

THE INDONESIAN OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR 1974-1989

A Chronology

by John G. Taylor



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FOREWORD

The Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in December 1975 and East Timor's subsequent 'incorporation' in the Republic constitutes one of the gravest violations of international law in post-war history. Not only was there no attempt to consult the wishes of the local inhabitants through a properly organised referendum, but the bloody actions of the Indonesian military against unarmed civilians, both directly and indirectly, led to the death of nearly a quarter of the pre-invasion population of 680,000 by the early 1980s. In terms of individual suffering and social dislocation, the destruction wrought in East Timor can be compared to Afghanistan, Tibet and Pol Pot's Cambodia. Yet, unlike those other tragedies, East Timor is comparatively little known in the West. Jakarta's almost total ban on foreign media coverage in the early stages of the war, and the continuing restrictions on access to the central and eastern districts, where fighting against *Fretilin* forces is still taking place, has meant that most of the news reaching the West has come through at second or third hand, refugee sources being the most ubiquitous. As in Ireland after the abortive Easter Uprising of 1916, blood 'has welled up behind locked doors' in East Timor. Furthermore, the territory's geographical isolation and the strategic and economic interests of both Western and Eastern bloc countries in maintaining political stability in Indonesia have meant that there has been little outside pressure on Jakarta to open up the territory or to allow outsiders to probe very deeply into what has been happening in the territory since its forcible annexation. The last UN General Assembly debate on East Timor took place as long ago as 1982.

Yet the issue of East Timor is not dead. Despite Jakarta's bland assertions to the contrary, it is clear that *Fretilin* is far from beaten as a military force and the vast majority of the population is still not reconciled to Indonesian overlordship. Human rights violations are still taking place and political arrests are commonplace, especially at times of visits by Jakarta dignitaries (over 3,000 are said to have been detained at the time of President Suharto's visit to Dili in November 1988). In the United States Congress and the European Parliament there is now a growing awareness that East Timor represents major unfinished political business for Indonesia and for the international community, a situation highlighted by Bishop Belo's 6 February 1989 letter to the UN Secretary-General calling for a proper referendum in the territory. Above all, there is now a growing awareness amongst thoughtful observers of the Indonesian political scene that East Timor and the wider issue of Indonesia's 'Melanesian fringe' (particularly *Irian Jaya*) are likely to be increasingly destabilising influences as Jakarta inches its way towards its own version of *glasnost* in the dying years of the Suharto order.

Given this background, John Taylor's chronology of events in East Timor between 1974 and 1989 is particularly welcome in that it provides an essential research tool for those interested in gaining a long-term understanding of developments in the territory since the aborted Portuguese decolonisation process. His coverage of post-1983 events is especially important since this period has not been touched on in detail in the main English-language studies by James Dunn,¹ and Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong.² In particular, Taylor's descriptive listing of the Indonesian and Portuguese language press articles in translation will help to amplify what is already known from the English-language press.

If East Timor and its long-suffering people are to look to a better future, perhaps outside Jakarta's hegemony, it is clear that there must be a combination of greater public awareness in the West about contemporary developments and greater courage to explore new solutions. Failure to act now will condemn yet another

generation of East Timorese to bitterness and frustration, and could jeopardise Indonesia's national integrity in the coming century. Taylor's chronology should help to concentrate minds on these issues.

**Peter Carey,
Trinity College, Oxford**

17 August 1989

1. *Timor. A People Betrayed* by James Dunn, Milton: Jacaranda Press, 1983
2. *The War Against East Timor* by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, London: Zed Press, 1984.

INTRODUCTION

A number of contemporary accounts and histories of East Timor are currently available in the English language, together with many articles covering the territory's economy, politics and culture. Several books carry brief chronologies and short bibliographies. One major work listing the literature available in academic texts and journals has been published. As yet, however, no detailed chronology of events or catalogue of press articles has been compiled. This publication is an attempt to fill the gap.

The period covered in the chronology begins eighteen months before the Indonesian invasion in December 1975, and focuses on the demise of Portuguese colonialism and the emergence of the Fretilin administration. It goes on to catalogue events during the Indonesian occupation, and details international reactions to the annexation of East Timor by the Indonesian government.

During the early years of the period covered, between April 1974 and the end of 1976, press coverage was limited, and most of the relevant articles have been referred to and used extensively in political histories subsequently published. Consequently, for this period I have listed the events, but not referred them directly to their description in the press. Explicit referencing begins from 1977 onwards.

Each event, as recorded in the press, is listed and indexed. The text offers the reader access by date, the index by subject. Most of the items listed come from the English-speaking press. However, the chronology does draw upon articles in translation from other languages (notably Bahasa Indonesia and Portuguese) when these analyse events that have had an important influence on economic and political developments in the period covered.

While many of the newspapers and journals referenced are well-known, a number of them may be unfamiliar to users of the chronology, and for this reason I have listed these sources, together with their publishers, at the end of the document.

Cautionary note

It must be emphasised that reporting of events in East Timor has been politically charged. Since Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor in 1975, it has been official policy to restrict access to East Timor severely. As a result, coverage of events has been limited, and many important events have not been publicly recorded at all. Reporters have usually had to rely on information provided by Indonesian officials and military officers and have not been permitted to verify or cross-check it in any serious manner. It is also true to say that in many cases reporters have used information from Fretilin sources uncritically.

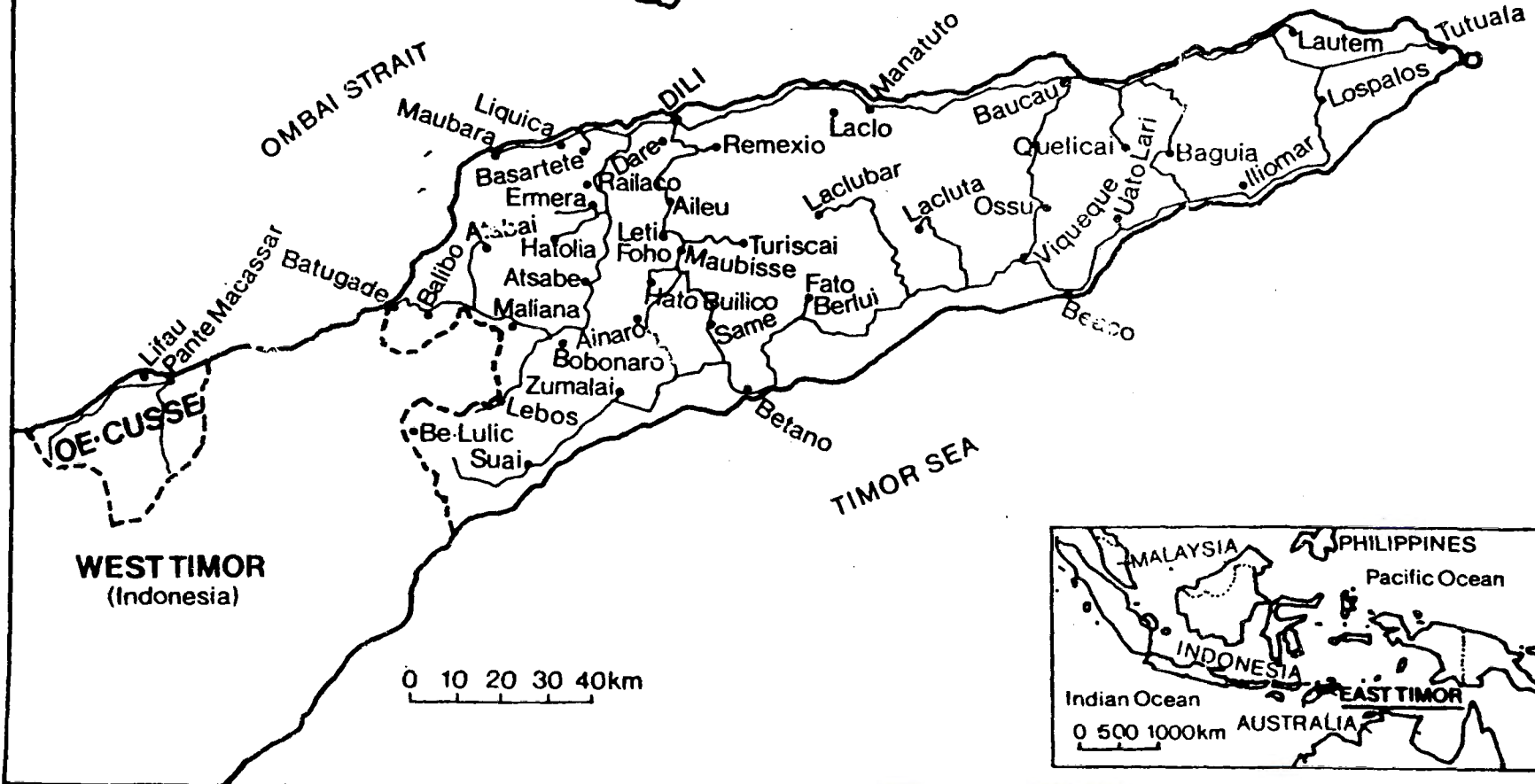
The most satisfactory and useful analyses have examined such information as there has been in the light of reports from additional sources: refugees arriving in Portugal or Australia; documents from church personnel and members of religious orders; reports prepared by student groups in East Timor and Indonesia; letters to refugees from relatives in the territory; the testimony of foreign aid workers and of Indonesian officials critical of the occupation; and so on. In selecting items for the chronology, I have used all the foregoing, and have focused on articles which use a diversity of sources. The reader must bear this in mind when investigating a subject in the chronology or listed in the index. Essentially, this is a source record, which must be read critically, with an eye to the many contradictions in evidence that it contains.

J.G.T.

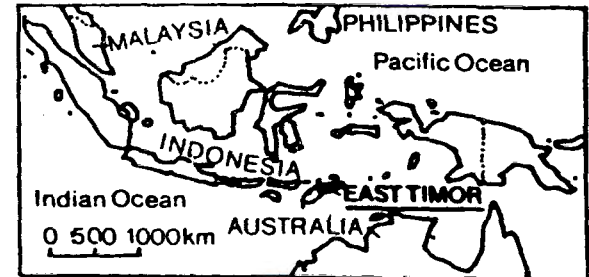
East Timor



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1974

- 1 **April 25** The Armed Forces Movement Coup in Lisbon overthrows the Caetano regime.
- 2 **May 8** The Governor of East Timor issues a proclamation for the establishment of political parties.
- 3 **May 11** **The *Uniao Democratica Timorense* (Timorese Democratic Union, UDT) is founded.**
- 4 **May 12** **The *Associacao Social Democratica Timor* (Timorese Social Democratic Association, ASDT) is formed.**
- 5 **May 22** ASDT issues its first manifesto.
- 6 **May 27** The *Associacao Popular Democratica Timorense* (Timorese Popular Democratic Association, *Apodeti*) is formed.
- 7 **June 12** Indonesian parliamentarian John Naro calls for the integration of East Timor into Indonesia.
- 8 **June 17** Following a meeting in Jakarta between Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, and ASDT's representative, José Ramos-Horta, Malik writes to Horta, assuring him that Indonesia supports independence for East Timor.
- 9 **June 19** The Portuguese Government sets out 'three options' for East Timor: the continuation of colonial rule, integration into Indonesia or independence.
- 10 **August 1** UDT publishes its programme.
11. **August 28** The Indonesian daily *Berita Yudha*, representing the views of the military party Golkar, accuses ASDT of 'seeking communist support' and argues that the right to self-determination 'cannot be separated from general world strategies'.
- 12 **Sept 6** Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam meets President Suharto in Wonosobo, a village in Central Java, and agrees that the eventual integration of East Timor into the Indonesian Republic is inevitable.
- 13 **Sept 12** The governor of West (Indonesian) Timor, El Tari, meets *Apodeti* leaders in Kupang, the regional capital, and states that the Indonesian government 'intends to assist the struggle of *Apodeti*' (according to the official Indonesian News Agency *Antara*).
- 14 **Sept 12** **ASDT becomes the *Frente Revolucionara do Timor Leste Independente* (*Fretilin*).**

- 15 **Sept 28** Adam Malik meets Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares, who agrees that Portugal will not discourage support for integration into Indonesia among the East Timorese people.
- 16 **Oct 14** General Ali Murtopo, head of the Indonesian government's Special Operations Unit (OPSUS) (military intelligence), visits Lisbon and has secret talks in the Sheraton Hotel with leaders of the Armed Forces Movement. *Operasi Komodo*, the Indonesian government's plan to annexe East Timor, is launched the same day.
- 17 **Oct 19** Portugal's Minister for Inter-territorial Co-ordination, Almeida Santos, visits East Timor. Returning to Lisbon via Jakarta and Canberra, he states that any process of decolonisation must be acceptable to Indonesia.
- 18 **Nov 6** Jakarta Radio announces that *Apodeti* wants East Timor to be integrated within the Indonesian Republic.
- 19 **Nov 14** Portuguese and Indonesian government representatives have further discussions, co-ordinated by the Indonesian Ambassador in Paris.
- 20 **Nov 25** Colonel Lemos Pires is appointed as the new governor of East Timor.
- 21 **Nov 29** Adam Malik states that integration into Indonesia is the only serious option for East Timor.



A Timorese supporter of Fretilin, 1975

photo: Oliver Strewé

1975

- 22 **Jan 20** **A coalition is formed between the UDT and *Fretilin* parties.**
- 23 **Jan 31** The Portuguese Government's National Council for Decolonisation rejects the idea of internationalising the East Timor issue.
- 24 **Feb 18** The Indonesian military carry out a simulated invasion of East Timor in Lampung, South Sumatra.
- 25 **Feb 25** Adam Malik states that Indonesia can no longer tolerate the situation in East Timor.
- 26 **March 9** Secret talks on the future of East Timor are held in London between delegates from the Portuguese and Indonesian governments.
- 27 **March 17** An Australian parliamentary delegation visits East Timor for a week to assess the situation. It concludes that independence for the territory is desirable, and that the East Timorese people should be allowed to determine their own future, free from foreign intervention. ✱
- 28 **March (mid)** Elections begin in East Timor, supervised by the Decolonisation Commission of the Portuguese Parliament. ★
- 29 **April 3** Gough Whitlam meets President Suharto in Townsville. Suharto states that Indonesia 'does not have territorial ambitions, let alone plans to include the territory of Portuguese Timor with the territory of the Republic of Indonesia'. [*Angkatan Bersenjata*, Jakarta.] At the same time, a *Fretilin* delegation travels to Jakarta, and meets with Gen. Ali Murtopo. P
- 30 **April (mid)** A UDT delegation travels to Jakarta and Canberra, meeting Gen. Murtopo and a group of former Australian commandos who served in East Timor during the Japanese invasion of the Second World War.
- 31 **May 7** The first phase of decolonisation talks sponsored by the Portuguese government are held in Dili. Whilst UDT and *Fretilin* attend, *Apodeti* refuses to go and meets Portuguese officials separately.
- 32 **May 18** UDT leaders Mousinho and Da Cruz visit Jakarta to meet with Indonesian government representatives.
- 33 **May 26** The UDT withdraws from its coalition arrangement with *Fretilin*.
- 34 **June 6** **Indonesian troops enter the enclave of Oecusse Ambeno, a part of East Timor surrounded by Indonesian territory.**

- 35 **June** President Suharto claims in a speech that 'an independent East Timor is not viable'. P
- 36 **June 26** Two days of talks are held in Macau between the Portuguese government and East Timor's political parties. The Indonesian military send observers. For this reason (and because *Apodeti* is present), *Fretilin* refuses to attend.
- 37 **July 4** UDT leader Lopez da Cruz visits Jakarta, where he meets a number of government representatives, including Gen. Murtopo. Da Cruz agrees to integration in principle.
- 38 **July 17** Constitutional Law 7/75 is passed in Lisbon, setting October 1976 as the date for popular elections for a General Assembly to determine East Timor's future. Control is set to end in October 1978.
- 39 **July 28** The UDT leadership travels to Jakarta to meet a group of Indonesia's leading Generals, notably Gen. Murtopo.
- 40 **July 29** In elections for local councils, *Fretilin* candidates gain 55% of the popular vote.
- 41 **August 6** UDT leaders return to Dili.
- 42 **August 11** **The UDT launches a coup to wrest power from the Portuguese and halt the growing popularity of *Fretilin*.**
- 43 **August 18** Indonesian General Yoga Sugama states that the 'chaos' in East Timor could lead to 'foreign intervention'.
- 44 **August 19** Pro-*Fretilin* East Timorese troops in the Portuguese army begin to retake Dili.
- 45 **August 27** The governor and the Portuguese administration withdraw from Dili to the island of Atauro, in Dili harbour.
- 46 **Sept 7** UDT leaders sign a petition for the integration of East Timor into Indonesia. The signing takes place in Atambua, West Timor.
- 47 **Sept 17** The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) reports that 650 Indonesian troops are fighting in East Timor.
- 48 **Sept 24** UDT forces retreat into West Timor, leaving *Fretilin* in control of East Timor.
- 49 **Oct 6** **Indonesian troops attack Batugade, a border town in East Timor.**
- 50 **Oct 8** Batugade falls.
- 51 **Oct 16** A delegation from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) visits East Timor.
- 52 **Oct 16** Two Australian, one New Zealand, and two British journalists are killed by Indonesian troops in the village of Balibo.

- 53 **Nov 1-2** Portuguese and Indonesian government officials discuss the East Timor situation in Rome.
- 54 **Nov 26** The village of Atabae is taken by Indonesian troops.
- 55 ★ **Nov 28** ***Fretilin declares East Timor an independent state. On the 29th, in the presence of the leaders of the UDT and Apodeti parties, Adam Malik signs a declaration formally integrating East Timor into Indonesia.***
- 56 ★ **Dec 7** **Indonesian forces invade East Timor.**
- 57 **Dec 12** The United Nations General Assembly passes a motion deploring Indonesian military aggression against East Timor. On December 15 the U.N. Security Council begins discussion on the conflict.
- 58 **Dec 22** **The U.N. Security Council calls on Indonesia to withdraw its armed forces from East Timor.**
- 59 **Dec 25** Indonesia is estimated to have deployed 15-20,000 troops in East Timor. [Australian intelligence sources.]




Life in a Timorese village, 1975

photos: Elaine Brière

1976

- 60 **Jan 13** Following its occupation of Dili, Baucau, and the border region, the Indonesian military establish a 'provisional government' formed from *Apodeti* and UDT members. This body invites Indonesia to proclaim its sovereignty over East Timor.
- 61 **Jan 26** Australian police seize a radio being used in the Northern Territory to contact *Fretilin* forces in East Timor. A U.N. representative, Mr Winspeare Guicciardi, had planned to use the radio to organise his entry into *Fretilin*-held areas.
- 62 **Feb 3** The Provisional Government bans all political parties.
- 63 **Feb 14** Lopez da Cruz, President of the Provisional Government and former UDT leader, claims that 60,000 East Timorese have been killed since the invasion.
- 64 **March 11** *Fretilin* resumes broadcasts from its national radio, Radio Maubere.
- 65 **April 3** A revolt by UDT members in Dili is suppressed by the Indonesian military.
- 66 **April 22** The U.N. Security Council again calls on Indonesia to withdraw. It receives a report from a special envoy of the U.N. Secretary-General, who visited Indonesian-held areas in February. The envoy, Mr Winspeare Guicciardi, states that he is unable to produce a full report of the situation inside East Timor, because the Indonesian army prevented him from contacting or travelling to *Fretilin*-held areas.
- 67 **May 15** *Fretilin* begins a two week National Conference, held in the Central Region of East Timor.
- 68 **May 31** An East Timorese 'Popular Assembly' is convened by the Indonesian military. It approves a petition addressed to President Suharto, calling for full integration into Indonesia.
- 69 **June 28** Reports from both *Fretilin* and Indonesian sources state that *Fretilin* forces attacked Baucau on the 23rd June, and are active in all areas outside the main towns.
- 70 **July 12** First reports are received of resettlement camps being set up in East Timor.
- 71 **July 17** President Suharto signs a bill integrating East Timor into Indonesia, though he later admits that *Fretilin* is still active in some parts of the territory.


