

COLLECTION:
ACFOA Human Rights Office – East Timor files

SERIES / FOLDER GROUP
Actions / Campaigns

SUB-SERIES
Santa Cruz Massacre

FOLDER TITLE
Actions File

DATE RANGE
1991-1991

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From the desk
of
José Ramos-Horta
Journalist • Author • Diplomat

Dear Pat:

1. I'm in Paris since Wed.
2. Press Conference yesterday w/ M. Jacques Mitterrand very well attended. All major French TV, Radio, Press, dozens of NGOs present.
3. As you might have heard, EC Foreign Ministers issued strong communique. Spain issued one apart from the EC one "strongly supporting" the EC attack on Indonesia.
4. I'll be in Brussels next week for a session of EP; next week-end I'll fly to Chile to attend AI meeting.
5. I've cancelled my trip to Manila in view of the circumstances and because of my own security. The Philippines is the last place I should be.
6. Reports from Dili said that Kaurat was the first person to be fired on w/ several bullets because he was taking pictures in front of the crowd. I feel terrible. I had warned him about the risks, told him about how much I felt

Diplomacy Training Program
Law Faculty
University of New South Wales
Kensington NSW 2033
Australia
Tel: 61-2-313 6563
Fax: 61-2-313 7207

International Service for Human Rights
1, rue de Varembe
1211 Geneva 20
Switzerland
Tel: 41-22-733 5123
Fax: 41-22-733 0826

Fundação Borja da Costa
Rua Caetano Alberto, 19
Praça de Londres
1000 Lisbon
Portugal
Tel: 351-1-805 192
Fax: 351-1-804 045

partly responsible for the death of Roger East, etc. He had responded that he was aware of the risks and was prepared to die if this will have to happen.

7. As things stand now I don't know when I'll be back in Australia. I hope to return by early December.
8. I had asked Liz Gardiner to get in touch w/ Christine Vincent about getting NTFL Press Club in Canberra to book me to speak the first week of December. Can you follow this up?
9. My contact here is 33-1-49606813 (phone and fax).

All the best,

Joe



Timorese Association in Victoria

P.O. Box 498
Glenroy Victoria
Australia 3046
PH:(03) 302 1896

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Monday November 11 1991

You would be aware of the ongoing tragedy of the East Timorese people and nation, highlighted last week by the much publicised massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery. On Saturday December 7 1991, it will be sixteen years since Indonesian invaded us. A third of our population has died.

Monsignor Belo, the representative of the Catholic Church in East Timor, has cried out for help. In a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations in 1989, he said 'We are dying as a nation'.

We, the East Timorese community in Melbourne have organised a Mass and small ceremony of prayers. We are praying for our relatives, our homes and our country. We are praying for peace. We are praying that 'talks' between our nation and the Indonesian occupiers will take place soon. The Vicar-General, Monsignor Hilton Deakin is celebrating Mass. Father William McCarthy, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, is conducting the prayer ceremony we have written. An opera singer, David Hamilton, from Sydney is coming down to sing a ballad that was especially written by Martin Wesley Smith, one of Australia's foremost composers. The East Timorese a cappella choir will be performing, and we are hoping that the St Patrick's choir will sing the Mass.

Especially during this time of enormous stress, we need the support of fellow Catholics and Australian friends. Could you please advertise the information on the enclosed leaflet as widely as possible?

Many Australians have indicated they would like to attend this Mass, but I would be happy to reserve seats for you. I can be contacted between 9.30 am and 1.30 pm five days a week at the office of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid on (03)4177 505.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely

Ninette Baker

for the
Timorese Association of Victoria.

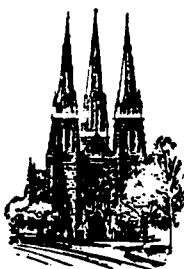
MASS FOR EAST TIMOR

MONSIGNOR HILTON DEAKIN

**ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL
CATHEDRAL PLACE
EAST MELBOURNE
SATURDAY DECEMBER 7 1991
7.00 pm**

**Prayers for East Timor
Father William McCarthy
Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral
6.30 pm**

MELBOURNE'S CATHOLICS RESPOND TO BISHOP BELO'S CALL



On December 7 1975, following the invasion by Indonesian military forces, the Catholic Church in East Timor became isolated. Since then extra-judicial executions and human rights abuses have occurred which, have been documented by Amnesty International. Monsignor Lopes, the first East Timorese bishop, called for international help. In 1989, Bishop Belo, Monsignor Lopes' successor, wrote to the United Nations Secretary General pleading for justice and a referendum in East Timor. On December 7 1991, in St Patrick's Cathedral, the Mass will be preceded by prayers, hymns, readings and reflections. These will commemorate the faith shown by the East Timorese people during their times of hardship and will give the opportunity to hear the letter, which in 1989, Bishop Belo sent to the United Nations.

600KM FROM AN AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL CITY, THE GOVERNMENT EXECUTES POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Bob Hawke doesn't want us to talk about it.

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor, their abuses of basic human rights and their continued occupation have been condemned by governments all over the world. But not by Australia.

For the sake of rights to East Timor's oil, the Federal Government has 'sold out' the rights of the East Timorese. It has broken international law by signing the Timor Gap Treaty. And in doing so, has prolonged East Timor's struggle for independence.

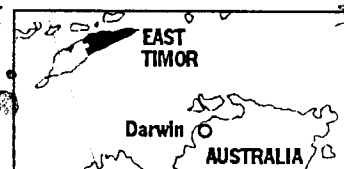
In the Middle East and around the world, dialogue is being recognised as the civilised way to solve disputes. Yet our

Government refuses to join the call for U.N. sponsored peace talks. And the killing continues.

Turn anger into action.

Write to Bob Hawke, urging him to support the call for talks. Or contact the East Timor: its time to talk campaign on (03) 4177 505.

There's been enough killing in East Timor. Now it's time to talk.



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Community Aid Abroad

Polliewatch

Briefing No.4 :

East Timor

The take-over by Indonesia

When Kuwait was invaded by Iraq in 1990, Prime Minister Hawke expressed the view that large powerful nations could not invade smaller neighbours and expect to get away with it. In the case of East Timor, Australia has allowed just that to happen and has condoned it.

Historically, East Timor was never part of Indonesia, nor of the Dutch East Indies which preceded it. For 400 years it was a Portuguese colony, until 1974 when a socialist government came to power in Lisbon and began shedding the country's colonies. Timorese political parties emerged to fill the vacuum left by the departing Portuguese, and by September 1975 one of these, Fretilin, had become the de facto government in Dili.

