

East Timor

it's time for action

Since 1975 the people of East Timor have resisted a brutal Indonesian occupation which violates international law and the UN Charter. The New Zealand Government along with many others have actively condoned this injustice.

Timor lies just north of Australia. The western part of the island was formerly Dutch. East Timor was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years.

In World War II, East Timorese supported Australian commandos fighting the Japanese. Around 60,000 East Timorese were killed by the Japanese, most after the Australians pulled out in 1943.

East Timor began decolonising after the overthrow of Portugal's Caetano dictatorship in 1974. Newly formed political parties began discussing options for the future. One small party, called Apodeti, declared itself in favour of integration with Indonesia. The two largest parties, UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) and Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), agreed to a coalition in January 1975 with the aim of working with the Portuguese towards independence after three years.

The Indonesian military exploited some UDT leaders' fears of the 'communist' nature of Fretilin. Indonesian backed UDT members organised a coup in August 1975 which led to a brief civil war, and about 1500

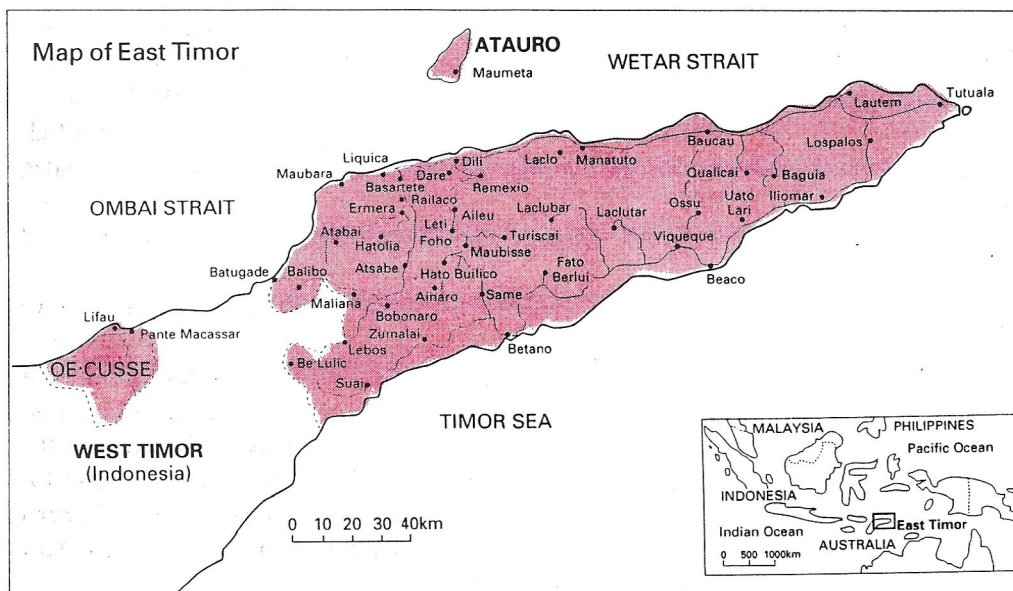


Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Apostolic Administrator in East Timor, and Jose Ramos Horta, East Timor's 'foreign minister' in exile since 1975, were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996. The Norwegian Nobel Committee said it honoured Belo and Horta for their "sustained and self-sacrificing contributions for a small but oppressed people." Bishop Belo advocates a UN sponsored referendum on East Timor.

deaths. At the end of the civil war Fretilin was left in control of virtually all of East Timor. Fretilin organised successful food, literacy and health programmes. When Portugal refused to return to oversee the process

"The United States wished things to turn out as they did... The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective. That task was given to me and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former US Ambassador to the United Nations. 1978.



"We would welcome the integration of Portuguese Timor with Indonesia as a logical solution."

Frank Corner
- Secretary of Foreign Affairs, New Zealand.
February 26, 1975.

"An independent East Timor would be an unviable state, and a potential threat to the area."

Gough Whitlam in a 1974 meeting with Suharto.

of independence Fretilin became the de facto government.

