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SUBJECT MEMO No 1/89Subject The Pope's visit to East TimorSource "A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste" Group  
*Church based group in Portugal*JOHN PAUL II IN DILI?

The visit by the Pope to Indonesia and East Timor has given rise to contradictory reports.

The Pope refused to visit Indonesia "because of Timor but also because of the Human Rights situation in the rest of Indonesia", announced the Diário de Notícias of 31 March, quoting a diplomatic source in Rome.

On the evening of the same day, Radio Renascença, a station linked to the Church, announced that the Pope will visit not only Indonesia but also East Timor. Radio Renascença confirmed the information with the Bishop of Jakarta who said it was normal that, in visiting Indonesia, the Pope would also visit the diocese of Dili, one of the most densely catholic. The Bishop of Dili's secretary confirmed that the Pope will be in Indonesia from October 9 to 14 and will visit Dili on the 13th (a big religious feast day in Timor, the anniversary of the apparition of Our Lady in Fatima -Portugal). The Bishop's secretary Father António Costa refused to attribute any political significance to the visit taking place in the course of a visit to Indonesia.

On the following day, citing unspecified diplomatic sources, the papers revealed that the Pope had posed the possibility of visiting East Timor as a condition for his responding positively to the invitation to visit Indonesia. The diverging opinions within the Indonesian regime regarding the opportunity for such a visit were only resolved on that same day March 31, which would explain the contradictory information.

The revelation of the Pope's insistence was seen as positive in the first comments: if the visit was the result of an insistence on the part of the Pope it seemed logical to expect that he would denounce the situation existing in East Timor.

The Portuguese authorities had not been informed, declared the Prime Minister. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in Rome accompanying the President of the Republic, declared that the Pope's visit to Dili

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"still has not confirmed", and the embassy adjoining the Vatican stated the uncertainties regarding this visit were very great (O Jornal - 7/4/89).

The members of the parliamentary Commission which has the responsibility for dealing with the East Timor issue are going to deliver a letter to the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon which requests the Pope to plan his visit to East Timor in such a way that it would be the last stage and that it would inspire no doubts regarding its alleged integration into Indonesia (Independente - 7/4/89).

On being invited by journalists to comment on the Pope's visit to Timor, the President of the Portuguese Republic replied: "I do not comment on the Pope's travels, because of the respect which is due to him ... It is obvious that the Pope's journeys have their own purpose, which forms a part of the diplomacy and missionary activity of the Church, and that they are different to those which take place from State to State." (Diário de Notícias - 9/4/89).

Some days later the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs is received by Mgr Cassidy, right-hand man to Cardinal Casaroli, the Secretary of State "I made it very clear that the Portuguese Government has no wish to interfere in a visit by His Holiness, whether pastoral or official, explaining in detail the Portuguese position and what is at stake. Mgr Cassidy had a good knowledge of the problem, through his own background, being Australian. No decision had yet been taken regarding the visit. The matter is under consideration" (Jornal de Notícias - 13/4/89)

The weekly "O Jornal" said that the uncertainties would remain until the return of Mgr Tucci, who is responsible for the organization of the Pope's visits, from the Far East where he is at present preparing for the journey. According to a highly placed Vatican source, says the same paper, the visit by the Pope to Dili depends on the desire manifested to this end by the local Church, a desire which can be expressed to Mgr Tucci by the Timorese clergy and which has already been formulated in Rome by Mgr Belo.

Further according to "O Jornal", Portuguese diplomatic sources were wondering whether this leak of information regarding the Pope's visit to East Timor was "a way by which the Vatican was testing opinion in Portugal and in the international community": this visit, if it comes about, goes against all the rules of diplomacy seeing as the Pope would enter the territory under the auspices of occupying Indonesia while for the UN -and for the Vatican- Portugal continues to be the legitimate administrating power.

"The visit is positive for Indonesia because it promotes international recognition for the integration of East Timor", wrote "Angkatan Bersenjata" the newspaper of the Indonesian Armed Forces.

On April 8 the President of the Republic was received by the Pope in an audience which was already scheduled as part of his official visit to Italy. The audience lasted for 40 minutes. Mario Soares revealed that he had given the Pope a letter he had received from the Bishop of Dili which "describes the persecutions against catholics by the Indonesian authorities, and the situation in which the Timorese find

themselves". "The Pope had already received an identical document" said Mr Soares.

