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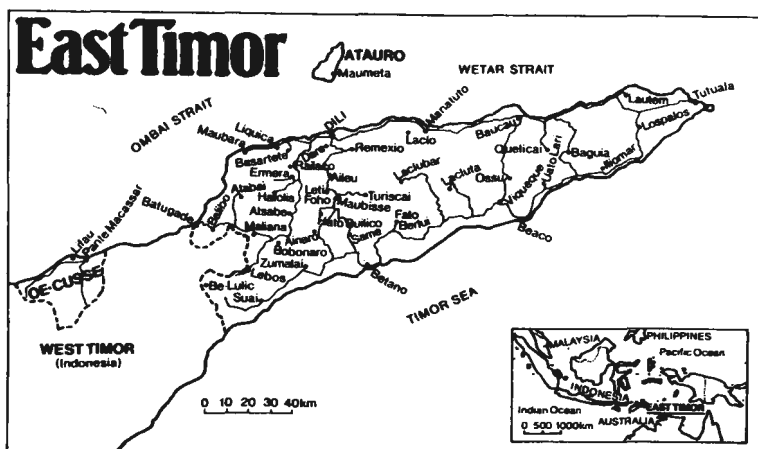
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NEWS FROM INSIDE

A substantial amount of information has been received from East Timor in the last few weeks. Much of it comes from Fretilin sources. Information has also been received from contacts in Indonesian-held areas, especially student groups, and from refugees recently arrived in Lisbon. This month's commentary draws upon this new material.

Human Rights

Fretilin sources describe many cases of human rights abuses. Most appear to have occurred in the areas of Ainaro and Lospalos, where Fretilin clashed frequently last year with Indonesian forces. The majority of those who suffered appear to have been punished for travelling beyond the immediate confines of their strategic villages. This would indicate that local Indonesian commanders remain anxious about security. One case, for example, concerned 'Vai Leve, 40 years old, from Lospalos, who was killed by being beaten for ten hours by elements of Battalion 745 at a place called Mai Vari for having been in his vegetable garden without a *surat jalan*' (travel pass). Elsewhere the report cites the case of 'Florinda, 30 years old from Lospalos, who was killed from blows given by

members of Battalion 745 for having gone to his vegetable garden during a period of curfew. This took place on 5.1.87., at a place called Pupuhu.' These examples are taken from a Fretilin document produced in Timor on June 20 1987. It is just one of many which have recently arrived from the territory.

Military Documents

Among the most interesting documents received recently are maps captured from Indonesian troops. These provide detailed analyses of the terrain and an account of Fretilin positions. Fretilin commanders have superimposed their own movements on these maps, and dispatched them to Lisbon. Like the maps and military manuals captured and sent out some two years ago, they provide us with invaluable information on the course of the war.

The new maps cover the regions of Barike, Kiras, Vikeke and Ossu, and are on a scale of 1/50,000. They show the sites of resettlement villages. In this respect they are particularly informative, because they reveal the extent to which local people have been uprooted in areas that were subjected to intense aerial bombardment in 1978/79 and encirclement campaigns in

1981. They show how the area under cultivation has fallen in the war zones and how the population has been concentrated around the strategic villages.

Fretilin has also dispatched detailed accounts of engagements with Indonesian troops in the last twelve months. If confirmed, these would show that Fretilin controls considerable areas of territory in the central-eastern and eastern regions, and that many of the Indonesian posts in all areas except the north-west and border regions are subject to regular attacks.

It seems that the Indonesian military embarked on a new military campaign at the end of June. Its primary aim was to locate and capture Fretilin President Xanana Gusmão. At the beginning of July, troop reinforcements were landed at Baucau. This coincided with the arrival of the new military commander in East Timor, Colonel Soenato. The centre of the new operation appears to be the Lospalos area.

Klalerek-Mutin

Several of the documents describe conditions in resettlement villages during the period from 1978 to the present. Of particular interest is the

description of Klalrerek-Mutin, a village established following the infamous Kraras massacre in 1983, when Indonesian troops shot many villagers after an alleged Fretilin ambush in the area.

The document claims that 1,593 people lived in Kraras/Klalrerek-Mutin in 1983, and that today there are just 570, amongst whom are 276 orphans. Most of the original population were killed, according to the report, in the wake of the alleged ambush by Fretilin, but many reportedly also died of starvation in the following two years.

Today the village is surrounded by two security fences. The first of these is set two hundred metres from the village centre and controlled by 12 guard posts. The second ring contains ten guard posts, set three hundred metres apart. All Timorese men in the village have to perform guard duty at night, together with Indonesian soldiers. A platoon of troops is also installed in the camp. If a Timorese fails to report contacts with Fretilin or attacks by Fretilin troops, he or she is reportedly executed.

