



Timorese and Aussies Peace Activists in rubber dingies and kayaks challenge indon warships

Sunday 24 October, Peace Squadron, a Sydney-based peace group, combined effort with Timorese activists to protest against the presence of three Indonesian warships in the naval base of Garden Island, Sydney.

These warships came to Sydney as part of a combined navy exercise to take place between the Royal Australian navy and the Indonesian navy.

The Peace Squadron has been active in the past three days. They painted six crosses on the ships. The six crosses represented the six Australian journalists killed by the Indonesian army while they were fulfilling their duties as journalists covering international affairs. Peace Squadron also put banners in one of the ships to highlight the killing of the Timorese by the Indonesian military.



**Free
Xanana,
Free
East Timor!**

Sunday's protest was the climax of all these actions. The action was covered by 18 colourful "kayaks", 4 rubber dingies with East Timor colourful flag, Xanana's poster and banners highlighting the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, demanding the release of all Timorese prisoners and "Indonesia Out of East Timor NOW!!!".

The event was covered by the Australian and Portuguese media and witnessed by hundreds of onlookers.

Eight hundred pamphlets "Free Xanana, Free East Timor" were distributed and many thrown into the ships. Many Timorese and Aussie supporters gave moral support ashore, distributed pamphlets to the tourists and spoke to the public about East Timor.

The event certainly had a powerful impact to the Indonesian sailors. It made them aware about the strong support East Timorese people and Xanana have in Sydney. Probably, the Indonesian sailors might have asked today why the protesters were not arrested or even shot? - This could be something useful for them to take home! The goal in doing this kind of campaign is to foster the process of raising consciousness of the Indonesian people about the plight of the Timorese people. It did have a positive effect. ■

*The leadership will
never betray the trust
of the people - says
Konis Santana*

Konis Santana, the new face of the Resistance of the People of East Timor is relatively a young cadre. Since the capture of Ma'Huno Bulere Karataiano, Konis Santana has proven to be a realistic leader in the sense that he is prepared to openly express to the younger generation of East Timor, specially those active in the clandestine front, the difficulties the Resistance in the armed front is facing at the moment.

In a tone of humbleness characteristic in all the leaders fighting in East Timor, Konis Santana appealed to all the students and their organisations - OJECTIL (East Timor Studens Youth Clandestine Organisation), RENETIL (National Resistance of the Students of East Timor), and FECLITIL (Front of the Students Fighting for the Liberation of East Timor) to suplant their political and/or ideological barriers so that the enemy can not infiltrate their organisations.

Konis Santana praised the role of the younger generation of East Timor saying that the future of East Timor is in their hands. And, as far as the ambitions of the guerillas go, Konis Santana stressed that:

"We do not pursue any ambition in this war; the only ambition we have is to liberate our Homeland. We are a drop compared to this ocean of responsibility, but our mind, the mind that motivate us all, is gigantic."

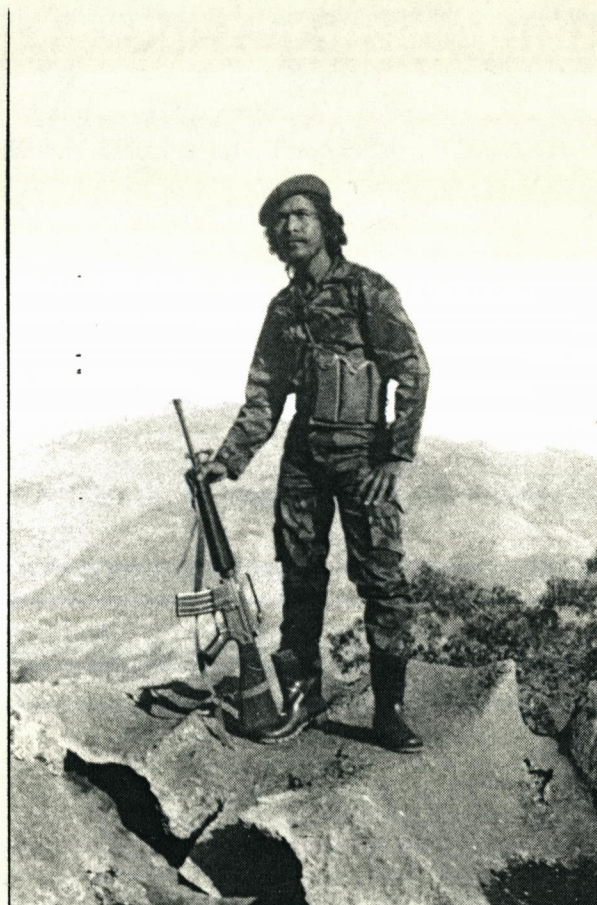
He stressed that he is aware that the leadership enjoys trust from the People, the compatriots abroad and the lurikus (youth) of East Timor; and, he added, the new leadership will never betray this trust!

