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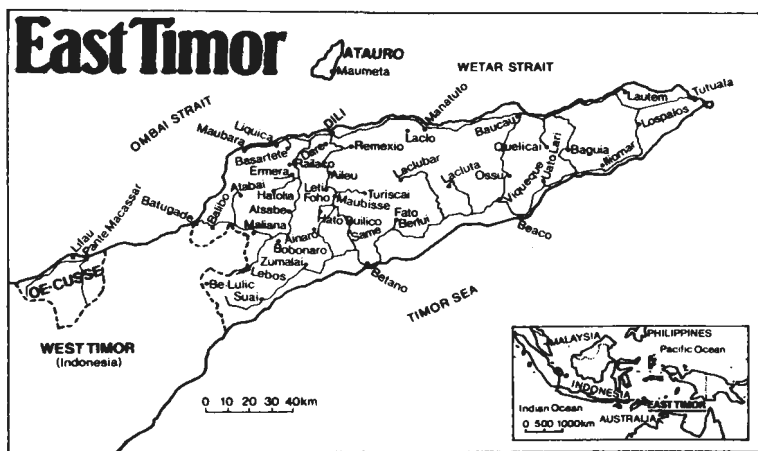
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## NEWS FROM TIMOR

### by Jill Jolliffe

News is still getting through from East Timor: in late June a thick batch of papers reached Portugal, containing letters, documents and other material. They included a letter to the Vice-President of the Portuguese Christian Democrat party, Anacoreta Correia, who visited East Timor last year as a guest of the Indonesian Armed Forces chief, General Beni Murdani; reports about the latest military situation to Fretilin leaders abroad (the last written at the end of April); a 15 page handwritten letter from Xanana Gusmao, Fretilin's military commander, listing the names of around 900 Timorese executed in the Eastern Zone since 1976; a report on transmigration and the birth control programme enforced by the Indonesian authorities; and two documents captured from the Indonesians.

#### Letter to Anacoreta Correia

This letter is a response to the Portuguese parliamentarian's report on his visit. It is signed simply 'The Resistance' and dated January 1987.

'We are immensely grateful,' say the authors, 'that, of all the foreign delegations to visit our country, the

delegation led by you exposed, for the first time, in bare terms, the situation of our country and people.'

It said that 1986 had been a year of 'highs and lows' for the resistance, but that all Timorese, including those working in the Indonesian administration, knew that the few rights they enjoyed were due to the continued armed resistance conducted by a 'handful of men'.

The letter reports on recent arrests, including the arrests of UDT and Apodeti supporters. Aleixo Guterres, for example, a UDT leader in Maubisse, is reported to have been imprisoned in October. The letter says that he is still being held in the Indonesian command centre in Dili, where he has been tortured.

The writers say that Fretilin actions in November and December had resulted in high Indonesian casualties and that there are between 26 and 30 Indonesian battalions in East Timor.

They reported that 'the situation of our political prisoners has improved (in official prisons), with the benevolent assistance of the ICRC.' Among those released were people held in Aiserimou/Aileu, Purugua/Cailaco, and Atauro island. But they also went on to say that no-one knows how many

prisoners are being held in Indonesian military posts in the interior. 'We only know that in the Baucau prison there are over 100 prisoners, most of them captured guerrillas, and that in the military prison of Aileu there are many others.'

A section of the letter is devoted to rebutting claims (made by Anacoreta Correia in his own report) that Indonesian economic development in Timor has been significant. 'We don't say,' they write, 'that Indonesia has done nothing during the eleven-year occupation. But...this economic development has cost 200,000 lives... For this, any person of good sense will radically reject the false theory of economic development.'

The letter ends with an impassioned appeal. 'Senhor Deputy, beloved brother people of Portugal, you yourselves suffered in your flesh and blood during the fascism of Salazar/Caetano... Many party leaders were martyred by imprisonment...' Their courage was an example to the Timorese, the writers said, inspiring them to continue fighting.

#### Atauro closed

In a later document, written in March, it is reported that the Indonesian

authorities have finally closed down the prison island of Atauro, which readers will remember has been used to hold thousands of relatives of Fretilin guerrillas or dissidents. For much of the period since 1980, those held were nourished by an aid programme monitored by the ICRC.

The letter to Anacoreta Correia records that in late November and early December a batch of 200 detainees was taken off the island and released. Then, according to the March document, 'on February 7, two military landing-craft arrived in Dili from the island of Atauro, in mid-morning, carrying the last of the prisoners from that island. Note that the camp was opened on 1st July 1980.'

### **Military Situation**

There is extensive information about the military situation. A simplified summary indicates that conflict between Indonesian troops and Fretilin has been sharper and more widespread in the recent period, and that both sides are taking heavier casualties.

'The enemy has concentrated its attention on the Eastern sector, with the aim of capturing alive Comrade Commander-in-Chief of Falantil... Xanana Gusmão, to end the war, in their understanding, while guerrilla actions in November and December occurred throughout the country, with greater intensity in the zone where they were massing their forces — in the East, using their airforce and heavy artillery... Meanwhile, Indonesian corpses were arriving daily in the military cemeteries of Baucau and Dili. Some were transported to Atambua...'

Here are some of the Fretilin attacks which were mentioned in the documents:

On **November 16** in Iliomar (Lospalos district) the guerrillas were said to have killed 36 Indonesians,

capturing all their weapons. Reports said 26 people were held in reprisal, of whom 10 were executed and 16 ran away 'in the confusion of the crowd of troops and the population'. A report written later than this said that further reprisals were subsequently taken against civilians in the area.

Also on **November 16**, at 6pm, 25 Indonesian bodies arrived in Dili by helicopter; the lights of the town were blacked out as they were buried, at 7 pm.

Other attacks in **November** and **December**, according to the reports, occurred at Viqueque, Baucau, Ossu, Lacluta, and (on Christmas Eve) at Fatumaca near Baucau, where 4 guerrillas infiltrated the headquarters of battalion 745.

In these accounts 9 guerrillas are listed as captured.

In **January** and **February** Fretilin claimed engagements at Laga, Uatolari, Laleia, Uai-me, Lospalos, Aipelo-Bazartete (not far from Dili), Alas, Same and Lospalos (where 'many Indonesian corpses' were reported to have arrived on February 28th. Two guerrillas were reported killed and four captured.

The report, written in April and described as a 'resume of the past four months', gives figures of Indonesian deaths at Lospalos (49), Viqueque (66), Manatuto (2), Same (4) and Bobonaro (8). It also reports on the losses suffered by Fretilin, but, since there is no clear chronology, these are difficult to analyse.

The April report also adds to the information elsewhere about recent imprisonments, repeating the figure of 100 detainees in Baucau prison, but saying in addition that 197 people have been imprisoned in Dili.

