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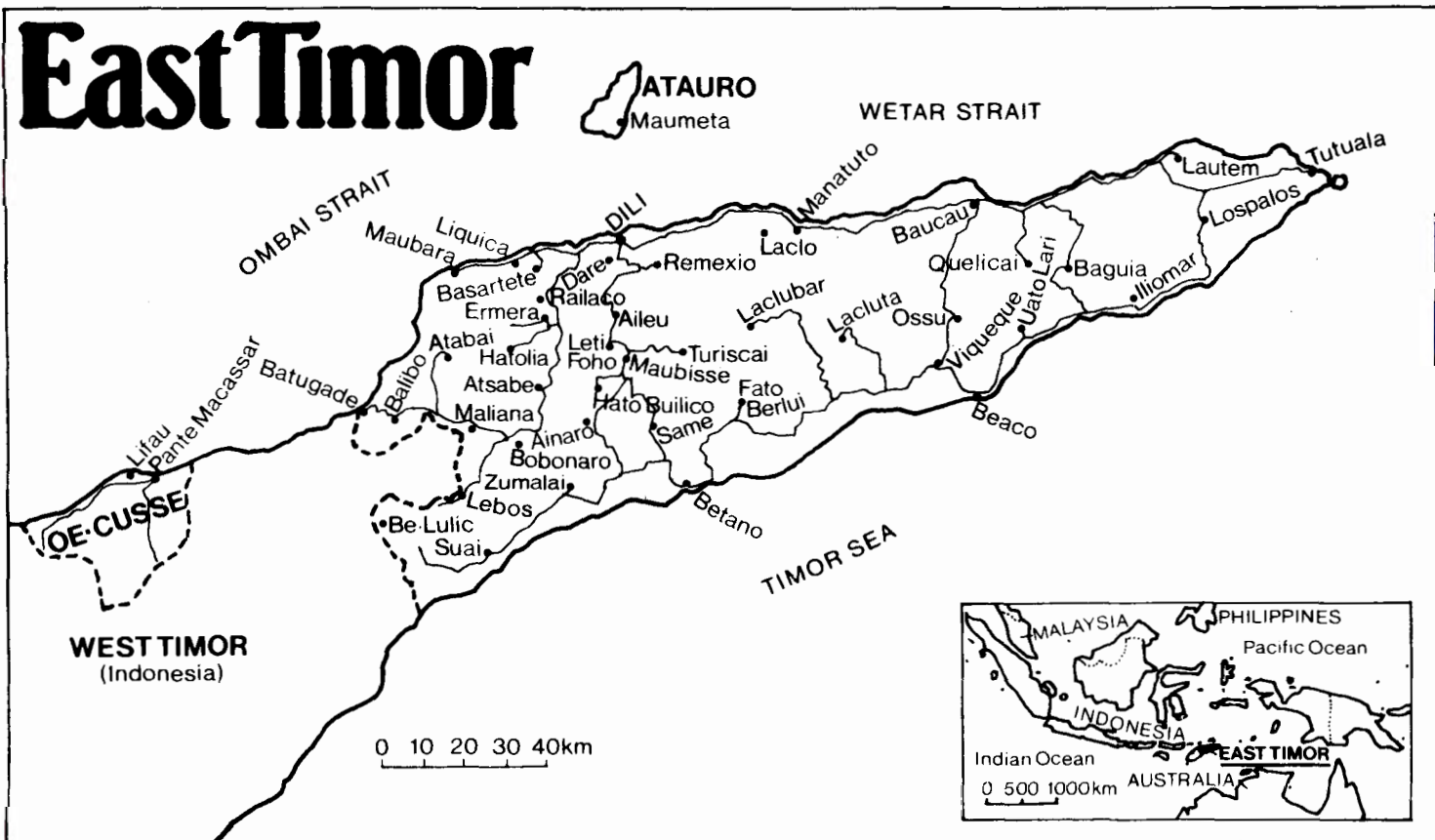
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# CIIR



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# TEN YEARS AFTER

When the Indonesian military invaded East Timor in 1975 they confidently expected to be able to subdue a backward ex-colonial country of 650,000 people. Unviable as an independent nation-state East Timor would soon be incorporated into the Indonesian Republic. In the words of an ill-informed journalist, in December 1975 Timor was 'ripe for Jakarta's plucking'.

Events were to turn out very differently. The Indonesian army, with its 20,000 troops, soon became bogged down, its control confined to the main villages and coastal areas. The population strongly supported FRETILIN, the movement which had declared East Timor independent. Only with the help of military equipment and defence aid from the governments of Australia, the United States and Europe has the Indonesian government been able to move seriously against FRETILIN, which continues in 1985 to be active in most areas of the country.

