



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

104-2120 West 44th St., Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6M 2G2 (604)264-9973



November 8.91

Dear Friends of East Timor,

A lot has happened since the last newsletter. The Portuguese Parliamentary delegation that was supposed to finally go in under UN auspices has once again been cancelled. This time by the Portuguese because Jill Joliffe, an Australian journalist living in Lisbon, was refused entry into E. Timor as part of the delegation. Ms. Joliffe was Reuters correspondent in E. Timor before the invasion, has written a couple of books about the Indonesian takeover and is widely respected for her expertise on the situation in E. Timor.

Indonesia has promised reprisals if the Portuguese do not come because they have gone to so much trouble to orchestrate a 'we want to be part of Indonesia' campaign, even organizing an army of guerilla 'clones' to demand integration with Indonesia. Anyone daring to wave a Fretilin flag or demonstrate for a referendum has been threatened with shooting as soon as the M.P.s leave.

Indonesia very much wants this visit and the chance to put the whole issue of E. Timor behind them. The army in E. Timor feel that they have terrorized the population sufficiently so that they will not speak out. They feel that with the equal number of Indonesian MPs and Indonesian journalists on this visit the result will be an international acceptance of Indonesian rule in E. Timor.

Ali Alatas, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, badly wants the issue settled as it is interfering with his bid for the UN Secretary General's chair. President Suharto, now chair of the next meeting of the Non-Aligned movement, doesn't want the issue coming up again at the meeting in Jakarta next year.

The Indonesians have dug mass graves outside of Dili and are taking Timorese out there in groups to show them the graves and tell them that this is where they will end up if they show support for independence from Indonesia.

A new level of violence towards the Catholic church in E. Timor has occurred with the storming of the Motael church in Dili by Indonesian troops. Up till now people fleeing arrest and torture could find some safety on church grounds. Two young men were killed and 20 arrested. A week later a church in Maliana was stormed with 4 young men killed, an unknown number of arrests and the priest was brutally tortured. (see Amnesty report enclosed)

Mgr. Belo, the Bishop, is also said to be missing. Up until now the Catholic Church has been the only institution in E. Timor that the army did not outright attack for fear of international repercussions.

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid and a number of E. Timor solidarity groups in Australia have launched a "Peace Now" campaign based on Sha na na Gusmao's request for peace talks without pre-conditions under UN auspices. Lobby our government to support this campaign.

In July the U.S. Senate adopted a 'sense of Congress' decision calling on the US administration to address the underlying reasons for the conflict in E. Timor.

The International Conference of Free Trade Unions sent a letter to UN Secretary General, Peres de Cuellar, expressing its "deep concern" about the situation in E. Timor and asking the UN to hold a referendum under UN supervision to enable the Timorese to decide their own future. A similar resolution was passed at the world assembly of the Catholic Students Movement in Hong Kong this past June -August.

The Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly also passed a strongly worded resolution on East Timor. (see enclosed)

Once again the Japanese Coalition for East Timor has scored a coup with the acceptance of the UN Dept. of Public Information of the International Federation for East Timor. This is due largely to the work of an ex-Japanese diplomat who works at the United Nations. This NGO status at the UN will help to raise the profile of the issue of East Timor and keep it on UN agenda. The East Timor Alert Network has joined.

WITHIN CANADA

The annual General Assembly of the International Peace Bureau (based in Geneva) held in Toronto last September 1991, adopted the following resolutions for:

- i. a ceasefire in East Timor, leading to peace talks without preconditions under UN auspices, between Indonesia and the Timorese resistance movement.
- ii. a ban on all arms sales to Indonesia.

The resolution was sponsored by ACT for Disarmament (Toronto) and the East Timor Alert Network. The International Peace Bureau has more than 100 members world-wide and is the world's oldest non-aligned peace movement.

Carmel Budiardjo, editor of the U.K. based magazine on human rights in Indonesia, TAPOL, gave several excellent talks on E. Timor and Indonesia in general. Tapes are available from ETAN.

THE INDONESIA KIT

In line with ETAN's decision to do more on Indonesia in general at our Ottawa meeting last year we have published a 44

page magazine called the Indonesia Kit. Its really great! You can order them from ETAN.(see enclosed flier) This project was funded by Development & Peace in Montreal to whom we are eternally grateful. Also ETAN was just granted \$500.00 from the Margaret Laurence Fund to publish a brochure on Canada's connections with Indonesia.

As you see we now have bumper stickers on East Timor. Thanks to the generosity of GEORGE ADAMSON

R.R.1, ENNISMORE, ONTARIO, KOL 1T0

Show George you appreciate him by sending him a couple of dollars to get more printed.

For those who want to get more regular news about E. Timor right off the WEB, David Webster does an excellent once monthly EAST TIMOR UPDATE full page on just East Timor. Subscribe for only \$10.00 a year to: THE ACTIVIST,
P.O. BOX 562, STN. P
TORONTO, ONTARIO , M5S 2K9

Some changes in the East Timor network. We would like to welcome Ross Shotten back from 2 years in Guinea Bissau. Ross works for the Dept. of Fisheries in Halifax and has been for many years lobbying NGO's in Canada to support independence for East Timor. Welcome back, Ross!

The next newsletter will be done by John Sorenson, a PHd. on African Studies living in Winnipeg. (of all places!) John has kindly agreed to take over the newsletter for a year while I work on some other East Timor projects. For some time now I have been wanting to make a short film on my impressions of life in E. Timor before the invasion and what the ramifications are for us all when small unique societies like E. Timor are threatened with extinction. I have applied to the Canada Council for a grant to get started on the project and will find out in January.

Don't forget to write to Barbara McDougall about her hard-hearted statement in the House of Commons on East Timor last Sept.. And write to encourage the Canadian members of PET to speak out more on East Timor an our aid General Suharto, a dictator, that Amnesty International compares to Idi Amin and Pol Pot.

And again, thank you, one and all, for your continued support of the people of East Timor. Though things look very bad at times for the Timorese their courage and determination to regain their homeland is an inspiration to the whole world.

Elaine Brière,
coordinator ETAN



Please send your clippings and other information for the next newsletter to: JOHN SORENSON,

2707 STERLING TOWER

80 PLAZA DRIVE

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3T 5S1

(204) 269-3736

by Jeff MacNelly



PETERBOROUGH EXAMINER
OCT. 23/91

Where does Indonesia fit in?

Brian Mulroney's stand at the governments within the Commonwealth leaders' conference, linking foreign aid to civil rights, is said not to be popular with the heads of some of the governments, but the suggestion is that it would appear to be a popular position on the home front. Canadian taxpayers would be glad to know their money isn't supporting repressive governments.

Indonesia is not a Commonwealth country, but is a major recipient of Canadian foreign aid. Indonesia has been monitored as having one of the most repressive

governments within the community of nations. Is Brian Mulroney prepared to take issue with the government of Indonesia on its civil rights record, or to confront them at the United Nations? Is anybody saying anything about it? Indonesia's government is favored precisely because of what is not being said about it, as it is favored by receiving aid from the Canadian government, Canadian taxpayers, and Canadian corporate investment.

GEORGE ADAMSON
Ennismore, Ont.



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

104-2120 West 44th St., Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6M 2G2 (604)264-9973

Hon. Barbara McDougall
Secretary of State for External Affairs
and International Trade Canada
Parliament Bldgs, House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario KIA OA6

Nov.12.91

Dear Ms. McDougall,

The East Timor Alert Network would like to express its profound dismay over the indiscriminate shooting of one hundred or more Timorese on the morning of Nov. 12, 1991. They were part of a peaceful procession to the cemetery to pay tribute to a Timorese youth who had been shot by Indonesian troops a week earlier in the Motael Catholic Church in Dili. This incident included the beating up of several foreign journalists, one of them Alan Nairn, from the New Yorker magazine. He said that he saw many dozens of bodies strewn along the street as people ran in panic from the Indonesian troops.

This action has been condemned by the U.S. State Department and the UN Secretary General, Peres de Cuellar. Calls have been made from governments and human rights groups around the world for the cycle of violence to end in East Timor and the Timorese people be allowed to freely determine their own future.

Since 1975 the Timorese people have heroically resisted an aggressor many times their size. One third or more of the Timorese people have died since the Indonesian occupation began. The scale of the repression has increased as the scheduled Portuguese-UN visit approached. This visit is now cancelled because of the complete failure of Indonesia to observe the terms of agreement for the visit.

To condemn this action is not enough. The government of Canada must also insist that the East Timorese be allowed to freely determine their own future. Canada must demand that Indonesia allow the United Nations, and the Portuguese parliamentary delegation access under terms of the UN agreement which states that "no action, including that of a security nature, may be taken by the Indonesian authorities that could prejudice an potential or actual contacts."

For sixteen years the East Timorese have suffered one of the most vicious attacks on any society in our times. Instead of joining forces with international efforts to free East Timor, the Canadian Dept. of External affairs has chosen to legitimate and endorse an action wholly out of line with international law, repeated UN resolutions or any sense of morality or respect for human life in East Timor.