- 72 **August 26** The Indonesian military announce an intensification of their military operations in East Timor, notably in the south.
- 73 **August 27** *Fretilin* forces recapture the south coast town of Alas and mount heavy attacks in the Eastern and Southern sectors.
- 74 **Sept 29** The Australian government confiscates a transmitter used to receive messages from East Timor.
- 75  **Sept 29** The U.N. Decolonisation Committee upholds East Timor's right to self-determination.
- 76 **Oct 7** After four days of discussion with President Suharto, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser claims that, for the Australian government, 'The important thing is to look to the future and work to the future'. A journalist covering the meeting comments, 'We cannot go much further at present towards publicly accepting the incorporation, although the Indonesians would like us to.' [Melbourne Age.]
- 77 **Oct 9** The Australian and Indonesian governments open negotiations to arrive at an agreed sea-bed boundary between their respective countries.
- 78 **Oct 24** Reports from *Fretilin* and Indonesian military sources describe heavy fighting in the east (Bobonaro), the west, and the south (Suai), and around both Dili and Baucau.
- 79 **Nov 19** **Indonesian relief workers visit East Timor and report that 100,000 people have been killed since the invasion.**
- 80 **Nov 19** The U.N. General Assembly rejects Indonesia's integration.
- 81 **Dec 22** *Fretilin* forces recapture the village of Remexio, 15 kilometres south of Dili.



A Fretilin rally, 1975

photo: Oliver Strewe

1977

- 82 **Jan 28** The Indonesian military admit that their troops 'got out of hand' during the 1975-6 invasion period. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 83 **Feb 2** First reports are received of American OV-10 jets being used in East Timor. It is also reported that West Germany is to supply submarines to the Indonesian navy. These are ideally suited to patrolling the Timorese coastline, particularly the southern coast. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 84 **Feb 10** The Malaysian government agrees to supply jets to the Indonesian air force. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 85 **Feb 21** Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik states that defeating *Fretilin* 'will take a long time'. [*Northern Territory News*, Aus.]
- 86 **March 13** U.S. Congress Hearings on East Timor commence in Washington. Former Australian Consul to East Timor James Dunn testifies on the basis of interviews he conducted with East Timorese refugees in Lisbon during January. [*Washington Post*, *New York Times*.]
- 87 **March 17** Lt.Gen. Howard Fisk of the U.S. Air Force testifies to the Hearings (See #86) that U.S. military equipment was used in the Indonesian invasion.
- 88 **March 18** It is reported that the U.S. government stopped supplying military aid to Indonesia after the invasion, at the beginning of 1976. [*Washington Post*.]
- 89 **March 19** The Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor, former *Apodeti* member Arnaldo Araujo, leaves his suitcase in a hotel in Sulawesi. It is found to contain one million Indonesian rupiahs (\$2,409.60, exch. rate Oct. 1976). [*National Times*, Aus.]
- 90  **April 5** Speaking of East Timor, Adam Malik states: '50,000 people or perhaps 80,000 might have been killed during the war in East Timor . . . It was war . . . Then what is the big fuss?' [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 91 **April 14** Meeting in Delhi, the Co-ordinating Committee of the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations passes a motion supporting East Timor's right to self-determination. [*Adelaide Advertiser*.]
- 92 **April 17** *Fretilin* forces report a heavy Indonesian offensive south-west of Baucau, together with intensive bombing of Remexio (south of Dili) and Bobonaro. There is also heavy shelling from the outskirts of Dili, in an attempt to advance into the hills to the south of the capital. [Broadcast: *Fretilin Radio Maubere*.]

- 93 **May (mid)** Elections are reportedly held in Indonesian-controlled areas, to coincide with elections being held in Indonesia itself. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 94 **May 7** *Fretilin* forces report that they control just over 80% of the territory. Radio broadcasts describe food production and distribution, the use of traditional medicines and the conduct of anti-illiteracy campaigns. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 95 **June 29** *Fretilin*'s representative to the U.N., José Ramos-Horta, claims that Indonesia is about to launch a new offensive in East Timor. [*Fretilin* U.S. press release, New York.]
- 96 **July 31** Journalist Richard Carleton visits East Timor and produces a report which is highly critical of the Indonesian occupation. [The report is published in its fullest form in the *Melbourne Age*, 10-12/08.]
- 97 **August 16** President Suharto announces an 'amnesty to the remnants of armed bands of *Fretilin* in East Timor who surrender to Indonesian armed forces by December 31st'. [Reported later in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong, 2/09.]
- 98 **Sept 5** *Fretilin* forces report heavy bombing raids on Bobonaro and a long military engagement with the Indonesian army in Quelicai. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 99 **Sept 7** The President of *Fretilin*, Xavier do Amaral, is arrested by the central committee of *Fretilin*, allegedly for opening negotiations with the Indonesian military. [*Le Monde*, Paris.]
- 100 **Sept 21** Photo-journalist Denis Reichle crosses the border into East Timor from West (Indonesian) Timor and returns to report that 70,000 people have been killed in the war to date. [His report is published most fully in the *Australian*, 8-10/10.]
- 101 **Sept 23** Reports are received of East Timorese being imprisoned by the Indonesian military on Atauro island, in Dili harbour. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 102 **Nov 12** Former *Apodeti* member Guilherme Goncalves replaces Arnaldo Araujo as governor of East Timor. Araujo has reportedly displeased the Indonesian military by criticising aspects of the Indonesian occupation. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 103 **Nov 13** A large-scale Indonesian offensive begins in the southern border region. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 104 **Dec 1** The Indonesian military refuses to allow a U.N. mission into East Timor. [*Post-Courier*, Papua New Guinea.]
- 105 **Dec 5** It is reported that, though the Indonesian military want to step up their operations in East Timor, they are 'running out of inventory'. [*International Herald Tribune*, Paris.]
- 106 **Dec 7** American 'military advisers' are said to be operating in Dili. [*East Timor News Agency* press release, Sydney.]



Hill farmer, 1974

photo: Elaine Brière

1978

- 107 ✂ **Jan 21** The Australian government gives *de facto* recognition to Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. [*Times*, London.]
- 108 **Jan 26** The U.S. government is reported to be selling 16 F-5 jets to the Indonesian air force. [*Tapol Bulletin*, No. 28 (incorrectly numbered 27), June.]
- 109 **Jan 27** *Fretilin* forces report heavy fighting in the south-west border area. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 110 **March 4** **First reports are received of the Indonesian military's infamous 'encirclement' campaigns, centred in the south-west of the island.** [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 111 **April 4** The British Aerospace Company signs a contract with the Indonesian government to supply eight 'Hawk' ground-attack aircraft to the Indonesian airforce. These planes are ideally suited for use against ground forces in difficult terrain. [*British Aerospace* press release.]
- 112 **April 6** Lt.General Mohammed Jusuf is appointed commander-in-chief of the Indonesian army. He states that a resolution of the war in East Timor is one of his priorities. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 113 **May 12** **Letters received in Lisbon by refugees from East Timor provide evidence of the first campaigns of forced sterilisation.** [Letters: Lisbon.]
- 114 **May 17** *Fretilin* forces report that 15,000 Indonesian troops have landed in Dili. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 115 **May 26** Letters received by refugees in Lisbon and Darwin, Australia, describe recent Indonesian bombing campaigns in the north-west region, and to the south of Dili. They also refer to large-scale movements of the population from *Fretilin*- to Indonesian-controlled areas. [Letters: Lisbon, Darwin.]
- 116 **June 1** Refugees receive reports of intense fighting in the border areas, the central-northern sector, the central-southern sector and the eastern region. [Letters: Lisbon, Darwin.]
- 117 **June 2** *Fretilin* forces report attacks on Remexio, a village to the south of Dili, and campaigns of military encirclement, with aerial and naval bombardment, against the areas surrounding Turiscai, Betano, Laklubar, and Soibada. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 118 **June 6** It is reported that the Australian and Indonesian governments are preparing to finalise an agreement on sea bed exploration between their respective countries. [*East Timor News Agency*, Sydney.]

- 119 **June 18** Substantial advances by Indonesian troops are reported in the North-Central sector. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 120 **June 22** Indonesian forces are reported to have advanced on Quelicai and Maliana, and to have landed troops near Lospalos. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 121 **July 18** President Suharto pays a brief visit to the towns of Dili and Maliana. [*Times*, London.]
- 122 **Aug 3** *Fretilin* forces report offensives against the villages of Lacluta and Iliomar. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 123 **Aug 4** The U.S. government sells 16 A-4 counter-insurgency bombers to the Indonesian air force. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 124 **Aug 25** President Suharto admits 'Fretilin is still active'. [*Times*, London.]
- 125 **Aug 30** **Former Fretilin President, Xavier do Amaral, is captured by Indonesian troops.** [*Straits Times*, Singapore.]
- 126 **Aug 30** The village of Remexio, south of Dili, is taken by Indonesian troops. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 127 **Sept 5** Indonesian forces launch heavy attacks against the village of Alas, in the south of the country. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 128 **Sept 7** Ambassadors from several countries visit the towns of Dili, Baucau, Maliana and Remexio to assess shortages of food and medical supplies. [*Australian*, 12/09; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11/09; *Canberra Times*, 13/09. The report of the Canadian ambassador is now declassified and available.]
- 129 **Sept 14** Australian Liberal Minister Michael Hodgman claims that 30,000-40,000 East Timorese have died as a result of the use of defoliants. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 130 **Sept 21** Intense fighting is reported during Indonesian encirclement campaigns on the south coast. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 131 **Sept 30** The Indonesian government claims that 14,000 East Timorese are already living in 'resettlement camps'. [*East Timor News Agency*, Sydney.]
- 132 **Oct 1** The Indonesian administration's 'Assistant for Defence and Security' in East Timor estimates the country's population to be 329,271. [*Timor Information Service*, Melbourne, no.28, Feb.]
- 133 **Oct 21** The Australian Intelligence Service (JIO) reports that *Fretilin* forces still control most of East Timor. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 134 **Oct 28** *Fretilin* Information Minister, Alarico Fernandes, calls for support for an operation he terms 'Skylight'. Its aim is to remove most of the existing leadership of *Fretilin*. [*Radio Maubere*.]

- 135 **Nov 20** The United Nations General Assembly calls for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and for the right to self-determination to be exercised in East Timor. [*UN General Assembly* press release.]
- 136 **Dec 12** Radio Maubere ceases transmitting. [*East Timor News Agency*, Sydney.]
- 137 **Dec 22** The Australian government gives *de jure* recognition to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 138 **Dec 27** Official Indonesian data estimate the total population of East Timor as 498,433. [Govt. of Indonesia, population data, Dili.]
- 139 **Dec 29** **Contrary to the Indonesian government's recent claims [see 131 above], the *Far Eastern Economic Review* estimates that there are 165,839 refugees in East Timor's resettlement camps.**
- 140 **Dec 31** ***Fretilin's* president, Nicolau Lobato, is shot and killed by Indonesian troops, near Turiscai.** [*Associated Press*, Jakarta.]



Famine victims, 1979

photo: Sydney Morning Herald

1979

- 141 **Jan 10** The *Fretilin* leadership, based on central committee members Mau Lear and Vicente S'ahe, is reported to be located in Tapo and Lebos, west of Suai and south-west of Bobonaro. [*Letter* received in Lisbon.] Some six months later, refugees arriving in Lisbon report that both leaders were subsequently killed, Mau Lear in March, and Vicente S'ahe in April or May.
- 142 **Feb 2** Letters received in Lisbon refer to Indonesian campaigns against *Fretilin* leaders, aiming to 'kill to the third generation'.
- 143 **March 22** Letters received in Darwin report fierce fighting in the Alas region, in the south of East Timor.
- 144 **March 24** The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed into East Timor for the first time since the Indonesian invasion, and undertakes a preliminary survey. [*East Timor News*, Sydney, no. 61/2, Nov.]
- 145 **April 2** **The International Red Cross concludes that 'tens of thousands of people displaced by military operations are facing starvation unless aid is brought to them rapidly.'** [*East Timor News*, no. 61/2, Nov.]
- 146 **April 6** The Indonesian navy is reported to be undertaking a rapid programme of modernisation. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 147 **April 9** In Dili, 17,000 people apply for repatriation to Portugal when the International Red Cross invite applications during a two day period. [*Melbourne Herald*, 10/04.]
- 148 **June 7** An article by an Indonesian Jesuit travelling through East Timor details large numbers of deaths in the villages visited, describes aid appropriation by the military, and the use of Indonesian teachers in East Timor's schools. [*Inter-Nos*, Journal of the Society of Jesus, Indonesia, XX111, no.2.]
- 149 **June** A report by priests visiting East Timor concludes that the population living in Indonesian-held areas numbers 329,271. [*Asia Bureau Australia Newsletter*, Melbourne.]
- 150 **June** Indonesian Provincial Government figures for East Timor give a population total of 516,517. [Administration, Dili Province.]
- 151 **June 12** The Final Declaration of the Non-Aligned Ministers' Conference in Colombo suppresses a paragraph referring negatively to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. [*Le Monde*, Paris.]

- 152 **June 16** The U.S. government agrees to sell 16 A-4 fighter bombers to the Indonesian Air Force. [*Washington Post*.]
- 153 **June 28** A letter received in Lisbon speaks of people 'dying slowly in the villages of Turiscai, Maubara and Betano'. [*Letters: Lisbon*.]
- 154 **July 7** An extensive and detailed report on the deaths of the New Zealand, Australian and British journalists in September 1975 [see 52] is published in the Australian *National Times*.
- 155 **July** The ICRC carries out a second survey of East Timor.
- 156 **Aug 2** The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) reports misuses of aid by the Indonesian military and predicts that famine conditions will soon develop. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 157 **Sept 26** A Portuguese priest, Father Leoneto Rego, arrives in Lisbon, having lived in *Fretilin* areas. He recounts his experiences during the encirclement campaigns. [*Northern Territory News*, Aus.]
- 158 **Sept (mid)** The U.S.-based Catholic Relief Services (CRS) is allowed into East Timor and begins a limited campaign of distributing food and medical supplies. [*CRS* press release, Jakarta.]
- 159 **Oct 19** The ICRC commences a relief programme in East Timor. [It is described in some detail in the *Southeast Asia Record*, Oct-Nov issue.]
- 160 **Oct 20** Lt. Gen. Ali Murtopo claims that Indonesia had no involvement in the deaths of the journalists in Balibo in September 1975. [See #160.] [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 161 **Oct 23** Portugal's ambassador to the U.N. is instructed not to actively solicit support for the East Timor issue at the U.N. [Communication from the ambassador's office.]
- 162 **Nov 2** **Peter Rodgers, Jakarta correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, publishes photographs taken in East Timor. They reveal the malnutrition widespread throughout the territory.** [See also the London *Financial Times* 02/11, which reports on the starvation conditions.]
- 163 **Nov 2** Letters received from East Timor describe disappearances and the corrupt exploitation of medical supplies by the Indonesian military. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 164 **Nov 3** The Indonesian government publishes plans for developing an export-oriented cash crop economy in East Timor. [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 165 **Nov 5** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja refers to famine conditions in East Timor. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 166 **Nov 5** The Australian government strongly supports the Indonesian government when the East Timor issue is debated at the U.N. [*UN General Assembly Record*.]

- 167 **Nov 12** Famine conditions in East Timor are detailed in the press. [Guardian, London.]
- 168 **Nov 12** **In London, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja admits that only half of the pre-1975 population of East Timor is under Indonesian control, and that 120,000 have died since the 'civil war' began in 1975.** [Press Conference transcript.]
- 169 **Nov 15** Peter Rodgers' photographs [see 162] are published in the *Washington Post*.
- 170 **Nov 17** It is reported that as early as June 1976 the former governor of East Timor, *Apodeti* party leader Arnaldo Araujo, wrote to President Suharto complaining of the killings during the invasion, extensive looting by Indonesian troops, the takeover of East Timorese businesses and houses, and the decline of agriculture. [*The Guardian*, London.]
- 171 **Nov 22** East Timorese refugees arriving in Lisbon claim that they have had to pay substantial bribes to the Indonesian military before being allowed to leave the territory. [Melbourne Age.]
- 172 **Dec 5** The U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs begins hearings on East Timor. [*New York Times*.]
- 173 **Dec 13** The U.N. General Assembly passes a resolution that condemns the Indonesian invasion and occupation and calls for withdrawal and an act of self-determination for East Timor. [*U.N. General Assembly: Record*.]
- 174 **Dec 25** It is claimed that the Indonesian military are using napalm in East Timor. (*Times*, London.)



Hill tribes people returning from market.

photo: Elaine Brière

1980

- 175 **Jan 15** Letters received in Lisbon describe extensive aid embezzlement. [*Christian Science Monitor*, U.S.]
- 176 **Jan 16** East Timor is designated an official resettlement area for transmigrants from Java and Bali. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 177 **Jan 29** The *New York Times* publishes articles describing life in Dili, the appropriation of aid by the military and other aspects of the Indonesian occupation.
- 178 **Feb 3** A U.S. State Department official claims 'All this talk of starvation drives the Indonesian government up the wall'. Cited in A. Kohen and R. Quance, 'The Politics of Starvation' [*Inquiry*, U.S., 18/02.]
- 179 **Feb 6** Refugees interviewed in Lisbon describe events during the Indonesian invasion, the bombing campaigns of 1978-9, daily life in Dili, disappearances and executions. [*Christian Science Monitor*, U.S.]
- 180 **March 6** Reports emerge of Indonesian troops restricting the entry of food and medical supplies into East Timor. [*Christian Science Monitor*, U.S.]
- 181 **March 10** Continuing resistance is reported from the north-central region. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 182 **March 28** The Portuguese government confirms an earlier ICRC estimate [see 147] that 17,000 people registered to leave Dili in April 1979. [*Christian Science Monitor*, U.S.]
- 183 **April 10** Refugees interviewed in Darwin describe the travel permit (*surat jalaan*) system in operation in East Timor, and report the existence of 150 strategic resettlement camps. [*East Timor News Agency*, Sydney.]
- 184 **May 10** Reports from East Timor contained in letters to refugees in Portugal and Australia refer to a regrouping and re-emergence of *Fretilin* forces in the east of the country. [*Melbourne Herald*.]
- 185 **May 13** 150 resettlement camps are now in existence in East Timor. [*Associated Press*, Dili.]
- 186 **May 22** Letters received by refugees in Lisbon describe armed conflict in the eastern region and the continuing execution of those surrendering to the Indonesian military. [*Letters: Lisbon*.]

- 187 **May 23** Reports from Dili outline the monopoly control exercised by the military over coffee cultivation and distribution. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 188 **June 17** **A six hour attack is mounted on Dili by Fretilin forces, on June 10-11.** [*West Australian*; also *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong, 20/06, *Canberra Times*, 18/06.]
- 189 **July 12** The Catholic Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Mgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, writes to the Bishop of Jakarta, detailing killings in Dili during the months of June and July. [Unpublished letter received in Lisbon.]
- 190 **Aug 13** Detailed reports of the June attack on Dili are provided by refugees arriving in Lisbon. [*De Groene Amsterdamer*.]
- 191 **Oct 14** The execution of Australian journalist Roger East by Indonesian troops is confirmed by refugees arriving in Lisbon. East disappeared in December 1975, shortly after the Indonesian invasion. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 192 **Oct 23** The ICRC reaches an agreement with the Indonesian government to continue its programme in East Timor, begun in 1979. [Melbourne Age.]
- 193 **Dec 4** **A set of secret documents on Australian foreign policy on East Timor during the 1970s is published in Canberra.** It shows the government had an extensive knowledge of, and acquiesced in, events prior to the invasion. [Melbourne Age.]
- 194 **Dec 9** The Indonesian military declare that there is no longer any urgent need for food and medical supplies and request the ICRC to leave. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) remains, but switches to providing 'development aid'. [*New York Times*.]
- 195 **Dec 17** **An American Central Intelligence Agency official states that the U.S. government could have prevented the invasion of East Timor, without any adverse effects on its long-term policy aims towards Indonesia.** [*Christian Science Monitor*, U.S.]



