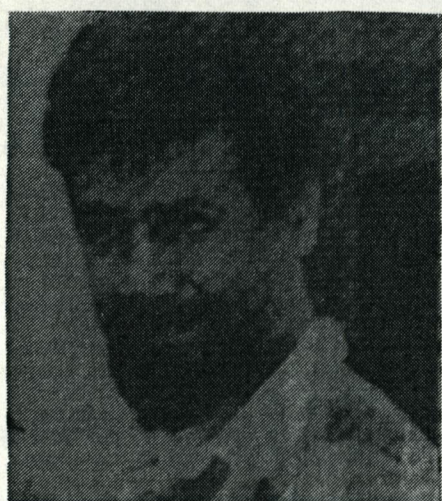
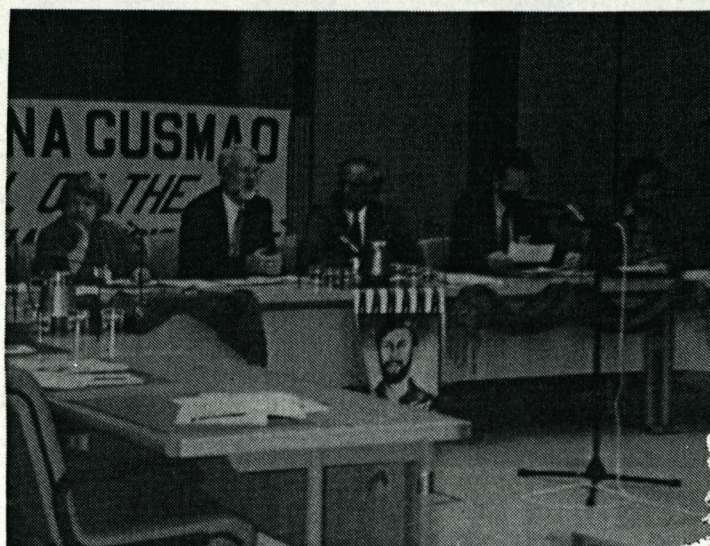


## FORUM DEMANDS FREEDOM FOR XANANA



**XANANA GUSMAO:**  
*Symbol of the National Resistance*



*From left: S. Shackelton, John Langmore, MP,  
S. Nandan, H. McQueen and A. Pereira*

On the 25th August, in the Australian Parliament House of Representative Committee Room 101, a special forum took place.

The forum was organised by PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) International. PEN International is itself a forum for freedom of expression and the unhampered transmission of thought and word within each nation and between nations. In Canberra, PEN is represented by Sara Dowse and Satendra Nandan. Both are writers.

The forum was attended by members of Parliament, Portuguese Ambassador, Dr Rui Avila, lawyers, writers and activists of East Timor. Speakers included Shirley Shackleton, widow of Greg Shackleton, an Australian journalist killed in Balibo, East Timor, by Indonesian soldiers on the 16 of October 1975, Humphrey McQueen, and Agio Pereira, Executive Director of East Timor Relief Association Inc (ETRA).

Each speaker spoke on different angles about Xanana and East Timor. Shirley, in a novelistic style, described the horrors of Indonesian occupation and her trauma living as a widow of an Australian journalist killed by Indonesian soldiers but her government did nothing to defend the right of an Aussie journalist to report abroad; she spoke about the trauma of all women in East Timor suffering under the Indonesian occupation and ended with a note that "as far as East Timor goes, she feels ashamed of being an Australian."

Humphrey McQueen, a writer and commentator, spoke about the strength of Xanana as a



human being and as a political leader. He questioned why the Indonesian regime did not kill Xanana and he added because, it would be so easy to happen. He referred to Nelson Mandela's analogy and reminded us that the apartheid regime also could have killed Mandela, but failed to do so. This is because the strength of these two men as political leaders; the regime is weak, and can not defeat the principle and the intellectual strength of Mandela and Xanana.