## Social engineering through genocide

The Indonesian invasion has led to a brutal and systematic campaign of genocide against East Timor's people. These words are carefully chosen. In the ten years since 1975 at least 200,000 people, or just under a third of the population, have been killed. The remainder have been subjected to starvation, imprisonment and forced resettlement in strategic hamlets. The Indonesian government has embarked on a programme of economic, political and social engineering aimed at the total reorganisation of Timorese society by the most efficient means available, regardless of their psychological and physical effects. In the most basic areas of social life, such as the family, religious belief and education, the values of Indonesian society are being forced on to a reluctant population. There is no legal recourse: one conforms or one disappears. The Indonesian army has a special prisoner category in East Timor: 'Number One' - destined for disappearance. 'People are afraid,' said a Timorese in Jakarta in 1982. 'They are scared. They do not even trust their own family. People are becoming less willing to express their disagreement and resentment. The people feel they have no hope - everyone looks with suspicion on everyone else as a traitor.'

'You will only rule our bones.'

The other major feature of the last ten years is summed up in a saying which originated in 1978 among mountain villagers: 'You will never rule us; you will only rule our bones.' This determination to resist Indonesian annexation is found extensively and constantly throughout the territory. As the former leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Mgr da Costa Lopes, put it, 'They are determined to fight for independence to the end. They want to be independent at all costs. The people of East Timor know the Indonesians too well to want anything more to do with them.' The continuing existence of a national network of resistance, the persistent attacks on Indonesian troops and the ability to organise direct communication with the outside world testify to the truth of these words.

## The future

What, then, lies ahead? Can this level of resistance continue, and will the Indonesian government pursue its present course? The answer is strongly in the affirmative. There is no prospect of dislodging the resistance organised in the many regions of Timor's mountainous terrain, and there is unlikely to be any dramatic shift in policy towards East Timor from Jakarta. Similarly, no fundamental changes are foreseeable in the policies of the major powers

towards Indonesia; the country's strategic and economic importance is too great.

There are nevertheless many ways in which the situation can be improved for the East Timorese, and these can involve us all directly. Let us take some examples.

East Timor is a Catholic country, albeit nominally so in several regions. The Catholic Church has become increasingly aware in the last five years of the extent of human rights abuses under Indonesian occupation, and pressure from church sources has had a growing international impact. This work can be extended.

The former colonial power, Portugal, is currently discussing East Timor with the Indonesian government under the auspices of the UN secretary general. Issues which have been discussed so far, such as the treatment of former Portuguese civil servants and the broad principles of religious freedom, can be sharpened by pressure from the European Parliament, of which Portugal is now a member. European parliamentary action has been shown over the last few months to have considerable impact.

The International Red Cross (ICRC) currently operates only a very limited programme in East Timor. Lobbying governments in industrialised countries to put pressure on the Indonesians to extend the programme could have some effect. For example, it was announced that the ICRC would again be allowed to work on the mainland following inquiries made by Mrs Thatcher, Britain's Conservative Prime Minister, during her visit to Indonesia last year.

The nonaligned movement has recently reinserted East Timor on to its agenda, largely as a result of the efforts of the lusophone African states, supported notably by Zimbabwe, the next chair of the movement. Any support for Zimbabwe's attempts to keep the East Timor alive diplomatically could be very important.

## A crucial reinforcement

It might well be said that all these suggestions are very limited in scope in comparison with the fundamental problem of East Timor. This is undeniable. Yet in the present situation, when the conditions do not exist for imposing serious national or international constraints on Indonesia's actions, or for gaining extensive international support for the independence movement, it is essential that we are creative in developing campaigns which can give practical assistance to the people of East Timor. Our impact on Indonesian policy may be small, but knowledge of our support - and it does get through - is a crucial reinforcement to the most important struggle of all, that of the people of East Timor, resisting in the mountains or resisting silently in the strategic hamlets.

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# THE CHURCH IN EAST TIMOR

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## Young people in East Timor

Mgr Belo, the leader of East Timor's Catholics, is known to have a policy of consulting the territory's Catholics about their views on the political situation. During 1985 he has apparently been making a special effort to talk to young people. In April he issued a pastoral letter for International Youth Year, and in August he made an appeal to students. The

April pastoral has just reached Timor Link, and we reproduce some extracts below. We also include sections of a reply to Mgr Belo's appeal from an organisation of East Timorese young Catholics. A strong theme of the pastoral letter is patriotism, and Timor Link understands that this was also an important part of Mgr Belo's message to the students.

## Mgr Belo's letter to Young Timorese

Section 2 of the pastoral letter is on the UN theme for the year, 'Development, participation and peace'. Mgr Belo emphasises the view of development put forward by Pope Paul VI in his encyclical Populorum Progressio and by Vatican II in Gaudium et Spes.

"In the Christian view development cannot be reduced to simple economic growth. As Populorum Progressio says, 'To be authentic it must be well-rounded; it must foster the development of each person and of the whole person' (14). Above all, this development must be directed towards human beings. The Council urges citizens to 'remember that it is their right and duty, which is also to be recognised by the civil authority, to contribute to the true progress of their own community' (GS 65).

