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Number 6, June 1986

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EAST TIMOR – the military situation

POSITIONS OF INDONESIAN ARMY AND FALINTIL TROOPS, JANUARY 1986



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THE MILITARY SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

The map on the front cover of this issue shows the military situation. It has been drawn from three maps that recently reached Lisbon from East Timor, and have been made public by Fretilin. Jill Jolliffe has attempted to evaluate their significance. Though they cannot be authenticated, in her view the maps are consistent with each other and with independent sources of information, and there is no prima facie reason to believe they are forgeries or inaccurate.

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New maps of the military situation

The Fretilin office in Lisbon has published three new maps of the military situation in East Timor.

The first was captured from the Indonesian armed forces a year ago on 3 June 1985. It is written in bahasa Indonesian and purports to show the disposition of Falintil forces (Fretilin) in March 1985.

Our map therefore shows (the shaded areas marked on the key as Falintil/Fretilin base areas) not the areas which Fretilin claims to control but the Indonesian army's view of Falintil/Fretilin strength.

There is no reason to question the provenance of the second and third maps, both of which were prepared by Fretilin within East Timor. The second of the 3 maps shows Fretilin's own view of the military situation, including zones under Indonesian control, zones under Falintil control and also the position of resettlement areas (called "concentration camps" by Falintil) in which very many Timorese civilians have been relocated by the military administration.

The third map, again prepared by Fretilin, shows the disposition of the Indonesian armed forces in some detail. It distinguishes between large and smaller military units and identifies where Indonesian artillery or armoured units are positioned. This map is dated January 1986 and therefore claims to give a more recent view than the Indonesian military map describing Fretilin positions.

The map reproduced on our cover thus shows the Indonesian military's assumptions about Fretilin strength in June 1985; and Fretilin assumptions about the disposition of Indonesian military forces at the end of 1985.

Conclusions

- The Indonesian map suggests that Fretilin-Falintil does indeed operate in organised units throughout most of East Timor, excepting the area west of a line drawn between Dili and the South Coast below Suai (this area is blank on our map).

The Indonesian map implies this band of territory running along the border with West Timor is entirely under Indonesian control. Fretilin, in contrast (Map 2), affirms that 3 mobile guerrilla groups (autonomous units) operate here; in fact, there have been separate reports of bombing and shelling in these districts.

- Several Falintil/Fretilin commanders named in the original map are people known to have been Fretilin leaders in 1975 (for example David Alex, Miguel dos Santos, Xa Na Na himself); others are

new. This tends to confirm that there has been continuity; and also that Fretilin has recruited new leaders and is not dependent on a rump of survivors from 1975.

- Taken together the 3 maps give us some idea of the areas which are most subject to fighting. Map 3 is particularly informative. If it is accurate, Jill Jolliffe argues, it

"i. implicitly defines the areas of greatest Indonesian military concern. Apart from the strongly-fortified capital, the main focus of forces is along the north-south line from Baucau to Viqueque, where there is a high representation of regular forces, combined with the Timorese battalions 744/745, tank and artillery units. Everywhere east of this line appears militarily busy (or at least prepared to be), although the south coast area west of this line, until Ainaro and Same, is also fairly densely policed. Regular Indonesian units in isolated interior posts tend to have relatively high-ranking commanders, and to be supported by artillery units (eg at Illimar, Luro, Quelicai, Uatolari, Uaime and Barique).

ii. The highest density of artillery units is concentrated in all of the area east of the Baucau-Viqueque line and the south coast area west of Viqueque (Barique, Dilor, south of Dilor), suggesting areas of higher activity.

iii. From the evidence of these maps and drawing on previous reports, especially the captured Indonesian military document of 1982, in so far as any patterns emerge, 'trouble spots' can be cautiously identified as: the districts around Saelari, Uatolari, Ossu, Viqueque, Venilale, Barique, Fato Berliu, Dilor, Soibada and Same.

iv. The Indonesian military dispositions described are almost certainly post-1983, dating from their re-organisation after the breakdown of the cease-fire with Fretilin in August of that year. Fretilin reports of regular artillery and aerial bombardment date from after that time - a feature of the war between 1976 and 1979, but not so much in the years '80-'83. The principal Indonesian strategy post-1983 seems to have been to try and build a sort of gate across the island, from Baucau to Viqueque.

v. Apart from Ainaro and Same, there appears to be little activity in the areas south and south-east of Dili. Tank and artillery units are spread thinly in this area.

vi. None of the maps refer to the stationing of aircraft, although Baucau is known from earlier reports to be the principal base of the Northrop F5 and Bronco OV-10 bombers and helicopters which conduct the air war. Reports on the incidence of aerial bombardment would be useful to complete the military picture provided by these maps."

Note

We have summarised here Jill Jolliffe's main conclusions. Her "Rough Notes Towards an Analysis of the Military Situation in East Timor" was published as an Occasional Report by Timor Newsletter in April. A photocopy can be obtained on request from East Timor Link for £2.50 if you live within Europe and for £2.80 if you live outside Europe (inclusive of postage by air; 20 pages including copies of the original maps and documentation. Readers should note that the original maps were drawn in colour and do not reproduce well in photocopy).

NEWS FROM INSIDE

Overview

by John Taylor

Refugees arriving recently in Lisbon have reported that the Indonesian army is preparing for a new offensive. They said it would begin in May; but this has not been confirmed and other reports suggest a new offensive is unlikely in view of the importance of diplomatic activity between now and the end of the year, both in the United Nations and in the Non-Aligned Movement (see separate articles).

Interviewed in Lisbon in April, Fretilin's representative at the United Nations, Jose Ramos Horta estimated that Indonesia currently has 10,000 elite troops and 10-15,000 other soldiers in East Timor. He claimed that some 600 Indonesian soldiers had been killed in combat every six months during the last two years. Whether this claim is accurate or not, there does seem to have been serious fighting recently.

A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste reports in its May issue that a new Indonesian battalion has been posted to Timor, which includes a company of heavy artillery. Another has been placed at Lacleo in the region of Atsabe, near the Ramelau mountains.

