

21 June 1989

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MONTHLY MEMO No. 5/89

JUL 06 1989

(Information received during May 1989)

1. EAST TIMORa. The Pope's Visit

The protests from Mnsgr. Belo against the use of the Indonesian language during the celebration of mass led the Nuncio and the Papal envoy, Father Tucci, to reconsider the decision. They later announced that Latin would be used. The homily, in a neutral language (English or French) would be translated into Tetum.

The length of stay in East Timor had been foreseen as 3 hours. Now a meeting with the clergy in Dili's cathedral would be planned.

The visit of the Vatican envoy, Father Tucci, caused a scandal on account of a statement the Jesuit priest made, which later appeared in nearly all the documents coming from Timor dealing with the Pope's visit: "We are not going to sacrifice all Christendom on account of 400,000 Catholics". Priests and laity alike are asking themselves about the Gospel followed by the Vatican's diplomats.

ET 195/89, ET 197/89, ET 198/89, ET 202/89

b. Mnsgr. Belo under surveillance & pressure

Following his letters to the UN Secretary General and other well-known personalities, all Mnsgr. Belo's correspondence is being intercepted. "I am receiving neither letters nor magazines nor newspapers, and the correspondence I send is not reaching its destination" said Monsgr. Belo by telephone to an Expresso reporter. He added that his telephone conversation was undoubtedly being tape-recorded.

"We are in a cage" said the Bishop, who complained that "aid is almost not arriving" from the Christian communities of Europe; "From Lisbon no one is helping, not even the Bishops' Conference."

Timorese are being questioned about the positions the Bishop has adopted (see ET 201/89).

There is talk of Mnsgr. Belo's resignation, just as happened in the case of his predecessor, Monsgr. Costa Lopes, when he stood up to the invaders.

Expresso, 20 May 1989

ET 195/89, ET 197/89, ET 201/89, ET 202/89

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c. Xanana Gusmão's Message to Mnsgr. Canalini

East Timor's Resistance Commander, Xanana Gusmão, sent an extensive document to Mnsgr. Canalini, Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta.

The Commander expressed his regret in the missive that "the Holy See had developed manoeuvres to entice the Armed Resistance to surrender". He stated that "If all that the Catholic Church in Moslem Indonesia receives from the Jakarta Government can make the over 200,000 Timorese who fell for their country and the long list of the most horrendous crimes so easily forgettable, I ought to consider this attitude to be conveniently, logically and morally Christian."

Xanana Gusmão asked that what he had written should not be taken as "provocation and insult" because his words could not be as offensive as "Indonesia's barbarous acts of violating sanctuaries breaking holy statues, beating up priests, and breaking-in to steal silver crucifixes." He professed to be a Catholic, "but above all I was born Maubere; I am not a politician, I just lead an armed resistance against a foreign occupation". He said that "the Church in Timor lives on because of the abnegation of the missionaries who understand our people and feel what our people feel, and if the Vatican continues to take away this moral support from the people, then the Indonesian fathers or those priests who have been carefully chosen will finish off what is left of the confidence and respect that our people has held for so long for the Church."

He added that "if the Vatican looks upon a few tarmac-covered roads, a few zinc huts, some TV aerials and an Italian-style bustle of cars in Dili as a fair price to pay for the increased numbers of Catholics in Timor, then I believe it incorrectly perceives the problem of our faith."

He suggests that Nuncio Canalini "appeal to the Jakarta Government to immediately free the Catholic prisoners in Cipinang prison, and to stop killing old, infirm, women and children who are in the bush."

The Resistance leader stated his conviction that "our people would accept a clear and open Vatican position, but never a cunning attitude in which the political machinery tries to convince us to surrender."

