



Nettalk

Free East Timor Coalition

UPDATE (15) — July 1999

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Jose Ramos Horta and Xanana Gusmao — together in Jakarta



For the first time since 1974 Jose Ramos-Horta has been able to join Xanana Gusmao, leader of the armed resistance. They met on June 26 in Jakarta during a break in the Dare II reconciliation talks between the pro and anti independence groups.

Australian activist Peter Cronau confessed to “a shiver of sheer joy — a rare moment in these recent horrible dark days just before the dawn of East Timor’s coming new day. Like when seeing the vision of the UN flag flying in Dili and the ubiquitous UN land cruisers - there seemed, finally, to be a power greater than the evil perpetrated by Indonesia’s military and undemocratic government”.*

We are grateful for grants from Oxfam, CORSO and Caritas for the printing and mail-out of the next few issues of *Nettalk*. We urge you to support the enclosed aid appeals.

Grateful thanks also to our many other supporters and readers of *Nettalk* for donations received in response to what was our highly critical financial situation when the last newsletter went out.

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Indonesian military supporting death squads

The Indonesian military, (TNI), is conducting a covert war in East Timor using the paramilitary groups as its proxy. Indonesia began creating new militia groups about October 1998 and training camps were set up in West Timor near the border. Recruits receive 25,000 rupiah per month — quite a lot in local terms.

The militia campaign has been stepped up since President Habibie announced on January 27 that the East Timorese would be allowed to choose between autonomy and independence.

Indonesia claims that militia security auxiliaries

Political change in Indonesia?

The results of the Indonesian elections are about to be announced. The Indonesian Party of Struggle (PDI-P) which have taken a firm stand against the corruption of the Suharto era, is expected to do well. Unfortunately its leader, Megawati Sukarnoputri opposes East Timor independence and her advisors have raised fears of a “flood of refugees”.

It is unlikely, however, that she or any other leader would go as far as to override the results of the UN ballot.

The Peoples Democratic Party (PRD) has taken a clear stand in support of East Timorese freedom but despite the democratic changes in Indonesia, eight PRD leaders remain in jail. On July 1 PRD led a 2,000 strong demonstration to the electoral commission in Jakarta — over 30 demonstrators were hospitalised, some with serious injuries after the police had opened fire with rubber bullets.

are a legitimate part of its policing operations. However, one of the most hard-line militia leaders, Eurico Guterres of the *Aitarak* (Thorn) militia was recently appointed as head of Pam Swarkasa, a new civil defence unit in Dili. On April 17 he encouraged the murderous rampage that led to the deaths of the refugees sheltering at the home of Manuel Carrascalao including Manuel's 17 year old son.

In Suai in the south-west, the *Mahidi* militia (Live or Die by integration) was formed under the leadership of Cancio Lopes de Carvalho. Carvalho openly admitted that both weapons and training came from the TNI.

In Liquica, the *Besi Merah Putri* militia gang under the command of Manuel de Sousa is responsible for the Liquica massacre of April 5-6 (at least 62 deaths) and for a shocking refugee situation that has seen up to 10,000 people displaced.

In Maliana, the acts of violence have been conducted by *Halintar* (Thunderbolt) led by Joao Tavares, a landowner who has fought for the Indonesians since before the 1975 invasion. Halintar operates with Indonesian Kodim forces, police and Kopassus. Halintar is believed to be behind the reports of people being thrown live into the sea in sacks and of others having their ears cut off and being forced to eat them.

The support for the militia comes from the very top. General Adam Damiri head of the Bali based command which is responsible for East Timor, was present in East Timor just before the Liquica massacre and a few weeks later General Zacki Anwar Makarim and General Syahnakri were supervising in Dili when the militia were let loose on the population. Effectively they endorsed and controlled the terror campaign.

In May, Hermino da Costa a spokesman for the FPKD (Forum for Unity Democracy and Justice) told investigative journalist Alan Nairn of a secret TNI — militia accord authorising assassinations of independence supporters.*

Suharto Family — links to NZ — and to East Timor

Tommy Suharto, until recently owner of the Lilybank luxury lodge on the shores of Lake Tekapo, is not the only Suharto to have assets in this country.

ETIC and CAFCA helped out with some detective work following a recent lead from the intrepid Suharto wealth researcher, George Aditjondro, now based in Newcastle, Australia.

