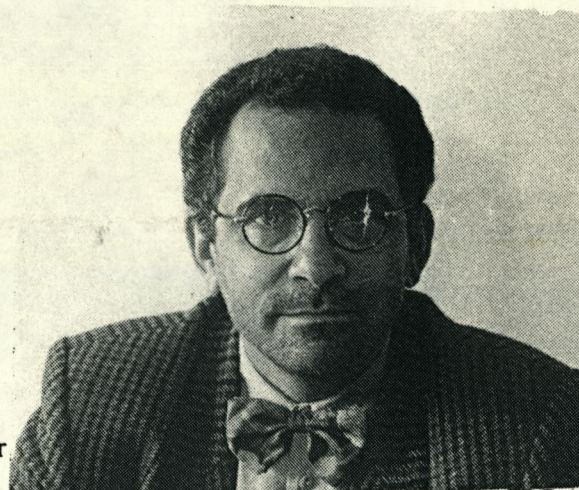


East Timor : A retrospective view of 1993 diplomatic struggle

by Jose Ramos-Horta*

1993 which is drawing to a close was an eventful year for the Timorese resistance on the diplomatic front.



Jose Ramos-Horta: advocating "indirect talks"

Commission on Human Rights

The first victory scored by the Timorese in 1993 was the vote in the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) where out of 53 members of this UN body, 23 voted with a strongly-worded resolution condemning Indonesia for gross and systematic human rights violations in East Timor and only 12 sided with Indonesia. Indonesia had arrived in Geneva with the confidence as leader of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the arrogance over the capture of Xanana Gusmao, certain that it would inflict a crippling blow on the Timorese.

While Indonesia expected that Xanana Gusmao's capture and forced "confessions" would result in demoralization inside and outside East Timor and erosion of the support internationally for the cause of the East Timorese, the opposite took place. Best evidence of this was the CHR vote.

The month of August witnessed another major victory for the Timorese resistance. After a full month of intense lobby, the Geneva-based UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted perhaps the most politically significant resolution on East Timor. The resolution contained references to the previous UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on East Timor and, for the first time, the 4th Geneva Convention relating to treatment of civilian population and prisoners in time of war.

The CNRM was in full force in Geneva with its Special Representative leading the battle and assisted by Jose Amorim Dias, Nelson Santos and Adalberto Alves, all CNRM diplomatic and political cadres.

Negotiations under UN auspices

When the first round of talks took place in New York in December 1992 less than one month after Xanana's capture and his humiliating display on Indonesian and international TV, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas did not hide his satisfaction and overbearing confidence and did not

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mince words in stating that there were no more reason for negotiations with the capture of Xanana.

The second round of talks between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia in Rome in April 1993 was a different one for Portugal and East Timor. Foreign Minister Durao Barroso arrived in Rome with a strengthened position following the CHR victory.

**"CNRM was on the forefront
of the battle in those
excruciating days and weeks
following Xanana's capture"**

The CNRM was on the forefront of the battle in those excruciating days and weeks following Xanana's capture. Within the period of two weeks, the CNRM Special Representative was in four world capital cities (New York, Lisbon, London, Geneva) to counter Indonesia's propaganda claims.

As it happened in the first round of talks in New York in December 1992, the CNRM was present also in Rome through Jose Ramos-Horta. However, while the Timorese political parties were absent from New York, the leaders of FRETILIN and UDT joined the CNRM in Rome in a united front.

The CNRM was present in the third round of talks which took place in New York on September 17 with leaders of FRETILIN and UDT.

The third round produced some tangible results. Foreign Minister Alatas put his signature on an agreement to facilitate access to East Timor by UN specialised agencies and human rights bodies. Timorese resistance participation in the talks is an already acquired fact. It is now almost certain that a meeting will take place between the Secretary-General himself and overseas resistance representatives. It is hoped that before the end of the year a political mission of the UN will visit East Timor for talks with the clergy and members of the civil society. The CNRM has advocated in its peace plan the modality of "indirect talks" as long as Indonesia refuses to seat face to face with resistance leaders. This modality is satisfactory and has drawn the Timorese gradually into the negotiation process.

