen in other countries because while freedom of expression is fully honoured, there are ways of arranging things, of channeling things," he explained.

The pity is that Mr Evans did not seize the chance to assert the principles of free speech, choosing instead to say he understood Indonesia's concern but that his government was unable to stop protests over East Timor. That may well be read in Jakarta as weakness. Still, Mr Evans is at least no longer completely silent about human rights in Indonesia, Australia's closest and powerful neighbour, which generates trade worth \$2 billion a year. The nadir was touched when Canberra recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, despite the extinction of nearly a third of the original 600,000 inhabitants under Jakarta's harsh rule.

Australia's silence has been criticised at home. Now Mr Evans has found his tongue to the extent of calling on Indonesia to grant more autonomy to East Timor and to scale back troops in the territory. Moreover, he has pressed for reopening of the Australian consulate in Dili, East Timor's capital. If that happened it would help vindicate Mr Evans' brand of diplomacy and for the first time open the closed territory to real international scrutiny. But more than geography divides Australia from Indonesia, where free expression is something to be arranged and channeled, rather than protected and nurtured.

PAGE ONE

HOME | PAGE ONE | NATIONAL | WORLD | BUSINESS | SPORT | FEATURES

The Sydney Morning Herald

NEXT

Monday, August 24, 1998

Revealed: Timor cover-up

EXCLUSIVE by
HAMISH
McDONALD,
Foreign Editor

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has systematically concealed its detailed foreknowledge of the Indonesian attack at Balibo in East Timor in which five Australian-based newsmen were killed, a *Herald* investigation has found.



Key government

documents and accounts by officials handling relations with Indonesia show that the information the department has passed on to Federal Parliament, the Australian public and the bereaved families of the Balibo five for nearly 23 years has never reflected the full extent of its knowledge - apparently to gain support for its Timor policies.

The killing of the five newsmen - Brian Peters and Malcolm Rennie of Channel 9 in Sydney, and Gary Cunningham, Greg Shackleton and Tony Stewart of Channel 7 in Melbourne - at Balibo on October 16, 1975, during Indonesia's covert invasion of East Timor, was a major embarrassment for Canberra, which has tried to deflect effective inquiries into the tragedy ever since.

The story of the department's 23-year cover-up is a case study in how a powerful



Malacca, according to Pedro Barreto Resende, in the Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental by António Bocarro, 1635; Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, Évora.

Encontros in Southeast Asia

Tony Haynes is a musician and composer, founder and artistic director of the Grand Union Orchestra. This London-based group has been touring and producing its own brand of international work for over ten years; it consists of musicians from all parts of the world and its repertoire is built on this wide range of styles and influences. A recipient of a "Go and See" award, he was already planning a project for Grand Union next year in collaboration with Lisbon based musicians from the former Portuguese overseas provinces. En route to Australia recently he took the opportunity to seek out vestiges of Portuguese culture in various parts of Southeast Asia.

It's difficult to go far in Asia today without coming across some unexpected remnant of Portuguese culture. High in the hills above Bombay, for instance, one night we stumbled on a wonderful guest house, rather incongruously called the 'West End Hotel'. It was in fact a typical *pensão*: Mr Godinho, its present owner, comes from Goa, and serves food (three large meals a day) in Goanese style. The house itself, a bungalow of fantastic proportions, was built in imitation of the British style in the 1880s by a Parsee; it then passed into the hands of a Muslim, and finally to a Catholic....

This is the story of so much of Southeast Asia - of colonies continually changing hands, different traditions and customs superimposed on one another, separate identities preserved through the centuries, or a new composite identity emerging from recently independent states. Nowhere is this sense of identity within a new nationalism stronger than among the Portuguese Eurasians.

Malacca, for instance, was ruled by the Portuguese for only about 100 years, from 1511; in the seventeenth century it was taken by the Dutch, and by the nineteenth it was in the hands of the English. But while virtually nothing remains to remind you of Dutch rule, and very little of the British, everywhere there are mementoes of the Portuguese. This is not just a question of history, but reflected in the present-day inhabitants. Mr Goodtink, the guide on the riverboat cruises through the back of the town, is typical: he refers to himself as a

"Malaysian salad", but for all his fine Dutch name and his fluent English, his proudest boast is that he is Portuguese.

But deeper cultural connections are harder to pin down. We arrived just before Christmas, so a Catholic nativity play was not such a remarkable thing to find - albeit with a large cast of Chinese and Malay children; but a local production of *My Fair Lady* was rather more startling. And the larger hotels all featured hugely proficient bands - invariably Chinese musicians - offering cover versions of contemporary Hong Kong and Singapore pops; they also solicit requests for 'Portuguese songs', though I never discovered what these might be!

MALACCA

It is, in fact, in Malacca's Portuguese settlement, where the local variety of Portuguese culture is really kept alive. It was founded on unpromising land to the south of the town a few years before the war by two missionaries, and has since grown into a flourishing community. Officially, Portuguese is the spoken language of the settlement, though curiously no-one writes it - English remains the written language. Its present father figure is George Alcantra, who has recorded its history and customs; like most of the people there, he began life as fisherman, but now is the proprietor of the most imposing of the local cafés, the Restaurant de Lisbon (sic). The food is also described as Portuguese, but it too has an unmistakeably local accent.

A few days later, in the Clare Valley just north of Adelaide, I was being introduced to a witty Mercado, the assistant tourist officer, who comes from Malaysia, but travels her roads back to Goa. This is a reminder of how strong the Portuguese diaspora is in Australia, which boasts at least three Portuguese-language newspapers. In percentage terms, probably the biggest concentration is in Darwin, where the Portuguese come fourth to the English, Irish and New Zealanders numerically; the fifth largest group comes from East Timor.

TIMOR

I had in fact gone to Darwin to meet the Timorese community there, in particular Maria-Alice Branco Casimiro. Maria-Alice has lived in Australia for many years now, though she frequently visits Europe to take part in writers' conferences, and so on. She writes as fluently now in English as in Portuguese, and several of her plays for Australian radio have won awards. She is also the leading figure in the local Timorese cultural association Lafack.

Darwin is still the home of other fine Timorese artists, musicians and writers - though many inevitably migrate to larger Australian cities. The guitarist and singer Agio Pereira is one, who now lives in Sydney and recently produced a record - *I'm Still Fighting* - for a small Melbourne company. In spite of the album's English title, the best song is in Portuguese - *Um Minuto de Silêncio*, evoking a moment of stillness among the mountains of East Timor, a brief lull in the struggle. The other songs are largely written in Tetum, and are mostly guitar-accompanied agit-prop ballads; but Agio has a haunting voice, reminiscent of Victor Jara, and makes telling use of Timorese folk song.

Tetum is one of the local languages spoken in East Timor - the most widely spoken, perhaps, but only one of over a dozen completely different languages in the tiny province. ("Lafack" is Tetum for "crocodile"; the country is known as "the land of the sleeping crocodile".) I learnt this arcane information from one of the most cosmopolitan of all Timorese, the musician Simão Barreto, who now lives in Macau.

SIMÃO'S STORY

Simão's story is extraordinary by any standards. He was born in a village high up in the mountains on the border between East Timor and what was the Dutch half of the island; his language was not even Tetum, but another local dialect. In 1958, at the age

COMEMORAÇÕES
DESCOBRIMENTOS
PORTUGUESES
SPRING
1993
CULTURA
P16



...and he began with study and theology. This was a common course of education for bright Timorese students, though most of them would become priests. The seminary has played an influential role in Southeast Asia over the years, and Mortimer de Costa Lopez, who until his death in 1991 campaigned for human rights in East Timor, was trained there. Then one of the priests set up an academy of music in Macau, and Simão was able to enhance his natural musical gifts by formal study.

In 1966 he went to Culverhampton to study in Lisbon, but he was already studying composition, and he now took up the violin too. In four years he was playing well enough to get a permanent position in the radio orchestra, the National Symphony Orchestra of Portugal, which served his livelihood until 1974. Then he was appointed to set up the music courses in the new Conservatório de Macau, which began to admit its first students in 1989. It is now a very flourishing institution, which teaches both Western and Chinese instruments.

During this whole period, Simão was composing, and his work encompasses many different musical styles, though all of it is written for conventional European forces, with the occasional addition of more unusual percussion. He has also assembled (and recorded from his own memory) an impressive collection of East Timorese songs, chants and choruses, many of them worksongs. Many of these he has transcribed and published, and some inevitably find their way into his own music. One

played me. Depicting a journey through the forests of East Timor, colleges took themes to express the gathering of rice, village celebrations and so on, and modern cooperative use of bamboo mobile masts and simplified drum.

Simão proudly claims to be one of very few who at one time or another have visited every overseas Portuguese province – he has a special affection for Goa – but he regards himself as Portuguese only by default, for all his travelling, and whatever the fate of his country, he will always be Timorese.

MACAU

Macau itself remains a fascinatingly ambivalent place. Portuguese is the official language, but spoken mostly only by a handful of Europeans. English is the lingua franca, but, since something like 90% of the people are Chinese, Cantonese is by far the most common language – indeed, many people speak nothing else. This can lead to extraordinary misunderstandings with taxi drivers, for instance, when Portuguese street names have been transliterated into Chinese characters, and seem to lose their original sound. It seems likely that the province will be handed over to China in 1999, ten years after Hong Kong – though, unlike Hong Kong, there is strictly no legal demand to do so. This creates misgivings amongst many people, especially the Eurasians. As in all the Portuguese possessions in Asia, mixed marriages have always been encouraged, but Macau has seen a considerable growth since the war in marriages between Portuguese servicemen and locally-born Chinese women. These I suppose are the true present-day Macanese – they may hold

Portuguese passports, but Macau is their home, and they are certainly not going to be welcomed by the mainland Chinese.

GAMBLING

Meanwhile, as in Hong Kong, there is a frenetic building programme. An airport is being built on Taipa, the second of the three islands that make up the province, with a brand new road bridge across the harbour to serve it, and hotels and new casinos are going up everywhere. What land sales are to the economy of Hong Kong, gambling revenue is to Macau: personal fortunes can be huge, and I was told that the leading

gambling operator last year made a profit of nearly £80 million. As you would expect, though there is exploitation, there is no unemployment – indeed, it is customary for people to do two or three different jobs at once!

So good rules Macau, and it's not a cheap place to visit, nor to eat or shop in, but as ever the greatest delights are free. There are several markets, abounding in the most extraordinary range of sea-food – brightly coloured fish, black frogs from China, the largest (lobster-sized) prawns I've ever seen (usually stuffed and served whole); mostly they are sold alive, or are gruesomely beheaded at the point of sale. Then there is the fortress, the blind facade of the cathedral and the Jardim de Camões – all much as you would see in any European city, but filled with groups of men playing a variety of games involving cards, dice, or the ubiquitous chequers. And at the other extreme, the narrow streets of hundreds of Chinese traders, from the general grocer to the herbal physician or fashion stall.

It's easy to assume – as the pessimism which grips Europe at the moment – to assume that most of what I experienced will have disappeared by the millennium, but I am not so sure. The durability of Portuguesemen in Asia is an encouraging reminder that local culture and customs can develop and survive the onslaught that a modern world seems to demand. Certainly I look forward to finding ways to express all this, and contribute it to my new project, where I remain the Lisbon letter to the world.



Facade of the Jesuit church of São Paulo, Macau, which was built in the 17th century.

Photo: Michael Teague.

Entrance to the Portuguese settlement in Malacca



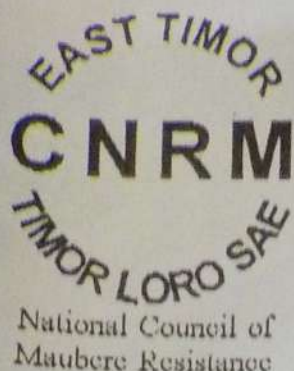
Selamat Datang di Arafura Games

Di bawah ini ada foto orang yang sedang disiksa. Siapalah penyiksa, siapalah penderita? Di manalah terjadi?