The Pope and Mr Soares talked concerning Timor but, said the President of the Republic, the Pope "did not say to me that he would go to Timor". In spite of this Mr Soares considered that such a visit "could have positive results if the Pope took the opportunity to denounce the situation" and "to transmit hope to Timorese catholics" (O Jornal-14/4/89).

In another newspaper, the "Europeu", Mario Soares declares: "the interests of the Vatican as a State may well not coincide at any given moment with those of the Portuguese State. But in this specific case I am not sure that they do not coincide because I consider that the object of the Pope's visit to Indonesia, even if he goes to Timor, is the defence - and this he will not neglect - of peace and Human Rights. This intention is useful to the Timorese people. The Pope is fully up to date on the situation" (Europeu - 14/4/89)

In a telex from Jakarta, the UPI agency states that "the (Pope's) visit to East Timor and the other provinces is organized by the government and not by the Episcopal Conference" This statement was made by the Archbishop of Indonesia Darma Atmadja on leaving a meeting with President Suharto (UPI-Jakarta - 4/89).

The official invitation for Pope John Paul II to visit East Timor, sent to the Vatican by Mgr Belo "caused some surprise" according to the Portuguese weekly "Expresso" citing "an ecclesiastical source in the Vatican". Mgr Belo, in his official letter of invitation to the Pope, had written that he did so "under instructions" from the Indonesian government. According to Vatican diplomacy it is the local Church which formulates the invitation for a visit by the Pope. The agreement for this visit having been concluded on March 31 between the Vatican and the Indonesian Government, Mgr Belo probably wished to show his displeasure in not being heeded and in being called upon to officialize an invitation which he could not negotiate (Expresso - 22/4/89).

Abílio Araújo gave an interview which appeared in Sabado magazine of 29/4/89.

-Sabado: "Can a visit by the Pope to East Timor be seen as a recognition of the Indonesian occupation?"

-Abílio Araújo: "No, I do not share this opinion. The Pope is going solely at the invitation of the Apostolic Administrator, he is not going at the invitation of the Indonesian bishops."

-Sabado: "Could the visit have positive effects for your struggle?"

-A. Araújo: "Yes, it certainly could! Firstly, because we expect that the Pope in East Timor will give words of comfort and affection to a suffering people who, in the last 14 years, lost more than 200 thousand of its own flesh and blood. Secondly, because the presence of the head of the Catholic Church would also be responding to the way in which the population nowadays looks towards catholicism ..."

-Sabado: "How do you analyze the actions of the Church in East Timor?"

-A. Araújo: "Our priests and nuns, I am referring to the Timorese, have struggled very hard and, consequently, they have been the victims of Indonesian repression" (Sabado 29/4/89).

Timorese priests would have protested against the Pope's visit to East Timor because of the manner in which it is being organized according to Chrys Crystello. The Timorese clergy, in a note sent to the Vatican, considers that the visit constitutes "a formal act of recognition of the integration of East Timor within Indonesia". The note quoted by the Australian journalist protests at the planning, anticipated by the Vatican's envoy Roberto Tucci, of an open-air mass in Taci-Tolu near Dili, the place where, according to a communication from Fretilin in Lisbon, the Indonesian military tortured and massacred tens of thousands of Timorese. Suggestions of other locations made by the Timorese clergy were turned down. It is also planned that the mass will be celebrated in the Indonesian language and not in Tetum the local language although there exists a rite in Tetum recognized by the Vatican. The preparations for the Pope's visit would be organized by the Indonesian Government and by the Nuncio in Jakarta. (Europeu 2/5/89 and Diário de Notícias 3/5/89).

On April 15 Mgr Belo wrote a pastoral letter about the Pope's visit. One senses in it the deep unease which the visit, in the conditions under which it is to take place, has provoked among the catholic faithful, the priests and clergy and in Mgr Belo himself. According to other information, this unease was further deepened by the attitudes and statements of Mgr Tucci, the Pope's emissary responsible for organizing the visit, regarding the insignificance of the Timorese catholics in relation to christianity as a whole.

#### Pastoral letter on the visit to East Timor of Pope John Paul II.

(...) the Pope will visit Dili on October 12 1989. The Holy Father will arrive about 9.00 in the morning and will preside at a Eucharist in the only site capable of holding 100,000 people, which is that of Taci-Tolu (Dili). After the visit the Pope will return to Jakarta...

(...) His Holiness feels that he cannot return to Rome without setting foot on the soil of Timor and transmitting to his Timorese children a word of comfort, of hope and of spiritual and moral support. It is he himself who wishes to come. He knows that his gesture is susceptible to political interpretations, but he has decided to run the risk of being misinterpreted, and will come to visit THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR...