Xanana's trial and sentence

In May 1993, as Xanana's trial drew to a close, the CNRM Special Representative released in New York the full text of Xanana's Defence Plea, thus

completely outmanoeuvring the Indonesians who were not aware at the time that the original version of that historical document had been smuggled out of the country. This was no doubt the most embarrassing moment for Indonesia. The CNRM had access to the original version of the Defence Plea a few days in advance and had given advance copies to Reuters and the Portuguese daily O Publico which carried lengthy excerpts the same day the Indonesian presiding judge banned Xanana from reading it.

Amos Wako, Personal Envoy of the UN Secretary-General, visited East Timor in late March 1993 and met with Xanana. This was an important acknowledgment of Xanana's stature and the importance of the East Timor issue. In an ironic twist, the Indonesian authorities accused Mr. Wako, the Attorney-General of Kenya, of having "influenced" Xanana into changing his "original" position.

Progress in the US position

Credit is due to the Clinton Administration which within only two months of taking office reversed previous US position on East Timor in the CHR. The US joined with the EC, Canada, the Nordic countries and several African and Latin American in co-sponsoring the CHR resolution on East Timor.

In July 1993, prompted by 43 US senators, President Clinton raised the issue of East Timor with the Indonesian dictator when the two met in Tokyo during the G7 summit meeting. The meeting turned out to be a total PR fiasco for Indonesia as several Indonesian newspaper editorials noted.



Constancio Pinto, US CNRM Representative

The CNRM was in Washington for the battle in the US Senate over arms sales to Indonesia. It is to be noted, the CNRM maintains a professional lobbyist in Washington, Mr. Bruce P. Cameron, with more than 20 years of work in the US Congress. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted without dissent

in support of the Feingold Amendment to the Authorisation Bill conditioning arms sales to Indonesia. This was no doubt the most significant victory in the US which sent a strong signal to Jakarta.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher wrote a confidential letter to both the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers urging "progress" in the New York round. This accounted for the tangible progress noted above.

Working in public or discretely, the CNRM has invested time, energy and resources in the US over many years. Certain activities must remain in the realm of secrecy such is the nature of diplomacy, but fruits of this are visible.

CNRM Latin America offensive

The CNRM undertook some initiatives regarding Latin America. Its Director-General for International Relations visited Chile and Argentina in August/September and had fruitful discussions with NGOs and senior government officials. The film "Cold Blood" was shown on Chilean national TV. Contacts were made with Latin America diplomats in Geneva and New York.

In July 1993, at the Brazilian city of Salvador de Bahia, the Third Ibero-Latin American Conference of Heads of State and Government included a reference to East Timor in the Final Declaration. This was no doubt significant since East Timor was the only issue outside the region that was discussed at all.

Human Rights Prize

On October 24 the Special Representative was present at the inauguration of a "Human Rights Street" in Nuremberg as guest of the Mayor along with 14 other world personalities.

One of the most important events of the year was the 1993 Professor Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Award given to the people of East Timor through the CNRM Special Representative. This served to highlight the issue of East Timor not only in Norway but in the whole of the Nordic countries and enhances the chances of Bishop Dom Carlos to be the 1994 Nobel Peace recipient.

Toward 1994 and beyond

In view of the space limitation, this was not meant to be an exhaustive CNRM "Activity Report". We

tried to highlight only some of the main facts. However, the diplomatic struggle has many other sides to it. Many CNRM cadres travelled the world with different missions. For 1994 the CNRM has already a full agenda - the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva (Feb/March), a visit to Norway and Iceland in March, the 4th round of talks in May in Geneva, the Asia-Pacific Regional Conference on East Timor in May/June in Manila, visits to Thailand and Malaysia in April, etc.. Apart from these more "conventional" activities, 1994 will be rich in other activities - hopefully a major documentary will be shown in England and around the world in February; a group of world renown artists will display their work dedicated to East Timor in September 1994 in New York. The lobby in the US will continue to be a top priority and a renewed Latin America offensive will be effected.

** Jose Ramos-Horta is the Special Representative and Co-President of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) ■*

Don Carlos Ximenes Belo : fighting for the Timorese dignity and identity

Don Carlos Ximenes Belo is a Bishop of Lorium holding the title of Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili - East Timor. This year, Bishop Belo managed to reach the outside world with a message of hope for peace, and also appeal for fundraising to build a minor seminary in Dili for the Timorese. This seminary will cost approximately \$US2 million but the Bishop left Canada, USA, Japan and the Australian cities with a sense of optimism.