### **Letters to the BBC**

Among the most moving documents are letters written to the BBC and

Radio Netherlands. In their simplicity, their feeling of remoteness, their sense of the burdens of war — and especially after their fragile journey from the mountains to Lisbon (which took several months) — they tell more about the resistance struggle than all the other papers. The rank-and-file soldiers who wrote them talk of the difficulties which prevent them listening regularly to their favourite programmes. They are constantly on the move, it is difficult for them to hear the late night programmes because they need sleep after a long march. But they say the 4.30 am transmission is better because 'this is a normal hour of alert in a situation of war.'

Here is an excerpt from one of the letters:

'The great distance which separates the mountains of east Timor from London will mean that this letter will take a long time, but I always try to get letters through, taking into account our difficulties.

'The constant manhunts conducted by Indonesian soldiers against us, the guerrillas of Fretilin, have never given us a reason to miss the BBC from London. Although there are many times when deep sleep does not allow us to listen to your first broadcast to the Portuguese-speaking African countries and Europe (East Timor is also a Portuguese-speaking country, but you never refer to it), we get the second transmission loud and clear, and are so happy when you sometimes mention us and our existence in the bush and mountains of Timor...

In my company, we have many BBC listeners, as well as to Radio France International, Spanish Radio, the Japanese broadcast to Brazil, and others...

We all wish you the best of fortune...'

## **NEWS FROM TIMOR**

# **PRESSURES IN THE CHURCH**

by **Pat Walsh**

Church authorities have reportedly decided to remove from East Timor two priests who support Timorese opposition to Indonesian rule.

Jesuit seminary professors, Fathers João Felgueiras (57) and José Martins (48), have reportedly been told that their services at the junior seminary in Dili are no longer required. The two Portuguese have taught at the seminary

since the early 1970s.

Felgueiras, the seminary rector, has sought to instil in his students a strong sense of social responsibility relevant to contemporary East Timor — stricken as it is by human rights abuses, war and social division. When Jakarta's Archbishop, Leo Soekoto, himself a Jesuit, visited East Timor in January 1984, the seminary students denounced

the Indonesian military in his presence.

The move follows the successful removal of the former Apostolic Administrator, Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, in 1983, and that of the Salesian superior, Fr Magalhães, in 1985. Both men were strong defenders of the rights of the East Timorese people, the vast majority of whom are Catholic.

Mgr Belo, Lopes' successor as head

of East Timor's Catholic church, is believed to support the move. He has taken a more middle-of-the-road approach than his tough-minded predecessor. While publicly condemning Indonesian abuses and calling for a negotiated settlement on the one hand, Belo has also been critical of the Fretilin resistance and has developed close working, if not formal, relations with the Indonesian Catholic church.

Some observers believe church authorities want Felgueiras and Martins recalled to Portugal because they are frustrating plans to integrate the Indonesian and East Timorese churches. Whatever the truth of this, there is no doubt that the authorities are increasingly worried by the influence of the two Jesuits on East Timor's future priests and would prefer a more compromising hand to rock this

particular cradle.

The future of the two men has been uncertain for some time. José Pittau, Jesuit Assistant-General for East Asia, visited East Timor from Rome in 1985 and reportedly urged the two to retire voluntarily, an invitation they declined.

On April 2nd, the Indonesian Jesuit Provincial, Fr Darminto, whose jurisdiction extends to East Timor, visited the seminary in Dili. His visit occurred while Fr Felgueiras was away in Portugal for his brother's funeral; this was the priest's first visit home for over 12 years.

The decision to replace the two is believed to have been taken on this occasion and relayed to Felgueiras in Portugal. Martins, still in East Timor, is said to be determined to stay. Both are believed to have strong support among the Timorese clergy. ■

population. Observers generally discounted such a possibility. The BBC foreign correspondent, Peter Hiatt, reporting from Jakarta on May 2, was prepared to state: 'I was in East Timor less than three weeks ago — there simply aren't that many outsiders there.'

Indonesian press reports tend to confirm the implausibility of the returns. There are certainly many descriptions of Timorese families making a day out of the occasion: queues apparently formed from early morning, and voters waited in line for many hours before casting their ballots. But the reports also made it clear that Timorese had to vote from the district in which they were registered. In view of the widespread population removals which have taken place, this meant many people had to travel some distance to vote. Since the buses were reported not to be running on polling day, the vote could not possibly have been complete in more far flung and troubled areas of the territory.

Governor Mario Carrascalão was particularly enthusiastic at the result. Despite the fact that he had stated some months previously that East Timor needed no referendum because the people had already decided in favour of integration some six months after Indonesia's invasion of 1975, he claimed the outcome was final proof of the 'widespread acceptance of Indonesian rule'. Furthermore, the votes cast for the PDI and PPP showed that 'there was freedom for the East Timor people to cast their votes' (*Kompas*, April 27).

Given that similar voting restrictions were imposed in East Timor in both the 1982 and 1987 election, no special significance should probably be attached to the result. In both cases, indigenous parties were banned, ballots were placed in identifiable separate boxes in a manner prejudicing the secrecy of the vote, and candidates were not permitted to criticise the government. In 1987, the new requirement that all parties should adhere to the Indonesian state ideology of *pancasila* further confined the scope of political choice. The remark made by a previous deputy governor of East Timor (later dismissed) that 'the only contest between the contestants was over who could decorate the polling booths most attractively' (*Sinar Harapan*, May 5 1982) remained apposite in 1987. The recent elections gave no real guide to the political wishes of the population, which was asked to vote under duress for candidates not of their own choosing, in conditions which did not provide secrecy or protection against abuse. ■

# THE ELECTIONS

by John Taylor

The much heralded and long-awaited elections were held in Indonesia on April 23, and described by President Suharto as the country's 'festival of democracy'. Aided by an array of electoral legislation which severely curtailed the exercise of a real electoral choice (see *Timor Link* number 9), the government party, Golkar, exceeded its own voting target of seventy per cent of the vote. This represents a marked increase over the last election, held in 1982, when Golkar achieved sixty-four per cent.

The two other parties, the Development Unity Party (PPP, the Moslem grouping) and the PDI (the Indonesia Democracy Party, the nationalist grouping) gained sixteen and eleven per cent respectively. There were a number of electoral excesses in some of the regions, where the enthusiasm of local commanders and administrators led them to organise more votes than the electoral lists contained. As a result, some fifteen regions returned voting totals larger than 100 per cent; one region in East Kalimantan managed to achieve a turnout of no less than 508 per cent of the registered vote.