The Indonesians were deeply apprehensive about the prospect of an independent and, to their eyes, "leftist" government on their doorstep. After several months of military incursions, a full-scale invasion of East Timor was launched on 7 December 1975. The forced takeover was accompanied by widespread killings and brutality by the Indonesian military. Mountain areas in which many people had taken refuge, were bombed and fields burnt. The disruption to agriculture which resulted led to an appalling famine in which tens of thousands died. The Fretilin leaders and fighters who survived eventually retreated to mountain hideouts where they remain to this day.

In July 1976, seven months after the invasion, President Suharto, acting on a request from the hastily set up "Timorese People's Assembly", formally declared the incorporation of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia.

Some countries, including Australia, have recognised this incorporation, others including Portugal and the European Community have not. The United Nations has condemned the invasion and regards Portugal as still being the official administering power.

Why Australia does nothing

On any question involving Indonesia, Australia's position is largely influenced by its overriding desire to keep on friendly terms with its large northern neighbour. Australia wants above all to maintain a friendly and cooperative relationship which will allow mutually beneficial trade, investment, resource development and defence cooperation to take place. Issues which could threaten that relationship are played down or ignored.

A particularly stark example of this is the way in which Australia handled the negotiations over the rich oil and gas reserves in the Timor Sea. Both countries have long been keen to exploit these valuable resources, but first needed to sort out their overlapping claims in the area. Before negotiations could proceed, Indonesia's rights to the resources of the seabed around East Timor had to be acknowledged. Australia provided this in February 1979 by extending de jure recognition of the incorporation of East Timor. The rights of the East Timorese were ignored.

After 10 years of negotiations the Timor Gap Treaty was finally signed in December 1989. It effectively divided up the heritage of the Timorese people between Australia and Indonesia while the Timorese were held powerless at the point of a gun. It was in many ways like an armed robbery on an international scale.

Portugal, which regards the Treaty as illegal, is taking action against Australia in the International Court of Justice.

Nationalism suppressed.

Like the people of Eritrea, or Namibia, or the Baltic States, the East Timorese have never accepted the forced take over by their large and powerful neighbour.

Sixteen years after the invasion, a small number of Fretilin guerrillas still fight on in the jungle. And in the towns and countryside passive political resistance has grown and strengthened, especially amongst the urban youth.

The Indonesians in attempting to integrate the Timorese have offered them development; schools and colleges have been built, and roads, bridges and harbours constructed. TV has been introduced, and the Indonesian language and Muslim religion promoted. Large numbers of migrants from Java and elsewhere have been settled in the territory in an attempt to dilute its ethnic composition.

The Timorese see these as threats to their culture and sense of identity. Their reaction has been to resist, and to strengthen their own sense of Timorese nationalism.

The huge military presence in the territory has exacerbated all of this greatly. Military officers, who hold effective power in East Timor, have used their position for financial gain and have monopolised many of the territory's commercial enterprises. And in their ham-fisted attempts to put down resistance they have resorted to brutality and violence, and so enflamed Timorese resentment and strengthened resistance.

On-going human rights abuses.

The November 12 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili was only the latest in an ongoing series of abuses by the military in East Timor.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s there were instances of Timorese civilians being used as a human shield in large scale military sweeps against the Fretilin guerrillas. Large numbers of people were forcibly removed from villages into concentration centres and food crops confiscated or burnt. Others were deported to the off-shore island of Atauro. Throughout the 1980s Amnesty International continued to report abuses.

In its submission to the UN Committee on Decolonization in August this year, Amnesty expressed concern at the marked increase in such abuses over the past year. It was particularly concerned about an increasing pattern of torture, ill-treatment and extrajudicial executions, and about hundreds of unresolved cases of "disappearance".

In Amnesty's view these abuses appeared to be "part of a systematic strategy to silence real or suspected political opponents of the Government, and to obtain political intelligence through coercion and intimidation."

They reported that more than 400 people had been detained since late 1988, and held for periods ranging from a few hours to several weeks. Many were tortured or ill-treated. "The forms of ill-treatment and torture alleged include beatings with iron bars, batons, fists and lengths of cable and bamboo, burning with cigarette lighters, sexual molestation and rape, slashing with razor blades, food deprivation, immersion for long periods in fetid water, death threats and electrocution."

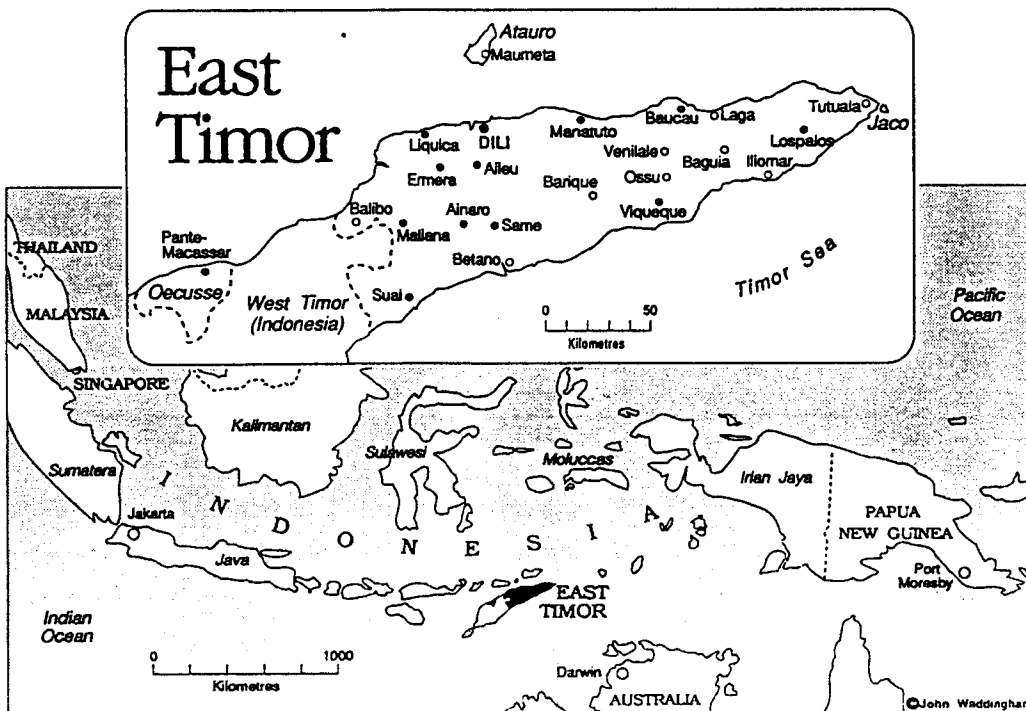
Amnesty told the UN Committee that at least 30 and possibly many more people had been extrajudicially executed by Indonesian security forces in 1990 and early 1991.

It was in reaction to all this, and in particular to the killing on October 28 of some youths who had been sheltering in a Dili church that the procession to Santa Cruz cemetery took place, which ended in the massacre.

