

MONTHLY MEMO No. 2/89

(Information received during February 1989)

Moisés da Costa Amaral, President of the Political Commission of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), died on 22 February in Lisbon as a result of a sudden illness. He will be temporarily substituted by Paulo Pires.

1. EAST TIMORa. Violations of human rights in East Timor

Recently received information from East Timor's interior reports various cases of human rights violations in the territory.

1. A document dated 10 October 1988 details cases of abuses in Samalari (Baucau).

Five people, including a 14-year-old boy, were ill-treated on 15 September on the pretext that they had fallen asleep while on guard duty. A few days prior to this (10 September) the authorities had gathered the Samalari population together to inform them of new restrictions to be placed on their departures from the camp: the local authorities would not be responsible for any people arrested or killed by the military. "Before, Fathers João de Deus and Locatelli, as well as Deputy Aleixo would defend you, but now these three have signed the measures restricting your circulation and, consequently, now there is no one that can defend you. Any persons caught contravening this measure will be considered FRETILIN agents and, therefore, severely punished. If any are killed out there by the TNI 'Bapaks', their bodies will not be returned home and neither will authorisation be given for burial, so they will be left out there to rot."

The authorities justify these measures since there are still Samalari people in the Resistance. After the announcement they asked if anyone had questions. A man called Alfredo Freitas asked what would happen to the men of the village who are given weapons by the military to go hunting, if the guerrillas managed

DATA PROVISÓRIA
VISIONAL ADDRESS

Rua Finheira Chagas, 77-29Esq.
1000 Lisbon
Portugal

TELEFONE PROVISÓRIO
NACIONAL TELEPHONE NUMBER

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to take the weapons from them: "Will they put the blame on the village people and accuse us of contacting PRETILIN and then subject us to torture and punish us with more and more restrictions on our movements and search for provisions?" No reply was forthcoming but Alfredo and four companions were attacked a few days later, when they were on guard duty.

The people of Samalaxi are among those most oppressed, according to the author of this document. Its Liurai (traditional chief), Manuel Sequeira Marçal, who was also Deputy (DPR), was released from the Dili prison in early 1988. "Father Locatelli has a thorough knowledge of the situation of those people".

The population is forced to organise 'liberation' and 'brotherhood' parties to which people have to bring along all the best provisions they have (chicken, kid, etc.) Furthermore, on the orders of the local Babinsa, every Saturday after the evening dinner all single girls have to go to the area used for dances, situated next to the Babinsa's house, and dance with the occupying troops stationed there. Any girl who refuses or does not attend at the required time is threatened with rifle fire over the head or over her home by the Babinsa himself, as a means of coercion and harassment."

ET 174/89

2. Document dated 15 November 1988 reports violations occurring between January and October 1988: rape, torture, imprisonment of students, killings.

Various cases refer to people forced by hunger to leave their camp in search of food (Venilale zone). When caught outside the camps by soldiers they are either killed or arrested and tortured.

In reprisal for Resistance attacks, people are arrested and accused of having been guides for the attackers.

People with good connections among the occupiers (people such as Aleixo Ximenes, Ketua DPR (leader of the Deputies) in Baucau; Joaquim de Sousa Guterres, formerly Commander of the Venilale Hansips and traditional chief of Bado Hão; Manuel Brito, Jorge Ximenes, Joaquim Ximenes, Pedro Ximenes, all considered to be 'Indonesian agents', were arrested for not having supplied useful information to the military. In order to avoid retaliation, others fled into the bush seeking protections from the guerrillas, and returning to Venilale only after the return of Aleixo and Joaquim. Aleixo, who had taken refuge in the Bishop's house, only returned with the Bishop in late July.

Two guerrillas, Uarik and Golias, who had surrendered because they were gravely ill and had been under the protection of Joaquim de Sousa Guterres in Venilale, were taken to Baucau and tortured.

The document identifies 37 of the victims and refers to collective cases: two groups of 20 and 19 people; a 'large number of students', and two women raped by an entire Section on 1 October and still in hospital on 15 November.

