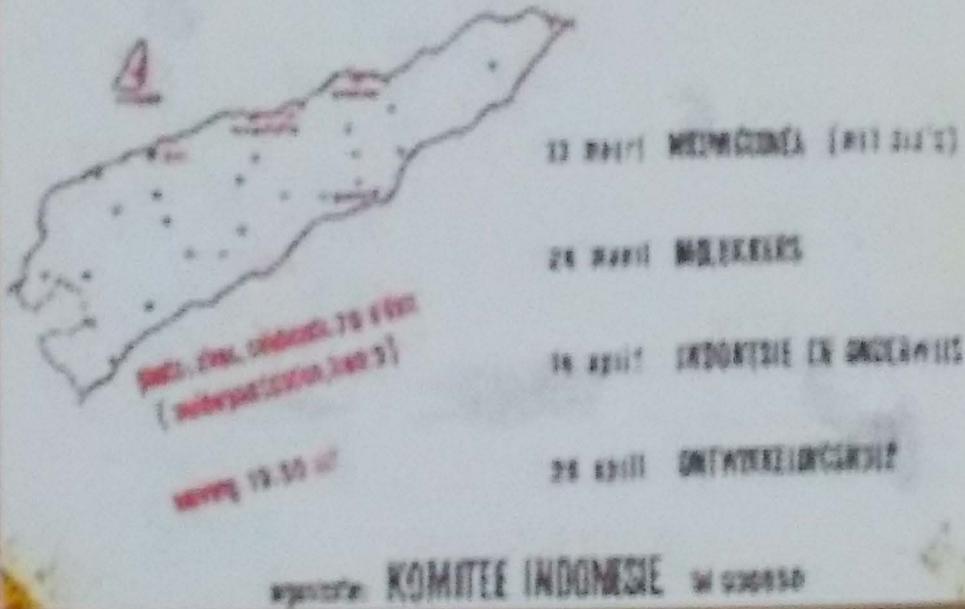


**1983**

# INDONESIE

LEZINGEN-CYCLUS 1983

3 MAART  
**OOST TIMOR**  
PROF. WERTHEIM



Lecture on East Timor

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

March/April 1983: Human Rights organization "Komitee Indonesia" organized a sequence of lectures and reflections on issues in Indonesia. Pamphlet announces a lecture about East Timor by Prof. Wertheim.

Leitura konaba Timor-Lesta

Amsterdam, Olanda

Marsu/Abril 1983: Organisasaun Direitus Humanus "Komitee Indonesia" organisa etapa leitura no refleksaun konaba topiku barak iha Indonesia. Pamfletu ida ne'e anunsia leitura ida konaba Timor-Leste husi Prof. Wertheim.

3  
8



9  
5

10  
1

# *em* timor-leste



*a paz é possível*

Nº 1 - MAI 1983 - 10\$00

## LA PAIX EST POSSIBLE AU TIMOR ORIENTAL

7 ans de guerre, faim, peur, répression de toute sorte. 7 ans déjà que dure le lent génocide physique, culturel et religieux dont est victime le peuple timorais depuis l'invasion de son territoire par l'armée indonésienne. 7 ans après, le peuple du Timor Oriental, malgré les mauvais traitements quotidiens, continue à lutter pour pouvoir décider de son avenir.

Sur la scène internationale les États pressionnés par la crise mondiale et par la puissance de l'Indonésie, penchent de plus en plus vers une politique "réaliste" et oublient le droit du peuple timorais à l'autodétermination et indépendance que l'Assemblée Générale de l'ONU lui reconnaît depuis 1975. En même temps s'accroît le nombre de groupes et institutions, organisations non gouvernementales et églises qui protestent publiquement contre cette politique du fait accompli et s'engagent à faire connaître et appuyer la lutte du peuple timorais.

Les pouvoirs portugais, chargés de rechercher des solutions qui garantissent en fait les droits du peuple du Timor Oriental se sont éveillés très tard. Bien que l'Assemblée Générale de l'ONU, en novembre dernier, ait chargé directement son Secrétaire Général de cette question, le Portugal continue à avoir une position importante pour l'avenir du peuple timorais. Et l'actuation de l'État portugais (gouvernement, président de la République et Assemblée de la République) sera dictée par la conscience que le peuple portugais aura du dramatique génocide du peuple timorais.