Bishop Belo appealed for help because, he said, there is need to safeguard the sense of dignity and the identity of the Timorese people and the Timorese Church. This appeal echoed in the hearts of all those who had the opportunity to listen to this historical Timorese young Bishop.

He will return to Dili, East Timor, on the sixth of December taking with him a strong message to his people. One of these messages certainly will be: we are not alone! ■

QUOTE OF THE YEAR

**"No agreement can be reached
between the prisoners and their warder"**

Xanana Gusmao, 27 May 1993

EDITORIAL

1993 - A CHALLENGING YEAR FOR THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

If there was a time where the resistance of the people of East Timor could be compared to 1993, was the third year of the resistance, 1978, when the late president of Fretilin, President Nicolau Lobato was killed. His death was the culmination of 3 years campaign mounted by the occupying forces to destroy the structure of the resistance and put an end to the diplomatic pressure exerted from the international arena.

1993 suffered a similar situation. The capture of Xanana Gusmao was a culmination of more than 10 years campaign mounted by the Indonesian occupationists to destroy the Command of the Timorese National Resistance.

There are differences this time. One is that the Resistance is ready to quickly renew its forces, in spite of the fact that Xanana's capture was followed by the capture of Ma'Huno Bulere Karatayano, the last member of the surviving members of the Central Committee of Fretilin. The second one is the fact that Xanana Gusmao was not killed.

He is alive and, above all, he has not betrayed the struggle of his people; on the contrary, he continues to be a source of inspiration for his people. This is very important if one takes into account the degree of suffering this barbaric 18-year old occupation has already caused to this traditionally very peaceful people of East Timor.

Konis Santana also is experiencing in 1993 what Xanana Gusmao went through in 1979-80. Both found themselves in a position where they had no choice but to take over the leading role and build up, urgently, some form of central command - critical to survive a war of occupation.

Here, too, there are differences. One is the fact that Konis Santana is not alone; there are number of very experienced commanders who can help him sustain the war in most critical times such as when Ma'Huno was captured in April this year; a nother difference is that East Timor is now relatively opened to the world and, unlike in the period of 1978 to 89 when East Timor was closed to the world, it is now under the microscope of the international community.

The experience of the past, however, is a safeguard for the Resistance of the Timorese People. Konis Santana follows, without doubt, the strategy defined by Xanana Gusmao. National Unity as the sacred road to follow in East Timor and, abroad, fighting for a diplomatic solution.

As far as the Command of the struggle goes, Konis Santana continues to defend the non-partisan role of FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor), the principal component of the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance), safeguarding, at all costs, the non-partisan and supra-partisan role of this organisation which embodies the National Unity strategy.

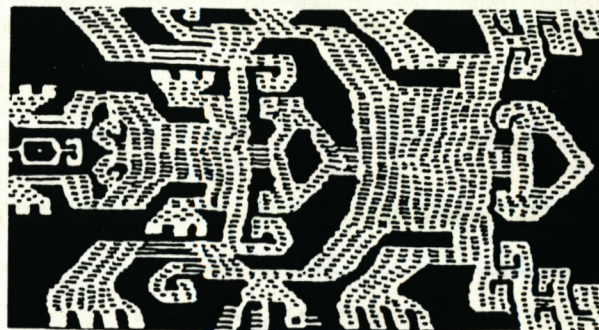
1993 also was important in upholding the impact of the infamous massacre of Santa Cruz of 1991. The effect of this massacre has not gone away and there are signs that the Senate and the Congress of USA will keep it alive for sometime.

In the international arena, we witnessed the emergence of an embryonic face of an infra-structure of the CNRM. This, in itself, is a gigantic challenge not only for Jose Ramos-Horta, but to all the Timorese activists abroad who genuinely want to liberate their Homeland.

Overall, 1993 was what many believed: a test of the capacity of the Timorese to tackle unfamiliar forums such as the USA and Japan and the Asian-Pacific region as a whole.

It is the shift from lobbying the 3rd World to lobbying the industrialised world; a shift from the focus on armed struggle to the focus on diplomatic struggle; a shift from focusing on political partisanship to the national unity approach to politics.