ET 176/89

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3. A document dated 30 November 1988 reports various cases of imprisonment, torture, rape and killings, in particular those in October 1988 of 6 Hansips (auxiliary military forces) from the Venilale zone, who were under suspicion. Among them were: Fernando Varela, Platoon Commander; Domingos Nicolau, Section Commander; Virgilio Guterres, Company Commander.

ET 180/89

b. Press release from Xanana Gusmão

Xanana Gusmão recalls that between 1978 and 1981 the Indonesian military took children from East Timor, as if they were spoil of war.

The people in the bush sometimes leave small children to be cared for by relatives living in camps or towns. Three such children left near Lospalos in May were collected by relatives. However, the Kodim military seized the three children: a boy of 2½ years old, son of João Miranda; an 11-month-old boy, son of Faustino Miranda, and an 11-month-old girl, daughter of Pedro Ximenes. They are holding the children to force the parents to surrender.

Because of these incidents in the central part of the territory, 12 children were placed in the care of the Catholic Church. The Indonesian military had wanted to take the children and, for this reason, the Liurai Joaquim, Commander of the Venilale Hansips until August, was arrested and taken to Baucau and tortured. Besides being subjected to other cruel treatment, he was forced to remain in a tank of water for 24 hours.

Felisberto Viegas, a 28-year-old guerrilla captured on 14 October 1987, was forced for months to appeal through loudspeakers to the guerrillas to surrender. On 11 September 1988 the Nanggalas of 745 Battalion took him outside the camp to his plot of land and shot him.

Sometimes the guerrillas find the bodies of young men, either during military operations, or after they have been staged. The bodies are disfigured and it may only be concluded that the killings were carried out by the TBO (young men used by the Indonesian military as carriers during military operations).

In September the International Red Cross was, for the first time, allowed to visit one of the prisons in Baucau.

ET 175/89

c. Report on President Suharto's visit to Dili

This is a document dated 15 November 1988. It refers to the 'pilgrimage' of Our Lady from July 1987 to August 1988, the prayers and poems for peace and which refer to the "suffering caused by an imposed war". The Indonesians whispered "Finally, behind the Timorese people's religion an anti-integration policy lies hidden. They use religion as a means of subversion".

According to the Indonesians, "The East Timorese people have never been so enthusiastic (...) We will see what the reception of the President next November will be like". But, "A month before he came, dozens of Indonesian battalions arrived (...) to shift the guerrillas from the bush and far from the towns. (...) Harassment and mistrust were widespread throughout the territory. (...) houses were searched (...). A few days before Suharto's arrival in Dili, over 500 people were arrested, including civil servants, students, Timorese military, police, workers and peasants.."

ET 177/89

d. East Timor's Governor denies wave of arrests

Mário Carrascalão, East Timor's Governor, stated on Radio Australia that he was "shocked by the recent allegations that Timorese people had been arrested and tortured during President Suharto's visit to the province", and denied the arrest of about 3,000, on account of the Indonesian President's visit.

Diário de Lisboa, 17 February 1989

e. List of documents received over the period

1. Letter to Father Locatelli. Interior, David Alex, 20 April 1988, 1 page (Portuguese) ET 173/89

(The Commander of the 2nd guerrilla unit operating in the Baucau zone, expresses the deep regret of the guerrillas "as Timorese and as Catholic Christians" at being unable to take part in the religious ceremonies at the time when Our Lady's statue passes through the Baucau area. He asks Father Locatelli to transmit good wishes to Mnsgr. Belo.)