The destroyed Catholic seminary ar Dare



Mgr da Costa Lopes (*centre*), Catholic Apostolic Administrator in East Timor, and his successor, Bp Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo (*right*)

1981

- 196 **Jan 8** It is reported that only 50% of East Timor's arable land is under cultivation, this being due either to 'a lack of buffalo' or to 'security'. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 197 **March 25-26** Indonesian military exercises are held in Baucau, Lospalos and Laga. A mock attack is mounted on an 'occupied' Baucau. The exercises involve just over 10,000 troops. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 198 **June 3** A report written by the members of the East Timor Regional People's Assembly (the regional parliament set up by the Indonesian military in 1976) is sent to President Suharto. It is highly critical of the Indonesian presence, citing cases of torture, maltreatment and disappearances. It complains bitterly of the actions of P.T. Denok, a trading company controlled by the Indonesian military. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, No. 47.]
- 199 **June** The 'religious community' of East Timor (Catholic nuns, priests and brothers) writes a letter to the Conference of Indonesian Major Religious Superiors (MASRI) describing events since the invasion. [Unpublished document, translated from Indonesian.]
- 200 **July** **Reports are sent from East Timorese students in Baucau, Lacio and Manatuto to Jakarta and thence to Australian aid agencies, describing preparations for a new Indonesian offensive referred to as *Operasi Keamanan*.** They describe food shortages, restraints on population movement, lack of medical supplies, the exile of people to Atauro island (north of Dili) and forced conversions to Islam. [Unpublished document.]
- 201 **Aug 19** A letter from East Timor received in Australia describes how local teachers have been forced to join the 'fence of legs' (*pagar betis*) operations which form the major part of *Operasi Keamanan*. [*Letter: Darwin*.]
- 202 **Sept 1** It is reported that 35,000 East Timorese are 'helping' Indonesian troops in *Operasi Keamanan* in the Baucau area. (Total population of the area is given as 80,000). [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 203 **Sept 2** A letter received in Australia describes a 'total population recruitment' for the 'fence of legs' campaigns. [*Letters: Darwin*.]
- 204 **Oct 3-4** A general description of *Operasi Keamanan* is provided in the *Australian*.

- 205 **Nov (end)** A series of letters received in Australia from a 'well-placed source in Dili' describes deportations to Atauro island, resettlement villages, transmigration, the cultivation of cash crops, torture, massacres, burning of villages, and 'fence of legs' campaigns. [*Letters*: Darwin.]
- 206 **Dec (mid)** An East Timorese, who surrendered in November 1978 and now lives in Jakarta, describes the bombing campaigns by the Indonesian Air Force in the Mount Matebian area in 1978, the use of napalm, the creation of resettlement camps, the appropriation of food supplies, land-grabbing by the military, the activities of P.T.Denok, and the mobilisation of the population for *Operasi Keamanan*. [Unpublished document.]
- 207 **Dec 20** The ICRC is given permission by the Indonesian government to re-enter East Timor. [*Antara*, Jakarta.]



Fretilin guerilla in camp

1982

- 208 **Jan 11** Mgr Costa Lopes, Catholic Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, alleges that at least 500 East Timorese were massacred recently by Indonesian troops at the shrine of St. Anthony's Rock, near Lacluta. [*Melbourne Age, Sydney Morning Herald.*]
- 209 **Jan 12** *Operasi Keamanan* is first reported officially by the Indonesian government. It is described as an attempt to sweep the country with a force made up of Indonesian army regulars and the conscripted local population. [*Guardian, London.*]
- 210 **Jan 13** Reporting on his tour of East Timor on December 10-11 1981, the Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Rawden Dalrymple, claims 'there is no evidence of famine conditions.' [*Sun, Aus.*]
- 211 **Jan 14** Letters received by refugees in Darwin describe the fence of legs operations during *Operasi Keamanan*. [*Melbourne Age.*]
- 212 **Jan 17** Reports from East Timor describe serious famine conditions as imminent. [*Sunday Times, London.*]
- 213 **Feb (mid)** **Catholic church sources in East Timor report that approximately half the population is facing serious food shortages.** [Unpublished document obtained from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid.]
- 214 **Feb 15-26** An ICRC delegation visits several villages and the detention camp on Atauro island. It predicts food shortages in the coming months.
- 215 **March 4** **The ICRC reports that, during *Operasi Keamanan*, 4,000 East Timorese were transported from the mainland to Atauro island.** [*Times, London.*]
- 216 **March** The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) publishes a set of interviews with East Timorese and Indonesian officials, conducted in Jakarta during March. The 15 interviews deal with all aspects of the occupation. [*ACFOA, Canberra.*]
- 217 **March 5** Former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam visits East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian government. He travels by helicopter to Maliana, Ermera, Natabora, Dilor, Luro, Suai, and Atauro Island. [*Sydney Morning Herald, Melbourne Age, 6/03, 8/03.*]
- 218 **March 8** The Indonesian press carries reports that Gough Whitlam concludes that reports of famine in East Timor are 'completely false'. Australian correspondent Peter Hastings, who accompanied Whitlam at the invitation of the Indonesian government, is reported to have reached similar conclusions. [*Indonesian Times.*]

- 219 **March (mid)** Testimonies received from prisoners on Atauro island are published by ACFOA. [*Timor Information Service*, Melbourne, March/April, no. 35.]
- 220 **March** Letters from East Timor received by refugees in Lisbon describe preparations for the forthcoming Indonesian elections to be held in May. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 221 **March 31** East Timorese refugees arriving in Lisbon claim that when UDT forces crossed the border into Indonesia after the August 1975 coup attempt, only those who signed a document calling for East Timor's integration into Indonesia were given food. (Refugee interviews, Lisbon, Jill Jolliffe.)
- 222 **April (mid)** The ICRC begins an emergency food programme in East Timor and commences visits to Atauro Island prison settlement. (ICRC press release, Geneva.)
- 223 **May 4** **Elections are held in East Timor.** *Tapol* (The British Campaign for political prisoners in Indonesia) produces a detailed critique of the electoral process, noting that the results from East Timor were the first of any province to be declared, and that 98.8% of the people reportedly supported *Golkar*, the party of the military. The London *Economist* (May 8) describes the election results as 'hard to swallow'. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 51.]
- 224 **May 10** The Indonesian military hint that the elections are to be seen as a measure of the support in East Timor for integration into Indonesia. [*Financial Times*, London.]
- 225 **May 14** Eye-witness accounts are published of torture and massacres by Indonesian troops during *Operasi Keamanan*. [Melbourne *Age*.]
- 226 **May 16** **The Pope confirms that the Vatican will not accept East Timor as a part of the Indonesian Republic.** [Melbourne *Age*.]
- 227 **May 18-28** **A small group of journalists visit East Timor and produce reports highly critical of the actions of the Indonesian military.** They focus on the extensive population controls, the lack of civil liberties, imprisonment, widespread starvation in the wake of *Operasi Keamanan*, the switch to cash-crop cultivation, and forced resettlement. They estimate that 20,000 Indonesian troops remain in East Timor. [*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28/05; *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 14/06.]
- 228 **June 3-6** A World Council of Churches delegation visits Dili and Baucau. Its members criticise resettlement. During the visit, Mgr Costa Lopes is very critical of the Indonesian presence. [*Timor Information Service*, Victoria, Aus., no. 39.]
- 229 **June 10** **The newly elected President of Portugal, Antonio Ramalho Eanes, initiates a new policy on East Timor.** He asks all Portuguese ambassadors to raise the issue and link East Timor with other issues at the U.N., and calls for a 'common front' with all Portuguese-speaking nations on the issue. [*Diario de Noticias*.]

- 230 **June 17** The Indonesian navy purchases an 'attack class' patrol boat from Australia. [AAP report, Jakarta.]
- 231 **June 24** In a thinly-veiled attack on the leadership of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar states that the Indonesian government aims to 'progressively replace' foreign with Indonesian missionaries. [Melbourne Advocate.]
- 232 **July 13** Reports from Dili describe food shortages in the eastern areas of East Timor, attributing them to 'poor growing seasons'. Foreign aid workers refuse to be identified, arguing that they could be expelled from the country. [AAP, Dili; Northern Territory News, Darwin.]
- 233 **July (mid)** Increasing numbers of *Fretilin* attacks on Indonesian troops are reported: in Suai, Lacluta, Lospalos, Uatolari, Same, Uatocarabau, Viqueque, Loro and Bobonaro. [Timor Information Service, Canberra, no. 38.]
- 234 **August 4** **Letters received by East Timorese refugees in Australia describe conditions in resettlement camps, imprisonment in Atauro, and starvation in the east of the territory. It is reported that 6,800 people are imprisoned on Atauro island.** [Letters, Darwin.]
- 235 **Sept 14** The Asia and Pacific Sub-Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives begins hearings on East Timor. [Melbourne Age.]
- 236 **Sept 19** An Australian Embassy official from Jakarta, D. J. Richardson, visits East Timor. His report, although favourable to Indonesia, documents the resettlement village programme. It is submitted to the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and then to the Australian Senate Enquiry on East Timor, held in 1983. [The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor, Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, Sept. 1983.]
- 237 **Oct 1** Addressing the U.N. General Assembly, Portuguese Prime Minister Pinto Balsemao describes the East Timor conflict as the 'main priority' of Portuguese foreign policy. [Melbourne Age.]
- 238 **Oct 6** Sixteen U.S. Senators call for an enquiry into East Timor, just prior to President Suharto's visit to the U.S. [Melbourne Age, 7/09.]
- 239 **Oct 12-19** President Suharto visits the U.S. [See particularly the *New York Times*, 19/09, and the official White House Press Release on the visit ('Background Briefing', 12/10).]
- 240 **Oct 28** *Fretilin* forces carry out a series of attacks during September and October in the districts of Viqueque and Lospalos. It is also reported that 60,000 people have been baptised as Catholics during the last twelve months. [AFP, Jakarta.]

- 241 **Oct 30** *Fretilin* president Xanana Gusmao dispatches a message to the U.N. for the forthcoming General Assembly debate on East Timor. [Press Release: *Fretilin* Office, Lisbon.]
- 242 **Nov 3** **The U.N. General Assembly passes a resolution on East Timor requesting the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all concerned parties in order to 'achieve a comprehensive settlement of the East Timor issue'.** [*UN Gen. Assembly Report*.]
- 243 **Nov 4** An extensive and detailed interview with an East Timorese refugee (now living in Darwin) describes post-invasion killings by Indonesian troops, the recent elections, military interrogation, and conditions in prisons outside Dili. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 54.]
- 244 **Nov 25** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar describes East Timorese as 'primitive', possessing a 'vendetta mentality'. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 83.]
- 245 **Nov-Dec** Refugees arriving in Lisbon speak of a recent *Fretilin* attack on the outskirts of Dili, in addition to battles with Indonesian troops in Same, Ainaro, Lospalos, Ossu, Matabian and Viqueque. [*Timor Newsletter*, Aus., 11/11.]
- 246 **Nov-Dec** Students from Dili compile accounts of their travels to towns and villages in East Timor, and send these to relatives in Australia. They describe starvation, forced labour, resettlement, deaths resulting from the war, and preparations for the May elections. [Published as *Dossier on East Timor*, ACFOA East Timor Sub-Committee, Canberra.]
- 247 **Dec 10** The Indonesian Government signs the 'Law of the Sea' with the result that substantial areas of the Timor Sea are now included in the Republic's territory. [*Antara*, Jakarta.]
- 248 **Dec 21** Letters received by refugees in Lisbon identify Taci Tolo and Areia Branca, near Dili, as sites where civilians have been recently massacred by the Indonesian military. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 249 **Dec 30** **Indonesian military manuals, captured by *Fretilin*, are released to the public. They deal with such issues as the destruction of *Fretilin* networks, interrogation of prisoners, and control of resettlement villages.** (The documents are declared authentic by Indonesian language experts.) Amnesty makes a statement on what the documents reveal about torture in East Timor. [The manuals are subsequently printed in *The War against East Timor* by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, Zed Books, London, 1984.]



Life in East Timor

1983

- 250 **Jan 8** British companies make further arms sales to the Indonesian military. Five Hawk trainer/ground attack aircraft are sold by British Aerospace, bringing the total number of planes supplied since 1978 to seventeen. Frigates capable of launching 'sea wolf' missiles and eleven armoured security vehicles are also purchased. [British Government classified report, prepared by the Country Police Division of the Export Credits Guarantee Department.]
- 251 **Jan 13** Refugees in Lisbon describe aerial attacks by U.S.-made 'Bronco OV 10' aircraft. [Reports by Jill Jolliffe in the *London Guardian*, the *Melbourne Age* and Lisbon papers.]
- 252 **Jan 16** Refugees in Lisbon report an increase in the level of *Fretilin* resistance from the early months of 1982. [*Washington Post*.]
- 253 **Jan 19** *Fretilin* representatives in Lisbon present a 60 page document from President Xanana Gusmao, describing *Fretilin* organisation and campaigns in East Timor. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 254 **Jan 22** The Australian Defence Minister visits East Timor and concludes that the situation is the result of Portuguese neglect. He promises training for Indonesian helicopter pilots and agrees to supply two more 'attack' boats for use by the Indonesian navy. [*West Australian*.]
- 255 **Feb 7-12** Portuguese television journalist Rui Araujo visits East Timor for two days with the permission of the Indonesian government. His report, which is deeply critical, describes conditions on Atauro island, the daily oppression experienced by East Timorese, and use of the contraceptive drug Depo Provera. [*Canberra Times*; a transcription is published in *Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 57, May.]
- 256 **Feb 16** The U.N. High Commission for Refugees announces that it will support programmes for East Timorese refugees. [*Herald Tribune*, New York, 15 and 17/02.]
- 257 **March 11** The working group of the Non-Aligned Movement's Political Committee rejects an amendment to a draft declaration for the forthcoming Non-Aligned Movement Conference, calling on it to reiterate the 'inalienable rights' of the East Timorese people'. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 258 **March 14** A report from Dili describes how 'popular support for the guerrillas is increasing', and how 'several thousand a month are converted to Catholicism'. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 259 **March 25** Bill Hayden, newly-appointed foreign minister of the incoming

Labour government, states that Australia will henceforward abstain rather than support U.N. motions on East Timor. [Melbourne Age.]

- 260 **March 27** Heavy fighting is reported in the Lospalos area. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 261 **March 30** A letter to a refugee in Lisbon claims that resistance forces number approximately 4,000. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 262 **April 6-9** Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden meets President Suharto and Foreign Minister Mochtar in Jakarta. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 263 **April 24-
May 5** In a series of articles from East Timor, journalist John Hamilton describes political, economic and social aspects of the present situation. [*West Australian*.]
- 264 **May 6** The Australian government supplies one of the R.A.N. Attack Class patrol boats. [See 254.]
- 265 **May 13** A document signed by a group of priests in Dili states: 'We foresee the implacable extermination of the people'. It is sent out to the 'Episcopal Conference and the Whole World'. [Document received by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London.]
- 266 **May 16** **Mgr. Costa Lopes resigns as Catholic Apostolic Administrator of East Timor and is replaced by a young Timorese priest, Mgr. Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo**, who has not lived in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion. Costa Lopes' resignation is seen as a victory for the Indonesian government. [*Times*, London.]
- 267 **June 8** In Jakarta, Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke states that defence aid to Indonesia will continue under the Labour government. He argues that the issue of East Timor should be dropped. [*Australian*.]
- 268 **June 9** In conversation with a priest in Jakarta, Mgr. Belo estimates *Fretilin* numbers 1700 fighters, organised in ten units. Four units are equipped with modern weapons obtained from the Indonesian military. [*Communication* to the author.]
- 269 **June 18** Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden informs a delegation of East Timorese refugees that the Indonesians will never leave East Timor. [*West Australian*.]
- 270 **June 25** Gen. Murdani, commander-in-chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, in a letter to *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao, threatens to launch a new military campaign against *Fretilin* forces if they do not surrender. [*East Timor News Agency*, Sydney, no. 78-80, summer 1983.] Meanwhile, **a ceasefire is reported to have been signed between the Indonesian military in East Timor and *Fretilin* commanders**. [*Guardian*, London.]

- 271 **June 27** Mgr. Costa Lopes claims in Lisbon that Indonesian military commanders in East Timor initiated the ceasefire. [*Australian*.]
- 272 **June 28** Evidence that a ceasefire has been agreed between Fretilin and Indonesian forces emerges in the form of tapes and photographs dispatched from East Timor. Two meetings were held, on 21 and 23 March. The second was attended by the Indonesian commander of East Timor, Col. Purwanto, and *Fretilin's* President, Xanana Gusmao. Both signed the ceasefire document. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 273 **June 29** It is reported that, following the cease-fire agreement, ' *Fretilin* soldiers have received medical supplies from the Indonesian military'. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 274 **July 1** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar claims there is no ceasefire but that an amnesty is being offered to Fretilin members by the governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao. [*West Australian*.]
- 275 **July (mid)** A letter from Colonel Purwanto to Xanana Gusmao is published in Australia. It says that Indonesian forces in East Timor do not want to continue the war with Fretilin. [*East Timor News Agency*, Sydney, no. 78-80.]
- 276 **July 20** Documents captured from the Indonesian military in December are published in summary form. [See 249.] [*Guardian*, London; *Canberra Times*.]
- 277 **July 22** It is announced that an Australian parliamentary delegation is to visit East Timor to 'ascertain the situation on the ground' before East Timor is debated at the Australian Labour Party Conference in August. [*Age*.]
- 278 **July 28-31** **The Australian parliamentary delegation visits East Timor**, travelling to towns and villages in the east, centre and west of the territory. [See the *Official Report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation*, July-August 1983, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.]
- 279 **July 29** Some members of the delegation are intercepted by a group of *Fretilin* soldiers on the road from Lospalos to Baucau, east of the village of Laga, near a resettlement camp, Soba. Led by a senior *Fretilin* commander, they try to persuade the delegation members to visit a resettlement village in Soelari which Fretilin soldiers have occupied. They are unsuccessful, but manage to convey their views to the delegation. [See *Official Report*..., 278 above.]
- 280 **Aug 8** The Indonesian military launch a new campaign against *Fretilin* forces, thereby breaking the ceasefire. [*Australian*, 2/09; Melbourne *Age*, 2/09.]
- 281 **Aug 15** The Indonesian army states that it will 'take a harder line' on East Timor. [Melbourne *Age*.]
- 282 **Aug 16** ***Fretilin* forces attack the military section of Dili airport.** [Melbourne *Age*.]

- 283 **Aug 16** The details of the Australian delegation's meeting with the Fretilin group [see 279] are published, and it is revealed that the Indonesian translator misinterpreted the Fretilin group's requests. [*Canberra Times*, *West Australian*, 15/09; *Tribune*, Aus., 15/09.]
- 284 **Aug 18** General Murdani exhorts his troops: 'This time, no fooling around, we'll hit them without mercy'. (*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta, 17/09; *Melbourne Age*.)
- 285 **Aug 21-22** **200-300 people are executed in a village called Kraras**, near Viqueque, after a number of Indonesian soldiers are killed by villagers, reportedly for attacking a group of people having a celebration in a village. [*Letters* received by ACFOA, Canberra, in mid September.]
- 286 **Sept 1** A substantial build-up of Indonesian troops is reported in Dili. [*Australian*.]
- 287 **Sept 2** The Broken Hill Proprietary Company of Australia (BHP) reports a major petroleum find in the Timor Sea. [*Australian*.]
- 288 **Sept 7** **A state of emergency is declared in East Timor by the Indonesian government.** [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 289 **Sept 9** An Australian Senate Enquiry into the East Timor affair recommends that the government should vote against Indonesia on the issue at the U.N. A report on human rights violations prepared by Fretilin President Xanana Gusmao is published. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 290 **Sept 14** Indonesia is reported to have 30-50,000 troops in East Timor. President Suharto orders a 'clean sweep' of the territory. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 291 **Sept 17** Refugees arriving in Lisbon report a curfew in Dili, increased Indonesian casualties and deaths, requisitioning of trucks by the military, and parachute landings in the Eastern sector. [*Melbourne Age*, *Canberra Times*.]
- 292 **Sept 21** Col. Purwanto is replaced by Colonel Rudito as the military commander of East Timor. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 293 **Sept 23** **The U.N. General Assembly reconsiders East Timor, and votes to defer the issue for a year** on the basis of a proposal submitted by the Norwegian delegation. The U.N. Secretary General is asked to report on the possibility of arranging negotiations between the parties involved. [*West Australian*, *Melbourne Age*, 24/09.]
- 294 **Sept 26** Details are published of the massacre at Kraras village [see 285] and the new Indonesian offensive. [*Boston Globe*.]
- 295 **Oct 17** The Governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, claims that the new military offensive against *Fretilin* was undertaken at his request. He states that *Fretilin* must either surrender or face death. All hopes of an amnesty have now been lost. He claims that a plan to release 2,000 prisoners from Atauro will

have to be delayed due to the renewed hostilities. [*Canberra Times*.]

