

# SUN TERRA

The Editor  
The Sun Terra  
Fax 816045

Rob Wesley-Smith  
150, Dichondra Rd  
Howard Springs

1/5/94

Dear sir/ms,

You report 1/5 that many service and civilian personnel are now eligible for the new Australian Service Medal 1945-75.

I wonder if this includes the aborigines who assisted with all sorts of duties but particularly Coastwatch.

What recognition is planned for the East Timorese who assisted and fought with the Australian Commandos who strictly speaking invaded Portugese Timor in WW2? Answer none, of course, even though a handful of them live in Darwin.

The RSL is too interested in giving Senator Gareth Bloody Evans a gong of their own, and it would not be seen as appropriate to admit we have and are behaving like dingoes to our closest neighbour.

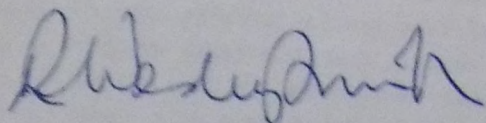
And what about an Australian recognition to my mate Sam Kruger, of Kurringal Flats, who has awards from 4 nations for heroic services, including the French equivalent of the VC, and a USA DSC.

Sam had to work as a civilian with USA because he wore specs and was ruled ineligible with our great country. He arrived with them in Darwin 3 days after the main bombing.

His main US medal was for intercepting and demanding immediate decoding of a message that turned out to be the news of a flight by the supreme Japanese commander Admiral Yamamoto.

History records that the allies shot down Yamamoto, but does not record Sam's role, nor does the US or Australia provide any war pension or other official recognition.

(Sam also was at St Petersburg in 1917 when the Russian Revolution started, and has lived to see it probably finished. What an amazing life.)



Rob Wesley-Smith  
Darwin/World

Sam in ET 1974/5  
features in "Buried Alive"

cf Nancy WAKE & her WWII effects.

Notes by Rob Wooley-Smith on organisation of Timor rally Darwin 12/11/93  
(written 13/11 after Alice told me there was to be such discussion to  
identify and learn lessons - slightly modified 18/11/93)

1. I thought the day's rallies and the evening mass and candle lit at the  
cathedral etc the evening before achieved a lot, was quite good, etc but I  
thought it could have been better, and I wonder if all the organisational  
effort was well directed and achieved worthwhile results. We did achieve  
useful media coverage, mainly ABC TV and ATVI, and NT News, which really was  
the main practical purpose. The colourful posters, dress and flags were  
great and a main reason for the TV footage.
2. Reasons for having a morning rally, which was my decision 2 years ago and  
has been followed since, include:
  - (a) It's so bloody hot in Darwin, especially in October-December, that  
we have to go early or late. It's my experience that Timor mob won't come  
late until after the kids have been fed etc, which is too late. They won't  
come in the "after-work" time slot of 5 or 5.30 pm cos they are picking up the  
kids, or exhausted, or whatever. So 8.00 am it is for the start, and finish  
early too. Anyway, in all the planning this was never challenged up to the  
day, and should have been accepted by all.
  - (b) Early is best for the media, especially to give time to get TV  
down filmed, prepared and sent south for lunch and evening news. This time  
pressure is even more important with daylight saving as applies now.
  - (c) Many people especially public servants can attend at 8.00 am and  
get to work by 9.30 the flex-time limit.
3. Once times have been agreed and publicised people have a right to expect  
some sort of adherence (punctuality). This is especially so for media,  
police etc. For example, the police had staff waiting an extra hour to close  
the road for the march. In any case, in many cultures, to be grossly late  
is rude. To start and finish late in Darwin gets people hot and bothered and  
tired, and acts against enthusiastic later efforts, & both happened this time.
4. So starting time is important. So my biggest criticism of the day was  
the very late arrival of the compare and the organiser of the much talked of  
street theatre. This stopped us getting going until about 8.45. All  
organisers should have been there by 7.45. People involved in leading  
starting activities who know they cannot or will not get there on time should  
not be involved in starting activities, or there must be alternative  
arrangements in place. Our starting was very unprofessional, and we were  
lucky the media waited for us. Is this agreed by any Timorese??
5. Once we started, it is primarily up to the compare to make decisions to  
keep things moving along and to time or close to it. There's no hard rules,  
as a cloudy cool day may allow longer times etc. If the media especially TV  
is filming and interested, then maybe things can keep going a bit, etc. In  
this case the media had long stopped filming. While Dulse did a good job  
mostly, I want to point out my opinion of some specific mistakes, again only  
so we can learn from this. Remember, we are not there to preach to the  
conveyed, essentially we are in show biz trying to get our message to the  
wider audience via the media.
  - (a) Andrew should have been cut short, he was long and mostly what he  
said was not appropriate to that supportive audience at that time, it was very  
late and getting very hot. (b) No invitation to the audience to speak  
should have been made due to the lateness, giving Peter or any other  
volunteers the chance to speak at that point. (I still had 4 potential  
speakers in 1992 when we went to our street theatre). (c) The women's group  
speaker should have been invited up earlier so that it was not just white  
males in sequence or the woman left to get hot.

Robert Wesley-Smith fax +61 89 832 113

Dear Rob,

We received your fax. Many interesting things here. Did CNRM post it on neg easttimor? Nothing was forwarded on John's list, except for the document on the 53 student arrests at the beginning of September. Especially the one on Indo Battalions seems crucial to deflate Indonesian propaganda. All was forwarded to relevant media and NGOs here.

For the 300 names of students who lost their scholarships, better wait until the translation is complete and CNRM decides how to use it. We can't and don't want to use it at an early stage.

You/others can correspond with me by e-mail or fax until next Monday 11<sup>th</sup>, but please after this contact Carlos Semedo by fax at +33-1-48-33-07-30 as I'll be away in Benin from Oct. 12<sup>th</sup> to Nov. 21<sup>st</sup>. On my end I prefer to use e-mail because it is much cheaper for me (local call and no subscription charges for an 'Internet account!') If it is not too much trouble/expense, I'd prefer you to use e-mail too, simply because my fax paper is going to an end and I simply won't find the time to hunt for other rolls (I'll be in Bordeaux the next 3 days)! Sorry if this is demanding from you.

We'll inform Peuples Solidaires that the right contact is through CNRM. Since things are not supposed to transit through our group, they will deal with CNRM directly. The contact person there is: Jean-François Labolle, fax +33-1-42-69-66-66.

Best,  
Réalme Bruno Kahn

Public demonstrations are usually a device of the (relatively) powerless, without adequate access to media, government or money.

#### Down South

The series of amateurish demonstrations by the Liberal Party with Dr Hewson indicate several things:

1. The Liberal Party consider themselves to be relatively powerless ie destined, in this case, to lose this election.
2. The enthusiastic chanting of silly slogans by Liberal Party devotees, and the attempts at aggressively fomenting divisions, are hardly a ringing endorsement for future good government and will be seen as such.
3. No Right-Wing government in Australia can now morally claim a mandate to disperse demonstrations.

#### In Darwin

1. Chief Minister Perron on 29 November 1991 declared Marshall Law and used his police at the Indonesian Consulate to forcibly disperse the beautiful peaceful protest re the Dili Massacre in East Timor. This was particularly obnoxious as Consulate Protection is normally a federal responsibility.
2. The Government has provided the bloated Indonesian consulate with a new building, the ex-Pt Authority building, without evidence of public advertising or proper public procedures. This is another example of the NT Government looking after its mates.

Given the Liberal Party's endorsement of public demonstrations, we can only assume that the inevitable ding-dong at the new Consulate will be endorsed by Mr Perron.

Rob Wesley-Smith

(a) Spokesperson for AFFET

PhFax 832113

# 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

Press Release: Darwin Supporters for a Free East Timor

Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801  
Ph 089 832113 Fax 098 274701

24/12/92

### SMILING GENOCIDE

Christmas Eve, and the Western world seems dominated by Peace on Earth, Good Will to Humankind, and delivering toys to spoilt kids...in other words, business as usual.

At the U.N. in New York the long awaited negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia, brokered by the Sec. Gen. Boutros Boutros Ghali, decide nothing except to reconvene in April. (I suppose that's something!) Perhaps they decided the shape of the table for April.

Ah, what bliss, 4 months for the Indonesian military to indulge in further repression, rape, torture, murder, rape of the land, transmigration of aliens, deprivation of freedoms of all kinds, including the right to live on ancestral lands, to practise culture and language - in short, for the indons to practise ETHNIC CLEANSING (cultural and actual genocide).

Where, you may ask, is this appalling state of affairs? Answer: in 2 of Australia's 3 nearest international neighbours, EAST TIMOR and WEST PAPUA, and perpetrated by the smiling but brutal military government of Indonesia.

The world's dim protests on the arrest and torture of Xanana Gusmao, the ambivalent reception to the videotapes of him under duress, and the delays to U.N. talks, (proceeding without Xanana), clearly point to one conclusion:

XANANA GUSMAO (beautiful peaceloving charismatic leader of the East Timorese) WILL BE MURDERED WITHIN WEEKS.

The murderous Indonesian regime has plenty of precedents:

eg Mecky Selosa, illegally handed over by the PNG government, soon dead "from attempting to escape"

eg Arnold Ap, anthropologist and inspiration to his people, illegally imprisoned, soon dead "from attempting to escape"

eg most of the first West Papuan highlanders educated by missionaries before the Indonesian military government forced their improper takeover of this Melanesian country, killed

eg 42 out of the original 44 Fretilin central committee members, killed, many after being granted "Amnesty"

eg 1 million Indonesian citizens in 1967, others languishing in prison ever since, which is utterly barbaric

2

The supine Indonesian ambassador to Australia wags a finger and smilingly warns that Indonesia is insulted by suggestions of torture. But the U.N. special rapporteur on Torture stated in 1992 that the use of torture is routine in Indonesia.

Indonesia plans to settle a further 2 m Javanese in West Papua, along the border with PNG. Only one reason for this, for the future pressure and takeover of PNG. But protest are muted by the paying of bribes to PNG politicians eg \$130,000 by the butcher of East Timor General Benny Murdani to ex Defence chief Ted Diro eg property etc to Somare, and so on.

Meanwhile mines such as Freeport in West Papua and OK Tedi in PNG on the Fly River near the border continue to destroy rivers and downstream habitats, furthering the genocide of local people.

Australia's response:

- \* Silence, or mild expressions of concern and/or encouragement
- \* Drill the Timor Gap - get the oil while we can - but legal action should get it back!
- \* Put troops into Cambodia, Africa, Woopwoop,, in fact anywhere not too close
- \* Continue to breach the UN Charter and Conventions by de jure recognition of the brutal illegal annexation of East Timor by Indonesia
- \* Ignore detailed evidence of current tortures in Dili, including rape, nail pulling, pubic hair pulling, electric shocks, bashing leading to fractured bones and/or death

Press response:

- \* Muted... 18 years is too long I guess

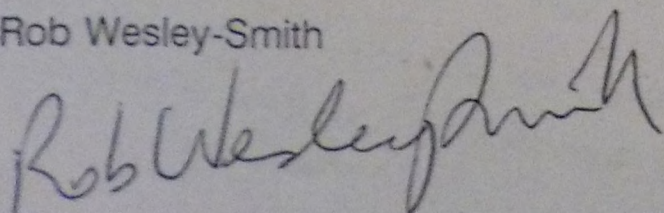
Resistance response:

- \* To fight on for the right to self-determination. The sadistic tortures inflicted on those taken into custody mitigates against surrender.

My wish:

You all have a happy Christmas, don't worry about a thing.  
VENCEREMOS East Timor Resistance and OPM  
VALE XANANA

Rob Wesley-Smith



CNM - PALINTE

Senhor Dr. Presidente

do Conselho Directivo da Assembleia da República  
para acompanhamento da Situação em Timor Leste

Apresento a V. Exa. os meus melhores cumprimentos.

Tenho a honra de informar que:

O Dr. José Ramos Horta, natural de Timor Leste, está devidamente credenciado e autorizado para representar o Conselho Nacional da Resistência Naubere - CNRM - em todas as questões no âmbito diplomático junto de Governos, Parliamentos, Organização das Nações Unidas e todas as instituições inter-governamentais e Organizações não-governamentais.

O CNRM é o órgão superior de luta de que fazem parte a Comissão Directiva da RESISTÊNCIA e o Comando das Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor Leste - PALINTE - com Quartel-Generai em Timor Leste.

As PALINTE são uma força nacional apertidária que reúne todas as forças nacionalistas timorenses.

Devo informar que as atribuições, agora conferidas ao Dr. José Ramos Horta, obedecem a uma série de considerações concernentes ao desenvolvimento da luta de libertação Naubere.

Esta representação do CNRM no Exterior tem em vista dinamizar as decisões e o pensamento do CNRM, procedendo as necessárias consultas com a Convergência Nacionalista.

Como porta-vozes do CNRM, no Exterior, o Dr. José Ramos Horta não substitui a DFSS (mantida mandatária do CNRM por leitura da história de uma luta, história que se pretende não negar); contudo, como representante do CNRM no Exterior, o Dr. José Ramos Horta assume obrigações que pertenceriam ao próprio CNRM, enquanto Órgão Máximo da Luta e supra-partidária.

Aproveito a oportunidade para reiterar a Vossa Excelência os meus melhores cumprimentos.

Quartel-Generai do Conselho da Resistência Naubere, em Timor Leste,  
aos 10 dias do mês de Julho do ano 1991.

*Handwritten signature*  
Membro do CNRM  
Comandante das PALINTE



20/1/78  
STATEMENT 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.

Lorna Wilcox

The Editor

NEW IDEA

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Rob Wesley-Smith

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28/3/94

Your CONFESSIONS of a SPY article re Wendi Holland made interesting reading even if it was all or mostly untrue.

I hope at least she made a quid out of it.

Did you see ANY credible evidence to sustain the allegations? Was she working for ASIS while she was in Darwin? Darwin and Dili already had its ASIS spy, Frank Favaro, whose demise played a role in the later sacking of Whitlam. (One useful reference is Richard Hall's book The Secret State, Cassell.)

The photo of Fretilin fighters around a body is transparently clearly a scene from a play being performed in Resistance held areas of East Timor. More than that, I have that photo in my collection too.

Poor Wendi, she never got Horta even close to marrying her despite her alleged skills training. She also never helped Jose kill someone because he and they didn't!

Why not run a decent article about how Australia has breached the UN Charter and Human Rights Declarations in relation to East Timor, effectively delivering 300,000 plus East Timorese to death at the hands of the brutal Javanese invaders, and the rest totally scarred and living a living hell.

Rob Wesley-Smith  
Darwin

*Rob Wesley-Smith*

*Unanswered &  
(assume not  
published (I never  
actually checked!!))*

Kompas 6/4/93  
Handwritten signature

WENDY HOLLAND : THE INTEGRITY OF RAMOS HORTA NEEDS TO BE DOUBTED

The de-facto wife of Jose Ramos Horta decided to disclose the story of her life to both the Australian and international mass media last Friday 28 May. This disclosure was made bitterly with the aim of making it clear what Horta is really like. It comprises financial matters and his private life, and very much damages the Head of CNRM (Fretilin) abroad.

Wendy Holland (42) critically suffers from multiple sclerosis (MS), that is a type of brain and spine illness whose cause is still unknown but which affects ... of the nerves, so that it interrupts nerve impulses especially those connected to vision, ... and motion. " I want to tell my story now, because maybe I wont be able to tell it after the next MS attack. "With every MS attack I get my condition becomes worse", she said to Kompas reporter Ratih Hardjono in Sydney, Australia.

