

# Australian agencies urge independent enquiry



# EAST TIMOR REPORT

Fifty Australian development agencies are seeking international support for an independent, international enquiry into East Timor in a bid to focus and invigorate international concern on the issue.

The call for the new initiative is contained in a resolution carried during the annual council of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) held in Canberra in September (full text opposite).

Despite the gravity of the violations of human rights in East Timor over the last twelve years, the Timorese cause has been disadvantaged by the remoteness of the territory, its strategic irrelevance and, not least, its total unimportance to the economies of the major powers in the Asia-Pacific region. However there is persistent evidence that the Timorese people, from the Fretilin guerillas to senior Timorese officials in government, do not accept the status quo as an acceptable end to the matter.

A new initiative, it is hoped, would arouse renewed moral indignation on the issue and bring pressure to bear on those governments in a position to exert influence on the situation.

A comprehensive and thorough report on all aspects of the issue by an authoritative independent commission would be difficult to ignore or dismiss.

To this end it is proposed that a commission of enquiry be set up outside the UN system comprising individuals distinguished by their impartiality and respect for international law and human rights. Maximum credibility and impact should be ensured by drawing commissioners from Latin America, Europe, Asia and Africa to pre-empt criticism of the project as a post-colonial exercise.

The following aims are proposed for the enquiry:

1. to investigate the circumstances in which East Timor was incorporated into Indonesia, and especially whether any acceptable act of self-determination has taken place, as Indonesia has persistently alleged;
2. to examine the course of events in East Timor since 1975, with an emphasis on the extent to which human rights have been violated, and on the responsibility for such violations;
3. to study the present situation in the territory in terms of the position of the East Timorese people, from economic, cultural and political points of view and including, if possible, an assessment of what, at this time, are the wishes of the people themselves;
4. to propose, on the basis of the foregoing, possible solutions to the problem, having regard to a careful assessment of the wishes of the East Timorese people;
5. to examine and report on the international dimensions of the problem. The commission should seek to contact all parties to the question. It should seek to make a visit to East Timor, on the basis of free and unrestricted access to the territory and to the Timorese themselves, including to those who are continuing to resist Indonesia's incorporation of the territory.

The commission of enquiry would need the assistance of

a small secretariat including research specialists with skills relevant to the areas under investigation.

Moral and financial support would be sought from a number of governments, private foundations and parliamentarians in Europe, the US, Australia and elsewhere concerned with the issue.

James Dunn, instigator of the proposal and author of *Timor, A People Betrayed*, has emphasised the need for a thoroughly professional enquiry. 'The more thorough the report, the more credible it will be, and the greater the likelihood that it will have a productive international impact from the point of view of the interests of the Timorese people. The commission would also serve to counter the attitudes of complacency and resignation that grow stronger as the illegal seizure of this beautiful territory and the rape of its charming people fade into history'.

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## ACFOA Council Resolution

At its annual Council held in Canberra, 12-13 September 1987, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) unanimously adopted the following resolution on East Timor.

The situation in East Timor remains essentially one of deep social discord and conflict, official Indonesian claims to the contrary notwithstanding.

This conflict continues to have a tragic effect on the lives of both Timorese and Indonesian families and to impede the development of positive Australian-Indonesian relations.

The principal features of the conflict are (1) the *militarisation* of East Timor evident in the deployment of some 15,000 troops, guerilla warfare in the countryside, and effective administrative control at all levels by the military rather than the Department of Home Affairs, (2) *severe curtailment* of basic freedoms and civil, political and cultural rights and (3) the *systematic Indonesianisation* of the economy, culture and political system resulting in alienation and both passive and active resistance by significant sections of the Timorese people, including within the majority Catholic Church.

With the notable exception of those in control of the Indonesian military, all parties involved wish to negotiate a settlement to this conflict. Fretilin, both within and outside East Timor, have repeatedly called for talks since 1983 and with renewed emphasis since 1985. Fretilin and UDT are now co-operating on this basis. The Catholic Church has also repeatedly called for a democratic solution. And since 1982, the United Nations Secretary-General has facilitated talks between Portugal and Indonesia with a view to 'a comprehensive settlement'.