The same document provides details about the economic regime within the village. The whole population is involved in 'forced labour': both men and women of all ages are mobilised daily to work on the rice-fields, most of which are owned by Indonesians or local officials. The technique used is extremely primitive: fields are trampled by human labour rather than by buffaloes, as used to be the case. The village population is also reportedly forced to build houses for the military, stand watch over rice-fields, fetch water and wood and wash the clothes of officials and care for their buffaloes. Fish caught in local streams are donated free to the military. The document emphasises that such forced labour means that people have little time to work their gardens and cultivate food for themselves: the document estimates that no more than two or three days per week remain available to the people.

Transmigrants

It seems that large numbers of transmigrants are entering East Timor illegally from areas of Indonesia such as Atambua and Kupang in Indonesian Timor, Flores, Macassar, Ambon, Bali, and even Jakarta. A document from Dili claims that there are currently over 20,000 illegal transmigrants in East Timor — as opposed to the two thousand or so who have entered under formal transmigration programmes. The illegals visit their relatives serving in the military, and then do not return.

School Protest

On July 13, school pupils in Dili held a protest outside the governor's office and that of the Indonesian government party, Golkar. They were complaining of discrimination in favour of Indonesian students, and of high levels of unemployment in post-school years. The demonstration was not reported in the Indonesian press, but was relayed by UPI in Jakarta to Australia. Shortly after this protest a fire devastated a substantial section of the market in Dili. It particularly effected traders from Java and Sulawesi who have gradually taken over the 'middleman' role previously performed by Chinese in the years before the Indonesian occupation.

Carrascalao

On September 30, Mario Carrascalão was appointed to a second term as governor of East Timor by both the Indonesian government and the parliament of East Timor. At his swearing-in ceremony in Dili, Carrascalão was praised by Indonesian Home Affairs Minister Supardjo Rustam for his efforts to promote development, which — Supardjo added — were 'internationally recognised' (*UCA News*). Carrascalão, who is reported to be popular, has been governor since 1982. His new term will expire in 1992.■

Human Rights Update

In October Amnesty International issued a list of 24 political prisoners, released under Indonesian remission procedures in August of this year. AI believes that all were convicted, in Dili District Court, of conspiracy to commit rebellion 'after trials which Amnesty International believes may not have met international standards for fairness'. Most had served almost all their sentence.

According to AI, the releases mean that 136 people continued to be political detainees in Dili — of whom 63 were held in Becora prison, including 11 women, and 73 in the Comarca prison. 62 detainees from the military or Hansip were also being held in the Comarca, according to AI.

We understand that on October 5, 20 more prisoners were released.

Further details, of those detained and those recently released, may be obtained from Amnesty International, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, UK.

New Appeal from Xanana

The latest documents arriving from East Timor, reports **Jill Jolliffe**, contain an appeal to the UN Secretary General, Mr Pérez de Cuellar, from Xanana Gusmão, Fretilin's military Commander, on behalf of the Conselho Revolucionário da Resistência Nacional (CRRN, Fretilin's ruling body).

The appeal reached Lisbon in September. Xanana requests the UN Secretary General to secure safe-conduct passes for the Fretilin leadership so that they can travel to New York, if a UN mission to East Timor cannot be arranged. After talks, the delegation would return to East Timor.

The text of Xanana's appeal is as follows. After praising the improved stand of the Portuguese government, Xanana says that the UN stand is worrying:

Xanana's Appeal

"In the name of the martyred people of East Timor, I appeal to your Excellency the UN Secretary General . . . to revise the present stand of the UN, recognising that the people of East Timor are included in the spirit and letter of UN Resolution 17/30 . . . I appeal to Your Excellency and formulate anew . . . our invitation to come to Timor so that, at any place, and with the representatives of Portugal and Indonesia, a meeting can be held with the CRRN. If this is not possible, I solicit Your Excellency to use your good offices to guarantee the exit and return, in security, of a delegation of the CRRN for that purpose . . ."

No response from the United Nations Secretariat had been made public when this issue went to press.■

VIEWS FROM LISBON

Following the landslide victory in July of Professor Anibal Cavaco Silva's Social Democrat Party, uncertainty crept briefly into the government's policy-making over East Timor. There were press reports in Lisbon and internationally suggesting that Portugal had decided to drop the demand for 'self-determination' for East Timor; and Indonesian newspapers, and some officials, made comments implying that a solution on Indonesian terms might quickly be achieved. In this issue we include two contributions from Lisbon, analysing the significance of the controversy and the position which is now likely to be taken by Cavaco Silva's government. Jean-Pierre Catry, of *A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste* provides the background. Jill Jolliffe argues that, in the end, there has been no change. Indeed, the new government is as firmly committed to diplomatic action on East Timor as its predecessor, as the new foreign minister made clear when he spoke at the UN General Assembly in August.