A letter received by the former Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Mgr da Costa Lopes, (see elsewhere in this issue) states that fighting has been heavy in the areas of Lospalos, Baucau, Viqueque, Ainaro, Manatuto, Same and Bobonaro. The writer claimed that "... the resistance forces continue to control the greater part of the territory."

In early February the Matabian mountain range in the eastern sector was encircled, and was strafed by ground-attack aircraft. The Indonesian command hoped to capture Fretilin's President Xanana Gusmao, who was based temporarily in the area.

Tapol reports (May issue) that this attack was undertaken on the orders of the new commander in East Timor, Colonel Yunus Yosfiah, who replaced Colonel Rahardjo in December 1985. Colonel Rahardjo had been in post for less than a year.

The failure of this campaign and the severity of the fighting seem to have had a demoralising effect on Indonesian troops. Mgr Lopes' informant reported that the commanders of two battalions were called to the regional headquarters in Denpasar, Bali, because their troops had refused to advance in battle.

Typhoon

It is becoming clear that much damage was caused by a typhoon which hit East Timor earlier this year. News has filtered through from several sources - but virtually no details have been made available. The extent of the damage was indirectly confirmed by Governor Carrascalao. When he briefed the press during his meetings with the Indonesian Minister of Social Affairs in April, he reported that 4,000 houses had been destroyed in the area of Ainaro.

Strategic Village Surveillance

Conditions appear to be worsening in some of the strategic villages, particularly those in the south and east. In addition to constant military surveillance and forced guard duty for camp residents, camps have apparently been encircled with barbed wire and all residents have to be within this fenced area from 5 pm until the following morning. During the night they are forced to sleep outside their homes.

Further reports describe the moving of prisoners from Atauro island to strategic villages designed specifically for close surveillance - despite official assurances in 1985 that those moved from Atauro were being released. A case in point is the village of Purgoa, in Cailaco, which contains prisoners from Atauro who originate from Viqueque, Lospalos and Baucau. (See also the review in this issue of the 1986 ICRC Report.)

Fretilin's Political Perspective

A group of young Timorese recently received a letter from Xanana Gusmao. He stated succinctly the independence movement's position: "Our political perspective exists in a framework of the principles of political pluralism, a mixed economy, and non-alignment. We are a small population, of whom more than one third have already been exterminated, and a poor, underdeveloped country, with all aspects of underdevelopment highlighted; a people and a country who want their children to be happy, free and independent and for whom the land must become prosperous and independent." The letter is dated 23 January 1986 and was received in Jakarta a month later, before arriving in Lisbon. (The text is available from A Paz e Possivel em Timor-Leste.)

Catholics in East Timor: the latest figures.

Here are the most recent figures we possess about the number of clergy and Catholics in Dili diocese.

	1975	1984
Population	688 769	578 000
Number of Catholics	220 310	438 000
Clergy		
Priests (total)	44	36
Diocesians	33	18
Jesuit missionaries	6	3
Salesian missionaries	16	8
Canossians	32	
Dominican Sisters	16	
Carmelites	4	
Sacred Family	4	
Society of the Divine Word	-	7
Sisters (5 orders)		48

Letter from Timor

We reprint excerpts of a personal letter dated 20 February 1986 addressed to Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, who was the Apostolic Administrator (Acting Bishop) in East Timor between 1977 and 1983.

Fighting

Mainly in the areas of Lospalos, Baucau, Viqueque, Manatuto, Same, Ainaro and Bobonaro the actions of our guerrillas have been taking place most intensely in the months January, March, April, November and December of 1985, causing the invader many dead and wounded and capturing many modern arms. At the present moment the resistance forces continue to control the greater part of the territory, staying close to the villages and concentration camps. Some guerrillas were captured. Some of them were put into the Dili Comarca prison, others are in the hands of the regional military or the Red Berets (Indonesian elite units). Among those who disappeared is Cecilia Ximenes, who was captured in Lospalos with a weapon at the beginning of last year. After being tortured for a long time, it has been said that she "disappeared" in the regional military command. Chico Belo, who was captured in Venilale in the middle of last year, "disappeared" in the regional military command of Baucau. Domingos fell into the hands of the enemy in Ainaro on December 24, 1985 and he just "disappeared".

On February 6, 7 and 8, Indonesian forces encircled the stony mountain range of Matebia with the help of the air force, intending to capture Fretilin leader Xanana who was there at that time. On the first day of the attack 9 dead Indonesian soldiers arrived at the cemetery of Dili. On the second and on the third day of the attack 8 dead Indonesian soldiers arrived at that cemetery. We do not know how many were buried in Baucau and how many were transported directly to Java on a Hercules-C 130 transport plane. On our side there were no casualties. Daily there is no lack of dead bodies for the (Indonesian military) cemetery in Dili. A new cemetery was built between Baucau and Uaillili and is also almost full. The "Dr Carvalho" central hospital is overflowing with wounded and mutilated Indonesian soldiers.

The Indonesian soldiers are demoralized and fed up with the war. Many Indonesian officers are already aware that Indonesia is militarily and politically unable to dominate the situation. Some Indonesians say: "We are just awaiting the order for withdrawal. Indonesia cannot row against the tide of this world". Two commanders of battalions were called to Denpasar (Bali-military command headquarters) just a few days ago because their men had refused to advance into battle. Many of them are participating in various ways actively and effectively in our struggle. This is true. That is why they try to arm the sons of East Timor to have them fight against their own brothers.

In the villages and concentration camps the East Timorese people continue to offer passive resistance, actively supporting the armed resistance under all circumstances. The enemy himself knows that this is how things are. The East Timorese people are conscious of the need to participate in the struggle in order to free our country of Indonesia's colonial rule and end for good the suffering imposed by the occupier. Today many of those who hold important positions in the present society and who had asked for integration with

Indonesia recognise that the struggle of Fretilin is just and they participate in various ways in that struggle.

Murders

Against the passive and effective resistance of East Timor's people, the enemy retaliates with persecution, torture, imprisonments and summary executions. During the last year the enemy carried out executions in East Timor. We shall mention a few cases that we know of directly:

1. On October 19, 1985 three young men were killed in Kelikai by battalion No. 724: Juliao, 18 years old, Tadeu Ximenes, 17 years old, and Victor Ximenes. They were killed at a place called Sula Nau.

