

Prof. Donald E. Weatherbee
Institute of International Studies
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C. 29208

November 22, 1980

Dear Don,

I just wanted to write and thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your "Situation in East Timor," as well as copies of your letters to Congressmen Harkin and McHugh. I deeply appreciate the tact you showed in not mentioning my name when you alerted these gentlemen to the dangers of listening to dishonest and politically motivated witnesses before the Congress. Well done!

I thought I might try to repay your collegiality with a few comments on Occasional Paper No. 1, which may be of help before you come to carrying out your plans for presenting your views on East Timor in more "narrowly" (?) academic formats.

p. 1 and thereafter. Readers will be heartened and reassured by your stalwart defence of the veracity of State Department officials. Some readers, however, may recall that one informed State Department witness told the Fraser Subcommittee in March 1977 that at that time the Indonesians controlled no more than one third of East Timor's territory. Here you speak sensibly of a "short but bitter campaign" resulting in the installation (you don't say by who, by the way) of a Timorese authority whose significant act was to petition for the territory's inclusion in Indonesia -- i.e. presumably circa July 1976. Now I know you don't meant to suggest that Mr. David Kenney is a "liar," but unwary Congressmen could easily get the wrong impression. Needs a bit of editorial work, don't you think?

p. 2 Scholars will be very pleased to learn that rival Timorese groups were "bombarding" each other with "heavy artillery." Imagine! Till now, they've had the naive idea that only the Indonesian armed forces were lucky enough to be so equipped. But a solid footnote on, especially, Fretilin's heavy artillery and its sources would be great. Scholars will also eagerly anticipate your fuller analysis of why, let alone how, Fretilin extremists managed to drive "hundreds of thousands" of villagers to the high woods and mountains.

p. 3 Silly of the Indonesians, wasn't it, to restrict foreign access to East Timor till early 1980 when that "short but bitter campaign" had settled everything four years earlier. Good to know that it was just nationalist sensitivity that kept Mr. Kamm of the New York Times waiting for an entry permit for two years.

p. 4 This was a real eye-opener to me. Who would ever have guessed that there was official interest in your reactions and conclusions as the "first social scientists and Indonesianist" to enter East Timor (since 1975, I take it??)

p. 5 Our colleagues will be anxious to know the name of the helpful Timorese who accompanied you, and learn more of his active role in the internal Timorese political struggle. Was he a West Timorese or an East Timorese? (You forgot to mention this). If he played a heroic role in Operasi Komodo (you forgot to mention this too, now I come to think of it), don't hide his light under the proverbial bushel. Ang

informer, sorry, I mean informant of this caliber could be very useful to other scholars working on East Timor.

Our colleagues will be tremendously excited by the news that the Indonesian government is generously providing -- free of charge! -- a new research tool to the social scientist's and Indonesianist's kit: the helicopter. This is obviously going to save an enormous amount of time and trouble. Where does one make one's application? Some obviously politically motivated people identify General Benny Moerdani as head of military intelligence and deputy head of Bakin -- and the prime architect of Indonesian policy towards East Timor. It would be good to give the lie to this kind of scurrilous talk once and for all; otherwise, before you know it, these people will be calling serious scholars doing helicopter-based research in East Timor "foreign friends of Bakin," "subcontractors to Indonesian military intelligence" and who knows what else. A solid footnote reminding readers of General Moerdani's true position in the Ministry of Education, and his splendid record in promoting research and stimulating discussion in Indonesian universities, would be just the thing!

p. 6 Just between you and me, I'm a bit worried by the implications of your point that "at a general level of specificity (not sure I follow this, by the way) my observations and conclusions are a valid statement of the conditions in Timor." Who in their right mind would doubt this? But imagine what will happen if less enlightened funding sources than the Earhart Foundation get the impression that valid academic statements on conditions in countries can be achieved in six days -- even with the help of helicopters? What will happen to our stick-in-the-mud colleagues who have become accustomed to the idle luxury of spending a full year in field research and wasting unnecessary time by learning the local language? If the foundations come to see that the six-day research trip is the wave of the future, we'd better get the news around early to ease the shock and allow our friends the time to pull up their scholarly socks.

p. 20-21. "Concentration camps" indeed! What will the "foreign friends of Fretilin" say next? Is there no limit to their irresponsibility? They remind me of all those politically motivated people who used to call the Dutch rehabilitation center in Boven Digul a "concentration camp." Excellent to nail them on this point! But I think the nailing would hit harder home if you dropped the trivial detail that the populations in the Timor rehabilitation centers "are not permitted to move out" to open up other land. You and I may know how these things go, but innocent Congressmen and scholars will be confused by the idea of rehabilitation centers whose inhabitants are not free to leave, and they might end up giving some foolish credence to the allegations of those FFFs - foreign friends of Fretilin - as I've come to think of them.

p. 21 Couldn't agree more that the "policy of denying land to the population" may indeed "have to be rethought." A terrific idea! I wonder if you've passed on this innovative concept to General Moerdani?

p. 22. Do you think this parenthesis is wise? I'm afraid that the FFFs might misuse it. Perhaps omit in the more narrowly academic studies you are planning?

Eagerly awaiting your next text: will it be Occasional Paper No. 2?

sincerely,

Ben Anderson
Professor of Government & Asian Studies
Cornell University

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APPROVED BY AID/PDC/OFDA: J A MITCHELL
AID/PDC/OFDA: G BEAUCHAMP
AID/PDC/OFDA: C A SIEGEL
AID/PDC/OFDA: J CLARK
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TAGS:

SUBJECT: CRS EAST TIMOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

REF: (A) JAKARTA 11177; (B) JAKARTA 7815; (C) STATE 107871;
(D) STATE 102671; (E) JAKARTA 5555

1. (U) REF A SUGGESTS THAT CRS-OFDA GRANT AGREEMENT BE EXTENDED BEYOND SEPTEMBER 30, 1980. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO OFDA FROM CABLE TRAFFIC NOR FROM CONTACTS WITH CRS/NY WHY AN EXTENSION SHOULD BE REQUIRED. THE MOST RECENT GRANT EXTENSION (REFS C AND D) RECOGNIZED THAT FOOD ASSISTANCE WAS NOT QUITE AS URGENT FOR ALL OF EAST TIMOR AS IT HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY, BUT ENVISIONED THE POSITIONING OF FOOD STOCKS THROUGHOUT EAST TIMOR BEFORE THE RAINY SEASON. IF THIS PLAN IS FOLLOWED, ALL FUNDS WILL HAVE BEEN EXPENDED OR COMMITTED BY THE END OF THE GRANT PERIOD (SEPTEMBER 30). THE ACTUAL AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN WILL NOT DECREASE.

2. (U) THE ABOVE IS TRUE ALSO FOR THE MEDICAL TEAMS AND BUFFALOS; I.E., FUNDS WILL HAVE BEEN EXPENDED OR COMMITTED.

3. (C) ANOTHER REASON FOR NOT EXTENDING THE CRS-OFDA GRANT AT THIS TIME IS THE INCREASING PERCEPTION THAT THE

EAST TIMOR PROBLEM IS BEYOND THE EMERGENCY STAGE. THE VNP WEEKLY REPORT OF MAY 27-30, 1980, NOTES, QUOTE FOR THE MOST PART, EAST TIMOR IS CLOSE TO BEING BACK TO NORMAL IN TERMS OF HEALTH AND NUTRITION AND HARVESTS OF CORN AND RICE HAVE BEEN FAIRLY DECENT BUT NOT YET ADEQUATE FOR COMPLETE SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN THE YEAR TO COME. UNQUOTE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT NEEDS IN EAST TIMOR ARE NOT REAL; BUT WE WONDER IF THE SITUATION IS NOT NOW SIMILAR TO THAT IN OTHER OUTER ISLANDS OF INDONESIA. WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF HANKAM APPROVAL FOR CRS DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, HUMANITARIAN (READ DISASTER) ASSISTANCE IS ONE OF THE FEW WAYS OF REACHING THE NEEDY IN EAST TIMOR. HOWEVER, THIS IS NOT SUFFICIENT GROUNDS FOR USE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE ACCOUNT WHICH IS CALLED UPON TO PROVIDE FOR EMERGENCY LIFE SUPPORT IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. NORMALLY, SUCH ASSISTANCE IS PROVIDED WITHIN THE SIXTY-NINETY DAYS FOLLOWING A

DISASTER DETERMINATION. OF COURSE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIT FOOD SHORTAGES INTO THIS TIME FRAME, BUT THE EAST TIMOR PROGRAMS WILL SOON BE OVER A YEAR OLD.

4. (U) REGARDING THE CALL FORWARD OF AN ADDITIONAL 3,432 MT OF CORN (REFS A AND B), CRS HAS NOTED THAT ITS PHYSICAL AND MANAGERIAL CAPACITIES ARE FILLED BY THE 5,360 MT OF CORN PREVIOUSLY SHIPPED. REF C NOTED THAT CRS/NY DID NOT PLAN TO UTILIZE THE FOOD DIVERTED FROM NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR (REF E) BECAUSE OF LACK OF SUPPORT FUNDS. PLEASE CLARIFY WHAT HAPPENED TO THAT NTT DIVERSION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP, IF ANY, TO THE 3,432 MT. AS FOOD FOR PEACE HAS ADVISED, NO OUTREACH FUNDS WILL BE AVAILABLE UNTIL FY 81. NOT CALLING FORWARD THE 3,432 MT OF CORN WOULD NOT PRECLUDE PL 480 ALLOCATIONS TO EAST TIMOR FROM THE FY 81 FFP EMERGENCY BUDGET. CRS/NY WILL BE IN CONTACT WITH CRS/JAKARTA ON THIS SUBJECT.

5. (U) PLEASE NOTE THAT REF A WAS SLOW IN REACHING AID/W BECAUSE OF VAGUE SUBJECT LINE. IN THE FUTURE, PLEASE MARK ALL SUCH CABLES QUOTE CRS (OR ICRC) EAST TIMOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM UNQUOTE AND SLUG THEM AIDAC FOR AID/OFDA AS WELL. MUSKIE

CONFIDENTIAL

amnesty international news release

304 West 58 Street . New York NY 10019

Tel: (212) 582-4440

Telex: 666628

EMBARGOED FOR: Saturday, May 3, 1980,
10 p.m.

CONTACT: Larry Cox
Press Officer
212/582/4440

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL EXPRESSES TO INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES FEARS THAT EAST TIMORESE MAY HAVE BEEN EXECUTED

Amnesty International today (Saturday, May 3, 1980) expressed fears that former members of an East Timor independence movement may have been executed after surrendering under an amnesty offered by Indonesian authorities. A number of them disappeared after being re-arrested by Indonesian troops last year, in addition to others missing since they surrendered, the international human rights organization said.

It also said that several hundred prisoners, some of them held since the Indonesian invasion of the island territory in December 1975, were underfed and held in harsh and dangerous conditions. The organization said it had received persistent reports of prisoners being beaten or tortured.

