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**Volume 17: Special on the Capture of Xanana Gusmao  
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This is a special issue due to the large amount of material relating to the capture of East Timorese nationalist leader Xanana Gusmao. These documents are normally produced monthly and mailed to subscribers.

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The material is grouped by subject, with articles under each category in approximately chronological order. It is also available on IBM-compatible diskette, in either WinWord 2 or ASCII format.

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**NEWS REPORTS:  
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA**

Reports on Activities in France relating to Suharto's visit are in a separate section of this compilation.

**SOLDIERS IN EAST TIMOR  
CAPTURE REBEL LEADER  
(NEW YORK TIMES)**

*New York Times, 21 Nov. 1992. Full text.  
[If this is how the American people get their news, U.S. policy and public ignorance on East Timor is perfectly understandable. The article is an archetype of tentativity, inaccuracy and omission.]*

Dili, Indonesia, Nov. 20 (AP) – Soldiers in East Timor captured a leader of an independence movement today in the former Portuguese colony, a military commander said.

Brig. Gen. Theo Safei (sic) said José Alexandre Gusmao, known by his nickname, Xanana, had been captured while sleeping in a home in Lahane, a western suburb of East Timor's capital, Dili.

Mr. Gusmao is said to be a leader of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, a small leftist group of Timorese seeking independence.

In Lisbon, President Mario Soares of Portugal called for an international campaign for Mr. Gusmao's release.

Mr. Gusmao has been accused of leading a pro-independence demonstration a year ago that turned bloody when Indonesia soldiers opened fire.

A Government commission said troops had overreacted and concluded that 50 people had been killed and that 90 more were missing, either dead or in hiding. Human rights groups have said up to 200 people were killed.

Safei did not say what charges Mr. Gusmao faces, but several East Timorese accused of instigating the demonstration have been given prison sentences ranging from five years to life.

In June, the United States House of Representatives cut \$2.3 million in military aid to Indonesia because of the shootings.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 as Portugal prepared to pull out, and later annexed the territory as its 27th province. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administrative power.

**WIRE SERVICE ROUNDUP  
NOV. 20**

**ASSOCIATED PRESS**

AP, Dili, Nov. 20 - Soldiers in East Timor captured a leader of an independence movement Friday in the former Portuguese colony, a military commander said.

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei said José Alexandre Gusmao, known by his nickname Xanana, was captured while sleeping in a home in Lahane, a western suburb of East Timor's capital Dili.

In Lisbon, Portuguese President Mario Soares called for an international campaign to press for Gusmao's release.

"The first appeal that I make is to the conscience of the world ... to work, be alert and watchful so Xanana Gusmao's life is not put at risk," Soares told TSF radio in the Portuguese capital.

Syafei did not say what charges Gusmao faces, but several East Timorese accused of instigating the demonstration have been given prison sentences ranging from five years to life.

**KYODO**

Kyodo, Jakarta, Nov. 20 - The Indonesian army on Friday arrested the leader of the Fretilin rebel group which has been fighting to gain independence for East Timor, Indonesia's state-run Antara news agency reported.

Antara quoted the armed forces information office as saying Xanana Gusmao, the group's military commander, was arrested Friday afternoon in a military operation in the East Timor capital of Dili.

The armed forces information office said an investigation of Xanana is underway.

**REUTER**

Reuter, Jakarta, Nov. 20 - The Indonesian military on Friday arrested Xanana Gusmao, commander of the East Timor independence movement Fretilin, the Indonesian news agency Antara said.

"Xanana Gusmao...was arrested by the military authorities with the help of the people in the (East Timor) provincial capital of Dili at 0600 local time," Antara agency said.

The rebel commander was undergoing intensive questioning, Antara quoted the Indonesian Armed Forces information department as saying.

Antara called Xanana Gusmao "the mastermind of last year's November 12 incident in Dili," referring to when Indonesian troops fired into a group of mourners marking the death of a pro-independence student two weeks earlier.

Jakarta says Fretilin guerrilla-backed protesters in the crowd incited soldiers to fire, but witnesses say the shooting was unprovoked.

The Fretilin guerrillas have been waging an increasingly futile rebellion against the Indonesian military for 17 years.

In an interview last week with Reuters in Dili, local military commander Theo Syafei said Xanana Gusmao had become a mere figurehead and that his guerrilla movement was not a serious military threat.

Diplomats estimate there are barely 100 guerrillas still fighting.

The Antara news agency carried only a short item on Xanana Gusmao's capture, which was not mentioned on the evening news on state television.

Observers in East Timor have in the past said they were certain the army could have captured Xanana Gusmao earlier if they had wanted to.

In the past two years he has been interviewed at least once by foreign journalists.

Political analysts and the government agree that the most serious challenge to Jakarta's rule comes from the high unemployment among the urban educated youth,

despite huge amounts of money pouring in to develop the local economy. Fretilin has campaigned against Jakarta's rule in the former Portuguese territory since Indonesia invaded in 1975. Indonesia annexed East Timor the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Nov. 20 - Indonesian troops seized the leader of East Timor's Fretilin guerrillas and the symbol of their resistance on Friday, a week after the former Portuguese colony observed the first anniversary of an army massacre there.

An armed forces spokesman said in Jakarta: "Xanana Gusmao was captured at 6 a.m. in Dili." He gave no further details.

In Dili, military authorities told reporters Xanana was captured by 30 "red beret" troops led by a captain near a military hospital in the Lahane village area in a western part of the city.

The United Nations does not recognise the annexation of East Timor, which again caught international attention on November 12 last year when troops fired into a crowd mourning the death of a separatist at a cemetery in Dili.

Up to 180 people were killed in the shooting according to witnesses. The government puts the toll at 50 dead and 66 missing.

On November 12 this year, the predominantly Catholic East Timorese flocked to churches, but there were no special masses said for the dead in the army firing.

Xanana's name is spoken by youths in hushed tones in Dili and he has remained a shadowy figure, regarded even by East Timor military commander Theo Syafei as the symbol of Fretilin.

Xanana's arrest can be expected to spark fresh protests from human rights organisations and from the West, especially when he is put on trial.

Diplomats say that in custody he may be an even greater embarrassment to Jakarta than when he was leading the guerrillas.

Portugal's Soares has already expressed fears that Xanana might be tortured.

"Xanana Gusmao is a man of courage and a man of determination who was struggling for the independence of his country.... I have a great admiration for the Timorese leader," Soares said.

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Nov. 20 - Abilio Soares, who took over as East Timor governor in September, told reporters he met Xanana after his capture and that the two had known each other at high school.

There has been no reaction yet from Fretilin, which made a unilateral declaration of independence before being driven into the

mountains by the approaching Indonesian forces in 1975.

Xanana, who was believed to be alone at the time of the capture, was considered by Indonesian officers to have given up directing military operations and withdrawn to the background in recent months.

"But he is the target because he is the symbol of the movement," one officer said in Dili last week when East Timor quietly observed the first anniversary of the army's November 12 massacre.

Fretilin is now a dwindling force, depending more on political strategy than guerrilla warfare to make its point both in East Timor and in international forums.

**UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL**

UPI, Jakarta, Sukino Harisumarto, Nov. 21 - East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement leader Xanana Gusmao has been captured in a military raid and was undergoing interrogation about rebel activities in the troubled province, officials said Saturday.

Gusmao, 46, was arrested by Indonesian troops with the assistance of local people in the provincial capital of Dili early they said.

Indonesian authorities have been trying to corner the leader of the armed movement seeking independence for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor for the past 16 years.

Indonesia has accused Gusmao of masterminding a Nov. 12, 1991 anti-government demonstration in Dili which led to Indonesian forces firing on demonstrators.

The government has admitted 50 people were killed in the shooting and another 66 remained unaccounted for. Witnesses have put the death toll at close to 200. The incident has resulted in wide scale international condemnation of Indonesia.

Gusmao was being interrogated and would be handled according to the prevailing regulations and laws, a military statement said. He gave no other details.

Gusmao was caught in the early morning hours while sleeping in a private house, sources from Dili told Antara, the Indonesian news agency.

The capture of the Fretilin leader was welcomed by authorities in East Timor, who said they hoped the arrest would quell disturbances in the troubled province and lead to the arrest of the remaining guerrillas.

"It is indeed big news," said former East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao. Officials said they expected rebel strength would be weakened now that Gusmao had been captured.

President Suharto, who was in Dakar, Senegal at the developing countries' Group of 15 (G-15) third summit, expressed relief at Gusmao's arrest, state secretary Murdiono said.

Armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno immediately flew to Dili after hearing news of Gusmao's arrest, Antara said.

The Fretilin guerrilla movement, which launched an armed rebellion against the government in 1976, is still active in East Timor, although now with greatly reduced numbers. Government authorities say there are about 200 rebels, with about 120 weapons, in the area.

Gusmao is a self-educated writer and journalist who joined Fretilin in 1974. His wife, Emilia Gusmao, lives in Australia with their two children.

Early in January, José Da Costa, 35, the alleged second-in-command of Falintil, the armed wing of Fretilin, was arrested. He is said to have been one of the masterminds behind the Nov. 12 Dili demonstration.

An East Timor lawmaker, Salvador Ximenes Soares, said the arrest of Gusmao Friday was a major blow to anti-integration East Timorese as well as to Fretilin supporters abroad.

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### MAU HUNO NAMED INTERIM LEADER?

*Diario de Noticias 21 November 1992*

The Portuguese daily, *Diario de Noticias*, announced today that Antonio Joao da Costa (Mau Huno) has been named interim leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, to replace Xanana Gusmao,

*[This report is based on a statement made by Ramos-Horta when asked by journalists in Portugal who would take over the leadership. He said that by virtue of his position as second-in-command, it would be Mau Huno. No-one has yet been able to establish contact with Dili or with the resistance in the interior.]*

### REUTER REPORT

According to a November 21 Reuter story datelined Lisbon, Xanana Gusmao, the arrested leader of the East Timor rebel movement Fretilin, has been succeeded by his deputy, Portuguese reports said on Saturday.

Fretilin's National Resistance Council appointed Antonio Gomes da Costa "Mau Huno" as its new leader, Portugal's Catholic Radio Renascenca said.

Xanana is expected to stand trial for planning protests which Jakarta says led troops to fire into a crowd of people mourning the death of a separatist in Dili on November 12 1991.

The National Resistance Council's spokesman in Lisbon, José Ramos Horta, said on Saturday the capture of the East Timor rebel leader would give more weight

to the campaign against Indonesia's rule in East Timor.

Ramos Horta said on Lisbon's TSF radio Fretilin planned an international campaign for Xanana's release.

In a statement issued on Friday, the Portuguese government appealed to the international community to act to get Gusmao freed.

"The Portuguese government appeals to the international community to act without delay to obtain the freedom of Xanana Gusmao and guarantee his physical well being," it said.

"Portugal reaffirms its determination to pursue action in defence of the rights and the freedom of the people of East Timor, including their right to the free choice of their political future ... without which it will not be possible to end the intolerable situation which continues to prevail in the territory," the statement added.

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### XANANA'S FAMILY RESPONDS

According to a November 21 Reuter story by Wilson da Silva datelined Sydney, the Australian-based family of the Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao, captured by Indonesian forces in East Timor, pleaded with Jakarta on Saturday not to mistreat him.

"All I want is just for Indonesia to respect his human rights ... not to mistreat my father," said Nito, Xanana's 21-year-old son, from his Melbourne home.

"Whatever they do to him, they will not be able to kill the Timorese fight to be free."

Xanana's wife Emilia, 18-year-old daughter Zenilda and Nito joined 150 protesters outside the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne, demanding that Australia help secure the rebel commander's release and guarantee his safety.

Xanana's family have lived in Australia since 1990 when the International Red Cross helped them leave Indonesian-ruled East Timor, where they say they were harassed by the military.

Xanana is expected to stand trial for masterminding protests which Jakarta says led troops to fire into a crowd in Dili on November 12 last year.

About 50 angry Timorese outside the Indonesian consulate in Sydney shouted: "Free East Timor" and "Free Xanana."

Church, union and human rights leaders led a rally in Adelaide to the steps of the state legislature, calling on Australia to offer Xanana asylum.

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### XANANA NEGOTIATIONS OFFER REJECTED

According to a November 21 AFP story datelined Jakarta, East Timorese guerrilla leader José Xanana Gusmao offered unsuccessfully to negotiate with his captors after his arrest this week, a well-informed Indonesian source said Saturday.

"Gusmao is not in a position to negotiate with anyone, he was captured and will probably be judged according to Indonesia's subversion laws," said the source, who participated in Gusmao's interrogation after his capture by the Indonesian army Friday.

"Very pale, even blanched, as a result of the conditions of his life as a fugitive in the East Timorese mountains, Gusmao did not seem in good condition, but he remained defiant. He still opposes the integration of East Timor into Indonesia," the source said by telephone from Dili.

The leader of the pro-independence Fretilin movement said he understood neither Indonesian nor English and insisted on replying in Portuguese to the questions put to him by the Indonesian authorities, the source said.

Gusmao is expected to be transferred to Jakarta, but in the meantime he is being held at a Dili army barracks.

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### INDONESIAN REGIME GLOATS

According to a November 21 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia reacted with relief Saturday to the arrest of East Timor's most wanted guerrilla leader José Xanana Gusmao, but former colonist Portugal and exiles in Australia reacted with shock at the blow to the Fretilin resistance movement.

"It is a very pleasing event because with this, the problems of the Fretilin can be rapidly resolved so that a reconciliation in East Timor can be had," said a senior Indonesian Foreign Ministry official who declined to be named.

The Antara news agency quoted several native East Timorese parliamentarians here as hailing the capture early Friday of Gusmao in the East Timorese capital of Dili, but cautioned that the arrest of the resistance leader would not immediately solve the problems in the former Portuguese colony.

The agency also quoted East Timor Governor José Abilio Osorio Soares as saying that the day Indonesian troops captured Gusmao during a raid on a house in Dili, was "a historical day for East Timor."

Sources contacted by phone in Dili said the city was "totally calm" Saturday.

In Sydney, 50 members of the East Timorese community protested outside the Indonesian consulate.

East Timor Relief Association director Agio Pereira told the gathering: "It (Gusmao's arrest) means that the voice of every man, woman and child of East Timor that fights against occupation has been imprisoned."

Having continuously evaded Indonesian soldiers, Gusmao as head of a meagre band of some 200 to 500 guerrillas was viewed as a modern-day Robin Hood fighting for the lost cause of East Timorese independence.

He led a change in tactics by the Fretilin in 1989 in which the movement shifted its efforts from rural areas to the urban centres and sought to recruit sympathisers among the young in cities like Dili, Baucau and Manatuto.

According to one foreign diplomat here, Gusmao's arrest "sounded what could be the death knell of hopes for East Timorese nationalists."

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## AUSTRALIAN PROTESTS

According to a November 21 AFP story datelined Melbourne, the family of detained East Timor Fretilin resistance leader José Xanana Gusmao here Saturday called on the Australian government to seek his expeditious release.

Gusmao's 21 year-old son, Nito, who lives here with his mother, Emilia, and 18 year-old sister Zenilda, stood outside the Indonesian Embassy here in torrential rain protesting over Indonesia's arrest on Friday morning of Gusmao.

Nito Gusmao called on the Australian government to take quick and effective action to secure the release of his father.

He also called on Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans to guarantee the protection of his father under international law.

The Melbourne protest was among a series of rallies held throughout Australia's major cities calling for action against Indonesia.

A spokesman for Fretilin, Francisco Pang, said here Australia should follow the example of the United Nations, France and Portugal in condemning Indonesia's capture of Gusmao.

In Sydney, 50 members of the East Timorese community protested outside the Indonesian consulate.

East Timor Relief Association director Agio Pereira told the gathering: "It (Gusmao's arrest) means that the voice of every man, woman and child of East Timor that fights against occupation has been imprisoned.

"It also means our national leader has been captured by the enemy and it means

that we have to come out and show the world that contrary to what the Indonesian military wants we won't be silent," Pereira said.

Pereira said Saturday's rally was the beginning of a new campaign against what he called the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, and the provocative arrest of the 45-year-old resistance leader.

"It was a shock, many people cried, many people were in suspense without knowing what to do because it is like arresting every single person in East Timor," he said.

"The Timorese know very well the practices of the Indonesian military, and the immediate reaction is there's going to be torture, he's going to be subjected to inhumane means so they can get information.."

"I think the Australian government must understand the realities of East Timorese people.

"East Timor has been shut off from the rest of the world and it is for all practical purposes the biggest prison in the world."

In Adelaide, a rally on the steps of South Australia's Parliament House called on the Australian Government to help free Gusmao.

South Australia's Campaign for an Independent East Timor spokesman Andrew Alcock said Gusmao's arrest was a tragedy, as he was to be involved in peace negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal early next year.

Alcock said the gathering, which attracted representatives from churches, unions and human rights groups, called on the Australian government to ensure Gusmao's safety and to offer him asylum in Australia.

"It's now time for our leaders to stop their low-key approach to East Timor and be more positive and bold in supporting human rights," he said.

"We've also sent faxes to Amnesty International's London office and the United Nations office on behalf of the Campaign (for an Independent East Timor)."

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## BENNY MURDANI: XANANA TRIAL LIKELY

According to a November 22 AFP story datelined Jakarta, the capture of East Timorese pro-independence leader José Xanana Gusmao has brought deep satisfaction to Indonesian authorities but has also presented them with the dilemma of what to do next.

"Now that the hour of glory is past, Indonesia has to make sure that it makes no mistakes regarding Xanana (Gusmao)," a Western diplomat said.

After 16 years on the run, most of it at the head of the armed wing of the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (Fretilin), Gusmao has become both a leader for and a symbol of the cause of pro-independents in the former Portuguese colony, which Jakarta annexed in 1976.

His picture and name figured prominently on posters and banners during a demonstration in Dili on November 12 last year that led to the death of scores of civilians after Indonesian troops shot into a crowd of demonstrators.

Gusmao was finally arrested during a raid by Indonesian troops on a house in west Dili in the early hours of Friday. Jakarta has since said that Gusmao was under "intensive questioning" and his case would be processed "according to prevailing laws and regulations."

An Indonesian source in Dili said authorities had flatly rejected an offer for negotiations from Gusmao shortly after his arrest, saying the detainee was in no position to make such demands.

Native-East Timorese Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a former member of the national investigative team that probed last year's Dili massacre in East Timor, warned during the weekend that officials should be careful when commenting on Gusmao, who was a charismatic leader for his followers.

His call was also echoed by former East Timorese governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, who said "we should treat Xanana (Gusmao) wisely."

Lisbon, which severed diplomatic ties with Indonesia after troops invaded its former colony in 1975, has said it is prepared to grant Gusmao asylum.

Portuguese President Mario Soares has also sought the help of the United Nations, which does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, to intercede with Jakarta to prevent any ill-treatment of Gusmao.

International human rights organizations such as the London-based Amnesty International and the U.S.-based Asia Watch have called on Jakarta to accord him humane treatment. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has requested authorization to meet with Gusmao, its representative said here.

Indonesian Defence Minister Benny Murdani reiterated that Gusmao would be treated in accordance with Indonesian laws, consistent with humanitarian considerations and international standards.

He has also been quoted as saying he believed Gusmao will face a criminal trial. In the past, Jakarta has charged pro-independents, such as those in East Timor, in Aceh and in the easternmost Indonesian province of Irian Jaya, with subversion,

which carries death as the maximum penalty.

Murdani said Gusmao would be very likely to be taken out of East Timor and transferred elsewhere. Sources here said he could be taken either to Jakarta or Bali, which hosts the headquarters of the Udayana military command overseeing security in East Timor.

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### AUSTRALIAN FM EVANS URGES INDONESIA NOT TO ILL-TREAT XANANA

*The Sunday Age, 22 November 1992, By  
Gervase Greene*

The Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, has called on the Indonesian Government not to ill-treat the captured East Timorese resistance leader, José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao, but has not followed some world leaders in calling for his immediate release.

Senator Evans said Indonesian authorities had confirmed that Mr Gusmao was being held in Dili and that he was "safe." The charismatic leader of the Fretilin organisation has evaded Indonesian troops for almost 17 years and his capture is seen as a major blow to the rebel movement.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has already called for Gusmao's release. He is supported by French President Francois Mitterrand and Portuguese President Mario Soares. The arrest came one week after the anniversary of the massacre of up to 180 East Timorese in a Dili cemetery last year.

Senator Evans said the Australian ambassador in Jakarta, Mr Philip Flood, has been "expressly assured... that Xanana will be treated in accordance with Indonesian law and that he will not be ill-treated.

"The Federal Government was concerned that Xanana receive due process under Indonesian law - that is, that any formal charges be laid without delay and that he be given legal representation."

Mr Gusmao, 45, was grabbed by Indonesian Army special forces in a dawn raid on Friday. His arrest sparked angry demonstrations across Australia, with prominent supporters and members of the East Timorese community protesting against Indonesia's annexation and demanding that the Federal Government intervene on Mr Gusmao's behalf.

In Melbourne, about 200 people demonstrated outside the Indonesian consulate in South Melbourne yesterday, including Mr Gusmao's wife Emilia and their children Nito, 21, and Zenilda, 18. Many speakers broke down, several protesters wept and a

distraught Mrs Gusmao was rushed to hospital after collapsing.

The family moved to Australia two years ago, after allegedly suffering harassment and torture by Indonesian authorities. Nito Gusmao said he heard of his father's arrest from a television news flash. "A Portuguese journalist rang me to ask if it was true, and at first I did not believe him," he said. "He appeared on Indonesian television yesterday, but they had covered up his face. It means he is alive, but I am worried that they might have beaten him up," he said.

The protesters called on Indonesian authorities to allow Red Cross or Amnesty International access to Mr Gusmao to ensure his safety. Protest organiser Abel Guterres said the arrest could apply greater pressure on President Suharto.

This could actually accelerate the process towards some negotiation. As long as he stays there he becomes more like Nelson Mandela, a symbol of the East Timorese people's resistance," he said.

"At least we know Xanana is alive. If they had caught him out in the bush, I think they would have killed him on the spot... as long as they don't torture him, or use drugs to break him down, then we will know he will be OK. After 17 years in the bush, he is tough. He will never talk."

A community leader, Mr Francisco Pang, said Dr Boutros-Ghali was obliged to intervene because "Xanana Gusmao is not only the leader of East Timor, he is also UN property. East Timor is still regarded by the UN as a non-self governing territory," he said.

A former Fretilin comrade, Mr Eusebio Corsuo, said the arrest was probably inevitable. "This is a war situation, where these things can be expected to happen." Mr Corsuo fought under Mr Gusmao's command in the mountains from 1975 to 1979, before fleeing to Portugal and, this year, to Australia.

While Mr Gusmao enjoyed an extraordinary loyalty from most East Timorese, and the grudging admiration of Indonesians, Mr Corsuo said the army must have been tipped off.

"It could have been an infiltrator, he could have been betrayed," he said.

Mrs Shirley Shackleton, the wife of the Australian journalist Greg Shackleton who was killed in East Timor by Indonesian troops in 1975, told the demonstrators she was more concerned about the ordinary East Timorese still living under a harsh oppression.

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### INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR SABAM: DEATH BLOW TO RESISTANCE

According to a November 22 AFP story datelined Canberra, the capture of East Timorese resistance leader, José Xanana Gusmao, has dealt a death blow to the former Portuguese colony's independence movement, Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia Sabam Siagian said here Sunday.

Siagian, speaking in a television interview, said the successor to the detained Fretilin leader would not be able to command such a following.

"Xanana has been enjoying excessive publicity to the point of developing a sort of a personal cult," said the Indonesian diplomat.

"After this I think whatever movement is left will peter out."

Siagian said Gusmao's capture would mean the accelerating of stability and the rapid launch of development programs for the entire island of Timor.

The ambassador also repeated assurances that Gusmao would be accorded due process under his country's law.

It was too early to say whether the Fretilin leader would be tried openly or quickly or whether he would have legal representation, but Siagian agreed Indonesian law provided for those things as a matter of course.

"It is not the first time a rebel leader has been captured by Jakarta, we know how to handle these things according to our constitution."

Portugal's offer of sanctuary for Gusmao if the Indonesian government released him was dismissed as the usual pressure of international politics, said Siagian.

Indonesia did not resent the outside pressure, but it could become irritating if it was applied too often, the ambassador said.

While the action of Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans in seeking assurances that Gusmao would be given due process was understandable, Indonesia did not need to be pushed.

"We'll do it, without prompting from outside countries," Siagian said.

But Indonesia's relationship with Australia was "more than strong enough" to withstand the small pressure imposed by public demonstrations and the like.

There were a series of street rallies in major Australian cities on Saturday protesting against Gusmao's capture.

Gusmao's 21 year-old son, Nito, a resident of Melbourne along with his mother, Emilia, and 18 year-old sister Zenilda, stood outside the Indonesian consulate in

Melbourne in torrential rain protesting against the detainment of his father.

Nito Gusmao called on the Australian government to take quick and effective action to secure his father's release.

In Sydney, 50 members of the East Timorese community protested outside the Indonesian consulate.

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## INTENSE TIMORESE INTEREST IN XANANA

According to a November 23 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, the arrest of East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao sent newspaper prices in the former Portuguese colony soaring at the weekend.

The Jakarta Post daily reported on Monday from the East Timor capital Dili that Saturday's edition of the newspaper, which reported the arrest, changed hands at 5,000 rupiah (\$2.40), 10 times the normal price.

A photocopy of the report cost 2,000 rupiah (97 cents), more than the average daily wage in the impoverished territory, which Indonesia rules without U.N. recognition.

The military accuses him, among other charges, of inciting a protest last year in Dili which ended with Indonesian troops firing into a crowd of mourners, killing up to 180 people.

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## THE WAR IS IN JAKARTA

According to a November 23 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, the capture of East Timor's rebel chief has dealt a crippling blow to the movement's armed struggle against Indonesia's 17-year rule, but analysts say its political campaign will survive.

Xanana Gusmao, head of the Fretilin guerrilla movement in the former Portuguese colony since 1979, was captured by troops on Friday in the capital Dili. He is currently under interrogation by the military.

"Fretilin was a weakened and dispirited force and Xanana's capture may have effectively neutralised it as an armed force in the hills," one western diplomat said on Monday.

"The symbol is down. It's a great shock for the East Timorese," another said.

But Xanana's arrest would not hurt Fretilin in the urban areas where an image of Xanana as a martyr could only help the cause, the diplomats added.

"The struggle has become transformed and already shifted to the towns," one said.

Youths, many of them unemployed, were the target, East Timor Military Commander Theo Syafei said.

Indonesia plans to try Xanana on charges linked to protests it says led to the army opening fire on mourners gathering at a cemetery on Dili on November 12, 1991, charges which diplomats say could carry the death penalty.