We urge you, Ms. McDougall, to be the first Minister in your dept. to speak out against Indonesia's escalating cycle of violence against the Timorese people and endorse the right of the Timorese to freely chose their own government.

Sincerely yours, Elaine Briere, coordinator, ETAN

Elaine Briere

East Timor troops fire on demonstrators

Dozens reported killed in protest against Indonesia's 15-year rule

Associated Press

JAKARTA — Soldiers in East Timor fired yesterday on pro-independence demonstrators wielding sticks, stones and knives, killing dozens of people protesting against Indonesia's 15-year rule, officials said.

The exact number of casualties was not immediately known, but an Indonesian legal aid group said 115 people were killed in the East Timor capital of Dili. An Indonesian official said about 40 people were slain.

A military statement said only "several" people died after troops fired on attacking protesters.

"The incident could not be avoided," the statement said. A government report later said the situation was calm in the former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

The Indonesian takeover of East Timor, 2,100 kilometres east of Jakarta, has not been recognized by the United Nations. Portugal has called for the right of self-determination for the impoverished territory of 700,000 people.

In Portugal, an East Timor rebel spokesman, Jose Ramos Horta, said reports from witnesses indicated about 60 people were killed in the clashes.

A Portuguese foreign ministry statement condemned "this new act of brutality committed by the Indonesian armed forces against a defenceless civilian crowd."

The fighting erupted during a funeral march for two men killed by

police officers, an Indonesian official said. He estimated 40 young men were killed and one police officer was seriously injured.

The Legal Aid Foundation reported 115 people were killed. The group did not identify its sources for the death toll. Witnesses and foreign officials in East Timor could not immediately be reached.

The military statement said demonstrators turned violent because of the postponement of a fact-finding visit by Portuguese legislators.

Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas said UN officials have to reschedule the visit on terms acceptable to both sides.

The UN-organized trip, under negotiation since 1984, would be the first such mission since Indonesia sent troops to intervene in a civil war in East Timor and then annexed the territory.

A rebel group has staged sporadic attacks in the mountainous territory. The rebels say they have 4,000 fighters, but Indonesia has said there are 500 to 1,000 insurgents.

After the Indonesian takeover, farming came to a standstill, leading to widespread starvation.

The death toll from combat, disease and starvation is uncertain.

Amnesty International, a London-based human-rights monitoring group, said in 1985 that as many as 200,000 people died from all causes. Diplomats in Jakarta put the death toll at 60,000.



The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign

TAPOL Bulletin No. 107

October 1991

Terror in Timor as MPs visit nears

Occupied East Timor has been plunged into a state of terror and panic, in preparation for the visit of a Portuguese parliamentary mission. The forces of occupation are threatening all East Timorese with dire consequences if they express support for independence or fail to fly the Indonesian flag when the MPs come.

Although at the time of going to press, it was not yet certain that the visit would take place in the very near future, the military and the administration are waging a campaign to force the population to believe that following the visit, the UN will delete East Timor from its agenda.

Xanana: "They are spreading panic"

In a letter to TAPOL, Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the armed resistance FALINTIL and chair of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM), said that meetings "are being held almost daily in all parts of Dili.

must raise them high." Anyone who shouts words like 'Maubere people', 'independence', 'Portugal' or 'Fretilin' will be shot after the MPs leave.

Xanana told TAPOL that seven extra battalions arrived in East Timor on 29 August. Five are infantry battalions (Nos. 127, 164, 307, 414 and 612). The other two are Brimob battalion 330 (Police Mobile Brigade) and Kopassus battalion 212. The latter is the battalion that spread such fear and terror in the run-up to the Pope's visit, under the command of Suharto's son-in-law, Colonel Prabowo, in 1989.

In August, according to *The Jakarta Post*, the governor, Mario Carrascalao, told an audience of 5,000 government officials in Dili that demonstrations will be banned during the visit. He told those present to report to the authorities if they hear of anyone planning demonstrations. [*Jakarta Post*, 30/8/1991] (See also box on page 17.)

Jakarta's tactics

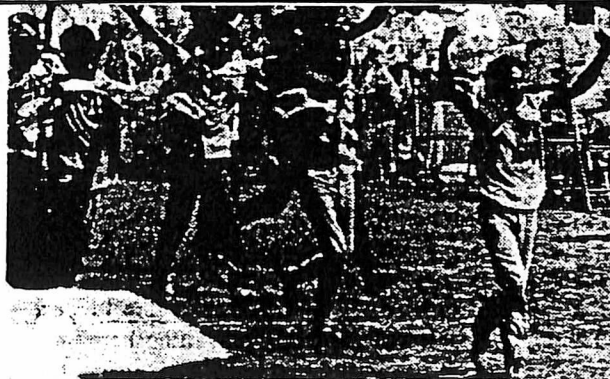
The Indonesian government knows that it is taking a huge risk in allowing the visit to go ahead. Several times since 1989, the East Timorese have confounded the authorities by breaching tight security during the visits of Pope John Paul II and of the US ambassador. The desire of people to use a visit by Portuguese MPs to call for peace talks and self-determination is infinitely greater. This explains the enormous efforts being made to intimidate people into avoiding anything that challenges Indonesian rule.

Mario Carrascalao was the first, months ago, to warn that "another civil war" might break out during the visit. This was his justification for urging that the visit should not take place. Now everyone is being told of the danger of civil war, with the warning that 'the days of 1975 might return'. A spectre of doom is being created to terrorise people into keeping their aspirations to themselves.

The claim that the visit would lead to UN recognition was

Speeches at the meetings are peppered with all kinds of threats. All the time it is being said that the visit is taking place for the MPs 'to observe progress and development' and for the UN 'to recognise integration'. Anyone who tries to organise rallies against integration will end up in Santa Cruz (the main cemetery in Dili)".

The letter, dated 12 September, says that preparations are being made in other towns, particularly Laleia and Same, for "receptions", with dark threats to the populations if they fail to fly the red-and-white flag. "You must all have a flag," they are being told, "and when I give the signal, you



East Timorese students demonstrating during Pope's visit in Oct. 1989.

made by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. [AFP, 18/9/1991] The statement led Antonio da Sousa Lara, chair of Portugal's Special Parliamentary Commission on East Timor, who is almost certain to lead the mission, to warn that if such remarks continue to be made, the MPs would not go.

Alatas has meanwhile insinuated that the Portuguese MPs are not the ones who really matter. They will be accompanied by UN officials who are bound to be "objective", not like the Portuguese. Mario Carrascalao picked up this theme when he spoke of these UN envoys as being "independent", the ones who will "tell the world about the facts as they see them."

High risk for Jakarta

But why is Jakarta playing such high stakes? The desire to end the matter once and for all is very strong. East Timor haunts Indonesia on almost every international arena. *The Independent* (London) recently described East Timor as the 'shackles round the neck of Ali Alatas' in his bid to get the

p.7

job of UN Secretary-General. Now that Suharto has won the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement, the last thing he wants is for East Timor to become an issue at the summit conference in Jakarta next year. The army faction most strongly opposed to the visit and against any kowtowing to international opinion, is centred around Defence Minister Benny Murdani; it is losing out in its battle to keep control of East Timor's economy [A recent regulation by the governor permitting coffee producers to sell their crops to buyers outside the territory sidesteps the army monopoly for the first time since 1975.] Hence this obstacle appears to have been removed.

Details of the visit

The Terms of Reference for the visit, announced by the UN in New York, provide for the visit to last 10 to 12 days. It will take place during the dry season (which means not later than mid November). There will be 13 MPs and 13 assistants, ten journalists from each side, plus 12 foreign journalists, six selected by each side. An unspecified number of UN representatives will also go along. [Alatas has claimed these would be ambassadors at the UN who have not supported East Timor.] Specifically, the document says that the realisation of the visit "shall in no way be construed as prejudicing the respective positions of the parties with regard to the substance of the question". It also seeks to safeguard the East Timorese:

The Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall be free to meet whomever it wishes and anyone who wishes to meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation will be allowed to do so. No action, including of a security nature, may be taken by the Indonesian authorities that could prejudice any potential or actual contacts. Individuals who meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall not be made to suffer any adverse consequences as a result of those contacts.

A terrifying scenario

A report received last month from clandestine East Timor sources describes preparations under way by the army to destabilise the situation.

Three groups are undergoing intensive training:

- *Regu Gelap* ['underground team'], composed of guerrilla forces who have surrendered or been captured. Its task is to capture Xanana Gusmao, alive or dead, before or during the visit. The members of this group have been forced to take part on pain of death. The security forces hope to show the world that Xanana was captured or killed not by Indonesian troops but by his own forces. The members of this group have been coached on how to answer questions they may be asked by domestic or foreign journalists.

- *Regu Railakan* [Lightning Team] composed of younger, less well educated people who are being trained to stage disturbances, agitation and acts of terror before and during the visit. This group is led by Tome Filipe Gama and will also include Indonesian soldiers.

