



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Timor link, no. 7, October 1986

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1986) Timor link, no. 7, October 1986. Timor link (7). pp. 1-8.

The publisher's official version can be found at

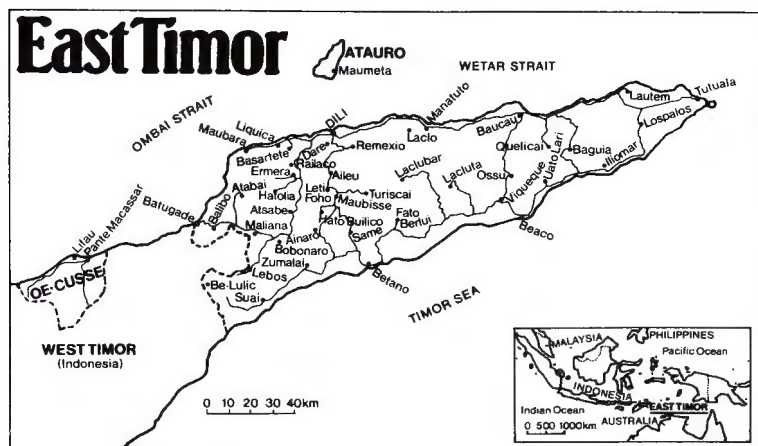
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timor LINK

Number 7 October 1986

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NEWS FROM INSIDE

VISIT OF ANACORETA CORREIA

Miguel Anacoreta Correia is a Portuguese member of Parliament affiliated to the Christian Democrat Party, which lies towards the conservative end of Portugal's political spectrum. Between July 11 and July 15 1986 he visited East Timor — the first Portuguese official to do so since Portugal severed diplomatic relations with Indonesia after East Timor's invasion in 1975.

The visit was private but given approval by the Portuguese government. It was arranged by General Beni Murdani, who confirmed to Mr Correia that he still heads operations in East Timor. Mr Correia was accompanied throughout his visit by naval captain Yusuf Effendi (special assistant to Gen. Murdani), Dr Lobo Amaral, a Portuguese official from Macau, and a Portuguese businessman, Mr Serodio.

In the five days of his visit, Mr Correia went to Dili, Aileu, Lospalos, Baucau, Suai, Maliana, Purgoa, Atauro. He was able, after discussion, to arrange his own itinerary. Except from Dili to Aileu, he travelled everywhere by helicopter.

Those he met included General Murdani, Governor Mario Carrascalao, Mgr Filipe Ximenes Belo, and General Yosfiah, Military Commander responsible for East

Timor.

Mr Correia has presented a substantial report to the Portuguese Parliament. Though it has had a mixed reception in the Portuguese press, and Mr Correia did not always escape being misled, in general he appears to have made a serious attempt to report honestly his impressions.

Economic improvements

Two main conclusions stand out. He acknowledges, firstly, that there have been important economic changes. "I refuse to make propaganda for anyone," he remarks to the Christian Science Monitor (August 21). "It doesn't help Timor if we distort the truth and, being familiar with the situation in Portugal's ex-colonies of Angola and Mozambique today, I have to admit that economic life in East Timor under Indonesia is much more prosperous."

All goods and services are available in Dili, where he reports that Javanese occupy all the important positions, and that a lot of money is being made. Dili is a duty free zone. He also points out, however, that most of the goods are imported from Singapore. The only exports are 6000 tons of coffee and some sandalwood; exports cover just 2% of imports. He was told by

Governor Carrascalao that the Indonesian government spends US\$60m. per year on development expenses in Timor and another US\$12m. on current expenses.

Dili Boom

Reports by the Jakarta correspondent of the *Straits Times* of Singapore (September 20 and 22) confirm Correia's information. According to Yang Razali Kassim, trade with Singapore has been increasing at the expense of business with Indonesia in certain products. In volume terms imports from Singapore have risen from 3410 thousand tonnes (1980) to 11,882 thousand tonnes (1983) and to 36,238 thousand tonnes in 1985.

Imported products include flour, cement, beer and processed drinks, sugar and most manufactured and consumer goods.

Dili officials say the entrepreneurial class in Dili has grown at an annual rate of 120%. According to Correia the great majority of this new business elite are not Timorese but Indonesian.

The situation outside Dili is rather different, and varies from place to place. Correia reported that Lospalos was more prosperous than Baucau and he was particularly critical of conditions in one of the resettlement camps, Cai Rui, where there was not

only an atmosphere of fear and intimidation but depressing physical insufficiency.

Mr Correia did find malnutrition but no areas of starvation.

Since he travelled by helicopter, he saw the road system only from the air. This gave him an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of the Fretilin map of Indonesian military placements reported in East Timor Link 6. One exception to this: he went by road the 25 mile trip from Dili to Aileu (the journey took two hours).