*"a Peace Prize will soon be awarded (not to Xanana) but to his people that he is prepared to die for!"*

Agio Pereira, spoke on the role of Xanana since he took over the reigns of the struggle. He explained the view of Xanana that the struggle of the Timorese people is fundamentally cultural and political; the armed struggle is simply a response to the nature of the Indonesian occupation: a ruthless military occupation which has been killing the Timorese people for over 18 years now.

At the end, Agio Pereira recalled the Peace Prize given to leaders such as Mandela and Rigoberta Manchu. And, he said, "I hope a Peace Prize will soon be awarded (not to Xanana) but to his people that he is prepared to die for!"



*Guests at the East Timor forum.*

## The Opening Remarks...

Chairman, Satendra Nandan, a former member of the Bavandara Government in Fiji. Nandan said:

"Xanana Gusmao has been a journalist as well as leader of the East Timorese resistance, and we feel there is much in common between the fight for freedom of expression by an individual and the fight for political freedom of a people.

"Australia should take Gusmao's case to international forums, including the United

Nations, arguing for his immediate release. The verdict of the farcical trial in Jakarta should not be allowed to stand."

"The Australian Government should pressure Indonesia to allow Gusmao regular visits from the International Red Cross, and should stop Australian military aid and co-operation to Indonesia."

The forum unanimously called on the UN Secretary General to hold a democratically supervised plebiscite to allow East Timorese people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. The forum also unanimously demanded that the Australian government support the direct involvement of the Timorese in the negotiation process between Indonesia and Portugal over the status of East Timor and cease all paramilitary and military co-operation with Indonesia.

## The Messages...

"Now that at last the great libel on Australian Aborigines has been lifted, with the High Court judgement in the Mabo case, Australians may feel a little more comfortable in urging other countries to observe the principles of the Human Rights Treaties in their own lands. It is a long and bitterly painful struggle to see others as wronged and denied justice by ourselves; may there be more such acknowledgements and increases in human compassion and understanding in all countries. Let us in Australia plea for grace and humility to prevail elsewhere, as well as in our own country." *from Judith Wright*

"The records of invasion, oppression and brutality are never erased from history. The acts once done can never be undone. Their consequences are a heavy burden on the shoulders of future generations(...)

"A compassionate commutation of the sentence of Xanana Gusmao - a rebel under the law, but to his own people a patriot - would reflect much credit upon the leaders and the people of Indonesia.

### *In this issue...*

1. East Timor forum.
2. Double trouble in Geneva.
3. Reconciliation can kill ...
4. News brief.
5. Bishop Belo interview in US.
6. What's on....



## DOUBLE-TROUBLE FOR JAKARTA AT THE UN IN GENEVA

At this year's session of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Indonesia has been forced to defend itself on two fronts. Attention was drawn not only to the situation in East Timor but also to Aceh. For the first time, an attempt is under way to press for the adoption of a resolution on Aceh.

On 20 August, the Sub-Commission adopted a resolution on the situation in East Timor by 13 votes to ten with two abstentions. The resolution signals a major political advance over previous resolutions in that it refers to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which relates to the protection of civilians in time of war. Otherwise, the resolution calls for implementation of the resolution adopted last March by its parent body, the UN Commission on Human Rights.

### BEHIND THE SCENES

The week before the Sub-Commission session began, the International Committee of the Red Cross was once again allowed to carry out prison visits in East Timor. This was announced by the Indonesian observer delegation at the session. In a statement to the session just before the vote was taken, the Indonesian delegation alleged that "there have been no restrictions (on ICRC visits) but only a short delay due to miscommunication and misunderstanding at the operational level".

Political manipulations by countries being targetted by the Sub-Commission was particularly intense this year, with observer delegations from Indonesia, China, India, Pa-



*Sub-Commission on Human Rights -  
Another victory for the people of East Timor*

kistan and Bangladesh having agreed privately to help each other avert condemnation. The scheme worked with devastating effect for China against a resolution tabled about the situation in Tibet. One expert tabled a no-action motion, taking precedence over the resolution that had been tabled; the no-action resolution gained 17 votes out of a total of 25 expert members (the chair does not vote). This result caused consternation among NGOs which had lobbied so hard for the resolution; they were convinced that many experts had revealed their lack of independence by submitted to pressure from their governments in China's favour after having previously indicated that they would support the resolution.