Sábado, 13 May 1989

d. List of documents received during the period

1. SOS from East Timor. Darwin, April 89, 2 p. (Portuguese)
ET 195/89

(A document written by a Timorese giving an account of the current situation in East Timor. "There is increased movement of troops, unloading of war material and armoured vehicles in Dili, and helicopters bringing in the wounded and taking out reinforcements to Indonesian positions. Fighting occurred in Feb/March in the Ainaro zone and especially in the Dare and Zumalai zones. Numerous

(precise numbers not known) arrests were made in April and May in Venilale (...) Meanwhile, the Indonesians are placing all their bets on the Pope's visit. (...) A small number of Timorese is forced into supporting the political plan of the Pope's visit to Timor. (...) Here today, the Church which gives the impression of remaining silent on account of immediate concerns is facing another problem: either integration in the Indonesian Bishops' Conference or Islamisation. (...) The people are anguished because they have realised that the Government will undoubtedly use for its own ends and manipulate the program for the Pope's coming. (...) A wave of repression sweeping over the people following the Pope's visit is a foregone conclusion. Already, on account of the letter which the Bishop sent to the UN Secretary General, the military have begun detaining hundreds of men from Dili for questioning. (...) The Bishop himself is under quite a lot of pressure from the military due to his recent stand vis-a-vis the situation, requesting the referendum (...).")

2. Working Agenda No.1/1989. Timorese Students in Indonesia, Jakarta, 30 April 1989, 2 p. (Portuguese) ET 196/89

(On learning of the US Vice-President's visit, they decided to prepare a document to be sent shortly to the US President concerning:

- 1 the continuation of the armed struggle,
- 2 human rights violations
- 3 the continuation of violations as long as Indonesia does not recognise the right to self-determination and independence,
- 4 requesting US intervention with regards the inclusion of a Resistance representation at the New York talks between Portugal and Indonesia,
- 5 asking for a suspension of sales to Indonesia of military equipment - arms used against the Timorese people,
- 6 support for the positions adopted by US Senators and Congressmen (letter to J. Schultz, October 1988).)

3. Testimony. East Timor, A group of laymen from Dili, s.d., 3 p. (Portuguese) ET 197/89

(Reflections on the Pope's visit and Father Tucci's statement.

"A certain connivance between the Vatican and Indonesia is noticeable. In the long term this policy will have a boomerang effect: Indonesian Catholics collaborate with the Government in the real but "camouflaged oppression" of the Moslems. This situation matures a future Islamic revolution, which will do great damage to the Indonesian Church. Sacrificing Timor will not save the Church of Indonesia."

"Rome does not hear us! Our appeals, those of our priests, have fallen on deaf ears." ... "There were repeated suggestions and appeals to the Resistance to give itself up and for it "to see the light". Apart from the UN's 1975 appeal

for the withdrawal of the invading forces, no appeal was ever made by the Church. Months ago, the Bishop of Dili asked for a referendum, but he has no support at the top." "If the Pope comes, he comes. We will receive him with love, in prayer, in silence and leave it to the foreigners, brought from other islands specifically for the purpose, the job of shouting out their support for integration ... for three hours! If the Holy Father comes, he comes! We will remain with our last hope in God, praying in silence. We have nothing further to say. We have said it all. Whoever has ears, listen!"

4. Alcune Osservazioni sulla situazione attuale. Timor, A Group of Priests, s.d., 2p (Italian) ET 198/89

(Father Tucci's name appears at the beginning so the document must have been addressed to him.

After 13 years of maximum involvement on the part of the Indonesian Government at all levels in order to make the Timor integration policy progress, the war still goes on. Over the last few days, the Indonesians carried out many arrests among the civilian population in the Baucau and Venilale zones (...)

Today, nobody here wants integration into Indonesia, not even the few Timorese who originally fought for integration. Even these today reject integration, but they are forced to keep quiet.

A lot is said about socio-economic development promoted by the Indonesians. They have in fact built a lot of houses (for civil servants) and many tarmac-covered roads; they opened schools but the level of schooling is extremely low and its only aim is to promote the Indonesianisation plan. There is a shortage of competent teachers and books; through the Moslem teachers degradation penetrates the very fabric of Timorese society. This development only benefits the Indonesians, who are invading jobs here in Timor.