## East Timor

In East Timor, candidates were elected to the national, provincial and local assemblies from all thirteen provinces. As in the 1982 election, East Timor distinguished itself by being the first province to declare a result, and it also managed to exceed its voting total. According to the Indonesian daily *Kompas* (April 27), the total number of votes cast was 362,048 — some 1,904 more than the number of eligible voters. Golkar obtained 339,231 votes, while the PPP won 2,654 and the PDI 20,163. Several ministers subsequently struggled to explain the surplus of votes, but it was the Head of the National Election Committee who came up with a solution. As reported in the London *Independent* (April 29), he said: 'Don't be surprised, there are a number of ships' crews, civil servants, as well as employees of contractors with AB (absent) voting forms who voted in the newest province'. In practice, this explanation implied that some 72,000 such visitors must have voted in East Timor's election — one in five of the territory's voting

# DOCUMENT: TIMORESE STUDENTS CONDEMN THE ELECTIONS

In this issue we are publishing, in English, extracts from a *Message by East Timorese students to World Opinion, Condemning the Recent Elections carried out in East Timor*. Written originally in Portuguese, it was among the documents which reached Lisbon recently, and was dated April 25 1987. It was signed in the name of 55 representatives of the National Resistance of the East Timorese students in Indonesia and East Timor. The text is a passionate expression of nationalism, but it is also interesting for the repeated emphasis the writers give to the 'uncivilised' character of Indonesia's government — Timorese are particularly sensitive to the assumption of many Indonesians that they are 'backward'. Readers will also note that the writers define Fretilin in a very inclusive way — referring very positively, for example, even to the Governor, Mario Carrascalão.

'We, the East Timorese students studying in Indonesia and East Timor, the holders of future promise and the defenders of our beloved homeland, herewith wish to demonstrate to the outside world that the elections held two days ago in East Timor were imposed on our people by force of arms and all kinds of threats. Our people in East Timor do not choose to participate in the Indonesian-style elections. It is a shameful, inhuman, immoral and primitive act to oblige, by force and against their free will and conscience, the East Timorese people to participate in these elections. (...) At this moment we do not have other means or another way of struggle against the vandal who occupies our country beside our heroic words of clandestine resistance. Physically, there is no other place where we could continue our studies, resist or take refuge than in Indonesia itself and in the villages and towns of East Timor, which are controlled by the powerful enemy. However, our conscience, our hearts, our minds and our spirits resist unconditionally and at all costs the colonial presence of Indonesia in our homeland East Timor.

## Our Philosophy

'Our philosophy of life is very simple. We do not have theories as vast as the theory of dictatorship of Pancasila. We do not have enormous riches as the economic theory of Pancasila affirms; we do not make great and brutal progress like the government of

Soeharto proclaims. We only have a simple thought, a simple idea, a simple philosophy, but it is much richer and more elevated than all the progress contained in Pancasila: 'The blood of more than 200,000 martyrs and heroes is the guarantee and seed of independence at all costs in East Timor'. (...) We say that neither millions of rupiahs, nor the brutal progress made in East Timor will console us into becoming Indonesians, as Mochtar, Soeharto, Moerdani and others affirm.

## Fretilin is our blood

'Mr Moerdani and all his lackeys should be aware of the fact that Fretilin and all those who wish independence are not just Xanana Gusmão and his guerrillas who resist in the forests and mountains of East Timor. Fretilin is all those who are discontented with the present situation and Javanese colonial presence. Fretilin is the blood that runs through the veins of the old, the youth and the children of East Timor. Fretilin is all those who despise Indonesian vandalism in East Timor. On these grounds, we affirm that Fretilin exists in the villages, towns, forests and mountains of East Timor. Fretilin are we who study in Indonesia. Fretilin are those abroad and everywhere. Fretilin is the Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalão who tirelessly struggles against the corruption, the injustice, the idleness and the stealing practised by the Indonesians in East Timor. Fretilin are Mr Chico Lopes, Mr Guilherme and Mr Arnaldo Araújo who today are being conserved in the museum in Jakarta in order to avoid conflict and subversion against the Indonesians in East Timor. Fretilin is the people and the people is Fretilin. When he visits East Timor, Mr Moerdani, who is blind in the social and political sciences, asks the people if they have seen Fretilin, he asks Fretilin if it has seen Fretilin and Fretilin answers that it has not seen Fretilin. If he would be more clever, he would know that Fretilin is everyone who wishes for peace and independence in East Timor. (...)

'We do not promise a date for independence. The years do not count for us, time does not disturb us, age is not a problem for us. Even if it is going to be a protracted war of twenty, thirty, fifty or one hundred years, we have decided to cut with an axe the trunk of the huge tree of Pancasila, of the huge

tree of Golkar and of its master, Soeharto, until it has fallen down. Only a primitive ideology like the one of Mr Soeharto and Mr Moerdani thinks of announcing the end of the war within 24 hours, 48 hours or four years. Only Mr Moerdani would affirm, as he did in 1983 and 1984, that Fretilin does not exist any longer and that only 5 people were involved in banditry in East Timor in the name of Fretilin as they were searching for food. A year later, he stated that there were 500 armed Fretilin men and today he sends 30 battalions to East Timor in order to control the population and to launch offensives against Fretilin. Today, 30 battalions are in East Timor for the elections, to control and to intimidate the people. We ask, can it be that General Moerdani is a liar? (...)

## Appeal

'In conclusion, we wish to appeal to world opinion: the elections that took place two days ago in East Timor were imposed on our people by the force of arms. The international community should know that East Timor has been overpopulated with Indonesian military men for eleven years. The East Timorese people do not wish to vote in the Indonesian elections, these do not have any meaning for us because we are not Indonesians. We are a people with a different tradition, culture, race, language and identity.

'We appeal to Catholic and non-Catholic students worldwide, to the Portuguese government, to the neighbouring countries, Australia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore and others, asking for moral, political, social and cultural support for our struggle (...).' (Translated in the United States)

## STUDENTS IN JAKARTA

The four students waiting for exit visas from Indonesia are still waiting in Jakarta. (See previous issues of *Timor Link*.)

As far as can be judged, their situation has not altered since the last issue. The Indonesian authorities are refusing to allow them to leave on Portuguese passports, though the Portuguese authorities have agreed to issue them with Portuguese papers.

The Indonesian authorities are only prepared to say (as they did recently to United States officials) that, if the four Timorese agreed to take Indonesian papers their request for exit visas would be given the same consideration as that of any other Indonesian applicant.

This might provide a face-saving formula: unfortunately, observers of Indonesian affairs inform **Timor Link** that this would not provide a secure guarantee that the four would be able to leave. Indonesian citizens, particularly those who have expressed criticism of government policy, may expect to be refused visas to travel abroad.

According to recent reports, the students are in some financial difficulties, not least because the lease on their accommodation expires in July. They are followed when they go out from their homes.