Il est difficile d'affirmer que la paix est possible au Timor Oriental; l'affirmer - non comme principe théorique ou espoir d'un quelconque miracle, mais comme conviction de foi qui nous aide à découvrir les chemins pour la construction de cette paix indissociable de la justice; l'affirmer comme engagement qui nous comporte à rendre possible la paix au Timor Oriental, utilisant toutes les possibilités que nous offrent notre quotidien et nos engagements. Cette paix sera possible si nous voulons être solidaires de ceux qui, au milieu des plus grandes difficultés luttent pour leur peuple et pour sa dignité.

Nous chrétiens portugais avons une responsabilité spéciale face à la situation au Timor Oriental. Non seulement parce que nous devons protester contre toutes ces injustices mais aussi parce que nous devons être particulièrement attentifs aux "oubliés de l'histoire" et solidaires d'une église qui s'efforce de croître, courant des risques, au milieu des souffrances de tout le peuple timorais. L'Administrateur Apostolique de Dili a lui-même dénoncé publiquement à plusieurs reprises le génocide dont les timorais sont victimes.

C'est à cette situation que nous sommes appelés à répondre dans l'espérance du jour où le Seigneur nous enseignera ses chemins: nous transformerons les épées en socs de charrue et des lances nous ferons des fauilles; les nations ne leveront plus l'épée l'une contre l'autre et l'on ne fera plus la guerre (cf. Is. 23-4).



# *em timor-leste*

## *a paz é possível*

Nº 2 - JUIN 1983 - 10\$00

### LE REMPLACEMENT DE MGR. MARTINHO LOPES

Le remplacement de Mgr. Martinho Lopes à la tête du Diocèse de Dili intervient alors que l'Indonésie poursuit inexorablement sa politique de génocide contre le peuple du Timor Oriental.

L'Église du Timor Oriental n'est pas seulement silencieuse parce que les indonésiens l'ont isolée mais aussi parce que l'Église universelle ne lui prête pas sa voix.

L'Église martyre du Timor Oriental ne comprend pas ce silence. Elle s'est adressée à l'église indonésienne mais n'en a rien obtenu.

Elle espérait que le Pape parlerait, il n'a rien dit. Était-il mal informé par le nonce à Jakarta?

Mgr. Lopes a écrit directement au Pape pour demander une audience afin d'exposer la situation de son peuple sans l'interférence du nonce. La réponse fut ... une lettre du nonce affirmant que cette audience n'était pas nécessaire.

Des religieux écrivent à leurs supérieurs à Rome: par prudence, souvent pour ne pas les exposer à la vengeance des occupants, les lettres restent dans le secret des bureaux. Ce n'était pourtant pas la volonté de leurs auteurs qui suppliaient: nous en appelons aux Églises, à l'ONU, aux chefs d'États des nations libres!

Peu de temps avant la démission de Mgr. Lopes le bruit court à Timor qu'il va être remplacé, il ne s'agit pas d'une simple substitution d'un prélat fatigué, Mgr. Lopes était devenu pour ce peuple écrasé et réduit à l'esclavage sur sa propre terre - un symbole: celui l'identité timor.

Malgré tous les risques que cela comporte dans un pays où l'on dénonce quelques fois son frère pour recevoir un bol de riz, un document commence à circuler pour récueillir des signatures; dernier effort pour voir s'il est possible de maintenir Mgr. Lopes à la tête du Diocèse.

Le 9 mai le nonce à Jakarta se rend à Dili, le 11 la démission de Mgr. Lopes est rendue publique. Le 13 un groupe de prêtres du Timor Oriental écrit la lettre qui suit; jugeant sans doute que les murs du Vatican sont trop élevés pour eux, ils s'adressent aux Conférences Épiscopales du monde entier.

# *em timor-leste*

## *a paz é possível*



Nº 3

JULY 1983

10000

### TIMOR-ORIENTAL: UN POUR SON POURQUOI

Sept ans de guerre entre Davis (Timor-Oriental), plus de 850.000 habitants lors de l'invasion en décembre 1975, 625.000 en 1980 selon un recensement de l'Eglise locale) et Portugal (l'industrie avec 150 millions d'habitants).

Malgré ou à cause des 250.000 timorais morts en conséquence de cette invasion et d'occupation, la résistance continue et elle est même de plus en plus forte selon les nombreux témoignages.

L'ONU, pour la première fois en trois dernières, a commencé des conversations avec le gouvernement portugais pour faciliter la tâche du Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies chargé par l'ONU de rechercher un accord entre les parties intéressées.