The military says it is questioning Xanana to find out if he masterminded the protests.

Analysts said it was too early to assess the gains of the capture for Jakarta, which has been seeking to remove East Timor from the international agenda of disputed territories for more than a decade.

"Xanana's capture will put Indonesia once again under intense international pressure just when the furor over the November 12 violence is dying down," an Asian diplomat said.

The pressure is being applied by international human rights groups as well as Portugal, which has demanded Xanana's release.

London-based Amnesty International and New York-based Asia Watch have expressed concern for Xanana's safety and called for a swift and fair trial. They also want the International Committee of the Red Cross to be given access to his cell.

Military spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro said on Sunday the Red Cross, which keeps an office in Dili, could eventually see him but not yet.

He also denied reports Xanana was being tortured.

President Suharto, currently in Senegal, congratulated the military for Xanana's capture but added he must be tried under the law. No trial date has been set.

Xanana has been succeeded by his deputy, Antonio Gomes da Costa, Portugal's Catholic Radio Renascenca said in Lisbon.

The military said Xanana was captured with the help of East Timorese and that the arrest, one year after the Dili killings, reflected widespread local support for the armed forces.

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## XANANA COULD BE EXECUTED

According to a November 23 UPI story, captured East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao could be tried on subversion charges and be sentenced to death if convicted, Indonesian authorities said Monday.

The government and military said Gusmao would be treated humanely and fairly, but insisted that outside governments already pressuring Jakarta had no right to make any demands on how Indonesia handles the case.

President Suharto, in Dakar, Senegal, to attend the Group of 15 summit of Third World leaders, instructed his country's authorities "to intensively interrogate and process Gusmao's case according to the prevailing laws."

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, military operations commander in East Timor, told reporters that authorities seized incriminating documents, weapons and communications equipment when they arrested Gusmao last week in the provincial capital of Dili.

Syafei, in remarks carried by Jakarta's Kompas newspaper, said: "Considering his activities in fighting the government, he could face subversion charges," which in Indonesia carries a possible death penalty.

"He is not a war criminal because we never fought against them," Syafei said of the pro-independence Fretilin movement that Gusmao headed in East Timor. "He is not a political criminal either. He is a subversive."

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, traveling with Suharto in Senegal, said the capture of Gusmao would weaken the Fretilin movement, the official Indonesian news agency Antara reported.

"For sure, the overseas (Fretilin supporters) will understand that the Indonesian government is able to overcome the (East Timor) situation," Alatas said.

Portuguese President Mario Soares, along with the London-based Amnesty International and the U.S.-based Asia Watch, appealed to the Indonesian government for Gusmao's immediate release.

Soares and Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans sought assurances from the Indonesian government that Gusmao would not be ill-treated.

Armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno ordered Indonesian military authorities in East Timor to treat Gusmao humanely, but East Timor Gov. Abilio José Osorio Soares warned the West not to intervene in the matter.

"They should not involve themselves too much in the affairs of East Timor," Abilio said in remarks carried by the Jakarta Post.

Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, also branded as "insulting" suggestions Gusmao might be tortured by Indonesian authorities.

"It's a bit insulting," Siagian said in a television interview Sunday. "I hope it's not repeated too often and too frequently."

In Sydney, Australian Fretilin supporters said Gusmao could become the Nelson Mandela of East Timor, leading his independence movement as an imprisoned hero.

State Secretary Murdiono said in Dakar that Gusmao would be brought to court soon but gave no date, Antara reported.



## XANANA MOVED TO BALI

According to a November 23 AFP story datelined Jakarta, José Xanana Gusmao, the arrested leader of East Timor's independence movement Fretilin, was transferred to the Indonesian island of Bali over the weekend, a source said Monday.

A source in the East Timor capital Dili said: "Gusmao was transferred on Saturday to Denpasar," the capital of Bali which is the base for the military command that controls the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia.

But the source could not say if Gusmao would then be moved to Jakarta.

Indonesian sources said after the arrest that Gusmao would likely be removed from East Timor to avoid the suspicion that he might be tortured there or an outbreak of anti-Indonesian demonstrations.

Armed forced spokesman General Nurhadi Purwosoaputro has repeatedly denied since Sunday that Gusmao had been brought to Jakarta.

The source in Dili said that "after his interrogation, Gusmao will certainly be charged with subversion," a crime that carries the maximum penalty of death here. He would not be released and allowed to go into exile, as Portugal has suggested, the source said.

## HORTA: BOUTROS-GHALI TO INTERVENE

According to a November 23 AFP story datelined Sydney, East Timorese demonstrators gathered outside the United Nations office there on Monday to protest against the arrest by Indonesian troops of rebel leader Xanana Gusmao.

A spokesman said the demonstrators, numbering less than 20, wanted the U.N. to intervene and apply pressure on Jakarta to release the East Timor resistance leader.

In Darwin, a crowd of about 40 demonstrators rallied outside the Indonesian consulate to deliver a letter demanding the release of Gusmao.

Fretilin representative Alfredo Ferreira told reporters he had asked consulate staff to have the letter delivered to President Suharto in Jakarta.

The letter demanded the release of Gusmao to a third country of his choice and immediate access to him by the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and other organisations.

In a radio interview with the Australian Broadcasting Corp., Fretilin spokesman José Ramos Horta said the arrest of Gusmao would refocus international attention on East Timor.

Ramos Horta, in New York for talks with U.N. officials, said, "Xanana Gusmao's behind prison bars, he's alive, he's safe, and he will continue to inspire us.

"He is continuing to be our leader and I think this again is going to be a turning point as there is a strong international reaction."

Ramos Horta said French President Francois Mitterrand and U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali would both raise Gusmao's case directly with Suharto. [Suharto is visiting France.]

He downplayed suggestions Gusmao would be tortured, but said Indonesian assurances should not be accepted on face value.

"It will be very difficult ... for the European Community not to impose sanctions on Indonesia if they do anything to Xanana," he said.

## IPS: CONCERN ABOUT XANANA

IPS, Manila, Nov. 23 - As the Indonesian military begins interrogation of the leader of the East Timor independence movement it captured on Nov. 20, human rights groups have pressed Jakarta to show him to the public.

They called on Jakarta to follow the example of Peru, which ended speculation about Abimael Guzman, the leader of the Shining Path movement it captured in September, by presenting him to the public in a blaze of publicity.

Worried about the safety of the East Timorese rebel leader, José Alexandre Gusmao, the New York-based human rights group Asia Watch asked Indonesia yesterday to let him be seen in public "to allay concerns that Mr. Gusmao will be tortured or killed."

Gusmao's wife, son and daughter, who live in Australia stood outside the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne in pouring rain Sunday to protest the arrest.

Gusmao's 21-year-old son, Nito, asked the Australian government to take "swift and effective action" to have his father freed.

On Saturday, Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans welcomed Jakarta's assurances that Gusmao's case would be handled in accordance with international law and that he would not be ill-treated.

Gusmao was held before dawn on Friday in a military swoop in the East Timor capital, Dili. the capture is a severe blow to Fretilin (Portuguese acronym for revolutionary front for the independence of East Timor) which has been fighting for the territory's independence from Indonesia for over 15 years.

In August 1975, Portugal suddenly pulled out of the eastern half of the island of Timor. The other half was colonised by the Netherlands and became a part of Indonesia when the country became independent in 1949.

Fighting broke out when Indonesia sent in troops in 1975 to annex East Timor. Fretilin put up stiff resistance, and has been fighting the Indonesian military ever since.

Although the conflict has simmered down in the past two years, more than 100,000 East Timorese died in fighting or from starvation in the late 1970's.

Indonesian and Portuguese officials are due to meet in New York next month in U.N.-sponsored peace talks. Lisbon would like Gusmao to take part in the negotiations, but Jakarta has rejected the demand.

Portuguese President Mario Soares called on (Nov. 21), for "an international campaign" to gain Gusmao's release.

Gusmao is a cult figure for most of East Timor's 300,000 people. More than 40 percent of the population is under 15 and were born after the Portuguese left.

Although Fretilin is a small guerrilla force numbering only about 200 hard-core fighters, analysts say there is widespread support for the struggle among East Timorese.

Even so, East Timor's former governor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, said in an interview on Nov. 21 in Jakarta: "With or without (Gusmao), the Fretilin movement was bound to collapse. But this capture will speed up the process of collapse."

Carrascalao often argued while serving two five-year terms as governor that if Jakarta had given him more power and the territory more autonomy, he could have brought Fretilin down from the hills and convinced them to forget about "crazy independence."

Indonesian specialists who have studied the East Timor conflict say with Carrascalao retired in September, a moderate voice within the East Timor administration is gone.

Jakarta views the conflict as a "security matter" and has given responsibility for East Timor to the military. Analysts say its victory in catching Gusmao will bolster the military's resolve to crush Fretilin.

## JAKARTA REJECTS ACCESS OVER XANANA

Sources: AP, Reuters, UPI, 24 November.

Washington, Nov. 24 - Indonesian military authorities on Sunday rejected calls by human rights groups for immediate Red Cross access to captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao. "We are treating him very well...there are no beatings. But for the time being nobody will be allowed to see him," said military spokesman Brigadier-General Nurhadi Purwosaputro.

Xanana was captured by Indonesian soldiers in the East Timorese capital Dili on Friday. He led the Fretilin rebel movement which has fought Indonesian rule of East Timor since 1975 when Jakarta overran the former Portuguese colony.

Two human rights groups, London-based Amnesty International and New York-based Asia Watch, expressed concern for Xanana's safety and called for a swift and fair trial. Nurhadi said the International Committee of the Red Cross and lawyers would eventually be given access to Xanana, but did not say when.

Amnesty International said it feared the military would torture him to extract information on Fretilin and urged the authorities to let the Red Cross visit him. Asia Watch demanded a fair and swift trial, with lawyers of Xanana's choice present during interrogation. Portugal has appealed to the international community to seek Xanana's release.

The 45-year-old rebel leader Xanana is expected to be tried and accused of murdering the violence at a Dili cemetery last year when troops fired on crowds mourning the death of a pro-independence sympathiser. Xanana's interrogation will reveal the truth about the violence, Nurhadi said. The date of his trial would be set after the interrogation was over. "It will be fair," he added.

Fretilin has about 220 guerrillas, East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei said earlier this month, but they have been pushed into jungles. The rebels are shifting their emphasis from military battles in remote jungle to engaging Jakarta in a political campaign for the hearts and minds of the people in urban areas, especially Dili, Syafei added.

Fretilin, which made a unilateral declaration of independence before being driven into the mountains in 1975, said in Lisbon it planned an international campaign for the release of Xanana. Portugal's Catholic Radio Renascenca in Lisbon said Xanana had been succeeded by his deputy, Antonio Gomes da Costa, known as "Ma Huno." Fretilin's

National Resistance Council appointed Antonio Gomes da Costa "Ma Huno" as its new leader, Portugal's Catholic Radio Renascenca said.

"It is indeed big news," said former East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao. Officials said they expected rebel strength would be weakened now that Gusmao had been captured.

East Timor's newly-appointed governor Abilio Soares says he will be interrogated for information about the Fretilin movement that declared unilateral independence for the territory before engaging the invading Indonesian army in 1975. Soares remembers Xanana as a high school friend he describes as "a very good boy who always avoided fighting. He was so patient and had no enemies whatsoever."

Xanana was reported to have been composed when he met military authorities and East Timor Governor Abilio Soares, who said the two of them were in high school together. "What we should do now is to extract further information from him about the people behind him and later hunt them down," the Jakarta Post quoted the newly-appointed Soares as saying.

Gusmao, 46, was arrested by Indonesian troops with the assistance of local people in the provincial capital of Dili early they said. Indonesian authorities have been trying to corner the leader of the armed movement seeking independence for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor for the past 16 years. Armed forces commander Gen. Try Sutrisno immediately flew to Dili after hearing news of Gusmao's arrest, Antara said.

Gusmao is a self-educated writer and journalist who joined Fretilin in 1974. His wife, Xanana's family have lived in Australia since 1990 when the International Red Cross helped them leave Indonesian-ruled East Timor, where they say they were harassed by the military. Emilia Gusmao, lives in Australia with their two children. The family of Gusmao, pleaded with Jakarta on Saturday not to mistreat him. "All I want is just for Indonesia to respect his human rights...not to mistreat my father," said Nito, Xanana's 21-year-old son, from his Melbourne home.

"Whatever they do to him, they will not be able to kill the Timorese fight to be free." Xanana's wife Emilia, 18-year-old daughter Zenilda and Nito joined 150 protesters outside the Indonesian consulate in Melbourne, demanding that Australia help secure the rebel commander's release and guarantee his safety.

Early in January, José Da Costa, 35, the alleged second-in-command of Falintil, the armed wing of Fretilin, was arrested. He is

said to have been one of the masterminds behind the Nov. 12 Dili demonstration.

## A HORA DE TODAS AS VERSOES

Article by Luisa Teotonia Pereira, CDPM, submitted to be published in *Publico*, 24 November:

Os meios de comunicacao social Portugueses tem uma responsabilidade particular no caso de Timor. Sao eles que veiculam os os desenvolvimentos da situacao para a classe politica e, em geral, para toda a populacao, que segue com empenho o que se passa. Sao eles tambem que constituem, vezes muitas, fonte privilegiada para a informacao internacional sobre a questao Timorese. Uma vez transmitida uma noticia incorrecta, torna-se muito dificil voltar a dar-lhe os verdadeiros contornos.

Dili e hoje, mais do que nunca, uma cidade cercada. Timor-Leste esta, se possivel, ainda mais isolado. Certezas

So ha estas: Xanana Gusmao foi capturado, estao a ser feitas prisoes, selectivas e indiscriminadas, intensificaram-se as operacoes militares.

O apuramento dos factos levava o seu tempo, como e normal em ocasioes semelhantes. Nao temos de nos espantar com isso, enquanto procuramos obter todos os dados e compreender o melhor possivel a situacao, tambem para agir com maior eficacia.

Surgem os boatos, as especulacoes, a contra-informacao, os pensamentos de cada um. Deveriamos procurar distinguir cada um dos casos. As cogitacoes pessoais ou colectivas nao podem ser confundidas com informacoes factuais, as interrogacoes devem ser colocadas como tal.

Em Dili, os boatos avolumam-se quando a vida se torna mais complicada e insuportavel. Uma grande parte da populacao, os sectores com maior influencia, e Indonesia. Os servicos de informacao do ocupante tem os seus talentos, afinados por anos de experiencia no terreno. A repressao e o medo generalizados, o corte imposto com o exterior podem ditar atitudes que, noutras circunstancias, seriam totalmente diferentes, nao o podemos esquecer.

Correu, por exemplo, a noticia de que Xanana se tinha entregue as autoridades coloniais, no ambito de um plano elaborado pela Resistencia para captar maior solidariedade internacional. Nada corrobora esta hipotese. Nao tem sentido uma accao destas quando Timor-Leste esta sob a luz da ribalta, quando se fazem sentir os efeitos do massacre de 12 de Novembro e da comemoracao do seu primeiro aniversario, nas vespas de um novo encontro negocial e

de uma auscultacao de interlocutores Timorenses pelo S. -G. da O.N.U.. Seria redundante e pouco eficaz. Um plano de Xanana Gusmao, pelo que dele se conhece, seria minuciosamente preparado e o terreno, interno e externo, cuidadosamente adubado. Nada disso se verificou. Alem de Xanana sempre se ter negado a entregar, a render ou ate a negociar uma saida para o exterior - propostas regularmente feitas por diversas instancias.

Vamos ter de esperar para compreender (quase) tudo e para saber o alcance de mais esta viragem na luta do povo de Timor-Leste pelos seus direitos.

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### XANANA GUSMAO INCOMMUNICADO

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign issued the following statement today, 24 November 1992:*

TAPOL today appealed to the British Government and the European Community to take urgent action to protect Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese leader now in military detention, and press for his immediate release.

Xanana, who was arrested in Dili last Friday, has now been held in incommunicado detention for five days. This is an unacceptable violation of his basic rights and a grave breach of his rights as a protected person under the terms of the IVth Geneva Convention.

TAPOL has also learned that Xanana's sister, Armadina Gusmao, and her husband Gilman Exposto, were arrested in Dili at 8am today. There two older children, a boy aged 15, and a girl, aged 13, were also taken into custody. The present whereabouts of the three younger children is unknown.

Press reports reveal that the military authorities who have Xanana in their hands are under instructions from President Suharto to "interrogate him intensively," while the governor of East Timor, José Abilio Soares, said: "We must extract further information from him about the people behind him and later hunt them down." The military authorities have rejected a request from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for access to Xanana, reinforcing fears that he is under continual interrogation and could well be being subjected to maltreatment and torture.

Article 31 of the IVth Geneva Convention stipulates: "No physical or moral coercion shall be exercised against protected persons to obtain information from them or from third parties."

Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL said: "It is widely recognised that the military authorities use torture, as a matter of routine, to

extract information from detainees. This is particularly likely to happen with Xanana to obtain military intelligence from him about the resistance in East Timor. This means that his physical and psychological well-being is almost certainly in danger."

It is important to stress that persons arrested in East Timor fall within the provisions of the IVth Geneva Convention which Indonesia ratified in 1958 and Portugal ratified in 1961. Article 2 reads: "The Convention shall apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance." The ICRC which has responsibility for ensuring compliance with the Geneva Conventions, recognises that East Timor falls within the terms of the Geneva Conventions.

Even under Indonesia's own laws, a detainee must be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choice during interrogation, a right that has been denied Xanana Gusmao to this day.

TAPOL most strongly protests at the arrest and incommunicado detention of Xanana Gusmao. We demand his immediate release into the hands of the UN.

TAPOL also protests vigorously at the detention on 20 November of at least five persons, including a 74-year-old woman, at the residence where Xanana was discovered in Dili and demands their immediate release.

TAPOL has also received reports that four hundred people were arrested in Manatuto and Baucau from 11 to 16 November. The persistence of reports about numerous arrests indicates that the human rights situation in East Timor continues to deteriorate from day to day.

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### CARRASCALAO CAUTIONS REGIME

According to a November 24 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, East Timorese leaders told Jakarta on Tuesday to beware in its treatment of captured rebel chief Xanana Gusmao because anything but a fair trial could have grave international consequences for Indonesia.

Diplomats said they expected Jakarta to try the Fretilin guerrilla leader, who was seized on Friday, on either criminal charges or more serious subversion charges which carry a maximum penalty of death.

"It is very important that the trial should be open... I don't think a closed state trial will help. If it is not fair, the consequences will be paid by the East Timorese," said Mario Viegas Carrascalao, the territory's former governor.

His comments came as Australia urged Jakarta to consider the implications for harmony in East Timor when deciding any punishment for the rebel leader.

Carrascalao, who stepped down in September after 10 years as governor, told Reuters the government should now make people forget the past.

He advised Jakarta against hunting down people Xanana might link to Fretilin during his interrogation.

"Xanana is going to tell everything ... (but) it is important for the future not to go after everybody," Carrascalao said.

He said fears for Xanana's safety expressed by human rights groups such as Amnesty International were unfounded.

Clementino Amaral, a former East Timorese member of the national parliament, said the government must stay within national and international laws in its treatment of the captured rebel. "All the world knows who is Xanana," he added.

Indonesia is expected to try Xanana on charges linked to the protests it says led to the army opening fire on the Dili mourners.

If it decides to try him under criminal law, it must lay charges within 20 days of the arrest. It has one year to charge him under subversion laws.

An amnesty offered to Fretilin guerrillas several years ago will not apply to Xanana because he did not surrender, but was captured in a house at dawn by special forces, diplomats said.

"I'm afraid after we punish him according to the law, we are going to face criticism from abroad," Amaral said.

"But we have to be very careful in our behaviour in East Timor ... or we will appear like another Xanana."

In Australia, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans told parliament on Tuesday that this was a time for reconciliation, not for revenge, in East Timor.

Evans, who was asked what action his government was taking over Xanana's capture, said Australia's ambassador had sought assurances over his treatment.

"He received assurances at a very senior level that he (Xanana) would be treated with due process under Indonesian law and that he wouldn't be ill-treated," Evans said.

"I certainly do hope ... the Indonesian authorities would consider very carefully the implications for future harmony in the province of any punishment which may be imposed upon him."

## NO 'EXTRADITION' FOR XANANA

*Remark: This is one of several reports indicating confusion as to whether Xanana has already been taken to Bali or not. The discrepancies may simply be a product of when the stories were originally filed.*

— John

According to a November 24 UPI story datelined November 24, Indonesian law-makers rejected calls for Xanana Gusmao to be extradited and brought to trial abroad, the reports said.

According to the English-language newspaper Indonesian Observer, Defense and Security Minister Benny Murdani said that "Gusmao would be very likely to be taken out of East Timor and transferred elsewhere."

Another news report from Dili said that Gusmao, top leader of the armed movement seeking independence for East Timor, would be taken this weekend to Denpasar, on the island of Bali.

The Armed Forces spokesman, Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, earlier denied reports that Gusmao had been moved to Jakarta.

Authorities in the province said that Gusmao would be tried on subversion charges, which in Indonesia carries a possible death penalty.

Indonesian lawmakers, including an East Timorese-native legislator Clementino dos Reis Amaral, said that Gusmao must be tried in the country, and rejected a call by Portuguese President Mario Soares to extradite Gusmao.

"There is no reason to extradite Gusmao to any other country including Portugal," said Amaral, who is also a former member of the national investigation team which probed last year's Dili massacre.

"He should be tried in Indonesia according to the prevailing laws," Amaral said.

The lawmaker acknowledged that Gusmao is holding Portuguese citizenship, but said that "the Indonesian government still has the right to prosecute him because he carried out criminal and subversive activities in the land of Indonesia."

Portugal has appealed to the international community to seek Gusmao's release. Lisbon, which severed diplomatic ties with Jakarta in 1976, also said it was prepared to grant Gusmao asylum.

## INDONESIAN MILITARY CAPTURES FRETILIN LEADER

*By Vanessa Hearman, Green Left Weekly, Australia, Nov. 24, 1992*

Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the East Timorese liberation movement Fretilin, was arrested on November 21 by the Indonesian occupying forces. Fretilin has called on the Australian government and human rights groups to take action to ensure that Xanana is protected and released.

Xanana's son, Nito Gusmao, told Green Left Weekly: "Xanana came down to Dili to meet up with Fretilin forces, was caught at 6 o'clock in the morning, while he was sleeping and extradited to Jakarta. An East Timorese informer is suspected to have collaborated with the Indonesian military leading to his arrest." Portugal has offered Xanana political asylum and the United Nations Human Rights Commission wants to take him out of Indonesia.

Fretilin and the East Timorese community in Australia organised an emergency national day of action outside Indonesian consulates on November 21 to put pressure on the Keating government to demand Xanana's safety. Actions took place in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Darwin.

## PRESSURE BEING EXERTED ON XANANA THROUGH FAMILY MEMBERS

*The following Press Release was issued by TAPOL based on reports from protected sources, on 25 November 1992:*

### Two of Xanana Gusmao's sisters arrested

According to the latest reports, two of Xanana Gusmao's sisters, along with their husbands, as well as two children, have been arrested in the last two days. Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, was arrested by the Indonesian army in Dili on 20 November. The armed forces spokesperson announced today that Xanana is being held in Den Pasar, Bali, where the military command in overall control of East Timor has its headquarters.

These members of Xanana's family as well as the members of the family of Abilio Araujo, the leader abroad of Fretilin, who were arrested when Xanana was captured at their residence on 20 November, are all reportedly being tortured and maltreated. The army's intention is to exert pressure on Xanana by torturing his closest and dearest, and avoid having to use physical torture on

him because of the international outrage over his arrest.

One sister, Armadina Gusmao and her husband, Gilman Exposto, were arrested on Tuesday 24 November at crack of dawn and taken into custody with two of their five children, a boy aged 15 and a girl aged 13. They have three smaller children who were left behind; it is unclear what has happened to them.

A second sister, Felismina and her husband (name not known) have also been arrested. Xanana's parents are terrified that they too will be arrested. Xanana has two other sisters in Dili, Filomena and Manuela, who also fear for their safety. A fifth sister, Lucia, is in exile in Australia.

### Many other arrests

Reports are also coming from several sources about many arrests in East Timor before the capture of Xanana on 20 November. One source said that as many as four hundred people were arrested in sweeps carried out by the army in Manatuto and Baucau/Baguia between 11 and 16 November. Only one name is available - Vitor Viegas.

More names of people arrested in Dili have been received, in addition to those already named in Amnesty International's report of 23 November ASA 21/18/92. They are Matias Vasco, Belmiro Hendriques and Cipriano Mesquita. All were arrested in the days before Xanana's capture. They are believed to be close to Xanana and may have been forced by brutal means to say something about his whereabouts. If this did happen, it should not be described as a 'betrayal.' Army intelligence will stop at nothing to extract information from their captives.

### Timorese in Jakarta fear crackdown

Meanwhile, in Jakarta, East Timorese in the capital, some of whom have been in hiding for some time, fear the worst as the army renews efforts to hunt them down and round them up. The home where José Amorim Dias, now in exile in Europe, lived, was raided and thoroughly searched. Documents and the belongings of several Timorese were confiscated from the house.

## EAST TIMOR'S CAPTIVE LEADER

*Boston Globe editorial, Date: 25 November 1992*

At some jail in occupied East Timor, or perhaps at a military base in Jakarta, Indonesian interrogators are working over José Alexander Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader known to his people as Xanana. He was captured last Friday at the

home of a Timorese family. The Indonesians are holding Xanana and seven members of the family, including a 74-year-old woman, Rufina Conceicao Araujo, incommunicado.

Because the Indonesian security forces have a record of torturing and murdering Timorese taken into custody, the detention of Xanana and the Araujas (sic) has induced Asia Watch and Amnesty International to issue urgent appeals, calling on the Indonesian authorities to allow the captives to be visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and to be represented at their interrogations by lawyers of their own choosing.

The military regime of Gen. Suharto acting in a manner consistent with its history of thuggish behaviour, has denied the appeals from the human rights organizations. A spokesman said Xanana was "undergoing intensive questioning" by military interrogators, and "for the time being" nobody would be permitted to see him.

This hint that Xanana's incommunicado detention might be ended - when the interrogators are finished with him - would be reassuring were it not for Jakarta's genocidal record in East Timor since Indonesian troops first invaded the territory in 1975.

Knowing that the Indonesians have been responsible for the killing of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese (as much as a third of the population that existed in 1975), Portugal's president Mario Soares, appealed "to the conscience of the world ... to be alert and watchful so that Xanana Gusmao's life is not put at risk."