Amnesty International said it had written to Indonesian President Suharto, who offered the amnesty in 1977, urging him to order an investigation into the whereabouts of former members of the Fretilin movement who had disappeared after surrendering to or being captured by Indonesian forces. It attached a list of 22 such people, who it said may have been summarily executed by Indonesian forces.

The Amnesty International letter, written on April 28, 1980, also asked President Suharto to order an investigation of the conditions under which at least 800 Timorese are held in the custody of Indonesian forces in East Timor. It called on him to assist in allowing the International Committee of the Red Cross to trace missing persons and to visit prisons.

Among those named as missing are members of the Central Committee of Fretilin (Frente Revolucionaria do Timor Leste Independente), which declared the territory independent after the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975 and resisted the subsequent Indonesian invasion.

Central Committee member Leopoldo Joaquim, for instance, surrendered early in 1978. He was released after being held for several months but in April 1979 he and his 17-year-old niece, Maria Gorete Joaquim, a former student leader, were both taken away. Neither has been seen since. Former members of the Fretilin armed forces and ordinary members of the movement were among those who had "disappeared," AI said.

The organization identified three prisons where political prisoners are held, most of them at the Comarca, near a swamp on the outskirts of the capital, Dili. A visitor to the prison last year found it overcrowded, with many prisoners seriously undernourished, AI said. Prisoners sleep on stone floors, and tuberculosis is rampant, according to other reliable sources.

ASIAN CENTER

198 BROADWAY ROOM 302
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038

October 1980

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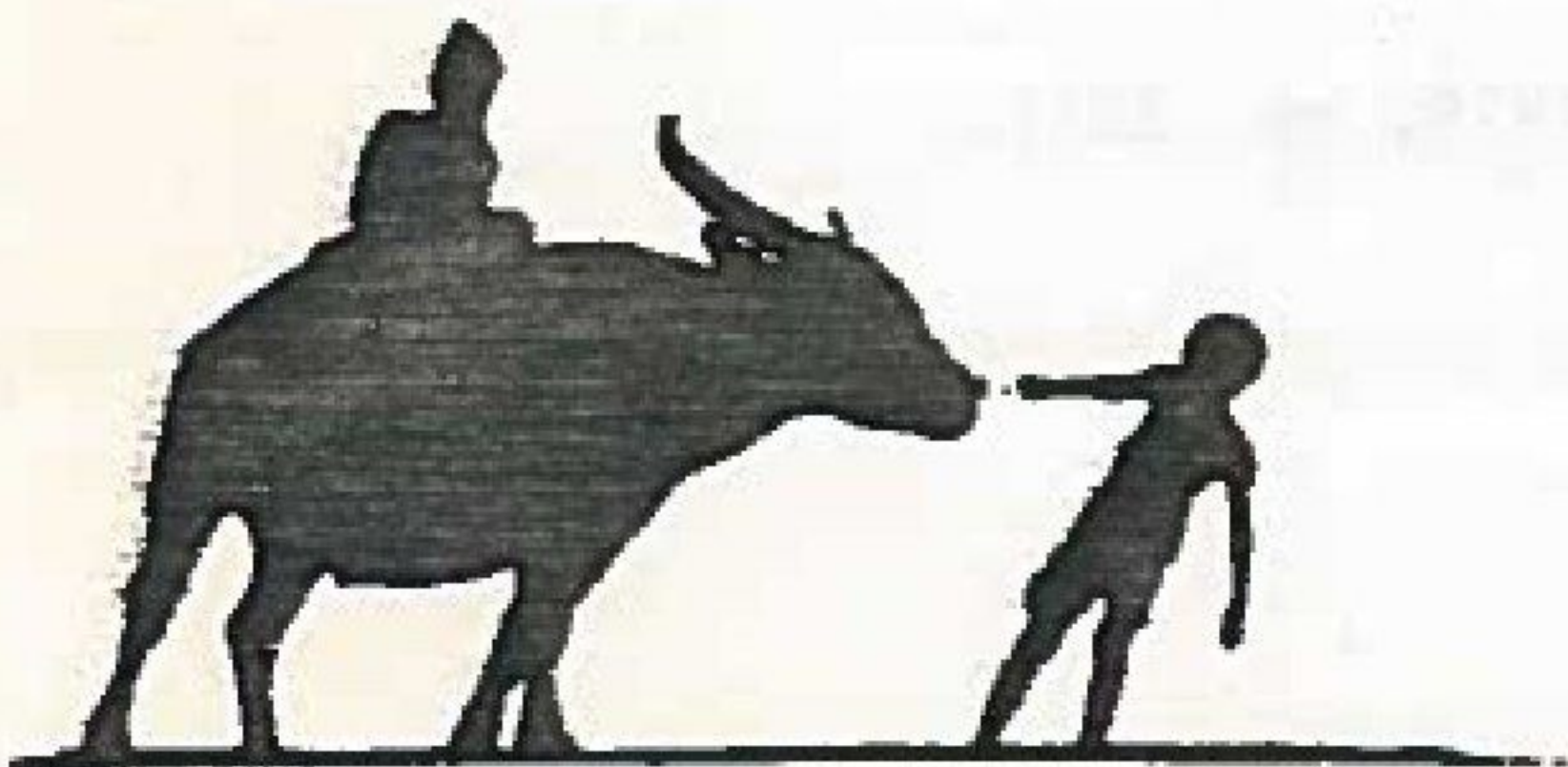
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LE PRÉSIDENT

Geneva, 28 April 1980

Sir,

The first six-month assistance programme conducted jointly by the Indonesian Red Cross and the ICRC in East Timor has just come to an end. The budget, of Sw. Fr. 12,845,000 was almost entirely covered by donations by 15 April. A list of these donations is attached hereto.

Our situation report No. 2 described the progress of operations as at the end of January. Since then distributions have continued in eight villages (50,276 persons) in February and nine (54,805 persons) in March. During those two months more than 630 tons of food were distributed.

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The mission to East Timor by a member of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Delegate-General for Asia was followed by survey missions carried out by the Indonesian Red Cross and the ICRC. It has since been decided, in agreement with the Indonesian authorities, to continue the assistance operation until 15 October next.

Fourteen villages - seven of which were included in the initial programme - with a total population of 87,336 have been selected. Nine of them (54,805 inhabitants) will receive food and medical assistance, the other five (32,531) only medical assistance. The food distribution system at present in use, with different coloured cards, will continue but will be phased out as, when and where the state of nutrition of the people permits. One village only, Lolotoi, having as yet received no assistance of any kind, will benefit from full rations until 15 October.

To continue the work, it will be essential, at least for some time, to maintain the present transport set-up in East Timor, namely 4 helicopters, 1 airplane, 6 lorries, and 4 Land Rovers, owing to the fact that the seven new villages to be covered are accessible only by air. However, with the gradual decrease of the quantities of food distributed, it is expected that flying time will be reduced from August onwards, and that only three aircrafts will then be needed.

... For the operation as a whole the budget (copy herewith) amounts to Sw. Fr. 6,879,000. Allowing for the funds still held by the ICRC as on 30 April, the additional funds required for the coming six months are Sw. Fr. 4,966,000.

Since on the one hand most relief can be purchased locally and on the other hand transport is costly, I have no option but to stress our need for cash. I should also like to mention the excellent co-operation between the Indonesian Red Cross and the ICRC which has saved from death, and improved the health of, thousands of people.

I am sure that the generous donors who have already contributed to the emergency operations in East Timor will understand the need to continue them, and I thank you in advance for your support.

I have the honour to remain

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Alexandre Hay', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Alexandre Hay

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED OR ANNOUNCED BY APRIL 15TH 1980

	<u>IN KIND</u> <u>SW.FRS.</u>	<u>IN CASH</u> <u>SW.FRS.</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>SW.FRS.</u>
<u>NATIONAL SOCIETIES</u>			
AUSTRALIA	-	254,334	254,334
AUSTRIA	-	10,000	10,000
CANADA	-	8,344	8,344
GERMAN FED. REP.	-	894,000	894,000
GREAT BRITAIN	-	34,200	34,200
INDONESIA	156,000	-	156,000
JAPAN	750,000	-	750,000
LIECHTENSTEIN	-	1,000	1,000
NEW ZEALAND	8,650	7,797	16,447
SWEDEN	-	76,600	76,600
SWITZERLAND	207,850	-	207,850
<u>GOVERNMENTS</u>			
AUSTRALIA	1,541,050	3,298,600	4,839,650
CANADA	-	273,224	273,224
GERMAN FED. REP.	-	180,746	180,746
ITALY	-	100,000	100,000
NETHERLANDS	-	399,793	399,793
NEW ZEALAND	43,250	-	43,250
SWEDEN	-	343,620	343,620
SWITZERLAND	-	300,000	300,000
UNITED STATES	-	2,930,750	2,930,750
<u>MISCELLANEOUS DONORS</u>			
EEC	478,400	-	478,400
UNHCR	315,000	-	315,000
CAFOD	-	18,350	18,350
CHRISTIAN AID	-	18,100	18,100
OXFAM	-	18,100	18,100
PRIVATE DONORS:			
AUSTRALIA	12,750	-	12,750
INDONESIA	8,400	18,433	26,833
SWITZERLAND	-	2,114	2,114
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TOTAL	3,521,350	9,188,105	12,709,455
Balance from ICRC + 1975 Timor operations		65,000	65,000
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GRAND TOTAL	3,521,350	9,253,105	12,774,455

EAST TIMOR RELIEF BUDGET
15TH APRIL TO 15TH OCTOBER 1980

I. RELIEF

SW.FRS.

Needs : 3,438 tons food
 206 tons soap
 45,000 blankets

Allowing for present stocks, the following needs have still to be provided for:

25 tons rice	15,100
150 tons maize	77,400
500 tons green beans	568,800
61 tons edible oil	83,270
30 tons salt	4,450
32 tons sugar	27,370
110 tons protein biscuits	414,000
8 tons special milk for infants	38,740
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	1,229,130
176 tons soap	358,200
15,000 blankets	55,730
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TOTAL RELIEF

1,643,000
=====

II. MEDICAL

- Medicaments	198,000
- Pharmacy kits and medical team equipment	18,000
- Special programme against filariasis and leprosy	27,000
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TOTAL MEDICAL

243,000
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III. <u>TRANSPORT, HANDLING CHARGES</u>	<u>SW.FRS.</u>
a) <u>Sea and land</u>	
- Jakarta-Dili	135,000
- Transports in East Timor (hire of boats & trucks)	104,000
- Possible purchase 2 trucks	81,000
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	320,400
	=====
b) <u>Helicopters and airplane</u>	
- May/July	1,935,360
- August	522,580
- September/October	723,600
- Reserve for additional flying time	374,000
	<hr/>
	3,555,540
	=====
<u>TRANSPORT TOTAL</u>	3,875,940
	=====
IV. <u>OPERATING EXPENSES</u>	
- Salaries ICRC & Indonesian RC, administrative costs Jakarta & Dili	789,100
- Reserve	327,900
	<hr/>
<u>TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES</u>	1,117,000
	=====
<u>OVERALL TOTAL</u>	6,879,000
	=====
Expected balance in hand as at 30.04.1980 (see Annex III)	1,913,000
Amount necessary to cover action until 15th October 1980	4,966,000
	=====

FORECAST OF FINANCIAL SITUATION
AS OF 30TH APRIL 1980

SW.FRS.