Konis Santana has been very busy in his attempt to structure the new leadership. He wrote a letter to the President of Portugal, Dr Mario Soares, stressing the authority and trust given to Jose Ramos-Horta, as the representative of the CNRM abroad.

He gave interviews and articulated the concepts which are paramount in the sustainability of the

resistance. One of these paramount points Konis Santana stressed was about the National Council of Maubere's Resistance. He said:

"The CNRM, whilst a National structure of the Resistance, the unifying force of all the most diverse political, social and religious tendencies of all those inside the occupying Homeland and abroad who want to fight for the liberation of this tiny Country - sacred inheritance left by our ancestors - continue to be the National Superpartisan Structure that commands the struggle in every aspect." ■



**Konis Santana: the only ambition
we have is to liberate our Homeland**

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SEND A MESSAGE TO XANANA

The Lisbon-based Commission "Freedom for Xanana, Freedom for East Timor" is planning a campaign to mark the 1st anniversary of the capture of Timorese Resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao.

In an appeal to the solidarity for action, the Commission reaffirms "the intelligence and generosity of a man who, in such difficult circumstances, was able to keep alive the dignity of the people to which he belongs and "recognises that the Timorese Resistance was able to found in itself the capacity to face and win challenges brought by this new situation".

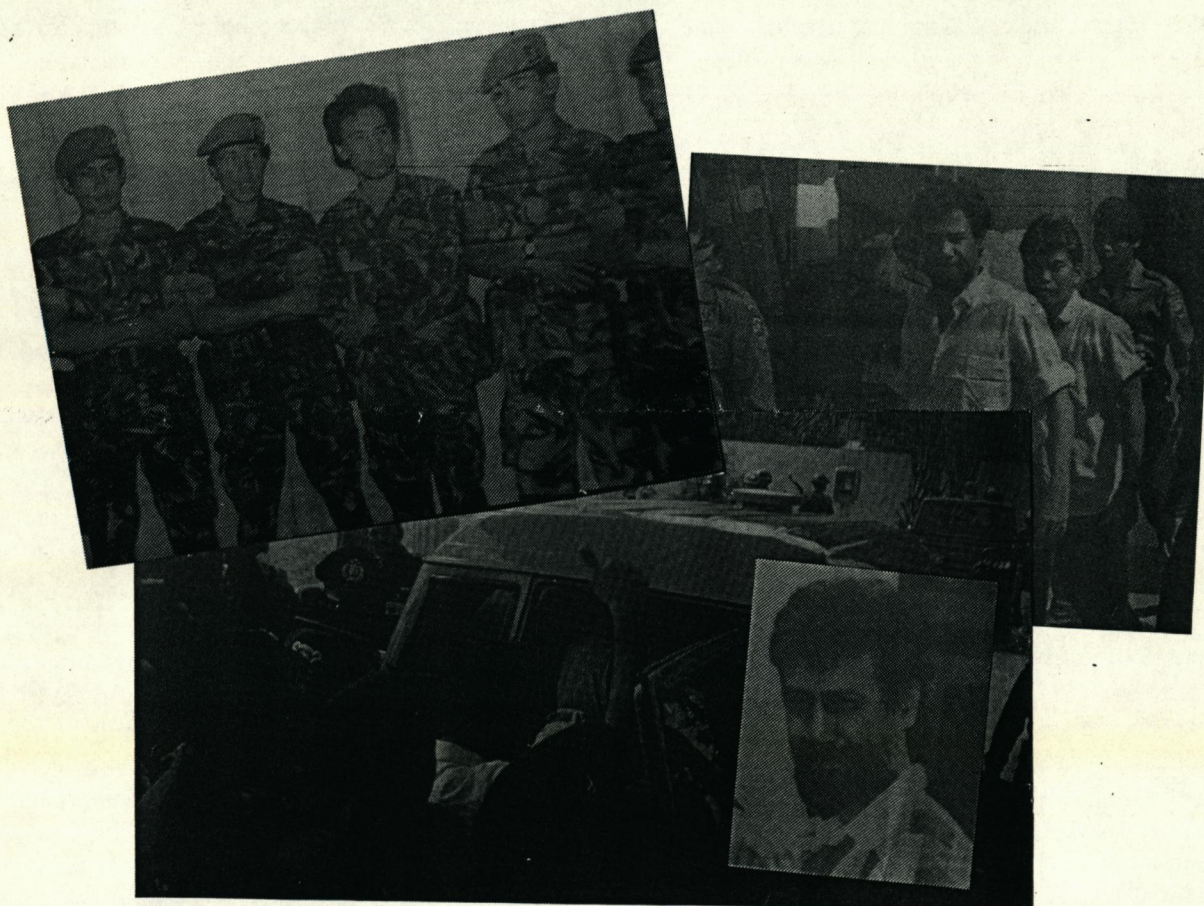
The theme for this campaign is "Send a message to Xanana". You can send a postcard, edited for the effect, to the prison where Xanana Gusmao is detained, with a message expressing your solidarity and friendship towards the Timorese People, whose struggle he represents.