PORTUGAL'S POSITION

by Jean-Pierre Catry

In recent months, all three of Portugal's sovereign institutions have adopted firmer positions in relation to East Timor. Since his election to the presidency in 1986, Mario Soares has solemnly and consistently defended the right of East Timor's people to self-determination — as he did before the European Parliament in July of last year. The government of Cavaco Silva has likewise been more resolute, particularly since Portugal joined the EEC — refusing, for example, to take part in EEC meetings with ASEAN if these were held in Jakarta. The third sovereign political institution under Portugal's constitution, the Parliament, has also found a consensus on the issue. The all-party Parliamentary Commission on East Timor published a report on the question earlier this year and planned an international parliamentary conference on the issue (scheduled for June 1987 but adjourned in March at the government's request). Parliament unanimously condemned Indonesia for

holding elections in East Timor, and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva denounced the same elections during a visit to Thailand in April, shortly before his government was dissolved ahead of the elections in July. In talks held in Lisbon with Mr Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, Mr Cavaco Silva emphasised his government's determination to stand firm on the issue by describing the situation in East Timor as a 'military occupation'.

The New Government

It was the absence of any reference to 'self-determination' and independence for East Timor in the new programme of government, published in August, which began the recent controversy. The programme spoke only of 'guaranteeing total respect for the cultural and religious identity of Timor's people.' Questioned by the Socialist Party, the Prime Minister replied that 'this problem did not begin with this government (. . .) The Deputy knows very well that the Government refused to accept that elections organised by Indonesia could be considered to be a referendum. But I ask you: what have we obtained until now?' Mr Cavaco Silva recalled that 'the President of the Republic has particular responsibilities in relation to this question, the Government for its part has its own too, and it considers that this Chamber, in following up the work undertaken last year, must be associated in searching for a solution which, at least now, safeguards the national interest.'

He went on to affirm that 'The Government will do nothing with regard to this matter which runs counter to the understanding of the other sovereign institutions. What it may do, in contrast, is to reveal the whole process in clear and unequivocal fashion, so that in the future it will not be accused of not having safeguarded the country's dignity.'

A Shift of Position?

Some observers detected in these statements a sign that the Portuguese government was surrendering its responsibility to defend the rights of East Timor's people. If the Geneva Embassy (responsible for Indonesian diplomacy at the UN Human Rights Commission) showed firm support for these rights, the passivity of Portugal's New York Embassy — which is directly

involved in the talks with Indonesia — seemed to justify concern.

In announcing that the Portuguese and Indonesian delegations had 'considered the possibility of organising a visit to East Timor by a delegation from the Portuguese Parliament' during their discussions in New York, the UN Secretary-General's 1987 Report further confirmed the fears of those who argued that the Portuguese government was retreating. Last year the government of Cavaco Silva sharply criticised a parliamentary delegation which, during a trip to the USSR, made plans to visit Estonia, a territory under Soviet military occupation: yet now it was proposing to permit a mission of the same sort to East Timor!

Indonesian Propaganda

In Indonesia the authorities barely concealed their satisfaction. The Indonesian press announced that Portugal had changed its position; the armed forces' newspaper (an influential organ given the power of the army in Indonesian political affairs) called for diplomatic relations to be re-established; and Ali Alatas, Indonesia's principal negotiator, declared that his opposite number had initiated the proposal — adding that whether a trip took place would 'depend on the nature of the visit, on what they want to see'. 'We won't change our basic stance,' he said. 'We will never ever welcome investigative visits' (*Jakarta Post*, 16.9.87). The same paper also claimed that the United Nations recognised East Timor as a Portuguese territory because of Portugal's Constitution and that Portugal ought to change its Constitution.

This immodest vaunting by the Indonesians further embarrassed the Portuguese government. How could the idea of a visit possibly be defended if Indonesia declared that the MPs would not be allowed to see what they wanted?

It was thus the reaction in Indonesia, as much as or more than that of Portugal's opposition parties, which obliged the government to reaffirm its position.

Government Fights Back?

On September 23, speaking before the UN General Assembly, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr João de

Deus Pinheiro, demanded not only 'respect for the cultural and religious identity of Timor's people', but also that 'they should be guaranteed their freedom to define their collective destiny, observing the principle of self-determination, as it has been defined by resolutions 1514 and 1541 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.'

The following day, as he left a meeting with the President, Cavaco Silva declared that no direct negotiations were taking place with

Indonesia outside the UN process. He reaffirmed that the right of self-determination remains untouchable but deplored 'a certain hypocrisy in the international scene such that human rights violations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are spoken about while violations of human rights that continue in East Timor are forgotten.'