Untuk rakyat Indonesia kebenaran tentang hal ini mengejutkan sekali, karena media massa Indonesia tidak dibolehkan mengatakan yang sebenarnya. ABRI-lah adalah penyiksa, seorang warga Timor Timur yang penderita! Di negeri Indonesialah terjadi! Kalau hal ini tidak dapat dipercaya, silahkan datang ke pameran foto di Smith Street Mall (di tengah-tengah kota Darwin) pada hari Jumat (sepanjang hari), tgl 16 Mei. Di sanalah Anda akan menjadi yakin.

Selamat berolahraga di Australia



31 July 1995

MEDIA STATEMENT

East Timor Indonesian sea patrol stepping up

The National Council of Maubere Resistance is dismayed at the 28 July statement by an Indonesian Admiral, that navy patrols around the illegally occupied territory of East Timor shall be stepped up to prevent future East Timorese boat people attempts to flee to freedom in Australia.

This vindicates statements in recent months by East Timor Catholic Bishop Ximenes Belo that East Timor is a prison. Testimonies from both locals and visitors consistently denounce the oppressive and unjust situation, and the progressively deteriorating human rights conditions in the territory.

José Ramos Horta, CNRM Special Representative, said from Geneva, where he is attending this year's meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which is again to discuss East Timor this week, "the recent Indonesian statement shows the despair of the Suharto dictatorship with the rapidly deteriorating East Timor situation. The ceaseless efforts of the East Timorese people to free themselves from the oppressive Indonesian yoke, even by braving the seas as the recent 18 boat people, are proof of the Maubere people's rejection of Indonesian colonialism. The only response Jakarta seems capable of is to turn the territory into a Buru or Gulag prison island.

This latest development also once again evidences Jakarta's already clear deep contempt for Australia, and the failure of Australia's appeasement approach towards the Suharto dictatorship. For years Indonesia has been ignoring Canberra's pleas to take action to stem ongoing illegal incursions into Australian waters by Indonesian fishermen. Jakarta always claims not to have the resources to patrol the seas.

After the successful flight of 18 courageous East Timorese victims the fear of further exposures of the unending oppression and human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian Army in East Timor, seems to have made resources available for future intensive maritime border patrolling.

Over half a decade after the collapse of the infamous 'iron curtain' in Europe, the Asia Pacific region sees the erection of an anachronistic and odious 'batik curtain', as the Suharto dictatorship desperately attempts to prevent losing its grip over East Timor and to protect itself from the winds of freedom and democracy increasingly blowing towards the Indonesian archipelago.

Further comment :

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Death Numbers-Troop Numbers in East Timor

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

'Somebody' from the Indonesian Intel side was negative about the huge numbers of Indonesian invasion and occupation related deaths in East Timor, and the present levels of Indonesian troops there.

1. DEATH NUMBERS: Of course Intel and their accolytes always try to blame the brief two week internecine violence in August 1975 for the massive death toll, but this is false. In 1975 before the Indonesian invasion about 2,000 East Timorese died, bad enough, and there are plenty of people with blood on their hands strutting the world stage today. However Fretilin did a good job running the country Sep-Dec 75 whilst having to contend with the threat and actuality of an Indonesian invasion, at the same time getting NO help from any country including my own which on this issue has been and is quite despicable.

(However I note for the record that I can say such things without being killed or incarcerated for 'treason' as is the case in Indonesia.)

In early 1979 I first produced a 'scorecard' which read 100,000 East Timorese killed in the initial invasion, say by end of 1976; and 100,000 killed by bullets, knives and bombs but also massively by starvation and attendant disease. (The estimate also added 25,000 Indonesian soldiers killed including 3 Generals). By September 1979 it was clear that the starvation etc was on a massive scale, and that more deaths occurred in this period than in Dec 1975 to end 1976. Perhaps the true total figure then was much much more than 200,000, and clearly by now must be 300,000.

These figures are not based at all on population census, (that method has been well covered by Jim Dunn), but on admissions by Indonesians such as Foreign Minister Malik, reports over Radio Maubere, credible reports by priests and East Timorese that over one third of the population of even the less devastated regions were killed/missing, etc, with some local 'Intel' confirmation. Of course 'some people' discredit the eyewitness accounts of East Timorese, as they regard these people as inferior. Australia had its 'wall of legs' against the Tasmanian aboriginal population in the 19th century, but to do it several times in the late 20th century when we are meant to be more civilised is barbaric and says much about the mentality of the present rulers of Indonesia and their apologists.

Useful reading is in James Dunn 'East Timor - a people betrayed', now out in a second edition by ABC Books; Jill Jolliffe on this topic particularly Feb 1995 'The Body Count' in 'The Independent Monthly' in Australia, now stopped I think; and the wonderful book by the late Michele Turner, Telling East Timor; and also my humble estimates were on regt.T. earlier.

2. **INDON TROOP NUMBERS** These have increased as has the international pressure on Indonesia, in line with with the Suharto mentality of military solutions for all issues.

** In late 1993 information came through from Resistance sources and was published by eg AFFET and by Matebian News Dec93 listing the Indonesian battalions in East Timor then, as a minimum.

These included: 112, 121, 131, 301, 321, 405, 407, 412, 413, 502, 512, 516, 527, 611, 612, 631, which totals 16 plus 744 and 745 permanently there. This list does not include the Commandos, Kopassus, airforce, and several para-military, plus the settlers and civvies ex-military or current military-in-disguise which is a feature of Indonesian colonisation policies.

** In late 1996 again details came through and this was reported eg by AFFET: and ETIO on regET 28/10/96. The battalions known included the following (plus all the others as mentioned before): 100, 310, 320, 321, 322, 323, 328, 401, 410, 501, 503, 509, 512, 513, 570, 611, 612, 623, 642, 700, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 049, 052. ** And this week Congress Rep Frank Wolfe said at least 16,000 Indon troops were in East Timor, a lot more accurate than what Intel or their apologists claim.

Open the country for inspection if verification is needed on any point, better still, Indonesia 'get out of East Timor NOW' in accordance with 21 year old UN Resolutions telling you to, and with International Law, and your own anti-colonial Constitution. Rob Wesley-Smith 26/1/97

in the face of the inevitable Indonesian invasion. Why does the Right wing so criticise the journos for wanting to film the Indonesian invasion which Indonesia was (and does) deny was happening? I thought it was the DUTY of proper journos to seek the truth and to report it. These guys were inexperienced in war reporting, maybe a bit naive, but is that any reason to brutally murder them? (Some were bound and then burned alive). Arndt and Woolcott do not complain about this, I doubt they ever have, I imagine its a cocktail circuit joke for them with their Indonesian mates. I think the 5 Oz journos and the 6th Roger East were unequivocal heroes, so there!

A big question for Woolcott et al is, if they were so concerned for the journos' safety due to prior knowledge of the Indons murderous intent, DID he they warn the Indonesian Government to back off, and if not why not? This has NEVER been explained, except that Woolcott set up the Australian Foreign Affairs Department to proudly operate on the basis that 'Principle' is subjugated to 'Pragmatism'. One wonders if the 'moralistic' current Prime Minister of Australia will change this approach? Given that Woolcott has been responsible for the disastrous Australian policies towards Indonesia and East Timor for so long, why is he afforded any credibility whatever? H Arndt is little better.

Another question for the above. Why did Australia NEVER complain about the murder of its 5 journos, then to now? If it had, and vigorously, would that have preempted the fullscale Indonesian invasion of East Timor on 7/12/75? (Probably YES)

How come Mr Arndt is so sure that DSD intercepted the radio transmissions in East Timor? We all believe that to be so, but has the Oz Govt ever admitted it? Did Sherman confirm this, if not, why not? I think at the finish of Sherman's report he was pushed to look at some Govt files, but claimed there was little there. I think at this point he was running out of time and was frankly conned, or gave up. He has been very 'diplomatic' with his very careful choice of words to say that the 5 journos were killed 'under circumstances of continued fighting'. That really means nothing. He avoids saying there was a battle in Balibo, as there wasn't. Most of his witnesses said there was NO two-way fighting.

The deliberate murder by Indonesian armed forces of 6

Australian journalists in East Timor in 1975, and the connivance and coverup by successive Australian governments in collusion with the Suharto murderous military regime, is an ongoing sore which needs to be lanced. The Sherman report was not enough, there were quite a few witnesses not interviewed or available because it was touted as a preliminary enquiry only, was not a full judicial one and had few powers. Quite a lot of evidence has come out since. (eg I was told there was shooting from a helicopter, also that some Australian mercenaries were involved with the Indons, commanded by a well known now dead Mike ... of the 'white shoe brigade', and they prepared for this by tying together with 'piano wire' two halves of large shotgun slugs etc)

More importantly, did Australia ever warn Indonesia NOT to invade East Timor, if not why not, and why does Australia accept the illegal and genocidal occupation against all morality and legality? I guess most of us know the answers, along the lines of SSOIL, and hegemony. Lets not give the Arndts and Woolcotts of this world any credibility at all. Let the truth out! And to those apologists who may be tempted to say Indonesia was forced to act after Fretilin took over, please explain the 2 year 1974-75 Indonesian subversion campaign called Operasi Komodo.

Rob Wesley-Smith, Australians for a free East Timor, etc
Darwin

ONE STORY OF TORTURE IN EAST TIMOR

ANTONIO PINTO GOVEIA - One of the Timorese Boat People

In November 1994 Australian writer and long time East Timor activist now living in Portugal Jill Joliffe made arrangements to meet up with an East Timorese contact in Jakarta. Antonio Goveia was chosen as the most capable young man to go. He told everyone he was going on holidays, met up with Joliffe in Jakarta, was given money and papers to take back with him to East Timor and arranged to meet her again in West Timor after she'd travelled around.

Goveia with three friends was able to get Joliffe and her friend into Dili by driving through the mountains by an old track. The next day (30th November) they left Dili at 5pm to drive to Bacau. They arrived after dark but soon realised they were being followed. Managed to get the two women out near a bridge and Goveia took them to a small cave underneath. Goveia's friends drove off. One of them was able to jump out of the car further on and disappear but the driver was caught by the military pursuers and in his terror told them where the three were hiding.

Goveia was captured at 3am by himself. He was taken to Red Beret headquarters and the interrogations and beatings began. He was kicked, punched in the face and told to tell them where the women were. (The military had information from Dili about the group.)

"At the hotel" he kept telling them.

"You liar, you liar, they're not there, we've checked".

A kick to the belly made Goveia feel like he was dying but he kept standing up. The soldiers dragged him to a car and they went searching for Joliffe, who was found because she put her head up into a spotlight not because Goveia told where she was.

He was taken separately back to headquarters and the interrogations began again. "Why are you with these women"?

He told them he had met them in Jakarta when he was on holidays and offered to show them around Timor. It appears Joliffe stuck to the same story. He was locked in a tiny room and left there till the next night when the soldiers came and got him at 1am, blindfolded him, tied his hands behind his back and took him to a car. The threats of execution began.

"You are going to tell the truth or we will kill you". Goveia was terrified. They interrogated him about the guerilla leaders, who had sent him to meet these women, where did the money come from for the trip.....They drove him around still blindfolded then got him out of the car somewhere.

"Get the knife" he heard. They sat him down put the point of the knife to his back and left it there while the questions continued.

The knife was taken away and he heard someone groan as though he'd been stabbed. Someone fell down. Was it acted or real? He didn't know.

"We've just killed one of your friends. If you don't tell the truth the next person to die will be you."

Three shots rang out. "Wrap the head in plastic so the blood doesn't smell tomorrow" he heard then the sound of dirt being thrown as though someone was being buried.

"Now two friends have gone, it will be you next if you continue lying". Goveia stuck to his story so they lay him down as though ready for death.

"Now you are going to tell the truth"

Goveia

"I've told you everything".
They bundled him into the car saying "your destiny hasn't come yet" and drove him to another place to continue the interrogations. He heard the metallic chime of 2am. A long hour.

Another car, driven around for a long time arriving in Los Palos.
"Tell us the story or die"
The head military told him if you tell us where Koni Santana is we'll let you go."
"I don't know".