### Defending justice and freedom

...For young Timorese, peace means defending justice and freedom, standing by the poor, those who suffer, the oppressed. Nevertheless peace means above all living in grace, having a clear eye and a pure heart.

It means having in one's heart Jesus Christ, the prince of peace.

### 5. Building Timor

The first sections of the bible reveal to us how God entrusted to human beings the task of bringing the world to perfection: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it' (Gen 1.28). The great achievements of humanity are not accidents, nor are they the work of a single individual. Cultural and artistic achievements, the advance of science and technology, have been the common creation of generations of human beings. It is the same with the emergence of nations and peoples. At a particular historical period a community of men and women living in the same territory, sustained by the same sense of nationhood, decided, sometimes by peaceful means, sometimes by armed uprising, to establish what is called a nation, a fatherland, a people.

As individuals we form part of a community. We are born in a particular territory called Timor. For this Timor we must nurture love, devotion and zeal. The love of one's native land, a sense of its history, the defence of all that makes up the culture, progress, greatness and survival of Timor, all this is patriotism. Patriotism is a universal human attribute, and the most characteristic and the noblest virtue of a civilised person. The church calls on all, particularly Christians, to love their country: they 'must cultivate a generous and loyal spirit of patriotism... and give an example by their sense of responsibility and their service of the common good' (GS 75)."

## 'Stand firm for self-determination' — Young Timorese reply to Mgr Belo

Timor Link has received a copy of a message sent by a Timorese Catholic youth organisation to Mgr Belo in response to an appeal made by the apostolic administrator in August. The document, dated 7 September, is part of the process of consultation initiated by Mgr Belo, and should be read in the context of the rumours currently circulating that the Indonesians are planning to organise a 'consultation' in East Timor which will produce a vote for integration with Indonesia. A translation of the complete text is available from CIIR; the following are extracts. The headings have been added. [Note: The term "Maubere" is used by many East Timorese to describe the people of the territory.]

### The church's duty

"...There can be no doubt that this is a difficult, but historic moment for a Christian, and especially for the Catholic Church in East Timor, since for the first time it is going to define its position on the destiny of the Maubere people.... The young Catholics of East Timor, as an integral part of the flock of Christ scattered round the world, are convinced that taking a position against the barbarous treatment meted out by the invader to the Maubere people is a sacred duty of the church.... A statement by the church in East Timor will be an effective denunciation of the Indonesian government which is making the violation of the Maubere people's fundamental rights 'our daily bread'.

### Church and people

In their bitterest moments the East Timorese people have found in the church an unfailing source of protection for their fundamental rights, from the time

of the leadership of the then revered Apostolic Administrator Dom Martinho da Costa Lopes to the present time under your leadership. Since at the present time the gospel of Christ represents for the Maubere people the promise of a future of freedom, democracy and social justice, we are not surprised at the recent mass conversions of its sons and daughters to catholicism.

...The Maubere people are already convinced that the religion of Christ is for them like the air they breathe and therefore charges of complete materialism or the other accusations of alleged atheism among the people are incredible, since they have been and will always be followers of Christ. The Maubere people who took up arms from 1975 onwards, both leaders and rank and file, are neither more nor less than Catholic Christians fighting not only for the sovereignty and integrity of their homeland but also for the survival of the Catholic Church in the world and especially for the survival of the Catholic Church in East Timor.

### Appeal to the Christian world

In view of all this, we young Catholics, as an integral part of the heroic and religious Maubere people, though scattered abroad and distant from the motherland, still united with you, appeal:

1. to the church to remain firm in its position and not show any flexibility or trust in the sweet promises of the neocolonialists, since they are no more than the imperialists' bait and a means to attain their final goal of crushing the Maubere people by force of arms;
2. to the church in East Timor, that, when it defines its political and religious position, it should not

fail to recognise that East Timor possesses that right which is universal and inalienable attribute of peoples, complete self-determination and independence, since many of the Catholic Christians who have already died for the liberation of their country and not to be subjected to a new colonial regime, as the enemies of the heroic and religious Maubere people allege in their propaganda inside and outside East Timor;

3. for all diocese throughout the world which love peace and divine truth, through the efforts of the church in East Timor, to be brought into direct opposition to the expansionist and neocolonialist Javanese government;
- 4 for a campaign to be carried on through the Catholic Church among all the nations which still doubt the truth proclaimed by the Catholic Church in East Timor in support of the Maubere people and therefore abstained in the vote at the 1982 General Assembly of the United Nations, to get them to.... support the complete self-determination and independence of the Maubere people;
5. for the church to make known the real and deplorable situation of the Maubere people to the Catholic countries which, through their commercial interests, have denied the internationally recognised fundamental rights of peoples, so that they may have pity on those whose human dignity is being cruelly violated in East Timor;
6. for the church to contact once more all international organisations, whether religious or not, which have ceased to show solidarity with the struggle of the Maubere people and reply to the cunning allegations of the dictatorial Indonesian government so that these organisations will once again recognise the sacrifice of the Maubere people and so that, as a result, there may be restored to East Timor the peace, justice and harmony which is the desire of every people in the world, however small;
7. for a campaign to be conducted through the church among Christians who are sceptical of, alienated from or indifferent to the suffering and the innocent blood of the Christian people of Timor to bring them into solidarity with the sense of nationhood which has taken over the hearts of all Timorese, even the better among those who formerly collaborated with the invading Indonesian forces."