Wendy's story puts in question Horta's intentions and his credibility as written in Bill Nicholl's book Timor, the stillborn nation (1978). This story also discloses the break up within Fretilin itself, that is the rivalry between Horta and Xanana Gusmao.

"Horta is not suitable to become the Fretilin head, I feel really sorry about the Timorese youngsters who admire him, write him letters, ask him for various assistances and opinions. I saw myself at home how he does not care about the Timorese people he represents. He only cares about himself. There are many Timorese who are more capable, more sincere, and more responsible, who could replace him", said Wendy.

One does not need to hesitate about Wendy's vindictiveness or emotional instability. She often "shakes" on account of the many medicines she needs to take each day. Kompas noticed this when interviewing her. But there are two matters which are confirmed by certain evidence.

First, photographs of Horta with other women, in positions which are not.... [proper?, unclear text], which were shown to Kompas by Wendy. According to Wendy those photos were taken in Europe and Sydney.

Second, documents from several banks, which were Horta's private ones, not CNRM's (redaction note: they use Westpac bank services), shown by Wendy to Kompas. Among these in Geneva, Switzerland, at the Societe de Banque Suisse there are 80.311.40 SFR (about 120 million rupiah), account number c8-114-115-1; in New York USA, Bank Smith Barney, there are 24,000 US dollars (about 48 million rupiah). , account number 063-370010; in Sydney, Australia, at the Commonwealth Bank in December 1992 there were 21,000 Australian dollars (about 30 million rupiah), account number 3303- 0078 8121 [numbers unclear]; at Wilmington, USA, Primerica Bank USA , account number DE 19850-5069, amount not known clearly; and in Lisbon, Portugal, at Banco Espirito Santo & Comercial de Lisbon.

What made Wendy v angry were the lies of Horta to her about

his economic situation, while all along Wendy was asked to fund Horta's needs. Wendy asks where the money in those bank accounts came from, remembering that Horta's income as a teacher at New South Wales University (NSW) was only about 1,000 dollars Australia (about Rp 1,5 million). These suspicious financial matters of Horta's have also been raised by Xanana's wife Emilia Gusmao with the Portuguese press at the time Xanana was captured. Wendy is of the same opinion as Emilia Gusmao.

#### "De facto" wife

Indeed this story is a sad and tragic one about a genuine Australian woman. She met her loved one 20 years ago in Amerah, on the outskirts of Dili, Tim Tim (the Indonesian term for East Timor). From the outset she knew she would never be able to enjoy a love relation as is common with other couples. Wendy tried many times to leave Horta (44), but her love was so strong and sincere that she was incapable to do so. For years, even if this was only known by a few close friends, Wendy became the de facto wife of Horta.

As is customary for an obedient wife, Wendy did Horta's washing, cooked, and satisfied all of Horta's needs, without asking many questions. This included paying for several of Horta's needs, who was always busy with the activities of Fretilin in the international arena. Wendy owns a management consultant company which she runs by herself. Horta said that his income was very small and he could not pay for their household expenses.

Two years ago Wendy was diagnosed as suffering MS, a disease which attacks the nerves which slowly... [unclear].

Wendy knows she will not live much longer. With all the resilience and strength she possessed, she faced the bitter reality facing her, including the betrayal by her beloved one.

She knew for a long time that Horta was not faithful to her. So far she choose to close her eyes and ears, even if she was warned repeatedly by several Timorese living in Australia. Meanwhile Wendy got the news that her father was ill with a vicious cancer. In his illness he was frequently admitted to hospital, and Wendy tried to mitigate his suffering.

Wendy met Horta in 1974 at a ... function at the official residence of the Portuguese Governor. At the time Horta was an editor of the A Voz de Timor newspaper, the only newspaper there, belonging to the government. Wendy liked the friendliness of the Timorese people. Everyone knew one another there, like in Dubbo the small remote New South Wales town in Australia where she was born. The social cohesion feeling was very strong and everyone helped one another. The friendliness and intimacy of Dili reminded Wendy of her place of origin.

From the first time they run into each other, these two youngsters fell in love. Wendy was holidaying in Dili at the time. meanwhile the East Timor civil war was just starting between the followers of the political parties Fretilin, Apodeti

and UDT.

Naiive

Even so, the love of Wendy and Horta blossomed like a rose in the evening, while they were surrounded by events of increasing emergency. They planned their wedding in 1974. Before it took place, Wendy was forced to return to Australia. Wendy's parents had even announced her wedding in Australia. The situation became critical, and at the end of 1974 Wendy returned to Australia, before the wedding could officially take place. Till now they have not wed, as they agreed their relationship was effectively the same as a husband and wife. To marry was merely a bureaucratic formality.

Horta is not sincere  
Wendy gave a special interview to Kompas during several meetings at her Sydney home.

Kompas(K) What prompted you to you disclose this story to Kompas and other international mass media?

Wendy (W) because only in the last six months did I find out that Horta's intentions and plans towards the people of Timor Timur and surrounding peoples were not sincere. Horta only wishes to be famous and to get power [? unclear] for himself even if his way is rather strange. May be this is due to his background. Many people reminded me that Horta has an identity problem since he is neither fully Portuguese nor Timorese, so he never was treated clearly.

lots has changed since 11/92  
so with most

What then is Horta's true intention?

He wants to be a news centre. To be always featured on television, even if he doesn't speak about an important topic. The important things is to appear on television. Horta is always busy choosing what television channel will feature him. Once he was angry because a camera focused on the wrong side of his face, so that he didn't appear sharp [? unclear]. I am afraid of his personality. At first, I hadn't paid attention to his phone conversations, but after I started to listen, I became aware of what Horta's ambitions really were.

Clearly they were not for the independence of Timor Timur. Just to slap Indonesia because they rejected him in the 1970s when he wanted help to evict Portugal. At the time Indonesia rejected Horta, but he tried again and met Adam Malik and some other people. But when he returned home he realised the people did not want Indonesia to get involved. Thus he started to contact other countries like Cuba and China.

East T

What can Horta do towards Indonesia now?

Horta told me he wishes to produce chaos in Indonesia, produced by Indonesian people themselves. Horta also mentioned that he was gathering money to pay a a mercenary army who can execute this destabilisation plan. And the international press would certainly focus on Indonesia, that is what Horta wants.

Ridiculous  
→ WBST

Good strategy

Do you have evidence of that?

As a witness I have the evidence, all of this was told by Horta

to me. My ears and eyes are the evidence. In addition, I have all the documents and letters with Horta, which are many. I lived with Horta for many years and know him best.

According to you, was Horta involved in the Dili incident in November 1991? Do you have evidence?

Fundamentally, that could not have happened if he hadn't been involved, since he organised the Fretilin movement outside Timor. He was always in contact with Xanana. Through telephones, videos and cassettes. Horta was very instrumental to entice the youth in Dili. He did this... [unclear]... to youth in Dili and got information out of Dili abroad. Horta also sent them money, to buy computers, photocopy expenses, and guns. Horta knew that incident was going to happen, and organised someone to take films while the incident took place. Obviously, those who took the film did not know that they were being used by Fretilin. The important thing was to be on time, and Horta organised it. I heard his telephone conversations and have letters he sent as well as he received.

#### Relations with Xanana

How were Horta's relations with Xanana?

At first I thought Horta was very close to Xanana, but I don't know Xanana and I saw Xanana looked like Nicolau Lobato who ... [unclear]. I then realised Horta was very jealous of Xanana.

According to you, why was Horta jealous of Xanana?

The East Timorese see Xanana as Nelson Mandela. I know them, and this came out clearly from my talks to them. Horta on the other hand never fought. Before it all happened he fled Dili. From the beginning Horta felt inferior to Xanana who was felt to be a true hero, who stayed in the mountains and lived under sacrifices so far. Horta only worked travelling to the UN. Besides, even among the Timorese, Horta began to be questioned, not only his motivations, but also his financial matters.

Do you have proofs about this?

The lack of trust of Xanana in Horta is clear. Recently I was sent a cassette recorded by Horta, sent to Xanana's hideout in the mountains. Xanana sent that cassette on to his relatives in Melbourne, to prove that he doubted Horta's motivation. The contents of the cassette were aimed at doing the best to persuade Xanana to trust Horta, and not listen to the opinion of other East Timorese. For a long time I have heard that Xanana wanted to go away and leave Dili. At that time, at home, Horta became very worried and unstable. When I asked him about this he always answered that Xanana had to stay in Timor, because if East Timor became independent, the people would chose him to be their leader. Horta said there would be no use for Xanana outside East Timor.

Was Horta involved in the capture of Xanana?

I am fully convinced Horta got involved. Please think, Only a handful of people knew Xanana's movements and his hideout. One of them was Horta. So, how could Xanana be captured? Before Xanana's capture, I felt something was going on. Horta was

*Dili*

*Advisory*

*INCIDENT*

excited. When Xanana was captured, Horta was meeting other Fretilin members in Portugal. When I and other Horta supporters spoke with him, he sounded happy and not sad, and said this would attract the attention of the international mass media. I was shocked to hear this.

7  
11 Great

Do you have evidence about this?

Just a few days ago I found a letter written by Horta ordering his friends in Melbourne to incite Xanana's wife Emilia, and to correct her statements to the foreign media accusing Horta of being involved in the Xanana capture.

Wendy showed a letter to Kompas written and signed by Horta, to his helper whose name was abbreviated, which among others said: "I ask strongly that EG (Emilia Gusmao, Xanana's wife), stops talking to the press to attack me. Her words accusing me of treason towards XG (Xanana Gusmao) will destroy us. She (Emilia) is an illiterate who continuously does stupid things.

I feel XG has already been told. He does not believe in me any longer. She already talked about this with someone. I feel I know who. So that it will be believed better, spread the news that I threaten to resign. I feel XG doesn't know anything for certain, but we cannot be sure about this. Perhaps he has even already sent a message to the outside, to someone else".

How can Horta have authority over the East Timorese abroad, which are well known to be fragmented. They are not a compact group? No other East Timorese has been given a chance to carry out Horta's work. These people have no authority over CNRM's financial matters as Horta does. So far everything is dominated by him. Likewise with the contact network. Every time they query a Horta decision, he writes angry letters and threatens to resign from his position.

Wendy

So, what party does Horta belong to, Fretilin, UDT or Apodeti? I think he does not know himself. Fretilin is clearly his offspring. But before he was responsible for UDT, and then switched to Fretilin. He is in control of Fretilin overseas. He has no links with Apodeti, but on occasion he needs to use UDT to give the impression they are compact.

7 Wendy  
silly

What role.....?? [text incomplete]....

**ATT: EDITORS**

Date: June 4, 1993,

We have evidence that AN EXPOSE WITH POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR AUSTRALIA AND THE STABILITY OF SOUTH EAST ASIA IS ABOUT TO BREAK IN THE INDONESIAN PRESS.

The story concerns an Australian woman who has had a long-time personal relationship with a freedom fighter of international standing who is recognised by the United Nations.

We give notice that we are representing this woman and all media inquiries should be directed to BARBARA JAMES and/or GEORGIE BROWN. The woman has a life-threatening illness.

Contacts:

Georgie Brown tel: (02) 967 2181 fax: (02) 967 2404  
Barbara James tel: (02) 411 5846 fax: (02) 419 6828

→ 018166040



# CONFESIONS OF

**A**ustralian-trained assassin and spy Wendi Holland pulls a thin-bladed knife out from its wooden scabbard and slices the air in front of her jugular vein. "This," she announces with a cold edge to her voice, "is how I slit his throat. He died very quickly."

She is describing her brutal execution of an Indonesian soldier. At least 10 others were killed in what Wendi says were her orders as a 'sleeper' — an ASIS (Australian Secret Intelligence Service) agent trained to do all the "dirty work".

There were other dirty deeds:

- Four secret intelligence agents — sympathisers of dictator Salvador Allende — were murdered in Chile in the late Seventies in a joint operation with the CIA.
- Two Soviet spies were shot in Afghanistan by Wendi in 1979. She also used a garrote — a thin-wired weapon with handles at each end to tighten around a throat — to kill three double agents, one in Manila and two in South Africa.
- She forced a Chinese double agent working in Hong Kong to overdose on a lethal dose of morphine. The agent was passing information back to China on CIA activities in Asia.
- She was an accessory and a witness to the murder of an East Timorese man who was stabbed by her fiance Jose Ramos-Horta, a founding leader and a power behind Fretilin, which was one of the two major political powers formed to fight for independence — first from Portuguese colonialists and later against Indonesia.

Today Wendi is haunted by the assassinations. Each one is graphically relived in her dreams — especially the killing in Timor.

Last year the former ASIS agent became the first spy to go public about her undercover life. Since then several disgruntled agents have followed her lead. But this is the first time she is speaking so candidly about her years as an assassin with an ASIS unit so secret it didn't even have a name.

No one but her trainer knew about her violent missions, and if ASIS ever acknowledges her existence, she risks imprisonment for breach of the Crimes Act for revealing highly sensitive material about the organisation.

Wendi's amazing life as a

# I killed more than 10 people'

## ASIS assassin Wendi Holland is setting the record straight . . . before time runs out

'spook' began in 1969, when she was recruited at a Canberra cocktail party. She was just 19 but she was tough.

It had been as a country girl in Dubbo, NSW, that she learned about firearms, stalking, listening and detection from her ranger father. She was also extremely intuitive, a major asset for a spy.

Part of Wendi's training was in the U.S. through the CIA, and in London, with MI6. She learned how to kill in Australia, on a large rural hideaway somewhere outside Canberra. "I didn't know

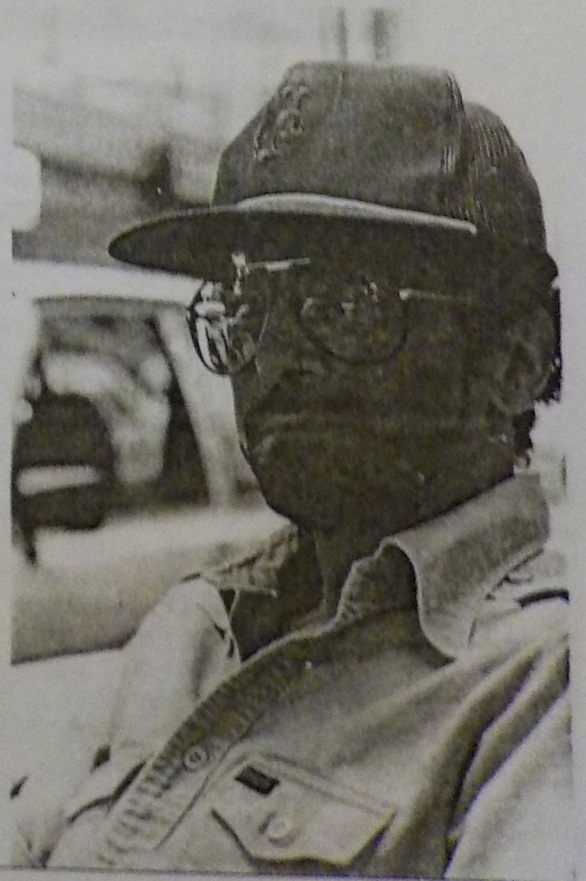
where it was because each time I went there I was blindfolded," she recalls.

"My trainer, who always wore a mask, never spoke to me unless it was job-related. I went there at least six times for a month's duration. I was taught secret codes, how to bug and how to use guns, silencers, syringes and knives."