In recent times, NGOs from Europe, Asia, North America and the South Pacific, Church bodies such as the US Bishops Conference and significant groupings of politicians within the Portuguese and European Parliaments and the US Congress have also urged a

political settlement consistent with internationally accepted principles.

For its part, ACFOA as a Council of development agencies,

believes

1. that the on-going conflict is a block to the integral development of the Timorese people;
2. that the resources used to maintain this conflict are depriving many throughout Indonesia of the means of development in difficult economic times;
3. that the democratisation of Indonesian society is essential to the development of East Timor;

strongly urges

1. that every effort be made to reduce and ultimately withdraw Indonesia's armed forces from East Timor;
2. that the right and need of the East Timorese people to develop at their own pace, within their own culture, out of their own history and on their own land be recognised;
3. that the desire of all Timorese and all political parties representing the Timorese people for talks leading to a negotiated settlement be recognised;
4. that these talks, including those being promoted by the UN Secretary-General, should include the full participation of the Timorese people including the armed resistance and representatives of UDT and Fretilin;

and directs

1. that the ACFOA Sub-Committee on Human Rights in the Region continue to monitor and advise on all aspects of the issue;
2. that the ACFOA Executive seek every opportunity to promote the elements of this policy;
3. that the ACFOA Executive consider the notion of an independent, international commission of enquiry into all aspects of the East Timor question with a view to winning international support for such an initiative;
4. that the contents of this resolution be conveyed to all relevant national and international governmental and NGO bodies. •

## Voting with your feet: the general election and East Timor

Indonesia placed inordinate emphasis on East Timorese participation in the Indonesian general elections held in April, apparently in the misguided belief that this would impress world opinion that the East Timorese happily accepted integration and all its 'privileges'.

However the engineering of East Timorese 'cooperation' was too obvious for the exercise to succeed as an unchallengeable demonstration of democracy. Heavy handed pressures such as the introduction of troop reinforcements were applied. And General Benny Murdani, commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, and Foreign Minister Mochtar (who unbelievably headed up the list of Golkar candidates for East Timor) both visited twice in the weeks preceding polling day.

But the political crudity of the exercise is most clearly illustrated by the polling booth arrangements in Dili.

Unlike procedures elsewhere in Indonesia, voters in East Timor were not allowed to pierce a party symbol on their voting slip and put the slip into a single box. Instead, they

had to register their vote by placing the slip in one of the three party boxes set up for the occasion, a procedure that was barely private as the following account by an observer in Dili shows.

'The three party boxes were placed on a table. The PPP box was on the right corner, the Golkar box was in the middle and the PDI box was on the left corner. The rectangular-shaped table on which the 3 boxes were placed was about 2.5 metres long. The table was hidden by a curtain which did not reach down to the floor, leaving the legs of the table exposed.

'As each voter approached the table to place her/his slip in one of the boxes, the direction in which the person was moving was clearly obvious. To help those monitoring the booths, lists were kept showing into which box each person placed their voting slip. Generally speaking all the people supervising the booths were Golkar members or persons paid by Golkar...'

Not surprisingly Golkar collected nearly 94% of the vote! •

## Human rights abuses continue

'The human rights situation in East Timor continues to be cause for concern', reports Amnesty International in its statement to the UN Committee on Decolonisation delivered in New York on 13 August last.

While acknowledging that restrictions on access, the press and postal and telephone contact make it difficult to monitor the situation in East Timor, the statement makes it clear that enough is known for Amnesty to be gravely concerned.

According to the statement, Amnesty's concerns are extrajudicial executions and torture, failures to prosecute perpetrators of abuses, unfair trials and disappearances.

### Executions and torture

Some cases of extrajudicial executions and torture given in the Amnesty statement are as follows:

