

*There can only be peace in East Timor when the essential condition, self-determination, has been met. Talks between Indonesia and Portugal have resumed on the initiative of the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. This has given rise to cautious optimism*

The next round of talks between the foreign ministers and the Secretary-General will take place on 17 December. There are important new elements and, provided there is the political will, they could create an atmosphere "conducive to a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor". One new element is the role of the secretary-general who unlike his predecessor, wants to play a more interventionist role. His initiative in announcing the idea of talks while in Jakarta during the Non-Aligned Summit showed vision and a determination to seek a solution. His predecessor Perez de Cuellar took no initiative of any significance following the adoption of resolution 37/30 in 1982.

The bloodbath of 12 November 1991 created a unprecedented momentum for East Timor, placing it more firmly on the international agenda. This has forced the Indonesian government into a more defensive position, with little option but to accept negotiations. The global atmosphere today is more conducive to seeking solutions to conflicts by negotiation. Now that Suharto is chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, he is obliged, publicly at least, to adhere to this position. Another new element is the role of Portugal which has stepped up its activity in favour of East Timor in the last few years. Lisbon is much more assertive and principled, which has bore fruit internationally while Indonesia's international image has been further tarnished; for the first time since coming to power Suharto has had to face sanctions and cuts in development aid.

## Consulting the Timorese

The real breakthrough however is that, besides talks between Portugal and Indonesia, the secretary-general will consult with representatives of the East Timorese. This is required by resolution 37/30 which mandates the Secretary-General to consult "with all parties directly concerned". Although Indonesia has ridiculed the inclusion of the East Timorese in the consultations, the truth lies elsewhere. During this year's UN General Assembly, the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia met at UN headquarters to agree on a mutually acceptable format for substantive talks. The Indonesian delegation did not object to the intention of the secretary-general to consult the Timorese. The question now is: who should represent the Timorese? Considering political realities in East Timor, Xanana Gusmao and Bishop Ximenes Belo are the obvious choices.

## Xanana's role paramount

Following the arrest of Xanana Gusmao, the undisputed leader of the resistance, the army now claims that his role is at an end, even alleging that negotiations are no longer needed. The army see the resumption of talks as a betrayal and regard East Timor as "finished business".

The international outcry over the arrest of Xanana Gusmao only strengthens the view that East Timor is "unfinished business". In a message to the Non-Aligned

Summit in Jakarta last September, Xanana offered Suharto an olive branch. In his message to mark the first anniversary of the 12 November massacre, he said that if Portugal and Indonesia were to agree to a ceasefire, he would willingly comply. Xanana has proven himself to be a man of peace. He has always said that he seeks a political solution. ★

## Transmigration to Timor stepped up

425 families are to be transferred to East Timor from various parts of Java during 1992/93. To our knowledge, this is as yet the largest wave of transmigration to East Timor. Seventy-five families will come from Central Java, the others from West and East Java. This is also the first transfer of Javanese families to East Timor. In the past, transmigrants have come mainly from Bali. [Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2.XI.1992]

The families will settle in a transmigration area called Culuan, in the district of Zumulai. They will be given two hectares of land each, along with food and basic farming necessities to tide them over for one year.

The transmigration programme involves the relocation of families from the countryside financed by the government. Until now, transmigration to East Timor has been on a limited scale. The vast majority of Indonesians who have moved into East Timor are people working in the administration and commerce, army families, petty traders, teachers and the like. Altogether, there are believed to be well over 100,000 Indonesians now settled in East Timor, in a bid to transform the demography of East Timor and marginalise the East Timorese people.

## General flees US lawsuit

Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, who was served with a writ charging him with responsibility for the 12 November 1991 massacre, has fled the US to avoid the lawsuit. The lawsuit was filed on behalf of Helen Todd, whose son Kamal Bamadhaj, died from fatal gunshot wounds on the day of the massacre. The Center for Constitutional Rights said his departure constitutes an admission of guilt. A Boston federal court judge may order him to pay millions of dollars to Kamal's family.

Beth Stephanie, a CCR attorney working on the case, said: "Panjaitan's departure underscores one of the objectives of this type of lawsuit and the laws under which they are filed: the United States is not a safe refuge for torturers and murderers." Michael Ratner, an attorney with CCR, added, "The Timorese people have a right to struggle peacefully for democracy without being massacred."

"General Panjaitan has admitted his guilt by running away," Helen Todd said. "I hope the Indonesian military now realises that none of their officers travelling abroad will be able to hold up their heads with honour until the East Timor issue is solved."



*Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, chairman of the National Council of Maubere Resistance and commander of FALINTIL, its armed wing, was arrested in Dili by Indonesian soldiers on 20 November. His arrest led to worldwide protests, calls for his release and concern for his physical well-being.*

Xanana Gusmao, 45, was captured during a dawn raid in a house in Lahane, on the outskirts of Dili. He was taken to a military detention centre and immediately subjected to intensive interrogation. He was arrested at the home of the mother and sister of Abilio Araujo, the Fretilin leader in Portugal. They too were arrested.

His arrest came in a period of deep gloom in Dili, six days after army controls had prevented any commemoration of the 12 November massacre. The impact of the news on the population, for whom Xanana has long been the symbol of resistance, must have been devastating, magnifying the sense of frustration and anger.

## International protest

President Mario Soares of Portugal who said he had heard of the arrest with "deep emotion and sadness", led the protest, calling for Xanana's release. "It is necessary for all people throughout the world to watch closely and exert pressure for Xanana Gusmao to be set free and to be treated with humanity and respect." He described the resistance leader as a "man of courage and determination who is struggling for the independence of his country".

President Soares phoned the UN Secretary-General asking him to intervene with the Indonesian authorities to safeguard his well-being and press for his release. He also asked President Mitterand to intercede on Xanana's behalf with President Suharto during a state visit to France on 23 - 25 November.

In a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Lord Avebury of *Parliamentarians for East Timor* and chair of the *Parliamentary Human Rights Group* wrote: "The treatment of Xanana Gusmao while he remains in detention should be governed by the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war and this should include access by the Red Cross. Will you please ask for an immediate visit, to protest Xanana Gusmao from torture?"

In a statement to the press a few hours after his arrest, TAPOL called for his immediate and unconditional release:

*The international community has long recognised Xanana Gusmao as the undisputed leader of East Timor's courageous resistance to its invasion and annexation by Indonesia in 1975. He has led the resistance movement with great courage, foresight and determination since 1980, having restored the movement's fortunes after the severe defeat it suffered in the late 1970s. Xanana has long been the symbol of resistance for both the older and younger generations of East Timorese.*

*The Indonesian army is known to treat their political prisoners with extreme brutality. [With] Xanana Gusmao now in their hands, it is essential for him to be given full protection by the international community. The International Red Cross should be given immediate access.*

*As leader of the national resistance, Xanana Gusmao has a crucial role to play in the talks about the future of East Timor which are now underway under UN auspices. The UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros-Ghali is understood to be planning to hold consultations with representatives of the East Timorese people as part of this process. Xanana Gusmao must not be prevented from taking part in these consultations.*

TAPOL wrote to the UN Secretary-General and the British government along these lines.

A statement by Amnesty International expressed deep concern for Xanana's safety. It said it was seeking immediate guarantees from the Indonesian authorities that Xanana Gusmao would be treated humanely, that the International Red Cross would be granted immediate and unconditional access to his place of detention and that he would be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choice while being interrogated, as required by Indonesian law.

## Horta: East Timor's Nelson Mandela!

In an interview on the BBC World Service on 20 November, José Ramos-Horta, official spokesperson of the CNRM abroad, said that the capture of commander Xanana Gusmao has only created another problem for the Indonesians. "They have an explosive situation on their hands. The arrest of Commander Xanana Gusmao is not going to resolve the problem for them. Quite the contrary. For us it can be a big turning point."

He described Xanana as a nationalist, a patriot, a humble person, "incredibly intelligent, with an incredible determination. He's a poet, a writer, a journalist, and above all, he's a humanist."

Xanana's arrest would mean as much to the people of East Timor as Nelson Mandela's imprisonment on Robben Island had meant to the people of South Africa. Just as "the people of South Africa were inspired by Nelson Mandela, the people of East Timor are inspired by Commander Xanana Gusmao. Around him there are a lot of young and experienced cadres, in the resistance in the mountains and also in the occupied areas, who will continue to be guided by Commander Xanana Gusmao in the struggle against the occupation."

If Xanana goes on trial, said Horta, "he and all of us around the world will turn his trial into a theatre of denunciation of Indonesia, as much as Nelson Mandela used his trial to denounce the apartheid regime."

## More arrests in Dili

Seven members of the family of Abilio Araujo were arrested when Xanana Gusmao was captured in their home. They include his 74-year-old mother, his sister and brother-in-law and four sons and daughters. They were all taken to an unknown place of detention. Sources reporting these arrests said that the situation in the territory has further deteriorated, with troops spread everywhere.