Although President Bush, like his predecessors, has given military and diplomatic support to the Suharto regime, it is rumoured that the State Department has passed word to Jakarta that Xanana must not be murdered in captivity.

The warnings addressed to Jakarta by foreign leaders, whether conveyed in public or private, reflect the fact that Xanana's capture has a political as well as a human rights dimension. He is regarded by most Timorese not merely as the political and military leader of their resistance struggle but as a beloved and respected symbol of their colonized nation.

Like Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Xanana would be the choice of his people to represent them in negotiations with the Indonesian rulers of their land. And if those negotiations resulted in internationally recognized self-determination for East Timor, Xanana could become his country's first elected head of government.

Indeed, representatives of Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to resume talks about the future of East Timor on December 17. These talks are being held under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros

Boutros Ghali, who has tried to transform them from an empty formality into substantive negotiations that will give a participatory role to a representative of the East Timorese people.

If the Indonesians were wise, they would release Xanana and allow him to go abroad. They would then invite him to represent his people in negotiations to end a colonial occupation that has caused unimaginable suffering for the Timorese and brought dishonour upon the colonialist power.

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### THE ABILIO ARAUJO CONNECTION

According to a November 25 Reuter story by Wilson da Silva datelined Sydney, Indonesian security forces have arrested four close relatives of captured guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao in the East Timor capital of Dili, Amnesty International said on Wednesday.

Xanana's sister Armadina Gusmao, her husband Gilman Exposto, and their two children - a girl aged 13 and a boy aged 15 - were picked up on Tuesday, the London-based human rights group said.

Amnesty named seven other Timorese arrested along with Xanana as Rufina Araujo, 74, Augusto Pereira, 43, Alianca de Araujo, 40, Ligia de Araujo, 22, Jorge Araujo Serrano, 21, Regina Araujo Serrano, 18, and Francisco Araujo, 17.

Timorese sources say many are clandestine operatives and relatives of Lisbon-based Fretilin official Abilio Araujo.

Araujo met Portuguese Foreign Minister José Manuel Durao Barroso on Tuesday to ask Lisbon to intervene on behalf of the arrested Timorese, according to radio reports.

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### XANANA CONFIRMED IN BALI

According to a November 25 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Xanana Gusmao, the captured leader of the East Timorese pro-independence movement, is now being held on the Indonesian resort island of Bali, the military said here Wednesday.

Military Spokesman Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro said Gusmao was "healthy" and was still under "police questioning."

Bali is the seat of the headquarters of the Udayana military command that oversees security matters in the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesian annexed in 1976.

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### XANANA MISTREATMENT DENIED

According to a November 25 UPI report datelined Jakarta, East Timor Gov. Abilio José Osorio Soares on Wednesday denied claims that captured resistance leader Xanana Gusmao has been treated inhumanely in prison.

Soares also said Xanana's capture last week was the death knell for the violent 17-year-old East Timorese independence movement and, contradicting the region's top military commander, said Xanana is a "prisoner of war."

"He (Xanana) has received excellent treatment," Soares told reporters. "Gen. Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander, gave clothing and food to Xanana and all of this was done in front of my eyes.

"How come then there are still news reports saying Xanana has been tortured and treated inhumanely?" he asked.

The London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, in a press statement received Wednesday in Jakarta, contended the imprisoned leader of the Fretilin independence movement was being held incommunicado.

London-based Amnesty International said it feared Indonesian military would torture Xanana to extract information on Fretilin and urged authorities to let the Red Cross visit him.

Armed forces spokesman Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro said Indonesian military authorities would allow the International Committee of the Red Cross access "if they desired to meet with Xanana."

"Why we should cover up Xanana's condition?" Nurhadi said. "He (Xanana) has the right to see visitors, on the condition that they comply with all existing regulations."

Soares said he believed that with Xanana's arrest, there was no hope for the remaining guerrilla forces in East Timor to continue their fight against the government.

The governor contradicted an earlier statement by East Timorese military operations commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, who said Xanana was neither a war criminal nor a political criminal.

Xanana "is a prisoner of war," Soares said.

## ICRC WILL VISIT XANANA

*Remark: A headline in the November 25 Jawa Pos also stated that the ICRC would be permitted to visit Xanana. The same story contained a statement by Indonesia Legal Aid Institute Foundation Chairman Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara that he would be personally prepared to defend Xanana at trial if LBH's aid was sought. The family has not yet made such a formal request. – John*

*Source: BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, Part 3, The Far East: Indonesia, November 25, 1992;*

*Radio Australia in English 0900m gmt 24 Nov. 92 (Excerpt);*

*RDP radio Lisbon in Portuguese 1630 gmt 23 Nov. 92*

Australia has asked Indonesia to allow the Red Cross to visit the captured Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said the International Committee of the Red Cross has sought access to Mr Gusmao but so far without success. But Senator Evans says a senior Indonesian official has indicated ICRC representatives will be permitted to visit the Fretilin leader.

In parliament, the Foreign Minister renewed his call for Jakarta to use Mr Gusmao's arrest as an opportunity for reconciliation with the people of East Timor.

[Evans] I certainly do hope that Xanana Gusmao's arrest will be taken by the Indonesian authorities as an occasion for the commencement of another serious attempt at reconciliation and certainly that the Indonesian authorities will consider very carefully the implication for future harmony in the province of any punishment that may be imposed upon him. (Radio Australia in English 0900m gmt 24 Nov. 92)

(Excerpt) One of President Suharto's advisers told Lusa [Portuguese news agency] reference] that the Red Cross will be able to visit Xanana Gusmao when the questioning is over. He also made assurances that Xanana Gusmao did not undergo any type of torture during questioning.

An Indonesian Army official source is now saying that when Xanana Gusmao was arrested he was preparing demonstrations in East Timor against Indonesian occupation. Still according to the same member of the military, these demonstrations were supposed to take place on 12th November and next Saturday, date of the 17th anniversary of Fretilin... (RDP radio Lisbon in Portuguese 1630 gmt 23 Nov. 92)

## AUSTRALIA LUKEWARM ON ARREST OF EAST TIMOR REBEL LEADER

Sydney, Nov. 25 (ips) – Compared to its strong condemnation in the past of human rights violations in Indonesia, Australia has reacted half-heartedly to requests by human rights groups to press Jakarta to immediately release the leader of the East Timor independence movement captured last week.

Foreign minister Gareth Evans said the Australian government has been assured by Indonesia that the rebel leader would be treated according to international law.

Evans hoped the capture would be seen by the Indonesians as an occasion for reconciliation rather than revenge.

"it may ... now focus the agenda squarely on a political resolution," he said. "it may be that we will see some positive results come out of it."

Jose Alexandre Gusmao, leader of the revolutionary front for the independence of East Timor (FRETILIN), was captured before dawn by Indonesian troops near the East Timorese capital, Dili.

The capture was a severe blow to FRETILIN, which has been fighting for the territory's independence from Indonesia for over 15 years.

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese territory in 1976 in a move that has yet to be recognised by the United Nations. but it was not until Indonesian troops fired at a crowd of pro-independence demonstrators in November last year that East Timor attracted international attention.

Human rights groups say about 180 people died in the shooting. Gusmao is expected to be tried on charges linked to the protests.

News of Gusmao's arrest led to demonstrations around Australia on the week-end by FRETILIN supporters and East Timorese exiles including Gusmao's wife and two children who live in Melbourne.

His 21-year-old son Nito Gusmao told the local media that Evans should follow the lead of United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, French president Francois Mitterrand and Portuguese president Mario Soares who have all called for the immediate release of his father.

But the younger Gusmao said he was not surprised Evans has not taken a tougher position, adding that "I don't think he will ever take a strong stance (against) the Indonesians, whatever happens to the East Timorese people."

Evans said over the weekend that it was "absolutely essential for both economic and long-term security reasons that Australia have a decent, balanced relationship with

(Indonesia)" and that East Timor should be taken in that context.

The territory lies 200 km across Timor sea from the northwest coast of Australia.

Meanwhile, the outspoken Indonesian ambassador to Australia Sabam Siagan said in Canberra that his country did not need to be prompted by the likes of Australia on how Gusmao should be treated.

Sabam also said that Gusmao's capture would mean the end of the FRETILIN resistance in East Timor. Gusmao, a cult figure among East Timor's 300,000 people, led a guerrilla force that numbers only 200 hardcore fighters.

But the FRETILIN spokesperson in Australia, Alfredo Ferreira, said the military command of FRETILIN has been passed on to Gusmao's deputy Jose Vasconcellos while the political leadership is being held by Antonio Gomez da Costa on an interim basis.

More than 100,000 East Timorese died in fighting or from starvation in the late 1970's.

## MURDANI: TIMOR'S 'WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY'

*Remark: Murdani's remark about slim reaction by governments to Xanana's capture and arrest may soon wear thin. The response of NGOs throughout the world to Xanana's detention has been exceptionally fast and strong, even more so than in the case of the November 12 massacre. It is likely that in the long run-up to a likely trial – nothing is certain till Suharto returns home and assesses the situation anew amid some signs already of disarray by Indonesian officials – NGO pressures will percolate up to governments. Governments could respond more quickly to November 12 because the massacre could be downgraded to 'mere' human rights violations.*

*But Xanana's case brings the issue of self-determination front and center – and governments tend to shy from the key underlying issue. Now they may be forced to face it in possibly what is the second 'window of opportunity' for basic chance in East Timor's political status – the first being the November 12 massacre.*

*Nonetheless, this will be a 'tough row to hoe,' involving, as it does, forcing Suharto to 'give more' and possibly in time finding some split opinion among the Army's 'sospol' and 'intel' figures on how to deal with East Timor. This opening may require NGOs to focus more attention directly on figures and institutions in Indonesia on the working assumption that the key front is now 'the war in Jakarta.' The Indonesian press will play an important role on this*

front, and it seems advisable to extend whatever aid seems prudent to Indonesian reporters and even take the initiative in contacting many of them. In all this, it is vital that there be no event like the *Lusitania Expresso* which could let ABRI and Suharto regain the initiative and re-mobilize narrow Indonesian nationalism against the East Timorese struggle. – John MacDougall

According to a November 25 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Indonesian Defence Minister Benny Murdani dismissed Wednesday the captured leader of the East Timorese pro-independence movement, Xanana Gusmao, as a mere “street criminal,” unworthy of international attention.

In an apparent bid to prevent Gusmao being lauded as a heroic freedom fighter, Murdani told reporters here that the captured leader of the Fretilin resistance movement did not deserve special treatment.

“He has been captured and that is it ... do not consider him as a big hero. He is just a street criminal. Why should there be such a fuss made about it,” Murdani said.

Indonesian troops arrested Gusmao early Friday during a raid on a house in the East Timorese capital, Dili.

He has since been transferred to the Indonesian resort island of Bali where he is currently being questioned by police, the military said Wednesday.

Bali is the seat of the Udayana military command that oversees security matters in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

Asked why it had taken so long to capture Gusmao, Murdani replied: “It took 16 years because maybe the problem was that he was on his own turf, he may have been more familiar with the streets.”

Murdani said he did not think Gusmao’s capture would have a wide influence abroad, citing Australia and Portugal as the only countries to have made an issue out of his arrest.

A series of protests have been held in several cities in Australia, calling on Canberra to intervene on Gusmao’s behalf to ensure he is not ill-treated.

Gusmao’s capture also made headlines in Portugal, which severed diplomatic relations with Jakarta shortly after Indonesian troops invaded its former colony in late 1975. The United Nations still regards Lisbon as the legitimate administrative power in East Timor.

Portuguese President Mario Soares has said Lisbon is prepared to provide Gusmao with asylum.

Several governments and international organizations, especially human rights groups, have also called on Indonesia not to ill-treat Gusmao.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has asked for access to the detained guerrilla leader as well as other East Timorese reportedly arrested by the Indonesian military in recent weeks.

Jakarta has pledged to allow the ICRC to visit Gusmao but has not specified when.

According to Indonesian press reports, five people were arrested shortly after Gusmao, including two of his brothers-in-law.

The London-based group TAPOL, which campaigns for human rights in Indonesia, said Tuesday that Indonesian authorities had arrested Gusmao’s sister, Armadina, her husband Gilman Exposito and their two teenage children.

### XANANA DISMISSED AS STREET CRIMINAL

*REUTER, UPI, AP, NOV. 23-26, 1992. A portion of this article was printed in the Canberra Times on 27 Nov.*

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Indonesia has branded East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmao a street criminal unworthy of the international concern that his capture has stirred up. “Why is he being considered a Hitler or a big hero?” the armed forces newspaper, *Angkatan Bersenjata*, on Thursday quoted Defence Minister Benny Murdani as saying. “He is just a street criminal. There shouldn’t be any fuss made about him.”

Defense Minister Benny Murdani said that “Gusmao would be very likely to be taken out of East Timor and transferred elsewhere.” News report from Dili said that Gusmao, top leader of the armed movement seeking independence for East Timor, would be taken this weekend to Denpasar, on the island of Bali. The Armed Forces spokesman, Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, earlier denied reports that Gusmao had been moved to Jakarta.

Authorities in the province said that Gusmao would be tried on subversion charges, which in Indonesia carries a possible death penalty. Indonesia is expected to try Xanana on charges linked to the protests it says led to the army opening fire on the Dili mourners. If it decides to try him under criminal law, it must lay charges within 20 days of the arrest. It has one year to charge him under subversion laws. An amnesty offered to Fretilin guerrillas several years ago will not apply to Xanana because he did not surrender, but was captured in a house at dawn by special forces, diplomats said.

Australia, Portugal and international human rights groups have expressed concern over the safety of Xanana, leader of the Fretilin separatist group, who was seized in

East Timor’s capital Dili on Friday. The military on Thursday said Xanana, long-regarded as a symbol of East Timorese resistance to Jakarta’s rule, had been moved to the resort island of Bali, headquarters of the military command. It was not known when he was moved from East Timor, the territory that was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers.

Armed forces commander-in-chief Try Sutrisno said Xanana would be taken back to Dili to stand trial. Xanana is expected to be charged with masterminding protests Jakarta believes led to soldiers firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery in November last year to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser. Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed in the shooting, while the government puts the toll at 50 dead and 66 missing.

Jakarta will try the guerrilla leader on either criminal charges or more serious subversion charges which carry a maximum penalty of death, diplomats say. If it decides to try him under criminal law, it must lay charges within 20 days of the arrest. It has one year to charge him under subversion laws. “Xanana will be tried under Indonesian law,” General Try said, adding only that Xanana would be treated humanely.

Try denied a charge by London-based Amnesty International that several members of Xanana’s family had been rounded up after his capture. Amnesty said on Wednesday Xanana’s sister, Armadina Gusmao, her husband Gilman Exposito, and their two children, a girl aged 13 and a boy aged 15, were arrested on Tuesday.

Wednesday (Nov. 25) in Sydney, Amnesty International accused Indonesian security forces had arrested four close relatives of captured guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao in the East Timor capital of Dili. Xanana’s sister Armadina Gusmao, her husband Gilman Exposito, and their two children – a girl aged 13 and a boy aged 15 – were picked up on Tuesday, the London-based human rights group said. “It is not known where the four are being held and there is concern that they may be subjected to torture or ill treatment while under interrogation,” Amnesty said in a statement.

Amnesty named seven other Timorese arrested along with Xanana as Rufina Araujo, 74, Augusto Pereira, 43, Alianca de Araujo, 40, Ligia de Araujo, 22, Jorge Araujo Serrano, 21, Regina Araujo Serrano, 18, and Francisco Araujo, 17. Timorese sources say many are clandestine operatives and relatives of Lisbon-based Fretilin official Abilio Araujo.

Araujo met Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso on Tuesday to

ask Lisbon to intervene on behalf of the arrested Timorese, according to radio reports. In fact, Portugal has appealed to the international community to seek Gusmao's release. Lisbon, which severed diplomatic ties with Jakarta in 1976, also said it was prepared to grant Gusmao asylum. Indonesia has accused Gusmao of masterminding a Nov. 12, 1991, anti-government demonstration in Dili that ended with Indonesian forces opening fire on unarmed protestors.

Indonesian lawmakers rejected calls for him to be extradited and brought to trial abroad, the reports said. Indonesian lawmakers, including an East Timorese-native legislator Clementino dos Reis Amaral, said that Gusmao must be tried in the country, and rejected a call by Portuguese President Mario Soares to extradite Gusmao.

"There is no reason to extradite Gusmao to any other country including Portugal," said Amaral, who is also a former member of the national investigation team which probed last year's Dili massacre. "He should be tried in Indonesia according to the prevailing laws," Amaral said.

Amaral said the government must stay within national and international laws in its treatment of the captured rebel. "All the world knows who is Xanana," he added. The lawmaker acknowledged that Gusmao is holding Portuguese citizenship, but said that "the Indonesian government still has the right to prosecute him because he carried out criminal and subversive activities in the land of Indonesia."

East Timor Gov. Abilio Jose Osorio Soares on Wednesday (Nov. 25) denied claims that captured resistance leader Xanana Gusmao has been treated inhumanely in prison. Soares also said Xanana's capture last week was the death knell for the violent 17-year-old East Timorese independence movement and, contradicting the region's top military commander, said Xanana is a "prisoner of war." Soares said he believed that with Xanana's arrest, there was no hope for the remaining guerrilla forces in East Timor to continue their fight against the government.

"He (Xanana) has received excellent treatment," Soares told reporters. "Gen. Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander, gave clothing and food to Xanana and all of this was done in front of my eyes. How come then there are still news reports saying Xanana has been tortured and treated inhumanely?" he asked.

On the other hands, Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, military operations commander in East Timor, told reporters that authorities seized incriminating documents, weapons and communications equipment when they arrested Gusmao last week in the provincial

capital of Dili. Syafei, in remarks carried Jakarta's newspaper, said: "Considering his activities in fighting the government, he could face subversion charges," which in Indonesia carries a possible death penalty. "He is not a war criminal because we never fought against them," Syafei said of the pro-independence Fretilin movement that Gusmao headed in East Timor. "He is not a political criminal either. He is a subversive."

The London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, in a press statement received Wednesday in Jakarta, contended the imprisoned leader of the Fretilin independence movement was being held incommunicado. London-based Amnesty International said it feared Indonesian military would torture Xanana to extract information on Fretilin and urged authorities to let the Red Cross visit him.

The Indonesian Armed Forces spokesman Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro said Indonesian military authorities would allow the International Committee of the Red Cross access "if they desired to meet with Xanana."

"Why we should cover up Xanana's condition?" Nurhadi said. "He (Xanana) has the right to see visitors, on the condition that they comply with all existing regulations."

France urged Indonesia on Tuesday to agree to comprehensive talks on East Timor, which Jakarta annexed in 1976 in a move still not recognised by the United Nations. President Francois Mitterrand briefly raised the highly sensitive subject at a lunch with visiting Indonesian President Suharto, officials at Mitterrand's Elysée palace said.

The officials would not elaborate on Mitterrand's call for "comprehensive" talks, which come before discussions at the United Nations between Indonesia and East Timor's former colonial master, Portugal, on December 17. This meeting was called to discuss East Timor's future, but so far Jakarta has resisted calls to allow the Timorese pro-independence group Fretilin to participate.

However, French officials said, Xanana's arrest and the issue of East Timor were not raised in talks Suharto held earlier with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. Xanana is accused of organising anti-Jakarta demonstrations last year which resulted in the November massacre. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 after Portugal withdrew and annexed it the following year. Human rights groups say the army has systematically killed tens of thousands of people since then.

In Australia, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans told parliament on Tuesday that this was a time for reconciliation, not for revenge, in East Timor. Evans, who was asked

what action his government was taking over Xanana's capture, said Australia's ambassador had sought assurances over his treatment. "He received assurances at a very senior level that he (Xanana) would be treated with due process under Indonesian law and that he wouldn't be ill-treated," Evans said. "I certainly do hope...the Indonesian authorities would consider very carefully the implications for future harmony in the province of any punishment which may be imposed upon him."

"It is very important that the trial should be open... I don't think a closed state trial will help. If it is not fair, the consequences will be paid by the East Timorese," said Mario Viegas Carrascalao, the territory's former governor.

His comments came as Australia urged Jakarta to consider the implications for harmony in East Timor when deciding any punishment for the rebel leader. Carrascalao, who stepped down in September after 10 years as governor, said the government should now make people forget the past. He advised Jakarta against hunting down people Xanana might link to Fretilin during his interrogation. "Xanana is going to tell everything...(but) it is important for the future not to go after everybody," Carrascalao added that fears for Xanana's safety expressed by human rights groups such as Amnesty International were unfounded.

Meanwhile, the arrest of Xanana sent newspaper prices in the former Portuguese colony soaring at the weekend. The Jakarta Post daily reported on Monday from the East Timor capital Dili that Saturday's edition of the newspaper, which reported the arrest, changed hands at 5,000 rupiah (\$2.40), 10 times the normal price. A photocopy of the report cost 2,000 rupiah (97 cents), more than the average daily wage in the territory.

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## BRITAIN BACKS REBEL ROLE IN TIMOR TALKS

*The Times, London. 27 November 1992. By David Watts. Unabridged*

With East Timor under a state of increased repression after the arrest of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the Fretilin [sic] independence movement, the British government has signalled that it believes Timorese participation in talks on the future of the territory should be considered.

In a letter to a Tory MP, Alastair Goodlad, minister of state at the foreign office, indicates that Britain now fully supports Boutros Boutros Ghali, the United Nations secretary general, in trying to get all parties to the conflict round the negotiating



table. The UN had been content to leave the talks to the Portuguese and the Indonesians.

Senhor Xanana would represent Fretilin at any future talks but the Indonesians are seeking to discredit him. He has been branded a "street criminal" by Benny Murdani, the defence minister. Australia, Portugal and international human rights groups have expressed concern over the safety of Senhor Xanana, whose whereabouts are now unknown. He was arrested in the capital of Dili last Friday.

Asked why it had taken his forces 15 years to hunt down Senhor Xanana, General Try Sutrisno, military commander in East Timor, said: "Finding one person in a large territory was not that easy." General Try said that the capture of Senhor Gusmao had crippled Fretilin. He pledged to put down any further resistance to Indonesian rule.

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### MORE ARRESTED IN EAST TIMOR

*By Wilson da Silva, Reuter*

(Sydney, Nov. 27) Indonesian troops have arrested more East Timorese since the capture last week of guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao, Amnesty International said on Friday.

Troops in the East Timor capital Dili on Wednesday arrested Olinda Caceiro Alves, a friend of Gusmao's sister who was seized the day before, as well as Alves' friend Oscar Lima and a man identified as Americo.

The trio join Xanana's sister Armadina Gusmao, her husband Gilman Exposto and their two children, a girl aged 13 and a boy aged 15, the London-based human rights group said.

"There are fears that... all of those (taken since Xanana's capture) may be tortured or ill-treated while in military or police custody," Amnesty said.

Fretilin rebel group leader Jose Alexandre Gusmao, known by his nom de guerre Xanana, was seized in a raid on a house in Dili.

Xanana's father and brother, both named Manuel Gusmao, Xanana's sister Felisima and her husband Manuel Martins, have yet to be confirmed as arrested but there is concern for their safety, Amnesty said.

"The arbitrary arrest and detention of relatives or associates of the Gusmao family may also be intended to exert undue pressure on Xanana while under interrogation," it said.

Xanana, a former poet and journalist, was a symbol to separatist Timorese in the former Portuguese territory, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year.

Indonesia has not disclosed the whereabouts of Xanana or detailed the charges against him, but Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, on a visit to Paris, told Portuguese TSP radio that Xanana was well and in Dili, radio reports said.

Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of Timorese civilians at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12 last year. An Indonesian inquiry found that about 50 had died, while eyewitnesses put the toll closer to 180. Rebels claim 273 were killed.

The United Nations does not recognise Jakarta's rule, and considers Lisbon the administering authority. Lisbon and Jakarta will begin talks over the future of East Timor on December 17 brokered by U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

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### UPI: XANANA LEGAL RIGHTS THWARTED

According to a November 28 UPI story datelined Jakarta, authorities have ruled out the possibility that recently captured East Timorese Fretilin resistance leader Xanana Gusmao can be assisted by foreign lawyers, news reports said Saturday.

Maj. Gen. H.M. Hindarto, the chief of police in the province that includes East Timor, told the official news agency Antara that "only Indonesian lawyers could handle and be allowed to defend Xanana's case."

Hindarto was responding to reports that lawyers from Portugal and other countries had expressed a willingness to help defend Xanana.

Hindarto also said that Xanana will be tried in Indonesia according to existing laws, apparently dashing Xanana's hopes of being tried as a Portuguese citizen.

However, Hindarto did not say whether Xanana is considered an Indonesian citizen since he has opposed Jakarta's rule of the former Portuguese colony since Indonesia annexed the region 16 years ago.

The official said Xanana, captured last week by Indonesian troops in Dili, has not been transferred to the Indonesian police, who have the right to interrogate him before trial.

Hindarto said Xanana would be charged with rebellion, which in Indonesia could carry the death penalty, and another count of possessing a firearm without a license.

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### INDONESIA WON'T ALLOW FOREIGN LEGAL AID FOR JAILED REBEL LEADER

(Jakarta, 28 Nov., BC Cycle) Authorities have ruled out the possibility that recently captured East Timorese Fretilin resistance

leader Xanana Gusmao can be assisted by foreign lawyers, news reports said Saturday.

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However, Hindarto did not say whether Xanana is considered an Indonesian citizen since he has opposed Jakarta's rule of the former Portuguese colony since Indonesia annexed the region 16 years ago.

East Timor, 1,250 miles east of Jakarta, was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years before Lisbon ended its colonial empire in 1975.

Indonesia annexed East Timor soon afterward in a bloody campaign and declared the region its 27th province in 1976 in defiance of United Nations resolutions claiming the right of East Timorese to determine their own future.

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### NEWS REPORTS: INDONESIAN MEDIA

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#### ROUNDUP FROM THE INDONESIAN PRESS 21 NOVEMBER

*From the Jakarta press of 21 November 1992. Kompas and Jakarta Times both published an Antara photo of Xanana Gusmao. It is a close-up with no sign that this was taken in detention. It could be a library photo.*

#### JAKARTA POST

Jakarta Post reports [dateline Dili, byline Jacob Herin] that according to Brig.Gen. Syaifei, Xanana was arrested in Lahane, three kms south of Dili, in someone's home near Wirahusada Hospital. He said that the arrest and detention was being handled in accordance with the law.

Several high-ranking officers were at the place of detention: air force chief-of-staff Marshal Siboen, Udayana commander Major-General Suwardi and Brig.Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, spokesman of armed forces HQ. [There was no mention of General Try Sutrisno being present in Dili although we received persistent reports from Jakarta yesterday that he had gone to Dili following news of the arrest.]