- *Regu Ninja/Petrus* [masked men who strike mysteriously; Petrus stands for 'mysterious marksmen', recalling the death squads which operated in Indonesia in 1983/1984.] It consists of Indonesian soldiers who patrol the streets of Dili late into the night and raid peoples' homes. Members are armed with small automatic pistols, walky-talkies, night-

EAST TIMOR

binoculars and powerful video cameras as well as other offensive weapons to strike terror among the people. They will carry out 'mysterious killings', capturing anyone they meet on the streets of the capital, who will be taken to places like Taci-Tolo to be slain and buried without trace.

Three other teams will be formed of various people, including from the province of Nusa Tenggara Timor and elsewhere, preferably those who can speak Tetum. One group will be supplied with caps, banners and flags bearing the Fretilin symbol (large quantities are now being manufactured) to greet the parliamentary mission shouting slogans in favour of integration. Another two groups of similar elements but reinforced by members of the Indonesian army will provoke disturbances and terror among the people, causing physical clashes with the first group. When these disturbances occur, security forces will intervene to remove the Portuguese parliamentarians to places of safety, to protect them against mortal injury as the rival groups fight it out.

By provoking disturbances, the Indonesians hope to show the MPs that the East Timorese are politically immature and that independence would plunge the country into turmoil. Meanwhile, security forces will be present in force to monitor and photograph genuine supporters of independence. All the regional and local towns and villages will be heavily patrolled by Indonesian troops. People from various parts of the country who set out for Dili to welcome the parliamentarians will be stopped and forced to return home.

The army commander in Dili has asked Jakarta to produce a huge quantity of Fretilin caps, flags and banners for distribution free of charge to the population and to people in neighbouring provinces. The idea is to create the impression, during the visit, that the entire people, including Fretilin supporters, have freely opted for integration.

Anyone suspected of opposing the forces of occupation will be taken into custody so as to intimidate the population before the visit. After the parliamentarians leave, there will be systematic executions of those suspected of opposing Indonesia. ☆

Carrascalao warns civil servants

Civil servants in East Timor have been warned to keep control of their children during the visit of Portuguese MPs mission or risk losing their jobs. The veiled threat was made by Governor Mario Carrascalao, speaking to several thousand government employees in Dili on 27 September. A tape of the speech is in our possession.

"If you can't control your own children, how can you be a good servant of the state? Anyone who can't control his children clearly can't perform his duties to the state."

Carrascalao called the mission a "UN mission", stressing that it would "observe, not investigate". Observe means seeing things as they are; investigate means looking for bad things to suggest improvements. "But, however bad the results of their observation, it will not alter East Timor's status as an Indonesian province," he said.

Yes, I would like the struggle for East Timor's independence to continue.
Please find enclosed my donation of: \$ _____.

Name _____
Address _____



East Timor Alert Network, 104-2120 West 44th St., Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6M 2G2

EAST TIMOR

East Timor at the UN Decolonisation Committee

Every year, many solidarity organisations and individuals go the New York to petition the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation on the question of East Timor. Carmel Budiardjo gives her impressions of this year's meeting, with an assessment of the significance and limitations of this annual exercise.

Those of us who turned up on 7 August to plead East Timor's case before the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation were entitled to feel that this year, there would be a more sympathetic atmosphere. Many of the petitioners made a comparison between East Timor and Kuwait. Each time, the Iraqi member of the Committee interrupted to complain that matters not on the agenda should not be mentioned; the chair endorsed the complaint asking the petitioner to confine remarks to the item under discussion. This did not deter others from doing likewise.

But probably more relevant to East Timor than Kuwait was the fact that, while the session was underway, its officials were putting the finishing touches to a UN mission to the Western Sahara to prepare for a UN-supervised referendum next January. Kuwait was never on the Special Committee's agenda but Western Sahara has for years been the Committee's concern.

I had never previously attended the Special Commission to present TAPOL's petition so I had no proper understanding of its status and role, and the atmosphere in which its deliberations take place. It is a committee that functions under the aegis of the General Assembly, whose brief is taken over by the Assembly's Fourth (Political) Committee when the Assembly is in session. [For more about its origins and membership, see box.]

Although its task is to promote implementation of UN Resolution 1514 of 1960 on decolonisation, the political decisions are not taken here. Indeed, Indonesia as a Committee member is in a position to block any resolutions from being taken on matters concerning *its* colony, though it has not been able to block discussion.

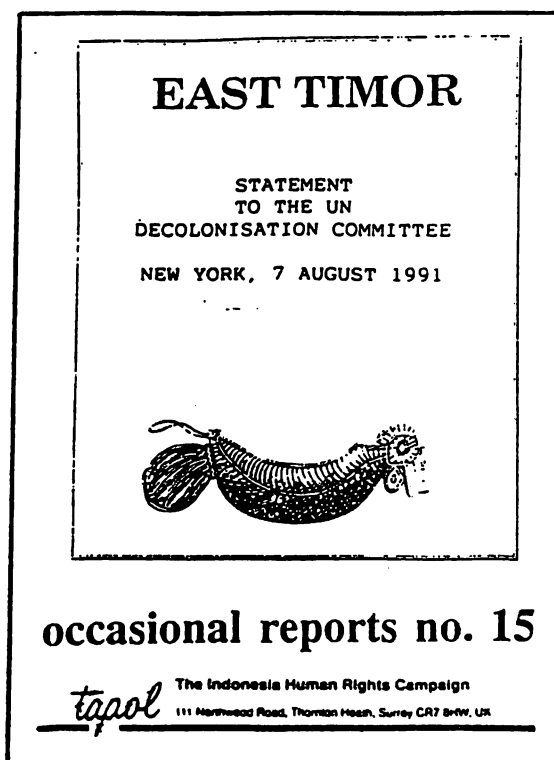
One striking thing about the Committee's mandate is that it concerns itself only with colonies of the old colonial powers. Hence colonies like Tibet, West Papua, Aceh and many other territories occupied by the new colonial powers are not on its agenda.

Speaking to the diplomats

For years, groups have petitioned the Committee but we

have not used the opportunity to lobby country missions or Committee members. So this year, we decided to try. I shared the work with Pedro Pinto Leite who was in New York to speak on behalf of the Organising Committee for the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor.

Although we had not prepared the ground in advance, we managed to arrange several meetings and speak with a few



Occasional Reports no.15 contains TAPOL's submission to the 1991 meeting of the UN Decolonisation Committee.

Price £1.00 including postage

p. 9

EAST TIMOR

diplomats 'in the corridors'. In fact, the exercise was more timely than we had realised. For several years, Fretilin has been unable to keep a permanent envoy in New York. Diplomats need to be reminded, constantly, of an issue. Those who are friendly are replaced by newcomers who may know nothing about East Timor. We discovered that missions were willing to listen though it proved difficult to make appointments at short notice. We met several diplomats from Pacific and African countries. Here is what we learnt:

Let me start with the worst example. Papua New Guinea has just become a member of the Special Committee and according to rumour, it hopes with Indonesian backing to become one of its chairpersons next year. I had phoned the PNG mission several times for an appointment and 'waylaid' its head of mission in the lobby but was given short shrift. Another diplomat warned me that the head of mission was embarrassed by my approaches; he did not want the Indonesians to see me in his company! But I did have a chat with a lower-ranking PNG diplomat. The Committee was not in a position to do anything, he said. PNG could not press the issue as this was not compatible with its own interests. He reminded me that his country had close bilateral relations with Indonesia.

At the other extreme was Rob van Lierop, Vanuatu's ambassador in New York, who represents the only country in the Pacific that supports East Timor (and West Papua). He told us that Vanuatu had tried to raise East Timor at the South Pacific Forum, only to be rebuffed by Australia and New Zealand; other countries had said nothing. In global terms, East Timor needs support from the region. He urged us to speak to as many small country missions as possible. They need regular, well-documented evidence of the situation inside East Timor.

We had a long discussion with the head of mission of the Solomon Isles. He was sympathetic. Yes, East Timor is entitled to self-determination. But his country could not take a stand against Australia and PNG. No, the Solomon Isles had not talked about East Timor in the South Pacific Forum but he promised to pose the question at the South Pacific group meeting in New York: why don't we, as a group, support East Timor? It would be interesting to know whether he kept his promise and with what results.

A Maldives diplomat gave us ten minutes of his time and promised to send our documents and a report of our representations to his government.

The Tanzanian head of mission – a member of the Special Committee – was categorical. "Our position [in support of] East Timor is not negotiable!" But many UN resolutions are never implemented, he said. Most of the non-self-governing territories still on the Special Committee's agenda are French or British colonies, yet the UK and France refuse to take part in the Committee's deliberations. Couldn't the African group in New York discuss East Timor? I asked. "Only if we are asked to do so by the Asia group." But there was not much chance of that happening, I said. It is important, he told us, for petitioners to produce strong evidence about conditions in East Timor.