In short, 1993, in spite of all the setbacks caused by consecutive capture of the Timorese leaders, the people of East Timor proved clearly to the world that the foundation of the Maubere's Resistance is, indeed, unbreakable. ■



TIMOR LESTE 1993: UM BALANÇO DIPLOMÁTICO

Por J.R.Horta - CNRM

1993 foi um ano cheio de acontecimentos para a Resistência Timorense na Frente Diplomática.

COMISSÃO DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS

A primeira vitória conseguida pelos Timorenses em 1993 foi a votação na Comissão dos Direitos Humanos onde se verificou uma contagem a nosso favor de 23 votos com a passagem de uma forte resolução condenando a Indonésia pelas violações sistemáticas dos direitos humanos em Timor Leste. Só 12 países votaram a favor da Indonésia. Isto tudo depois da captura de Xanana.

A Indonésia esperava com esse trunfo desmoralizar a Resistência no terreno e desgastar o apoio internacional, causando assim uma derrota para os Timorenses. O que aconteceu foi precisamente o contrario.

O mês de Agosto foi testemunha de outra, ainda maior, vitória para a Resistência Timorense. Depois de um mês de intenso trabalho nos bastidores, a Sub-Comissão das Nações Unidas para a Prevenção da Discriminação e Protecção às Minorias, adoptou a resolução politicamente mais significativa sobre Timor Leste. A resolução continha pela primeira vez referências a anteriores Resoluções da Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas e sobre a Quarta Convenção de Genebra para o tratamento de populações civis e prisioneiros em tempo de guerra.

NEGOCIAÇÕES SOB OS AUSPÍCIOS DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS

Quando a primeira ronda de negociações teve lugar em Nova Yorke em Dezembro de 1992, menos de um mês depois da captura de Xanana, o Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros Indonésio não escondia a sua satisfação e confiança e não hesitou em declarar que não havia mais necessidade para continuar as negociações com Portugal.

A segunda ronda, que teve lugar em Roma em Abril de 1993, foi diferente. O Ministro Português chegou em Roma com uma posição fortalecida depois da vitória da Comissão dos Direitos Humanos.

O CNRM esteve sempre na frente da batalha em todas as ocasiões, depois da captura de Xanana. Num periodo de 2 semanas o Representante Especial do CNRM visitou 4 importantes cidades-capitais (Nova Yorke, Lisboa, Londres e Genebra), para contra-atacar a propaganda Indonésia.

Nas segunda e terceira rondas os líderes dos partidos políticos Timorenses juntaram-se ao CNRM para apresentarem uma Frente Unida.

A terceira ronda produziu alguns resultados favoráveis a Timor Leste. O Ministro Alatas assinou um acordo para facilitar o acesso a Timor Leste de Agências especializadas das Nações Unidas e Organizações de Direitos Humanos.

A participação da Resistência Timorense nas negociações já é um facto. É já quase certo que irá haver um encontro entre o Secretário-Geral e Representantes da Resistência no estrangeiro.

O CNRM advoga no seu Plano de Paz a modalidade de "Negociações indirectas", enquanto a Indonésia se recusa a sentar-se cara a cara com os líderes da Resistência.

JULGAMENTO E SENTENÇA DE XANANA

Em Maio de 1993 o julgamento de Xanana chegou ao seu fim. O Representante Especial do CNRM tornou público em Nova Yorke, o texto completo da defesa pessoal escrita por Xanana. Isto, sem duvida, constituiu o momento mais embaraçoso para a Indonésia. No mesmo dia em que o Juiz Indonésio impediu Xanana de ler a sua auto-defesa, a agência noticiosa Reuters e o jornal Português O Público publicavam exertos deste histórico documento.

Em fins de Março de 1993, Amos Wako, Enviado Pessoal do Secretario-Geral, encontrou-se com Xanana. As autoridades Indonésias, mais tarde acusaram Amos Wako de ter "influenciado" Xanana a mudar a sua posição "original".

PROGRESSO NA POSIÇÃO DOS E.U.A.

Deve-se dar crédito à Administração de Clinton que em 2 meses depois de ter tomado posse, fez uma revisão sobre a sua posição em relação a Timor Leste na Comissão dos Direitos Humanos.