When questioned by Jakarta Post at his place of detention in the Tetum language, Xanana would not confirm or deny that he had masterminded the 12 November demonstration in Dili last year.

JP quoted governor Osorio Soares who cut short a visit to Manatuto to return to Dili as saying he had known Xanana as a boy. He was always "a very good boy who always avoided fighting" was "patient, and had no enemies." He said Xanana's arrest showed the world that Fretilin had never posed any problem for Indonesia [!] "What we should do now is to extract further information from him about the people behind him and later hunt them down."

#### KOMPAS

According to Kompas [datelined Jakarta], former governor Mario Carrascalao described Xanana's arrest as "big news." He said he had received phone-calls from about ten foreign journalists at his home in Jakarta, asking him about the arrest. Carrascalao described Xanana as "brilliant." His arrest would make the situation in East Timor more stable. "He is indeed very brilliant. There are few people to match him."

An ABRI release, describing Xanana as one of the brains behind the 12 November incident last year, said that he would undergo intensive interrogation and that his case would be handled in accordance with the law.

According to Kompas, since Brig.Gen Theo Syafei took over the command in January 1991, armed clashes with the 'GPK' [i.e. the resistance] had intensified. This had occurred, according to Syafei, because ABRI had changed its strategy in the interior. The latest clash had occurred in Baucau.

Kompas says that Fretilin is spread out in small groups which are based in Ainaro, Same, Baucau and Viqueque.

An East Timorese member of the DPR (Legislative Assembly), Salvador Januario Ximenes Soares said that the arrest of Xanana would put an end to the dreams of East Timorese people who long for freedom. The general public in East Timor who have till now been tossed about will now adopt a much firmer attitude towards East Timor's integration. [These as his very words.]

#### MEDIA INDONESIA

Media Indonesia in a report datelined Dili said that Xanana had been a class-mate of the present governor, Osorio Soares.

Although he looked pale, he was eating breakfast and smiled when he shook hands with Osorio. He is under intensive interrogation by the security authorities.

The news of his arrest was broadcast over the radio repeatedly in Dili but the reaction was "just ordinary," whereas in Portugal, President Soares immediately called for Xanana's release.

It is estimated that his forces amount to not more than a hundred people; they have become less and less significant which is why no urgency was attached to his arrest.

The increased pressure on the resistance forces had meant that Xanana was not able to remain in the bush for long periods and was forced to go into hiding in Dili. Searches by the security forces had intensified in the run-up to the anniversary of 12 November because information had been received that Xanana was in the capital.

#### JAWA POS

*Excerpts from articles on 11/21 and 11/22.*

... José Xanana Gusmao, a top leader of Fretilin (an underground liberation movement of East Timorese communists), was captured by a team of KOLAKOPS (the Red Beret unit of the East Timor operation) on Fri.11/20/1992 at 5am West-Indonesian-Time in the house located near by the Wirahusada hospital in Dili soon after the KOLAKOPS received a report from a resident....

Following the capture, Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei who is the commander of KOLAKOPS visited Xanana....

Later on Friday afternoon, Gen. Try, the chief of ABRI top commanders, Brig.Gen. Nurhadi, the head of ABRI info center, and the commander of the Udayana division flew to Dili, and accompanied by Theo to visit Xanana.... Nurhadi said that there will be an intensive interview following the capture of Xanana, prior to the trial in Dili....

José had been struggling for 16 years to oppose the integration of East Timor with Indonesia as proclaimed by his East Timorese opponents. Ramos Horta, another Fretilin leader, stayed in Aussie and might celebrate the memorial of Dili incident happened a year ago. But the Aussie gov't doubted it.... One of José's friends, Constantino Pinto, had been sneaking to get lost and passing through several ports, now is in Lisbon. ...

### INDONESIAN RADIO EXCERPTS ON XANANA CAPTURE

*Remark: These are a few selections from Indonesian radio re Xanana's capture. All items are substantially abridged. Anything within parentheses I have added. – John*

#### RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia), 0600 GMT 21 Nov. 92:

President Suharto has expressed his appreciation to all members of the security apparatus in East Timor for capturing alive (sic) Xanana Gusmao. The president ... is in Dakar, Senegal.... Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei said in Dili that the Fretilin leader would undergo a medical examination although he was not sick when (sic) he was captured. Xanana Gusmao, who masterminded the Dili incident on 12 November 1991 (notice 'presumption of guilt'), looked pale when he was captured by Red Berets ... because he was seldom exposed to the sun. (Compare this with a Nov. 21 AFP story quoting a source "who participated in Gusmao's interrogation" after his capture: "Very pale, even blanched, as a result of the conditions of his life as a fugitive in the East Timorese mountains, Gusmao did not seem in good condition, but he remained defiant....," the source said by telephone from Dili.)

#### RRI, 0600 GMT 23 Nov. 92 (from the press review):

Suara Karya, Berita Yudha, and Pikiran Rakyat believe ... the capture of the Fretilin leader has succeeded in making the East Timorese people realize they should provide assistance and cooperation in eliminating the Fretilin remnants to enable the immediate restoration of peace and security in East Timor. (This means large-scale arrests are being made.) According to the three dailies, the capture of Xanana Gusmao will hopefully prompt the international community, particularly Portugal as an EC member, to think maturely and act wisely and pragmatically to enable the Indonesian government to focus greater attention on the overall development of East Timor as well as to anticipate a possible resurgence of anti-Indonesian separatism. (This means the Army fears open protest in Dili at Xanana's capture and intends to keep the lid on tighter than ever.)

## XANANA'S UNDERGROUND HIDEOUT

Source: *Jawa Pos* Date: 22 Nov. 92  
Dateline: Dili. Original language:  
Indonesian. Missing the last 20%

Remark: This remarkably detailed account of Xanana's hideout was accompanied by a diagram showing the layout of the house and a cutaway drawing of the underground hideout. There is also a staged picture of Xanana standing between four of the soldiers who captured him.

It is no wonder that it took ABRI a long time to capture the boss of the GPK Fretilin Xanana Gusmao. The bearded man apparently had a superb system in place to protect him.

With his safety under increasing threat, he has recently been living in a kind of 'bunker' beneath the house of a police First Corporal by the name of Augusto Pierera.

Nobody has yet explained how long Xanana was living there.

Xanana's relations with Augusto, according to a *Jawa Pos* source, were quite ordinary. But this was not the case with Mrs Augusto. This is understandable, because Mrs Augusto is the sister of the GPK Fretilin figure who fled to Portugal, Abilio Araujo.

By day, Mrs Augusto is known as a teacher at the St José kindergarten in Dili. She has seven children: 3 girls and 4 boys, all of them still young.

Our sources said that Mrs Augusto played a big part in preparing and securing the hiding place for Xanana.

The Augusto family's house is not particularly large. It is much the same as a type 72 house. It has a sitting room, a dining room and four bedrooms.

The entrance to Xanana's hiding place was in one of the bedrooms – the middle one directly adjoining the sitting room.

Although their house provided shelter to a GPK figure who was being sought by the security forces, Augusto's family was apparently not especially worried. Not only was the entrance to the room well hidden but the house itself was next to a ravine and set apart from other houses. To reach the house one had to walk along a narrow path.

Unlike the 'bunkers' used by the Iraqi army in the Gulf War, Xanana's bunker was more like the rat holes used by the Vietnamese people [rakyat] during the war against the Khmer Rouge.

The room was in the shape of an L, its floor about 2 meters below the floor level of the house. It was about 3 wide by 4 meters long.

Looking at the size of the room it is easy to understand how Xanana could live there in relative peace. There were various facili-

ties in the room like you would find in a hotel. Among other things there was a bed, a toilet, a fan and various other pieces of furniture. In one of the walls, the one that faced the ravine, there were ventilation holes to prevent the room from getting stuffy.

The entrance was in one of the rooms of Augusto's house. As well as having a trapdoor, the entrance was very well disguised. Only somebody who knew the house very well would have known about it.

Directly above the trapdoor the owner of the house had put a wardrobe measuring 40 x 50 centimetres. A carpet further disguised the entrance.

It was so neat that nobody knew about the room, including Augusto's own children. Even the Kolakops officials had difficulty finding it.

Kolakops officials recently carried out a house to house identity card checking operation in the hope that this would uncover GPK members who were sheltering in people's houses.

Augusto's house was one of those they visited. They checked all the rooms, including the one with the entrance to Xanana's hiding place.

In order to discover Xanana's hiding place one would have to lift the carpet and shift the wardrobe out of the way. Even this would not have done, because there was also a piece of board under the feet of the wardrobe.

To get into the room you climb down a two meter ladder. Only then would you find Xanana's home.

Apart from Augusto and his wife, the only people who knew about the secret room was a man called George and his girlfriend who lived in the same house, but in another room.

George, who was the number two man after Mrs Xanana [?], knew all of Xanana's movements while he was in hiding. He was in fact Xanana's contact with the outside world. It was also he who drove Xanana around Dili using a Kijang pickup with the number plates DF 5031. One day this vehicle was offered for sale to a local ABRI man. But because the price was not right the transaction was cancelled.

Returning to Xanana's hiding place. The Kolakops personnel were not the only ones who did not know about the room. There was also Tresno, a member of Battalion 623 Dili who was a close friend of George's.

"George often invited me to his house to eat, together with other members of his family. I even went into the room where the entrance to Xanana's hideout was, but I never suspected it was there," Tresno told *Jawa Pos*.

Three days before Xanana's capture, 15 ABRI members who used the code name

"Pasukan Jambu Merah" ('Rose-apple Force') had Augusto's house under surveillance. This was based on information from a local resident.

The troops had to be extra careful in order to draw Xanana out of his hiding place. During the three days none of the soldiers dared to sleep at all. They were determined not to lose their prey this time.

Early on Friday, they began to close in on their target. Augusto's whole family was arrested and immediately taken away.

Just at that moment...

*[believe it or not at this point my copy of the article cuts out. If anyone can finish the story please post it as a response.]*

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## INDONESIAN PRESS ROUNDUP, NOV. 23

Items abridged or summarised by TAPOL  
*[All sentences in square brackets are additions by TAPOL.]*

### 23 November 1992, Kompas, dateline Dili:

Dili military commander Brig.Gen Theo Syafei said his troops had confiscated more than a sackful of documents, a pistol and communications equipment from the place where XG was arrested. "I haven't seen the documents, they go back some years and are from at home and abroad."

Syafei said ABRI had altered their strategy with the result that more clashes had occurred. Troops on duty in the forests were under instruction to be more active and not just wait. This has been successful; the latest clash was in Baucau district.

Here are some questions and answers with Syafei [not all questions are included]:

*Significance of the arrest?*

Very significant. It's a blow for them, we've got documents, and it's a moral blow.

*Lisbon reports that XG's successor has been appointed. What's your comment?*

It took 6 to 8 years [sic] for Xanana to take over the leadership from Lobato. That's how it goes with guerrillas. So how come there's a new leader so fast!

*With Xanana's capture, have you reached your target?*

No. I have to win (control of) the social situation of people there, especially in Dili.

*Does his capture mean Kolakops' work is done?*

My task is to restore security to E Timor. Security is the criterion for them (at ABRI HQ) but on the ground, places that should already be safe are sometimes not.

*Did XG's place of hiding seem well prepared?*

Very much so. He was hiding underground, in a hole. At the bottom of a cupboard there was some wood. When that was lifted up, there was an L-shaped hole underneath which is where XG was hiding.

*When did you first get wind that XG was in Dili?*

Some time ago. That's why I set in motion a strict identity-card operation, to make it difficult for him to come out into the open. All I wanted to do was to discover the place where he was hiding.

*Did he have an escort when he was captured?*

As I have said he was captured among clandestine people. When two years ago, he was hiding with armed groups, he could move around with escorts. I have said that Dili would be my battle-ground (Baratayudha) because if he wanted to emerge onto the international arena, it would have to be in Dili.

*What charges will be brought?*

It could be subversion, or criminal. For his anti-government activities, it will be subversion. For murder and robbery, it will be criminal. But he's not a war criminal. We've never fought a war with them. It's not political, He's a subversive.

**23 November, Suara Pembaruan, date-line Senegal [though part of the report is clearly from Dili]:**

President has given instructions that the arrested 'GPK' leader should undergo intensive questioning in accordance with the laws in force.

"When investigations have been completed, XG will be brought to court," said State Secretary Moerdiono. He said that the president was receiving regular reports from commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno. XG was in a fit state when arrested and a close aide was arrested with him. [First time this has been mentioned.]

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the actions by his group would now weaken. "What's clear is that those positive forces abroad will see that the Indonesian government is able to take control of the situation."

[Much of the next section is similar to the Kompas report above, about the Syafei interview.]

Brig.Gen Syafei said the fact that XG's replacement had been announced by Portugal was indication that Portugal has

been the mastermind of the movement. The capture was clearly a blow for the movement as those at home and abroad had thought that ABRI would never be able to capture him.

**23 November 1992, Jakarta Post, date-line Dili, byline Jacob Herin:**

Governor Soares warned the West not to intervene on behalf of XG. "They should not involve themselves too much in the affairs of E Timor."

Soares ruled out the possibility of Xanana's participation in negotiations about E Timor's future. "Who does he represent? If anyone is to represent East Timor, it should be me. I think I am more entitled to speak for East Timor than he," said governor Soares.

The governor said the day before that he had known Xanana in school and would consider offering him a job in the governor's office, once he had settled his affairs with the military.

"He has not been tortured or beaten. The military commander (Syafei) even ordered that XG not be handcuffed and that his captors provide him with sufficient food and clothing."

A newspaper seller said: "We're having a field day." The Saturday papers were selling for Rp5,000 a piece and clippings were going for Rp2,000.

Many parents interviewed expressed relief at Xanana's arrest, saying that their children had begun to idolise him. "Now I can feel at peace, knowing that my children will no longer take part in Fretilin activities," one woman said.

**24 November 1992, Jakarta Post, date-line Dili, byline Jacob Herin:**

XG had been stalked for months by army intelligence officers, before his arrest, according to military sources. Col. Johan Supit told the Post that the military had arrested five other people who had helped the rebel leader before he was captured. According to Supit, two of the five are brothers-in-law of Xanana.

Another source at the military said that on 27 October, XG travelled in a cargo truck from Datina village, Manugafi, 120 south of Dili, to Same. In the evening he proceeded to Dili in the same truck with the intention of planning an anti-government demonstration in commemoration of last year's incident. No demonstration took place. Three days later, XG left for Manatuto, his home regency, and managed to pass a security check at the town's outskirts, with a forged identity card. On 18 November, he returned to Dili and toured the town on a motorcycle. In the evening, he held a meeting in

another house to prepare for another demonstration. At 7am the next morning, he left the house in a car belonging to his brother-in-law for another tour of the town. He came back home later, ordered a cup of coffee and went to bed and was arrested the following morning. [This all may or may not be true, but this is what JP was told.]

**24 November 1992, Jakarta Post [a second article in the same issue] datelined Jakarta:**

Legislators, politicians, observers and East Timorese are bombarding the government with demands that XG face trial despite pressure from Portugal and human rights organisations for his release. They want him to be tried under Indonesian law because he attempted to undermine the Indonesian state. They however advise the government carefully to consider the appropriate action because of the legal complexities involved in the case.

They point out that the UN has yet to recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and that Indonesia could come under pressure over its handling of the Xanana case.

Portuguese president, Mario Soares has demanded that Xanana be extradited to Portugal [has he?] while Amnesty International and Asia Watch have pleaded for his release.

Chairwoman of the House (DPR) Commission I overseeing security, defence and foreign relations, Aisyah Amity, said XG's capture would substantially damage the morale of Fretilin both in East Timor and in exile. "That in turn can facilitate the Jakarta-Lisbon talks on the East Timor issue held under UN auspices." She dismissed as absurd Portugal's demand for XG's extradition as the two countries have no extradition treaty.

Maswadi, a professor of political science at the University of Indonesia warned that Indonesia should be careful in dealing with the case because the world was watching Xanana's situation.

**25 November 1992, Jakarta Post, dateline Dili, byline Jacob Herin:**

Headlined "Xanana's whereabouts."

The whereabouts of XG is a mystery to many local people. Early reports said he had been flown to Jakarta or Dili but this has been denied by ABRI spokesman, Brig.Gen Nurhadi.

Sources at East Timor military HQ said no-one will be allowed to see him "because he is badly in need of rest."

Brig.Gen Syafei told the Post Friday that he would be flown to Jakarta the following day. [Indeed from what we have heard,

press reports in Indonesia have reported conflicting statements by military officers about the planned transfers of Xanana, intending thereby to create confusion over his whereabouts. It would seem to be Herin's intention to draw attention to this.]

Since his arrest, Xanana has said not a word to reporters. On Friday, when queried by the Post, he refused to say whether he had masterminded the anti-government demonstration last year.

Governor Soares said yesterday that Xanana is a prisoner of war [sic!] and has been treated humanely by the military authorities.

"He has received excellent treatment. I myself heard Gen. Try Sutrisno order the officers to buy him new clothes." The governor said that the foreign press, which has not been given an opportunity to visit Xanana, has produced inflated stories, saying the rebel leader has been badly treated in the detention centre.

### **XANANA'S WIFE ACCUSES HORTA OF LEAKING HER HUSBAND'S HIDING PLACE**

*Source: Jawa Pos, 25 November 92  
Original language: Indonesian Scope:  
Unabridged.*

*Remark: Is this in part deliberate disinformation? Antara is the official Indonesian news agency. There are some clear errors in details in the story. Jawa Pos has been about as slavish as Suara Pembaruan in supporting the government line on East Timor. Anyone with further information or comments is invited to post a response (or new news topic if appropriate) here or in reg.easttimor. Spellings left 'as is' in Jawa Pos article.*

— John

Antara, The Hague - Mrs. Emilia Gusmao, wife of the brains of Fretilin, Xanana Gusmao, yesterday accused a colleague of her husband, [José] Ramos Horta, who lives in Portugal, of betrayal by leaking the hiding place of her husband. "If it were not for him, how could my husband possibly have been captured," stated Emilia, who also lives in Lisbon, to the Australian press yesterday.

According to Emilia, her husband had lived in hiding for about 16 years. All that time, no security official got to know about him. "If anyone knew his hiding place, it would only be trusted persons, among them Ramos Horta," Emilia explained.

But because Horta later leaked Xanana's hiding place, "My husband was captured," Emilia added.

Emilia is blessed with two children from her marriage to Xanana. For the past 17 years, Emilia lived in isolation (pengasingan, also 'exile'), separated from her husband. She fled abroad, it is said, due to the wish of her husband for the sake of their children's future. Meanwhile, Xanana himself remained in the forest, leading Fretilin members in East Timor.

All this time in isolation, Emilia claimed she never had direct contact with her husband.

Replying to a reporter's question on the reason Horta betrayed Xanana, Emilia claimed, "Because we once quarreled over the issue of the contributions by the Portuguese people who sympathized with our struggle in East Timor," Emilia explained.

As reported in this daily, in the middle of last October, Ramos Horta and Emilia Gusmao quarreled and contested the about US\$80,000 cash now kept in a bank in Portugal.

All this money represented the contributions of the Portuguese people who sympathized with Fretilin in East Timor. These large contributions were collected thanks to the hard work of communist university students in Portugal.

The news of the contest for the money between Ramos Horta and Emilia was first revealed in two Portuguese newspapers, *Publico* and *Correirra de Manha*, and the magazine *Sabado*.

#### **Also Ideology**

Yesterday in Dili, Chairman of the East Timor branch of the Indonesian Youth National Committee (KNPI) Joka Piadade said to reporters that the capture of Xanana constituted a concrete indication of a split in Fretilin.

The split, according to Piadade, not only involved the contest for the monetary contributions between Emilia Gusmao and Ramos Horta, but also between Xanana himself and Antonio Gomes da Costa alias Mau Hunu, described as the prospective replacement for Xanana in the Fretilin leadership.

The difference, according to him [Piadade], was a dispute between Xanana and Mau Hunu not about money, but rather an ideological question. "This had already been going on for years," he [Piadade] explained.

He explained that several months before Xanana's capture, he [Xanana] as the supreme leader of the security disrupters movement [GPK, used throughout the story] changed the concept of their struggle from its original Marxist-Leninist line to liberal democracy.

"This change in thought caused loyal Fretilin followers like Mau Hunu to disagree with Xanana. Their [respective] men [anak buah] also joined in this difference of opinion," said Piadade.

#### **Internal Affair**

Ramos Horta in a statement broadcast on Portugal television at the end of last week said, "The arrest of Xanana will not put a stop to the Fretilin resistance movement."

Horta said he made that statement in his capacity as head of foreign affairs for the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

Nonetheless, the statement drew no serious response from Portuguese officials. This is clearly seen in the statement of Portugal's Foreign Minister Durao Barroso, just installed several days ago. In a statement to BBC London, Barroso said, "The question of Xanana is an internal affair of Indonesia. We only hope the Indonesian government will treat Xanana well while he is in detention."

Meanwhile, Assistant Director of Division II for Southeast Asia in the Asian Affairs Bureau of Japan's Foreign Ministry, Hiroharu Hashi, told Antara separately in Tokyo yesterday, "The capture of Xanana is fully an internal affair of Indonesia. So it's quite comic if we have to make a comment on that matter."

But he did not deny that his government had permitted three former East Timorese residents now living in Japan to hold demonstrations in 60 cities. The demonstrations by these three women will be held from November 12 through December 31. "We gave them permission to do that because Japan is a democratic country," reasoned Hashi.

The three women are Anna Inacio, 21, Wewerian dos Rois, 27, and Ligia Ximenes, 26. They actually reside in Darwin, Australia. Anna is the daughter of Jubenaal Inacio, one of the prominent figures in Fretilin. (jus/ant)

#### **COMMENT FROM JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA**

*From Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US*

I spoke with José Ramos-Horta tonight (25 Nov.) about the ideological split mentioned in this article. He says it is a total fabrication:

Fretilin officially declared itself non-Marxist and adopted a Social-Democratic based model in 1983, not "several months before Xanana's capture." There is no split, as the entire leadership agrees on this.

Mau Hunu was never a Marxist, and fully supports the Social Democratic view. Horta was in school with him through Catholic Mission School and high school,

and knows him very well. At least two years ago, Mau Hunu explicitly made a public statement in support of social democracy, and continues to hold that position. Mau Hunu and Xanana are very close, both ideologically and personally.

Horta called the quotation from Portuguese Foreign Minister Durao Barroso "totally untrue."

On the quotations from Emilia Gusmao, Horta declined to get into a battle of accusations. He did tell me that Emilia says she has been misquoted by the press, and a clarification will be forthcoming.

### RESPONSE: TAPOL/BBC

Inquiries at the BBC World Service, with the Portuguese and Indonesian language services, have revealed that the words attributed to Portugal's Foreign Minister, Durao Barrosa, in *Jawa Pos* of 25 November, namely that Xanana's arrest "is an internal matter for Indonesia," are a complete fabrication.

The Foreign Minister was interviewed by the Portuguese language service on 20 November 1992 and said nothing remotely resembling this. The transcript was passed on to the Indonesian language service for transmission to Indonesia at around 22.30 hours on 20 November, London time, or 07.30 hours Indonesia (WIB) time on 21 November. The words used were a precise translation of the Portuguese text and could not remotely have been interpreted in the way reported by *Jawa Pos*. A thorough trawl of all programmes subsequently broadcast by the World Service show that the Portuguese Foreign Minister gave no other interviews.

Investigations are still under way to determine the source of the story. It appears that *Jawa Pos* took the whole item from an Antara report, not only the section relating to Emilia Gusmao.

TAPOL has been informed that the Portuguese Government is in touch with the BBC World Service with a view to ensuring that the BBC disassociates itself from this report and seeks redress.

### SPECIALISTS RESPOND

*This is a collation of comments by several Indonesia and East Timor specialists and activists on the Jawa Pos story. Some bear directly on the story, some on 'matters arising' from it. Since the comments arrived by email, I have deliberately not attributed them to anyone in particular and I have also paraphrased many of them.*

-- John MacDougall

1 - The *Jawa Pos* reporter in Dili has gone beyond straight reporting in the past and actually engaged in provocative actions

to generate 'shocking' news stories. It is not clear who reports for Antara from East Timor. The *Jawa Pos* story at issue was Antara output purportedly generated from The Hague, but evidently with help from someone in Dili. Some Antara stories are more frank than those filed by newspapers' and magazines' own stories, but when Antara decides to twist a piece it can get very vicious and tendentious.

2 - While the remark by the Japanese Foreign Ministry official cannot be confirmed, it would not be out of character for Japan's overall East Timor policy. That the official mentioned the touring group of East Timorese protesters suggested that relevant Japanese officials may follow Timorese protests more than thought. But the Antara writer/s sought to discredit them by linking them to 'whipping boys' Australia and Fretilin and saying nothing more.

3 - The bad feeling between Emilia Gusmao and Jose Ramos Horta is more or less a 'public secret' and has appeared in Portuguese press stories. One aspect of the quarrel related to whether the overseas funds should go for the international struggle or the resistance in East Timor. Horta favored the former and Xanana clearly in his 20 July television tape (transcript in *Publico* of 26 September, posted by CDPM) indicates Horta should use the fund for public relations purposes in the US. Emilia might well believe that had the fund been used for the resistance in East Timor, it would have been less likely her husband would have been captured.

4 - While Mau Hunu (variously spelled, nom de guerre) is hardly a Marxist-Leninist as the *Jawa Pos* article suggests, he may be generally more 'hard-line' than Xanana. He may also be more directly associated with Abilio Araujo, whereas Xanana was more directly associated with Jose Ramos Horta. It is generally known that Abilio and Jose have often been at odds.

5 - The notion that funds collected for the East Timorese cause in Portugal was entirely due to the "communist university students" there drew guffaws. However, the mention of Portuguese communist involvement in the East Timorese support movement does fit an emerging regime strategy at the moment of reviving the communist devil. Try Sutrisno recently drew very negative reviews from Indonesian students abroad for his mention of "fourth generation communists." Many of the students thought he was referring to them. In return, they openly mocked his credentials for the Vice Presidency and the Presidency.

### PORTUGUESE-ENGLISH TRANSLATORS NEEDED

Here is a list of original Portuguese-language articles relating to a November 25, 1992 *Jawa Pos* story which made many sensationalist and often inaccurate charges and statements. The story referred to certain Portuguese press articles. These have now kindly been supplied by CDPM, a Portuguese human rights organization focused on East Timor. It is highly desirable the full texts of these articles be translated into English as soon as possible. I can fax one or more to anyone (almost anywhere) willing to do the job fairly quickly and accurately and email the English translations back to me for posting online.