In Laga 10 people were killed, among them Tomas who had recently arrived from Atauro island prison.

Another man who had recently arrived from the Atauro prison island was killed in Baguia.

2. In Venilale three boys were killed guarding their cattle. Still more recently a local chief and his son were killed when they returned from their gardens which are about 3 kilometres away from the village. The Indonesian guards did not bother to look at their passes... In a few seconds two lives ceased to exist. How many of these cases exist throughout East Timor! On January 31, 1986 many people were imprisoned in Kelikai and Laga. After two weeks of torture 8 of them were brought to the central prison in Dili, the others were told to go home. The names of the 8 people are: Luis Maria, Felix Ximenes, David Ximenes, Justino and Manual (Kelikai of the Abafala village) Cristovao Ximenes and Carlos (Laga of the Atelari village) - one name is missing.
3. In the middle of 1985 many people were imprisoned in Soibada together with the local chief. The Indonesians searched the residence of Father Mateus. The imprisoned people were beaten, whipped, burnt with cigarettes, etc. The local chief and Jose Vong were brought to the commando of the Red Berets in Dili. Father Mateus intervened at high levels of the civil and military administration in Dili and the case reached the office of Benni Murdani (Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces). He ordered some of his officers to investigate the case. The local chief and the other man were sent back home.

Political prisoners

Until the middle of September 1985 there were 177 political prisoners in the Comarca prison in Dili (Bekora and Kaikoli), some of whom had been tried and others not. 43 other political prisoners were sent to Jakarta's central prison Cipinang. The number of prisoners in the regional military commands (Koramil and Kodim), in the hands of the Red Berets, in the central military commands is unknown. On December 24, 1985 B. Murdani freed 15 military men and policemen from the Caicoli Comarca Prison, all of whom were reintegrated into the service. We are certain that there are hundreds of East Timorese political prisoners who have been brought to various Indonesian islands, but their whereabouts is unknown. Many of them were said to have disappeared 1979, 1980 and mainly 1983.

At present there are about 937 prisoners in the concentration camp on Atauro. 936 of them are from Viqueque and 1 is from Lospalos. They have been separated from their families for over 5 years. During the last year the prisoners from the Manatuto and Same districts have been freed.

On June 28, 1985 a total of 32 people, men, women and one child, were sent to the Calcoli prison. One of them, called Jeremias Meneses, died on November 19 after being tortured.

In the Purgoa concentration camp in Caillaco are those prisoners from the areas of Baucau, Viqueque and Lospalos who have been sent away from Atauro. Their conditions in this camp are a little better, but they are not allowed to go home.

Prisoners from various parts of the country have been concentrated in Aileu. After a recent visit by the wives of the Governor and the Military Commander things there have become a little better.

In the prisons on the other coast, of Dotik, Haillikou and Maliana things are as before.

Living Conditions in the Interior

If you go through the villages of Luro, Laivai, Tutuala, Iliomar, Uatolari, Cajularan, Lacluta, etc., you will see that the people live in a state of permanent encirclement. They are not allowed to go more than three kilometres outside their villages. In addition, they always have to have a "pass" issued by the Indonesian military authorities. It happens easily that East Timorese are accused of having contacts with the guerrillas, and then they immediately become victims of torture, massacres, etc. The people live in huts but at night they are forced to sleep in ditches inside and outside of the hut. The people live in constant fear. The Javanese, however, filled with fear, hide themselves. The militia control the night. In Uatolari the Indonesians set up barbed wire around the center of the village. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon the whole population has to be in this fenced-off area. This way it is evident that the people continue to be severely hit by hunger. Their gardens and plantations are abandoned. They live like cattle at gun point.

Journalists and other international observers have said that the East Timorese situation regarding food and education has improved, but that is a short sighted view of the overall situation in East Timor. Why? The reason is simple. Firstly, all foreigners who arrive here are led around by members of the Indonesian military secret police. The foreigners only obtain information that is convenient for the Indonesian authorities. Secondly, the Indonesians only allow visits to places that are convenient for them.

The people continue to die of hunger, of torture and of massacres... A lot of starvation is foreseeable for the current year because the little corn that has been planted has been destroyed by heavy winds.

Health

As soon as you leave Dili you will find a truly sad situation: the lack of medicine. Where it exists at all, it is extremely rare. The people have no money to buy it. And only people who have rupias are treated. In fact the rupia is the basis for everything. For everything you have to pay a "uang roko" (money for cigarettes): to get a simple signature on a pass or on a document giving access to the civil service, you always have to pay a bribe.

Officials of the state family planning programme (keluarga berencana) are present in every little village and hamlet to make people limit their number of children and each family is only allowed to have three children. In the interior the military force our women to receive injections and "pills" are being distributed to them for the same effect. All the women are forced to take part in this. It is one way the enemy has to make our ethnic identity disappear...

Dili is the biggest center in terms of population and it is also a source of corruption and alienation. The insecurity of their lives, as well as hunger and sickness, cause people to gather in the capital, which now numbers about 80,000 inhabitants including the Indonesians who have come to live there.

The town is large enough to give a certain security to all those who for political reasons are being persecuted in the mountains. The impossibility of earning a living on their land because of an encirclement that grows tighter and tighter causes many others to come to the town to earn a living... But nowadays living in the town becomes more and more difficult...

The Church

The Catholic Church in East Timor continues to be the hope of the martyred people. In difficult times the Church has tried to ease the suffering and pain of our people morally and materially, within its possibilities. In difficult circumstances the Church has contributed immensely to our struggle for liberation. This is a fact the East Timorese people will not easily forget. The Church has saved more than a few lives. The Church identified itself with the East Timorese people. That is why the Church also suffers with its people. How often were its ministers objects of severe criticism and bad treatment on the part of the occupier!

On February 1, 1986, a telegram sent from Ossu ordered the immediate imprisonment of Father Hilario Madeira, who was then in the Ecclesiastical Chamber. The case was brought to the Governor's office. However, the Church continues to walk at the side of its people, living the same sufferings and sharing the same hopes.