The Commission believes that, 'more than a symbolic act, the echo of such a campaign (either through a postcard or other kind of messages you think appropriate) will reach Xanana and the other Timorese prisoners - as strong as the walls are - and will reflect on the Indonesian society and on the United Nations.'

You can also urge your local MPs and other groups to write personal messages to Xanana.

Support this campaign!

FREE XANANA, FREE EAST TIMOR



EDITORIAL

The Massacre of Sta. Cruz and the New Face of Solidarity

This year, November 12 marks the second anniversary of the massacre of Sta Cruz. Hundreds of Timorese young men, women and children were coldbloodedly shot by the Indonesian "trained -to-kill-civilians" troops. The Timorese youth that took part in this day of protest against the Indonesian illegal occupation of East Timor and, specially those who were in the front line and subsequently killed, were aware of the risks. They were ready to die for their homeland. As Domingos Segurado put it in the film "Cold Blood", "my whole family was killed (...) I am ready to die... because this is my fatherland". These words echo the feeling of all the young generation of East Timor. They are ready to die not because of revenge but because, as far as they are concerned, Indonesia has shown more than enough evidence that if the Timorese people are to become integrated, the end product is complete genocide.

This new generation of Timorese are showing unequal sense of courage and determination. Those who were killed, also died with a deep sense of hope; they believed that although the Indonesian guns have silenced them forever, their death will awake the international community to start to speak out for the Timorese people. This hope could even be heard from the mouth of the young Timorese student who spoke to the microphones of Max Stahl in front of the Sta. Cruz cemetery, minutes before the massacre. He said: "we love freedom, we need protection".

Since the film of the massacre reached the TV screens of "the world", the uproar could be seen in the TV screens of every major liberal democracies. Condemnation after condemnation flew from Parliament to Parliament, and from all major NGO's. Even in the Australian Parliament, the former Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, called upon the Indonesian government to find a negotiated solution with the Timorese people.

After two years, can it really be said that the world is awake for East Timor? -The real world is made up of so many different "worlds", each of them with their own self-interest. This self-interest is what moulds their stated (and practiced) understanding of democracy and social justice. It is, therefore, wrong

to see the world as one. As far as East Timorese people's interest is concerned, all that counts at this stage is the world that holds the power in the UN. That is, the USA, Japan and the European Parliament. The so-called Third-World is, as always, divided to the brink of insignificance because of the perennial race to take advantage of the western dollar and their failure to develop an alternative economic model.

In the USA, one can argue that since the "massacre of Sta. Cruz", there have been significant improvements in terms of the US Congress support for East Timor. The cut of US training program, the petition signed by 43 (almost 50%) US Senators urging Pres. Clinton to raise Human Rights in East Timor when he met with Pres Suharto in Tokyo, stopping the sale of US made F-5 aircraft fighters from Jordan to Indonesia and the current debate on the Feingold Amendment are strong signals of change in attitude towards the issue of East Timor. The pressure in the US Congress to move towards a more significant stand on East Timor can be sustained. One of the strong arguments to be used is the fact that the US Administration is now focus on the Asian-Pacific region with the view that "democracy is key to both the economic and security realms". The current ideologues of the US Administration now argue that one can not make progress in complex economic issues unless there is free debate in the society. Another important argument now echoed in the Congress is that "clearly, East Timor never did, nor does it today, pose a threat to Indonesia".

