

THE MISSING PEACE

NEWSLETTER OF THE EAST TIMOR TALKS CAMPAIGN

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The talks campaign

The East Timor Talks Campaign is a new bid to resolve the conflict in East Timor through dialogue under UN auspices.

The campaign was initiated in Australia in 1991 following an offer by the East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, 'to discuss any project for a solution' and a request that Australia facilitate such discussions through the UN. The proposal is supported by Bishop Belo, the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor.

The Santa Cruz massacre forcefully demonstrated the existence of deep-seated conflict in East Timor. Sixteen years after Indonesia's takeover, the East Timorese are clearly not reconciled to integration. Equally, Indonesia is determined to crush all resistance.

The talks proposal is intended to break this impasse. It offers a genuine alternative to continued conflict and violence. It properly recognises the East Timorese people's right to self-determination but also acknowledges Indonesia's concerns and interests. It proposes that all parties to the conflict - Indonesia, Portugal, the East Timorese people (including the resistance) - undertake roundtable negotiations without preconditions, under UN auspices.

Conflict-resolution through dialogue is being widely applied to many long-running issues. For its part, Australia is actively promoting peace talks on other regional issues such as Tibet, Cambodia and Bougainville.

East Timor remains the missing piece.

Peace process for East Timor: how it might work

On 23 April, JOSE RAMOS HORTA, a key exponent of talks on East Timor, outlined to the European Parliament how he sees a peace process for East Timor unfolding.

The massacre of 12 November last marks a turning point in the 16 year old conflict, Mr Horta told the European Parliament. Indonesia has to admit the existence of conflict and the need for new directions in their policies towards East Timor. At the same time, East Timorese must also have the vision and courage to find a 'modus vivendi' with Indonesia and to begin a new chapter in the relationship.

Mr Horta told the European Parliament that Xanana Gusmao, the resistance leader of East Timor, has proposed and remains ready to enter into a process of dialogue with Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN, without preconditions, to explore all possible options towards a comprehensive settlement of the problem of East Timor.

The Xanana peace proposal, said Horta, 'reflects the stand of all sections of East Timorese society inside East Timor and abroad, as well as the Catholic Church, and has been endorsed by Portugal, which submitted it to the UN Secretary-General in January'.

Mr Horta said he saw the proposed peace process unfolding in three phases over a number of years.

What follows is the full text of Mr Horta's explanation.

Phase One - One to Two Years

Portugal and Indonesia should commence talks at once, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General. This does not necessitate East Timorese direct involvement.

For the first stage, we are proposing a modified version of the 'proximity talks' followed in the Afghanistan case where in the face of Pakistan's refusal to sit face-to-face with the Kabul government, the UN acted as 'go-between'. This should overcome Indonesia's present stance in refusing to talk directly to the East Timorese.

The 12 November massacre exposes the fallacy of Indonesia's claim that the people of East Timor are now happy Indonesians. The culture of violence has not produced the results it wanted. Another way must be found.

This phase of the talks must focus on achieving:

- * An immediate end to all armed activities in East Timor.
- * Immediate and unconditional release of all East Timorese political prisoners.
- * Reduction of Indonesian military personnel in East Timor from its current estimated strength of 20,000 - 30,000 to 1,000 within a six-month period.