They have indicated that no offer has been made formally to them by Indonesian officials, suggesting that

they should accept Indonesian papers before applying to leave. They have also said that they would not wish to accept such a proposal (if it should be made) unless recommended to do so by the Portuguese government.

If our understanding of the positions outlined above is correct, there might be ways of fashioning a suitably diplomatic resolution through the UN Secretary General, in the context of the talks he has arranged between Portugal and Indonesia in New York.

There has certainly been considerable activity in Portugal on the students' behalf. As mentioned above, their case appears to have been raised by American officials during discussions with Dr Mochtar, the Foreign Minister, while he was in the United States recently. (See also the US Senate letter in this issue.) For all this, it seems that little early movement can be expected on the case, and it remains important to monitor events as closely as possible. ■

children, the question of how many children should be born belongs to the honest judgement of parents. The question can in no way be committed to the decision of government,' (Gaudium et Spes, 87)

While East Timor has received increased notice in recent years, it is nonetheless undeniable that this issue exists far from the great political debates of the day, and is all too likely to be overlooked as pressing national and international issues compete for public attention. East Timor's remoteness and isolation from the outside world make its inhabitants all the more vulnerable. It is therefore crucial that the East Timor tragedy be highlighted whenever possible, and that efforts continue to enhance the dignity of life in East Timor and the right of the territory's inhabitants to live in peace and freedom.

The United States, which has had friendly relations with the government of Indonesia since 1965 and which has contributed much economic and military assistance to Indonesia, surely has the right to raise these issues with that government. Appropriate representations by the United States could influence the government of Indonesia to take measures that would help bring a just and authentic peace to the territory, end any policies of forced birth control in East Timor, and in other ways ameliorate the suffering of these unfortunate people. ■

## CHURCH NEWS

# US CATHOLIC BISHOPS CALL FOR PEACE IN TIMOR

At the end of March, the Administrative Board of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops — which conducts policy for the bishops between conferences — issued a public statement about East Timor.

Although *Timor Link* has reproduced a number of letters and statements by American bishops during the last two years, this is the first time that the bishops as a body have published such a statement of concern. *Timor Link* reproduces it in full below:

The brutal invasion and takeover of East Timor by Indonesia, which started in 1975 after the collapse of the Portuguese colonial administration, has in recent years begun to receive the attention it deserves, but this attention has not yet been translated into the action needed to right the wrongs which continue to this day.

In July 1984 Pope John Paul II expressed grave concern over the East Timor situation while receiving the credentials of the new Indonesian ambassador to the Holy See. Bishops' Conferences and Catholic Justice & Peace Commissions in Western Europe — in Portugal, West Germany, France, Switzerland and the Netherlands — as well as in Canada and Japan, have made statements or otherwise

communicated support and sympathy for the East Timorese and concern over the armed conflict that persists in the territory. This conflict has seen an estimated 100,000 East Timorese (of a population of less than 700,000 before the Indonesian invasion) perish as a result of the Indonesian occupation.

There is a pressing need to guarantee freedom of expression for, and an end to intimidation of, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, which has the heavy responsibility of attending to the spiritual needs of a people that has suffered grievous losses since 1975, and has seen its tasks multiplied during this period. A serious effort to bring a just and authentic peace to East Timor should be made.

Forced birth control measures introduced by Indonesia in East Timor are especially disturbing, and not only because of the Church's abhorrence of unnatural birth control. Given the great loss of life that has already taken place among a largely Catholic people, this Indonesian policy takes on the character of genocide. Accounts of sterilisation of East Timorese men and women without their informed consent and an array of other evidence, impel us to call for an immediate end to this policy: 'For in view of the inalienable human right to marry and beget

## CARDINAL CASAROLI VISITS LISBON

Cardinal Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State and the most senior official after the Pope, visited Lisbon on April 24th. He held talks with the President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. **A Paz é Possível** reports that these discussions were confidential, but dealt with Macau, China and East Timor. Asked to comment on the position of the church in East Timor, Cardinal Casaroli — apparently desiring to play down any suggestion of controversy — told journalists that 'thanks to the missionary effort of Portugal, the church in Timor is 'an important space within the vast Catholic community.'

Private reports which *Timor Link* has received suggest that Portugal's political leaders made clear their position on East Timor and received the impression from Mgr. Casaroli that, if the Vatican had been considering changing its position on East Timor, it is unlikely now to do so

— at least for the foreseeable future.

It is significant that, writing on May 29th in the conservative weekly *Tempo*, the parliamentarian Mr Anacoreta Correia (who wrote an important report on East Timor last year: see *Timor Link* number 7) qualified Mgr Casaroli's visit as 'of great importance, given the extreme efficiency of Vatican diplomacy in sensitive issues. 'Though Mr Anacoreta Correia, a political

conservative, acknowledged the changes to East Timor's economy under Indonesia, he has also spoken out clearly in support of self-determination and emphasised how much Timor's people remain unsatisfied by Indonesian rule. (See Jill Jolliffe's article in this issue reporting new correspondence from East Timor, including a letter from Fretilin to Mr Anacoreta Correia.)■

the issues of human rights\*\*, political prisoners, and the ending of military hostilities between the contending forces.'

### **Proposed Activities**

These are listed under seven headings: there are proposals to consult regularly with partner churches in and outside Indonesia, including 'other church bodies concerned with East Timor'; provide practical support to East Timor's people in health, social welfare, culture etc; co-operate in such development work with Indonesian and international church agencies; 'support and work with the East Timor Emergency Research Project in its human rights advocacy efforts and develop working relations with other credible human rights organizations which are concerned with East Timor'; gather information from the ICRC and CRS; 'initiate a program of constituency education on East Timor in our various churches, utilizing existing networks and building new networks where needed'; establish a public profile on the issue, including issuing through the NCCC/USA public statements regarding Government policies and actions that prolong the fighting and suffering of the people'; and 'advocate the cause of those being exploited, oppressed, or denied basic human rights with appropriate US Government agencies, and with other influential people and organizations in the USA. The critical concern should be for peace and demilitarisation everywhere.'

Should these various proposals be adopted — and implemented actively — this is indeed a strong and courageous statement of commitment, for which the US NCC should be properly recognised. The American churches must now maintain their position in the face of the criticism which will be directed against them by members of the Indonesian church. It will be valuable to observe how the dialogue between them is conducted, and what emerges as a result.■

Copies of the paper may be obtained from the US NCC, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 101150050, USA.

(\*\*Readers should take note of the meaning given to the concept of human rights by the World Council of Churches Sixth Assembly statement on Peace and Justice, which is quoted at length on page 20-21 of the Study Paper. '...True security for the people demands respect for human rights, including the right to self-determination, as well as social and economic justice for all within every nation, and a political framework that would ensure it.' *Timor Link* Eds.)