In the European Parliament, the role of Portugal has been the decisive factor. The Portuguese euro-parliamentarians have been awake in terms of raising the issue of East Timor whenever possible. As recently as on the eighth of October, for instance, as a result of the Portuguese euro-parliamentarians' lobby, the European parliamentarians and the delegates from the African, Caribbean and Pacific (EP/ACP) called upon the European Parliament to seek "diplomatic isolation of Indonesia" and "total arms embargo on Jakarta (...) until clear signals are given that the Indonesian government is prepared to create conditions allowing the people of East Timor to exercise their right to self-determination and independence". Although this has to be ratified by the European Council of Ministers, one can also say that the issue of East Timor has reached a high profile in the agenda of the European Parliament.

In Japan, the new Prime Minister is now under pressure to take a stand on East Timor. Just prior to the arrival of the Portuguese President, Dr Mario

Images of the exhibition

Gabi Hollows

THE OPENING



members of Timorese community



Eira's secretary,
Robert Domm

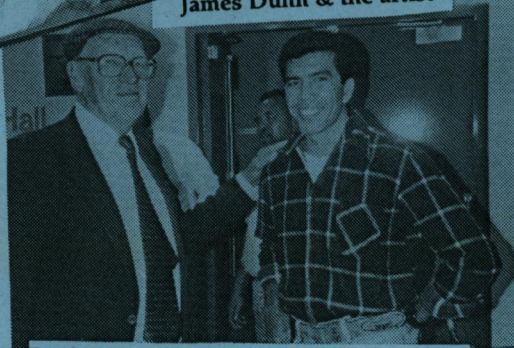
some comments

Congratulations on a very professional
& cultural display of paintings.



James Dunn & the artist

Thanks for giving us (my daughter)
an opportunity for being close to
East Timor again through your paintings.



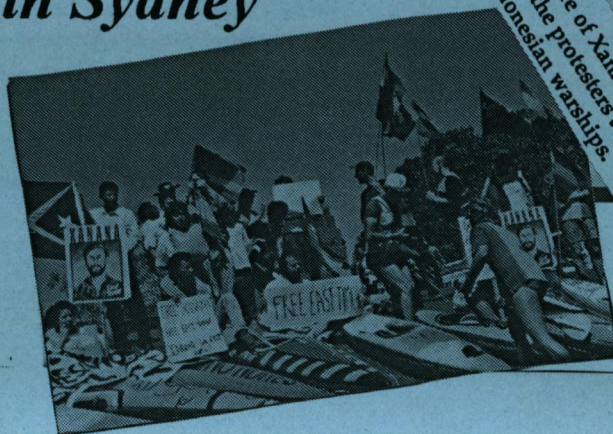
I enjoyed your paintings very much; the style,
the bright colours and the attention to detail.
It brought back memories of my time and
stirred my compassion for people there.



Bom trabalho e bom sucesso ao artista para
trabalhos futuros. Boa iniciativa tambem do
ETRA. Parabens pois mais uma vitoria para
Timor Leste.

Timorese and peace activists protest against the presence of indonesian warships in Sydney