The East Timor Talks Campaign is endorsed by: Australian Council for Overseas Aid; Bob Brown; Sr Veronica Brady; Hon John Dowd, QC; Martin Ferguson; Tom Uren; Bill Armstrong; Dr Keith Suter; Janet Powell; Rev Dr Sandy Yule; Phillip Adams; Jo Vallentine; James Dunn; Justice Marcus Einfeld; Prof Peter Singer; Heather Southcott, AM; Fr Bob Maguire, AM; Dr Joe Camilleri; Sr Angela Ryan; Judith Wright; David Scott; Bishop Paul Moore Jr; John Wheeldon; Dr Jocelyne Scutt; Frank Brennan, SJ; Hon Michael Kirby; Bob Debus; Russell Rollason; David Suzuki; Justice Elizabeth Evatt, AO; Noam Chomsky; Thomas Keneally; Stella Cornelius, AO OBE; Timothy Mo; Rodney Hall; Elsa Atkin; Rev Richard Wootton; Prof Garth Nettheim; Dr Ross Fitzgerald; Kaz Cooke; Rev Dorothy McMahon; Bill Ethell; David Shinnick; Senator John Coulter; Dr David Armstrong; Dr Hilary Charlesworth; Dr Judy Henderson; Prof Charles Birch; Faith Bandler; Tom Kelly; Mollie Missen; Bishop Brian Kyme; Sr Janet Mead; Dr Richard Tanter; Michael Sullivan OAM. Views in this newsletter are not necessarily those of the Campaign endorsers.

- * The removal from East Timor of all heavy weapons, tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft, long range artillery pieces.
- * Reduction by 50% of Indonesian civil servants in East Timor.
- * Expanding the presence and activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) into every district of East Timor and in strict observance of the Geneva Conventions.
- * Access to the territory by UN Specialised Agencies such as UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO, etc for the purposes of carrying out, within their respective fields of competence, a comprehensive program of restoration and protection of the environment, voluntary resettlement of the tens of thousands of East Timorese displaced from their ancestral lands, development projects in every district, proper care for women and children, and an immunisation campaign.
- * A comprehensive census of the population to be undertaken by competent UN bodies, a pre-condition for all the above projects to be carried out effectively.
- * A Human Rights Commission to be set up in Dili, headed by the Bishop, and comprising a number of East Timorese of his choice and with the assistance of reputable Indonesian human rights organisations and the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva which would circulate it to the UN Commission on Human Rights. These reports may be made available to other institutions and the public.
- * Lifting of Press censorship.
- * Freedom of political activities and assembly.
- * Removal of restrictions on, and expansion of, the teaching of Portuguese and Portuguese schools.
- * The UN Secretary-General appoints a resident Representative who is responsible for all UN activities in East Timor, including reporting on the implementation of the accords.

In spite of the untold suffering inflicted upon us, we continue to extend an olive branch to those who see us as their enemy.

Phase Two - Five Years

The first stage is indispensable for a gradual normalisation of the situation and for Phase Two to be effected.

At the end of Phase One:

- * Portugal and Indonesia to normalise relations.
- * Political parties are legalised.
- * Portugal to be represented in East Timor by a legation of the European Community with a resident Portuguese official.
- * A Portuguese Cultural Institute is set up with funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation, Fundacao Oriente and the EC.
- * Elections to be held for a local Assembly. The election process and procedures must conform with universally-

accepted democratic norms. The UN to provide technical support and supervision of the election.

- * Only East Timorese identified as such may vote and be eligible.
- * The democratically-elected Assembly elects a Governor of the territory who has to be an East Timorese.
- * The Assembly and Governor have a 5-year mandate.
- * The territory may enter into trade relations with foreign countries, promulgate all its laws affecting investment, land ownership, property etc.
- * Remaining Indonesian troops are withdrawn within 3 months. The territory will have no army. A territorial police force is organised by the UN and is placed under the command of the elected governor.
- * The territory will have its own immigration laws.
- * Further reduction of Indonesian civil servants.

Phase Three - Self-Determination

Phase Two may be extended by mutual consent. A 2/3 vote of the Assembly in support of extension of Phase Two is needed before the proposal is put to a referendum.

If the popular referendum rejects extension of Phase Two, Phase Three commences.

If the Assembly fails to adopt a recommendation of the extension of Phase Two, it would continue to function for up to three years while negotiations with the Government in Indonesia take place.

If a referendum votes for extension of Phase Two, elections are held within three months for a new Assembly and Governor.