The next interrogation session began at 7pm that night (1st December). They showed him a letter signed by the military commander saying Goveia must die if he didn't tell the truth.

"If we don't have the truth say goodbye".
They made him sit on the floor and kicked and punched him. A chair was thrown at him and broken over his head. At 1am he was taken to Dili where his hands were untied but the beatings and kickings continued. A gun was pointed at him and fired.

Goveia does not know where the bullet went - he was still alive.
The Red Berets here stood on his face and kicked him in the head with their boots. His face no longer felt like a face and he no longer cared whether he lived or died.

He was then transported to another building where he was put into a sack, it was tied up well and he was dumped into a car. He got very hot and thirsty and asked for water.

"No water for you"
He begged for dirty water or even urine. They put a pistol into his mouth
"This is what you're asking for"

Then the Commander came out who had been the first to kick him when he arrived there. He asked for Goveia so they took him out of the sack. He was given a drink of Sprite and the Commander pretended they had mistakenly mistreated him. He was given food but was too sick to eat.

He was taken back to Bacau where they gave him some medication for his injuries. He was interrogated again the next day. He signed a paper saying only what he'd told them. They kept him imprisoned till his injuries had faded and then let him go on the 7th December.

Antonio Pinto Goveia 26/10/95
Translated from Portuguese by Fatima Gusmao
Summarised by J. Conway

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Testimony before the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization

New York, July 23, 1996. Presented by Ms. Eleanor Hoffman

Australians for a Free East Timor is a Darwin-based solidarity group concerned with the situation of the East Timorese people. Our close location to the territory of East Timor gives us an opportunity to monitor the situation there. For this purpose, we maintain good communications with the people of East Timor, and undertake periodic visits.

Ms. Rebecca Winters, an anthropology student who is one of our members, travelled extensively in East Timor earlier this year. This is her report.

Wanting to see for myself what is really going on in East Timor, and to find out what the East Timorese people really want, I spent the whole of May 1996 travelling in East Timor. Speaking basic Bahasa Indonesia and Portuguese, I had hundreds of conversations with East Timorese farmers, students, business men, mothers, children, unemployed youths and labourers, all over East Timor. I spoke to Indonesian migrants (trans-migrants, as referred to by Indonesia) in and between the cities of Dili, Baucau, Los Palos and Maliana; few trans-migrants live far from these areas, which are relatively well-serviced with water and electricity and connected by a well-made road. The interior mountain regions are almost exclusively populated by East Timorese, many of whom live in extreme poverty. I kept a daily journal of my experiences in which I recorded my observations and conversations.

Regarding the alleged statements by the Chairman of this Committee, Mr. Utula Semana, as reported in the Java Post after his brief recent visit to East Timor, that "the progress made here (East Timor) shows that things are tranquil," and that "the presence of the armed forces (ABRI) is a very positive factor," I can only say that if I too had spend only two days in East Timor, and spoken only to Governor Abilio Soares and military commander Colonel Mahidin Simbolon. I might also have left East Timor with similar misconceptions. Obviously one cannot hope to find out how the people feel unless one talks, or rather, listens, to a cross-section of people.

That is what I did.

When I first arrived in East Timor, an East Timorese warned me to be careful: "Dili is full of spies," he said. "If anyone heard me talking to you like this, I would be arrested tonight. This is normal. And if you don't want to be sent back across the border, don't talk politics to anyone unless you're sure you can trust them. And if anyone asks you what we were talking about, tell them I wanted to practise my English with you."

As it is taken for granted in East Timor that any person suspected of being "anti-integration" is immediately arrested, the East Timorese are very cautious about speaking to strangers about politics. The many young people who approached me often began the conversation by asking me about my country, and then, if they were sure there were no spies around, they asked me what I thought of the situation in East Timor. As I always answered "I don't know" to this question, they then told me, in furtive whispers, their views of the situation. "The situation is intolerable," I was told. "We are fighting but we need outside help," another said.

Most youths I spoke to had been imprisoned at least once, and all those who had been imprisoned said they had been beaten and tortured. Some showed me torture wounds such as knife scars on the face. Other tortures they told me they had suffered were electrocution, having chairs stood on their legs and sat on, cigarettes burned on their skin, and careful manipulation of their internal organs causing acute pain.

Some of these spontaneous meetings led to further meetings where I met leaders of the clandestine front and discussed the current situation in East Timor. One main problem, they said, was the ongoing house arrests and tortures of the young people. Another was the difficulty of maintaining a guerilla war with no money. They said that although the East Timorese will never stop fighting for independence, they know the Indonesian army can never be beaten from within East Timor; what the East Timorese need to help them in their struggle for independence is international intervention. They all agreed that a referendum was essential to the struggle for self-determination - a legitimate referendum, that is, of East Timorese people, monitored by a body such as the UN.

During the four weeks I spent in East Timor, I travelled by bus along the Dili-Baucau-Los Palos coast to the far eastern point of Tutuala; inland from Baucau through the mountains to Vikeke on the opposite coast; and inland through the mountainous regions of Ermera and Atsabe to Maliana. I was frequently questioned by military officers and police as to my reason for visiting in East Timor; my answer was that I was a tourist. In Dili, Baucau and Los Palos I had private conversations with many East Timorese, many of whom said they were involved in the resistance working for independence. They asked if I was a journalist, and although I said I wasn't, offered to arrange meetings between me and leaders of the clandestine front; which allowed me to interview people who had been actively working for independence for years, in between periods of imprisonment.

During my stays in the cities, trans-migrants and Timorese who spoke English sometimes approached me and questioned me closely about my personal details, my reason for travelling in East Timor, and my plans for the next few days. They often ended their interrogation by telling me that the people of East Timor were happy with integration. Two of the trans-migrants told me that journalists' stories about East Timor that I might have heard overseas were lies invented for political reasons. "We come from Java, but we are Timorese now, all part of Indonesia," one trans-migrant said. I noticed that these "Timorese" were much better dressed - that is, more wealthy - than most East Timorese. I listened to what they had to say, but did not trust them because their questions seemed rehearsed, and their eyes and smiles did not look sincere. Also, their stance and manner was usually very similar to that of the Indonesian soldiers I often dealt with. Two who looked East Timorese told me "East Timor is happy now, there are no problems"; but they wouldn't look me in the eye, and I didn't believe them because of the general unhappiness I had already seen in East Timor. Also, unlike all the other East Timorese I spoke to, these men seemed to have no fear of "intel" agents reporting them for talking to foreigners. I was later told that people such as I have described above - in fact, most people who speak English fluently - are most probably working for secret intelligence.

Travelling to in cities and villages, coastal areas and mountain regions, I observed and noted the state of housing, the different levels of poverty, and the numbers of soldiers, military vehicles, and military offices that I saw. I also noted the number of military checkpoints (where each passenger on the bus must hand in his or her ID card to be checked), where sometimes the bus was searched by soldiers. I spoke to older men and women as well as other youths in a variety of situations - in shops, hotels, buses, restaurants, or whilst walking along the road in towns and between villages.

In Dili I met many East Timorese who looked at me with great interest, seeming to want to talk to me. However, they rarely did so. As one clandestine friend told me, it is very risky for an East Timorese to speak to a foreigner in public, in Dili, especially if he is already suspected of being involved in clandestine activities. I also met several "spies," as described above. And I also met dozens of youths actively involved in the clandestine front for independence.

In Baucau, I had many interesting conversations as I walked around. However, much was left unsaid, I think because of the fear of spies. One boy, who said he was working for East Timor's independence, instructed me to tell anyone who asked that we had only been talking so that he could practice his English. Another told me that unemployment was very high in Baucau, unless you were a trans-migrant working for ABRI. Another checked my "credentials," found out that I was familiar with CNRM representatives in Australia, and asked me to take back some documents. I was approached only by one trans-migrant here, who asked me the usual spy questions.

In Los Palos, there was often a huge crowd of spectators around me, as I was a bit of an attraction; very few tourists come to Los Palos, apparently. Therefore, private conversation was impossible; I talked to few East Timorese. The only people who approached me and talked about East Timor in public were similar to the "spies" I have already described - dressed better than average, and well educated in English - who extolled integration with Indonesia. As these people were obviously not representative of the people, and nobody else seemed willing to talk to me, I was not able to judge the state of mind of the population of Los Palos.

In the mountains, the people were more ready to speak to me about their situation. I was told that this was because there are less spies and very few trans-migrants in the mountains. Indeed, the only trans-migrants I saw between Maliana (where many trans-migrants live) and Ermera were the occasional shop-owners - and, of course, the soldiers, who were all from Indonesia. In the mountains, where there are few people about, and all are East Timorese, it is easier to speak the truth; in the cities, where there are more spies, it is more prudent sometimes to remain silent. In the mountains between Baucau and Vikeke, where poverty is in some areas extreme, there seemed to be few trans-migrants. However, I was not able to talk to the people, as I remained in the bus until I got to the large village of Vikeke.

Vikeke's restaurants and most other businesses were all run by trans-migrants, and the military presence (also trans-migrant) was huge. In this village there was a pervading atmosphere of intense fear on the part of the civilians, who would not speak to me. The only people who would speak to me were military and police officers and some trans-migrants.

In Vikeke, there was a huge military base opposite the central market, with military exercises and flag raising every morning. Soldiers with machine guns wandered around the village. Even though I knew I was a foreigner and therefore more or less protected, I felt very intimidated by the oppressive atmosphere caused by everyone being so afraid, and all those soldiers and guns - an awful lot for one village. Although there were so many trans-migrants running the businesses, most people on the street (apart from the soldiers) were local East Timorese, who seemed much less friendly than most Timorese I had come across. I watched them as I passed them on the street, and caught their eye when I could. They always looked away immediately; but I never saw dislike or suspicion in their eyes - only fear. Later, in Dili, I was told that there had been a Vikeke youth killed by the military only a few days prior to my visit and many youths were afraid that they would be arrested.

The only time I heard anything which showed that the people of Vikeke are fighting for independence like the rest of the East Timorese was once, as I passed a group of young boys kicking a ball around. I distinctly heard a voice whisper after me: "Timor Leste, Timor Leste..." - but when I looked back, wondering who had been brave enough to speak, they were pre-occupied with their game.

In the tiny village of Tutuala, on the easternmost point of East Timor. Here, the soldiers (from Java and Kalimantan) seemed to outnumber the civilians. I spent three days walking with and talking to (in Indonesian) the children and young girls of the village. I was told by them that the soldiers were "bad men" and that they were always bothering the local girls. The soldiers sometimes wore plain-clothes but constantly carried their machine guns with them. The girls accompanying me were obviously intimidated by the soldiers; they would take me by the hand and cross the road to avoid walking anywhere near them. Many children made secret "V" signs to me, or whispered "Viva Timor Leste," when no-one else was looking; one

little girl even told me not to worry about the Indonesian's big guns "because Falintil's - over there, behind the hills - their guns are bigger!"

While I was in Tutuala I didn't see the soldiers do anything more aggressive than stare at the local women and walk around with their machine guns. However, the fear the girls felt was real. I too felt intimidated by the soldiers, as I often did in East Timor. On several occasions, military officers visited me at my hotel in the evening to ask me questions, and I found myself being nice to them to avoid them turning nasty and hassling me even more. At those times I was thankful that I was not East Timorese and had the protection of my foreign passport.

I spoke to a large number of East Timorese people in the mountain regions from Ermera to Atsabe to Bobonaro, near Maliana. Because there were few buses, I spent two whole days walking, so had many opportunities for private conversation. Also, perhaps because there appeared to be less soldiers in this region, and no trans-migrants, more East Timorese were willing - indeed, eager - to speak to me. I could not talk with everybody here, because many older people could not speak Indonesian or Portuguese (Tetun being the usual language). However, I spoke to the younger ones in Indonesia, and a few older ones in Portuguese, whose general statements I noted as follows: "The situation is terrible... There is often not enough to eat; many, many people are sick with cough" (I later found out that this "cough" is tuberculosis, the effects of which are worsened by malnutrition.) "...there is often no water closer than five or six kilometres from the villages, and the water is often bad" (that is, it makes them sick when they drink it). Between Atsabe and Maliana, the situation looked especially bad; many of the people I met were coughing and looked sicker and much thinner than anywhere else in East Timor, except perhaps a very poor region I observed in the mountains inland from Vikeke. In this area, houses badly needed re-thatching and children were often very pot-bellied, obviously suffering from malnutrition. In my conversations with the women, I often asked them about their families; the usual answer was that they had eight or nine children; but then they would add "but four dead" or "but five dead." When I asked, they said that these dead children had almost always died at younger than two or three years of age.