Mgr. Marçalino Lopes, timorais, 65 ans, Administrateur Apostolique de Dili depuis 1977, a été invité en mai dernier à présenter sa démission et vient d'arriver au Portugal. Il a accepté de répondre aux questions des journaux "Diário de Notícias" et "Liberal". De ces questions et réponses nous avons choisi celles qui vous permettront de mieux connaître qui est Mgr. Marçalino Lopes, quelle est la situation de l'Eglise à Timor et le problème de ce petit peuple en général.

### JE NE POUVAIS PAS ME TAIRE...

Q. Mgr. Du "Center for Defense Information" de Washington parlez-nous de guerre au Timor-Oriental au 29 mars des pertes qui ont causé le plus de morts dans ce monde actuel, tout-de-même après le Cambodge de Pol-Pot mais avant l'Afghanistan, la guerre entre l'Iran et l'Iraq, le Liban... que devons-nous faire pour la paix dans le Timor-Oriental?

R. A mon avis, cela montre avant tout l'extrême brutalité de la guerre qui a déclaré il y a presque 8 ans dans la critique de Timor-Oriental accusée grâce au son corollaire d'atrocités, tortures, violences de toutes sortes, massacres, meurtres, du génocide dont est victime le peuple héroïque et martyrisé de Timor.

Q. Je sais, Mgr. Marçalino, que vous avez dénoncé votre malice des agressions violentes... .



Mgr. Marçalino da Costa Lopes, Administrateur Apostolique de Dili depuis 1977 a été invité à présenter sa démission.

# PUBLIC MEETING



IN SUPPORT OF  
SELF DETERMINATION FOR  
**EAST TIMOR**

SUNDAY JULY 31 DALLAS BROOKS HALL 2PM

PUBLIC MEETING  
IN SUPPORT OF  
**EAST  
TIMOR**

SELF-DETERMINATION:  
Australia's Crucial Role

Australia's support for self-determination for East Timor at the UN is absolutely crucial. Show the Hawke government you care by attending this vital public meeting.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

## **ABILIO ARAUJO**

FRETILIN representative banned from Australia for seven years.

OTHER SPEAKERS INCLUDE

### **BRIAN HOWE SENATOR GORDON McINTOSH**

Minister for Defence Support

Member of Parliamentary Delegation to East Timor

### **SENATOR COLIN MASON**

Democrat spokesperson on Foreign Affairs

Representatives from Timorese and other community organisations.

Timorese food and dancing.

# **Dallas Brooks Hall Sunday 31 July 2PM**



Organised by the Australia-East Timor Association,  
P.O. Box 93, Fitzroy, 3065. Telephone c/- 419 5588.

Co-sponsors include: • Action for World Development (Vic. Branch) • Asian Bureau of Australia • Australian Democrats (Vic. Branch) • Australian Labor Party (Vic. Branch) • CARPA • Christians in Solidarity with East Timor • CICD • Community Aid Abroad • CRAC (Monash University) • East Timor Support Group in the ALP • Indonesia Action Group • Miscellaneous Workers Union (Vic. Branch) • Pax Christi • Plumbers and Gasfitters (Vic. Branch) • Resistance • Tramways Union • Waterside Workers Federation (Vic. Branch) • AMFSU • United Nations Association (Vic.) • Unitarian Church.

**A · E · T · A**  
Australia-East Timor Association

# **The UN is important**

The issue of East Timorese self-determination must remain on the United Nations agenda. This ensures the possibility of international diplomatic activity towards a genuine act of self-determination for the East Timorese.

It is a vital instrument of international scrutiny of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Such scrutiny does dampen human rights violations.

Immediate active Australian government support at the UN for self-determination will ensure its survival on the UN agenda. Failure to act in this way now will effectively aid Indonesian strategy against the Timorese.

## **Join AETA now!**

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

The Secretary  
AETA  
PO Box 93  
Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065

\* SUBSCRIPTION RATES  
Individuals \$5.00  
Low Income \$2.50  
Organisations \$20.00

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

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

POSTCODE \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

(Home) \_\_\_\_\_

(Work) \_\_\_\_\_

# AETA

Australia-East Timor Association

P.O. Box 93,  
Fitzroy 3065.

## HAWKE GOVERNMENT BREACHES ALP TIMOR POLICY

"The handing over to Indonesia on Friday of an attack class patrol boat was a clear breach of ALP policy on East Timor", Dr George Preston, chairperson of the Australia-East Timor Association, said today.

The policy commits the Government to ceasing "all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor".