On 7th December 1975, despite assurances that it would respect the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, Indonesia launched a full scale invasion with the knowledge of the United States and the encouragement of Australia.

Indiscriminate killing and raping by Indonesian forces followed. After the capture of Dili (the capital) and other towns Fretilin fought a guerrilla campaign from the countryside. Despite their small numbers the resistance held out and by the late 1970s Indonesia faced military defeat.

Indonesia appealed to the United States and received military helicopters, strike aircraft and advisors. The war turned against Fretilin.

Xanana Gusmão and the Resistance



Born in East Timor in 1946, Xanana Gusmão joined FRETILIN in 1975. He was a civil servant, and is a gifted poet. He was elected to the leadership of the FALANTIL (Resistance) forces in 1981, and led the struggle in the mountains till he was captured in November 1992. He remains in prison in Jakarta. Of the show trial he faced, Xanana said: "It is of no consequence at all to me if they pass a death sentence... They are killing my people and I am not worth more than their struggle."

Xanana launched the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM) in 1988. The CNRM incorporates the armed resistance (Falantil), the clandestine front, and the exiled resistance.

The armed struggle of Falantil is now led by Konis Santana.

At the leading edge of the struggle inside East Timor are the young people who engage in non-violent resistance activities. The large demonstrations are a testimony to the near-universal opposition to Indonesia.●

The Indonesian armed forces conducted a number of 'extermination' and 'annihilation' campaigns using aerial bombardment, warships, tanks, mortars, cannons, and massive numbers of troops, including East Timorese conscripted at gunpoint. By the mid 1980s reliable church estimates put the number of deaths from war, famine and disease at 200,000 out of a population of 650,000.

Indonesia's size, strategic location, economic importance and large reserves of oil and other natural resources have encouraged the world to ignore East Timor's plight.

In recent years events have combined to bring East Timor's occupation to international attention.

- November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops shot and killed at least 271 Timorese civilians and a young New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj during a funeral procession at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili.

The massacre was captured on film and shocked the world. The following day the Commander of the Indonesian armed forces, and now Vice-President of Indonesia, General Try Sutrisno, said "people who refuse to toe the line have to be shot."

- Late 1995, young East Timorese began occupying foreign embassies in Jakarta, seeking asylum, drawing attention to the desperate situation of those in opposition to Indonesia.

- December 1996, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos Horta were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. (See photo on page 1).

- 'Operation Extermination', the security crackdown in the wake of the May 29, 1997, Indonesian elections claimed its most prominent victim. Commander David Alex, second in command of the armed East Timor resistance was captured by the military and died under mysterious circumstances, on June 25, 1997.

- In July 1997, South African President Nelson Mandela met with jailed resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão. He later made representations to President Suharto for release of Xanana and for autonomy for East Timor.

- Jose Ramos Horta, whom Xanana says speaks for him and with his 'spirit', has redoubled his efforts to a de-escalation of violence in East Timor calling for reduced Indonesian troop levels, a Dili office for the UN Commission of Human Rights and for genuine negotiations involving both Xanana and Bishop Belo. He urges a ceasefire in East Timor.●

The role of the United Nations

From 1975 until 1982, the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly passed and reaffirmed 10 resolutions recognising the East Timorese people's right to self-determination, and calling for the withdrawal of Indonesia's armed forces.

In 1982, the General Assembly charged the Secretary General to seek a just resolution of the East Timor conflict by consulting with "all parties directly concerned." These talks have so far involved only Portugal and Indonesia.

The UN has also hosted 'Intra-Timorese Dialogue' talks which have brought together pro-and anti-integration East Timorese. Indonesia has tightly controlled the selection of people who attend from within East Timor.

In April 1997 a majority of members of the UN Human Rights Commission supported a strong resolution calling for Indonesia to give unhindered access to East Timor for a UN human rights monitor.

In January 1997, the new Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Kofi Annan appointed as his special representative for East Timor, Mr Jamsheed Marker.