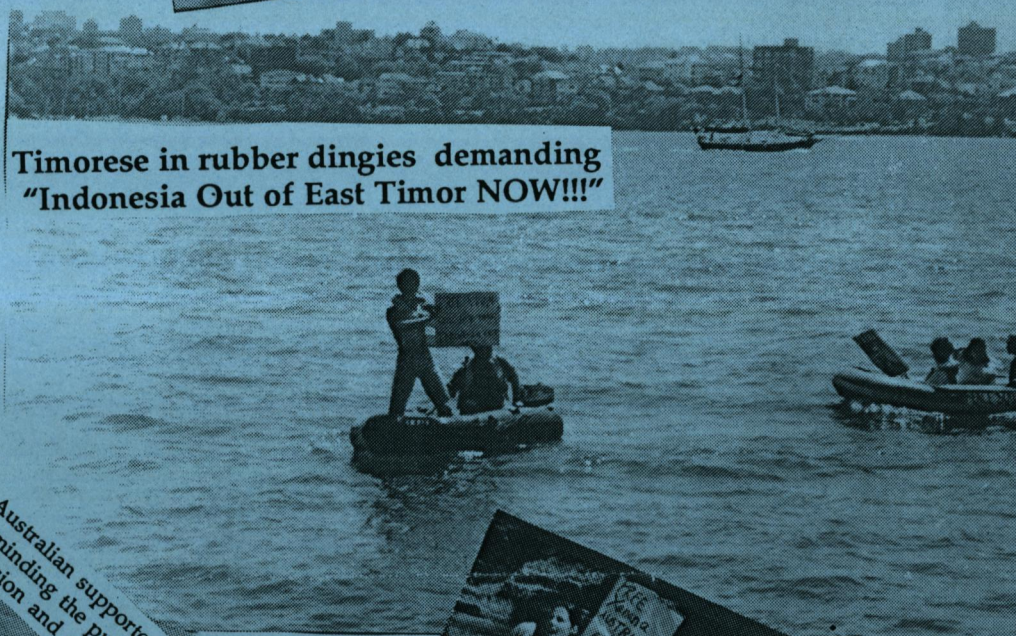
An Australian supporter was arrested and charged because he fired a flare into the ships but he was not imprisoned. He did not give up either; he went back on the following day to join the activists that challenged the presence of the warships on Sunday morning.



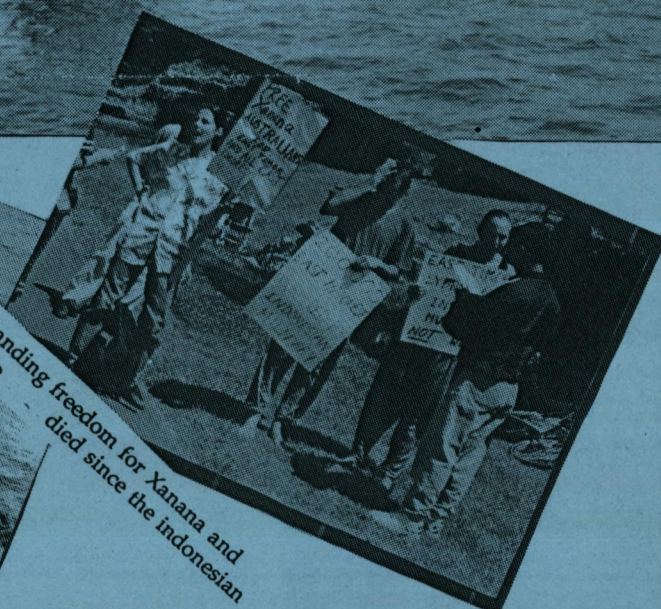
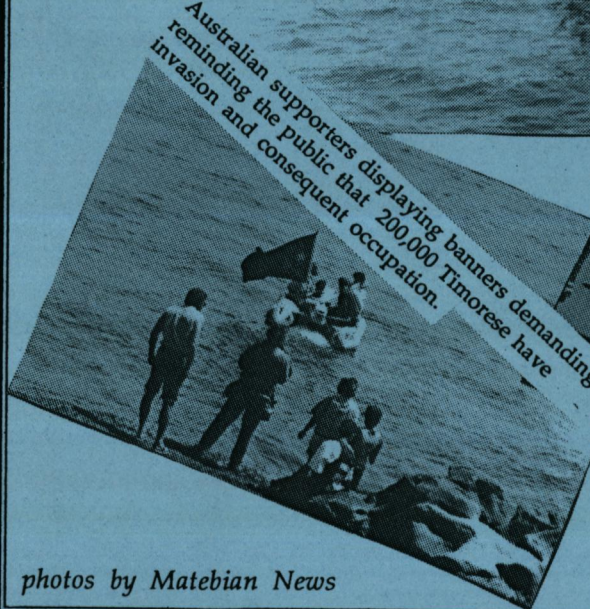
The picture of Xanana was the "weapon" used by the protesters to challenge the Indonesian warships.



Timorese in rubber dingies demanding
"Indonesia Out of East Timor NOW!!!"