Later, in Dili, I recorded one East Timorese Catholic priest's answer to my questions: "why are so many babies dying? Why are so many people sick?" His answer: "Bad water; not enough food; weak, they die. But it's psychological, of course, not physical. Poverty's not the real reason for our problems. It's this continually getting beaten down by this occupation; these soldiers, these Indonesian flags, these spies... it makes us sick! This is the problem! We don't want the hospitals - the people refuse to go to Indonesian hospitals anyway, and you know why? Because it's the enemy! Get the Indonesians out and we will begin to get healthy again!"

In one small village I was ushered into a room with practically the whole local population, about twenty adults and ten or so older children. The younger children were sent outside and posted on top of the hill as scouts; if a vehicle approached, all the villagers would go back outside so that no passer by would suspect anything. There was an ABRI military base only four kilometres away, they said.

I spoke mostly in Portuguese to one man, whom I will call Jose. He translated my questions and answers to the others. Firstly, Jose asked if I knew much about the struggle for independence in East Timor. When I explained that I knew a fair bit from reading the newspapers in my own country, everyone seemed very pleased, smiling and nodding. Jose asked me what the UN was up to now, and why countries didn't uphold UN resolutions; I replied as best I could. Jose translated and the others shook their heads gravely. I was quite surprised that these people in this remote village with no electricity, cars, or running water, seemed not only familiar with the workings of the UN, but seemed to believe that their future depended upon the UN and the implementation of its resolutions. "Portugal tries," Jose said; "But nobody listens. Why? The UN tries - everybody is meant to listen. But nothing changes." An old man spoke; Jose translated: "Four hundred years we fought for independence, and then Portugal left. But Portugal didn't try

to destroy us like Indonesia! Not like this last twenty years! When will it end?" In Indonesian, another man said: "All of us - wives, children, everyone! - all we want is one thing: Independence!"

This vocal call for independence I heard at least a dozen times in my short, roadside dialogues with people in the mountains; for here, where there was more freedom to speak, when I found people who spoke Indonesian I did ask: "What do you want?" The answer was always one word: "Independence!" Or, as one child said, looking me in the eye, "Independence, or death!" Some women took my hand as I left and asked if I had any medicine: "Cough - my baby is sick - cough. You have medicine?" Indeed, their babies were coughing and looked very thin; although the adults in this region were also always very thin. One middle-aged man said brokenly, "We are used to being poor. That's not the problem. The problem is we can't live like this, under the Indonesians."

The youths I met on this mountain road always shook my hand vigorously, often with a secret smile as if they thought I was probably on their side, and a quick V-for victory sign or a salute as they turned away. One youth took me to visit his home, where I spent some time speaking in hushed tones with he and his father, who both worked in the clandestine front running messages to and from the guerrillas. "But of course we do what we can," the boy said. "Everybody here works for the resistance in one way or another. We are the resistance!"

For a whole day, that is, seven or eight hours it took to walk from one village to the next, I found few people who spoke any Indonesian. During the afternoon, every single time I passed a house the reaction was the same: the children or the mother would see me and stare in shock, then run to tell the others; the whole family would emerge from inside the house or garden and rush towards me, sometimes almost at a run; women clasped my hands and kissed both my cheeks, children kissed my hands fearfully and respectfully, babies burst into screams at seeing my white face, men took my hands and held them warmly. Often the women and the older men had tears in their eyes, and looked at me beseechingly, as if they were at the end of their resources and were pleading me to help them somehow. This repeated, silent plea of one human being to another made me feel more for the suffering of these people than any verbal testimony ever could.

I have left East Timor but I will never leave behind experiences such as these, which have entered into my very blood, reminding me constantly that "East Timor" is not some faraway island with problems nothing to do with me; East Timor, nightmare-ish as it seems with spies and torture and soldiers in every village, is real, and so are its people - as real and as human as human as myself.

And so, Chairman and members of the Decolonisation Committee, I do not believe it is enough for you to listen to peoples' submissions, because mere words could not possibly impress upon you the stark reality of life in East Timor under Indonesian occupation. And don't believe it is enough for you to go there and be taken on those tours of East Timor so carefully planned by Indonesian generals, meeting Indonesian officials and the pro-integration Governor, Abilio Soares, who some East Timorese told me is not "real Timorese" because he has betrayed them. If you don't meet the people of East Timor yourselves, you will see and hear nothing but Indonesian propaganda. What I suggest you do, if at all possible, is go to East Timor yourselves, insist on being left alone by the Indonesian generals and officials, and if you can manage to get away from the Indonesian spies who will inevitably follow you around, speak to the people and listen to what they have to say. If it is impossible to speak to them because of spies or language barriers, just look at the battalions of soldiers, the poverty of the people in the mountains; and look into the eyes of old people who have been suffering for twenty years, young people who have grown up under Indonesian occupation, children who know they cannot mention the word "Timor Leste" in public, students without a future working for the clandestine front. Look into their eyes, if they are afraid to speak to you, and ask yourself - not the Indonesian generals - "are the people of East Timor really as happy as Indonesia says?"

Thank you Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen.

1.

Conselho Nacional de Resistência Mau - Bere - CNRM.

Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional do Timor Leste - FALINTIL.

Sr. Presidente da Comissão dos Direitos do Homem

Ilustres Delgados e Delgadas

Minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores

Excelências

Hoje, como é normal em todos os anos, em Genebra, se inicia mais um encontro da Comissão dos Direitos do Homem das Nações Unidas, reunindo peritos vindos de todas as partes do Globo, para debaterem questões pontuais concernentes a matéria de Direitos do Homem a onde quer que os mesmos sejam espezinhados e por quem quer que fossem, mesmo Africanos, Asiáticos, Chineses, Latino Americanos, Europeus, etc, etc, - sem excepção!

E é uma das belíssimas e raras oportunidades que homens humildes, honestos e - inteligentes, defensores dos "pequenos" e "desfavorecidos", se unem forças e talentos para enfrentarem, em bloco, os "poderosos" e autoritários, os ditadores e os prepotentes, os dominadores sem escrúpulos do séc. XX, etc. fazendo face a excessos e arbitrariedades a procura de um Mundo mais Livre e Próspero, onde a razão e a justiça, o Direito e a Liberdade sejam realmente algo de valor que assiste e contempla cada homem o cidadão do Mundo!

Sr. Presidente da Comissão dos Direitos do Homem

Ilustres Delgados e Delgadas

Minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores

Excelências

Como é habitual, hoje, aqui nesta sala, além das diversas Entidades de Nações e Países, conta ainda a presença de Ilustres Representantes de todas as sensibilidades Políticas Timorenses, Delgados e Representantes da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Oficial Portuguesa, Representantes de diversas Organizações Não - Governamentais, Amigos da Solidariedade e Activistas da causa do nosso Povo, o Povo de Timor Leste, Delgados das Nações exemplares do Mundo Livre representado pelos Estados Unidos da América, a Potência Mundial que soube hauridamente devolver a Liberdade e a soberania a Koweit, que apoiou decisivamente o processo de Paz no Medio Oriente, na antiga Jugoslávia, etc, bem como Delgados e Representantes dos Países da Comunidade Económica Europeia, aliados seguros e parceiros económicos fortes de Portugal, País que detém a Soberania Jurídica de Timor Leste mas Militarmente ocupado pelas Forças Armadas - do Regime Sanguinário de Jacarta há mais de 21 (vinte e um) anos!...

E neste contexto que gostaria aproveitar esta oportunidade para, em nome das Falintil e do Povo de Timor Leste, juntar a nossa voz a dos presentes e juntos, numa única voz, afirmar mais uma vez:

- 1)- que Timor Leste figura na lista dos Territórios não - Autónomos
- 2)- que Portugal continua sendo reconhecida Internacionalmente como Potência Administrante ...;
- 3)- que Timor Leste é, como tal, Colónia Portuguesa, a quem ainda o assiste o direito a auto-determinação. Pelo que é lógico expressar-se:
 - 1) que a Invasão e a Anexação de Timor Leste pela Força das armas é condenada Internacionalmente ...; Como provam as várias Resoluções do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas!
 - 2) que a Integração decretada pelo Regime de Jacarta é ilegal;

Sr. Presidente
Ilustres Delegados e Delegadas
Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores
Excelências

21 (vinte e um) anos de ocupação militar não é pouco, quando comparadas com o genocídio perpetrado contra o pequeno - indefeso Povo de Timor Leste!

Segundo estatísticas oficiais, o holocausto Timorense atingiu já a porção de 44% dos 696.000 habitantes existentes na altura da invasão militar indonésia, o que equivale a dizer que metade fora dizimada ao longo dos anos de ocupação... ..!! E não é tudo pois aqui em Timor Leste continuamos a presenciar barbaridades de toda ordem (são casos repetidos e já com conhecimento da Comunidade Internacional...!), tais como: nossas irmãs despedidas em frente dos seus maridos e filhos; nossas mulheres violadas em público; nossos Pais aterrorizados pelos canos da M. 16, nossos filhos e irmãos massacrados, aprisionados, torturados, - (tais como os actuais acontecimentos ocorridos na Região de Viqueque...), aldeias inteiras afugentadas; e dos mais piores é vermos os atingidos em estado crítico continuamente interrogados pelas assassinas tropas Indonésias!

Que fazemos então perante esse genocídio físico.....? Impedirmos? Favorecermos?

Excelências

Apesar disso tudo, permita-me, se é que me assistem, saudar, de entre os Presentes, de forma directa e testemunhada, a Delegação do Povo Irmão Indonésio - aqui presentes nesta sala abarrotada de Peritos dos Direitos do Homem..., pois - porque pelos sinais característicos manifestadas nas suas movimentações nos últimos anos provam exactamente de que o Povo Indonésio, no íntimo, no mais profundo do seu ser, vive e compartilha os mesmos sentimentos e sofrimentos do Povo de Timor Leste e provam que não estão no mesmo ritmo que as companhias do seu Regime! E é nesse sentido que afirmamos que o Povo Indonésio sofre também as mesmas angústias e dores que vítima o Povo de Timor Leste durante os anos de ocupação! Como tal, peço - os, com insistência, para transmitirem as nossas preocupações quanto a situação vivida actualmente pelo nosso Povo, o Povo de Timor Leste, sob o controle repressivo do exército indonésio a Sua Ex.cia o Sr. Presidente da República Indonésia no sentido de rever a sua posição Política face a inquietante e pre-ocupada questão de Timor Leste para, finalmente, permitir acesso a Peritos dos - Direitos do Homem das Nações Unidas a fim de poderem verificar in - loco a situação prevaiente, no mínimo, para assegurar autoridade moral de intervenção nos - Foruns Internacionais pelo próprio governo indonésio, mas sobretudo diminuir as preocupações da Comunidade Internacional, das Nações Unidas e do próprio Povo de Timor Leste!

Por último, apelamos a todos os apoiantes da causa do nosso Povo no sentido de aprofundarmos e ampliarmos o Movimento de Solidariedade Internacional a justa causa do nosso Martirizado Povo e Nação Loro Sa'e, condição " sine - quanon " necessária para a diminuição gradual das barbariedades e pela melhoria sensível dos Direitos Humanos em Timor Leste...!

Sr. Presidente

Ilustres Delgados e Delgadas

Minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores

Excelências

Sou conhecido e assim é chamado oficialmente por TAUR MATAN RUAK, Membro do
CNOM e Chefe do Estado Maior das FALINTIL. Bom dia, portanto, os Guerrilheiros

Povo de Timor Leste que há mais de 21 (vinte e um) anos tem vindo a continuar a
resistir incansavelmente nas Montanhas de Timor Leste, contra o Poderoso Exérci
to Militar da Indonésia.