2. Human Rights Violations registered in the Samarali Suco (Baucau) Interior, CRRN - Falintil, 10 October 1988, 6 p. (Portuguese) ET 174/89
3. Press release from Xanana Gusmão, CRRN - Falintil, 31 October 1988, 4 p. (Portuguese) ET 175/89
4. Some data on human rights violations. Interior, CRRN, 15 November 1988, 4 p. (Portuguese) ET 176/89
5. Report on Pres. Suharto's visit to Dili. Central Zone - Dili, CRRN, 15 November 1988, 4 p. (Portuguese) ET 177/89
6. Appeal to the Fretilin Delegation Abroad (DFSE). Central Zone-Dili, Fretilin-CRRN, 15 November 1988, 1p. (Portuguese) ET 178/89

(This is an appeal to the DFSE to divulge that "We, the Maubere people, are neither atheists nor communists, and the Indonesian government is not interested in the people of East Timor but in the riches of its land.)

7. Military situation in Bivaque. Interior, CRRN, 30 November 1988, 2 p. (Portuguese) ET 179/89

(This describes the surrounding of the mountain north of Bivaque between 11 and 20 November 1988, and of the Builô mountain 10 kms. south of Ossu. On 23 November the Resistance suffered one wounded.)

8. Human Rights Violations, 1988, Interior, 30 November 1988, 3 p. (Portuguese) ET 180/89
9. List of Human Rights Violations. Lisbon, Fretilin Info. Office (GIF), s.d., 7 p. (Portuguese) ET 181/89

(Some lists refer to violations occurred on different dates:

- 23 people killed on 5 March 1979 in Alas
- 5 people executed in Erisra by 125 and 126 Battalions
- 13 people executed in August & September 1982 by the Matabuilico Koramil in Fatuk-H-Dare
- 5 'Disappearances'
- 22 people killed or imprisoned in 1986-87 in the Baucau region
- 13 people imprisoned, shot and/or 'disappeared' between August and November 1988
- 8 people imprisoned by the Aileu Kodim on 5 November 1988.)

2. ADMINISTRATING POWER : PORTUGAL

a. Freedom after 13 years of retention

Natalina Ramos Horta, mother of Fretilin leader José Ramos Horta, arrived in Lisbon in early February after having been retained in Timor by the Indonesian authorities for 13 years.

Her release, according to statements by José Ramos Horta, was due to the 'commitment' of UN Secretary General Mr. Pérez de Cuellar, the Portuguese authorities and to the US Congress.

Diário, 3 February 1989

b. Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister focuses on ET in Lisbon

Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister, Hans Van Den Broek, met in Lisbon with his Portuguese counterpart, João de Deus Pinheiro, on 6 and 7 February. In a joint press conference the Dutch Minister said that his country "would not force" any resolution on the East Timor problem, but is prepared to collaborate in the efforts to find "instruments for a political solution" (our emphasis). He further expressed the hope that a Portuguese parliamentary mission could go to Indonesia, as invited, in order to evaluate directly the situation.

Minister João de Deus Pinheiro recognised that Holland, at European Community level, had assumed "extremely difficult positions, given its special relationship with Indonesia."

Europeu, 7 and 8 February 1989
Diário Popular, 8 February 1989
Jornal de Notícias, 8 February 1989

c. Nationalist Convergence received by Foreign Affairs Minister

The Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. João de Deus Pinheiro, met with a delegation of the Timorese Nationalist Convergence for a working session.

Abílio Araújo, head of the FRETILIN Delegation Abroad, described this meeting as "a good working session, frank and useful", and reaffirmed his organisation's wish to "continue to fight for self-determination and independence of the territory."

During the meeting the Nationalist Convergence expressed its gratitude for the "beneficial action which the Portuguese government has carried out in relation to the Timor issue".

A further meeting was arranged for 25 February. Matters connected with the forthcoming Portugal/Indonesia talks under the UN Secretary General's auspices were discussed. The talks at the moment are focused on the visit to East Timor by Portuguese MPs, invited by the Indonesian parliament. According to what the Diário de Notícias reports to have gathered, Portugal would only accept the invitation "if conditions of free circulation and movement were guaranteed to the MPs accompanied by Portuguese and foreign journalists and by members of the most recognised and accepted international organisations, as well as reputed Portuguese individuals having an understanding of the territory's life and history, at least from the 1950s onwards".