## **US COUNCIL OF CHURCHES**

The United States National Council of Churches Division of Overseas Ministries has also issued a statement, in the form of a Study Paper entitled *The Question of East Timor*. Described as 'the product of 18 months of research, writing, consultation and consideration in an effort to clarify our thinking on the situation of East Timor' this document — the first formal statement by the American protestant churches — is open to further revision after presentation to the NCC International Affairs Commission and NCC Governing Board.

As it stands the document is an important, interesting, but still somewhat non-committal statement. For much of its 26 pages, it describes the background of the issue in a strictly factual manner: in doing this, the NCC provides a most valuable service, because its punctilious description is clearly and irreconcilably at odds with the official version of events usually offered by the Indonesian protestant churches.

The latter have recently begun circulating a new, draft document on East Timor which repeats many of the factual inaccuracies which have ruined Indonesian arguments in defence of their record in East Timor ever since 1975.

In view of the accumulated force of the NCC text, however, the conclusions are understated — either anodyne, or (according to your stance) appropriately diplomatic. They give readers little guide as to how the US churches will deal in practice with the very evident gap which separates them from their partner churches in Indonesia. Will they exercise mutual abstinence from discussion of the issue? Will they agree to differ, and if so, mildly or firmly? In short, will the Indonesian churches now be challenged on their interpretation of

events? These questions are not rhetorical for the protestant churches, which realize that since 1975 they have been uncomfortably silent in the face of an important moral issue. We reproduce below the final section of the Paper.

### **An Appropriate Response.**

'By appropriate we mean: (1) in the interest of truth, justice, human rights, compassion and reconciliation; and (2) realistic: achievable in the light of US-Indonesia government and church relationships.

'1. We are concerned that there be ample food and other basic life sustaining resources for the people of East Timor and thus support the provision of such assistance through the Department of Participation in Development of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia and also through Catholic Relief Service, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and other agencies. We must be careful that such assistance is not used for partisan or oppressive ends.

'2. We are concerned about the human rights\*\* of the Timorese, especially those living in isolated areas in which the fighting is taking place, and those imprisoned on the island of Atauro and elsewhere. We urge that full and free access be given to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

'3. We are concerned that people from different countries be given greater and freer access to East Timor — including church people, journalists, and those interested in supplying humanitarian aid.

'4. We are concerned that continuous efforts be undertaken by those involved and concerned with East Timor to achieve a comprehensive and mutually acceptable resolution of

# PORTUGAL

## Elections strengthen government

As we go to press, it is clear that the Portuguese voters have returned Dr Cavaco Silva and his Social Democrat Party to power, this time with an overall majority.

It is unlikely, **Jill Jolliffe** writes, that the election will alter Portuguese policy towards East Timor. There is no reason to suppose that the parliamentary consensus will be threatened, and President Soares continues to take a strong stand on the question.

On the other hand, there will naturally be a break in the continuity of government activity. The election happens to have fallen at an unfortunate moment, during the run-up to the United Nations General Assembly in the autumn, and at a time when the military situation in East Timor is at a sensitive stage.

One casualty is an international parliamentary conference on East Timor, scheduled for June, which was to have been hosted officially by the Portuguese parliament, with the support of the president. Parliamentarians from other EEC countries and many other nations were to have been invited.

Although the conference has been approved in principle, no new date has yet been set for it, and there is some danger that it might not be held at all. According to the **Expresso** newspaper

of April 11, the Social Democrats are not in favour of the initiative.

## New Foreign Minister

Whatever happens, after July 19 Portugal will have a new foreign minister. Mr Pedro Pires de Miranda, who has held the post since late 1985, was not only dropped from the Cabinet but was not even offered a parliamentary seat by his party.

In general, evidence that Portugal is prepared to put the past behind it and act determinedly on East Timor continues to accumulate. In separate articles in this issue, we report on Dr Cavaco Silva's visit to South East Asia, discussions between the government and the Vatican State Secretary Cardinal Casaroli, and a visit by Mr François Mitterand, President of France. Mr Pérez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations, also visited Lisbon recently, and discussed East Timor.

If the Portuguese government goes on carrying its foreign policy out to the world, debates within the United Nations will become altogether more significant affairs. The increased parliamentary majority gives Dr Cavaco Silva the moral authority to act on his earlier statements that Portugal could use its position within the EEC to bring economic pressure to bear on ASEAN countries unless they paid more attention to the problems of East Timor.

from within the region — indeed from within the Association of South East Asian Nations, of which both Thailand and Indonesia are members.

It is striking evidence of Portugal's new confidence that Dr Cavaco Silva apparently seized his opportunity. According to the correspondent of **Diário Popular** who travelled with the official party, the Prime Minister discussed Timor with Prem Tinsulanonda and at a later press conference 'made it very clear that Portugal could create difficulties in trade relations between the EEC and ASEAN... He said that in certain circumstances Portugal could exercise its right of veto over (European) Community decisions on trade relations with ASEAN, and was disposed to do so.'

The article went on to say that Cavaco Silva 'acquainted the Thais with Portugal's arguments, and those of the international community which condemn the annexation of East Timor.'

**Jill Jolliffe** writes that Indonesia's foreign minister, Mr Mochtar Kusumatmaaja, responded very quickly. Claiming that the Portuguese premier's remarks were based on 'ignorance', he invited Dr Cavaco Silva to visit East Timor.

In reply, the Portuguese foreign ministry commented that this offer was unacceptable — particularly in view of the fact that Portuguese requests to send a full parliamentary delegation have been consistently refused.■

## FRANCE

President François Mitterand visited Lisbon between April 6 and 8, and discussed the issue of East Timor with his hosts.

In view of his recent visit to Indonesia, and the more critical stance on the issue taken by the French representative during the last UN Human Rights Commission, the President was asked by journalists to define France's current position.

He was reported in **Diário de Notícias** (6/4/87) to have replied as follows: 'My impression following these conversations (with the Indonesian authorities) is that we are unfortunately very far from bringing together the conflicting points of view. This said, the United Nations has not said all it has to say. If a solution should take shape, France would examine it, taking into account the principles to which it is attached, that is human rights, or community solidarity.'

The President heard Mario Soares declare, among other things, that France 'being the cradle of liberty and fraternity could not but stand by Portugal on the question of East Timor because it is by that means that she will be on the side of justice and liberty'. By way of response, Mr Mitterand said that he was convinced that a solution would not be found rapidly and that it was necessary to protect human rights in the territory.