- 296 **Oct 19** Reports from East Timor claim that 500 members of the civil guard or *Pertahanan Sipil* (HANSIP) have defected to *Fretilin* since the beginning of the recent offensive. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 297 **Nov 2** Refugees arriving in Lisbon describe Indonesian soldiers encircling and burning villages. Many arrests are reported to have occurred in Dili on August 13, and prisoners have been transferred from prisons in Dili to the Indonesian island of Bali. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 298 **Nov 3** Xavier do Amaral, former President of *Fretilin* now living under house arrest in Bali, is interviewed. He concludes that independence was lost because of 'our lack of time, our lack of experience, and our lack of international support. Sometimes I told the people, We are alone. In a world full of people, we are alone'. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*.]
- 299 **Nov 15** Bronco OV-10 and A-4 Skyhawk aircraft, both supplied by U.S. companies, are reported to be in use in East Timor. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 300 **Nov 17** The Indonesian Bishops write a letter to Mgr Belo, calling for respect for religion, land, and family in East Timor. [Document received by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London.]
- 301 **Nov 21** Amnesty International submits a statement to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee, citing instances of torture, disappearances, the use of Atauro island as a prison settlement, and describes local detention centres. [Amnesty International, *Submission to the U.N. Decolonisation Committee*.]
- 302 **Dec 27** Gen. Murdani visits East Timor and on Christmas Eve appeals to *Fretilin* members to surrender. His speech expresses the hope that 'Christ's will would strengthen the resolve of every member of the armed forces'. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 303 **Dec 29** East Timor is described in the Indonesian press as a 'continuing security problem'. [*Merdeka*, Jakarta.]



Man playing flute

Photo: Elaine Brière

1984

- 304 **Jan 6** **Reports describe how the latest offensive — codenamed *Operasi Persuatan* — has disrupted food production.** Crops have been destroyed and the population is unable to collect food. [*Australian*.]
- 305 **Jan 7** Details of the Indonesian Bishops' letter to Mgr Belo [see 300] are published. [*The Tablet*, London.]
- 306 **Jan 10** A comprehensive account of *Operasi Persuatan* [see £304] is published. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 62.]
- 307 **Jan 10** **The International Red Cross states publicly that it has not had access to East Timor since July 1983.** [*East Timor Report*, Canberra, nos. 5, 6 and 7, 1983-84.]
- 308 **Jan 18** A *Fretilin* communique states that 12,000 Indonesian troops are advancing from Baucau to Viqueque. *Fretilin* has launched a counter-offensive, attacking the central and border sectors and the south coast. [*Fretilin Information Office*, Lisbon.]
- 309 **Jan 21** Reports from East Timor claim that 269 soldiers have deserted from the Indonesian armed forces between December 15 and January 5. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 310 **Jan 27** Seminary students from Dare seminary, near Dili, draw up a document claiming massacres of children, forced recruitment for 'fence of legs' operations, and aggressive treatment of priests. [The document was prepared for the visit of the President of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference, and later published by *Asia Bureau Australia*, May 1984.]
- 311 **Jan 28** During the latter part of 1983, 12,000 Indonesian troops were deployed in a line from Baucau to Viqueque, and moved eastward, accompanied by aerial and naval bombardment, with the aim of destroying *Fretilin*'s major bases in the eastern sector. [Melbourne *Age*.]
- 312 **Feb 10** Refugees recently arrived in Lisbon report intensive bombing of areas in the east, accompanied by the burning of villages. [*Guardian*, London.] The Indonesian military are reported to be in a 'state of despair' because they cannot 'finish off' East Timor. General Ali Murtopo, architect of the 1975 invasion, comments: 'We are shooting at shadows'. [*Toronto Globe and Mail*.]
- 313 **Feb 18** Mgr Belo visits the enclave of Oecusse, despite Indonesian government objections. It is reported that the Pope's decision not to visit Indonesia on a forthcoming tour is due in part to the situation in East Timor. [*U.S. National Catholic Reporter*.]

- 314 **Feb 19** The recently-appointed commander of East Timor, Colonel Rudito, resolves 'to fight to the end'. The Indonesian military denounce 'marxist infiltration' of the Catholic Church in East Timor. [AFP, Jakarta.]
- 315 **Feb 20** Reports from East Timor and Indonesia indicate that more than one hundred Indonesian soldiers have been killed in the last six months, and that there are approximately 10,000 Indonesian troops fighting in the territory. [Times, London.]
- 316 **Feb 24** **Reports are received of trials of political prisoners in Dili.** Twelve have been tried, with twelve more to be put on trial. [Times, London.]
- 317 **March 11** Refugees in Lisbon report that *Operasi Persatuan* aims to eliminate Fretilin sympathisers 'to the fourth generation'. They also speak of a systematic Indonesianisation of the education system in East Timor. [Interviews carried out by the author.]
- 318 **March 14** The Indonesian government allows the International Red Cross to meet prisoners in Dili and on Atauro island. [Antara press release, Jakarta.]
- 319 **March 20** Governor of East Timor Mario Carrascalao claims in an interview that *Fretilin* members will not surrender because they fear the villagers' anger. He emphasises the development of East Timor's economic infrastructure and cash crop cultivation. [West Australian.]
- 320 **March 21** It is reported in letters received from Jakarta by church groups in Europe that *Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia* (MAWI), the Catholic Bishops' Conference in Indonesia, and *Dewan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia* (DGI), the umbrella organisation of Indonesian Protestant Churches, are critical of the war in East Timor. [Documents received by the CIIR.]
- 321 **March 28** Portugal's recently re-elected President Eanes calls on the Portuguese government to act on East Timor. [Diario de Noticias, Lisbon.]
- 322 **March 29** The Indonesian Government announces substantial increases in the output of cash crops in East Timor for the years 1977-83. [Sinar Harapan, Jakarta.]
- 323 **March 31** **The Portuguese government announces that talks are planned with the Indonesian government on the issue of East Timor.** [Washington Post.]
- 324 **March 31** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar proposes talks with the Australian Government on the oil-rich disputed areas of the Timor Sea. [Melbourne Age, 30/3.]
- 325 **April 1** **Twenty-two U.S. Senators write to secretary of state George Schultz, asking him to raise East Timor as an issue on his forthcoming trip to Jakarta.** [New York Times, 8/4.]
- 326 **April 1** Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama puts forward negotiating proposals to the Indonesian military; these exclude any reference to *Fretilin*. [Canberra Times.]

- 327 **April 16** *Fretilin* representatives in Lisbon claim that in the month of January there were 17,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor. [*Fretilin Information Service*, Lisbon.]
- 328 **April 29** Refugees arriving in Lisbon describe a 'final onslaught' against *Fretilin* forces, with elite paratroopers air-lifted into the interior, accompanied by aerial and naval bombardment. [*Boston Globe*.]
- 329 **May 2** **A letter written by Mgr. Belo, received in Lisbon, refers to disappearances, trials, and 'popular judgements' carried out 'on the spot' by the military. He refers to resettlement villages as 'corrals', and criticises mass conscription for 'fence of legs' operations by the Indonesian military. He claims that the Indonesian army are not winning the war, despite the presence of ten battalions (10,000 troops).** [Melbourne Age, Canberra Times, 3/04; London Guardian, 3/04.]
- 330 **May (end)** 23 Timorese are tried in Dili for 'complicity with *Fretilin*'. They receive sentences varying from 2 to 17 years. [*Timor Newsletter*, Lisbon, vol. 2, no. 4.]
- 331 **May (end)** In preparation for a major dry-season offensive, it is reported that 14,000 extra troops have been moved into East Timor. [*Timor Newsletter*, Lisbon, vol. 2, no. 4.]
- 332 **May 31** In a speech to the Canberra National Press Club, *Fretilin* representative José Ramos-Horta offers discussions with the Indonesian and Portuguese Governments on unconditional terms. [*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1/06.]
- 333 **June 27** Australian Ambassador to Indonesia Rawdon Dalrymple is permitted by the Indonesian government to make a brief visit to East Timor, after his trip was cancelled on June 1st. [*Australian*, *West Australian*.]
- 334 **June 29** Letters to refugees in Lisbon describe a recent battle near Dili on June 3. They also outline the recruitment of men from the ages of 15-50 to march in 'fences of legs' in front of Indonesian troops. Substantial movements of the population into the interior are occurring, as the people try to escape the Indonesian advance eastwards across the island. [Melbourne Age.]
- 335 **July (mid)** A communiqué from *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao to the UN reports a new mobilisation of the population in the north-central region during June, including the recruitment of schoolchildren into 'fence of legs' operations. [*Fretilin Information Office*, Lisbon.]
- 336 **July 12** **When the new Indonesian Ambassador to the Vatican presents his credentials, the Pope hopes of East Timor that every consideration will be given in every circumstance to the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of the people.** [*Le Monde*, Paris; *Washington Post*, *Vatican Daily*.]

- 337 **July 12** The Australian Labour Party changes its policy on East Timor. A resolution passed by the Party Conference makes no reference to the issue of self-determination, but calls merely for support to be given to international initiatives on the issue. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 338 **July 12** In a meeting with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar, U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz states that the U.S. government is concerned at events in East Timor. [*New York Times*.]
- 339 **July 13** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar gives a 'cool reception' to the Australian Labour Party resolution. [See 337.] [*Canberra Times*.] Gen. Murdani is reportedly 'scornful' of it. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 340 **July 14** Letters received from church sources in East Timor provide detailed accounts of the May-June offensive. It involves 30-40,000 Indonesian troops and is located in the east, using local 'fences of legs'. Daily bombing raids are launched from Baucau airport. [Letters, Lisbon.]
- 341 **July 16** Interviewed in Jakarta, Mgr. Belo concludes that neither side can win in East Timor. [Melbourne Age.]
- 342 **July 21** Portuguese President Eanes and Prime Minister Mario Soares make a joint statement on East Timor, calling upon the government to assist in 'bringing about the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination'. [Melbourne Age.]
- 343 **July 25** U.N. General Secretary Perez de Cuellar publishes a 'progress report' on negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal between 1978 and 1984. He concludes that little progress has occurred. [U.N. Press Release.]
- 344 **July 27** Refugees in Lisbon describe recent atrocities in the village of Remexio, south of Dili. [Interviews by Jill Jolliffe, unpublished.]
- 345 **July 28** Visiting East Timor with a group of generals, Gen. Murdani concludes that the conflict is almost over. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 346 **July 30** The war in East Timor is 'spotlighted' in an article in the U.S. weekly magazine *Newsweek*.
- 347 **Aug 5** Reports from East Timor describe 'harassment' of the Catholic Church in East Timor. [*Catholic Leader*, Aus.]
- 348 **Aug 20** Amnesty International submits a document to the U.N. Decolonisation Committee's Hearings on East Timor. It focuses on resettlement camps, trials, the Kraras massacre [See 285], arrests and killings in recent months. [Amnesty International, London: *Statement on East Timor to the U.N. Special Decolonisation Committee*.]
- 349 **Aug 23** 500 'model peasants' from Java and Bali are to be settled in the south-western area of East Timor. [*Merdeka*, Jakarta.]

- 350 **Sept 6** Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden states at a press conference on East Timor in Lisbon that 'we encourage further dialogue through the United Nations'. [*East Timor Report*, Canberra, no. 9.]
- 351 **Sept 10** Talks are held in Lisbon between Bill Hayden and Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 352 **Sept 14** A report is published on the opposition of 'the religious' in East Timor to the Indonesian occupation. [*Sunday Examiner*, Hong Kong.]
- 353 **Oct 5** A letter is received in Lisbon by the former Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, Mgr Costa Lopes, from the commander of Fretilin's 'first autonomous company' in the eastern sector of the territory. It describes an uprising on May 8 1983 and lists military engagements between August and July 1983. [Letter sent to author.]
- 354 **Oct 25** The 'close' relationship between Gen. Murdani, commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces, and the new Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Bill Morrison, is described in the Indonesian press. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.] Morrison led the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to East Timor in July 1983. [See 277-9.]
- 355 **Nov 8** Naval bombardment of the southern coast of East Timor is reported. *Fretilin* troops moved to this area to avoid 'fence of legs' operations in July and August. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 356 **Dec 4, 5** **Letters from the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, Mgr Belo, are received by the French and Dutch Catholic Churches. He states that the resolution to the conflict in East Timor must be 'political and diplomatic, with respect for the right to self-determination'.** [Document received by the *CIIR*.]
- 357 **Dec 17** Gen. Murdani states that the East Timor conflict 'will take some time to resolve'. It is reported from Jakarta that there are 7,000 troops in East Timor, together with 7-10,000 'teachers' 'assisting' the military. [*Reuters*, Jakarta.]
- 358 **Dec 29** Refugees in Australia report that former Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) leader Joao Carrascalao visited East Timor recently for two weeks. [Letter received by author.]



Xanana Gusmao and members of Falintil

1985

- 359 **Jan 1** **A statement written by the Council of Catholic Priests in East Timor refers to the military organising regular 'clearing-up' operations, using children in 'fence of legs' operations, arresting people *en masse*, promoting resettlement, and demanding that the inhabitants of resettlement villages undertake 'night watch' duties. It describes the 'Indonesianisation' of the administration and the suppression of Christianity and Animism. [Published by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, and in *Timor Link*, London, no. 2.]**
- 360 **Jan 3** **More 'Rapier' jets are sold by Britain to the Indonesian Air Force. Training for pilots is also to be provided. [*Financial Times*, London.]**
- 361 **Jan 5** **The Indonesian Government publishes a five year plan for the years 1984-9. For East Timor it plans birth control for 95,000 women and the resettlement of 6,800 transmigrants. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no.67.]**
- 362 **Jan 6** ***Fretilin* forces reestablish a two-way radio link with Northern Australia. [*Fretilin Information Office*, Lisbon; see also *Melbourne Age*, 7/5.]**
- 363 **Jan 14** **Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar states that there is no evidence of forced birth control in East Timor. [*Reuters*, Jakarta.]**
- 364 **Jan 30** **The Foreign Minister of Britain, Sir Geoffrey Howe, concludes that 'The people of East Timor deserve the opportunity to determine their own future'. [Letters, Catholic Institute for International Relations, London.]**
- 365 **Feb 1** **A document is published containing all Mgr Belo's statements since he became Apostolic Administrator of East Timor in May 1983. [*Em Timor-Leste, Paz e Possivel*, Lisbon, no. 1.)**
- 366 **Feb 12** **A letter written in July 1984 to Mgr Costa Lopes is received in Lisbon. It describes *Fretilin* attacks on Lacluta and other towns and claims that political prisoners are being moved from Dili to Jakarta. [*Letter* sent to author.]**
- 367 **Feb 13** **A report on the current situation drawn up by *Fretilin*'s leadership is broadcast from East Timor. It describes how people are forced to defend resettlement villages and are unable to tend their crops. Entire villages have been eliminated in 'reprisal' operations. Preparations are already in hand for elections to be held in April 1986. 5,000-6,000 Indonesian soldiers have been killed since the 1983 ceasefire. [*Fretilin delegation at the UN*,: *Press Release*, New York.]**

- 368 **Feb 20** The U.N. Human Rights Commission receives submissions on East Timor. [*Press Release, Pax Christi, Geneva.*]
- 369 **March 1** Mgr Belo states that he has a list of people killed in the Kraras massacre. [See 285.] [*Reuters, Jakarta.*]
- 370 **March 3** Mgr Belo publishes a pastoral letter on birth control, criticising the methods of compulsory contraception promoted by Indonesian officials. [The *Letter*, titled *Keluarga Berencana* or Responsible Parenthood, was received by CIIR and reviewed in *Timor Link*, London, no. 3.]
- 371 **Mar. 5, 7, 14** Filing reports on a 72-hour visit to East Timor, journalist Steven Jones reports on plans to establish a sugar mill in Lospalos, and notes a strong Indonesian military presence in Baucau. He claims that, in the last few months, 'the military is taking a more defensive posture, 'protecting important villages and defence projects, rather than seeking out the enemy'. He visits the Catholic Relief Services project in Maliana. After meeting Mgr Belo, he reports on the Kraras massacre. [See 285 and 369.] He describes the Indonesianisation of the administration and visits Atauro island. Governor Carrascalao claims that all detainees will be released from Atauro by the end of the year. Three quarters of the prisoners held on the island come from the Viqueque area. [*Asian Wall Street Journal.*]
- 372 **March 15** After having received a series of submissions, **the U.N. Human Rights Commission removes the charges against Indonesia on East Timor from its agenda.** [*Reuters, Geneva.*]
- 373 **March 20** The Governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, reports that 750 families from the Indonesian islands of Java and Bali are being settled in the southern region, which is 'peaceful and fertile'. 50 Balinese farmers have already been resettled in Maliana. [*Kompas, Jakarta.*]
- 374 **April 1** A detailed account of the Kraras massacre, based on reports from refugees and church sources in East Timor, is published. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 68.)
- 375 **April 8-11** The Ambassadors of Nigeria and Venezuela visit East Timor, together with the deputy chiefs of the missions of France and Japan. [*Antara, Jakarta.*]
- 376 **April 11** The Indonesian military purchase more arms from the UK as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visits Jakarta. Three 'Tribal' class frigates are bought together with 5 more 'Hawk' trainer/ground-attack aircraft and 100 million worth of 'Rapier' missiles. [*Daily Telegraph, London.*]
- 377 **April 12** British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher meets President Suharto in Jakarta. She raises the issue of East Timor and calls for the entry of the International Red Cross. [*Guardian, London.*]
- 378 **April 26** **The Indonesian press describes the birth control**

campaign in East Timor. Since there are insufficient jobs, housing and schools, it is necessary to limit the number of children being conceived. 31.7% of 'productive couples' have had Depo Provera injections. The World Bank is funding the programme, which is described as one extremely decisive aspect of resolving the population problem in the territory. [*Berita Yudha*, Jakarta.]

- 379 **April 29** A German parliamentary delegation visits East Timor and concludes that 'The whole island gives the impression of being under arrest. No-one smiles'. [*Der Spiegel*, Bonn.]
- 380 **May 8** **One hundred and thirty-one members of the U.S. Congress send a letter to President Reagan**, before his visit to Lisbon, expressing concern over the 100,000 deaths in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion, and the shortage of medical and relief supplies. [*International Herald Tribune*, Paris, 11-12/05.]
- 381 **May 11** A letter to Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar from the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Mgr. Belo, is published. In it, Mgr. Belo denies writing the report of January 1 criticising the Indonesian Government. [See 359.] [*Indonesian Times*, Jakarta.]
- 382 **May 11-12** President Reagan and Secretary of State George Schultz visit Lisbon. Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama criticises the U.S. Government for not remaining neutral in the East Timor conflict. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 383 **May 18** A speech by *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao, celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT), is broadcast. It details military atrocities against the population. [It is printed subsequently in *East Timor News Agency*, Sydney, no. 78-80.]
- 384 **May 29** Gen. Murdani threatens to shoot down any Australian aircraft entering air space over both East and West Timor. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 385 **May 29** One of *Fretilin's* external representatives, Abilio Araujo, provides a detailed account of events in East Timor since the 1983 cease-fire agreement. He describes how the Indonesian military have concentrated less on 'fence of legs' operations and more on aerial and naval bombardment since September 1984. Since this time several local cease-fires have also been in operation in the centre and east of the country. [*Tribune*, Aus.]
- 386 **June 22** Gen. Murdani claims that *Fretilin's* activities 'have virtually ceased'. [*AFP*, Jakarta.]
- 387 **June 29** Governor Mario Carrascalao criticises a recent motion passed by the European Parliament condemning Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and calling for an act of self-determination. [*AFP*, Jakarta.]
- 388 **July 3** A U.S. Government State Department report estimates that there are about 12,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor.