Meanwhile in Jakarta, Hendardi speaking on behalf of the Legal Aid Institute, said that it is ready to defend Xanana Gusmao if he so wishes. It urged the authorities to treat him in accordance with the law "including allowing him to select lawyers to accompany him at every interrogation".

The human rights organisation, *Infight* (Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights) warned that Xanana's arrest could represent a serious setback to efforts to reach an overall solution to the question of East Timor. It stressed that, in the eyes of the world community, the fundamental issue for the East Timorese is self-determination. ★



Xanana Gusmao was born in Laleia, Manatuto, in 1948. He attended the Jesuit seminary in Dare and joined FRETILIN soon after its establishment in 1974. Colleagues who knew him then describe him as very reserved, absorbed by poetry and showing a capacity for political observation and analysis. During FRETILIN's *de facto* administration from August - December 1975, he worked at its Department of Information and was elected a member of the central committee.

After the invasion on 7 December, he stayed behind to report on the situation in Dili where brutal atrocities had occurred, and was the last central committee member to leave the capital. Once in the bush, he became a platoon commander and later secretary for the Hacsolok guerrilla base. At the time of ABRI's encirclement and annihilation campaign from 1977 till 1979, he was in charge of the Ponte Leste section, in the most easterly part of the island. Massive Indonesian bombardment broke the back of the resistance movement, decimating FRETILIN and leading to the capture or murder of almost the entire central committee, including the leader, Nicolau Lobato. Xanana Gusmao was one of the few survivors.

### Rebuilding the resistance

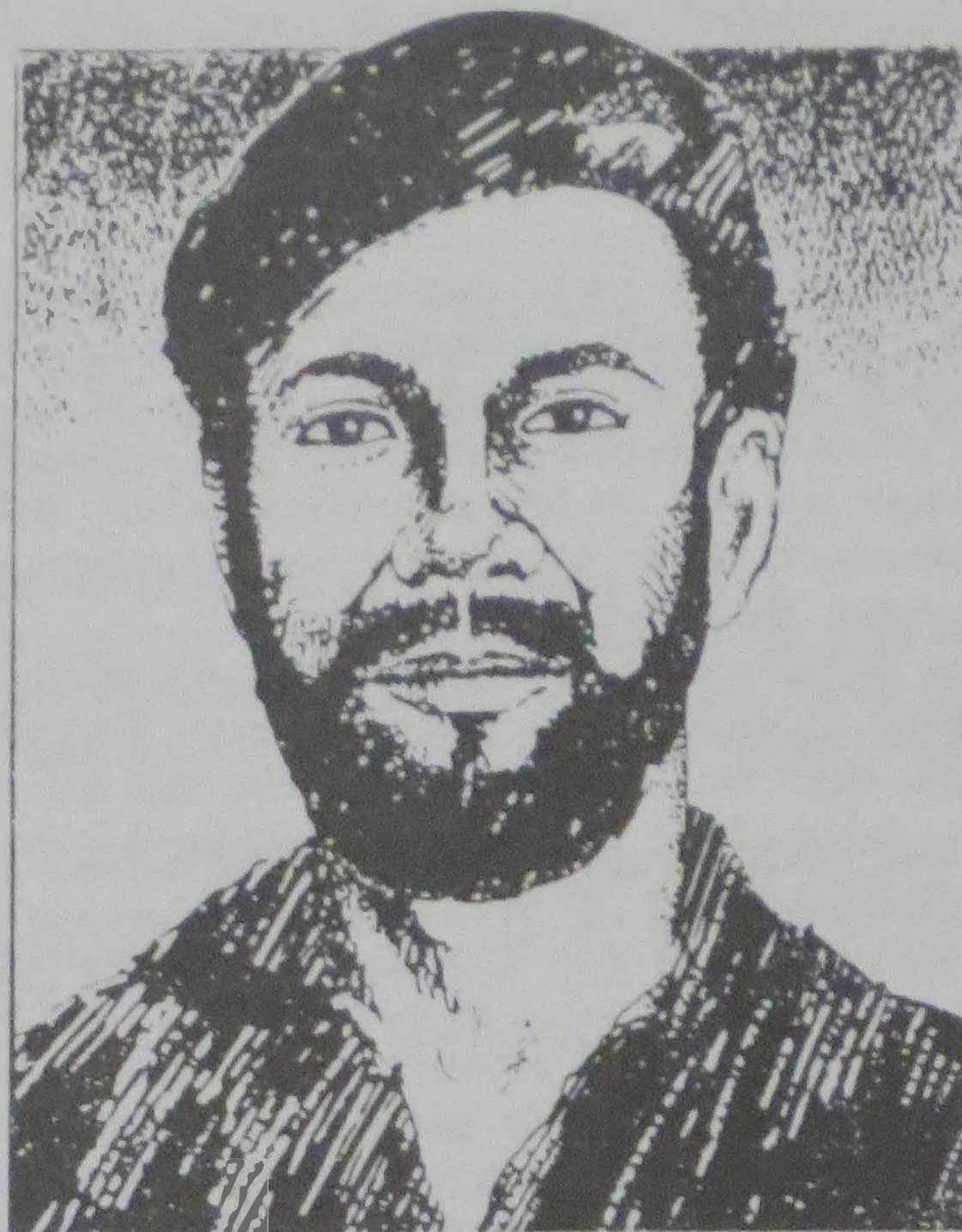
Along with two other survivors, Serakey and Mau Huno - who is today second-in-command of FALINTIL - Xanana Gusmao succeeded in re-establishing contact with the scattered guerrilla forces and painstakingly restored the fortunes of the resistance. In 1981, the armed resistance withstood a country-wide 'fence-of-legs' campaign by the Indonesians to round up the guerrillas. By 1982, it had again become a significant threat to Indonesia's hold on the country. Secret Indonesian military documents leaked abroad in early 1983, revealed that the resistance had created a huge network of undercover contacts with the camps where the vast majority of East Timorese people had been herded in the course of the 1977-79 campaign of annihilation.