He also made it clear (at the final press conference) that the French government cannot be expected to lobby publicly on behalf of East Timor, or its ally Portugal: the French president (who no longer controls foreign policy, and shares power with the conservative government of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac) said merely that 'France's role at world level requires her to exercise prudence'.■

(Source: **A Paz é Possível**, Lisbon.)

## CAVACO SILVA IN THAILAND

In April, while he was still Prime Minister, Mr Cavaco Silva travelled to Beijing to sign an agreement with the People's Republic of China that settles the future of Macau. In 1999 Macau, which has been administered by Portugal for nearly 400 years, will return to Chinese sovereignty.

East Timor thus becomes the last Portuguese colonial possession requiring long term resolution.

On his way back to Lisbon, the Prime Minister stopped off in Bangkok, where he met Prem Tinsulanonda, the Thai premier. This gave the Portuguese government a clear opportunity to address the question of East Timor



## Portuguese Parliamentary Commission: Report

In 1982, under the influence of President Eanes, the Portuguese Parliament set up a Commission to follow up the situation in East Timor. Its membership of 23 was drawn from the Social Democratic, Socialist, Communist and (more recently) the Democratic Renewal and Democratic Centre parties, and from the Portuguese Democratic Movement. It therefore represents a true cross-section of Portuguese political opinion.

Some four years later, after collecting information, interviewing a stream of diplomats and talking to representatives of concerned parties from East Timor and from outside the territory, the Commission published its report in November 1986.

The report is now available in English and several other languages, and may be obtained from Portuguese embassies abroad.

It is certain to be used very widely by the Portuguese government to support its diplomacy on the question.

### What does it say?

The bulk of the report is devoted to outlining the history of events since 1974, and documenting the Portuguese government's role and diplomatic activity. The Commission's proposals are outlined succinctly in two pages at the end of the text.

The coverage of events is predictable. Whilst stress is laid on the successes of the resistance movement against Indonesian occupation, and on the determination of the military to annexe East Timor, much of the Portuguese government's role before 1980 is glossed over. There is no reference, for example, to the many diplomatic meetings held between the Portuguese and Indonesian governments in the year before the invasion, no doubt because at these meetings Portugal is believed to have allowed Indonesia to infer that it could take over.

Nor is there any reference to the fact that, for nearly five years after the invasion, the Portuguese government did nothing for its former colony, probably because it either hoped the issue would gradually die away, or had lost confidence that Portugal possessed sufficient influence to reverse the *fait accompli*.

In fact, the Report's chronology reveals very clearly the degree to which Portugal's re-involvement with East

Timor takes off after 1980-81, when President Eanes launched a new diplomatic initiative. One of his motives for doing so is worth mentioning here because commentators have generally ignored it: it was what the Report describes as 'Portuguese public opinion's sensitivity to matters regarding the fate of the people of East Timor.' Though one can of course exaggerate this public concern, it is true that all over the country there is a familiarity with past events and strong sympathy for a colonial people who were betrayed by successive governments. This is a factor underlying, and partly explaining, the emergence of cross-party support for the issue since 1980.

A new confidence has clearly been generated, which is reflected in the report's language and approach. It is markedly more resolute in its tone, and more determined to effect an outcome that will meet the aspirations of East Timor's people. This is reflected clearly in the Report's overall conclusion, worth quoting in full — despite the regrettable inadequacy of the official translation:

### Conclusions

'1. Indonesia invaded the territory of Timor in definite violation of the norms of International Law and in contradiction to its many statements throughout the year that it did not hold any territorial ambitions regarding East Timor.

'2. The annexation attempt after the invasion, based on acts of null and void representativeness, did not merit the recognition of the International Community.

'3. Human Rights violations, which attained maximum gravity in the period subsequent to invasion, still continue in East Timor: notwithstanding other types of repressive actions, the following have been proved: arbitrary imprisonments, deportations, restriction to circulation both of people and correspondence, domiciliary violations, non-existence of the right to hold meetings and of expression, etc...

'4. the People of East Timor, in a very substantial percentage, reject the presence of Indonesia in its territory, and expect Portugal to assume an active role in ensuring their right to self-determination. The people further expect that the International Community will continue to condemn

the present state of affairs, enforcing compliance with the United Nations deliberations.

'5. Portugal, the administering state, has kept asserting the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and it will, with every means at the country's disposal, fight unceasingly in order that East Timor's people may freely choose their own future — thereby making good the established International Law, the UN Charter and Deliberations, enforcing the contents of article 297 of the Portuguese Constitution, and meeting the Portuguese people's wishes on the matter, repeatedly asserted by unanimity in successive deliberations of the country's Parliament.'

(Note: Article 297 of the Portuguese Constitution states that the Portuguese government must promote East Timor's right to self-determination, in accordance with international law, and that the president should take all steps necessary to enable this right to be exercised.)■

John Taylor

## INTERNATIONAL ROUND UP

### UNITED STATES

#### New Senate Letter

United States Senators Daniel P. Moynihan and Dave Durenberger are circulating a new letter on East Timor. Dated June 5 and addressed to George Shultz at the Department of State, it reads as follows:

'As you know, for some time a number of members of the United States Senate have been concerned about the situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded and forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1975. Let us take this opportunity to thank you for raising the issue of alleged human rights violations in East Timor when you met the Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar during President Reagan's visit to Bali last May. We applaud your willingness to address these concerns in discussions with a loyal and valuable ally.

We would like to draw your attention to a renewed Indonesian military offensive against Timorese insurgents. In the past, such offensives have been characterized by grave human rights violations against the population of the territory, including summary executions, forced marches,

relocation, torture, political imprisonment — in addition to food shortages and disease. Because of this history, which includes a catastrophic famine in East Timor from 1978-80, we believe that reports of significant new Indonesian military operations in the territory warrant the concern of the United States Congress and the administration.

We believe that at the very least, international humanitarian organizations should have full access to East Timor so as to ensure the maximum degree of relief and protection to the civilian population and political detainees alike. While we understand that certain aspects of the East Timor situation have improved in recent years, we would like to ensure conditions do not deteriorate as a result of an increased level of Indonesian military activity.

In addition, we are concerned about the following issues:

● We have received reports that Indonesia's World Bank-funded population control program in East Timor is coercive in some instances. There have been accounts of involuntary sterilizations in the territory. Given the sharp reduction of East Timor's population over the past eleven years and the fact that the territory was underpopulated prior to the Indonesian invasion, what is the justification for population control programs there? What is being done to assure that the East Timorese are safeguarded from coercion, abuse, or worse?