Marker has met with Xanana Gusmão, and now chairs the ongoing talks between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia. Both Marker and Annan have met with President Mandela over East Timor and welcome his input into the new momentum for negotiations.✻

"Big countries cannot invade little countries and get away with it."

Bob Hawke,
Australian Prime Minister
September, 1990 —
Talking about the
Iraqi invasion of
Kuwait.



Indonesian pro-democracy movement

Jose Ramos Horta, Special Representative of the CNRM expressed willingness to work more closely with the Indonesian pro-democracy movement:

"Our struggle and fate are intertwined not by geography alone, but rather by the nature of the regime that is responsible for the crimes perpetuated against our two peoples... It is only natural therefore that without losing sight of our respective historical and cultural identities and political aims—ours is self-determination, yours is democracy and the rule of law in Indonesia—we seek to join forces, to co-operate whenever we can."

In Indonesia a number of leading academics, trade unionists and religious leaders called for a new approach to East Timor. Leaders of the People's Democratic Party (PRD) have received lengthy jail sentences for supporting democratic reform and a referendum for East Timor.✻

"The Indonesians...know it is the armed struggle that keeps the resistance hopes alive in the population from the armed struggle to the students to the diplomatic struggle — so therefore they want to kill us"

David Alex,
second in command
of Falantil forces,
interviewed on ABC
Foreign Correspondent.
1997.

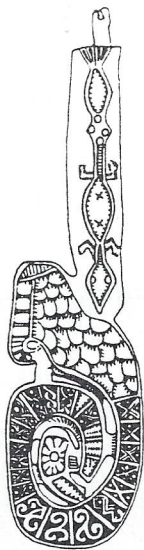
A Peace Plan for East Timor

The following Peace Plan was first presented to the European Parliament in 1992 by Jose Ramos Horta and is supported by Xanana Gusmão and the CNRM.

- **Phase 1: a ceasefire** and the immediate release of all political prisoners; expansion of Red Cross activities and the free operation of UN agencies to ensure the restoration of the environment and public health; Indonesia to reduce its troop strength to 1,000 within two years.
- **Phase 2: Autonomy:** A period of accountable government with Indonesia retaining sovereignty and control of foreign policy. To last for 5-10 years.
- **Phase 3: Self-determination:** A referendum with independence as one option.

*"With so many dead,
we have no population
problem here."*

Bishop Belo on birth
control programmes.



Steve Cox



Women in East Timor

The Indonesian national family planning programme has been consistently accused of violating women's rights. There is extensive evidence of the practice of covert and forced birth control, using contraceptive injection of the drugs Depo Provera and Norplant.

Local family planning clinics are generally under military control.

Bella Galhos, a young East Timorese student who defected to Canada, said: "Every six months the military goes to all the high schools seeking out the young girls for compulsory birth control. They came and closed the door and just injected us.... We don't have children anymore. After visiting the schools, the military still goes around to individual villages and houses to inject the women they find. They don't know who we are, so they just inject us again".

East Timor has a higher infant mortality rate than Rwanda or Iraq at 135 deaths to 1,000 live births (1996 UN Report).

In UN testimonies East Timorese women have detailed accounts of sexual abuse including rape, and being forced to act as 'local wives' and 'comfort women' to Indonesian troops.*

Timeline—a brief history of East Timor

Many centuries ago—Malay, Melanesian and native Atoni people inhabit Timor

1566—Portuguese begin trading for Timorese sandalwood.

1702—Portuguese establish a colonial administration in Timor.

1912—3,000 killed when Portuguese crush a revolt.

1913—Timor is divided into Dutch eastern and Portuguese western halves.

1942-1945—Timor is occupied by Japanese forces. Allied troops use it as a forward base for Australian defences. 60 000 Timorese die as a result of the war (13% of the population). Towns and villages are bombed by both Japanese and Allies.

1973—New Zealand Government begins military aid to Indonesia under the Mutual Assistance Program (MAP).

1974, 25 April—The Portuguese Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) overthrows Caetano regime. Portugal ratifies the UN Charter on Decolonisation and begins process of

self-determination in its various colonies.