Em Julho de 1993, instigado por 43 Senadores, o Presidente Clinton abordou a questão de Timor Leste com Suharto quando os dois se encontraram em Tokyo para a Cimeira dos sete países mais industrializados (G7).

Juntamente com o Sr. Bruce Cameron, que está a ser pago pelo CNRM, os trabalhos nos bastidores com os Senadores Americanos resultaram na aprovação pelo Comité do Senado para as Relações Estrangeiras do "Feingold Amendment", lei que condiciona a venda de armas a Indonésia.

O CNRM E A OFENSIVA NA AMÉRICA LATINA

O Director-Geral do CNRM visitou o Chile e a Argentina nos meses de Agosto e Setembro onde obteve resultados positivos nas discussões com Organizações Nao-Governamentais e altos oficiais do Governo. O filme "Cold Blood" foi mostrado na televisão Nacional Chilena.

Em Julho de 1993 a terceira Conferência de Chefes-de-Estado e Governos dos Países Ibero-Latino Americanos, que teve lugar no Brasil, incluiu uma referência a Timor Leste na sua Declaração Final. Isto constitui uma vitória significativa pois Timor Leste foi a única questão discutida fora dos assuntos da Região.

PRÉMIO DOS DIREITOS HUMANOS

Em 24 de Outubro de 1993 o Representante Especial do CNRM esteve presente na inauguração do "Human Rights Street" em Nuremberga, como convidado do Presidente da Câmara, juntamente com outras 14 personalidades mundiais.

Nessa mesma altura o Representante Especial do CNRM recebeu o Prémio "Professor Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Award" atribuído ao Povo de Timor Leste. Isto irá aumentar as possibilidades do Bispo Dom Carlos vir a ser o recipiente do Prémio Nobel da Paz em 1994.

PERSPECTIVAS PARA O FUTURO

Para 1994 o CNRM tem já um programa muito preenchido - a Comissão dos Direitos Humanos (Fev/Março), uma visita a Noruega e Islandia (Março), a quarta ronda das negociações (Genebra), a Conferencia Regional da Ásia/Pacífico (Maio/Junho), visitas à Tailândia e Malásia (Abril), etc.

Para além destas actividades "convencionais", haverá ainda outras actividades tais como - um documentário na televisão Inglesa e à volta do Mundo (Fevereiro), um grupo de artistas fará uma mostragem do seu trabalho dedicado a Timor Leste (Setembro, Nova Yorke) e o trabalho nos bastidores nos E. U. A. e América Latina continuarão a ser prioridades.

A FALINTIL COMMANDER REPORTS - a brief overview of the military situation

by Commander Dai Tula

This is a summary of a report issued by the members of FALINTIL in order to allow those outside to grasp a piece of reality inside East Timor.

The military offensive (by the enemy) launched in April this year was implemented in the whole of East Timor.

In April, battalion 301 which was responsible for the counter-guerilla attacks in the areas of the river of Matabuu and seixal, and in the areass between Abafata to Macalaco, Massal, Iestau, Sonealari, Sorolai, Lamaraque, Ossluga, Issabu, etc., retrieved to the area of Buibau/Baucau.

In the areas above, battalion 301 stayed for one month. Their activities included mounting attacks in the bush walkways and roads where they suspect that the guerillas of FALINTIL might use; they also set up networks to spy on the population to monitor what the population talks about.

The residence of former prisoners were constantly under surveillance. Sometimes in the middle of the night, they can be arrested for interrogation to find out about strange faces in their houses (i.e. the guerillas)

In June, the enemy launched their clean-up operation in the military region no.2 (Laleia to Venilale, from Luilubo/Ostico to Bucoli) including Vemassee, and Ossu.

The first military move was made in the first days of June from Loilubo to Ostico. The forces involved in this move came from Baucau, and started their operations since Uaiquirassa, Ossoquiliba, Nunuoli,

Uaiculo, Caiduorua, Caidanacua, Betolae, Loilela, Uatobela and Uaime. These areas belong to the administrative zone of Vemassee. They also mounted offensives in the areas of Uaimori of Vemassee, Mausoci, etc. which belong to the administrative zone of Laleia. Later on the same forces moved to the central region, specially active in Laline and Aitana.