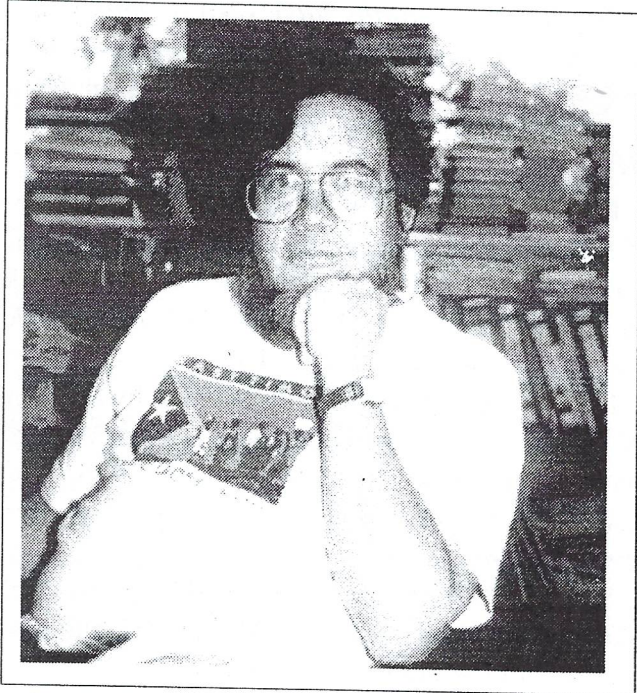
An alpine subdivision in Queenstown called Goldfield Heights has two multi level chalets owned by Suharto's daughter, Siti Hedyati Haryadi and her husband, sacked armed forces commander General Prabowo Subianto. Their ownership is disguised through an offshore holding company registered in the Channel Islands. Close by are chalets owned by retired general Bustanil Arifin and Radius Prawiro, a special economic advisor to President Habibie.

Apparently Siti Hedyati Haryadi (known as Titiek) wanted a massive lodge to house all her servants but had to make do with two inter-connecting lodges. She has not been to visit for some time.

The NZ Government should seize these assets as the proceeds of criminal acts by the Suharto family against the Indonesian people.

The extensive cover article of Time, (May 8), revealed that the Suharto family had at least US \$15 billion in assets: "It was built over three decades from a skein of companies, monopolies and control over vast sectors of economic activity in Indonesia ... the Suharto family on its own or through corporate entities controls some 3.6 million hectares of real estate in Indonesia, an area larger than Belgium. That includes ... nearly 40% of the entire province (sic) of East Timor".

George Aditjondro has also traced the links between the Suharto family, their numerous business interests in East Timor and pro-integrationist figures such as the governor and militia leaders. Many prominent Jakarta supporters are direct beneficiaries of land and investment in East Timor.



George Aditjondro

George Aditjondro says : "That is why the Jakarta oligarchy, with the strong support from their East Timor collaborators, are so keen in undermining a free and fair vote to determine East Timor's future political status."*

Voting problems

The 18 East Timorese currently living in New Zealand face hurdles before they can take part in the August vote. They will have to travel to Sydney twice — once to register and again to vote. NZ Foreign Affairs officials attempted to persuade the UN to accept another arrangement and is likely to help those who are New Zealand Grant students.

Similar problems will be experienced by others living in countries which have small East Timorese populations.

Regional Reports from Aotearoa

East Timor Solidarity Groups

The last few months have seen a rapidly developing political scene in East Timor, with all its dangers and hopes. In Aotearoa, the solidarity movement has engaged in a range of activities in response to the situation on the ground in Timor. These notes pick up some of those activities.

WELLINGTON

East Timor Action organised meetings of New Zealand based East Timorese with Don McKinnon, Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and other MPs in April. They briefed the Cook Islands ambassador on East Timor.

In May, members attended a briefing by Foreign Minister Don McKinnon to the Foreign Affairs and Defence select committee on Indonesia and East Timor. *Notes on the above meetings are available from ETA.*

Bishop Belo spoke at a public meeting in Wellington, and met Don McKinnon and the Speaker of the House, Doug Kidd.

An ETA member attended the Melbourne conference on development in East Timor.

