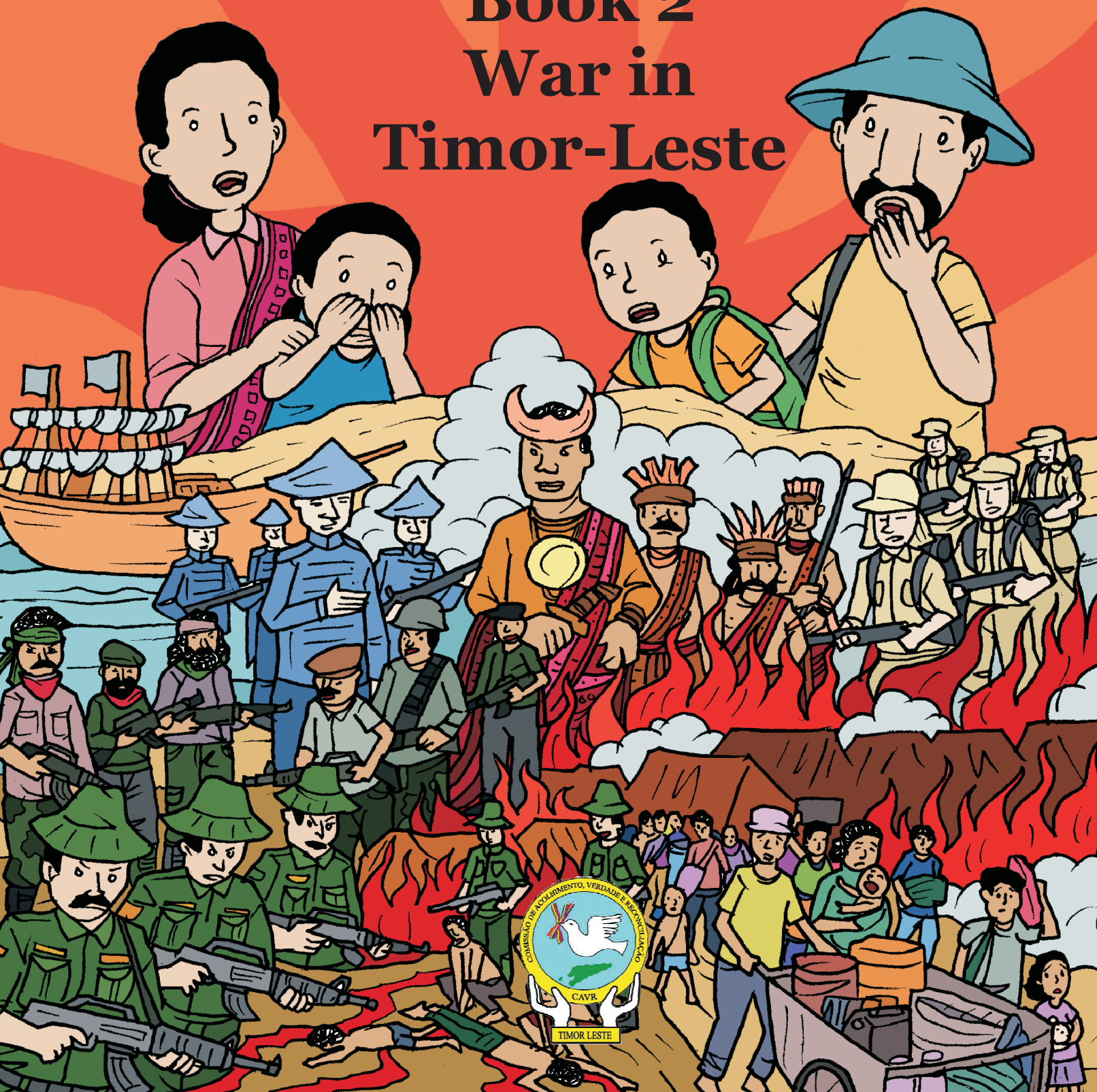


CHEGA!

Book 2 War in Timor-Leste



CHEGA!

Book 2
War in Timor-Leste

CHEGA!

Book 2 **The War in Timor-Leste**



2015

Chega!
Book 2 – The War in Timor-Leste

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INTRODUCTION

Priscilla Hayner, March 2015

Timor-Leste, formerly known as East Timor, today represents the success of a movement for self-determination. We are able to watch with fascination as a new country takes root, matures, and takes its rightful place in carrying out international and national affairs.

However, this independence, finally fully achieved in 2002, came at a high price, after many decades of struggle against oppressive systems. Timor-Leste is a story that we can all learn from: its history includes colonial rule, resistance, internal conflict, occupation, further resistance, concentration camps and widespread death from famine. It finally had the opportunity to vote for its independence, but even this met a violent response from its former occupier.

The United Nations and others helped in the transition to statehood after the independence vote. Part of this effort was to help respond to the national desire for a full investigation into this history. The resulting truth commission of Timor-Leste, known as the CAVR (for its acronym in Portuguese), was an impressive body, and after several years of research and speaking with thousands of victims, it produced a stellar report. It stands out as a prominent example amongst the many truth commissions around the world to date.

This accessible, popular version of the report, in its five volumes, is one further step in setting a new standard for truth commissions. Like the full report, it is available in multiple languages. This English version should be especially useful for teachers and students in many parts of the world who can now more easily access this important story, with its universal relevance. It also provides a useful glimpse into how “truth commissions” undertake their work. This illustrated version should be useful to adults and adolescents, but could also be of interest to younger children. There are many parts of Timor-Leste history, for example, that show how war and conflict directly and negatively impact children and youth.

I commend the impressive efforts of those who have made this popular version of the CAVR report available, and hope this helps to reach the broader readership that the report deserves.

Priscilla Hayner is the author of *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*, and an independent expert on transitional justice, based in New York.



EDITOR'S NOTE TO TEACHERS

Welcome to this comic version of the Timor-Leste Chega! report.

The 5-part comic has been developed with East Timorese colleagues and the blessing of East Timorese leaders to make the full report available for practical use in the classroom, including being easily photocopyable! It is sincerely hoped that teachers of history, international relations, human rights, religious education and other subjects will find it useful. As it is also available in Indonesian (www.chegareport.net), teachers of Bahasa Indonesia might also find it a helpful language tool.

Why should schools and young people around the world study Chega?

Of the many reasons that could be given, I think the most important is the story of Timor-Leste itself. It is so improbable and amazing, it is guaranteed to excite and motivate young people.

The Timor story is also highly educational. It is informative in terms of events and players but, more deeply, in terms of the values it teaches. No-one could study Chega! without swearing off bullying, thinking twice about war and peace, and gaining a deeper insight into human nature and human rights and the latter's global importance in today's fractured, violent world.

Lastly, a word on the nature and use of the comic book.

Teachers should understand that Chega! is essentially a report on human rights violations committed on all sides in Timor-Leste over 24 years. It takes a particular, though fundamentally important, perspective. It is not a comprehensive academic treatise.

Teachers should also appreciate that as a human rights report, Chega! identifies perpetrators and victims and assigns guilt and that it does this regardless. The Indonesian military (not the Indonesian people) are prominent in this gallery of guilt but East Timorese and big name players in the UN, such as Australia, the US, UK and France, also qualified for this dis-honour board.

As a comic, the product also simplifies and presents its message in black and white. Teachers are strongly urged, therefore, to familiarise themselves with the full report and the compelling human stories it contains and to use it and the comic version hand in hand.

Pat Walsh
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Armed Forces)
Apodeti	Associação Popular Democrática Timorese (Timorese Popular Democratic Association)
ASDT	Associação Social Democrata Timorese (Timorese Social Democratic Association)
Asosiasaun HAK	Perkumpulan Hukum, Hak Asasi, dan Keadilan (Association for the Law, Human Rights and Justice)
CAVR	Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor-Leste (Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CNRT	Conselho Nacional de Resistência Timorese (National Council for Timorese Resistance, established in 1998)
CPLP	Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (Community of Portuguese Speaking Nations)
CRC	International Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRP	Community Reconciliation Process
Fokupers	Forum Komunikasi Perempuan Timor Lorosa'e (East Timorese Women's Communication Forum)
Fretilin	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for Independent Timor-Leste)
GPK	Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan (Security Disturbers Movement)
Hansip	Pertahanan Sipil (Civilian Security)
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
KKP-HAM	Komisi Penyelidikan Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia (Commission for the Investigation of Human Rights Violations)
Kodim	Komando Distrik Militer (District Military Command)
Komnas HAM	Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (Indonesian National Human Rights Commission)
Kopassandha	Komando Pasukan Sandhi Yudha (Sandhi Yudha Special Forces)
Kopassus	Komando Pasukan Khusus (Kopassus/Special Forces)
Koramil	Komando Rayon Militer (Military Command at the Sub-district Level)
Korem	Komando Region Militer (Military Command at the Regional Level)
KOTA	Klibur Oan Timor Asuwain (The Association of Timorese Heroes)
KUHAP	Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Acara Pidana (Penal Process Code)
KUHP	Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana (Penal Code)

NGO	Non-Government Organisation
Pertamina	Perusahaan Tambang dan Minyak Indonesia (Indonesian Oil Company)
SGI	Satuan Gabungan Intelijen (Indonesian Intelligence Unit)
TBO	Tenaga Bantuan Operasi (Operations Assistant)
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesia National Defence Force)
	Tonsus Peleton Khusus (Special Platoon)
Trabalhista	Partido Trabalhista (Labour Party)
UDT	União Democrática Timorense (Timorese Democratic Union)
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

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MAP OF TIMOR-LESTE



Mum, what can we do to build a better Timor-Leste?

To know what you can do for your country, you need to learn about our history. Knowing history and its lessons will help us decide what we want for our country and what we don't want.

Timor-Les

NORTH

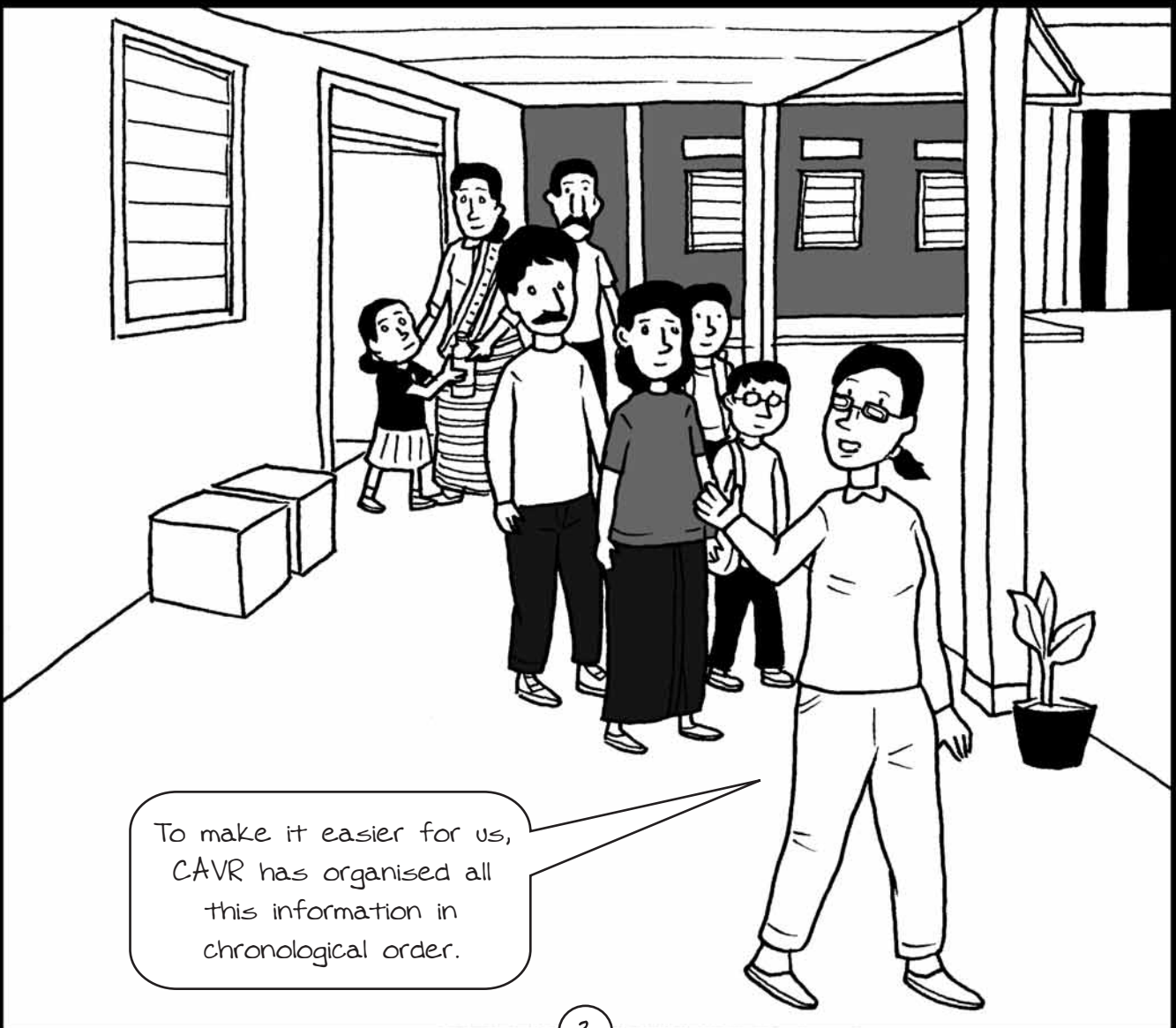
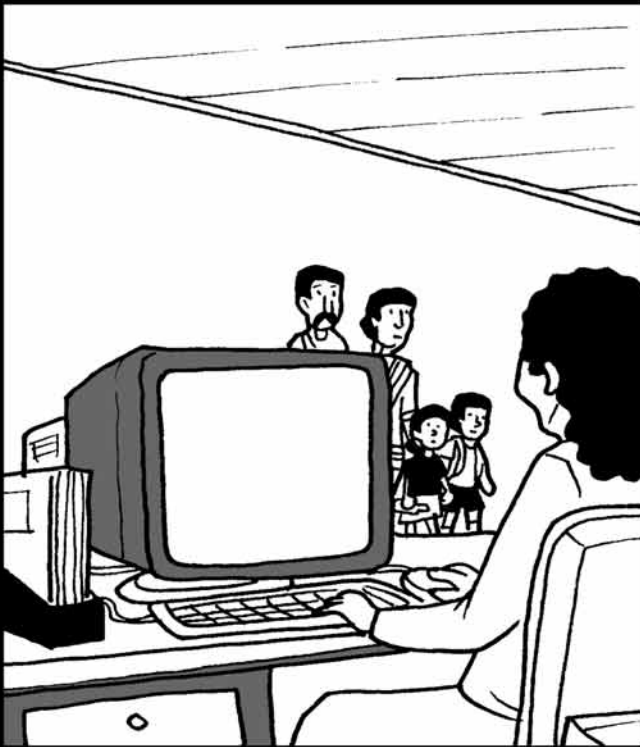


That's right! And part of that involves facing up to the history of conflict in Timor, from the beginning of Portuguese colonialism until when Indonesia left our country.

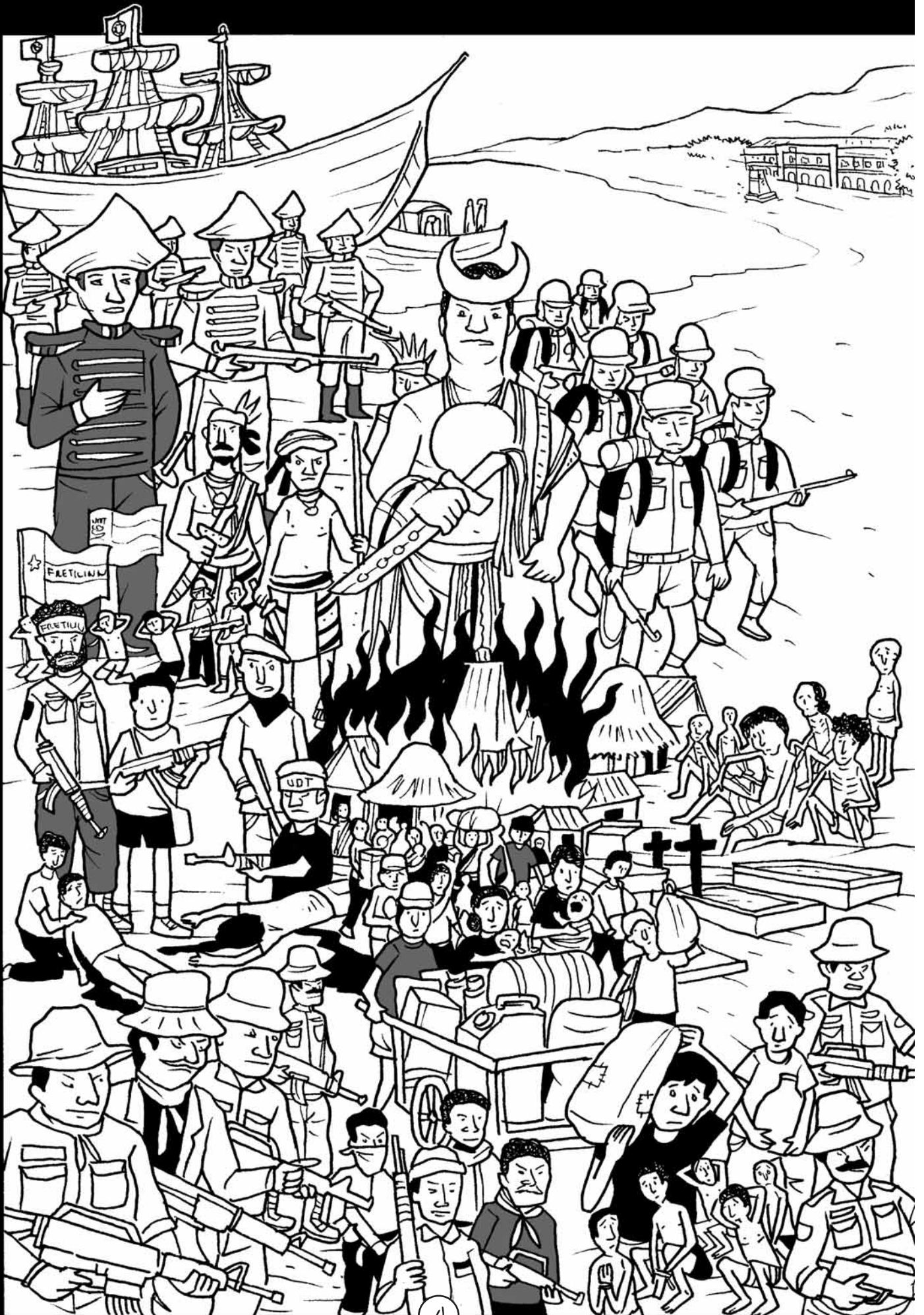


The history we will look at now is made up of the experiences and stories that East Timorese told CAVR. There are also stories from our leaders, as well as documents and books that have been written about Timor-Leste's history.



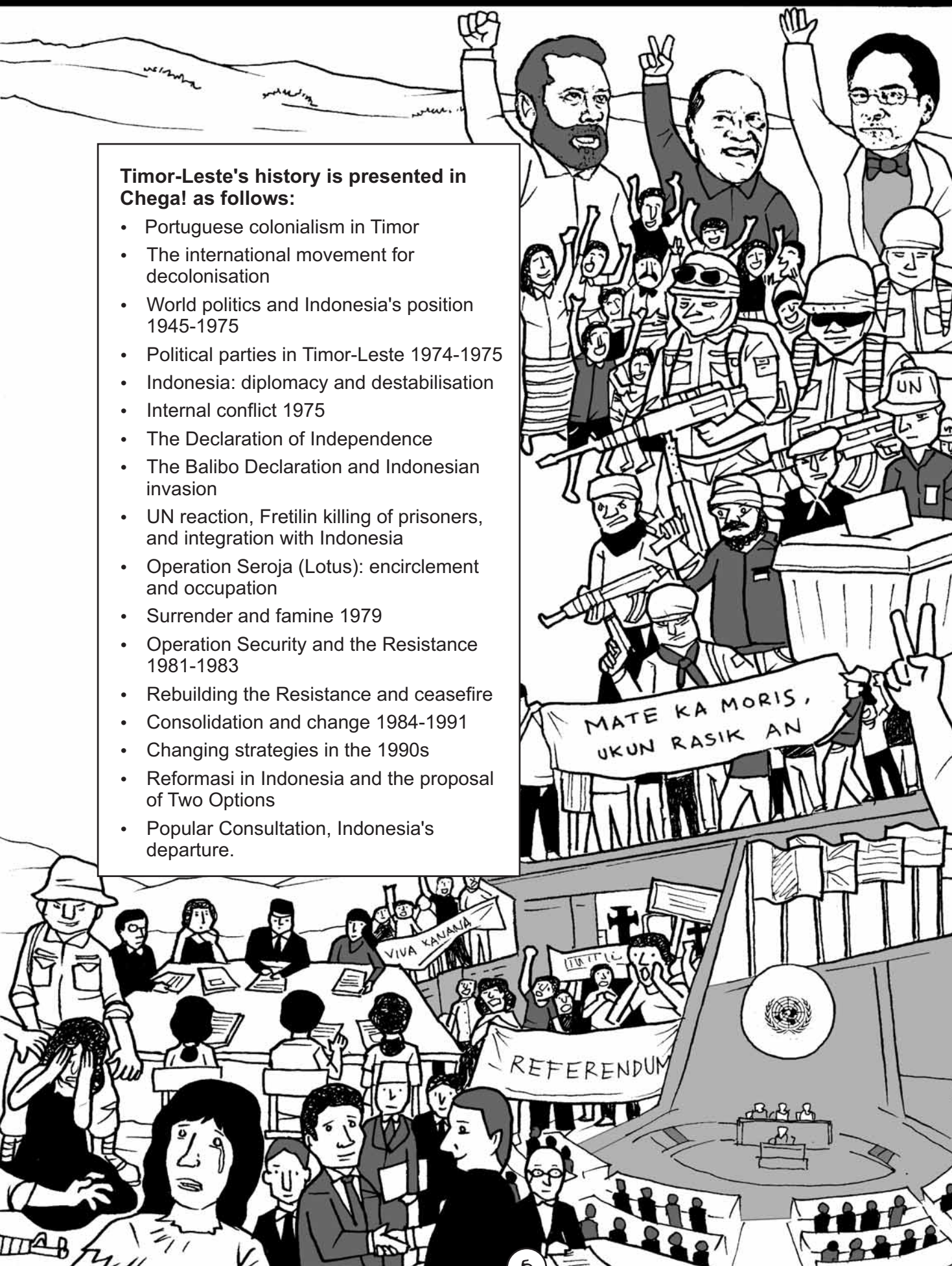


To make it easier for us,
CAVR has organised all
this information in
chronological order.