There were also operations in Uiliba, Nunuoli, Uaiculo, Caiduaetolae, Loilela, Uatobela and Uata. The total number of troops mobilised for this three-month operation was four battallions (bat. 112, 301 and 502). The active forces so far used, however, did not reflect the total number of four battallions. Battallion 301, for example, only used half of its forces for the attacks.

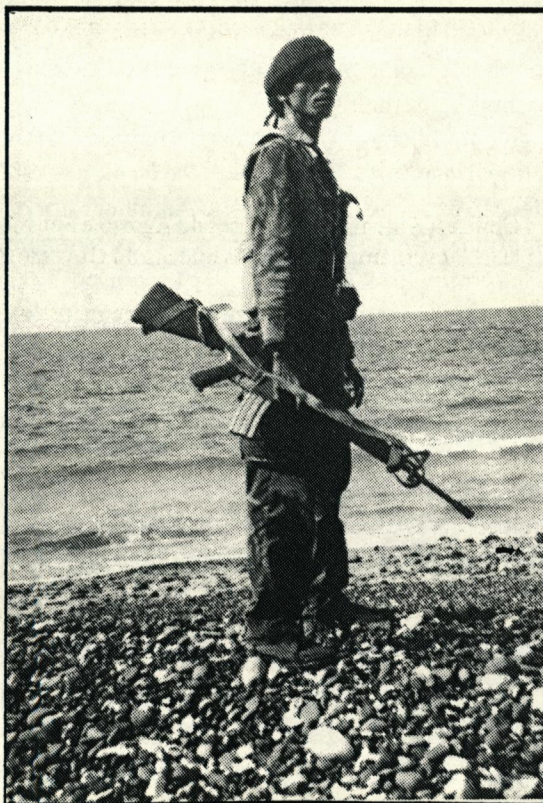
The battallions which operates in East Timor are the following: 112, 121, 131, 301, 321, 405, 407, 412, 413, 502, 512, 516, 527, 611, 612 and 631. A total of 16 battallions without including battallions 744 and 745, which are stationed permanently in East Timor. This does not include also the comandos or kopassus, kopasgat and Linud, the Airforce which are based in Baucau. Other forces, not included in these 16 battallions are the paramilitary forces such as the Tim-Saka, Tim-Sera, Tim-Makikit and Tim-Alfa.

Tim Saka was partitioned into two groups: one, based in Kodim of Baucau, another based in Lai Soro Lai - Quelicai.

Battallion 301 is composed of 750 soldiers. The forces which make up the Kodim of Baucau are 400 men, and the police force is made up of 120 men.

On the 26 of June, forces of Tim-Saka based in Lai Soro Lai moved to the east of Matebian in response to combats taken place between Falintil forces of region no.1 against units of Tim-Saka, resulting in 3 Tim-Saka soldiers killed and two wounded. This combat took place on 17 of May, in the areas of Daudere/Luro. ■

Note: This summary was made possible by students organisation in East Timor.



Commander Dai Tula



East Timor Relief Association

a brief activity report

Several activities were undertaken by ETRA Inc. in month of November. One of the main one was the preparation of elections for ETRA's National C'ttee which is due on the 4th of December this year. This is, indeed, a very important and historical event for the organisation. For more than a year, the Interim C'ttee managed to prepare the grounds for a long term and strong organisation. ETRA has survived all the adverse circumstances.

Community Aid Abroad/Freedom From Hunger (CAA/FFH) launched a very important photographic exhibition around NSW in order to highlight the historical process of the Timorese struggle for liberation focusing on its cultural and political aspects. Photos of Elaine Briere, Max Stahl, Steve Cox, Jenny Groves and others are part of this exhibition. Members of ETRA inc. have been actively supporting this campaign. Agio Pereira, ETRA's Executive Director, together with Mr Tom Uren, a former Federal minister of the Whitlam cabinet and a 2nd/2nd Com-mando in East Timor, launched this exhibition in the NSW Parliament House. This launch was well covered by the Australian Media. A good article was published in the Sydney Morning Herald, ABC Radio JJJ aired an interview by Agio Pereira, talking about the exhibition and also promoting the anniversary of the Massacre of Sta. Cruz.



A week later, the same exhibition was launched in Wollongong where Ines Almeida, an active member of ETRA and Co-ordinator of Matebian News/ETI&DC, together with Mr Colin Markham, a State Opposition Shadow Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Assistant Shadow Minister for Minerals and Energy, launched the exhibition.