There have been subsequent reports of several hundred people, mainly youths, being rounded up afterwards and of approximately 70 of them being shot by the military on the outskirts of Dili and buried in a mass grave.

Bolal / There is an urgent need for a UN monitoring team to be sent to East Timor to try and prevent further killings and retaliation.

The Indonesians have, in the past, agreed to the UN playing such a role. As a result of previous allegations of torture, there was a UN human rights investigator already in Dili at the time of the massacre.



Why Australia should promote talks.

It is clear that the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia has not been successful in any real sense - and probably never will be as long as the Indonesians continue to pursue policies of cultural suppression and integration, and of violence and intimidation. The present approach will lead to nothing but on-going unrest and instability, and increasing abuses against the East Timorese people.

Clearly a new approach is needed.

The Catholic Bishop and the Indonesian appointed Governor of East Timor have both called for a referendum to decide the future of the territory. The Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao has recently repeated his offer of negotiations "without preconditions" under UN auspices. And the Australian Council for Overseas Aid has called on the Australian Government to promote talks under UN auspices.

The Australian Government cannot continue its policy of appeasement towards Indonesia, while ignoring the cries for help from East Timor. Nor can it continue to maintain that the East Timor issue is settled and finished.

Prime Minister Hawke partly acknowledged this in a statement to Parliament after the Santa Cruz massacre, when he urged the Indonesian Government to negotiate with the East Timorese people, including the resistance, to work out a peaceful solution to the conflict in the territory. He did not however support UN involvement in such talks, as he said this would be seen as a move towards self-determination.

Bold | Australia can and should undertake the role of facilitating a negotiated settlement in East Timor, as it did in Cambodia. As a first step, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans could be sent to Jakarta (and possibly Dili) to explore the possibility of talks. *should*

help facilitate sell

Stop military aid and sales.

Australia must end its support for the Indonesian military, by suspending its program of defence cooperation and stopping further exports of military equipment.

For several decades now, the Defence Cooperation Program with Indonesia has provided training for military personnel in Australia, supported study visits, carried out mapping surveys and provided the Indonesians with advisory teams and with equipment such as aircraft and patrol boats. In 1988 tensions over some articles in the Australian press critical of the Indonesian leadership led to the program being suspended. However these differences have now been patched up and the program is about to re-commence (with a budget of \$2.3 million).

Commercial sales of military equipment by Australian companies to Indonesia have included 360 portable small-arms target ranges supplied by an Albury-based manufacturer, and several hundred thousand dollars worth of ammunition supplied by the government-owned company, Australian Defence Industries in 1989-90.

In approving these, the Australian Government has broken its own rules governing military exports which, amongst other things, say that exports "to governments that seriously violate their citizens rights" will not be approved.

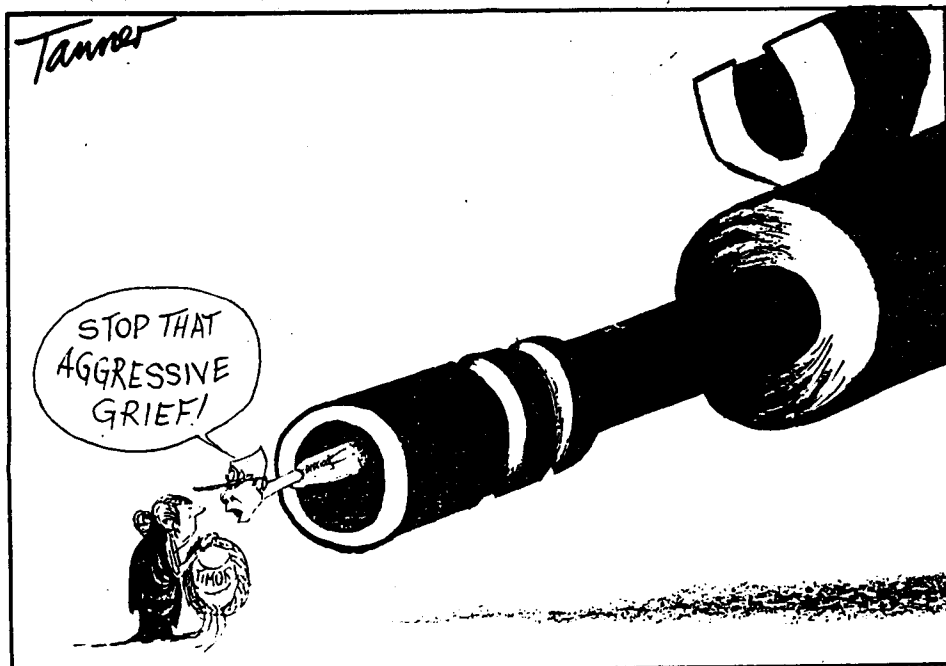
Points to raise with your M.P.

While maintain good relations with Indonesia is important, this cannot be done at the cost of the human rights of others. Australia's appeasement of Indonesia and opposition to the UN position on East Timor could undermine our international reputation on human rights.

The Australian Government should:

- (1) support the immediate sending of a United Nations monitoring team to East Timor to prevent further reprisals.
- (2) express its strongest concern to the Indonesian Government over the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre, and call on them to facilitate a full investigation by an impartial body, and the punishment of anyone found guilty
- (3) suspend the Defence Cooperation Program with Indonesia and refuse approval for the export of military equipment to the Indonesian armed forces.
- (4) do all it can to facilitate meaningful talks between the Indonesian authorities and representatives of the East Timorese people including the church and the resistance movement. *Let's see when be represented*
- (5) as a sign of its concern, postpone the forthcoming visit of Prime Minister Hawke to Indonesia, until the talks process has been initiated.

Jeff Atkinson
Community Aid Abroad, Public Policy Unit,
156 George St., Fitzroy, 3065, Australia.
November 1991.



Objections to Talk 1

It's too late.

The successful bid for independence by the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania demonstrates that events can change suddenly and that causes once seen as hopeless in the face of military might can triumph. Other examples can be quoted to challenge the irreversibility argument (the reunion of the Germans, the political transformation of the Soviet Union and countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia) or to demonstrate what can be achieved when the international community acts collectively and decisively (e.g. the Gulf crisis, South Africa).

The Indonesian military would never agree to talks.