With his forces under intense pressure from the guerrillas and suffering high casualties, Colonel Purwanto, Indonesia's military commander in Dili sued for peace and held talks with Xanana in Lari Gutu on 21 and 23 March 1983. This led to a ceasefire, based on the understanding that Jakarta would involve the United Nations in finding a solution. The Indonesians reneged on their promise.

The ceasefire last five months and was broken when General Banny Murdani, who had taken over as armed forces commander-in-chief in April, announced that ABRI would use all forces at their disposal to destroy the guerrillas. Renewed fighting broke out in August 1983; there has been a succession of major offensives ever since.

A major objective of all these operations was the capture of Xanana Gusmao, but he succeeded in eluding them... till 20 November 1992.

By the mid 1980s he had become a legendary guerrilla leader; with no material support from outside, the armed wing of the resistance, FALINTIL, under his leadership, had survived in the face of tremendous odds. It had close ties



## Xanana Gusmao

with the population in the occupied areas, with East Timorese students at Indonesian universities and with the movement's diplomatic front abroad.

In 1989, the resistance movement underwent structural transformation. The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) replaced the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance. Xanana resigned as a member of FRETILIN and was chosen to lead the CNRM, concurrently commander of FALINTIL. The CNRM umbrella included the two main parties, FRETILIN and the UDT, and organisations from various sections of the community.

At the end of 1988, Indonesia 'opened up' East Timor to counter international pressure about lack of access. Although access was still limited, the greater chance of contact with the outside world provided openings for young activists in the occupied areas of East Timor to campaign for independence. The new town-based resistance which took its lead from Xanana in the bush, gave the resistance a new, political dimension. These youngsters, all the product of Indonesian schooling, looked to Xanana for their inspiration.

On 27 September 1990, Robert Domm, for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, reached Xanana in his guerrilla hideout for an interview, the first meeting with the foreign media. The interview provided the first direct portrayal of the man and a comprehensive account of his assessment of ABRI's strategy and of the difficulties under which FALINTIL was functioning. The most outstanding remark in this interview were: "To resist is to win!", a call that has been reverberated among East Timorese communities everywhere since hearing of their leader's arrest. [For interview, see *TAPOL Bulletin* No. 102, December 1990]

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**(CHEQUES PAYABLE TO EAST TIMOR- THE INSIDE STORY)**

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## Dili, Nov. 12: mourning prohibited

THE INSIDE STORY

DECEMBER NO. 5

*Hundreds of families in East Timor who lost relatives in the Santa Cruz massacre last November 12 were banned from commemorating the first anniversary of the deaths. No church masses were said, approaches to Motael Church from which last year's demonstration set out were lined with troops, and the cemetery where the killings occurred was off-limits.*

It is now known that 273 East Timorese lost their lives in the massacre. The military commander, Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei has made it his primary task to prevent anything happening - protests, demonstrations, even public mourning. The ultimate test was on first anniversary when, under normal circumstances, there would have been commemorations and masses. But it was not to be.

Troops were on full alert to prevent any commemorations, let alone demonstrations. The grief of East Timorese mourning their dead was compounded by the fact that, to this very day, none of the bodies of the victims has been returned to the families for burial.