At the end of Phase Two or the second regime of Phase Two, whatever the case, Phase Three covers:

- * Preparations for a referendum on self-determination followed by general elections for a Constituent Assembly being undertaken within a period of one year.
- * Transfer of power to the elected government takes place.
- * East Timorese political leaders form a Government of National Unity.
- * East Timor is declared a Zone of Peace and of Neutrality to be guaranteed by the Permanent Members of the Security Council and ASEAN.
- * East Timor joins ASEAN and South Pacific forum.
- * East Timor accedes to, and ratifies, all international human rights instruments.

Mr Horta concluded his address to the European Parliament with these words: 'These are some of the ideas to be explored further when Indonesian leaders decide to come to terms with the reality that their 16-year occupation of East Timor has been an utter failure. I am prepared to fly to Indonesia or anywhere, at anytime, to meet with senior Indonesian officials to commence the dialogue'.

*Jose Ramos Horta is the Special Diplomatic Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance. CNRM is an umbrella organisation based in East Timor, comprising all East Timorese opposition groups. Mr Horta represented the East Timorese at the United Nations in New York for many years and is the author of *Funu: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor*.*

Portugal renews talks proposal

Portugal told Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, during his visit to Lisbon in March, that 'a discussion without preconditions, with the East Timorese included.....would be the best way of settling the issue'.

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Deus Pinheiro, reiterated Portugal's willingness for UN-mediated talks with Indonesia on East Timor, but said a decision on the future of the territory must rest with the Timorese people.

Portugal formally put the talks proposal to the new UN Secretary-General, Boutros Ghali, on 24 January.

'Noone questions the specific identity of the Timorese people - their language, their culture, their tradition - and their sense of existing as a people', said Mr Deus Pinheiro.

'There are several degrees of autonomy, and it is up to the Timorese to make a decision...all countries which subscribe to the UN Charter have a duty to support the [Portuguese] government's offer'.

Senator Evans admitted that a majority in the former Portuguese colony probably oppose rule by Jakarta but said Portugal and the East Timorese should agree to Indonesian rule.

According to the Lisbon-based Reuter correspondent Robert Powell, Senator Evans told a press conference on 17 March, that 'unquestionably the events leading up to...the massacre of November consolidated, radicalised if you like, East Timorese opinion and created...a feeling of hostility, resentment and resistance to the Indonesian government from a majority of people'.

'In the longer term, however, I believe that the situation is likely to change, providing the Indonesian government responds sensitively and constructively to the situation', said Senator Evans.

Evans said he favoured a round-table conference of all interested parties in Indonesia and East Timor to work out a solution for the territory which recognised its special characteristics, within the context of Indonesian sovereignty, wrote the Reuter correspondent.



Bishop and MPs urge autonomy

Indonesia is studying a proposal by Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of Dili urging autonomy for East Timor, reported the Hong Kong-based Christian Newsagency, UCA, on 12 March.

Because of its historical and cultural background, it would be better if East Timor were autonomous, the Indonesian daily *Suara Pembaruan* quoted Bishop Belo as saying, 29 February.

Amur Machasim of the Home Affairs Ministry told reporters on 7 March that the central government could not respond immediately to the Bishop's statement since the issue has to be discussed among related departments. Each region, he said, has the freedom to ask for autonomy 'but the realisation is not that easy. It requires consideration on the aspects of security, economy, and the readiness of the regional administration of East Timor', said Machasim.

The proposal has been cautiously welcomed by some non-government spokespersons.

Abdurrahman Wahid, the chairman of both Indonesia's largest Muslim organisation, Nahdatul Ulama, and the Forum of Democracy, said that Bishop Belo's proposal is legitimate. 'It is possible to give autonomy to East Timor considering the region has special cultural characteristics that need to be preserved'.

Though premature, said Wahid, the Bishop's proposal is 'far-reaching...and is a test case for the government to prove its propagandised openness'.