Australian supporters displaying banners demanding freedom for Xanana and reminding the public that 200,000 Timorese have died since the Indonesian invasion and consequent occupation.



photos by Matebian News

**EAST TIMOR:
TO RESIST IS TO WIN**

November 93
Ano 1, Vol. no. 7

Soares in Tokyo (19.10.93), twelve legislators from seven parties appealed to the Prime Minister to express readiness to urge Jakarta to put less restrictions on foreign doctors and human rights groups who enter East Timor and backs a Portuguese call to allow the people of East Timor to call a referendum on independence. The group also called upon the Prime Minister of Japan to support the position taken by Portugal in the on-going talks between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the UN.

All these new developments are a direct result of the massacre of Sta. Cruz. Since then, the impact in the International community continues to be strong due to two main factors: one, was the capture, illegal trial and imprisonment of the Symbol of the Timorese National Resistance, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao; another, is the fact that since the Massacre of Sta. Cruz, a new face of solidarity have emerged. Unlike the seventies when the solidarity was a product of progressive political parties under the banner of "international solidarity" and "armed struggle as the only way out", the new face of the solidarity is one made up of individuals and NGOs with a total focus on social justice and fundamental rights of all peoples to self-determination and independence. The difference in these two faces of the solidarity is simply a matter of different historical perspective. That is, the so-called "cold-war" era as opposed to the "new world order". The current solidarity, however, is harder to sustain because of the absence of support from political parties infra-structures. It has, however, very positive aspects; this new breed of solidarity, combined with many long term and consistent activists of East Timor, has the potential to launch new ideas and creativity because it enjoys clear political breeding space. This is crucial because the debate on East Timor is occupying a much broader and complex spectrum than that of the seventies and early eighties.

To enrich and sustain this debate and guide it in favour of East Timor is not only a duty of all the Timorese but also the greatest challenge to every single active supporter of the rights of the Maubere People to self-determination and independence. ■

A NOTE FOR XANANA GUSMAO

You have blown millions
and millions of words
to our hearts and minds
They are like torch
you set in the darkness
We approach the torch
enjoying its light
We like telling some stories
(a little bit)
to our buddies
in the other side of our globe...

about the torch

IN MEMORIAM

Santa Cruz, 12 November 1991
written in my memory

Santa Cruz, 12-November 1991

You are
a witness watching
young leaves
falling down

one by one

Mother Homeland

"Mother homeland,
magic pride...
I come to you, at your side
I place my fist, my tear, my dream,
because you are the greatest pride
of my life..."

Abe Barreto Soares, 1993



Victims of November 12 massacre

THE INDONESIAN PRESS AND EAST TIMOR

The press system in Indonesia operates under strict regulations set up by the government. The National Department of Information issues a decree known as SIUPP (Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan), a permission certificate for publishing. This requirement is aimed at restricting the newsmen and publishers to publish material which may not reflect the views of the government. Failure to observe this regulation can result in the loss of licence to publish the newspaper. It adopts a motto of '*pers yang bebas tapi bertanggung jawab*', "a free press system yet responsible manner."

"it is not unusual for the editors to get anonymous phone calls warning them against publishing articles of a certain dissident"

Technically speaking, that motto has never been implemented as the freedom of expressing views is very limited and heavily monitored by 'pihak berwajib', 'the authorities'. Therefore, we often read highly censored material from the editors, specially on sensitive issues. Protocol and developmental news were the most frequent ones appearing in the leading Indonesian papers. In the last few years, a new group of Indonesian political dissidents, intellectuals and students have actively spoken out on this particular issue and a piece of wind of democratisation appears to be felt in the Indonesian press; many critical articles by leading dissidents occasionally appear in the newspapers although they undoubtedly suffer heavy censorship. It is not unusual for the editors to get anonymous phone calls warning them against publishing articles of a certain dissident.

There is a wide range of newspapers and magazines of Indonesia which are now available in East Timor. For example, Kompas, Suara Pembaruan, the Jakarta Post, Indonesian Observer and the Indonesian Times are the leading Indonesian daily newspapers. Dozens of other newspapers ranging from state-owned to private ones are also available in the market. In Dili, the national newspapers Kompas, Suara Pembaruan, Suara Karya, The Jakarta Post, and Jawa Post are available for subscribers. Since last year, Dili has

its own local daily newspaper called "Suara Timor Timur", "The voice of East Timor" similar to "A voz de Timor" prior to 1975. It is managed and published in Indonesian language by Salvador Ximenes, an East Timorese lawyer who is now residing in Jakarta as an Indonesian national MP. The paper carries pro-government and sensational news about East Timor on a daily basis. Like all other Indonesian newspapers, it is also monitored by the armed forces.