Already weeks before the anniversary, troops rounded up thousands of people. There were house-to-house searches late at night, to check people's identity cards. Those found without cards were taken in for questioning; those with cards issued elsewhere were ordered to return to the place of issue. The arrests went far beyond those without identity cards. The military commander, Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei announced a show of force, to impress upon the East Timorese that nothing would be allowed.

Amnesty International asked for permission to send a mission to East Timor because it believed "that heightened tensions around the anniversary... have increased the need for an independent humanitarian presence". The request was rejected by the Indonesian government, alleging that "it would create problems" for the East Timorese people.

TAPOL appealed to the British government as president of the European Community to send a team of diplomats to East Timor for the occasion.

Foreign journalists in Jakarta were keen to visit Dili but the army refused all requests. A few days before 12 November, Reuter announced that they alone had been given permission to go. This may have been the result of pressure from foreign governments.

### Many arrests

During the months preceding the anniversary, there were numerous arrests in Lospalos, Maliana, Ermera, Viqueque and Baucau, as well as in Dili.

In Viqueque, 22 people were arrested in late July and August, among them an official of the local administration, Fernando da Silva Nobai, 30 years. Miguel Soares Pinto and Xisto Pereira, both officials at the education department, were severely tortured after being taken into custody. Others named were Faustino da Silva, a 30-year old farmer, the 19-year-old Rui Jose da Silva, and a woman student, Benvida Rodrigues.

### Eyewitness account

As we went to press, we received a report from a contact who spent several weeks in East Timor and left on the morning of 12 November. Here are some highlights:

This is worse than 1975, says a Catholic priest. Military presence is total. The Timorese are afraid to speak to us. "I must not be seen speaking to you," some whisper as they turn their backs. The place is crowded with spies and informers. "Paid by the military, they are everywhere, in every village," says a priest.

Not even the church is sacred. In Ermera, we are told how soldiers with weapons at the ready interrupt mass and arrested people. One priest was arrested at home at 3am. Another had his house searched, accused of hiding a boy.

On 5 October, Armed Forces Day, a soldier was shot in a restaurant in Baucau. Shooting and tumult broke out. A civilian was shot dead by the military. Another was executed at a hospital. Many were arrested.

Many young Timorese have fled to the bush since the massacre. We were told of 60 students from a school in Los Palos who joined the resistance in October. Other cases are reported by priests elsewhere. One priest believes there are 5,000 in the bush, many unarmed, including women and children. In the villages, there are networks of people supporting the armed resistance with food and supplies.

In Viqueque, the fear is apparent. In two houses, the army keep women from a neighbouring village who are raped every night. Anyone refusing or trying to escape is killed.

We are followed by the military, every minute, day and night. We are photographed and filmed on video. They want our film and threaten to confiscate our passports. Our passport data is recorded about 30 times.

We met a priest from (...) in Dili. He offers us lists of people killed and arrested there, but with heavy military presence, this is not a good idea. There are security officers waiting outside the house where we are meeting.

On 12 November, we pass through six checkpoints from Baucau to Dili. A week earlier, there was only one. People say that young Timorese will try to demonstrate but the church, wanting to avoid bloodshed, will hold no special masses. One priest says the military have been watching Motael Church and the Santa Cruz cemetery for two weeks. On the morning of 12 November, military and police are to be seen at every crossing in Dili. The streets are patrolled by open trucks filled with soldiers, back to back, ready for combat, in helmets and holding their guns close to their chests. We leave Dili on 12 November without hearing whether anything happened. Indonesian press reports in the following days say that nothing happened. ★

Around the world people came out in solidarity with the people of East Timor, protesting the massacre and remembering the dead: a simple act of remembrance is denied the Timorese. East Timor became a public issue in Malaysia as Malaysian intellectuals and students condemned the massacre. In a signed statement, the meeting of almost 100 Malaysians called on their government to speak out for victims of human rights violations in ASEAN. The meeting closed with a candle-lit vigil and songs.

The 12 November was officially declared a "day of reflection" in Portugal. Every school held a debate on East Timor. Portuguese protesters fixed crosses in a Lisbon park for each of the hundreds of people killed, wounded and disappeared, all named in a three-page advertisement in the newspapers. Parliament held a special debate on East Timor. Communists to rightwing Christian Democrats took the floor to condemn Indonesian rule.