- On 22 February 1986 a young man named **Manu Russo** from Uabubo, Viqueque, was arrested by Group 4 of the Indonesian Special Forces following a Fretilin raid on a clinic. He is said to have been severely tortured with cigarette burns, partially submerged in a tank of water and denied food for two days.
- On 23 February 1986 a man named **Armando** from Borala village, an inmate of a prison in Ossu, Viqueque, was killed after being captured trying to escape. He is reported to have been stabbed to death inside the prison by a military officer and a member of the civilian militia.
- On 3 March 1986, a tribal chief in Maluro, Lore, Viqueque, named **Vatxu Tani** is reported to have been killed by members of the First Marine Battalion. He is said to have opposed the cutting down of cassava plants, a local food staple, which the marines believed were providing cover for Fretilin.
- A former *camat* (sub-district head) of Maubisse and once a UDT member, **Aleixo Guterres**, was arrested probably in mid-1986 for collaborating with Fretilin. Indonesian intelligence officers severely beat him and tortured him with lighted cigarettes. He is now in Comarca prison.
- In February 1987, **Vicente de Sousa**, a retired nurse in his fifties, was arrested and accused of desecrating a religious statue in Dili, an act for which many blamed Indonesian soldiers. He was beaten and submerged in a tank, though released a week later through the intervention of local priests.

The risk of torture, says the Amnesty report, is

much higher for detainees held outside the capital of Dili.

### Failure to prosecute

According to the statement, Amnesty believes that over the last 12 years there has not been any official investigation by the Indonesian authorities of any abuse nor has there been any attempt to prosecute the perpetrators of abuses.

As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia has an obligation to uphold international human rights standards, says Amnesty.

'To Amnesty International's knowledge', reads the report, 'not one person has been prosecuted for alleged human rights offences in East Timor despite admissions from the government that some 'mistakes' may have been committed.'

### Unfair trials

The fairness of trials conducted in Dili District Court of persons suspected of Fretilin links is also a continuing concern for Amnesty.

Defendants have had no choice of counsel, no outside observers have been permitted to attend, none of the accused – with one exception – have pleaded not guilty or appealed their sentence, and Amnesty's best efforts to obtain copies of trial documents have been in vain.

The statement notes with approval, however, that **Domingas da Costa**, an East Timorese woman prisoner held in Tangerang prison outside Jakarta since 1984, was transferred to Dili in July 1987 to serve the rest of her sentence there.

Amnesty urges that the remaining 42 (men) prisoners held in Jakarta be also transferred back to Dili to permit access by family and friends.

### Disappearances

Amnesty, says the statement, 'remains deeply concerned at the failure of the Indonesian Government to investigate cases of 'disappearances' and extrajudicial executions which have taken place in East Timor over the past decade'. Lists of names have been submitted by both Amnesty and the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances but Indonesia has not responded.

Relatives have 'a right to know' of the fate or whereabouts of the 'disappeared' says the statement and Indonesia has an obligation in UN terms both to investigate these reports and hold those responsible legally accountable. •

**'Not one person has been prosecuted for alleged human rights abuses in East Timor.'**

## New progress report from UN Secretary-General

The latest progress report on East Timor by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, was issued in New York on 8 September, 1987. The report, in three parts, details UN sponsored diplomatic talks on the issue over the last two years, describes the work of UNICEF and ICRC in East Timor and concludes with some comments on the future of diplomatic efforts to achieve a political settlement.

### 1. Diplomatic activity

Since the UN Secretary-General's last progress report in September 1985, there have been well over 20 consultations on East Timor between Indonesia and Portuguese Government representatives and separately between UN officials and the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal and the Portuguese President.

In February 1987 Mr Perez de Cuellar met with Foreign Minister Mochtar of Indonesia in New York. Three rounds of talks followed in February, March and April. The Secretary-General then visited Portugal from 27-29 April for talks with President Soares, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and then Foreign Minister Pires de Miranda. Following that visit the UN Under-Secretary-General Rafeeuiddin Ahmed met, on 20 May, with Foreign Minister Mochtar. Other talks followed in June, August and early September. The progress report offers no details on the contents of these talks.

### 2. Access, humanitarian aid and detainees

The report notes that the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) project for children, mothers and their families, commenced in 1982, continues to operate in seven sub-districts in East Timor.

The report then reveals that up to August 1987, 380 former Portuguese civil servants and their dependants have been repatriated to Portugal by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) using funds supplied by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). More repatriations are still to come. In November 1986 some East Timorese returned to East Timor from Lisbon under the program.

In addition the ICRC has continued to supply medical and nutritional services in East Timor and to concern itself with detainees. In August 1986, for example, the ICRC surveyed the medical and nutritional needs of some 40,000 East Timorese in 8 districts. Follow up visits to 4 districts took place in 1987.