The document ends with a 12-point plan for a transition to independence which coincides in part with FRETILIN's peace plan, notably in stressing cooperation between all groups and parties.

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## The situation inside

An analysis by John Taylor

### Fretilin's organisation

In a mid-September radio broadcast, Central Committee member Mau Hodu gave details of Fretilin's current organisation. Outlining the military structure, he described Fretilin's 'population units'. These are located in the Eastern point area and in the border and central mountain regions. They are made up of voluntary groups of 20 to 30 families and are distinguished from the 'mobile autonomous guerrilla companies' which operate in the eastern, border, north-central and south central regions. Whereas the population units have a more settled existence, with farming, education, medicine and family life, the company is an essentially mobile unit. Divided into platoons and sections, its main function is to attack military posts and conduct ambushes.

Speaking of the importance of education, Hodu described the education programmes run in the mobile companies. Basic teaching classes were introduced in 1982-3 to improve the cultural level of Falantil (the

armed forces). Those who can read and write teach all those who cannot. "When there is no chalk, (our army and its leaders) use coal; instead of paper, which is scarce, they use white stone" and other materials.

### Clashes

Information received through the radio suggests that Fretilin companies have been operating extensively during much of 1985. In March and April, weekly clashes were reported with Indonesian troops in areas as far apart as Lospalos, Lacluta, Quelicai, Ainaro, Zumalai, Same and Suai. If accurate, they show Fretilin is active in all areas of the territory except the north. At least until the middle of the 1985 dry season, Indonesian troops appear, as before, to have been concentrated in the main towns and along the major lines of communication, and to be subject to attack whenever they leave their garrisons and strategic villages.

In a Reuters report (Jakarta, October 17), it was claimed that talks had taken place in eastern Lospalos between a member of East Timor's Regional Assembly and Fretilin representatives. Quoting 'senior western diplomats', it described how the official had met Fretilin unofficially, on his own initiative, but with the permission of Governor Carrascalao, to 'discuss talks to resolve the conflict'. The report concluded: "A quarrel developed after several hours of talks which led to a gunfight in which the official, one of his men and at least eight to ten guerrillas were killed" (Guardian, 18.10.85). One can only guess at the events which gave rise to this strange report, about which no more has been reported. Fretilin's external delegation has reportedly received no news; and it should be noted that such leaks through diplomatic sources usually occur when Indonesian officials wish to prepare a new diplomatic initiative.

This said, it has certainly been true on several occasions that Indonesian commanders have arranged local ceasefires with Fretilin, to give their troops a respite from military engagements.

### New torture centres

It now seems that the towns of Baucau and Lospalos have become regional interrogation and torture centres. Fretilin radio has reported that prisoners have been taken to these towns throughout 1985. Methods of torture reported include electric shocks, beatings, starvation and the application of boiling water to the skin. Many prisoners are executed after torture. Local officials are among the victims mentioned by Fretilin radio in recent months, suggesting that even the highest placed Timorese are suspected of Fretilin sympathies. Reportedly, the Governor himself intervened in Lospalos to try and stop these interrogations, but to no avail.

### The Australian ambassador visits

On October 6-8, the Australian Ambassador visited Dili for meetings with military, political and church officials. Mr Bill Morrison's objective was "to view the situation and discuss progress since his last visit in 1983" (The Australian, 8.10.85). During that earlier visit, when he led a parliamentary delegation, his car was stopped by a local Fretilin commander, Concio de Gama, who asked him to arrange talks with a Fretilin delegation in Soba, near Laga. Morrison offered to discuss this possibility with Governor Carrascalao but on his return to Dili did no more than ask Carrascalao to comment on a letter which de Gama had given him. During this October visit, Fretilin's president, Kai Rala Xanana Gusmao, requested Morrison to contact him directly, by radio. Once again, Morrison made no response. The Australian foreign affairs department commented that "Australian-Indonesian relations, improving over the East Timor issue, could be seriously damaged by any attempt to contact the guerrillas" (West Australian, 9.10.85).