—Political parties form in East Timor. Fretilin and UDT the largest.

September—Australian Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam assures Suharto that Timor's integration into Indonesia is inevitable.

1975, January—UDT and Fretilin form a coalition.

May—UDT withdraws from the coalition.

August—After meeting with leading Indonesian Generals, UDT launches a coup in Dili. Civil war breaks out between Fretilin and UDT. By the end of October, Fretilin is in de facto control of East Timor.

October—Indonesian army begins cross border raids into East Timor. In one raid, 5 foreign journalists (one New Zealander, two Australians and two British) are killed by Indonesian troops in the East Timorese town of Balibo.

November—Fretilin declares East Timor an independent state.

December 7—Indonesian forces invade East Timor. They are resisted by Fretilin

forces outside of the major towns.

December 22—United Nations Security Council calls on Indonesia to withdraw.

1976—War in East Timor. By November Indonesian relief workers report that 100,000 are dead.

1977, March—U.S. Congressional hearings on East Timor. Former Australian Consul to East Timor, James Dunn, reports on atrocities. US military equipment used in the invasion.

September—Encirclement and annihilation campaign by Indonesian forces begins.

1978, May—First reports of forced sterilisation of Timorese women.

1979, April—International Red Cross reports "tens of thousands of people displaced by military operations are facing starvation."

1980, January—Indonesian transmigrant settlement programmes begin.

1981, June—Indonesian appointed East Timorese parliament sends report to Suharto criticizing Indonesian army torture, rape and disappearances.

Indonesian Military

The Indonesian military presence in East Timor is overwhelming. Combat battalions are augmented by the task forces of the army's 'Special Forces' Kopasus. The Indonesian military also controls every aspect of East Timorese life through a structure of regional, district and sub-district commands.

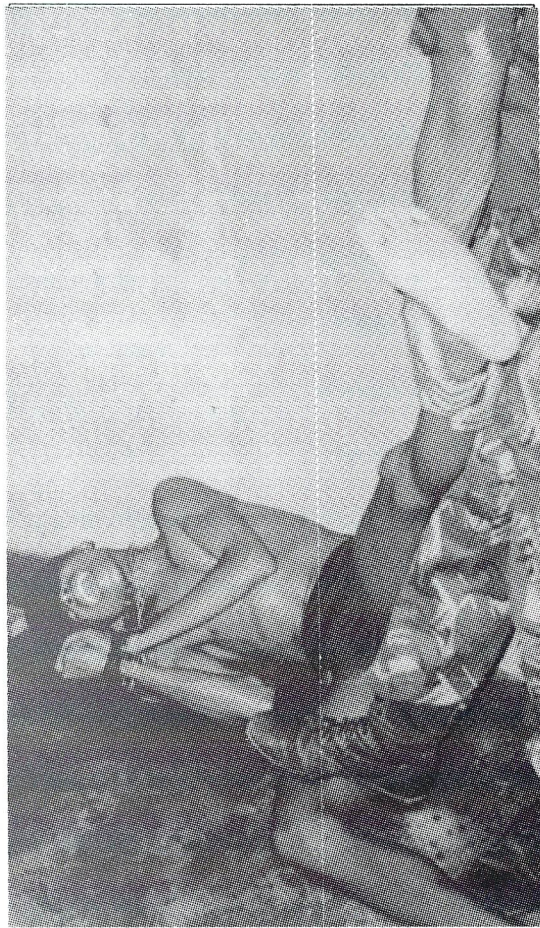
Paramilitary organisations, such as the Gardapaksi, are trained and paid for their role in counter-demonstrations.

Intimidation and attacks on resistance youth by masked or hooded 'ninjas' occur at regular intervals.

Bishop Belo has said 'half the population is being recruited to spy on the other half.'

Dom Rotheroe summed up the situation in 1996 "this feels like a country saturated in the kind of fear that Hitler or Stalin would have relished. ... 'Big Brother' is alive and thriving in East Timor. Through checkpoints and hotel registers, visitors are monitored every step of the way..."