(...) The Pope does not come to defend integration, nor does he come to defend independence, nor to indicate political solutions to the problem of Timor...

(...) we cannot, we must not, accuse him of coming with political intentions, and certainly must not make use of his presence amongst us to wave our party flags. The Pope is above parties, ideologies and governments...

(...) Let us prepare for a veritable conversion(...):

a) priests:

(...) Are we united with the Pope? Do we wish him to visit our diocese, our priests and our faithful? Or are we indifferent? Or do we criticize his visit? We are the first to make the announcement, but do we announce the Pope's visit with euphoria? Or are we indifferent, or apathetic? We also need to convert ourselves...

b) religious:

(...) as 'professionals' in the faith, one cannot understand how the religious could also contribute to there being a climate of indifference and apathy amongst the faithful towards the Pope's visit to Timor...

c) the laity:

(...) Therefore, if the Timorese Catholics are the first to mistrust the Pope's visit, if they show themselves indifferent or questioning towards the news of the papal visit, the question to ask is: are we Catholics? If we do not want this Pope to visit, what other Pope are we waiting for? What other Pope do we wish for? Who is our Pope? ...

Dearly beloved faithful: an attitude of authentic faith behoves us to accept the Pope, whether or not he is to our taste...

Conclusion: As the Apostolic Administrator, that is as the Pope's representative in East Timor, I have elected to say the entire truth regarding the Pope's visit. It is my duty to do this, even though it may be painful...

With my Episcopal blessing  
Carlos Filipe X. Belo

Dili 15/4/89

### The Vatican - The Indonesian Church - The Timorese Church.

We can recall some facts which can clarify the Vatican position on the East Timor problem.

1. In 1977, two years after the invasion, the Portuguese Bishop of Dili renounced his post. The Vatican named Mgr da Costa Lopes, the oldest Timorese priest, as the Diocesan Apostolic Administrator. The diocese, up to then pertaining to the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, passed to being directly under the Vatican (Secretary of State.)
2. In spite of insistent requests from the Indonesian Episcopal Conference the diocese is not linked to this Conference. Mgr Canalini, the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta, said in September to the "Suara Pembaruan" newspaper that to accept this formal link "would implicitly recognize the Indonesian dimension" of the Dili diocese, and this the Vatican "could not do" because it "adheres to that which is decided by international law".
3. This notwithstanding, the Apostolic Administrator of Dili diocese, Mgr da Costa Lopes was invited by the Nuncio to participate in the sessions of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference: it being made clear that he went only as an observer.
4. In 1981, when invited to participate in a meeting of Indonesian religious superiors, the East Timor clergy draw up a document where they declare "Our links with the Universal Church (...) were abruptly severed. We, the East Timor clergy, along with our people, were cast into a void, into alienation... We are aware that we are being "persuaded" to establish links with the Indonesian Church because it is the nearest Church and that which is authorised by the Government and the Army to forge bonds with us. We hope that this relationship develops in an honest way... We also confess that we still do not understand why the Indonesian

Church and the Roman Church do not openly and officially declare their solidarity with the East Timor Church, clergy and people".