The Wellington group distributed a leaflet at the opening of 'Punitive Damage'. The screening was attended by Kamal Bamadhaj's sister Nadia and Helen Todd, his mother, as well as by Annie Goldson, the film's director, and co-producer Gaylene Preston. Copies of this leaflet are available from East Timor Action as are leaflets from the Kamal Bamadhaj Trust. The trust is a project promoted by Kamal's family to raise funds to support youth initiatives on human rights, democracy and regional solidarity in South-East Asia.

ETA members have also been involved in the Caritas appeal for East Timor, and have been liaising with the Australian organisers of the East Timor Mercy Ship programme which is raising funds to ship medical aid and volunteer medical personnel to East Timor.

DUNEDIN

Jose Ramos Horta plans to make a national tour of Aotearoa as a guest of CORSO.

He is to arrive in Christchurch from Sydney on

Tues 20 July. He is in Dunedin the following day, and arrives in Wellington on the Thursday. Jose will meet East Timorese and supporters in Palmerston North. He flies to Auckland on Sunday 25 July, and leaves for Australia on the 27th.

A possible visit to East Timor may alter these plans

AUCKLAND

We had a stall at the Refugee and Migrant Festival in Potters Park on 21 February. Many signatures were collected on an open letter to Jenny Shipley.

ETIC joined with Caritas to welcome Bishop Belo to Auckland on March 2 and set up an information table at the public meeting the following day.

A Commemoration Service for the victims of recent massacres in East Timor was held on April 30. Thanks go to Catholic Justice and Peace worker David Tutty and to Fr Terry Dibble for a moving service. ETIC members donned black costumes and red scarves, and carried a coffin up Queen Street to the beat of a solemn drum.

A benefit premiere of 'Punitive Damages' was held on 19 May, organised by ETIC and the film's distributors 'Occasional Productions'. The event raised funds for projects to benefit the East Timorese struggle. Annie Goldson, Gaylene Preston and Helen Todd spoke.

Thanks to Peter Archer for his sterling work as treasurer of the Free East Timor Coalition and also to Ian Sugden who takes over the job.

An evening of East Timorese culture and politics marked a first for Auckland on June 17, providing an exciting new dimension to solidarity work. ETIC and other peace and human rights groups supported the Alliance in a forum conducted by 13 members of the East Timorese Students Assn



East Timorese women brought their culture alive in the form of dance and song to a very appreciative audience — photo Murray Addison.

which is based in Palmerston North. Jorge da Conceicao Teme, Matt Robson and Maire Leadbeater spoke, but the audience was captivated by the charm and beauty of traditional East Timorese song and dance.

Christchurch

ETICO staffed an information table and distributed leaflets when Bishop Belo visited in March.

Then in April, one of our people was privileged to attend a conference on East Timor's post-independence development process in Melbourne (see report on page 10).

There has been an extensive campaign lobbying local MPs ETICO recruited a number of MPs to Parliamentarians for East Timor. We hope these efforts have contributed to the extraordinarily high number of MPs (over 100) who signed Phil Goff's petition to the Indonesian ambassador.

At the anti APEC demonstration held in April, ETICO was prominent with its banners.

A successful screening of the Australian *4 Corners* documentary "Licence to Kill" was held in

early July.

An official civic reception for Jose Ramos-Horta is planned for July.

Proposed fundraising events include an international choir event and a screening of "Punitive Damage".

WHANGAREI

As has been the case with a number of smaller centres, the local East Timor Independence Committee's activities have been based on letters to the Government about the situation in East Timor and possible NZ responses. The group has had some success in keeping Timor to the fore in the local press. A recent meeting with Alliance MP Matt Robson was a useful occasion for re-directing our energies. A video evening and discussion is planned for the near future, and attempts have been made to get 'Punitive Damage' screened here. A local member is preparing to join an observer group in East Timor for the lead-in to the referendum, with support from ETIC locally.*

Compiled by Tim Howard

Can the UN bring hope to East Timor?

The reconciliation talks sponsored by the Catholic Church in June ended with little more than a vague pledge to disarm before the ballot. Outside the talks Jose Ramos-Horta offered powersharing to pro-Jakarta forces in a transitional government.