Wendi, who claims she penetrated drug rings, secretly copied sensitive government documents and infiltrated government departments, became adept at using high-tech ASIS equipment. Her deadly arsenal included lipstick which had a hole at the end to emit a poisonous gas; watches with hidden compartments for cyanide pills; large buttons concealing bugging equipment; and cameras, some as small as fountain pens, to photograph secretly. There were also wallets concealing syringes, high-heel shoes which hid knives, and hat pins called stilletes, first introduced by the KGB.

"I learned how to use a garrote while I trained in Europe under MI6," she says. "We used dummies or large fruits for practice. On this secret property I was also taught where to inflict wounds so the victims would die quickly. Then I learned how to maim."

Wendi says there were at least six people whom she maimed, and one whom she knee-capped (a shot fired at the knee-cap, splintering it into fragments).



WENDI H

New Idea

26/3/94

# A SPY



■ E·X·C·L·U·S·I·V·E

## ‘I learned how to use a garotte while I trained under MI6’

- Above right: Wendi Holland today and wasting away with MS... wants to reveal her deadly secrets before she dies.
- Above: In 1979. But behind the mask of the beautiful woman lurked a cold-blooded killing machine.
- Left: Wendi's Timorese fiance Jose Ramos-Horta, he convinced her to help him murder an innocent man.

“At the end of my training, the assassination expert was very pleased and confident with my abilities,” she says. “I was manipulated and brainwashed into believing killing certain people was necessary to defend myself. I was fit, running for kilometres every day. I was a crack shot and specialised in unarmed combat.”

Twenty-five years later Wendi, the girl who couldn't kill animals on family hunting expeditions and

cried at sad movies, says her training has made her hard, weary and cold.

Sitting in a comfortable chair at a secret location away from her bugged apartment, she reveals with unfaltering precision the macabre details of her clandestine missions. Her eyes are cool blue and her gaze steady and intelligent, which is at times unsettling.

She never knew her next assignment upon leaving Australia. But on arrival, couriers would give her the orders. When she was ordered to exterminate someone, she invariably worked with a CIA agent, watching the subject — most often for weeks at a time — before moving in for the kill.

Wendi is willing to talk about 10 ASIS-ordered assassinations



# CONFESSIONS OF A SPY



■ A picture from Wendi's gruesome photo collection: Fretilin fighters around the body of a soldier

that she was responsible for (she says there have been more). In four of those cases, she also acted as "cleaner", the body-disposing duty, usually performed by an agent other than the assassin.

"I didn't know who the four were in Chile or why they had to die," Wendi recalls. "It was always suspected that ASIS and the CIA were involved in the downfall of (the Marxist leader) Allende, but it was unknown at the time that the CIA had poured \$8 million into Chile, causing that government's destabilisation. I was sent in with the CIA. My brief was to assassinate the four agents who were a threat to this effort.

"The CIA agent bundled two of the hooded agents into a truck and we took them to a warehouse. I shot both of them. A CIA cleaner then disposed of them. I do not remember feeling anything because I saw them as a violent enemy who had inflicted terrible torture on the women and children of men who were anti-Allende."

Wendi says the other two Chileans were killed separately — one by a blow to the back of the head with a gun butt followed by a fatal chop to the back of the neck by a CIA agent. For one week they staked out the house of the other Chilean, watching and waiting for

the moment he was alone. The CIA agent broke in and held him from behind while Wendi injected him with a syringe filled with either digitalis, a heart stimulant causing an instant heart attack or 'cyano', a drug from the cyanide family.

"He died within 30 seconds," Wendi says. "The operation took less than five minutes. My head was buzzing because I was so frightened. I knew there was a lot of noise and I was so scared that we'd get caught. As a sleeper I didn't exist on paper, and if I was caught I was on my own — ASIS wouldn't help."

Wendi then reveals — reluctantly — her first assassination in East Timor. She had gone there in 1974 and became very involved with the locals and with Jose Ramos-Horta. He fell madly in love with her and she admits to being infatuated with him. ASIS knew Wendi was there and was not, says Wendi, happy about it.

"Jose went to Indonesia to purportedly gain support for independence. An East Timorese man had discovered that Indonesia was going to expose Jose for trying to deliver Timor to Indonesia. The

## 'Pressure' from Gareth Evans

Wendi says the Australian Government will never admit assassinations take place.

But she says: "I have proof. Last year I gave the government information which was passed on to another country. People are still being killed. I know because I am part of the spy line. Intelligence is like a club. I keep in touch."

Wendi doesn't regret what she did, except for the innocent Timor man she helped kill.

She believes it was fear of exposure of sensitive ASIS operations that pressured Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans into announcing a judicial inquiry into Australia's overseas intelligence service. Despite warnings from Senator Evans that agents cease all public comment or face "firm and prompt action", Wendi says she has nothing to lose by revealing its operations.

"Evans doesn't frighten me. Many decent agents put their lives on the line for their country and when it was over they were dumped. I know, I was one of them."

**I was so frightened. I didn't exist on paper. If I got caught I was on my own — they wouldn't help**

Timorese only ever wanted total independence. Jose told me this man was trying to destroy him and that he had to be killed. We were engaged at the time and he told me that if I loved him I would help him. We met this man in a place called Maubisse. Jose stabbed him several times in the heart and I helped to bury him. I felt awful but I believed at the time that he was evil.

"People had told me Jose was leading Timor to independence. In hindsight I realise the Timorese man was telling the truth — and that Jose lied."

**I**t was a bloody murder. "There was so much blood because he did not die instantly. I felt repulsed," Wendi says.

In Afghanistan in 1979, Wendi worked with the CIA. A German man and a French woman were planted by the Soviets to gather information on the Afghan rebels. Wendi and a male CIA agent, posing as journalists, trailed the Europeans for three weeks before cornering them and getting a confession. "I then shot both of them," Wendi says.

In 1984, in Manila, she executed a double agent. Two years later, using a garotte, she killed two double agents in South Africa — the CIA agents were feeding information to their homeland.

She says the garotte is so sharp it is capable of beheading the victim and she knows some sadistic agents who enjoy using it.



TAMBLING

PARLIAMENT OF AUSTRALIA - THE SENATE

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SENATOR FOR THE NORTHERN TERRITORY  
SHADOW MINISTER FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES,  
EXTERNAL TERRITORIES AND NORTHERN AUSTRALIA

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DEPUTY LEADER  
IN THE SENATE -  
NATIONAL PARTY  
OF AUSTRALIA

Mr Rob Wesley-Smith  
East Timor Action Committee  
PO Box 2155  
DARWIN NT 0801

*Rob*

Dear Mr Wesley-Smith,

Thankyou for your letter of 29 October 1992 and the invitation to attend an East Timor rally on 12 November. As I do not believe a rally in Australia will achieve any worthwhile results, I will not be in a position to accept your invitation, personally or in spirit.

The tragedy of November 12 last year in Dili was an abhorrent abuse of human rights. At the first available opportunity, I met with the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Mr Sabam Siagian, in Canberra on November 19 to make my personal views known and convey an expression from a number of Northern Territory constituents with strong Timor family connections (introduced to me by yourself). I subsequently spoke on a Matter of Urgency in the Australian Senate on 26 November 1991 (see attached Hansard).

I have also had opportunities to talk with Indonesian officials, in particular Home Affairs Minister Rudini, and to visit Jakarta. I have maintained a consistent view about the tragedy and believe that Indonesian officials from the highest level regret the events and have taken note of international opinion, rebuke and criticism. I am sure the Indonesian Government will take all necessary steps to ensure that internationally accepted standards of human rights are observed in East Timor.

Since November last year, I have been endeavouring to visit Dili. To date, this request has not been agreed to by Indonesian officials. I will continue to pursue approval for visits by myself and other Australian parliamentarians.

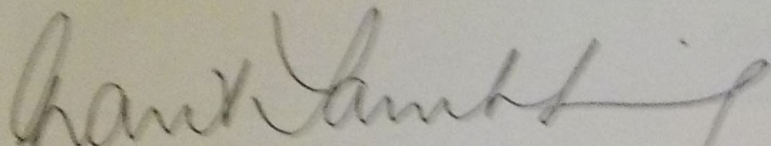
I also believe that in the long-term interests of both Australia and Indonesia, the important diplomatic, commercial and personal relationships must be developed and advanced.

*Sen Tambling*  
*11/11/92*

I do not accept that any interests will be served by supporting breakaway self-government initiatives or the continuing claims of Portuguese sovereignty.

The Northern Territory and the eastern provinces of Indonesia enjoy a special and developing series of contacts and services. I will endeavour to foster these logical and interdependent ties.

Yours sincerely,



GRANT TAMBLING  
SENATOR FOR THE NORTHERN TERRITORY  
11 November 1992

Extract from the  
WEEKLY SENATE HANSARD  
Parliamentary Database

MATTER OF URGENCY  
East Timor

Query: tambling+timor\*

Article: 7 of 9

Date: 26 November 1991

Page: 3331

Speech in the context of a Matter of Urgency

Speaker: Tambling Sen G.E.J.

State: NT

Party: CLP

Government: NO

## MATTER OF URGENCY

### East Timor

Senator [REDACTED] (Northern Territory - Deputy Leader of the National Party of Australia) (4.51 p.m.)—We all condemn the tragedy of 12 November in Indonesia. The horror and shock of death on our doorstep, one hour's flight from Darwin, certainly comes home quickly to us all. There can be no justification for the use of force against a civilian population. Many northerners have families in Indonesia with whom they have close contact. We now have many Australian citizens of Indonesian descent. I am certainly familiar with many people in the Northern Territory who have very close family ties with this tragedy and the events of 12 November.

The questions that are raised about the local military administration certainly have to be brought out and the seriousness brought home time and again. The comments attributed in yesterday's *Australian* to Governor Mario Carrascalao of East Timor after he returned from a visit to Jakarta are very important:

"They are not very well informed", he told the Lisbon daily, *Público*. "They have only been told half-truths."

The massacre was not something that happened on the spur of the moment. There were antecedents", said Mr Carrascalao, who had threatened to resign after the shooting unless Jakarta held a full inquiry and brought to book those responsible.

We have now seen the international media attention and focus, and often confusion, on this issue. There is a need for information and investigation. The initial confusion by the Indonesian authorities is borne out in many ways. Senator Aulich has referred to our proposed deletion of one particular quote—it is evident—but I took offence to another, a statement by Admiral Sudomo on 13 November:

In anticipating the incident the security apparatus had taken persuasive measures to calm the crowd but a few radical elements had attacked and tried to seize the arms of the security apparatus which had led to some casualties on both sides.

If we wanted, I am sure we could find many more appropriate quotes to include in this debate. We must join the international community in calling for a full and open investigation to ensure that all who are

responsible for the events are properly brought to account in accordance with, firstly, Indonesian law and, secondly, internationally accepted standards of human rights. The inquiry must be open.

We also have to be mindful of the historical context of this problem: the very nature of past Indonesian authority; the way in which it has exercised itself; the peculiar size of the country that we are talking about with its 150 million people; and the fact that East Timor had 400 years essentially of failed colonial administration by Portugal. We need to recognise that the ethnic people of both East and West Timor have the same cultural background, even though before 1975 they had different administrations.

August to December 1975 saw a bloody civil war after Portugal abandoned its colony. The interests that we need to recognise are that the Marxist Prétika on the one side pitted against the UDT, APODETI and Koin interests on the other resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people. It was genocide on a grand scale.

Many of these hidden agendas are behind the debate today: the many vested interests of the Portuguese and their recent activities, particularly youth activities, in their former colony; the Portuguese interests with regard to their financial claims on the Timor Gap developments; the roles and involvement of the churches; the activities of Prétika that have continued since 1975; and the roles of the international Left with regard to wider political objectives in Indonesia. The self-determination arguments of many people should not be on the agenda of this debate. We need to come back to talking about the issues of human rights and not giving a self-determination agenda under peculiar notions in peculiar ways.

My constituency, which encompasses the Northern Territory and most of northern Australia, has very special links with all sectors of the Indonesian community. We have access to aid groups that are constantly working. A lot of activity needs to be targeted and specially taken into account. I noticed



with particular interest the debate last week in the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly which resulted in a unanimous resolution by the CLP Government and the Labor Party. I commend the debates there of Thursday, 14 November.

Many interests affect the Northern Territory, particularly in the areas of education, health and welfare. They are all being tackled and, very importantly, need to continue to be tackled and linked. I have had representations from youth groups in the Northern Territory with family links in these communities where people have died. We need to recognise their sorrow and grief.

The motion put forward by the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, Mr Perron, last week was very important. It is very important to note that sitting today in the gallery is the Parliamentary Secretary of the Northern Territory Cabinet, Rick Setter, who has taken a particular interest in this matter. The speech of the Northern Territory Leader of the Opposition, Mr Ede, was particularly relevant and important. I would love to take the time, but I do not have it, to quote from the speeches of many of the members of the Legislative Assembly, including the Minister for Industries and Development, Mr Hatton, and Mr Ede. However, I will quote the former Labor leader of the Legislative Assembly, Mr Terry Smith, who has just retired:

We cannot get away from the fact that a massacre has taken place; that it has taken place on our doorstep, an hour's flight away; and that it has taken place involving the families of fellow Territorians. We have the responsibility in that situation to speak up loud and to speak up strong.

Further on he said:

It is often said by the government that we, because of our closeness to Asia, have a special responsibility to develop that closeness and to develop ties with our Asian neighbours, and I agree. However, equally, if we accept that our closeness gives us a special responsibility to develop closer ties, our closeness also gives us a special responsibility to stand up and be counted when something drastic and dramatic and as terrible as this thing has happened.

I concur with the comments today of my other Senate colleagues in that regard.

Returning to the subject of special interests, the technical and vocational education into the eastern provinces of Indonesia that is now being managed by the Northern Territory Government is crucial to the future

development and interests of Indonesian people. We need to moderate very carefully the trade union rules and roles to ensure that there is not undue extremism, maybe involving other agendas or other interests, but rather a return to the straight statement of the human rights that are at stake.

Senator Robert Hill and I met last week with Ambassador Siagian. I believe to this day that we are the only politicians to have sought and obtained an interview with him. We certainly made very strong points about human relations and whether this situation compared with what happened in China and Tiananmen Square and whether it compared with other situations. I certainly have good working relationships with the Indonesian consulate in Darwin and I intend to keep them up. As the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, Mr Perron, said last week in a letter to the trade unions in the Northern Territory on this issue:

I believe no purpose whatsoever will be achieved by breaking off educational, trade and diplomatic links with the Jakarta Government. Because of 10 years of solid work by the NT Government, I am able to put the view of our ~~Timorese~~ community, and express the horror of the community in general over recent events in Dili to senior Indonesian Ministers.

Further in that letter he said:

I suggest to you that more can be achieved by maintaining all forms of communication, both trade and diplomatic, by asking directly what happened in East ~~Timor~~.

There are so many situations that we need to address in this particular debate. However, it is the future that we must look to and develop. The eyes of the world are on Indonesia today and it needs to recognise that it cannot walk away from the influence of television and radio and its responsibility to respond publicly. We do have important trade links. Indonesia has a responsibility to adopt a good neighbour policy and that policy involves us in many areas of vital and reciprocal interest.