The Cuban representative, who was in the chair most of the time, privately expressed the view that the Committee's freedom of action was getting worse. There were major attempts to undermine most items on its agenda, though on East Timor, he said, Portugal was "pushing hard".

The Cape Verde ambassador, speaking at the Committee

session on behalf of the five former Portuguese colonies in Africa, said it was up to the five permanent members of the Security Council to be the catalyst for East Timor in consultation with the Secretary General: "A new impetus has been given to the work of the Security Council and a renewed faith has emerged in the United Nations as an organisation where wrong can be redressed and justice can be made". Privately, he told me the Committee could do nothing more than recommend. It was up to the Secretary General to act, yet he had taken no initiative on the crucial question of self-determination.

In a meeting after discussion on East Timor had ended, solidarity groups agreed to plan a series of appointments

THE DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE

The Decolonisation Committee is sometimes referred to as the Committee of 24. Until 1990 it had 24 members. Last year, Papua New Guinea was added, bringing the membership to 25.

The Committee is more fully known as the *Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*. It was set up in 1961, a year after the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The same General Assembly session adopted Resolution 1542 (XV) requiring Portugal to transmit information on all its colonial territories to the UN, under Article 73 c of the United Nations Charter. At the time, the fascist regime claimed that these territories were "overseas provinces" and refused to comply with the resolution. As one of these territories, East Timor was listed in Resolution 1542. Until the mid 1970s, Portugal refused to take part in the proceedings of the Special Committee.

After the collapse of fascism, Portugal's attitude towards its colonial territories changed. The Portuguese territories in Africa won their independence. However, East Timor was invaded and forcibly annexed by Indonesia. By virtue of a series of UN resolutions from 1975 to 1982, the UN has continued to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and for the exercise of the right to self-determination. Since 1975, Portugal has been recognised as the Administering Power, willing, but now unable, to comply with its obligation to transmit information to the Decolonisation Committee, under the terms of the UN Charter.

Today, it is Indonesia that refuses to collaborate. Although it has failed to prevent discussion of 'the question of East Timor', it has prevented the Committee from taking any action. Strange as it may seem, Indonesia is itself a member of the Special Committee. Unlike other UN Committees, the membership of this Committee does not come up for periodical re-election, so Indonesia's position on the Committee and Portugal's position off, are unchangeable.

with diplomats before and during the Special Committee's meeting in 1992. There were no illusions that this would lead to a breakthrough, but it was just as important to focus diplomats' minds on East Timor in New York as in Geneva.

Aware of the limitations of the Decolonisation Committee in resolving the issue, I came away feeling we need to be more resourceful in using the annual trek to New York.

The petitioners

The Special Committee allows any non-governmental organisation (NGO) or individual to submit petitions, unlike the Human Rights Commission and its sub-commission of experts in Geneva which only accept petitions from NGOs with consultative status. This year, petitions were made by NGOs from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Japan and

Xanana Gusmao's message to the UN

Under the present circumstances it is impossible for me to do anything at the United Nations. Even just going to the UN is impossible. Should I dare to do so, I will certainly be murdered. Should I even take a step into the township of Los Palos I will become a sitting duck (for would-be assassins).

Having General Assembly Resolution 37/30 in mind, UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar promised the Parliamentarians for East Timor delegation when he met them last March that the visit to East Timor of the Portuguese Parliamentarians will take place. We hope the Secretary-General will continue his efforts for the realization of that visit, and that when the Portuguese Parliamentarians get to visit Timor they will negotiate with the Indonesian Government in Jakarta to resolve the question of Timor.

My hope is that if they are able to come to East Timor to see the true condition prevailing here they would then seek a different framework for the solution of this question.

The UN must not forget any party which has a strong interest in solving this problem. The inhabitants of Timor must be considered such a party. It is, therefore, most important that representatives of the East Timorese sit at the conference table. Only when East Timorese representatives are seated at the conference table can the negotiations acquire international recognition and legitimacy. We will never abandon our position on dialogue. We are prepared to hold discussions unconditionally (without introducing new conditions). We are prepared to discuss all issues which will lead to a solution of the problem. We trust the UN Secretary-General to convene a meeting of all parties concerned. We believe that the realization of the Portuguese Parliamentary Mission will prove to be the source of change in knowledge and attitudes regarding the question of East Timor.

EAST TIMOR

the Netherlands, along with Amnesty International, Asia Watch, Japan's Diet Members' Forum on East Timor, a Canadian MP and three parliamentarians from Portugal. Jose Luis Guterres spoke on behalf of Fretilin and Joao Carrascalao spoke for the UDT.

Most important was a message from Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese resistance, which was presented by the Free East Timor! Japan Coalition [see box].

Many petitioners provided a mass of information about the present situation in East Timor and argued convincingly in favour of the immediate implementation of UN resolutions on East Timor. Space does not permit us to summarise all the contributions. TAPOL's petition dealt in particular with the present military situation and the restructuring of the Indonesian military command in East Timor. [It has been published as *Occasional Reports No. 15*]

Amnesty International's representative introduced a 36-page document, including seven pages of photos of prisoners and torture victims. The pattern of short-term detention, ill-treatment and torture already noted by Amnesty in 1989 and 1990 "has accelerated in the past year" and "appears to be a systematic strategy to silence real or suspected political opponents... and to obtain political intelligence through coercion and intimidation".

Amnesty has the names of more than 400 people detained in East Timor since late 1988; at least 200 have been detained since early 1990. It referred to "serious limitations" on reporting abuses in spite of the 'opening' of the territory and said that East Timorese students involved in disseminating human rights and other information abroad have been subjected to surveillance by military intelligence. [Copies of the Amnesty document are available from the Amnesty national section in your country.]

Asia Watch made three points: human rights in East Timor have not improved since last August, the credibility of reports coming from East Timor are strengthened by similar reports from Aceh, and Indonesia's lack of respect for human rights is reinforced by its failure to ratify any major international instruments on human rights.

After describing recent abuses, Asia Watch said it was "not aware of a single Indonesian soldier prosecuted in a court of law for a human rights offense". When it referred to similar torture techniques used "from Aceh to Merauke, from the northernmost tip of Sumatra to Irian Jaya, and East Timor", the Indonesian member protested that these matters were not on the agenda.

The Japan Diet Members' Forum on East Timor raised two points. The Forum will continue its efforts to send a parliamentary mission to East Timor and regrets that plans for a mission in July this year were unacceptable to Indonesia. It also affirmed that the Japanese government has not recognised East Timor's annexation by Indonesia. This is clear from a government instruction to publishers of school textbooks that maps of the island of Timor should draw a border between West and East Timor, like the one drawn between Morocco and Western Sahara.

Canadian Liberal Party spokesperson on human rights, Beryl Gaffney, accused her own government of participating in the international cover-up on East Timor.

"Why does my government refuse to recognise what the invasion and occupation has meant? Canada has voted against UN resolutions calling for the right to self-determination. It has lobbied to have the issue removed from the

EAST TIMOR

agenda. My party... has asked why Canada's third largest recipient of foreign aid dollars is Indonesia. We have asked if it is because there are approximately 300 Canadian companies operating in Indonesia, from large ones like Inco."

Speaking as one of three Portuguese MPs who came to New York, *Antonio de Sousa Lara*, president of the Commission for East Timor Affairs of the Portuguese National Assembly said that today's petitioners, as in the preceding years, "belong to the main Portuguese political parties and as political adversaries, face each other democratically in several Portuguese and Community venues. However, they freely agree on the positions assumed as regards the present and future destiny of that fraternal people (East Timor)."

The Indonesian response

The Indonesian mission had expressed "strong opposition to the participation of the petitioners in the deliberations of this Committee". Indonesia would have preferred to treat us all with contempt but the evidence of abuses, the strength of feeling by petitioners from many countries and of various political persuasions called for a reply.

Before agreeing to speak however, the Indonesian diplo-

mat made sure he would have the last word. He thought Guinea Bissau was intending to speak. Only when assured this was not so did he begin. What he presented as 'a matter of record' regarding Indonesian integration of East Timor was a rehash of Jakarta's version of events. For the record, as far as I am concerned, was the announcement that Indonesia has invited Professor Peter H. Kooijmans, UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, to visit East Timor. By contrast, after accusing Amnesty International of levelling slanders and accusations, he said: "It would be absurd to expect that Indonesia will allow visits by representatives of organisations which continue to engage in slanderous campaigns against Indonesia, like Amnesty International."

A toehold

Without a breakthrough on the political front, the fact that East Timor is on the agenda of the UN's Special Committee is a foothold, perhaps even just a toehold, in the UN system. But it is something to be held on to in supporting the struggle of the East Timorese resistance. It should not be regarded as insignificant; if it were, Jakarta would not go to such lengths to sabotage the Committee's deliberations. With all its frustrations, the Committee is a platform which should continue to be used until East Timor exercises its right to self-determination. ☆

Wednesday, September 18, 1991



CANADA

House of Commons Debates

VOLUME 132 • NUMBER 30 • 3rd SESSION • 34th PARLIAMENT

Oral Questions

...