As representatives of East Timor's pro and anti-independence movements met in Jakarta on June 29, a stone throwing mob carried out a violent attack on the UN office in Maliana. A South African woman volunteer was injured along with about a dozen local people. Local militia leader Paulo Ferreira was open about his participation — he said the attack had occurred because pro-independence supporters had been chanting such slogans as “Viva Xanana Gusmao”. UN staff at Liquica and Viqueque were intimidated later in the same week.

In Jakarta to take part in the reconciliation talks, militia leader Eurico Guterres, defended the stoning attack as a “spontaneous” public reaction against an alleged UN pro-independence bias.

James Rubin of the US State Department condemned the attack as “callous” and called on the Indonesian Government to “take immediate steps to establish order, apprehend and bring to justice the perpetrators of this cowardly act.” The US is “not satisfied with the position of the Indonesian military and its government.”

Australia's Foreign Minister Downer, the UN Secretary General and the Security Council issued strongly worded statements firmly holding Indonesia accountable.

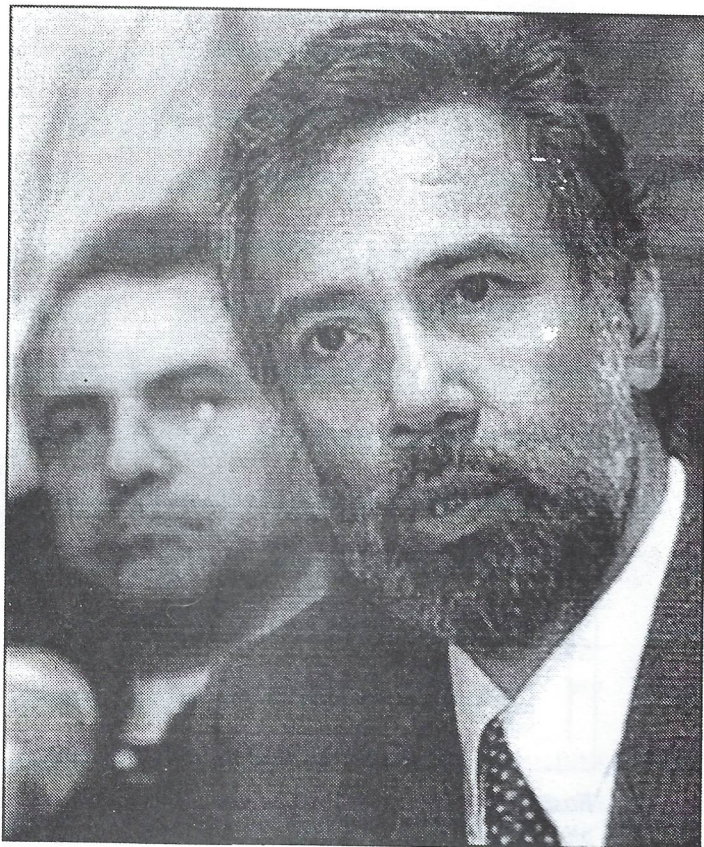
Don McKinnon at his wimpish best held no party responsible but hoped that Indonesia “would quickly move to ensure the safety of all people”.

Background to UN presence

On May 5 1999 Portugal and Indonesia signed a landmark deal in the presence of United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan in New York. The UN undertook to consult with the people of East Timor as to whether they would accept or reject the Indonesian autonomy proposal.

The most contentious aspect of the agreement is that it leaves Indonesia in charge of security. The ballot cannot go ahead unless the Secretary General is satisfied with the security conditions for the “peaceful implementation of the consultation process.” The ballot has been deferred from the initial August 8 date to August 21 or 22.

UNAMET (the United Nations Mission in East Timor) has been set up to provide both specialist personnel to conduct the ballot and UN police to act as



Xanana Gusmao

advisors to the Indonesian police. The numbers are relatively small:

- Election officials : 661 (241 international staff and 420 UN volunteers)
- UN police: 280 (1 officer per 3,150 inhabitants)
- Military advisors : 50
- Local team:4,000

Four UN staff arrived in Dili on May 5 to begin making arrangements for the UN civilian police force. That same day students in Dili defied the threat of militia violence to stage a pro-independence demonstration. With the encouragement of reports that the bulk of the UN force were about to arrive, the students demonstrated again on May 9 & 10. Sadly only 12 UN assessment personnel, including only one police officer, were in Dili at the time. The demonstration sparked a militia reaction and ended violently with at least one death and a number wounded, including some foreign journalists.