PORTUGUESE POLITICIANS AND TIMOR

In its May issue, A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste reports on a strengthening of political attitudes in Lisbon. Deputies from all the main parties, including the Social Democrats who are in government, have said that Portugal's consensus in favour of East Timor should be translated into diplomatic action.

An early initiative may be to put the issue to a vote in the European Parliament.

A Paz e Possivel notes that "Portugal's entry into the European Community provides an exceptional occasion to ask for support from its partners, who generally abstain when the problem of East Timor is put to the vote in the UN. Since member countries of the Community try to act together on foreign policy matters, Portugal can invoke the Portuguese constitution and the United Nations Charter to change their vote.

"Support from the European Community would be important not only because of possible votes at the UN, but also because the Community has other ways of bringing pressure on Indonesia. Falls in the price of oil (50% of Indonesian exports) and copper (Indonesia is the world's second largest producer) make the government in Jakarta more dependent on its donors, among which the countries of the European Community are among the most important."

REVIEW

TRANSMIGRATION

"By way of transmigration, we will try to realise what has been pledged, to integrate all the ethnic groups into one nation ... The different ethnic groups will in the long run disappear because of integration ... and there will be one kind of man."

This statement on March 20 1985 by the Indonesian Minister of Transmigration, Mr Martano, expresses succinctly the aim of the government's transmigration programme. The specific objective is to move the landless poor from Indonesia's overpopulated central islands of Java, Lombok, Bali and Madura to the less densely populated "Outer islands" of Sumatra and Eastern Indonesia. The government plans to move no less than 65 million of its 160 million inhabitants in the next twenty years. The programme is supported by the World Bank.

The latest issue of The Ecologist magazine, entitled "Banking on Disaster", assesses the programme. It argues that transmigration will have a disastrous impact on Indonesia's tropical rain forest: some 3.3 m. hectares will be destroyed by the end of the current five year plan in 1989. Transmigration policies are also destroying the basis of the way of life of societies outside Java. In addition, the report criticises the policy for relocating groups of people primarily for defence or commercial purposes.

Transmigration is very relevant for East Timor's people. Since the end of the 'encirclement and annihilation' campaigns in 1979, the Indonesian military have been resettling people in villages away from their regions of origin. This is largely for security purposes, but it has a further rationale because resettlement is being accompanied by economic changes under which traditional agriculture is being replaced by cultivation of cash crops. The ultimate purpose is to create an export oriented rural sector, based on labour drawn from the resettlement villages.

This policy not only involves forcibly relocating a substantial proportion of the population within East Timor, but is also expected to involve trans-migrating large numbers of Indonesians into East Timor and large numbers of Timorese to other parts of Indonesia. Already, Balinese landless families have been moved to areas such as Maliana, to tend rice fields and 'demonstrate' their techniques to Timorese farmers. The pace of immigration is to increase in coming years. People working on transmigration programmes have likewise reported that East Timorese families have been moved to Kalimantan and Irian Jaya (West Papua), and that plans exist to move families to Sumatra.

For anyone interested in these issues, this issue of the Ecologist (Vol. 16 No 2/3) is essential reading. The magazine (59 pages, photos, maps) can be ordered from Worthyvale Manor, Camelford, Cornwall PL32 9TT, UK and is priced at £4.

Mr Mochtar Kusumaatmaja on Access to East Timor

In an interview reported in Kompas, the Indonesian Foreign Minister said that progress was good and that East Timor is now more open. The Western press, Kompas reported him as saying, has considerable freedom to visit East Timor. (Kompas, 29 March 1986)

The main difficulty, he said, lay in the fact that foreign journalists expected to travel by helicopter rather than by less expensive forms of transport.

This does not correspond to information that East Timor Link has received, according to which it is more difficult than ever to visit East Timor. Extra passes are needed in Bali, more permits in Dili, and every visitor is required to report before departing as well as on arrival.

As for the helicopters, we too are in favour of reducing the expense of foreign visits and agree that journalists should be encouraged to travel by road, and see the situation on the ground rather than from the air... Perhaps now the Indonesian authorities will take steps to allow reporters to stay two weeks instead of two days in the territory!

CHURCH RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA

A Paz e Possivel reports that in October 1985 Mr Sudharmono, General Secretary of Golkar (the government party in Indonesia) was present when Mgr Belo, head of East Timor's Catholic church, blessed a new shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Comoro in Dili. The shrine was funded by an Indonesian Muslim.

Mr Sudharmono was visiting East Timor to prepare the 1987 elections, and Mgr Belo used the occasion to remind his visitor of the need to respect the religious identity of Timor's people.

According to A Paz e Possivel, "The presence of this important political figure at a religious ceremony and at the meal which followed did not pass unnoticed by Timorese. They linked it with the Indonesian authorities' recent offers of financial help for construction of a parish church at Villa Verde (Dili) and even a new Cathedral. These offers would be tied directly to agreement from Mgr Belo to incorporate the diocese of Dili within the Indonesian Bishops' Conference."

Mr Yusuf Wanandi, Director of the influential Centre for International & Strategic Studies in Jakarta, also met Mgr Belo recently. He is reported "to have promised help to build churches in Dili and to have promised to secure authorisation for the entry of more Salesian missionaries (Mgr Belo's Order), if Mgr Belo accepted integration of the diocese within Indonesia." A Paz e Possivel adds that three Salesian priests (a Filipino, an Indian and a Spaniard) were authorised to work in Timor at the beginning of this year.

On Aid and the Politics of Aid

Further evidence of the difficulties faced by the people of East Timor, even those living in the urban centres, was provided recently by no less than the Governor himself, Mr Mario Carrascalao, when he was hosting the visit of the Indonesian Minister for Social Affairs, Ms Nani Soedarsono.

He is reported in Kompas to have told her that 20,000 orphans, 13,000 widows, 7,000 aged and sick people and 3,000 prostitutes are registered for relief and financial assistance. This figure, which presumably takes account of only a proportion of those in need, and probably excludes many communities in the rural areas, represents over 7% of the

entire population.