Timorese prisoners in four gaols, two in Jakarta and two in Dili, have been visited by the ICRC on two occasions in 1987. A third visit will take place later this year. The ICRC and Indonesian Red Cross also have an assistance program for needy families of detainees.

The report further reveals that the detention centre on Atauro Island has been officially closed. All displaced persons wishing to have been returned to the main island (200 chose to remain). The ICRC monitors the resettlement of returnees from Atauro and has seen 2,300 of these people in 1987.

The Secretary-General concludes this section of his report with the hope 'that general access to East Timor can be further improved in the future' and that 'other organisations interested in providing assistance to the people of East Timor' can be admitted.

### 3. Future

Despite the numerous diplomatic encounters on the issue that have taken place over the last two years the Secretary-

**'It is a matter of deep regret that a settlement has not yet been achieved.'**

General is clearly frustrated at the lack of political progress. 'It is a matter of deep regret', he writes, 'that this goal (of a political settlement) has not yet been achieved'.

He reports, however, that he, Portugal and Indonesia remain committed to the process and that 'the two sides are considering the possibility of a Portuguese Parliamentary Delegation undertaking a visit to East Timor with a view to obtaining first hand information on the situation'.

## UN Decolonisation Committee meets

East Timor was again the subject of strong representations by Governments and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) during the recent session of the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation held in New York on 13 August, 1987.

### Portugal

In a brief statement Portugal's representative **Mr Filipe de Albuquerque** reasserted 'in the strongest terms the need to ensure the respect of the principle of the right of peoples to choose freely their own future' but refrained from comment on the internal situation 'in view of the current phase of consultations (with Indonesia) on which we have embarked' under UN auspices. Portugal remains hopeful, said Albuquerque, that these contacts will produce tangible results thus contributing to a global and lasting solution of the problem of East Timor.

### UDT

As evidence of their new found unity of purpose, former political rivals UDT and Fretilin both appeared before the Committee. Of particular interest was the testimony of the UDT spokesperson, **Mr Joao Carrascalao**, who, in addition to being the brother of the Indonesian appointed Governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, has visited East Timor twice in the last three years. After stressing that UDT has always been pro-independence, and dismissing Indonesian claims to the contrary, Mr Carrascalao said 'When it comes to our own dignity, our ancestral land, our sacred sites and homes, our millenary culture, our way of thinking and living, we make no concessions'. UDT, he said 'want an independent Timor and we want our people to make such a sovereign choice through a democratic process under the supervision of the UN'.

### Fretilin

Speaking for Fretilin, **Mr Abilio Araujo**, chairman of the overseas delegation of Fretilin, stressed the historical and cultural differences between the Timorese and Indonesian peoples and observed that the material development of New Caledonia by France and of Namibia and Southern Africa by South Africa have not prevented the UN from acting in those situations. The historic agreement between UDT and Fretilin, reached in March 1986, to unite for independence is not only tactical but essentially a new national consciousness rooted in the Maubere reality. Both parties, said Mr Araujo, insist on their right to be involved in the UN negotiation process.

Nine NGOs petitioned the Committee in addition to the above. Summaries of some of these petitions are offered below. Submissions by Amnesty International and the UK Human Rights Organisation, Tapol, are reported elsewhere in this issue.

### Bishop of Setubal

**Mgr Manuel da Silva Martins**, Bishop of Setubal in Portugal and President of the Portuguese Bishops Conference Committee on social action, denounced the situation in East Timor as a 'denial of the right to exist as a people and a nation'

and appealed to the 'world's conscience' not to allow an 'epitaph of death' to be written over East Timor.

### Sr Mary Philip

In a statement on behalf of the Hobart East Timor Committee, endorsed by over 150 organisations and individuals in Tasmania (Australia) including the Archbishop Sir Guilford Young, **Sr Mary Philip SSJ** stressed that East Timor is 'still under colonial rule' and has not only been denied self-determination but subjected to systematic military repression in contravention of UN principles.

### Japanese veteran

A moving personal statement was presented by **Iwamura Shohachi** on behalf of Japanese non-government organisations supportive of Independence for East Timor. Mr Iwamura, 67, from Osaka, served in East Timor for 2½ years during World War II as an officer with the occupying Japanese army. Comparing the two experiences of occupation, Mr Iwamura said, 'I am deeply moved by the determination of the people of East Timor, who suffered at the hands of we Japanese in the past, and who are enduring so much now in order to achieve their independence. This is what has brought me here today'.