A few days later a march of hundreds of nuns, priests and novices was led by Bishop Belo in solemn prayerful procession throughout the suburbs of Dili.

When the UN officially raised its flag in Dili on June



armed militia in Dili



militia being trained by the Indonesian military

thousands of jubilant independence supporters came out of hiding. The UN officials had to appeal for restraint before they could leave the ceremony.

The UN deployment has become a drawn out process as the full complement is not expected to be in place until July 10. Ten New Zealand police arrived with the first batch of 41 on June 21.

The UN team have witnessed militia arson attacks in Dili. In May UN staff chanced on an army training session for militia. On June 18, UN officers at the village of Leotela 30 km west of Dili were shocked to see soldiers directing pro-Jakarta militia burning houses and beating up an old man.

David Wimhurst, spokesperson for the UN team, has persistently spoken out about these breaches of the UN mandate, about the role of government officials in pro-integration rallies and against the use of government funds for pro-integration campaigning.

Wimhurst has also had to take Indonesia to task after repeated threats to UN mission staff — he himself now has to make use of a security guard, after repeated and thinly veiled death threats.

Since January, several hundred Timorese have been killed and more than 40,000 people have fled their villages, making it difficult for them even to register, let alone vote. The *Suara Timor Timur* newspaper has been forced out of print twice by threats. Although publishing again, it has stopped giving its former coverage to the independence viewpoint. All this is in flagrant breach of the May 5 Accords.

In many of the violent militia attacks, such as that of April 6 in Liquica when at least 62 people were killed, BRIMOB commandos, the special police force, have been involved. Despite this, all the police reinforcements being brought in for the ballot are from BRIMOB.

How can this be expected to calm the fears of the population? Their track record for brutality against peaceful demonstrations in Indonesia as well as in East Timor is ingrained in people's memories.

- The para-military groups should be disbanded and the tens of thousands of people now being held under their terror should be escorted safely back to their villages.

- The Indonesian Army (TNI) should dismantle its territorial structure, shut down its military posts and be restricted to clearly defined areas, before its final withdrawal from East Timor.

- Arms should be surrendered to UN personnel, to ensure total reliability and verifiability.

- The resistance leader Xanana Gusmao as well as other East Timorese political prisoners must be released without delay, to participate in the UN process like every other East Timorese citizen.

- The personal safety of pro-independence activists and human rights workers must be assured so that they can function in the open and without hindrance.

- Jose Ramos-Horta and Xanana Gusmao must be allowed to return to East Timor in safety in the lead up to the ballot.

- The UN Security Council should reconsider the need for sending an adequate UN peace-keeping force to East Timor.*

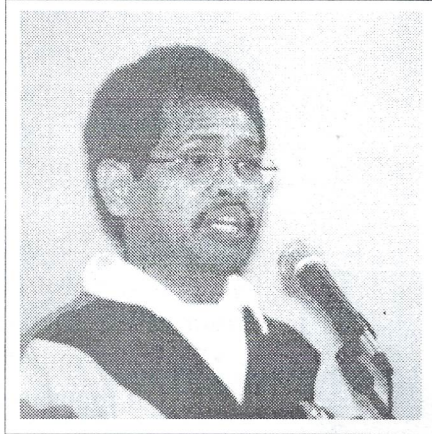
CNRT Offices reopen

The office of CNRT in Dili re-opened on June 28 — it had been closed since the April 17 anarchy when militiamen attacked the home of Manuel Carrascalao. Present for the opening and the cultural presentation was Colin Stewart an official from the political office of UNAMET.

Outrage over Skyhawk exports

“SAFE AIR HELPS INDONESIA KILL PEOPLE IN EAST TIMOR” stated the lead banner for a demonstration held on May 23.

East Timor activists from around the country and from Marlborough/Nelson — locally organised by Alison and Noz Fletcher of Picton — joined together for a second feisty demonstration against Safe Air and its parent company Air New Zealand. 40-50 demonstrators called for re-export of the refurbished Skyhawk jets to be halted.



Jorge da Conceicao Teme

Mr Des Ashton, the Managing Director of Safe Air, and about 10 of his staff turned up on a sunny Sunday morning to meet with us. He described the protestors as “well meaning people” to the *Marlborough Express*.