## Church calls for aid

In early October, Mgr Belo asked Australian church organisations to send emergency medical aid to counter what he described as a plague of measles in the eastern region (Lospalos, Luro). In September it was reported that 30 children had died in Luro alone, but no information is available about the situation in other areas. Aid was required urgently because government dispensaries had no appropriate medicines. A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra said that he was unaware of any measles outbreak in East Timor and declared: "The International Red Cross is there. I wonder why the bishop should make the request" (The Age, 11.10.85).

# DIPLOMATIC NEWS

## The Indonesian-Portuguese talks

On September 16 the United Nations' Secretary General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, published his second progress report to the General Assembly on the Question of East Timor. Its publication, coinciding with the tenth anniversary of Indonesia's invasion and the appearance of several diplomatic statements from Fretilin, provides an opportunity to reflect on the diplomatic process which is under way.

The Secretary General's report describes in some detail the careful exchanges following which 'it was decided that Indonesia and Portugal would begin substantive talks under the auspices of the United Nations in November 1984. It was agreed that these talks would commence with consideration of humanitarian issues, on the understanding that they would ultimately deal with the question in a comprehensive way, thus facilitating an internationally acceptable settlement' (para. 6).

### Phase 1: humanitarian issues

Since then, talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian governments have 'centred on the questions of the repatriation of former Portuguese civil servants, the repatriation of certain East Timorese expatriates now residing in Portugal, religious freedom, protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of the East Timorese people, and economic and social conditions in East Timor' (para. 10). Mr de Cuellar's report describes the undertakings given by Indonesia in these areas (some of which, including the matter of religious freedoms, continue to be criticised by international observers), and goes on to describe the work undertaken by the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF and to applaud the visits recently made to the territory by journalists.

### Phase 2: political questions

The five-page report ends on an optimistic note. 'The substantive talks between Indonesia and Portugal have proceeded in a constructive atmosphere. Both sides have reiterated to me their willingness to continue the present process. It is therefore my sincere hope that, in the coming months, the next phase of the talks will build upon the measure of understanding already reached and that the consideration of the political, civil and other aspects of the problem will prepare the ground for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor' (para. 25).

### Contradictions

Political and diplomatic attitudes towards Mr de Cuellar's initiative have always been contradictory, since the General Assembly called upon the Secretary General in 1982 'to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned with a view to exploring

avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement'. On one hand, intervention by the United Nations is universally assumed to be necessary if any settlement is to secure a minimum of justice for the people of East Timor. Portugal is seen to be too weak to bring Indonesia to the negotiating table, it is assumed that the East Timorese cannot defeat Indonesia and no other state has a diplomatic justification for taking up the issue on behalf of the territory's people.

On the other hand, at a time when the United Nations is seen to be weak, its ability to mediate even-handedly is questionable. Whereas Portugal has progressively diluted its political demands with regard to East Timor - a situation unlikely to change after the recent parliamentary elections and the election early next year of a new President - the Indonesian government has not shifted from its inflexibly nationalist position since 1975. Under such conditions, 'substantive negotiations' might simply come to mean that Portugal progressively concedes all its claims and Indonesia secures all its demands. (See Dr Mochtar's interview with Radio Australia elsewhere in this issue)

Not only does the United Nations have no leverage on Indonesia to secure a balanced settlement, it is ill-equipped to take a high ethical standpoint. The UN's record for effective and just settlement of regional problems was perhaps blighted permanently by the disastrous case of West Papua/Irian Jaya, which the United Nations agreed would become part of Indonesia after the Indonesian government organised a plebiscite on self-determination which was manifestly unrepresentative.

### East Timorese excluded

Of still greater importance is the fact that the current diplomatic process has failed so far to include, directly or indirectly, any representatives of the people of East Timor. This omission has naturally been criticised: it is indeed difficult to see how a 'just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement' can be reached without consulting the population most directly concerned, especially when a significant proportion of that population is fighting a war with one of the powers at the negotiating table.

East Timorese representatives have not, of course, been omitted merely from carelessness: under normal circumstances, Mr de Cuellar would expect to visit the territory and involve local people directly or indirectly in the discussions about their future. This option has been closed again, however, by the Indonesian government, which has military control and since 1975 has prevented all unwanted outsiders, including UN officials, from visiting the territory.

### What is the UN's role?

Moreover, the United Nations is created by governments for governments. In consequence it is procedurally difficult for the UN Secretariat to oblige Indonesia to include as parties in the negotiations East Timorese whose claims to represent a national entity are precisely what Indonesia most strenuously denies. In short, virtually all the worthwhile cards are in the Indonesian government's hand, even though international law and every consideration of justice stand against its claims.

Yet, what do the United Nations and its representatives stand for, if not international law and justice? Whatever pressures may be brought upon Mr de Cuellar, if he is seen to discard the claims of East Timor's people for reasons of mere expedience or weakness, in the long term it will be the United Nations and all it represents which will also suffer.