*"remarkable sign of the strength  
of feeling among Sub-Commission  
members about East Timor"*

Under the circumstances, it is a remarkable sign of the strength of feeling among Sub-Commission members about East Timor that Indonesia was unable to pull off a similar spoiling action. As compared with 1992, it only managed to win an additional two experts to its side. In 1992, the voting was 13 for, six against with four abstentions but on that occasion, two members were absent, the experts from Morocco and Mexico. These two can be expected to have voted against East Timor this time around, plus another two. (Voting under Item 6 of the Sub-Commission's agenda, under which this resolution was tabled, is by secret ballot, to allow experts to vote according to their consciences and not according to pressure from their governments.)

As in previous years, there were many NGO submissions about East Timor, including statements by two East Timorese refugees.

Jakarta is clearly very concerned at the prospect of having to fight on another diplomatic front besides East Timor.

*Continue on pg. 6*



## EDITORIAL

# RECONCILIATION CAN KILL

Since Rome Talks, the process of negotiation under the auspices of the Secretary-General of UN to find an internationally acceptable solution for East Timor has been haunted by the ghost of "reconciliation". According to the (Portuguese) newspapers and Lopes da Cruz, the Indonesian appointed Ambassador and adviser for Suharto, the proposal originated from Abilio Araujo, a Fretilin leader based in Portugal. Regardless of its origin and all good intentions, the issue of "reconciliation" has been hijacked by Indonesia; transformed it into an instrument to dismantle the Resistance of the Timorese people from the stage of the UN. The forthcoming negotiations expected to take place on the 17 of September is now at risk of being postponed because of this so-called "reconciliation between the Timorese leaders".

According to the explanation put forward by Abilio Araujo, his plan of negotiation supposed to encompass four main pillars: pacification, demilitarisation, reconciliation and self-determination. This was said in his interview to *Expresso*, on the 31 July last. Such a plan, would be part of the confidence building process to assure that Timorese take part in the negotiations under the auspices of the UN. And, to make it viable, Abilio Araujo proposes that the timing of "reconciliation" meetings must coincide with the negotiations of the UN. Abilio Araujo also argues that his plan differs from that presented by Jose Ramos-Horta in the sense that he does not defend the sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor at any stage, whereas the latter defends the "autonomy under Indonesia" as a transitional phase.

First of all, one must not ignore the fact that this plan of Jose Ramos-Horta was put forward as advanced ideas to enrich the debate of negotiation without pre-conditions. As such, it is not a peace plan. Secondly, the fundamental difference is that Jose Ramos-Horta articulates the Peace Plan Without Pre-conditions defended by the National Council of Maubere's Resistance (CNRM); that is, that every point to be debated will be done only under the auspices of the United Nations and never outside the

jurisdiction of the Secretary-General of the UN; because this will assure that the conflict of East Timor will be dealt with in accordance with the UN Charter.

The danger of this so-called "plan of negotiation" is that it is a plan without a foundation; it was conceived in a hurry, debated in the newspapers only, and there is no sign that the proponents of this idea understand at all how the diplomatic chess is played in the international arena. They, therefore, have committed an error of judgement and lack objectivity in analysing the foundation upon which they based their assertions. And, this can be fatal for the Timorese People.

For instance, the proponents carefully say that the reconciliation meeting is to take place between the "Timorese leaders outside East Timor and the leaders working in the Indonesian administration". If by leaders we call the leaders of UDT working for Indonesia, this may include former *gubernur* Mario Carrascalao and Lopes da Cruz. If this definition of leadership extends to the "leaders" appointed by Indonesia during this period of occupation, we might have to include former Apodeti members such as former *gubernur* Guilherme Concalves, the present *gubernur*, Osorio Soares, and perhaps all the members of the puppet Legislative Assembly set up by the Indonesian military occupying East Timor. None of these men have ever shown any sign or ability to oppose the Indonesian military rules for East Timor, let alone forcing the Indonesian government to change the rules simply because they, as Timorese leaders, disagree. If any slight improvement did occur in the last decade, this simply was a direct response to counteract the advance of the Timorese Resistance, both inside and outside East Timor.