Abracos, John MacDougall

"Emilia Gusmao numa rede confusa" - *Expresso*, 10 Oct 92 - several paragraphs  
 "Emilia Gusmao deveria ter aguardado pur uma reuniao com Ramos-Horta" - *O Independente*, 13 Oct 92 - 1½ pages  
 "Emilia Gusmao quem representa?" - *Sabado*, 22 Oct 92 - two pages  
 "Depoimento de Ramos Horta sobre os donativos para a Resistencia Timorese, Cenas de uma 'telenovela' de mau gosto" - *Expresso*, 23 Oct 92 - 1½ pages

### BALI POLICE ADD TO CONFUSION ABOUT XANANA'S WHEREABOUTS

*Antara report monitored by BBC, 26 November 1992, Abridged*

*Remark: Less than perfect coordination in public statements by Indonesian authorities after the November 12 massacre while Suharto remained out of the country was evident earlier in contradictory statements by East Timor Governor Soares as to whether Xanana was a 'prisoner of war' (yes) and East Timor military commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei (no). Now head of the ABRI Information Center Brig. Gen. Nurhadi who stated publicly that Xanana was being held in Bali has been called into question - albeit not outright denied - by Nusa Tenggara police chief Maj. Gen. Hendarto.*

*In another pattern similar to post-November 12 developments, Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edi Sudradjat has remained out of the limelight and apparently did not fly to Dili along with ABRI Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno and the other service chiefs. Try, not Edi, wields most all military operational authority. This is inherent in the way the offices of ABRI Commander and Army Chief of Staff are now structured. As after November 12, Try has been doing much of the talking for the military, though there*

*seems much less public comment all round this time. – John MacDougall*

Nusa Tenggara Police chief, Major-General Hindarto said today that he was unable to confirm a statement by ABRI spokesman Brig Gen. Nurhadi Purowosaputro that Xanana Gusmao was in Bali 'because he had not yet received any official report that Xanana had been handed over to the police.'

Quoted by Antara news agency, he said that the police had 'set up a team to investigate the case of Xanana Gusmao. He said the team was made up of representatives from the headquarters of the armed forces, the prosecutor's office, 'and other related institutions' but gave no details on its remit.

He said that the trial of Xanana might take place in Jakarta or Denpasar and ruled out the possibility of his being tried by a military court. [We hear that Try Sutrisno said today that Xanana would be tried in Dili.]

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## STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS BY HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOLIDARITY GROUPS

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### TAPOL CALLS FOR RELEASE OF EAST TIMOR RESISTANCE LEADER

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release today, 20 November 1992:*

The Indonesian army announced today that Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the East Timor resistance movement, was arrested in Dili early this morning and is now undergoing intense questioning. There has been no independent confirmation of Xanana's arrest.

The international community has long recognised Xanana Gusmao as the undisputed leader of East Timor's courageous resistance to its invasion and annexation by Indonesia in 1975. He has led the resistance movement with great courage, foresight and determination since 1980, having restored the movement's fortunes after the severe defeat it suffered in the late 1970s. Xanana has long been the symbol of resistance for both the older and younger generations of East Timorese.

The Indonesian army is known to treat their political prisoners with extreme brutality. If Xanana Gusmao is now in their hands, it is essential for him to be given full protection by the international community.

The International Red Cross should be given immediate access.

TAPOL most vigorously protests against the arrest of the resistance leader and calls for his immediate and unconditional release.

As leader of the national resistance, Xanana Gusmao has a crucial role to play in the talks about the future of East Timor which are now underway under UN auspices. The UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros-Ghali is understood to be planning to hold consultations with representatives of the East Timorese people as part of this process. Xanana Gusmao must not be prevented from taking part in these consultations.

TAPOL has called on the UN Secretary-General and the British government to press for Xanana's immediate release, to do everything possible to ensure his safety, and ensure that he will be able to participate in consultations about the future of East Timor.

For further information, call Carmel Budiardjo or Liem Soei Liong on 081 771-2904.

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## JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA INTERVIEWED ON BBC WORLD SERVICE

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*The following interview was carried on Newshour, BBC World Service, on 20 November 1992:*

*Can you confirm the arrest of Xanana Gusmao?*

I would not confirm one hundred per cent, but every piece of news I have in front of me seems to indicate that this is the fact.

*What will his arrest mean to the Fretilin movement?*

It means as much as the arrest of Nelson Mandela in Robben Island for thirty years and for the people of Africa. It means that in spite of that or because of that we will continue, we will persevere, and I believe that Indonesia's capture of commander Xanana Gusmao has only created another problem for them. They have an explosive situation in their hands. It is not the arrest of Commander Xanana Gusmao that is going to resolve the problem for them. Quite the contrary. For us it can be also a big turning point.

*You cited Nelson Mandela. To what extent is Fretilin based so much around Mr Gusmao?*

As much as the people of South Africa were inspired by Nelson Mandela, the people of East Timor are inspired by Commander

Xanana Gusmao, but around him there are quite a lot of cadres, young and experienced cadres, in the resistance itself in the mountains but also in the occupied areas, who will continue to be guided by Commander Xanana Gusmao, who will continue to receive his instructions, his guidance, in the struggle against the occupation.

*What sort of person is he?*

He is above all an East Timorese, a nationalist, a patriot, a humble person, incredibly intelligent, with an incredible determination. He's a poet, he's a writer, he's a journalist and above all, he's a humanist.

*This is, is it not, an enormous victory for the government?*

No, I don't think so, unless you consider an enormous victory having an explosive in your hands.

*What do you think will happen next to Mr Gusmao?*

From what we heard, he is going to be put on trial, but if they put him on trial, Xanana Gusmao and all of us around the world will turn his trial into a stage, a theatre of denunciation of Indonesia, as much as Nelson Mandela used his trial to denounce the apartheid regime.

*Don't you think that the independence movement of East Timor is just gradually falling off the international agenda?*

Well, this is what we've been hearing for the past seventeen years, that the issue of East Timor is falling off. Quite the contrary. The US Congress cut off military assistance to Indonesia. President-elect Bill Clinton made a clear statement on East Timor a couple of weeks ago, the European Parliament has just adopted another resolution on East Timor. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali has just spoken on the phone with [President] Mario Soares of Portugal and he reassured President Soares that he is going to raise the issue of Xanana's arrest with Suharto. Just a couple of hours ago, President Soares also spoke on the phone with Francois Mitterand in Paris regarding this matter again. I can assure you, on the contrary, the issue will continue and we are going to win, we are going to succeed.

## STATEMENT BY FREE EAST TIMOR JAPAN COALITION

We are deeply disturbed at reports of the capture of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timor resistance. Fearful that Mr. Gusmao will be tortured or executed by his Indonesian captors, we call on all parties concerned to urge the Indonesian Government to release him immediately and allow him to leave safely for a foreign country.

### To The Indonesian Government

We call on the Indonesian Government to immediately release Xanana Gusmao. Indonesia cannot undo the damage of seventeen years of illegal occupation, massacres, and cultural genocide by eliminating the leader and symbol of the resistance. The time has come for Jakarta to enter into a serious dialogue with Xanana Gusmao under the auspices of the United Nations. World opinion would applaud such action.

### To The U.N. Secretary-General

We call on Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, mandated by General Assembly Resolution 37/30 to seek with all parties to the dispute a comprehensive settlement of the East Timor issue, to negotiate the release of Xanana Gusmao, the leader in whom the people of East Timor have placed their greatest respect and trust.

The struggle for self-determination by the East Timorese is an eminently just one, and Xanana Gusmao has led the struggle for over a decade, during which time he has repeatedly called for a negotiated settlement to the conflict. His incarceration or liquidation would seriously set back the process of reconciliation to which the Secretary-General is committed, and could well trigger further repression by the occupying authorities against the defenseless population.

### To The Japanese Government

We call on the Japanese Government to seek the immediate release of Xanana Gusmao and offer to provide him sanctuary in Japan. As the largest economic aid donor to the Suharto Government, Japan bears a heavy responsibility to vigorously strive for a peaceful settlement of the East Timor issue. In 1991 Xanana Gusmao himself called on Japan to "play a decisive role" in the solution of the issue, and pointed out that "dialogue" was the only solution. It behooves the Japanese Government to act to secure Mr. Gusmao's release as a necessary step in pursuing the path to a negotiated settlement.

*The Free East Timor Japan Coalition is a network of grassroots organizations lobbying for a just resolution of the East Timor issue. Contact Jean Inglis, tel:0823220962*

fax:0823222684 or Matsuno Akihisa,  
tel:063215579 fax:063708314.

## ETAN/US CALL TO ACTION

to: East Timor Supporters  
from: Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US  
re: Responses to Xanana capture  
date: 20 November 1992

Antara (the Indonesian press agency) reported Xanana Gusmao's capture at 6 am today, Indonesian time. The arrest of the East Timorese resistance leader was also announced by Indonesian army communiqué. The Antara report was relayed by Kyodo News Service and the BBC.

The Indonesian government may be deterred from torturing and killing him if they are made aware of international public and governmental attention. Please fax or call the following immediately (the following are fax numbers):

- President Suharto, Jakarta 62/21-36-7781, 62/21-36-7782, 62/21-36-0501
- UN Secretary-General Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, NY 1/212-963-4879

For people living in the U.S.:

- US Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, DC 202-647-7120
- Your Senators and Representatives (phone 202-224-3121).

The Portuguese government has already issued statements, which are appended to this action alert. Amnesty International, TAPOL, and other organizations have put out similar calls to this one.

Make one or more of the following points when talking with government leaders or the media:

- Urge the Indonesian military and government to treat Xanana Gusmao in compliance with international conventions against torture and arbitrary execution. They could move him to a third country to help insure his safety.
- Now that Jakarta knows where Xanana is, he should participate in the UN-sponsored talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal that will continue next month. Indonesia should allow a popular plebiscite on East Timor's future without losing face.
- The situation in East Timor will be extremely tense, with both the Timorese people and the Indonesian troops under stress. The army could try to eliminate anti-integration sentiment once and for all. In light of recently increasing repression and the new governor's statement that a thousand people should have been killed at Santa Cruz last year, international pressure may be the only way to

prevent a further bloodbath. If the situation threatens to get out of control, the United Nations could intervene to help keep the peace. If Xanana is tortured or killed, military repression and mass killings could get even worse.

- Xanana's capture is not the end of the East Timorese struggle for self-determination. The resistance is more than one person; it is supported by the overwhelming majority of the East Timorese people. By comparison, Nelson Mandela's imprisonment did not mean the end of the South African struggle, it meant the beginning of a campaign which culminated in his release and his ability to work openly for majority rule.

Please send copies of statements or responses to ETAN/U.S.

## ACTION ALERT FROM EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK, CANADA

20 November 1992

Early this morning, the Indonesian news agency ANTARA reported that Indonesian soldiers had captured East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. Amnesty International has stated that it is gravely concerned that Xanana is being tortured at this moment.

ETAN is asking that Xanana's be treated humanely. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) should be granted immediate access, and a lawyer of Xanana's choice should be present while he is being questioned, as provided for under Indonesian law (but rarely respected in East Timor). International conventions on torture should be respected, particularly in this case.

Furthermore, Xanana should be released to take part in the peace talks on East Timor now being conducted at the United Nations in New York. Under UN resolutions on East Timor, the UN is required to include representatives of the Timorese people in talks leading towards self-determination. There is no one who can speak for the Timorese with more knowledge than Xanana Gusmao.

Please ask Canada's External Affairs Minister, Barbara McDougall, to speak out in this case. Send faxes to her at (613) 995-3443 (department office, Ottawa) and (416) 653-9007 (constituency office, Toronto), and send a copy to ETAN/Toronto at (416) 531-5850. Faxes can also be sent to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at (212) 963-4879 and Indonesian president Suharto at 62/21-36-7781, 62/21-36-7782, or 62/21-36-0501.



## ASIA WATCH CALLS FOR ACCESS TO XANANA

November 20, 1992

Asia Watch today called on the Indonesian government to allow immediate access by lawyers, international humanitarian agencies and the press to Xanana Gusmao, commander of FALINTIL, the guerrilla force of the East Timorese independence movement, whom the Indonesian army arrested this morning in a suburb of Dili.

"The best way for the Indonesian army to allay concerns that Mr. Gusmao will be tortured or killed would be for independent observers to see with their own eyes that Mr. Gusmao is alive and well and free of signs of physical abuse," said Sidney Jones, Executive Director of Asia Watch, a division of Human Rights Watch.

She noted that the Peruvian government was able to quash rumors about the death or torture of Sendero Luminoso leader Abimael Guzman by showing him on television, clearly unharmed, immediately after his arrest in September, and allowing the press to see him several days later.

"Too many suspected rebels have been executed by the Indonesian army under the pretext that they were resisting arrest or trying to escape, when in fact it would have been perfectly possible for the Indonesian army to detain and try them," Jones said. She cited the cases of Martinus Prawar, a leader of the Free Papua Movement in Irian Jaya, killed in May 1992, and Yusuf AB, a leader of the Aceh Merdeka movement, killed in Aceh in July 1990, as examples.

Asia Watch said Gusmao should be granted immediate access to lawyers, that lawyers should be present during his interrogation, and that he should be given a prompt and fair trial in accordance with international standards.

## LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights  
330 Seventh Avenue, 10th Floor  
New York, NY 10001 USA  
212-629-6170  
November 20, 1992

Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Jakarta, Indonesia

Dear Foreign Minister Alatas:

The Indonesian armed forces announced today the arrest of Xanana Gusmao, commander of the armed opposition group FALANTIL, in Dili, East Timor. The Lawyers Committee is greatly concerned for

the safety of Mr. Gusmao and urges that he be treated humanely in compliance with international human rights and humanitarian law.

We urge that Mr. Gusmao be permitted access to legal counsel of his own choosing as provided under Indonesian law. The Indonesian criminal procedure law (KUHAP) states that a suspect has the right to legal assistance "at every level of examination" (art. 54). Other provisions ensure that a suspect has the right to legal counsel of his own choosing (art. 55) and the right to contact counsel (art. 57).

Indonesian law also requires legal counsel to have full access to their clients. Lawyers have a right under the KUHAP "to contact a suspect since the moment of arrest or detention at all levels of examination" (art. 69). Counsel also have the right "to contact and speak with the suspect at every level of his examination and at every time in the interest of his case defense" (art. 70) and be informed by competent officials at all stages of the trial process (art. 58). We urge the authorities to allow Mr. Gusmao's counsel to meet with him as provided under Indonesian law and to be present during all interrogations.

The Indonesian Government should charge Mr. Gusmao with a legally cognizable offense and give him a prompt trial before a court that meets international fair trial standards. These standards include the right to a trial by a competent, independent, and impartial jury.

Sincerely yours,  
James D. Ross  
Asia Programs

cc: Ismail Saleh, Minister of Justice  
Gen. Try Sutrisno, Armed Forces  
Commander  
Robert Barry, U.S. Ambassador

## JURISTS PLATFORM WRITES TO UN

*The following letter was sent to the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, by the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor on 20 November 1992*

We write in response to the arrest in Dili this morning of Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, by the Indonesian occupation army. We wish to convey our deep concern to you regarding his safety and hereby urge you to intervene and exercise your influence in order to obtain his release.

It is our contention that the IV Geneva Convention of 1949 applies to Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, under the second paragraph of article 2:

*"The Convention shall also apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance."*

We are supported in this view by the persuasive ICRC interpretation of the article:

*"Where a territory under the authority of one of the parties passes under the authority of an opposing party there is 'occupation' within the meaning of article 2 of the Geneva Convention" ("The Middle-East activities of the ICRC - June 1967/June 1970", in the International Review of the Red Cross, no. 113, August 1970, pp 26-427).*

Both Indonesia and Portugal are parties to the Convention. Indonesia acceded to the Convention on the 30th September, 1958, Portugal ratified it on the 14th of March 1961. In our view, East Timor remained under the authority of Portugal at the date of Indonesia's invasion on 7 December 1975. Accordingly, anyone arrested under suspicion of having committed a criminal offence is not only protected by non-derogable human rights but also by the rights provided under the Humanitarian Laws of War, including those set out in articles 64-76 of the IV Geneva Convention.

We are very concerned that Xanana Gusmao will not be treated in accordance with the minimum requirements of articles 27, 31 and 32 of the IV Geneva Convention. Breaches of these minimum standards could constitute "grave breaches" as defined under articles 146 and 147 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. We urge you to monitor his treatment so that you can advise all the Member States who are signatories to the Geneva Conventions of any breaches so that they can make arrangements to arrest and bring to trial those involved in committing these breaches. This would be in accordance with the practice which member states were invited to follow in the case of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait (Security Council Resolution 674 of 29 October 1990). We urge you to bring this matter to the attention of the Security Council, where a resolution in the appropriate terms could be passed.

We also respectfully request the exercise of your good offices in obtaining permission from the Indonesian authorities for a delegation of our Platform to visit East Timor.

Yours sincerely  
Pedro Pinto Leite  
Secretary General IPJET

## DARWIN PROTEST AFTER ARREST OF XANANA

*Filed by Saskia Kouwenberg Darwin 23 November 1992*

In Darwin, Australia, two demonstrations took place after the arrest of Xanana Gusmao. On Sunday, November 22, a press conference was arranged in front of the residence of the Indonesian Consul. Speakers of Fretilin and UDT reaffirmed their support for Xanana Gusmao as their national leader. Alfredo Ferreira announced the appointment of the new leader, Costa Gomes "Mau Huno" inside the country. Concalo Pinto (UDT) remarked that now it was of utmost importance to show due respect for Xanana and practice everywhere what Xanana has been striving for inside East Timor: unity between the different factions. Pinto: "From now on we will stand together."

*Following is press release issued on November 22 1992:*

### TO RESIST IS TO WIN

The East Timorese community and their supporters are deeply shocked by the arrest of their National Leader Xanana Gusmao, but above all the East Timorese are determined that his arrest is in no way the end of the struggle for independence of East Timor.

Xanana is a honourable man regarded with great respect by all East Timorese as the leader of the Conselho Nacional Resistencia Maubere (CNRM). He is the symbol of freedom and independence. East Timorese people will continue to live by his creed:

"TO RESIST IS TO WIN."

Darwin's East Timorese community is deeply fearful that the capture of Xanana will result in his torture or even death, as has been the case with East Timorese civilians and political prisoners by the Indonesian armed forces over the last 17 years.

We demand:

1. Immediate access to Xanana Gusmao by the International Red Cross and the International Commission of Jurists.
2. The release of Xanana Gusmao to a third country of his own choice.
3. Xanana's participation in the peace talks which will take place on December 17 under auspices of the United Nations.

Further information, demands, a profile of and poetry by Xanana will be released today, 22nd November at a press conference at the Indonesian Consul's house, Gardens Hill Crescent at 1 PM

There will be a statement handed over to the Consul General along with a questions to be answered by the Indonesian Government. An identical copy will be sent to the Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, and the Secretary General of the United Nations.

*In the letter to the Indonesian Consul the following questions are added to the demands mentioned in the press release above.*

1. Given that it is contrary to minimum standards of International Law to hold a political prisoner incommunicado, it is required to know where Xanana Gusmao is held and if plans have been made to change his place of detention, then where will he be moved next?
2. Has Xanana Gusmao been charged with any offence under Indonesian law? If so, the what is the offence?
3. Given that it is contrary to minimum standards of International law to hold a political prisoner for any length of time than is necessary, when -if it is the case- will he be charged and brought before a court?
4. What arrangements have been or will be made to provide Xanana Gusmao with a lawyer of his choice?
5. Will the Indonesian Government provide immediate access to Xanana Gusmao by representatives of the International Committee of Red Cross, International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International and Lembaga Bantuan Hukum.

We request that answers to these questions should be provided to the Australian Embassy in Jakarta immediately.

## AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

*MEDIA RELEASE 22 November 1992*

### COUNCIL URGES XANANA GUSMAO'S RELEASE TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND REPORTS OTHER ARRESTS IN DILI

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid [ACFOA] said today that the United Nations should seek the immediate release into UN custody of the captured East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmao, and should involve him in talks on the conflict scheduled to be held in New York on 17 December.

ACFOA notes reports that the UN Secretary-General, Mr Boutros- Ghali, and the Presidents of France and Portugal have called for Mr Gusmao's release and welcomes Indonesian government assurances

that Mr Gusmao has not and will not be harmed.

"However, we remain very concerned for his personal welfare because of his long-standing conflict with the Indonesian military and past cases in Indonesia of death in military custody. The UN, which does not recognise Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, should intervene to give him protective custody", said ACFOA spokesperson, Mr Pat Walsh.

"It is not enough to call on Indonesia to deal with him according to Indonesian law, as Australia has done. This can only result in a long prison sentence and convert Mr Gusmao into a Nelson Mandela figure. Any harm to Mr Gusmao would undoubtedly provoke strong feelings in East Timor and bring down the wrath of the international community. In the meantime Mr Gusmao should be given 24 hour access by International Red Cross officials from Dili or Jakarta depending on his present whereabouts", Mr Walsh said.

"Mr Gusmao, as widely respected spokesperson for the East Timorese people, holds the key to a proper resolution of this conflict. He is a moderate who has repeatedly offered to talk with Jakarta to end the conflict. He is not a troublemaker, but a peacemaker whom the UN should involve in peace talks if this issue is to be resolved", said Mr Walsh.

ACFOA is also concerned at reports that the family in Lahane, Dili, where Xanana Gusmao was staying at the time of his arrest on Friday morning, has been arrested. All the members of Constancia Araujo's family, with the exception of an elderly woman, are believed to have been arrested. People from the neighbourhood are also reported to have been taken in. Their whereabouts and situation are unknown.

"We call on the Australian Government to make immediate enquiries about the situation of these people and to ensure that they are given total access by the International Red Cross and that their basic rights are respected according to international standards", said Mr Walsh.

"Australia should also ensure the welfare of Mr Gusmao's parents and five sisters and brother who live in Dili and Jakarta", said Mr Walsh.

**FURTHER INFORMATION:** Pat Walsh Tel: (61 3) 4177505 (h): (61-3) 4811581. ACFOA: 14 Napier Close, Deakin, ACT 2600; Private Bag 3, Deakin ACT 2600, Australia. Tel: (61 6) 2851720; Email: APC networks peg:acfoa

## FREE EAST TIMOR RALLY IN TORONTO SATURDAY

The East Timor Alert Network will sponsor a rally to protest against the recent arrest of East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao by Indonesian soldiers. ETAN is calling on Canada to intervene to ensure Xanana, the Nelson Mandela of East Timor, is treated in accord with international standards while in prison, and not tortured as is routine for Indonesian prisoners. We are also calling for him to be released to a third country and allowed to take part in peace talks on East Timor at the United Nations.

Rally, 28 November, 2 p.m. at Barbara McDougall's constituency office, 21 Vaughan Rd. Toronto (west from Bathurst one block, south of St Clair) Details: call (416) 531-6154.

This rally will also mark 17 years since East Timor declared its independence from Portugal. Ten days after the declaration, Indonesia invaded East Timor. One third of the population has died since.

There will also be a rally on Saturday in Guelph, Ont. at the constituency office of Tory MP Bill Winegard.

## EAST TIMOR MASSACRE REMEMBERED WORLDWIDE

*The ACTivist (Canada) #17, December 92*

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers gunned down a crowd of unarmed Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor. According to an exhaustive study undertaken by Timorese activists in Dili and released by the Lisbon-based ecumenical group Peace is Possible in East Timor, 273 Timorese were killed in the massacre, while 382 were wounded and 250 disappeared.

Despite the protests of Western governments at the time, it is now back to business as usual between the West and Indonesia. The first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre was marked as a day of mourning and protest around the world.

– In Canada, the East Timor Alert Network co-ordinated a nationwide day of vigils for peace in East Timor. Seventy people picketed the offices of Garuda Indonesian Airlines in Vancouver Another 70 gathered on Parliament Hill in Ottawa and marched to a weapons dealers' convention at a local hotel, in an event co-sponsored with the Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade. Marchers called on Canada to stop selling arms to Indonesia and other human rights violators. A vigil at the Toronto Indonesian Consulate attracted 35 people from ETAN groups in Toronto and

Hamilton. Vigils were also held at Guelph University, Asamera Oil in Calgary, and the Santa Cruz parish in Montreal.

ETAN and the Canadian Peace Alliance combined to publish an open letter to the government of Canada on Nov. 12 in the Ottawa Citizen and Vancouver Sun. The letter was signed by more than 30 organizations (from 8 provinces and one territory) and more than 100 individuals, including Nobel prize winner John Polanyi, writer June Callwood and Timothy Findley, ecologist David Suzuki, singers Bruce Cockburn and Raffi, Maude Barlow, Catholic Bishops Remi De Roo of Victoria and John Sherlock of London, Ont., Canadian Council of Churches president Bruce McLeod, Iona Campagnolo, Ursula Franklin, and 13 members of parliament, including the human rights critics of the Liberal and new Democratic Parties. Representatives of all the major Canadian churches signed the letter.

– In Malaysia, Nov. 12 was marked by the first public event of the newly-formed East Timor Information Network, followed by a candlelight vigil. Over 100 Malaysians signed a strong statement opposing their government's alliance with Indonesia, a remarkable feat in a country where freedom of speech is extremely limited. Every Catholic church in Penang, where ETIN is based, dedicated a special mass to the people of East Timor on Nov. 15, the first Sunday after the anniversary.

"We will organize more of such activities to counteract the media blackout which has so far prevented more Malaysians from learning about the unspeakable military atrocities which are occurring right on our doorstep," said an ETIN spokesperson.

– The Free East Timor! coalition in Japan presented a petition with 60,000 signatures to the Japanese parliament, calling for Japan to link its aid to Indonesia (Japan is the number one aid donor, giving \$1.3 billion) conditional on Indonesia leaving East Timor. The coalition also held a demonstration at the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo and launched a speaking tour of three Timorese refugee women.

– In the United States, an interfaith service and demonstration were staged in New York City by the East Timor Action Network, which was formed less than one year ago in response to the Santa Cruz massacre. Showings of Cold Blood, the documentary of the massacre, were held in several campuses from California to Rhode Island.

– Portugal marked the Nov. 12 with a national day of mourning. Every school in the country held a special debate on East Timor. Members of all parties in the Portuguese parliament spoke up for the

rights of the East Timorese. President Mario Soares re-iterated his country's demand for a referendum on independence for East Timor. Peace is Possible planted 271 crosses in a Lisbon park to represent the dead, and published their names in Lisbon newspaper ads.

– In England, an all-party motion marking the anniversary and calling for the British government to back human rights in East Timor was tabled in the House of Commons. The British Coalition for East Timor organized a candlelight vigil and interfaith service in London and many events in smaller centres around the country.

– Angry protests were held all around Australia, East Timor's nearest neighbour after Indonesia. The largest demonstrations took place in Darwin and Sydney.