Attack class patrol boats have a length of 38.2 metres, carry a crew of 19 and are armed with a 40 mm gun and 2 medium machine guns.

The vessel handed over on Friday, the former Australian naval craft HMAS Acute, has undergone a \$350,000 engine refit and will be renamed KRI Silea.

"Military aid is one of the most tangible symbols of support for one government by another", commented Dr Preston.

"This gift can only be interpreted as support for Indonesian military objectives, including aggression in East Timor."

Dr Preston called on Mr Hawke to give an assurance that no further Australian military aid would go to Indonesia.

---

Further information: Dr George Preston

387.6091 (home)

616.7893 (work)

# AETA

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

23 July 1993

Dear AETA member,

## FRETILIN DELEGATION IN MELBOURNE

This letter is to inform you of the final details about events associated with the visit of FRETILIN representatives Abilio Araujo and Ribeiro Rodrigues. There will be three functions which AETA members are most welcome to attend:

### ACTIVISTS MEETING

A chance for people actively involved in the issue of East Timor to have an in-depth discussion with the FRETILIN representatives. Topics likely to be covered include the current situation inside East Timor and a review of the work of East Timor support groups in Australia and overseas. The FRETILIN FARM FUND will be launched. The meeting will take place at 10 am on Saturday July 30 at the Plumbers and Gasfitters Employee Union, 52 Victoria St, Carlton (next door to the Trades Hall).

### PUBLIC MEETING

A final reminder about the Public Meeting at Dallas Brooks Hall this Sunday at 2 pm. Please bring your friends and help us fill the 2,200 seats. The importance of this event cannot be over-emphasised. Be there!

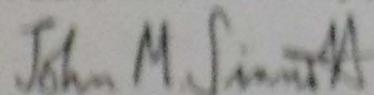
### SOLIDARITY DINNER

Would you like to meet Abilio and Ribeiro in an informal atmosphere after the Public Meeting? A Solidarity Dinner is being held at Lebanese House Restaurant, 268 Russell St, Melbourne (near corner of Lonsdale St) at 7.30 pm on Sunday July 31. You will enjoy a Lebanese feast and your BYO. Ring the Timor Office on 419 5588 before Thursday to make reservations. Cost is \$11.00.

### BOOK OFFER

The Jacaranda Press has just released Jim Dunn's authoritative book EAST TIMOR A People Betrayed. This 402 page clothbound volume has a recommended retail price of \$15.95. You will have the opportunity to purchase it at any of the above events for just \$15.00. Or you can have it mailed to you post free for \$15.95. Order now from AETA Gates, PO Box 93, Fitzroy, 3065.

Yours in solidarity,



John Binnett  
Secretary

# EAST TIMOR NEEDS HELP

By attending this meeting you have demonstrated your concern for the plight of our near-neighbours, the East Timorese. This sheet is an invitation to you to extend your concern into effective support for a small country struggling for the right to exist.

1983 is a critical year for East Timor. The right of East Timorese self determination is in danger of being removed from the United Nations agenda this year. If the Australian Government was to implement Labor Party policy of support for East Timorese self-determination by actively lobbying to keep the issue alive at the U.N., there is a very strong chance it would remain on the agenda. There are clear signs however, that without very strong Australian public support, the Hawke government will not take this step.

As an individual or as a member of an organisation, you can help to ensure that the Australian Government does not abandon the East Timorese.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO ...

It is a matter of great urgency that the Government be strongly urged to work for East Timorese self-determination through the United Nations. This must happen in the next few weeks - or it may be too late.

In addition to letters and resolutions from your organisation to the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister,

- Ensure that your local Federal M.P. is aware of community concern for East Timor. This can be done in a number of ways:
  - Organise a meeting and invite her/him to speak on East Timor (This could be done in your home, at an open public meeting, at one of your organisation's regular meetings.)
  - Send a message to your M.P. today. Postcards with a short message are available in the foyer along with names and addresses of Federal Members.
  - Write to your M.P. and have your organisation do likewise.
- A petition to the United Nations is being circulated at this meeting. Work to have it discussed and endorsed by your organisation.
- Inform your friends, colleagues and organisation about East Timor by seeking a speaker from the appropriate East Timor group listed on this sheet.
- If you would like to be kept informed of other events and actions in support of the East Timorese or new moves by the Government to dump its East Timor policy; if you wish to be put in contact with others in your suburb, electorate, Church, union etc., make sure you register your name on clipboard lists circulated today.