- 389 **July 3** A detailed account is published of the operation of East Timor's birth control programme. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 70.]
- 390 **July 6/7** It is reported that the Indonesian military lost 200 troops in a recent clash with *Fretilin* troops. [*International Herald Tribune*, Paris.]
- 391 **July 7, 10** Reporting from East Timor, a correspondent of AFP states that he was not allowed to visit Baucau because it was considered 'unsafe'. [AFP, Dili.]
- 392 **July 13** It is reported that a leading *Fretilin* commander, Mauk Morak, has defected to the Indonesian military. [London *Guardian*, *Canberra Times*, 12/07.]
- 393 **July 15** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar, speaking of Mgr Belo, describes him as 'well-meaning', and 'upset' because his name had been used improperly in the international arena. Mochtar claims that Belo has sent him a telegram, retracting his statement of January 1st. [See 359.] [*Indonesia Reports*, U.S., no. 9, July.]
- 394 **July 19** Reporting from East Timor, a New York Times journalist claims that 1,000-2,000 Indonesian troops have been killed since the beginning of the year. [*New York Times*.]
- 395 **July 20** It is reported that, in a letter to Foreign Minister Mochtar, Mgr. Belo has officially denied the letter of January 1 1985. [See 359.] [*Antara*, Jakarta, press release.]
- 396 **Aug 2** Colonel Rudito, who replaced Colonel Purwanto [See 292], is himself replaced by a new commander, Colonel Rahardjo, who states that Rudito was 'too heavy-handed'. [*Asiaweek*, Hong Kong.]
- 397 **Aug 8** **Reporting on a short trip to East Timor, a journalist states that the Chinese population has been 'reduced' from 20,000 in 1975 to 'a few thousand'. He reports fighting five miles from Dili and describes recent transmigration and trials of political prisoners in Dili Court.** [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 398 **Aug 9** Interviewed in Jakarta on his return from a trip to Rome, Mgr Belo quotes the Pope as saying that 'Now East Timor presents the most difficult problem in the world'. [Melbourne Age.]
- 399 **Aug 10** The Lusophone countries criticise Indonesia's occupation of East Timor at the U.N. Decolonisation Committee's annual Hearings on East Timor in New York. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 400 **Aug 11** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar concludes that East Timor is no longer a serious issue at the U.N. [*Press Conference*, *Antara News Agency*, Jakarta.]
- 401 **Aug 12** The International Red Cross signs a new agreement with the Indonesian Government to make a series of three visits per

year to East Timor's prisons, and to survey 25 villages during 1985. [Information received from the *Australian Council for Overseas Aid*.]

- 402 **Aug 13** The Dutch Ambassador visits East Timor at the request of the Portuguese Government. [*AFP*, Hong Kong.]
- 403 **Aug 16** In a speech marking the fortieth anniversary of Indonesian independence, President Suharto justifies the invasion of East Timor as 'a positive response to the people's movement in East Timor to set themselves free from the shackles of foreign colonialism'. [*AFP*, Hong Kong.]
- 404 **Aug 18** **Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke recognises Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.** [*Australian*, 23/08.]
- 405 **Aug 21** Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar welcomes Hawke's statement and claims that 'East Timor's desire for integration was carried out legally'. [*AFP*, Hong Kong.]
- 406 **Aug 22** The Portuguese Government voices its displeasure at Australia's official change of policy, recalling its Ambassador. [*AP*, Lisbon.]
- 407 **Aug 22** The U.N. General Assembly votes to defer action on the East Timor issue pending the Secretary-General's report on the talks initiated in 1983 under U.N. auspices between the Portuguese and Indonesian governments. [See 293.] [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 408 **Aug 28** Cardinal O'Connor of New York sends a letter of support to Mgr Belo, on behalf of the United States Catholic Bishops' Conference. [*Press Release*, from the Cardinal's Office.]
- 409 **Sept 3** Details of the trials of East Timorese political prisoners are reported in the Indonesian press. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 410 **Sept 4** It is reported that when Mgr Belo travelled to Rome in August [See 398], he visited the Portuguese Embassy and met with Prime Minister Mario Soares, who was reportedly impressed by his analysis of *Fretilin* as a nationalist movement. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 411 **Sept 10** The Indonesian press reports that only about forty per cent of the development funds designated by the government for East Timor actually reaches the people of the territory. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 412 **Sept 10** The Australian Government awards four new exploration permits to oil companies to operate in the Timor Sea, worth \$Aus. 230m. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 413 **Sept 10** *Fretilin's* external delegation publishes a document received from East Timor on the organisation of areas controlled in the Eastern sector of the territory. [*Fretilin Information Office*, Lisbon.]

- 414 **Sept 14** **Reports from East Timor describe intense aerial bombardment between August 1983 and June 1984:** A simultaneous bombing by four F-5s and four OV-10s, with a minimum of ten bombardments per day. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 415 **Sept 19** With minimal support, the East Timor issue is maintained on the agenda of the Non-Aligned Movement at the meeting of its constituent member ministers in Luanda. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 416 **Sept 23** Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama addresses the U.N. General Assembly. He argues that East Timor should be dealt with primarily as a humanitarian, cultural and religious issue. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 417 **Sept 24** **The first formal diplomatic contacts are established between the Portuguese and Indonesian Governments since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975.** [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 418 **Oct 7-9** Australian Ambassador to Indonesia Bill Morrison leads a delegation on a brief visit to East Timor. [*Australian*.]
- 419 **Oct 9** A critical assessment of the Morrison delegation's visit [See 418] is broadcast on *Fretilin's* Radio Maubere by President Xanana Gusmao. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 420 **Oct 9** Refugees in Australia learn that 79 East Timorese political prisoners are being tried in Dili. [*Western Australian*.]
- 421 **Oct 18** It is reported that local negotiations between *Fretilin* and Indonesian commanders, held some time in July in the Lospalos area, ended in a 'shoot-out'. [*Australian*.]
- 422 **Oct 23** **Portuguese President Eanes addresses the U.N. General Assembly, stating that 'An act of self-determination must take place in East Timor'.** [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 423 **Oct 27** **The Indonesian and Australian Governments begin discussions for a joint exploration programme in the disputed 'Timor Gap' area, south of East Timor.** [*Australian Financial Review*.] [For a detailed analysis of oil exploration and the Timor Gap issue, see *Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 63.]
- 424 **Oct 29** The Indonesian press reports that justice is often 'executed on the spot' in East Timor. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 425 **Nov 2** A detailed overview of recent events in East Timor is published, focusing on Indonesian military organisation, the funding of East Timor's development, model farms, and strategic settlements. [*Tapol Bulletin*, no. 72.]
- 426 **Nov 16** The British Aerospace Company contracts to supply the Indonesian military with 'Rapier' missiles to the value of 82.7m. [*British Aerospace Company* press release. The deal is analysed in the *Financial Times*, London, 16/12.]
- 427 **Nov 16** In an accompanying arms deal, 600 'Scorpion' tanks are

- supplied to the Indonesian Government by the British company Avis. [*Financial Times*, London, 16/12.]
- 428 **Nov 22** A report details recent International Red Cross (ICRC) visits to East Timor. [*Niugini Nius*, Papua New Guinea.]
- 429 **Nov 23** The ICRC is reported to be making its fifth inspection of East Timor since August 1983. ICRC officials visit prisons in Dili, local gaols, and two prisons in Jakarta. They state that 1,169 prisoners and their families remain in captivity on Atauro island. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 430 **Nov 28** The Indonesian Government states that it intends to set up 400 strategic villages in East Timor. [*Sinar Harapan*, Jakarta.]
- 431 **Dec 4** Diplomatic sources in Jakarta claim that 10-15 Indonesian troops were killed in a *Fretilin* ambush 17 days earlier. It is described as 'the fourth known clash in the last six months'. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 432 **Dec 4** Amnesty International publishes a detailed critique of the trials of East Timorese political prisoners [See 397.] ['Unfair Trials and Possible Torture in East Timor', *Amnesty International*.]
- 433 **Dec 6** 250 Portuguese Members of Parliament call on U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to work for a resolution of the East Timor conflict. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 434 **Dec 9** The Indonesian and Australian Governments announce they will jointly develop the 'Timor Gap'. [See 423.] [*Australian Financial Review*.]
- 435 **Dec 12** Reports are received of an upsurge in fighting in East Timor. Groups of Indonesian soldiers reportedly have been ambushed in recent weeks in the Lospalos and Viqueque areas. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]
- 436 **Dec 16** The American company Exxon gains access to the 'Timor Gap'. [*Financial Times*, London.]
- 437 **Dec 20** A massacre of 60 inhabitants of a village is reported. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 438 **Dec 24** Gen. Murdani makes his Christmas address to the troops in East Timor. He concludes that 'Christ's doctrine is to love peace and not destroy lives'. [*UCA News*, Hong Kong.]



Women of East Timor

1986

- 439 **Jan 21** Photographs of Indonesian military equipment in recent use in East Timor are published. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 440 **Jan 23** *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao writes that 'political pluralism' and a 'mixed economy' are objectives of the independence movement. [*Letter* received by refugees in Lisbon.]
- 441 **Jan 24** Fr. Rudiger Seifert, a Roman Catholic priest from West Germany, visits East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian military. He concludes that the food situation is improving and that integration with Indonesia is in the best interests of East Timor. [*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, West Germany.]
- 442 **Jan 30** A detailed analysis is published of the Indonesian government's birth control campaign in East Timor. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 73.]
- 443 **Feb 4** A detailed commentary is published describing political trials and imprisonment in East Timor. [*A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste*, Lisbon.]
- 444 **Feb 20** A letter written in East Timor on this date is received in Portugal by the former Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, Mgr. Costa Lopes. It describes widespread fighting in the central and eastern sectors; an attempt to capture Xanana Gusmao by Indonesian troops in the Matebian mountain range; the demoralisation of Indonesian troops; movements of prisoners to Atauro island from resettlement camps; local 'fence of legs' operations; and the birth control campaign. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 445 **March 4** Bids from oil companies for drilling sites in the 'Timor Gap' have already brought \$Aus.31.5m. to the Australian government. [*Sydney Morning Herald*, *Jakarta Post*.]
- 446 **March 7** **Reporting from Dili, a journalist (accompanying the Australian Northern Territory chief minister on a 24-hour trip to East Timor) is told by Governor Carrascalao that 100,000 East Timorese have died since the 'civil war' of 1975.** [See 42-48.] The governor also speaks of 'extensive corruption' in the administration, both civil and military. He describes malaria as 'chronic, the number one enemy'. [*Niugini Nius*, Papua New Guinea.]
- 447 **March 16** In his inaugural speech as the new President of Portugal, Mario Soares affirms his government's support for an act of self-determination in East Timor. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 448 **March 29** Indonesian foreign minister Mochtar announces a government

campaign to remove East Timor from the U.N. agenda within the year. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]

- 449 **March 31** In Lisbon, *Fretilin's* external delegation and representatives of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) announce the formation of a coalition. A new Indonesian offensive is predicted in mid-May. It is claimed that the Indonesian government is spending US\$1m. per day on the war in East Timor. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 450 **April 14** It is reported from Dili that 390m. Indonesian rupiahs are to be spent on celebrating the 10th anniversary of East Timor's 'integration' into the Indonesian Republic. [*Antara*, Jakarta.]
- 451 **April 14/9** In the United States, Congressional and Senate members write to President Reagan and Secretary of State Schultz before their forthcoming trip to Indonesia, criticising the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. [*Washington Post*, 24/03.]
- 452 **April 15** Governor Carrascalao reports that there are currently 13,000 widows, 3,000 prostitutes and 7,000 'old and infirm' in the territory. He also states that 'natural disasters' have recently destroyed 4,000 homes in Ainaro. *Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 453 **April 17** **Seventy Japanese parliamentarians from both houses of the Diet call for self-determination for East Timor** in a letter to the U.N. Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar. [*Press Release*, East Timor Co-ordinating Committee, Tokyo.]
- 454 **April 18** **A set of maps — some captured from the Indonesian military and some drawn up by *Fretilin* units in East Timor — is released in Lisbon. They indicate that most military activity is occurring east of a line from Baucau to Viqueque. The Indonesian army appears to have built a military gate across the island, with the aim of moving eastwards from the Baucau-Viqueque line to encircle *Fretilin* areas.** [*Fretilin Information Office*, Lisbon.]
- 455 **April 28** Selections from the letter of February 20 to Mgr. Costa Lopes are published in the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. [See 366.]
- 456 **April 2-May 3** Most of the American press coverage of President Reagan's trip to Jakarta contains material critical of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. It is carried in all major newspapers. [See particularly *Guardian*, London 3/05.]
- 457 **April 29** A detailed analysis of the maps from East Timor [See £454] is published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, U.S.
- 458 **May 16** The Indonesian government announces plans to open an embassy in Harare just before the non-aligned summit conference in Zimbabwe. The Indonesian Home Affairs Ministry begins a tour of 'village community work' being undertaken in East Timor. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 459 **May 20** A statement by *Fretilin* president Xanana Gusmao is received in Lisbon. It criticises the idea of 'autonomy' for East Timor

- within the Indonesian Republic. [*Fretilin Information Office*, Lisbon.]
- 460 **June 6** An international conference of Christian Democratic parties in Lisbon (attended by the Timorese UDT) condemns the Indonesian occupation and calls for the protection of East Timor's 'cultural identity', whatever political solution is found. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 461 **June 27** A letter from Xanana Gusmao to 'a priest in East Timor' argues that Mgr. Belo 'defends integration under the facade of autonomy'. Gusmao also claims that governor Carrascalao supports 'autonomy within a greater Indonesia'. The letter is received in Lisbon. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 462 **July 11** **The European Parliament passes a motion that criticises the Indonesian annexation of East Timor** and calls for an act of self-determination. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 7.]
- 463 **July 11-15** **Portuguese parliamentarian Miguel Anacoreta Correia, of the Christian Democratic Party, visits East Timor.** His report will conclude that although there have been economic gains from integration, 'rejection and mistrust towards Indonesia are generalised feelings throughout East Timor'. His report is presented to the East Timor Commission of the Portuguese Parliament. [Review in *Timor Link*, London, no. 7; see also *Christian Science Monitor*, U.S., 26/08.]
- 464 **July 17** Governor Carrascalao is reported to be critical of Indonesian control over East Timor's administration. [*International Herald Tribune*, Paris.]
- 465 **July 17** The Indonesian press covers the 10th Anniversary celebration in Dili of East Timor's integration. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 466 **July 19-20** Articles supportive of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor are published by Veronica Stein in the German press [notably *Süddeutsche Zeitung*]. They are critically assessed in *Timor Link*, London, no. 8.
- 467 **July 19** The Indonesian press publishes descriptions of 'development villages' in East Timor. [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 468 **July 22** Governor Carrascalao, addressing a seminar to 'commemorate integration' in the offices of the Indonesian newspaper *Sinar Harapan*, stresses that problems still to be solved include family planning, transmigration, village administration, citizenship, and control over development. [*UCA News*, Hong Kong.]
- 469 **July 30
-Aug 1** It is reported that a new transmigration site has been created in Viqueque to accommodate 100 Christian transmigrant families from Jember in East Java. The government had planned to create 100 such model villages in 1986 and another 126 in 1987, but could not do so for lack of funds. [*Mutiara*, Jakarta.]

- 470 **Aug 1** Mgr. Belo suspends the teaching of 'Pancasila' (official doctrine of the Indonesian state) in protest against the recent beating of a priest by Indonesian soldiers. [*Catholic Herald*, London.]
- 471 **Aug 5** The United States 'Government Committee on Foreign Assistance and Related Programmes Appropriation Bill' for 1987 contains criticisms of human rights abuses and population control in East Timor. [U.S. Govt. publication, Washington.]
- 472 **Aug 5** A report published by the U.N. Secretariat claims that the situation in East Timor is improving. It cites the favourable comments of a Swedish government official who visited the territory recently. [*AFP*, New York.]
- 473 **Aug 9** Reports from Dili describe the commercial monopoly operated by the military-sponsored trading company, P.T. Denok. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 474 **Aug 10** The local superior of the Salesians (the religious order to which Mgr. Belo belongs) claims in Jakarta that the 'dispute' between the Indonesian authorities and Mgr. Belo has been resolved. [See 470.] [*Catholic Leader*, Brisbane, Aus.]
- 475 **Aug 11** Information is provided by the Indonesian government about economic matters relating to the occupation of East Timor, including cattle-raising, the future of teak, and transmigration (with particular reference to the Kovalima area in the south-west). [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 476 **Aug 15** The U.N. Special Committee on Decolonisation hears submissions on East Timor by groups from fourteen countries. [*Committee press release*, New York.]
- 477 **Aug 18** The delegations of *Fretilin* and the UDT release in Lisbon a communique on Anacoreta Correia's visit to East Timor. [See 463.] [*Fretilin Information Office*, press release, Lisbon.]
- 478 **Aug 19** A new university has been established in East Timor, and is enrolling its first students. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 479 **Aug 22** The Indonesian ambassador to the U.N., Ali Alatas, states that 'Indonesia is ready to face the East Timor question'. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 480 **Aug 27** The arrest in Jakarta of an East Timorese student, Antonio Goncalves, is reported. A letter received from East Timor also claims that people have been arrested and tortured for receiving information from Goncalves. His arrest is followed by that of two others: Joao Freitas de Camara and Francis Fernandes de Sousa. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 481 **Sept 5** It is reported from Jakarta that three East Timorese students attending the Roman Catholic Atma Jaya University in Jakarta have been arrested. [Information received from Jakarta by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London.]

- 482 **Sept 8** A new agricultural school is opened in Dili. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 483 **Sept 11** Governor Carrascalao's comments at the *Sinar Harapan* seminar [See 468] are reported in the Japanese press. [*Yomiuri Shimbun*.]
- 484 **Sept 15** Letters from Dili describe the re-arrest of former Atauro detainees. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 485 **Sept 16** The U.N. agrees a motion, sponsored by Malaysia, that postpones further discussion of East Timor until the Secretary-General delivers his final report on negotiations between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments. [*United Nations* press release, New York.]
- 486 **Sept 19** Letters describe a wave of arrests in eastern areas, with those arrested being taken to Baucau. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]
- 487 **Oct 1** Gen. Murdani urges East Timorese villagers 'to call on their brethren who are not yet conscious to rejoin their families'. [*Pedodaman Rakyat*, Jakarta.]
- 488 **Oct 3** Governor Carrascalao officially opens East Timor's first university, in Dili. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 489 **Oct 10** Indonesian Home Minister Soepardjo Rustam criticises 'bureaucracy' in East Timor. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 490 **Oct 13** **The Portuguese government refuses to attend a meeting of foreign ministers from the European Community and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)** because of Indonesia's failure to enter into serious discussion of the East Timor issue. [*Le Monde*, Paris.]
- 491 **Oct 26** It is reported from Lisbon that the Portuguese government might accept the result of forthcoming elections in East Timor (to be held in April 1987) as a test of 'support' for integration into the Indonesian Republic. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 492 **Oct 29** A letter received from religious sources in East Timor describes intensive surveillance of Mgr. Belo by the Indonesian authorities. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 9.]
- 493 **Oct 30** The Association of Indonesian (Protestant) Churches (DGI) publishes a document which supports the government's stance and argues that East Timor 'has found its identity' through integration. [*East Timor: a View from the Indonesian Churches*, DGI, Jakarta.]
- 494 **Oct (late)** An interview with *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao contains answers to questions posed via radio. It includes detailed information on transmigration. [*Third World*, no. 4, Lisbon, October 1986.]
- 495 **Nov 2** Photographs of East Timor include images from Atauro island. [*National Geographic Magazine*, U.S.]