# Demonstration leader escapes from Indonesia

Constantio Pinto, 29, who led the preparations for the demonstration in Dili on 12 November last year, escaped from Indonesia in October, in time to reach Lisbon for the commemoration of the Santa Cruz massacre. Constantio spent nearly a year in hiding from the army, in Dili and Jakaria. TAPOL interviewed him the day after he arrived in Lisbon:

**Did you take part in the demonstration in Dili on 12 November?**

I was intending to but army intelligence had been searching for me since 2 November and I had to be careful about appearing anywhere in public. I was intending to join the crowd after they arrived at Santa Cruz cemetery but, as I was about to join them, the soldiers started shooting so I left the spot immediately.

**How did you spend the next few months up to leaving Dili in May?**

I was in hiding all the time, moving from house to house almost every night and never going out during daylight hours. More than once soldiers searched the house in which I was hiding. I could hear their voices but each time, the people I was staying with managed to get rid of them.

When the authorities failed to find me, they spread a story that I was a government spy, hoping that the resistance would take care of me. But nobody believed them. Our leaders decided it was too dangerous for me to remain so I moved to Jakarta and after a few months in hiding there, I left Indonesia on a forged passport.

While hiding in Dili, I started to gather information about the number of casualties from the massacre. The information sent abroad by the resistance movement earlier this year came from this investigation. As you know, experts examined our lists of dead, missing and wounded and concluded that 273 people were killed and 376 were wounded.

**What about the security situation since the massacre?**

The army has greatly increased the number of troops in East Timor. They have placed platoons (8 to 10 soldiers) in every village. In some villages there are many more than this. They have stationed a hundred troops in the village of Kuluhun on the outskirts of Dili, for example, because this village lost many people in the massacre and there are many bereaved families there. There are also many troops in the village of Santa Cruz which suffered a high number of casualties.

Since the massacre, it has been virtually impossible for East Timorese people to go out in Dili after 8pm. The only people on the streets after then are soldiers, police and intelligence officers.

**What is the situation like there today?**

Far worse than before. The families of the dead would like to place wreathes or flowers where their loved ones died a year ago, but the army will not allow them to do this.

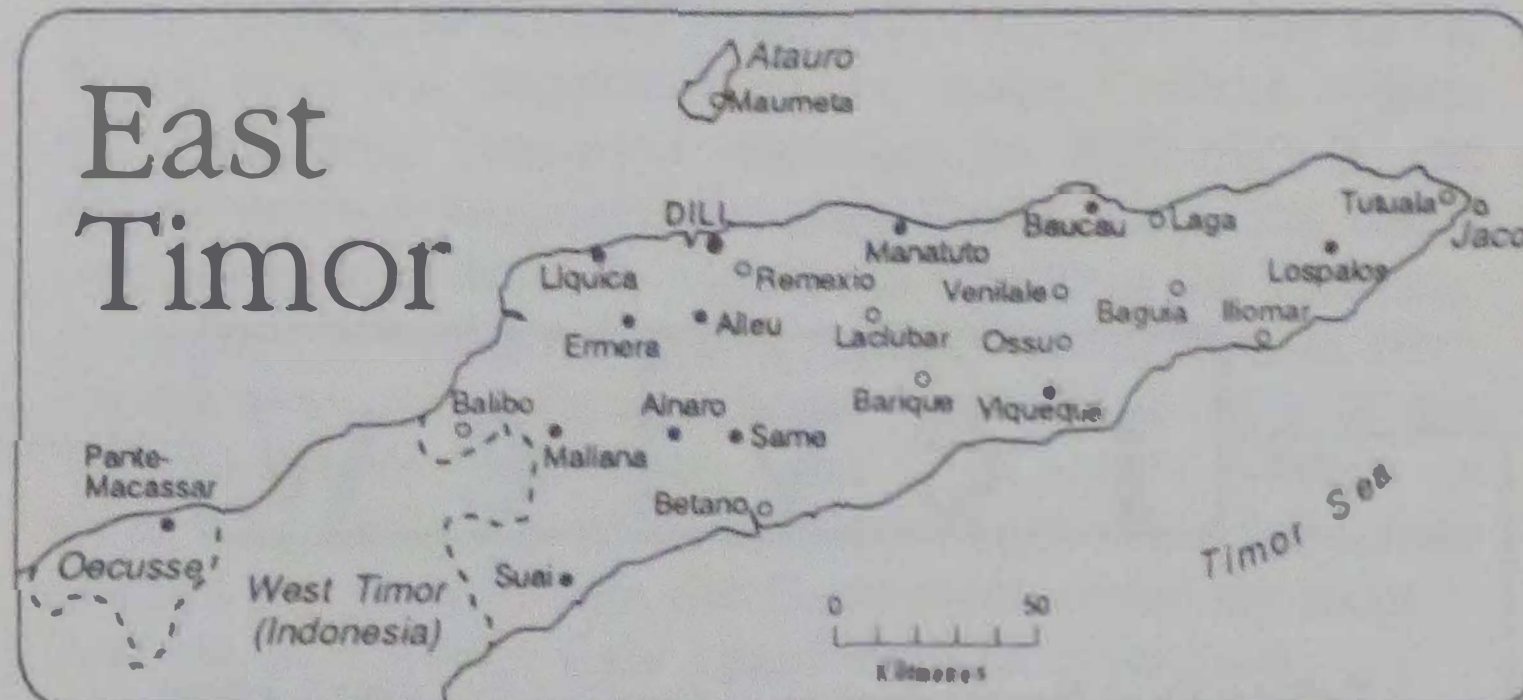
**The Reuter correspondent reported from Dili yesterday [11 November] that he only saw soldiers surrounding the Santa Cruz cemetery and that the streets of Dili were calm. What is your comment?**