EAST TIMOR

Mr. Dan Heap (Trinity-Spadina): Mr. Speaker, my question is for the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

As the minister knows, the Government of Canada was quick to support sovereign self-determination for the Baltics, to condemn and go to war over the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, yet our government has consistently supported Indonesia in its illegal conquest and brutal oppression of East Timor.

I want to ask the minister, whether in spite of Canada's substantial bilateral aid and billion dollar private investment in Indonesia, will Canada now act to support United Nations initiatives to free East Timor from Indonesia?

Hon. Barbara McDougall (Secretary of State for External Affairs): Mr. Speaker, Canada considers that Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor is a fact, recognizing that there has never been any history of independence or self-determination or self-government in that territory.

We do not condone the manner of incorporation and we deplore and condemn the loss of life that occurred, but we very much support the unsponsored dialogue between Portugal and Indonesia as the most promising means to reach an understanding in that very unfortunate and unhappy circumstance.

p. 10

SUNDAY
Observer
13 Oct 1991

U.K.

18

Clones sent in to hide East Timor crimes

Hugh O'Shaughnessy

THE Indonesian army occupying East Timor is hard at work trying to create clones of the Timorese guerrillas it has been fighting for the past 16 years.

It is part of an ambitious exercise in disinformation during a forthcoming international inspection visit to the occupied territory, about 300 miles north-west of Australia.

With the aid of specially-made caps, insignia, flags and banners of the kind used by the Falintil guerrillas, the Indonesians intend to dress up their own supporters and Timorese prisoners as freedom fighters.

The guerrilla clones, under pain of torture or execution, will then proclaim their allegiance to Indonesia in order to confuse and harass a delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians and foreign journalists which is to visit the former Portuguese territory, which was seized by Indonesia in 1975.

Under the plan, code-named Operation Eagle, the fake guerrillas making pro-Indonesian statements may also act as *agents provocateurs* during the inspection visit.

The Indonesian plans — including the precise costs of the operation — are contained in army documents, signed by Lt-Col Gatot Porwanto, the head of Indonesian intelligence

in East Timor, which were seized by members of the Timorese resistance and have been made available to *The Observer*.

The visit of the parliamentarians and journalists, the first since the Indonesian invasion, has been arranged under United Nations control and is due to take place in the next few weeks.

The visit has raised enormous expectations among the Timorese, and tens of thousands of them are expected to demonstrate against the invading forces.

Using the guerrilla clones — who include Timorese from West (formerly Dutch) Timor with a knowledge of Tetum, the local language — as *agents provocateurs* to produce scenes of violence during the inspection visit would give the army an excuse to intervene against demonstrators, ostensibly to 'protect' the parliamentarians and journalists.

Operation Eagle includes the training of three squads: the Black Group, the Lightning Group and the Masked Group. The latter is a death squad that will go into action against known Timorese opponents of the Indonesian occupation.

The Indonesians are also planning the removal of Timorese civil servants from their posts in East Timor during the

visit, and the transfer of other Timorese to neighbouring islands.

In addition, the occupation forces are making a supreme effort to have the Falintil leader, Xanana Gusmao, killed by infiltrators, so that they can then claim that the Timorese armed resistance has been destroyed by internal splits and treachery.

Newly-arrived Indonesian commando and infantry battalions are reported to have been billeted in the areas which the inspection team is expected to visit.

The inspection trip will be an important milestone in the diplomatic tussle over East Timor between General Suharto's regime and the United Nations. The Indonesians are estimated to have caused the deaths of 200,000 Timorese people during their 16-year occupation, carried out and maintained in defiance of several UN resolutions.

Britain and the United States have never accepted the legality of the Indonesian occupation, and last month both houses of the US Congress called on the Indonesians to respect the rights of the Timorese.

Australia, which wants to exploit Timor's oil resources, is the only power to have recognised the Indonesian occupation as legitimate.

P. 11

Timorese workers stand up for their rights

Efforts by East Timorese workers to be treated according to promises made when they agreed to take jobs in Batam has led to one death, to intimidation and to the censoring of news about their complaints.

When *Yayasan Tiara*, a labour recruitment agency owned by Siti 'Mbak Tutut' Hardiyanti Rukmana, President Suharto's oldest daughter, persuaded unemployed East Timorese workers to take jobs in Batam industrial estate after getting three months' job training in Jakarta, it was obvious that the authorities wanted to defuse political tensions in East Timor where unemployment is high and dissatisfaction with Indonesian rule is widespread, especially among the youth. The agency promised them Rp 300,000 a month, far higher than the wages paid to most factory workers in Java.

Several hundred Timorese accepted the offer, hoping to remit money home to help their families. What they got was a course on how not cause trouble and given jobs in factories in Bandung, Bogor and various parts of Central Java, for monthly salaries of around Rp 40,000 with deductions for lodging, accommodation and transport. They were also harassed and physically attacked by Indonesians accusing them of 'ingratitude' for complaining.

Taking on The Family

A delegation which went to complain to Tutut Rukmana was turned away and told to sign a statement expressing satisfaction with their conditions. As things grew worse, many want to go home but were told their return fares would not be paid until they had worked for three years.

Their decision to challenge these injustices was fraught with danger because taking on *Yayasan Tiara* means enraging Suharto and his rapacious daughter. Tutut often poses as having a social conscience and has a number of 'social' and 'cultural' projects in East Timor.

A visit to the DPR backfires

On 30 August, thirty workers took their complaints to the Legislative Assembly (DPR) and met members of the DPR. Grant us the conditions we were promised or give us the money to pay our fares back to East Timor, said spokesperson, Ojorio Florindo. A statement by 65 workers said the *Yayasan* had forced them to sign a declaration expressing satisfaction with conditions.

Besides those recruited by the *Yayasan*, 283 recruited by the Manpower Department and promised jobs in Batam, got in jobs in Surabaya, Bali and Jakarta, said Nunu Lopes. Others told the MPs they had been maltreated by soldiers after complaining about conditions, at a training centre in of *Kopassus*, the para-commandos, in Cijantung, W. Java.

The MPs treated the East Timorese cordially, promising to raise their complaints in a hearing with the Department and the army chief; they would also consider holding a special hearing with the *Yayasan*. [*Jakarta Post*, 31/8/1991]

Next day, tragedy struck when one of the thirty, Alfredo da Costa, was knocked down and killed while jogging early in the morning [see box]. Another, Luis Maria Lopes was taken into custody by *Kopassus* and released a few days later, his face covered with bruises.

No autopsy for Timorese victim

Alfredo da Costa, born in Lospalos on 22 September 1966, died after being knocked down by a vehicle on 31 August 1991. Alfredo was at the training centre of the para-commandos' unit, *Kopassus*, in Cijantung, West Java. He was knocked down at 4.30 am as he and two friends were out jogging.

A witness named Angelo who washed Alfredo's body at the Cipto General Hospital in Jakarta testified that apart from some bumps on the victim's head, there were no other injuries, not even minor ones, on the body.

On 3 September, a relative who had just heard of the death went to the hospital for the autopsy, but was told the hospital had been prevented from carrying out an autopsy.

Alfredo's body was flown back to Dili on 2 September. His colleagues live in fear that such an "accident" could happen again.

A few days after the protest, a different group of East Timorese visited the DPR contradicting the first group. Justina Gusmao Goulart said: "We would not dream of... protesting again Tiara Foundation which has done so much for us." [*Straits Times*, 6/9/1991]

Tempo report blanked out

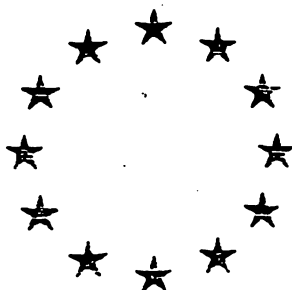
Efforts to rebut the workers' protest intensified when Jakarta's leading political weekly, *Tempo*, withdrew an item on the affair in its issue of 7 September. It went to press with the contents page announcing a national news section item about "some young East Timorese brought to Jakarta who were facing uncertainty after being promised good jobs. They made a complaint to the DPR." This was next to a photo of the workers seated at a table in the DPR building. But there was no report, only two blank columns on page 26. Two weeks later, *Tempo* published a letter from Paulo H. Ximenes, an East Timorese student in Salatiga, asking what happened to the item. The editorial reply? "Our apologies. There were technical difficulties."

In a further twist to the affair, East Timorese collaborators like Francisco Lopez da Cruz and DPR members, Soares and Amaral, told the workers "not to ask for special treatment". This was at a meeting called by the Manpower Department to which the workers had been summoned.

Several Timorese used the occasion to publicise their

12

COUNCIL
OF EUROPE



CONSEIL
DE L'EUROPE

Parliamentary Assembly
Assemblée parlementaire

ARES966.
1403-2/7/91-12-E

Provisional edition

RÉSOLUTION 966 (1991) (1)

on East Timor

1. East Timor was annexed by Indonesia on 17 July 1976 with total disregard for the rules of international law and the rights and obligations of Portugal, which was the governing power. The annexation was accompanied by violations of human rights and a policy of forcible assimilation.