### Asia Watch

Speaking for the Washington based Asia Watch Committee, **Mr Eric Schwartz** emphasised the on-going humanitarian needs of the East Timorese people and the denial of adequate access to independent humanitarian and human rights agencies. Asia Watch, he reported has been prepared to visit East Timor for the past two years 'but has been denied permission by the Indonesian government'.

### Dutch Committee

In his submission, **Mr Hans van der Veen**, spokesperson for the Dutch Indonesia Committee, said that the survival and strength of the resistance to Indonesia after twelve years could only be explained by broad popular support. This had been confirmed by Portuguese MP, Anacoreta Correia, who visited East Timor in July 1986 and concluded 'that rejection and mistrust towards Indonesia are generalised feelings throughout East Timor'. Mr van der Veen urged the Decolonisation Committee to send an independent fact-finding mission to the territory and recommended that legitimate representatives of the East Timorese people be included in UN negotiations on the issue.

### Portuguese MP

**Mr Raul Brito**, a Socialist and member of the previous

Portuguese Parliamentary Commission on East Timor, told the Committee that though the crime against the East Timorese was comparable to that inflicted on the Jews during the Second World War and the Cambodian people by the Khmer Rouge, it was not clear if the international community was capable of making its principles and laws prevail. Nevertheless he insisted a political solution was essential and must be based on two principles: 1. the full involvement of the Timorese people in all future negotiations, and 2. recognition that their right to self-determination is non-negotiable. •

## UN body puts East Timor on agenda

At its most recent session in Geneva the UN Sub-Committee on the Prevention and Protection of Minorities recommended that East Timor be taken up by the UN Commission on Human Rights at its next session in February/March 1987.

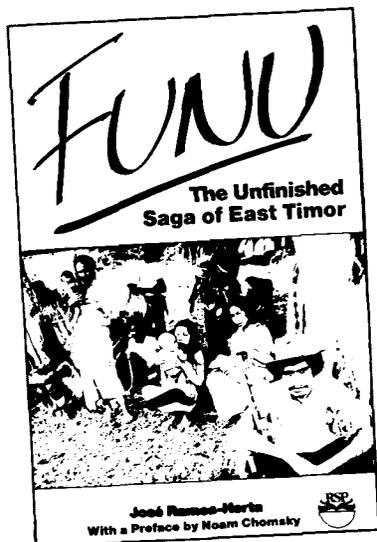
The last time the Sub-Committee took such an initiative was in 1984 although this did not save East Timor from being dropped from the Commission agenda early in 1985.

The Sub-Commission, which is composed of 25 independent experts on human rights elected by the UN Commission on Human Rights, met from 10 August – 4 September 1987 and heard testimony on East Timor from the following countries and organisations: Portugal, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Pax Romana, Pax Christi, National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Service (NAILS), and Human Rights Advocates. Portugal was reportedly more active and vocal than in previous years.

The resolution adopted by the Sub-Commission (6 for, 4 against, 9 abstentions) was moved by Mr Whitaker (UK) and urges the UN Secretary-General to push for cooperation between Portugal, Indonesia and East Timorese representatives with a view to achieving 'a lasting solution which takes full account of the rights and wishes of the East Timorese people'. The resolution also urges Indonesia 'to facilitate without restriction the activities of humanitarian organisations in East Timor'.

Finally it recommends that the Commission for Human Rights 'closely studies' the human rights situation in Timor at its next session.

Jose Goncalves, an East Timorese refugee, gave personal testimony on torture to the Sub-Commission. (The text of this testimony is reproduced elsewhere in this edition of East Timor Report.)



**Jose Ramos Horta** has been Fretilin's representative at the UN for the last eleven years.

His personal true story, **Funu**, is a book unequalled in the literature of liberation.

At once personal and historical, it is the tender and often hilarious story of a child growing up in a remote Portuguese colonial backwater, of an idealistic young activist drawn into (and increasingly at the centre of) his nation's struggle for independence.

**Funu** is a plea for justice, and a first hand, fascinating and shocking look behind the scenes at the organised hypocrisy of the world's only forum of nations.