What does the Holy Father's visit mean in this situation ...? Many ask themselves whether the Holy Father is coming to conclude and give the seal of approval to this atrocious integration process ...

The people's anguish is further aggravated by the Indonesian oppressive totalitarian military system, controlling absolutely everything and, in this way, utilising the Pope's visit for its own ends.

The head of military forces here in Timor severely reproved the Bishop and priests saying that the Church did not want to collaborate with them and was always against integration, but that "we managed to bring the Pope here, we managed it".

This visit is a diplomatic victory for the Indonesians. The people will receive the Holy Father as a Christian people that considers him to be father in faith, but this respect will be manipulated by the Indonesians. This means that the Holy Father's visit sanctions the Indonesian crime. This is what the voiceless people feels. (...) The Holy Father's visit could either be the salvation or have catastrophic consequences for this Christian community."

5. Press Release. GIF, Lisbon, 2 May 1989, 2p. (Portuguese & English) ET 199/89

(Fretilin document "expresses concern about the manipulation by both the Indonesian Government and the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta in relation to the forthcoming Holy Father's visit to East Timor", and "denounces the pressure brought to bear by the Indonesian authorities upon the Apostolic Administrator Felipe Ximenes Belo.")

6. Newsbriefs. GIF, 12 May 1989, 2 p. (Portuguese & English) ET 200/89

(The document refers to Indonesian military operations in the East Timor territory, "the presence of Indonesian forces being more known about in Zumalai, Hatudo, Ainaro, Same, Fatuberliu, Barique, Viqueque, Baucau and Los Palos". It also refers to the meeting between Mr. Pérez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, and the Portuguese and Indonesian ambassadors, Fernando Reino and Nana Sutresne, on 9 May in New York to discuss matters related to East Timor, especially the preparation of the Portuguese parliamentarians' visit to the territory occupied by Indonesia.)

7. Press Release. Clandestine Front in East Timor and Indonesia, Indonesia, 5 May 1989, 2 p. (Portuguese) ET 201/89

(According to sources close to the Indonesian parliament, says the document, on 3 May, on the request of the "FRAKSI ABRI" (Armed Forces' parliamentary group) the deputies representing East Timor in this parliament were questioned about the "recent statements made by the head of the Dili diocese concerning a referendum and human rights violations carried out by the Indonesian troops in East Timor".

Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz and Mrs. Petronella have reportedly expressed their support for the Bishop. Mr. Clementino dos Reis Amaral "opted for a neutral position", while Mr. Salvador has not yet given his opinion.

Aleixo Guterres, one of the Ketua DPRD Tk II (head of the Baucau local council), who is currently in Jakarta for medical reasons, was also questioned separately and reportedly affirmed his support for the Bishop and for the Church.

In Dili, the representatives of the local council (DPRD Tk II) were urgently summoned to give their views on the matter. Apparently, nearly all of them supported the head of the diocese's position.

General Benny Moerdani is said to be preparing a proposal for Monsgr. Belo's immediate dismissal. If this is not successful they will try to kill or expel him.

In the course of sessions held in the boroughs of Baucau, Viqueque and Los Palos for the purpose of clarification for the people, Major Prabowo, President Suharto's son-in-law, stated that the

Church, priests and nuns are the three factors endangering East Timor's integration into Indonesia, and that the people should, therefore, turn against them. The people, however, instead of rebelling, increasingly place their trust in the Church and the Timorese clergy".

The situation is tense and large-scale repression is foreseen in the near future.

The Timorese need moral and political support from the international community.

8. The Holy Father's visit to East Timor next October. Clandestine Resistance, Dili, May 1989, 5 p. (Portuguese) ET 202/89

(The Clandestine Resistance in East Timor called a meeting to study the Pope's visit. Over 100 participants signed the document.

Father Tucci was in Dili on 5 April and disillusioned everyone by his words. "We heard that the Holy Father is coming to bring us peace! We have been praying for peace for a long time. What will the peace brought to us by the Holy Father consist of? Peace with the integration into Indonesia, or peace with the independence of East Timor? Or does not Christ's peace incarnate terrestrial realities? (...) Our conviction is that true peace in Timor will only be attained through freedom of our country, East Timor, with its people free.