– Tight surveillance of activists prevented a remembrance in Indonesia, but the underground Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights made its position clear with an open letter to visiting Australian parliamentarians signed by co-ordinator Saleh Abdullah. INFIGHT called for a referendum in East Timor and for aid to be linked with human rights. "Welcome to Indonesia," the letter said, "where workers are forbidden to organize, where political and civil rights are repressed, where detainees are tortured, sometimes to death. Welcome to a country where to speak out and to organize means jail."

– Nov. 12 was also marked in Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries.

## SILENT MOUTHS IN TIMOR

Indonesian authorities in East Timor took a hard line to ensure there would be no protests in the territory on the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. Indonesia's new governor of East Timor, José Abilio Osorio Soares, set the tone by telling an Indonesian newspaper that no-one should have been allowed to escape the cemetery alive last Nov. 12. "As far as I'm concerned, I think far more should have died," he said. "Why did only that number die? Why not all the one thousand?"

Brig.-Gen. Theo Syafei, who heads the ten Indonesian battalions in East Timor, is similarly unrepentant. "If something similar to the 12 November event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher," he said earlier this year. In the last week of October, at least 1,000 Timorese – some reports say as many as 5,000 – were arrested in house-to-house searches and held for short interrogations. Amnesty International, barred from visiting East Timor in late October, reported that the human rights situation continues to

deteriorate. "Torture and ill-treatment of prisoners continues to be both widespread and routine," Amnesty said.

With special permits required to visit the Santa Cruz cemetery and remembrance masses banned by government decree, no commemoration was possible. The silence of the people on Nov. 12, however, was eloquent in itself.

"For us the youth, it is an important day, our anniversary," one young woman told a Reuter reporter. "We will remember it but we fear to do so openly."

#### GENERAL FLEES U.S.

Indonesian general Sintong Panjaitan, who was head of the eastern Indonesia military command (which includes East Timor) last November, has fled the United States rather than face a lawsuit for his part in the massacre. A suit had been brought against Sintong, resident in Boston since he was made the scapegoat for the massacre and dismissed from his command, by the Centre for Constitutional Rights. The centre was acting on behalf of Helen Todd, the mother of slain New Zealand citizen Kamal Bamadhaj, the sole non-Timorese victim at Santa Cruz.

#### HEAP: END AID TO INDONESIA

Toronto NDP MP Dan Heap has introduced a private member's bill calling on the Canadian government to end all economic aid and weapons sales to Indonesia. In 1991, Canada gave Indonesia \$46 million in aid (third among all recipients of Canadian aid dollars) and made direct military sales valued at \$28,000. Heap's bill is one of many in the House that must be selected from for debate. Letters of support for the bill should be sent to Dan Heap, House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6 (postage free).

#### ACTION ALERT

Early this morning, the Indonesian news agency ANTARA reported that Indonesian soldiers had captured East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. Amnesty International has stated that it is gravely concerned that Xanana is being tortured at this moment.

ETAN is asking that Xanana's be treated humanely. The International committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) should be granted immediate access, and a lawyer of Xanana's choice should be present while he is being questioned, as provided for under Indonesian law (but rarely respected in East Timor). International conventions on torture should be respected, particularly in this case.

Furthermore, Xanana should be released to take part in the peace talks on East Timor now being conducted at the United Nations

in New York. Under UN resolutions on East Timor, the UN is required to include representatives of the Timorese people in talks leading towards self-determination. There is no one who can speak for the Timorese with more knowledge than Xanana Gusmao.

Please ask Canada's External Affairs Minister, Barbara MacDougall, to speak out in this case. Send faxes to her at (613)995-3443 (department office, Ottawa) and (416)653-9007 (constituency office, Toronto), and send a copy to ETAN/Toronto at (416)531-5850. Faxes can also be sent to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at (212)963-4879 and Indonesian president Suharto at 62/21-36-7781, 62/21-36-7782, or 62/21-36-0501.

### ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU CALLS FOR XANANA'S RELEASE

*Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called today, 26 November 1992, for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader who was arrested on 20 November. In a letter to General Try Sutrisno, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the Archbishop's Personal Assistant wrote:*

"His Grace, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu has just been informed about the arrest of Mr Gusmao by your army.

Needless to say the Archbishop is shocked and alarmed that a man, who is generally considered the symbol of the perfect solution to the problems regarding East Timor should instead be incarcerated by your government.

His Grace urges you to adopt the necessary measures to locate Xanana and to release him immediately and to ensure his physical and psychological integrity at all times."

### WHERE IS XANANA?

According to a report just received (Nov. 27) by TAPOL, which we have not been able to check, Xanana is now believed to be in Wisma Bayu a detention centre or prison perhaps, or maybe an army barracks. Wisma Bayu is close to the Denpasar, Bali airport in Kuta, and accordingly, it's in the military complex of the Udayana, a place for detention and interrogation.

The man in charge is Colonel Hasibuan, phone no. 62.361.51211.

### JOSÉ AMORIM DIAS' FORMER HOME RAIDED

*Source: José Amorim, via Agir Pour Timor, 27 Nov.*

Possible date of event: 23 Nov. 1992

1. Two uniformed Indonesian soldiers in a military vehicle, under the command of Captain Batubara, no 395532 from MABES ABRI (Armed Forces Headquarters), went to the former lodging of Jose Antonio Amorim Dias in Jakarta and seized all his personal documents, letters and books. One of his friends, Antonio de Sousa Lopes, who also lived in the house, is being sought by KODAM, the Jakarta military command.

2. Jose Amorim, an East Timorese student, lived in Jakarta for several years. He participated in the 19 November 1991 demonstration in Jakarta, a week after the Santa Cruz massacre. He was arrested but was released after a few days. He managed to leave Indonesia earlier this year and has since been speaking out about the situation in East Timor. He is now the representative in Europe of the CNRM.

2. All of Jose's belongings are now in the KODAM military command. Due to this incident, he fears that his family in Dili and other friends may soon be arrested.

3. Jose Amorim Dias calls on the ICRC, Amnesty International and TAPOL and to monitor the situation of his family and friends.

Additional information from TAPOL:

A report from Jakarta today says that many East Timorese there are under intense pressure; they are being hunted down and moving from house to house to evade arrest.

Pat Walsh of the ACFOA human rights sub-committee was refused entry into Indonesia this week. He was planning to attend an INGI meeting.

### RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUES

*Comment: This is a very strong resolution which coming from the Federation carries much weight.*

*— Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor*

*The International Federation of Human Rights issued the following statement (original French, English Agir pour Timor's translation):*

The executive office of the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (IFHR), meeting Wednesday 25 November 1992, protests vigorously against the ar-

rest, detention and inculpation of Mr Xanana Gusmao, Head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), eight members of his family and members of the families of Fretilin leaders, which took place in Dili on the 20th of November.

The IFHR recalls that these arrests are in the context of massive and systematic violations committed by the Indonesian government since 1975 against the Timorese population, at the origin of the assassination of several hundreds of thousands of persons, and that these violations were denounced by the United Nations Sub-Commission of Human Rights during its August 1992 session in Geneva.

Consequently, the IFHR asks the Indonesian authorities:

- for the unconditional and immediate release of Mr Xanana Gusmao, but also the totality of people detained for the sole motive of their participating the struggle for national liberation of East Timor
- reiterates its demand of immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the occupied territory of East Timor, and organisation under the auspices of the United Nations and in the shortest delays of a referendum of self-determination for the Timorese people
- also asks for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to decide, as a conservatory measure, an international embargo on arm sales to Indonesia, on the basis of article 41 of the United Nations Charter
- reiterates, in conformity with the resolution adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Sub-Commission for struggle against discriminative measures and protection of minorities in August 1992, its demand to the Indonesian Government to facilitate the access of humanitarian and human rights organisations to East Timor.

Paris, 25 November 1992

## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL RELEASES AND REPORTS

### NEWS RELEASE, 20 NOV. 1992

Xanana Gusmao, the leader of East Timor's independence movement, Fretilin (sic), was arrested by Indonesian military forces at 6 a.m. today (20 Nov. 1992) in Dili. It is not yet known where he is detained but, shortly after his arrest, government sources said that he was "undergoing intensive questioning" or military interrogation. Shortly after the arrest was announced Portugal, a United Nations (UN) member state, urged the UN Secretary-General to

seek guarantees for the safety of Xanana Gusmao.

In view of a consistent pattern of torture and ill-treatment of East Timorese political prisoners while under interrogation, Amnesty International is deeply concerned for the safety of Xanana Gusmao. The organization is particularly concerned that, because of Xanana's position as commander of the armed resistance, Indonesian military authorities may employ torture to extract political and military intelligence.

Amnesty International is seeking immediate guarantees from the Indonesian authorities that Xanana Gusmao will be treated humanely while in detention; that representatives of the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) will be granted immediate and unconditional access to his place of detention; and that he will be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choice while being interrogated, as required by Indonesian law.

### UA: LEGAL CONCERN/FEAR OF TORTURE

#### Arrests

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: ASA 21/17/92

Distr.: UA/SC

UA 366/92 23 November 1992

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR

Xanana Gusmao, 45  
Rufina Conceicao Araujo (female), 74  
Augusto Pereira, 43, husband and  
Alianca de Araujo (female), 40, wife  
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22  
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21  
Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano  
(female), 18  
Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17

Xanana Gusmao, leader of East Timor's independence movement, the Conselho Nacional de Resistencia Maubere (National Council of Maubere Resistance), was arrested by Indonesian military forces at 6 am on 20 November 1992 in Dili, East Timor. Xanana Gusmao is currently being held in incommunicado detention and there are fears that he may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment by the Indonesian security forces.

Seven members of the Araujo family, including a 74-year-old woman, Rufina Conceicao Araujo, were reportedly arrested along with Xanana Gusmao, who was at the Araujo family residence when the arrests took place. The whereabouts of the seven have not been clarified by the authorities and Amnesty International fears that they too may be in danger of torture or ill-treatment.

Unconfirmed reports have indicated that Xanana Gusmao has been transferred from Dili to Jakarta or Bali, but there has been no official announcement of his place of detention. Government sources have said that he is "undergoing intensive questioning" or military interrogation and, on 22 November, rejected Amnesty International's calls for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to be allowed immediate access to Xanana Gusmao. A military spokesman stated that the captured political leader was being treated well but that "for the time being" nobody would be allowed to see him. The spokesman also said that Xanana Gusmao would eventually be brought to trial, but the exact charges against him remain unknown.

Amnesty International has documented a consistent pattern of torture and ill-treatment of East Timorese political detainees while under interrogation; under such circumstances, assurances by military officials cannot be accepted as sufficient guarantee of the safety of those detained. Xanana's position as commander of the armed resistance, Falintil, makes him particularly vulnerable to intimidation or torture as the Indonesian military authorities may wish to extract political and military intelligence about the independence movement in East Timor. The authorities' refusal to allow ICRC representatives and independent lawyers to visit Xanana Gusmao increases fears for his safety.

Amnesty International is seeking immediate guarantees from the Indonesian authorities that Xanana Gusmao is being treated humanely while in detention; that ICRC representatives will be granted immediate and unconditional access to him; and that he will be accompanied by lawyers of his own choice while being interrogated, as required by Indonesian law. Amnesty International is also urging the government to clarify the whereabouts of members of the Araujo family, to guarantee their safety and to release them all immediately if detained solely for their peaceful political views or activities.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975 in the aftermath of Portugal's withdrawal from its former colony. Since that time Amnesty International has continued to document serious human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory, including extrajudicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance" and political imprisonment.

In November 1991 more than 100 people were killed, and many others "disappeared", after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a peaceful procession at the Santa Cruz

cemetery in Dili. The human rights situation has not improved in the year since the massacre. Prior to the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1992, hundreds of real and suspected opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor were reportedly arrested by Indonesian security forces.

The United Nations has not recognized Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. Talks between Indonesia and Portugal concerning the political future of the territory are scheduled to resume on 17 December 1992 under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General. It is not yet clear whether East Timorese representatives will eventually participate in the talks. East Timorese have urged that Xanana Gusmao will be permitted to leave the country in order to represent East Timor in these talks and in other international discussions about the future of the territory.

#### RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/ express and airmail letters either in English or in your own language:

- expressing concern for the safety of Xanana Gusmao and seven members of the Araujo family, arrested in Dili, East Timor, on 20 November 1992;
- seeking guarantees that all will be treated humanely while in detention;
- urging that representatives of the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) be granted immediate and unconditional access to their place of detention;
- seeking assurances that all the detainees will be accompanied by a lawyer of their own choice while being interrogated, as required by Indonesian law;
- urging the government to release immediately and unconditionally all those detained solely for their peaceful political views or activities.

#### APPEALS TO

General Try Sutrisno  
[Salutation: Dear General Try]  
Commander of the Armed Forces  
Markas Besar ABRI  
Cilangkap, East Jakarta, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Gen. Sutrisno, Markas Besar Abri, Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: + 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ); + 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ); + 62 21 35 6404

Ali Alatas  
[Salutation: Dear Minister Alatas]  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Kementerian Luar Negeri  
Jl. Taman Pejambon 6  
Jakarta, Indonesia

Telegrams: Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Alatas, Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: + 62 21 36 7781; + 62 21 36 7782

Brig Gen Theo Syafei  
[Salutation: Dear Brig Gen Syafei]  
Markas Besar KOREM 164  
Dili, East Timor  
Telegrams: Brig Gen Syafei, Dili, East Timor

Maj. Gen. H.B.L. Mantiri  
[Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Mantiri]  
Markas Besar KODAM IX  
Udayana  
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Maj Gen Mantiri, Udayana, Bali, Indonesia

#### PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation  
JL. Diponegoro 74  
Jakarta 10320, Indonesia

and to the diplomatic representative in your country. The address of the diplomatic representative in the UK is as follows:

His Excellency Teuku Mohammad Hadi Thayeb  
Embassy of Indonesia  
38 Grosvenor Square  
London W1X 9AD

In the USA:  
Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly  
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia  
2020 Massachusetts Ave NW  
Washington DC 20036

#### AI 367/92 ARBITRARY DETENTION/ 23 NOV. 1992

#### Fear of Torture and Ill-treatment

##### INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:

Abilio Baptista  
Afonso Maria  
Antonio  
Avalino Baptista  
Fernando Conceicao  
Fernando  
Francisco Goncalves  
Henrique Guterres  
Ildefonso Soares  
Jorge Cortinnal  
Mario Miranda  
Pascal Soares  
Rui Miranda  
Vitor Viegas

Amnesty International is deeply concerned for the safety of some of the hundreds of East Timorese detained by Indonesian military and police forces in recent weeks. Many of those arrested as suspected opponents of Indonesian rule prior to the anniversary of the November 1991

Santa Cruz massacre were released after interrogation, but the fourteen people named above, and possibly many others, are reported to remain in custody. The precise whereabouts of the fourteen are currently unknown, heightening concern that they may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment.

Despite official assurances that political detainees are treated humanely and in accordance with the law, Amnesty International has documented a long-standing pattern of torture and ill-treatment of political detainees in East Timor. Moreover, Indonesian security forces routinely deny political detainees access to a lawyer, in contravention of Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP Articles 54 and 55). Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) are consistently denied access to detention centres until interrogation has been completed.

Amnesty International is urging the Indonesian authorities to release immediately all those detained in recent weeks for their peaceful political views or activities, and to make known the place of detention of all those held on criminal charges. It is calling upon the authorities to permit immediate access to those still in detention by representatives of the ICRC. The organization is also seeking guarantees that political detainees will be given immediate access to a lawyer of their own choosing, in accordance with Indonesian law.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/faxes/express and airmail letters either in English or in your own language:

- expressing concern for the safety of the above fourteen East Timorese detained in recent weeks for their real or alleged opposition to Indonesian rule in the territory;
- requesting precise information on their whereabouts, and the reasons for their arrest;
- urging the immediate release of all those detained for their peaceful political views or activities;
- calling upon the authorities to permit immediate access to those still in detention by representatives of the ICRC;
- seeking assurances that these and all other detainees will be given immediate access to a lawyer of their own choosing, in accordance with Articles 54 and 55 of Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP).

#### XANANA'S FAMILY ARRESTED

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)  
AI Index: ASA 21/19/92, Distr: UA/SC

24 November 1992

Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - Legal Concern/Fear of Torture

**INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:**

Xanana Gusmao, 45  
Rufina Conceicao Araujo (female), 74  
Augusto Pereira, 43) husband and  
Alianca de Araujo (female), 40) wife  
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22  
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21  
Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano,  
(female), 18  
Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17

**and new names:**

Armadina Gusmao (female)  
Gilman Exposto  
Two children, aged 13 and 15

Close relatives of Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader captured on 20 November 1992, have reportedly been arrested by Indonesian security forces in Dili. According to family members living abroad, Xanana Gusmao's sister, Armadina Gusmao, was arrested early this morning (24 November), together with her husband, Gilman Exposto and two of their children, a girl aged 13 and a boy aged 15.

It is not known where the four are being held, and there is concern that they may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment while under interrogation by Indonesian security forces. There is also concern for the safety of three other children from the same family, and three of Xanana Gusmao's sisters, Felismina, Manuela, and Filomena, all of whom reside in Dili and who may be in danger of arbitrary arrest at any time.

The Indonesian authorities have yet to clarify the whereabouts of, or to announce the charges to be filed against, Xanana Gusmao and the seven members of the Araujo family arrested with him on 20 November 1992.

Amnesty International is urging the Indonesian authorities: to make known immediately the whereabouts of all those named above; to permit representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) immediate access to their places of detention; to ensure that all those currently in detention are granted immediate access to a lawyer of their choice in accordance with Indonesia's Code of Criminal Procedure; and to release immediately all those detained solely for their peaceful political activities or beliefs, or because of their family ties to Xanana Gusmao.

**FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:**

Please send telegrams/telexes/ faxes/ express and airmail letters either in English or your own language:

- expressing concern for the safety of Armadina Gusmao, her husband Gilman Exposto and two of their children (a girl aged 13 and a boy aged 15) who were all arrested on 24 November 1992 following the arrest of Armadina's brother, Xanana Gusmao, on 20 November 1992;

(The rest is the same as above.)

**AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL  
CONFIRMS FURTHER ARRESTS**

*EXTERNAL (for general distribution)AI  
Index: ASA 21/20/92. Distr: UA/SC*

26 November 1992

*Some corrections have been made in spelling of names.*

*Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - and follow-up ASA 21/19/92 of 24 November 1992 - Arbitrary detention/fear of torture*

**INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:**

Xanana Gusmao, 45  
Rufina Conceicao Araujo (female), 74  
Augusto Pereira, 43 ) husband and  
Aliana de Araujo (female), 40 ) wife  
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22  
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21  
Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano,  
(female), 18

Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17  
Armadina Gusmao (Xanana's sister)  
Gilman Exposto dos Santos  
(Armadina's husband)  
Two of their children, probably Priscilla (13) and Milton (15).

and new names: Olandina Caeiro Alves (female) (friend of Armandina Gusmao)  
Oscar Lima (friend of Olandina Caeiro)  
Americo

At least three more people are reported to have been arrested in the wake of the capture of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, who remains in incommunicado detention.

Olandina Caeiro Alves, Oscar Lima and Americo were reportedly arrested on 25 November by Indonesian security forces. The whereabouts of the three are unknown. There are fears that these three and all those named above may be tortured or ill-treated while in military or police custody.

Reports of the arrest of Xanana's father and brother, both named Manuel Gusmao, Xanana's sister Felismina and her husband Manuel Martins, have yet to be confirmed and there is concern for their safety.

The authorities have confirmed that Xanana Gusmao is being held in police custody in Bali but his exact place of detention remains unknown. Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have apparently not yet been

permitted to visit Xanana or the others in detention. Human rights lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH) have expressed their willingness to defend Xanana Gusmao but they too have been denied access.

The emerging pattern of arrests suggests that the Indonesian military may be using the capture of Xanana as a pretext for further intimidation and harassment of the East Timorese population. The arbitrary arrest and detention of relatives or associates of the Gusmao family may also be intended to exert undue pressure on Xanana while under interrogation.

**FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:**

Please send telegrams/faxes/express and airmail letters in English or your own language:

- expressing concern for the safety of Olandina Caeiro Alves, Oscar Lima and Americo, arrested on 25 November following the capture of Xanana Gusmao;  
(rest same as earlier alerts)

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**ACTIVITIES IN FRANCE**

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**FROM AGIR POUR TIMOR,  
PARIS**

*The following appeal was sent Friday 20 November by Agir pour Timor, Paris, to a number of NGOs:*

**APPEAL**

1. The joint communiqués of three press agencies (AFP, Antara, Reuter) seem to confirm the imprisonment, in Dili, East Timor, of Kayrala Xanana Gusmao, leader of the Timorese Resistance.

2. For 17 years, in a total isolation, the Timorese have been fighting against the Indonesian armed forces, a Resistance that Xanana Gusmao has personified since 1980.

3. While they do not recognise the invasion and annexation of the territory by Indonesia, the UN and its Member States have, all along these years, only admitted an illegitimate situation that already cost their lives to more than two hundred thousand persons. The massacre of young demonstrators in the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili, on the 12 November 1991 (271 dead, 382 wounded, 250 disappeared, 364 imprisoned) is for this tragic story only a last example.

4. Now, it is the person responsible for this situation, Indonesian President General Suharto who will be, next Tuesday 24 November, the interlocutor of the French President, Mr Francois Mitterrand.

5. We ask you to convey your concern at the Presidency and to demand:

- respect for the individual rights of the person of Xanana Gusmao;
- the immediate opening of the Timorese territory, closed since the massacre of 1991;
- an international inquiry commission of the Santa Cruz massacre;
- that France stops its abstentionist policy in international instances and all its economic aid to Indonesia.

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## VISIT OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO IN FRANCE

*The following press release was faxed on Nov. 23rd by Agir pour Timor to a number of media and NGOs. For technical reasons, political parties and trade unions were not included in the list.*

1. Xanana Gusmao, leader of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM), was arrested in Dili on Nov. 23. The Indonesian army declared that he would undergo "intensive interrogation." Eight members of his family were also arrested, as well as members of Fretilin leading personalities. Round-ups of hundreds of people are taking place at this very moment in East Timor.

2. General Suharto, the President of Indonesia, is on an official visit in France to "discuss how Indonesia's experience in family planning and rural development could be used in Africa in a triangular cooperation scheme with France," and to "discuss the situation in Cambodia." Indonesia shares with France the presidency of the peace conference on Cambodia.

3. France, a supplier to Indonesia of weapons it has used in its war against East Timor since 1975, prepares to sell it new ones, competing with the United Kingdom.

A. Indonesia's experience in family planning corresponded in East Timor, beyond the death of 200 000 to 300 000 persons over a population of 700 000 before the 1975 invasion, to the systematic rape of Timorese women by the Army and forced contraception campaigns. Its experience in rural development corresponded to large scale famines, fallow lands and a massive deforestation due to the war. Indonesia's genocidal experience qualifies this country as co-chair of the peace conference on Cambodia.

B. We lament that the French media, as usual, gave a quasi-nil coverage to Xanana Gusmao's arrest.

C. We call to the immediate halt of round-ups in East Timor and protection of the civilian population against the military by a United Nations peacekeeping force.

D. We ask for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmao, who must participate, together with Dili's Apostolic administrator, Mgr Belo, to the negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations, and for guarantees regarding his physical and mental integrity.

E. We ask for the immediate reopening of the territory, which was closed to foreign journalists and most foreigners last February.

F. We ask that an international and independent inquiry commission of the 12 November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre be at last created.

G. We request the French government to stop immediately to sell arms to Indonesia and to suspend its economic aid. We ask it to stop its abstentionist policy in international instances, conformally to Francois Mitterrand's statements.

Besides, a delegation of Agir pour Timor, accompanied by José Amorim Dias, CNRM representative for the EC, will go tomorrow at 16.45 to Hotel Crillon, in order to give President Suharto the list of the 271 dead, 382 wounded, 250 disappeared and 364 "arrested" of November 12, 1991 in Dili, East Timor.

Paris, November 23 1992.

*Comment: Suharto has a heavy schedule in France, meeting all major political personalities. We had planned to present the list in front of the National Assembly where he was supposed to meet its president, Henri Emmanuelli, at 16.30. Yesterday 23rd we learned that the program had had major changes and it was impossible to have more specific details. Fortunately we finally learned that he met many personalities in his hotel rather than going to meet them. The Hotel Crillon is not far from the National Assembly so we didn't have to make major changes to our plans. After rushing to hotel Crillon at 16.30, Emmanuelli will rush back to the National Assembly to meet Rigoberta Menchu, the 1992 Peace Nobel prize, at 17.00. Unfortunately we learned this late in the evening, too late to exploit this remarkable coincidence.*

Bruno

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## FRANCE: 'COMPREHENSIVE' SOLUTION

According to a November 24 Reuter story datelined Paris, France urged Indonesia on Tuesday to agree to comprehensive talks on East Timor, which Jakarta annexed in 1976 in a move still not recognised by the United Nations.

President Francois Mitterrand briefly raised the highly sensitive subject at a lunch

with visiting Indonesian President Suharto, officials at Mitterrand's Elysée palace said.

The officials would not elaborate on Mitterrand's call for "comprehensive" talks, which come before discussions at the United Nations between Indonesia and East Timor's former colonial master, Portugal, on December 17.

This meeting was called to discuss East Timor's future, but so far Jakarta has resisted calls to allow the Timorese pro-independence group Fretilin to participate.

French officials said Xanana's arrest and the issue of East Timor were not raised in talks Suharto held earlier with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

The French officials said East Timor appeared to be peripheral to Suharto's discussions on the world economy and the United Nations' peace-keeping operation in Cambodia.

The main topics of Dumas' discussions with Suharto were this week's meeting of the Group of 15 most industrialised countries in Dakar and world trade talks under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

They also discussed the U.N. peace-keeping operation in Cambodia. France and Indonesia both helped set up last year's peace conference that resulted in a fragile settlement between Cambodia's warring parties.

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## TIMOR 'DOMINATES' FRANCE TALKS

*Remark: This gives a different perspective from an earlier story on the amount of time consumed by East Timor in the Mitterrand-Suharto talks.*

— John

According to a November 24 AFP story datelined Paris, the former Portuguese colony of East Timor dominated talks here Tuesday between Indonesia's President Suharto and French President Francois Mitterrand, French sources said.

Mitterrand asked Suharto, here on a two-day visit after the G-15 developing nations summit in Dakar, to "show understanding" at the East Timor talks that resume in New York next month between Jakarta and Lisbon, the sources said.

Suharto's visit is the first to France in 20 years by an Indonesian head of state, but the two countries have close relations, notably over the Cambodian peace conference of which they are co-sponsors.