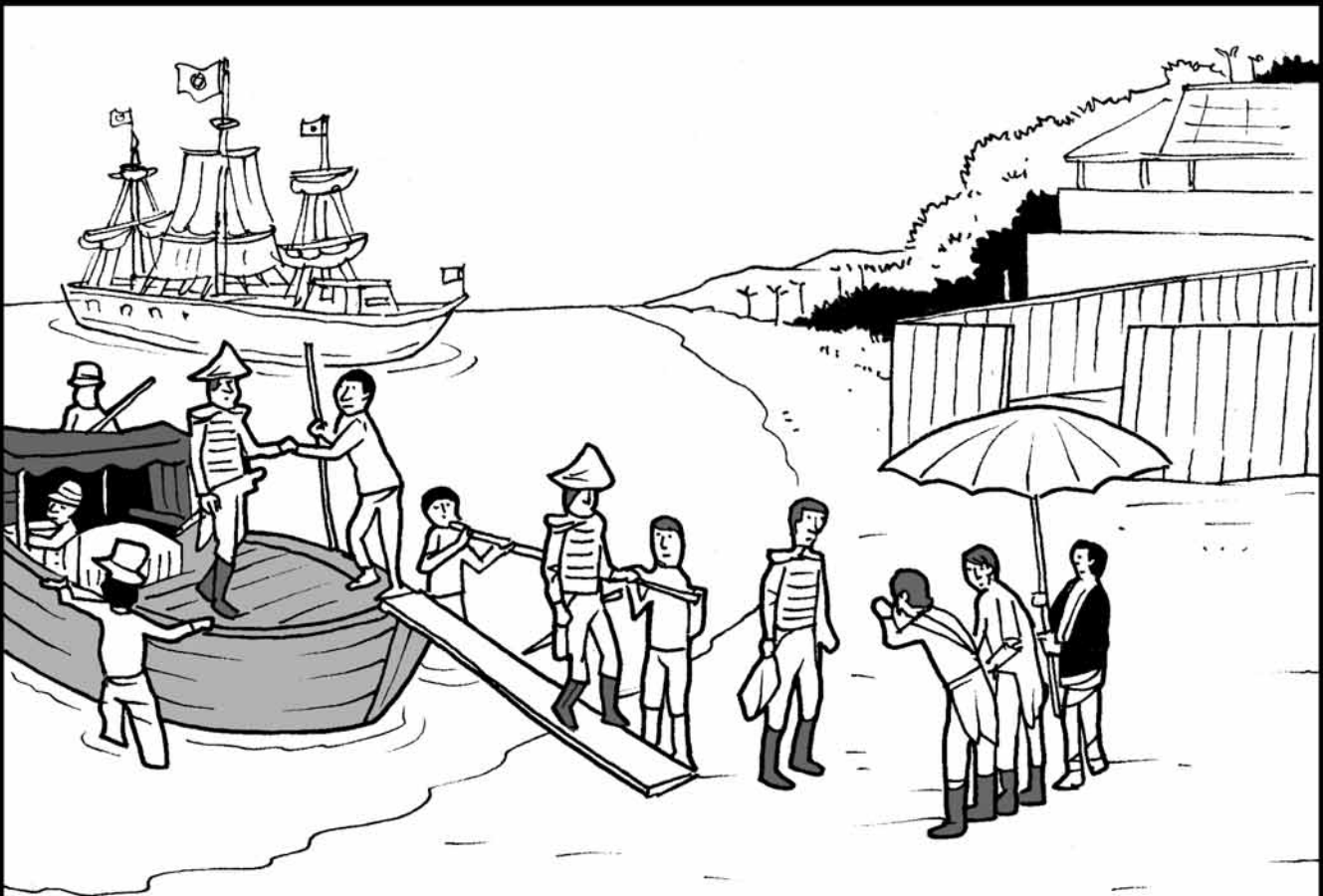
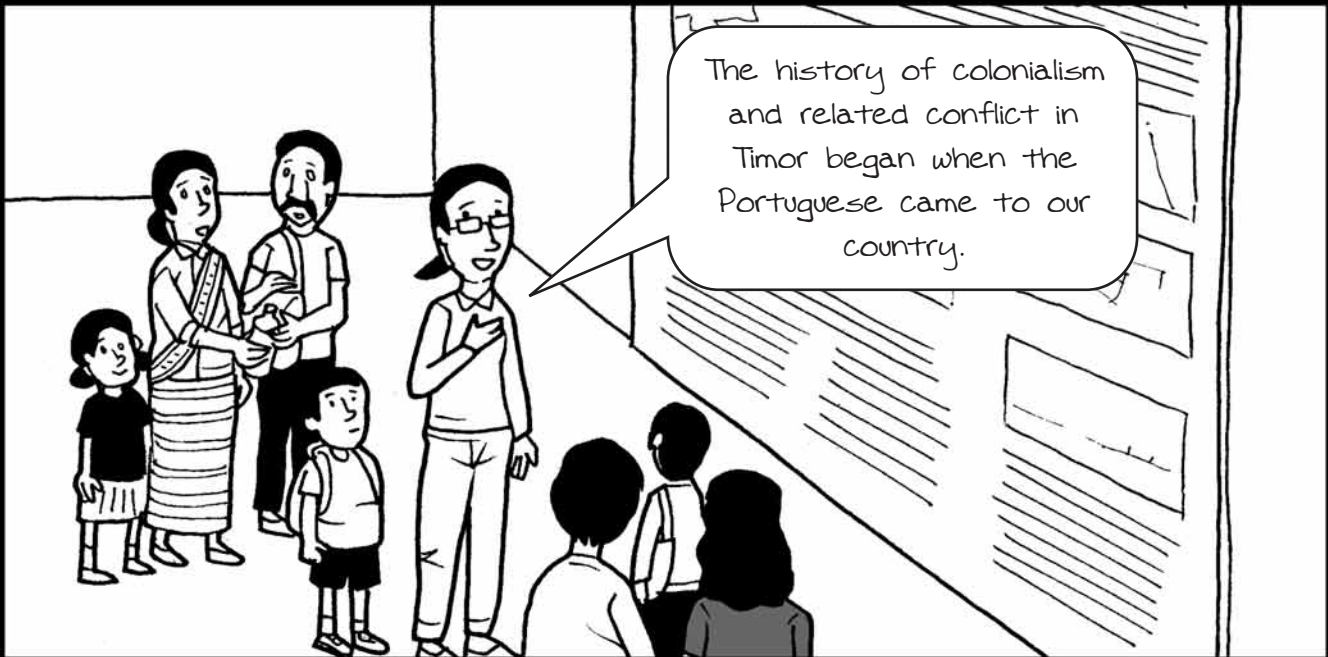


Timor-Leste's history is presented in Chega! as follows:

- Portuguese colonialism in Timor
- The international movement for decolonisation
- World politics and Indonesia's position 1945-1975
- Political parties in Timor-Leste 1974-1975
- Indonesia: diplomacy and destabilisation
- Internal conflict 1975
- The Declaration of Independence
- The Balibo Declaration and Indonesian invasion
- UN reaction, Fretilin killing of prisoners, and integration with Indonesia
- Operation Seroja (Lotus): encirclement and occupation
- Surrender and famine 1979
- Operation Security and the Resistance 1981-1983
- Rebuilding the Resistance and ceasefire
- Consolidation and change 1984-1991
- Changing strategies in the 1990s
- Reformasi in Indonesia and the proposal of Two Options
- Popular Consultation, Indonesia's departure.



PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM IN TIMOR

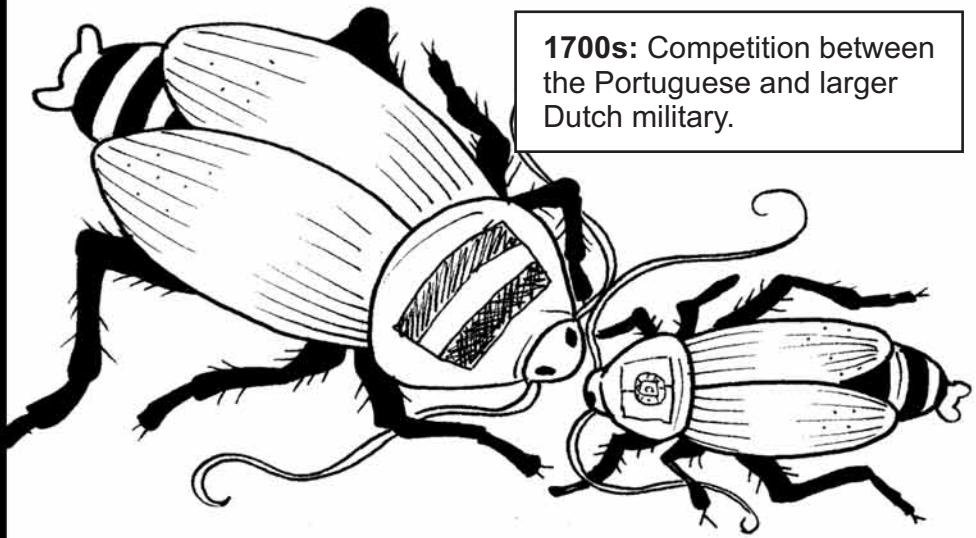


Early 1500s: Portuguese traders arrive in Timor looking for sandalwood

End of 1500s: The first Catholic Church is built in Lifau, Oecussi; Dutch traders arrive in west Timor.



1700s: Competition between the Portuguese and larger Dutch military.

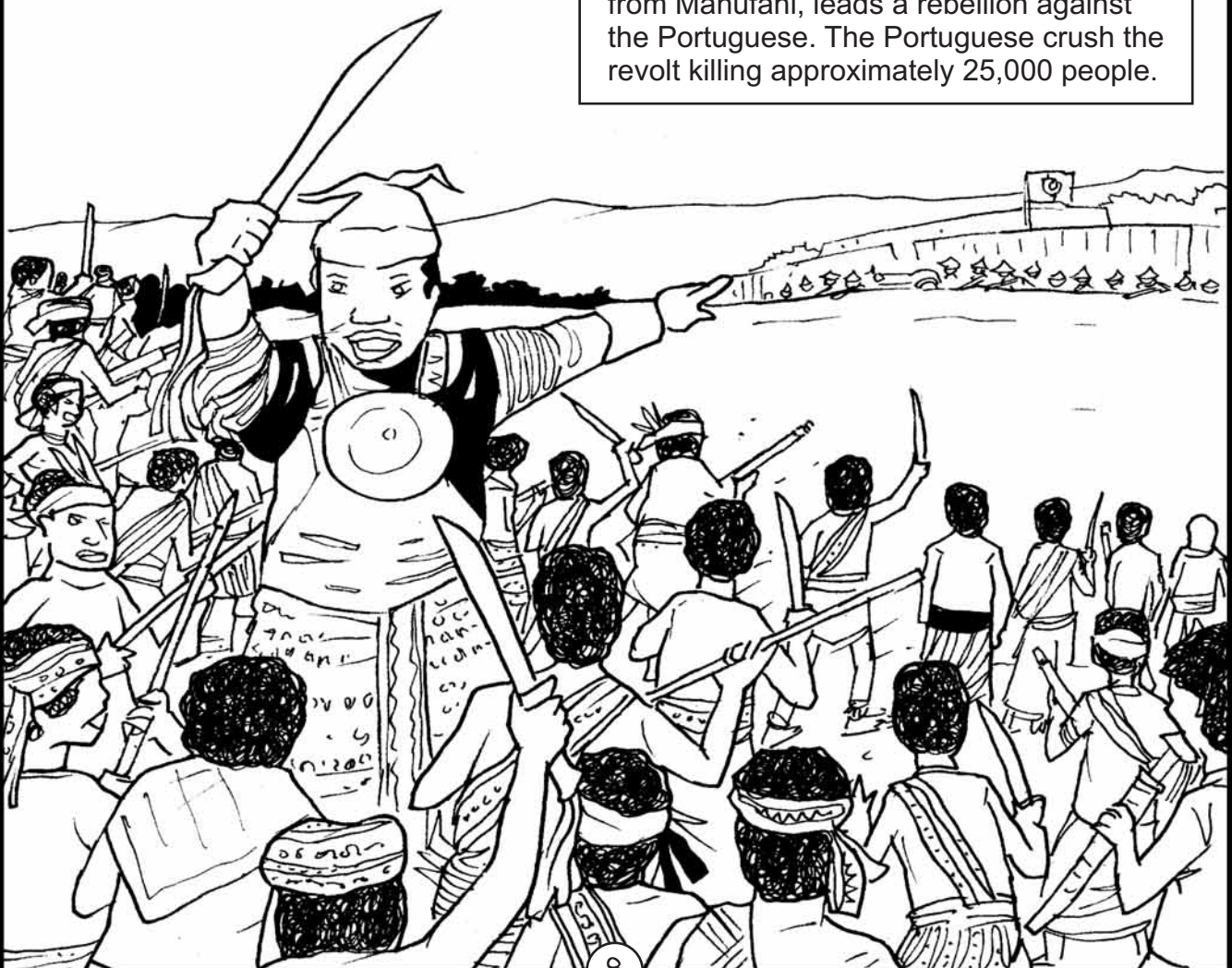


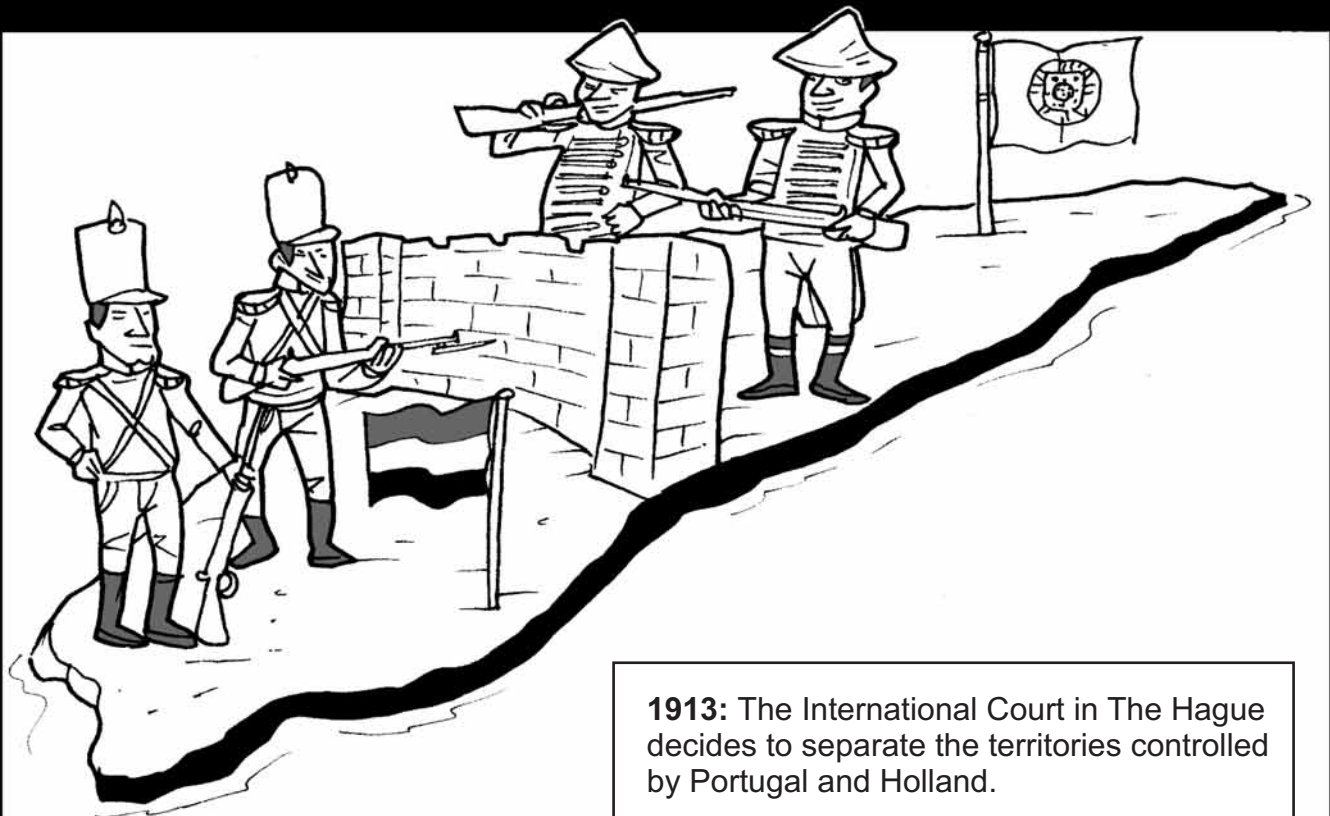
1771: Portugal moves its main base to Dili.

1800s: Portugal forces Timorese to plant coffee, pay taxes, and work in its plantations.

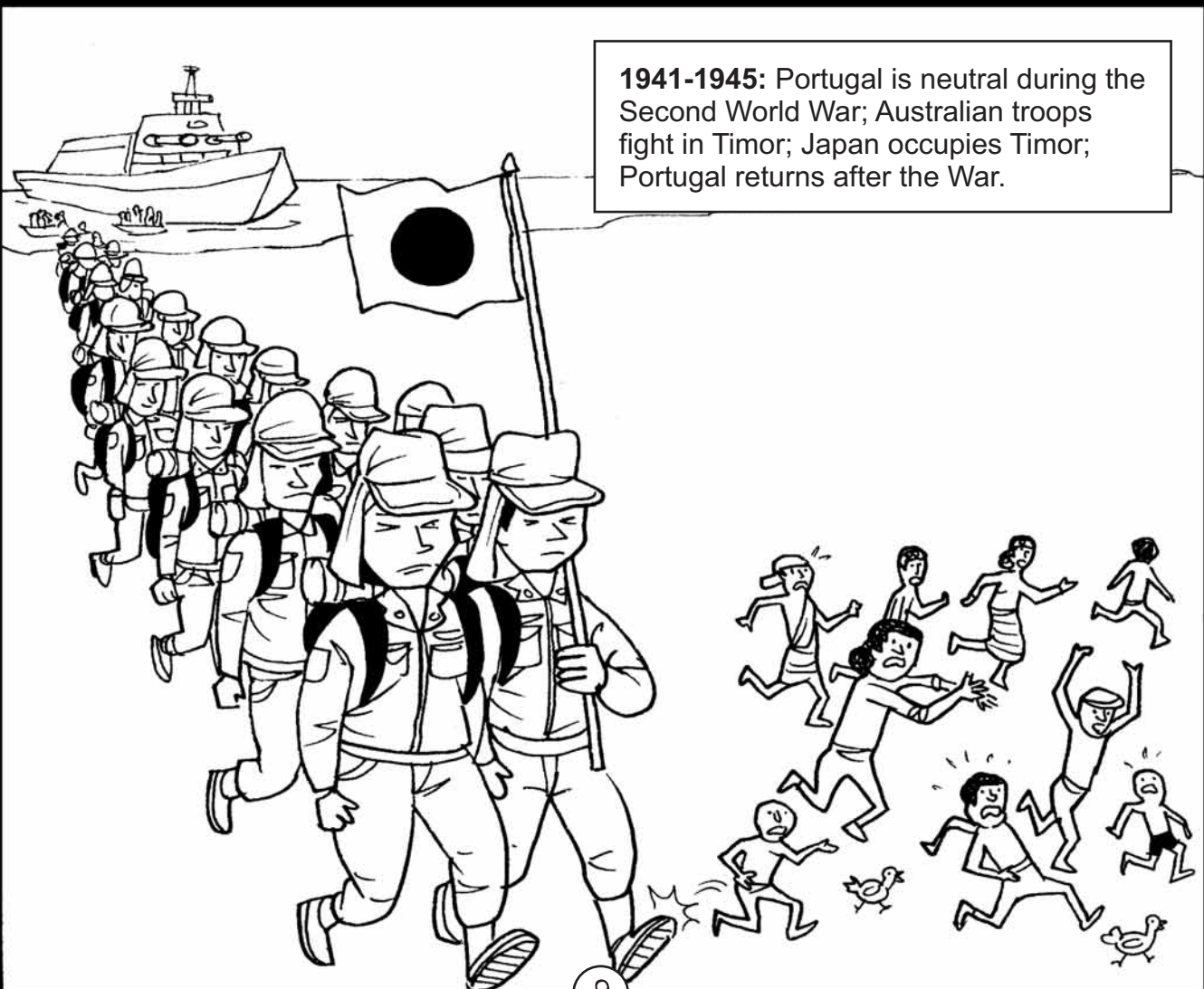


1911: Dom Boaventura, a liurai or king from Manufahi, leads a rebellion against the Portuguese. The Portuguese crush the revolt killing approximately 25,000 people.

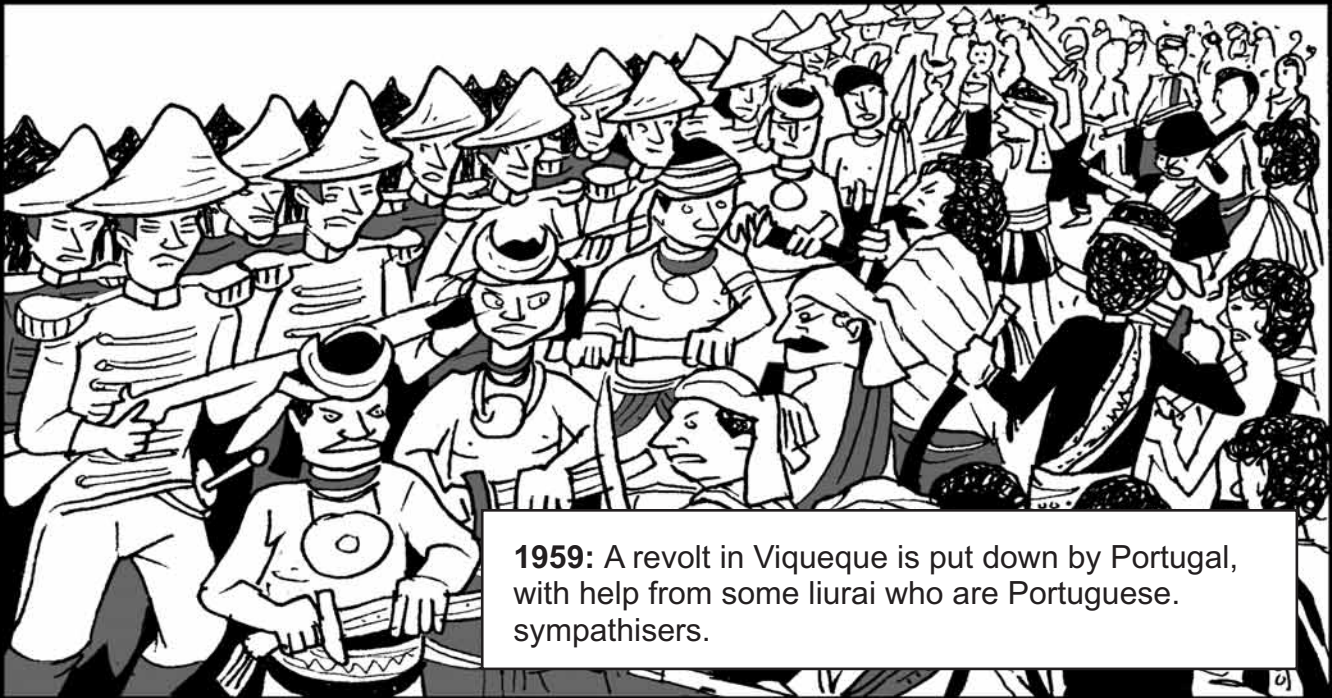




1913: The International Court in The Hague decides to separate the territories controlled by Portugal and Holland.



1941-1945: Portugal is neutral during the Second World War; Australian troops fight in Timor; Japan occupies Timor; Portugal returns after the War.



1959: A revolt in Viqueque is put down by Portugal, with help from some liurai who are Portuguese sympathisers.



I often saw some of the Portuguese taking palm wine that was for sale by the local people and not give them any money, although the people had walked for a long time to the market in the hope that they would return with some money. They were oppressed and could not defend themselves. Every time I saw these things, my heart ached and I cried inside. But I could not do anything.

(Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo)



The Portuguese colonisers did four things in particular:

1. Provoked and divided communities.
2. Denied Timorese a meaningful role in governance.
3. Failed to develop the economy, infrastructure and comprehensive education and health systems.
4. Did not promote democracy or human rights.

As a result the Timorese people were not well prepared when change suddenly came in 1974. This contributed to conflict between the new and inexperienced political parties.



Did the same thing happen in other countries?

Yes, at the time many countries were colonies. There were also many wars. Eventually, when colonised peoples began to liberate themselves, they received support from outside. An international movement then campaigned for the independence of these peoples.



THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR DECOLONISATION



Look, here is some information
on decolonisation!



1945: The United Nations (UN) is established to maintain peace in the world. The UN Charter states that all colonies have a right of self-determination.

1945: Indonesia declares its independence. Four years later this independence is recognised by the international community.





1960: The UN declares that all peoples have the right to self-determination. The UN lists Portuguese Timor as a non self-governing territory.

1961: The UN establishes the Special Committee on Decolonisation. In the 1960s, 42 states gain independence, many of them in Africa.

25 April 1974: The Salazar-Caetano regime falls from power in Portugal. An armed forces movement leads a successful, bloodless coup, known as the 'Carnation Revolution'. As the new president, Antonio Spínola promises independence to all the territories under Portuguese colonial rule.



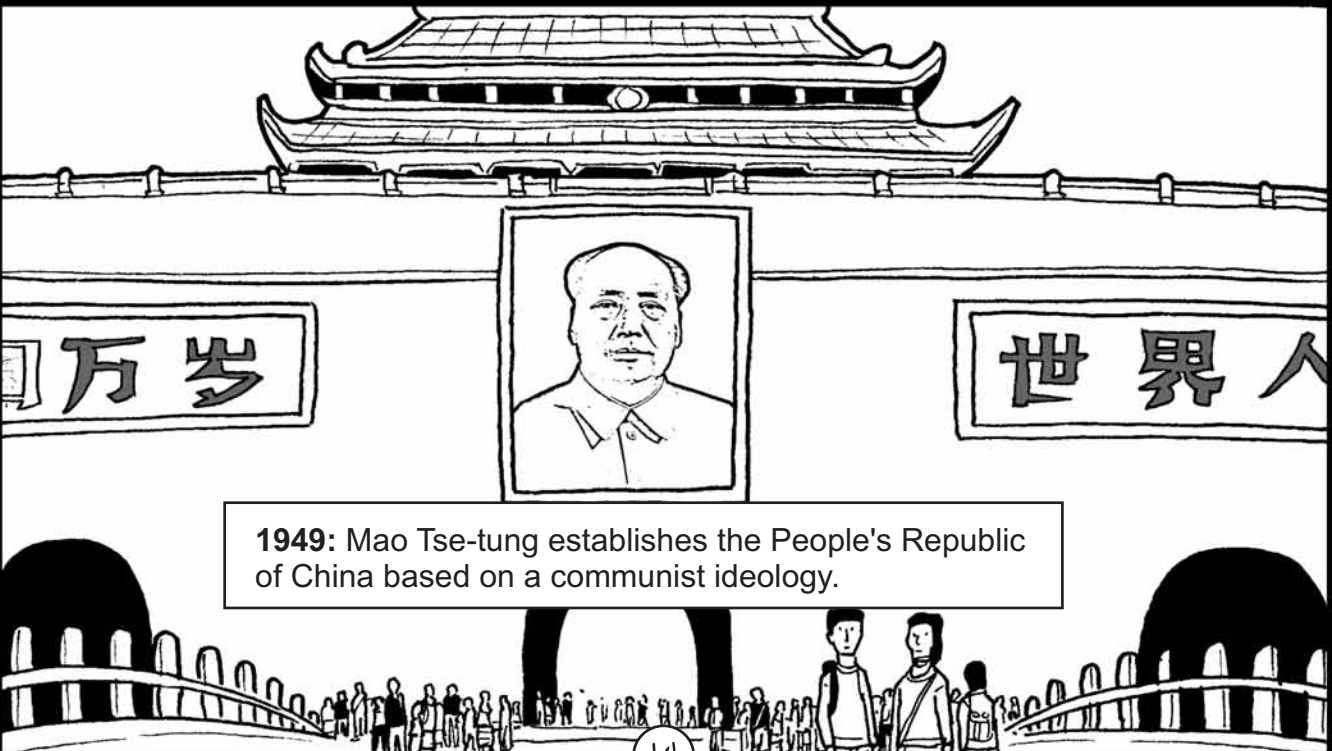
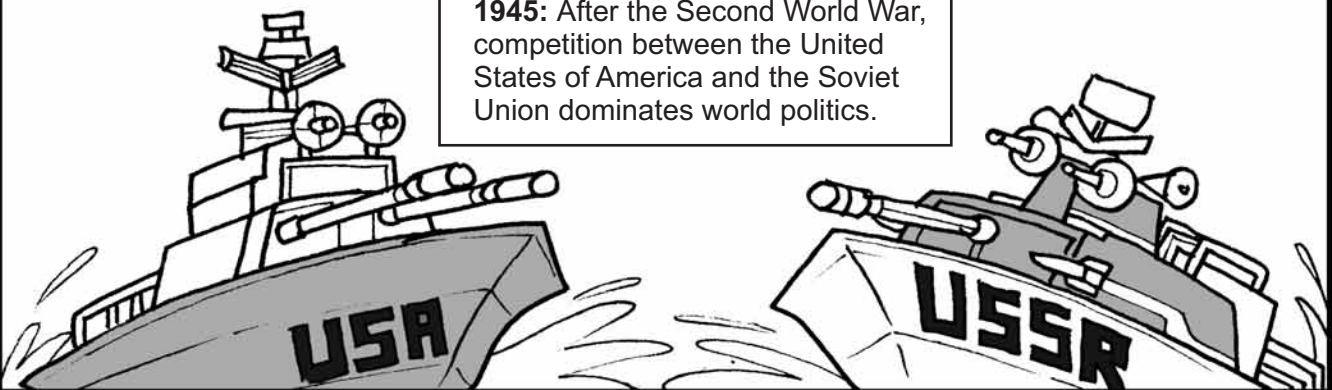
Hey, look over here! There's more information on what happened.