Anyone suspected of involvement with the resistance is vulnerable to arbitrary arrest and to being tortured to provide information. At times of tension young people are rounded up in large numbers, and disappearances and extra-judicial executions are regularly documented by Amnesty International. *



In 1997 Jose Ramos Horta showed the United Nations a series of chilling photos depicting young East Timorese undergoing excruciating torture, including strangulations with chains, hanging, electric shocks to genitals, having bamboo poles thrust into stomachs and down throats, as well as burning and beating. The young men were also shown lying dead under their own demonstration banners, and being buried in shallow graves. The photos were taken by Indonesian soldiers and sold to the resistance for personal gain.

August—"Fence of Legs" operation involving forced recruits from East Timor.

1982, May—Vatican refuses to accept East Timor as part of Indonesia.

1983—Bishop da Costa Lopes forced to retire early

May—Young East Timorese priest, Mgr Ximenes Belo, appointed as Apostolic Administrator of East Timor.

August—200-300 people executed by Indonesian troops in village of Kraras, near Viqueque.

1984, March—ICRC prevented from resuming its food aid programme.

October—Timor Gap oil exploration (Indonesia and Australia) begins.

1986, March—Fretilin and UDT announce coalition in Lisbon.

1987, March—A new offensive involving 30,000 Indonesian troops.

1988, September—European Parliament overwhelmingly calls for withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

October—182 members of the US House of Representatives and 47 mem-

bers of the Senate send letters to Secretary of State George Schultz expressing concern over human rights abuses in East Timor.

1989, October—Pope John Paul II visits Dili. Pro independence demonstration attacked by the police.

December—Timor Gap Treaty signed between Australia and Indonesia.

1991, November—Santa Cruz massacre in Dili. US Senate and House adopt a resolution calling for the suspension of military aid to Indonesia.

1992, November—Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance is captured.

1993, May—Xanana Gusmão sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment. He is stopped from reading his defence plea after only three pages.

1994, May—First Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor.

October—Helen Todd wins a lawsuit in the US against General Panjaitan for the murder of her son Kamal Bamadhaj dur-

ing the Dili massacre. Panjaitan escapes to Indonesia without paying the \$US14 million damages.

November—29 East Timorese enter the US Embassy in Jakarta during APEC. —600 East Timorese students in Dili demonstrate for independence.

1995, January—Indonesian troops execute 6 civilians in reprisal for a Fretilin attack. UN Report on Santa Cruz massacre charges that Indonesian military deliberately planned and perpetrated killings of civilians.

1996, December—Bishop Belo and Ramos Horta awarded Nobel Peace Prize.

1997, January—Ramos Horta visits New Zealand. Leaves angry with the lack of change in NZ government policy.

May—Indonesian election period marked by renewed guerrilla attacks.

June—Death of Commander David Alex.

July—Nelson Mandela meets Xanana Gusmão.

"For the sake of decency and morality, New Zealand must not hold joint exercises with thugs and dictators... Where do you draw the line? If you hold exercises with Indonesia when do you invite Nigeria or the Burmese?"
 Jose Ramos Horta in New Zealand in 1995.

The New Zealand Government

New Zealand Governments have acquiesced with Jakarta's East Timor policy to the point of complicity. New Zealand policy has largely followed Australia's lead. New Zealand abstained from UN votes condemning the invasion and occupation until 1979 when we began to vote against the UN resolutions condemning the occupation of East Timor.

There has been no significant change in government policy despite widespread public concern in a February 1995 opinion poll, only 9% supported NZ government policy. A small concession has been to retract the official view "that the occupation is irreversible". The government will not support the East Timorese right to self-determination, nor will it support the CNRM peace plan or push for the East Timorese to be included in the UN sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

Since 1973, New Zealand has provided military aid to Indonesia under the Mutual Assistance Programme (MAP). Each year around 10-25 Indonesian personnel visit New Zealand for training in a variety of skills - including training for Skyhawk technicians and small arms shooting. New Zealand defence personnel visit Indonesia to help with military training. During the month of the 1975 invasion, six New

Zealand army officers were in Indonesia conducting a small arms shooting course for the Indonesian military. New Zealand forces have taken part in exercises with Indonesian forces such as the Airforce Elang Sebrang exercise in 1995. Top level Indonesian military commanders have visited New Zealand, including Try Sutrisno, then Commander in Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces and now Vice-President of Indonesia.