In general, Mr Correia's findings confirm the general impression given in recent months by foreign visitors, the Church, and Indonesian statistics. Investment in the territory has increased significantly under Indonesian rule, but in the main these resources have been channelled into projects with a military aspect (such as roads and infrastructure) and into agricultural production and commerce — usually to the benefit of Indonesian interests rather than the majority of Timorese.

Alienation

Mr Correia's second main finding should also be uncontroversial — for it has been implicit in all reports except those frankly sympathetic to the Indonesian government's view. Mr Correia found that the great majority

of the population are unreconciled to Indonesian rule. "It was difficult to assess such a complex situation during a five day visit," he stated, "but it is obvious that the Timorese reject Indonesia, or at least those aspects of Indonesian administration identified with the Army and security. Although everybody emphasised that things had improved in the last few years,... I was told that persecution is commonplace, that there is a tight system of control, that denunciations are frequent, and that people are afraid to speak... The psychological situation is bad."

Mr Correia found that the statistics made it clear that more than 100,000 Timorese had died as a result of hostilities or their direct consequences. In Aileu, between 1973 and 1979, for example, the population fell from 37,000 to 13,000. During his visit, Mr Correia did not meet anyone who had not lost family members, and in general he remarked on the absence of adult men of middle age.

Mr Correia was not able to meet representatives of Fretilin, nor was he able to get a clear assessment of the military situation.

In conclusion, Mr Correia told the Christian Science Monitor: "After my visit, I still believe a credible act of self-determination has not been held." His report, relatively even-handed as it is, and reflecting the views of a political

conservative, are likely to reinforce rather than weaken political pressure on the Portuguese government to design and implement a realistic and effective policy towards East Timor.

A Tip For Timor Watchers

Mr Anacoreta Correia was told by General Beni Murdani that the Portuguese TV documentary made by Rui Araujo in 1983 had 'closed the doors of dialogue' and by Governor Carrascalao that Indonesia would not make the same mistake twice.

Since Mr Correia has concluded that an act of self-determination has not taken place, that it ought to, and that the people of East Timor are far from reconciled to Indonesian rule, will *his* visit be deemed a 'mistake', unhelpful to dialogue?

Will the Portuguese tourists whom Mr Carrascalao plans to invite when he turns Atauro into a second Bali be turned away, and will other Parliamentarians who seek to inform themselves independently be treated as 'personae non grata'?

Or will the Indonesian authorities reflect upon what Mr Correia has said, and take note not merely of his positive points but also his criticisms?

STUDENT ARRESTS IN JAKARTA

(see Stop Press on back page)

It has been confirmed that three Timorese students from Atmajaya University in Jakarta were arrested by Indonesian security during September. Amnesty International has issued an Urgent Action Appeal on their behalf, and asked the Indonesian authorities to make public the charges against all three men, to make known their place of detention, to ensure that they have access to lawyers and friends, and are humanely treated while in custody.

It is understood that their lawyers are still unable to find out where the three are being detained.

Amnesty International is concerned that they may face torture during interrogation.

Antonino Goncalves

Antonino Goncalves was arrested on September 3rd while drinking coffee with fellow students. He is a final year student in law. The three men who arrested him were reportedly dressed in civilian clothes and arrived in a grey car (license plate B1136V).

Mr Goncalves, a Catholic, was a

sergeant in the Portuguese army until 1975 and joined the resistance in the mountains until 1978 when he was either arrested or captured. All the members of his close family died during those years.

He was detained until 1981 when he received a scholarship to study in Jakarta. He is the first Timorese student known to have been arrested in Jakarta. His arrest — and subsequent disappearance — has created an atmosphere of fear and anxiety among the Timorese student community.

Joao de Camara, Francisco Carvalho

Joao Freitas de Camara and Francisco Fernandes Carvalho were taken on September 16 and September 17 respectively. Mr da Camara is also studying law in his final year, while Mr Carvalho is an engineering student.

Mr Goncalves is from the region of Atsabe, Mr Joao Freitas da Camara from Suai and Mr Carvalho from Uatocarabao.

Readers may write for further

information and advice about what to do to their national Amnesty office or Amnesty International, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom. Tel: 01-833 1771, Telex 28502.

Alternatively, readers might wish to write to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar, asking him to intercede with the Indonesian authorities on the students behalf, in his capacity as mediator between Portugal and Indonesia. Address: United Nations, UN Plaza, NY, New York 10017 United States.

The risk to these students is very real. As the Amnesty Urgent Action states: "Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, AI has received frequent reports of torture by the Indonesian military of East Timorese suspected of having links with the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (Fretilin)... Amnesty has also received reports of political prisoners in Jakarta having been tortured during interrogation by intelligence personnel."