Portugal's diplomatic hesitations may largely be due to the lack of support — or to pressure — from abroad.■

ASEAN countries while he was in Bangkok (see *Timor Link* 10). Through all the recent fuss, there is no evidence to show that Cavaco Silva himself has ever wavered in his own position.

Finally, there is the example of the 1979-80 Social Democrat government of Francisco Sa Carneiro, who was killed in a plane crash in December 1980. From the right of Portuguese politics, Sa Carneiro took a far more assertive role on East Timor than previous Prime Ministers had done. In particular, his strong stand contrasted with the Socialists' inclination to accommodate Indonesia. The current government takes the Sa Carneiro government as its model.

THE CAVACO SILVA GOVERNMENT

by Jill Jolliffe

In his first term as Prime Minister of a minority government (from October 1985 to July 1987), Prof. Cavaco Silva was dependent on Socialist party support. During this term, his government took an overtly strong stand in support of East Timor's right to self-determination, matching the similarly forthright stance of President Mario Soares.

In view of the row over the absence of the word 'self-determination' in the current government's programme, it should be noted that the government's programme did not mention 'self-determination' during its first term either. Nor was this unusual: since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, few Portuguese governments have included this commitment in their programmes.

Under Cavaco Silva the Social Democrats affirmed very clearly that they would not recognise Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor and would continue to seek a principled international settlement, in their recognised UN role as 'administering power' in East Timor.

Indeed, Cavaco Silva took the strongest position of any Prime Minister in recent times, when he threatened to impose economic sanctions against Indonesia by exercising Portugal's EEC right of veto against ASEAN-EEC trade relations. (Portugal joined the EEC in January 1986.)

Negotiations

At the same time, the talks being conducted between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary General have imposed a political focus on policy-making.

Held behind closed doors, these talks have influenced public

perceptions of the Portuguese government's position. This is because Timorese representatives have not been involved. (For discussion of the talks, see *Timor Link* 4, 6, 9.)

The East Timorese independence movement (which now includes the conservative UDT party as well as Fretilin, the majority movement that commands military resistance within the territory) has naturally contested negotiations held under these conditions.

Although officials now follow the practice of consulting Timorese opinion (as they did not do initially), this is not enough to satisfy criticism: the Timorese still fear, very reasonably, that Portugal might seek an easy way out through an accord of convenience with Indonesia, and they want full participation in the talks. There will continue to be nervousness about Portugal's political intentions while those who are most directly concerned are so obviously excluded.

Influences

Several other factors influence the stand which has been taken by Cavaco Silva and the governments he has led.

The first is the cross-party consensus within the Parliamentary Commission on East Timor (see *Timor Link* 9, 10). All major Portuguese parties, from Communist to Christian Democrat, have agreed that self-determination and the involvement of East Timorese representatives in a solution must be fundamental to Portuguese policy.

Portuguese policy. A second factor, which should not be underestimated, is the personality of Cavaco Silva himself. A man of action rather than words, he was responsible for introducing the prospect of an EEC veto, speaking to journalists from

No Change

During the period of equivocation that followed the election victory a government spokesperson said that Portugal had not changed its basic stand, but was attempting to show 'more flexibility' in its negotiations with Indonesia by refraining from the word 'self-determination' in order to move negotiations on. This may well be right. The negotiations in New York have made little substantive progress recently, as the Secretary-General noted in his recent report. This is principally because Indonesia considers the sovereignty question as non-negotiable.

The enthusiastic Indonesian press claims that Portugal was altering its stance cannot be taken very seriously. Much was made of the visit to East Timor by the right-wing Portuguese newspaper editor Nuno Rocha, of *O Tempo*, who came back championing the Indonesian cause, but the Portuguese government dissociated itself immediately from Rocha's position.

Most of the speculation about a Portuguese parliamentary visit to East Timor was equally without foundation. For one thing, the Portuguese parliament has had no opportunity to discuss such a proposal. Cavaco Silva made the government's position clear on September 27, when he stated that Portugal would consider sending such a mission only if Indonesia guaranteed it full freedom of movement to go wherever it wanted and see whomever it liked. He criticised past visits, saying they were highly controlled and restricted.

Portugal Still Firm

Doubts about Portuguese policy were finally laid to rest on September 23, when Foreign Minister João de Deus Pinheiro addressed the UN General Assembly. He led his speech with the

Timor issue (the first Portuguese minister to do so) and said that the Timorese right to self-determination was a 'fundamental and unquestionable' tenet of Portuguese policy.

The next day his speech was followed up by Cavaco Silva in a television interview in Lisbon, where he drove home the point and repeated Portugal's interest in raising the issue within the EEC. He said certain western countries were guilty of hypocrisy on East Timor and had 'been a little forgetful of their human rights commitments'.