- Contributions received and pledged	9,188,000
- Balance carried forward from ICRC 1975 Timor operations	65,000

9,253,000
=====

Expenditure incurred as at 28th February 1980

- Food	1,126,000
- Medical	166,000
- Transport	2,930,000
- Miscellaneous	512,000
- Operating expenses	788,000

5,522,000
1,818,000

Commitments March/April

TOTAL

7,340,000
=====

Expected balance as at 30.04.1980

1,913,000
=====

VILLAGES COVERED BY JOINT ACTION IN EAST TIMOR
FROM 15TH APRIL TO 15TH OCTOBER 1980

HATOLIA	16,807 persons	medical only
LACLUBAR	8,174 persons	medical & food
X DILOR	3,738 persons	medical & food
NATARBORA	1,714 persons	medical & food
UATULARI	15,659 persons	medical & food
ILIOMAR	5,603 persons	medical & food
LURO	5,638 persons	medical & food
ALAS	3,465 persons	medical & food
ATABAE	6,285 persons	medical & food
LOLOTOI	4,529 persons	medical & food
X VELALUHU	2,365 persons	medical only
TURISCAI	4,459 persons	medical only
CAILACAO	6,000 persons	medical only
SOEBADA	2,900 persons	medical only

TOTAL 9 villages 54,805 persons: medical and food
 5 villages 32,531 persons: medical only.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

815 SECOND AVENUE, ROOM 510

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

TEL: 972-0704

RECEIVED : 26 2 8 1980

25/08/80

OP/AS/3b-80
25/08/80

TIMOR SITUATION REPORT N° 3

THE JOINT INDONESIAN RED CROSS AND ICRC ACTION, INITIALLY PLANNED FOR SIX MONTHS, HAS, BY AGREEMENT, BEEN EXTENDED FOR A FURTHER SIX MONTHS, NAMELY UNTIL 15 OCTOBER 1980.

THE ACTION IS GOING ON IN THE BEST OF CONDITIONS, COOPERATION BETWEEN INDONESIAN RED CROSS PERSONNEL (264 PERSONS AT THE END OF MAY) AND ICRC DELEGATES BEING EXCELLENT AND THE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM NOW HAVING BEEN WELL RUN IN.

THE POPULATION'S GENERAL SITUATION HAS IMPROVED SUBSTANTIALLY. WHILE CARRYING OUT THE ACTUAL ASSISTANCE OPERATIONS, THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS AND THE ICRC ARE ALSO TRYING TO IMPROVE TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITY THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION. FOR THAT, RICE AND MAIZE SEEDS PROVIDED BY THE CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES (CRS) ARE BEING DISTRIBUTED.

VARIOUS SMALL PROJECTS ADAPTED TO DIFFERENT CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED IN SEVERAL VILLAGES. IN THOSE LACKING PROTEIN SOURCES, CHICKENS RESISTANT TO LOCAL CONDITIONS ARE NOW BEING BRED. WHERE THERE ARE PONDS OR LAKES THE POSSIBILITY OF BREEDING DUCKS IS BEING EXAMINED. VEGETABLE GARDENS HAVE BEEN STARTED FOR HOSPITAL PATIENTS.

IN ADDITION THE BAMBOO WATER PIPE SYSTEM HAS BEEN REPAIRED OR REPLACED. A WATER RESERVOIR HAS BEEN BUILT IN THE VILLAGE OF UATULARI TO SUPPLY THE HOSPITAL. OTHER RESERVOIRS WILL BE BUILT AT LURO AND ILIOMAR.

COURSES IN SANITATION AND FIRST-AID ARE BEING GIVEN. MORE-OVER, BRIDGES, ROADS AND SANITARY INSTALLATIONS ARE BEING REPAIRED.

OPERATION

THE ASSISTANCE OPERATION IS CONTINUING ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED IN SITUATION REPORT N° 2 (CARD SYSTEM, ASSISTANCE ADJUSTED TO NEEDS).

OF THE 14 VILLAGES SCHEDULED FOR THE SECOND PERIOD, TEN (61,629 PERSONS) ARE RECEIVING MEDICAL AND FOOD ASSISTANCE, AND FOUR (27,276 PERSONS) MEDICAL AID ONLY.

TRANSPORT AND LOGISTICS

THE END OF THE RAINY SEASON WAS NOT ATTENDED BY THE EXPECTED IMPROVEMENTS IN TRANSPORT. IN FACT, NEW PROBLEMS AROSE:

- SOME ROADS HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY THE HEAVY RAINS,
- VERY HIGH WINDS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND, COMBINED WITH LOW VISIBILITY, GRIEVOUSLY LIMITED HELICOPTER FLIGHTS,
- THE VERY HEAVY SEAS MADE THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND ALMOST INACCESSIBLE BY BOAT.

CONSEQUENTLY THE LOGISTIC INFRASTRUCTURE HAD CONSTANTLY TO BE ADAPTED IN ORDER:

- TO BE ABLE TO FORWARD MORE BY ROAD,
- TO REDUCE FLIGHT DISTANCES SO THAT LOADS COULD BE INCREASED,
- CONSTRUCT NEW GODOWNS, MAKING FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY,
- USE THE BOATS AND BARGES ON THE NORTHERN COAST.

FIVE EXTRA GODOWNS WERE OPENED:

ATAPUPU:	ON THE NORTHERN COAST, ACCESSIBLE BY SEA, TO SUPPLY MALIANA BY ROAD;
MALIANA:	CENTRAL DEPARTURE POINT FOR HELICOPTER TRANSPORT TO ATABAE, LOLOTOE AND CAILACO;
BAGUIA:	ACCESSIBLE BY ROAD FROM BAUCAU, AND FROM WHICH LURO IS SUPPLIED BY HELICOPTER;
VENILALE:	ACCESSIBLE BY ROAD FROM BAUCAU, AND FROM WHICH UATULARI AND DILOR ARE SUPPLIED BY HELICOPTER;
MANATUTO:	ON THE NORTHERN COAST, ACCESSIBLE FROM DILI BY ROAD, AND FROM WHICH LACLUBAR IS SUPPLIED BY HELICOPTER.

THREE EXTRA ONE-TON TRUCKS HAVE BEEN BOUGHT TO REACH VILLAGES ACCESSIBLE BY SMALL ROADS (TURISCAI/LACLUBAR). AS IN THE PAST, CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES HAS GENEROUSLY PROVIDED FOR THE JOINT ACTION BOATS AND BARGES FOR THE TRANSPORT OF RELIEF FROM DILI TO THE GODOWNS AT ATAPUPU, LAGA AND MANATUTO.

RELIEF

FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE JOINT ACTION, THE FOLLOWING PURCHASES HAVE BEEN MADE AT JAKARTA:

500 TONS DRIED BEANS
61 TONS OIL
30 TONS SALT
8 TONS SPECIAL MILK FOR INFANTS
32 TONS SUGAR
88 TONS SOAP
15,000 BLANKETS

BY MID-JULY, ALL THESE GOODS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF 48 TONS OF SOAP FOR LATER DELIVERY, AND MEDICAMENTS AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES HAD BEEN TRANSPORTED BY TWO BOATS TO DILI.

ON 1 AUGUST 1,300 TONS OF MAIZE AND 110 TONS OF PROTEIN-RICH BISCUITS DONATED BY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT REACHED DILI BY SEA.

IN ADDITION, THE CAHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES DONATED 25 TONS OF RICE AND THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS 50,000 ARTICLES OF CLOTHING.

RELIEF TRANSPORTED

	<u>AIR</u>	<u>ROAD</u>	<u>SEA</u>
APRIL	334,027 KG	216,983 KG	585,812 KG
MAY	327,895 KG	363,966 KG	112,600 KG
JUNE	124,096 KG	217,352 KG	nil

AS CAN BE SEEN, THE QUANTITY CONVEYED BY AIR IN JUNE WAS MUCH REDUCED: THIS WAS CAUSED BY THE WEATHER CONDITIONS REFERRED TO ABOVE AND BY THE FACT THAT THE AIRCRAFT HAD TO HAVE THEIR ROUTINE OVERHAUL.

MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

THE MEDICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES ARE AT PRESENT IN A DEVELOPMENT PHASE.

BY THE END OF JUNE 13,317 FAMILIES WERE BENEFITING FROM YELLOW CARDS, 23,492 PERSONS FROM BLUE CARDS, AND 811 FROM RED CARDS.

THE SECOND SERIES OF BRACHIAL DIAMETER MEASUREMENTS AMONG CHILDREN IN THE ASSISTED VILLAGES HAS SHOWN THAT THEIR UNDER-NOURISHMENT HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETELY REMEDIED.

THERE ARE FEWER EMACIATED CHILDREN. INFORMATION CENTRES (FEEDING CENTRES) HAVE BEEN OPENED IN THE VILLAGES TO ADVISE MOTHERS ON FEEDING, SO THAT THE FOOD ASSISTANCE CAN BE OF OPTIMUM VALUE.

THE SECOND SPLENIC INDEX SHOWS A DECLINE IN MALARIA CASES. A PROGRAMME HAS BEEN STARTED TO COMBAT FILIAROSIS. POSTERS DISPLAYED IN THE VILLAGES DESCRIBE TREATMENT, AND MEDICAMENTS HAVE BEEN DISTRIBUTED.

TUBERCULOSIS PATIENTS ARE KEPT UNDER REGULAR SURVEILLANCE BY THE MEDICAL TEAMS.

BIRTHS ARE ON THE INCREASE.

THE MEDICAL SITUATION IN THE VILLAGE ILIOMAR BETWEEN 8 MAY AND 7 JUNE 1980 WAS AS FOLLOWS:

POPULATION:	5,603
- YELLOW CARDS	1,185
- BLUE CARDS	1,998
- RED CARDS	92

DURING THE SAME PERIOD, THERE WERE:

44 EMACIATED CHILDREN
48 TB PATIENTS
95 PREGNANT WOMEN
195 NURSING MOTHERS
21 BIRTHS
5 DEATHS

1,626 PEOPLE TAKING MALARIA PREVENTION PRODUCTS.

THE DAILY AVERAGE OF MEDICAL CONSULTATIONS WAS 198. THE MAIN ALIMENTS WERE BRONCHITIS, BRONCHOPNEUMONIA, SKIN DISEASES AND ENTERITIS.

STAFF

THE NUMBER OF PERSONS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN THE FOOD AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE OPERATION IS 267, I.E. 264 EMPLOYEES OF THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS AND 3 ICRC DELEGATES (1 MEDICAL DELEGATE AND 2 RELIEF DELEGATES).