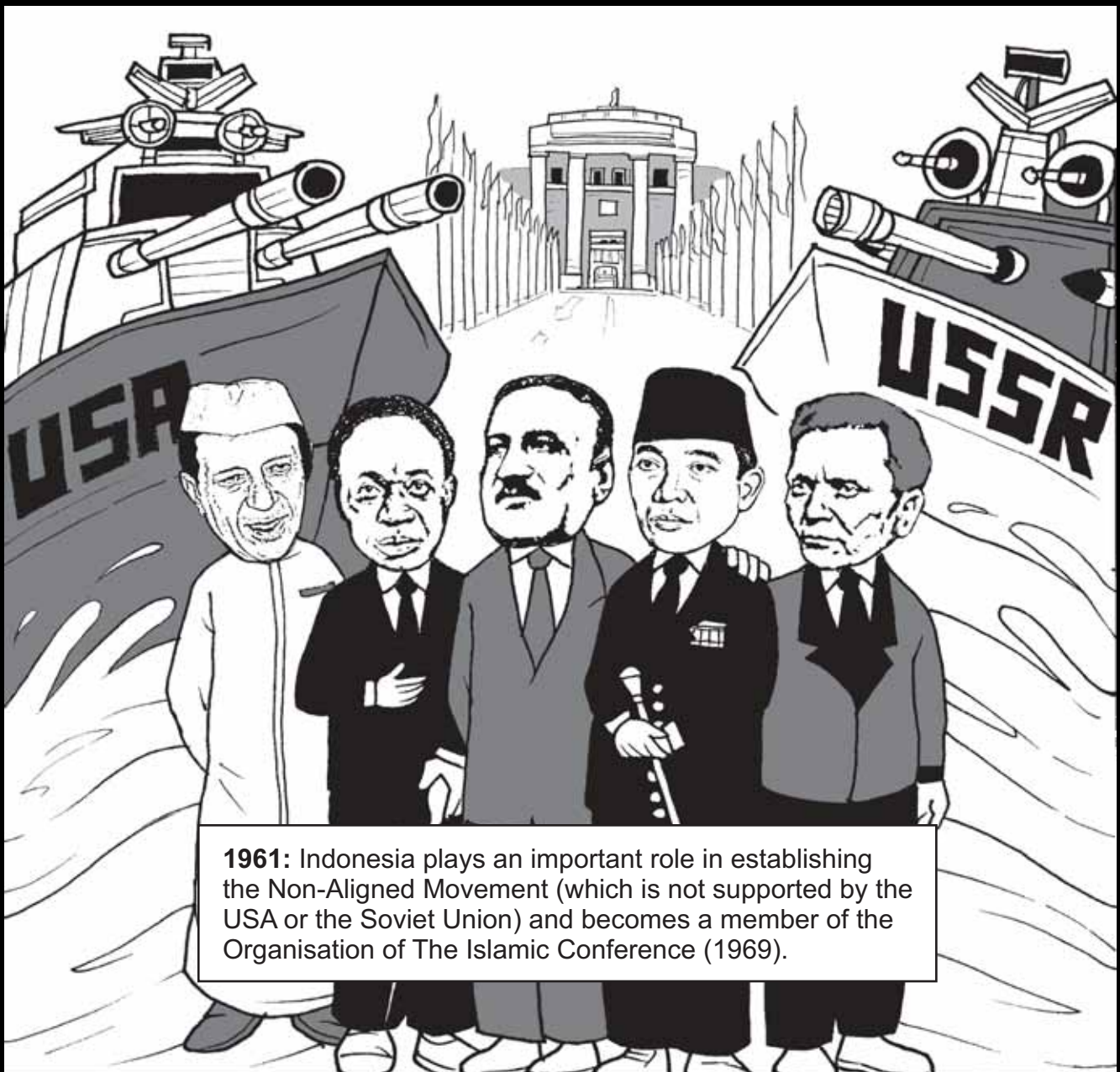
WORLD POLITICS AND INDONESIA'S POSITION 1945-1975



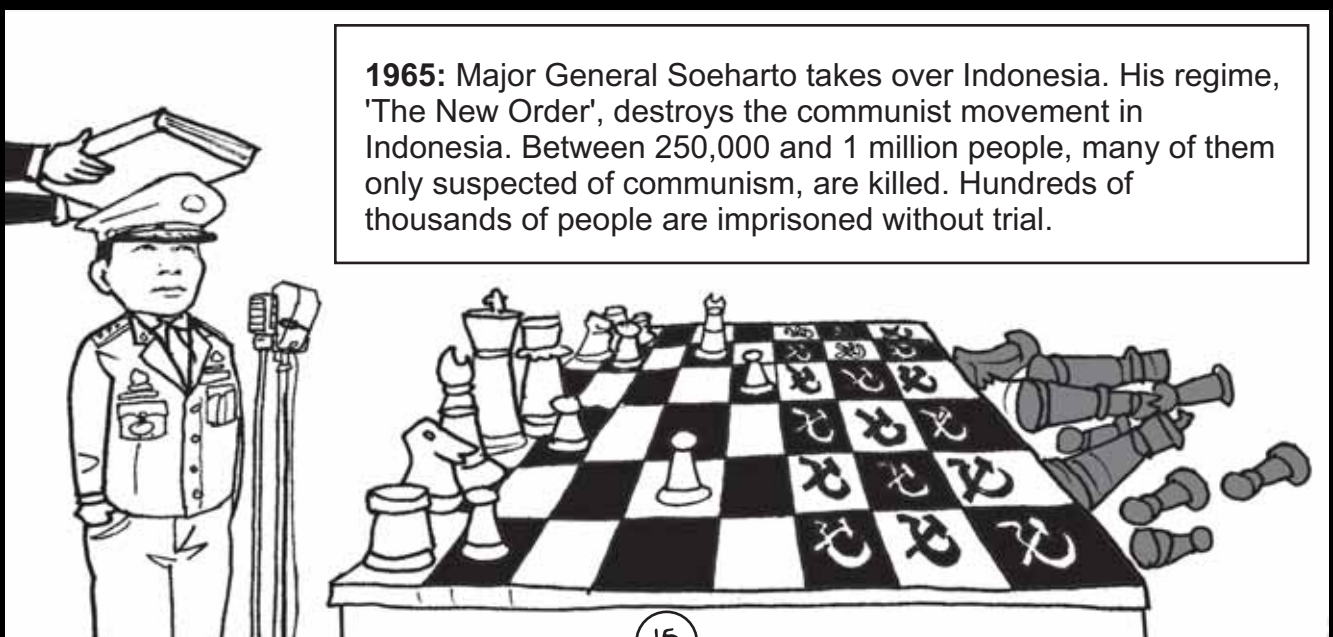
1945: After the Second World War, competition between the United States of America and the Soviet Union dominates world politics.



1949: Mao Tse-tung establishes the People's Republic of China based on a communist ideology.



1961: Indonesia plays an important role in establishing the Non-Aligned Movement (which is not supported by the USA or the Soviet Union) and becomes a member of the Organisation of The Islamic Conference (1969).



1965: Major General Soeharto takes over Indonesia. His regime, 'The New Order', destroys the communist movement in Indonesia. Between 250,000 and 1 million people, many of them only suspected of communism, are killed. Hundreds of thousands of people are imprisoned without trial.



Hey Timor!
Come back home!

1967: Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and The Philippines establish ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). One of its objectives is to fight the spread of communism in Southeast Asia.

1974: The CSIS (Centre for Strategic and International Studies) in Jakarta is involved in shaping Indonesia's policy on Portuguese Timor and recommends to General Ali Moertopo that Timor should 'return to the motherland'.



1975: After the American military leave Vietnam in 1973, communist governments are formed in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN TIMOR-LESTE 1974-1975

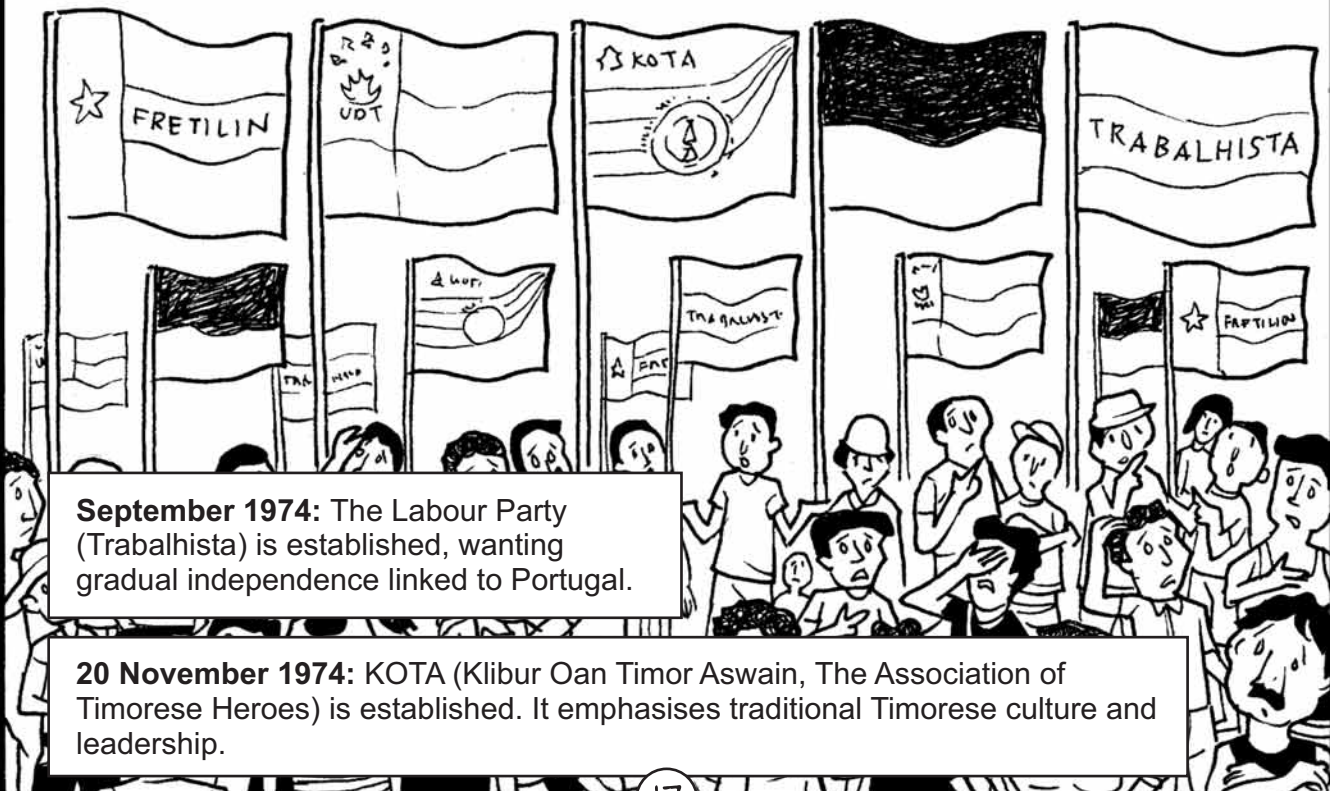


After the 'Carnation Revolution' in Portugal on 25 April 1974, many political parties were established in Timor-Leste.

11 May 1974: UDT (União Democrática Timorense or Timorese Democratic Union) is established. The party's objective is gradual independence linked to Portugal.

20 May 1974: ASDT (Associação Social Democrática Timorense or Timorese Social Democratic Association) is established. It opts for immediate and complete independence. In September its name is changed to Fretilin (Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente).

27 May 1974: Apodeti (Associação Popular Democrática Timorense or Timorese Popular Democratic Association) is established. It opts for integration with Indonesia.



September 1974: The Labour Party (Trabalhista) is established, wanting gradual independence linked to Portugal.

20 November 1974: KOTA (Klibur Oan Timor Aswain, The Association of Timorese Heroes) is established. It emphasises traditional Timorese culture and leadership.

1975: Apodeti develops their own military force, followed by UDT and Fretilin. Fretilin and UDT both seek support from the police and military.

Before 25 April in Timor, we used to talk about our girlfriends, football and things like that at the café and restaurant where we would go to drink a beer and meet friends. After 25 April, we only talked about the consequences of 25 April. What should we Timorese do? What is the right thing to do now in this new situation?

(Testimony to CAVR by Domingos Oliveira, former Secretary General of UDT)

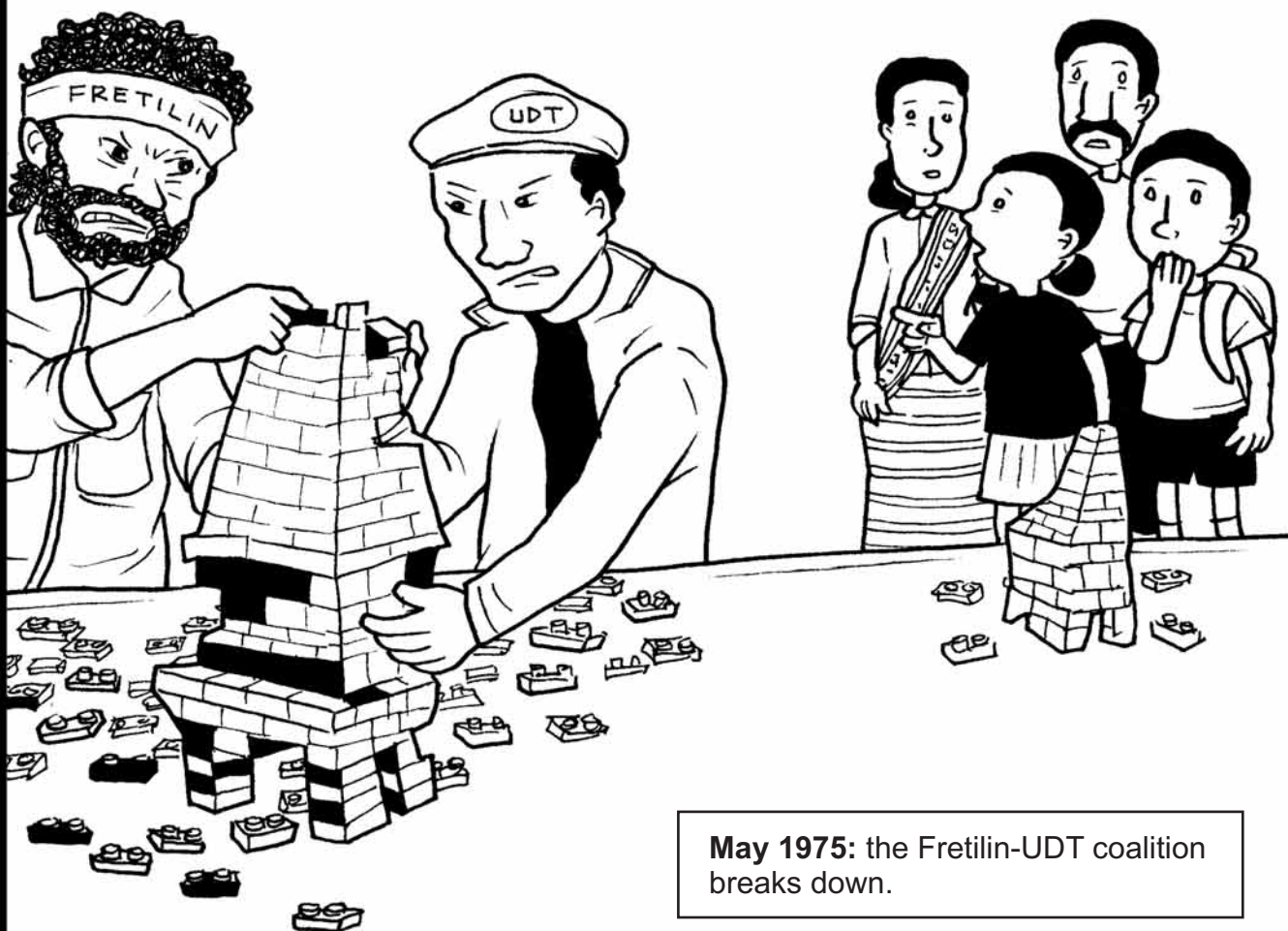




This visit... was perceived differently by us and by the Indonesians. We saw the visit as a chance to clear the air, they saw it as a chance to further divide us.

(Testimony to CAVR by Jose Ramos-Horta regarding a meeting he and Alarico Fernandes had with Indonesia in Jakarta, April 1975)

April 1975: An Indonesian delegation lead by Colonel Sugianto meets with Governor Lemos Pires and political party leaders in Dili. After this, Ali Moertopo invites representatives of Fretilin and UDT to make separate visits to Jakarta.



May 1975: the Fretilin-UDT coalition breaks down.

INDONESIA: DIPLOMACY AND DESTABILISATION



At the same time, Indonesia begins to make diplomatic efforts towards integrating Timor-Leste into Indonesia.

17 June 1974: The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, writes a letter to Jose Ramos-Horta in which he states that the Indonesian government acknowledges the right of the East Timorese people to independence.

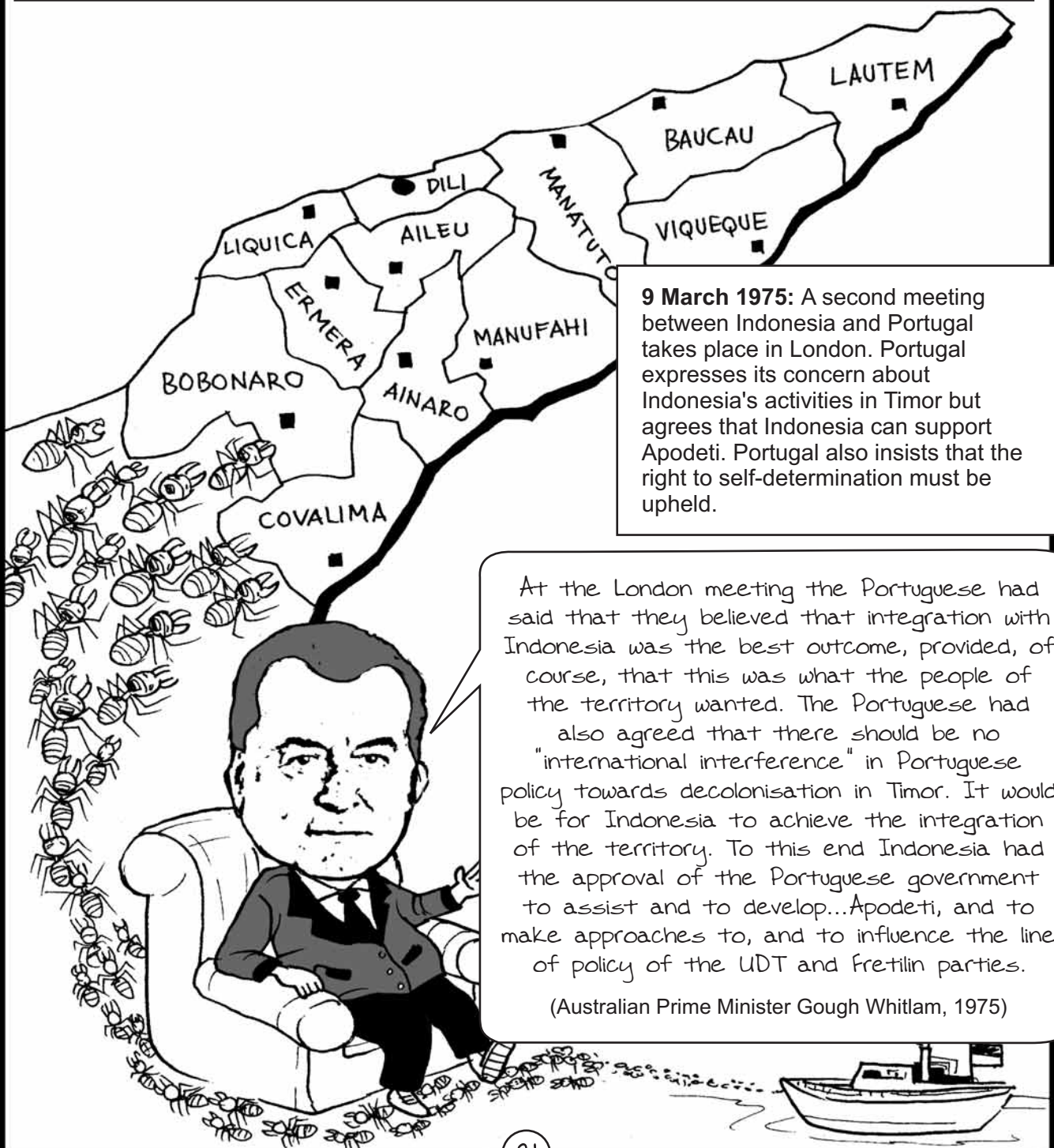


6 September 1974: The Australian Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, meets with President Soeharto in Wonosobo, Indonesia. Whitlam tells Soeharto that Timor-Leste would be better off as part of Indonesia.



14-15 October 1974: An Indonesian delegation led by General Ali Moertopo meets with President Costa Gomes and Prime Minister Vasco Goncalves in Lisbon. The meeting concludes that integration with Indonesia is best. However, Portugal says that the principle of self-determination must be upheld.

Early 1975: 'Operation Komodo' is conducted from Kupang by the Indonesian military. The military disseminate false information on the radio claiming that communists are infiltrating Portuguese Timor. They also train Apodeti supporters, referred to as 'partisan', in Atambua. Following this, Kopassus Indonesian special forces arrive in Atambua under orders from Major General Benny Moerdani. Led by Colonel Dading Kalbuadi, Kopassus begin preparations for Operation Flamboyant which is carried out October-December 1975.



4 April 1975: A second meeting between President Soeharto and Australian PM Gough Whitlam strengthens their vision of integration. Soeharto rejects independence for Portuguese Timor because he thinks that Timor is too backward to be able to govern itself and was historically part of Indonesia. He also argued that communist countries could use Timor to destabilise Indonesia. Other countries such as Portugal, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the USA, also think that Timor-Leste does not have the capacity to be independent.



Even without Soviet or Chinese intervention the territory seems likely to become steadily more of a problem child... It is in Britain's interest that Indonesia should absorb the territory as soon as... possible.... If there is a row in the United Nations, we should keep our heads down and avoid siding against the Indonesian Government.

(John Ford, British ambassador to Indonesia, 1975)

26-28 June 1975: Portugal convenes a conference in Macau on the decolonisation process. All Timorese political parties attend except for Fretilin which opposes the presence of Apodeti and Indonesian observers.

5 July 1975: President Soeharto meets with US President Ford at Camp David and says that 'the only way is to integrate (Portuguese Timor) into Indonesia'.

The United States, involved in the Middle East, mired in the aftermath of Watergate and exhausted by its failure in Vietnam, was simply not interested in the fate of East Timor. The American ambassador in Jakarta was actually asked in 1975 to reduce the embassy's reporting on the subject.

(Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Richard Woolcott, 1975)



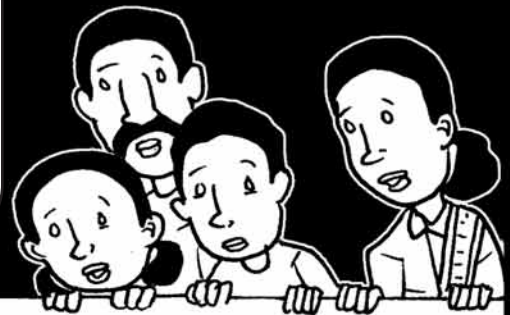
Following the establishment of political parties and these international reactions, what was the next major development in the Timor issue?



INTERNAL CONFLICT

1975

The dynamics of international politics also added to the tension between the political parties in Timor-Leste. Each party had its own vision of the best path for Timor and these differences led to conflict.



August 1975: UDT leaders Domingos Oliveira and João Carrascalão meet with Ali Moertopo in Jakarta to pre-empt the possibility of an Indonesian invasion. Ali Moertopo tells them Indonesia has information that Fretilin is planning a coup on the 15 August. Moertopo says that if UDT gets rid of the communists in Timor-Leste, Indonesia will respect the Timorese people's right to self-determination.

Let them
attack.



Each party presented their views as the national interest, but didn't take into consideration that we are all people of Timor, nor what the nation as a whole was striving for. And because of this we noticed a lack of will on the part of the party leaders to reduce the level of violence, to address what was going on. Sometimes we noticed that the parties were quite happy when their supporters would come and say: "We beat up this person or "We killed that person" it was regarded as a small victory.

(Testimony to CAVR by Xanana Gusmão).



11 August 1975: UDT, led by João Carrascalão, begins an armed assault in Dili. They take over the police headquarters, weapons storeroom, port, radio station, and telephone network in Dili.



13 August 1975: UDT announces a Movement for Unity and Independence in Timor-Dili (Movimento para Unidade e Independencia de Timor-Dili - MUITD) with the slogan 'unity, independence, and anti-communism'.



15 August 1975: In response the Fretilin Central Committee in Aileu declares an 'armed resistance' against 'the traitors and enemies of the people'.

ARM YOURSELVES TO
FIGHT AGAINST THE
TRAITORS AND ENEMY
OF THE PEOPLE.