Carrascalao is also reported to have said that "All of us know that these social problems are a priority, but we are afraid to report them".

One wonders how acceptable these words are to the government in Jakarta?

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Blowing down freedom

REAGAN'S VISIT TO BALI - Part 1

Preceded by the usual gale of advance publicity, on April 29 President Reagan arrived in Bali on his way to meet Western industrial leaders in Japan. As he likes to do, the American president launched a banner headline to capture the spirit of his trip: his visit to Asia was to be propelled by "the winds of freedom".

Trumpeted before him, this phrase died in Bali. Relations between Australia and Indonesia have never been easy - not least because many Australians, including a surprising number of diplomats and defence officials, fear that Indonesia has expansionist designs on their continent. Under the Hawke government relations had been improving: Australia has helpfully accepted Indonesia's de facto occupation of East Timor and begun to reach agreement over disputed oil bearing areas in the Timor Sea.

Just a few days before the Reagan visit, however, a new crisis broke out. First of all, the Sydney Morning Herald published an analysis of the private wealth of the Soehartos, comparing Indonesia's First Family to Mr and Mrs Marcos in the Philippines. The article contained no dramatic new revelations. Nonetheless, it so piqued the government in Jakarta - considered by foreign journalists to be among the most censorious in Asia - that reporting rights were refused to the entire Australian press corps, and a party of Australian tourists, innocently preparing for play in Bali, were sent packing.

Their return - sans holiday, sans sun, sans everything - caused a furore in the Australian popular papers, and the incident was seriously chilling Indonesian-Australian relations as The President flew into Bali from Guam.

Indonesia's decision, at this point, to expel from the presidential cavalcade two Australian journalists (neither of whom had anything to do with the Sydney Morning Herald) and Barbara Crossette of the New York Times, seems astonishingly inept. Even the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Kusumaatmaja, a relatively liberal figure in Indonesian politics, appeared unable to find the words to explain it.

It immediately focussed attention on human rights and press freedoms during a visit the Reagans had expected to be amicable and relaxed. US statements had made it clear that East Timor and human rights were not going to figure in the presidential discussions. Now they did - as Mr Schultz confirmed, while refusing to divulge what had been said. Fired by the injustice done to their own, journalists and editors filed a stream of articles criticising Indonesia's record on human rights, corruption and East Timor, and ridiculing President Reagan's claims about freedom in South East Asia.

"Quiet Diplomacy"

For once, the very special diplomatic assumptions that govern European as well as American and Australian relations with Indonesia have been caught in a glare of publicity. Western governments practise with Indonesia what they call "Quiet Diplomacy". This is apparently based upon the theory that ordinary diplomatic discourse is ineffective. 'Progress' on any number of fronts - extrajudicial executions, trade relations, the invasion of territory belonging to other countries - can only be made by offering extraordinary concessions to Jakarta's sensibilities and interests.

In practise "Quiet Diplomacy" consists of saying absolutely nothing in public about anything of importance to do with Indonesian relations, unless what can be said happens to be highly complimentary. Every Western government behaves as if it is under an obligation to abjure any form of public criticism that might provoke Jakarta into taking exactly the sort of unreasonable action it has just taken against Australian tourists and journalists.

Such deference is possibly unique in Western relations with developing countries, and it is difficult to explain, let alone justify. It is quite out of proportion to the consideration shown to nations such as India that are equally strategic and large. Yet India does not require everyone else to adopt special forms of diplomacy. Nobody expects governments to conduct their business in public... What is so different about Indonesia that it must be conciliated and its affairs handled in an especially quiet voice?

Perhaps, in revealing briefly to the world the alarming lack of official concern for individual and civil liberties in Indonesia, President Reagan's visit may do a little good, after all. It seems that the Australian government might now like to be slightly more critical of its neighbour, while the unwelcome "hurricane" of press criticism to which Mr Kusumaatmaja referred may even have fluttered a tiny bit the composure of Indonesia's politicians and generals.

One should not be too hopeful. Questioned about the controversy by the New York Times, Mr Joop Ave, Indonesia's Director of Tourism, said disarmingly: "We are not going to be bothered by what happens to one or two journalists. Big deal. We're talking about big country relations here. (...) Americans should give us a chance. They should not try to impress upon us the need for change according to the rules of another country. It's impossible." (NYT, May 1 1986.)

The trouble is that the Indonesian government wants to be treated differently from all countries. This assumption ought to have been challenged a long time ago. Indonesia cannot indefinitely have it both ways - asking its friends abroad to treat it as an upcoming major power, and at the same time as a special case needing tender consideration. Optimists should hope that Australia and the United States, both snubbed, may dare now to twitch at the veils of secrecy which clothe Indonesia's treatment of its own people - not least the hidden lives of Timor.

Pressure from the Hill

REAGAN'S VISIT TO BALI - Part 2

To coincide with President Reagan's stopover in Bali, 125 American Congressmen and 23 Senators sent separate letters asking the President to raise the issue of East Timor during his talks with President Soeharto. We reproduce these documents below:

LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM 125 CONGRESSMEN

Dear Mr President,

We continue to be deeply concerned about the human tragedy in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since then, an estimated 100,000 East Timorese - nearly one-sixth of East Timor's original population - have perished from the combined effects of the Indonesian occupation. Armed conflict in the territory persists, as do reports of atrocities such as disappearances, summary executions, torture, and forced birth control.

Highly regarded international church sources confirm that serious human rights abuses continue. While there has been some ostensible improvement in access to East Timor by international humanitarian agencies, such access remains limited. Unrestricted access is critical in light of reports that malnutrition-related deaths of children persist in at least some areas.

We therefore respectfully urge you to give serious attention to the East Timor situation in meetings that you and the Presidential party will have with Indonesian leaders during your visit to Indonesia in May. As the first US President to visit Indonesia since the December 1975 invasion of East Timor, your interest could contribute significantly to efforts that might prevent further bloodshed and misery in East Timor.