People should understand that Indonesian soldiers do not walk around the town in uniform, but they are there nevertheless. They wear civilian dress but the East Timorese know who they are.

**What about your family? Do you fear for their safety?** My wife is Gabriela Lopes Pinto. I've never seen our son, Tilsao, who is 9 months old. They live with my parents.

Yes, I fear for their safety, especially now that I am abroad and can speak out about what is happening at home. I hope governments and others with influence in Indonesia will help to protect my family, and urge the authorities to make sure they don't suffer because of me.

## East Timor



Support the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and an Independent East Timor

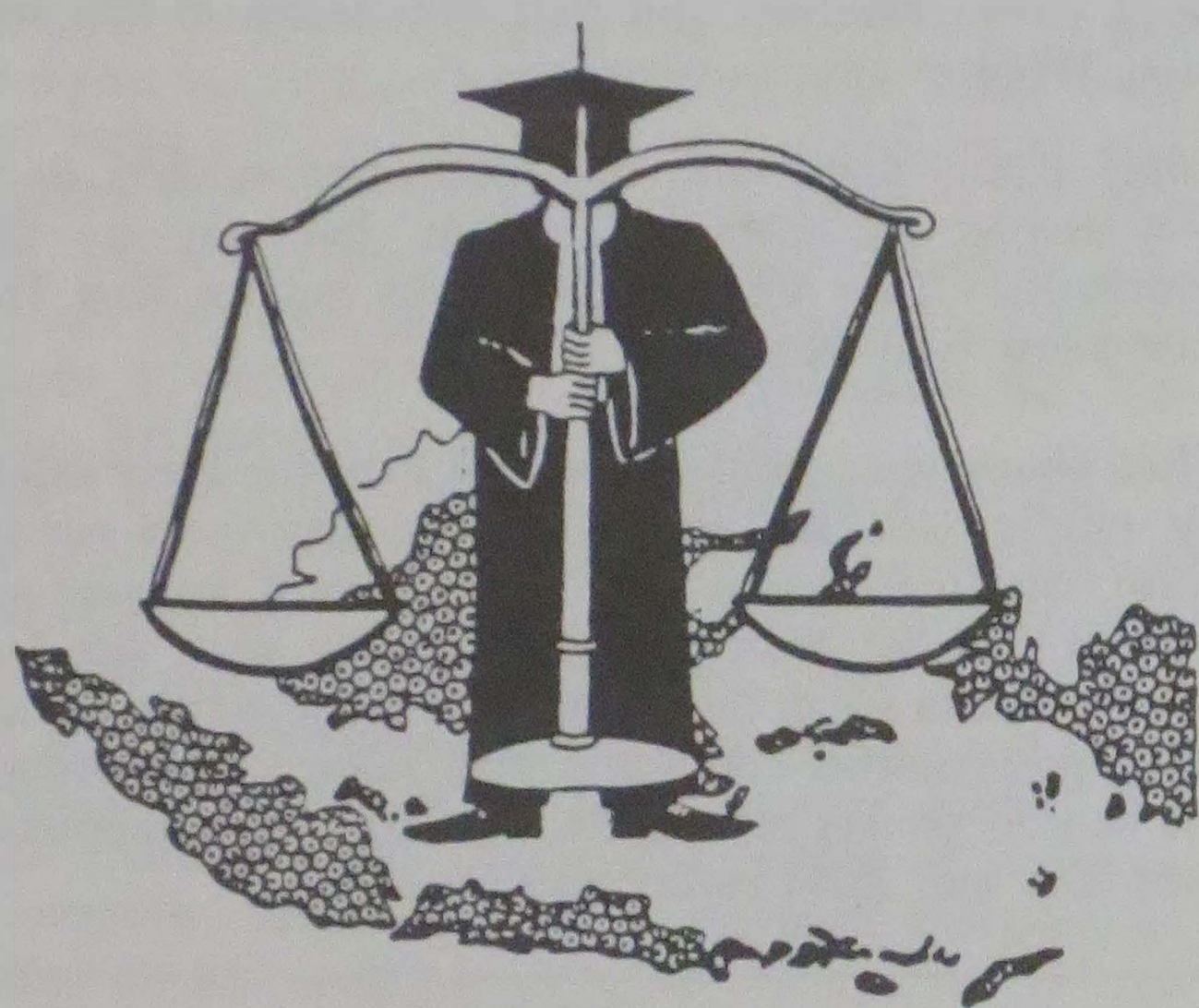


*Santa Cruz, 12 November 1991. Soon after this photo was taken, the shooting started. Almost half of those killed were under 30 years of age and many were under 21. "This is deliberate killing of the young people. My God, I am horrified at these findings. I know them to be completely accurate", commented José Ramos-Horta, CNRM spokesperson. Photo: Svend Kochs*



Lawyer Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara who heads Indonesia's Legal Aid Foundation told the Jakarta foreign correspondents' club that he was "very upset about the human rights situation in Indonesia". The government was drafting changes to the Criminal Code which could mean the death penalty for any conduct considered against the state ideology. "The draft is very, very dangerous, especially on definitions of crimes against the state." [The anti-subversion law already allows the death penalty for crimes of subversion; it appears that the government now plans to incorporate these provisions into the Criminal Code.]

Hakim said the police would even have the right investigate anyone staying in a hotel in case they were committing adultery. He said there had been no significant progress on political rights in Indonesia which has been ruled by a military-backed president for a quarter of a century. [AP and Reuter, 6.XI.1992] ★



## Human rights award for Araujo

Fernando de Araujo, the East Timorese human rights activist who was tried and sentenced to nine years' imprisonment in Jakarta earlier this year on charges of subversion, is one of four people to receive awards this year from the Reebok Human Rights Programme. He will receive a sum of \$25,000. The award citation reads as follows:

"Fernando de Araujo works to promote human rights and to alert the world to the suffering in occupied East Timor. For his efforts, he is currently serving a nine-year sentence on the charge of 'subversion'. He is chairman of RENETIL, a student group campaigning for the independence of East Timor from Indonesia.