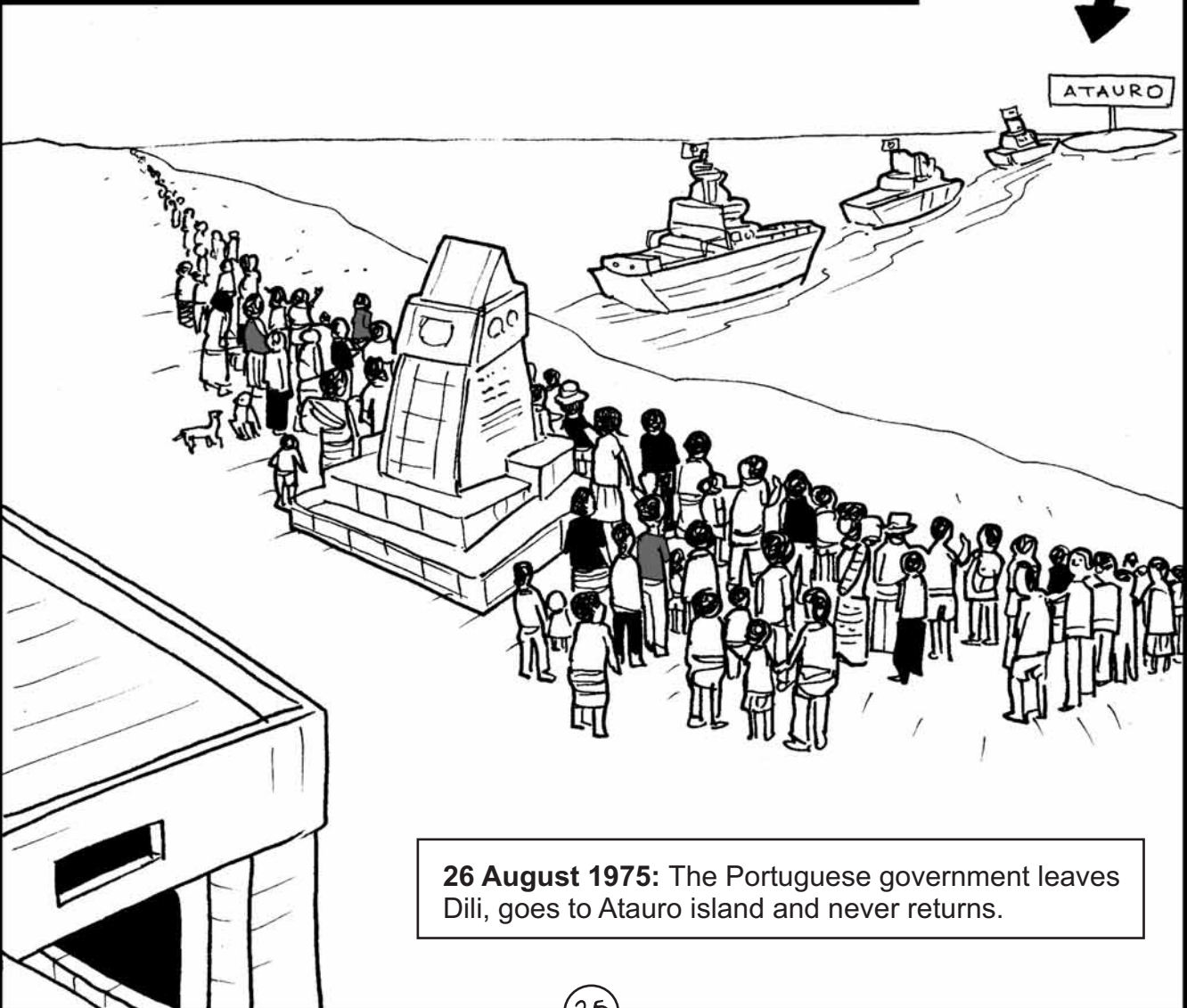




The loss of human lives is very hard to establish. The number dead is... 3000 for the whole island. The majority of the victims seem to be non-combatants who it seems have been killed during the street fighting or executed in reprisal from the Fretilin as well as from the UDT. The actual state of mind is one of vendetta (feud)'.

(A.Pasquier, International Committee of the Red Cross)

20 August 1975: The Portuguese government sends a military official, Rogerio Lobato, to negotiate with Fretilin. However he defects to Fretilin and together with Hermenegildo Alves launches an opposing armed movement and occupies the military barracks in Taibessi.



26 August 1975: The Portuguese government leaves Dili, goes to Atauro island and never returns.

September 1975:

According to the International Red Cross, between 25,000 and 50,000 people, mostly UDT supporters, seek refuge in West Timor.



7 September 1975: UDT leaders and their allies issue a joint-petition in Batugade addressed to President Soeharto asking for Portuguese Timor to be integrated into Indonesia. Mario Carrascalão testified to CAVR that this was really a call for logistical support, not integration.

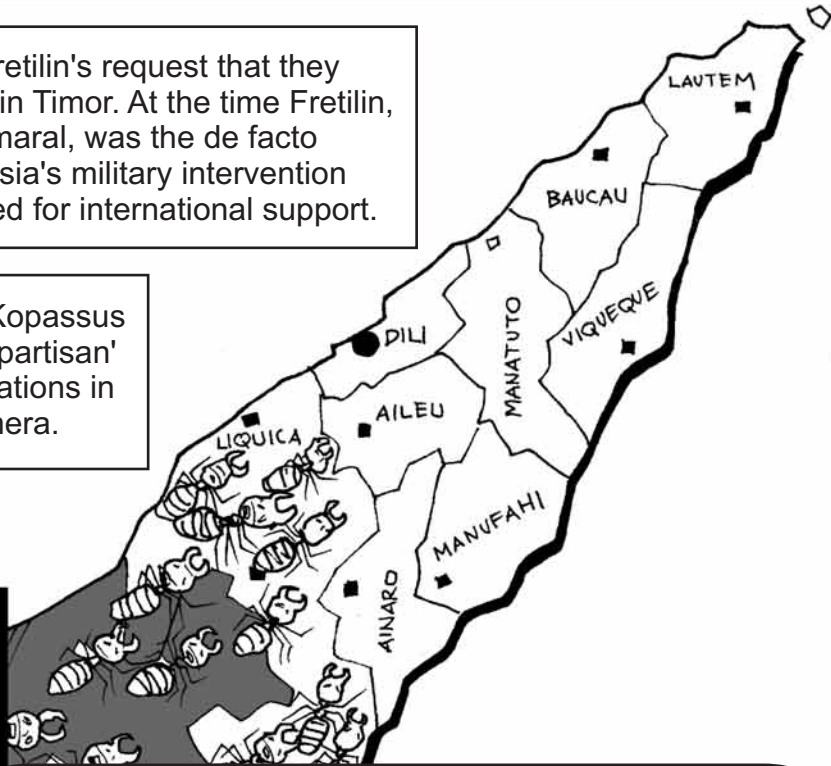


THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



Portugal did not respond to Fretilin's request that they return and continue their role in Timor. At the time Fretilin, led by Francisco Xavier do Amaral, was the de facto government. Because Indonesia's military intervention was intensifying, Fretilin looked for international support.

August – December 1975: Kopassus special forces, together with 'partisan' groups, conduct military operations in Bobonaro, Covalima and Ermera.



From Fretilin's point of view, its policy of continuing to recognise Portuguese sovereignty in the absence of any sign from Portugal that it was willing to exercise that authority was a dangerous course to follow. Despite being the de facto ruler, Fretilin had no international legitimacy as a ruling power. Fretilin was not an elected government and its fear was that the political vacuum would give Indonesia a pretext to launch a full-scale invasion of Timor-Leste.

Portugal and Indonesia agreed that Indonesia would not interfere in the affairs of Timor-Leste. But in the end, who interfered? Indonesia. And what did Portugal say? Nothing. It just sat there. Not even a warning to Indonesia.

(Testimony to CAVR by Francisco Xavier do Amaral, Fretilin President in 1975)

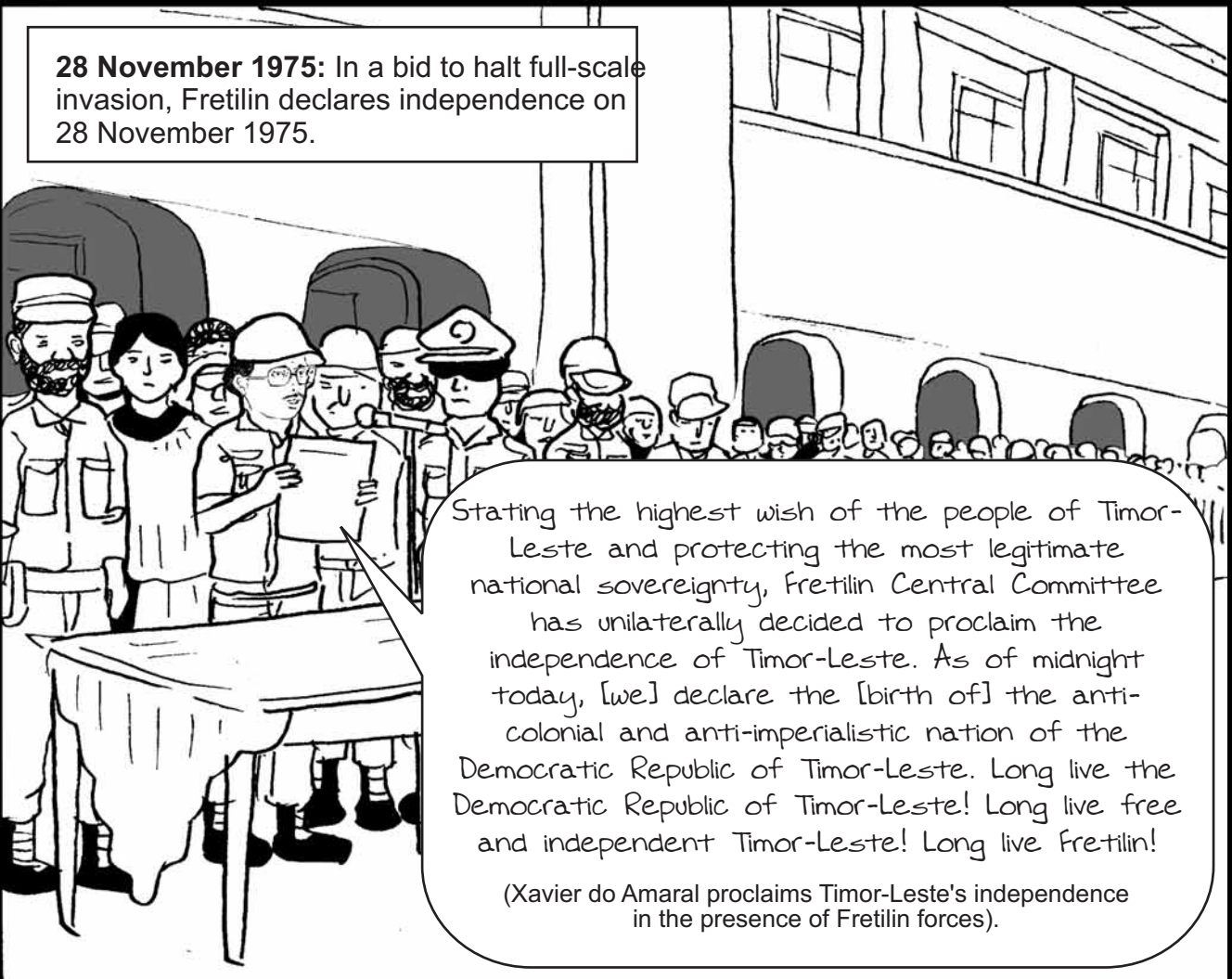
26 November 1975: Atabae falls to the Indonesian military after being attacked and bombed for two weeks.



The Indonesian army have already entered Atabae... Atabae... They have occupied Atabae! If we wait until 1 December we might not have time to declare independence in Dili. So we'd better proclaim independence today.

(Nicolau Lobato, Fretilin Vice President, in a speech to the Fretilin Central Committee, 26 November 1975).

28 November 1975: In a bid to halt full-scale invasion, Fretilin declares independence on 28 November 1975.



Stating the highest wish of the people of Timor-Leste and protecting the most legitimate national sovereignty, Fretilin Central Committee has unilaterally decided to proclaim the independence of Timor-Leste. As of midnight today, [we] declare the [birth of] the anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic nation of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. Long live the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste! Long live free and independent Timor-Leste! Long live Fretilin!

(Xavier do Amaral proclaims Timor-Leste's independence in the presence of Fretilin forces).

So it's clear now that intra-Timorese conflict gave foreigners an excuse to intervene in our country.

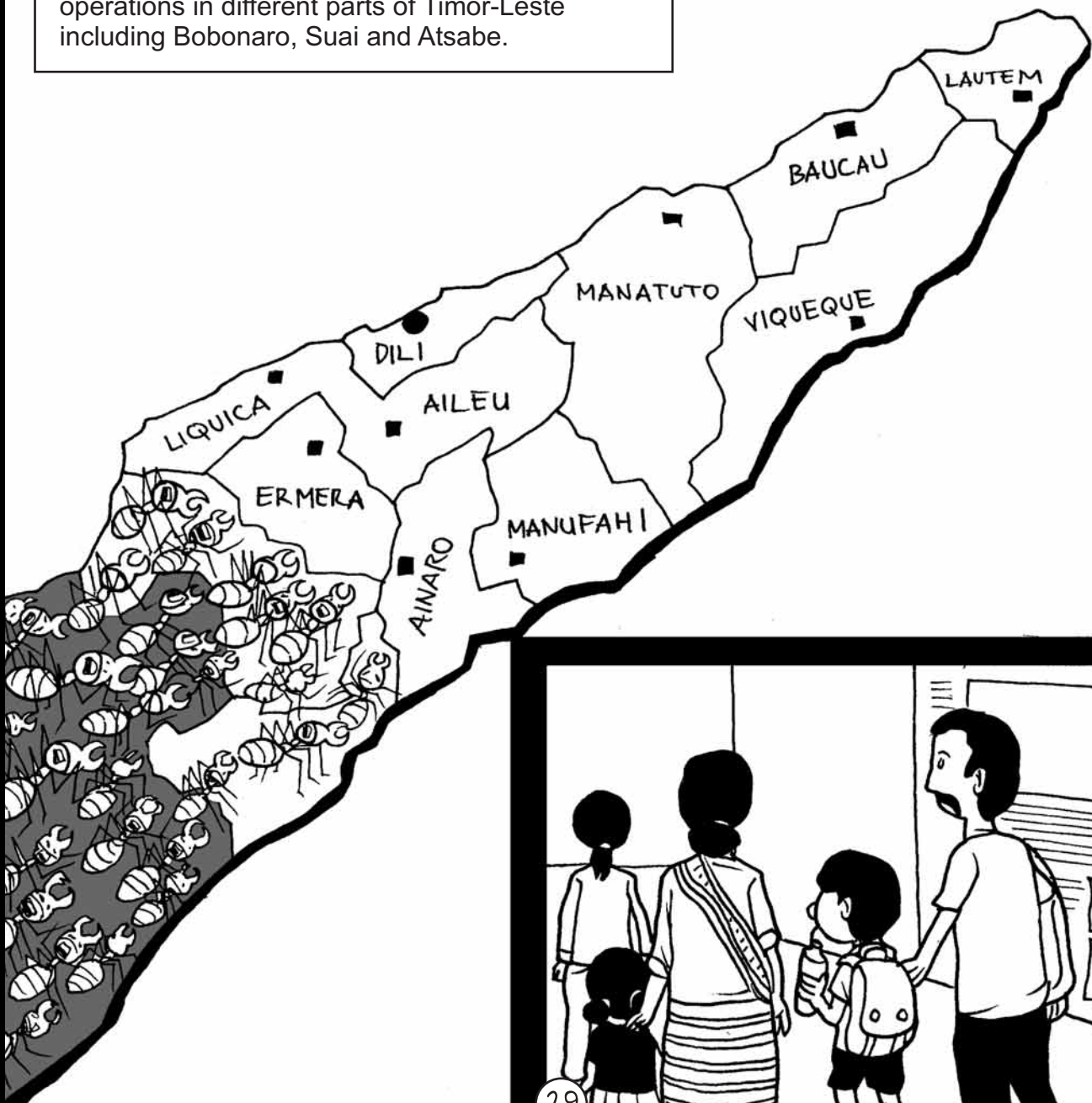


This culminated in the full-scale invasion and occupation of Timor-Leste by Indonesia. A dark phase in Timor's history began.



INDONESIAN INVASION

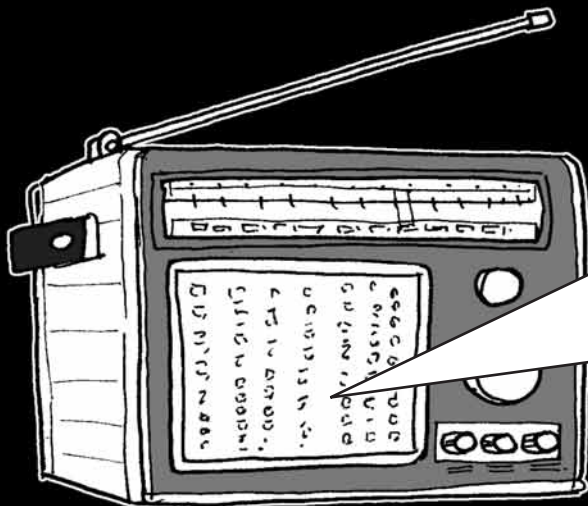
September 1975: The Indonesian army begins operations in different parts of Timor-Leste including Bobonaro, Suai and Atsabe.



16 October 1975: Five Australian based journalists are murdered in Balibo. On 16 October, Indonesia occupies the western part of the territory.



1-2 November 1975: Portugal and Indonesia meet in Rome. Timor is not represented.



(We ask the Indonesian government to) "take the necessary steps to protect the lives of the people who now consider themselves Indonesian but live under Fretilin's reign of terror and fascist practices with the acquiescence of the Portuguese government."

(Balibó Declaration)

29 November 1975: To counteract Fretilin's declaration of independence, leaders of UDT, Apodeti, KOTA and Trabalhista, under pressure from members of Indonesia's Bakin intelligence agency, sign a 'Proclamation of Integration' known as the Balibó Declaration.

When Indonesia's Foreign Minister Adam Malik accepted the Proclamation of Integration, he said that "a hard struggle" lay ahead and that Indonesia would extend "total covert or open support".

Diplomacy is over. Now Timor-Leste issues shall be resolved on the battlefield!

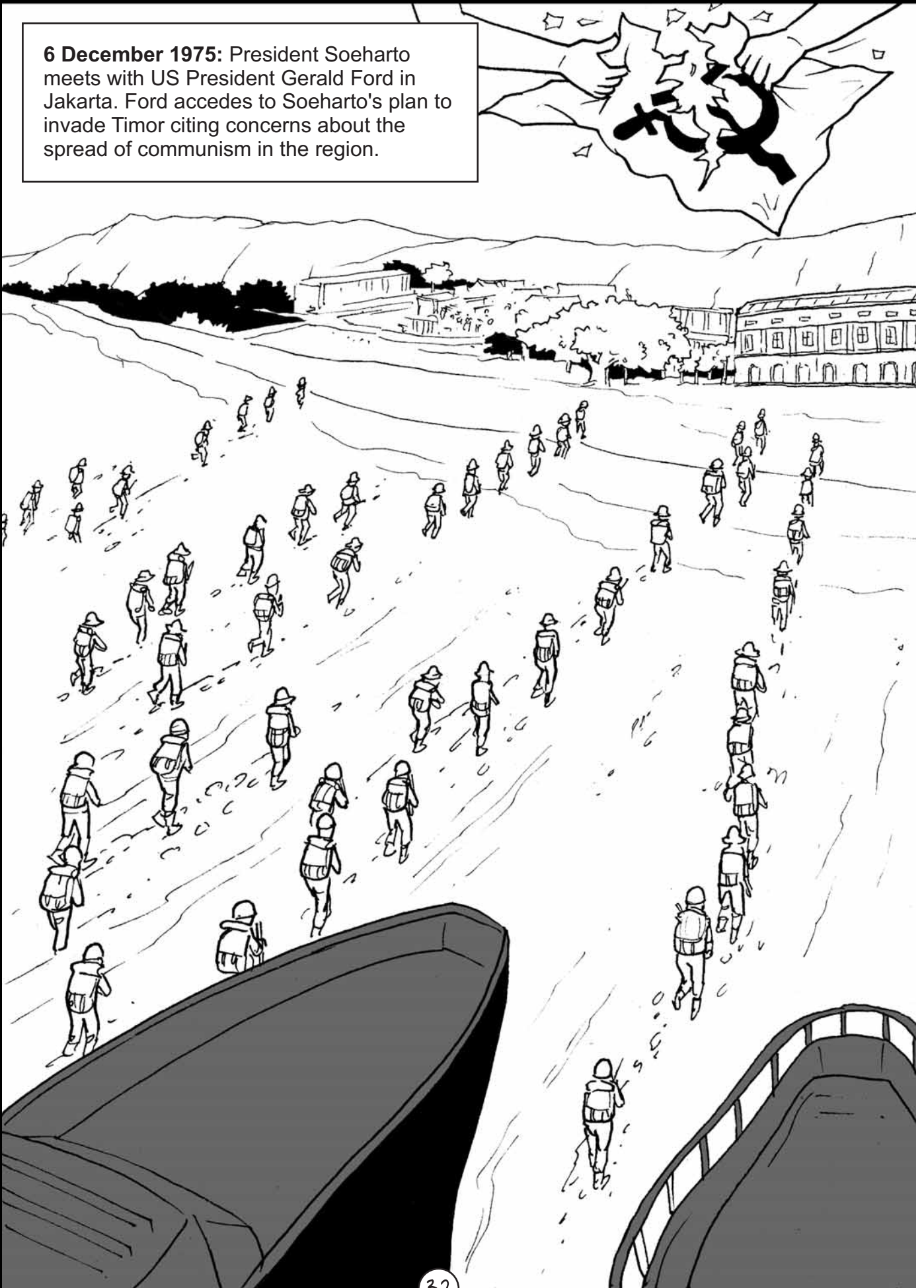
(Adam Malik, Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1 December 1975)

2 December 1975: The Australian government tells its citizens to leave Timor because of Indonesia's military activity.

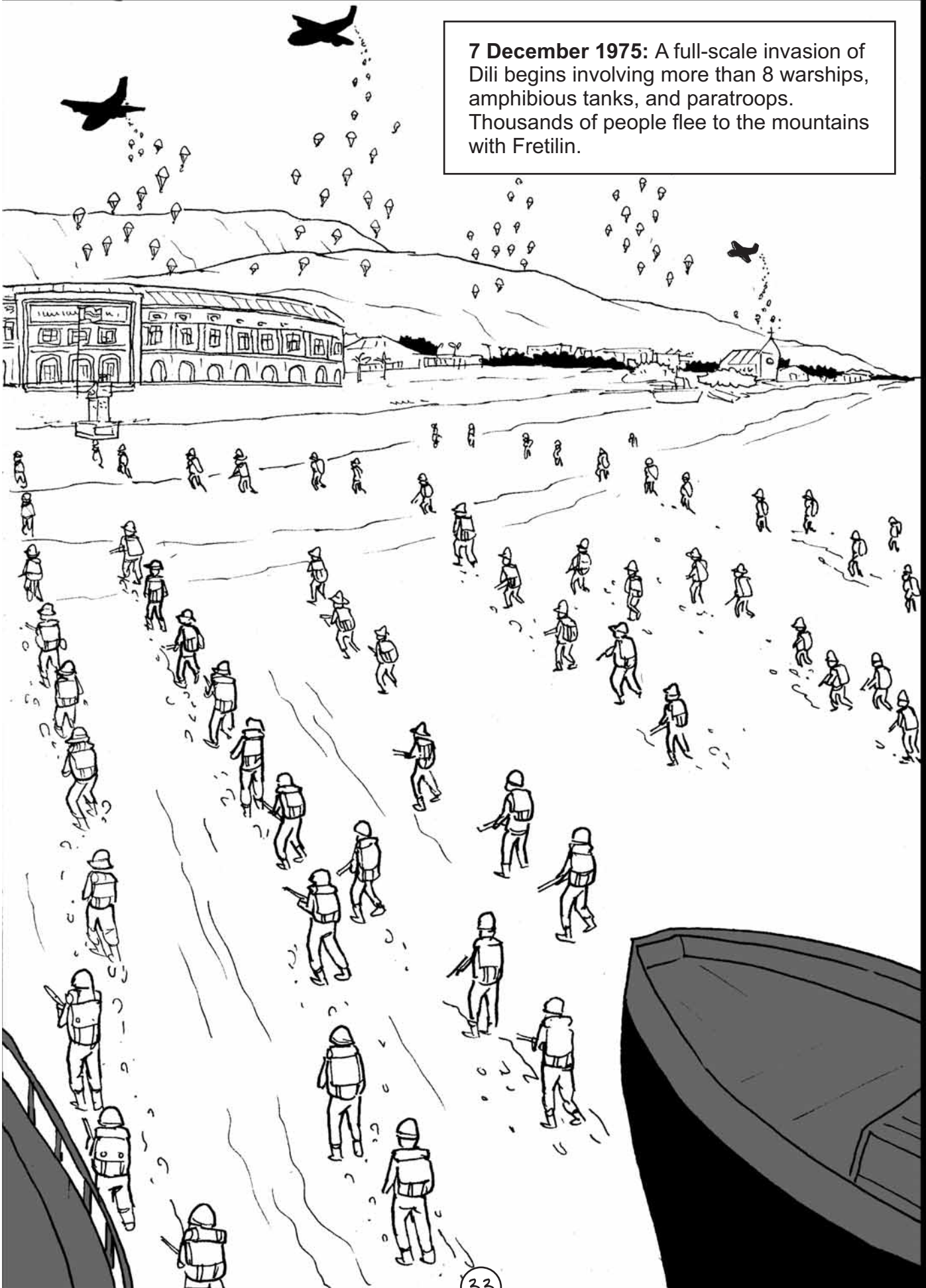
Based on information from Fretilin intelligence sources, we suspect a full-scale attack on Timor-Leste, especially to the capital city Dili, will take place... We urge the world to stop this criminal aggression, as it will be the cause of an endless bloodbath. The people of Timor-Leste will resist.