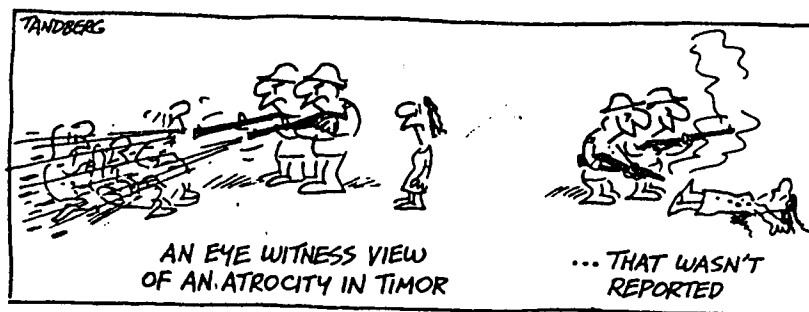
The Indonesian military do have strong military, economic and emotional interests in East Timor. However, field commanders (with the support of some of their superiors) did engage in talks with Xanana Gusmao in 1983 which led to 3-4 months of ceasefire. The hawkish military line on East Timor is under some challenge from Foreign Affairs officials who want to advance Indonesia's interests internationally and to appear more reasonable on the issue, while proponents of democratisation are questioning the military's dominant role in Indonesia's wider political and economic life. Others, such as University of Gadjah Mada researchers and Australian Parliamentarians who visited East Timor in February 1991, believe that East Timor is suffering from an 'overdose' of the military and should be demilitarised. Like some younger Indonesians, some elements in the military are less chauvinistic than the older generation who fought for Indonesia's independence.

Indonesia will never let East Timor go because this would fragment the Republic.

National unity is a major preoccupation, but the uniqueness of the East Timor case should be stressed. Indonesia is based on Dutch colonial boundaries and never claimed East Timor, a Portuguese colony. This is acknowledged by the international community which, through the UN, regards East Timor as a non-self-governing territory entitled to self-determination. These conditions do not apply to other parts of Indonesia. Further, the East Timorese have never laid claim to West Timor and cannot be said to have worked to subvert Indonesia's national unity. People concerned about East Timor respect Indonesia's integrity and are working not to fragment Indonesia but to apply international principles. It is patent nonsense to argue that an independent or autonomous East Timor would be a threat to Indonesia. Indeed, it would be arguably less of a problem than it is now.

Indonesia considers the East Timor issue an internal affair and will not cooperate with any international initiatives.

Indonesia claims East Timor is its 27th province and routinely protests UN discussion on the issue. In practice, however, Indonesia is less inflexible. (1) It dialogues on the issue with Portugal (with whom it has no diplomatic links) under UN auspices. (2) It will allow a Portuguese and UN team to visit East Timor soon. (3) It has agreed to a visit to East Timor by the UN's expert on torture, Professor Kooijmans. (4) Under international pressure, it has opened up East Timor to visits by journalists, aid agencies and others.





AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

(INCORPORATED IN THE ACT)

ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE
124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3065
Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7505

TO: Bill Jackson

Fax (03) 416 2746

FROM: Pat Walsh

DATE: 21 November 1991

Dear Bill

Re video and audio dossiers on the Santa Cruz massacre

Following our telephone conversation on Monday, I am writing to explain further my request for assistance to compile information dossiers on the Dili massacre of 12 November.

My purpose is to submit the best non-Indonesian accounts of what happened on 12/11 to the following three targets:

- a. The Indonesian Government enquiry
- b. The Australian Parliamentary enquiry into Indonesia
- c. The United Nations, both in New York and in Geneva.

Of course the completed dossiers will be useful in other respects as well.

YWCA has undertaken to prepare a well-presented dossier of print media reports and transcripts of eye-witnesses such as Bob Muntz, Amy Goodman, Russell Anderson.

My request to CAA is to assemble two dossiers: (1) a video of the best TV coverage and (2) an audio of the best radio coverage, including commentary.

The material for both productions will need to be carefully selected for credibility, impact and quality, and arranged with suitable introductions explaining sources, dates and other relevant data.

Perhaps a first task will be to prepare a register of all substantial radio and TV reports. As you know I was in Jakarta last week so do not know exactly what was done here, but the following may help:

- a. Radio: AM Amy Goodman, Wednesday 13/11
Indian Pacific, Saturday 16/11
- b. TV: Sunday Program, Channel 9, 17/11 Recap, Bill Morrison
A Current Affair, Channel 9, Amy Goodman, Allan Nairn, 13/11
Dateline, Horta 11/11
Channel 9 News, 17/11 Steve Cox, Russell Anderson
7.30 Report, Wed 13/11? Hawke

Re timing: asap.

Many thanks. I will be happy to call around for a further discussion with you, Dominique and others if you wish.

PAT WALSH

FIRST FLOOR, BAILEY'S CORNER, EAST ROW, CANBERRA CITY • GPO BOX 1562, CANBERRA ACT 2601
TELEPHONE (06) 247 4822 • FAX (06) 247 5536

Chairperson: Neville Ross Executive Director: Russell Rollason



EAST TIMOR TALKS CAMPAIGN

124 Napier Street, Fitzroy Vic 3065, Australia
Tel. (03) 417 7505 Fax (03) 416 2746

18 December 1991

Dear Senator Evans,

Your visit to Indonesia this week, following the Santa Cruz massacre of 12 November in East Timor, is a unique opportunity to promote peace and justice in East Timor and to contribute to the resolution of the single most important impediment to improved Australian-Indonesian relations.

All sections of the Australian community are rightly outraged by the massacre and deeply disturbed by repeated high level Indonesian threats to wipe out all East Timorese opposition. Decisive and substantive steps need to be taken now to protect the basic rights of the East Timorese people, to restrain the Indonesian military and to resolve the conflict in East Timor.

We do not accept that the massacre can be down-played as an 'aberration' or that Australian efforts to resolve the conflict should be conditional on the findings of the official Indonesian enquiry into the massacre.

Nor do we accept that the East Timorese people are reconciled to integration with Indonesia. Their aspiration to self-determination is unmistakable and irreversible and must be taken into account in the search for a settlement.

Australia, in cooperation with the major powers, should press for new United Nations initiatives on East Timor consistent with current international efforts to resolve regional conflicts in other parts of the world through dialogue involving all parties.

In particular, we urge you to press the Indonesian Government to take up the offer of the East Timorese to engage in talks without preconditions under UN auspices.

We also urge that you call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and the immediate release of all East Timorese detained in Jakarta, Denpasar and Dili since the massacre. Such gestures of goodwill and basic humanity on the part of Indonesia would contribute significantly to the lessening of tensions and human rights abuses and lay a positive foundation for dialogue.

The challenge of achieving a sustainable settlement of this conflict is difficult and complex. But the cost of failure will be higher. To deny self-determination and meaningful dialogue to the East Timorese is a certain recipe for both continued conflict in East Timor and deep misunderstandings between Australia and Indonesia, neither of which the vast majority of Australians wish to see continue.

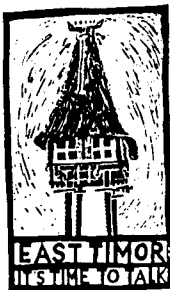
Now is the time for principled and creative diplomacy of the kind you have so ably applied elsewhere.

Yours sincerely

Pat Walsh

COORDINATOR, EAST TIMOR TALKS CAMPAIGN

Attachment: Endorsment by over 100 prominent Australians from all walks of life.