INDONESIAN RED CROSS:	6 COLLABORATORS
	11 DOCTORS
	16 NURSES
	135 LOCAL VOLUNTEERS
	14 DRIVERS
	82 LABOURERS

FINANCE

AGAINST A 12,845,000 FRANCS BUDGET FOR THE PERIOD FROM 15 OCTOBER 1979 TO 30 APRIL 1980, THE ICRC RECEIVED 9,153,000 FRANCS AND SPENT 6,574,000 FRANCS. THERE WAS THEREFORE A BALANCE OF 2,579,000 FRANCS WHEN THE SECOND APPEAL WAS LAUNCHED. THE BUDGET FOR THE SECOND PERIOD AMOUNTS TO 6,879,000 FRANCS.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN CASH

FR.S. CASH

NATIONAL SOCIETIES

AUSTRALIA	149,195
CANADA	10,496
LIECHTENSTEIN	1,000
NETHERLANDS	16,760
NEW ZEALAND	8,064

GOVERNMENTS

AUSTRALIA	2,036,153
JAPAN	1,500,000
NEW ZEALAND	42,707

MISCELLANEOUS

SWISS	1,000
THROUGH NEW ZEALAND RED CROSS	4,482
	<u>3,769,857</u>
	=====

CONTRIBUTIONS IN KIND

	<u>FR.S.</u>
AUSTRALIA	1,075,000
CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES	<u>15,100</u>
	1,090,100

CONTRIBUTIONS PROMISED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT	800,000
ITALIAN GOVERNMENT	100,000

FINANCIAL SITUATION

BALANCE FROM PREVIOUS PLAN	2,579,000
CASH CONTRIBUTIONS	3,769,857
CONTRIBUTIONS PROMISED	<u>900,000</u>
TOTAL	7,248,857

EXPENDITURE AND COMMITMENTS

ACTUALLY SPENT	1,833,000
COMMITMENTS	<u>2,074,000</u>
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	3,907,000

APPROPRIATIONS

MEDICAL)	
FOOD)	
TRANSPORT)	3,317,000
OPERATING EXPENSES	590,000

AS CAN BE SEEN, CONTRIBUTION RECEIVED FULLY COVER THE BUDGET FOR THE SECOND PERIOD. PROPOSALS FOR THE EVENTUAL USE OF THE SUM IN EXCESS OF THE BUDGET WILL BE MADE TO ALL DONORS.

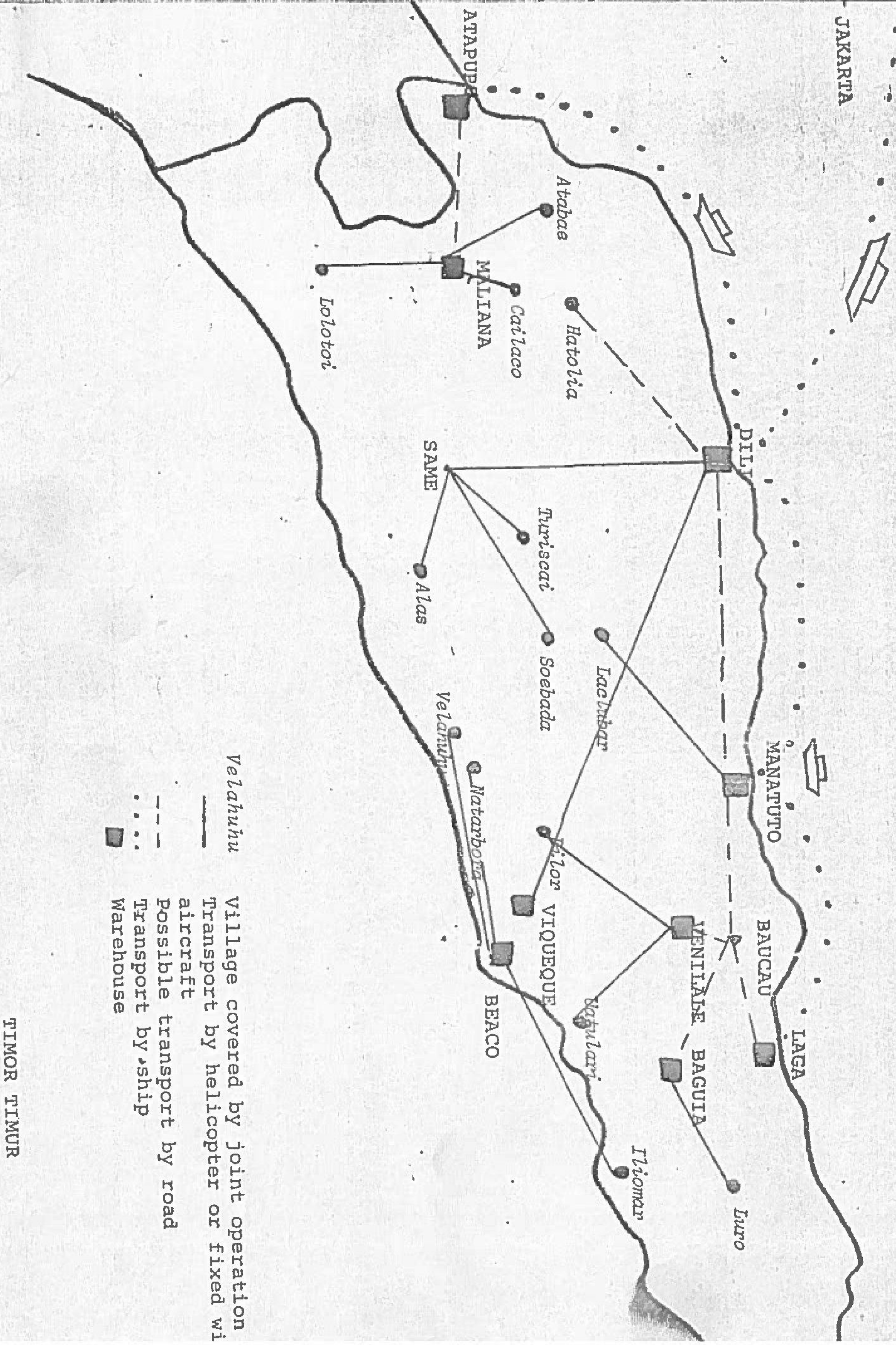
A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AUDITORS PEAT, MARWICK AND MITCHELL, APPOINTED TO CHECK ON THE USE OF THE FUNDS, HAS AUDITED ALL ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE OPERATION IN GENEVA AND JAKARTA FOR THE PERIOD FROM 19 JULY 1979 TO 30 APRIL 1980. A COPY OF THAT COMPANY'S FINAL REPORT WILL BE SENT TO DONORS.

THE ICRC EXPRESSES ITS GRATITUDE TO ALL THE DONORS WHOSE GENEROSITY HAS MADE THIS ACTION POSSIBLE.

HIGH CONSIDERATION

J.-P. HOCHE

DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS



TIMOR TIMUR

E 1813

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

HON. TOM HARKIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1980

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. Speaker, I have submitted today a sense of Congress resolution expressing concern about conditions in East Timor and calling upon the President to take certain actions with respect to the situation there. The resolution—a bipartisan effort—has 55 cosponsors. I would like to take this opportunity to discuss conditions in East Timor and describe the resolution we have proposed.

East Timor is half an island in the Indonesian archipelago which was a Portuguese colony until 1975. When the Portuguese left and rival East Timorese groups began competing for power, the Indonesian military invaded the island and sealed it off from all contact with the outside world. Relief organizations, journalists, church groups, and other foreigners were thrown out of East Timor, and a blanket of silence thrown over Indonesian activities in the area for the next 5 years.

Last year, news reports began trickling out of Indonesia that hundreds of thousands of East Timorese who had fled to the mountains to escape the Indonesian military were now drifting down into Indonesian-controlled areas. The appalling physical condition of these people is evidence that the Indonesian military's extensive bombing of villages, hamlets, and cropland had the effect of pacifying the population and forcing the sick and starving refugees into Indonesian military camps. Estimates of the number of deaths from war, disease, and starvation vary from one-tenth—the Government of Indonesia's claim—to one-half—estimates by church and human rights groups—of the approximately 700,000 East Timorese recorded in a 1974 church census. By any calculation, however, the Indonesian military incursion has clearly devastated East Timor.

Representatives from the U.S. Government visited these camps with relief personnel in September of 1979 and reported horrifying conditions there. One aid official called the disease and famine the worst he had ever seen—including the Thai-Cambodian border. The International Red Cross—which had been petitioning the Government of Indonesia unsuccessfully since the invasion to provide aid in East Timor—at last began their feed-

ing and medical programs the following month. The United States supplied \$1.8 million to the International Red Cross in medicine and food supplies, and \$10,018,062 to the Catholic Relief Service, which includes \$5 million in Public Law 480 commodities.

Today, 7 months after the programs began, the situation in East Timor is improving. Recent cables from the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta indicate that the health and nutrition of the approximately 300,000 East Timorese who have been reached by the Catholic Relief Service and the International Red Cross is vastly improved.

It is clear, however, that continued food and medical assistance is needed, particularly in the south central and eastern portions of the territory. Accordingly to recent reports from East Timorese church officials, there are many needy areas that the aid organizations have not reached, and hunger and disease continue to be a problem in East Timor. Additionally, the ICRC and CRS hope to stimulate agricultural initiatives in all areas of the territory because without a good maintenance program, the health and nutritional levels could slip back to the critical situation of last year.

In addition to the valuable food and medical assistance relief organizations provide in East Timor, it is clear that the presence of the ICRC, in particular, contributes to more humane administration by the Indonesian military. The following is a quotation from a March 8 cable from the U.S. mission in Geneva which the Department of State made available to me:

(ICRC official Mr. Conversi said that the presence of the ICRC delegates in East Timor had an ancillary benefit in providing a measure of security against possible reprisals and arbitrary acts of violence by the Indonesian security forces. ICRC fully recognizes the importance of its continuing role as the principal agency with outside, non-Indonesian personnel regularly functioning in East Timor. Although their operational program is focused on relief assistance, the Swiss ICRC delegates are also well aware of the function they serve in observing the human rights situation.

It is precisely because of the ICRC's role in monitoring and restraining Indonesian military excesses and human rights abuses in East Timor that the numbers of non-Indonesian personnel should be increased. Currently there are three Swiss relief personnel in East Timor. The Congress should encourage the Government of Indonesia to allow more ICRC personnel, as well as representatives from the United Nations and other organizations into the area to monitor ongoing military operations there.

I am particularly concerned about the problems of the East Timorese who want to leave the island. A March 8 report filed in the Portuguese newspaper Expresso based on interviews with dozens of refugees from East Timor describes the bribes that must be paid to Indonesian military officials in order to leave East Timor. It is clear

that the Government of Indonesia has a highly selective and discriminatory emigration policy. The ethnic Chinese in East Timor who could afford to pay the bribes have been allowed to leave, but thousands of full-blooded East Timorese have not only been prohibited from emigration, but subjected to repression and abuse as well.