Mr Ashton would not answer questions put to him by the group in front of assembled media, about the terror caused by Indonesian-backed militia in East Timor, so this time we declined his invitation for a polite deputation.

Instead we listened as East Timorese activist (CNRT) Jorge da Conceicao Teme told the group of his pain for his people and asked “Why does this thing happen?” Alliance and Green Party representatives and local Blenheim and Nelson solidarity activists joined in the challenges to the management.

The chanting and singing ranged from East Timorese resistance songs to protest rap — courtesy Noz Fletcher. Some of us leapt the fence onto the adjacent tarmac and held our banners up alongside an Air New Zealand Link plane. One activist clambered up onto the plane.

The Editor of the *Marlborough Express*, Brendon Burns, visited East Timor five years ago. In his May 25 editorial he recalled hearing first hand accounts of the Dili massacre. “This may all seem several thousand kilometres away and rather unconnected to Marlborough. Except as the weekend’s protest at Safe Air reminded us, we have a direct air link.”

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“If any Indonesian official gives a guarantee that the Skyhawks won’t be used against the Timorese, discard it. East Timorese activists warn the UN is being played for fools and must send large numbers of UN troops to ensure the killing stops and the referendum can take place properly. Sadly they may be right...”

“If it all goes horribly wrong, how will Safe Air feel if the Skyhawks it is refurbishing are

called in to strafe or bomb innocent Timorese or even just to train the pilots?”

RNZAF Involvement

The New Zealand Air Force has assisted Safe Air to refurbish Indonesian Skyhawk jets.

The Minister of Defence, Max Bradford, replied to MP Rod Donald: “The Air Force did provide commercial support at Safe Air’s request, covering areas of specialisation not common in general aviation, some spare parts and maintenance capabilities not held by Safe Air Ltd. This involved the servicing of ejection-seats, other egress-system components and oxygen-system components...”

Maire Leadbeater, speaking on behalf of ETIC said “Improving the lethal efficiency of the Indonesian military and its training equipment is exactly the wrong message.”

The Government actually does have the power to withhold an export permit as Foreign Minister Don McKinnon conceded in response to a further parliamentary question also asked by Rod Donald.

[Question 3800: “... the Ministry is not bound to issue a permit if the relevant situation changes, or a subsequent reassessment raises fresh concerns.”]

“We are calling on the Government to act with urgency to refuse to allow the Skyhawk jets to be sent to the Indonesian military, and instead to redouble their commitment to the UN peace process and the ballot to be held in August.”*

Inside East Timor

Punitive Damage



Max Stahl's footage of the massacre and the events preceding it haven't lost any immediacy or tension

Punitive Damage

Produced and directed by Annie Goldson

Co-produced by Gaylene Preston

Review by Joe Buchanan

Punitive Damage recounts the life of New Zealand-Malaysian student Kamal Bamadhaj and his death in the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. His mother, Helen Todd won her case against General Panjaitan of ABRI in a United States court.

The film is constructed from interviews and courtroom recreations and Max Stahl's footage from East Timor filmed in the days leading up to the Santa Cruz massacre.

The film features interviews with journalist Alan Nairn — himself beaten by Indonesian troops following the massacre and Timorese exile Constancio Pinto who was involved in the clandestine movement which organised the Santa Cruz cemetery protest.

The film is a skilful walk through the territories of the political documentary and personal narrative. Helen Todd said "I took part in this film because I trusted Annie Goldson to show Kamal, not as an innocent caught in the crossfire, but as he was — a political activist. Whether his parents approved of this or not is immaterial now. The struggle was his life in his last two years, and this

film honours that. Independence for East Timor seemed a long shot when Kamal was killed for it — but it is not now. A just cause can never be a lost cause; Kamal taught me that."