- 496 **Nov 6** ***Fretilin's external delegation describes a new offensive in East Timor***, involving fifty Indonesian battalions, twelve of which are searching exclusively for Xanana Gusmao. (*Independent*, London.)
- 497 **Nov 10** Documents received by East Timorese refugees in Lisbon give details of the new offensive, which began in August and early September. The attacks are concentrated in the eastern zone, where troops are penetrating deep into the mountains, leaving East Timorese militia to guard villages. Security has been strengthened around Dili, and bunkers have been built to the west of the city. [*Canberra Times*.]
- 498 **Nov 17** During the Pope's visit to Australia, the East Timorese refugee community delivers a letter requesting him to 'impress on the international community the necessity for a just solution based on our internationally-recognised right to self-determination'. [*Australian Council for Overseas Aid*, press statement.]
- 499 **Nov 20** A Portuguese Parliamentary Commission on East Timor, set up in 1985, concludes that Portugal must play a role in securing the East Timorese people's right to exercise self-determination. The report is approved unanimously by the Portuguese parliament. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 500 **Nov 21** Refugees arrived in Lisbon provide further details of the recent Indonesian offensive. [See 496, 497.] Troop strength has been built up substantially since August. It is reported that two *Fretilin* regional commanders have been killed. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 501 **Nov 25** In a note to the Portuguese President, the three students arrested in Jakarta [See 480], together with a fourth, Abilio Sereno, request political asylum. Intimidated by threats of imprisonment and torture, they fled to the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta, which refused them asylum. (Since 1975, when Portugal severed diplomatic relations after Timor's invasion, the Netherlands has represented Lisbon in Indonesia.) [*Australian Council for Overseas Aid*, press release.]
- 502 **Nov 25** In a letter to the Pope, the Indonesian Catholic Students' Association calls for East Timor to be integrated into the Indonesian Catholic Church. [The Indonesian Catholic journal *Hidup*, Jakarta, no. 4.]
- 503 **Nov 30** An East Timorese priest (now a refugee in Australia) plans to meet the Pope during his Australian visit, to plead the case of East Timor. [*Sunday Times*, N. Territory, Aus.]
- 504 **Dec 20** The Indonesian government purchases Rapier missiles to the value of £40m. from the company British Aerospace. The total value of Rapiers purchased now amounts to £180m. [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 505 **Dec 20** It is reported that the Indonesian government hopes to purchase 600 Scorpion tanks from the British company Avis. [*Janes' Defence Weekly*.]

- 506 **Dec 21** *Fretilin* military successes are reported during the previous month's fighting in the western, central and eastern sectors, notably in the Viqueque area. [*Australian Council for Overseas Aid*, press release.]
- 507 **Dec 24** It is reported that since 1982 825 families have been transmigrated to official sites in Kovalima and Bobonaro. 399 families are from Indonesia and 426 from East Timor. A new resettlement programme is announced for 1987, with Carrascalao's backing. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 508 **Dec 25** A much respected Catholic statue in Dili is smashed; Indonesian military involvement is suspected. [*Australian Council for Overseas Aid*, press release.]
- 509 **Dec 25** Letters received by refugees describe recent conflicts between *Fretilin* troops and the Indonesian army in Viqueque, Suai, and Lospalos. [*Letters*: Lisbon.]



Water carrier, 1974

Photo: Elaine Brière

1987

- 510 **Jan 2** The appointment of a new commander of security operations for East Timor is announced: Brigadier General Mantiri. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 79.]
- 511 **Jan 3** Governor Carrascalao calls on *Fretilin* members 'to come home and build the province'. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 512 **Jan 7** Resettlement plans for East Timor will have to be less ambitious because government oil revenues have fallen. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 513 **Jan 31** The Australian press publishes a photograph of an execution of a *Fretilin* soldier by Indonesian troops. [Melbourne *Age*.]
- 514 **Feb 7** The Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the British parliament publishes a report on Southeast Asia and Indochina in which it recommends that no recognition should be given to Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, but that the Portuguese-Indonesian talks arranged by the U.N. Secretary-General should be supported. [British Parliament, *Report on S.E.Asia and Indochina*.]
- 515 **Feb 10** **In Geneva, after Portugal is appointed to the presidency, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights re-instates hearings on East Timor,** despite strong Indonesian opposition. [*International Service for Human Rights*, Geneva, press release.]
- 516 **Feb 11** Indonesia's ambassador to the U.N., Ali Alatas, says that the forthcoming (April) elections in East Timor may replace a referendum on the territory's future. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 517 **Feb 18** Indonesian education statistics for East Timor are analysed. [*UCA News*, Hong Kong.]
- 518 **Feb 26** One billion rupiahs are to be spent on rehabilitating East Timor's coffee plantations. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 519 **Feb 28** The Indonesian government refuses to allow the four East Timorese students detained in Jakarta to leave the country and criticises the Portuguese government for offering to provide them with passports. [See 480, 501.] [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 520 **March 2** A detailed analysis is published of the forthcoming (April) elections in East Timor. It is also reported that Atauro island prison camp has been closed. [*A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste*, Lisbon, no. 19.]
- 521 **March 6** The Portuguese government vetoes a move by the European

- Community to upgrade its Jakarta office to embassy level. It announces that it will boycott the EC-ASEAN meeting in April, because it will be held in Jakarta. [See 521.] [*Guardian*, London.]
- 522 **March 6** **It is reported from Dili that 38,000 East Timorese children under the age of five are suffering from malnutrition.** [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 523 **March 9** Governor Carrascalao claims that elections are not really needed in East Timor, because the people have already accepted integration. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 524 **March 10** An interview with the four East Timorese students detained in Jakarta is published in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Tokyo.
- 525 **March 13** Reports are received from East Timor of widespread malnutrition and a pre-election offensive by the Indonesian military. [Melbourne Age.]
- 526 **March 16** Information campaigns on the elections are launched officially by the Indonesian administration in East Timor. [*Antara*.]
- 527 **March 17** Vernon Walters, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., states in Lisbon that East Timor is under Indonesian control and that the issue is a matter to be resolved between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments, without outside interference. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 9.]
- 528 **March 19** The death of an East Timorese, Celestino dos Anjos, is described in a letter sent to Colonel Stephenson, his Australian friend during the Pacific (Second World) War. It describes the Indonesian attack on Kraras village in September 1983. [See 285.] [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 529 **March 20** **The launch of a new offensive in the south of East Timor is reported**, involving 30,000 Indonesian troops. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 530 **March 24** Photographs allegedly of recent conditions in Fretilin-held areas are published in Australia. [*The Bulletin*, Brisbane.]
- 531 **March 25** The U.S. Catholic Bishops' Conference issues a statement criticising intimidation of the Catholic Church in East Timor. [*Bishops' Conference*, press release.]
- 532 **March 27** The (Protestant) National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S. (Division of Overseas Ministries) produces a study paper on East Timor. It calls for respect for human rights, improved access, food and health programmes, and a settlement mutually acceptable to both Indonesia and Portugal. [NCCC-USA, *The Question of East Timor*, New York.]
- 533 **March 2** A Swedish journalist, Terja Svabo, visits East Timor. He notes human rights violations, illiteracy and poor health conditions. He interviews the military commander of East Timor, General Yosfiah, and Governor Carrascalao, but is not allowed to interview any priests. [*Svenska Dagbladet*.]

- 534 **March 30** Three assistant regional governors are appointed in East Timor. All are military officers. [*Suara Pembangunan*, Jakarta.]
- 535 **April 2** A detailed account of the four East Timorese students detained in Jakarta is published in *Tapol Bulletin* [London, no. 79.] [See 480, 501.]
- 536 **April 6** The Provincial Parliament approves a budget of 23.4bn. rupiahs for East Timor during 1987-8. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 537 **April 6** French president Francois Mitterand visits Lisbon for two days following an earlier visit to Indonesia. In discussions with the Portuguese foreign minister he states that France will not lobby publicly on behalf of Portugal on the East Timor issue. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 538 **April 8** The Indonesian government orders 397 'bailey bridges', worth 10.7m., from the British firm Mabey and Johnson. They will play an important role in military operations in East Timor. [*Mabey and Johnson*, press release.]
- 539 **April 10** The Australian Catholic Relief Services have annually sent \$(Aus)100,000 to the diocese of Dili via the Indonesian Catholic Institute of Social Research and Development (LPPS) of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference. Mgr Belo, referring to this, claims: 'I never received a dollar from Australian Catholic Relief. If the money went to the Indonesian Episcopal Conference, it is or was used in our name, but certainly not to the benefit of the Diocese of Dili'. [Broadcast on Fretilin's *Radio Maubere*.]
- 540 **April 13** The U.S. Catholic Bishops' Conference officially criticises the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Its statement focuses particularly on the enforced birth control campaign. [*Asian Wall Street Journal*, Hong Kong.]
- 541 **April 15** The Indonesian ambassador to Australia states that there are 15,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor. Photos of life in Fretilin areas are published. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 542 **April 17** Speaking in Bangkok, Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva criticises the elections currently being held in East Timor and strongly condemns the Indonesian occupation. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]
- 543 **April 20** It is reported that Indonesian troops in East Timor number 12,000, 5,000 of whom are engaged in 'search and destroy' missions. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.]
- 544 **April 22** The Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Col. Yunus Yosfiah, states that his priority is to locate Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao. [*East Timor News, Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, no. 1, June.]
- 545 **April 23** Ambassadors to Indonesia from several countries turn down foreign minister Mochtar's request to accompany him on a pre-election tour of East Timor. [*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Hong Kong.]

- 546 **April 23** Church authorities in Indonesia call for the removal from East Timor of two priests whom they claim oppose the Indonesian occupation. Fathers Joao Felgueiras and José Martins, both Jesuits, have taught at the Dili seminary since the early 1970s. [*Australian*.]
- 547 **April 23** The statement by the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference [See 540] is cited in the U.S. Congressional Record.
- 548 **April 24** Cardinal Casaroli, Vatican secretary of state, visits Lisbon and discusses East Timor and Macau with the Portuguese president, prime minister and foreign minister. He tells journalists that, 'thanks to the missionary efforts of Portugal, the church in Timor is an important space in the vast Catholic community'. [*A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste*, Lisbon, no. 20.]
- 549 **April 25** **Election results from East Timor are published.** They show widespread majority support for *Golkar*, the party sponsored by the Indonesian military. Governor Carrascalao is reported to be 'too excited for words' about the conduct of the elections. [*Antara*, Jakarta.]
- 550 **April 25** Gen. Murdani states that 'the time has come for East Timorese to stop daydreaming and jointly work to further develop that part of Indonesia'. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 551 **April 25** It is reported that altogether there are 20,000 legal and illegal transmigrants in East Timor; and that 30 Indonesian battalions (30,000 soldiers) are present in the territory. [Broadcast on Fretilin's *Radio Maubere*.]
- 552 **April 25-30** U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar states in Lisbon that his aim is to find a 'global solution' to the East Timor issue, and that it is for Indonesia and Portugal to find the solution. His role is to be a 'bridge' between the two parties. The Portuguese prime minister expresses confidence that the U.N. will reach an agreement 'that would safeguard the dignity, the cultural and religious identity, as well as the aspirations of the Timorese people'. [*Expresso*, Lisbon.]
- 553 **April 30** **It is reported that during the recent elections in East Timor everyone was required to vote in their 'place of origin'**, as stated on their voting cards. Because so much resettlement had occurred since the late 1970s, 'place of origin' was defined as the earliest place of resettlement. As a result '...many people had to cover long distances by foot, carrying food and drink with them for the long gruelling day'. [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta.]
- 554 **May 2** Governor Carrascalao stresses that unemployment will soon emerge in East Timor since jobs will not be available for all high school graduates. He proposes to build polytechnic schools and twenty vocational schools in the next two years, and to develop a 'mining sector', arguing that East Timor has 'five colours of marble which cannot be found anywhere else'. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 555 **May 3** The heir to the Portuguese throne, D. Duarte Joao, calls for

East Timor to have an 'autonomous status' as a step towards independence or some form of association with Portugal. [*O Dia*, Lisbon.]

- 556 **May 19** Portuguese president Mario Soares discusses East Timor with U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz in Washington. [*Diario de Lisboa*.]
- 557 **June 5** **Forty Members of the U.S. Senate criticise the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.** Their letter is released to the press on August 3 and receives widespread coverage in both the American and Portuguese press. [*New York Times*, 5/08.]
- 558 **June 6** The *Associacao Politica Regional de Intervancao Local*, a political and cultural association formed during Maria Pintassilgo's campaign for the presidency of Portugal, holds a conference on East Timor in Oporto which calls for a negotiated settlement and support for *Fretilin*. [*Journal de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 559 **June 6** Following the call for removal of two Portuguese priests from East Timor [see 546], Jesuit priests in the territory are informed by the head of the Jesuit Order in the Southeast Asian region that, with the blessing of Rome, they are to integrate with the Indonesian Jesuits. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 560 **June 7** Frans Seda, member of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission in Rome and a leading Catholic politician in Indonesia, calls in a document for East Timor's Catholic church to be integrated with the Indonesian Catholic church. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 81.]
- 561 **June 10** *Fretilin* documents reach Lisbon. They include letters from Xanana Gusmao to the Portuguese Christian Democratic Party and to Anacoreta Correia [see 463]; descriptions of the military situation; a 15 page hand-written letter by Gusmao listing the names of 900 East Timorese executed in the eastern zone since 1976; and reports on the transmigration and birth control programmes. With these are documents captured from the Indonesian army, including three maps covering the areas of Barique, Kiras and Viqueque, with descriptions of their respective socio-economic situations. [See *Timor Link*, London, nos. 10 and 11, and *Tapol Bulletin*, London, nos. 82 and 83.]
- 562 **June 16** Portuguese President Mario Soares, addressing the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, refers to the denial of human rights and self-determination in East Timor. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 563 **June 18** Following a meeting with the President of the International Red Cross in Geneva, Portuguese President Mario Soares describes the East Timor situation as 'difficult'. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 564 **June 25** A document written by East Timorese students in Jakarta and Dili criticises the conditions under which the April elections

were held [see 549, 553] and describes the general situation in East Timor. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 10.]

- 565 **July 4** In a communiqué issued in Lisbon, *Fretilin* states that its forces have killed at least 162 Indonesian soldiers since November. It claims that in April the Indonesian army called off *Operasi Kikis* which had targeted *Fretilin*'s main commanders. [AFP.]
- 566 **July 14** Documents reaching Lisbon from students in Dili report a new Indonesian offensive. Many troops have been disembarked at Baucau military airport and a new military commander, Colonel Soenato, has taken up his post. [*News from East Timor*, sent on behalf of the 'Commission for National Resistance' by Timorese students in Indonesia and East Timor.]
- 567 **July 14, 15** Timorese students demonstrate against pro-Indonesian discrimination in East Timorese schools outside the Governor's house and the *Golkar* Office in Dili. [*Radio Maubere*.]
- 568 **Aug 6** After a 24-hour visit to East Timor, Nuno Rocha (editor of the Portuguese magazine *O Tempo*) urges the Portuguese government to resume negotiations with the Indonesian government, on the assumption that integration with Indonesia is the only feasible goal. [*O Tempo*, Lisbon.]
- 569 **Aug 13** The U.N. Decolonisation Committee Hearing on East Timor is petitioned by organisations from 16 countries. Several delegates also criticise the Indonesian occupation. [The submissions are summarised in *Tapol Bulletin*, no. 83.]
- 570 **Aug 17** Inaugurating the newly re-elected Social Democratic Government, Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva states that one of its preoccupations will be finding a 'satisfactory solution' to the East Timor problem. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]
- 571 **Aug (late)** On behalf of Mgr. Belo, a senior Jesuit priest submits a document to the Council of Indonesian Religious Superiors (MASRI). It documents the influx of Muslim teachers and preachers into East Timor and complains of the 'disreputable' behaviour of some Indonesian officials. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 85.]
- 572 **Aug(late)** An interview with an East Timorese refugee, 'Rogerio A.P.', is published. It relates his childhood experiences of the invasion, his time in the liberated areas, and his life under Indonesian rule. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 82.)
- 573 **Sept 2** **The U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (the Human Rights Sub-Commission) adopts a resolution on East Timor** supporting the discussions being undertaken by the U.N. Secretary-General for a negotiated settlement, and requests the Indonesian government to grant improved access to East Timor. [*International Service for Human Rights*, Geneva, press release.]

- 574 **Sept 4** In Lisbon, a spokesman for the new Social-Democratic government states that it has dropped the demand for East Timor's self-determination from its programme because it is seeking greater flexibility in negotiations with Indonesia and a rapid diplomatic solution to the problem. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 575 **Sept 4** The Indonesian press reports that East Timor's Legislative Assembly has nominated Mario Carrascalao as governor for a further five years (after his term expires on September 19). Favourable remarks are made 'on reports that Portugal has dropped the demand for self-determination'. [See 574.] [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 576 **Sept 5** The Indonesian government re-opens talks, encouraged by the Portuguese government's reported statements. [See 574.] [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 577 **Sept 8** The U.N. Secretary-General's report on East Timor is published. It concludes that limited progress has been made to diminish the differences in the positions held by both sides. The General Assembly decides to adjourn debate on East Timor for a further year. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 11.]
- 578 **Sept 15** **It is reported that a member of East Timor's parliament, Clemento dos Reis Amaral, is in favour of sending a parliamentary delegation from Portugal to visit East Timor, as proposed recently by the Portuguese ambassador to the U.N.** [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 579 **Sept 16** The Indonesian Ambassador to the U.N., Ali Alatas, states that the Indonesian government will never allow a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to investigate East Timor. He states: 'We won't change our basic stance. We will never ever welcome investigative visits'. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 580 **Sept 21** The Papal Nuncio in Indonesia, Mgr Francisco Canalini, states that, as long as the international dispute over East Timor's status is unresolved, the Vatican will not transfer the East Timorese church to its Asia department, as this would imply recognising the Indonesian dimension. He concludes that a quick, peaceful solution to the issue is important for East Timorese so that they can lead normal lives. He claims that the human rights situation is better now than in the past. [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta.]
- 581 **Sept 23** **Speaking before the U.N. General Assembly, the new Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, demands that the people of East Timor should be guaranteed their freedom to define their collective destiny, observing the principle of self-determination.** [*U.N. General Assembly Record*.]
- 582 **Sept (late)** Mgr. Belo writes to the Portuguese journalist Antonio Cadeuz to criticise an article he wrote on June 6 about the pressure applied by the Indonesian church on Jesuit priests in East Timor. [The article was published in the Lisbon newspaper *Diario de Noticias* on June 6 and in the Spanish weekly *Vida*

- Nueva* of July 18-25.] Mgr. Belo concludes that, 'The political solution for Timor does not depend on Portuguese priests, on the Portuguese government, on the Indonesian government, nor even on the Catholic Church, but exclusively on the people of Timor, on 'We Timorese who are suffering the consequences of Portuguese decolonisation and the invasion and occupation of our country by Indonesia'. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, no. 4.]
- 583 **Sept 30** Commenting on Mario Carrascalao's re-election as governor, Indonesian Home Affairs Minister Suparjo Rustan praises his efforts to promote development — which, she says, are internationally recognised. [*UCA News*, Hong Kong.]
- 584 **Sept 30** After meeting President Suharto, Governor Carrascalao states that Indonesia has nothing to hide in East Timor, but that, 'We Indonesians born in East Timor do not want investigations because the East Timor problem has already been solved'. [See 578.] [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta.]
- 585 **Oct 5** Twenty prisoners are released from Dili prison. According to Amnesty International (London) 136 political detainees were held in Dili prior to their release: 63 in Becora prison, 73 in Comarca prison, and 62 detainees from the civil guard (HANSIP). [*Timor Link*, London, no. 11.]
- 586 **Oct 13** Interviewed on Lisbon Radio's Domestic Service, *Fretilin* representative José Ramos-Horta estimates *Fretilin's* strength inside East Timor at 13,000. [*Lisbon Radio*, in Portuguese.]
- 587 **Oct 15** A detailed analysis of Portuguese diplomacy on the East Timor issue is produced in Lisbon. [*East Timor News*, Monthly Memo, Lisbon, no. 7/87, 'Portuguese position on question of East Timor'. In English.]
- 588 **Oct 19** Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva is received by the Pope in the Vatican, and raises the issue of East Timor. He requests the Church to intervene, as well as Indonesia, in order that the latter put an end to the continuing atrocities committed in the territory. [*Expresso*, Lisbon.]
- 589 **Oct 20** The Portuguese government re-establishes a Parliamentary Commission on East Timor — the fourth such body since 1982. [*Diário*, Lisbon.]
- 590 **Oct 28** The Inter-Parliamentary Union passes a resolution condemning the Indonesian occupation of East Timor at its 78th conference in Bangkok. [*Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon.]
- 591 **Oct 28** Father Felgueiras [see 546] plans to travel to Rome in April to present his case and that of the other Jesuits in East Timor to the Curia General. It is reported that Fr Felgueiras has now been allowed to return to Dili and that the decision of the Indonesian Jesuit provincial has been overturned by the Superior General in Rome. [See 559] [*Diário de Notícias*, Lisbon.]