I conclude my remarks today by quoting from an editorial in the *Northern Territory News* on Thursday, 14 November that I believe is extremely relevant. It states:

Trade and commerce, cultural and sporting exchanges are ultimately the things which change societies and make them better. That has been the case in the past with European nations and will be the case with other developing nations around the world. Surely the Indonesian government should be left under no misapprehension that the actions of its soldiers in East ~~Timor~~ can in any way

be condoned. It should be condemned in the strongest possible terms. Nor should the Indonesians believe Australia will be less shocked by the events next door than it was, for example, with Tiananmen Square. It simply means neither the Indonesians nor ourselves can afford to withdraw into a shell. Now perhaps less than ever. Geography has thrown us together and, whether anyone likes it or not, that will remain the case after Dili. That is why it is particularly important that our slowly developing ties also remain.

# : 139 11 Jan 80 05:17:40  
By: cscheiner@igc.org  
To: All  
Re: Analysis of Oz media on ET

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@EID:a384 3844b781  
@MSGID: 90:900/900 09054e7b  
@UFGATE newsin 1.27  
From: cscheiner@igc.org  
Date: 16 Jan 94 10:52 AED  
Message-ID: <1643100586@igc.org>  
Newsgroups: .reg.easttimor

From: Charles Scheiner <cscheiner>  
Subject: Analysis of Oz media on ET

/\* Written 10:09 pm Jan 16, 1994 by gekko@peg.apc.org in igc:reg.indonesia \*/  
/\* ----- "E/Timor Media Analysis" ----- \*/  
ASIA PACIFIC NEWS COMMENTARY.

NO.1.....November 1993.....East Timor

A Selective Review of Australian Electronic Media and Press  
Opinion.

Written and Compiled by Jefferson Lee.

Postal Address: PO Box 703, Leichardt NSW 2040.

Annual Subscriptions: \$30/\$20.

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Issue: The Keating Visit to Jakarta: October 1993.  
Survey Area: The Canberra Times Columnists 24.10.93 - 2.11.93.

1. Richard Begbie, 'Mabo, East Timor, and a glance at the  
American tourist syndrome', Canberra Times, Sunday 24.10.93,  
p.8 (opinion column).

Begbie's column preceded Keating's arrival in Jakarta. It did  
not address it directly. This column was the only one of those  
under review that was openly sympathetic to the East Timorese  
cause. He begins rather limply by referring to an earlier  
column where he raised the 'vexed and infinitely sad situation  
in East Timor'. Surely the issue is clear-cut by now? Begbie  
here is either pandering to the middle class readership of the  
Sunday edition of the nation's capital daily or stylistically  
he doesn't want to lead into his article too heavily? We shall  
see.

Australians for a Free East Timor  
Box 2155 Darwin NT Australia 0801 PhFax: 61 89 832113

Press Release Mon. 13/6/94

## "More Indonesian Blackmail in Darwin, like in Manila"

Salt Fire Water is a creative arts development project born out of a mutual desire for local artists to work with peers, thus breaking down cultural isolation.

Seven women are on a journey, led by a mythical mermaid to a land unknown. There they meet an indigenous woman who tells them that it is customary to speak to the spirits of the land upon arrival, of herself, her country and her people, and why she has come.

The audience at the opening night were greeted with a printed statement that "due to unforeseen circumstances Desak Putu Warti is unable to perform tonight..."

Putu is an accomplished dancer and musician from Bali, now living in Darwin. This however does not mean that she escapes the megalomaniac attentions of the evil totalitarian empire to our north.

Though Putu was not seen at the opening, and no one would talk on the record, I know she had to withdraw from the production when the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin discovered that among the cast was an East Timorese woman artist, Maria Alice Casimiro Branco.

Having just returned from the weeks of turmoil, legal action and expulsions from Manila as the government of General Ramos desperately tried to appease General Suharto's blackmailing attempts to stop APCET (Asian Pacific Conference on East Timor), it is stunning to find similar tactics being used here.

And not for the first time. For the more than a decade that the Indonesian Consulate has operated in Darwin, it has been little more than a spy base to achieve 2 things: To control the Indonesian origin people living in Darwin; and to intimidate, control and blacklist East Timorese and their supporters.

The Australian government allows this evil farce, yet even has no Consulate in Dili. Shame Australia Shame.

ROB WESLEY-SMITH  
*Rob Wesley-Smith*

*for e-mail*

*15/2/94*

Don't undersell the extent of the East Timor Tragedy:

The real numbers of deaths due to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor are not less than 300,000. Adam Malik said 60-80,000 in the first 3 months - who cares? Best estimate then for the first year of invasion is 100,000 East Timorese. Yet everybody agreed the highest casualty period was the time of starvation (worse than Biafra) in 1978 and 1979 ...say 120,000. Total for 3-4 years 220,000. Indonesian forces lost 30,000 to this point, including 3 generals. So for the remaining 15 years of at times intense struggle, walls of legs, arrests, tortures and disappearances etc it is not too much to allow another 100,000 is it? Total score 320,000. Add another 20,000 Indon troops and that's 50,000 though I've heard of inside estimates of 70,000 here. (In WW2 Australian commandos killed 200 Japanese for each "digger" lost.) That's my view, based on 18 years of interest, including hearing and recording virtually all the Radio Maubere broadcasts, which could mean a bias I suppose. The occasional chance for military intelligence opinion usually rated my estimate as low.

Nos. killed in Dili Massacre: we should use best estimate of CNRM which is 273 dead and about 250 each injured and missing.

Australians for a Free East Timor  
Box 2155 Darwin Ph/Fax 089 832113

PRESS RELEASE

WED 27/10/93

"What a week it is in Darwin!"

Well, aren't we lucky, "this one's for real" (at last), despite the tribulations of having to dash from airconditioned venues to airconditioned cars to airconditioned bars where of course the real work takes place, and to a few airconditioned boudoirs thrown in to attract the clientele.

Of course the Australia-Indonesia Business Council, made up of business people from both sides except that many of those from Indonesia will just happen to have military backgrounds and connections, in 1975/6 cast the final straw which tipped the Australian government to desert the East Timorese and agree to act on Richard Woolcott's advice to put pragmatism ahead of principle and to desert the East Timorese people.

Since then of course a mere 300,000 have been killed out of their original population of around 700,000, or a genocide so far of over 40%. Well done, chaps. Any regrets?

The lack of any great business links seen since then is perhaps due largely to the corruption and breaches of human rights endemic in Indonesia, despite heroic efforts by increasing numbers of their citizens to change this culture, so the AIBC would have been better off to have adopted principled stands, open the area up, and allow trade and aid to flourish.

By sheer coincidence, old Tricky Dick Woolcott is in town this week too, no doubt to laugh over a few Tropical Martinis about how easy it was (until the Dili Massacre was captured on film by intrepid filmmaker Max Stahl) to fool the world and wipe out the opposition in the new colony. And the Foreign Affairs Office was opened without us, their best clients, getting an invitation. Well up yours too mate.

And Paul Keating is up to his earlier 1993 tricks by yesterday saying that a few little problems in Timor a few years ago should not matter too much. I've got news for him, the human rights abuses and defiance of the UN by the Indons continues as before, the line about troop withdrawals shown to be a lie as usual by the deployment of the combat troops of Battalion 201 from South Sumatra. And we are getting advice from Clinton's new broom mob in the USA to pull our socks up, to which Bilious Bilney replies with fibs.

Paul Keating needs to educate himself and improve his stance on the real situation in East Timor, which he should do now that he has made progress on the Mabo issue: we have been trying to get to him but can't, so will allow him until the 2nd anniversary of the Dili Massacre 12/11/93 to change his tune or he will go down in East Timor history as a treacherous rat in line with the other Prime Ministers Whitlam, Fraser, and Hawke, plus other luminaries such as Woolcott, Morrison and Hayden. I hope he gets it right soon.

Despite the lack of advance news of this conference and its functions, we already demonstrated at the Indon reception last night, and intend to let conference delegates know an alternative view of life at lunch time tomorrow, after attending the court to see the farce of charging our man Pete for allegedly damaging Indonesianophile cameraman Mike Atkinson's camera as he filmed us at the last Dili Massacre anniversary no doubt for future use in compiling the infamous and extensive "black list". Cheers.

*Red Wesley Smith*

Australians for a Free East Timor

Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801

PhFax 089 832113

PRESS RELEASE

Sun 7/11/93

"Timor causing Woolly thinking  
and Secret Government Deals"

The last couple of weeks in Darwin, (referred to in our accurate press release of 27/10/93 "What a week it is in Darwin" for those outlets which just happened to ignore it), and the media followup of Woolcott nonsense, shows that lies and deceit are not winning Australian hearts and minds.

With the 2nd anniversary of the Dili Massacre this Friday 12th, people will have another chance to show their concerns for human rights in the region.

Paul Keating has been invited time and again to get himself better briefed on the facts of the East Timor issue, but whether he realises that the military oppression has not diminished or he just doesn't care is not clear. He has shown laudable concern for Aboriginal rights. He has until this Friday to get real or we will consign him to the treacherous honour list of Australian Prime Ministers Whitlam, Fraser and Hawke.

His government has resorted to secrecy and deception to try to avoid the population, mainly us I suppose, knowing of intergovernment meetings being held in Darwin. The recent joint Indo/Australian Ministerial meeting in Darwin last Friday was not announced in advance, was booked under a false name, and spokespeople lied about it. However we still managed to demonstrate our concerns. Why hasn't the media commented on the secrecy?

The Australian Indonesian Business Council the previous week also tried to hide its activities from us, and has, for 18 years, totally failed to explain what benefits to business accrue from not only ignoring gross human rights violations, but actually abetting them in East Timor and West Papua by blatantly encouraging the Indonesians to see that they will suffer no penalties thereby.

Slimey former ambassador Woolcott, the architect of the "pragmatism before principle" policies Australia has adopted from 1975, responded to our "pro-East Timor" concerns by attacking us for our allegedly "anti-Indonesia" stance. This technique is called setting up a paper tiger and then doing an easy demolish. It does not help informed debate when his biased views get such media prominence, and ours, to which he was responding, do not.

However it is clear to us from personal experience, and obliquely from survey figures given prominence last week, that most Australians remain concerned about the trampled rights of the East Timorese and others. It remains as always totally unclear to most as to why it is necessary for Australia to breach the UN Charter and Human Rights Declarations over East Timor in order to try to crawl our way into Indonesian favour. Most know that Indonesia and other Asian countries are much more likely to respond to principled strength.

No matter what advances Indonesia and other countries have made in terms of the often bogus so-called economic development, the progress would have been more and fairer if they harnessed the voluntary enthusiasm of their people working together in just cause. Our Woolly critics gloss over this point because they cannot deny it. Ask Bishop Belo. JOIN US Nov. 12th.

Rob Wesley-Smith  
Andrew McNaughtan

Tony Jefferies  
Neil Cattlegrid

Jude Conway

Risto Nousianen

and 00's of others

*Rob Wesley-Smith*

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

PRESS RELEASE

27/6/93

## "Is the NT becoming a Police State?"

Events of the last few days suggest that the NT is fast becoming a Police State under Marshall (Perron) Law. But AFFET does not at all blame members of the NT Police with whom we have had to deal, 90% of whom have been terrific, and who probably now need "reeducating" because their understanding and even sympathies have been with us.

The huge overkill of police on Fri 25th June at and around the former Darwin Port Authority building become Indonesian Consulate and spy centre is but one example. This embarrassing excess was ordered by police minister Marshall Perron to cope with a small group of East Timorese and their supporters who have shown during 18 years that their behaviour is physically non-threatening apart from the odd epithet or three.

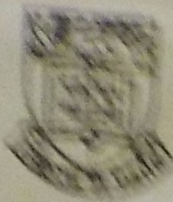
The State prevention of citizens from close contact to the Indonesian representatives of the murderous regime that is perpetrating genocide in East Timor (and West Papua) only exacerbates the situation, requiring greater vocal dexterity for communication. The import of large numbers of southern police provided welcome reinforcement to us of the relatively benign nature of our own police (on most occasions).

The recently prevalent suggestion that we should demonstrate in Dili is clearly a line which they inside the Consulate think is clever and is now parroted by the gullible or stupid. Similarly the attempt by the NT News editorialist to turn a large part of the blame for the Indon invasion onto the shoulders of Fretilin is merely adopting Indon propaganda, flies in the face of true history, and is pathetic.

In the last few days we have been given orders not to take photos, not to stand on the footpath, not to stand on the road, not to allow candle grease to drip onto a flash car parked to obstruct us, not to loiter, not to speak above conversational volume, and finally and perhaps most sinisterly, not to wear T-shirts featuring Free East Timor motifs or messages if we want to attend the widely advertised Darwin Expo, whilst we were expelled by Police acting as lackeys for others from the Expo for wearing such clothing. Noone was expelled for wearing obscene slogans or pro-massacre messages.

Indons were allowed to take our photos, whilst a camera and gunmen kept surveillance on the roof of the Council chambers. Their Intel surveillance officers are allowed free reign to keep their large party intimidated, only a handful of whom are genuine business people. Some without doubt should be indicted for crimes against humanity.





THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

FACULTY OF LAW  
PARKVIEW ROAD, HONG KONG

Public Statement: Release of Political Prisoners in East Timor

East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão has been held incommunicado since the end of his "trial" in May 1991 in Dili, East Timor. The trial itself, and the subsequent denial of access by the International Committee of the Red Cross, other accredited organisations, and relatives, are clear breaches of international norms.

Ma'huno, the long-term deputy to Xanana, was captured in April in a military operation. He too has been held incommunicado and little is known of his welfare.

A recent claim by a so-called Indonesian Roving Ambassador, Mr Francisco Lopes Da Cruz, that Ma'huno has been freed under a presidential amnesty, would not face trial, and was "effectively released from prison," has been doubted by the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

The international legal community would welcome genuine evidence from Indonesia of the release of its political prisoners. Until proper verification, it is impossible to place any belief in claims by Mr Da Cruz. Yet the Indonesian Government refuses to permit verification of any such claims.

The Indonesian legal system apparently does not show respect for the principle of the rule of law. If it did, the trials of alleged criminals would be open and fair; accused persons would be allowed access to lawyers of their choice and would be allowed to read defence statements of their own devising; prisoners would be permitted visits from responsible international agencies and from their families.

Certainly the rule of law does not countenance whimsical decisions by military authorities, and it abhors the arbitrary treatment of all persons whether arrested and not charged or convicted of an offence.

I call on the Indonesian Government to implement the rule of law, to bring its legal system into line with internationally acceptable practices, to allow observers from the international community to attend trials and interview prisoners, to release all political prisoners both in Indonesia itself and in East Timor (particularly those sentenced to harsh jail terms after the Dili Massacre of 12 November 1991), and to abide by United Nations resolutions on East Timor.

Peter Wesley-Smith  
Professor of Law and Dean  
Sunday, August 8, 1993

# Australians for a Free East Timor

Box 2155 Darwin R. Wesley-Smith PhFax 61 89 832113

Press Release Monday 4/7/94

## "NT Govt could really help East Timor medical needs NOW"

Developing Darwin Hospitals as modern services to our northern region neighbours is a good idea, and maybe money needs to be spent on high flyers' travel to establish such links with the military rulers of Indonesia.

The devastatingly inadequate health services available to East Timorese people have been well documented. As well, East Timorese do not trust Indonesian hospitals, and with good reasons.

If the NT Government actually cared about the actual poor and needy people of East Timor, there are three things they should do NOW, and could have done any time over the last few years: -

1. Direct contribution to greatly expanding the health services now provided in a small but competent way by the dedicated Catholic Church in East Timor.

(Unfortunately it is a truism that they also get totally inadequate support from the Catholics of Australia and especially of Darwin).