PRIEST BEATEN

Fr Walter van Wouwe, a Salesian priest who works in the parish of Los Palos, was assaulted by two soldiers on June 27, according to reports from Australia. We publish a letter written by Mgr Lopes in protest at this incident. It was addressed to the head of PB-7 in East Timor, and is translated from the Indonesian. PB-7 is the government's programme to teach the state ideology of Pancasila throughout the country. is translated from the Indonesian.

We have been informed by church sources that the two soldiers concerned have been charged and imprisoned.

July 7 1986

With respect,
I hereby wish to communicate to you, Honoured Sir, that not a single priest from the Diocese of Dili-Timor will be taking part in the activities of the "P4 45 hours version" being held specially for spiritual leaders for the whole province of East Timor.

The Reason:

An expression of our solidarity with Fr Walter van Wouwe, SDB, priest of the parish of Los Palos-Lautem, who was vilely mistreated physically by two members of the Republic of Indonesia's Armed Forces on last June 27.

Our absence from the above mentioned P-4 Indoctrination activities

is meant as a statement of strong, deep protest against this reprehensible act, which in addition is felt as (humiliating) among our clergy.

Why should we occupy ourselves discussing the Pancasila when priests who have dedicated themselves to the spiritual and material interests of the people of East Timor are neither listened to nor given consideration, but rather are held in suspicion, threatened and indeed treated with vile brutality.

I hereby wish to declare to you that neither in this year nor in the years to come will our priests take part in the P-4 activities unless the authorities demonstrate in explicit attitudes and deeds their respect for persons and the freedom of our priests, catechists and missionaries.

In conclusion, I do not forget to take this occasion to reiterate my respects,
Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB

The form of protest, as well as the force of the letter, are significant. The Catholic church in Indonesia has been made subject to new regulations requiring all organisations to study and identify with the state ideology of Pancasila.

Two of the five principles of Pancasila are respect for humanity and belief in God — both violated on this occasion.

The "45 hour version for non-officials" is the most elementary course included in the government's programme.

RUMOURS OF WAR

It has been reported that major military incidents took place in August. The office of the UDT in Lisbon announced in September that Fretilin forces clashed with units of the Indonesian army at the end of July causing Indonesian losses of up to 200 men. The incident reportedly took place in the area of Uatolari by the Babui river. This is a relatively isolated area, on the southern coast, reached by road from Baucau via Viqueque.

Subsequently, it is reported, the Indonesian army retaliated by killing many villagers in the same area.

Dutch Radio also carried a report on these events, on Tuesday September 23.

East Timor Link has not yet been able to confirm the facts or to provide more detail. If the reports are true, it would be the most serious single loss suffered by the Indonesian armed forces in recent years. The military authorities would probably respond with extensive military sweeps against Fretilin. In the past, these have had dramatic consequences for the civilian population.

If the killing of civilians is also confirmed, it would be another tragedy on the scale of the massacre at Lacluta in 1983.

CHURCH NEWS

PRIESTS AND RELIGIOUS IN EAST TIMOR

In July, *A Paz e Possivel* published a substantial report providing much new information about the Catholic church in East Timor. In this issue, we reproduce those sections of it which deal with the personnel of the church.

Religious

Three orders are present in East Timor.

The Jesuits and Salesian fathers were there before the invasion and their number has fallen. Their position is nevertheless different: whereas the Jesuits have not been able to bring in reinforcements from outside Indonesia, the Salesians have been more fortunate. Yussuf Wanandi, Director of the Centre for International and Strategic Studies in Jakarta, who is responsible for the entry of foreigners into East Timor, has authorised the entry of new Salesian missionaries and has promised Mgr Belo (himself a Salesian) that more can go in if Mgr Belo seeks to integrate the

diocese within MAWI (the Indonesian Bishops' Conference).

The Divine Word missionaries (Indonesians) who work in Indonesian West Timor came in at the request of Mgr da Costa Lopes to replace the priests who had left East Timor. They established themselves first of all in the enclave of Oecusse, then in missions near to the frontier, and in January 1986 were given responsibility for the mission of Uatolari — the first mission area on the East Coast. At that time, military pressure in the area of Uatolari was growing, the settlement was encircled with barbed wire and the population forced to retreat within the barbed wire after 5pm. (See East Timor Link 6: Letter from Timor.)

Sisters

The situation of the Canossian and Carmelite nuns has evolved similarly.

The Canossian sisters remain the most numerous congregation, having 15 Timorese among their number, but

Portuguese sisters have not been replaced.

The Carmelites have received reinforcement especially from Spain...but two congregations (Dominicans and Servants of the Holy Family) have disappeared completely.

Four new congregations (unnamed in the text, eds.) have entered but all have exclusively Indonesian personnel.

Curiously, the congregations which are present in East Timor but not in Indonesia are opening training houses in Java (the Salesians in Jakarta, the Canossians at Semarang, the Carmelites at Malang) for their Timorese members. This appears to reflect a new demand by the Indonesian authorities anxious to speed up Indonesianisation.