- 592 **Nov 14, 17** **It is reported that in the southern region of East Timor thousands of adults and children are short of food.** 38,000 East Timorese children are in a state of malnutrition. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 593 **Nov 15-17** A meeting of groups from the Southeast Asian region is held in Manila, Philippines, to improve the effectiveness of work on East Timor within the region. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 11.]
- 594 **Nov 21** A Canadian parliamentary delegation pays a two-day visit to East Timor, visiting Dili and Liquica. In Dili they call at the university and the Becora prison. They conclude that conditions in the prison are good and that the prisoners are well treated. [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta; also *Tempo*, Lisbon, 10/12]
- 595 **Nov 23** In a meeting in Moscow with Mr Gromyko, Portuguese President Mario Soares denounces the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 596 **Nov (end)** In a message received from East Timor, *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao criticises the U.N. for its inaction on East Timor and states that he has little faith in the Portuguese government. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, no. 6/87.]
- 597 **Dec 2** Part of a report from Xanana Gusmao is published. It describes the history of the resettlement village of Kialerek Mutin, formed from survivors of the Kraras massacre. [See 285.] The report details the oppression of daily life under Indonesian control and documents severe abuses of human rights. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 84.]
- 598 **Dec 12** Col. Soenarto, commander of the Indonesian elite 'red beret' force in East Timor, is replaced and returns to Jakarta. [*Diario de Lisboa*.]
- 599 **Dec 13** A detailed analysis of the current situation in East Timor describes it as a 'hidden holocaust'. [*Boston Sunday Globe*.]
- 600 **Dec 14** Based on refugee accounts, a critique of Nuno Rocha's visit to East Timor is published. [See 568.] [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 601 **Dec 18-21** At a press conference held in Jakarta on December 16, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar attributes the Pope's concern about East Timor to inadequate information: 'The Pope has unilateral information'. 'Local culture is not in danger'. 'I think the Pope would praise Indonesia if he knew what we have done for the Catholic Church in East Timor'. Mochtar's comments are repeated by Governor Carrascalao and by a leader of the Indonesian Catholic Community, Frans Seda. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 602 **Dec 23** **Accepting the credentials of the new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican, Pope John-Paul states, 'The Church's universal mission of service leads her to hope that particular consideration will be given to the protection**

of the ethnic, religious and cultural character of the people of East Timor'. [UCA News, Hong Kong.]

- 603 **Dec 23** Reports are received of a *Fretilin* attack on Indonesian forces near Barique, on December 22, killing 20 soldiers and wounding 12. [*Diario de Lisboa.*]
- 604 **Dec 28** Gen. Murdani, making his annual Christmas trip to East Timor, appeals to those 'in the mountains' to surrender. [*Jakarta Post, Kompas, Jakarta.*]
- 605 **Dec 30** Gen. Murdani estimates *Fretilin*'s strength at 500. He concludes that 'several more years will be needed to suppress them totally'. [Broadcast on *Jakarta Radio.*]
- 606 **Dec 31** Governor Mario Carrascalao states that 'although integration exists on paper . . . it still has to be given content'. [*Kompas, Jakarta.*]



Indonesian soldier on patrol in East Timor,
1989

photo:
Jan-Erik Forsberg

1988

- 607 **Jan 4** Refugees from East Timor living in Darwin, Australia, claim that letters received from East Timor describe how on Christmas Eve a group of East Timorese hoisted the Portuguese flag in Dili while Gen. Murdani was visiting the capital. Violent reprisals were taken by the Indonesian military. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 608 **Jan 4** East Timorese residents in Australia who are in contact with relatives in East Timor claim that Javanese are increasingly taking over the best housing and land in the centre of towns and moving East Timorese out to suburban areas. [*Journal de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 609 **Jan 5** In his annual report on foreign affairs, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar states that international interest in East Timor is on the decline, as evidenced particularly in the failure of the U.N. to vote on East Timor for four consecutive years. [*Jakarta Post, Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 610 **Jan 6** In a New Year speech, Portuguese President Mario Soares criticises human rights violations in East Timor, 'where the right to self-determination is completely ignored by Indonesia in contempt of all United Nations guarantees'. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 611 **Jan 8** Fr. Felgueiras, authorised to return to Dili by the Jesuit Superior General in Rome [See 591] has still not received an entry visa to East Timor from the Indonesian government. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 612 **Jan 22-24** The fourth European 'Christian Consultation on East Timor' is held in Lisbon, attended by approximately forty representatives from Christian churches and organisations (both Protestant and Catholic). The conference calls for free access to the territory, condemns human rights abuses and stresses the urgency of finding a political solution. (*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.)
- 613 **Jan 23** It is reported that on November 11 1987 pamphlets were distributed in public buildings in Dili (the governor's office, Indonesian military headquarters, the Provincial Parliament) stating: 'Indonesian dogs out of East Timor! We want the return of the Portuguese, to get self-determination and independence for our country of East Timor'. [*Diario de Noticias*.]
- 614 **Jan 25** Yusuf Wanandi — one of the main architects of East Timor's invasion and co-founder with Ali Murtopo of The Centre for International and Strategic Studies (a government think tank) — is put forward by the Indonesian government as a

- candidate for membership of the Human Rights Sub-Commission in Geneva. [*Tapol* memo; *Expresso*, Lisbon.] Wanandi subsequently polls a low vote and is not elected.
- 615 **Jan 26** Inacio de Moura, a Portuguese civil servant prior to the invasion, is allowed to visit his relatives in Australia. He applies for entry to Portugal as a Portuguese citizen. De Moura acted as a translator for most of the foreign delegations visiting East Timor in recent years. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 616 **Jan 26** Documents received in Lisbon — for example from the 'Timorese Catholic Students' National Resistance' — report that many political prisoners from *Fretilin*'s upper and middle ranks are exiled and isolated on the islands of Roti, Ambon, Sumbawa, and Flores, and in Kupang (capital of West Timor). [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, no. 7/87, based on documents written in July 1987.]
- 617 **Jan 27** **A report on the state of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor is presented to the European Parliament's Political Affairs Commission** by its author, the chair of the human rights commission, the Dutch Member Ms Ien Van der Heuvel. The report calls on the governments of the member states of The European Community to take 'political action for the removal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and for the respect of its people's rights, including the right to self-determination'. [*Projet de Rapport sur le Timor Oriental*.]
- 618 **Jan 30** It is reported that the Portuguese President and government differ in view on the East Timor issue, the former being less willing to compromise than the latter. [*Expresso*, Lisbon.]
 News arrives that a group of parliamentarians visited East Timor on November 17-18 1987. They were followed by a Dutch Christian Democratic Member of the European Parliament, Janssen Van Raay. All these visitors concluded that human rights abuses are no longer in evidence. [*Jakarta Post*, 29/1.]
- 619 **Feb 2** An interview is published with a leader of the UDT in Lisbon. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 85.]
- 620 **Feb 2** A document produced by the 'Clandestine Commission of National Resistance' (comprising East Timorese students in Java and East Timor), which arrived in Lisbon in October, is published in English. It describes the activities of the Indonesian military's economic monopolies, which run the East Timorese economy. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 85.]
- 621 **Feb 3** The subject of East Timor is raised in the U.S. Congress by representative Tony Hall of Ohio, who speaks of human rights abuses in the context of the U.N. Human Rights Commission's hearings on East Timor. [See 573]. [*Congressional Record*, vol. 134, no. 7, pp. 133-4.] The issue is also raised by Congressman Edwards on March 1.
- 622 **Feb 4** The issue of East Timor is raised in the U.S. Senate by Sen. Durenberger, who refers back to a letter signed by 39 Senators and condemns human rights abuses by the

Indonesian military. [*Congressional Record: Senate*, vol. 134, no. 8.] (The letter referred to by Durenberger was published originally in the *New York Times*, 9/08.)

- 623 **Feb 5** The death is reported from Jogjakarta of José de Silva, an East Timorese civil servant and member of *Fretilin* before the Indonesian invasion. According to the police he died as the result of a motorcycle accident. However, his motorcycle was undamaged and the post-mortem indicated that he died from a blow on the back of the head. In July he had written a document criticising political aspects of the Indonesian occupation. [*A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste*, Lisbon, press release.]
- 624 **Feb 15** Cases of arrest and detention are reported by refugees arriving in Lisbon. Among them is the case of seven people arrested in Aillieu in August 1983 on suspicion of having supplied information to the International Red Cross (ICRC) in Dili about the existence of two camps (Asserimou and Mau Taru) to which people were deported. For this, they were tortured, tried and given one to three year sentences. The ICRC knew the details of their cases, but could not prevent the reprisals. [*A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste*, Lisbon, press release.]
 The January/February issue of *A Paz e Possivel Newsletter* contains a complete list of reported arrests and human rights violations in East Timor from January 1985 to December 1987.
- 625 **Feb 18** **Indonesian Government representatives invite members of the Portuguese Parliament to send a delegation to East Timor** as an 'observer mission'. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.] They claim that only eleven convicted prisoners are still being held in Dili, and that there is only one prison in the capital. A second prison is being constructed in Maliana. [*Antara*, Jakarta.]
- 626 **Feb 25** Refugees interviewed in Lisbon describe disappearances, torture, imprisonment, religious discrimination, and censorship of mail by the Indonesian military. [*Anglo-Portuguese News*, Lisbon.]
 The Portuguese organisation *A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste* publishes a list of 439 people arrested, tortured, injured, executed or reported missing in East Timor during 1985 and 1986. The report is presented to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, meeting in Geneva.
- 627 **Feb 26** During a visit to the U.S., Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva states that, 'There is no reason for international public opinion...to forget the situation of East Timor'. He compares East Timor to Cambodia and Afghanistan. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 628 **March 9** Reports from East Timor describe an upsurge of fighting, with increases in *Fretilin* ambushes, an infiltration of *Fretilin* troops into Baucau, and *Fretilin* attacks in areas near the border with West (Indonesian) Timor. 'Fence of Legs' operations are again underway, and military check-points are being re-opened. It is also reported from Jakarta that East Timorese students are

under continual surveillance, and that in future the Indonesian Government will not be sending any more East Timorese students to study in Jakarta. During December and January, it is reported, 5-6 children were dying daily in Dili's hospital for lack of medical assistance, whereas Indonesian transmigrants' children in the same hospital are well-treated by Indonesian doctors. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, no. 2/88.]

A meeting of the Portuguese Government's Council of State is held to decide on whether or not to accept an invitation by the Indonesian government for a parliamentary delegation to visit Indonesia and East Timor [see 625]. The Council decides to leave the final decision to the Portuguese parliament. [*Diario de Noticias*.]

- 629 **March 9** **Refugees who have been victims and eye-witnesses of torture by the Indonesian military are interviewed.** They claim that torture has been practised systematically and extensively since 1975, and is continuing. Specific case-studies are documented. [*The Globe and Mail*, Toronto.]

It is also reported that a radio monitoring project, funded largely by the Japanese government, has enabled the military to set up monitoring stations throughout Indonesia. One station built just outside Kupang in West Timor may be being used to intercept and block *Fretilin* radio communications inside East Timor. [*Japanese Groups on East Timor*, Tokyo, press release.]

The Plenary Session of the European Parliament approves a draft resolution, condemning the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, 10/03.]

The Coalition of *Fretilin* and UDT in Lisbon [see 449], now known as 'the East Timorese National Convergence', produces a document entitled 'East Timor: State of Affairs and Proposed Solution'. It is handed to the Portuguese President and to members of the Council of State. [*Jornal de Noticias*, Lisbon.]

- 630 **March 14** The European Working Group for Ecumenical Relations with Indonesia (EUKUMINDO) — an association of Protestant mission organisations — publishes a draft position paper on East Timor. It calls for improved access to the territory, criticises the lack of food and medical care — especially in the conflict zones — condemns human rights violations, and calls for a solution 'which is acceptable to all sides, so that the armed conflicts and the fear of lawlessness may cease'. The publication of this document seems to confirm that the Protestant church is taking the East Timor issue more seriously than previously. It follows statements by the U.S. Protestant churches [see 532] and by the Uniting Church in Australia. [Titled *The Uniting Church and East Timor*, the latter report is published by the Social Responsibility and Justice Committee of the Uniting Church and is reviewed in *Timor Link*, London, no. 12.]

- 631 **March 14** **Inacio de Moura [see 615] is interviewed by many Portuguese newspapers.** The main points from these interviews are summarised in *East Timor News*. Moura claims

that 200,000 East Timorese have been killed since the invasion, and that the populations of many villages have been eliminated. He describes various aspects of the occupation: concentration camps, aerial warfare, torture, imprisonment (which he claims is extensive but hidden) and the absence of freedom of expression and association. He states that medicines provided by the International Red Cross never reach the population. Since the invasion the Indonesian military have suffered approximately 15,000 casualties, and now have 20,000 troops in East Timor. He says that *Fretilin* controls over 100 villages in the east, and has 1,500 people in arms. The Indonesian troops 'have no will to fight' any more. Javanese control all commerce. Moura details how visits to East Timor by foreign delegations are stage-managed in every respect. He claims that the Indonesian military are anxious to expel Mgr. Belo. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, No. 2/88.]

- 632 **March 14** An official document, hidden for 12 years, is smuggled out of East Timor and published: it contains instructions to East Timorese officials on how to prepare for the visit of Mr Winspeare Guicciardi, U.N. special representative, in February 1976. [See 61, 66.] Hidden by a local official and smuggled into West (Indonesian) Timor during 1987 under the floor carpet of a car, it provides a detailed description of the Indonesian military's techniques for preparing visits by foreign delegations. These include: dressing soldiers as civilians, selecting and intimidating respondents, and rehearsing question and answer sessions. [Reprinted in *Timor Link*, London, no. 12.]

A document published by Amnesty International (London) details instances of alleged torture in Dili in late 1986 and early 1987. [*Amnesty International*, Index ASA 21/05/88.]

- 633 **March 20** Interviewed in Jakarta, Governor Mario Carrascalao states that the armed conflict with *Fretilin* forces is confined to the eastern and south-eastern areas of East Timor. He sees his goals as being to end official corruption, develop the economy more rapidly, safeguard local cultures, and promote tourism. He claims that 'under one hundred' Indonesian soldiers are killed in the war each year. It is also reported that the International Red Cross estimates the total number of prisoners in the territory to be 48, and claims that 'some traditional hamlets are being re-opened after years of forced relocations in 'protected villages'. [*New York Times*.]

- 634 **March 24** A few hours after his investiture, the new Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, states at a press conference in Jakarta that the integration of East Timor into Indonesia is a 'fait accompli', and that 'If the U.N. still does not recognise Jakarta's sovereignty, it is due to internal differences among the Portuguese'. [*Seculo*, Lisbon.]

- 635 **April 2** Interviewed in an Indonesian weekly, Foreign Minister Alatas states that in 1975 the majority of East Timorese wanted integration within Indonesia. [*Editor*, Jakarta.]

- 636 **April (mid)** Amnesty International (London) publishes a document describing the 1986 political trials in Dili. It lists 150 political detainees released since August 1987. [Amnesty International, London, 'East Timor: Unfair Trials and Further Releases of Political Prisoners'.]
- 637 **April 16** Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas states that East Timor is still a 'nuisance' in the international arena, since it has created 'many misunderstandings and misconceptions, even among our allies, thus creating difficulties in our diplomatic work'. [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 638 **April 18-21** The 14th General Assembly of NGOs, meeting in Brussels, passes a resolution in favour of self-determination for East Timor and requests donors to provide aid directly to East Timorese organisations, rather than through Indonesian channels. [*Timor Link*, London, no. 14.]
- 639 **April (end)** **A refugee who escaped from East Timor in October 1987 provides a detailed critique of the 1986 trials of political prisoners in Dili.** He describes trial procedures, interrogations, the methods used to obtain false confessions, and the use of Indonesian-appointed defence lawyers. He also describes in detail the 1983 cease-fire, and the 1981 'fence of legs' operation, claiming that 10,000 East Timorese were killed by Indonesian troops in an encirclement campaign in the Aitana region. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, nos. 86, 87 and 88.]
- 640 **May 2-3** **For the first time, the twelve European Community governments adopt a common position on East Timor,** after a meeting in Düsseldorf between foreign ministers of the European Community and the Association of South East Asian nations (ASEAN). They agree to support the talks being held between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General, with a view to achieving a fair and internationally acceptable settlement which will safeguard the rights of the people of East Timor and their cultural identity. They also decide to adopt agreed positions in U.N. fora. [*O Seculo*, Lisbon, 3/5, *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, 4/5.]
- 641 **May 4** Portugal's Prime Minister, Cavaco Silva, addressing the Spring Session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg, urges support for Portuguese initiatives on East Timor. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 642 **May 15** Staff of the U.S. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) working on a large agricultural project in Maliana are to leave East Timor and be replaced by local staff working for the Catholic Church. CRS will continue to fund the project, and will also help finance the building of a hospital in East Timor. [*Eglise d'Asie*, Paris.]
- 643 **May 20** René Felbert, Federal Counsellor responsible for Swiss Foreign Affairs, states that Switzerland 'is in favour of Timor's independence', and that it places the question 'on the level of the solutions for Namibia'. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]

- 644 **May 20** A report written by the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association states that the Indonesian government is spending substantial sums on birth control in East Timor. 'In proportion to the number of fertile couples', there are more family planning personnel working there than in Indonesia, though, paradoxically, fewer consultations on birth control are held in East Timor than in the rest of Indonesia. Depo Provera is the most commonly used contraceptive method: 57% of couples used it in April 1986, as opposed to 32% in April 1984. [Data cited in a document published by *A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste*, Lisbon, 'Birth Control imposed in East Timor'.]
- 645 **June 8** Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas accuses Portuguese President Mario Soares of 'distorting history', after Soares criticised Indonesia in a speech in Manila for halting the decolonisation process in East Timor and denying the right of East Timor's people to independence. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 646 **June 8** Speaking during the U.N.'s Third Special Assembly on Disarmament, Portuguese President Mario Soares refers to East Timor and calls for negotiations 'reaching an internationally acceptable solution for the territory'. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]
- 647 **June 10** Soares describes Alatas' statement [see 645] as 'a good sign', because it shows that the Indonesian government is responsive to criticism. [*Expresso*, Lisbon.]
- 648 **June 16** Mgr Belo is appointed titular bishop of Lorium, responsible for the diocese of Dili, East Timor. The diocese is to remain independent of Indonesia, and will continue to be administered by Rome. [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 649 **June 20** **The Governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, asks President Suharto to declare East Timor an 'open province'**, in order to speed up the process of economic development. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 650 **June 21** Responding to Carrascalao [649], Indonesian Minister of the Interior General Rudini states that 'there is no problem, though it all depends on the judgement of the armed forces'. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 651 **June 24** Carrascalao clarifies his statement of June 20, saying he did not suggest that East Timor should be opened up to foreigners. [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta.] Foreign Minister Alatas claims that only 'physical constraints' such as lack of transport now restrict visits by foreigners. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 652 **June 24** The European Parliament's Political Affairs Commission approves (by 15 votes in favour, 10 against, 1 abstention) a report on East Timor drawn up by the Dutch MEP Ms Ien Van Den Heuvel. [See 617.] It concludes that 'the territory of East Timor was illegally annexed in 1975 and since then has been subjected to forcible occupation by Indonesia, a situation which has caused a great number of victims and massive destruction'. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]