5. In May 1983, after an intense Indonesian campaign aimed at denigrating him because of his criticisms of the occupants, Mgr da Costa Lopes is invited by the Vatican to hand in his resignation and is replaced by a young cleric recently returned to Timor with an Indonesian passport. Mgr Belo belongs to a family known before the invasion for its pro-Indonesian sentiments, although he himself had not manifested such.
6. When he was also invited to participate in the meetings of the Episcopal Conference and to apply the decisions to his own diocese, Mgr Belo accepted these orders. When the decisions of the Conference seemed to him to be contrary to the best interests of the East Timor Church Mgr Belo put forward the case to the Nuncio but without apparent result.
7. In November 1983 the Indonesian bishops write a letter to the East Timor clergy expressing their solidarity; the letter is distributed at an international meeting of catholic organizations which finance the Indonesian Church but is not divulged in Indonesia.
8. John Paul II on July 7 1984 takes a public position on the East Timor issue for the first time when receiving the credentials of the Indonesian ambassador, recommending "respect for Human Rights in East Timor" and manifesting his "hopes for special consideration, in all circumstances, for the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of its people".
9. At the request of the Vatican Mgr Belo meets secretly with the leader of the Timorese Resistance, Commander Xanana Gusmão, on April 25 1986. Mgr Belo proposes that the guerrillas give themselves up in exchange for guarantees of their own safety and the possibility of leaving the territory. An identical proposal had already been made by the Nuncio in Jakarta, Pablo Puente, and was repeated by the present Nuncio because "later will be too late". Xanana Gusmão responded to Mgr Belo that the guerrillas struggle was not a personal one and he asked if the offer of leaving the territory applied to all the Timorese people. The repetition of the proposal by the present Nuncio gave rise to mistrust as to the true intentions of Vatican diplomacy.
10. In December 1987 John Paul II, on receiving the credentials of the new Indonesian ambassador, repeated his request regarding the identity of the Timorese people in similar terms to those he had used in 1984.
11. In a letter to the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta, Xanana Gusmão regrets that "The Holy See has been involved in manoeuvres to induce the armed Resistance to surrender". The Vatican seems to be bemused, said the commander in chief of the Timorese resistance, by the number of catholics, which in a few years rose from 30 to 80% of the population. "The Church in Timor lives because of the abnegation of the missionaries who understand our people, who feel what the people feel, but if the Vatican takes this moral support away from the people, either the Indonesian or the other 'hand-picked' priests will put an end to the remaining respect and

confidence which our people have held toward the Church since the distant past".

X. Gusmão revealed a remark by the Nuncio, made in confidence to a Timorese priest, according to which "the Vatican's position is in favour of integration"... "our people would accept an open and clear position on the part of the Vatican but not an underhand one ... which tries to convince us to surrender" writes X. Gusmão who finishes by saying: "Allow us to die for our country and in our country, no Maubere has yet requested the Nuncio the trouble of being buried in Italy". (Sabado 13/5/88)

12. 1988, Mgr Belo is named as Titular Bishop of Lorium (Italy). He continues, therefore, to preside over the diocese of Dili as Apostolic Administrator without being, in legal terms, the Bishop of Dili.
  13. On the occasion of his episcopal consecration in September 1988, on being asked about the eventual integration of the diocese of Dili into the Episcopal Conference Mgr Belo replied: "up to now the diocese of Dili has not wished to form a union with the Indonesian Episcopal Conference" (Asia Focus - 20/9/88).
  14. In the beginning of 1989 the chairman of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference, Mgr Situmorang, declared "We have always desired the participation of East Timor in our Episcopal Conference, not solely for nationalistic reasons but also because of the ecclesiastical links which unite us... in spite of the formal restrictions we have always tried to invite the heads of Dili diocese into the meetings and works of our Episcopal Conference. (...) Mgr Belo seeks the assistance of the Indonesian dioceses more than those of Portugal or Macau, which increases the feeling of belonging to Indonesia of the people of East Timor". The union "is merely a formality seeing as Mgr Belo sends his seminarians to the theology seminaries on the islands of Flores and Java, and invites teachers from these provinces to the minor-seminary in his own dioceses" (Asia News - 15/2/89).
  15. On February 6 Mgr Belo wrote to the General Secretary of the UN, the President of the Portuguese Republic and to the Bishop of Setubal (Portugal) requesting a referendum organized by the United Nations (see the attached letters).
  16. On February 16 Mgr Belo wrote in similar terms to the Nuncio in Jakarta (see attached extract from the letter ).
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Letter from Monseigneur Belo to Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, General Secretary of the United Nations 8/2/89:

Dear Sir,

Firstly please allow me to present my sincere and respectful greetings.

Sir, I take the liberty of writing to you to bring it to your attention that the process of decolonization of Portuguese Timor has still not been resolved by the United Nations and that it would be well not to allow this to be forgotten. As for us, the Timor people, we think that we should be consulted regarding the destiny of our land. Therefore (...) I, as head of the Catholic Church, and as a Timorese citizen, request the General Secretary to initiate in Timor the process of decolonization that is the most normal and democratic namely the holding of a REFERENDUM. The Timorese People must be heard through a plebiscite concerning their future. Up to now the people have not been consulted. It has been others who have spoken in the name of the People. It is Indonesia who said that the Timorese People have chosen integration but the people of Timor themselves have never said this. Portugal wishes to let time resolve the problem. We, meanwhile, are dying as people and as a nation.

You Mr General Secretary are a friend of democracy and of human rights. So, please show by your deeds a respect for the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter which concedes to all the peoples of this planet the right to freely, consciously and responsibly choose their own destiny. Sir, there is no more democratic way of knowing the supreme will of the Timorese People than by the holding of a REFERENDUM of the People of Timor promoted by the United Nations.