Apart from newspapers, there are other weekly magazines available in East Timor. Tempo, Editor, Hidup (a catholic magazine) and Forum keadilan. The state-owned TV - produced in Jakarta (TVRI) - coupled with RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia) and the introduction of private TV channels (RCTI, and SCTI). This event marks another level of Indonesian campaign to conquer the hearts and minds of East Timorese people. The ABC/ITV (Australian TV program designed for Eastern Indonesian) can also be seen in East Timor now.

"Heavy censorship leads to news which promotes only the government line of thinking"

As news on East Timor is so dire and volatile, it is frustrating for the East Timorese to read news carried by these papers. Heavy censorship leads to news which promotes only the government line of thinking. Under such circumstances, every single article related to East Timor affairs, both inside Indonesia and abroad, that is to be made available to the readers in East Timor, must be moulded to converge with the official Indonesian position. For example, the terms of GPK (gerakan pengacau kemanan) literally means 'security trouble makers' and 'rebel leader' appear frequently in the Indonesian media. The Indonesian news Agency, "ANTARA", opened an office in Dili to gather news from East Timor. It collects the news from the authorities using the three pillars (the armed force, local government and the church). It may also get some news about the activity of the Resistance in the bush.

When Indonesia was defeated in the UNCHR in

Geneva, last March, none of the leading Indonesian newspapers covered the story. The reason given was that no reporters had been contacted on the event. 'Suara Timor Timur' covered half of the proceedings as Salvador Ximenes himself was a member of the conference. But later, the final outcome which was a big embarrassment to Indonesia was not covered at all! Had Indonesia won the resolution in that session of UNCHR, there would have been headlines in most of the leading Indonesian newspapers. A series of recent political events deserved a wide coverage from the Indonesian newspapers as they considered them favourable to Indonesia:

- Political asylum seekers by the seven students in the Swedish and Finnish Embassies was reported in a line which favoured only the indoneian government.

- The visit of 3 Portuguese businessmen as guests of the Indonesian government under the PIFA (Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association). Here, the role of the Indonesian roving Ambassador, FX. Lopes da Cruz was crucial. All the leading newspapers carried a cover story. The article in their headlines was about "the special event" in the State Palace when the three Businessmen met with Suharto.

- The UN-sponsored talks between the two foreign ministers in New York. Most papers covered Alatas statements prior to his departure to New York; excerpts of the talk mentioned only that the two countries have agreed to exchange journalists under the so-called confidence-building measure.

- The visit of 35 East Timorese tribal chiefs sponsored by Jakarta to submit a petition to the UN denouncing Portugal's authority in East Timor. This event was fabricated to feed Indonesian propaganda in the International arena.

- The visit of Congressional delegation staff to East Timor and the Swedish MPs visit to Dili was covered by the Indonesian papers.

- The latest was the Jakarta's sponsored visit of a group of East Timorese (including East Timor governor Abilio Osorio) to a Vatican and France. Suara Pembaruan and the Forum Keadilan carried extensive interview with Abilio Osorio about his visit to Rome and France.

Overall, the print media covers a lot of news on East Timor over the last two years, specially since the Massacre of Santa Cruz, the Xanana's trial and the subsequent events but from an Indonesian perspective. To get balanced and detailed news in East Timor, the Timorese usually listen to radio broadcasting such as ABC/Radio Australia, BBC/London, VOA (Voice of America), Radio Moscow, Radio Netherlands, etc. This is how the timorese get news from overseas. It is fascinating to see to what extent the Timorese prepare themselves just to be able to listen to these foreign broadcasting. They believe that this is the most credible and valuable source of news available to them.

Despite the limitation of the Indonesian media coverage on East Timor affairs, it is encouraging to see new developments taken place in Jakarta. Within censorship, the editors and political dissidents are able to publicly write their views on certain issues, including East Timor. To what extent this new development can be translated into real freedom of the press is still big question mark.