● We are concerned about the situation of individuals seeking to leave East Timor to join family members in Portugal, who have thus far not been allowed to do so. In particular, the case of the only surviving family members of the former head of East Timor's Roman Catholic Church, Mgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, should be remedied as soon as possible. Mgr. Lopes' niece, Rosa da Costa Lopes, and her children Martinha and Zeca, should be allowed to join their uncle in Portugal. They resided near the hospital Dr. Carvalho in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

● We are particularly interested in the cases of four East Timorese students in Jakarta who wish to leave Indonesia but have thus far been denied exit visas by the Indonesian authorities. The four — Antonio Gonçalves, João Freitas de Câmara, Abílio Oliveira Sereno, and Fernando da Silva — reportedly received repeated death threats after requesting permission to emigrate. We hope you will communicate our concern about these students to the Indonesian authorities.

As some of us have noted in the past, information on conditions in East Timor is limited, owing to Jakarta's policy of restricting access to the territory as well as official controls and the atmosphere of fear that has confronted many of those who have made visits. We believe that the situation in East Timor can only be clarified if Jakarta were to permit regular missions to the territory by respected international human rights organizations.

We recognise the difficulty in reaching a peaceful and equitable settlement to the conflict in East Timor. We continue to recognize the value of the friendly relationship between the government of Indonesia and the United States based on sound strategic and political considerations. We feel that this friendship can only be strengthened by permitting unrestricted activity by international humanitarian organizations in East Timor, positive action on the family reunification and emigration cases specified here, and visible progress on resolving the warfare in East Timor.'

The letter is being circulated for signature in the Senate.■

## Amnesty International Update

In 1985, Amnesty International published a report entitled *East Timor: Violations of Human Rights*, which documented human rights abuses by the Indonesian military since the 1975 invasion. The report concluded with an appendix listing the names of 550 people who were reported to have been victims of extrajudicial execution or who had 'disappeared', including 71 people who had been executed or who had 'disappeared' since the military offensive *operasi persatuan* began in August 1983.

In the period since the report was published, Amnesty has been able to discover what happened to some of these 71 people — at least 10 of whom are now known to be alive. It has also received reports of some 40 more 'disappearances', occurring between September 1983 and March 1985. This information has been published in an *Update* to the original Report, available from local Amnesty International offices or from the International Secretariat at 1, Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom.

## JAPAN

Last year, the head of Japan's Socialist Party, Ms. Takako Doi, asked the Japanese government to clarify its stance on East Timor. She asked for comment on the question of sovereignty, on successive UN resolutions since 1975, and on human rights. We have received from Japan a translation of the exchange, which is sufficiently interesting to reproduce, even though it is not new.

The Prime Minister's reply, dated 13 March 1986, responding to each of Takako Doi's points, was as follows:

1. 'We believe East Timor is effectively governed by Indonesia but Japan is not in a position to make a judgement as there are still discussions going on between Indonesia and Portugal.
2. 'We believe the urgent need is for the East Timorese to return to a normal life and to take into consideration the effective governing of East Timor by Indonesia. Japan believes that the solution in East Timor does not lie in blaming Indonesia alone.  
When the problem of East Timor was discussed in the UN Security Council in December 1975, Japan endeavored to formulate the resolution of the Council which requested relevant countries to cooperate with the efforts of the United Nations.
3. 'The Japanese government is not in a position to obtain and confirm accurate information regarding human rights violations in East Timor and would thus like to refrain from expressing any position on internal matters. However, we have not received reports that the human rights situation is bad from either the reports of Japanese embassy personnel in Indonesia (who have gone on) observation missions to East Timor or from the explanations of the International Committee of the Red Cross working in the region.

On April 9 1986, Takako Doi criticised these replies energetically in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. As far as **Timor Link** is aware, however, the Japanese government's policy with regard to East Timor still corresponds to that outlined above by Mr Nakasone.■

# SWEDEN

## East Timor: Holocaust in Paradise

The Canadian photographer Elaine Brière has been showing her photographs at the Culturhouse in Stockholm, in an exhibition sponsored in May by Sweden's National Tourist Office. The photographs, taken before the Indonesian invasion of 1975, provide sharp and moving images of life in East Timor, and have been reproduced all over the world by solidarity organisations. For those interested, the photographs are available from Elaine Brière, PO Box 354, Ladysmith, British Columbia, Canada V0R 2E0.



## Visit by Svenska Dagbladet

Terje Svabo, a journalist from the conservative Swedish daily **Svenska Dagbladet**, visited East Timor at the end of March. We reproduce extracts below from an article published on March 27.

'...While in East Timor, the local government representatives never left the side of this journalist. In other words it is not possible to move freely, but the visit nevertheless provided opportunity for insight into conditions in this remote region...

'SvD requested an interview with the Catholic Bishop in the capital Dili but the request was denied. Neither were we permitted to meet any of the Catholic priests. In contrast to Indonesia, which is Islamic, roughly 80% of the population of East Timor is Catholic. The Catholic church has openly told of conditions in this province, probably so openly that the government authorities would not like to see any more communication between priests and foreign reporters...

'It is an experience, finding yourself in a territory in which the most flagrant violations of human rights have been perpetrated, only to hear how grateful the local government authorities were that Norway's proposal on East Timor led to a postponement of a decision in the United Nations.

'In the capital city Dili, with its 80,000 inhabitants, life seems calm. Not too many soldiers can be seen...

'Most of the people in positions of responsibility do not come from East Timor, a situation which could possibly stem from the fact that the Portuguese left only one person with a university education in East Timor when they fled the region so abruptly...

The article goes on to describe the investments Indonesia is making in the field of education and medical services,

before dwelling on the territory's social and economic problems:

'Diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria are extremely widespread. In some districts, more than 30% of the population have malaria and child mortality is at least 120 out of every 1,000 babies born, while 40% of the children are undernourished. The average life span of the people of East Timor is estimated to be fifty years.

Another problem is that between 60% and 70% of the population is illiterate. Only 13% have access to clean water. Unemployment has reached such high levels that it is impossible to register any more. This official statistic says, in all its brutality, something about the situation in East Timor today.'

## The Military View

Terje Svabo also reported on his meeting with Governor Carrascalão and with the military commander, Colonel Yunus Yosfiah, both of whom 'gave me the impression of being open, professional and capable representatives of their country'.

'The 42 year old commander explained in his charming manner that the liberation movement, Fretilin, is not a factor of power in East Timor today... Colonel Yosfiah argues that it would be wrong to speak of Fretilin as an organisation as such. He thinks that they have a maximum of 150 armed men and that months can pass by without any skirmishes between the guerrillas and government troops. He says that of his 3,000 strong force, only eleven soldiers have been killed over the past year.