Secretary of State Shultz deserved credit for raising the issue of human rights in East Timor during his July 1984 visit to Jakarta; that same month, Pope John Paul II expressed deep concern over the suffering of the people of East Timor. Further, in April 1985, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher raised humanitarian and human rights issues regarding East Timor during a visit to the Indonesian capital.

Continued fighting in the territory between the Indonesian military and the East Timorese resistance is reason for concern, coupled with persistent reports from Amnesty International and other organizations of human rights violations. Accounts of various pressures and intimidation directed at the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor by Indonesian authorities are most disturbing. Also troubling is the matter of political prisoners. While the official number of East Timorese political detainees has dropped, Amnesty International and others report that a significant number of detainees purportedly released have in fact been moved to less identifiable places of detention. There have been accounts of "hidden" prisons and detention camps to which international humanitarian groups still do not have access.

Further alarming is the news of a population limitation program introduced in East Timor by the Indonesians. Authoritative church sources say that this program is being carried out often without the consent or knowledge of the mostly rural population of East Timor. A program of this nature carried out by the invaders themselves has troubling implications, considering the huge death toll in East Timor since the invasion and the comparatively small original population. Mr President, we ask you to urge the Indonesian government to put an end to population limitation measures and practices in East Timor that do not have the full consent and knowledge of those directly concerned.

We seek efforts to ensure the continuation and expansion of access to East Timor by international humanitarian agencies, with guarantees of freedom of movement for these agencies so that the full range of their activities may be carried out to the greatest possible extent. In particular, all prisoners and detainees should be assured timely visitation. In addition, we strongly believe that the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor should be guaranteed an existence free from official pressure and intimidation. Finally, the United States should encourage efforts to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the East Timor conflict.

We fully appreciate the importance of friendly relations with Indonesia. We are also aware that there will be many other issues on your agenda when you travel to Bali. However, we respectfully ask you to add the plight of the people of East Timor to your agenda. You have a special opportunity to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States.

LETTER TO MR GEORGE SCHULTZ FROM 23 SENATORS

Dear Mr Secretary,

We commend you for publicly expressing United States concern for human rights in East Timor during your April, 1984 visit to Indonesia. Since that visit, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Pope John Paul II, among others, have expressed a similar concern to President Soeharto. The repeated raising of the issue by world leaders has led to some improvement of the human rights situation in East Timor, but a number of serious problems remain.

As you know, violence and repression have plagued East Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion of the island. The United States should continue to encourage an equitable and peaceful resolution to the ongoing armed conflict in East Timor. The immediate problems faced by the East Timorese, however, also demand attention. Specifically:

1. While public pressure has led to the release of some political prisoners, Amnesty International reports that many of those said by the government to have been released have in reality been transferred to secret detention camps. International humanitarian organizations do not have access to these "resettlement centers" because the Indonesian government does not acknowledge their existence. Since these political prisoners are isolated from world attention, the Indonesian government need not abide by international standards governing the treatment of prisoners. Many reports of torture in these "resettlement centers" have been received by Amnesty International.

2. The occupying Indonesian forces reportedly continue to intimidate both clergy and church members of East Timor's Roman Catholic Church. For the predominantly Roman Catholic East Timorese, such pressure only increases the tension between themselves and the Indonesians.
3. Though the famine in East Timor has ended, malnutrition and related health problems still exist in some areas. A lack of cooperation between Indonesian authorities and international relief agencies could spell disaster for the East Timorese.
4. When Portugal granted East Timor its independence

in 1975, many families were separated. Those East Timorese still waiting to join their relatives in Portugal have suffered from unnecessarily slow action by Indonesian officials. Resolution of these family reunification cases would be an important humanitarian gesture by Indonesia.

We respectfully urge you to raise these concerns with the Indonesian government during your upcoming visit to the annual ASEAN meeting. We recognize the value of the relationship between Indonesia and the United States. Our friendship with Indonesia can only be strengthened by forthright discussion of the ongoing problems faced by the people of East Timor.

UN Talks reach core issues

In their face to face talks sponsored by the United Nations Secretary-General, the Portuguese and Indonesian governments have until now addressed issues - such as human and religious rights - which, however important, are essentially peripheral to a final resolution of the problem.

During the summer several new sessions of talks are planned, however. These will address the fundamental questions of sovereignty and self-determination.

What chance of progress?

In recent weeks Portuguese leaders, including both the President and the Prime Minister, have been rather assertive in affirming their commitment to a just solution and to the principle of self-determination for East Timor. (See, for example, remarks made by the Portuguese Prime Minister on the BBC, reported elsewhere in this issue.)

This confidence is slightly surprising, because the principle of self-determination is central to the problem, and virtually no observers of Indonesian affairs would currently expect Jakarta's position on sovereignty to soften. So distant from each other are the two government's positions that this would seem to represent an almost intractable obstacle to any settlement.

Yet United Nations officials close to the talks also continue to believe that positive developments are possible - while they admit serious differences still separate the two parties and that little time remains before the next Session of the UN General Assembly, when Mr Perez de Cuellar's current mandate will end.

(It is still not known whether the Secretary-General intends to stand for a second period of office. It is thought, however, that this year he will issue a more definitive report on the progress of the talks than in 1984 and 1985.)

Still Quieter Diplomacy?

We have recently heard whisper of one proposal that would bridge the chasm, and we report it here - not because we have any evidence to say it is being floated seriously, but because it illustrates how many ingenious ways may be found to skin a cat... whether or not the animal itself is consulted.

The idea goes like this:

What if?...

What if Indonesia, which is to hold elections in 1987, was to consider the elections in East Timor as an act of self-determination? To Indonesians, there would be no need to explain the difference, and much embarrassment might be saved... always supposing, of course, that the East Timorese agree to vote as the authorities anticipate.

Then, what if the United Nations agreed to send observers to this election and report their findings to the world? Thus Indonesia's abuse of international law could be confronted discreetly... And Portugal could transfer to the United Nations its burden of responsibility for the Timorese people. What more honourable and dignified retreat could there be from a problem that Portugal is powerless to resolve by its own means?

Such a plan would leave more than a few meaty questions hanging in the air. One wonders, for example, who would provide the election officers, and who would count the votes. And how many candidates would be allowed to stand - and whether they could campaign for independence.