The pillars presented by Abilio Araujo, appear to be based on the rational that the politico-military Resistance in East Timor has faded away irreversibly, and therefore, there is a need to mobilise the Timorese leaders working for the Indonesian administration to stop what he calls the "javanisation process". No one denies that the Indonesianisation of the Timorese society is the main strategy of Indonesia to kill the



# EAST TIMOR IN THE UN

Resistance of the Timorese people. Therefore, stopping it must always be at the core of any global strategy adopted by the Resistance. The Peace Plan of CNRM - "Negotiation Without Pre-conditions" - was conceived precisely to achieve that.

The notion that the Resistance has failed and, therefore, one must now find new ways, is an irony in itself, because Abilio Araujo certainly can not believe that his position and that of the so-called Timorese leaders working for Indonesia would enjoy any patriotic credibility at all, if the assertion is to be correct. That is, if the Resistance have really failed as Abilio Araujo says, Indonesian generals would not waste their time with Abilio Araujo. If this process called "reconciliation" has gained any support from the Indonesian generals, it is precisely because Xanana Gusmao is right: in East Timor, Indonesia has lost the battle in the political field! What remains to be determined is for how long can the Resistance cope with the Indonesian military occupation and counteract the Indonesianisation process. The challenge for the real leaders of the Timorese Resistance, both outside and inside East Timor (whether they work in the Indonesian Administration, are in the mountains with FALINTIL or under Indonesian control), lies precisely in responding objectively to this question, without divulging themselves in sterile newspapers debate without any real commitment to focus their political activity to develop the Resistance they claim to lead.

No one can deny that there must be genuine understanding between the Timorese politicians, both inside and outside East Timor. No one denies that forgiveness must be given for the National Unity to be real. Call it reconciliation or whatever terminology one prefers. But genuine understanding can only sprout from a deep respect for our nationhood. If we allow that the lives of 200,000 Timorese are to be betrayed simply because of political vendetta in the leadership abroad, or political adventurism, the Maubere People will never forgive us. The real leaders of the Timorese people abroad must sit together, reconcile their differences and disarm the Indonesia diplomatically.

The priority must always be to focus on the

negotiation process under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General because this is what highlights all the ten resolutions already passed by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council.

Lets encourage talks between the Timorese people of all political persuasions, especially the leaders. But lets do it in a way that does not allow the Indonesian government to take advantage and distance the Timorese from one another, irreversibly. And, in all our meetings, lets reiterate the inalienable fact that the issue is the illegal invasion and the consequent occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian Military Government.

Over these last few years, with blood and tears of the Timorese people of all ages, we have been able to corner the Indonesian government in the international arena. Let's all defend these significant victories and vow to continue the fight in every front to build more victories.

Let's always fight to keep East Timor in the centre stage of the UN.

This is a duty of us all!



45 e 97/98 Motivo estilizado do crocodilo em panos



(from pg.3)

Among other things, the resolution demanded that the Indonesian Government "implement fully the decisions of the Commission on Human Rights," "to honour the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, regarding the prohibition on removing prisoners from their original place of residence.

This Commission, also commonly known as the Human Rights Sub-Commission, is made up of 26 experts including the President but the latter does not necessarily have to vote.

It is important to note that this Commission influences the agenda to be adopted for the forthcoming meeting of the UNCHR (United Nations Commission on Human Rights), to take place in Geneva, in February-March, next year. (source: Tapol)

## ***News in brief***

### ***USA and East Timor***

Pressure is intensifying in the last days before the Senate decides on the Feingold Amendment to cut off arms sales to Indonesia until human rights and self-determination are respected in East Timor. The vote will be very close.

Business organizations, the State Department and corporations have mounted an intensive lobbying campaign and are urging Senator Feingold not to introduce his amendment.