The sources would not say whether France had backed E.C. partner Portugal's request that Xanana Gusmao, the jailed leader of the East Timor Revolutionary Liberation Front, attend — as requested by



Lisbon – the talks to be held on December 17 under U.N. auspices.

France and its E.C. partners have said they are “preoccupied” with the human rights situation in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed in 1976.

French sources said the two leaders also discussed North-South and South-South co-operation, while the two countries’ foreign ministers, Ali Alatas of Indonesia and Roland Dumas of France, co-hosts of the Cambodia peace conference, reviewed the situation in the southeast Asian country.

Dumas and Alatas also discussed the possibility of economic cooperation, particularly in the agricultural field, between African nations, France and Indonesia, which holds the rotating presidency of the Non-aligned Nations conference, the sources said.

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### MITTERRAND: INCLUDE TIMORESE IN TALKS

According to a November 24 DPA story datelined Paris, Indonesian head of state Suharto met French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris Tuesday for talks which included the situation in East Timor, a French spokesman said.

The French president asked for the Timorese rebel movement Fretilin to be included in the United Nations chaired talks that are due to start in New York on December 17, the spokesman said.

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### SOEHARTO’S PARIS APPOINTMENTS CANCELLED

*From Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, Nov. 24. Brief report on Tuesday 24 November in Paris:*

1. A delegation of 3 persons, 2 from Agir pour Timor and José Amorim Dias, CNRM representative for the EC, went to Suharto’s hotel (Hotel Crillon) at 16.30 to deliver him the list of victims of the Santa Cruz massacre, as compiled by clandestine networks and the Portuguese NGO A Paz e Possivel em Timor Leste.

2. It was not possible to meet Suharto or any of his staff. The hotel staff called his suite twice and nobody answered.

3. As the time was pressing for Amorim to go to Rigoberta Menchu’s press conference in the National Assembly at 17.00, it was decided to leave the list in an envelope at the reception of the hotel for Suharto.

4. While we were rushing away from the hotel to the place of the press conference, about 16.50 a train of cars approached the hotel. Members of Agir pour Timor waiting

outside (about 15) took this opportunity to display posters and shout slogans demanding the liberation of Xanana Gusmao.

5. Immediately the police came to prevent them. Some of the Indonesian security joined, grabbing and tearing posters and holding some demonstrators. (It is no clear they have legal right to do such a thing on French territory.) This was filmed by at least one television camera. One demonstrator was held in a police van for about half an hour for identity check (Alexandre Milheiro), then was released.

6. José Amorim, accompanied by a member of Agir pour Timor, attended Rigoberta Menchu’s press conference at 17.00. This possibility had been arranged at the last minute courtesy of France Libertes. He thanked Rigoberta, in the name of the Timorese people, for having talked at length about East Timor at the last UN Human Rights Subcommittee. She responded in expressing her deep concern relatively to the arrest of Xanana Gusmao and her hope for a satisfactory solution to the East Timor question. Amorim handed her the list of victims of November 12.

7. According to an Indonesian journalist, 3 of Suharto’s appointments today were cancelled: with Jacques Chirac, the Mayor of Paris; with René Monory, the President of the Senate; with Henri Emmanuelli, the President of the National Assembly. Two other appointments had already been cancelled yesterday. We don’t know the reason for these cancellations.

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### SUHARTO AND MITTERRAND DISCUSS EAST TIMOR

PARIS (NOV. 24) DPA - Indonesian head of state Suharto met French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris Tuesday for talks which included the situation in East Timor, a French spokesman said.

Mitterrand asked Suharto to “show understanding” during the forthcoming negotiations between Jakarta and Lisbon on the former Portuguese colony’s future.

The French president also asked for the Timorese rebel movement Fretilin to be included in the United Nations chaired talks that are due to start in New York on December 17, the spokesman said.

In November last year, security forces opened fire on mourners in East Timor’s capital Dili, killing at least 50 people according to official figures. Witnesses say at least 100 marchers were killed. Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

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### LETTER TO SUHARTO FROM ASTO, PARIS

FROM L’ASSOCIATION DE SOLIDARITÉ AVEC TIMOR ORIENTAL

25 November 1992

Dear Mr President

Today you end your first official visit to France since coming to power in 1965.

You are also the President of NAM.

We have followed with concern - since its invasion by your troops in 1975 - the situation in East Timor, of which Portugal is still, according to the UN, the administering power.

Since the Dili massacre perpetrated by the Indonesian army a year ago, a great number of arrests of Timorese have taken place. These bring to mind those experienced by France during the 2nd World War under the Nazi occupation.

Such procedures are contrary to international law.

A few days ago, your soldiers arrested the Leader of the CNRM, Xanana Gusmao. Your subordinates have announced that he will undergo intensive interrogation.

You knew a similar situation when, in the 1940s, you yourself were fighting the colonising power of the time.

We find it hard to understand your attitude today.

Indeed, your diplomacy often brings to mind the famous conference of Afro-Asian countries at “Bandung,” which was held in your country from 18 to 24 April 1955.

In the last statement you announced, with the other participants, that: “to fully press for the fundamental principles of human rights as defined in the UN Charter, and to take into consideration the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are goals towards which all peoples of all nations must strive.”

You also agreed to declare that “the question of people under foreign rule, for the sake of domination and exploitation, constitutes a negation of fundamental human rights.”

As you know, your recent statements prove your continued domination of a people who have never been able to exercise their right of self-determination.

We find it difficult to comprehend this double language. We very much hope, without wanting to interfere in your internal affairs, that your country will once again follow the Bandung line.

Mr President, we ask you:

1) to stop these arbitrary arrests of Timorese.

- 2) to free Xanana Gusmao, and all political prisoners.
- 3) to reopen the territory, for a long time closed to journalists and humanitarian organisations and, for the most part, foreigners.
- 4) to withdraw your occupation troops from East Timor
- 5) to allow the Timorese people to enjoy self-determination, under the organisation of the UN.

Thus Indonesia would win some credibility.

Yours faithfully etc.  
Michel Robert

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### FRANCE TIMOR POLICY PUMMELED

*Remark: Slightly abridged and edited. I have inserted some material in parentheses. – John*

IPS, Paris, Angeline Oyog, Nov. 25 - President Suharto of Indonesia winds up a two-day visit to France Wednesday, getting only what East Timor independence seeking activists describe as a mere rap on the knuckles for human rights atrocities in the annexed state.

The French government is reported to have treaded carefully around the question of Jakarta's continued occupation of East Timor, while trying to smooth the way for next month's talks in New York between Indonesia and Portugal, over the future of East Timor.

An Elysée Palace spokesperson said French President Francois Mitterrand has urged Suharto to allow the Timorese rebel group Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor) to take part in the December negotiations.

The spokesperson stressed, however, that Mitterrand did not try to dictate to Suharto over Fretilin's participation.

Observers and solidarity groups fear the December negotiations have been jeopardized by last week's arrest and detention of Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao, who was due to represent the group at the United Nations-sponsored talks.

France did express its concern over reports of human rights abuses in East Timor, the spokesperson said, but as far as René Bare, of the Solidarity Association for East Timor (ASTO, Association de Solidarité Avec Timor-Oriental) is concerned, French criticism has on the whole been too weak.

"I want France to denounce openly to Indonesia this genocide of the Timorese people," he said. "There is a large discrepancy between what France says and what it actually does."

Besides calling for the "immediate" liberation of Gusmao, both ASTO and another activist group Act for Timor (Agir pour Timor) are demanding that an independent international commission be set up to investigate the (November 12) Dili shooting.

Act for Timor says it has a list of 271 people who died in the massacre. Indonesia maintains that 50 died, 91 were wounded and 90 disappeared. (The list referred to was compiled by Em Timor-Leste A Paz E Possivel, Peace Is Possible In East Timor, a Lisbon-based human rights group which worked with clandestine networks in East Timor on the project.)

Recent figures issued by Amnesty International indicate that as a result of that incident and other forms of repression by the Indonesian authorities, between 150 and 200 East Timorese have died in the past year.

"The West has remained indifferent to the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Timorese," concluded University of Paris researcher Gabriel Defert in his just published independent academic paper "East Timor: The Forgotten Genocide."

The systematic executions, the grouping of peasants in concentration camps and the authoritarian manner of imposing family planning among the Timorese, are all examples of Jakarta's repression of a hostile population, Defert argues.

He claimed that between 250,000 and 350,000 Timorese have died, a figure which compared with a population of 700,000, makes it one of the worst cases of genocide since World War II. Yet the issue has scarcely been debated in the United Nations over the last 10 years.

"It is for economic reasons that the Western countries have allowed Indonesia to invade the territory," charged Defert, adding that Mitterrand reneged on his promise to defend the Timorese after his election in 1981.

At that time, the French Socialist President had said that if the U.N. did nothing to defend the rights of the Timorese, "France will assume this task."

Economic relations between France and Indonesia have improved recently. After Japan, France was the biggest creditor to Indonesia last year, with around 180 million dollars.

Suharto's visit to France comes in the wake of Indonesia taking over the presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement. Together with Paris, Jakarta is also the co-president of the Peace Conference on Cambodia.

Reports coming out of the two days of talks suggested that there was a lot of discussion on the peace efforts in Cambodia as

well as on North-South development cooperation.

### THE EXACT QUOTATION OF FRANCOIS MITTERRAND IS:

"... Ah, Timor. As a member of opposition, before last May I had several times the opportunity to express my concern for what happened in Timor where according to the information I had an extremely hard repression was pouncing upon a part of the population of this... of Timor, and I really believe the United Nations Organisation which has somewhat let the problem silt up should really be able to have a serious enquiry at its disposal for whatever the country involved it is not acceptable that the stronger crushes the weaker and proceeds to physical eliminations which can end in the elimination of a people.

I do not enter thereby the, say, political or international law domain of the status of East Timor, I am talking here of the defence of the right of the people and if no initiative is taken in the United Nations, France, in case of need, would assume this duty."

*This comes from a press conference in Lisbon in December 1981. The excerpt is from an RTP 1983 documentary Timor? Timur?*

*As the English translation does not let it appear clearly, the French original is "defense du droit des gens" and not "defense du droit des peuples."*

*Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor*

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### SUHARTO IN FRANCE FOR PRIVATE REASONS?

*By Bruno Kahn, Agir Pour Timor, Nov. 26*

There are some indications that Soeharto's visit to France, which was not an official 'state visit' but 'an official visit with a private character,' was concerned with possible weapons sales. Suharto was not invited by the government of France and appointments with several key French government officials were cancelled, but appointments with persons described as 'entrepreneurs' were kept. Suharto was even over an hour late for his meeting with French President Mitterrand.

If anyone has further information on France-Indonesia arms sales, please email Bruno Kahn (Agir pour Timor) at [kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr](mailto:kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr).

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## STATEMENTS FROM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

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### PRESIDENT SOARES PHONES BOUTROS-GHALI

*Original language: Portuguese Unabridged*

(Lisbon, Nov. 20, LUSA) The President of the Republic, Mario Soares, today telephoned the Secretary-General of the UN to ask the United Nations to intercede in order to protect Xanana Gusmao from being tortured.

In a statement to the press in Lisbon, Soares said that he was deeply concerned about the possibility that the leader of the East Timorese resistance might be tortured or maltreated by the Indonesian armed forces.

The head of state expressed the conviction that the international pressure and reactions that have greeted the announcement of the arrest of Xanana Gusmao will help to protect the resistance leader.

President Soares expressed the nation's solidarity with Xanana Gusmao, adding that Portugal is prepared to receive the resistance leader, in the event that he is released by the Jakarta authorities.

The Portuguese President also said that he had received the report of Xanana Gusmao's arrest "with emotion and sorrow."

According to a Reuter report from Lisbon, President Soares called for the release of Xanana in an interview with Portugal radio, TSF.

"It is necessary for all people of the world to watch closely and to exert pressure for Xanana Gusmao to be set free and to be treated with humanity and respect," the President said. He went on:

"The Indonesians are people who have no respect for human beings, it is a fierce dictatorship and they are very likely to torture Xanana Gusmao. Xanana Gusmao is a man of courage and a man of determination who was struggling for the independence of his country. I have great admiration for the Timorese leader."

### PRESS RELEASE FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL

*20 November 1992 Full text, original language English, received from the Mission of Portugal to the UN in New York.*

According to reports which have just been received, the Indonesian authorities, which are illegally occupying the territory of

East Timor, have this morning in Dili captured the leader of the Timorese resistance, Xanana Gusmao.

Xanana Gusmao has symbolized, through his courage and tenacity revealed in the carrying out of a struggle involving great risks and in adverse circumstances, the determination with which the people of East Timor have opposed the brutal Indonesian occupation.

The Portuguese government appeals to the international community for it to act, without delay, in achieving the freedom and insuring the physical integrity of Xanana Gusmao and guaranteeing that his rights as a human being be completely respected by the authorities of Indonesia.

Portugal reaffirms its determination in continuing its actions in defence of the rights and liberties of the people of East Timor, including that of being permitted to freely choose its political future, a right which they have been denied, and without which it will not be possible to bring to an end the intolerable situation which prevails in the territory.

### AFP REPORT

According to a November 20 AFP story datelined Lisbon, Portuguese president Mario Soares said Friday he was sad to learn of the arrest of East Timor independence struggle leader Xanana Gusmao, but added that Portugal was prepared to give him asylum.

Speaking to journalists, Soares also said he had telephoned U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali asking that the United Nations intercede with the government in Jakarta to prevent Gusmao's being tortured.

The United Nations has never recognised Indonesia's annexation of the territory.

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### JAPANESE DIET MEMBER SATSUKI EDA

*Office of Satsuki Eda, Okayama, Japan (Tel. 0862253551).*

*Press Release, November 21, 1991*

*By Satsuki Eda, House of Representatives, National Diet, Secretary-General of Diet Members Forum on East Timor*

It has been reported that Xanana Gusmao, Chairman of the East Timor Council of National Resistance, was arrested on November 20 in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Chairman Gusmao's arrest is extremely regrettable, and I am concerned for his safety.

Chairman Gusmao is indispensable to negotiations between the concerned parties, negotiations proposed by the United

Nations in order to seek a solution to the East Timor issue, and his safety and freedom are matters of grave international concern.

I request the Indonesian authorities to refrain from the use of torture, drugging, forced confession, or execution of Chairman Gusmao. I further call on the international community to closely follow his case.

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### EVANS WELCOMES ASSURANCES

According to a November 22 AFP story, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said late Saturday in Canberra that he welcomed assurances from Indonesian officials that Gusmao would not be ill-treated.

Evans said in a statement that the Indonesian government had confirmed the Fretilin leader had been captured in East Timor, was being held in Dili and was "safe."

He said he had telephoned the Australian ambassador in Jakarta, Philip Flood, and requested he contact Indonesian authorities and ask that Gusmao be accorded due process under Indonesian law.

Evans said Flood had requested that any formal charges be laid without delay, that Gusmao be provided with legal representation and that he not be ill-treated.

"I have now been advised by our ambassador that he has been expressly assured, at senior ministerial level, that Gusmao will be treated in accordance with Indonesian law and that he will not be ill-treated," he said. "I very much welcome these assurances."

"The (Australian) government has long emphasised to the Indonesian authorities the need for a longer term process of reconciliation between the government of Indonesia and the people of East Timor and we will continue to do so," he said.

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### LORD AVEBURY: XANANA, A PRISONER-OF-WAR

*Lord Avebury, founder of Parliamentarians for East Timor and chair of the all-party Parliamentary Human Rights Group, faxed the following letter to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on 22 November 1992:*

Dear Secretary-General,

I write about the detention of Mr Xanana Gusmao, chairman of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) and commander of Falintil, by the Indonesians in East Timor.

The Security Council and the General Assembly demanded the removal of Indonesia's armed forces from East Timor

on several occasions, and they have no jurisdiction in the territory. Any proceedings by the military against Xanana Gusmao are ultra vires, and I hope you will emphasise this point to the Indonesian authorities.

The treatment of Xanana Gusmao while he remains in detention should be governed by the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war, and this should include access by the Red Cross. Will you please ask for an immediate visit, to protect Xanana from torture.

You have made it clear that the resumption of negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia is based on Resolution 37/30, the terms of which you quote in paragraph 7 of your report to the General Assembly, A/47/435 of September 11 1992. As you point out, this requested you 'to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned.' In the absence of democratic elections, Xanana Gusmao represents the most important of the parties, namely the people of East Timor themselves. I respectfully submit that it is therefore your duty to ensure the safety of Xanana Gusmao, and that you should initiate consultations with him, notwithstanding his detention.

Yours sincerely,  
Eric Aveybury

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## US GETS ASSURANCES ON XANANA

*Remark: This remains the most concrete reaction yet seen here from the executive branch of the U.S. government re Xanana's capture. No questions relating to Indonesia or East Timor have been asked as yet in official State Department news conferences and no information has been volunteered there. – John*

Embassy of the United States of America  
Jakarta, Indonesia  
November 25, 1992

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.  
Member, Asia Watch Committee  
Asia Watch  
485 Fifth Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Rev. Moore:

Thank you for your fax message of Nov. 23 regarding the arrest and treatment of Jose Xanana Gusmao. Please rest assured we are following this issue as closely as possible, not only as a humanitarian issue, but because of its obvious impact on the East Timor problem more generally. We agree with many of the points you raise, and I have already personally conveyed our views on the importance of prompt ICRC access and the need for defense counsel to the appropriate authorities.

As you may already have heard, Indonesian television on Nov. 23 showed video footage of Mr. Gusmao apparently shortly after his arrest Nov. 20. As I recall, this is a step Asia Watch had urged the Government to take. In that footage, Mr. Gusmao appeared to be in good health. We have received assurances from various Indonesian officials that he will not be mistreated while in custody. Given the international attention his case has already generated, I believe the Indonesian Government is aware of the need to deal carefully with Mr. Gusmao.

Sincerely,  
Robert L. Barry  
Ambassador

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## U.S. CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS CAUTIONS SUHARTO

*Remark: This is the only substantive statement we have yet seen from the legislative branch of the U.S. government re Xanana's capture. Other Congressional offices may have issued statements. So far as we know, at this point all official U.S. responses have been confined to traditional human rights concerns and have not raised the matter of East Timorese – or Xanana's – participation in the U.N.-sponsored "tri-partite" talks or any other international forum. – John*

Congressional Human Rights Caucus  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
November 24, 1992

President Suharto  
Istana Negara  
Jalan Veteran  
Jakarta, Indonesia

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our concern about Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese independence movement, National Council of Maubere Resistance, who was arrested by Indonesian soldiers on November 20th in Dili.

We fear that Mr. Gusmao will suffer the same fate as other resistance leaders, such as Martinus Prawar of the Free Papua movement in Irian Jaya and Yusuf AB of the Aceh Merdeka movement. Both men were executed under mysterious circumstances without receiving a trial for the alleged offenses they committed. We urge you to contact the appropriate authorities to ensure that Mr. Gusmao is allowed access to a lawyer and that he is given a fair trial in accordance with international standards.

We are also greatly concerned that Mr. Gusmao will be subjected to abuse while in

detention on account of his opposition to Indonesian rule in East Timor. There are credible reports that torture of criminal suspects and political detainees is common in East Timor, in some instances resulting in death. We call on you to intervene with security officials to prevent the use of physical force on Mr. Gusmao while he is in custody.

We would also like to express our concern about seven members of the Araujo family who were arrested along with Mr. Gusmao. The whereabouts of the seven have not been clarified by authorities in East Timor and we are worried that they may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment. We ask that the members of the Araujo family be released if they have been detained on account of their peaceful political activities.

As you are aware, the U.S. Congress closely monitors the human rights situation in East Timor and has responded to the ongoing reports of abuse taking place there by cutting military education and training assistance to your government. In order for this assistance to be resumed, it is incumbent upon you to demonstrate a commitment to respect the human rights of the East Timorese and all Indonesian people.

We appreciate your immediate attention to our concerns.

Sincerely,  
John Porter, Co-Chairman  
Tom Lantos, Co-chairman  
Ron Machtley, Executive Member  
Tony Hall, Executive Member

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## BRITAIN WANTS TIMORESE IN TALKS

*Remark: One of the many 'downsides' of Xanana's capture for the Indonesian side is now apparent. An East Timorese interlocutor with impeccable 'authenticity' and pertinent knowledge is now available as the 'Timorese party' in all negotiations and appearances before international human rights bodies relating to East Timor – to wit, Xanana. It is hoped that additional governments will quickly grasp this lever and press it.*

– John

TAPOL report, 26 November 1992

For the first time, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has publicly stated that it favours East Timorese participation in the talks being held under UN auspices to resolve the question of East Timor, which are now under way in New York.

In a letter dated 19 November 1992 to Mr Anthony Coombs MP (Conservative), Minister of State at the FCO, Alastair Goodlad said:

"Let me therefore now assure you that we do recognise that the question of East Timorese participation or representation in the dialogue taking place under the UN Secretary General's auspices will need to be considered. It may well be raised in the next round of discussions between Portugal and Indonesia which are due to take place in December. Whilst we play a part in encouraging dialogue between the two countries, we believe that it is now for them to agree - with the UN Secretary General's help - on how to take the process forward, including the possibility of East Timorese representation. We shall continue to do what we can to encourage both parties to take a constructive approach; we share your hope that an acceptable resolution to the problem will be found."

On 28 October this year, Anthony Coombs stated in the House of Commons:

"Does he (the Minister of State) also agree that if the East Timor problem is to be resolved in the long term it is crucial that East Timor's representatives are given the opportunity to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of Indonesia and third parties, such as Britain as the President of the Community, and the Portuguese, so as to resolve their differences?"

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## BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON XANANA

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### PROFILE OF XANANA GUSMAO

*For handout at press conference in Darwin, 22 November*

For most East Timorese José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao is the living embodiment of their struggle to regain their home land. Despite his importance to East Timorese very little is known about him in Australia. Just who is this man who is respected and loved by so many? Xanana Gusmao was born into a middle class family. His father, a teacher, ensured that his son received a good education as well as reinforcing religious and humanitarian values. Xanana was lucky enough to win a coveted place at the Seminary, a prestigious school. He went on to serve the Portuguese army for three years.

Xanana also worked as a public servant. However, after the Portuguese revolution on 25th April 1974, Xanana became openly

critical of the Portuguese Administration in East Timor. He subsequently resigned from the public service and went to work as a bricklayer. This move brought Xanana closer to the working people and helped to foster his respect and understanding of them.

Given Xanana's affinity with the people of East Timor, it is no surprise that he became involved with Fretilin. At the time of the December 1975 invasion Xanana, 29 years old, married with two young children, was a junior leader of Fretilin. After the invasion he escaped to the hills to become a guerilla. His courage and skill were such that, in 1978, he emerged as the leader of the armed resistance and was elected president of Fretilin in 1981. Xanana has also been instrumental in fostering a sense of reconciliation and national unity between the different, social, cultural and political groups within East Timor. In 1986 an agreement was signed between East Timorese leaders creating an entity known as the Timorese National Convergence. This group actively promotes the establishment of a Western style democracy in East Timor. As a result of this pact, Falintil was no longer considered as being the fighting arm of Fretilin only and it was renamed as the "Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor, thus establishing the organisation as belonging to all East Timorese regardless of their political persuasions. In order to ensure the neutrality of Falintil, Xanana resigned from Fretilin on 31st December, 1988. In his letter of resignation he explained his move saying: "The Falintil has taken on in these last 11 years, their true role, that is, of defending our homeland, without links to any political party whatsoever ... Falintil are not involved in politics, but they are committed to building a free and democratic nation based on respect for the freedoms of thought, association and expression, as well as the complete respect for Universal Human Rights.

Robert Domm, an Australian journalist, interviewed Xanana Gusmao in 1990. Domm says of Xanana: "He doesn't seem to belong in the mountains, he's not the type of person you'd expect to spend 15 years there. You'd expect to find him drinking coffee and discussing politics in a sidewalk cafe in Lisbon. He's clearly a well read man, and his knowledge of world events was very good ... What struck me was the combination of the intellectual and the soldier. Xanana is a complex an intriguing character. He is a poet, peace negotiator, journalist, political theorist as well as a guerilla leader. A reluctant hero forced to become a soldier as a result of the desperate situation in East Timor.

This week a meeting is organised in Darwin to brainstorm about long-term strategies. Ideas more than welcome.  
*Contact José Gusmao FAX: 61 89 274701  
Greetings to all supporters. TO RESIST IS TO WIN. Viva Xanana!*

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## XANANA, A LIFE OF STRUGGLE AND DEDICATION

*The following biography of Xanana Gusmao will appear in the forthcoming issue of TAPOL Bulletin, No. 114, December 1992, out next week:*

FRETILIN activist Xanana Gusmao was born in Laleia, Manatuto, in 1948. He attended the Jesuit seminary in Dare and joined FRETILIN soon after its establishment in 1974. Colleagues who knew him then describe him as very reserved, absorbed by poetry and showing a capacity for political observation and analysis. During FRETILIN's de facto administration from August - December 1975, he worked at its Department of Information and was elected a member of the central committee.

After the invasion on 7 December, he stayed behind to report on the situation in Dili where brutal atrocities had occurred, and was the last central committee member to leave the capital. Once in the bush, he became a platoon commander and later secretary for the Hacsolok guerrilla base. At the time of ABRI's encirclement and annihilation campaign from 1977 till 1979, he was in charge of the Ponte Leste section, in the most easterly part of the island. Massive Indonesian bombardment broke the back of the resistance movement, decimating FRETILIN and leading to the capture or murder of almost the entire central committee, including the leader, Nicolau Lobato. Xanana Gusmao was one of the few survivors.

### Rebuilding the resistance

Along with two other survivors, Serakey and Mau Huno -who is today second-in-command of FALINTIL - Xanana Gusmao succeeded in re-establishing contact with the scattered guerrilla forces and painstakingly restored the fortunes of the resistance. In 1981, the armed resistance withstood a country-wide 'fence-of-legs' campaign by the Indonesians to round up the guerrillas. By 1982, it had again become a significant threat to Indonesia's hold on the country. Secret Indonesian military documents leaked abroad in early 1983, revealed that the resistance had created a huge network of undercover contacts with the camps where the vast majority of East Timorese people

had been herded in the course of the 1977-79 campaign of annihilation.

With his forces under intense pressure from the guerrillas and suffering high casualties, Colonel Purwanto, Indonesia's military commander in Dili sued for peace and held talks with Xanana in Lari Gutu on 21 and 23 March 1983. This led to a cease-fire, based on the understanding that Jakarta would involve the United Nations in finding a solution. The Indonesians reneged on their promise.

The cease-fire last five months and was broken when General Benny Murdani, who had taken over as armed forces commander-in-chief in April, announced that ABRI would use all forces at their disposal to destroy the guerrillas. Renewed fighting broke out in August 1983; there has been a succession of major offensives ever since.