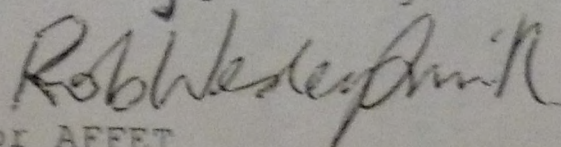
2. Directly place in the field, especially in the Eastern and Southern areas of East Timor, our own well equipped field clinics and mini hospitals.

3. Tradespeople could assist the provision of basic facilities at existing clinics, such as a hygienic water supply, wash areas, safe disposal routes, etc.

Surely these proposals could be taken up by the NT Government as a matter of urgency, with the assistance of the NT people and Press, and perhaps the Indonesian Consulate could show its bona fides if any by supporting them too.

Let our relationship be people oriented, not just business oriented for the already privileged.

Rob Wesley-Smith  
a spokesperson for AFFET



eq by  
Army

PS Today is the 16th anniversary of the "Burn the Dog" demo which successfully brought to the forefront much the same issues ...

The Independent Democratic Islands of South East Asia is a <sup>concept</sup> thought to those people who are tired of living inside ~~of~~ colonialist borders (Duch) of so called "Indonesia". Under brutal and corrupt Javanese military dictatorship. Do you want to maintain your culture, language and environment as it was for your forefathers. You Can, as long as you manage your island your ~~self~~elves, with out outside interference. NOW is the right time to think and talk about these matters.

At this very moment Javanese military covards are killing in barbaric manner ~~East Timorese children~~ unarmed East Timorese children and women in East Timor. the same is happening in West Papua.

Since 1975 illegal occupation of East Timor the <sup>genocidal</sup> primitive Javanese military has brutally murdered 300,000 of 700,000 East Timorese civilians.

We are sure that You do not want to be part of this senseless genocide. Javanese military will tell you that we are lying. We are NOT.

Just have look around you. Are you controlling your own island. If not, think what it could be without Javanese. Javanese can intimidate you but they can not stop you thinking. They are still dreaming but very soon they have to face the reality.

Speech at Darwin Rally 2nd Anniversary of Dili Massacre 12/11/93  
by Bob Wesley-Smith PhFax 089 832113

Three points:

- 1. We're not alone
- 2. The bastardry of our nation's leaders
- 3. Local heroes (Manecas, Mena cf Francisco Miranda)

1. All around Australia and the world today like minded groups of Timorese and supporters will be gathering in support of the oppressed people of East Timor. We know particularly of gatherings in United States, Canada, Japan, UK and Portugal. We also know that support is growing within Indonesia itself, where to support human rights, or to challenge the government, is to risk a lot more than for us here, even though the Indonesian Consulate here has made it clear that any Timorese or supporters in Darwin that are seen and photographed end up on the Indonesian "Blacklist". This is vital for families wishing to visit separated members. Its one reason why we are not too happy about Indons or their stooges such as Mike Atkinson taking our photos. And just on that matter, trumped up charges against our Peter (McVean) for modifying Mike's camera were heard the other day in court. Peter defended himself, and the worthy magistrate threw the charges out. Winners are grinners. Now for Caesar and our MUM Dona Veronica.

By the way, can anyone explain what useful role the Indon Consulate plays here? And why, if we have to have one here, why doesn't our Australian government insist on jamming one in Dili?

2. Now some quotes from our leaders.

In the late 1970's our local Chief Minister Paul Everingham said that Indonesia was like a great big greedy lizard gobbling up its neighbours. This could hardly be called mild, yet soon Suharto was extending special friendship. Paul responded by giving him a bull, which unfortunately turned out to not like the girls, but Suharto graciously pretended not to be offended by this incompetence. Along came a host of Chief Ministers who along with 1993 CM pretender Stone and blind-Freddy's mate Tambling have fallen over themselves to ingratiate with the ruling military clique, don't believe there is a war in East Timor, and have achieved nothing except hot air promises and lots of trips. What does Paul think now one might wonder?

In 1985 NT ALP's Terry Smith read a wonderful speech on behalf of then Labor leader Bob Collins, including:

'Unfortunately the Australian Labor Government has let you down. But I assure you it has also let us down. Labor members and supporters took heart in 1981 when Bill Hayden said "Our servility towards Indonesia knows no bounds despite that country's appalling record in Timor." However he has now changed his tune. We are now told if we destroy our relationship with Indonesia the people of East Timor will be the most likely to suffer. I cannot accept that and the NT Labor Party does not accept that. We were astounded when Prime Minister Bob Hawke told an Indonesian TV interviewer that his government recognised the sovereign authority of Indonesia over East Timor.... we were shocked ... and sent a telex of protest to Mr Hawke.'

Mrs Speech 12/11/93

What is Bob Collins' position now; what will Territory Labor's be when it wins the next election; has anyone asked Bob Hawke what he thinks since he was deposed as Prime Minister; and Bill Hayden is now our Governor-General. Yesterday I watched with some emotion the ceremony of the entombment of our "unknown soldier", with Bill Hayden the chief mourner. Some say that this marks the end of the "official mourning". Well I say, that's all very well for them, but for the last 40 years and especially the last 18 years what response has there been from all those military and civic dignitaries to the fate of those from East Timor who made huge sacrifices in helping Australia in WW2? Australia lost 60,000 troops in WW1, or about 1% of our then population, which is pretty bad, and less in WW2. In WW2 the East Timorese lost 60,000 from say 600,000 population or 10% (10 X Australia's loss). In the current war of aggression from Indonesia, East Timor has lost 300,000 from say 700,000, or over 40%. But Australia's leaders say they should grin and bear it. Well for how bloody long?? Meanwhile Bill Hayden, who once listened to Resistance Radio Maubere in my flat in Darwin, and knows the truth, now enjoys being Governor General, an institution he now supports while it feeds him - and denies the Timorese. I say he's a hypocrite.

Paul Keating seems to let his mate Gareth Evans make the running on East Timor and Human Rights issues. This means, not running but crawling. Maybe even sliding as we slime up to the Indons. Evans said yesterday in response to our highlighting of the government's erroneous "Pragmatism before Principle" policies, that you have to take a whole view not a part of it; that its not what you say its how that you say it that counts (I'm sure he learnt that from my parents); and that its not how loud you beat the drum its the results achieved. Well, Gareth, and now Paul, I don't think you've achieved a damn thing for the East Timorese, you are now being lectured by the USA and the Irish, and basically you make me sick. Get real or get out!

3. There are lots of local Timorese heroes in Darwin, people who fought for and/or were tortured in the cause of freedom, yet we Australia do not recognise them. For example, the patriarch in Darwin of the extended Casimiro clan, Antony, a special helper in WW2 to Australian commandos, recognised by them but not by our government. His wife Ines who has not missed supporting a rally since time immemorial. His daughter Alice. Her husband Zecka and daughter Mena and others. Now also Zecka's brother Manecas Branco and his wife Mena, newly arrived here after suffering tortures and deprivations at the hands of the brutal colonisers. Manecas and Mena please come up here. I want to tell you all a lovely little story I think of hope. The other day at the Australian Indonesian Business Council Meeting at the Beaufort Hotel as we complained about their lack of concern for human rights, Manecas and Mena for the first time were able to confront in freedom their former Javanese captors (or their colleagues). The explosion of emotion left me a little concerned that we did not bring down the law on us, but as with all East Timorese I have met, their strong moral sense and courage led to great self discipline. Afterwards we all felt elated, especially on their behalf. A little taste of a little freedom! One last mention, another brother Francisco Miranda Branco, sentenced after the Dili massacre to 15 years gaol for disagreeing with government policy to about the extent that I think Philip Nitsche does, and doing it more quietly. It is quite disgusting that our governments havn't been willing or able to use the good offices they claim to have as a result of years of crawling to obtain his freedom and freedom for his family and colleagues. Xanana and Ma'Hamoo too. And then: **FREEDOM FOR ALL EAST TIMOR!** Obrigado

President Suharto  
Presidential Palace  
Jakarta, Indonesia

Darwin, June 1994  
East Timor Supporters  
C/ Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801  
PhFax 098 832113 or 275478

We approach you in a spirit of hope that we can achieve constructive dialogue towards resolving the horrendous problems your invasion and occupation of East Timor has brought to the people of East Timor and also to your nation.

The invasion and occupation are and always were illegal and immoral, and with 300,000 murders is of genocidal proportions, even if you smile about it. This has been repeatedly confirmed by the UN, though many countries and world leaders have only recently been prepared to apply pressure to resolve this matter.

Your unsubtle blackmail last month of the Philippines government, in trying to force them to breach their Constitution and ban APCET (Asian Pacific Conference on East Timor), backfired to such an extent that many countries and people now see clearly the real abusive nature of your regime and the ongoing atrocities and tragedies and human rights abuses you inflict on East Timor.

We believe that now even you as well as many fair-minded citizens may now wish to get rid of the "sharp stone in the shoe" which East Timor has become to Indonesia. This can be easily done if you are able and strong enough, which many doubt, to require your military to withdraw from East Timor.

A sensible peace plan has been publicised by CNRM, the East Timor National Council of Maubere Resistance, and we urge you to immediately consider and act on this. Perhaps we can help.

We believe that as you head towards formal retirement from the international political scene, you hold the immense power and prestige of the senior roles of the NAM and APEC, and that real statesman-like qualities are required here and now.

The alternative is that the issue of East Timor will more rapidly grow as a shameful blight on the Indonesian nation, achieving no good purpose to anyone except the handful of Generals who you allow to grow rich on the spoils of that already poor country.

As exiled East Timorese and Australian supporters of the just struggle of the East Timorese, we tell you we and they will never give up the struggle for a valid act of self-determination by the Maubere people of East Timor. Economic development and respect for Indonesia will falter until this vital issue is resolved.

We agree with expanding good relationships with Indonesia. Many courageous citizens are fighting for their basic human rights against your dictatorial military rule. But closer relations must not be at the expense of the human rights of Indonesians, East Timorese or the Melanesians of West Papua. The NT and Australian Governments strut and preen yet achieve little beyond rhetoric, trips, lies, obfuscations and bogus Expo's. Respect human rights, and trade, travel and friendship will follow.

We urge you to have the courage to act as a statesman, that after 19 years you have not conquered the East Timor nation nor won any respect, so withdraw NOW, and let all get on with decent living.

**MERDEKA** - (history of islands north of Australia)

The "Indonesian Archipelago" and the Melanesian West Papua was a vast area north of Australia colonised for several hundred years by the Dutch, except for the eastern half of Timor (the island nearest to the NT) which was colonised by the Portugese.

In WW2 the Japanese army occupied this whole region, and broadly speaking was welcomed by the inhabitants as a means to throw off the (European) colonialism. However many in East Timor supported the small Australian Commando contingent, and as a result suffered terrible reprisals from the Japanese invaders who killed about 50,000 people (10% of the East Timorese people).

After WW2 when the Dutch moved to retake control, Australian Unionists especially Wharfies led a movement to block that and to support the "freedom fighters". This resulted in the formation of "Indonesia", over the area once controlled by the Dutch East Indies Company. It was originally 2 regions, then brought together by Sukarno. Sukarno had been imprisoned by the Dutch in West Papua and so waged a militant campaign to gain control of that territory. This succeeded due to a weak international response from fear of Sukarno and his "confrontasi" tactics, & the general racism & ignorance of the "Cold War" era.

Since then Indonesia has been a brutal and exploitive coloniser of West Papua, killing hundreds of thousands of the Melanesian people who it regards as inferior. It has destroyed huge areas of rainforest, mangroves and sago palm swamp, and swamped the locals by moving in a million Javanese and other non-Melanesians, (with World Bank support), as part of its conquest and genocide.

Due to general discontent of its population with its share of the national wealth, and with the confrontasi attacks on Malaysia defeated, Indonesia looked for new diversions and easier conquests. In 1974 when the longtime Portugese dictatorship ended (allowing moves towards self-government in East Timor), Indonesia began a specific program of destabilisation in East Timor called "Operasi Komodo". In Sep. 1975 this became attacks across the border, with 5 Aussie journalists killed at Balibo 16/10/75, an event never even protested by Australia to this day. Beaten by a well organised local administration and the Timorese fierce desires to avoid recolonisation, and with Whitlam sacked by the Kerr/Fraser coup, the Indons began on 7/12/75 a fullscale military invasion which lasts to this day.

The East Timorese have fought heroically against overwhelming odds. In 1976 and 1977 despite losses of 100,000 people they held most of the land and population, yet no country helped. In 1978 new USA supplied Bronco OV10 aircraft targetted villages and fields and plunged the country into famine. Another 100,000+ people died. To this day, with resistance continuing under the umbrella of CNRM (national council of resistance), over 300,000 East Timorese have died, including 273 in the Dili Massacre of 12/11/92, and 50- 70,000 poor Indonesian soldiers have died also.

Brutal administration and callous disregard for law or justice prevail throughout Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua. Australia is almost the only country to give legal recognition to the Indon annexation of East Timor, a breach of the UN Charter and 10 UN Resolutions telling Indonesia to get out.

We do to... OUT of EAST TIMOR, OUT OF WEST PAPUA, OUT OF THE NT, until you learn basic civilisation and respect for human rights.

**MERDEKA ! (FREEDOM !)** (written by  
rnws/Australians For a Free East Timor - we need YOUR support,  
moral and \$\$, please help. Box 2155 Darwin 0801, PhFax 832113)

Darwin Supporters for Democracy in  
Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua  
c/ Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801 PhFax 089 832113

"Rally to Free Pro-Democracy  
Political Prisoners in Indonesia  
East Timor and West Papua"

The Suharto regime in Indonesia was formed by a bloody military coup in 1965 and has continued in power by military muscle, even though it presents a smiling face to the West - the smiling face of death and genocide and denial of human rights.

Since the takeover of West Papua in 1962 and especially since the act of no-free-choice in 1969, the people of West Papua have suffered a quiet genocide, and the indigenous people continue to have no political or civil rights as the UN or we know them.

Since the invasion of East Timor in 1975 the people there have suffered an estimated 300,000 deaths from an initial population of less than 700,000, and the abrogation of all human rights continues, unfortunately with the tacit help of the Northern Territory and Australian Governments.

Since the Suharto dynasty started, the Indonesian people's desire for more freedom and democracy, and indeed a fair share of the fabulous wealth accruing to the favoured elite, has risen to the point where change is inevitable.

However Suharto and his generals are still trying to turn back the tide, with arrests, torture and charges against those who demand democracy and human rights in Indonesia, and the world at last saw what happens to such people in East Timor with the Dili Massacre of 12/11/91.

On December 14 outside the parliament 21 students and others were violently arrested in protesting the earlier arrest of Nuku Sulaeman on 25 November for distributing a pro-democracy sticker. All 22 have been tortured and are charged with insulting the President, carrying a penalty of 6 years gaol. (Jesus, how is it possible to adequately insult you, the butcher of SE Asia, with 2 million deaths of human beings to your bloody credit?!)