2. The annexation has been condemned-not only by the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations but also by the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the European Parliament, the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly and many other international, parliamentary, political and religious organisations.

3. From the outset the Indonesian occupying forces were involved in violent confrontation with an armed Timor resistance movement which has always had the support of the East Timorese people and in recent years more particularly of the young.

4. The Assembly condemns the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia, which it regards as a violation of international law and more particularly of peoples' right to self-determination and independence.

-
1. Text adopted by the Standing Committee, acting on behalf of the Assembly, on 28 June 1991. See Doc. 6441, report of the Political Affairs Committee, Rapporteur: Mr Pontillon.

NB Don't confuse the Council of Europe with the EEC.

5. It likewise condemns the continual grave violations of human rights which the Indonesian occupying forces have inflicted on the people of East Timor and it affirms the right of the Timorese people to decide their own political destiny and preserve, develop and assert their cultural, linguistic and religious identity.

6. It points out that Portugal, which is the governing power recognised by the United Nations General Assembly, is morally and legally obliged to "promote and guarantee the right of the people of Timor to self-determination and independence" (Article 297 of the Portuguese constitution) and supports Portugal's many representations in this matter since 1975.

7. It endorses the mediation endeavours of the Secretary General of the United Nations and encourages parliamentary and other initiatives aimed at enforcing the United Nations resolutions.

8. The Assembly demands that the Indonesian government:

- i. ends all violation of international instruments establishing human rights and peoples' right to self-determination and independence;
- ii. opens East Timor's borders and allows international aid and human rights organisations, starting with the Red Cross, to carry on their work there;
- iii. orders an immediate cease-fire with the Timor resistance forces, withdraws its armed forces from East Timor and creates the political preconditions for free exercise of self-determination.

9. Lastly, the Assembly calls on Council of Europe member states to:

- i. insist upon a political solution negotiated within the United Nations and involving Portugal, Indonesia and the East Timorese people;
- ii. urge countries which have economic links with Indonesia to bring pressure to bear on Indonesia to halt all violation of human rights and all appropriation of East Timor's natural resources and assets;
- iii. support food and health aid to the East Timorese people;
- iv. implement an arms embargo in respect of Indonesia until the objectives set out in paragraph 8 have been achieved.

March 14, 1991

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We, the East Timorese Students, would like to tell the truth about what ever and still happened against us. East Timor was invaded and forcibly annexed by Indonesian Military Government. According to this fact, we really expect USA help to solve our problems, to minimize and stop our suffering as soon as possible and liberate us from this iron bird-cage.

On December 6, 1975 when we were still playing we saw the plane flew on our air. At that time we didn't worrie about it, because we really didn't know. But on December 7, 1975, in the early morning, that was a very big surprise for us; looked like a dream but it's fact. We heard the roar of the plane and when we tried to look out by the window, at the sky looked like points still fallen down from the sky. There was the first day of invasion, the first day of our suffering.

and what happened during this 15 years of invasion ?

We can't image how many soul were lost! How many innocent people were arrested, violeted and killed by Indonesian Military!?! And abuses of human rights still going on in East Timor!

We, as an owner of our land, we really feel oppressed in all aspects of life.

And how about world reaction as a people who really love peace and respect the human rights ?

We really can't understand ! But according to our anylises that world purposely closed the eyes against our suffering. Looked like that USA and the others don't want to know and worrie about our problems and to liberate us. And 15 years already our mother land is covered by blood.

And what happened in East Timor is the same what ever happened in Kwait 7 months ago.

P.15

But looked like that have some differences! How ?

All of us ever watched television, and read the news paper. When Kwait was invaded and occupied by Iraqui, USA and the others stood up quickly to help Kwait. The all multinational forces looked like very enthusiasm to liberate Kwait.

And how about our case ???

We who already suffered the same kind of invasion but no resolution for us until now. And the differences are: Kwait got quickly USA assistance and East Timor until now only got one big interrogation (?).

According to these reasons, we the East Timorese Students, above all by the name of its inhabitants, we really hope USA help to take us out from this dark-night and still waiting for the moment when the sun'll shine and day-break and our days will be bright again.

Finally, thank you very much for your attention to this poor letter.

Sincerely,

On the name of the students

u


Nony Rhodes

p.16

Dark and cold we may be,
But this is no winter now.
The frozen misery of centuries breaks,
cracks, begins to move.
The thunder is the thunder of the flows--
the thaw--the flood--the upstart spring.

Thank God our time is now
When wrong comes up to face us everywhere
Never to leave us till we take the
Longest stride of soul men ever took.
Affairs are now soul size...

Christopher Fry
from a verse play
A Sleep of Prisoners

George Jamieson
Senior Producer
As It Happens
CBC Box 500
Station A
Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1E6

July 9, 1991

Dear Mr. Jamieson,

This is my first letter to As It Happens, prompted by your reaction to the Media File's questions on your lack of coverage of East Timor. Your answers fundamentally shook my sense of what I thought your program stood for. I couldn't conscience letting you get away with what you said without you knowing what at least one listener thought. I took exception with practically everything you said.

A country is invaded, as much of a third of a population is massacred, starved to death and subjected to the most hideous forms of terror, forced sterilization and transmigration schemes. Another country, through direct military sales to the invaders and by means of a shameful and hypocritical voting record at the U.N. supports these actions. I'm referring here, of course, to East Timor and Canada. On these issues, the Canadian media are virtually silent.

A Canadian photographer visits East Timor prior to the invasion. She learns about the Timorese culture and preserves it in images and stories. She returns to Canada, and, after learning more, decides to act responsibly, and forms a support group, the East Timor Alert Network, to try to inform Canadians about their complicity in the destruction of these people and to try, to the extent we are able, to support a just resolution to their plight.

Noam Chomsky, one of America's most thorough political analysts, the man who delivered CBC's 1988 Massey Lectures, brings up the issue of East Timor at every possible occasion. He points out our utter hypocrisy over our reaction to the "Hitlerian" invasion of Kuwait. He asks what was our reaction--if we stand for the thinnest shred of principle--to the invasion of East Timor? As you know, we didn't exactly bomb Jakarta. No, for Canada and Indonesia it was business as usual, in fact, even better business than business as usual.

Today, an incredible scam is taking place with the joint exploitation by Australia and Indonesia of Timorese oil resources. A deal that progressed unnoticed under the convenient cover of Gulf War media saturation. (Apparently further Indonesian atrocities also took place while the world media was looking the other way.) Imagine that Iraq had won the Gulf War and Canada signed a pact with Iraq to exploit Kuwaiti oil. The situations are parallel.

I do not accept your argument that your program cannot create interest in a story. I do not have a prior knowledge of or interest in many subjects covered by As It Happens--that's much of the allure of the program--but you draw my attention to a story, you set it up, you play it, with interviews, sound bites and all the other gimmicks in radio's bag of interest-manufacturing-and-holding tricks, and behold! you've kept me yet again from unsoldering my radio dial from CBC.

→

DEAR ELAINE:

YOUR INTERVIEW AND GEORGE JAMIESON'S DEFENCE OF AS IT HAPPENS HAS
GENERATED AN UNUSUALLY STRONG RESPONSE FROM LISTENERS.

THE WRITER OF THE ATTACHED LETTER (ONE OF ABOUT 15 RECEIVED
SO FAR) ASKED US TO FORWARD IT TO YOU.

OUR AUDIENCE, AT LEAST, SEEMS ABLE TO CONNECT WITH THE SUBJECT OF
EAST TIMOR.

MEDIA FILE

BOX 3000, HALIFAX, N.S.

B3J 3E9

JULY 10, 1991

YOURS TRULY,

R. Starr

RICHARD STARR

p. 17

If Ms Briere and the work of the East Timor Alert Network is an insufficient "hook" for your programming needs, perhaps she could be joined by David Kilgore, Ray Funk, Svend Robinson, or any of the other SIXTEEN members of the group Parliamentarians for East Timor who also work on this issue. Beryl Gaffney - Liberal Human Rights Critic will soon be travelling to hearings at the United Nations where she will testify to East Timor's right to self-determination.

From your statements we can deduce that the guiding programming principles of As It Happens are: 'We don't cover stories because they are inherently important; there's no such thing. We don't cover stories that relate to Canadians directly; they don't "connect" to such stories. We don't share information about Canadian complicity in outrageous crimes; we hoard that information, to better protect the peacekeeping image of our innocent nation.'

You must realize that by avoiding coverage of this story, you support the status quo, keep Canadians ignorant and end up protecting the interests of businesses and politicians who shape and bear direct responsibility for our foreign policy.