My colleagues and I have sponsored the following resolution because we believe a strong gesture of congressional concern is needed about the continued presence of Indonesian troops in East Timor, the restriction of international aid personnel, the restrictions on East Timorese emigration, and continuing human rights violations on the island. We believe that the current situation in East Timor demands special attention from the President, and would urge him to take the actions described in the proposed congressional resolution.

In conclusion, I would like to make available to my colleagues in the Congress a report from the London Sunday Observer, Sunday, March 23, which highlights some of the continuing problems in East Timor:

H. RES.—

A resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should take certain actions with respect to East Timor

Whereas an estimated 100,000 East Timorese have died from starvation, disease, and fighting resulting from the invasion and occupation of East Timor by the Government of Indonesia;

Whereas an estimated 400,000 East Timorese have been displaced from their homes;

Whereas the majority of the East Timorese people have suffered from malnutrition and hunger;

Whereas the Government of Indonesia refuses to permit the free emigration of East Timorese people;

Whereas the Government of Indonesia has not allowed free access to East Timor by the United Nations, relief agencies, humanitarian organizations, journalists, or church groups;

Whereas the United Nations, the Interparliamentary Union, and the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations have repeatedly condemned the Government of Indonesia for its invasion and unilateral annexation of East Timor; and

Whereas the people of East Timor have not been permitted to freely exercise their right of political self-determination: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives calls upon the President to immediately—

(1) increase humanitarian assistance to East Timor by providing to East Timor through non-governmental organizations more food, commodities, medical supplies, and funds;

(2) encourage the Government of Indonesia to allow the free emigration of those East Timorese wishing to leave the country and to allow international relief personnel and journalists free access to East Timor;

(3) establish a United States presence in East Timor to monitor the distribution of relief aid and the emigration of East Timorese; and

(4) encourage the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor and to allow an internationally supervised election in which the East Timorese can

freely exercise their right of self-determination.

[From the London Observer, Mar. 23, 1980]

"SLAVE" ISLANDERS STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE
(By Brian Eads, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Malnutrition and disease are still more widespread in East Timor than in ravaged Cambodia, but the people are slowly struggling back to life.

The picture emerges from conversations with knowledgeable sources in the Indonesian capital, four years after Jakarta's troops annexed the tiny former Portuguese colony by brute force and proclaimed it the nation's twenty-seventh province.

My application to visit the territory was rejected by the so-called G-Dirus, the armed forces intelligence bureau that wields supreme authority over East Timor.

"Indonesia is a big place," I was told by a grinning colonel. "Why don't you go somewhere else?"

It seems Indonesia is distressed that foreign visitors dwell on the past, rather than looking towards the rosy future mapped out in a glossy government brochure entitled "East Timor to build a better tomorrow."

By all accounts, the past is still likely to thump you in the eye, and if you are an Indonesian in uniform, it's liable to shoot at you.

In an effort to blunt international criticism of their actions in East Timor, Jakarta is allowing two relief agencies to care for the 300,000 people, more than half the population, who fled their homes and were reduced to starvation after the Indonesian invasion.

Progress has been made. "They're not dying like they were when we arrived five months ago," said one relief worker. The observation is relative. People continue to die from intestinal diseases and malaria complicated by acute malnutrition and vitamin deficiency.

Neither the Catholic Relief Service nor the International Red Cross teams are allowed sufficient access to make meaningful assessments of how far their emergency aid has cut death rates.

Perhaps the most telling observation came last week, from an official who'd recently visited Cambodia. He said that medically the East Timorese are in a worse state than the Khmers.

Indonesia recently rejected an offer from the United Nations Children's Fund to add its weight to the relief effort. Relief officials are confident that the Catholic service and the Red Cross at least will be allowed to continue their work when the initial agreement, giving them six months' access, expires next month.

BROKEN SPIRIT

After this the fate of East Timor is anyone's guess, and glossy brochures and promises aside, the indications do not bode well.

The hungry and malnourished 300,000 came down from the hills towards the end of 1978 when three years of Indonesian military attrition had broken the back and the spirit of their resistance.

They are now confined to "resettlement villages," each with its squad of Indonesian troops.

Relief officials hope that maize already planted near the villages will provide enough to feed the people for five months this year, but there are doubts about whether the disruption of the people's semi-nomadic, tribal life-style will enable them to feed themselves in the future.

The only evidence of Indonesian development plans are the "resettlement villages," and the schools staffed by teachers shipped in from Indonesia, with the officially stated

aim of "washing their brains" of Fretilin's nationalist ideology.

Visitors say the relationship between Indonesians and East Timorese is like that between master and slave, and that there is little prospect of renewed resistance from a severely traumatized population.

I was told that in the capital, Dili, educated East Timorese are confined in at least one, and perhaps more, "concentration camps."

Australia and the US now oppose UN resolutions affirming the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination. Britain, for its part, abstains, but will shortly deliver eight BAC Hawk ground attack/trainer aircraft to the Indonesian armed forces.

The considerations which prompted Indonesia to gobble up East Timor, and won the tacit support of the West remain—unimpeded passage through her waters for warships of the US Pacific Fleet, the possibility of offshore oil, and the need to discourage separatist inclinations in Indonesia's outer islands.

"Looking at it now," said a source in Jakarta, "I see that East Timor never had a hope. They're just too small to stand up for themselves and no one is prepared to stand up for them."

The death toll since the Indonesian invasion is put at somewhere between 60,000 and 100,000.

The joyless prospect for East Timor is that it will become just another impoverished backwater in Jakarta's far flung empire. □



amnesty international news release

International Secretariat, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, England
Telephone: 01-836 7788 Telegrams: Amnesty London Telex: 28502



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4 May 1980

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL FEARS EXECUTIONS IN EAST TIMOR

Amnesty International today (Sunday, 4 May 1980) expressed fears that former members of an East Timor independence movement may have been executed after surrendering under an amnesty offered by Indonesian authorities. A number of them "disappeared" after being re-arrested by Indonesian troops last year, in addition to others missing since they surrendered, the international human rights organization said.

It also said that several hundred prisoners, some of them held since the Indonesian invasion of the island territory in December 1975 were underfed and held in harsh and dangerous conditions. The organization said it had received persistent reports of prisoners being beaten or tortured.

Amnesty International said it had written to Indonesian President Suharto, who offered the amnesty in 1977, urging him to order an investigation into the whereabouts of former members of the Fretilin movement who had disappeared after surrendering to or being captured by Indonesian forces. It attached a list of 22 such people, who it said may have been summarily executed by Indonesian forces.

The Amnesty International letter, written on 28 April 1980, also asked President Suharto to order an investigation of the conditions under which at least 800 Timorese are held in the custody of Indonesian

.../2

forces in East Timor. It called on him to assist in allowing the International Committee of the Red Cross to trace missing persons and to visit prisons.

Among those named as missing are members of the Central Committee of Fretilin (Frente Revolucionaria do Timor Leste Independente), which declared the territory independent after the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975 and resisted the subsequent Indonesian invasion.

Central Committee member Leopoldo Joaquim, for instance, surrendered early in 1978. He was released after being held for several months but in April 1979 he and his 17-year-old niece, Maria Gorete Joaquim, a former student leader, were both taken away. Neither has been seen since. Former members of the Fretilin armed forces and ordinary members of the movement were among those who had "disappeared", AI said.

The organization identified three prisons where political prisoners are held, most of them at the Comarca, near a swamp on the outskirts of the capital, Dili. A visitor to the prison last year found it overcrowded, with many prisoners seriously undernourished, AI said. Prisoners sleep on stone floors, and tuberculosis is rampant, according to other reliable sources.

Embargoed for: 0001 hrs GMT Sunday
4 May 1980



amnesty international

International Secretariat, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, England
Telephone: 01-836 7788 Telegrams: Amnesty London Telex: 28502



April 1980

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM ON INDONESIA FOR GOVERNMENTS ATTENDING
THE MEETING OF THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL GROUP ON INDONESIA

Releases

In December 1976, the Indonesian Government announced that beginning in December 1977, it would start releasing all prisoners detained for alleged involvement in the coup of 30 September 1965, who had neither been tried nor would be brought to trial. This 'phased release program' of so-called B-category prisoners was to be completed by the end of 1979.

With the release of 105 prisoners on 20 December 1979, the Indonesian Government announced that all B-category detainees had been 'returned to their families' and that the release program was completed. According to Admiral Sudomo, the Commander of the security organ, KOPKAMTIB (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), speaking at a release ceremony in Yogyakarta on 8 December 1979, when all but the final 105 B-category prisoners had been released, the following numbers had been released in the years 1975 to 1979:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Detainees Released</u>
1975	1,309
1976	2,500
1977	10,000
1978	10,000
1979	9,180
TOTAL	<u>32,989</u>

On 21 December, Amnesty International sent a cable to President Suharto welcoming reports that the Government had released all B-category prisoners, and asking for confirmation of the latest releases in the form of a list of those detainees released. Although no reply was received from the Indonesian authorities in response to this request, Amnesty International has no reason to doubt the Indonesian claim to have formally released all B-category prisoners.

At the same time, Amnesty International continues to be concerned about the present position of former B-category prisoners. This concern relates to three matters: 1) the continuing curtailment of the civil and political rights of released prisoners entailing substantially less than unconditional release; 2) evidence that a number of prisoners who have been formally released have not been permitted to return to their homes despite their wish to do so; 3) persons unaccounted for now that the release program has ended.

1) Restrictions on Released Prisoners

Aside from the normal problems of adjustment confronting persons who have been in detention for as long as 14 years, compounded in many cases by chronic ill-health directly attributable to prison conditions, released prisoners face administrative harassment and economic discrimination. It should be recalled that Amnesty International has always demanded the unconditional release of B-category detainees who by definition were those the Indonesian Government felt unable to bring to trial and who have therefore neither been charged with or convicted of any crime.

Restrictions on released prisoners take the following forms:

- a) an outright ban on employment of released prisoners in government service and 'vital industries';
- b) the continuing informal requirement that released prisoners possess a 'certificate of non-involvement in the 1965 coup for employment in any sector;
- c) the marking of released prisoners' identity cards (which all Indonesians must carry) with a code identifying the bearer as a former detainee;
- d) the requirement that all prisoners consent as a condition for release to a pledge which states that they will be available to report to the authorities at any time and will abjure all claims to wrongful imprisonment or ill-treatment while in prison;
- e) the requirement that released prisoners report to the military authorities regularly (in the case of those most recently released, every week);
- f) the requirement that those wishing to travel must apply for permission from KOPKAMTIB;
- g) the denial of the right to join a mass or political organization and to stand as a candidate in elections;
- h) a prohibition on unauthorized submission of books or articles for publication and on speaking at public meetings;
- i) the denial of property and pension rights. (Persons whose property was confiscated or simply taken over by officials after the 1965 coup have generally not been able to reclaim it. Former government employees who had paid contributions before their arrest have been denied the pensions to which they are entitled.)