More arrests followed in January. Suharto, you still have political prisoners on death row since 1965, and have publically stated you feel quite free to execute these any time. This is barbarity. **FREE THEM NOW!**

Darwin Supporters for Democracy in Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua are holding rallies in 1994 outside the Indonesian consulate in Darwin, to protest the illegal detention of political prisoners from Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua - including the best leader in the region Xanana Gusmao, who should be offered the Presidency of Indonesia in order to clear out the corruption and mess.

sgd Protesters for Political Freedom

**Freedom MERDEKA - Free Them NOW  
Free Xanana, Free East Timor,  
Indonesia OUT NOW**



# ONE YEAR OF THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

## BACKGROUND

International pressure on Indonesia to improve its human rights situation gained momentum following the Dili massacre of November 1991. At that time several governments threatened to cut all economic ties to Indonesia if the government failed to carry out a thorough investigation of the massacre. Reflecting international dissatisfaction with results of the government's Djaelawi Commission inquiry into the massacre, the February 1993 session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission voted in favour of a resolution which called on Indonesia to invite three special rapporteurs to visit East Timor, and to account for those still missing since the massacre. In June 1993, the US Clinton administration gave Indonesia until February 1994 to improve its labour record or face the possibility of a significant loss of access to the US market. (That deadline was later extended by 6 months).

## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION

It was in this context that the Indonesian delegation to the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in June 1993 announced that the government would establish a National Commission on Human Rights. The commission then was formalised with President Suharto's issuing of a Presidential Decision No 50 on June 7, which established the legal basis of the commission.

## MANDATE OF THE COMMISSION

Following the issuing of Presidential Decision No.50 it was announced that the commission was to address four main tasks. They were:

- \* to come up with recommendations for the government concerning the ratification of UN human rights instruments;
- \* to monitor the implementation of human rights in Indonesia;
- \* to conduct awareness raising campaigns among the Indonesian public about human rights;
- \* to engage in international co-operation to advance and protect human rights.

## MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

General Ali Said was appointed as Chair of the Commission on its establishment. He is an army lawyer who has held positions as Attorney-General and Minister of Justice. It was another 6 months before the remaining 24 members were named by the government. During that time a number of Indonesians prominent in human rights work declared that they would be unwilling to serve on the Commission. Other prominent members of the Commission include former Religious Affairs Minister Munawir Sjadzali, former East Timorese legislator

Clementino dos Reis, Islamic intellectual Nurcholish Madjid, Roekmini Koesoemo Astoeti, a woman police general who has been an outspoken critic in the 1988-93 parliament, Protestant NGO figure Asmara Nababan and various professors of law.

re LOPA

Of the twenty five members of the Commission, four are office holders. They are: Ali Said (Chair), Baharuddin Lopa (Executive Director), Miriam Budiardjo and Marzuki Daroesman (Vice Chairs). The Commission consists of three sections - education, monitoring and law reform - each comprising three members. The four office holders are not assigned to any section.

## Australia's role in the Commission

At the UN World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in June 1993, the Australian government announced its intention to provide \$AUD300,000 for the UN Voluntary Fund for Technical Co-operation administered by the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva. These funds have been earmarked for national human rights commission, including the Indonesian one.

## SOME REACTIONS TO THE COMMISSION

Legal experts and human rights activists from within and without Indonesia have expressed concerns about the extent of the Commission's independence from government. According to them, there are four main areas which need to be addressed of the Commission is to be independent and objective. These are:

\* *legal basis*: the commission was established by Presidential Decision, rather than passed through parliament as legislation. By establishing the commission via Presidential Decision, the government has stifled debate around the issues relating to the mandate, the membership and the funding of the commission which could have been thrashed out in parliament.

\* *funding*: The Commission is funded through the Cabinet Secretariat. Referring to UN principles on national human rights institutions, legal experts have pointed out that the budget of a commission should be clearly set out in legislative text and channelled directly. This protects a commission's funding from arbitrary cutbacks resulting from 'rationalisation' strategies pursued by governments.

\* *mandate*: The four point mandate of the commission is too vague. Critics want: (1) the mandate of the commission to adhere more closely to UN stipulations on the mandate of national commissions; and (2) that the commission be furnished with the authority to carry out independent investigations of allegations of human rights abuses, and that it ensure the ratification and translation into domestic law of all UN human rights instruments.

\* *membership*: UN principles stipulate that membership of national commissions should include a broad range of community representatives, particularly human rights activists from non-governmental organisation, but also

including religious leaders, academic experts and parliamentarians. Government representatives should only be included in an advisory capacity on matters considered crucial. Whilst the membership of the Commission fulfills these stipulations, three major concerns remain. Firstly, that in keeping with the spirit of the establishment of the commission by Presidential Decision, the membership of the commission was appointed directly by the President. Secondly, that only a small minority of the members are known critics of the government on human rights issues. Thirdly, that the government's role on the commission goes beyond an advisory one.

### ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION OVER THE PAST YEAR

Since its establishment, the National Commission on Human Rights has received a number of complaints of human rights abuses. It has conducted investigations into four of those.

*The Marsinah case*  
Marsinah was an East Javanese labour activist who was murdered in suspicious circumstances in May 1993 following her involvement in a strike in a watch factory. When her suspected murderers went on trial in early 1994, the Commission announced its intention

to monitor the trial. In its investigations, the Commission discovered that several suspects had been interrogated by local military command personnel, rather than the police. And when one suspect confessed in court to having been tortured, he was assaulted by a local military officer on leaving the room. At this point the Commission called on the Judge to call a stop to the trial proceedings.

#### *Acehnese political prisoners*

The Commission travelled to Aceh to investigate allegations of human rights abuses of Acehese prisoners. The investigation resulted in the discovery that a number of Acehese political prisoners had been detained for some time without trial. Some were promptly released.

#### *Rancamaya and Sei Lapan*

The local communities of Sei Lapan (North Sumatra) and Rancamaya (West Java) complained to the commission that they had been treated unfairly by companies seeking to develop their land. In both cases,

the commission defused the conflict by convincing the company to offer increased rates of compensation. It's handling of these two cases has sharpened concerns over the extent of its independence and effectiveness. Local landowners and activists in Indonesian say that the Commission has failed to address other crucial issues in both cases, namely allegation of intimidation, assault and destruction of local property by company officials.

### COMMENT

The commission's functioning over the past year has led many to the conclusion that its role is little more than defusing conflicts rather than implementing fundamental law reform in the name of the protection and promotion of human rights on the domestic level. If it is to be credible and effective in this task, probable the biggest role the commission can play is in the judicial sphere. Indonesian law is riddled with unconstitutional regulations, the most notorious of which include the system of press licencing, by which the government can shut down a publication at will and without due process of law, and the Anti-Subversion law. Indonesian human rights lawyers have pointed out that embarking on a

## Ratification of UN Conventions: Indonesia and the region

The Asia-Pacific region is the only region without a regional treaty and mechanism and few countries in the region have national human rights institutions. The region's record of accession to international treaties is disappointingly poor. Of the 49 states in the Asia-Pacific region, more than half have not ratified either of the two international conventions on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights or the Convention Against Torture. Only eight have ratified all of these fundamental treaties.

Of all the UN Conventions, Indonesia has only ratified one -the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

At the Bangkok (Asia-Pacific regional) Preparatory Meeting to the UN World Conference on Human Rights, governments and non-governmental organisation agreed on the need to set up regional and in-country human rights mechanisms in the Asia-Pacific region. One of the primary aims of these mechanisms is to promote ratification and translation into domestic law and practice of UN Human Rights Conventions.

process of judicial review is a valuable contribution that can be made by the commission.

The task of judicial review alone is clearly too big for the commission to take on single handedly, on top of its other tasks. One suggestion put forward is that the commission work together with human rights NGOs in undertaking monitoring and investigating cases. The commission could directly authorise non-governmental organisations to conduct investigations themselves, and initiate a system of regular consultations to obtain input from NGOs and specialists on the functioning of the commission.

Info from [redacted] Ph Fax  
AFFET  
Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801 832113

CNRM - FALINTIL

Exmo Sr. Presidente

da Comissão Eventual da Assembleia da República  
para Acompanhamento da Situação em Timor Leste

Apresento a V. Exa. os meus melhores cumprimentos.

Tenho a honra de informar que :

O Dr. José Ramos Horta, natural de Timor Leste, está devidamente credenciado e autorizado para representar o Conselho Nacional de Resistência Maubere - CNRM - em todas as questões no âmbito diplomático junto de Governos, Parliamentos, Organização das Nações Unidas e todas as instituições inter-governamentais e Organizações não-governamentais.

O CNRM é o órgão superior de luta de que fazem parte a Comissão Directiva da FRETILIN e o Comando das Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor Leste - FALINTIL - com Quartel-General em Timor Leste.

As FALINTIL são uma força nacional apertidária que reúne todas as forças nacionalistas timorenses.

Devo informar que as atribuições, agora conferidas ao Dr. José Ramos Horta, obedecem a uma série de considerações concernentes ao desenvolvimento da luta da Libertação Maubere,

Esta representação do CNRM no Exterior tem em vista dinamizar as decisões e o pensamento do CNRM, procedendo as necessárias consultas com a Convergência Nacionalista.

Como porta-voz do CNRM, no Exterior, o Dr. José Ramos Horta não substitui a DFSE ( mantida mandatária do CNRM por leitura da história de uma luta, história que se pretende não negar); contudo, como representante do CNRM no Exterior, o Dr. José Ramos Horta assume obrigações que pertenceriam ao próprio CNRM, enquanto Órgão Máximo de Luta e supra-partidária.

Aproveito a oportunidade para reiterar a Vossa Excelência os meus melhores cumprimentos.

Quartel-General do Conselho de Resistência Maubere, em Timor Leste,  
aos 10 dias do mês de Julho do ano 1991.

*XANANA*  
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão  
Membro do CNRM

Quartel-General do FALINTIL  
D. 10/7/91

Speech given by Reza Muharam an Indonesian Student who was a part of the Peace Mission to East Timor.

" Just because I'm participating in the peace mission,  
Just because I believe that peace is possible in East Timor,  
Just because I want respect in East Timor and Indonesia,  
And just because I believe in the spirit of freedom and independence,  
And also because I believe East Timorese people have the right to  
determine thier own future - they call me a traitor !"

"In the first place I felt very intimidated but now I have confidence about my own pride."

" I believe what I am doing is right."

" I'm calling for the western Governments, Australia, America and the I.G.G.I. Governments (Holland etc.) that hve supported this, one of the largest facist regimes in the world, to keep the pressure on, to make the democratic process in Indonesia possibe."

"The Soeharto regime is not only responsible for the killing of one third of the East Timorese people, it has killed in 65/67 about a half a million innocent people in Indonesia when it came to power. And yet it has also killed about 4,000 innocent people in '83 and hundreds of demonstrators in Tanjung Priak."

" I believe that this regime is a criminal regime, its a crime not only to the East Timorese people or to the Indonesian people, but a crime to humanity."

" I hope you can support the struggle of the East Timorese people and the Indonesian people by critising the hypocrisy of your own Government."

This speech was given outside the Indonesian Consulate<sup>in Darwin</sup> on Thursday the 12 th of March. A mass was held outside the Consulate a few hours after the peace protesters from the Lusitania Expresso arrived back in Darwin.

Brenda

from Wes  
PL 089 892252



To :  
Mr. Jose Manuel Ramos Horta  
D. i l l i  
Portuguese Timor.

Dear Mr. Horta :

I was pleased to meet you during your recent visit to Jakarta, Indonesia.

We, the people of Indonesia, and the Government of Indonesia, have been heartened by the recent changes that have taken place in Lisbon, Portugal.

This change of government and of policy outlook came as something of a surprise to most people, including you and your people in Timor.

In our view, these developments offer a good opportunity to the people of Timor to accelerate the process towards independence, as well as to generate overall national development and to promote the progress of the people of Timor.

The Government of Indonesia until now still adheres to the following principles :

- I. The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people in Timor.
- II. The Government as well as the people of Indonesia have no intention to increase or to expand their territory, or to occupy other territories other than what is stipulated in their Constitution. This reiteration is to give you a clear idea, so that there may be no doubt in the minds of the people of Timor in expressing their own wishes.
- III. For this reason, whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence, can be assured that the Government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries.

Please convey my message to your people in Timor.

With my best wishes and warm regards to you and to all the people in Timor.

Sincerely yours,

ADAM MALIK.

Jakarta, 17th June 1974.

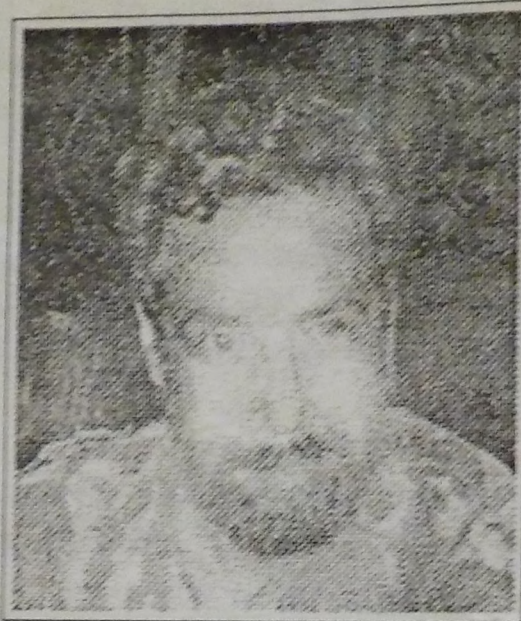
1974

Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister

↑  
famous letter

# XANANA

G U S M A O



*Jose d Fakima*  
*PL 453671*

## Free Xanana - Free East Timor Campaign

Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese Resistance organisation FALINTIL, has been held incommunicado by the Indonesian military since Friday 21/11/92. For most East Timorese, Xanana is the leader of the Nation and the living embodiment of their struggle to regain their home land. Xanana has fostered a sense of reconciliation and national unity amongst East Timorese. He is the architect of a peace plan, now being discussed by Portugal and Indonesia under United Nations auspices. Xanana has an instrumental role to play in the peace process in East Timor.

Xanana's sister, Armandina Gusmao, and her husband Gilman Exposto, and their two older children, Celia aged 15 and Nilton aged 13 have also been arrested by Indonesian soldiers. As have Xanana's parents aged 75 and 70. The military authorities have rejected a request from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for access to Xanana and his family.

Recent television reports from Indonesia suggesting that Xanana is not being coerced or tortured have not been corroborated by independent sources, such as International Red Cross, International Commission of Jurists or independent media.

By depriving Xanana and members of his family of outside contact Indonesian Government is in violation of basic rights and has expressly breached the rights of a protected person under the terms of the IVth Geneva Convention.

Please write to The Prime Minister, The Hon Paul Keating MP, Parliament House, Canberra ACT 2600 requesting that the Australian Government pressures the Indonesian Government and the United Nations to:

- \* ensure the International Red Cross has 24 hour access to Xanana and members of his family and ensure that they are not maltreated or tortured;
- \* release Xanana into the hands of the United Nations so that he can participate in talks to resolve the conflict in East Timor.

You can also write to President Suharto, C/- Ambassador Sabam Siagaan, The Indonesian Embassy, 8 Darwin Ave, Yarralumla, Canberra, ACT 2600 to detail your concerns.