East Timor was at home, and it was Indonesia that came along and disturbed its tranquility and peace. There is, therefore, only one way for peace to return: the intruder must leave and give back the house to the Maubere people, just as the USSR did in Afghanistan, and Cuba did in Angola ...".

The final document from that clandestine meeting was later incorporated in a letter sent to the Portuguese President of the Republic, with a limited number of signatures.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE POWER: PORTUGAL

a. Bishop of Setúbal's pro-East Timor intervention

(1) Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, replied to the letter which the Bishop of Setúbal addressed to him, sending him a copy of Monsgr. Belo's letter (see SM 18 and MM 23). In his reply, the UN Secretary General stressed "the importance of the Bishop's intervention in the case of East Timor", and added that "both the Bishop of Setúbal's description of the situation and the appeals made by the Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Belo, had been forwarded to the Decolonisation Commission and would be discussed by the General Assembly in August".

The Prelate of Setúbal said that "it is the mission of the Bishop to denounce injustice. I will continue to pay close attention to the plight of the people of East Timor (...) much more has to be done for the East Timorese people, whose legitimate rights have been taken away."

Diário Popular, 12 May 1989

Diário de Notícias, 13 May 1989

European 12 May 1989

(2) Mr. Manuel Martins received a delegation of Timorese refugees, who presented him with a crucifix carved out of sandalwood by one of the armed Resistance guerrillas and sent by Commander Xanana Gusmão for the Bishop. According to the refugees, the crucifix symbolised the sacrifices made by the East Timorese people for so long.

At the meeting, the Bishop of Setúbal said "It is my duty as a Portuguese citizen, as a Christian and as Bishop to defend the cause and basic rights of the East Timorese people." Mr. Manuel Martins was told by recent refugees that Mnsgr. Belo's correspondence is under strict surveillance by the Jakarta authorities.

Diário de Notícias, 14 May 1989

b. President Soares appeals on behalf of East Timor

During the King of Spain's visit to Portugal, President of the Republic, Mário Soares, appealed once again in his speech to Spain and to the international community to support Portugal in the solving of the conflict in East Timor. Portugal's Head of State recalled East Timor "where an entire people fights for the recognition of its right to choose its own destiny and courageously confronts the forces of Indonesian occupation."

He added "This situation should prove to be a test enabling us to define those countries which defend principles and those that take action only out of self interest."

Europeu, 16 May 1989

c. Christian Peace Movement's solidarity with East Timor

The Movimento Cristão para a Paz (MCP - Christian Peace Movement) organised an East Timor Solidarity week in Santarém, Portugal. The program included a documental exhibition, testimony from a Timorese refugee, and a discussion in which candidates for the European Parliament and representatives of the Maubere people took part.

Diário de Notícias, 25 May 1989

d. Portuguese in Timor repatriated

(1) At the end of April, 26 repatriated Timorese arrived in Lisbon on a Swissair flight via Zurich. The 26 repatriated people - arriving to a country they had never known - are 17 members of one family and 9 belonging to another family.

The majority are afraid to talk and avoid identifying themselves and making any statements.

O Jornal, 28 April 1989

(2) Various officials of the former Portuguese administration in East Timor and their relatives (a total of 100 people) were repatriated during May under ICRC auspices.

Jornal de Noticias, 26 May 1989

e. Presentation of book on Timor

At the end of May, reporter Jill Jolliffe's book Timor, Terra Sangrenta (Timor - Bloody Land) was presented in Lisbon. According to the correspondent in Lisbon for Australian, British and Canadian newspapers "Indonesia's action in East Timor can be considered one of the greatest genocides of the 20th century" and "to ignore this crime is to make a mockery of human society".

Ten years ago, Jill Jolliffe published in Australia a book entitled East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism. In her new book, after a brief introduction, she gives an extensive journalistic account from 1974 to the present, including testimonies from former guerrillas and significant photographic documentation.