The situation therefore seems to be that, if Portugal did waver momentarily (leaving aside misrepresentations of its policy), it has now reinforced its position. Set for a full term of four years, the government is intent on effective action.

This said, its performance should still be observed carefully. The Social Democrat majority is so large — they hold 148 seats in the 350-seat legislature — that there is a risk of complacency. In particular, a constitutional reform will come before the current parliament which will determine whether or not the 'East Timor Clause' in the current Constitution will remain intact. The relevant section reads:

1. Portugal continues to accept its responsibilities in harmony with international law, to promote and guarantee the independence of East Timor.
2. The President and the Government are vested with the power to take all actions necessary to realise [these] objectives . . .

The thinking of the current parliament will be influenced by a large group of young Social Democrats whose position on East Timor is unknown.

Overall the government seems determined to seek results in the East Timor case, and can be expected to mount a more energetic diplomatic lobby on the issue than its predecessors. It should be congratulated on its stand — Portuguese governments are constantly criticised over Timor, but rarely praised when they do the right thing. NGOs and church groups have been offered a new challenge — to collaborate with and strengthen Portugal's more forceful diplomacy, which will begin by looking out for allies within the EEC. ■

Note: If readers would like to write to the Portuguese government about its stand, letters should be addressed to: His Excellency Prof. Anibal Cavaco Silva, Primeiro Ministro, Palácio de São Bento, Lisbon, Portugal.

At the UN

On August 13 in New York, the Decolonisation Committee held its annual hearings on East Timor.

Petitions were received from many quarters. From the Portuguese parliament Sr Raul Brito emphasised that the issues of sovereignty and self-determination remain central to the dispute between Portugal and Indonesia. He affirmed that 'The Portuguese people will never accept any solution that is not the result of a genuine, free and properly supervised act of choice by the people of East Timor.'

Two of the most prominent human rights organisations spoke, as they did last year: The American Asia Watch committee focused on the letter signed by no less than 40 US Senators to Secretary of State George Shultz expressing concern about the situation in East Timor; while Amnesty International demonstrated its consistent concern about the situation in the territory by reporting violations of human rights during 1986 and 1987 that have been brought to its attention.

The presence of the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Portuguese diocese of Setúbal was particularly significant, because it was the first time that a Portuguese Bishop has testified formally before the Decolonisation Committee. His appearance, along with that of Sr Brito, provided further evidence that East Timor is being treated with new seriousness in Lisbon.

Also speaking on behalf of Christians in Europe, CIIR presented a shortened version of the *Christian Reflection on East Timor* which it published earlier, this year in association with the Justice & Peace Commissions of Flanders and the Netherlands, and Pax Christi in Geneva. The *Reflection* has attracted support from Christian organisations in all five continents, and has been

published in English, Portuguese, French, and German.

Fretilin's external delegation was represented by Abilio Araujo, who presented extracts from reports received from East Timor in recent months. These described conditions in three villages, including Klarerek Mutin where the population is said to have fallen by two thirds in four years (see *News from Inside*).

A number of other groups made contributions. Representing the London-based Indonesia human rights campaign, Tapol, Jonathan Head focused upon the World Bank's support for the Indonesian government's birth control campaign in East Timor, which, he argued, violated UN policy not to recognise Indonesia's integration of the territory.

Sister Mary Philip, SSJ, of the Hobart East Timor Committee, testified on behalf of many Australian organisations. Michel Robert, of the Association de Solidarité avec Timor Oriental, described how, after the recent closure of the prison camp on Atauro island, many prisoners had been deported to strategic villages near the border with West (Indonesian) Timor.

One of the most moving submissions was given by Mr Iwamura Shouhachi, a platoon commander in the Japanese army when it occupied East Timor during the Pacific (Second World) War. Recalling that period, Shouhachi stated, 'Isn't this exactly what the Suharto government is doing today in relation to the aggression against East Timor?'

The Decolonisation Committee has reported to the General Assembly, which, having received further reports — such as that from the Secretary-General —, decided to adjourn debate on East Timor for a further year. ■

UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Along with other international NGOs, the *International Service for Human Rights*, Geneva, lobbied hard to secure the adoption on September 2 of a resolution on East Timor by the UN Human Rights Sub-Commission. The resolution (reference E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/L.11/Add.2) was adopted by 6 votes to 4 with 9 abstentions.

The Sub-Commission is a committee of experts which reports to the Commission on Human Rights, itself

composed of governments. Success this year was important, because it reversed an earlier decision to remove East Timor from the list of territories examined by the Commission (see *East Timor Link* 2, June 1985). The Commission will meet again in February-March 1988.

In the preamble, the Resolution states that the Sub-Commission is 'pre-occupied by new allegations put forward regarding the violations of

human rights to which the people of East Timor continue to be subjected because of the situation which persists in the territory' and welcomes the co-operation shown by the authorities in facilitating family reunions.