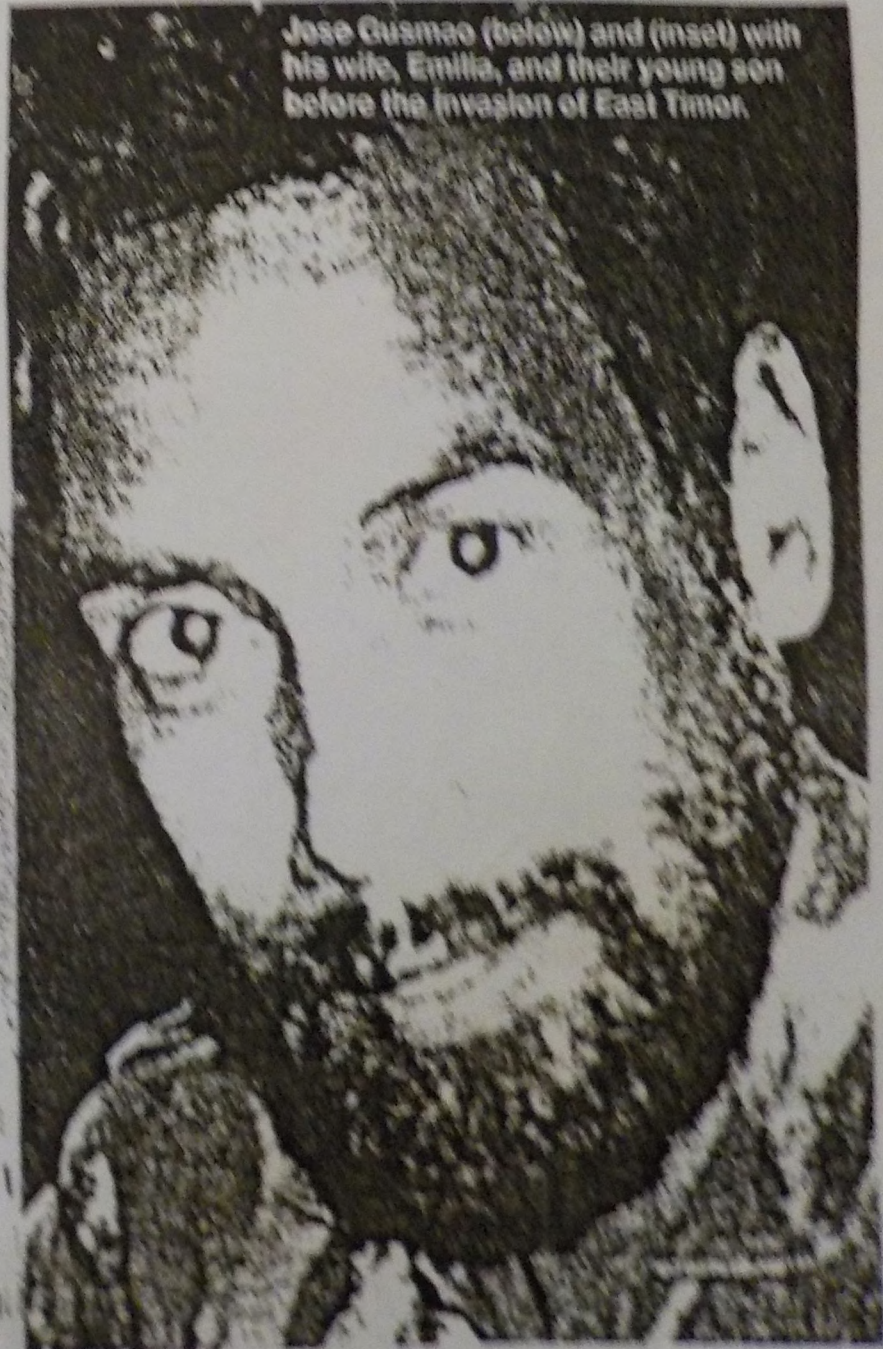
**This pamphlet was produced by the East Timor Action Committee. For more information about Xanana and East Timor contact Tel. 832113 or write to PO Box 2155, Darwin, 0801.**

We East Timorese and their supporters in Darwin call on all fair minded people to protest the inhumanity to our north, in particular at this time the illegal and improper guilty verdict against an honourable man Xanana Gusmao and the sentence of life imprisonment or death which will be imposed.

Although the so-called court and so-called judges in Dili stopped Xanana from reading his defence statement this week, the full text will be made public to the world later this week. Truth will out! A little help from the media would be appreciated, after all this gets to the heart of the world's greatest pro rata genocide this century, and its all happening just north of the Timor Sea.

**Independence \* Help \* All \* Now**

East Timor Action Committee, Darwin  
Box 2155 Darwin NT Australia 0801  
PhFax 089 832113



Jose Gusmao (below) and (inset) with his wife, Emilia, and their young son before the invasion of East Timor.

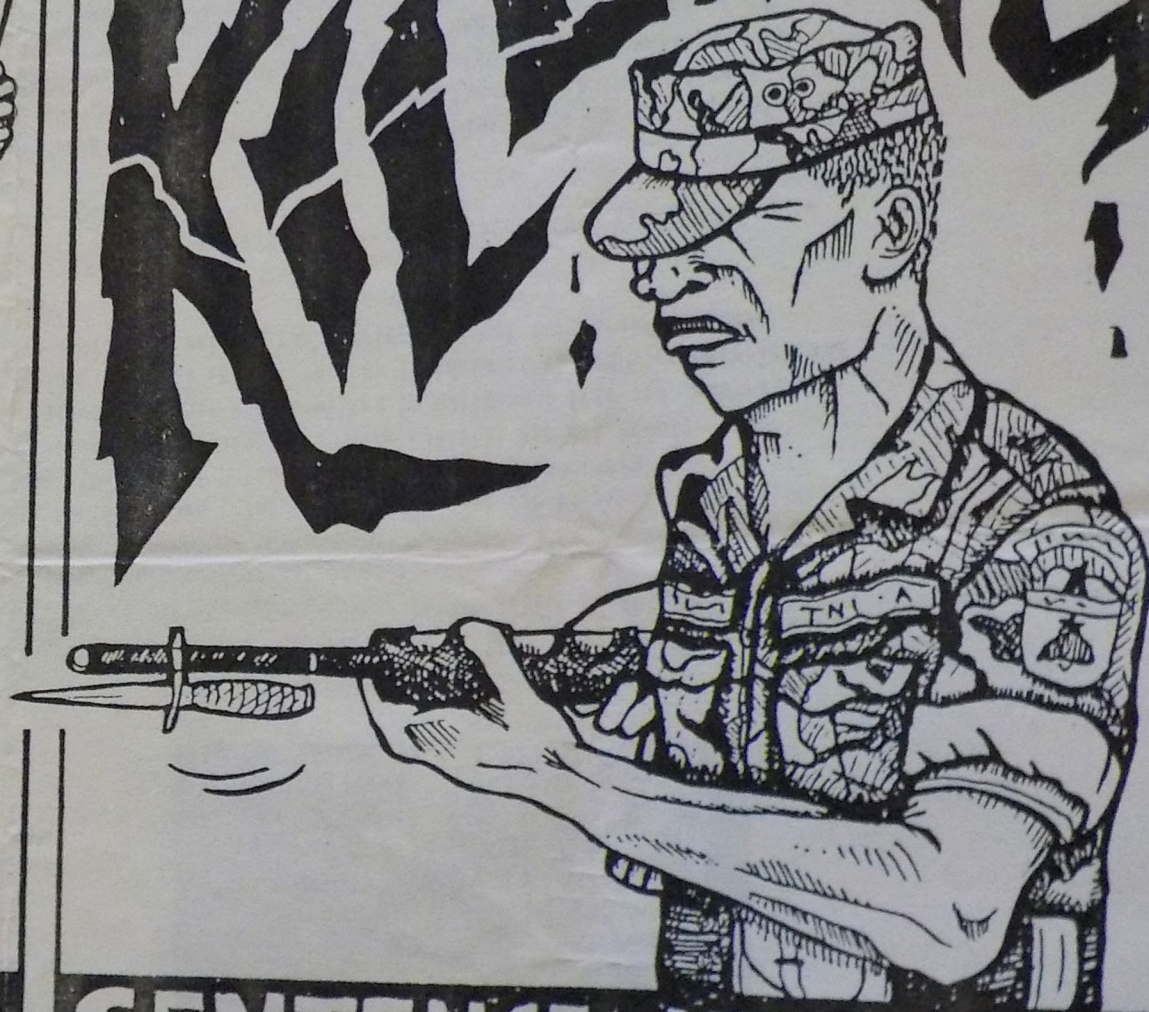


**PROTESTING**



**SENTENCE : 12 YEARS**

**KILLING**



**SENTENCE : 17 MONTHS**

**FREE EAST TIMOR**

# Xanana Gusmao

Xanana Gusmao - Commander in Chief of FALINTIL

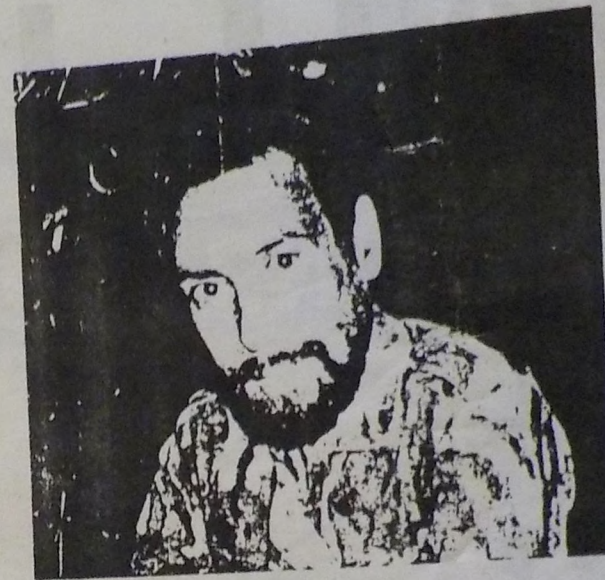
For most Timorese Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao is the living embodiment of their struggle to regain their home land. Despite his importance to East Timorese, very little is known about him in Australia. Just who is this man who is loved and respected by so many?

Xanana Gusmao was born into a middle class family. His father, a teacher, ensured that his son received a good education as well as reinforcing religious and humanitarian values. Xanana was lucky enough to win a coveted place at the Seminary, a prestigious school. He went on to serve in the Portuguese Army for three years.

Xanana also worked as a public servant. However, after the Portuguese revolution on 25th April 1974, Xanana became openly critical of the Portuguese Administration in East Timor. He subsequently resigned from the public service and went to work as a bricklayer. This move brought Xanana closer to the working people and helped to foster his respect for and understanding of them.

Given Xanana's affinity with the people of East Timor, it is no surprise that he became involved with FRETILIN. At the time of the December 1975 invasion Xanana, 29 years old, married with two young children, was a junior leader of FRETILIN. After the invasion he escaped to the hills to become a guerilla. His courage and skill were such that, by 1978, he emerged as the leader of the armed resistance and was elected President of FRETILIN in 1981.

Xanana has also been instrumental in fostering a sense of reconciliation and national unity between the different, social, cultural and political groups within East Timor. In 1986 an agreement was signed between East Timorese leaders creating an entity known as the Timorese National Convergence. This group actively promotes the establishment of a Western-style democracy in East Timor. As a result of this pact, FALINTIL was no longer regarded as being the fighting arm of FRETILIN and was renamed the Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor, thus establishing the organisation as belonging to all East Timorese regardless of their political persuasions.



In order to ensure the neutrality of FALINTIL, Xanana resigned from FRETILIN on 31st December, 1988. In his letter of resignation he explained this move by saying that:

The FALINTIL have taken on, in these last eleven years, their true role, that is, of defending our homeland, without links to any political party whatsoever...the Falintil are not involved in politics, but they are committed to building a free and democratic nation, based on respect for the freedoms of thought, association and expression, as well as the complete respect for universal human rights.

Robert Domm, an Australian journalist, interviewed Xanana Gusmao in 1990. Domm says of Xanana:

He doesn't seem to belong in the mountains, he's not the type of person you'd expect to spend 15 years there. You'd expect to find him drinking coffee and discussing politics in a sidewalk cafe in Lisbon. He's clearly a well read man, and his knowledge of world events was very good... What struck me was the combination of the intellectual and the soldier.

Xanana Gusmao is a complex and intriguing character. He is a poet, peace negotiator, journalist, political theorist as well as a guerilla leader. A reluctant hero forced to become a soldier as a result of the desperate situation in East Timor.

# FREE XANANA! Free East Timor! BOYCOTT BALI!

FREE XANANA FREE EAST TIMOR

Mid-June 1993 and we are gravely concerned about the health and life itself of Xanana Gusmao, currently on a hunger strike in prison in Dili, and unseen by any except his brutal captors.

Xanana's successor, Ma'Huno, is also surrounded by military and intel, also never seen by Red Cross, and with a mostly compliant media seemingly unconcerned. Some even give credence to the dissemblings of Gareth Evans and Ali Alatas. Unbelievable!

Friday 21st May 1993 saw the ILLEGAL life imprisonment by the Indonesian military's judges on whatever farcical charges were fabricated against Jose Alexandre Gusmao, our mate Xanana, leader of East Timor Resistance.

Some background:

7th Dec 1975, with approval by USA President Ford and apparent approval of Australian Prime Ministers of the time and since, the Indonesian military launched a full scale invasion of the small country of East Timor, 500 km NW of Darwin.

While they expected the military operation to be over in days, it continues to this day, with resistance from all Timorese to the hated occupiers against the overwhelming odds at whatever level can be sustained at any given time.

The USA upgraded Indonesia's weaponry in 1977 including the vile Bronco OV10 ground attack aircraft. Approx. 300,000 people (that is 3x Darwin's population today) out of a 1975 population of less than 700,000 have been killed in the war so far - yes, a genocide of horrifying proportions.

The world was able to see the Indonesian brutality clearly in the Dili massacre of 12th Nov 1991 when the slaughter of nearly 300 young unarmed and peaceful people was captured on TV. Since then the brutality has actually increased.

Why do not the USA, the UN, the EC, Australia, Japan and other nations take concrete actions to end the slaughter and ethnic cleansing of our nearest neighbours? They were our heroic and loyal friends in WW II, and could have provided a bulwark against expansionist thrusts of a rampant military Indonesia.

Indonesia has no legal jurisdiction in East Timor, being in gross breach of International Law, the UN Charter, 2 Security Council and 8 General Assembly resolutions which reaffirm the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence. As a result the arrest, incarceration, torture and trial of Xanana Gusmao are also illegal, and in fact a farce.

FREE XANANA  
FREE MA'HUNO

FREE EAST TIMOR  
FREE ALL TIMORESE

The UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva in March 1993 again passed 22:12 (USA voted in favour) a strong resolution condemning the continuing human rights violations in East Timor.

USA vice-President Al Gore in May 1993 said a prize-winning radio documentary made during and after the Dili massacre by heroic US journalists Amy Goodman and Alan Nairn, was an extraordinary work outlining the nature of the outrage committed against the people of East Timor by the government of Indonesia... the essence is clear, that unarmed innocent people have been killed and imprisoned and mistreated... it is an abuse of human rights... the USA government will continue to seek redress on their behalf.

(About time, and hurry up!)

Some apologists for Indonesia point to road building etc in East Timor by the Indons. This is primarily done to assist population control. The people want freedom. **Freedom!** I know this is impossible for the local CLP to grasp.

We East Timorese and supporters in Darwin call on all fair minded people to protest the inhumanity to our north, in particular at this time the illegal and improper incarceration of an honourable man Xanana Gusmao, the sentence of life imprisonment, and the death that will follow without urgent action.

Although the so-called court and so-called judges in Dili stopped Xanana from reading his defence statement last week, the full text has been smuggled out to the world. Ask us for copies. Truth will out! A little more help from the media and the fair go dinkum Aussie true blue public would be appreciated, after all this gets to the heart of the world's greatest pro rata genocide this century, and its all happening just north of the Timor Sea.

Lobby Paul Keating (parliament house Canberra 2600) fax 06 2715414 ph 06 2777700, and Gareth Evans fax 06 2734112, ph 06 2613098 or 03 652533, and Foreign Affairs fax 06 2772221.