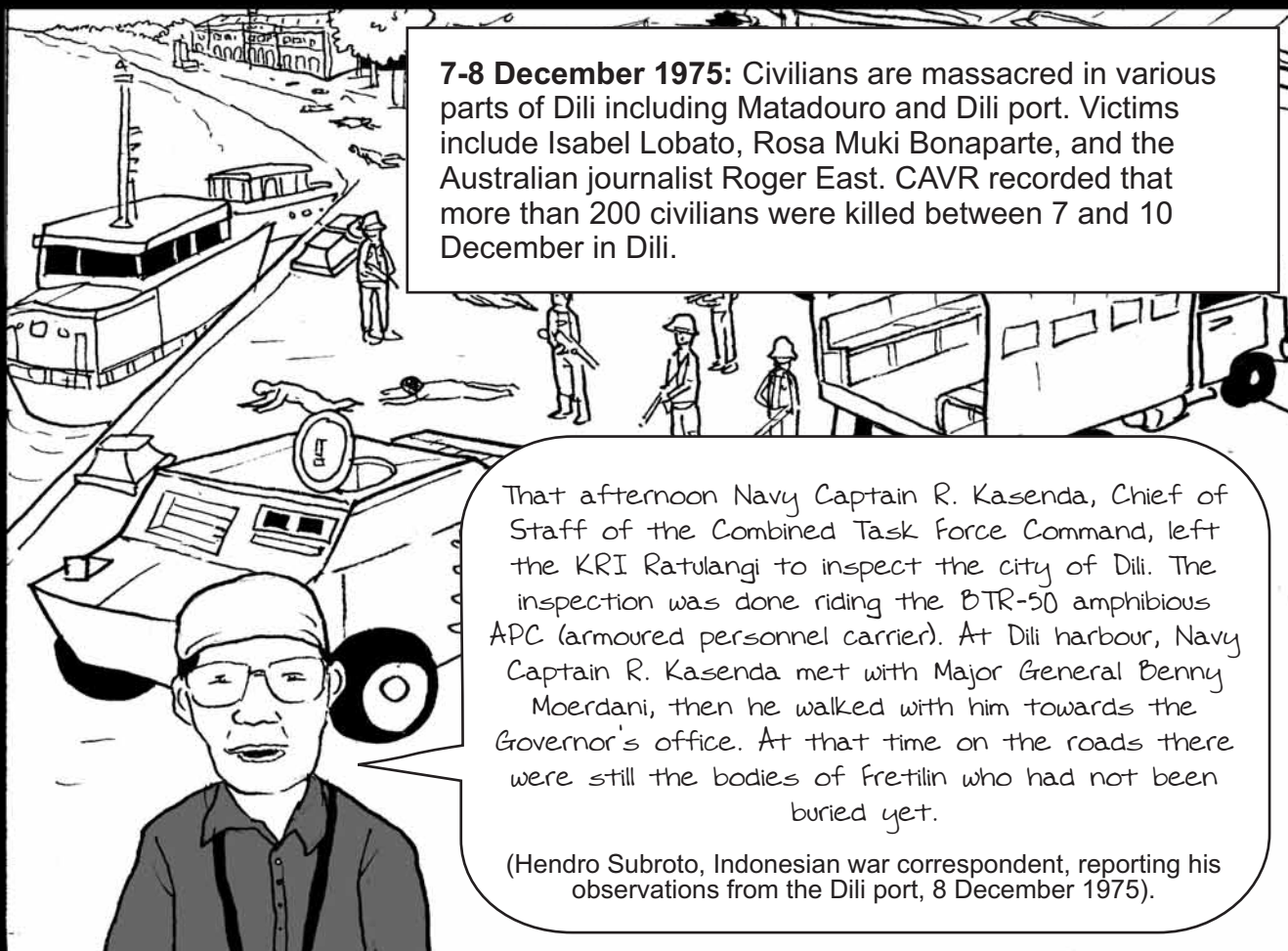
(Rogerio Lobato, Minister for Defence (RDTL), 2 December 1975)

6 December 1975: President Soeharto meets with US President Gerald Ford in Jakarta. Ford accedes to Soeharto's plan to invade Timor citing concerns about the spread of communism in the region.



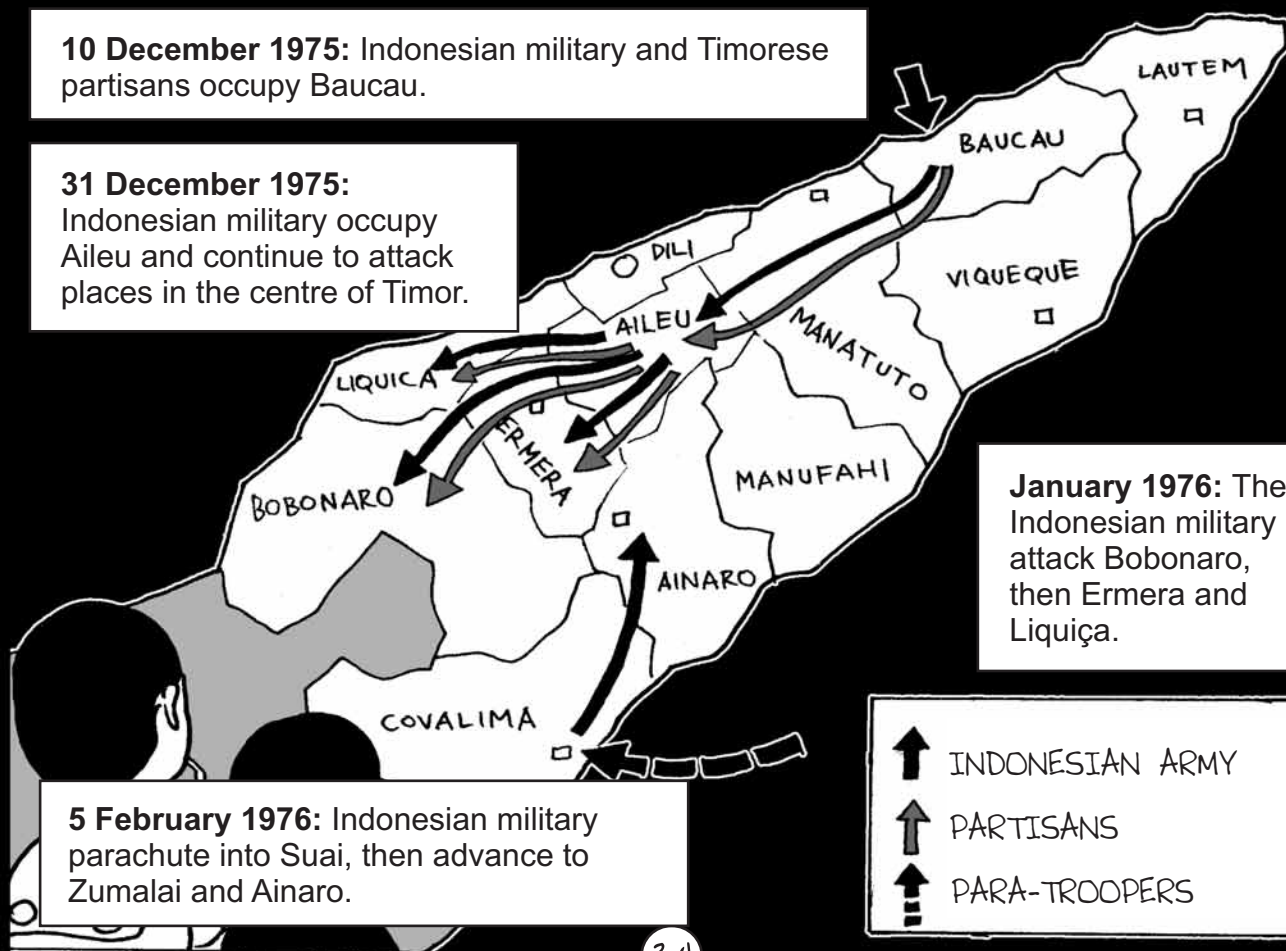
7 December 1975: A full-scale invasion of Dili begins involving more than 8 warships, amphibious tanks, and paratroops. Thousands of people flee to the mountains with Fretilin.

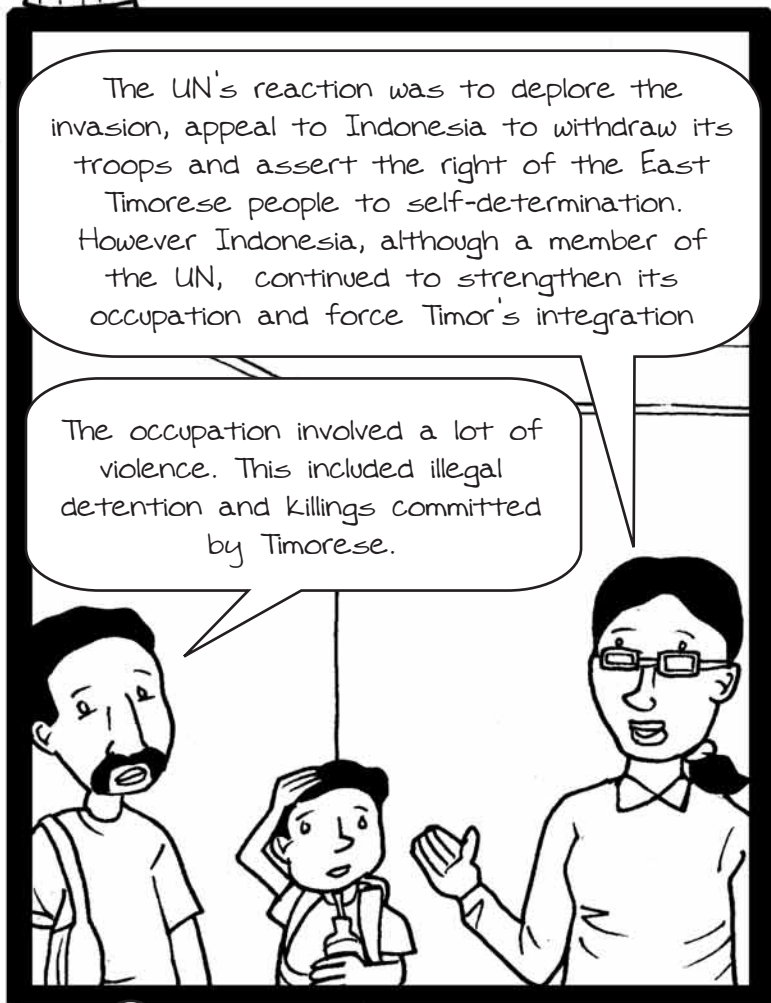




10 December 1975: Indonesian military and Timorese partisans occupy Baucau.

31 December 1975: Indonesian military occupy Aileu and continue to attack places in the centre of Timor.





UN REACTION, FRETILIN KILLS PRISONERS, INTEGRATION WITH INDONESIA

12 December 1975: The UN General Assembly condemns the invasion and demands that the Indonesian military leaves Portuguese Timor.

17 December 1975: Indonesia establishes the Provisional Government of East Timor (Pemerintahan Sementara Timor-Timur - PSTT) and Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo (President of Apodeti), Francisco Lopes da Cruz (President of UDT) become the President and Vice-President.

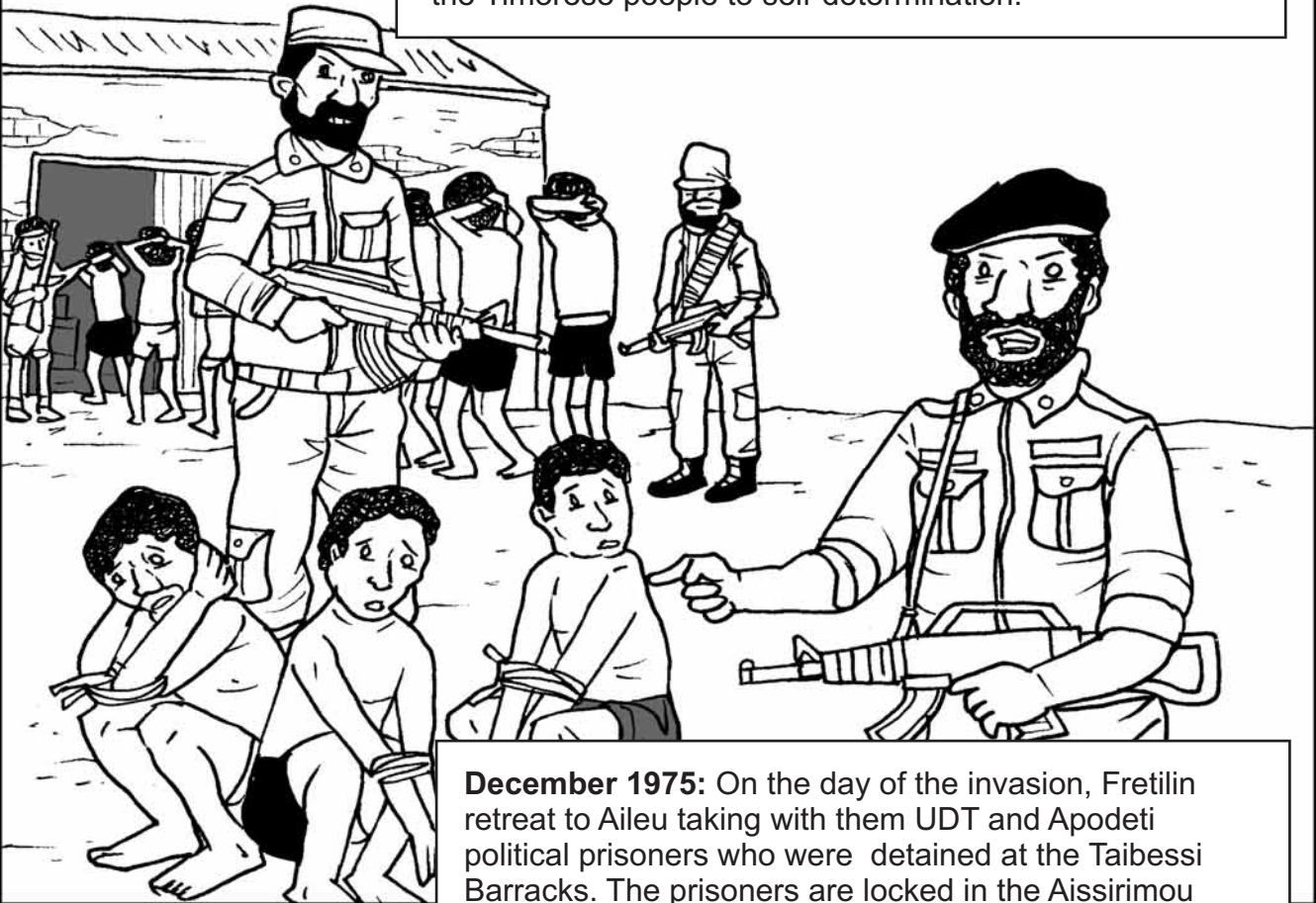


The Provisional Government of Eastern [sic] Timor kindly request[s] the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to render military, social and economic assistance so that conditions of security and order can be restored in the territory of Eastern Timor (sic) free from the disturbances and threats of terrorist remnants (sic) left by the Portuguese Government.

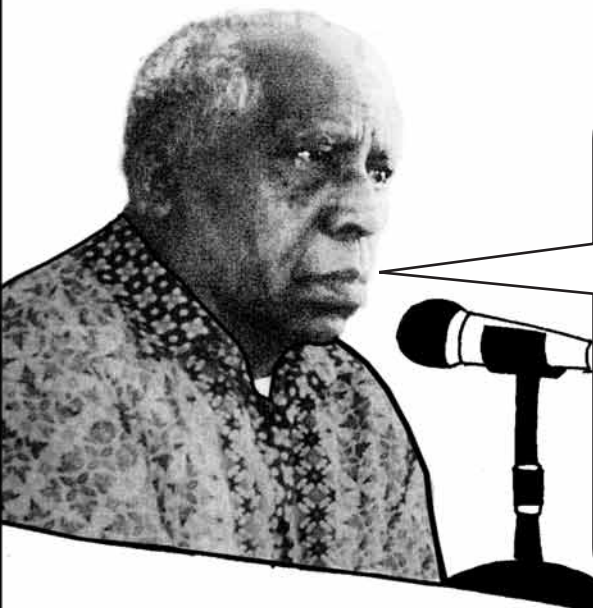
(Letter from Arnaldo Araujo, President of PSTT, to President Soeharto, 18 December 1975).

One day later, as the President of the provisional government (PSTT), Arnaldo Araujo wrote a letter to President Soeharto asking for assistance.

22 December 1975: The UN Security Council appeals for the Indonesian military to retreat and confirms the right of the Timorese people to self-determination.



December 1975: On the day of the invasion, Fretilin retreat to Aileu taking with them UDT and Apodeti political prisoners who were detained at the Taibessi Barracks. The prisoners are locked in the Aissirimou warehouse with other prisoners. As the Indonesian military advance, Fretilin decide to kill the prisoners. Executions occur in Aissirimou, Saboria and Aituri (Aileu) and later in Maubisse and Same at the end of December and the beginning of January 1976.



We were in the middle of war, in this war...we ran from our enemies, we ran, we took those we had imprisoned, our enemies who we had imprisoned, with us... So we had to look at this. Do we leave them here alive? Do we run alone and leave them? Or do we kill them and then run? Therefore, some of them [Fretilin members] made the decision that we kill them, so that the enemy could not endanger us. Perhaps this opinion was commonly held, more or less commonly, by leaders at all levels.

(Testimony to CAVR by Francisco Xavier do Amaral, Fretilin President in December 1975)

January 1976: Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, Winspeare Guicciardi, visits Timor-Leste to conduct an investigation into the situation, but is denied an opportunity to meet with Fretilin leaders by the Indonesian military.



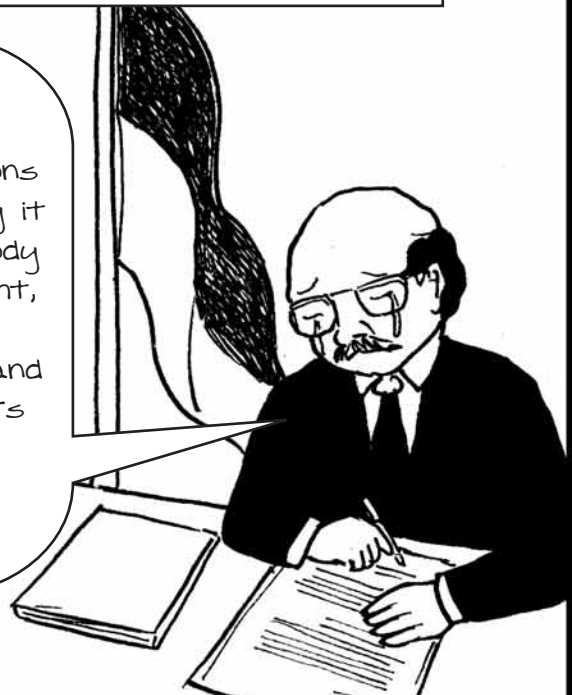
31 May 1976: A 'Popular Assembly' comprising 30 people approves a petition for 'integration'. This becomes the basis for a law on integration signed by President Soeharto on 17 July 1976.



Following the invasion, the Indonesian military pursued the Resistance and stole and confiscated people's property. Full of regret and anger when he saw what the Indonesian military was doing, Arnaldo Araujo sent a letter of protest to Soeharto.

We concede that the looting of private businesses, government offices and the state treasury could be due to the emotions of war, but it is difficult to understand why it continues six months after, leaving everybody in a cruel state of insecurity... Day and night, at my home and office, widows, orphans, children and cripples come begging for milk and clothing. I can do nothing but join my tears to their's, because the Provisional Government owns nothing.

(Arnaldo Araujo, President of PSTT, June 1976)



1 December 1976: A UN resolution rejects 'integration' and calls for self-determination according to international law.

If Timor was already integrated, does that mean there were no longer any military attacks on the population?

No it wasn't like that! Integration was not what the Timorese people wanted. Many Timorese did not want their land to be occupied, so they resisted. Because of this, the military operations continued.



Look, Azia is looking at a panel on Indonesia's military operations.



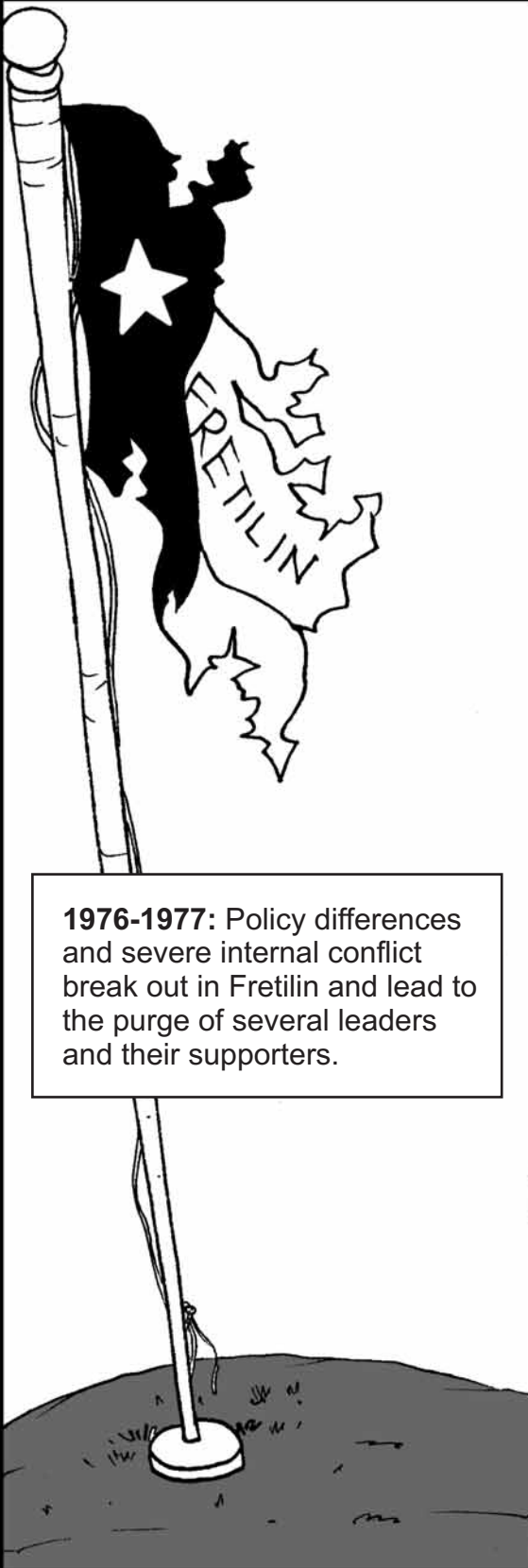
After the full-scale invasion in December 1975, the Indonesian military continued to bomb and attack from the sky until the end of 1976. Their objective was to weaken the resistance and force the people out of the mountains. As a result many civilians surrendered and gave ABRI a victory in the war against Fretilin/Falintil in 1979.

Dad, look! Over here there is another part of the history!