### Recent statements by Fretilin

Fretilin leaders in East Timor and abroad, in letters to the Secretary General and recently to Lord Avebury, have stated clearly that they welcome UN mediation -

but that this must include participation by representatives of the East Timorese people. In a letter dated August 5 and submitted to the Security Council on October 29, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, President of the Council for National Liberation in East Timor, and Jose Ramos Horta, of Fretilin's external delegation, express their readiness to cooperate in Mr de Cuellar's 'efforts to uphold the sacred principles of the Charter' and 'express our trust in and respect for your high office and your personal integrity and ability to discharge the responsibilities given to you by the international community'.

### 'Legitimate right'

The letter declares that the 1982 General Assembly resolution was welcomed in East Timor 'in as much as it provided the basis for a possible peaceful solution to the conflict which has already cost 200,000 East Timorese lives and the lives of thousands of Indonesian soldiers killed in combat.' But it goes on at once to say that 'The people of East Timor are the party most "directly concerned",' and that they 'claim their legitimate right to be consulted about their very future'.

That Fretilin has not been contacted by the UN, or told that Fretilin or other East Timorese will be consulted before the discussions involving Portugal and Indonesia are concluded, is made clear in a letter sent recently to Lord Avebury by Xanana. Fretilin's leaders are thus in a quandary with respect to the UN initiative. They must support the Secretary General - but can they trust the UN not to betray its own fundamental principles and those of international law from weakness or from expediency?

### Fretilin's negotiating position

In a statement attached to the letter of August 5, Fretilin declares that 'it has never desired, does not and never will desire that East Timor should be the focus for the spread of conflicts. East Timor is a non-aligned country and follows a policy of good neighbourliness. These principles will regulate its relations with all countries.' This stance is one which has frequently been reiterated in recent years, and represents a change from the fiery rhetoric of pre-1975. It recognises the degree to which Indonesian and Australian interests - not to speak of those of the super-powers - have influenced international attitudes towards their struggle. The same realism is reflected in the 'Peace Plan' which represents Fretilin's current negotiating position.

### The peace plan

1. With the mediation of the United Nations General Secretary, direct talks between Portugal, Indonesia and the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance, representing Fretilin and non-Fretilin members, <should take place> within the general framework of General Assembly resolution 37/30, to explore:

a. The creation of a multinational peace-keeping force, whose impartiality would be an indispensable condition for guaranteeing and putting into practice:

i. A transitional administration;

ii. The correct implementation of decisions taken during discussions on the positioning of the opposing forces - Falantil and the Indonesian armed forces;

b. The organisation of free and democratic consultation of East Timor's people;

c. Setting a date for the transfer of sovereignty.

2. Governments of the South Pacific Forum and ASEAN are invited to participate in the talks as observers.

3. Other observers may be accepted if proposed in equal number by each of the parties referred to in (1) and agreed to by all.

4. No preconditions are set by CRRN for the opening

of preliminary talks with the Government of Indonesia with a view to exploring other avenues for a comprehensive settlement of the Timor problem.

### The challenge to Mr Perez de Cuellar

1986 is the last year of Mr de Cuellar's current mandate, and the tone of the concluding paragraph of his report seems to show that he hopes to have approached, if not already achieved a settlement by the time his office comes up for re-election.

The challenge to the United Nations is considerable. It may well not be difficult to achieve a settlement. This will be true above all if Portugal's new government follows the example set by the outgoing administration of Mario Soares rather than the outgoing President, Ramalho Eanes.

### Support and suspicion

In contrast it will be hard indeed, assuming that Indonesia's government remains intransigent, to achieve a settlement which is either just or comprehensive. The credibility of the United Nations and international law depend upon consistency in small as well as large, ignored as well as publicised issues. Without power to impose a view representative of the people of East Timor as well as those of the two governments whose national interests are engaged, Mr de Cuellar will be working from a position of weakness which Indonesia can be expected to exploit. Without support from Portugal, or from Indonesia's western allies whose influence might compensate the unequal positions of the negotiators, Mr de Cuellar may find that he has little choice between selling East Timor out - and perpetuating the long, tragic war which has now continued for a decade - or refusing to do so, and admitting an embarrassing failure at the end of his mandate. It is not surprising, given this bleak outlook, that all those who are sympathetic to the interests of East Timor's people should sincerely support the Secretary General's initiative - and should at the same time be preparing themselves to disown it.

## RESOLUTIONS BEFORE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Two resolutions on East Timor are going before the European Parliament. One, tabled on October 28, calls upon member states of the European community to press the government of Indonesia to end abuses of human rights, and calls for the inclusion of East Timorese representatives at negotiations regarding their future.

In view of Portugal's entry into the EEC, it also requests the Commission to investigate the status of East Timor's population under Portuguese and international nationality law, and report on this and the implications for European Community involvement in the conflict after Portugal's admission to the Community.