A Liberdade e a Democracia, um Mundo Livre, Pacífico e Próspero, os direitos mais
fundamentais do nosso Povo a Justiça, uma Pátria Livre de ocupação estrangeira são
as razões fundamentais da nossa obstinada e intransigente Luta Armada.

Entretanto nós somos pela Paz - uma Paz Justa e duradoura, onde os direitos fun
damentais do Homem sejam realmente um dom partilhado em comum pelos Povos e Nações,
desde os mais pequenos e insignificantes aos mais poderosos e fortes! E se hoje a
inda estamos a lutar de armas na mão é apenas para cumprir a vontade do nosso Povo
e Nação que deseja firmar-se como os demais Povos e Nações neste Globo na era do -
sec. XX...!

E por isso tudo que afirmamos com esperança redobrada que apesar de lutarmos em
trincheiras diferentes o objectivo é Único e Comum - Respeito pelos Direitos mais
Fundamentais do Homem em todos os cantos e recantos do Globo!!

Para terminar, juntos, com os nossos Queridos e Queridas Activistas da Juventu
de Australianas, portadores desta modesta mensagem, lançamos o último grito do nosso
aos Representantes e Delgados e Delgadas mas principalmente aos Governantes Austrá
lianos no sentido de reconsiderarem as posições e atitudes quanto a questão do Mar
tirizado Povo de Timor Leste, favorecendo assim a melhoria sensível da situação em
matéria dos Direitos Humanos no Território!!!

E tudo é Obrigado!



Nas Montanhas da Pátria, aos 13 de Março de 1997.

A FALINTIL COMMANDER REPORTS - a brief overview of the military situation

by Commander Dai Tula

This is a summary of a report issued by the members of FALINTIL in order to allow those outside to grasp a piece of reality inside East Timor.

The military offensive (by the enemy) launched in April this year was implemented in the whole of East Timor.

In April, battalion 301 which was responsible for the counter-guerilla attacks in the areas of the river of Matabuu and seixal, and in the areass between Abafata to Macalaco, Massal, Iestau, Sonealari, Sorolai, Lamaraque, Ossluga, Issabu, etc., retrieved to the area of Buibau/Baucau.

In the areas above, battalion 301 stayed for one month. Their activities included mounting attacks in the bush walkways and roads where they suspect that the guerillas of FALINTIL might use; they also set up networks to spy on the population to monitor what the population talks about.

The residence of former prisoners were constantly under surveillance. Sometimes in the middle of the night, they can be arrested for interrogation to find out about strange faces in their houses (i.e. the guerillas)

In June, the enemy launched their clean-up operation in the military region no.2 (Laleia to Venilale, from Luilubo/Ostico to Bucoli) including Vemassee, and Ossu.

The first military move was made in the first days of June from Loilubo to Ostico. The forces involved in this move came from Baucau, and started their operations since Uaiquirassa, Ossoquiliba, Nunuoli,

Uaiculo, Caiduorua, Caidanacua, Betolae, Loilela, Uatobela and Uaime. These areas belong to the administrative zone of Vemassee. They also mounted offensives in the areas of Uaimori of Vemassee, Mausoci, etc. which belong to the administrative zone of Laleia. Later on the same forces moved to the central region, specially active in Laline and Aitana.

There were also operations in Uiliba, Nunuoli, Uaiculo, Caiduaetolae, Loilela, Uatobela and Uata. The total number of troops mobilised for this three-month operation was four battallions (bat. 112, 301 and 502). The active forces so far used, however, did not reflect the total number of four battallions. Battallion 301, for example, only used half of its forces for the attacks.

The battallions which operates in East Timor are the following: 112, 121, 131, 301, 321, 405, 407, 412, 413, 502, 512, 516, 527, 611, 612 and 631. A total

of 16 battallions without including battallions 744 and 745, which are stationed permanently in East Timor. This does not include also the comandos or kopassus, kopasgat and Linud, the Airforce which are based in Baucau. Other forces, not included in these 16 battallions are the paramilitary forces such as the Tim-Saka, Tim-Sera, Tim-Makikit and Tim-Alfa.

Tim Saka was partitioned into two groups: one, based in Kodim of Baucau, another based in Lai Soro Lai - Quelicai.

Battallion 301 is composed of 750 soldiers. The forces which make up the Kodim of Baucau are 400 men, and the police force is made up of 120 men.

On the 26 of June, forces of Tim-Saka based in Lai Soro Lai moved to the east of Matebian in response to combats taken place between Falintil forces of region no.1 against units of Tim-Saka, resulting in 3 Tim-Saka soldiers killed and two wounded. This combat took place on 17 of May, in the areas of Daudere/Luro. ■

Note: This summary was made possible by students organisation in East Timor.



Commander Dai Tula

① Lowison
② TLC

URGENT

LABOUR

How Reebok exploits its Indonesian workforce

The following extract is from an interview of Pharis Harvey, Executive Director of the International Labour Rights Education and Research Fund in Washington, published in 'Multinational Monitor', December 1993. Along with Asia Watch, the ILRERF submitted evidence to the US Trade Representative in 1992, arguing that GSP trade privileges should be withdrawn from Indonesia.

MM: Could you describe briefly how shoe production works in Indonesia?

Harvey: There are about 25,000 workers in the shoe industry in Indonesia. They work for about seven or eight large companies that are about half Korean owned and half Indonesian owned, and make their product on consignment. So the same companies may be producing for both Reebok and Nike. Adidas is there. They're all there. Converse is moving in. Converse has done a lot of production in the US but they're moving out now, to Indonesia or Australia.

MM: What are the wages and working conditions? What is it like for people who might want to unionise?

Harvey: Well, if they want to unionise, then the SPSI, the Indonesian government-controlled union, comes in and sets up the union for them. Those who attempt genuine, free union organising get fired, hauled off to jail or 'disappear' and are occasionally killed.

Wages in the shoe industry in Indonesia tend to hover between 2-3,000 rupiahs, about a dollar to a dollar fifty a day. There was recently a stoppage at Reebok.

MM: Last year Reebok adopted a code of conduct regarding the factories in Indonesia. Has the company done anything concrete about implementing it?

Harvey: Well, I'm waiting. We did a lot of work with them on the code in August. And they made quite an extensive tour of all their plants to try to get an accurate picture, and Doug Kahn from their human rights foundation came back from his tour recognising that there were some problems in some of the factories. But he frankly said: 'I don't know how far we can go on this and how fast we can go on this.'

MM: Couldn't Reebok simply say to its contractors: 'Pay a higher wage'?

Harvey: They could do that.

MM: If Reebok doubled the wages of its workers in Indonesia, what effect would that have on its overall costs and profits?

Harvey: Well, if Reebok doubled their wages, it could raise the cost of a shoe from \$79 to \$80 and nobody would ever notice it. There is now about \$1 worth of labour that goes into a shoe.

In 1991, Paul Fireman, the CEO [chief executive officer] of Reebok, was paid at least two times as much as the entire workforce of the Indonesian shoe industry. Reebok has 25,000 workers in Indonesia. If you allow \$1.50 a day, for 300 days a year, you've got an annual wage of \$500 a person. Add a few benefits and bring it up to \$600 maybe. 25,000 times \$600 is \$15 million, and that's the most generous counting. Fireman made \$31,000,000 in 1991.

MM: What do you think of companies like Reebok, which give human rights awards*), and make a major point of claiming that they're a company that stands for human rights?

Harvey: I think it makes them vulnerable to some practices within their own industry. It puts a heavy burden on us and you to look at their records to see if they deserve the accolades they give themselves. ☆

*) Reebok gave one of its 1992 human rights awards to Fernando Araujo, and East Timorese student who is serving a nine-year sentence in Cipinang Prison.

GSP: Washington postpones decision

The US Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor, announced on 15 February that the decision on whether to keep or abolish GSP - Generalised System of Preferences - privileges for Indonesia is to be postponed for six months, to August 1994. This means, he said, that the review of Indonesian labour rights policies has been 'suspended' though not 'terminated'.

Under US law, GSP privileges which allow duty-free access to the US market for the products of manufacturing industries in developing countries cannot be granted to countries where labour rights are not upheld.

Asia Watch, the New York-based human rights organisation which, along with the International Labour Rights Education and Research Fund, petitioned the US government to examine Indonesia's eligibility to enjoy trade privileges under GSP, described the decision as unsatisfac-

tory. 'On the one hand,' said Asia Watch executive director Sidney Jones, 'it says that Indonesia has not done enough to merit a termination of the review. That's an understatement especially given the arrest of labour activists (on the eve of the SBSI strike). On the other hand it lets Indonesia off the hook by saying that the review has been suspended (which) removes the pressure to carry the reforms any further.'

Asia Watch also criticised the decision as being empty of any specifics. While saying the Trade Representative would assess continuing progress in six months, it does not say what Indonesia is expected to do. 'Unless those details are spelled out and made public, the six-month assessment is meaningless.' [Asia Watch Press Release, 16.2.1994]

As the articles appearing elsewhere in this Bulletin show, no progress has been made on the crucial issues of freedom

continued on page 8

1983

Publ. 1984

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Through its supreme military command, the Revolutionary Council for National Resistance (C.R.R.N.), FRETILIN presented to the Indonesian Government its Plan for Peace whose application would guarantee, on the one hand, respect for the rights of the Maubere People and their freely expressed will, and on the other, a possibility for other countries interested in the East Timor problem to follow the process. Thus, on the 10th of May, 1983, the President of the Revolutionary Council for National Resistance and the Commander in Chief of FALINTIL, KAY RALA XANANA GUSMÃO issued a press statement which included the following:

"FRETILIN DECLARES that the Maubere People are conscious of their insertion in South East Asia. FRETILIN declares that, because of this, it has never desired, does not, and never will desire that East Timor should be a focus for the

spread of conflicts. East Timor is a non-aligned country and follows a policy of peaceful coexistence. These principles will regulate its relations with all countries and strengthen the links of technical, economic and cultural cooperation with its neighbours. The Maubere People know that they must respect the interests of their neighbours and also believe that their own legitimate interests will be respected".

Despite the recommencement of hostility by Indonesia and its unilateral breaking of the cease-fire agreed on the 23rd of March, 1983, as the first step in the application of the Peace Plan, there is no doubt that this today represents a fundamental instrument for the political and diplomatic action of the Maubere People. Its conception in the heat of armed struggle is a guarantee of its maturity, gained in the accumulation of eight years of political struggle. It is the only proposal of substance for resolving the conflict presented to date.

The Peace Plan, which was supported by the Heads of State of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe at the Bissau Summit, in December 1983, constitutes a platform around which a politically and geographically diverse range of countries that desire peace, progress and justice can unite, and international solidarity can be coordinated.

I. In terms of the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), with the mediation of the United Nations Secretary General, direct talk between Portu-

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gal, Indonesia and FRETILIN within the framework of the United Nations should begin, to discuss:

a- The creation of a United Nations or Multinational peacekeeping force, whose impartiality would be an indispensable condition for guaranteeing and putting into practice:

- A functioning Transitional Administration
- The correct implementation of decisions taken during discussions on the positioning of the opposing forces — FALINTIL and the Indonesian Armed Forces.

b. The organization of free and democratic consultation of the Maubere People.

c. Setting a date for the transfer of sovereignty.

II. Australia has the right to participate in the talks as an observer.

III. Further observers can be accepted if they are proposals in equal number by each of the parties referred to in I and agreed to by all of them.

Start: ↓ ↓

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BETWEEN THE 20th and 23rd of March, 1983, in liberated territory of East Timor controlled by FALINTIL (the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor), FRETILIN and Indonesia decided to begin a process of dialogue. The objective was to end the eight year long war which was still far from over.

FRETILIN has always considered negotiations as the best way to achieve a definite overall solution which would respect the interests of the Maubere People and the states of the region. Only the adventurism of the Indonesian military hawks led the Indonesian and Maubere Peoples into a war during which both peoples have been sacrificed, suffering incalculable material, human and moral losses.