The amendment prohibits all government sales now and commercial arms sales starting next year. The ban will remain in effect until the U.S. President certifies that Indonesia has allowed human rights groups into East Timor, that there are no forms of inhumane treatment, and that Indonesia has complied with Security Council resolutions that call for withdrawal of its troops and self-determination. Hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons purchases are at stake.■

Last week, a group of U.S. Congressional staffers visited East Timor for less than a day, under a restricted itinerary. Hundreds of young East Timorese were arrested in advance of their visit, and sent to a "guidance course" in a secret location. The Indonesian authorities are trying to hide the truth about East Timor from Congress. ■

## ***News in brief (cont.)***

### ***Indonesians in Lisbon***

Indonesian Human Rights lawyer, H. Princen, accompanied by his colleague, fellow lawyer, Jusfig Hadjar, attended the "O Porto Seminar" in Estoril, Lisbon. Their presence marks a turn around in the relationship between Portugal, the Timorese, and Indonesian people.

H. Princen and his colleague also met with the Portuguese President Mario Soares and Foreign Minister, Durao Barroso. They discussed the situation of the seven Timorese students who recently asked for political asylum in Jakarta. Princen was optimistic because the Portuguese Government offered to issue passports for the seven students and pay the necessary expenses to free them from Indonesia.

The test now is whether the Indonesian authorities will co-operate in this scheme.■

### ***New video on East Timor***

A new video titled "East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye" will be broadcasted on September 6 and 9 in New York.

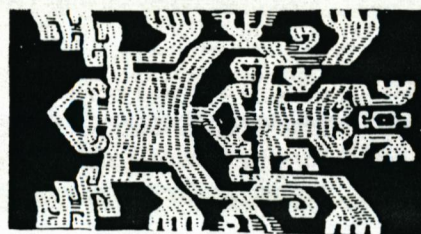
This video was produced by Paper Tiger Television with the participation of Abe Barreto, Elizabeth Exposto, Amy Goodman, Danil Henriques, Tom Hyland, Allan Nairn, Constancio Pinto and Charles Scheiner. ■

### ***Mandela urges Xanana to be strong***

In a letter written to Tom Hyland of East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, Nelson Mandela said that his movement, ANC, as a liberation movement, have limited capacity to influence the direction taken by any regime.

However, Mandela said to Tom Hyland in his letter that "if you can send a message to Xanana Gusmao, tell him to be strong."

The letter was dated 22 June 1993. ■





## EAST TIMOR BISHOP IN U.S. PLEAD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS



When Carlos Filipe Belo left East Timor as a young boy to attend seminary in Lisbon, Portugal, his homeland was a place of peace.

Rice farmers raised their crops, undisturbed. There was freedom of religion in the predominantly Catholic country.

When Belo returned in 1975 for his pastoral internship, he discovered a terrifying change. East Timor had been invaded by Indonesia earlier that year. The conquerors had annexed the former Portuguese colony for purposes of "development and integration."

*"there has been no freedom to  
express our ideas.*

*We have security and  
intelligence forces everywhere,"*

These past 18 years "there has been no freedom to express our ideas. We have security and intelligence forces everywhere," said Carlos Belo during a recent visit to the East Bay to visit his American friend, Oakland's Bishop John Cummins. The priest has served as Bishop of East Timor since June 1988.

So-called Indonesian versions of development have included massacres, imprisonments, torture, kidnappings, religious persecution and job discrimination against the 650,000 East Timorese people because they have not accepted Indonesian rule, said Bishop Belo

## HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Here in the states to attend the US Catholic bishops conference in New Orleans, Bishop Belo came to the East Bay to alert American Catholics to the human rights in East Timor and to raise funds for a seminary.

Bishop Belo regularly hears accounts from his people of systematic persecution, like "holding them under water, giving them electrical shocks, hitting them on their shoulders with clubs, punching them in the stomach. " The prelate is one of the new public figures who has escaped reprisal for his outspoken criticism of the Indonesian regime.

*Sometimes it is very  
difficult to convince our  
people to live by  
Christian values, when  
they suffer and are  
persecuted,"*

"We try to be with the people and hear their complaints. We have meetings with the families. Sometimes it is very difficult to convince our people to live by Christian values, when they suffer and are persecuted," he said.