O Jornal, 25 May 1989

Diário de Noticias, 27 May 1989

3. INDONESIA

No news covering this period was received.

4. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

a. UN Meeting to prepare visit to Timor

On 9 May in New York, UN Secretary General Mr. Pérez de Cuellar met with the Portuguese and Indonesian ambassadors, Fernando Reino and Nana Sutresno, to discuss matters related to East Timor. UN spokesperson, Nadia Younés, stated that the talks revolved around the preparations for a visit to the Indonesian-occupied territory by Portuguese parliamentarians. She also said that Mr. Pérez de Cuellar believed "such a visit could enable the creation of a constructive atmosphere in which a global and internationally acceptable solution might be found" on the question of East Timor.

It is worth pointing out that the Portuguese are demanding that no visas or special permits be required for the visit since Portugal does not recognise the territory's annexation.

The Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr. Cavaco Silva, stated that the process started at the UN is underway and is "complex and difficult".

ET 200/89

Diário de Noticias, 10 and 12 May 1989

Diário de Lisboa, 10 May 1989

b. Pres. Suharto awarded UN prize

The UN has awarded President Suharto of Indonesia the UN Fund for Population Activities Prize. This prize is awarded annually to people or institutions that have given relevant services in activities linked to family planning or other population problems.

President Suharto was joint winner this year for his support, given over 20 years, to the Indonesian family planning program, which has led to a decline in "birth, fertility and infant mortality rates".

The attribution of this prize caused a wave of protest. Nineteen Womens' Associations, meeting in Agape, Italy, for an international seminar on "Women immigrants and the right to health", heard the testimonies of Timorese women, refugees in Portugal, and they wrote to Mr. Pérez de Cuellar protesting about the "scandalous" award of the prize and asking "those responsible not to go ahead with it". They referred to the fact that the UN "rejected and condemned Indonesia's occupation of East Timor". They did not question President Suharto's program in Indonesia, but did recall "Indonesia's policy of genocide in the territory of East Timor".

Similarly, the Family Planning Association in Portugal publicly disapproved of the decision to award Indonesia's President the prize. It recalled the repeated condemnations of Indonesia at various international fora, namely the UN Decolonisation Commission, the UN Human Rights Commission, and Sub-Commission, and the European Parliament for its human rights violations and practice of genocide committed against the people of East Timor.

O Jornal, 25 May 1989
Diário de Notícias, 25 and 28 May 1989
Europeu, 28 May 1989

c. European Parliament vote against Indonesia

Dutch Socialist Euro MP, Ien Van Den Heuvel, tabled a draft emergency resolution at the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The MP considered to resolution to be "additional pressure on the Commission and Council of Ministers to do something further" about the situation in East Timor. She explained that the initiative had its origin in "a very courageous statement made by the Bishop of Dili, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, according to which the situation in the territory was very grave."

With the exception of the Conservatives, all parliamentary groups supported the resolution. The text of the resolution passed was as follows:

The European Parliament

- bearing in mind the 10 July 1986 and 15 September 1988 Resolutions on the situation in East Timor,
- aware of the dramatic appeal made by Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of East

Timor to the UN Secretary General, Mr. Pérez de Cuellar, in which he states "not only are we dying as a people but also as a nation",

- considering that the Indonesian Government has stated it is not prepared to consult the East Timorese people on their own future,

1. Reaffirms its view that to choose their own future is a fundamental right of all peoples,
2. Once again requests member states' Foreign Ministers to take diplomatic measures with a view to obtaining self-determination for the people of East Timor,
3. Urges the Commission to make available all possible aid to the refugee camps in East Timor, as well as in Portugal and to report back on its actions to the Parliament,
4. Calls upon its President to transmit the above Resolution to the Council, the Commission, the UN Secretary General, the Indonesian Government, and to the Assembly of the Non-Aligned Countries.

Diário de Noticias, 25 and 26 May 1989
Semanário, 27 May 1989

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