** Contribution from a reader of MN in East Timor.
For obvious reasons the author is not identified*

TIMORESE CIVILIANS KILLED

During the month of October, the indonesian press reported the killing of six Timorese civilians, blaming David Alex for the killings.

It is highly likely that the indonesian soldiers may have been responsible for the killing if it really took place.

Another view is that the indonesian generals are fabricating news of guerillas killing Timorese civilians to justify their military operation which is aiming at capturing Commander David Alex and Commander Taur Matan Ruak.

According to another news item issue in Jakarta by UPI, "an East Timorese guerilla was shot to death during armed clashes with government troops" on October 21.

It is interesting to note that the indonesian government now publishes news about "armed clashes with government troops" feeding the image that the guerillas are, after all, well armed!



East Timor Relief Association

a brief activity report

During the last three months, the main activity was organising the exhibition of paintings by a Timorese artist, Sebastiao Silva. It consisted of fundraising, printing invitation cards, posters, ETRA's new/updated letterhead, arrangements related to the use of Tom Nelson Hall, etc.

As a project devised by the ETRA's support group in Sydney, MN/ETI&DC is already a success. This project helps to promote debate about the struggle of the Timorese people and also to mobilise the solidarity to act on East Timor in this new political environment.

The opening of the exhibition was a total success. The dedication of the active members of ETRA in Sydney has proven to be very effective and decisive in raising the profile of ETRA. Apart from the paintings, the opening consisted of the following:

Traditional dance, music, food and dress, and the presence of Timorese elders. The latter was assured through the work of TAC (Timorese Australian Council) and specially Geraldo Magno, Zeca Soares and Joana Ximenes da Luz. Zeca Soares, helped to drive the bus which brought the Timorese elders to the opening and dropping each of them back to their respective residence.

Light snacks, offered by members of the Timorese community, were served by the organisers and a table was set in the latter stage of the opening to enable the guests to help themselves. The food was superbly organised and presented. The supervision was under the responsibility of Mrs Ines Carion, supported by Mrs Teresa Lobo. This was well noticed and praised by the guests. Congratulations to all those who prepared the delicious food; and the dances, too, were excellent. Our thanks must also go to Joao Justino for the sound of his violin, and to the dedication of Dirce Pinto and Ana Pereira since day one.

A video clip was produced using the same theme "Cultural Survival: through the eyes of an artist". Mandy King, James Kasteven, Fabio Cavadini gave

us their total support resulting in a production of high quality but low cost video clip. Our special thanks to these long time and dedicated supporters of East Timor. This video clip was used by the SBS program Vox Populi, on Sunday the 17.10.93. The video has been played in Tom Nelson Hall for the visitors in order to give them a feeling of what these set of paintings mean to the artist. Copy of this video can be obtained through the office of ETRA in Parramatta.

A program was distributed to all the guests. Speeches were kept to as short a time as possible and the speakers did honour that. Nevertheless, the substance of the speeches was very rich and encouraging. Robert Domm, the national secretary of ETRA introduced Mrs Gabi Hollows after highlighting the works of ETRA, thanking the key supporters such as the PSU (Public Sector Union) and the Maritime Union and all members of ETRA, specially the activists. Gabi Hollows praised the work of the artist and how one can see East Timor effectively "through the eyes of the artist". She mentioned the work done so far between ETRA and the Hollows Foundation (ref. a doctor went to ET to have a look at the health situation in East Timor) and reaffirmed her support and that of her family and Hollows Foundation for the works of ETRA. Gabi expressed her joy for seeing that Justice Elizabeth Evatt had accepted to become the patron of ETRA.

A professional photographer, Katrina, a colleague of Ines, the Co-ordinator of the exhibition, offered to take photos for free as her support to ETRA. She specifically looked at "moments" of the opening and even organised people to take their photos to show an overall picture of the evening itself. Our special thanks to Katrina for her support. Some members of ETRA including Bernardo Reis, also took photos and recorded this special event on video.

The literature made available consisted of media kit, the program, catalogue, Matebian News, and samples of the posters used to advertised the event.

The overall result was obviously a great success. It not only highlighted the support ETRA has in the Timorese community but also the fact that the active members of ETRA do have a capacity to promote the works of East Timor in a quality never seen before. The association between ETRA and the non-Timorese community was also highlighted. Congratulations to ETRA's supporters and activists in Sydney.

Please see the supplement for more on the exhibition!!