The second resolution, submitted in September, protests against human rights violations within the territory, and calls upon the President of the European Parliament to forward the resolution to the European Foreign Ministers and to the Indonesian authorities.

## Dr Mochtar on the talks and the war

These remarks are taken from an interview given by the Indonesian foreign minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmaja to Radio Australia, in September after the non-aligned meeting in Lusaka. Taken literally, Dr Mochtar's remarks are inconsistent with the spirit of the talks as they are presented by the UN Secretary General.

One must assume, therefore, either that Indonesia's approach to the UN talks is wholly disingenuous, or that Dr Mochtar is here addressing an Indonesian audience, particularly leading members of the armed forces.

**Q.** Is progress being made in talks with Portugal?

**Dr Mochtar:** Well first, I would not call them talks - .....We made it quite clear to the Portuguese that these are not talks but contacts merely....to resolve humanitarian questions, which is the return of some former Portuguese government officials...(who) ... were previously employed in the provincial government...We discuss other things also. We reported to them the progress made in various fields, in education, in health, in administration in general, in the situation of the Catholic Church, and there should be no reason for complaint on their part.

**Q.** You're not dealing with any substantive questions of sovereignty? That is non-negotiable in your point of view?

**Dr Mochtar:** Yes, that we made clear from the beginning, and we have not discussed that.

**Q.** Although in UN eyes, Indonesia has still not conducted an act of self-determination in East Timor...my impression was that these talks under UN sponsorship are to deal with the question of self-determination or, if not, to lead to a negotiated agreement over sovereignty?

**Dr Mochtar:** No, it's purely a gesture of goodwill on Indonesia's part on the basis, if you will, of recognition of integration, but of course we don't make that an issue either, so we just leave it aside. We do believe self-determination has taken place.

**Q.** So, you would never consider having East Timorese representatives involved at a later stage?

**Dr Mochtar:** It's not only us, but the Portuguese also don't want the East Timorese in these talks.

**Q.** What do you say to claims by FRETILIN and non-FRETILIN sources - including Church sources - that there is no peace in Timor and bombing is still going on?

**Dr Mochtar:** Vastly exaggerated. I don't think we have used planes for some time now, in fact the situation now is that those remnants of FRETILIN have been reduced to bands who are attacking villages just to get food...planes may have been used after the August (1983) massacre when there was heightened activity but that was caused, again, by a breach of the ceasefire by FRETILIN and what we find unfair on the Australian side is that there's always a tendency to blame Indonesia."

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## INTERNATIONAL CHURCH NEWS

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### New network on East Timor

An important new information and solidarity network for the church in East Timor has emerged from an international consultation held in Holland at the beginning of November. The meeting was sponsored by the Netherlands Justice and Peace Commission and included representatives of the US Catholic Conference, the Justice and Peace Commissions of France and Belgium and church organisations from other European countries, including CIIR and the Portuguese group A paz e possivel. An important feature of the meeting was the participation of non-Catholic groups, notably the British Council of Churches.

### Approaches to international bodies

The meeting was organised in response to the appeals of Mgr Belo for church solidarity, and adopted as its terms of reference Pope John Paul II's statement of the need to preserve 'the ethnic, cultural and religious identity' of the people of East Timor. It also reflected the growing awareness of the East Timorese situation, particularly in European churches. After a review of the situation in East Timor and of international attitudes, the meeting discussed future activity. Plans were made for an approach to the European Parliament to ask for an enquiry into the violation of human rights in East Timor similar to the one held on Turkey. Relevant church agencies will also be asked to approach the United Nations bodies concerned. The Roman Catholic groups represented undertook to make approaches to the Vatican Secretariat of State and to the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace.

### Informing Indonesians

A significant feature of the discussion was the recognition of the need to inform people in Indonesia of the real situation in East Timor. A message of greetings was sent to the Indonesian Bishops' Conference, and plans were made to improve communications with the Protestant churches in Indonesia. Approaches to Moslem groups were also discussed. The group agreed to meet again in 1986, and an information network is being set up.

## Appeal from the Portuguese Council of Churches

The executive of the Portuguese Council of Churches issued a statement on East Timor at its meeting on 15 November. The PCC represents the Portuguese Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic Apostolic Churches, that is, the main Protestant churches of Portugal. It is affiliated to the World Council of Churches. Since the Portuguese Roman Catholic bishops have already issued a statement, the Christians of Portugal are unanimous in their concern about East Timor.

The statement cites Amnesty International's recent report as its main source for events in East Timor. We reproduce extracts of the statement:

"The Portuguese Council of Churches has followed with anxiety the events in East Timor. We are not unaware of the complexity of the political factors involved and, in order not to be misinterpreted, we have been acting discreetly in the hope that appropriate national and international institutions would work for a rapid solution of the drama which has been unfolding in East Timor since December 1975.... We, members of the executive of the Portuguese Council of Churches, join our voice to all those around the world are calling for an immediate end to the present situation in East Timor.