A major objective of all these operations was the capture of Xanana Gusmao, but he succeeded in eluding them ... till 20 November 1992.

By the mid 1980s he had become a legendary guerrilla leader; with no material support from outside, the armed wing of the resistance, FALINTIL, under his leadership, had survived in the face of tremendous odds. It had close ties with the population in the occupied areas, with East Timorese students at Indonesian universities and with the movement's diplomatic front abroad.

In 1989, the resistance movement underwent structural transformation. The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) replaced the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance. Xanana resigned as a member of FRETILIN and was chosen to lead the CNRM, concurrently commander of FALINTIL. The CNRM umbrella included the two main parties, FRETILIN and the UDT, and organisations from various sections of the community.

At the end of 1988, Indonesia 'opened up' East Timor to counter international pressure about lack of access. Although access was still limited, the greater chance of contact with the outside world provided openings for young activists in the occupied areas of East Timor to campaign for independence. The new town-based resistance which took its lead from Xanana in the bush, gave the resistance a new, political dimension. These youngsters, all the product of Indonesian schooling, looked to Xanana for their inspiration.

On 27 September 1990, Robert Domm, for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, reached Xanana in his guerrilla hideout for an interview, the first meeting with the foreign media. The interview provided the first direct portrayal of the man and a comprehensive account of his assessment of ABRI's strategy and of the

difficulties under which FALINTIL was functioning. The most outstanding remark in this interview were: "To resist is to win!," a call that has been reverberated among East Timorese communities every where since hearing of their leader's arrest. [For interview, see TAPOL Bulletin No. 102, December 1990]

### XANANA: PERSONAL BACKGROUND

According to a November 21 Reuter report by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, East Timor rebel leader "Xanana" Gusmao, once a Portuguese army corporal, evaded Indonesian troops for a decade until his dramatic capture on Friday.

Xanana, a shadowy resistance figure in the years following Indonesia's 1976 annexation of the former Portuguese colony, has now been thrust into the limelight.

East Timor's newly-appointed governor Abilio Soares says he will be interrogated for information about the Fretilin movement that declared unilateral independence for the territory before engaging the invading Indonesian army in 1975.

Soares remembers Xanana as a high school friend he describes as "a very good boy who always avoided fighting. He was so patient and had no enemies whatsoever."

José Alexandre Gusmao, who took the nom de guerre "Xanana" when he became a guerrilla in 1975, helped shape Fretilin's political strategy in the 1980s.

Xanana studied journalism in Australia after leaving school. He was also reported to have worked briefly in the Portuguese colonial administration of East Timor and as a labourer in the Australian city of Darwin before returning to the territory.

Taking over Fretilin's command in 1979 on the death of its leader Nicolau Lobato, Xanana struggled to maintain the group as a fighting unit against the Indonesian army until 1983, when the two sides held peace talks for the first time.

Xanana himself led the Fretilin side but the talks collapsed in mutual recriminations after a brief cease-fire.

His next challenge was in 1989 when Jakarta opened up East Timor to foreigners in an attempt to win over the population - especially the young people, many of whom were unemployed.

Fretilin responded by shifting its emphasis to a political campaign targeted at the young.

"The strategy (of the rebel Fretilin movement) has changed from military to political attacks against us," East Timor military commander Theo Syafei acknowledged last week.

### XANANA INTERVIEW ON RTP

*East Timor News SUBJECT MEMO No. 5 1992. From CDPM and Paz es Possible, Lisbon.*

#### "We shall continue the struggle for a solution via the political path"

*Transcript of the Xanana Gusmao interview on RTP television, which was published in Publico 26 September 1992.*

A video cassette arrived in Lisbon a few days ago addressed to RTP journalist Rui Araujo. The TV programme *Reporteres* showed an edited 9 minute extract last Tuesday. Today, Publico prints a transcript of the interview in almost complete form. The recording which lasts more than an hour and is dated 20 July, was smuggled from "the bush" of Timor. On the film, against a background of mountains of Timor and in the foreground the flags of FALINTIL, the UDT and Portugal, Xanana Gusmao - the man who for 17 years has been leading the armed resistance against the Indonesian occupation - replies to question which were sent to him last January by Rui Araujo. Without hiding the difficulties involved, Xanana appeals for all Timorese to work in coalition. He shows particular faith in the force of international solidarity. he is unsparing in his criticisms of international governments and institutions. Then there are images of guerrillas and their weapons. This is followed by political statement, to a background of Timorese traditional music, along with *Ai Timor* by [Portuguese group] *Trovante*. Then there is the moving sound of an early recording of *A Portuguesa*, sung by various voices.

*Rui Araujo - What is the situation like in East Timor?*

Xanana Gusmao - (...) There have been some striking situations in East Timor, during the last few months, especially in Dili, with the projected Lusitania Express visit and Ali Alatas's visit which was part of the 17 July celebrations. At those times, the forces were on full alert, occupying all strategic points. All you could see were men with guns in their fists. So, they challenged the population and the young people to try something and they threatened them, saying that if anything happened, it would turn out worse than November 12 and no one would be spared. Unbelievably, Santa Cruz cemetery itself was an area under threat. It was packed with troops. (...)

Going back further, after November 12 the Intel agents felt distinctly insecure and confused by the international reaction. However, with promises of salary increases,

they were again encouraged to renew their activities. (...)

Finally, many prisoners were relocated to various parts of the territory and, from what can be known, they have been subjected to inhuman treatment, particularly those who are imprisoned at the ABRI military posts. We have received information about the treatment of the nurse Matias Gouveia at the hands of his jailers; every day he is beaten and he is not fed. Watched by laughing and jeering killers he is forced to fight with the dogs for the scraps thrown to them. It is already a matter of routine for those guys to fill a latrine with a few days' feces and to force him to clean it out with his hands. Other sources have said that the nurse Matias Gouveia has been forced to participate in homosexual practices by these killers. In fact he is in a state of extreme physical debility. His wife managed to trace him and went to visit. She was only allowed to visit her husband for a few seconds, and on the way out, they threatened to kill both her and her children if she made public what she knew about her husband's state.

Information has been received which indicates that other prisoners are also being held in similar conditions, for example Mateus Pereira, nephew of Matias Gouveia (...). East Timor has after all been a Bosnia-Herzegovina for the last 17 years.

*P. - What had you hoped of the Lusitania Express?*

X.G. - It was a welcome initiative on account of the objectives of its promoters. Objectives which, in the essence, were not achieved. I consider it an act of courage on the part of Portuguese young people, to whom I would like to reaffirm our appreciation and profound gratitude.

*P. - Did anything change after the Lusitania voyage?*

X.G. - Practically nothing.

### **Carrying out the missions entrusted by the fatherland**

*P. - What about the strength of FALINTIL forces at this moment?*

X.G. - Distributed throughout the whole territory and carrying out the missions with which the Fatherland has entrusted it, FALINTIL continues to operate under strong military pressure from the occupying forces. (...) Although guerrilla forces have inflicted various losses on the enemy, in the period from June '91 to July '92, guerrilla forces suffered more than 10 deaths and 15 wounded in combat, as well as some captures. The only cases of surrender which have been reported are of two guerrillas with

three children and a further three guerrillas in a separate occasion.

*P. - How do you explain the fact that Indonesia has not been able to wipe out the guerrillas?*

X.G. - It has been said that the war in East Timor is a project of the Indonesian generals, and that it is not in their interest that the war end quickly. This may be the explanation. If you believe that there exists a global capacity for resistance, then that is ... [cut in the recording]

*P. - How is it that they have not captured you up to now, seeing as your visits to Dili have been both public and notorious?*

X.G. - [Laughing] Perhaps that is exactly why. The problem is that I have never allowed myself the luxury of going for a stroll in Dili, isn't it?.

*P. - Do you consider Bishop Belo as a key figure for the future? Do you agree with what he has done up to now?*

X.G. - There are people who act out of the convictions which they profess, others according to the circumstances and others again who are only able to reflect the restrictions which bind them. But I have the impression that Bishop Ximenes Belo has always been well able to respond to questions from Portugal journalists.

*P. - How would you sum up the role of Mario Carrascalao as governor? What do you think might change with his replacement?*

X.G. - I would sum it up by saying that Mario Carrascalao himself is convinced, has become convinced, of that which he did not want to believe: the vitality of the resistance. From '83 up to now - '83 was the year that he tried to sweet-talk us - there have been nine years of persistent struggle, which it would appear have done little or nothing to move him. He is a Timorese who has never struck another, it is true, but he has consented in the repression of our people by the military. He is governor - it is also true to say - took up a position against corruption, but he helped ABRI [Indonesian Armed Forces] to convince our people to accept this miserable situation.

*P. - What are the perspectives with a new governor?*

X.G. - (...) Everyone is apprehensive about the prospect of the new governor being an Indonesian military man. (...) The substitu-

tion is part of the problematic reality of Tim-Tim (Timor-Timur). (...) the perspectives are always point the same way, now that the new policy being applied in East Timor has put into the hands of Syafei [military commander in East Timor]

*P. - Portugal has proposed that the talks should be broadened to include the Timorese. Given the divisions which exist w, who should represent the people of Timor?*

X.G. - I would like to begin by welcoming the position adopted by Dr Abilio Araujo and Dr Paulo Pires, in agreeing to establish a political cooperation agreement with the special representative of the CNRM [National Council of the Maubere Resistance]. Great politicians can be measured by the profundity of their actions and they are not content to simply pronounce their party prejudices. It would be extremely positive for the struggle if the leadership of the UDT in Australia were to move closer to us. I sincerely believe that they, veteran politicians that they are, and always worthy of my respect, will know that the over-riding necessity now is to remove the minor obstacles which apparently defined two parallel roads to the liberation of our country (...)

The avenue which the CNRM is offering and guarantees is wide enough for everyone to fit without discomfort. I hope that the venerable leaders of the UDT and FRETILIN will put the interests of the fatherland above all others. I maintain that, where the fatherland is concerned, there can be fundamentally, indeed unquestionably, only one way forward, whether we are talking about its defence or its liberation. (...) The CNRM is more aware of the real capacity and the actual potential and future of the resistance.

Regarding the question of future negotiations, I am at this moment of the opinion that the formula of indirect participation as put forward by Ramos-Horta should be the prevailing one. (...)

I would further say that Ramos-Horta is an essential element [in such participation] because of his inherent position as special representative of the CNRM and more specifically of the commander of FALINTIL. I would judge that he should be given the capacity to establish contacts with the representatives [cut in the recording] so as to reformulate the principles, in such a way as to reach points of agreement, so that there should be a capacity for positive intervention in the process on the part of the Timorese. (...)

I am confident that the FRETILIN and UDT leaders are already aware of the necessity for us to work together so as to find the most correct way to diminish the suffering of our people. To this end it is essential that a clear strategy be adopted by the Timorese side. Without this political precondition, it will be many more years before our people can have any tangible benefit from this proposal by Portugal. It will be up to us, us Timorese, to provide an other scenario to these talks (...) I have to say that our people, in the conditions of repression which we have to confront, in the political conditions in which the leaders operate in the exterior, cannot remain and must not remain forever awaiting a miracle from the convergence.

### **Convincing Indonesia to sit down at the table**

*P. - What solution can there be for Timor in spite of the indifference of the world?*

X.G. - I believe that, in spite of the world's indifference, there will always be at the very least, goodwill for it to be accepted that the problem of East Timor merits a solution, whatever it may be. And we continue to struggle via the political path for a solution. I will state here that, within this indifference on the world's part, I place the hopes of our people in the joint action, both firm and consistent, of the international groups of solidarity with East Timor, which include PET (Parliamentarians for East Timor), US congressmen, the solidarity groups, the International Platform of Jurists, the organs of the press, ecclesiastical and political figures, the African Lusophone countries, the Japanese parliamentarians, the people of Portugal, human rights organisations, the Australian people and also including the people of Indonesia. I believe that a joint action, in the form of a campaign in favour of talks, would bring positive pressure to bear so that we can surmount the first obstacle, that of convincing Indonesia to sit down at the negotiating table, on the basis proposed by Portugal.

*P. - What do you hope for from Portugal?*

X.G. - I have already said that I believe most sincerely in Portugal's proposal. But, I am happy to tell you, I always act on the basis of the principle that I put my faith in us ourselves, first and foremost.

*P. - What do you hope for from the UN?*

X.G. - At most, the UN will await some pronouncement, some taking of a position on the part of Jakarta. More precisely, I

have become accustomed to the idea that the UN is not quite the pulpit where human rights are defended, but is more like a centre of the stock exchange. All will depend on the lobbies {English term used in the original} mounted by the two sides.

On the subject of lobbies, I would like also to take up the question of the Main Bank Account for the armed resistance. I want to take this opportunity to publicly express our thanks for this magnificent gesture of solidarity on the part of the contributors to this fund. I will say that there are various implications involved here and, because these funds are not directed to a specific use, I feel it is up to me to decide what they should be used for. Accordingly, I wish it known that I delegate to Ramos-Horta the power to personally see to it that these funds are used in their entirety, and exclusively for the purpose of hiring an American agency, so as to mount a more efficient public awareness campaign in the US.

I will take the opportunity, meanwhile, to launch an appeal on behalf of our people to the contributors to this Main Account to continue to raise funds for the account so that all involved can go forward with confidence in the awareness that this task, which is in principle a difficult one - that of influencing the US to put pressure on Jakarta to sit at the negotiating table with Portugal and Timorese, is being carried out.

*P. - What do you hope for from Indonesia?*

X.G. - Practically nothing and practically everything. Nothing that is positive and everything that has to do with inflexibility. But speaking of inflexibility is to always harp on the same theme, whereas I feel that everyone is aware that Jakarta's inflexibility depends on complicity, on the policy of complicity on the part of the Western governments, the governments of Japan, Australia, and especially of the USA, Britain, France etc. On the internal level we are experiencing a new military push which is likely to intensify in the coming months of the dry season, and be accompanied by repressive action to dismantle the clandestine networks.

### **"A strange face raises suspicions"**

*P. - What is day to day life in Dili like?*

X.G. - Dili is like a combination of different worlds. On the first level, that which pertains to the Indonesians and the integrationists of the first social plane, it is one where life is lived serenely and in total tranquillity, and may be seen to be so. Below this one finds a lower minority of

Timorese who, one way or another, succeed apparently in living a life without set-backs.

On the third level one finds the presence of the Indonesian troops and the Intel [Indonesian political police] agents, who are both Indonesian and Timorese, who populate the city. Mixed in with this layer are the transmigrants, Indonesians, who are either hawkers peddling their wares throughout the length and breadth of the streets of the city, or the owners of kiosks which have sprung up all over the place, all of these having the mission of observing and informing. Downtrodden by the layer above, conditions are grim for the majority of the population who visibly live in a state of permanent insecurity and struggle for their subsistence.

Lastly, there are all of those who are black-listed and who, therefore, have a somber existence. Their houses are watched by Intel agents, who make no attempt to hide their presence and spend the whole day making notes on who enters and leaves. Every step they make is watched as well as their contacts with others, whether indoors or in public places. Any strange face immediately raises suspicion and the house-owners immediately questioned as to what the person is doing, who they are related to, where they live, etc.

If there is little movement then the Intel agents make a series of visits, questioning about supposed links with the RA [Armed Resistance], with the clandestine organization, etc. Whenever they are in any doubt about a gathering, even family get-togethers, they get in touch immediately with the nearest military post and the house is immediately surrounded by troops. And, in certain cases, the nanggalas themselves break into the house (...)

After November 12, all of these [settlements] have troops assigned to them. They watch over the population by patrolling the villages, and also take advantage of the patrols to sexually abuse the women-folk. Young people are obliged to take part in daily sporting activities, absences being recorded. On public transport or in the streets, drawing their insolence from the uniform they wear and the arms they carry, they brazenly harass the girls, before the impotent gaze of our patriots. They appear in private houses, enter the farms all over, by day or by night, and oblige the people to provide parties on an almost weekly basis - and hurl abuse when people do not turn up (...)

*P. - Who is Xanana?*

X.G. - He is not the myth which some people have helped construct, nor even less the legendary figure on the lips of others. He



is a man confronting many many difficulties. A man who fights down a struggle within himself. A man with many defects but who, at the cost of the blood of his companions, has been forced to learn from his own mistakes. A combatant for the fatherland, one among many, who acts out a basic principle, a very important principle: he always believed in his people, and today, I have to add that I believe in the force of international solidarity.

I will take the opportunity to, once more, to appeal to everybody, women and men, children and young people, politicians, journalists, students, workers, members of the Church, artists, ordinary citizens, to all of you who are part of the international solidarity with East Timor, I want to make an appeal for a concerted action on the objective you have outlined: that 1992 be the year of dialogue with Timorese participation. The respect, affection and esteem of our people goes out to you, friends of East Timor who have been defenders of the cause of the Maubere people. Together always, in the name of the ideals of liberty and peace. Always, along this difficult path to peace.

## XANANA REPLIES FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF THE FATHERLAND

*Interview with Xanana Gusmao published in Diario de Noticias 27 Sept. 92.*

*East Timor News SUBJECT MEMO No. 6 1992. From CDPM and Paz es Possible, Lisbon.*

*Interview by Oscar Mascarenhas*

He is the legendary and mythical figure who is fighting for the liberation of the Maubere people, from the "mountains of the fatherland" (as he likes pointing out). It is increasingly difficult to gain access to him, it takes days, maybe months. Surrounded by guerrillas, reminiscent of Che Guevara in the Cuban hills, he is for those who know him, as much a poet as a politician, both a successful military strategist and a loyal companion in hours of anguish.

The replies to the questionnaire sent to Xanana Gusmao took weeks to arrive. We have just received them in cassette form, where his voice can be heard speaking firmly, without hesitations or unnecessary enthusiasm. It is the voice of resistance, at a time when East Timor has returned to news headlines. And, as Ramos-Horta insists on stressing, "even if there was only one solitary guerrilla left out of the armed resistance, wandering around the forests and jungles of East Timor, his example would still grip the masses, inspire youth and

mobilize a whole people." Xanana - as this interview confirms - is much more than a mere solitary guerrilla.

*Noticias Magazine - Months ago, a peace initiative was put forward in Portugal. What is your reaction to such a proposal?*

Xanana Gusmao - The peace initiative put forward by Ramos-Horta is the outcome of an understanding between all parties connected with the Timorese Resistance. It is a product of in-depth investigation of the potential of fighting and, fundamentally the power that Portugal bears.

Just as we may not claim greater abilities for ourselves, we cannot expect Portugal to do the impossible.

Our weakness is not due to Portugal's inability, and, if we are fighting for our own rights, it's up to us to react intelligently to the demands of the proceedings.

*NM - Has the Portuguese presidency of the EEC helped to improve the situation or not?*

X.G. - The Portuguese presidency of the EEC has been a discouraging factor in the situation for those who expected more from Portugal. Timorese factions continue to dream that Portugal will return. I believe that they suffer, if you will forgive the term, from a political myopia which torments them. I have also wished for the same thing but the problem is that we cannot get out of this oversimplified picture without being misunderstood.

I have been waiting for the subsequent disclosure of the Secret Plan. Now I know that Portugal already has a clear strategy: it doesn't yet know how it will deal with the talks without preconditions.

Ramos-Horta's peace proposal now deserves an endorsement on the part of Portugal. This will be the most daring step towards dealing with the issue. Portugal will have to take this further step, that of putting the stamp of approval on the peace initiative put forward by CNRM representatives.

Regarding the CNRM representative, I must say that certain political characteristics held by Ramos-Horta as well as his ability gained in diplomatic efforts make him deserving of my confidence, and seeing that we both share the same fundamental principle, to establish far reaching reforms and to carry out all measures necessary to liberate our fatherland.

I handed over to Ramos-Horta the prerogative of carrying out the ideas of CNRM and to translate the strategy for a peaceful solution into concrete actions which relate

to the complex reality of our struggle and which serve the basic interests of our people.

The other principle which motivates us is the trust we both place in our people, a trust which cannot be measured. For this reason I call upon the leaders of our people living abroad, the leaders of UDT and FRETILIN, to reconsider and to join with CNRM, with the aim clearing the way for the liberation of our Fatherland.

### Vatican policy

*NM - What is your position regarding the role of the Catholic Church in the proceedings in Timor, particularly regarding the visit of John Paul II to the country?*

X.G. - The Pope's visit to East Timor should be seen from various points of view: what Jakarta had in mind with this visit, what led the Vatican to accept the invitation and finally what this meant for East Timor.

Let's take the Vatican policy, since the position of the official church will become clear when we single out some points.

Although I agree that there is an official position, for obvious reasons they do not advise changes. I am well aware of movements in diplomatic circles within the official church. The message of reconciliation given in Tacitolo was, in my opinion, a political speech recognising the existing situation in East Timor, because the very fact of having agreed to come, and under the conditions that we all know about, constitutes a political position.

We should not forget the pressures that the church in East Timor has suffered since the time of Bishop Martinho Lopes, nor the vow of obedience that Bishop Ximenes Belo is under, nor even the shady tactics the guerrillas have been subjected to. I should also remember that the more recent [Papal Nuncio] replacing of Monsignor Canadine, who on his first pastoral visit to Dili, sought to inform the Timorese clergy, to convince them to cease supporting the demands of our people. All these are facts which prove that our supporters of official state policy, in the corridors of the Vatican, the issue of East Timor is an uncomfortable if not disagreeable subject. What happened in Tacitolo was a blow to Jakarta as well as to the Vatican itself.

### The Church in Portugal

*NM - Do you think the church in Portugal has had a more active role compared to the church in Indonesia?*

X.G. - As far as the church in Portugal is concerned, if it distances itself from the massacre of a Catholic people who pray in Portuguese, I don't think it will be worth discussing the church in Indonesia. In my

opinion, despite having insignificant influence, considering what it could exercise in the whole context of the struggle, the Church of Indonesia has practically no influence upon our people, compared to the role that was played by the church in Portugal in the era of colonial fascism under Salazar and Caetano. Today this silence, this indifference, this policy of complicity by the church in Portugal is no longer justifiable. Yesterday, like today, we are coming to see ourselves that it is only on the side of the crimes practised by colonial and oppressive regimes.

The church in Portugal should, at this time, support the proposal of the Portuguese Government, it should support the involvement of Bishop Ximenes Belo in the negotiation process, leading to an ending of the Indonesian slaughter of the Maubere people and advising the opening of ways towards a just, broad and lasting peace. Or does the church in Portugal no longer know how to sing "Herois do Mar" ..? (the Portuguese National Anthem).

*NM - What do you think of Mario Carrascalao's performance?*

X.G. - Jakarta choose him according to an strategic plan, known to all. Mario Carrascalao failed because, in East Timor, it is the army that governs most effectively, and the Javanese, who are in the departments and not the governor, who seems more like a social worker. Basically I believe that what Mario Carrascalao wanted was to take advantage of the situation, since he himself plays an insignificant part. The most flagrant examples of this are the projects of public works to improve roads, water plumbing and house construction. These projects are annually placed by civil servants directly placed by Jakarta. In the political arena the so-called democracy, as he used to call it to himself, has so far only allowed him to "denounce" some very serious cases such as the Santa Cruz one. That was all, for he never lifted a finger to help anyone, his best course would have been to have listened to everyone who came knocking at his door and, of course, to quash the essentially political accusations levelled directly to him. In spite of always agreeing with the opinions put about by army officials and Intel services, the people are really worried about the attitude of a governor who is even more pro-Indonesian.

*NM - How would you evaluate the efforts made in the meantime by the Portuguese politicians?*

X.G. - Four years have been lost in negotiations, which have unnecessarily raised

expectations and which ended up being suddenly shelved. It was disastrous on all counts. If we were able to formulate adequate responses to a possible situation created by others who were not alien to the struggle of the Maubere people, it was because the attitude of the Portuguese parliamentary delegate was seen to have a much wider and deeper significance for this people's resistance. Therefore since we cannot be indifferent to Portugal's proposal for talks without preconditions with the participation of the Timorese, we cannot be wary of such an event taking place in East Timor, and of its huge importance for the subsequent development of proceedings.

Very well, it didn't take place and for this reason, it was limited to being a situation update, we are not responsible for this failure.

#### **Conflict of interests**

*NM - What did you predict would happen in the presidential elections in Indonesia?*

X.G. - I must stress that I am not an expert on Indonesia matters. So this is a general opinion, but here it is: There is a conflict of interests between individuals and groups which do not quite constitute what I would call actual opposition. These interests may clash with national interests. This will be the great dilemma of the Indonesian presidencies. Suharto will play his hand for all its worth, for he understands that it will be his last opportunity. Decisive for him as the best finale of his political life.

Suharto can be seen to be in a better position to make careful concessions such as those most favourable to national security. And I believe that, looking through a purely inner prism the chances are also on the side of the old dictator. Basically, the regime will keep going for I don't foresee any abrupt changes, which is worrying for Indonesia herself. In spite of this there is a more or less clear perception in intellectual and political circles, of a political situation in Indonesia. I think that the best indicators of an intolerable social climate will be when the masses get involved.

As for the effects that the elections may have on East Timor, I'm not expecting any important concessions, because, as far as I'm concerned, whatever changes you may predict, chiefly in the acceptance of dialogue with the inclusion of the Timorese, will be the unique result of Portugal's efforts and, namely, international solidarity, on the one hand, and the capability of the Resistance on the other.

East Timor will however be above the contention of the elections. There is irrefutable proof that Jakarta is preparing to stage a withdrawal of part of her forces, after ushering in a good team of disguised as emigrants and civil servants. Besides, many of them are already installed as travelling salesman, shopowners and employees.

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## **POEMS BY XANANA GUSMAO**

### **A FIGHTER WHO FELL**

High on the mountain peaks of Timor  
The grass grows  
And warms the fractured bones  
Of a fighter who fell

Down on the grassy plains of Timor  
A flower shows  
And beautifies the bones  
Of a fighter who fell

This is the hopeful life that grows  
From life's release  
The life that every woman knows  
Who calls for peace  
With every waking breath  
But not the peace of death

Throughout the peaks and plains of Timor  
The life-blood flows  
And animates the bones  
Of the fighters who fell.

### **TIMOR WOMAN**

Timor woman  
Manacled by your misery  
Timor woman  
Your spirit bound in servitude  
Timor woman  
Forced to bear invaders' children  
Timor woman  
Raped, abandoned in concentration camps

Timor woman  
your feeble honesty your strength  
Your bloodless voice a weapon of war  
Your fragile chant the hymn of freedom

Timor woman  
Companheira bombed, imprisoned  
Your song a cry for justice  
Your soul anticipating death

Timor woman  
You weep warm tears of blood  
Your blood, our blood  
You face the record of our struggle  
Your determination the story of our resistance.