You seemed to imply that you had discovered, through a process you did not expand upon, that Canadians cannot or do not "connect" to this story. I am very curious to know what that process was. When you spoke of some deep, ephemeral, inexplicable psychic connection people have to a given story I thought for a moment I was in an Ashram in the Catskills listening to a New Age guru, not a responsible producer of a prime-time national radio program. I do not accept your premise and have evidence to the contrary.


The notion that Canadians have no "connection" to the issue of Timor is simply false. And for those who are not yet aware of the connections between Canada's actions and the fate of the East Timorese, it is your responsibility to make them aware of those connections. But regardless of Canada's direct relation to these crimes, or whether or not a specific percentage of Canadians have Timorese cousins, world opinion and actions should be mobilized to protect the rights of the Timorese.

I've enclosed two short videos, one, which I helped produce, about East Timor and Canada's connection to what's going on there, the other about West Papua. Feel free to circulate them. I think you'll find them both very informative if you take the time to screen them. They were both made on miniscule budgets by a concerned young Canadian, Peter Monet. Indonesian officials actually tried to prevent a recent screening of the second tape at Carleton University.

If there's any cross-over at all between IDEAS and As It Happens listeners, at least part of your audience has been "primed" by an excellent documentary about Timor aired not too long ago. I should add that I've been to several screenings of the Timor video and Canadian audiences are fascinated, surprised and outraged by what they learn. They immediately want to know what they can do to help. I hope you'll feel the same way.

I can imagine how busy you are but I would appreciate knowing, after you've digested all this, what you plan to do about East Timor on your program.

Sincerely,



Mark Achbar

cc: Jim Nunn, Bruce Wark, Karen Levine, Gloria Bishop, Michael Enright

(CBC AM 6:30-8pm)

p.s. "As It Happens" did 2 interviews on the Nov. 12 Killings one with Carmel Budianjo of JAPOH in the U.K. and one with Alan Nairn, an American Journalist beaten by Indonesian troops during the massacre.

p.p.s. "As It Happens" will interview me tonight & have decided to "run with" this story.

Horray!

p.18

PERSON / Timothy Mo wanted to write a war novel that is 'anti-macho.' In *The Redundancy of Courage* the cynical, weak-willed hero starts off by hosting the enemy and ends up lobbing grenades at him

Creating the 'ideal viewpoint'

BY STEPHEN SMITH
The Globe and Mail

EIGHT-THIRTY on a Tuesday morning, and British author Timothy Mo is looking out on an audience of recently risen booksellers eating a bleary breakfast their convention in Toronto. The 41-year-old Mo understands business here and accepts that it to explain why a bookstore would want to help sell his fourth novel, *The Redundancy of Courage*. His inner is forthright and crisply any: this is the sometime boxer, remember, who in 1986 said that he is 25 times better as a writer than Kingsley Amis. Now, having flown from Vietnam two days earlier still working to an internal clock for the other half of the world, he talks about "the soap I'm selling." The booksellers look up from their glasses and laugh.

"I have written books of high quality that are extremely boring," Mo says. "This is not a boring book. It's quite a strange book in that I'm a gh-falutin', literary author, top-of-the-market, but it's written in very blunt, fast style."

The Redundancy of Courage is used on events in East Timor, the former Portuguese possession that is off the north coast of Australia and which in 1975 was invaded by neighbouring Indonesia. "It resembles Kuwait," Mo says, "except it isn't convenient for the West to do anything about Timor." Indonesia coveted Timorese oil and a strategic maritime lane in its waters, he tells his audience, and the conquest was quick and barbarous. The CIA estimates that in 16 years of occupation, nearly half of the pre-invasion population has been killed.

"It's something I've been aware of for a long time," Mo said in an interview the day before his address. "I was brought up in Hong Kong, and Timor I've always known, from many years back. I was conscious of the invasion, and I read a book for general knowledge about the invasion and the fiction began from there. I didn't begin writing with any particular crusading zeal, but as I got into finding out more about it, I started to feel quite seriously indignant."

In the novel, East Timor becomes Danu and Indonesia a U.S.-manipulated power whose people are known as *malais*. Mo's narrator and reluctant hero is Toronto-educated Adolph Ng, a cynical and weak-willed hotelier, who starts off hosting the invader and ends up lobbing grenades at him.

"If you're writing a war book, you don't want to write a James Jones or Hemingwayesque book with a very macho hero in it: it's been done a million times before. I wanted someone who's very anti-macho. I also wanted to get away from the moralistic, war-is-hell novel. Everyone knows war is hell. The challenge for a novelist would be a war-is-great-fun novel. Which is beyond me — I think maybe Tolstoy could do it."

Adolph is not such an eager guerrilla: although he hates himself for serving *malais* in his hotel, he does very little about it until he's kidnapped by the Danuese resistance and an automatic rifle is pressed on him. "He was an ideal viewpoint. Our sympathies are naturally with the Timorese, the Danuese, and not with the brutal military regime, so I wanted to find somebody who's slightly ambiguous."

ADOLPH is "full of self-loathing and he thinks of himself as a rat," Mo says. "What we had to do with Hamlet when we were doing exams at school, we had to write down what Hamlet actually did, to see that he was not so indecisive. If you write down what the narrator actually does in this book, there's a great dissonance between his perception of himself and what he actually does. He's actually quite a courageous person, but he thinks of himself as an out-and-out coward."

While he was working on the novel, Mo applied to visit East Timor but the Indonesian government turned him down. Not that this hindered his writing: as a rule, he doesn't believe in heavy research for novels. "It's like being a 1,500-metre runner with a rucksack of facts on your back." Nor did he want his writing to stray too far from the story and become a political indictment of Indonesian repression and



British author Timothy Mo: 'selling soap'. (JOHN McNEILL/The Globe and Mail)

the blind eye the United States has turned to it.

"I'm actually very glad I didn't get too friendly with the Fretilin [East Timor's resistance] and Timorese people while I was writing this book. I think it would have been a much worse book if I'd let my sympathies come into play. Much worse. All the atrocities the Indonesians have got up to, I'd have felt obliged to have long, revolting lists of what they actually did to people."

After the novel was published earlier this year, Mo met and became

friends with Jose Ramos Horta, Fretilin representative at the United Nations. "He had me autograph a copy of the book to send up the hills for the [Fretilin] leader. I said to him, 'You've got to be careful you're much better sending some chloroquine pills or some ammunition.' But he said no cause the problem with those guys is morale, they think they're buried there, that no one knows of it. He said the thought that someone has written a book about them is very good for them."

p19



JOHN G TAYLOR INDONESIA'S FORGOTTEN WAR

The Hidden History of East Timor

'A path-breaking work which manages, as no previous study has done, to perceive events through the eyes of those who actually lived through the brutalities of the Indonesian invasion and military occupation.... It fills an important gap on Third World regional conflicts.'

— Peter Carey, Oxford University

'John Taylor's thoroughly researched book is an impressive analysis of East Timor's ordeal under Indonesian occupation since 1976. Drawing on a wide range of sources he explains cogently why the United States, Australia and the Western democracies have abetted the Indonesian regime's aggression. In harrowing detail, he describes the campaign of war, torture, disappearances, forced resettlement and planned famine which over fifteen years have cost at least 200,000 East Timorese lives. Particularly enlightening is his account of the reasons for the astonishing stamina of the East Timorese resistance, and his balanced judgment of the various East Timorese leaderships' successes and failures.'

— Ben Anderson, Director,
Modern Indonesia Project,
Cornell University

Some wars make headlines; others do not. This book is about a war on a remote island — north of Australia and 2,000 miles east of Djakarta. It is a war which has never completely stopped since Indonesia first invaded East Timor in 1975. The reasons for silence, as this book makes clear, lie not just in remoteness, but in the economic and geopolitical interests of the leading powers in the region. Indonesia has the world's fifth largest population, huge oil and other natural resources, and a crucial strategic location. Little wonder that the USA, Japan and Australia have sought to downplay this forgotten war.

But the issue will not go away. News of atrocities continues to reach the outside world. Portugal, the island's former colonial ruler, has never recognized Indonesia's invasion. The people of East Timor — utterly different in language, religion and culture from largely Muslim Indonesia — have never ceased to resist. The illegality and brutality of the Indonesian attempts to pacify the island raises issues of human rights and the East Timorese demand for self-determination to which the international community can no longer turn a blind eye.

Dr John G Taylor is Principal Lecturer in Social Studies at the South Bank Polytechnic, London, where he is also Director of the Centre for Chinese Studies. He edits *Timor Link* for the Catholic Institute for International Relations.