The Text

The body of the Resolution declares that the Sub-Commission on prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities:

1. 'Welcomes the action taken by the Secretary-general regarding the question of East Timor;
2. 'Requests the Secretary-General to continue to encourage all parties concerned, that is the Administering Power, the Indonesian Government

and the East Timorese representatives, to co-operate in order to achieve a durable solution taking into full consideration the rights and wishes of the people of East Timor;

3. 'Requests the Indonesian authorities to facilitate without restrictions the activities of humanitarian organisations in East Timor;
4. 'Recommends therefore to the Commission on Human Rights to study carefully at its forty-fourth session the evolution of the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in East Timor.'■

For further information write to the ISHR, PO Box 16, 1211 Geneva 20 c/c, Switzerland (tel: 022-33.31.40).

REVIEW

UNITING CHURCH AND EAST TIMOR

by Robert Archer

In June, the Uniting Church in Australia published a report, prepared by its Social Responsibility and Justice Committee, titled *The Uniting Church and East Timor*.

This is an important statement, because it presents the view of a major church in Australia, and because it continues an evolving debate within the protestant churches about the question of East Timor. We reported in *Timor Link's* last issue, for example, the carefully-worded statement that the National Council of Churches of the United States (NCC-USA) published earlier this year. Very significantly, this debate is also being carried on privately with Protestant partner churches in Indonesia.

It is also, however, virtually the first official statement issued by a major Protestant church that addresses the issues frankly and without circumlocution. In taking matters forward, as it has done here by publically identifying the problems, the Uniting Church in Australia may have facilitated the wider attempt being made by Protestant churches to respond adequately to a fundamental moral issue. It has taken courage to write this report and it should be widely read.

The Four Violations

The opening sections set out the factual background, and assess the differing accounts given by Indonesian and non-Indonesian sources. The report concludes with this summary:

'The present situation in East Timor is marked by gross violations of the

rights of the people of that place. There are at least four areas in which the rights of the East Timorese people are being denied:

- i) 'Reports from many significant sources indicate that people have been killed and tortured in very large numbers.
- ii) 'Freedom of speech and assembly are heavily curtailed, press censorship is part of daily life and the right to organise is very restricted.
- iii) 'Culturally, ethnically and religiously, the East Timorese are looked down upon as a 'backward people' and treated in a manner that is perceived as racist. The actions of the Indonesian Government suggest that the intention is to destroy the East Timorese people spiritually and culturally. The de-Timorisation of East Timor is institutionalised — eg through schooling and the use of Indonesian as the official language. The re-shaping of Timor socially and economically has a real impact on the people. Timorese women are forced into family planning programmes. Widows and girls are forced into prostitution and servitude to save their lives'(. . .)

'The values and beliefs of the people, which they cherish and which give them their identity, are deliberately violated by the occupying power. Indonesian military presence is a constant

source of insecurity. The Indonesian presence does not protect the people, rather it instils fear and subservience.

'Now the East Timorese fear they will become a minority in their own land. Under Indonesia's transmigration programme, East Timor has been designated an underpopulated region and a small number of people have already been settled there. There are plans to settle a larger number of transmigrants in East Timor by the year 2000 . . . The Timorese are being increasingly marginalised in the bureaucracy and the economy, as military personnel and Javanese steadily occupy the senior positions and sectors.

- iv) 'The government of Indonesia claims that the people have already exercised their right to self-determination. Yet the fact that fighting still continues would indicate that no such act has occurred. When asked in an interview in August 1985 to comment on the huge sums Jakarta is pumping into East Timor, Mgr Belo (the Apostolic Administrator of Dili) replied, 'The only problem in Timor is the problem of the freedom of the inhabitants.' (. . .)

Human Rights and Self-determination

This section of the report goes on to conclude that 'The issue of human rights is not easily separable from the issue of self-determination' and that 'It is highly unlikely that the Indonesian Government will, of its own accord, allow a semi-independent government to exist in East Timor.'

Further on, the report takes this argument further, stating that 'the abuse of human rights will continue while ever the government of Indonesia refuses to recognise the need of the people to have a more adequate say in their future. The situation in East Timor will not be solved militarily. Only a political solution will achieve a long-term settlement of the area's problems.'

The statement strongly criticises the Australian government, for recognising the annexation and failing to uphold its international commitments, and quotes the Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who regretted the absence of any act of self-determination but added 'That was in the past . . . we must now look to the future'. This, the report says, 'is both false and based upon a dreadful denial of Australia's

commitment to the UN.'

The PGI

The report is most original and significant, however, when it examines the role of the Indonesian Protestant Communion of Churches (formerly the DGI, now the PGI), and the moral responsibilities of the Christian churches worldwide.