Diário, 9 February 1989

Europeu, 10 February 1989

Jornal de Notícias, 11 February 1989

Diário de Notícias, February 1989

d. Timorese student escapes from Jakarta

Abílio Sereno, a 30-year-old Timorese, managed to escape from Jakarta on 31 January this year. He had been imprisoned in September 1986 along with other students, and was released on 11 October prior to an EEC/ASEAN Foreign Affairs Ministers' meeting in Jakarta, and following international human rights organisations' campaigns and pressure from various embassies. As they continued to be harassed by the Indonesian secret services, four students sought refuge at the Dutch Embassy, and requested political asylum. A few days later, however, they were persuaded to leave this refuge (see SM3).

Abílio Sereno managed to put together enough to bribe officials at Jakarta airport: "With money anything's possible in Jakarta", he later said. After his escape he was aided by the Portuguese Embassy in Hong Kong, Portuguese authorities in Macau, and by the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister, who paid for his flight from Macau to Lisbon.

On arrival in Lisbon on 14 February, he said that his father and two nephews had been killed in the war of Indonesian occupation in East Timor, and that he only had left his mother and brothers who were "also being harassed there". He was quite reserved in

his statements to the press, and said this was due to the "difficult position" in which his three fellow students find themselves in Jakarta. He believes that now, they will only ever be able to leave Indonesia "through the intervention of the Portuguese government or international human rights organisations".

Europeu, 15 February 1989

Jornal de Notícias, 15 and 16 February 1989

e. President of the Republic receives Ramos Horta

Portuguese President of the Republic Mário Soares received FRETILIN leader José Ramos Horta on 15 February. The latter gave the President a report on the current situation in East Timor.

After the audience, Mr. Ramos Horta made some public statements, emphasising the "positions taken up" by the President of the Republic which "are very important for Timor", and added that FRETILIN "is satisfied with Portugal's diplomacy which is now more attentive, active and skilful". In this regard, he said: "The Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister is alarmed because the growing international support for Portugal's efforts tends to embarrass Indonesia, isolate her and force her to expend energy in self-defence."

Diário de Lisboa, 15 February 1989

3. INDONESIA

a. Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister visits Australia

For the first time since 1975 an Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister visited Australia. Mr. Ali Alatas stated on Radio Australia that he "hoped to improve bilateral relations, mainly in the areas of defence and military cooperation", and emphasised that today the relations between the two countries were quite friendly, given the "efforts both countries have made towards amicable co-existence".

4. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

a. USA's Timor 'dossier' to go into more depth

The US Ambassador to Portugal, Mr. Rowell, gave an interview to the daily Diário de Notícias.

In answer to a question on East Timor, the Ambassador replied that the US government intended to go into more depth in the dossier on the territory, namely with regard to the collection of information: "Every year we have to deliver a report to Congress on the human rights situation in each country of the world. This report includes East Timor (...) On various occasions our representatives have visited the territory, and we maintain dialogue with the Jakarta government, with the aim of improving human rights in East Timor. It is a very long and difficult process, but it is a serious process. We are contributing several million dollars towards improvements to East Timor's agriculture, and we are partici-

pating in the program to eradicate Malaria." Asked to clarify whether this assistance was directed at Indonesia or at East Timor, he replied: "I believe that fighting against Malaria, as well as improving agricultural conditions helps the Timorese."

b. Meeting of Solidarity Organisations in Denmark

The IX Meeting of East Timor Solidarity Groups took place in Copenhagen on 11 and 12 February, attended by 15 organisations from 8 European countries and Japan.

The text of the meetings resolutions is attached.

Jornal de Noticias, 19 February 1989

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International Meetings

4. We consider that the occasion of the Non-Aligned Movement meeting to be held at the Hague, Netherlands in June, 1989, will be a major opportunity to promote the cause of East Timor.
5. We will also lobby our governments on the occasion of the IGGI meeting in June.
6. We agree to continue our support and participation work at the UN Decolonization Committee in New York, during August.