Under the leadership of FRETILIN the Maubere People have responded to the genocidal war directed by the Indonesian Generals with a war of National Resistance. They have thus proved their capacity and determination to fight to safeguard their legitimate interests and just aspirations.

When, at the beginning of 1983, Indonesia showed its willingness to begin Preliminary Negotiations with FRETILIN, a new chapter in the history of the Maubere People began — a chapter with the perspective for peace that both peoples had longed for.

Date: 20 Mar 1996 22:40:40

Subject: Re: Finland asks for protest letters: Arms Trade to Indonesia
Hope this is what you're looking for...

From: martin@amokmar.antenna.nl (Martin Broek)

Subject: Finland asks for protest letters: Arms Trade to Indonesia

Date: Fri, 08 Mar 1996 15:53:00 +0200

Protest letters to the Finnish Government on arms trade

Received from:

The Committee of 100
Peace Station
00520 Helsinki
Finland
tel: + 358 0 141336
fax: + 358 0 147297

The Finnish Government decided yesterday (07-03) to give an export license for the company Sisu to export 60 armoured troop-carriers to Indonesia. The deal is not confirmed yet, but it is an option when the company get permission from the government. Only three Ministers out of eighteen voted against (1 green and 2 left wing). The main government parties, socialist and conservative voted in favour. The government mentioned that for other European countries military exports to Indonesia are not a problem. But this not true, because Sweden, Portugal and Ireland do not accept this type of exports to Indonesia.

We want to ask for a worldwide protest against the Finnish Governments decision.

Please send your protest to the following fax numbers:

The Finnish Broadcasting Company

TV-News

fax: + 358 0 1461476

Helsinki Sanomat (the Main daily newspaper)

fax: + 358 0 605709

The Commercial TV

TV-News

fax: + 358 0 140160

The Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mrs. Tarja Halonen

fax: + 358 0 13415002

The Minister of Defence

Mrs. Anneli Taina

Fax + 358 0 1613985

Helsinki 8.3.1996

Kalle Sysikaski

Bishop Belo's visit to Darwin, Cassette launch, etc, 3-7/12/93

Report by Rob Wesley-Smith Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801 PhFx 61 8 89832113

East Timor's Bishop Belo came to Australia in Nov-Dec 1993 for 3 reasons: to meet Timorese, to meet the Church, and to raise money for his Seminary (ie high school). It has taken a decade for this visit to take place.

For Darwin this was to be a delicate matter, as Darwin is the heartland of Indonesian diplomacy to gain acceptable entree to Australia, served by a compliant Territory government, which never passes up an invitation to join with Consulate staff, but always avoids association with the patriotic section of our diverse East Timorese community.

Most East Timorese refugee families here came in 1975 to escape the brief civil war which their party UDT started, but the other party Fretilin had the temerity and discipline to survive and win. Thus there was a base of ultra-conservatives to start with.

Inside East Timor the people since 1975 have over 90% adopted Catholicism from a base of about 45%, a tribute to the priests and religious inside (but definitely not outside) East Timor.

In 1979 Fr Leoneto de Rego said that during his 3 years in the mountains he regularly said mass behind Fretilin lines. The Religious cried out "why has the world deserted us?" as East Timorese were killed directly by the Indonesian military or indirectly by the effects of war-induced famine and injury with only a few murmurs from mainstream world governments or the international Catholic community.

Catholic sources reported a death toll to that point of 300,000 people, with widespread starvation continuing. The NT Government gave a whopping \$1,000 to the 1979 ICRC appeal, the most it has ever given to assist East Timorese (rather than the colonisers).

Bishop Belo's predecessor Mgr Lopes came here in 1983/4, after being eased out for speaking the truth about the war. In Darwin he was snubbed by long serving Bishop O'Loughlin, who used to tell East Timorese to forget their past lives and country, (and families? I once asked him to no avail), and concentrate on building a better life for themselves here.

It took 16 years (to the Dili Massacre of 12/11/91) for much of the Catholic Church in Australia to recognise and/or speak out about the desperate needs of the church and people inside East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of 7/12/93. Some of that passion remains, but much has been lost, especially it seems in Darwin, as we shall see.

Darwin was not on Bishop Belo's original itinerary, as no one had sponsored that, even though Darwin's Bishop Ted Collins told ABC radio that earlier he had met Bishop Belo and invited him here, though he did not explain if he had offered to pay his costs without which a visit was impossible. However calls by Timorese in Darwin to southern church contacts resulted in a rearranged itinerary, (and possibly rearranged egos).

In Canberra the Indonesian Ambassador boasts that he has the Australian Press in the palm of his hand, (aided perhaps by his share of the Indonesian international public relations lobby budget of about \$30m), but evidence suggests the Consulate here has not been so successful.

In Darwin in fact when the Ambassador addressed the Darwin Press Club earlier this year he was under seige from a small but noisy East Timor demonstration, causing much loss of face, and strategic entry and exit by the fire escape. Since then his visits, and one from Ali Alatas, have been with the utmost secrecy, and/or maximum NT police presence. An example was at the official opening on 25/6/93 of their new Consulate in the heart of the city, made available due to specific cooperation of the NT and Federal governments.

A huge police presence also later that day at the launch of the 400 strong delegation of Indonesian business people and spies at the Darwin Expo found no Timor supporters to hassle so picked on unfortunate local exhibitors or friends, usually those not wearing de rigeur ties. However the next day people with suspect political beliefs, denoted by the nature of the T-shirts they wore, were summarily ejected by police, even as they approached the gates to exit! Civil liberties - what are they?

In late November Indonesian Ambassador Siagiam again came secretly to Darwin, where he met Bishop Ted Collins and offered to supply a car and driver for Bishop Belo's visit, an offer firmly rejected. However Bishop Ted did take Bishop Belo to meet the Consulate, and to an Indonesian Association dinner.

At a planning meeting of East Timorese and supporters on 22/11 it was realised that ultra conservative elements had largely hijacked the itinerary for Bishop Belo's visit. Most East Timorese are conservative, have great respect for the church and would be unable to challenge the clergy face to face. But it was decided to approach Bishop Collins for redress.

Two main points were put: (1) that Bishop Belo be freed up a little, that he attend normal church services and not be just restricted to special Timorese ones, etc (2) that the Church should run a public appeal for funds for Bishop Belo's Seminary.

This seemed to be OK, but by the Friday it was found that Bishop Collins would not allow a dedicated account to be used for an appeal, nor for any publicity - thus a Clayton's Appeal. Thus an attempt was made to set up a community based appeal.

Unbelievably, this too proved impossible. A number of citizens of high standing were approached, but for a variety of reasons did not feel able to front the appeal, and time was running out. One suggestion was followed, as a desperation measure, to try to get the Minister and his opposite number who dealt with Asian affairs to jointly host the appeal. The Timorese involved did not feel able to ask NT Minister Shane Stone, so I did through a Ministerial Officer, with full explanations. The reponse came back "NO", and when ALP's Ken Parish spoke to him about it he was told it would be made a political issue if he was to be involved.

On day one of Bishop Belo's visit the above Minister Stone had the privilege of a private meeting with him. The minister apparently suggested that East Timorese students should come to the NT. It is not known, but thought unlikely, if he offered to pay costs, give to the Seminary (high school) appeal, or why he should raise this matter with the Church leader.

Really its an obscenity, because the NT Government is not prepared to deal with basic issues of the military occupation and the travel and human rights restrictions imposed on the people of East Timor, which is what prevents Timorese from furthering their education and self-management, and why it is vital to support the appeal for the Church high school in Dili.

The same NT Minister took a media entourage with him to record his sincere presentation of condolences to the Consulate over the earthquake/tidal wave at Flores a year ago, and was so incensed to find me on the footpath when he emerged to give a sincere kerbside TV interview, that I was forced to remind him that "scumbag" was a valued epithet of the Left and it was inappropriate for him to hijack that too. But do I digress?

The Bishop's arrival was Friday 3/12 at Darwin airport at 8.15 am, but there was no press release by the organisers. Timorese were to dance a drum dance of welcome, with "conservative" ladies arranging to join with others to put on a good show for the Bishop and also for the expected TV. Some conservatives showed but not in Timorese dress and without drums. One had Portuguese dress. They were "too tired", they said, but was that true?

The others were so upset they could hardly drum, but were led on by the expert sword dance of Jose Gusmao, Xanana's cousin. Quick greetings, words to the press, and away Bishop Belo was whisked to God knows where, His house I suppose.

Saturday was the visit to the East Timorese Association "La Faek" club, and the main chance for activists to meet him. Almost no Timorese of the "conservatives" came, (those who did spent much of their time looking anxious and offended), and probably only 5% came of the eminent citizens and politicians invited. The conservatives had insisted that no public document would contain both "La Faek" and "Bishop Belo", as this was said to be "political", and some even said "communistic". Is "communist" still used as a weapon elsewhere?

Timorese had constructed a magnificent entrance of bamboo and palm arches, and decorated the club with palms. They had got the keys to a big new room only that week, and worked hard to prepare. The Bishop arrived earlier than expected, and it took some persuading to get everyone once they had arrived to go outside again for him to be received formally and ceremonially through the arches. Warm welcome speeches then lunch.

Speeches followed the usual unbelievably wonderful food. Bishop Belo spoke conservatively in English, but did stress the absolute importance for the preservation of culture and identity of learning the national language, Tetun. This was a boost to the club where a Tetun school has started with the great assistance of Japanese money and support. His speech in Tetun however raised several bursts of cheering.

I had the honour to thank him, and recall that I reminded him that ordinary decent Aussies did support East Timor rights, and apologised for the appalling record of the NT and Australian governments and indeed, especially until the Dili Massacre, the Australian Catholic Church. I also quoted the line that he is unique, being the only person who is more free to speak inside East Timor than outside its prison like boundaries.

After some cultural performances, 67 year old Veronica Pereira powerfully addressed the Bishop in Tetun, saying that all her time and facilities here were only "rented" from the Australians until she could return home, bringing tears to many eyes. On Monday she beat a vindictive police assault charge, more tears!

Next the La Faek choir (La Faek means "crocodile", which is the island of East Timor), sang some songs from their new Cassette* "Lao Rai". This was officially launched by their good friend Gunluckii Nimul (June Mills), musician and president of the Larrakia association, which is the aboriginal tribe that traditionally owns the site of Darwin.

Also singing with passion was Francisco Gama, who defected from the Indonesian controlled East Timor soccer side that came to Darwin for the 1991 Arafura Games. Indonesia and the NT Government were embarrassed by 4 defections and the pressure put on others to save their lives and stay. After heart wrenching emotional scenes at the airport, the remaining group of 11 decided to return. Of these, 7 were East Timorese, and of these 2 were murdered in the Dili Massacre of 12/11/91, and one is still missing I believe. No further teams have been allowed here, but one does not hear the NT government talking about that.

In retrospect it seems that this function at La Faek was the only time when Bishop Belo was surrounded by supportive friends in a supportive environment. By mid afternoon he was whisked away to say mass somewhere. That evening he was taken to the Indonesian Association dinner, and they gave him just over \$700 conscience money.

Sunday, day of masses, and prayers for justice, peace and goodwill I suppose. There had been concerns that Bishop Belo was being isolated from the general Catholic church-going population, and several calls were made down south about this. I believe Bishop Belo attended the 9.30 mass at the Cathedral.

But then came a special mass for Timorese, but their active participation was frowned upon. A warning was mysteriously delivered that if Jose Gusmao took part he would be bashed. The Portuguese language book was unaccountably missing, and while lessons were read in English, Jose was called upon by the Bishop to look for it. The altar boys were not robed, and Timorese were not permitted to bring forward the offering. Not one other clergy was present to assist the Bishop. The audience itself was small, whereas in Timor people queue to get in. These things left Bishop Belo and many Timorese upset, confused and even angry.