\*\*\*\*\*

## IF YOU NEED HELP ....

If you need any help with information (e.g., M.P. addresses), literature, speakers or ideas for action, the following East Timor groups in Melbourne can assist you.

(See over)

AUSTRALIA-EAST TIMOR ASSOCIATION - P.O. Box 93, Fitzroy, Vic. 3065. - works achieve Australian Government support for East Timorese self-determination. Membership: Individuals - \$5; Low income - \$2-50, Organisations - \$20.

EAST TIMOR SUPPORT GROUP IN THE A.L.P. - c/- 690 Sydney Road, Brunswick 3056 Labor Party members working to promote implementation of A.L.P. policy on East Timor.

CHRISTIANS IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR - c/- 73 Little George Street, Fitzroy, Vic. 3065 - an inter-denominational group established to promote in the Australian Churches a better understanding of the East Timor situation and to encourage formulation of policy on East Timor by official bodies within the Churches.

TIMOR INFORMATION SERVICE - P.O. Box 77, Clifton Hill, Vic. 3068. - a bi-monthly newsletter on current events in and concerning East Timor. Subscriptions: Individuals - \$3 for 6 issues (more if you can afford it); Organisations - \$5.

RAFT - Campaign to Reunite in Australia the Families of Timor, 183 Gertrude Street, Fitzroy, Vic. 3065. Works on a range of family reunion issues.

ACFOA EAST TIMOR SUB-COMMITTEE - c/- 183 Gertrude Street, Fitzroy, Vic. 3065 Phone 419 5588. Australian aid agency-funded programme to monitor and distribute information on East Timor in Australia and overseas.

#### SONGS FOR EAST TIMOR

You will be invited to join in singing two songs today. The first will be a song especially written for this meeting by Phil Noyce. The second will be the final song of the day - chosen and sung by members of Melbourne's East Timor community. It is in Tetum, a common East Timorese language. The song reflects their knowledge that they are outside their land in a difficult time and they look forward to the day when Timor emerges from its current darkness.

##### PHIL NOYCE SONG (Chorus only)

So sing along my comrades,  
We'll make the rafters ring,  
Together we will struggle,  
Together we will sing.  
  
We'll fight for independence,  
We'll defend the people's claims,  
And scorn to live in slavery,  
Bound down by iron chains.

(Full text of the song is  
available in the foyer)

##### ITA TIMOR OAN SIRA NE

Ita Timor oan sira ne  
Laran messak kmanek kmanek deit  
Laran mos klamar mos  
Lao buka rai seluk seluk  
  
Neon nakukun sei horas ne  
Aban bain rua sei nakloke bele  
Aman inan diak  
Neon metin ba ami tomak mos

Prepared by the Australia East Timor Association:

Join AETA by sending your cheque/money order to P.O. Box 93, Fitzroy, Vic 3065.  
(Membership details above).

Name ..... Address .....  
..... Postcode ..... Phone .....

## STOP NEW GENOCIDE IN EAST TIMOR

Top Indonesian generals have threatened to launch a massive new genocidal offensive, code-named *Operasi Persatuan* (Operation Unity), in East Timor to begin on August 17, Indonesian Independence Day.

Frettilin commander-in-chief in East Timor, Xa Na Na Gusmão, in a letter smuggled out of the liberated areas and recently received in Lisbon, Portugal, says that he received a letter from Indonesian commander-in-chief General Benny Mardjani dated June 28, threatening to launch *Operasi Persatuan*.

He also received last month a letter from Indonesian commander in East Timor, Col Purwanto, repeating the threat to launch *Operasi Persatuan* if Frettilin did not surrender. Purwanto acknowledged that Indonesian troops in East Timor did not want to fight, but said he could bring 80 battalions (over 80,000 troops) in from elsewhere who would.

The Jakarta regime is threatening to break the ceasefire which has continued throughout most of East Timor since March 21.

Past major Indonesian offenses — the invasion in December 1975, the campaign of encirclement and annihilation from September 1977 to mid-1979 and, the "tens of thousands" operation in the last half of 1981 — have resulted in massive death tolls, from napalm, cluster bombing, indiscriminate killing of civilians and famine caused by these offenses.