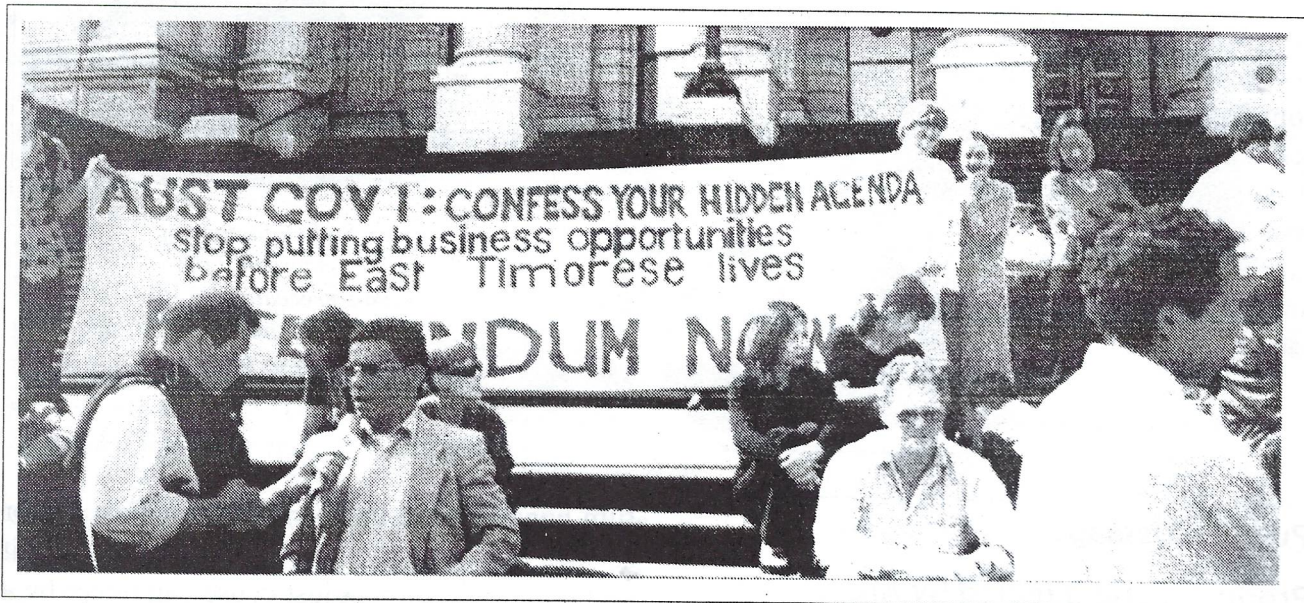
Following the judgement against Panjaitan, Helen Todd wrote "What Foreign Minister Ali Alatas called the 'stone in the shoe' is still irritating. If this judgement adds to the size of that stone, which I think it will, then something besides our pain will have resulted from Kamal's death."

Eight years later Max Stahl's footage of the massacre and the events preceding it haven't lost any immediacy or tension. It deserves to be seen on a cinema screen and the visual quality is a major strength of the film. Apart from a few irritating documentary clichés (echoing gavel bangs on the soundtrack during the courtroom scenes and click-clacking typewriter sub-titles) the film is beautifully crafted.

Like the best of documentaries, *Punitive Damage* manages to be both intimate and expansive. As the film's editor John Gilbert says "Kamal's very specific story parallels the horror of events in East Timor over the past 20 years." And television footage of Don McKinnon excusing the weak response to the massacre is a well-timed reminder of the consistent acquiescence of New Zealand government's response to Indonesia's military occupation of East Timor.

The film has been successful in a number of overseas film festivals.*

Amidst mayhem and murder — new hope



Part of the demonstration held outside the Victoria State parliament — photo Joe Davies

In April, a Strategic Development Planning for East Timor Conference was held in Melbourne, Joe Davies and Marie Laufiso of the Free East Timor Coalition represented CORSO, who had been invited by CNRT to send two people to help in areas related to development. The following is an abridged report from Joe.

Eighty Timorese people living inside East Timor joined about fifty of their exiled compatriots and some fifty non-Timorese, representing aid organizations and the international solidarity movement.

This disparate group settled down to paint a detailed picture of life in a liberated East Timor.

The Conference grappled with six specific areas of discussion: Governance and Public Administration and Mass Communication; Economy and Agriculture; Education; Health; Judicial System; Infrastructure and Environment.

We were welcomed by the Wurundjeri people, the indigenous people of the Melbourne area.

Unable to attend, resistance leaders Jose Ramos-Horta and Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, had video messages for the conference. Xanana outlined what he called the “dreams of the mountains” — the hopes and dreams that had sustained the guerrillas in their 23 year battle against Indonesia.