Indonesia: Foreign Affairs fax 0011 62 21 360517, 367781/2, and Armed Forces HQ ...361471

**INDEPENDENCE FOR EAST TIMOR  
FREE XANANA FREE MA'HUNO FREEDOM  
for ALL EAST TIMOR NOW!**

East Timor Action Group, Darwin  
Box 2155 Darwin NT 0801  
PhFax 089 832113 **join us!**  
\* \* \* \*

Donations needed to  
assist the world-wide struggle.  
for self-determination for the East Timorese.

&/or Direct support for  
East Timorese welfare:  
East Timor Relief Agency  
Box 38956 Winnellie 0820  
Ph 089 812215

Welcome to visitors from nearby  
PRESS RELEASE 22/6/93

Many East Timorese and our valiant supporters in Darwin bid WELCOME to those visitors coming here this week from our near northern part of the regional family of neighbours.

To those visitors from eastern Indonesia, West Irian/Papua and East Timor, and to all from the region who aspire to the freedoms guaranteed by the UN Charter and Declarations, we bid a special welcome.

Talk to us about ways we can work to mutual benefit to get rid of the heavy yoke of the military government which oppresses you and also our families. We will provide those opportunities.

Understand that the world is increasingly critical of Indonesia's unacceptable denial of human rights, and its pathetic excuse that human rights interfere with development. One of us has just returned from a UN Decolonisation workshop which highlighted just these points and the increasing aspirations of the ordinary people of the region.

In the NT we have a government which believes it will achieve more by accepting the Indonesian government line about the subjugation of human rights. However the opposition party urges full respect for the UN Charter and Declarations in international dealings, and are deeply concerned at the continuing human rights abuses in East Timor. This position is the same as ours.

Our national government talks much of uncompromising support for human rights, but in practice this is often only words and not actions. This seems to be the position of Ali Alatas.

To any senior Indonesian official coming to Darwin we say:  
"support human rights for all in words AND deeds and NOW!"

*Jose Gusmao*  
for Jose Gusmao  
CNRM  
Ph...

*Goncalo Pinto*  
for Goncalo Pinto  
UDT  
Ph 276032

*Rob Wesley-Smith*  
Rob Wesley-Smith  
AFFET  
PhFax 832113

14/11/91 (9)

14/11/91

# JOHN BAILEY

Ph: 089 277033

Fax: 089 451921

DEPUTY OPPOSITION LEADER

PO BOX 41856

Shadow spokesperson for Mines and Energy, Industries and Development CASUARINA NT 0811

## PRESS RELEASE

### LABOR MOVES TIMOR MOTION IN ASSEMBLY

Deputy Opposition Leader John Bailey today moved a motion in the Legislative Assembly deploring the massacre in Dili of innocent Timorese civilians by Indonesian troops on Tuesday.

Mr Bailey's motion called on the Indonesian Government to hold a full and open inquiry into the incident.

Mr Bailey said the Northern Territory Assembly had a particular responsibility because of the large East Timorese community in the Territory.

During debate on the motion, Mr Bailey said he had been provided with information by a constituent who had been rung by relatives in Dili.

He had been informed through that source that 125 Timorese had been killed, that wounded civilians had been bayoneted and hit in the head with rifle butts.

He had been informed there was a dusk to dawn curfew in Dili and food supplies were already grown short. Random arrests were taking place and the troops were still on the rampage.

Mr Bailey's motion, supported by the Labor Opposition, called on the Indonesian government to recognize the rights of East Timorese to live in a free and open society.

14 November 1991

Contact: John Bailey 27-7033

Jamie Gallacher 81-7666

FREE XANANA FREE EAST TIMOR

Friday 21st May 1993 marks the expected Guilty verdict by the Indonesian military's judges of whatever farcical charges are fabricated against Jose Alexandre Gusmao, our mate Xanana, leading the East Timor Resistance.

7th Dec 1975, with approval of USA President Ford with Kissinger and apparent approval of Australian Prime Ministers of the time, the Indonesian military launched a full scale invasion of the small country of East Timor, 500 km NW of Darwin.

While many expected the military operation to be over in days, it continues to this day, with resistance from the population to the hated occupiers as intense as ever. The armed military resistance in the mountainous hinterland of East Timor continues against overwhelming odds at whatever level can be sustained at any given time.

The USA upgraded Indonesia's weaponry in 1977 including the hated Bronco OV10 ground attack aircraft. Approx. 300,000 people out of a 1975 population of less than 700,000 have been killed in the war today - yes, a **genocide** of horrifying proportions.

The world was able to see the Indonesian brutality clearly when the Dili massacre of 12th Nov 1991 when 300 young people were slaughtered was captured on TV. Since then the brutality has actually increased.

Why doesn't the USA and other western nations take concrete actions to end the slaughter and ethnic cleansing of our nearest neighbours who were heroic and loyal friends in WW 11 and since, and could have provided a bulwark against expansionist thrusts of a military ruled Indonesia, itself only a post WW 11 creation.

Indonesia has no jurisdiction in East Timor being in gross breach of International Law, the UN Charter, 2 Security Council and 8 General Assembly resolutions which reaffirm the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence. As a result the arrest, incarceration, early torture and trial of Xanana Gusmao are also illegal, and in fact a farce.

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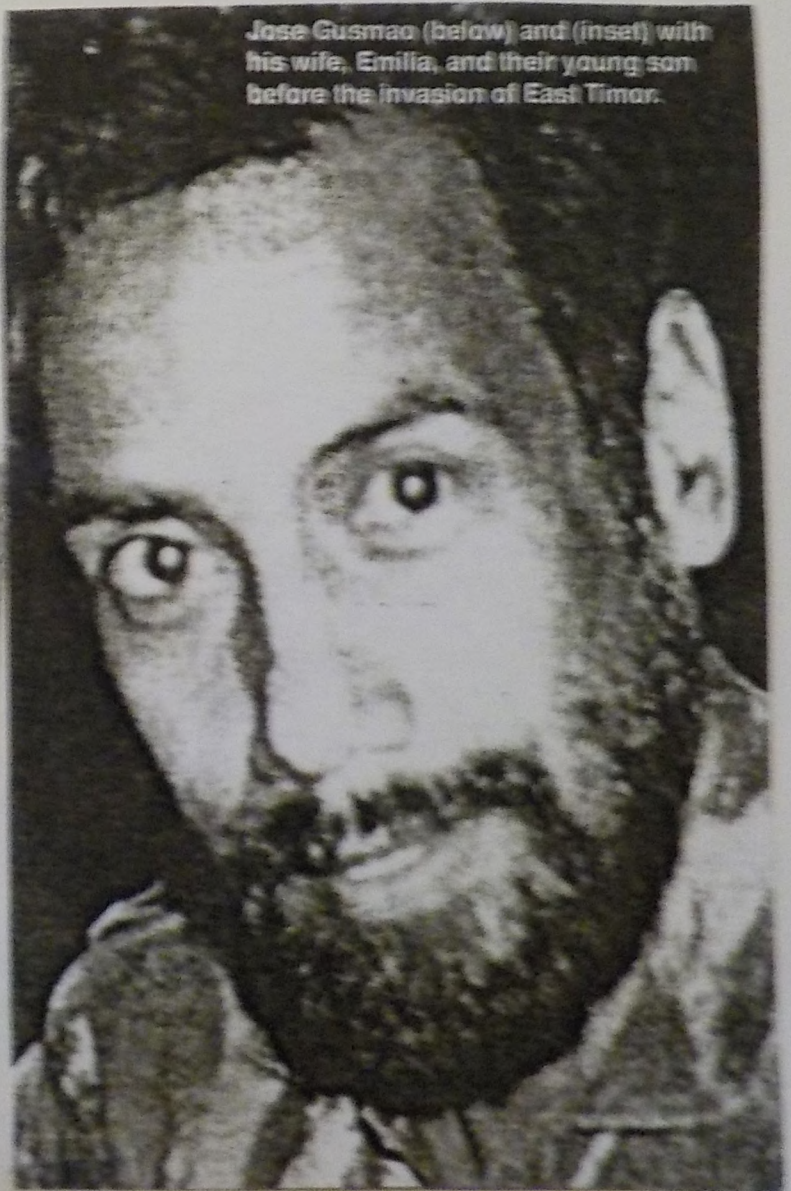
In May 1993 a prize-winning radio documentary made during and after the Dili massacre by heroic US journalists Amy Goodman and Alan Nairn elicited the statement by USA vice-President Al Gore: ... an extraordinary work outlining the nature of the outrage committed against the people of East Timor by the government of Indonesia... essence clear that unarmed innocent people have been killed and imprisoned and mistreated... it is an abuse of human rights... the USA government will continue to seek redress on their behalf.

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**Independence \* Help \* All \* Now**

East Timor Action Committee, Darwin  
Box 2155 Darwin NT Australia 0801  
PhFax 089 832113



Jose Gusmao (below) and (inset) with his wife, Emilia, and their young son before the invasion of East Timor.



Minutes of ETRA meeting 5th of January 1994

Present : Col, Bernice, Ray, Kathy, Jacquie, Vito, John, Tony, Anne, Ceu, Sebastiao, Andrew.

Apologies : Jose, Juan, Fatima, Judy

Correspondence Out : presented to meeting  
Letter to A/S Peace Group  
Petition to Bill Clinton, Boutros Ghali  
Links with ETRA Sydney

Finances : Report presented to meeting; healthy, indicates a lot of activity; need for fund-raising activities raised.

Meeting agreed on following expenditure :

\$100 to Sydney ETRA (postcards, need check re Red Cross)

\$100 to Matebian News

\$1500 support for prisoners

Executive Committee formed : Col, Judy, Ceu, Bernice, Vitor, Fatima

Fundraising ideas canvassed : film evening, dinner/cultural night, market stall to continue.- Committee to decide on priority areas.

Membership drive. Agreed that having 1993 ETRA Darwin report translated into Portuguese would assist Timorese community.

\* Links with Japan and US solidarity groups, Pacific Island countries to be strengthened, (an information package about East Timor organised for distribution to Pacific countries ?)

\*The recording of stories of East Timorese people in Australia, transcripts to be used for lobbying US congresspeople.

Next Committee meeting - 1st Monday of month - February.7th

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.

Vicente Ximenes came here on a Visa and seeks asylum. He has some severe medical needs, but there are no procedures in place it appears for access to the medical system. This is ridiculous, even if only for our own blatant selfinterest.

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 realised 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.

*Rob Wesley Smith*

5/2/94

We need to guard against the possible introduction of infectious disease for example, or to avoid later high cost community problems as a result of unresolved psychoses due to torture. AFFET calls for an urgent revision of government policy on this matter.

\* \* \* \* \*

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.

\* \* \* \* \*

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?

Australians for a Free East Timor  
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PRESS RELEASE - THURS 11/3/93

## "Demonstrations"

Public demonstrations are usually a device of the (relatively) powerless, without adequate access to media, government or money.

### Down South

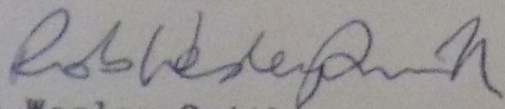
The series of amateurish demonstrations by the Liberal Party with Dr Hewson indicate several things:

1. The Liberal Party consider themselves to be relatively powerless ie destined, in this case, to lose this election.
2. The enthusiastic chanting of silly slogans by Liberal Party devotees, and the attempts at aggressively fomenting divisions, are hardly a ringing endorsement for future good government and will be seen as such.
3. No Right-Wing government in Australia can now morally claim a mandate to disperse demonstrations.

### In Darwin

1. Chief Minister Perron on 29 November 1991 declared Marshall Law and used his police at the Indonesian Consulate to forcibly disperse the beautiful peaceful protest re the Dili Massacre in East Timor. This was particularly obnoxious as Consulate Protection is normally a federal responsibility.
2. The Government has provided the bloated Indonesian consulate with a new building, the ex-Pt Authority building, without evidence of public advertising or proper public procedures. This is another example of the NT Government looking after its mates.

Given the Liberal Party's endorsement of public demonstrations, we can only assume that the inevitable ding-dong at the new Consulate will be endorsed by Mr Perron.



Rob Wesley-Smith  
(a) Spokesperson for AFFET

PhFax 832113



The Hon. Warren Snowdon MP  
Member for the Northern Territory  
Parliamentary Secretary to the  
Minister for Employment, Education and Training

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Senator the Hon Gareth Evans, QC  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Parliament House  
CANBERRA ACT 2600

26 NOV 1992

Dear Minister

I refer to my correspondence of 23 November 1992 in which I raised a number of matters in relation to the detention of Mr Xanana Gusmao, and to the current situation in East Timor. I do not intend to canvas all the issues raised therein apart from the urgent issue of Mr Gusmao's detention and interrogation.

Apparently the Indonesian authorities have, despite the representations from yourself and other member of the International Community refused to allow access by the International Committee of the Red Cross to Mr Gusmao. Although, as you have stated in your release of 21 November 1992, the Indonesian authorities had assured you that he would not be ill treated.

There is genuine fear that Mr Gusmao, under military detention, has been or is being subjected to maltreatment and to torture and being denied the most basic of human rights.

It is totally unacceptable for this appalling situation to continue and in my view demands a strong protest from our Government. The incommunicado detention of Mr Gusmao raises very serious questions about the commitment of the Indonesian authorities to due process, even under Indonesian law which, as I understand it provides that a detainee be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choice during interrogation. A right that has apparently been denied Mr Gusmao.

I also understand that following his detention that Mr Gusmao's parent's aged 75 and 70, his four sister's and their respective husbands; and six children the eldest aged 15 have also been taken into custody.

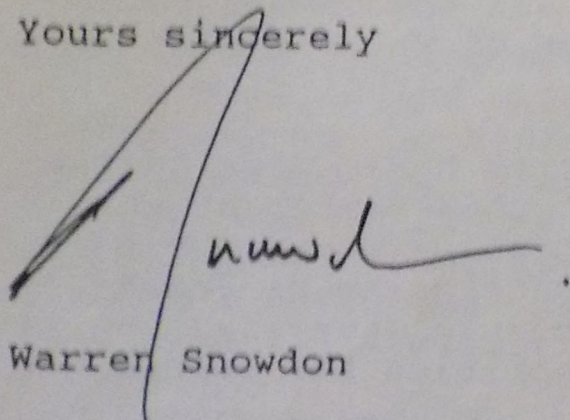
Our Government should seek urgent advice from the Indonesian authorities about these allegations, and if they are true a commitment for the release of those detained.

The way in which the Indonesian authorities have handled Mr Gusmao's detention and the events surrounding it unfortunately serve to reinforce the negative views within the Australian community about the military occupation of East Timor by Indonesia. The apparent inability, unwillingness of the Indonesian authorities to deal properly and fairly with the East Timorese people generally and in particular in this instance Mr Gusmao and his family is a cause of grave concern and increasing frustration to many.

I again urge you to use your strongest endeavours to seek in accordance with international standards of human rights, fair treatment of Mr Gusmao and any others detained in connection with his arrest. In my view, their detention should not be a question, they are clearly political prisoners and should be immediately released.

I look forward to your early advice.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Warren Snowden', is written over a large, sweeping diagonal line that extends from the top left towards the center of the page.

Warren Snowden

cc The Hon P J Keating MP  
Mr Laurie Ferguson MP  
Mr Garrie Gibson MP  
Mr Ted Grace MP  
Mr Arch Bevis MP  
Senator Chris Schacht  
Senator Nick Sherry