Two comparisons spring to mind. One is the sad story of Irian Jaya, which was transferred to Indonesian sovereignty by the United Nations after a 'consultation' of the population which is generally agreed now to have been deeply flawed and supported by coercion.

The second is the story of the last elections in East Timor, held in May 1982, and described in glowing terms by the then Minister of Defence, General M. Jusuf, who said: "the general elections in East Timor prove to the outside world that the Indonesian government has granted the people of East Timor their proper democratic rights".

This was somewhat short on truth. Firstly, no Timorese parties were in a position to stand - since Fretilin, the UDT and Apodeti were all banned after 1975. None of the three parties that were permitted to field candidates had roots in the territory. Secondly, though the elections were not observed (General Yusuf's 'outside world' was not present), there was evidence of fraud - if only because the number of votes cast was greater than the number of voters registered. Golkar, the government's own party, won a massive victory by polling a safe 99.4% of the votes. Perhaps more accurately than he intended, the Deputy Governor at the time, Mr Lopez da Cruz, declared to Sinar Harapan on polling day in Dili that "the only contest between the contestants was over who could decorate the polling booths most attractively".

INTERNATIONAL ROUND-UP

INGI CONFERENCE

The second INGI Conference was held in Holland on April 28th and 29th, attended by NGOs from Europe, the United States, Japan and Indonesia. More than half the participants were representatives of Indonesian NGOs.

The meeting drew up a document for submission to the Inter Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), the consortium that grants most government to government aid to Indonesia. IGGI will hold its annual meeting in Amsterdam on June 18th and 19th.

INGI's aim was to produce a systematic set of development alternatives for Indonesia, in the hope of influencing the direction and quality of IGGI programmes. Discussions lasting for two days centred on the development of the domestic economy, popular participation, human rights, transmigration, and environmental issues. The final document was agreed by the conference and accepted by the Dutch Minister of Justice on behalf of the Minister for Overseas Development, who agreed to present it to the IGGI.

Though the conference did not address directly the issue of East Timor, it did express its concern about widespread violations of "the right not to be subjected to torture, violence, extrajudicial executions or disappearances," and affirmed "the right of cultural communities to preserve their identity, traditions, language, cultural heritage and customary laws and the right to determine for themselves the manner and extent of their relationship with the larger society."

Those present undertook to publicise the contents of the INGI document with their respective governments.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT TO REPORT ON EAST TIMOR

The Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament has decided to prepare a report on the situation in Indonesia, including Irian Jaya and East Timor. The report will focus particularly on human rights issues, and the Committee expects to draw, among others, upon information from NGO's.

The Committee will be chaired by Mrs van den Heuvel, Chairperson of the Sub-Committee on Human Rights of the Political Affairs Committee. Mrs van den Heuvel belongs to the Dutch Labour Party.

The report will first go as a draft to the Political Affairs Committee, which will discuss and possibly amend it. In the form of a draft resolution, it will then be presented to the European Parliament, which will debate it in plenary session. The resolution will be accompanied by an explanatory statement containing the substance of the Committee's findings; but this statement will not itself be debated.

Groups interested in providing information to the Committee should write initially to Mr Etienne Boumans of the Human Rights Unit, at the European Parliament, Centre Europeen, Plateau du Kyrchberg, BP 1601, Luxembourg.

PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER ON BBC

Guest on the BBC's phone-in programme It's Your World on May 11th, Professor Anibal Cavaco Silva, Portugal's Prime Minister, defined his government's attitude towards East Timor. Among other things, he said:

"The Portuguese government thinks that the people of East Timor have the right to self-determination."

Of the UN-sponsored talks with Indonesia, he said these sought "first of all to answer to the humanitarian problems that the people of East Timor are suffering, and to reduce the limitations on freedom for the people living there. We do hope that in the near future it will be possible to reach an understanding under which the people are given the right to express their desire to be part of Indonesia or to be separate from Indonesia."

Finally he said that "it is very important to maintain strong public opinion pressure on national governments so that they will support the position of Portugal, which is the position which defends the right of the people of East Timor to the United Nations. So I appreciate everything that is done... to help not Portugal but the people of East Timor. We have contacted all friendly governments so that they will support the self-determination of the people of East Timor in the United Nations."

GERMAN PRESS VISIT

The Indonesian Embassy in Bonn has said that in July or August 3 West German journalists will be invited to East Timor. For news of this visit, contact Klemens Ludwig, Association for Endangered People, PB 2024, 3400 Gottingen, West Germany.

REVIEW

UDT-FRETILIN JOINT STATEMENT

In March this year, in advance of the Presidential elections in Portugal, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) and the Union for a Democratic Timor (UDT) co-operated politically for the first time since they competed for power in the months before the Indonesian invasion in 1975.

For East Timorese living abroad, this is obviously an important event.

Tapol has now published their joint communique, and also short statements issued at the same time by the two parties. The communique is dated March 18 1986 and is signed by Dr Abilio Araujo, head of Fretilin's external delegation, and by Dr Moises da Costa Amaral, President of UDT's political commission.

The pamphlet, Occasional Report No. 2, is available from Tapol, 8a Treport St, London SW 18 2BP. (4 pages.)

UK Government on Arms Exports

Replying to a constituent who wrote to his MP, Mr Timothy Renton, the British Minister who deals with South East Asia, has clarified the situation with regard to the reports of several large arms sales to Indonesia which we described in the last issue of East Timor Link. We reproduce relevant extracts for readers interested in this question:

"Britain has sold Rapier air defence systems to Indonesia. But the Government has received no export licence applications for the sale of further Hawk aircraft or the supply of Scorpion tanks to Indonesia."

The letter (dated March 17 1986) restated Britain's defence of arms exports: "when sold to meet legitimate defence needs, they help to deter aggression and permit other countries to exercise their right to self-defence". Furthermore, "Our customers are sovereign states who have the right to decide their own public expenditure priorities..."