EAST TIMOR TALKS CAMPAIGN

124 Napier Street, Fitzroy Vic 3065, Australia
Tel. (03) 417 7505 Fax (03) 416 2746

MEDIA RELEASE

18 DECEMBER 1991

**Senator Evans warned that continued conflict in East Timor will
undermine Australian-Indonesian relations**

150 prominent Australians today warned the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, that 'deep misunderstandings' will continue between Australia and Indonesia unless 'decisive and substantive steps' are taken to resolve the conflict in East Timor.

Senator Evans will hold highly sensitive talks on East Timor in Jakarta tomorrow (Thursday), following the 12 November massacre in Dili.

The strongly worded letter denies that the massacre was an 'aberration' and calls on Senator Evans to acknowledge the 'unmistakable and irreversible' wish of the East Timorese for self-determination and to press the Indonesian Government 'to take up the offer of the East Timorese to engage in talks without preconditions under UN auspices'.

The letter also calls for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and the immediate release of East Timorese political prisoners held in Jakarta, Denpasar and Dili.

'To deny self-determination and meaningful dialogue to the East Timorese is a certain recipe for both continued conflict in East Timor and deep misunderstandings between Australia and Indonesia, neither of which the vast majority of Australians wish to see continue', concludes the letter.

Amongst the 150 signatories to the letter are:

Archbishop Francis Carroll, Catholic Archbishop of Canberra

Justice Marcus Einfeld, Federal Court

Archbishop Keith Rayner, Anglican Primate of Australia

Rev. Dr. D'Arcy Wood, President of the Uniting Church in Australia

Justice Elizabeth Evatt

Hon John Dowd, former Attorney-General NSW

Philip Adams

Don Dunston, former Labor Premier of South Australia

Michael Hodgman QC, former Minister in the Fraser Government

Archbishop Barry Hickey, Catholic Archbishop of Perth

Hon Tom Uren, former Minister in the Hawke Government

The full text of the letter and list of signatories is available.

Further information: Pat Walsh Tel. (03) 417 7505 -w; (03)481 1581 -h.

Letter to Senator Evans, 18 December 1991

ENDORSED BY

Bishop Brian Kyme
Dr Bernice Pfitzner, MLC
J.L. Ah Kit
Archbishop Francis Carroll
Brian Ede, MP
Malcolm C. Ramage QC
Sybil Baillieu
Mgr Hilton Deakin
Justice Marcus Einfeld
Prof Garth Nettheim
Gary Howcroft
Russell Rollason
Dr Roger Gurr
Bill Ethell
Gordon McIntosh
Archbishop Barry Hickey
Capt. Geoff Monks
Veronica Brady
Rev Stuart Reid
Elsa Atkin
Barry Pullen MLC
Tony Sheehan MLA
Prof. Ted Wheelwright
Tom Kelly
Prof. Sol Encel
Anna Booth
Dean Murray Johnson
Dr Brian Brunton
Rose Murray
Bishop John Gerry
Jack Davis
Hank Petrusma MLC
Gregory Hart
Stephen C. Rothman
David Scott
John Bailey MLA
Senator Vicki Bourne
Shirley Shackleton
Dr Bill Roberts
Molly Missen
Gary Foley
Peter Tahoudin
Justine McMahon
Bruce McGuinness
Peter Thomas
Jeanine Marsh
Dr George Paltoglou
Dr John Hatzis
Don Dunstan
Rev Dr D'Arcy Wood
Anne Wharton
Kenneth Horler QC
Dr Bob Brown
Hon John Dowd

Stephen Worrish QC
Dr Herb Feith
Bob Debus
Hugh O'Neill
Martin Wesley-Smith
Senator Nick Sherry
Justice Elizabeth Evatt
Philip Adams
Faith Bandler
Andrew Martin
Elizabeth Fullerton
Paul Byrne
David Mallon
John Chicken
David Giddy
Gail White
Rev. Fr Robert Egar
Mark Aarons
Dr Shirley Randall AM
Jean Walsh
Nicola Bullard
Moira Huggins
Brian Moylen
Wayne Haylen QC
Fran Bladel MHA
Hon Tom Uren
Dr Jocelyne Scutt
Heather Southcott AM
Dr Michael van Langenberg
Tim Walsh
Joan E Evatt
Dr Ian Alexander MLA
Stephen Odgers
Dr David Armstrong
Brian P. Martin AO
Jim Pearce
Gregory Hart
Rev Dr Sandy Yule
Douglas Horton
Stephen Armstrong
Senator Jo Vallentine
John Birch
Mark Mitchell
David Patch
Dr Judy Henderson
Michael Ainsworth
Cheryl Fitzell
Robert Arden
James Dunn
Dr Joe Camilleri
Professor Charles Birch
Stella Calomeris
Ian McClintock
Professor Peter Singer

Archbishop Keith Rayner
John Coulter
Sir Reginald Barnewall Bt
David Shinnick
Eddy Micallef MLA
William J.W. Lennon QC
Ian Gilfillan MLC
Sr Janet Mead
William Oats
Assoc. Prof. Ross Fitzgerald
Frank Sheehan MLA
Dr Hilary Charlesworth
Rod Taylor
Jean McLean MLC
Rod Taylor
Terry Norris MLA
Sheryl Garbutt MLA
Neil Cole MLA
Bill Armstrong
Robert Bropho
Bishop Ray Benjamin
Professor G.A. Broe
Dr Richard Tanter
Mark Crossin
Joan Coxsedge MLC
Jennie Herrera
Peter Batchelor MLA
Peter Spyker MLA
Richard G. Meredith
Terry O'Gorman
Harold Wilkinson
Hon Michael Hodgman QC
Keith Hamilton MLA
Terry Norris MLA
Rev Dorothy McMahon
Ken Parish MHA
Carolyn Hirsh MLA
Bunna Walsh MLA
Licia Kokocinski MLC
Brian Mier MLC
Rodney Lewis
Anne Britton
Sr Angela Ryan
Kaz Cooke
Sharon Connelly
Michael Easson

9



LAND CONSERVATION COUNCIL

Olderfleet Buildings, First Floor, 477 Collins Street, Melbourne 3000
Phone: (03) 628 5142 Fax No. (03) 628 5080

Our Reference: DS-PR84

Your Reference:

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

TO: MR PAT WALSH
AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

FAX NO: 416-2746

FROM: DAVID SCOTT

DATE: 28 NOVEMBER, 1991

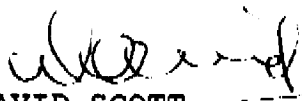
SUBJECT: EAST TIMOR

I spoke to Irving Saulwick last evening. The decision as to whether or not they can organise another opinion poll before Christmas depends on the budget. A decision will be made in the next few days and there is a reasonable prospect that they will go ahead.