'In public statements the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (formerly DGI, now PGI) has consistently placed itself with the Indonesian government in its invasion of East Timor. While it has quite rightly and publicly criticised Portugal for failing to prepare East Timor for decolonisation, and has claimed that Portugal has abdicated all historical and moral right to authority in East Timor, yet it has supported the Indonesian invasion. (. . .)

'The PGI (then DGI) made the first, official non-Government visit to East Timor in 1977 to visit the 4,000 Protestants there. Since 1980 it has run an ecumenical aid programme, and as part of that made a second visit in 1982. It has been actively involved in sponsoring and supporting Protestant clergy in East Timor.

'A number of security officers and government officials are active in the Protestant community in Dili, creating a close link between the government and the church and helping to explain the church's stand on East Timor. There is also the factor of being a minority community in a country in which Islam is the major religion.

'One of the reasons why Christians have a relatively important place in Indonesian leadership is that they were very actively involved in the Indonesian struggle for independence. There is within the Indonesian Christian community a tradition of commitment to freedom and human rights. One would have hoped that this tradition would have been more fully drawn on in this situation.'

Some Theological Concerns

'The church is always involved in a struggle to understand its Christian identity within the wider national identity and life. The struggle is always to maintain that identity without either being co-opted or domesticated, or being seen as disloyal to the goals of the wider society.

'This struggle for identity is sharpest in those countries where the gospel seems most at odds with the values of society. (. . .)

'As a religious minority in a militarised country, the Indonesian Churches must struggle with how they maintain their identity, an identity

which is tied to the liberating and saving acts of Jesus Christ. In the present situation of denial of human rights in East Timor and other places in Indonesia, the Church is provided with a very sharp reminder of its vocation.

'There is a constant struggle in the Bible to remind people that God cannot be domesticated and used to support or give divine blessing to the present situation. God is always free, will not reveal God's name (Exodus 3:14), prefers to live in a tent rather than a house (ie is a journeying God, not one who is at the disposal of a temple hierarchy — 2 Samuel 7), and is always able to do the unexpected, call forth a new community, raise up a prophetic voice, and care for the oppressed. God is the One who chose the very unexpected way of the cross.

'Jesus reminded the faith community that there are limits to the power of the State (Luke 20:19-26). A State which claims absolute power, and tries to justify all unjustness on the basis of its power, is reminded that God alone is Lord and total obedience is owed only to God.

'Where our churches draw the line between obedience to God and obedience to the State, and when it becomes necessary to tell the Government that it encroaches on the realm of God, is something with which we must all struggle. Certainly in Australia we have not always done this very well, alternating between belligerence and silence. Part of the ecumenical dialogue is the ability to call each other to account for the way we do this, yet without the arrogance that suggests that an outsider can tell another how their church must be the church.

'Yet, one of the issues which is highlighted in our attempt to relate to the issues in East Timor, is the question of who is the church to which we relate ecumenically. Is it simply the official (Protestant) council of churches? What becomes of the wider relationship with the Catholic Church, particularly as it is that church which most closely identifies with the people of East Timor? What happens when the position of these two bodies is apparently in conflict?

'There is also the issue of de facto recognition of East Timor's annexation by Indonesia. The Uniting Church in Australia faces the same dilemma as the Catholic Church: how to arrange our life and relationships so as not to destroy our relationships with Indonesia (both Church and State), yet neither to alienate ourselves from the people who struggle in East Timor. Ecumenically this is very difficult, for it raises questions of our recognition of

the PGI's ability to speak on issues of East Timor.'

New Relationships?

In its concluding remarks, the statement questions whether 'the position of making no statements or applying no pressure unless requested to do so' by the local church is the right one.

'The Churches in Australia (including the UCA, through the Australian Council of Churches) have adopted this approach in relation to East Timor, relying on advice from the PGI.

'Yet, if the Australian Church's position is that it will act in response to the people of an area, then questions must be raised about the adequacy of this approach. It may be time that the UCA turned for advice to that church which is most closely aligned to the people of East Timor, viz: the Catholic Church . . .

'Since 1983 the Catholic Church has spoken out strongly on the abuses of human rights in East Timor and the issue of the people's struggle for self-determination. Various National Catholic Bishops' Conferences (eg Indonesia, Portugal, the Netherlands and Japan) have expressed their solidarity and concern for the church and people of East Timor . . .

'The Uniting Church should heed this call from the wider ecumenical community, and call upon the Australian Government to use its influence with Indonesia to end the abuse of human rights in East Timor, allow free access to the Red Cross and other aid agencies, and open the country to journalists and Government representatives who can report on the situation in East Timor.