The Seminary

The minor seminary in Dili has 25 boarding seminarians (aged between 15 and 17). They follow courses outside the seminary in the afternoons, either

at the school of St Joseph (which teaches in Portuguese) or the Indonesian secondary school (18 and 6 students respectively).

In addition there are 80 aspirants. In groups of 30, these spend Sundays in turn at the seminary. They live with Dili families during the one or two years of their course.

Attempts are being made to extend this experiment to other missions.

The seminary is run by two Portuguese Jesuits and a Timorese priest. In 1985 pressure was put on Mgr Belo to remove the Jesuits but the strong reaction of the clergy and some of the local people was sufficient to overcome this crisis....

There are eight major seminarians. They study philosophy and theology in Indonesia.

First year of philosophy (Java) —4
Training in Timor —3
Second year of theology (Flores) —1

Catechists

There are at present between 900 and 1000 catechists. Since August 1984 new catechists are trained at the Catechists' school (SPGAK) in Baucau, directed by Indonesian sisters belonging to the Ursulines. The Indonesian government finances this school completely and pays the sisters who teach there.

Catechists are all now paid by the government (10,000 Rupiah per month) and are considered to be officials. Older catechists, obliged to work under the instructions of Indonesian priests, have refused to do so and resigned.

There is a catechism in Tetum (the language of communication) but the Indonesian church offers free copies of catechisms and other religious books written in Indonesian, whereas the Diocese of Dili has no resources to publish its own edition.

CARDINAL SIN

On July 21, Jaime L. Cardinal Sin, Archbishop of Manila, wrote a sympathetic letter to Mgr Belo.

Cardinal Sin was actively involved in supporting the public campaign which led to the fall of President Marcos in February of this year. In a dramatic broadcast, he appealed personally to Filipinos in Manila to stand between the armed forces loyal to President Marcos and the troops who rebelled in sympathy with Mrs Aquino in order to prevent bloodshed.

Philippine Bishops on Justice

At the height of the crisis, on February 13, the Philippine bishops also made history within the catholic church when they published a pastoral letter denouncing unjust government. "According to moral principles," they declared, "a government that assumes or retains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis. For such an access to power is tantamount to a forcible seizure and cannot command the allegiance of the citizenry. The

most we can say, then, about such a government, is that it is a government in possession of power. But admitting this, we hasten to add: Because of that very fact, that same government itself has the obligation to right the wrong it is founded on. It must respect the mandate of the people. This is precondition for any reconciliation."

The pastoral letter went on to declare: "If such a government does not of itself freely correct the evil it has inflicted on the people then it is our serious moral obligation as a people to make it do so."

The Bishops went on to support "the way of non-violent struggle for justice."

This stand, effectively supporting civil disobedience, set an international precedent for the Catholic church.

Solidarity with East Timor

This recent experience adds weight to Cardinal Sin's words.

"Dear Mgr Belo,

I wish to express my sentiments of deep solidarity with you as you aspire for the authentic liberation of your people. Please accept my pledge of continuing fraternal support as you endeavour to liberate your people from the shackles of an oppressive system.

May the Lord of justice, freedom and peace always bless your apostolic endeavours. May you see the successful realization of all your beautiful dreams.

With every best wish, I remain,

Devotedly in Christ,

Jaime L. Card. Sin
Archbishop of Manila."

INTERNATIONAL ROUND UP

NO VOTE AT THE UN THIS YEAR

It now seems certain that the question of East Timor will again be postponed, and will not be included on the agenda for the General Assembly in 1986.

East Timor was last discussed in 1982, when, by a small majority, the General Assembly asked the Secretary General Mr Perez de Cuellar to use his good offices to bring about a settlement.

Since then, several rounds of talks have been held between Portugal and Indonesia — though the people of East Timor have not been invited to send representatives, nor have they been consulted about what they want.

In both 1984 and 1985 the Secretary General reported on his mediation, recommending that further debate should be postponed while Portugal and Indon-esia continued to hold talks.

In effect this is what he has done again this year. On September 12 he issued a short statement (UN

document A/41/02) in which he reported that substantive talks will continue during September, and that as a result he is not in a position to submit a full report to the Assembly.

Following this cue, Malaysia — which, as a co-member of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), has consistently supported Indon-esia — submitted a resolution to postpone the item, seconded by the Netherlands, which (since diplomatic relations were broken off after the invasion of Timor in 1975) represents Portugal in Jakarta.

Diplomatese for what?

It is difficult to interpret this development with confidence. First indications suggest, nevertheless, that from East Timor's point of view, it is not wholly negative: lack of progress is better than full retreat.