Five MPs formed a Parliamentary delegation to East Timor in 1994. After their visit, National MP, Nick Smith said "The oppression, the extent of the military involvement, the extent to which they are fearful of being able to express their views! I have never been in a country where people are just plain scared of saying what they believe."

By early 1997, 30 sitting MPs (no National MPs) had signed a pledge to work for a change in New Zealand government policy towards East Timor, including recognition of the right to self-determination, and the ending of military links with Indonesia.

In 1997, the Minister for Maori Affairs, Tau Henare, went public with support for a referendum in East Timor after meeting with Jose Ramos Horta.*

Books and Videos

Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor - John G Taylor - 1991

Generations of Resistance in East Timor — Photographs by Steve Cox — 1995

Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies 1942-1992 — Michelle Turner — 1992

East Timor for Beginners — APCET — 1997 (available from ETIC, \$10.00)

These and other resources available from ETIC, PO Box 68 419, Auckland.

Sometimes I must speak out strongly, video about Bishop Belo — Gil Scrine Films (\$30.00)

There is only one word—Resist, video on the Indonesian resistance movement by Jill Hickson — 1996 — (\$30.00)

Death of a Nation — video by David Munro and John Pilger — 1994

Transmigration and economic exploitation

Indonesia has used the tactic of encouraging migrants from Bali and Java to dilute the indigenous population. The migrant population is over 100,000.

The economic dominance of business migrants is resented and it is widely suspected that the military have exploited inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict. Incidents of desecration in Catholic churches have led to riots.

Jose Ramos Horta says of the migrant population:

'Most are poor Indonesians who came to our country looking for a better life. Indonesian migrants in East Timor will be welcome to stay with us and build a better

home for us all. They have brought with them the wealth of their culture which can enrich the whole community.'

The research of Dr George Aditjondro, prominent Indonesian academic, has established that the business interests of the Suharto family and the Indonesian military are strongly intertwined in East Timor. These interests are directly protected by Suharto's son-in-law, Major General Prabowo Subianto, Commander of the Special Forces, Kopassus.

Suharto family interests in East Timor have recently extended into the lucrative production of instant coffee, sugar cane, and portland cement.*

In this case unlike many harder ones, it is likely that withdrawal of participation by the accessories, the United States and its allies, would suffice to bring Indonesia to remove the piece of gravel from its shoe
 Noam Chomsky
 Sydney - 1995

Solidarity groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Since 1975, activists in New Zealand have supported the East Timorese struggle. Support has come from Human Rights groups, aid agencies, Peace and Justice groups, Trade Unions and church groups as well as from individuals.

From 1991, East Timor solidarity groups have networked under the banner of Nettalk (National East Timor Talks Campaign), producing a regular newsletter and other information,

lobbying government, organising demonstrations and petitions as well as arranging speaking tours by East Timorese and Indonesian activists, and networking with a rapidly growing international solidarity network.

With the aim to improve networking and action, interested parties set up a national Free East Timor Coalition in September 1997. The coalition is a member of the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET).*

Lobby your MP and Others

Visit your electorate MP and voice your concern about New Zealand's policy on East Timor, on continuing military ties, and tell them you want New Zealand to support the Peace Plan proposals. MPs put more value on handwritten or typed letters giving a personal concern, which is concise and to the point. A letter which expects a considered response to a suggestion or demand makes

the politician or their advisors look further into the issue.

Write or fax (04 499 0704) to the following people c/- Parliament Buildings (free post): the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defence. And write to the Indonesian Ambassador, Indonesian Embassy, 70 Glen Street, Wellington.*

"This issue is of critical importance because it is one of the great crimes of the century, and one of the easiest to bring to an end..."