In addition to these restrictions, released prisoners have been warned that they are subject to re-arrest at any time. Further uncertainty about their status has been created in the minds of released prisoners by periodic summonses from the military authorities to receive instructions about new restrictions affecting their freedom of movement and expression and orders to fill in questionnaires, which ask among other things whether the respondent is willing to 'transmigrate' to (resettle in) a remote area of the archipelago.

Amnesty International believes that released prisoners are so circumscribed by these restrictions that a general feeling of fear and uncertainty still prevails among them about their true status. Moreover, the practical consequences of these restrictions severely limits the ability of released prisoners to readjust to society. For example, Amnesty International believes that possibly no more than five per cent of former detainees have been able to find regular employment since release. Whilst acknowledging that unemployment is a chronic problem facing large numbers of Indonesians, Amnesty International considers that this fact is simply an additional reason why released prisoners should not be singled out for discrimination in their efforts to find work. In this context, it is worth quoting the remarks of one released prisoner: 'If I raise the problem of the difficulties of former political prisoners in seeking a livelihood, this does not mean that I am asking the Government to give former political prisoners first priority in obtaining work and lower priority to the millions of unemployed who are not former political prisoners. What I am challenging is Government discrimination against former political prisoners.'

2) Involuntary Resettlement

Amnesty International believes that some prisoners who have been formally released have not been permitted to return to their homes despite their wish to do so. These prisoners are officially described as transmigrants who have voluntarily resettled in areas outside Java.

Although Amnesty International accepts that a number of released prisoners have voluntarily chosen the Government's offer to join its transmigration program, it believes that in some instances released prisoners have been settled against their will. These include possibly as many as 35 released prisoners who married while on Buru and remain there with the official status of transmigrants. It is known that when these 35 prisoners married, they and their brides - the daughters of prisoners who had been joined on Buru by their families - were required to sign a pledge declaring that they would settle for 10 years on Ruru. Given the status of the bridegrooms as prisoners at that time and the situation of the brides who, as daughters of prisoners, were subject to virtually the same restrictions as the detainees, Amnesty International considers that the pledges made at that time are invalid, since no choice was offered to the persons involved. Amnesty International has received reliable information that a number of these prisoners wish to return to Java, since their relatives have now been able to leave Buru and they see no future for themselves there.

Amnesty International believes that there are other instances of persons being refused permission to return to their homes from resettlement areas. The Indonesian news magazine Tempo reported the case of a man presently living in Amborawang, East Kalimantan: 'He would like to go home and join his wife and family.... "But the local command of KOPKAMTIB has asked us to stay here," says Kusdi, a former member of the Indonesian Peasants Front (BTI).... "I can't go home and here there are no facilities."

3) Persons Unaccounted For

Now that the Indonesian Government has officially completed its release program, there are an unknown number of persons (but at least 3,000) may have been detained at some time after the coup of 1965 but whose present whereabouts are unknown.

These include:

- 1) persons whose whereabouts are unknown but who may have been detained;
- 2) persons who were known to have been detained but have not been either tried or released.

Amnesty International has received information that in Java alone over 2,800 persons who were detained after the 1965 coup have not been released or brought to trial or are awaiting trial and their whereabouts are unknown. Amnesty International urges that the Indonesian Government inform families of the fate or present whereabouts of these missing persons. The Indonesian Government should also be urged to supply any information it has relating to persons whose fate after the 1965 coup is unknown.*

Imprisonment and Trial

According to official Indonesian figures, as of December 1979, 1,014 A-category prisoners - those against whom there was alleged to be direct evidence of involvement in the 1965 coup - had been tried. Of these, 262 had already completed their sentences. In November 1979 President Suharto issued an instruction to the Minister of Justice to the effect that political prisoners who had been sentenced were now eligible for remission on the same terms as criminal prisoners. Previously, tried political prisoners had to serve out their full sentences. As a result of the new regulation, 331 tried A-category prisoners received remission of whom 118 were released in December 1979. In addition, approximately 450 untried

* This problem was strikingly illustrated by reports in the Indonesian press of the efforts of ten children to find their father, the artist Trubus (see Tempo, 29/12/79 and Merdeka, 22/12/79).

A-category prisoners were re-classified as B-category and released during 1979. At the end of that year, 23 A-category prisoners were still detained awaiting trial. There were therefore 657 A-category prisoners, both tried and untried, still officially acknowledged to be in detention at the end of 1979.

Amnesty International believes that a substantial number of those still in detention are prisoners of conscience who neither used nor advocated the use of violence. It believes that the sentences of all those already tried should be reviewed on the grounds that a fair trial was denied the defendants in all cases known to Amnesty International and was in fact impossible in the prevailing political climate. In addition, A-category prisoners have been tried on loosely-framed charges under the Subversion Law. This Law has been criticized in recent years by prominent Indonesian lawyers on the grounds of its 'catch-all' nature. The Government in recognition of these defects is reported to have drafted a National Security Law to replace the Subversion Law.

While welcoming the Indonesian Government's recent policy on remission, Amnesty International has been disturbed to learn that the new regulation is not being applied uniformly. Amnesty International knows of no instance of a tried A-category prisoner outside Jakarta being released under the terms of the remission regulation. Indeed, it knows of cases of persons who would be eligible for release if the new regulation were being consistently applied but who continue to be held in detention. Thus, in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, there are persons still in prison whose sentences should have expired if remission had been counted but are being held because the prosecutor still has an appeal pending. In other cases, the sentence is counted from the date of sentencing rather than from the date of detention (a difference of nine years for some prisoners). In Jakarta, on the other hand, remission has been calculated from the date of detention, even when the court handed down a sentence to run from the date of sentencing, and prosecutors have been instructed to drop pending appeals to enable the release of detainees.

Aside from A-category prisoners who have been tried or are awaiting trial, there are other political prisoners in Indonesia whose cases fall outside the scope of the release program and whom Amnesty International regards as prisoners of conscience. These include students and Moslems arrested in connection with the protests of 1977-78 against the re-election of Suharto as President, and persons in detention for demanding greater provincial autonomy.

Beginning in late January 1979, 36 student leaders were brought to trial in eight Indonesian cities charged primarily with insulting the Head of State, state officials and state institutions under laws inherited from the Dutch Colonial Code. The charges arose out of the protests of 1977-78 which took the form of peaceful demonstrations and meetings, petitions to the Government and the setting up of a mock parliament to discuss pressing issues of the day. The students and their lawyers have claimed that these activities were protected by Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution which guarantees freedom of expression. By the end of 1979, 21 of

the students had been sentenced to periods of imprisonment ranging from six months to two years and one had been acquitted. In a number of cases, the Court declared the students guilty of insulting state institutions but not guilty of insulting the Head of State or of the most serious charge of having obstructed the Government's development program for which the maximum penalty is death.

A number of prominent Moslem politicians and their followers were also arrested in the period before and after the Presidential elections of March 1978. Many have now been released, including in the past year Mahbub Djunaedi, Deputy Secretary General of the Moslem political party, the PPP; Professor Ismail Suny, Rector of Muhammadiyah University; and Sutomo, popular hero of the struggle for independence. However, other Moslems primarily persons associated with the Gerakan Pemuda Islam (GPI, Islamic Youth Movement) continued to be detained. In February 1980, one of these detainees, the former Editor of the newspaper Abadi, Soemarso Soemarsono, who had been under arrest since 1978, was put on trial on subversion charges. Amnesty International regards Soemarso Soemarsono as a prisoner of conscience.

EAST TIMOR

There have been persistent reports of violations of human rights (including imprisonment without trial and executions) in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of that territory in December 1975. Amnesty International has had considerable difficulty in establishing the veracity of these reports primarily because of the strict embargo placed by the Indonesian occupation forces on access by international observers to the island and on the flow of information out of it. However, in recent months, Amnesty International has received reliable information concerning these allegations and now believes that violations of human rights of concern to the organization have occurred and are still occurring in East Timor. This evidence suggests that the Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor at least since 1979 may, as reports from other sources have indicated, have in fact employed a policy of executing Fretilin* members who surrendered under the terms of an amnesty guaranteeing their safety. Moreover, Amnesty International believes that of the approximately 800 persons being held in prisons in the capital, Dili, alone, some, who have been in detention since 1975-76 and took no part in the fighting either before or after the invasion, could be regarded as prisoners of conscience.

* Fretilin - Frente Revolucionario do Timor Leste Independente: movement for an independent East Timor, which declared the territory's independence on 28 November 1975 and resisted the Indonesian invasion.

1) Disappearances

During 1979, Amnesty International received a number of reports that Fretilin members who had surrendered to the Indonesian forces had subsequently disappeared. A specific instance was cited by an Indonesian Church source who, during a visit to the island in the first half of 1979, reported that in late March 'the people of Dili were in a state of nervousness because of the news that the remaining (captured or surrendered) Fretilin leaders were kidnapped at night and no one knew of their whereabouts.' A Portuguese priest describing the situation in Dili at approximately the same time noted: 'No one who had links with Fretilin is safe; at any time they can be taken without their family knowing and put somewhere else, put in a prison camp, or, sometimes, they just disappear.'*

Amnesty International has been able to investigate these reports and has collected the names of more than 20 individuals who surrendered or were captured and whose present whereabouts are unknown. There are strong grounds for fearing that these individuals may have been executed by Indonesian forces. Moreover, although some of these persons are believed to have been killed almost immediately after surrender, the majority disappeared after a period of detention and subsequent release spanning up to eighteen months. This latter group were picked up from their homes and have not been seen since. All cases of this pattern of disappearance known to Amnesty International occurred in 1979, suggesting the possibility that the Indonesian authorities may have adopted a policy of eliminating Fretilin members in that year. It should be noted that, while many surrendered Fretilin members have disappeared, some well-known leaders, whose surrender or capture was well-publicized and were at one time believed to have disappeared, were alive and at liberty at the end of 1979. They include: Francisco Xavier do Amaral, former President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor; Alarico Fernandes, the Fretilin Minister of Internal Administration and Security; and Arsenio Ramos Horta, a member of the Fretilin Central Committee. Their survival may be attributed in part to the concern for their safety expressed outside Indonesia. Similar expressions of concern, including requests that they be produced, may save the lives of other members of Fretilin who have surrendered to the Indonesian forces.

2) Some Illustrative Cases

Leopoldo Joaquim, a member of the Fretilin Central Committee, surrendered in Same in the Southwest of the territory in early 1978. The event was considered sufficiently important by the Indonesians

* cf 'Reports from a variety of sources including US officials (off the record) describe summary executions of surrendering Fretilin guerrillas' (Benedict O'Gorman Anderson, Testimony on Human Rights in Indonesia and East Timor, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of Committee on International Relations of the US House of Representatives, 6 February 1980, p. 13).

for them to draw up a propaganda leaflet bearing his photograph and announcing his surrender. He was detained for several months after his surrender in San Tai Ho prison, a converted warehouse in Dili. After his release he was required to report daily to the local military command and Indonesian officers were frequently seen eating at his house. In April 1979, he was taken by Indonesian troops and escorted to the house where his 17-year-old niece, Maria Gorete Joaquim, lived. Maria Gorete Joaquim had been detained for six months in 1976 for her role in the Fretilin student organization, UNETIM. Both Leopoldo and Maria Gorete Joaquim were then taken away, purportedly to work in Baucau. Neither has been seen or traced since.