I thank you Mr Perez de Cuellar for all your kindness to the Timorese People and once again tender my respects.

Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB  
Titular Bishop of Lorium  
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

Extract from the letter from Mgr Belo to Dom Manuel Martins, Bishop of Setubal. (Pontago)

(Mgr Belo refers to the letter he has sent to the UN)

"... It deals with the setting up, together with the General Secretary of the United Nations, of an initiative leading to a REFERENDUM to allow the Timorese People to choose their destiny. If the People should want integration with Indonesia then let them come to say this through a plebiscite and not by way of force of arms, psychological pressure or fear as has been happening here since 1976. If the People should choose to remain with Portugal, may Your Excellency's Government respect the moral and historical link with this people. If,



should they be given the chance, the People choose self-determination then may this right be accorded to them. But to not allow the Timorese People to say what they feel is the most sophisticated form of slavery which only generates discontent, injustice and slow death. I appeal to you Dom Manuel to help me in this battle for a referendum for East Timor."

Extract from the letter from Mgr Belo to the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta 16/4/89:

(At the request of the Nuncio, Mgr Belo begins with some clarification regarding the Association of St Anthony. The letter then continues as follows... )

"A wave of imprisonments and interrogations followed (of men, women and students). Abuses to women and girls occurred. There were blows, punches and kicks to men. These events provoked a reaction amongst the people, and hence the taking of a position by the Church in the Pastoral Note of December 5 1988. At this moment the situation has calmed down. Some of the leaders continue to be prisoners (detainees). Will they come to trial? I do not know. We still do not know if the Association was founded by Timorese alone or if there are dark forces behind it. The worst of all is that the entire carnival of imprisonment and interrogation was mounted by some officials who would like to be rewarded by Suharto!

Specific cases of recent abuses against human rights:

- I - The fact of Indonesia's invasion and military occupation of Timor, not permitting the possibility of the Timorese People showing what it feels is per se an abuse of human rights and is contrary to the United Nations Charter.
- II - Speaking of politics is forbidden; also prohibited are associations, meetings and circulation by night. These are everyday facts. Everyone is obliged to speak of PANCASILA, of PEMBANGUNAN; Regarding religion, there is no right to be areligious, atheist or animist.  
Everyone has to choose a religion.

The points I and II are much more grave than the ordinary abuses such as:

- III - A) In Dilor-Lacluta, the members of 726 battalion killed :
  1. Carlos Mendes da Silva, 22 years old, who was killed on October 1988 by 18 bullets in his body.
  2. Luiz da Cruz, 20 years old, with 18 bullets in his body.

These were killed publicly in front of 15 people (whose names I have).
- B) Civilians beaten :
 

1. Araújo Fernandes	- Desa Ahio-Dilor
2. Agostinho Lo'o	do.
3. Francisco Parado Martins	do.
4. Luis Ximenes	do.
5. Loi'Ouela - whose head was split open.	
6. Alarico Martins	- Desa Ahio
7. Moisés Ximenes	do.

On November 5 1988 the Section Commander sent Mr Afonso Laguik to say to the people that the killing had been performed by Fretilin.

On the 7th of the same month the Section Commander and the Viqueque Authorities went to explain these events to the population in Lacluta, saying that they were acts of Fretilin. (A PUBLIC LIE ON THE PART OF THE AUTHORITIES AND SOME CATHOLICS, APOSTOLIC AND ROMAN).

IV - There were further killings by the military in Ossu (4 people), Lacluta (5 people), Viqueque (2 people), Gariwai-Baucau (2 people), Luro (1 person).

And I could continue with a list of killings in the name of Keamanan.

V - There have been threats and psychological pressure on various functionaries so that they would not divulge these various killings; otherwise they would lose their position, NIP and could also be killed. In short, this is how we have lived since 1976....

Since 1983, the year in which I was nominated as Apostolic Administrator, we have witnessed these selfsame abuses every year. We always speak to the authorities but the result is always the same. It is the People who suffer. Therefore it is urgent that A REFERENDUM BE HELD, to ask the People of Timor if they accept integration.

In Timor we live under the psychological pressure of the Dictatorship. The latest news: the military now train and pay former prisoners belonging to the Association of St Anthony to keep watch on parish priests.

Hence, one may well ask, since when has there not existed human rights abuse in East Timor?"

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