On the other hand: "all potential defence sales are considered individually on their merits. Each transaction is subject to strict export licensing procedures, including an assessment of the foreign policy implications. We pay particular attention to the human rights record of the country concerned and ... do not agree to the supply of equipment which, in our judgement, is likely to be used for internal repression."

Mr Renton then considered the case of Indonesia. "In considering export licence applications for Indonesia we must take account of Indonesia's role as an important regional power in South East Asia. The security and stability of Indonesia, and of the region of the Association of South East Asian nations as a whole, is of growing significance to the international community, not least to Britain which has substantial interests there."

Finally the Minister referred to East Timor, where "our policy ... is to support the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to promote contacts between the Indonesian and Portuguese Governments aimed at achieving a just settlement in East Timor." He concluded by saying "we have gone to some lengths, both on our own account and with our European Community partners, to inform the Indonesian Government of our concern for human rights issues. I discussed the whole question of human rights with senior Indonesian officials when I visited Jakarta last November."

Readers should note that previous experience suggests that this sort of issue needs to be monitored. While strictly true, this letter means only what it says - that requests for export licences have not been received. It is quite possible, for example, that applications are about to be made.

REVIEW

ICRC ANNUAL REPORT

In January 1986 the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) published the latest in its series of reports on the situation in East Timor. It covers ICRC's work throughout 1985, and sets out its aims and financing requirements for 1986.

As in the past, the report is written with more than one eye on the need for neutrality. It documents, sparsely but factually, each of the main activities to which the ICRC is committed in East Timor:

ICRC Activities

- Visits to detainees: 2 of the 3 visits planned for 1985 took place, and in all 279 detainees were seen; aid was given to many of them, as well as to families.

- Re-uniting families: under this programme 9 people returned to Portugal and 5 to Australia; the ICRC also agreed, acting on the request of both Portugal and Indonesia, to arrange the return to Portugal of up to 400 ex-civil servants, a project funded by the UN High Commission for Refugees;

- Transmitting Red Cross messages: during the year the ICRC and the Indonesian Red Cross forwarded 10,000 messages, mainly on behalf of detainees and people on Atauro island.

- Relief on Atauro: the relief programme on Atauro continued. However, the number of people held on the island by the Indonesian authorities dropped during the year from 1,267 to 940 (December 1985), and the

ICRC also began to distribute food rations to the people who have been returned to the main island. Each was given 2 months' supply (11.4 tonnes was distributed in all.)

- Surveys on the main island: Following up the nutritional survey of 25 villages in May-June 1985, a new assessment was conducted in December among some 17,000 inhabitants of Raifusa, Dilor, Luro, Parlamento/Moro and Iliomar "which appeared vulnerable at the time". The medico-nutritional situation was evaluated by measuring the brachial circumference and height of children from 1 to 6 years, and a general assessment of health, medical facilities and food supplies etc was made. In the light of the survey's findings, the authorities "informed the ICRC that they would take the appropriate measures to remedy the situation if necessary" and "A special committee, consisting of representatives of the East Timor health and agricultural services, was established ... and is working in close co-operation with the ICRC and the Indonesian Red Cross".

- Survey of Returnees from Atauro. In April, ICRC staff visited 600 people who had been placed in the Ainaro/Dare region after detention on Atauro; another 668 in the Cailaco region during October; and about 85 in Manatuto. "About 1,300 of these people were seen by the ICRC in 1985. Approximately 2,800 people were yet to be visited." (p.16)

Each of these programmes is to be continued into 1987.

East Timor Report & Emergency Appeal, No 16 for 1986 (18 pages, map, photographs) may be had on request from the ICRC, 17 Avenue de la Paix, CH-1202 Geneva, Switzerland.

INDONESIA PREPARES FOR NON-ALIGNED MEETING IN HARARE

According to a report in the Jakarta Post (May 16), Indonesia is to open an Embassy in Zimbabwe to prepare for the Non-Aligned Summit which will take place in Harare in August of this year. Zimbabwe is currently the Movement's President.

At the last meeting in Luanda East Timor became a contentious issue, not just because it was the subject of an unexpectedly long debate, but because the Movement's inability to reach a consensus may have persuaded Indonesia not to put itself forward as a candidate for the Presidency.

The Non-Aligned Movement has symbolic importance for Indonesia, because the Movement was founded at a meeting in Bandung in Java.

"God willing, the issue will be resolved this year"

Indonesia is clearly preparing for a big push on Timor: the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmaja has said as much on several occasions. To plan Indonesia's diplomatic strategy on East Timor, in March he met his country's Ambassadors for Europe in Geneva, and then those for Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Latin American countries in New York.

Now, Dr Mochtar also announced, Mr Hasjin Djalal, Head of the Foreign Ministry's Research & Development Bureau, will be going to 7 African capitals to explain Indonesia's record on East Timor and persuade them the support Jakarta at the UN.

Nevertheless, the government must be unsure. Dr Mochtar refused to say whether the Indonesian delegation will be led by President Soeharto. "You'll have to guess," he told journalists. The question is interesting. President Soeharto would surely not go to Harare if he was likely to be publicly embarrassed over East Timor.

On the other hand, his presence might inhibit other delegations from pressing so sensitive an issue.

The government of Mr Mugabe is known to be sympathetic to East Timor's case. Though not officially accredited, Frelin will also be present in Harare. It will clearly be an opportunity for both sides to test their support before the UN General Assembly is convened in the Autumn.

HELDER CAMARA VISITS TIMORESE REFUGEES

Dom Helder Camara, the Archbishop of Olinda & Recife in Brazil - "Bishop of the Favelas" - visited Portugal in April and met the Timorese refugees in the 'Valo do Jamor' Camp in Lisbon.

"I have heard here," he told them, "that the bishops of Portugal, Indonesia, Holland, Japan and the United States have already demonstrated their solidarity with the people of East Timor. But I have not heard the Brazilians speak. When I return to my country I will look into this, and I can promise you that the Brazilian Bishops' Conference will take a position on the subject of your legitimate aspirations."

Dom Helder went on: "I have already been together with the Timorese in Australia. This invasion was an aberration. You have the right to remain in your own country and to choose independence. What you desire is so just."

(A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste, May)

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