Published 1987. Paperback 207 pages.

Available:

Australia East Timor Association,

PO Box 93,

Fitzroy 3065. Australia.

AUD\$17.95 plus postage.

Jose Goncalves left East Timor early in 1987. In August he went to Geneva to tell the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities the bitter story of his last 11 years in East Timor.

I was 13 years old when Indonesian military forces invaded East Timor. Following the invasion I fled to the bush with the resistance. Later I was captured by the Indonesian forces. I was then sent to a prison called Komarka, in Dili, in 1980.

I was held here until being transferred to the island of Atauro on 3 September. In July 1984, I was released. I started with the Indonesian Red Cross in 1985 and at the beginning of 1987 arrived in Portugal under the family reunification program.

For 12 years I personally witnessed a great number of arbitrary executions, imprisonment, and torture, evidencing a systematic disregard for the most essential civil and political rights of the East Timorese.

In 1978-9 the Indonesian armed forces carried out a large scale offensive against the East Timorese resistance and the civilian population.

Part of my family were with me in the bush. We were all concentrated in one area and incendiary bombs were dropped on us. I managed to escape but my brother was killed during a fight. One of my sisters disappeared during the intense bombardment and my family and I never saw her again.

In 1980 I was arrested by Indonesian troops and subjected to interrogations and torture. Every Indonesian guard used his own method of torture to force me to admit to crimes.

I was beaten by gun butts and kicked.

My hands and feet were tied up and I was pushed into a tank of water head first and held under water by the feet for up to 2 minutes. Then I was pulled up again and interrogated. As long as I did not confess, the same operation was repeated.

Once I confessed in my near drowning state, more questions were asked and torture was used again.

I was tied up and two small types of crocodiles (*buaya kecil*) were tied to my body. When the tails of the animals were pulled, they scratched, clawed and bit

me, digging their nails and their teeth into my skin. During this time I was asked further questions.

I saw my friends being tortured too. I saw them subjected to electric shocks, beaten by iron and wooden rods, their toes being placed under a table leg with soldiers and officials sitting on top of the table, cigarettes extinguished on the skin, in the ears and on the sexual organs. They were also kicked with heavy leather boots in the chest.

I was then taken to a secret prison (Komarka). I was locked up in a very small cell, 1m. by 2m., with 9 people. I could not sleep and I did not know whether it was night or day. I was given only a spoonful of rice per day. From time to time, the guards opened the door and called one prisoner out. I never saw them again.

Later I was taken to Atauro Island with my friends and I was there for 4 years. I was not allowed to speak with foreign people who were brought by military helicopters.

During an Australian delegation visit, I and my fellow prisoners were brutally beaten and threatened with being shot because we dared speak with them.

The same event happened when Portuguese journalists visited the island of Atauro. After they returned four of my fellow prisoners were tortured and sent to Komarka prison.

I was starving. All we had to eat was a small tin of corn for a whole week. I did not have any medical treatment when I fell sick. I was often beaten when I arrived late for work.

There are many other prisons in Dili, Aileu and other parts of the territory, with small numbers of prisoners. I myself entered one of these prisons without the knowledge of the troops and I saw 6 prisoners with swollen faces and other signs of ill-treatment.

Every two months the troops checked at midnight the homes of the population. Suitcases, identification cards, wardrobes were all checked.

I am concerned about the fate of my friends still in East Timor . . . I believe that until the genuine wishes of the East Timorese people themselves are respected the suffering will continue. •

***'During an Australian delegation visit I and others were beaten and threatened with being shot because we dared speak with them.'***

## Armed clashes continue

Indonesia does not admit there is fighting in East Timor (claiming troops are there for developmental and administrative purposes) and, because of obvious communication problems, Fretilin reports on the on-going war take a long time to be prepared and smuggled out of the territory.

Consequently reports on this aspect of the East Timor struggle always suffer from time-lag and are very difficult to verify independently.

Nevertheless, it is clear from material available and reports on the general character of the situation in East Timor that a relentless guerilla war is being conducted in the countryside of East Timor away from the main population centres.

Small scale but persistent losses and gains occur on both sides as the following 'war diary' for April and May 1987 demonstrates.