If so, Irving would like to include a question or two on East Timor. He would welcome suggestions from you or me. His fax number is 525-3948. I suggest the question should focus on self determination rather than whether or not there should be an investigation. Two possibilities:

1. ~~Do you think that~~ ^{Should} the people of East Timor ~~should~~ be able to decide whether or not they want to remain part of Indonesia?
2. Should Australia work to get agreement that talks ~~should~~ ^{under UN auspices} be held between Portuguese, Indonesian, and ^{and the} East Timorese ~~under UN auspices~~ to determine the future of East Timor? ^{Embassy}

Could you please contact me before you make your suggestions to Irving.


 DAVID SCOTT
 Chairman



AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

(INCORPORATED IN THE ACT)

ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE
124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3065
Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7505

TO: David Scott

Fax (03) 416 2746

FROM: Pat Walsh

DATE: 3 December 1991

Dear David

Thanks for your fax re contact with Irving Saulwick. Andrew Hewitt is also asking him to do a poll. Did he say who would pay or is he hoping the Age will commission him.

Re the questions:

I agree the ones you put up are the way to go. The problem is perhaps how to phrase them so that the answer isn't automatically yes. Who would say no to these questions? Is there some way the question can be put that it obliges the respondent to chose between yes and no.

Another thought is to ask similar questions or indeed the same questions that were asked many years ago so that a comparison could be made. The outcome could be something like: Australian public's attitudes remain firmly in support of self-determination for ET after 15 years etc. etc.

I have tried to find details of the poll I believe (or imagine) was conducted many years ago, but have failed. Its more than likely the AGE did it and Irving would be able to turn up the results.

All the best

Pat Walsh



**YORKSHIRE
TELEVISION**

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

OUR FAX NUMBER IS: 532/439732

TO: PAT WALSH

COMPANY: ACFA

DEPARTMENT: _____

FROM: DIANA QUIR

COMPANY: _____

DEPARTMENT: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: ONE

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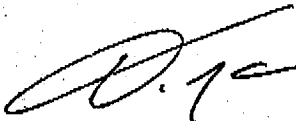
Pat Walsh
ACFOA
Fax 03 416 2746

Dear Pat

Thanks for your fax. Peter is back at work, I'm pleased to say, but working too hard again. The film is looking good.

Thanks for all the info. Anything else you get on orphans and transmigrants would be helpful. Forget the atrocity pictures - thanks for looking. I would like the Gadjah Mada report if you can and the piece from the Bulletin. Have you anything that confirms the use of napalm in East Timor?

Best wishes



Diana Muir



AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

(INCORPORATED IN THE ACT)

TO: Diana Muir

Fax (03)416 2746

From: Pat Walsh

DATE: 13 December 1991

Dear Diana

Some bits and pieces in response to your enquiries:

1. Photos of atrocities: (a pleasant subject) there are some here but I will need to do an archeological dig to find them. Do you want me to keep looking?
2. Orphans:
Lospalos: 90 boys in the Salesian orphanage
Venilale: an orphanage. Numbers not known.
Baucau: an orphanage. Numbers not known. Does Kirsty know.
Dili: a figure of 500 was given to me last year by a tourist who spent the night in one orphanage there.

Will check with the Salesians here over the weekend and come back to you.

3. Transmigrants: certainly East Timor was declared an official transmigrant zone. But numbers are not great.
Locations known to me
 - * Suai: some 3000 (mainly from Bali) in the Kovalima regency.
 - * Maliana: nos unknown. I believe 300 families.
 - * Lospalos: nos unknown. Does CAFOD know?

I will check again over the weekend and I see if can get firmer figures. Indonesian Government literature on ET would probably have figures.

I am speaking here only of official transmigrants. There are many more spontaneous transmigrants, of course. CAFOD has numbers.

4. Do you have a copy of the Gadjah Mada report. It was 'published' last year. The best Indonesian study on ET. Regards ET as 27th province but highly critical of the failures of integration, and calls for major reforms, including reduction of military. Can send a translation if you need. Let me know.
5. Denis Schutz, an American journalist from Darwin has published a strong piece in the Bulletin this weekend. Just returned. Do you want?

ENDS

FIRST FLOOR, BAILEY'S CORNER, EAST ROW, CANBERRA CITY • GPO BOX 1562, CANBERRA ACT 2601
TELEPHONE (06) 247 4822 • FAX (06) 247 5536

Chairperson: Neville Ross Executive Director: Russell Rollason

ACFOA is the co-ordinating body for some 90 Australian non-government organisations working in the field of overseas aid and development.

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12 December 1991

Dear Pat,

Our solicitor, Bob Debus and I had a meeting the other day, and from Bob's description of ACFOA's decision came up with what appears could be a workable scheme. I spoke to Lola about it today, and she says that it is consistent with what the community has been talking about in recent times, in terms of their urgent need to set up a full-time office(s).

Briefly, it is based on Bob's belief that you will be able to recommend how the money raised by the ACFOA Appeal will be used. It therefore involves:

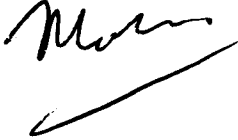
1. A successful ACFOA Appeal;
2. The establishment of some sort of East Timorese Refugee Aid and Human Rights Committee, with principally humanitarian aims, to help Timorese in need here and in Indonesia and East Timor. This group would have a combination of prominent Australians and Timorese community leaders (hopefully across the factions!) on its Executive;
3. This Committee could then seek a "seed" grant from ACFOA's Appeal to establish a functioning office(s) and employ some staff to carry out its work, which could involve, among other things, raising further funds from individual aid agencies (from what Bob says, he probably could help out on this), and unions, as well as launching a wider funds drive through concerts, mail outs etc. If all goes well, then ACFOA (or its own further Timor Appeals) might be able to partially fund the activity on an annual basis;
4. This office in turn could then become something similar to the ANC office, operating with legitimate support but clearly from the perspective of the Timorese, and to promote their cause and provide aid and assistance to their people. With luck, and if done properly, the office could become self-perpetuating, through regular recurring grants and public fund raising, some of which would undoubtedly go for the purposes Robert and I have been working towards;
5. Obviously we'd have to be careful in defining the aims of the Committee, but it could be more openly political than you can be, and be at arms length from both ACFOA and individual aid agencies.

Clearly, we don't know whether any of this is possible, but just as clearly the Timorese desperately need to upgrade their infrastructure to something like this, and soon, if they're to take advantage of the present situation. Just as clearly again, it would make Russell and others on the ACFOA Executive less apprehensive (who Bob says might be rather conservative about how the ACFOA money is spent), and establish an "arms length"

relationship. If so, maybe the type of meeting Jose was talking about with Russell on 19/12 might be unnecessary?