Justice Marcus Einfeld gave a practical talk about the justice system. Milena Pires (UDT)

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spoke eloquently about the role of women in the resistance and in a liberated East Timor.

News came that some sixty people had been murdered overnight in Liquica, East Timor. But the Timorese were adamant that the work should go on, so the conference resolved to continue.

By the end, we had hammered out a blueprint for post-liberation East Timor, including the formation of a liberal democracy, with free health care and education, and a genuine commitment to human rights.

Following the conference, Marie Laufiso and I took part in a quickly organized demonstration at Parliament House in Central Melbourne. The names of 65 victims were chalked onto the footpath so that passers-by could get some idea of the magnitude of the human tragedy behind the bald figures.*

(Our thanks to CORSO for making our representation possible alongside their own). Conference papers are available from ETICO, PO Box 1905, Christchurch.

The New Zealand Government needs to do more to help

The New Zealand Government now takes a closer interest in East Timor — but its diplomacy remains at best feeble. Help put pressure on the New Zealand Government to do more — write to your MP or Don McKinnon, Parliament Buildings (No stamp needed)

On the positive side:

New Zealand has put \$380,000 into the newly established United Nations Trust fund for East Timor. The fund will help to fund UN supervision of the ballot. Our Government has also committed 10 police officers to the UN force and five military observers. New Zealander Colonel Reilly will be Chief of Staff/Deputy Commander of the Military Liason section of the UN Mission (UNAMET). New Zealand has also committed “electoral experts.”

On May 7 Foreign Minister McKinnon announced after his visit to detained resistance leader Xanana Gusmao that he had urged Indonesia to free Xanana “fully and at the earliest time possible.”

On April 20, Don McKinnon and Foreign Affairs officials Graham Fortune and Tessa Temata met with a delegation from the East Timor Students Association in New Zealand. Jorge da Conceicao Teme, Anor Sihombing and Aurelio Guterres were accompanied by Wellington East Timor activists, Colin Iles and Joe Buchanan.

On the negative side of the ledger:

New Zealand fails to heed repeated pleas for it to support a strong United Nations peacekeeping force to take over control of security in East Timor.

The New Zealand Air Force actively supports Safe Air Ltd in the refurbishment of Indonesian Skyhawk jets (see additional item).

New Zealand continues to train Indonesian military personnel under the Mutual Assistance Programme, including instruction in the laying of land mines and internal security.

On May 11 Don McKinnon was interviewed on Morning Report and referred to “two heavily armed groups” and the need to disarm both. At the time armed militias had just attacked a brave demonstration of unarmed students. In the interview he also soft-pedalled on the issue of the release of Xanana Gusmao.

Diplomacy of Whispers continues:

In marked contrast to other western governments, New Zealand has made no clear statement about the militia violence or about the role of the Indonesian Government and military in encouraging that violence.*

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New links forged between New Zealand and East Timor

Maire Leadbeater visited East Timor in April this year, the following is an abridged account of that trip.

As I arrived in Dili on the 6th April, an hour's drive away in Liquica villagers sheltering in a church with their priest were under murderous attack from the Indonesian military and from the gang Besi Merah Putih. None of the people I met who had visited the scene and spoken to the survivors, had any doubt that the military and the militia gang acted in co-ordination.

At the urging of independence leaders I visited the Motael Clinic which was caring for some of the wounded victims. I do not need my photographs to remind me of the traumatised faces of the wounded people and of the young mother too unwell to soothe her crying baby.

I visited poor communities, makeshift refugee camps and shelters. I called on the representatives of human rights groups, church and aid organisations and the leaders of the student movement and the resistance CNRT (National Council for Timorese Resistance).

Everyone spoke of renewed threats to the independence movement and almost everyone urged me to call for a UN peacekeeping force.

In the centre of Dili and along the beach front close to the Turismo Hotel where I stayed, children and young people were 'hanging out'. Youth unemployment is high and many children are out



Massacre survivor at Motael Clinic — photo Maire Leadbeater

of school since large numbers of Indonesian teachers have left their posts. Many shops are boarded up and there was a ominous sense of a place on hold.

Many of the people I met went into hiding not long afterwards — the news of the recent re-opening of the CNRT office in Dili is welcome indeed.*

Sender: East Timor Independence Committee, PO Box 68 419, Newton, Auckland

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