Agio Pereira also gave two interviews to the UTS/Macquarie Uni radio, 2SER, where he spoke about the anniversary of the Massacre of Sta Cruz, gave an update on the situation of East Timor and promoted the photographic exhibition.

Members of ETRA Inc. were also invited to the Human Rights Oration promoted by the Anti-Discrimination Unit - B/NAIB'RITH. The speakers were the High Court Judge, Hon. Justice Einfield, the Head of the Aboriginal Reconciliation Commission, Mr. Patrick Dodson, an aboriginal writer and others. The members of ETRA asked Mr. Patrick Dodson to make an appeal to show support for Xanana Gusmao and he agreed to do so.

Another activity of ETRA was related to the visit of the Timorese Bishop, Don Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili - East Timor. ETRA's members attended the dinner (24.11.93) organised by the Sydney-based Catholic Commission for Social Justice, as a mean to support the fundraising to support the building of a minor seminar to be built in Dili. ETRA also attended the dinner organised by the Timorese Community (Sat. 27.11.93) for the same purpose.

ETRA has also been sending regular news to various groups including the Leichhardt/Sydney group and those groups which met before and, later on, with Bishop Belo in Sydney.

PEN (Poets, Essayists and Novelists) International, a Canberra-based organisation, is promoting a gathering in Canberra dedicated to Xanana. ETRA supplied poems written by Xanana Gusmao to be read in this gathering.

Apart from these activities, Matebian News/ETI&DC has been feeding the Pactok/Pegasus network with regular and relevant news (eg. transcription of Bishop Belo's only interview on the ABC Radio national, newspapers items and others) on East Timor, enabling other groups to use these news for their activities. ■

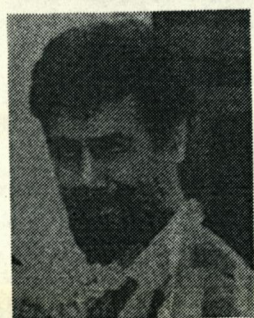
XANANA GUSMAO: I'm Still Fighting...

Xanana Gusmao - the Symbol of the Timorese National Resistance, was moved from the prison of Semarang to the prison of Cipinang on the 30th of September last. This was a change from a prison hosting only common criminals to a prison of political prisoners. However, his situation inside the Indonesian prison is not an easy one. He could not sleep at night because of mosquitoes inside the cell. This has improved since he was helped with mosquito net from other Timorese prisoners.

However, since Xanana Gusmao was transferred to Cipinang prison, five other compatriots (Timorese prisoners) that were already there, suffered a drastic change in their prison routine. Since early November, they can no longer go to the visitors room on Sundays and Wednesdays to meet visitors. They may go to the visitors room, if they are lucky, but this can only occur if they have someone who have expressly asked to see them and this person is already in the room. If any of them manage to have this luck, no other Timorese can join them for a conversation.

Xanana has been receiving regular visits by BAIS/BAKORSTANAS agents who keep on warning him not to talk to other prisoners in the adjacent cells about politics because, they say, if he does, his situation will be made worse. They constantly tell him that "we are one land and one nation".

The conditions in the cells are uncomfortable; when it rains, the roof leaks. Human rights groups report that until now he has not been allowed to go to the church like other prisoners.



You too can help!

Take part in the international campaign "Send a Message to Xanana". This is a campaign launched by the Commission "Free Xanana, Free East Timor",

a Commission made up of various groups campaigning for the freedom of Xanana and East Timor.

You can send your message to Xanana via a channel you know or, if you do not have any, send it to the Committee of International Red Cross in Geneva or Jakarta. Alternatively, you can try Cipinang prison but, at the same time, notify the relevant human rights authorities and urge them to do a follow up.

The address of Cipinang prison is: Lembaga Permisyaratan Kelas I Cipinang, Jalan Raya Bekasi Timur no.170, Jatinegara-Jakarta, Indonesia. ■

7 of December 1993 - not a day of mourning but of pride and hope

Pride, because after 18 years of horrendous military occupation bathed in blood of men, women and children of all ages, we still stand up and fight to hold on to our nation. Hope, because in spite of countless losses of lives of our Freedom Fighters, we have strengthened the ranks and the spirit of our National Resistance everyday, every hour, every minute and every second. We have shown to the world what our poet Fernando Sylvan wrote:

**DON'T ASK ME TO BE SILENT,
BECAUSE I WILL NEVER BE SILENT;
NOT EVEN FOR ONE MINUTE...**

This 7 of December marks the 18 year of the darkest chapter of our history, specially in the struggle of our people to end colonial rules and occupation.