Anyway, I'll leave you to tell Robert what you think, and if it's a goer from your end, we should all meet as soon as possible to discuss how to proceed and get it underway.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Morrison', with a long horizontal flourish underneath.



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AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

(INCORPORATED IN THE ACT)

ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE
124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3065
Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7505

Fax (03) 416 2746

TO: Arnie Kohen

FROM: Pat Walsh

DATE: 10 December 1991

Dear Arnie

I'm sorry I have not been in touch since 12/11. I was in Jakarta that week and flat out but nothing like the activity that has swamped us here.

I am writing to ask for information on the state of play in the US and at the UN.

Can you advise what exactly is happening in the Congress and the Administration. All I am clearly aware of is Claiborne Pell's initiative. What other possibilities are there.

Still on the US can you advise who will accompany George Bush when he visits Australia 2-3 January or thereabouts. E.g. will Baker, Solarz etc be on board. What journos etc. We'd like to present Bush with a letter from MPs here when he addresses a special sitting of the Federal Parliament. But also to try and organise meetings between MPs and US Congress people if there are any travelling with Bush who might be open to such a meeting.

Your advice on the content of a letter to Bush would also be appreciated. I saw the excellent editorial in the Washington Post on December 9 and detected your hand.

Further do you know where things are at at the UN. Its unclear to me whether Pieter Kooijmans report has been received, whether there will be a UN investigation, what the chances of a more substantive UN action are?

I asked Eric Schwartz recently for a list of 15 key Congresspeople who could be written to by Australian MPs, but have heard nothing. Is he still around. Might he be coming to Australia in January???

Best regards to Korina and Maia.

Look forward to hearing from you. Would appreciate a reply by Friday as we have a strategy meeting on Saturday.

FIRST FLOOR, BAILEY'S CORNER, EAST ROW, CANBERRA CITY • GPO BOX 1562, CANBERRA ACT 2601
TELEPHONE (06) 247 4822 • FAX (06) 247 5536

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AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

(INCORPORATED IN THE ACT)

ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE
124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3085
Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7505

TO: Sidney Jones

Fax (03) 416 2746

FROM: Pat Walsh

DATE: 10 Dec 1991

Dear Sidney

Greetings! I understand from Andre you are releasing your report on Santa Cruz on Thursday. Good stuff.

You will be interested to know I was with Pierre Pont at ICRC just after he had been at CSIS when you called Yusuf Wanandi on the massacre. PP told me Yusuf had just told him the death toll was at least 80 then took a call from you and told you it was significantly fewer, something like 50 I recall PP saying. As Y spoke to you Christiadi whispered to PP its actually much higher, at least 100.....

I am writing to ask a small favour:

1. Re UN: can you tell me exactly what is going on re ET at the UN. Has Perez ce Cuellar formally asked the Indonesians to allow a UN investigation. If so when, in what terms and what has been the response?

What other moves are being considered at the UN. Is there any possibility the UN will do something substantive on the issue.

Has Pieter Kooijmans report been completed and given to the UN yet?

2. Re US: can you tell me exactly what the US congress has done. All we are clearly aware of is the Senate Sub-committee statement by Claiborne Pell et al. Have there been other moves. If so, what. What is the administration's position.

Further, can you advise who will accompany Bush when he visits Australia early January. We would like to know if people like James Baker, Stephen Solarz etc. are on board so meetings on ET can be arranged. We are also looking at presenting Bush with an appeal for further action on ET when he's here. Your advice on the content of such a letter would be welcome.

Things are still bubbling along fast here.

I look forward to hearing from you at the earliest opportunity.

Pat

Pat
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BY FAX

December 9, 1991

To: **Mark Considine**, Political Science, Melbourne U. fax 344 7906
Prue Myer, Institute of International Affairs - fax 654 6605
Gary Smith, Deakin U. fax 690 6981
~~Pat Walsh~~ ACFOA Human Rights Office, fax 416 2746
Herb Feith, Monash U.

From: Merrill Findlay. Ph/fax 534 6999

Total number of pages: 4

Message:

Further to our recent conversations, please see the following draft proposal for a closed seminar tentatively called Australia/Indonesia Policy options for the future.

Att'n Pat:

Institute of International Affairs is having a management meeting Tues. and Prue M. will present this draft proposal. Gary Smith had a similar proposal but we believe the two ideas could be integrated. There's room for this to grow — room for further contributions still. I'm just initiating the process!

Love
Merrill

DRAFT PROPOSAL

FOR CLOSED SEMINAR TO EXPLORE POLICY OPTIONS
FOR AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH INDONESIA
AFTER THE DILI MASSACRE

Proposed name:

Australia/Indonesia: Policy options for the future.

Hosts:

Melbourne University Political Science Department and the Institute of International Affairs.

Time:

February - one day only. With a follow up public seminar perhaps in April.

Venue:

Melbourne University Conference Centre

Participants:

a range of senior individuals who have a role to play in determining Australia's foreign policy or who can make an informed contribution to the decision making process. See very tentative draft list below.

Numbers:

30 invited with 20 expected to attend

Proposed Objectives:

- To review Australia's current relationship with Indonesia;
- To discuss the issues that determine our foreign policy re. Indonesia;
- To propose alternative policies in light of calls for self determination in East Timor, public outrage re. the Dili massacre, the emerging democracy movement, the ICJ challenge to the legality of the Timor Gap Treaty and unresolved conflicts and human rights abuses throughout Indonesia;
- To provide a closed, safe and neutral venue in which key players can articulate controversial positions and hear a range of alternative views;
- To establish where there is room for movement in currently fixed positions.

Format:

Participants to sit around a conference table. Key players to present 10-15 minute position papers. Very skilled chairperson/facilitator to invite discussion and move discussion on if it begins to be polarised. Seminar to be seen only as the beginning of a process not as an end in itself. Atmosphere to be kept warm and friendly. Lunch and refreshments served.

Cost:

Minimal. Just lunch. Most proposed participants will have their own travel budgets with the exception of Agio Perira in Darwin who could make a very significant contribution and Jose Ramos Horta.

Next step: A public event (perhaps in April) to build on the closed session and bring the issues into the public arena.

Proposed participants:

The following is a very tentative list of names or areas of interest that should be included in the proposed seminar. Much more work needs to be done on this.