Moreover, Malaysia's approach

suggests that the talks sponsored by the Secretary General are being taken seriously by allies of Indonesia as well as Portugal. If so, this implies there is a degree of pressure on Indonesia and, since it is Indonesia which will have to make the most fundamental concessions, this too may be a positive factor.

Thirdly, it is worth recalling that, assuming he recovers fully from the heart bypass operation he undertook in July, Mr Perez de Cuellar is now expected to accept a second term as UN Secretary General. This may be considered another positive element, because his involvement in the issue is believed to be sincere and even handed.

Finally, political developments in Portugal (see elsewhere in this issue) make it rather less likely that the Portuguese government will accede to an indefensible political settlement.

According to our sources, for example, there is now no prospect that Portugal will consider any arrangement under which the Legislative elections in East Timor next April 1987 might be recognised as a form of referendum on integration. (See ET LINK last issue, *UN Talks Reach Core Issues*.) Such an idea was discussed, in some quarters seriously, but has quite rightly been discarded as an unacceptable option in both government and parliamentary

circles.

Straws in a gale?

On the other hand, it may be said that these are just straws, unlikely to give much protection against the gale force of Indonesia's diplomacy. Indonesia cannot be removed by force. Jakarta does not have to make diplomatic concessions. There is no political will to impose a just settlement in the

international community.

For those outside government who are committed to supporting the rights of East Timor's people, it is unlikely that governments will provide the moral and political impetus that will be needed to alter Indonesia's stance.

If we are looking for sources of hope, we should look inside East Timor — and also to the small breeze of concern and protest which has been growing within Asia and in the Pacific.

UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONISATION

Hearings on East Timor — August 15

Each year since 1975, the Special Committee on Decolonisation (Committee of 24) has held hearings on East Timor. Some organisations have witnessed each year. But for CIIR, it was the first time — and for this correspondent at least the experience was a puzzling, deflatory experience.

Though the Committee of 24 has much less influence than during the 1960's when the majority of countries won their independence, it was felt that a strong presence in support of East Timor was essential this year, because East Timor has been forced off the agenda of most other UN bodies. Indonesia has been pressing to remove it altogether from the diplomatic calendar.

In consequence a large party of solidarity groups, academics, and representatives of the churches turned up in their best clothes on the appointed day, August 15, complete with 30 copies of their presentation. One by one, interrupted by meals and other business (South Africa, Gibraltar) they stepped to the microphone and spoke to the scattering of diplomatic representatives and journalists who had turned up on a Friday afternoon rather than go to the country.

The relaxed disinterest of the audience seemed inappropriate, confronted with the strength of feeling exposed by the speakers from Timor. For those giving evidence, some of whom had travelled from Australia or Japan to be present, it was difficult not to become impatient about — or even dismiss altogether — a bureaucratic process which permitted the officers first to spend the entire morning session discussing other matters (while the speakers waited) and then to ask

the speakers to cut short their presentations because there was no longer enough time to hear them!

Nevertheless, enough points were made to cause the Indonesian representative, His Excellency Mr S Wiryono, to respond with abuse rather than argument, declaring that what had been heard were merely the endless repetitions of ludicrous charges. His arguments and those of the more than 20 critical petitioners have been summarised by the UN secretariat, and provide a permanent record of the debate.

It was the first time for several years that so broad a range of organisations had testified before an international diplomatic institution of such standing. The complete texts of papers will become available from participating organisations later this year.

Who spoke?

Those who testified included representatives of Amnesty International, Asia Watch (the respected American human rights group), the International League for the Rights & liberation of Peoples, East Timor groups from Holland, Australia, Britain, Portugal, France and Canada, the Council for Overseas Aid in Australia, CIIR, the West German Association for Endangered Peoples, and Lord Avebury, President of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group. The presence of the Japanese parliamentarian, Mr S. Eda, and a representative of the Youth Movement of the Christian Conference of Asia were especially significant.

The Voice of Asia

This was tangible evidence of the degree to which East Timor has again become — still in a small way — an issue of concern in Asia. As Mr Masaki Yokoyama said in his own statement: "We have been more and more

convinced that the East Timor issue is an Asian issue. It is so much linked up with the democratisation of the whole of Asia, and especially of the Indonesian society (...) Therefore, the East Timorese people who are in the struggle should not just be seen as the late-comers in the war for independence, but should be understood as the fore-runners who are leading the struggle for full self-determination in the much deeper sense of today. This is why the Asian ecumenical youth movement supports the East Timorese people in their struggle. We are in the same struggle in many parts of Asia (and) are learning much from the people of East Timor and being so much encouraged by them. We would like to keep raising the East Timor issue in different meetings and events in Asia until the time our friends in Indonesia take it up to work directly with the East Timorese people. We would like to invite all of you to join more than a hundred churches and church-related organisations in the Asia-Pacific region appealing for human rights in East Timor."