National and International Activities

7. We support the initiative of establishing the Parliamentarians for East Timor organisation and call on solidarity groups internationally to encourage recruitment of Parliamentarians.
8. We consider that the European Parliament resolution Doc. 82-143/88 (adopted, September, 1988) is the strongest statement in favour of East Timor in recent years and constitutes a resounding defeat for the Indonesian diplomatic offensive of 1988. Follow-up activities should include:
 - a) Supporting point 18 of the resolution which requests the European Commission to give a progress report on the situation in East Timor within 6 months;
 - b) Arranging a hearing at Strasbourg on East Timor after the European elections in June, 1989.

9. We welcome the principled diplomatic initiative being taken by the Portuguese authorities for the resolution of the conflict in East Timor according to Article 297 of the Portuguese Constitution which binds Portugal to "promoting and guaranteeing the right to the independence of East Timor". We are looking forward to the realisation of the plan for an International Conference of Parliamentarians on East Timor and hope that it will take place in Lisbon during 1989.
10. We are very impressed by the rapid rise and consolidation of the Free East Timor Japan Coalition. We commit ourselves to supporting internationally its crucial work of trying to influence Japanese government opinion on East Timor.

These resolutions were approved on February 12th in Copenhagen by the following 15 organisations:

- Denmark: The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
IWGIA National Group - Denmark
- France: CIMADE
Association de Solidarité avec Timor Oriental
- Germany: Society for Endangered Peoples
IMBAS
- Japan: Free East Timor Japan Coalition
- Netherlands: Commission for Justice and Peace
Komitee Indonesie
X minus Y
- Portugal: Comissao para os Direitos de Povo Maubere

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RESOLUTIONS FROM THE 9TH CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF SOLIDARITY GROUPS FOR EAST TIMOR, COPENHAGEN, FEBRUARY 11TH-12TH, 1989

We, the solidarity groups at the above meeting agree on the following points:

We note with great satisfaction the continuing struggle of the people of East Timor for their fundamental rights and freedoms as related to us by the representative of the National Convergence of East Timor and receive with gratitude the gifts sent to us by the women of the East Timorese resistance.

Self-Determination and Human Rights

1. We strongly disagree with recent suggestions that the human rights situation in East Timor has improved for the following reasons:

a) An estimated 2000 Timorese people were killed in East Timor during 1988.

b) 3000 Timorese were arrested arbitrarily in Dili during the first week of November, 1988, before the visit of Suharto to East Timor. Many of these prisoners were tortured.

c) East Timorese people continue to live in resettlement areas to which they were forcibly relocated.

d) Timorese who wish to visit relatives outside of the country have to leave members of their families hostage in East Timor.

We note the statement by Bishop Belo of East Timor on December 5th, 1988: "We oppose this barbaric system and condemn the lying propaganda, according to which human rights violations do not exist in East Timor."

2. We emphasise that the bureaucratic changes which have been undertaken by Indonesia with respect to East Timor ("Equalisation of East Timor with other Indonesian Provinces") do not warrant the use of the concept of "opening" in any way whatsoever. The concept of "open" is meaningless and irrelevant to the status of East Timor as an occupied colonial territory of Indonesia.

3. Considering that Indonesia has no legal right to be in East Timor, any visit to the country should be able to proceed without interference from the Indonesian authorities; considering, also, that even though Indonesia says that East Timor is "opening up" the government will not allow anyone to enter who opposes the principle of occupation; we therefore have immediate reservations about any visits which do not fulfill the following minimal conditions:

a) Free movement through out the whole of East Timor.

b) Unsupervised free access to all Timorese.

c) Visitors should be able to choose their own independent interpreters and advisors.

d) Visitors should be able to stay in East Timor for as long as they need.

e) No limit on the number of persons in the group.

f) Recognition that East Timorese are under strong pressure not to speak out for fear of retaliation by the Indonesian authorities.