Dulce Maria da Cruz was captured in March 1979 with her three-year-old child. She was taken to Dili and detained. Nothing has been heard of her since, though her child is believed to be living with relatives in Ostico. A former student in Lisbon, Dulce Maria da Cruz had been appointed principal of a primary school in Dili in October 1974. In January 1975, she was selected by the Portuguese administration to sit on a Commission for Education Reform. She was the Fretilin Minister of Education and Culture and helped institute Fretilin's popular education program. She would now be 29 years old.

A number of Timorese members of the Portuguese army including approximately 100 sergeants joined the Fretilin forces. Many are believed to have disappeared after surrender. They include Sergeants Sebastiano Doutel Sarmiento, Joao Bosco Soares, Joao Bosco Quintao, Domingos Ribeiro, Linho da Costa and Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares.

Joao Baptista de Jesus Soares was held for six months in San Tai Ho prison after his surrender in early 1978. He remained at conditional liberty until April or May 1979 when he was picked up from his home by Indonesian soldiers and probably executed. He had surrendered with another Fretilin leader, Anibal Arango. (Both were members of the Fretilin Central Committee.) Aged about 40 years old at the time of his disappearance, Soares fought with the Portuguese army in Portuguese Guinea (now Guinea-Bissau). A younger brother, Paulo, was still in the bush at the time of Soares' disappearance.

Neither Filomeno Alves nor Manecas Exposto was a leading figure in Fretilin. But, before the events of 1975, both had been known in Dili as members of a popular musical group, the Cinco do Oriente. Prior to the invasion, the two were students at the Lyceo in Dili and members of the Fretilin student organization, UNETIM. They surrendered together in Maubisse in January 1979. They were taken to Dili and held in San Tai Ho prison. In April 1979, shortly after being released from San Tai Ho, they disappeared. Both would now be approximately 23 years old. Both Filomeno Alves and Manecas Exposto had relatives in Fretilin. Alves' mother, Maria Pereira, was herself held in San Tai Ho for a period after the Indonesian invasion. His cousin, Marita Alves, surrendered in mid-1978 and as of November 1979 was still in San Tai Ho prison. Manecas Exposto's father, Manuel Cornelio Albino Exposto, who also

fought with Fretilin, surrendered in June 1979 and was, as of November 1979, at conditional liberty after two short periods of detention. Manecas Exposto was also a cousin of former Fretilin President, Nicolau Lobato.

Not all disappearances known to Amnesty International occurred in Dili after a period of detention. Some, including Sergeants Sarmento and Ribeiro, disappeared almost immediately after surrender. Others were permitted to return to their homes and disappeared some time later. Joao Andrade Sarmento, a member of the Fretilin Central Committee, surrendered in Uato-Carabau with his wife and eight children in October or November 1978. He and his family were escorted on foot the 40 kilometres to their home town of Los Palos. There, Sarmento resumed work as a nurse. In June 1979, he was summoned by the Indonesian military authorities and is believed to have been executed.

The most recent known case of a Fretilin member disappearing after surrender was that of Sergeant Joao Basco Soares who disappeared from Dili in November 1979 three months after surrender.

Among those surrendered Fretilin members believed to be still alive at the end of 1979 was Juvenal Maria de Fatima Inacio, former Fretilin Minister of Finance and a member of the Central Committee. Inacio surrendered in April 1979 and was taken to Dili where he was allowed to see his wife and two daughters for one day. He was then transferred to Baucau prison where he was still detained as of the most recent report in October 1979. Now 31 years old, Juvenal Inacio was employed as an official with the rank of second officer in the Finance Department under the Portuguese administration.

Imprisonment

Amnesty International knows of three prisons in which political prisoners are held. These are: the former San Tai Ho warehouse and the former Portuguese District Prison (Cadeia Comarca, still known as the Comarca), both in Dili, and Baucau prison.*

Detention centres are believed to exist in each of the other eleven district capitals, though these appear to be converted buildings which function as temporary holding centres for surrendering Fretilin fighters.

* cf 'The Timorese dignitary asserted that four concentration camps or political prisons existed - two here (in Dili), one in the second town of Baucau and one near Maliana.' (Henry Kamm, Timor's Legacy: Useless Currency, Stranded People, New York Times, 30 January 1980). Amnesty International has not been able to confirm the existence of a prison near Maliana.

The Comarca is the largest of these prisons with approximately 70 cells and a capacity of 700-1,000 prisoners. It is a one-storey, three-sided building constructed 120 years ago. Located in the suburb of Balide in the southern part of the city, it lies close to the Caicoli swamp. An informant who visited the prison in late 1979 said it was then overcrowded and many prisoners appeared to be seriously undernourished. The prisoners' regular diet consists of rice and kangkung (a type of spinach) supplemented once a week on Sundays by a small amount of meat. Prisoners are required to work from 5 am to 5 pm every day, cultivating food for themselves and their guards, constructing roads and as servants in the houses of Indonesian officers. In addition to malnutrition, tuberculosis is rampant in the prison, aggravated by the stone floors, on which prisoners are forced to sleep in close proximity, and by the neighbouring swamp. Those held in the Comarca are believed to be largely rank-and-file members of Fretilin or its affiliated organizations including some held since shortly after the invasion who never participated in the fighting. Fretilin supporters who surrendered to the Indonesians more recently are also held in the Comarca.

The San Tai Ho warehouse, a two-storey building which was converted into an interrogation centre and prison soon after the Indonesian invasion, lies in the commercial district of Dili close to the port. The ground floor consists of three rooms, comprising two cells holding approximately 20 prisoners each, and a garage. Upstairs are two smaller cells each holding approximately three women prisoners, and the prison administration office. In recent times, many captured and surrendering Fretilin members have been held in the San Tai Ho. San Tai Ho is also the only detention centre known to hold women prisoners. Amnesty International has received reports of prisoners in both the Comarca and San Tai Ho prisons being beaten. There have also been persistent reports of the use of torture to gain information from persons held in the San Tai Ho. These include allegations of the torture by burning with cigarettes of two women - Elda Saldanha and Maria Gorete Joaquim - held in the San Tai Ho in 1976-77. Although, like the Comarca, San Tai Ho holds some long-term prisoners, it functions primarily as an interrogation centre and, unlike the Comarca, is administered not by the Military Police but by Military Intelligence.

Conclusion

In view of the number of East Timorese known to have disappeared after surrender to the Indonesian authorities, urgent action is required to trace those persons known to have disappeared and to investigate any other cases of disappearance in East Timor. Investigations by international observers into the conditions in which many hundreds of East Timorese are imprisoned in the territory are also called for. The Indonesian Government should be reminded of the resolution on disappeared persons adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1978* which

* Resolution 33/173

inter alia calls upon governments 'to co-operate with other governments, relevant United Nations organs, specialized agencies, inter-governmental organizations and humanitarian bodies in a common effort to search for, locate or account for such (disappeared) persons in the event of reports of enforced or involuntary disappearances'. More concretely, Amnesty International believes that the Indonesian Government should be urged to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross to expand its activities in East Timor beyond the present limited food relief program so as to include tracing and prison visitation.



VOLUME II NUMBER 6

June 15, 1980

CRS TELETHON A SUCCESS

CRS tried a new approach to the people of the New York area on June 1. A four-hour mini telethon during Sunday evening prime time netted \$150,000 in pledges. Headlined by entertainer Arthur Godfrey and cohosted by personalities such as Trini Lopez and William B. Williams, the show combined entertainment with clips from CRS films and interviews with CRS personnel. Highlights of the telecast were taped conversations with Mother Teresa and a special videotaped message from Pope John Paul II. The message read as follows:

Dear friends in America,

My heart is still full of joy as I recall the warmth of your affection, and the cordiality with which you received me during my visit to your great country.

I am happy to have this brief moment to speak to you about Catholic Relief Services and about those irreplaceable works of mercy that are so close to my heart. I am mindful of how Americans this century have repeatedly shown deep sensitivity and compassion whenever the sufferings of mankind have called out to them. And that is why I do not hesitate to address you once again.

Catholic Relief Services stirs up renewed faith in humanity. It brings healing comfort to our afflicted brothers and sisters from one end of the world to the other - to the once-rejected boat people from Vietnam; to the suffering masses of refugees from Cambodia; to the drought-stricken population of East Timor; to the victims of revolution, war, hatred, inhumanity and underdevelopment. These are our brothers and sisters who make up the CRS parish. The devoted corps of CRS workers in distant lands uplifts them in their grief, and ministers to their needs.

Through this CRS telethon telecast I direct my words today to all Americans, to all men and women of good will and full heart.

The works of faith, hope and charity are a bond that unites all peoples. You can help strengthen this bond and forge new ones throughout the world - with your interest, your understanding and your love.

Thank you and God bless you.

The main purpose of the Telethon was an educational one. The theme was "Touching the poorest of the poor through CRS" and was aimed at a middle-aged audience composed of both Catholics and non-Catholics.

NEWSPAPER OFFER

Cambodia Report, prepared by Fr. Vincent Giese of the Fort Wayne Harmonizer, has just come off the presses. You should receive your copy within the next week. Distribution is being made to Diocesan and Communications Directors, Bishops, Pastors, Major Religious Superiors and Diocesan papers.

Those who ordered in bulk will receive their copies within the next week also. Thanks to all who expressed an interest in this unique piece.

Dear Arnold.

Amadora, Aust.9 1980.

I would like to say I am so sorry to write you late, because you know in Portugal everything is " calma " so I also have to calma too.

My two crazy brathers they had left to Madrid while I got back from London, Do you remember about " Fifteen years old boy " ? When Fr. Chico and I arrived in Lisbon, it was unbelievable number of Refugees group led by him waiting for us in airport. Fr. Chico really respectable man in Lisbon, some Refugees told me that they waiting for us whole day, because we delayed our journey in London in order for meeting. Hey men! I could not believe it London's trip, there is no time for eating and ~~reging~~^{reing}, I really gave up and suprising of the friendliness and enthusiasm of the people who worked for East-Timor situation. We also met with your friend Jemes Taylor and recognizing a lot of new friends, but I could not remember well their estimated name. Conclution in this trip I could only say that is a fantastic trip in my life.

Just two weeks ago an old recent refugee with 6 members of his family came out from Dili(july 15) he said: Indonesian "son of beast" beat me up all the time, I have my own truck, ~~every~~^{every} time they rent my car was paid no money when I asked them to pay, they started to beat up me, even threatened me for killing ~~if I asked them more~~, you think, how could I stay in this devil places, others afraid to talk, but I am different, I want to talk ~~everything~~^{everything} I knew, he said june 10, when Fretelin attacked in Dili TV station, Indonesian authority immediately sent two warships of troop, several warplanes and tanks to Dili.