'At the same time the UCA should express its solidarity with the people and Churches of East Timor as they struggle for peace and justice and should pray for the people in their suffering.' ■

The Uniting Church and East Timor may be acquired from the Social Responsibility & Justice Committee, Uniting Church in Australia, Box E266, St James Post Office, NSW 2000, Australia.

REVIEW

Finngair Hiorth has reviewed for us an article in the *Indonesian Quarterly* (Vol, No.4, 1986, pp.546-77) by Mr Kristiadi, a staff member of the official Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which publishes the *Quarterly*. It deals principally with the 1974-5 period, and treats events from a pro-Indonesian point of view. Kristiadi's account, concludes Finngair

Hiorth, 'shows mainly how the Indonesian government wants the world to look at East Timor. It is clearly still impossible to publish an objective account of the East Timor affair in Indonesia.' We summarise the review below:

Much attention is given to Apodeti, which is presented as 'essentially the legalisation of long standing freedom movements in East Timor. Many prominent members of that party were fighters in the popular rebellion of 1945-1949 in Los Palos' (p.549).

In describing Indonesian government policy, Kristiadi accepts that on October 8 1974 President Suharto declared that his government did not 'have territorial ambitions' and respected 'the right of of the people of East Timor to self-determination' (p.551). Indonesian contacts with Portugal, France and the United Kingdom are described in some detail.

Kristiadi accepts that 'in only one month' after the end of August 1974, Fretilin 'succeeded in controlling almost the whole territory of East Timor', but he argues that it was Fretilin which destabilised the border area and 'often violated Indonesian territory by firing artillery shells into it as well as by plundering cattle and food.' Indonesia, it is said, played little role in the invasion, for which the principal credit is given to Apodeti.

The UN's role is discussed — and dismissed as insignificant, because the UN did not take account of the 'existing objective realities inherent in the problem'.

Finally Hiorth points out that Kristiadi's list of sources makes no mention of 'Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, James Dunn, Jill Jolliffe, Torben Retboll . . . Roger S. Clark . . . or Amnesty International.' ■

THE CHRISTIAN REFLECTION: UPDATE

Since the last issue of *Timor Link* we have received more letters of support for the statement *East Timor — A Christian Reflection* which was published following the last meeting of European Christians in Geneva in February of this year.

Those who have written include: the Catholic Commission for Evangelisation, Justice and Development, Archdiocese of Wellington, New Zealand; Development & Peace, Ontario, Canada; the Dominican Sisters in the Solomon Islands; Edouard Vogel in Brazil; the Sacred Heart Sisters, Eldoret, Kenya; the Jesuit Centre for

Social Faith and Justice in Toronto, Canada; the Good Shepherd Provincialate, Abbotford, Victoria, Australia; the Mission & Justice Education Programme, Tasmania, Australia; the Austrian Committee for East Timor, Vienna; the Groupe de Travail Timor Oriental in Switzerland; Raymond Guillaneuf, Clermont Ferrand, France; Hendrik Amahorseja, Sweden; Seonag Monk, UK; Norman Duff, UK.

If you are concerned, please let us know, wherever you may be — indicating whether you are able to make your support public. ■

Meeting to Discuss ET in Asia

An important meeting to discuss East Timor was held in Asia during November. It took place in Manila, the Philippine capital, between November 15 and 17.

The meeting was private and involved representatives from South East and East Asian countries, the nations of the Pacific and Australasia, and observers from Europe and the United States.

Its importance will be evident for all those concerned by the issue: for a very long time, it has been impossible to discuss this question openly and rationally within Asia, because of the extremely vigorous condemnation of

all attempts at debate by the Indonesian government and by the majority of Indonesian organisations.

If successful, it is hoped that this meeting will open the way to much franker and more open discussion about East Timor within Asia, increase the effectiveness of work on the issue, and multiply practical contacts within Asia and the Pacific.

If you wish to learn more about this meeting, please telephone or write to: the Asia-Pacific Consultation on East Timor, PO Box 1092, North Fitzroy, Victoria 3068, Australia. Telephone (03) 419 5588.

European Christian Consultation: Lisbon

The next meeting of European Christians on East Timor will be held in Lisbon over the weekend of January 23 and 24.

It will be the fourth meeting in the series, and will follow up the work begun in previous meetings held in the Netherlands and in Geneva. All have been private in character, designed to enable representatives of Europe's Catholic and Protestant denominations to reflect upon and discuss the question of East Timor.

Following the Geneva Consultation

in February of this year, the sponsors of these meetings published a first statement of concern, titled *East Timor — A Christian Reflection* which has now been translated into several languages and has been supported by Justice & Peace Commissions and Christian groups from a wide range of countries inside and outside Europe.

For further information about the next meeting, you are invited to contact either A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste, in Lisbon, or CIIR at the address of *Timor Link*, in London.

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