"Working in an environment of repression, intimidation and fear, de Araujo collects information on government human rights abuses, acting as an invaluable source of information for the international human rights groups. He has alerted the world to the arrest and prolonged torture of students; developed a network of young people to promote human rights, and organised peaceful demonstrations in East Timor and Indonesia."

Fernando was refused permission to go to the US to collect his award.

[Note: Reebok, the world's second largest shoe manufacturer, contracts production from factories in Indonesia which pay starvation wages to their workers.]

## review

### *Telling East Timor: Personal Testimonies 1942-1992*

By Michele Turner

New South Wales University Press

218 pp. \$19.95

Reviewed by Lenore Tardif

This book is the oral history of some of the most brutal human rights abuses in recent times. It is a moving first-hand account of the sufferings of the East Timorese — first as victims of Japanese war crimes during the second world war, then from the cruelty and arrogance of the occupying Indonesian army beginning in 1975.

The testimonies, carefully collected by Turner over the past 10 years, portray a country ruined by an army of occupation: a people robbed of their land and livelihood, removed from their homes and herded into virtual concentration camps, subject to wholesale murder extending even to newborn babies.

It is also the story of the East Timorese disbelief at the betrayal and callous indifference of successive Australian governments. It

is the telling of those able to speak about the mental anguish and bruised lives.

Even silence has something to say, Turner observes: "To be silent is so often the most eloquent communication of East Timorese, people with a strong oral tradition and fifteen languages. It is part of the cosmology of the Mambai people of central Timor that everything is divided into 'speaking mouths' (humans) and 'silent mouths' (rocks, trees etc.)

"In the conditions of war and occupancy, it's as if the Timorese become 'silent mouths', while to us who are free to be 'speaking mouths', they are just silent."

This book will make you cry and make you angry. It will also fill you with wonder at the East Timorese, still eloquent in their belief that some of their Indonesian brothers are capable of good will. There is an understanding that democracy within Indonesia is a prerequisite for a lasting peace in East Timor and in the region.

*Telling* is essential reading for all Australians. In April, when Prime Minister Keating announced Australian aid to Indonesia for a clear water project in Dili, did he not realise that all the waterways of East Timor have been the repositories for the bodies of thousands of innocent East Timorese? ■