Later Jose and others showed their mettle and went to the conservative Casuarina Portuguese and Timorese club, the one much favoured by the NT government. There Bishop Belo unveiled a plaque, of course sight unseen. When unveiled it turned out to be only that same plaque unveiled about 6 years ago by then Chief Minister Tuxworth. The purpose of this charade and insult is hard to understand even for this battle-hardened veteran. And on Monday Bishop Collins said farewell early as he had to go south as his sister had just died. The parting was even cooler than the greeting at arrival.

Bishop Belo is a Timorese, born and raised near Bacau. He was made a full Bishop reporting to Rome I understand as some sort of sign that the Vatican does not accept the illegal and brutal Indonesian occupation of East Timor. He was the youngest Bishop ever appointed I am told, and is a lovely caring and courageous man, deserving of much greater international support. A Japanese initiative this year nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize, which would be fitting, along with the Timorese nation. He must ponder the nature of much of the church and nation that is his nearest neighbour apart from his colonisers.

I find myself wondering what are the real values of justice and a fair go which allegedly distinguish the Australian Labor Party now in national government here from its opposition the conservative Liberals and Nationals. Both have deserted the East Timorese to our eternal shame. If there is a hell, it is populated by those who turned a blind eye to injustice when they could have done something to help. For the heavenly, the message is to work yet harder, as there are still lots of souls to save, to say nothing of the bodies.

PS I'm told his Sat 6.00 pm mass at Palmerston was quite nice, with local Salesian priest, and extra Philipinos attending

East Timor invasion anniversary feature

WHEN Indonesian paratroops fell from the sky over Dili, twenty years ago today, about 400 were picked off in mid-air by the city's defenders. Others drowned in the sea. Of those who landed, many died in fighting with other Indonesian units. Others were too weighed down by loot (jewellery, beer, house windows) to defend themselves - and were shot by the city's Fretilin defenders. But this was the biggest military operation since Indonesian independence, and eventually numbers prevailed.

The conquerors of Dili were welcomed by a delegation of Chinese community leaders, and another from Apodeti, East Timor's tiny pro-Indonesia political party. Both delegations were gunned down. So were hundreds of ordinary East Timorese in the streets. Grenades were tossed randomly into houses, and mass executions were carried out on the Dili wharf. One of these targeted mothers, whose young children were forced to watch. In another, Australian journalist Roger East was shot.

In this manner Indonesia's armed forces - indoctrinated in the belief that they were invading a Communist country - began a bloodbath which altered the nature of the former Portugese colony forever.

Though East Timor lacked the population for mass death on the scale achieved by Pol Pot, the Indonesian invasion of December 7, 1975, did

end up costing the lives of at least a quarter of the nation's people. Based on the pre-invasion census, East Timor's population in 1980 should have been about 750,000. The Indonesian census of 1980 counted 200,000 less than that. The "200,000 deaths" figure is regarded as credible even by East Timor's present Governor, Abilio Osorio. A couple of Indonesian officials have privately put it much higher.

At dawn one morning three weeks ago, shortly before all foreigners were expelled from East Timor, I managed to get out onto the busy streets of the capital, Dili, before my eight plainclothes minders were awake. Overnight, hundreds of fully equipped riot police had appeared - in trucks, on motorbikes and on foot. These Darth Vada [sp?] lookalikes were matched in numbers by the men from the SGI, the military intelligence organisation - distinguishable by their heavy builds, crewcuts and running shoes. Together, the security forces outnumbered citizens on the streets of Dili.

"Integration", the Indonesian word for East Timor's status, is less accurate than "occupation". Dili has a military barracks every few hundred metres. Timorese recruited by one of the intelligence organisations (generically known as *Intel*) report on their friends and family. Priests report on their brother priests.

My visit to East Timor was terminated when an international human rights delegation was discovered in Dili. Its members had entered East Timor, on tourist visas, "to foment riots", according to the Indonesian Government. All foreigners were put under hotel arrest. We were told we would be deported forthwith. As flights became available, we were driven to the airport by military intelligence, then escorted onto planes by Intel men. (Fifty in my case.) Intel boarded the planes, and stayed with us to our destinations.

AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA relations are mostly cordial at the highest levels, due to a quarter-century of strenuous diplomacy by Australian leaders, and the Western leanings of President Suharto.

In 1974 Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam met Suharto in Indonesia, telling him that Australia understood Indonesia's desire to annex East Timor, and would raise no objection provided no force was used, and the local population was agreeable.

In August 1975 there was a brief civil war in East Timor - partially engineered by Indonesia - which was won by Fretilin, the pro-independence party. Fretilin quickly established an unexpectedly efficient administration. But on December 7, Indonesian paratroops, marines, special forces and regulars stormed Dili. Despite Indonesia's breaching of his two conditions, no protest was issued by Whitlam - by then a victim of a "coup" of his own. In the Fraser Government

which succeeded his, Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock's mild protests were opposed by parliamentary colleagues and departmental advisors. Australian opposition soon evaporated.

For 25 years, overdue trade and diplomatic bridges have been built with our nearest and biggest neighbour - with Foreign Minister Gareth Evans leading the effort in recent times. For all this, Australia is often taken less than seriously by many within the Indonesian ruling caste. Referring to Australia's military aid to Indonesia, the rector of an Indonesian University laughingly told me: "We are hitting these people [the East Timorese] very hard - and the Australians, can you believe, are helping us!"

Australian diplomats have long been seen by the Indonesians as "pliable". In 1975, when an Indonesian invasion of East Timor became likely, Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia, Richard Woolcott, cabled his Government that Australia should

act in a way which would be designed to minimise the public impact in Australia and show privately understanding to Indonesia of their problems.

Woolcott acknowledged that this was "a pragmatic rather than a principled stand," but "that is what national interest and foreign policy are all about." He also pointed out that Timor Gap oil would be more easily negotiated with Indonesia than with "Portugal or an independent East Timor".

In October 1975, a Parliamentary statement was prepared by Don Willesee, Whitlam's Foreign Minister, on Indonesia's by then flagrant military incursions into East Timor. A draft was sent to Woolcott - who cabled back:

Although we know it is not true, the formal position of the Indonesian Government is still that there is no Indonesian military intervention in East Timor. If the Minister said or implied in public that the Indonesian Government was lying we would invite a hurt and angry reaction.

Willesee's statement was duly toned down.

The junior Australian diplomat sent to Dili to observe the trial of the captured Fretilin leader, Xanana Gusmao, was placed by authorities at the back of the court, where he could not hear anything. He lodged no protest at this, nor at the trial's glaring legal irregularities. His only advice to Australian observers was not to offend Indonesia by using the word "invasion". Because of incidents like this one - which did not go unnoticed by other foreign embassies - Australian diplomats are not highly respected in Indonesia by their European counterparts.

Indonesian authorities live by a pervasive and unshakeable myth regarding East Timor. Thus there was no invasion: instead, in

December 1975 pro-Indonesia "volunteers" defeated pro-independence "rebels", then petitioned Indonesia to absorb the region.

There was, too, no holocaust: no 200,000 dead from Indonesian bombings, firing squads, napalmed villages, and the starvation brought on by geographical dislocation. Instead, the myth goes, the majority of the population accepted integration, and quickly came to reap economic benefits.

These benefits are undeniable. There are hundreds of new schools, for example - and illiteracy has been slashed. However there is often a cost: East Timorese teachers told me that local languages have been "unofficially" pushed off the syllabus by both military and educational authorities.

The myth touches Australia directly: it holds that the five journalists at Balibo were "killed in crossfire" during the civil war between UDT and Fretilin. In fact evidence has come from several quarters that the journalists were killed by Indonesian soldiers.

For some years, the myth was put across with marginal success. But international perceptions changed dramatically in November 1991. The Santa Cruz massacre was witnessed by numerous foreigners. These included an Australian aid worker, whose New Zealander translator was shot dead. Fleeing the massacre, the Australian was chased by a soldier firing an automatic weapon. He believes Timorese children, playing in the backyards he fled through, may have been hit.

The massacre itself was filmed by Max Stahl (an international documentary-maker), who courageously kept filming as the bullets flew, and Timorese dropped all around him. Stahl's dramatic footage appeared on TV screens all over the world.

After the massacre, the local commander stated that his troops began firing when a grenade was thrown from the crowd. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas stated that the firing began when "the crowd became very wild" and the deputy military commander "was stabbed by a machete". Indonesia's armed forces newspaper, *Angkatan Bersenjata*, claimed the incident was formally organised and "provoked by the GPK (security disturbing group)..." An army spokesman in East Timor claimed the trouble began when more than 100 separatists arrived in Dili to join the march, "carrying Portugese-made G-3 rifles."

No foreign visitor saw evidence in the crowd of either provocation or weaponry.

In describing the Santa Cruz Massacre as "aberrant behaviour" by Indonesian troops, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans was technically correct: since the holocaust which ended in the 1980s, human rights violations have mainly consisted of the disappearance, torture, mutilation and execution of individuals or small groups.

Senator Evans stated that the Indonesian commission of enquiry into Santa Cruz was "credible". As a result of the enquiry, eight low-ranking soldiers were gaoled for between eight and 18 months. In Bali I spoke with a sharp-eyed human rights worker, who spotted one of the convicted killers, Martinho Alau, in a Denpasar karaoke bar during his supposed gaol term. (My contact had a second person, familiar with Alau, also identify him.)

Gareth Evans is not alone in his diplomatic difficulties. East Timor has done nothing to improve the human rights credentials of a succession of Australian politicians. In 1974 Liberal Foreign Affairs spokesman Andrew Peacock told Parliament:

So far as Portugese Timor is concerned, we would prefer to see Portugal remain in control and assist in a program for self-determination.

However in the same year Peacock met Indonesian officials in Bali, telling them off the record that

his party would not protest against Indonesia if Indonesia were forced to do something about Portugese Timor... At the maximum, he would criticise Whitlam...for hesitating in solving the Portugese Timor problem, thereby forcing Indonesia to act militarily. Basically, he respects Whitlam's policy in this Portugese Timor problem...

In 1976 the Fraser Government ordered the seizure of an Australian shipment of medicines to East Timor. Those responsible for the aborted mercy shipment were prosecuted.

In early 1978 - when Fretilin still controlled most of East Timor - Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser extended *de facto* recognition of Indonesia's annexation. *De jure* recognition came in 1979.

In 1985, Labor's Foreign Minister Bill Hayden wrote that he lacked "sufficient" or "substantial" information on alleged Indonesian atrocities in East Timor. However reports from refugees and the Red Cross had by then been available for some years, as had the damning 1980 Indonesian census. Most pertinently, where Hayden was concerned, a clandestine network of Indonesian students (former members of which I spoke to in Indonesia last month) kept the Australian Embassy in Jakarta well-supplied with documentation of atrocities through most of the 1980s. Hayden was a frequent visitor to the Embassy.

However no Australian politician - serving or retired - has so much *kudos* to lose over East Timor as Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister who so poignantly placed traditional soil back in the hands of Aboriginal elders, who stood up to the US on the bombings of Vietnam and Cambodia, and who handed independence to Papua New Guinea. Whitlam - generally revered in Australia's ethnic communities - is regarded with distaste by our several thousand Timorese expatriates. This is less for his perceived green light for the invasion as Prime

Minister, than his March 1982 "elder statesman" tour of East Timor. The tour lasted three days. Whitlam returned praising the Indonesian authorities, and dismissing suggestions of widespread hunger.

Whitlam's tour came shortly after Indonesia's infamous "fence of legs" operation. The operation - attested to by many refugee survivors, and by eyewitnesses I met in East Timor - involved tens of thousands of Timorese between the ages of nine and 60 being marched through the bush as "cover" for Indonesian soldiers. Hundreds of the very old and very young died of starvation and exhaustion. When the survivors returned home their land had not been cultivated, and hundreds more starved to death.

Around the time of Whitlam's tour, journalists and other foreigners well-acquainted with the country reported "a critical shortage of food in a number of areas", and "a land beset by widespread malnutrition and hunger".

On his return to Australia, Whitlam condemned East Timor's Apostolic Administrator, Monsignor da Costa Lopes, as "mendacious" for his talk of famine.