Most of all, the Hearings gave the diplomatic community a rare opportunity — did they listen? — to hear in person the views of some representatives of Timorese opinion. Mgr da Costa Lopes, Apostolic Administrator of Dili diocese until 1983, and Fr Francisco Fernandes spoke powerfully about the refusal of East Timor's people to accept integration, and their commitment to freedom.

East Timor Link may include excerpts from these and other statements in future issues. In the meantime, this correspondent wonders with some curiosity how much effect this expenditure of breath and conviction will have upon the tranquil processes and received opinions which govern international diplomacy.

US CONGRESS

The United States House of Representatives' Committee on Appropriations — which examines US spending on foreign assistance — commented as follows on East Timor's situation in its annual report on the foreign spending budget for 1987.

"The Committee is concerned about continuing reports of human rights violations by the Indonesian Armed Forces on East Timor. The Committee believes that the Administration should take all appropriate measures to ensure that the Government of Indonesia takes actions to bring these abuses under control, such as maintaining and expanding access to and guaranteeing freedom of movement in East Timor for humanitarian organizations so that such organizations can carry out their humanitarian operations to the fullest extent feasible; and guaranteeing full freedom of expression for an end to intimidation of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor.

"The Committee is also concerned about reports that a population control program has been imposed on East Timor by the occupying authorities, despite the severe depopulation of the island since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. It is the Committee's expectation that population programs should be entirely voluntary, that adequate education is provided the participants and that the religious values of the East Timorese are respected."

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL

East Timor has risen up the political agenda in Portugal, particularly as a result of Anacoreta Correia's visit in July (reviewed elsewhere in this issue).

Nevertheless, the government has still not resolved how to handle the negotiations with Indonesia. Nor, despite rather more energetic statements about East Timor in public, is it prepared to commit itself to any course that might lead it to confront Indonesia on central political differences.

This weakness was apparent, for example, at the UN Committee of 24 Hearings on East Timor (also reviewed in this issue), where the Portuguese representative made the poorest and most perfunctory intervention of the day — reportedly because the

government had not briefed him in advance about its position.

There have been changes in the balance of forces, however. Whereas the Prime Minister appears to have adopted a woollier approach — likely in practise to favour Indonesia's interests — both the President and the Parliament appear to show more commitment to the issue.

Since taking the Presidency, Mario Soares in particular appears to have had a change of heart and to have briefed himself more comprehensively about the background and causes of the conflict. There is now real hope that he may take over the mantle which Gen. Eanes carried for so long.

There is little doubt too that the Portuguese Parliament will not at present tolerate a settlement which might smell of a sell-out. The Correia report is one reason for this: it has provided a relatively solid platform for parliamentarians of both left and right to group round.

It is reported that when the Portuguese State Council met in July to discuss East Timor, it was parliamentarians who insisted that the government should uphold the fundamental principles involved even if this prejudiced the talks taking place at the UN with Indonesia.

While it is therefore far from true that Portugal is now ready to lead the diplomatic campaign on behalf of East Timor which has been its unfulfilled responsibility since 1975, the conditions for action have improved. We report below some recent illustrations of the changes taking place.

Mario Soares in London

In May, President Mario Soares visited Britain. Replying on May 19 to a letter from CIIR, he said this about the Portuguese government's view of East Timor:

"We are strongly determined to pursue in the proper international fora our effort to achieve a just settlement in which the rights of the people of East Timor will be fully respected and guaranteed."

Resolution in the European Parliament

In July President Soares spoke to the European Parliament, referring to East Timor. Subsequently, on July 10, Portuguese Euro-MPs presented a resolution on the question which was adopted. After the preamble, which takes note of the fact that Portugal is now a member of the EEC, the resolution

"1. Appeals to the Government of Indonesia immediately to cease all

hostilities against the people of East Timor, to put an end to their occupation of East Timor's territory and to respect the rights of the Maubere people to self-determination;

2. Asks the Institutions of the European Community to endeavour to ensure that the proper conditions are created for the people of East Timor freely to enjoy their right of self-determination;

3. Asks the member States of the European Community to exploit all possible diplomatic channels to attain the establishment of peace and law in East Timor;

4. Asks the State of Portugal to join in Community efforts to ensure that East Timor's right of independence is guaranteed, in line with the provisions of the constitution of the Portuguese Republic."

The resolution has been forwarded to the European foreign ministers, the Commission, the Governments of the Member States and the Government of Indonesia.

In itself, passing such a resolution does not signify a more active stance in Europe, because European governments are not bound by it.

But it shows clearly that Portugal's entry into the European Community can have an impact on the attitudes of Europe's political establishment — if Portuguese politicians are brave enough to seize the opportunities offered.