'The horror story of East Timor can be brought to an end if Westerners can exhibit even a fraction of the integrity and courage shown by the Indonesians who protest against their government under conditions vastly more onerous than any of us face or can imagine'.

- Noam Chomsky, Professor at MIT, USA and acclaimed philosopher, and political activist:

Resources on the net:

Here are a few of the extensive number of web pages relating to East Timor on the internet, most of these have good links to other web pages.

<http://www.uc.pt/Timor/TimorNet.html>

<http://www.peg.apc.org/~asiet/>

<http://www.netizen.org/Progressive/proglib/timor.html>

or visit our web site at <http://www.fret.org.tp/>

or subscribe to reg.easttimor newsgroup by contacting etan-us@igc.apc.org

Contact the Free East Timor Coalition

Whangarei: c/- Tim Howard, RD 9 Maunu, Whangarei ph/fax 09 434 6633

Tamaki Makau Rau (Auckland): Box 68 419 Newton ph/fax 09 849 3890

Kirikirihoa (Hamilton): Box 9437 ph 07 839 1246

Te Whanganui a Tara (Wellington): Box 9314 ph 04 385 6728, fax 04 385 7545

Otautahi (Christchurch): Box 1905 ph 03 366 2803 fax 03 366 8035

Otepoti (Dunedin): Box 1375 ph 03 477 3395 fax 03 474 0736

or contact Free East Timor Coalition via email fret@legal.co.nz

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Mail to: Free East Timor Coalition, PO Box 68 419, Newton, Auckland.

No blood for oil

"A treaty on the oil and gas-rich seabed could be more readily negotiated with Indonesia than with Portugal or independent Portuguese Timor."

Richard Woolcott
Australia's ambassador
in Jakarta. July 1975

Indonesia agreed to begin seabed boundary line negotiations in return for Australia's 1978 recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

In December 1989, Australia and Indonesia signed the Timor Gap Treaty dividing about 60,000 square kilometres into three administrative zones. Indonesia and Australia each control a zone while in the third Zone of Co-operation a joint authority issues the exploitation licences.

Vast resources of oil and gas have already been discovered in the Timor Gap in fields which are far closer to East Timor than to Australia.

East Timor is being deprived of its resources — the resources which would ensure its economic viability.

Portugal took the case to the International Court of Justice in the Hague arguing that by signing the Timor Gap Treaty, Australia had violated the rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination. The Court decided that it was unable to rule on the case without Indonesia's consent. The Court did, however, affirm East Timorese rights to self-determination, to sovereignty over its natural resources, and to the universal nature of these rights.

"Australia is acting like the receiver of stolen property", Roger Clark, Rutgers (US) Law School Professor.*



Steve Cox

In East Timor everybody from the youngest to the oldest embraces the right to self-determination — East Timorese in Dili on the day of the Dili massacre.

The Catholic Church

The Vatican does not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and the dioceses are directly responsible to Rome rather than to the Indonesian bishops. However, the 'realpolitik' inaction of the Vatican contrast with the courage and leadership of the clergy in East Timor.

Prior to the Indonesian invasion, only about a third of the East Timorese were Catholic, but today that figure has jumped to around 90%. The Church has become a major focus of opposition to the Indone-

sian occupation.

Bishop Belo's predecessor, Martinho da Costa Lopes worked tirelessly to tell the outside world about the suffering of the East Timorese, describing the military campaigns and the effects of famine. He was forced to retire early under pressure from the Pro-Nuncio in Jakarta.

Bishop Belo has taken on the mantle and as the 'voice of the voiceless' adroitly balances his outspoken criticisms of Indonesian atrocities with his spiritual role.*

DAYS OF ACTION

12 November: Anniversary of the Santa Cruz (Dili) Massacre in 1991.

7 December: Anniversary of the Invasion of East Timor by the Indonesians in 1975.

17 July: President Suharto signs Bill 'integrating' East Timor into Indonesia in 1976 as its 27th Province.