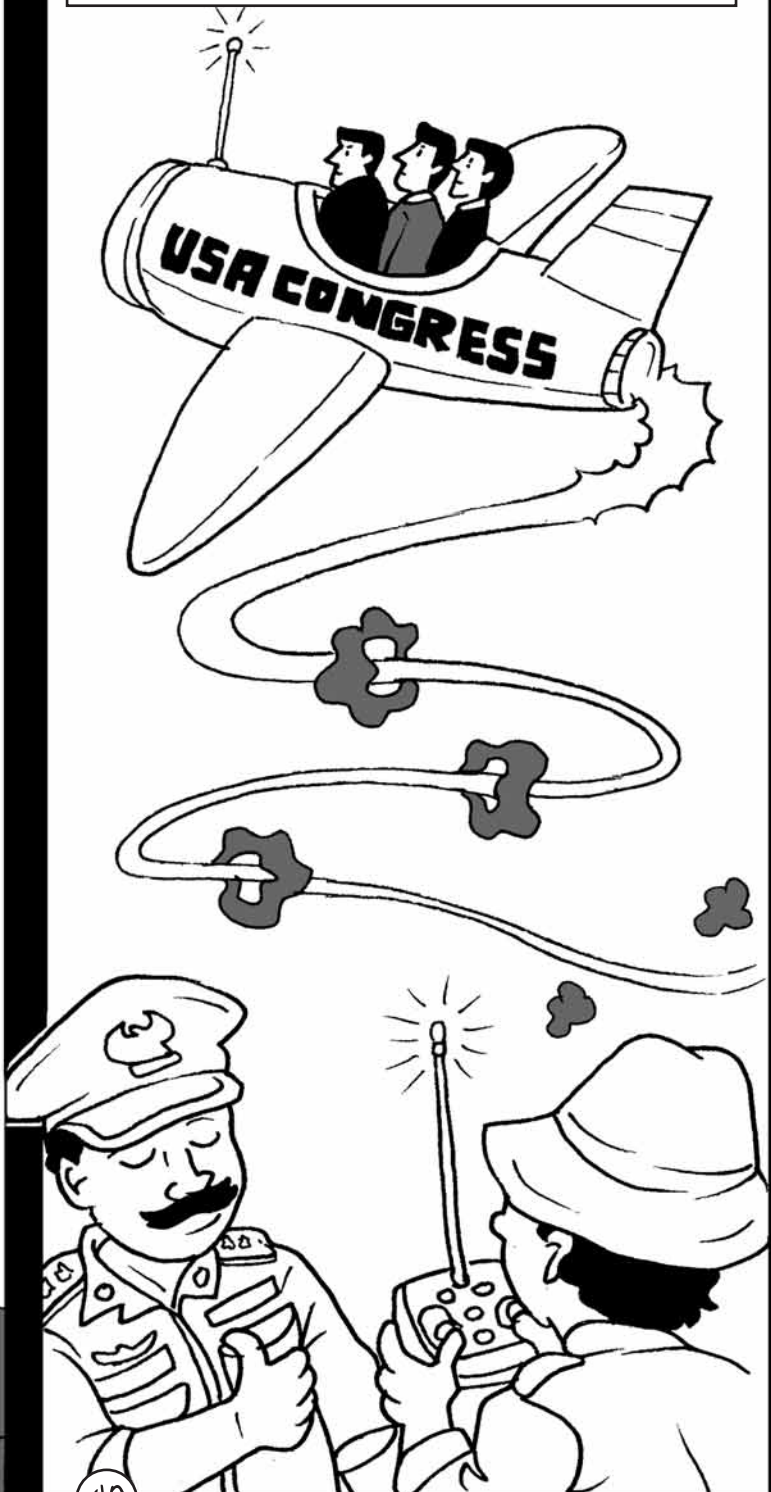


ENCIRCLEMENT AND ANNIHILATION

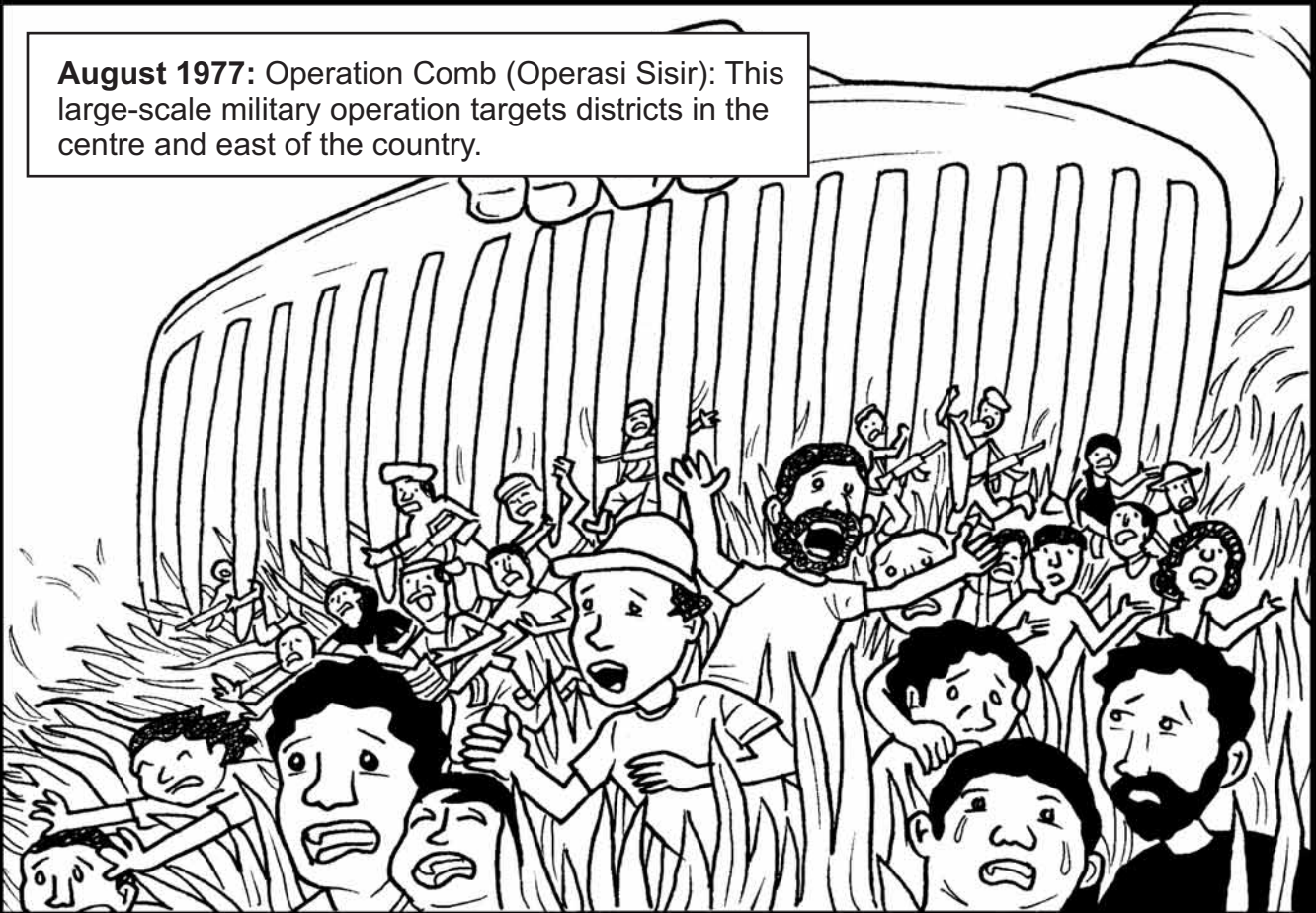
1977-1978



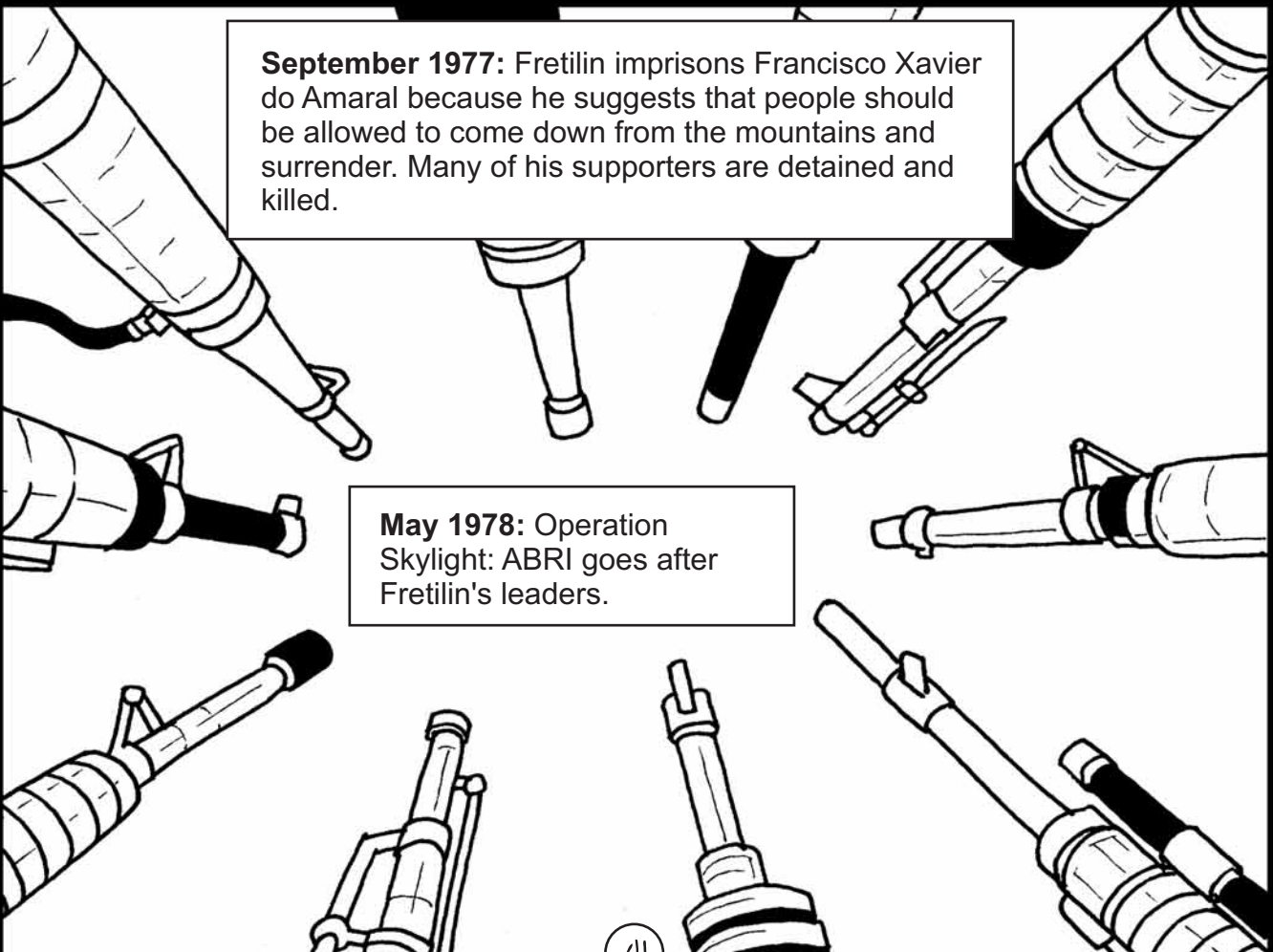
Early 1977: US members of Congress make a visit that is tightly controlled by the Indonesian military.



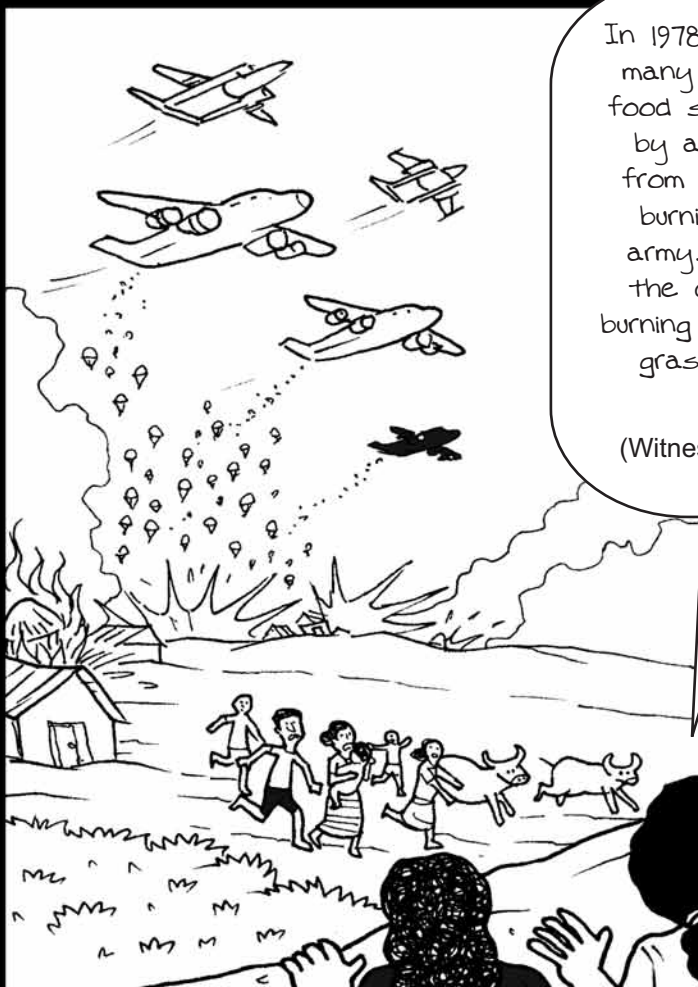
August 1977: Operation Comb (Operasi Sisir): This large-scale military operation targets districts in the centre and east of the country.



September 1977: Fretilin imprisons Francisco Xavier do Amaral because he suggests that people should be allowed to come down from the mountains and surrender. Many of his supporters are detained and killed.



May 1978: Operation Skylight: ABRI goes after Fretilin's leaders.



In 1978 the enemy surrounded us in Dolok and many people died due to starvation. All the food supplies...were burnt. They surrounded us by attacking from the sea with warships, from the air with warplanes and on land by burning the dry grass and sending in the army. At that time it was August, which is the dry season. The army made big fast-burning fires by spraying gasoline over the tall grass. Many died because they could not escape the fire surrounding us.

(Witness testimony to CAVR by Maria Jose da Costa)

October-November 1978: Fretilin and the people retreat to Mount Matebian. Indonesia bombs Mount Matebian using OV-10 Bronco, F-5 and Sky Hawk A-4 planes. It is believed they also used napalm bombs. Food sources are destroyed. The people surrender on 22 November.



On Mount Matebian, the bombing started in October and November. One [type] of bomb was gas. If the bombers dropped those bombs in the morning, many people became casualties. We could see when there was an explosion that the grass was burnt...and in the area everything was destroyed. If there was an explosion the smell was like diesel or petrol.

(Witness testimony to CAVR by Tomás Soares da Silva).

31 December 1978: Fretilin President, Nicolau Lobato, is killed by the Indonesian military. ABRI attacks resistance fighters in Fatubesi, Mount Kablaki and Dilor.

March 1979: ABRI announces that Timor is under control.





Did anyone help the Timorese people?

There should have been help, but the Indonesian military sealed off Timor until it had established control.

SURRENDER AND FAMINE 1979

End of 1978-1979: Many hungry and weak refugees come down from the mountains. Approximately 300,000 – 400,000 people are placed in concentration camps with no food and inadequate medical assistance. ABRI controls the humanitarian aid from the Indonesian Red Cross, and only allows international aid on its terms.

September 1978: Ambassadors of Canada, USA, Australia, Japan, New Zealand, India, South Korea, Bangladesh, Egypt, Syria and Iraq visit Timor and appeal for humanitarian assistance.

Unless the army,
no entry!

October 1979: One year after the ambassador's visit, CRS (Catholic Relief Services) and ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) are permitted by the military to provide aid.



People began to die of hunger, and we had many wounded people with us, as well as children and entire families. The worst memory I have is of the corpses I saw when I passed through Natarbora in December 1978 - there were bodies every ten metres, dessicated corpses of those who had died of starvation, some embracing, others propped under trees. I surrendered in Barique on 13 March 1979, with six people. For a month we'd only eaten leaves. Our surrender was negotiated through an intermediary. I was the only one who was not executed.

(Father Luis da Costa)

The people who fled to the mountains came down in 1977, 1978 and 1979. Those who surrendered or those who were captured by the Indonesian military, everyone was placed in concentration camps, which were not suitable for any human being. People were placed in large emergency tents, made from palm leaves or grass ... Then in 1979 international organisations came to help with the famine tragedy in Timor. Their help came late, but at least they could help a little bit."

(Witness testimony to CAVR by Gilman dos Santos, humanitarian aid worker, 1977)



Indonesia's efforts at humanitarian relief were a much lower priority than its military operations and independent agencies would not be permitted until Indonesia had achieved its military objectives.

(Expert testimony to CAVR by Pat Walsh, author of a report on the humanitarian crisis in Timor-Leste for Action For World Development, July 1979)



OPERATION SECURITY AND RESISTANCE 1980 – 1983

10 June 1980: Falintil attacks ABRI posts in Marabia and Becora (Dili). In a counter attack ABRI kills over one hundred people and detains hundreds. Most of the prisoners are sent to Atauro Island.



This rebel strike on the outskirts of the provincial capital has caused distress and embarrassment to security officials, and they can be expected to take steps to avoid a repeat of the attack.

(Communication from the American Ambassador to Jakarta, 25 June 1980)

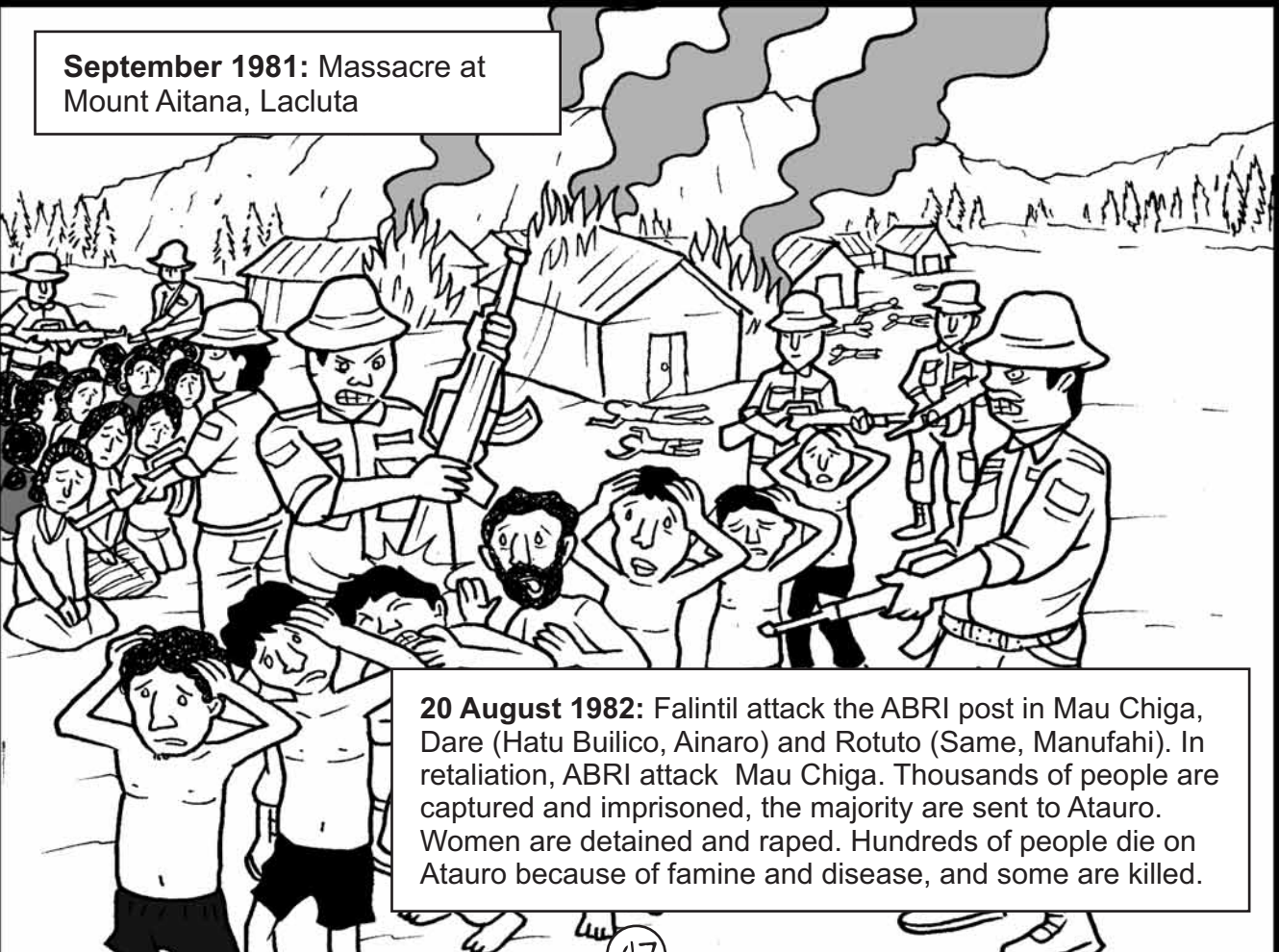
Whoever leaves their village or suku has to carry with them a 'travel letter', and whoever comes to the suku from a different suku must 'report' ... People are not permitted to go to rice fields or vegetable gardens that are far away from their houses or the suku.

(Instruction Manual: Juknis/04-BIIV/1982 Subject: How to Protect the Community from the Influence of GPK Propaganda.)

1981, a year of bloodshed: Operation 'Fence of Legs' (Kikis) is implemented and 12,000 troops force thousands of civilians to form a 'fence of legs' to search for remaining Falintil members.



September 1981: Massacre at Mount Aitana, Lacluta



20 August 1982: Falintil attack the ABRI post in Mau Chiga, Dare (Hatu Bulico, Ainaro) and Rotuto (Same, Manufahi). In retaliation, ABRI attack Mau Chiga. Thousands of people are captured and imprisoned, the majority are sent to Atauro. Women are detained and raped. Hundreds of people die on Atauro because of famine and disease, and some are killed.

1980-1983: Approximately 4,000–6,000 people are detained on Atauro Island and in other concentration camps, to “separate the water (people) from the fish (Falintil)”. Many people die because they do not have enough food or become sick. ICRC delivers aid in 1982.



So was Operation Security able to extinguish the Timorese people's spirit of resistance?

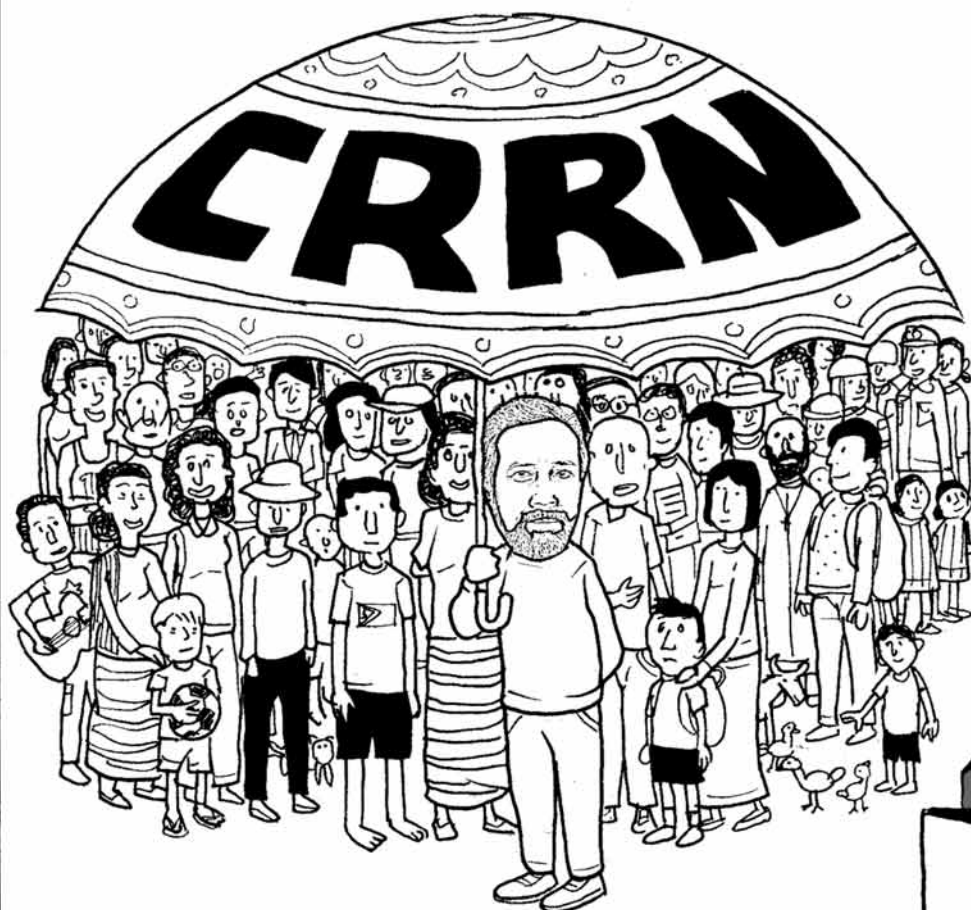


Isn't that clear! No. The Resistance survived. It went on to create a new strategy and grow in strength. A cease-fire was then agreed to.



REBUILDING THE RESISTANCE AND CEASEFIRE

March 1981: Xanana Gusmão initiates a National Reorganisation Conference in Maubai, Lacluta, to broaden resistance and adopt new guerilla war tactics. The conference establishes the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance (CRRN) to broaden leadership of the Resistance beyond Fretilin. Xanana Gusmao is elected leader of this council.



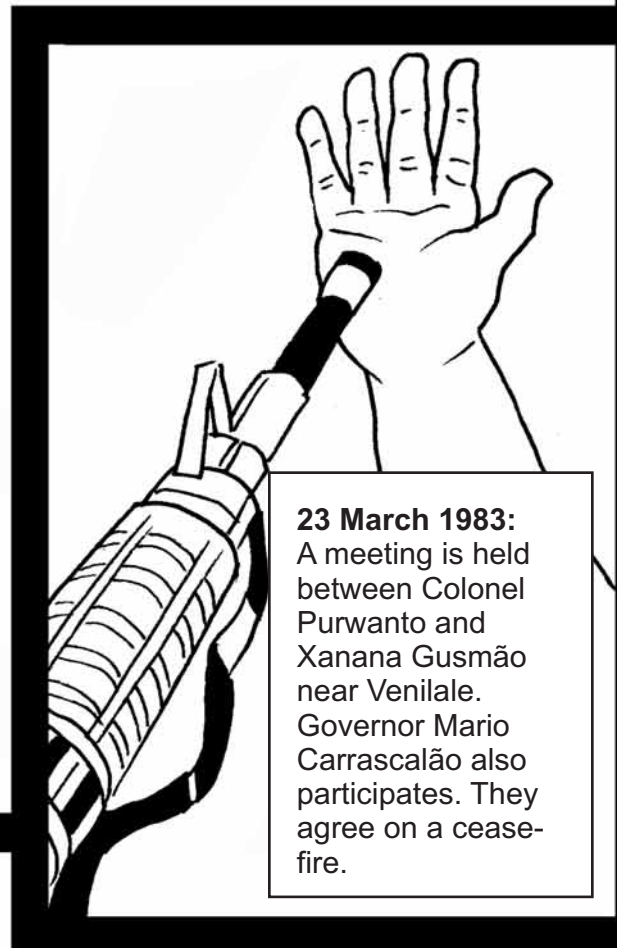
May 1982: 99 percent of Timorese vote for Golkar, President Soeharto's party, in Indonesia's general election.



September 1982: Mario Carrascalão is appointed governor and Colonel Purwanto takes over as head of the military in Timor-Leste. ABRI makes 'peaceful contact' with Fretilin. Xanana meets in secret with the leader of the Catholic Church, Monsignor Lopes.

Moerdani asked: "If it is resolved peacefully, is it guaranteed that East Timor will remain part of Indonesia? How do the people feel? That's [what] we want to know." ...Benny Moerdani gave three months. He said: "I will give Soetarto [Commander of Kodam Udayana] and Purwanto [time], assisted by the Governor, to help East Timor peacefully."

(Mario Carrascalão, former Governor of Timor-Leste, speaking about the 1983 ceasefire.)