Portuguese Parliament

A week later, on July 17, the Portuguese Parliament voted unanimously in favour of a resolution put forward by the Special Parliamentary Commission responsible for assessing the situation in East Timor. The resolution was as follows:

"The Assembly of the Republic reaffirms the rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination, does not accept the integration of this territory into Indonesia in defiance of the will of the Timorese and in flagrant violation of the principles of international law, and is ready to give its active support to any initiative which may be taken to achieve a solution regarding the legitimate aspirations of East Timor's people."

Portuguese EEC officials appeal to Soares

Shortly before President Soares of Portugal visited the European Parliament, nearly 100 Portuguese

officials of the EEC signed an appeal to him to take action in support of East Timor. We reproduce it here.

"We the undersigned, Portuguese officials of the European Communities, having heard of your forthcoming visit to the European Parliament and deeply concerned about the current situation in East Timor, call on you to use this occasion to confirm publicly the commitment of our country to the defence of the rights of the people of East Timor.

"As Portuguese, we cannot ignore the suffering of a people who retain clear cultural ties with us and who we see are today the victims of a veritable genocide. Portugal is internationally recognised as the administering power of this territory. Portugal has an essential role to play in drawing attention to the situation and in pressing for a negotiated solution to the conflict, which must include the participation of representatives of the East Timorese people in the discussion of their own future.

"We are sure that you share these feelings with us and that, in your position as our country's senior representative, you will wish to affirm before the representatives of the European nations Portugal's determination to honour the commitments binding on her both in virtue of the provisions of the Portuguese constitution and as a result of the mandate conferred by the international community's recognition that Portugal is the administering power of the territory of East Timor."

Australian Droop

Hopes that the Australian Labour Party might reverse the leadership's acceptance of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor were dashed in July, when the National Conference narrowly voted down a resolution in favour of East Timor.

A motion calling for an international investigation into East Timor was also rejected.

Instead, the Conference expressed regret that there had been no internationally-supervised act of self-determination and said it supported UN moves for a settlement.

Timorising the issue

The lobby backing East Timor nevertheless drew hope from the fact that the vote was close. Much work is being done in Australia to involve the East Timorese community in solidarity. Instead of Australian sympathisers, East Timorese are increasingly being sent to represent

their people at conferences in the Pacific and Asia.

The latest project was to send Ines de Almeida from Sydney to the Youth & Human Rights conference held in Katmandu, Nepal, in June.

In May Agio Pereira attended the Pacific Trade Union Forum as an observer. He was able to address the Assembly, which unanimously adopted a resolution supporting East Timor.

Mimi Ferreira, who spoke on Timor at the ALP Conference, also plans to accompany Monsignor da Costa Lopes during his visit to Japan in November.

Inside Australia too, Timorese groups are lobbying for East Timor. In the long term, their involvement will be crucial in shifting public and political opinion on the question.

International Movement of Catholic Students

On August 5, meeting at Louvain in Belgium, delegates to the Tenth Congress of the International Young Catholic Students and the 21st Interfederal Assembly of the International Movement of Catholic Students agreed to write the following letter about the situation in East Timor.

The letter was sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of Portugal, the President of Indonesia, the UN Commission for Human Rights, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, and the Portuguese Parliament.

"The undersigned wish to express their deepest concern at the continued occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, in flagrant disregard for International Law and the right to self-determination.

Our concern is further heightened by reports from informed sources in the Catholic Church and international organisations such as Amnesty International that the Indonesian presence in East Timor has been accompanied by a blatant violation of human rights and a policy of 'cultural genocide' aimed at eliminating all trace of a once culturally and historically distinct people."

It was signed by 123 representatives from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Canada, The Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Ghana, Haiti, Honduras, Hong Kong, India, Italy, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Korea, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Nicaragua,

Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, The Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, West Germany, Zaire, and Zambia.

CORRESPONDENCE

In previous issues of *East Timor Link*, we have not published letters from our readers. Perhaps it is now time to do so, and we will in future include correspondence which seems to us to be important or of general interest to our readers.

If you write, please indicate your name and address, and let us know whether we may print them.

We begin with a letter from Jill Jolliffe, criticising the cover of our June issue, when we attempted to summarise the information contained in two different maps recently smuggled from East Timor.

Dear Timor Link,
I am rather embarrassed to be associated with the map you used in your June issue, because it bears little resemblance to the maps I described and is inaccurate.

The difficulty obviously arose from transcribing material from a highly complicated colour map, but the result is to debase a fairly accurate report given by Fretilin, which can be counter-checked against the captured Indonesian map.

On both accounts, the Indonesians control all the area between the border and a line running near the Dili-Ainaro road (from a point East of Dili to a point just East of Suai on the South coast) with a small exception, which is the only area there you have given as Indonesian controlled, but is more likely the site of some Fretilin activity — around Atsabe, Letefoho, and Bobonaro.