"If there were cause for reservations about the information carried over the years by the media about the genocide of which the Timorese people have been the victims, such reservations would disappear in the face of the detailed report recently published by Amnesty International. This organisation, with an honourable history of objective service in the denunciation of violations of human rights in east and west, north and south, deserves every credence and therefore no educated person can today deny the following facts:

- "- In December 1985 Indonesia invaded the territory of a people who wished to be free and independent.
- Hundreds and hundreds of non-combatant civilians have been executed.
- People who freely surrender to the Indonesian forces or are captured have been extra-judicially executed, by simple decision of government officials.



- An impressive number of people are listed as 'disappeared' after having been taken prisoner and detained in detention centres or prisons. No-one knows whether they are alive or dead.

- Prisoners in the custody of Indonesian troops are tortured with electric shocks, lighted cigarettes, and there have been cases of sexual abuse in prison, including rapes of women prisoners.

- Arbitrary detentions, without formal charge or trial, often even where the victims have had no connection of any sort with FRETILIN guerrillas.

- Above all, the suffering people of East Timor are still subject to the tragedy of hunger because they are not allowed to cultivate their land. Disease is increasing for lack of medicaments, and the people are prevented from moving freely and even from using their own language and maintaining their religion.

"For all these reasons we appeal to members of the parishes of every member church of this Council to support, by action and prayer, all efforts to ensure

Indonesia's immediate withdrawal from East Timor and the recognition of the right of this former Portuguese colony to self-determination. We also make the same appeal to other Christians and to all other Portuguese, since none of us can fail to recognise that a considerable share of responsibility for this tragedy rests with Portugal. Today repentance means that we must accompany the struggle of the people of East Timor in solidarity.

"We also address ourselves to the churches of all denominations throughout the world. We are now abandoning the discreet style we have been using until now in our when defending the people of East Timor in letter and in our meetings with church leaders. We now make this public appeal to our brothers and sisters: work to ensure that the people of East Timor may continue to live, and live in freedom!"

for the Portuguese Council of Churches  
the Secretary General  
Manuel Pedro Cardoso

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## ROUND-UP

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### Philippines: Indonesians withdraw from debate

CISEP Newsletter reports that Filipinos in the Protestant church have been campaigning actively on East Timor. Challenged to a debate by the Indonesian embassy on October 2nd, they invited Abel Guterres to come over from Australia to present the Timorese case personally.

Before the meeting, however, the Indonesian embassy withdrew and the event had to be cancelled.

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### East Timor news agency planned

For a considerable time, work on behalf of East Timor has been hampered by the lack of regular information about the situation in the territory, and above all by the long delays which often occur between events and distribution of information about them.

Much of the problem is due, of course, to the strict controls on movement of people and information in and out of East Timor which have been imposed by the Indonesian government. The opening of lines of communication, notably through the radio link in Australia, has helped to ease this problem, but much also needs to be done to improve speed of communication between groups once information has reached the outside world.

In recognition of this, Fretilin hopes to create a news service to distribute information from East Timor, and is contacting organisations to see whether they would wish to use such a service to increase the

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United Kingdom.

range of information they receive about the territory. It will be called ETNA (the East Timor News Agency) and would work in cooperation with general news services like ANOP (Lisbon), PANA (African News Agency), IPS (Rome), AFP (Paris) etc.

Further information is available from FRETILIN, PO Box 1413, Maputo, Mozambique

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### New group in Hong Kong

A group has formed in Hong Kong to work on East Timor.

Started by people within the churches in Hong Kong, it aims particularly to conscientise the Asian churches, and has emerged following controversial debates about East Timor and Indonesia at recent meetings of the Christian Conferences of Asia. (See Timor Link 2 and 3)

Contact person for the new group is Angela Wong, WSCF Asia Pacific Office, Kiu Kin Mansion 12/F, 568 Nathan Rd, Kowloon, Hong Kong. Tel. (3) 852550.

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### New group in Spain

Earlier this year a new East Timor group was also formed in Spain. Small at present, it is looking for contacts and new members.

Contact person: Xavier Paez, IEPALA, Villalar 3,1, 28001 Madrid, Spain. Tel. 435 00 71.

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### A question of consistency?

According to Impact International of 11 October 'Indonesia lodged a protest against the Bulgarian government's action in 'abolishing the identity of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria by giving them Slavic names'. The Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council in Strasbourg subsequently passed a resolution also denouncing the non-observance by Bulgaria of the rights of ethnic minorities.

The Bulgarian government was requested to allow a group of diplomats and journalists to visit Bulgaria to see for themselves the situation of minorities there.

Some inconsistency here? Worth perhaps a letter to your local MEP or to the Indonesian Embassy in your country. Copies of interesting replies would be received by Timor Link with pleasure.