### April 1987

- 3:** fighting in Lospalos (in the East). One Indonesian officer killed.
- 17:** two dead and two wounded Indonesian soldiers transported to Dili.
- 21:** fighting on the coast north of Lospalos. Three guerillas killed and weapons lost.
- 22:** fighting in the same area. Nine Indonesian soldiers killed and their weapons seized.
- 23:** attack in the Raimerao 'suco', Same, at election time. Two killed and one wounded among Indonesian soldiers. Three weapons seized.  
Failure of a similar attack at Hatudo. Six dead Indonesian soldiers transported to Dili.

### May 1987

- 4:** fighting in Liaruka/Ossu with 714 battalion. Four Indonesian soldiers killed and their weapons seized. One guerilla killed.
- 10:** Six dead Indonesian soldiers arrived in Dili from Betano on the southern coast.
- 12:** helicopter shot down in Barike area.
- 17:** Fretilin guerillas intercepted a bus in Lospalos.

Indonesia's latest reported response to this situation has been the launching of a special selective offensive targetting the elusive and skilful Fretilin guerilla commander Xanana Gusmao.

According to Fretilin sources, 1000 Indonesian 'red beret' soldiers were flown by Hercules transports to Baucau and Lospalos (in the east of the island) on 11 and 12 July 1987.

Commanded by Colonel Soenarto, the operation is planned to run for six months and has the express purpose of locating and eliminating Xanana Gusmao. Sources: *Informacoes Timor-Leste*, Lisbon.

## How East Timor is administered

East Timor is administered differently to any other Indonesian province.

Militarily East Timor falls under a unique special military command (Kopskam Timtim) which is directly subordinate to the armed forces headquarters in Jakarta.

This special command is headed by Brigadier-General Mantiri who, like his predecessor, is also commander of the Army Strategic Command, Indonesia's best-equipped fighting force, revealing the extent to which East Timor is regarded as a war zone with special security problems.

The civilian administration of East Timor is also distinctive in that there is a special team in Jakarta responsible for coordinating the various departmental activities. No comparable structure exists for other provinces.

These two administrative units working together at the centre, one military the other civilian, severely limit the powers of the Provincial Governor, Mario Carrascalao.

His powers have been further circumscribed during 1987 by the appointment of three assistant governors for the eastern, central and western sectors of East Timor respectively. All three assistant governors are senior Indonesian army officers.

Military strategists and their technocratic advisors in Jakarta also plan to re-organise East Timor socially.

The 1873 villages in East Timor (mostly synonymous with re-settlement centres set up in the 1970s for security purposes) are to be regrouped into larger units reducing the number of villages to 412. These new villages will be standardised in style, each with a population of 300 families.

This re-organisation will make military, developmental and administrative control of the people easier and also make room for transmigrants.

Official transmigration in East Timor is progressing rather slowly. Since 1982 some 500 transmigrant families have been resettled in East Timor, 399 mainly from Bali to sites in Bobonaro and Kovalima near the West Timor border, and an additional 100 families from the East Java Christian Church in Jember to Viqueque.

At the end of 1986, however, the head of the East Timor transmigration office announced plans for a significant increase in the scale of transmigration in East Timor, a prospect which worries Governor Carrascalao. Concerned that incoming farmers will outstrip Timorese he has called for 'fair balance' in land ownership between newcomers and local farmers and has urged a 4 to 1 ratio in favour of Timorese.

These re-population and re-organisation measures will clearly have a massive impact on an already severely traumatised and dislocated people. Birth control is also being pushed hard at the Timorese despite opposition from the local Catholic Church.

Source: *Tapol statement to UN Decolonisation Committee*, August 1987

'My family comprising 35 members in 1975 was reduced to 9 members only by 1979. In less than 3 years I lost my parents, 7 brothers and sisters, 4 brothers and sisters-in-law, and 15 nephews and nieces.

My clan made up of 600 people, has been reduced to less than 100 and this surviving number is being prevented from living in its own localities for obvious reasons.

Today my tribe originally made up of a population

of 25,000 comprises only a few hundred people who have been taken from their habitat to inhospitable areas where they are kept under close supervision. I refer specifically to the small villages of Fahinehan, Aituha, Letelo, Tutuluro, Saluquim etc. and to the town of Fatu-Berliu.'