**Emergency protest?**

**WEDNESDAY AUGUST 17,  
from 4.30pm**

**GARUDA INDONESIAN  
AIRLINES, 4 BLIGH ST,  
SYDNEY (just off Hunter St and  
close to TAA).**

## NO SELL-OUT OF ALP EAST TIMOR POLICY



Indonesian commander in East Timor, Col. Purwanto (second from left) and Frettilin leader Xanana Gusmão (second from right) reliving after completion of ceasefire talks held in Uruaia town in March 1983. A Frettilin flag is draped over the table — showing they were not talks about "surrender", as the Indonesians claim.

*Operasi Persatuan* would also be aimed at the civilian population supporting Frettilin. It will add many thousand more to the 100,000 to 200,000 already killed in East Timor.

The Indonesian and Thai navies are to hold joint naval exercises — Operation Garuda IV — in Indonesian waters from August 22 to September 1. In 1981, Indonesian military exercises provided the cover for Operation Fringe of 4 days.

Come to the emergency protest (details below) and write urgently to the Indonesian Ambassador, Durwin Ave, Vaucluse ACT 2606, and to Prime Minister Bob Hawke, Parliament House, Canberra ACT 2606. Demand that Indonesia maintain the ceasefire in East Timor and begin genuine negotiations with Frettilin under United Nations auspices, and protest against *Operasi Persatuan*.

**Can you help pay for the costs of the East Timor tour?**

The recent successful tour of Frettilin representatives, Albinos Amaro and Ruique Rodrigues was a big success. We also paid for their visit to the international non-government independent Pacific conference in Vanuatu last month and for the work done by Ruique Rodrigues, current vice in other South Pacific countries.

We need an extra \$6000 to cover all costs, including a donation we gave to Frettilin to be sent back East Timor in the illustrated news. Can you help us raise this extra money?

1. A cheque for \$... to cover the costs of the East Timor tour.  
2. Please send me the coming issue of *East Timor News* and news of new books published on East Timor.  
Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Postscript:  
Send to: East Timor Tour, c/- PO Box A 776, Sydney South, NSW 2000.

# **TIMOR**

## **A PEOPLE BETRAYED**

# **JAMES DUNN**

What was East Timor like under Portuguese rule?

What was the nature of Fretelin?

How and why did Indonesian intervention begin?

What was Australia's role?

What transpired in East Timor after the invasion?

Although it is now almost eight years since the first major military operation against East Timor by Indonesian forces, the events surrounding Indonesia's invasion and subsequent annexation of the former Portuguese colony have remained shrouded in confusion. *Timor: A People Betrayed* brings together, for the first time, all the many aspects of the Timor affair necessary for a full understanding of its dimensions.

James Dunn dispels many commonly held misconceptions and presents the most complete picture available of how and why the events of the last eight years have transpired, from the injustice and suffering inflicted on the Timorese people to the dismal failure of the international system, and of Australia and the United States in particular, to respond to their appeals for help.

Dunn is well qualified in this field of international relations. He has had a long association with East Timor, serving as Australian Consul to Timor from 1962 to 1964, and returning there as part of a Foreign Affairs Department fact-finding mission in 1974, and again, in 1975, as leader of an Australian Council for Overseas Aid team.

In Timor Dunn has carefully analysed a wide variety of source material, including interviews with Timorese refugees and political leaders and defence and foreign-policy documents from Australia and the United States.

In Dunn's words, the Timor story "is not a pretty tale. It is a shameful story of ... conspiracy ... hypocrisy, mendacity, and plain irresponsibility". It "reveals a great deal about Australians that many of us would rather not know: ... about the gap that exists between the rhetoric and the reality of our ... principles and values".

#### Contents

- 1 The land and its people
- 2 The historical background
- 3 The last years under Portuguese rule
- 4 The Lisbon coup and the Timorese political awakening
- 5 East Timor's future options and the Portuguese administration
- 6 Indonesia and East Timor's decolonization
- 7 Australia and the unfolding crisis in East Timor
- 8 The UDT coup and the civil war
- 9 The Fretilin interregnum
- 10 Invasion, occupation and resistance
- 11 International reaction and challenge to integration
- 12 Australia and Timor after 1975



Published by

**The Jacaranda Press**

#### ORDER FORM

Send to: JACARANDA WILEY LTD  
65 Park Road  
Milton, Qld 4064  
Telephone: (07) 369 9755

Please supply ... copy/copies of Timor: A People Betrayed @ \$15.95\*

Please charge to my account      yes/no

I enclose my cheque/money order for \$.....

Please debit my Bankcard a/c, no. ....

Name .....  
.....

Department ..... Institution .....

Address .....  
.....

..... Postcode .....

Signature ..... Date .....

\*subject to change

7/83