James Dunn, Australia's former Consul in Dili, has written the most comprehensive book on East Timor's recent history. According to Dunn's sources in East Timor, Whitlam's "reception was carefully organised, with the areas that were experiencing serious food problems being excluded from the itinerary..."

In August 1982 Whitlam appeared before the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly. He stated: "It is high time that the question of East Timor was voted off the UN agenda..." He also said that his East Timor visit had been conducted "entirely under the auspices" of the International Committee of the Red Cross. This was formally denied by the ICRC, which stated that the Whitlam visit was arranged "solely with the agreement of the Indonesian authorities..."

Many Timorese look to Australia for some reciprocation of their costly wartime assistance for our commandos. Nearly every Timorese not in the pay of Indonesia wants autonomy or independence for the beleaguered country, and Australia is still seen as a potential broker for such an agreement.

But the Suharto family (worth an estimated \$US16-17 billion) has a firm grip on Indonesia's military and business - and both are gaining increasing footholds in East Timor. Thus the dream of independence, which countless East Timorese live and have died for, has more counting against it than the apathy of the nation's former allies.

Xanana

The trial of Xanana Gusmao in Dili has attracted international attention. Louise Crowe looks at the life of the man now facing criminal charges of rebellion and the possession of illegal weapons.

Only a week after the first anniversary of the Dili massacre, Indonesian military authorities reported with some glee, the capture of the East Timorese resistance leader, Jose Alexandre 'Xanana' Gusmao. For over a decade, numerous military campaigns had failed to capture Xanana and his co-fighters who relied heavily on popular support to continue their armed resistance. His capture is a blow to the East Timorese who have looked to him as the spearhead of their campaign for independence. In the seventeen years since the Indonesian invasion, Xanana became a human symbol of the hopes of an oppressed and suffering people to live freely in their own land.

The current trial of Xanana is yet another public event which reveals the deep divisions present in this society. Being tried as a criminal under Indonesian law, Xanana is seen by many East Timorese as another victim of the illegal Indonesian occupation of their homeland. The trial, proceeding upon the premise that Xanana has committed crimes against the Indonesian state, will not address the fundamental problem that the majority of East Timorese remain unreconciled to Indonesian rule. Xanana's uncharacteristic admissions of Indonesian citizenship and criticism of the armed struggle he led for twelve years are viewed with deep suspicion by many Timorese who insist that Xanana, and any Timorese who might speak on his behalf, are not free to speak the truth.

Reports that his sister and other members of his family are still in detention, fuel this distrust. Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, has again criticised the intimidation of the people by the military forces. In an interview in mid-February, Bishop Belo claimed that the military were using 'psychological torture' to force people to accept integration with Indonesia. Along with arrests, detentions and beatings, there are reports of people being forced to drink the blood of an animal and declare their support for integration—a corrupt version of a tradi-

tional Timorese pact among tribal leaders. Such is the atmosphere in which this trial is being heard.

Amidst the speculation about the effect of Xanana's capture on the future of East Timor and the many scenarios being proposed, is a strong concern for the well-being of a man whom many Timorese describe as the most reluctant of leaders. Along with his people, he is very much a victim of decisions and interventions made about

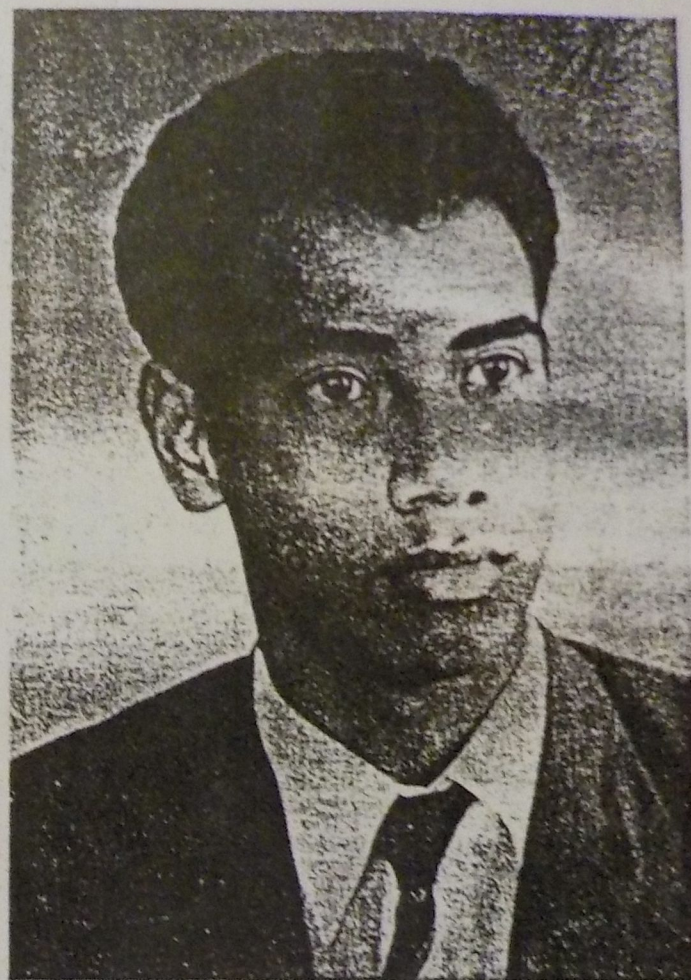
this tiny half-island by foreign powers.

Gusmao was born, the second son of nine children, in Manatutu on the 20 June, 1946. His father Manuel was a school teacher in Ossu. His sister Lita, now living in Australia, describes him as a close and affectionate brother often thought of as a 'second father' to his younger brothers and sisters. He married Emilia in October 1969. They lived in Dili and enjoyed a happy family life with their two young children, Nito and Zeni.

For six months in 1974 Xanana, unable to obtain a permit from the Portuguese to start a farm, worked as a labourer in Darwin. Attracted by the freedom and opportunity of Australian society, he returned to East Timor with the hope of emigrating with his wife and children. Perhaps it was the taste of this Australian experience that drew Xanana into a strong political involvement with the pro-independence party, Fretilin.

On the 30 November 1975, Xanana farewelled his wife and children and went to photograph Indonesian fighting on his country's border. It was the last time Emilia was to see her husband. On 7 December, Indonesia invaded East Timor with massive military force. Unable to return to his family, Xanana withdrew into the mountains with many other Timorese.

East Timor became a closed and isolated land in which thousands of people



Xanana as a young man in East Timor

died, either directly from the war or from the hunger and disease caused by the upheaval. By the late seventies, Xanana emerged as a leader and reorganised the scattered fighters into an effective resistance network. Although Indonesia publicly dismissed the resistance as a minor problem, they continued to maintain a large military presence and kept the territory closed to foreigners until 1989. In March 1983 the Indonesian Commander, Colonel Purwanto, was forced to sign a cease-fire with Xanana which was broken by Indonesian forces some months later. In 1988 Xanana bridged East Timorese divisions by re-organising his followers into a non-partisan army. In smuggled letters, tapes and film, Xanana has constantly called for a negotiated settlement, emphasising the need for talks without pre-conditions under the United Nations auspices.

Whatever the outcome of Xanana's trial, he will continue to be a focus of East Timorese aspirations of self-determination. His charismatic leadership, analytical skills and idealism could be strong ingredients for a just settlement in this troubled land. □

Louise Crowe visited East Timor with Frank Brennan in late 1992. She continues to follow, and to write about, events in the area.

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.

9/1/78

Rejection of Fretilin Leader's Visa

The decision to deny Mr Horta access to Australia is a clearcut example of how narrow-minded, restrictive political judgements influence conservative Government's immigration policies.

Mr MacKellar offers a stark and depressing reminder of the excessive meddling and strangely suspicious political attitudes which interfered with the immigration policies of successive conservative coalition governments in the fifties and sixties.

There can be no genuine objection to Mr Horta coming here to visit close relatives.

If his political affiliations are the reason for his exclusion then the Government must explain on exactly what grounds his views are so patently unacceptable as to deny him entry.

Australia is a mature democracy and Australians are sensible people. They will not be incited to insurrection merely because a point of view from another part of the world -albeit near our coastline - is put to them.

The essential impression made by the Government's tough-minded over-reaction in this matter is that it is frightened of any point of view other than its own being put about relations between Indonesia and East Timor. The whole exercise smacks of a heavy-handed attempt at censorship.

The Government's behaviour in this matter reflects a vagueness and inconsistency which must make Australia a laughing stock among liberal democracies.

Sydney
9 January 1978

Bill Hayden

Remembering the Santa Cruz Massacre Nov 12 1991

Message for heroic East Timorese People
Mairead Maguire, Nobel Peace Laureate, 9th Nov 1995
Community of the Peace People, Belfast, Northern Ireland

My dear friends,

It is with regret that I have to tell you I am unable to be with you for the commemoration of the Dili Massacre this year. Unfortunately I have prior commitments that prevent me from travelling to Dili to join you in remembering those that were killed 4 years ago. That the remains of those who were killed were not returned is one injustice that is heaped on many injustices in your beloved East Timor. On this the 4th anniversary of the killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery my thoughts and sympathies are with you all. I can assure you that with each day that passes the world is waking up to the situation of the Maubere people. Here in Northern Ireland and indeed throughout the whole island of Ireland many people are with you in your struggle for peace and justice. I look forward to working with you in the future to ensure that the world does not forget the plight of the East Timorese. Yours in peace, Mairead Maguire, Nobel Laureate.

BONO U2

To the Good People of East Timor 9/11/95

On behalf of myself, Bono, and the band U2, on behalf of most scribes and poets, most music, film and object makers both here in Ireland and around the world:

Please be sure that we know of your struggle and that even if we are not allowed to see you, know that we hear of you and that when we don't hear from you we think of you . . . all the more . . .

There is no silence deep enough
No black out dark enough
No corruption thick enough
No business deal big enough
No politician bent enough
No heart hollow enough
No grave wide enough
To bury your story and keep it from us

Love from a short distance,
Bono

At dawn one morning three weeks ago, shortly before all foreigners were expelled from East Timor, I managed to get out onto the busy streets of Dili before my eight plainclothes minders were awake. Overnight, hundreds of fully equipped riot police had appeared - in trucks, on motorbikes and on foot. These Darth Vader lookalikes were matched in numbers by the men from the SGI, the military intelligence organisation - distinguishable by their heavy builds, crewcuts and running shoes. Together, they outnumbered citizens on the streets of the capital.

"Integration", the Indonesian word for East Timor's status, is a sad misnomer. The only accurate word is "occupation". Dili has a military barracks every few hundred metres. Timorese recruited by any of the many intelligence organisations (generically known as *Intel*) report on their friends and family. Indonesia - which practises a commendable degree of religious tolerance - has waived the rules in East Timor: Muslim soldiers earlier this year entered the Catholic mass and urinated on the altar. Within the Church itself, priests report on their brother priests. In recent weeks, Dili's electricity has frequently gone off at night: a sign that roundups are to begin.

During my visit, an international human rights delegation was discovered. It had entered East Timor "to foment riots", according to the Indonesian Government. All foreigners were confined to their hotels. We were told we would be deported forthwith. As flights became available, we were driven to the airport by military

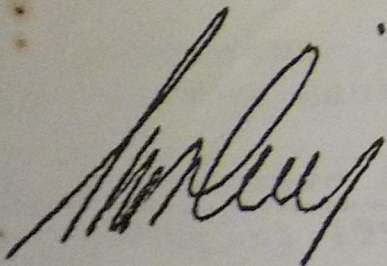
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Shulrat.
Chelrat.
+ Progamat
Progamat

Dear Wes,

I am sometimes told by way of an excuse, that people just don't know enough about East Timor to take a stand. My response is always the same, the little you know is quite enough. I believe as a result of the recent outcry by the Australian public over the Mantiri Affair, that it is perfectly clear that everyone knows the depth of the tragedy and Australia's shameful part in assisting a foreign power in the destruction of a unique people - the East Timorese.

The ordinary Australian, the truly True Believer is generous. So please donate what you can to help our nearest neighbour in their great and uneven struggle against domination by the sub-criminal regime that invaded their territory two decades ago.



Shirley Shackleton
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