UDT leader **Moises da Costa Amaral**. *Testimony to UN Decolonisation Committee*, New York, 13 August 1987.

## 40 US Senators voice concern

A bipartisan group of 40 US Senators wrote to Secretary of State Schultz in August expressing concern at reports of 'a renewed Indonesian military offensive' in East Timor. The letter also expressed concern over birth control, family reunions and the four Timorese students denied permission to leave Indonesia.

The initiative for the letter came from Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York.  
*New York Times, 9 August 1987*

## Carrascalao gets second term

Mario Carrascalao, the locally born Governor of East Timor since 1982, has been re-appointed Governor of East Timor until 1992.

He was sworn in for a further 5 years by Indonesia's Home Affairs Minister, Soepardjo Rustam, on 18 September.

Carrascalao is believed to have the strong support of General Benny Murdani. 49 years old, Carrascalao was trained in Lisbon as a forestry engineer and subsequently worked and studied in Angola, Mozambique and Europe. He represented Indonesia at the United Nations until 1982.  
*Kompas, 19 September 1987*

## Fretilin denies Libya link

Fretilin has strongly denied charges by Australia's Prime Minister Bob Hawke that Fretilin has links with Libya and sent guerillas there for training.

Fretilin spokesperson Jose Ramos Horta said 'we have not received a penny from Libya nor ever asked for anything'. He pointed out that Libya had not supported Fretilin in the UN and said Fretilin had turned down invitations to send delegations to Tripoli.  
*Far Eastern Economic Review, 9 July 1987*

## US Bishops urge action

East Timor has begun to receive 'the attention it deserves' but this has not been 'translated into the action needed to right the wrongs which continue to this day', says a statement released by the US Bishops Conference on 31 March 1987.

The US Government in particular, which has contributed 'much economic and military assistance to Indonesia' should do more to 'bring a just and authentic peace to the territory', say the Bishops.  
*Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly, 13 April 1987*

## Mind control

Three buildings are to be constructed in East Timor – in Baucau, Maliana and Ermera, as centres for instruction in the Indonesian state ideology of *Pancasila*.

Governor Carrascalao announced this plan during the opening of a 120 hours *Pancasila* upgrading course in Dili for 182 teachers, public servants and community leaders. Nine professional *Pancasila* 'upgraders' were sent from

Jakarta to run the course.

The new centres will mean more Timorese can take the courses in how to be 'good' Indonesian citizens.  
*Pembaruan Baru, 20 June 1987*

## Military statistics

According to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a Jakarta research agency close to the government, there are 216,000 regulars in the Indonesian army. 15,000 of these, reports CSIS, are deployed in East Timor in 20 infantry battalions.

Fretilin strength, says CSIS, is 1500 equipped with 'small arms'.

## Dumping ground

Many Indonesian public servants appointed to East Timor are unsuitable for the task, according to an East Timorese representative in the Indonesian Parliament, Mr Clementino dos Reis Amaral.

Urging more careful selection of public servants for East Timor, Amaral said the local administration was not a 'dumping ground' for 'worn-out people' from other provinces who are there not to serve but only to make money.

'Many residents complain they have to wait hours and days to see an official' and the public have the impression that justice 'can be arranged', he said.  
*Suara Karya, 20 July 1987*

## US Congress concern for students

Four East Timorese students – Antonino Goncalves, Joao Freitas da Camara, Abilio Sereno, and Fernando Soares, who have been trying to leave Indonesia for Portugal since October 1986, were the subject of a letter to Secretary of State Schultz signed by 32 members of the US House of Representatives led by Tony Hall.

The letter, dated 19 May 1987, requested Mr Schultz to recommend to Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mochtar 'that the four students be permitted to leave Indonesia expeditiously'.

## Church statement

The onus rests with Indonesia to end the suffering in East Timor says a paper on East Timor issued in June by an official committee of the Uniting Church in Australia.

In issuing the document, the Protestant body risks offending the Indonesian Council of Churches which is known to be strongly defensive of its government on the issue.

The paper, prepared by the Social Responsibility and Justice Committee of the Uniting Church, expresses 'solidarity with the churches in East Timor' and says 'it does not consider any satisfactory solution can be arrived at in East Timor through military means'.

Available: Uniting Church Centre, 130 Little Collins St, Melbourne 3000.



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