'Independent observers to whom SvD spoke dispute the colonel's claims. They attest that Fretilin, although not a powerful force, is far from eliminated

and that the organisation has probably between 700 and 1,000 men who are armed. The colonel's claims that (his) military forces number 3,000 is dismissed as propaganda and (they say) 15,000 is a more accurate figure. His statement that 11 soldiers have died in one year is considered to be far too low. Sources state that a battle in December of last year cost the lives of 32 soldiers.

East Timor is totally dependent on financial assistance from Jakarta. In other words the province has no sources of income of its own and foreign investment is non-existent. The province is closed, not only to foreigners but also to 'ordinary' Indonesians.' ■

(Translation by the Swedish East Timor Committee.)



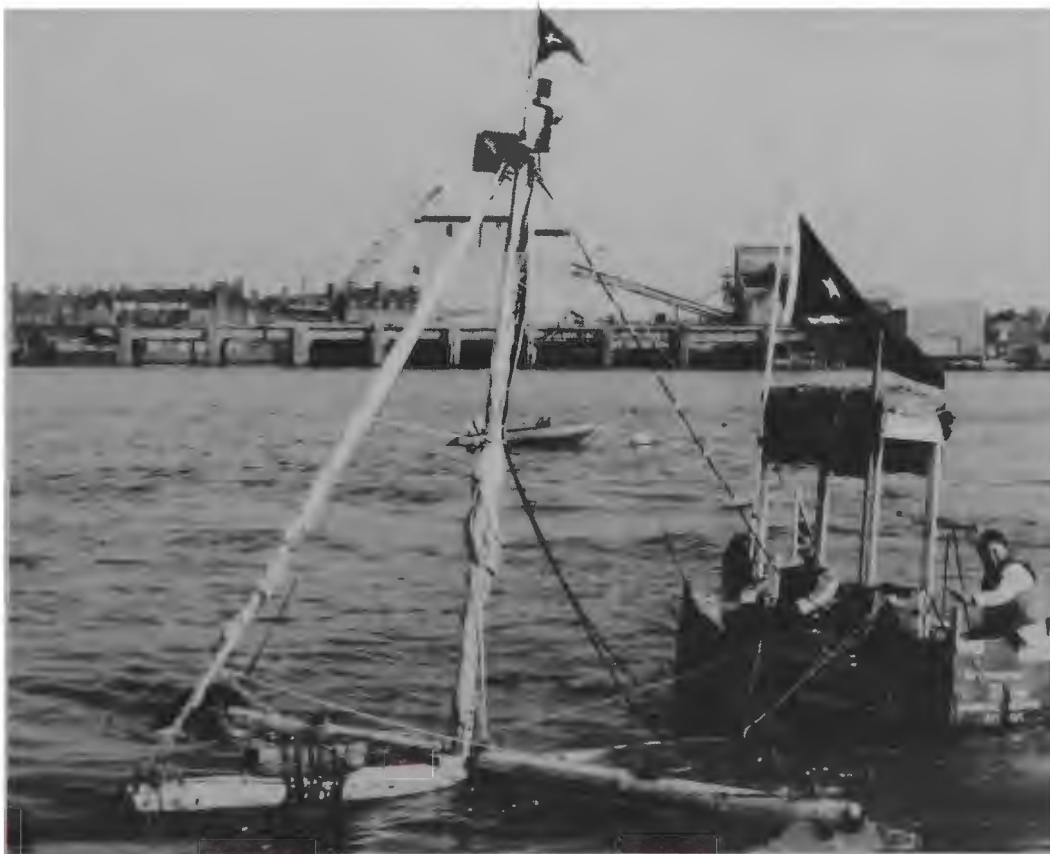
## UK — WATER PROTEST

On April 17 a British minicab driver, Paul Barbara, set sail for France in a



small cross-shaped craft: his aim was to protest Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. Strong tides and slow progress eventually forced him to abandon his craft — but he has continued to campaign. 'As a Christian,' he writes, 'the symbolism of the cross is very important to me; I am consciously using it to try to awaken fellow Christians, and others, to take action in

support of the people of East Timor.' Most recently he attended a demonstration in Lyons (France) during the trial of Klaus Barbie, accused of killing thousands of Jews and French opponents of Nazism during World War II. For distributing pamphlets criticising French policy on East Timor, he was briefly arrested by the French police.■



# CHRISTIAN REFLECTION ON EAST TIMOR

Readers of *Timor Link* will have received with the last issue a copy of the *Christian Reflection on East Timor*, published by CIIR in London in conjunction with the Justice & Peace Commission of the Netherlands, the Justice & Peace Commission of Flanders in Belgium, and Pax Christi in Switzerland. The *Reflection* represents the attempt by a number of church organisations in the West to express their concern as Christians about the situation in East Timor.

At the back of the booklet, which contains the same text in both English and French, we listed the names of organisations which had already given their support at the time of publication, with an appeal to new readers to do likewise. Those named included the Asian Bureau, the Australian Student Christian Movement, the Justice & Peace Commission of Papua New Guinea, the Church Office for International Relations and the Ecumenical Commission for Justice and Peace in the Philippines, the Hitoyoshi Catholic church in Japan, and Trocaire in Dublin.

## **New Support**

We invited signatures, and undertook to keep names confidential if this was desired. Here are some of those who have written to us to say that their support for the *Reflection* may be made public.

The National Commission for Justice & Peace, France; the Commission for Justice and Peace in Barcelona, Spain; Mary Hallett, UK; Mr Vaughan, UK;

Hugh McCamley, UK; St Hugh of Lincoln Justice & Peace Group, Altringham, UK; David Somerville, UK; the East Timor Committee, Stockholm, Sweden; Phil Darby, UK; Mark Duff, UK; Mrs Sophie Prior, UK; the Pastoral Team Community of the Sisters of Joseph, Suain, Papua New Guinea; Fr Vince Ohlinger, SVD, Canada; Mr D. Fairley, UK; Don Whitelum, Australia; David Wilson, UK.

We will continue to publish a list of those who give their support: please read the pull-out slip at the end of the *Reflection* and, if you feel strongly, send it to us. To say you have not forgotten.

## **Translations**

In Lisbon, *A Paz é Possível em Timor Leste* has just published a translation of the *Christian Reflection* in Portuguese. It has the same design as the English/French version and is available (at a price of 50 escudos) from: rua de Campolide 215, 4/D, 1000 Lisbon.

A German translation has also been published in the latest issue of *Weltkirche*, available free from MISSIO, Postfach 20 16 09, 8000 MÜNCHEN 2, F.R. Germany.

The text of the *Reflection* has also been republished (in English only) by the Commission for Justice & Peace of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Much of the text of the *Reflection* was reprinted in the *Papua New Guinea Times* of April 23-29.

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We welcome correspondence.

**22 Coleman Fields  
London N1 7AF  
Tel: (01) 354 0883.  
Telex 21118 G.**