The subtleties of the descriptions of Indonesian positions by Fretilin have been obliterated. A company consists of a mere 200 men, approximately, so you have described the certain presence of only around 4,000 Indonesian soldiers in East Timor, as though this is dramatic material. It is important to realize that — although they would publicly deny it — defence and foreign affairs officials read our material; and it is important to strive for credibility if our efforts are not to be dismissed as exaggerated or merely propagandistic. The forces of

appeasement welcome a ready excuse to ignore the bloodshed in Timor.

A more refined reading of the maps sent by Fretilin would have given a different result.

According to the current issue of *The*

Military Balance (Institute of Strategic Studies), there are 15,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor, although the figure may well be higher.

Sorry to sound negative — it's only because I think Timor Link is

worthwhile. My general view is that the temptation to publish maps to describe a guerrilla war should be avoided most of the time.

Best wishes,
Jill Jolliffe, Lisbon.

AN EXTRAORDINARY ORDINARY LIFE

A Tribute to Justino Mota by Jill Jolliffe

On July 3rd at the age of 38, Mr Justino Mota, a founder of Fretilin, died in Portugal of the effects of pulmonary tuberculosis which he contracted in an Indonesian prison.

His was both an exceptional and an average story — exceptional because his audacity and fighting spirit brought him through an experience beyond the power of many ordinary people; and average because the hell through which he passed has been a standard experience for many Timorese families now abroad, who have silently endured the worst horrors of war with similar courage.

When the Associacao Social Democratica Timorese (ASDT), forerunner of Fretilin, was founded in 1974, Justino Mota was a young public servant, a Catholic widely read in Portuguese literature and third World liberation movements. Opposed to what he perceived as the elitism of the *Senhor Doutors* — the more radical Timorese who tended to dominate the movement because they had studied abroad — in many ways he epitomised genuine Fretilin ideas: he blended egalitarianism and fierce anti-imperialism with an evolved Timorese nationalism and the pragmatism of an activist.

After the civil war in 1975, in the months leading to the Indonesian invasion, he was known to the many

foreign journalists in Dili as a robust, cheerful young man, enthusiastic to discuss his ideas with whoever was interested, and always ready to give practical assistance. He sat on Fretilin's Central Committee as Secretary for Justice & Social Affairs.

When Indonesian paratroopers landed in Dili on 7 December 1975, however, Justino was among the unlucky ones. Unable to escape to the hills in time, he was denounced to the Indonesians and arrested.

During most of the next three years he was with the many political prisoners in Comarca prison, Dili. He was maltreated, though not tortured: forced to sleep on a concrete floor, he lived on a slender daily ration of rice and fish, and eventually contracted tuberculosis, which was endemic in the prison. Justino himself gave Amnesty the names of 13 prisoners who contracted and died of the disease in prison.

He was never formally charged or tried. His wife Lidia was concurrently jailed for six months, leaving four young children at home. The youngest later died from untreated cerebral malaria because there were no medicines available at that time in Indonesian-occupied Dili.

By 1979 both Justino and Lidia were freed. Though under surveillance, they engaged in underground work in Dili.

After the insurrection of June 10th 1980, which was co-ordinated from inside and outside the capital, a new

wave of repression followed. The degeneration of Justino's health and fear of re-arrest resolved him to escape Timor. He paid the customary bribes to reach Jakarta, and was helped abroad by the Dutch embassy (which represents Portuguese interests in Indonesia).

When he finally arrived unexpectedly in Lisbon in 1983 he was transformed: the robust youth of 1975 was a skeletal, aged figure who could walk only with great difficulty. But the fighting spirit was unchanged.

He brought out his family by appealing to the International Red Cross.

Shocked by the passivity of Lisbon's refugee community, he and Lidia held a press conference at which, for the first time, Timorese refugees used their own names to denounce the Indonesian occupation and describe human rights violations.

He gave valuable information to Amnesty about prison conditions and constantly urged journalists to write more about the issue. He planned even to sue the Indonesian government for the destruction of his health.

With treatment, Justino Mota's health temporarily improved and he established his family in Portugal in a council flat at Setubal outside Lisbon.

But earlier this year he suffered a relapse and returned to Torres Vedras hospital, where he died on July 3rd.

Timor Link extends its sympathy to his family.

East Timor Link is published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations in association with A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste in Portugal.

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STOP PRESS

OCTOBER 20: It was reported today in Jakarta that four of the Timorese students who were released last week have sought refuge in the Dutch Embassy.

The four are Antonino Goncalves and Freitas da Camara, and Abilio Sereno and Fernandes Soares (who were arrested later).

With Francisco Carvalho, they had been released unconditionally last week; all charges against them were dropped.

This new incident coincides with a meeting of ASEAN and European ministers in Jakarta, but at the time of printing there had been no official reaction from the Dutch government.