*Published with the generous support
of the Catholic Institute for
International Relations.*

**NEW
ZED BOOKS**

- 1 Colonial Failure
- 2 East Timor and Indonesia: Political Developments from the Pacific War to the Portuguese Revolution
- 3 Changing Strategies: The Emergence of Political Parties and the Indonesian Response
- 4 From Coalition to Coup and Independence: The Indonesian Campaign against East Timor
- 5 Invasion, Resistance and the International Response
- 6 The Indonesian Occupation: 'Encirclement and Annihilation'
- 7 'As Bad as Biafra': Population Resettlement and Starvation

- 8 Military Control: Imprisonment, Killings and Human Rights Abuses
- 9 Military Campaigns and the Indonesian Transformation of East Timor
- 10 'Ascertaining the Facts': the Indonesian ceasefire and the Visit of the Australian Delegation
- 11 The Development of Opposition and Indonesian Plans for the Resocialization of East Timor
- 12 'In their Best Interests': Strategies for East Timor in the International Community
- 13 What of the Future? Scenarios for East Timor; Changes in Indonesia
- ◆ Chronology of Main Events since 1974

256pp Glossary Map Notes Bibliography Index ISBN 1 85649 014 9 Hb 1 85649 015 7 Pb

Inspection Copies

Inspection copies of this book are available to teachers for consideration as a course text. Please apply on headed paper and complete the relevant section below to request your copy.

ORDER FORM

Please send me post free

— copies of *Indonesia's Forgotten War*
hardback @ £39.95/\$149.95

— copies paperback @ £10.95/\$19.95

Please make your cheque payable to

Zed Books Ltd

Name _____

Address _____

☐ Please send me an inspection copy of
Indonesia's Forgotten War
Course/Option: _____

Please return to
Textbook Manager, Zed Books Ltd,
57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9BU, UK

P.20

Amnesty International

TELEPHONE (416) 929-0488 • FAX (416) 593-0000

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: ASA 21/18/91
Distr: UA/SC

UA 357/91

Extrajudicial Executions/
Arrests/Fear of Torture

28 October 1991

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Sebastiao Rangel
Afonso Henriques

Aleo (David Conceicao)
and about 20 others

Aleixo Ximenes
Manuelo Constantino Cornelio da Piedade
Domingos Barreto
Deolindo Barreto
Didi Boavida

Two people were reportedly killed and an estimated 20 others arrested when Indonesian security forces entered a church in Dili, East Timor in the early hours of 28 October 1991. They were among a group of young people who had taken refuge in the parish church of Motael because they feared reprisals from Indonesian security forces for their political activities. At least five other political activists, and possibly many more, have been arrested within the past two months. Amnesty International is deeply concerned for the safety of all those detained and is calling for an immediate investigation into the circumstances of the reported killings.

The two killed were named as Sebastiao Rangel, aged 18, a resident of Vila Verde, Dili, and Afonso Henriques, aged 29, of Laga, Baucau. Neither of them were armed. According to reports soldiers surrounded the church at about 1:30 am and then entered it, apparently to arrest some or all of those hiding there. Witnesses heard gunshots and later found the two victims dead inside the church compound.

Those reportedly arrested during this incident and taken to the District Police Command (POLWIL) in Dili, included Aleo (David Conceicao) who had been detained in October 1990 in connection with his political activities, and reportedly ill-treated in custody (See AI ASA 21/14/91, August 1991). He and one other political detainee, Jose Antonio Galucho, are said to have escaped from custody in Comarca prison, Dili, on 19 or 21 October 1991, after hearing rumours that they were going to be killed. From the prison they fled to the church at Motael. Jose Antonio Galucho is said to have evaded arrest on 28 October and sought refuge at the home of Monsignor Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of Dili.

The incident at Motael church occurred against a background of considerable tension in anticipation of a visit to the territory by a delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians, scheduled to begin on 4 November 1991, but recently postponed. Amnesty International has received reliable reports of arrest and intimidation of suspected pro-independence activists.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975 in the aftermath of Portugal's withdrawal from its former colony. Since that time Amnesty International has continued to document serious human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory, including extrajudicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance" and political imprisonment.

APPEALS TO:

Ismail Saleh, SH
Jalan Rasuna Said, Kav 6-7
Kuningan

[Your Excellency or Dear Justice
Minister Saleh]

Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia

Telegrams: Justice Minister, Jakarta, Indonesia

Telexes: 44404 DITJENIM IA

Faxes: + 62 21 32 1625

Brig. Gen. Warouw

[Dear Brigadier General]

Markas Besar KOREM 164

(He is the military commander
for East Timor)

Dili, Timor Timur

East Timor

Telegrams: Brig. Gen Warouw, Dili, East Timor

Lt. Gen. Drs. Kunarto

[Dear Lieutenant General]

Kepala Kepolisian RI

(He is the national Chief of Police

Markas Besar Kepolisian RI

Jalan Trunojoyo 13

Kebayoran Baru

Jakarta Selatan

Indonesia

Telegrams: Lt. Gen. Drs, Kunarto, Kepala Kepolisian RI,
Jakarta, Indonesia

General Try Sutrisno

[Dear General]

Commander of the Armed Forces

Markas Besar ABRI

Cilangkap

East Jakarta, Indonesia

Telegrams: Gen. Sutrisno, Markas Besar Abri, Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: + 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ)

+ 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ)

+ 62 21 35 6404 (Army HQ)

COPIES TO:

Ir. Mario Carrascalao

(Governor of East Timor)

Gubernur KDH Tk. 1 Timor Timur

Jalan Inpantai D. Hendrikue, Dili

East Timor

His Excellency Poerwanto Sudalto

Ambassador of Indonesia

287 MacLaren Street

Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0L9

Fax: (613) 563-2858

Immediately
PLEASE SEND APPEALS

P.22

EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

—For Immediate News Release—

25 November 1991

Suspend aid to Indonesia over East Timor massacre, group says

VANCOUVER — A national solidarity group today called on the federal government to suspend foreign aid to Indonesia in response to the worsening human rights situation in East Timor.

"All Canadian bilateral aid should be suspended, except for humanitarian aid," said Elaine Briere, national co ordinator for the East Timor Alert Network, a cross-Canada advocacy group founded in 1987 by the Canadian Council of Churches. "Humanitarian aid through non-government organizations should be scrutinized closely to ensure it does not reinforce the Indonesian regime."

Ms Briere added that aid funnelled through NGOs should be contingent on international humanitarian agencies, like the International Committee of the Red Cross, being allowed free access to East Timor.

"It's time for this government to live up to its strong words on human rights," said Maureen Davies, a spokesperson in Ottawa for the Network.

Indonesia is Canada's second-largest recipient of bilateral overseas aid. In 1989-90, Canada gave Indonesia \$52 million, according to the Canadian International Development Agency. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall last week ordered a "review" of aid to Indonesia following the shooting of at least 100 unarmed mourners at a religious ceremony in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on Nov. 12.

"Genocide has been going on in East Timor since Indonesia invaded in 1975," Ms Briere said. "A third of the people have died. In the past month, human rights abuses have been getting worse. Canada should stop lining the pockets of the Indonesian regime and take a step for human rights, before it is too late."

In the wake of the Nov. 12 massacre, reports from East Timor report an atmosphere of terror, instances of extra-judicial executions (including the shooting of 80 pro-independence activists on Nov. 15), mass arrests, manhunts and "disappearances." This weekend, 70 East Timorese students studying in Jakarta were arrested for staging a pro-independence demonstration in the Indonesian capital.

For more information:

Elaine Briere 604-264-9973 (Vancouver)

Maureen Davies 613-736-8719 (Ottawa)

David Webster 416-539-9589 or 531-6154 (Toronto)

EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

—For Immediate News Release—

25 November 1991

"We are living in hell" — Two more massacres reported from East Timor

Reports of more mass executions in East Timor have just reached the East Timor Alert Network. According to sources in the Indonesian-occupied territory, the Indonesian armed forces massacred ten Timorese on November 17 and another seven the following day.

"We are living in hell," said a Timorese source who witnessed the latest killings. "If the UN don't send observers to monitor and protect us as soon as possible, we will disappear as a people."

Those killed on Nov. 18 include 2 children, Gaspar (1 year old) and João Soares (4 years old). They are said to have been shot by Indonesian soldiers because they were eyewitnesses to an earlier massacre of 80 pro-independence demonstrators at Bemós. Also killed were: Maria Castro, 35; Maria Fatima, 19; Terezita, 16; Ines Soares, 30; and Liberata Mendes, 17.

The Nov. 15 Bemós massacre, reported last week by the East Timor Alert Network, was today confirmed by Amnesty International, although Indonesian authorities still deny that it took place.

"The number of people killed [in East Timor since Nov. 12] we think is upwards of 100 and could easily be as high as 200," a spokesman for Amnesty International in Australia told Reuter. Amnesty said reports of the new massacres were "credible."

The Bemós dead were shot on Nov. 15 after female members of the group were raped by masked soldiers. The group was forced to dig a mass grave before being gunned down. They had been arrested on Nov. 12 for taking part in a religious procession in the Timorese capital, Dili.

At the procession, as many as 180 Timorese and one New Zealander were killed by the armed forces in an incident, witnessed by several foreigners, that has drawn international condemnation. Canada is reviewing its government-to-government aid to Indonesia in the wake of the incident.

For more information:

David Webster (416) 539-9589 or 531-6154

Elaine Briere (604) 264-9973