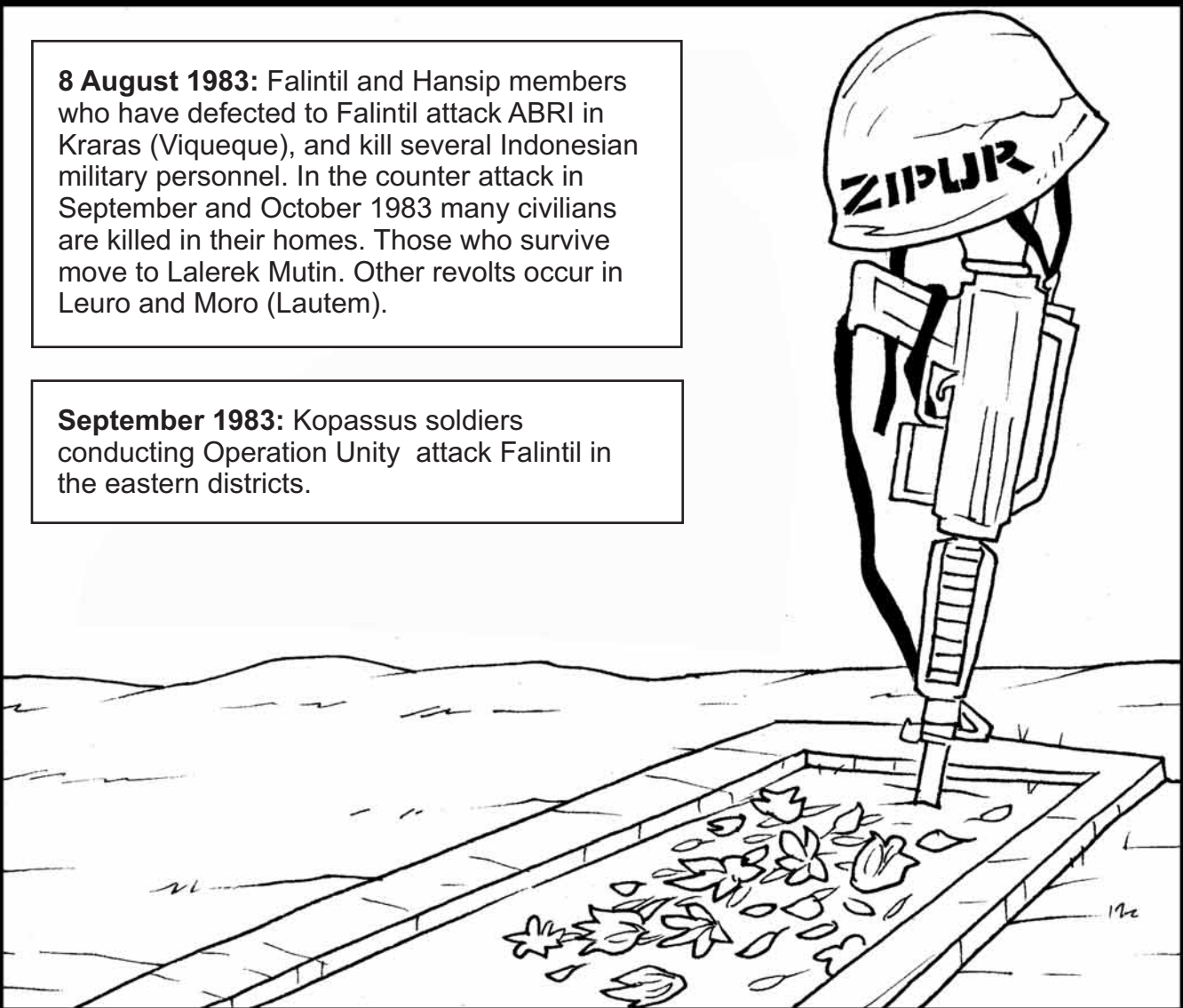
23 March 1983:
A meeting is held between Colonel Purwanto and Xanana Gusmão near Venilale. Governor Mario Carrascalão also participates. They agree on a ceasefire.

28 March 1983:
General Benny Moerdani is appointed Commander-in-Chief of ABRI. He pressures the Vatican to remove Monsignor Lopes and gives Colonel Purwanto until July for the ceasefire.



8 August 1983: Falintil and Hansip members who have defected to Falintil attack ABRI in Kraras (Viqueque), and kill several Indonesian military personnel. In the counter attack in September and October 1983 many civilians are killed in their homes. Those who survive move to Lalerek Mutin. Other revolts occur in Leuro and Moro (Lautem).

September 1983: Kopassus soldiers conducting Operation Unity attack Falintil in the eastern districts.



The Resistance's diplomatic strategy is now stronger and gains more international attention for its cause.



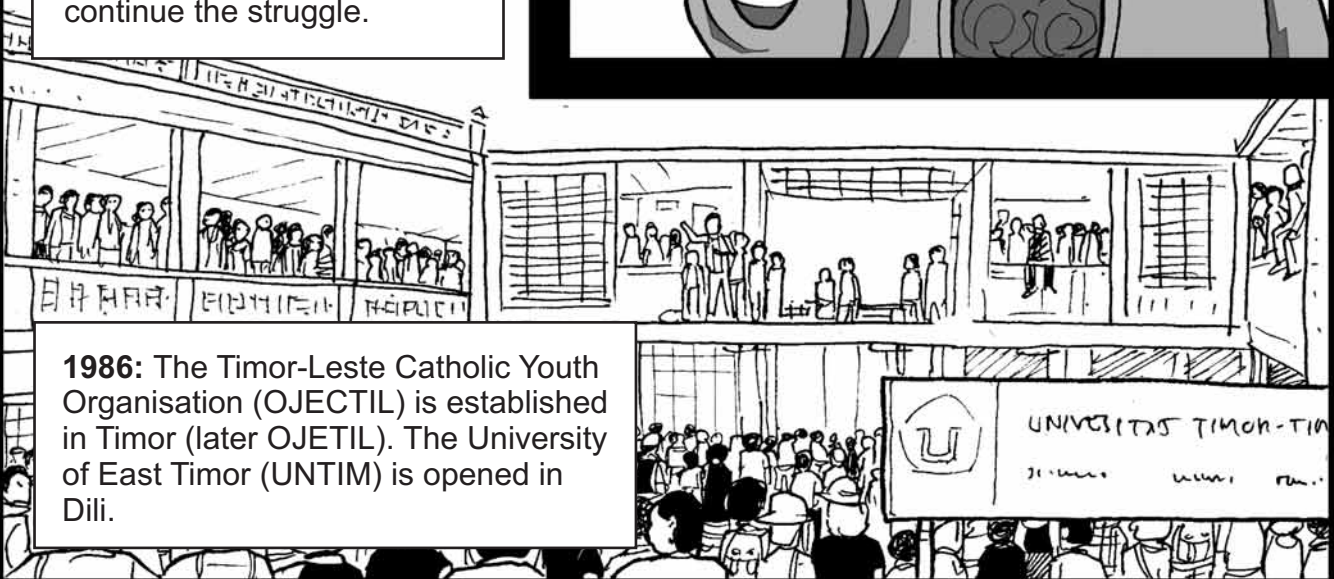
CONSOLIDATION AND CHANGE

1984-1991

May 1983: A young priest, Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, is appointed Apostolic Administrator and head of the Catholic church in Timor-Leste. He authorises the use of Tetum in Sunday mass.



20 May 1986: replying to a letter from Timorese youth, Xanana Gusmão writes to the Catholic youth of Timor-Leste and Timorese students in Indonesia asking them to continue the struggle.

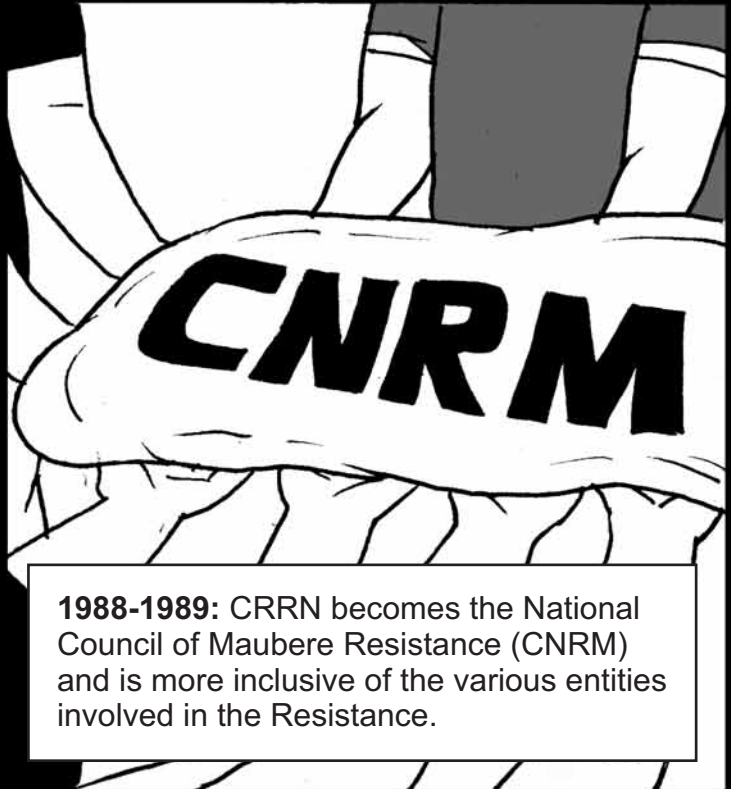


1986: The Timor-Leste Catholic Youth Organisation (OJECTIL) is established in Timor (later OJETIL). The University of East Timor (UNTIM) is opened in Dili.

1987: 47 prisoners are moved to Cipinang Prison in Jakarta and establish relationships with Indonesia's pro-democracy movement.

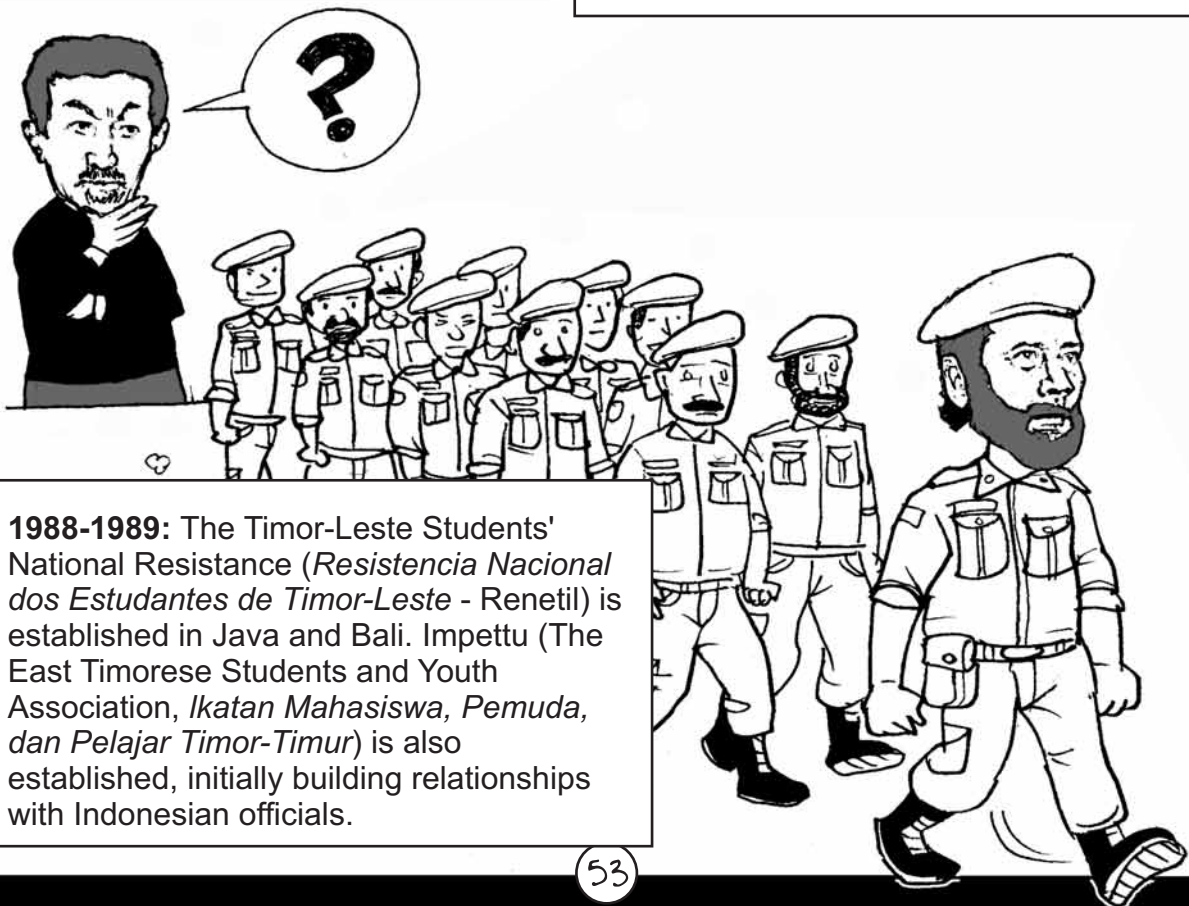


1988-1989: Bishop Belo writes two significant letters. The first letter, written in 1988 and read out in all churches in Timor, concerns protests against repression in Timor. The second, written to the UN on 6 February 1989, calls for a democratic process of decolonisation.

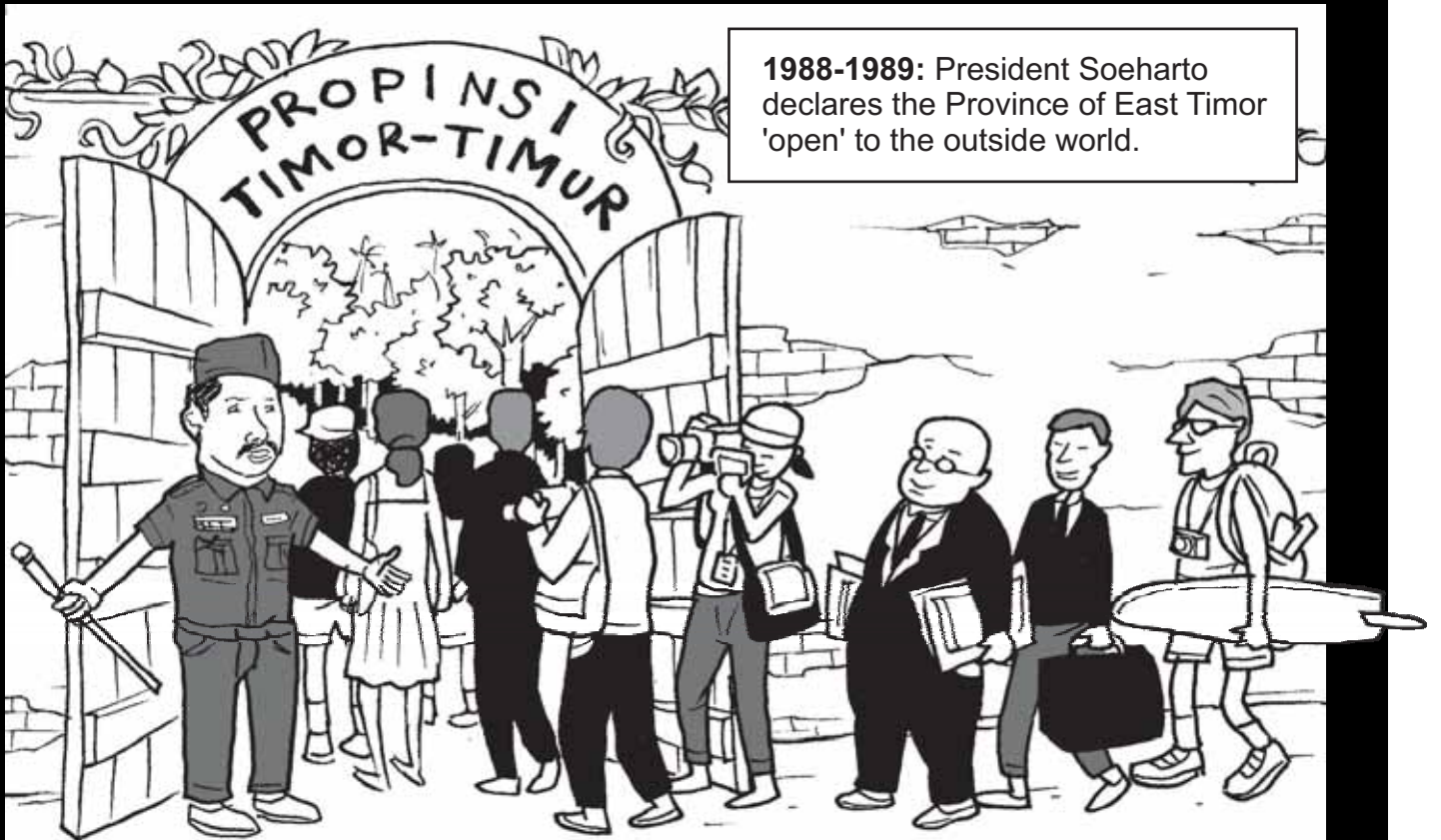


1988-1989: CRRN becomes the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) and is more inclusive of the various entities involved in the Resistance.

1988-1989: Falintil separates from Fretilin and becomes a neutral and nationalist army. Xanana Gusmão leaves Fretilin and becomes the CNRM President and Commander-in-Chief of Falintil.



1988-1989: The Timor-Leste Students' National Resistance (*Resistencia Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste - Renetil*) is established in Java and Bali. Impettu (The East Timorese Students and Youth Association, *Ikatan Mahasiswa, Pemuda, dan Pelajar Timor-Timur*) is also established, initially building relationships with Indonesian officials.



1988-1989: President Soeharto declares the Province of East Timor 'open' to the outside world.

12 October 1989: Pope John Paul II visits Dili; the visit is covered by the international media. Young people demonstrate during the mass. This is the first public demonstration since the invasion and occupation.



What does it mean to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world in East Timor today? For many years now, you have experienced destruction and death as a result of conflict; you have known what it means to be the victims of hatred and struggle. Many innocent people have died, while others have been prey to retaliation and revenge ... Respect for the rights which render life more human must be firmly ensured; the rights of individuals and the rights of families.

(Homily in Dili by Pope John Paul II)



The year 1989 signalled the beginning of non-violent actions in cities and villages. Previously, even though people were organised in small groups, their awareness was limited to their own cells. Sometimes they felt, "Are we the only ones fighting for this? What about the others?" When the protest movements began, people suddenly opened their minds and perception: "We are not the only ones fighting for self-determination! There are others!" So subsequently it became easier for us. When we began to approach them, we could say we did this, so let's do it together.

(Constancio Pinto, pro-independence activist)



9 November 1989: The Berlin Wall, a symbol of the Cold War, falls.



11 December 1989: Australia and Indonesia sign the Timor Gap Treaty, agreeing to share proceeds from oil and gas in the Timor sea.



September 1990: An interview with Xanana Gusmão from his hideout is published in Australia.

now on ABC radio ... we present Robert Domm's interview with Xanana Gusmao.



January 1991: US Ambassador, John Monjo, visits Dili to investigate reports about Indonesian security operations after the Papal visit. Groups of young people demonstrate in Dili.



In those times, the struggle was not only with guns in the mountains. Young Timorese were getting organised and speaking out about Timor's suffering through demonstrations in the city. The Timorese youth movement then became known as the 'clandestine' or Klandestina.

Wow, lots of young people were demonstrating!

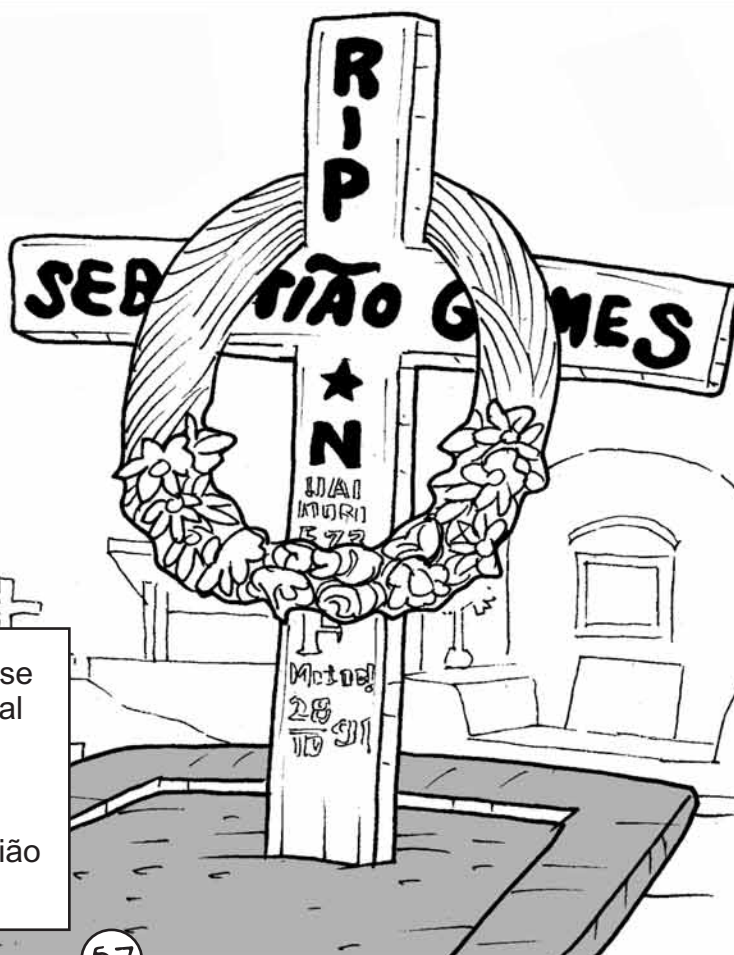




CHANGING STRATEGIES IN THE 1990s

28 October 1991: The Timorese clandestine movement prepares a demonstration for an anticipated visit by the Portuguese Parliament. The Indonesian military kill Sebastião Gomes, a student who was preparing a banner for the demonstration.

11 November 1991: The Portuguese visit is cancelled, but the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Pieter Koojimans, visits Timor-Leste. Clandestine youth demonstrate to commemorate the death of Sebastião Gomes.



12 November 1991: The Santa Cruz Massacre. The Indonesian military shoot many peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz Cemetery following a protest march after the mass for Sebastião Gomes. The carnage is filmed by Max Stahl and screened internationally. Timorese students hold a protest demonstration outside the UN office in Jakarta.



The Santa Cruz incident was a major historical event for East Timor and brought the whole issue of East Timor back to the political scene at the United Nations. Therefore we should think of those who died in the Santa Cruz Cemetery as heroes of the independence struggle for East Timor.

(Testimony to CAVR by Francesc Vendrell, senior UN official)



1991: Indonesian NGOs establish a Joint Committee for the Defence of East Timor. Indonesian human rights activists such as Ade Rostina Sitompol, Luhut Pangaribuan and others provide legal and material assistance to prisoners.



1992-1993: Xanana Gusmão is captured and put on trial but not allowed to deliver his defence. He is sentenced to life imprisonment. He continues to lead the struggle from Cipinang prison.

(In Cipinang prison I had) the opportunity to gain a better knowledge of the Indonesian people's struggle for democracy and freedom... I came to understand the common objectives that unite us with the Indonesian people... This understanding enabled me even to talk with former enemies and Indonesian generals.

(Testimony to CAVR by Xanana Gusmão).



1993: CNRM's peace plan is published. It proposes dialogue with Indonesia, the demilitarisation of Timor, and a period of transitional autonomy leading to an act of self-determination.

1994-1995: Timorese students jump the fences of several embassies in Jakarta to ask for political asylum and to campaign internationally for Timor.



1995-1997: More solidarity groups are established in Indonesia, including SPRIM (Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia untuk Maubere, Indonesian People's Solidarity Struggle for Maubere) and Solidamor (Solidaritas untuk Penyelesaian Damai Timor-Leste, Solidarity for a Peaceful Settlement in East Timor).

October 1996: Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta win the Nobel Peace Prize.



I firmly believe that I am here essentially as the voice of the voiceless people of East Timor who are with me today in spirit, if not in person. And what the people want is peace, an end to violence and the respect for their human rights. It is my fervent hope that the 1996 Nobel Prize for Peace will advance these goals.

(Bishop Belo, Nobel Peace Prize oration)

January 1997: Kofi Annan becomes the UN Secretary General and makes a commitment to find a solution to the Timor problem.



Ooh, finally a new strategy that would have a broader impact in the international community.



Yes, and the Nobel Peace Prize showed the Timorese people that the international community knew about them. This gave them new hope that the conflict would end.



At the same time the political situation in Indonesia was changing. Following an economic crisis and demands for change, Soeharto stepped down as President after ruling for 32 years. B.J. Habibie took over as president.

How did reformation come about?



Actually lots of Indonesian people had been struggling for democratic freedom for a long time. It became possible during the Asian Economic Crisis in 1997.

So what happened after Habibie became president?

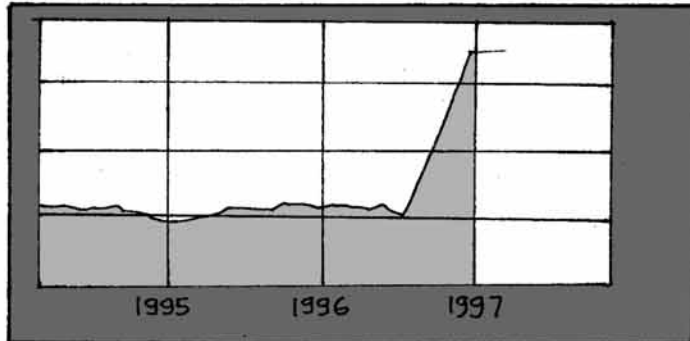
Habibie introduced a number of democratic changes including new policies on Timor-Leste.



REFORMATION AND THE TWO OPTIONS PROPOSAL

1997: Economic Crisis in Asia.

The crash of the rupiah leads to a political and economic shake up in Indonesia. Demonstrations are held in cities throughout Indonesia and include Timorese students.



April 1998: CNRM changes to CNRT (Concelho Nacional da Resistência Timorense, National Council for Timorese Resistance) to broaden the base of the movement.

21 May 1998: President Soeharto steps down and the Vice President, B.J. Habibie, is sworn in as the third President of the Republic of Indonesia.