Department of Foreign Affairs

Peter Wilenski	Head
Ashton Calvert	SE Asia Division
John McCarthy	International Organisations and Legal Division
Rosemary Grieves	Indonesia Desk

Department of Trade

Department of Defence

Human Rights

Michael Kirby
Amnesty International
Pat Walsh

**International Law/
Security**

Keith Suter
Gary Simpson
Gary Smith
Centre for Constitutional Studies
Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies

Indonesianists

Gary Woodard
Jamie Mackie
Herb Feith
David Bouchier
Bruce Grant - Australia Indonesia Institute

Indonesians Indonesian Ambassador
Ariel Heryanto (re. democracy movement)

Timorese Agio Perira (Darwin)
Jose Ramos Horta

Corporate Sector nominees from Shell, BHP, BP
exporters/importers

Portugal Portuguese Ambassador

Journalists (as people with 'on the ground' knowledge - at
this stage they would be asked not to write about the seminar)
David Jenkins
Mark Metherall
Peter Myers
Mark Baker
John Shooble
Tom Hyland

Politicians Gareth Evans or nominee
Robert Hills, Shadow Minister
Vicki Bourne - Democrats
John Langmore - ALP
Gary Gibson - ALP
Chris Schatt (heading inquiry) - ALP

Church Michael Costigan, Australian Catholic Social
Justice Council



DIRECTOR'S NOTES

In 1974 the Portuguese withdrew from East Timor after 400 years of occupation. In December 1975 Indonesia launched a full scale invasion of East Timor. This forced take-over was accompanied by widespread killings and brutality, disruption of agriculture and a resulting famine.

The continuing human rights violations in this region have resulted in an estimated 200,000 deaths (over one third of the East Timorese population). The East Timorese fight for self-determination still continues. In 1991 they eagerly awaited a delegation from Portugal whom they believed could help raise the profile of their plight and gain them world wide support. This is where our play begins. Unfortunately the delegation never arrived.

Zero Sum has been written and devised from an extensive research base. The making of the play has raised many questions and has become a forum of debate about the politics of mounting a production of this nature, in the University environment. We welcome your feedback and hope you find the show as thought provoking to watch as we have found it to create.

This play is based on the events surrounding the Dili Massacre in East Timor in 1991. All characters depicted are fictitious.

Some images in this play could upset some people.

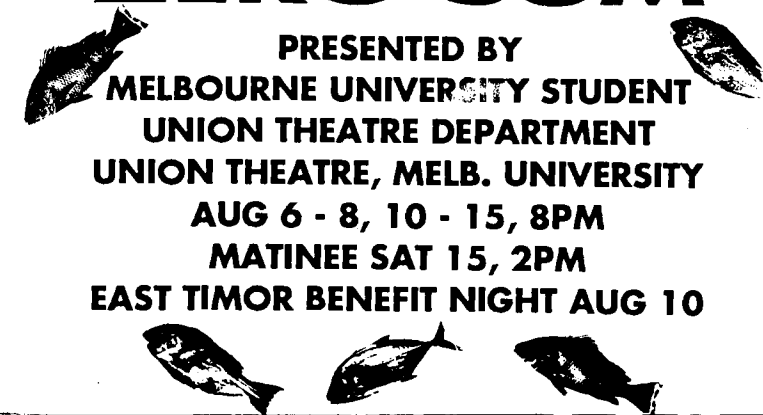
THANKS TO

Bob Muntz, Bruce & Lisa, Fransico Pang, Konnen & Lucy Lay and family, Lisa Parry, Fatima Gomes, Lelok Bere, Mateus Concalves, Chikuito, Chikuito Caralho, Armindo Olevera, Armilia Gufao, Nito & Zeny Gufmao, Jamie Chancellor, Pat Walsh, The Dipi Dipi Girls, Charles & Manuel, Kirsty Sword, Shirley Shakleton, Lito, Amandi Gomes, Carmelita Gomes, The Frelin Community, Cas & Kit Anderson, Cuncio Nuromna Jnr., Jan & Bill Myers, Lauren Bain, Cindy O'Connor, Bruce Gladwin, Noel Jordan, Jemma Mead, Mark Lawrence & Friends, Jane Stephens, Beverly Jenkin, Vanessa Hearman, Adrain Cherubin, Gareth Evans, Peter, Caspar, Ruth Colin Hatt, Joseph Kolega, Karen Khartomi, Simone Slee, Peter Conney, Yorkshire Television, Hectic Electric, Anthill Theatre, Anthony, Fred, Nicholas Harrington, Simon Barfoot, Phillip, John & Stewart at News Express, Mc Donald Marine, Stage Two Lighting, Melbourne City Council 150th.

ZERO SUM is supported by:
The University of Melbourne Theatre Board
M.U. Student Union Inc. Arts Committee

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PRESENTED BY
MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY STUDENT
UNION THEATRE DEPARTMENT
UNION THEATRE, MELB. UNIVERSITY
AUG 6 - 8, 10 - 15, 8PM
MATINEE SAT 15, 2PM
EAST TIMOR BENEFIT NIGHT AUG 10



CAST

Jordan	- Sean Dooley
Fredrika	- Carolyn Fraser
David/ Father	- Anthony Watt
Karen/ Mother	- Anita Punton
Rapporteur/ Priest/ Newsreporter	- Ben Ellis
Consul/ Soliloquist	- Angelo Madeira
Jurgen	- Hugh Covill
Steward	- Michael Martin
Evan Gareths	- Tom Liolios
Mrs. Gareths/ Charlie	- Danielle Roet
Consul/ Christine	- Anne Norman
Letter	- Denise Hiatt
Natasha	- Merida Sussex
Shona	- Susan Searle

MUSICIANS/ COMPOSERS

Hugh Covill
Anne Norman
Michael Martin
Susan Searle
Tom Liolios

SINGERS

Merida Sussex
Danielle Roet
Denise Hiatt

WRITEN & DEvised BY

Rosemary Myers
Kate Hiatt
Carolyn Fraser
Anthony Watt
Justine Press
Sean Dooley
Ben Ellis
Guy Rundle

SPECIAL THANKS

Justine Press for all her hard work and determination and Anita Punton for stepping in and saving the day.

PRODUCTION TEAM

Director	- Rosemary Myers
Asst. Director	- Kate Hiatt
Designer	- John Bennett
Musical Director	- Hugh Covill
Producers	- Linda Cernigoi
	- Susan Strano
Production Manager	- Ian Fiddes
Lighting Designer	- Mickey W.
Costume Designer	- Graham Long
Movement Consultant	- Anastasi Siotas
Mechanist	- Fritz Hammersley
Set Construction	- Brian Griffin

PROMOTIONS TEAM

Publicist	- Kelly Heywood
Assistant Publicist	- Tanya S.
Advertising	- Susan Strano
Media Assistants	- John Ford
	- Bruce Pope
	- Scott Brennan
	- Kenicha Hatten
	- Tox
	- Lauren Bain

CREW

Stage Manager	- Bruce Pope
Asst. Stage Manager	- Shane Mc Kenzie
	- Prue Wilsmore
Lighting Operator	- Niki Tan
Sound	- Tox
Bump-in	- John
	- Tox
	- Marina
	- Gill
	- Niki
	- Fred
	- Ray
	- Tanya
	- Bruce
	- Lauren
	- Simon
	- Brian
	- Duncan
	- Andy
	- Purdy
	- Brian Griffin