Persecution often takes on economic colors. Recent invader tactics have included large scale job discrimination against East Timorese youths. "For every nine or 10 Muslims hired, only three or four of our people get hired, too," said the bishop.

Indonesian Muslims "start very good schools, and offer our youth scholarships if they will convert," said the bishop.

Bishop Belo, a member of the Salesians, said his order operates an excellent trade school in the capital city of Dili for teens, but jobs are hard for them to find after graduation.

## MEDIA BLACKOUT

Indonesia's treatment of the East Timorese has gone largely unreported in the press because the country was closed to international visitors. During the blackout, the Indonesians carried on a vicious war against separatist guerrillas. Thousands died in that ongoing rebellion, said the bishop.

Source: Catholic Voice, Oakland, California, USA.



## WHAT'S ON...

Struggles of Indigenous Peoples - an informative session to reflect on what kind of solidarity should be developed to respond to the plight of the indigenous peoples in this region.

Guests speakers are:

Agio Pereira - East Timor  
Rex Rmakiek - West Papua  
Moses Havini - Bougainville  
Cathy Craigie - Aboriginal  
A rep. - Torres Strait Islands

Saturday, 18th September 1993  
9.30am - 5pm  
St Vincent's Church  
Regent Street, Redfern (near the P.O.)

Organised by AWD  
(Action for World Development)

## EXHIBITION ON EAST TIMOR

### Theme: Cultural Survival

Timorese artist, Sebastiao Silva, will offer a rare point of contact with the outside world with an exhibition of his paintings.

Sebastiao's paintings range from rural scenes, farming people, memories of a traumatic past and the continuing resistance of the people of East Timor which inspired this talented young Timorese to bring his work to a broader audience.

The set of paintings will retract the living culture of the Timorese; the indestructibility of the National Resistance.

This exhibition will take place from 8-23 October 1993, Tom Nelson's Hall, 61-63 Sussex Street, Sydney. ■

*This exhibition is sponsored by  
East Timor Relief Assn. Inc.  
P.O. Box 23, Fairfield NSW 2165  
ph: (02) 891 5861 fax: (02) 891 2876*

## Para ti Xanana Gusmao

Querido companheiro  
Kai Rala Xanana Gusmao  
Heroi dos herois mauberes  
Coracao de um povo guerreiro  
Combatente da justica de injusticas  
Amante da paz...  
A tua luta e o nosso sacrificio  
O teu sacrificio e a nossa luta.  
Iluminaste a consciencia da  
Juventude maubere  
Inspiraste a consciencia da  
Juventude maubere...  
Rompeste o manto do imperio javanes  
Esgrimindo o surik sagrado  
Com entusiasmo e cabeça erguida  
Gritando, o hino da liberdade...  
Comandaste as gloriosas Falintil  
os pioneiros de:  
Carnes esburacadas,  
Sangues vertidos,  
Ossos quebrados...  
Os libertadores da patria maubere...  
Companheiro,  
a tua luta gerou os loricos rebeldes  
o teu sacrificio culmina a nossa revolta  
a tua dor e o nosso animo de combater  
a tua prisao e a nossa resistencia de vencer  
Da tua obra,  
crescemos como:  
rochas de Matebian,  
solido e inquebrantavel  
enraizados no altissimo Ramelau  
visivel e sombreado,  
no santuario do crocodilo...  
Querido irmao e Companheiro,  
"Xanana Gusmao, esculpe na nossa  
memoria,  
memoria dos mauberes,  
filhos de Timor Loro Sa'e...

Donaciano Gomes  
Lisboa, 20 de Junho '93  
(translation will be in next month's issue)

*Matebian News is published by  
East Timor Information &  
Documentation Centre  
P.O. Box 481, Fairfield NSW 2165  
ph: (02) 728 7395 fax (02) 726 6319  
Co-Ordinator: Ines Almeida; Working  
team: Bernardo Reis, Agio Pereira  
Neca Brites, Lola Reis, Geraldo Magno,  
Ceo Brites-Pereira & Milze Magno*