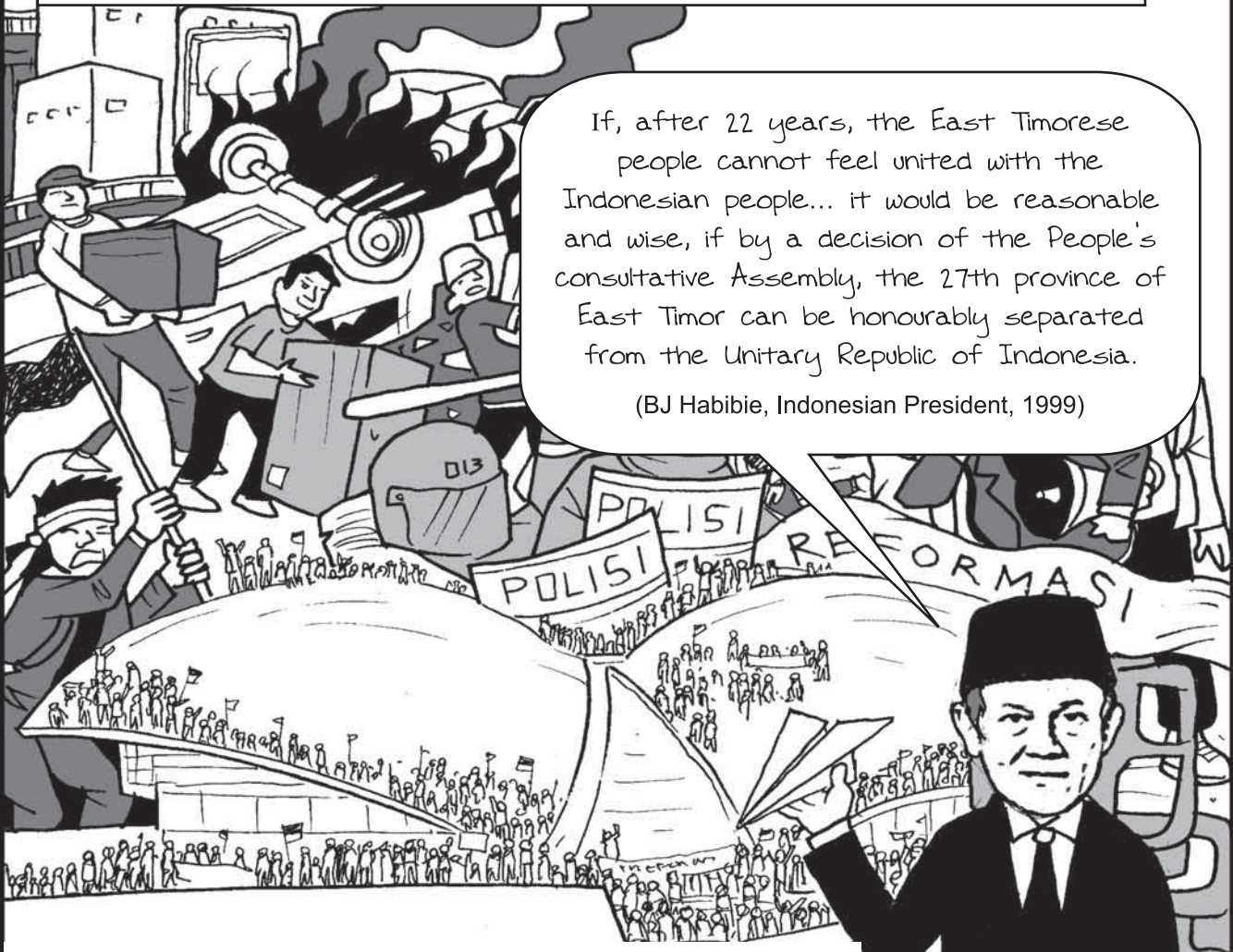
November 1998: Falintil attacks a military post at Alas (Manufahi). TNI and the Ablai militia stage a counter-attack that has a big impact on the local people. TNI begins organising militia groups in all the districts.



Let us concentrate on...achieving: an end to military hostilities; a climate of greater political tolerance. This stance aims at preventing further East Timorese casualties. The occupiers are arming the East Timorese and telling them to kill their own brothers and sisters. Instead of allowing ourselves to be consumed by anger, let us make an effort to think in a balanced political manner. Otherwise we will be playing the colonialists' game; we will be reinforcing the Indonesian argument that the East Timorese are threatened with a new civil war.

(Xanana Gusmao's New Year's Eve message, 1999)

27 January 1999: President Habibie surprises many in Indonesia and the international community when he proposes that the Timorese choose their own future - autonomy with Indonesia or independence.



If, after 22 years, the East Timorese people cannot feel united with the Indonesian people... it would be reasonable and wise, if by a decision of the People's consultative Assembly, the 27th province of East Timor can be honourably separated from the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

(BJ Habibie, Indonesian President, 1999)

February 1999: A proposal for autonomy called SARET (Special Autonomous Region of East Timor) is advanced that would allow the Timorese community to determine their own laws and administer their own police and judicial system.

6 April 1999: The TNI and militia kill civilians seeking refuge in the Liquiça Church.



17 April 1999: Militia hold a large gathering in front of the main Government building with senior military and government leaders present. Militia attack Manuel Carrascalão's residence where people from Liquiça are hiding. They kill a number of people including Manuel Carrascalao's son.

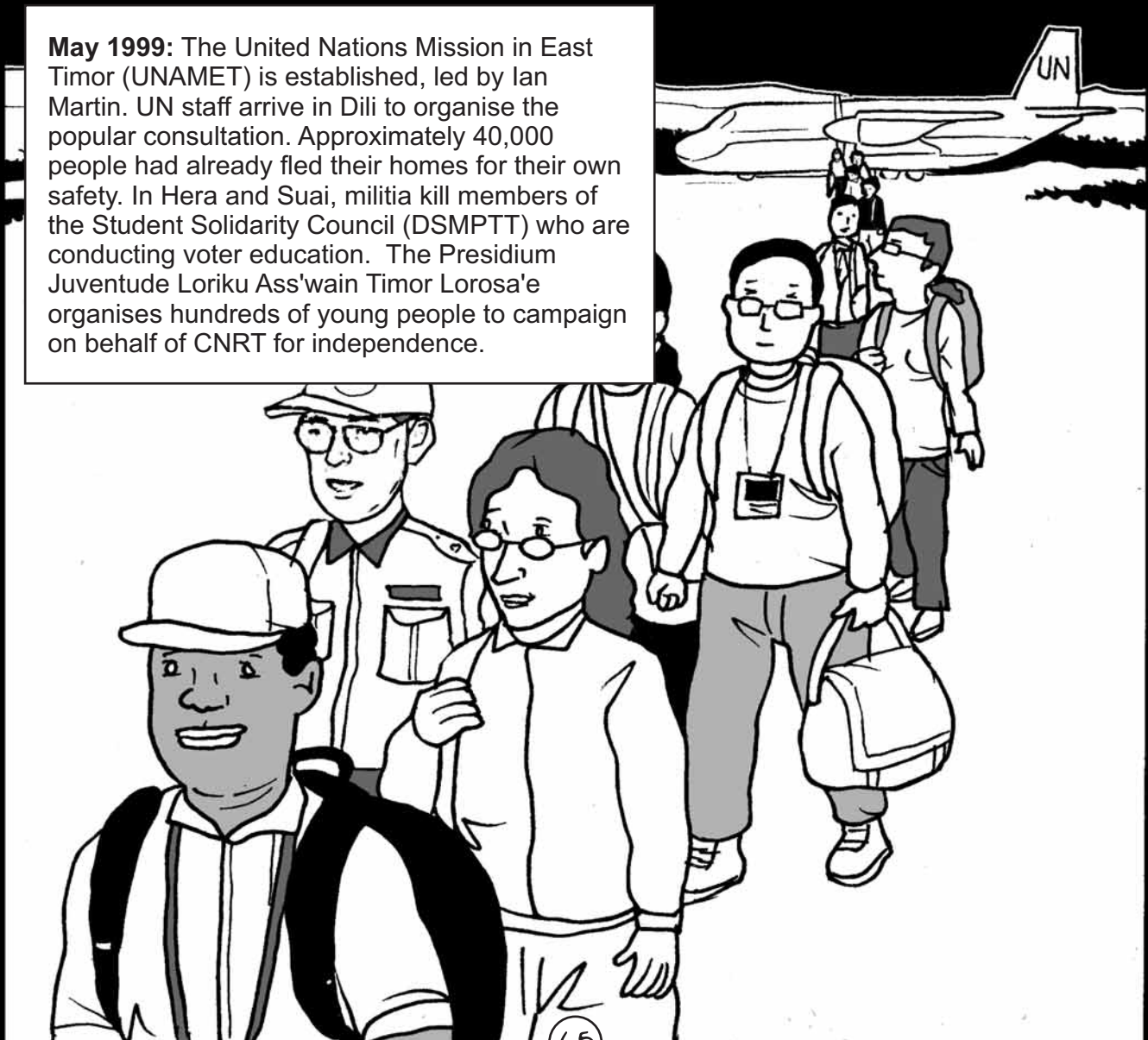


5 May 1999: Portugal, Indonesia and the UN sign an agreement to conduct a 'popular consultation' in Timor-Leste. Indonesia demands that it is given responsibility for security, with 'absolute neutrality' from the TNI and others who carry weapons.



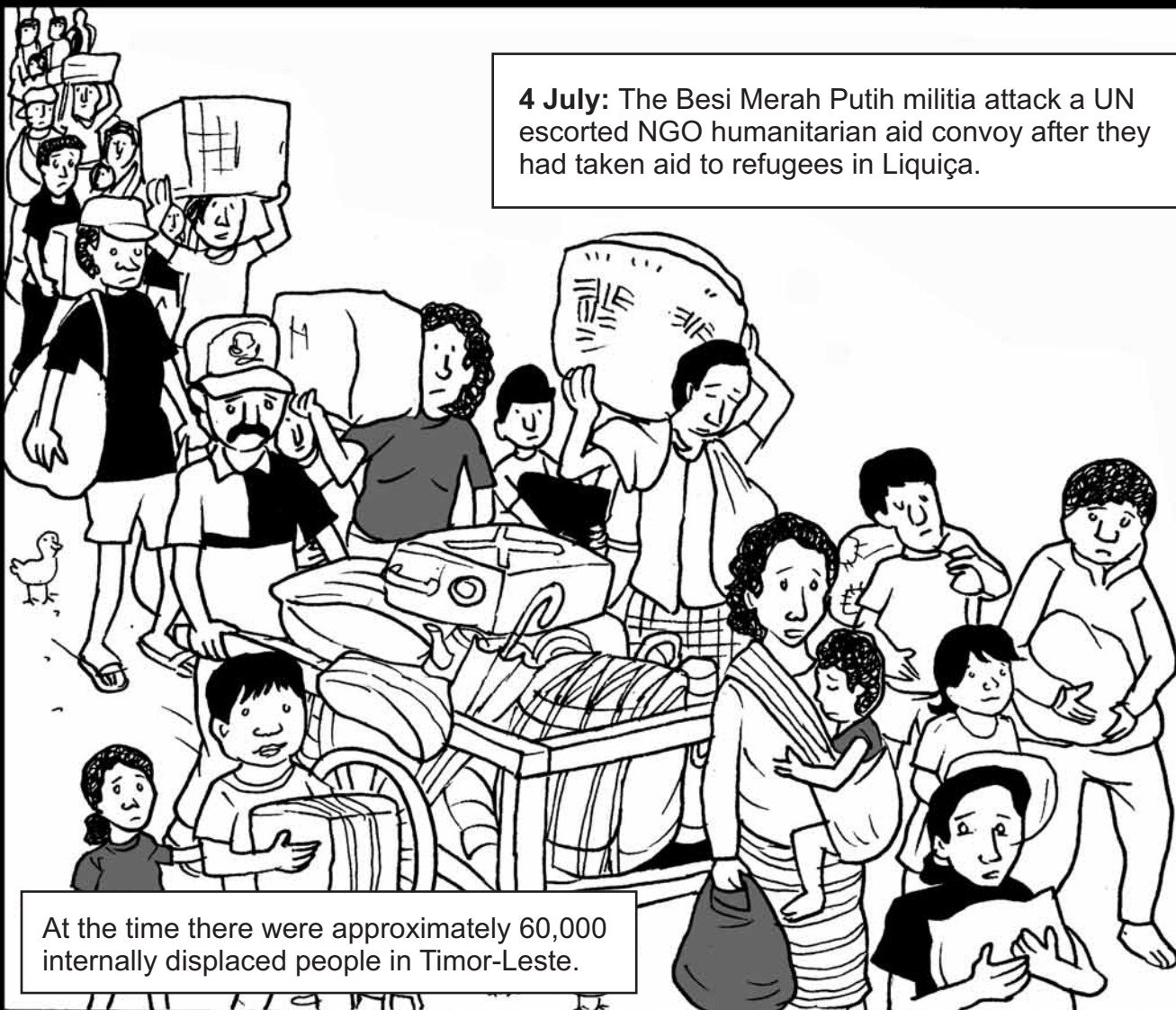
POPULAR CONSULTATION, INDONESIA LEAVES TIMOR-LESTE

May 1999: The United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) is established, led by Ian Martin. UN staff arrive in Dili to organise the popular consultation. Approximately 40,000 people had already fled their homes for their own safety. In Hera and Suai, militia kill members of the Student Solidarity Council (DSMPTT) who are conducting voter education. The Presidium Juventude Loriku Ass'wain Timor Lorosa'e organises hundreds of young people to campaign on behalf of CNRT for independence.



25-30 June: The Dare II Meeting is held in Jakarta, initiated by Bishop Belo and Bishop Nascimento in a bid to reconcile the pro-integration and pro-independence leaders.

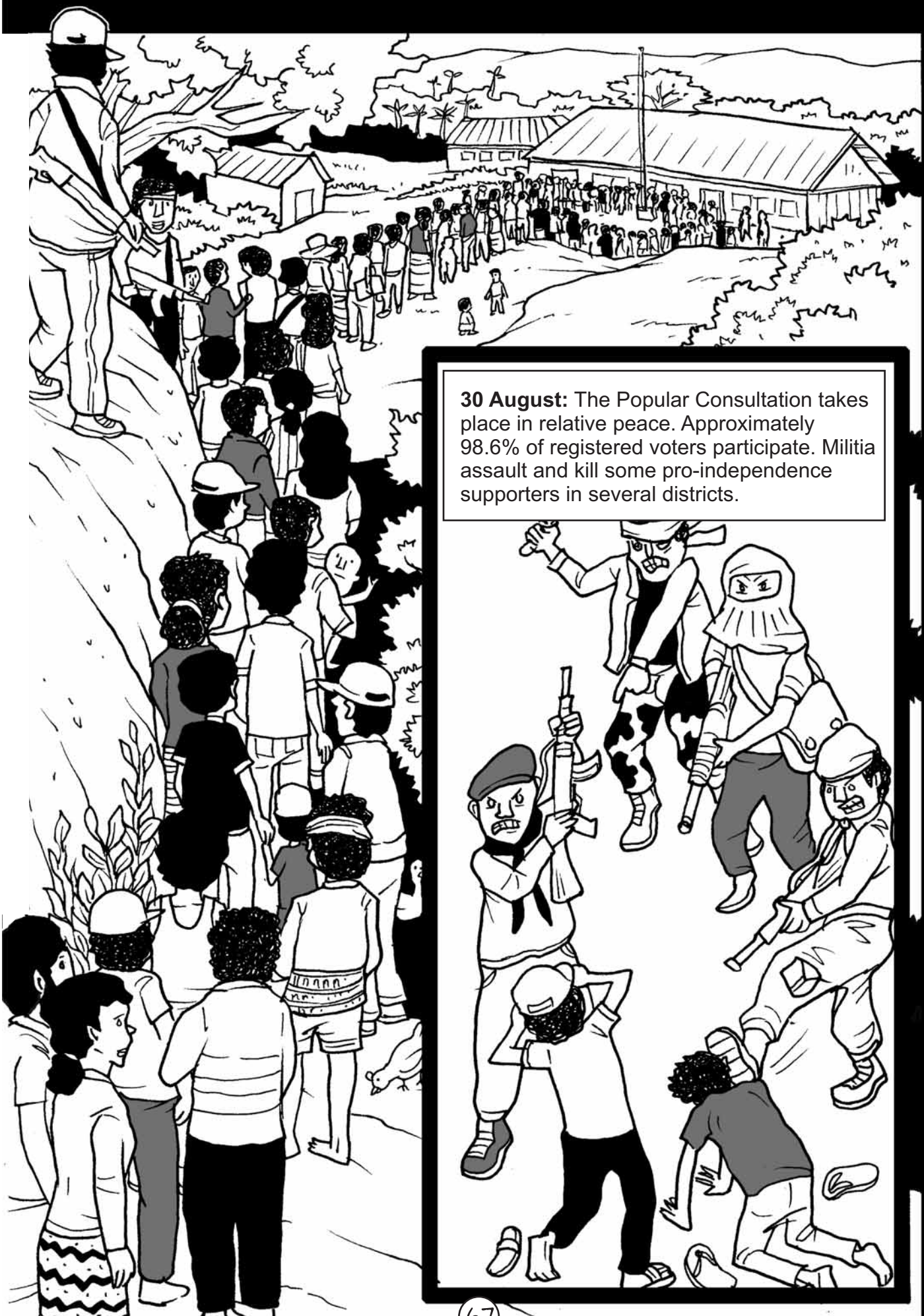
4 July: The Besi Merah Putih militia attack a UN escorted NGO humanitarian aid convoy after they had taken aid to refugees in Liquiça.



At the time there were approximately 60,000 internally displaced people in Timor-Leste.



16 July: The UN registers 451,792 voters for the Popular Consultation, more than the expected number and representative of almost everyone who had the right to vote.



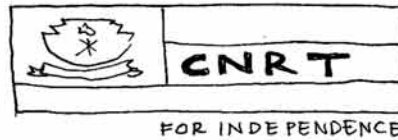
30 August: The Popular Consultation takes place in relative peace. Approximately 98.6% of registered voters participate. Militia assault and kill some pro-independence supporters in several districts.



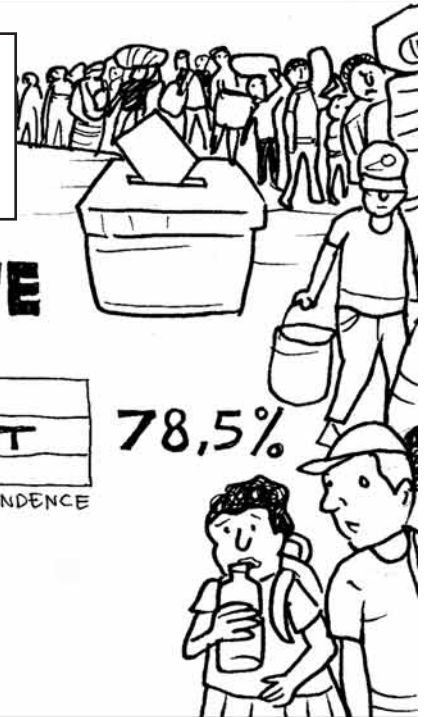
4 September: The UN announces the results of the Popular Consultation: 78.5% choose independence over autonomy within Indonesia. The next day, militia and the Indonesian military begin a wave of violence in every district that lasts for more than two weeks.



TIMOR VOTE

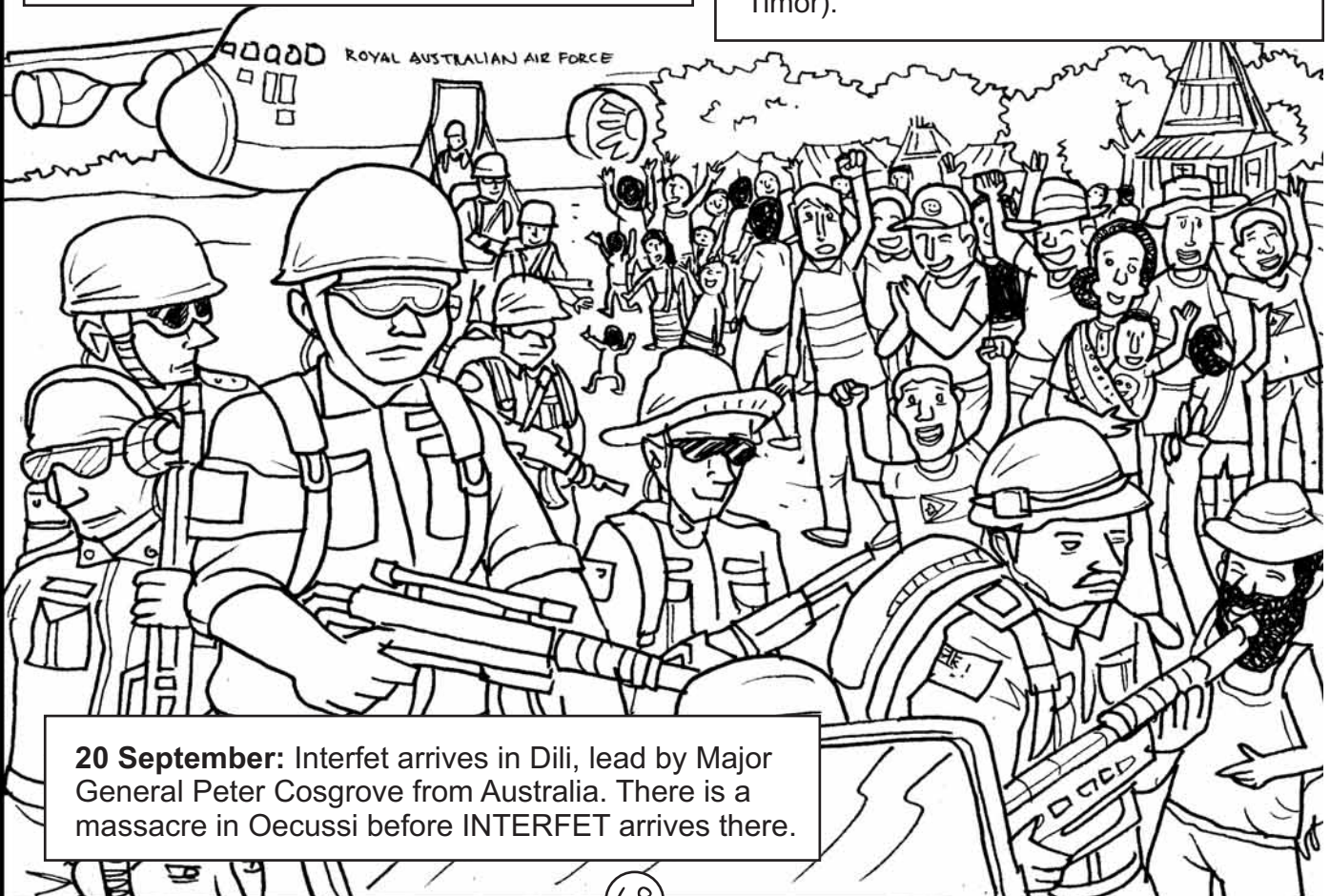


78,5%

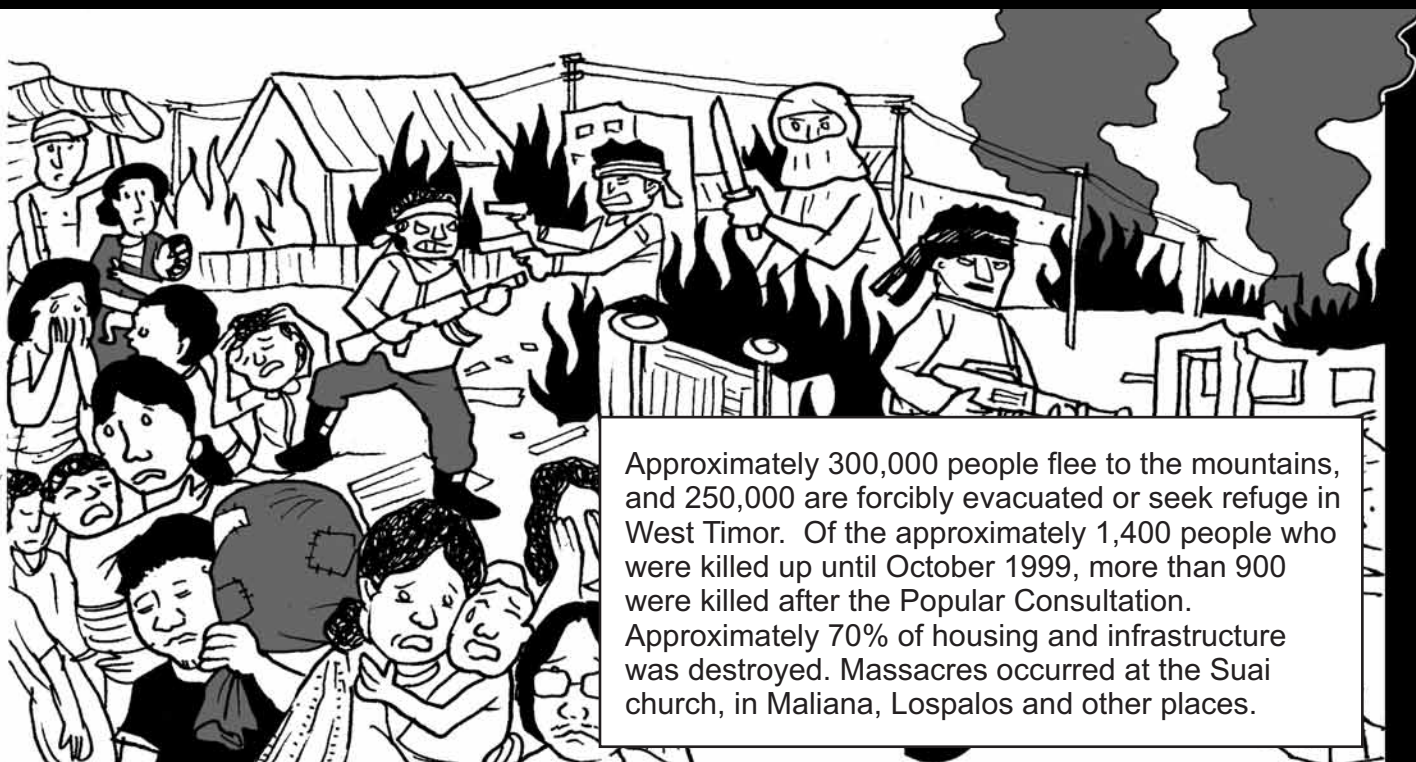


12 September: Under political pressure, President Habibie agrees to the deployment of international peacekeepers to Timor-Leste. A UN Security Council mission visits Jakarta and Dili the day before the agreement.

14 September: UNAMET staff and refugees are evacuated to Darwin. A small UNAMET team relocates to the Australian Consulate to wait for the arrival of INTERFET (International Force for East Timor).



20 September: Interfet arrives in Dili, lead by Major General Peter Cosgrove from Australia. There is a massacre in Oecussi before INTERFET arrives there.



Approximately 300,000 people flee to the mountains, and 250,000 are forcibly evacuated or seek refuge in West Timor. Of the approximately 1,400 people who were killed up until October 1999, more than 900 were killed after the Popular Consultation. Approximately 70% of housing and infrastructure was destroyed. Massacres occurred at the Suai church, in Maliana, Lospalos and other places.

22 October: Xanana Gusmão and Jose Ramos-Horta return to Timor-Leste.



25 October: The UN Security Council establishes UNTAET (United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor). Led by Sergio Vieira de Mello, UNTAET's mandate includes addressing the humanitarian crisis and guiding Timor-Leste to independence.

Now you know the history of political conflict in Timor-Leste. It began with conflict between UDT and Fretilin in 1975 and finished when Indonesia left Timor-Leste in 1999. From this history you can see that many different factors and groups have contributed to this conflict.



Let's go back to the library. We'll be able to learn more about the Timorese people's right to self-determination there. We will also learn why the Timorese were not able to exercise that right until 1999.