Secretary of the PPP, an Islamic-oriented political party, Matori Abdul Jalil, said the proposal should be taken into consideration. 'It is homework for the government and the House of Representatives as well', he said.

Some Australian Labor MPs also favour autonomy. An ALP backbench member of Parliamentarians for East Timor, Mr Garrie Gibson, said in March that Australia should pursue a settlement in the province of East Timor that reflected the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people - in line with the terms of an ALP Caucus resolution passed in late November.

Prime Minister Keating should promote this option during his forthcoming visit to Indonesia, said Mr Gibson. 'Bearing in mind that the Australian government accepts Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, the Prime Minister should make it clear that we have grave reservations about their human rights record and that the administration of the province has to be reviewed with a view to giving East Timor some sort of independent existence within Indonesia'.

Sweden supports referendum

'The Swedish government has never accepted Indonesia's annexation of East Timor', the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mrs Margaretha af Ugglas, told the parliament in Stockholm on 20 March.

'This annexation is a breach of international law....We have long supported the idea of a referendum in East Timor so that the people there shall have the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination'.

Indonesia will resume talks only on own terms

Indonesia will refuse to resume talks with Portugal on East Timor if the UN insists on including East Timorese exiles, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, said on 18 April.

'Indonesia will not accept talks in whatever form if [it includes] small groups of people staying in Portugal or other places calling themselves East Timor representatives', the Reuter newsagency reported Mr Alatas as saying.

Mr Alatas said that the UN Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Ghali, had raised the possibility of resuming talks with Portugal, but did not say if Dr Boutros Ghali asked at their meeting for the inclusion in the talks of an East Timorese representative in exile.

He added, 'Indonesia believes the true representatives of the East Timorese are those living in East Timor who decided clearly their own fate, 17 years ago, by an overwhelming majority'.

Portugal has demanded that the East Timorese resistance be included in the UN-sponsored talks in New York.

Indonesian NGOs call for talks

An international forum of Indonesian development agencies and their overseas partners said recently that the Santa Cruz killings and other human rights violations in East Timor 'are rooted in a fundamental difference of views...[which] must be resolved by open dialogue'.

At its eighth conference held in Tokyo 21-23 March, the INGI forum said that political dispute over the validity of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor 'is at the heart of the dissent, social frustration and violence that have marked recent events in East Timor'.

The INGI forum, which comprises some 100 Indonesian and overseas development agencies, said that the dispute 'must be resolved by open dialogue towards a just, peaceful and permanent settlement'.

Acting on orders

'In the Indonesian Armed Forces, anything that is done by the troops is the responsibility of the officers. There were no unruly elements involved in the [November 12] incident'.

East Timor's Military Commander, Brig Gen, Theo Sjafei, answering a reporter's question whether troops had acted without orders. Tempo, 22 February, 1992.

Candid comment

'Unquestionably, the events leading up to...the massacre of November consolidated, radicalised if you like, East Timorese opinion and created...a feeling of hostility, resentment and resistance to the Indonesian government from a majority of people'.

Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, 17 March, 1992.

Nagorno-Karabakh yes, Afghanistan yes, Timor no

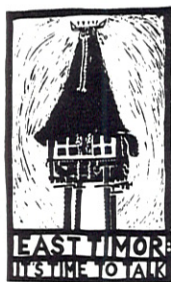
Armenia and Azerbaijan agreed on 24 March to accept a separate representative from Nagorno-Karabakh at peace talks to be sponsored by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The break-through was approved by the 47 nations of the conference.

Azerbaijan considers the mostly Armenian Christian territory of Nagorno-Karabakh to be its territory, and had opposed Armenia's demand that the people of the enclave be considered independent or represent themselves at a peace conference.

On 12 April UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali unveiled a peace plan for Afghanistan which will involve all key warring factions.

This edition of *The Missing Peace* was edited by Adrian Davies, Kirsty Sword and Pat Walsh.

Donations are sought to support this project.



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