July 21, Mr. Markham was in town, I went with him for interviewing a couple of young marrier who came out early of this year, I believed his article already published out. Fr. Chico also met him.

Three days ago, I received a letter from Rep. Don'said, who told me about his Boss and a few other people would come to Portugal in order to visit dirty Balteiro's Refugees camp, in addition they also visit Francisco's and my family they are not sure yet the date they come, but they would let me know.

What about the family reunification program? Did the Congressman and Senators continue to attack Indonesia Ambaxador and Suharto? Francisco and I really worry about their safety. If you have any news about Reunification Pro-

London, August 9, 1960.

Well, enclose my writing now, because my Bagaço friends waiting for me outside.

Give my best to Roberta and others.

Truly

Jo Leuki



TELEPHONE 35-1636

Catholic Presbytery,
61 Lefroy Road,
Beaconsfield, W.A. 6162
10-4-80

Dear Friend Arnold.

Wishing you 'Mr McKeller' a happy Easter, as well as Mrs. Roberta

Thanks very much for the cuttings.

It's better for me for the next hearing, holding after the 13th of May, because during this time can't leave.

Last time when I arrived at Sydney Airport I used to contact our Community in NSW in order to inform them about our activities therefore I spent 2 days in Sydney, 2 in Melbourne & 2 in Adelaide on the way to Perth.

And the tickets that was bought in S. Francisco, was not accepted by domestic Australian Airline, so must buy a new ticket by 300 Australian Dollars and I was told to refund the money. And refund must be done in S. Francisco.

I hope QANTAS Agency already contact you.

Attached I send some recent news to you. Indonesians did not change their attitude. What they is an Atom bomb dropping Jakarta. Because they don't respect the fundamental human rights and they don't understand the language of the reason and dialogue. I already sent a lot of letter to each Congressman, and within days I will do the same to the Senators.

I hope all of you are getting on well and the boys Francisco, Mark, Au and Mehap enjoyed their visit to USA.

Tell me, when is the next hearing? Is Deputado Angelo Correia accept the invitation?

I hope all our friends, Veronica, Justin, Jerry and so on are getting on well.

What you need is a holiday in Madeira, stop smoking OK.

-Viva Viva Timor, Viva / Arnold.

"Dos fracos, nao reza a Historia". Avante por Timor que ha-de ficar livre um dia.

Adeus Amigos.

relio



TELEPHONE 35-1630

Dear friend Arnold.

10-4-80
10-4-80
10-4-80

happy Easter, as well as Mrs. Robert

the

CONTACT OUT
activities

in 2 in

was not
only a new
to return

did not
growing Jakarta.

because they don't respect the fundamental human rights and they
don't understand the language of the reason and dialogue.
I already sent a lot of letter to each Congressman, and within
days I will do the same to the senators.

I hope all of you are getting on well and the boys
Francisco, Mark, and Andy enjoyed their visit to me.
tell me when is the next hearing: is it before the committee

please
any one
9/0

accept the invitation.
I hope all our friends
happy and so on are getting on well.
what you need is a holiday in Madrid.
--444 Viva Timor, Viva Arnold.
"Don Francisco, has been a historic".
one has been there live in it.
Adona Amigos.

Father Francisco
Fernandes
(Jose Texeira's uncle)



TELEPHONE 35-1636

335-1636

Catholic Presbytery,

61 Lefroy Road,

Beaconsfield, W.A. 6162

18.4.80

Dear "Mr. McKellar"

Ambassador of Timor in USA.

Thanks very much for letters and documents. And our appreciation for your activities on behalf of TIMOR.

The Action for World Developmente wants Fr. Leoneto to come to Australia. Rev. Fr. Pat Walsh, 1st floor 183 Gertrude St. Fitzroy VIC 3065. Australia, who is working full time for Timor he wrote to me asking for the coming of Fr. Leoneto to Australia. Unfortunately I lost Fr. Leoneto address. Can you help us?

I was suprised with the intervention of Hon. TONY HALL and Harkin. Now Indonesia worried about the activities of the Congressmen. When I arrived here, Many Timorese in Australia can talk by telephone^{pho} to their relatives in East Timor (Dili). But as the calls are increasing our "friends" indonesians decide to cut all the calls. I try to talk Lopes da Cruz but Jakarta says "He's busy, no time".

Today I here good news from Jakarta about the exit of the people Indonesian foreign minister, mentions about 3.000 and refuses to talk with Portugal. I will send a cassette to you. Now is secret: **Dominos de Oliveira** will soon leave Timor and join his wife and children in Perth (Please don't say to any one else, ask Domingos asks not to publicise otherwise indonesians will not allow to leave. Regarding to the ticket I want to say thta I don't like that my air ticket will pay by any political group which will compromise me, I mean that it will not label me with such or such political ideology.

For me the best time is after 15 of MAY, or is better the end of MAY. Last time I must pay 300 Aus dollars to get ticket from Sydney to Perth (with stops in Melbourne & Adelaide), because QANTAS has not domestic flight. I was informed to refund the ticket you bought in S. Fr. cisco. I hope QANTAS already informe you. If you go to Lisboa please talk with Moses, Apolinario, & others of Balteiro. Ask for a letter signed by 300 Timorese women. It may be with Apolinario

Thanks very much for your activities. And now the Timorese in Australia are informed in details about your work.

I received also letters from Fr. Cardoso.

I sent to him some documents from Jakarta. Very recent and accurate From Church Groups. He'll send some copies to you.

By Best regards to Jeremy, To Roberta & Jose; a "Holly".
Say to Jose not to leave UN.

Here in Australia we are now approaching to Winter. Bad luck, because I "enjoy" twice winter.

Um abraço do Amigo Pe. Chico

VIVA TIMOR.

VIVA ARNOLD.

*But again to
J. H. S. are parents.*

I already wrote to

all the Congress.

Except the

Secret.



Holly Burkhalter
Legislative Assistant
Rep. Tom Harkin

TELEPHONE 35-1636

Catholic Presbytery,
61 Lefroy Road,
Beaconsfield, W.A. 6162

23th SET 1980

Dear Holly

I am very glad to receive your letter and I'm very proud to see how you gallantly fight for the freedom of East Timor, through the US Senate and Congress.

So I would like to send to you, Hon. Tom Harkin and Staff my best greetings. The Congressional hearing, had a wide-spread impact abroad, rather than what I expected. One week visit to London was so busy that AO and I didn't have time to visit the City. This visit was a success. And in Lisbon it was terrific. At the Airport a warm welcome with of hundreds of Timorese, carrying banners and postcards. At the Press Conference, it was the first time that Government TV and Radio were present, in fourth Press Conference held by the Committee of Timorese Refugees in Lisbon. Both interviewed me.

As I only spent 4 days in Lisbon, I didn't have opportunity to meet the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs who at that time was touring to EEC Countries.

But I met more than one hour time, his main Aid, Ambassador Luis Navega and Ambassador Pinto Franca, the former Portuguese Ambassador in Jakarta. I had a meeting with some Portuguese politicians, and Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon, as well as the meeting arranged by USA Embassy in Lisbon as you already are aware. The Consul Mr. Joseph Patrick O'Neil is a good friend of Mr. Hol Brooke saying to me that he received the message from H. Brooke to inform me the Concern of State Department about a referendum in ETIMOR. Because US is has been disillusioned by Jakarta with regards to Irian Jaya referendum which never takes place. Mr. O'Neils requested us not to quote it publicly and the Timorese Leaders in Lisbon to keep in touch with him regularly in order that he will get information of the current situation. Portuguese Press had reported largely our activities in USA and LONDON.

Back to Australia via Rome-Athens-Bangkok-Perth. Once here I was interviewed by Press, ABC and TV in NATIONWIDE programme during 12 minutes.

And our Community in Melbourne paid an Air fare to fly to Melbourne where together with Fr. Pat Walsh holding a meeting arranged by AFFOA. It lasted one whole day and were present more than 50 delegates from several Australian Aid Agencies; Foreign Affairs Department, Immigration Dep., Red Cross, Church Group. The results were: 1) Aid to E. Timor must be channelled to local Church Organizations or Diocese of Dili.

2) to press Aust. Gov. to suspend Aid to Indonesia til Jakarta respects the UN Resolution and a genuine self-determination.

3) Press Aust. Immigration Dep. to welcome more Timorese from Portugal. And so on.

Our activities in US have two reactions in ETIMOR: Pro-Indonesians hate us, but the majority nationalist secretly supports us.

In an attempt to convince Timorese, mainly husbands not to leave to



*Catholic Presbytery,
61 Lefroy Road,
Beaconsfield, W.A. 6162*

TELEPHONE 335 1636

leave to Australia, Indonesian authorities try to offer good jobs, money and so on. to the husbands whose wives are in Australia or Lisbon

But fortunately Indonesian didn't achieve what they want. For the first time two Timorese arrived from E Timor: They are Mr. Domingos de Oliveira the former UDT, General Secretary and Mr. Rui Gonçalves who was one of the guerrilla commanders fighting against Indonesia. He later escaped by boat from Sumatra to Singapore and then flying to Melbourne. But both refused to make any kind of statement.

According to a letter from a friend of mine, Mr. Paul Gardiner, the Chief Mission of USA Embassy in Jakarta had promised ^{to} my brother (who is now 'Camat' of my village since two years ago - a kind of sheriff) many facilities and money, if he convinces me to stop talking about E. Timor.

And in fact more than one year that I received a letter from my brother asking what Mr. Gardiner pretends, but didn't say the reason. As I continue to talk, I don't know what happens to my family. Now Indonesia is worried about the ~~anti~~ increasing anti-Jakarta feeling in USA Congress as well as in International

Community. And as the results of the June Raids on Dili, hundreds of Timorese who lived in the vicinity of the raids zone were arrested and four were executed. As you now Portuguese Government a couple of days ago made a strong statement on Timor. And two days ago, the Newsweek Agency in Sydney, at the request of its headquarters in NY, interviewed me by phone.

I thank very much your lovely letter and sincerely appreciated your activities on behalf of our Country and People.

I will very pleased to hearing from you.

Much love

Your sincerely

Francisco Fernandes



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CONSULTANT

Betty A. Reardon

April 3, 1980

Professor Richard Falk
Center of International Studies
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Dick:

I want to help Arnold Kohen. I have no doubts about the merits of his work and the scale of the tragedy in Timor.

We have not yet received any communication from Arnold Kohen to my knowledge. Nonetheless, if he makes an application to the Grants Committee, there can be no positive response since the work of the Grants Committee has been terminated. As a result, it is difficult to be optimistic about providing financial assistance. We can of course help in publicizing the work and in considering an article for publication.

Another alternative might be to see his work within the context of global demilitarization. If that is true then you and Yoshi should consider whether this should be included within the Demilitarization Working Group. Within that context, I could attempt to raise additional monies which would help Arnold Kohen's work at the same time that it would advance efforts of the Demilitarization Working Group.

Let me know what you think.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Johansen

CC: Saul Mendlovitz