- 653 **June 28** Indonesian Minister of Defence General Murdani states that any idea of opening up East Timor 'needs careful consideration'. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 654 **June 28** Following a three-day visit to Lisbon, parliamentarians from Japan, Australia and the U.K. launch 'Parliamentarians for East Timor', which aims to co-ordinate and promote activities in favour of self-determination for East Timor among parliamentarians world-wide. [*Press Release* from the chair of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group, Lord Avebury.]
- 655 **June 29** Indonesian Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, General Try Sutrisno, denies that East Timor is a closed area, stating that 'The region is open just like other provinces, but because it is a young province, it still requires attention'. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 656 **June 29** Indonesian government statistics indicate a sharp increase in unemployment in East Timor but still understate the extent of joblessness, according to East Timor's Governor. Mario Carrascalao also states that 'government administration at lower levels is not functioning'. [*Kompas*, Jakarta.]
- 657 **June (end)** A detailed report is published of military operations in East Timor during 1987. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 87.]
- 658 **July 2** East Timor's governor, Mario Carrascalao, states that development strategies being pursued in East Timor are providing jobs for Indonesians, but not for East Timorese. [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 659 **July 21** The European Parliament officially invites the 'National Convergence' of *Fretilin* and UDT to attend the debate on East Timor in Strasbourg in September. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 660 **July 22** A current affairs presenter employed by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Ms Ilena Eldridge, is dismissed for painting slogans on her house, calling for an Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor. Ms Eldridge lives next door to Joseph Halem, Indonesian Consul in Darwin. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 661 **July 29** **A new Indonesian military offensive has been in operation in East Timor since May.** Generally entitled Operation Clean-Up, its main aim has been to capture leading members of *Fretilin*, notably the President, Xanana Gusmao. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 662 **August 2** A report concludes that more than 50% of couples participating in the Indonesian government's family planning programme in East Timor are using the injectable contraceptive Depo Provera. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 88, August 1988.]
- 663 **August 8-** The 40th session of the U.N. Sub-Commission on the

- Sept 2** Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, held in Geneva, passes a 'no action' motion on East Timor. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon, Sept. 17.]
- 664 **August 10** Reports received from East Timor document harassment, detention and murder of students, together with widespread anti-Timorese discrimination in the schools of East Timor. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, no. 7/8.]
- 665 **August 10** A series of attacks by *Fretilin* forces on Indonesian troops, covering the period December 1987 to February 1988, are reported, notably in Natabora, Viqueque, Laclubar, Remexio and on the outskirts of Baucau. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, 7/8.]
- 666 **August 11** Mgr. Martinho Costa Lopez, former apostolic administrator of Dili, publishes a letter received from *Fretilin* President, Xanana Gusmao. He rejects any proposals for East Timor to become an autonomous province within the Indonesian Republic. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, 7/8.]
- 667 **August 12** The U.N. Commission on Decolonisation discusses the issue of East Timor. [*East Timor News Monthly Memo*, Lisbon, 7/8.]
- 668 **August 13** José Gusmao, cousin of *Fretilin* President Xanana Gusmao, describes how his entire family has been detained in Dili in an attempt to prevent him speaking about East Timor in Australia. [Melbourne Age.]
- 669 **August (mid)** **An East Timorese refugee, Anselmo Aparicio, who left Dili in January 1988, testifies to the U.N. Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.** Describing widespread human rights violations, he concludes: 'Our people are being decimated while the world remains silent'. [*Tapo!* Bulletin, London, no. 87.]
- 670 **August 16-17** A delegation of four members of the European Parliament visits Indonesia and travels to East Timor for a two-day stay. Its members travel by helicopter from Dili to Viqueque, and then to Baucau, calling at a village named Laisorolai de Baixo. They also visit Atauro Island. [*Jakarta Post*, 22/8; *Guardian*, London, 24/8; *Truow*, Amsterdam, 25/8.]
- 671 **August 26** **According to an *Agence France Presse* reporter who visited Dili with the European Parliamentary Delegation [see 670], Catholic Church officials in the territory have been negotiating the surrender of *Fretilin* members.** This is denied both by *Fretilin*'s external delegation in Lisbon, and by members of the Portuguese Catholic Church. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 672 **August 27** Governor Carrascalao asks, 'Why is it that until 1976 when we were colonised, we could move about freely, but now after independence, we cannot move?' [*Tempo*, Jakarta.]
- 673 **August 29** In a report from Dili, *Agence France Presse* correspondent Alan Boebion states that despite the rigorous attempt at 'Indonesianisation' of the population, both East Timorese and

Portuguese traditions and language remain strong. [*O Seculo*, Lisbon.]

- 674 **Sept 2** During a private visit to Lisbon, U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar states that the Portuguese Parliament should accept Indonesia's invitation to visit East Timor, for the Portuguese people to get more detailed information on the situation in the territory. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]
- 675 **Sept 5** Concluding its annual meeting, the Non-Aligned Movement calls in Nicosia for guarantees to respect the right to self-determination. Indonesia fails in its bid to be elected chair of the NAM for the coming year. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 676 **Sept 6** The Indonesian and Australian governments reach an interim agreement to establish a 'zone of co-operation' in the sea between Australia and East Timor (the so-called 'Timor Gap'). This will enable Australian and Indonesian oil companies to exploit off-shore oil reserves in the area. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 677 **Sept 11** The death of José Martins, former member of the *Apodeti* party and founder member of the *Kota* party, is reported. It is believed that he was poisoned while attending a ceremony for East Timorese orphans in Dili. [*Jornal de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 678 **Sept 11** According to reports from refugees in Lisbon, an East Timorese student, Miguel Noronha, was the victim of a fatal road accident early in September. The circumstances of his death were suspicious, similar to that of another East Timorese in Indonesia. [See 623.] [*Jornal de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 679 **Sept 15** **By 164 to 12 votes, with 15 abstentions, the European Parliament calls for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor, and affirms that the people of the territory should exercise their right to self-determination.** [*Tapol* Bulletin, London, no. 89.]
- 680 **Sept 25** During a U.N. General Assembly debate, Portuguese Foreign Minister Deus Pinheiro states that, 'The decolonisation of East Timor is a thorn lodged in the international conscience, and a challenge to the coherence with which the essential principles of decolonisation...are applied and observed.' [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 681 **Sept 26** An Italian priest and two East Timorese are reported to have been arrested in July for having been involved in an attempt to mediate in talks with *Fretilin* leaders in the Baucau region. [*Northern Territory News*, Darwin.]
- 682 **Oct 5** During July several demonstrations by students are held in Dili outside the 'provincial government's headquarters, to protest against Indonesian discrimination in the education system. Arrests follow. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 683 **Oct 26** During a visit to Lisbon by three Australian parliamentarians in June, East Timorese refugees allege that many children have died mysteriously after going to hospital in Dili. [*Sydney Morning Herald*.)]

- 684 **Oct 30** **182 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and 47 members of the Senate send letters to Secretary of State George Schultz**, stating their continuing concern over East Timor. They focus particularly on torture, imprisonment, and denial of access to international human rights organisations. [*Boston Globe*, 11/11.]
- 685 **Oct 31** Five girl students at an agricultural college in Natabora were raped and murdered by Indonesian soldiers on September 16, according to refugees recently arrived in Darwin. [*Melbourne Age*.]
- 686 **Nov 2** A U.S. State Department spokesman, Charles Redman, states to the press that the United States accepts the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia, recognising that there was no valid act of self-determination. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 687 **Nov 5** President Suharto announces that from January 1989 eight of East Timor's thirteen districts will be opened up to entry by Indonesians and foreigners. The districts of Manatuto, Baucau, Viqueque and Lospalos will remain closed. [*Expresso*, Lisbon.]
- 688 **Nov 8** Australia's Northern Territory Minister, Marshal Peron, visits East Timor for four days. The delegation travelling with him includes 12 journalists and 12 members of the East Timorese community in Darwin. [*O Dia*, Lisbon]
- 689 **Nov 16** **The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers, meeting in Strasbourg in mid-September, refers to East Timor for the first time in its final communiqué**, expressing its members' hope for a fair, global and internationally acceptable solution, entirely respecting the interests of the people of East Timor. [*Jornal de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 690 **Nov 16** In an interview given to a radio station in Darwin, *Fretilin* member Alfredo Borges Ferreira states that there are 10,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor, and that one battalion is commanded by President Suharto's son. [*Europeu*, Lisbon.]
- 691 **Nov 16** In response to letters from the U.S. Congress and Senate [see 684], a group of Indonesian parliamentarians drafts a petition to U.S. Members of Congress, denouncing their claims as groundless and obtained from false sources. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 692 **Nov 30** Clean-Up operations are reported to have taken place in June in the areas of Viqueque, Baucau and Lospalos. During August approximately 500 students are reported to have left the Baucau, Ainaro and Natabora areas to join *Fretilin* guerrilla groups. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 693 **Dec 12** During a visit by President Suharto to Dili (Nov 2-3) 200 people were arrested. Many of those detained are reported to belong to a sect called 'St Anthony', which supposedly regroups former members of *Apodeti*. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 694 **Dec 12** **Between October 26 and November 21, a total of 3,000 people were reportedly arrested in connection with**

Intelligence surveillance before and after President Suharto's visit to Dili. [See 693.] [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]

- 695 **Dec 13** An unnamed Foreign Ministry official acknowledges that the Japanese government has helped to finance a facility to prevent illegal radio communications from jamming legal and emergency communication links in Indonesia. [See 629.] He denied that this facility was used against *Fretilin* forces. [*Japan Times*.]
- 696 **Dec 16** A resolution condemning the arrests during Suharto's visit to Dili [see 694] is passed by the European Parliament. [*Diario de Lisboa*.]
- 697 **Dec 24** An East Timorese who left East Timor in autumn 1988 describes to the Portuguese news agency LUSA an incident in August in which *Fretilin* president Xanana Gusmao escaped an Indonesian military encirclement on the banks of the river Galata, near Mount Matebian. The guerrilla forces sustained significant casualties. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 698 **Dec 27** Indonesian Armed Forces commander General Try Sutrisno spends Christmas Day in Dili, accompanied by the commanders of the navy and airforce. He presents 12 statues of the Virgin Mary to the East Timorese. [*Europeu*, Lisbon.]
- 699 **Dec 29** **The Indonesian government grants East Timor 'equal status' with the provinces of The Indonesian Republic.** [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 91.]



Hill tribe woman

photo: Elaine Brière

1989

- 700 **Jan 3** In spite of the Indonesian government's announcement that East Timor has been 'opened up' [see 687], it is reported that anyone entering the territory still has to obtain prior military authorisation, according to Kupang's military commander. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]
- 701 **Jan 10** It is reported that *Fretilin* units attacked Dili's Lahane and Taibesse neighbourhoods on December 31. 84 Indonesian soldiers were killed and a number of East Timorese soldiers deserted their Indonesian units. [*Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon.]
- 702 **Jan 11** Beate Weber, who visited East Timor in August 1988 together with three other members of the European Parliament [see 670], writes an open letter to the Indonesian ambassador in Brussels, asking why it was necessary to arrest 3,000 people during President Suharto's visit [see 694], when she had been assured during her visit that there were no security problems and that the population accepted integration. [*Tapo!* Bulletin, London, no. 91.]
- 703 **Jan 14** A journalist visiting Dili is informed that five regions of East Timor have not been 'opened up' for security reasons. [*Yomiuri Shimbun*, Tokyo.]
- 704 **Jan 26** A new Dili-based newspaper reports that three school girls stated to the newspaper in December that they had been given alleged anti-tetanus injections, which led to a 'misunderstanding' that they had been sterilised. [*Suara Timur Timur*, Dili.]
- 705 **Feb 2** Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas uses the occasion of his end-of-year speech to warn the European Community 'not to be manipulated by Portugal on the East Timor issue', as this could have repercussions on relations between the European Community and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). [*Tapo!* Bulletin, London, no. 91.]
- 706 **Feb 5** During a visit to an orphanage in Venilale, south east of Dili, a reporter is told that Indonesian soldiers lie in wait for *Fretilin* members who come in from outlying areas to try and visit their children and relatives. [*Toronto Star*.]
- 707 **Feb 6** **Mgr Belo writes to the U.N. Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, calling upon the U.N. to hold a referendum on the future of the territory.** [A copy of the letter is received by the *Catholic Institute for International Relations*, London.]
- 708 **Feb 7** Gen. Rudini, Indonesian Interior Minister, advises foreigners intending to visit East Timor to consult the local military

- commander, since a number of armed rebels are still roaming the mountainous areas. [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta.]
- 709 **Feb 15** A document received from East Timor, dated 25th August 1988, describes widespread human rights violations and the concentration of Indonesian forces in the eastern zone during September. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 710 **Feb 15** The Indonesian Episcopal Conference (KWI) congratulates the Indonesian government on its decision to open up East Timor. [*Asia News*, Hong Kong.]
- 711 **Feb 16** Governor Carrascalao complains that East Timor is not being treated in the same way as other Indonesian provinces because people wishing to visit the territory still need a permit from the police in East Nusatenggara province. [*Suara Pembaruan*, Jakarta.]
- 712 **Feb 16** In a letter to Mgr Canalini, the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta, Bishop Belo lists cases of human rights violations in East Timor and analyses the Saint Anthony group [See 693]. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 93; *Timor Link*, London, no. 18/19.]
- 713 **Feb 22** Describing the intense military surveillance operating in East Timor, a journalist describes how many Timorese are afraid to speak to foreigners for fear of subsequent interrogation which may still involve physical as well as mental abuse. [*Guardian*, London.]
- 714 **March 2** Before departing for a four day trip to Australia, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas states that the Indonesian and Australian governments must resume regular bilateral talks 'to avoid small problems becoming big problems'. [*Europeu*, Lisbon.]
- 715 **March 10** The U.S. State Department Annual Report on human rights documents abuses and highlights the continuing restrictions on travel to and from East Timor.
- 716 **March 7-8** Seven British Members of Parliament visit East Timor at the invitation of the Indonesian Parliament. They spend two days in the territory, meeting Governor Carrascalao and visiting Becora prison. They were unable to meet with Bishop Belo, and a request to visit Baucau was turned down 'because no helicopter was available'. [*Tapol Bulletin*, London, no. 92.]
- 717 **March 16** Abilio Sereno, one of the four East Timorese students who sought asylum in Jakarta [see 501], manages to escape. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 718 **March 16** The International Red Cross is allowed to visit one of Baucau's prisons for the first time. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 719 **March 17** **A reporter travelling to Viqueque states that security is tight, and villagers have been ordered to build walls around their settlements.** He claims that 4,000 Indonesian troops are stationed in East Timor, concluding that, 'Most people in East Timor appear to be happy as a part of vast Indonesia'. [*Daily Telegraph*, London.]

- 720 **March 27** An editorial in an Indonesian newspaper calls for a public discussion and open debate on East Timor. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 721 **April 10** Documents dated June 1988 are received in Lisbon. They focus on the role of the Church, and describe how some Christians have been intimidated into assisting the Indonesian military in their plans to persuade *Fretilin* members to surrender. [*East Timor News*, Lisbon.]
- 722 **April 26** In discussion with President Suharto, U.S. Vice-President Dan Quayle raises the subject of East Timor, focusing on the issues of political prisoners and 'repressive practices' in the territory. [*Diario Popular*, Lisbon.]
- 723 **April 29** **It is reported that the Pope will visit East Timor** on October 13 as part of a five-day visit to Indonesia. The Indonesian Armed forces newspaper comments: 'The visit is very positive for Indonesia because it promotes international recognition for the integration of East Timor.' [*Angkatan Bersenjata*, Jakarta.]
- 724 **May 15** The Indonesian and Portuguese governments cannot reach a mutually acceptable decision on whether the proposed Portuguese Parliamentary delegation to East Timor should be 'investigative' or purely 'observe'. [*Jakarta Post*.]
- 725 **June 2** One of the British parliamentarians on a recent delegation to East Timor [see 716] describes her experiences. [*Tapol Bulletin*, no. 93, London.]
- 726 **June 9** **118 members of the U.S. Congress write to President Bush** requesting him to discuss East Timor with President Suharto during the latter's visit to Washington. [*Washington Post*.]
- 727 **June 22** Six East Timorese students take refuge in foreign embassies in Jakarta after the arrest of a student in Bali on suspicion of 'helping *Fretilin*'. [*Guardian*, London.]

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EAST TIMOR: PERIODICALS

In addition to the newspapers cited in the chronology, reference is also made to publications devoted specifically to reporting and analysing events in and about East Timor. For the reader's information, details of these publications are as follows:

East Timor Information Bulletin

Bi-monthly publication of the former British Campaign for an Independent East Timor. Contains detailed coverage of events and a useful chronology during the period of its publication. Back-copies available from the author.

East Timor News

The bulletin of the East Timor News Agency in Sydney, Australia. Produced monthly and then bi-monthly, from 1979 to 1985. Specialising in the publication of radio messages from *Fretilin* transmissions received in Northern Australia, but also collating press articles on East Timor issues. P.O. Box A716 Sydney, Australia.

East Timor News

A monthly bulletin, publishing memo sheets with reports from East Timor, analyses of news coverage of East Timor in the Portuguese press, and details of events concerned with East Timor in the international arena. The bulletin has been published since mid-1987. Rua Pinheiro Chagas 77-2esq., 1000 Lisboa, Portugal.

East Timor Report

Published from 1982-1985 under the auspices of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. It contains valuable information provided from church sources in East Timor and Indonesia. Produced bi-monthly. 183, Gertrude Street, Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065, Australia.

East Timor Update

The bulletin of the East Timor Human Rights Committee in Syracuse, USA. Produced irregularly, containing coverage of events in and about East Timor, with particular reference to lobbying campaigns in the United States and the role of the US Government in the East Timor war. Published from 1978 to 1981. Some back-copies available from the author.

Em Timor-Leste, a Paz é Possível

Published in Portuguese and French. Bi-monthly, 1982 to present. Regular reporting of events in East Timor, with good access to sources in the East Timorese Church. The editors regularly produce issues on particular subjects, eg: imprisonment and trials, and human rights abuses. Rua de Campolide, 215 4-DC, 1000 Lisboa, Portugal.

Tapol Bulletin

Bi-monthly bulletin of the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign. Regularly carries articles providing rigorous and detailed coverage of events in East Timor, particularly as they relate to Indonesian politics. It has produced feature articles on most of the important aspects of the war in East Timor, from resettlement and transmigration to Indonesian military organisation and arms supplies, and has carried several detailed interviews with East Timorese refugees. 111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath, Croydon, Surrey CR4 8HW, UK.

Timor Informations

The bulletin of the French East Timor Committee, and the longest-running regular bulletin on East Timor, from 1975 to the present. It produces excellent updates on the conflict, and is particularly useful in the areas of national and international

diplomacy. Association de Solidarité avec Timor Orientale, BP 235, 07, 75327, Paris, Cedex 07.

Timor Information Service

Bi-monthly, from 1975-1983, publishing letters and radio messages from East Timor, together with articles on all aspects of the war in East Timor. PO Box 77, Clifton Hill, Victoria 3068, Australia.

Timor Link

Published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London. Produced quarterly, 1985 to the present, and containing detailed, regular coverage of news from and about East Timor, utilising church sources in East Timor and Indonesia. CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF, UK.

Timor Newsletter

Published monthly and then bi-monthly from 1980 to 1984. It contains news and reports from East Timor, with invaluable up-to-date information from East Timorese refugees in Lisbon, together with reports on the coverage of East Timor issues in the Portuguese press. Rua Damasceno Monteiro 14a - R/c, 1100, Lisboa, Portugal.