The colonial rule that led to the "revolt" of Manufahi in 1912, the Japanese-Australian occupation during WWII, and the invasion and current occupation by Indonesia - to name a few - have all contributed to the destruction and looting of our national and human resources. Their compounded effect in every level of our society is too high to measure. Yet, the Timorese are still fighting with the same self steam and even pride, for being able to withstand the forces of evil that has been trying to destroy our tiny nation over this century.

1993, as the report presented by Mr Jose Ramos-Horta in this bulletin shows, was a year of crucial diplomatic victories not only because of the traumatic moments lived inside the country, but also, considering the very limited resources available for the fight inside and outside the country, we are, indeed, quite achievers!. All individuals and organisations that stood side by side with us this year must be congratulated.

Let's make 1994 better than 1993...

Agio Pereira

East Timor Photo Exhibition - an ongoing project

Community Aid Abroad (CAA) sponsored a major photo exhibition of East Timor Photos highlighting the various stages of the struggle of the Timorese people.

The exhibition retracts historical images as far back as 1942 untill 1992. The occupation of East Timor by Australian and Japanese commandos is vividly portrayed in these collection of photos. One can also look at the Portuguese colonial rule, the Indonesian occupation with all its ingredient of repression against the Timorese people.

This exhibition will run for a long period of time. The opening in Sydney took place in the Parliament House. The event was honoured by Tom Uren, a former Australian soldier fighting overseas and also former Minister of the Whitlam cabinet. The Timorese camp was represented by Agio Pereira, the Executive Director of the East Timor Relief Association.

The NSW branch of CAA must be congratulated for an excellent work done. Media presence in the opening was also good and the coverage reflect that. The Australian wrote an article about the event focusing on the Australian commandos presence in East Timor saying that Australia has a debt to East Timor. Paddy Kenneally another old digger was also present in the opening. Both, Paddy Kenneally and Tom Uren fought a war in East Timor during the WWII. JJJ (ABC Radio), 2BL and 2ESR also gave coverage to the event.

ETRA Inc. gave all the support to this exhibition. Ines Almeida and a team from ETRA took part in the launch of the same photo exhibition in Woolongong. You still can see this exhibition in the future.

The details for the rest of the tour are as follows:

Newcastle

Thu 3 December - Sat 4 Dec
Multicultural Centre, Broadmeadow

Bellingen/Coffs Harbour
Fri 17 Dec - Mon 3 Jan

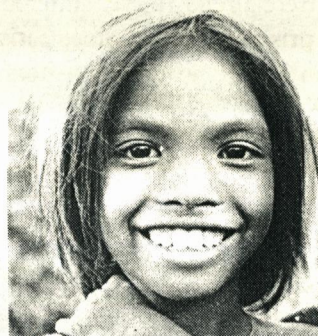
Gosford, Central Coast
Mon 10 January - Sunday 16 January
Laycock St Theatre, Gosford

Tamworth
Fri 28 Jan - Sun 6 Feb
(Venue not yet finalised)

Campbelltown
Thu 10 Feb - Thu 17 Feb
Campeltown city gallery

Bondi Beach
20 Feb - 6 March
Bondi Pavillon Gallery,
Bondi Beach

ETRA and CAA (Melbourne office) will organise the oil paintings exhibition of Sebastiao Silva to be held in Melbourne at the Meatworkers Gallery in Lygon St, Carlton from late March 1994. A selection of the photos used in this photographic exhibition may be included in this 1994 East Timor event. ■



**ETRA and the Mateblan News Team wish
you all a very happy Xmas and a very
successfful year.**

**We thank you all for your support during
1993, specially in the most critical times.**

**We do look forward for your continuing
support in the coming year - 1994.**

HAPPY NEW YEAR!!!
Let's make 1994 better than 1993...

**The struggle continues in every front
East Timor will be free**

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