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Note verbale dated 3 July 1984 from the Permanent Mission of
Sao Tome and Principe to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretariat

The Permanent Mission of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretariat of the United Nations and has the honour to transmit herewith the following documents on the question of East Timor:

- (1) FRETILIN counter-attacks Indonesian forces:
A statement released by Mr. Abilio Araujo, Head of Foreign Services of FRETILIN (see annex I);
- (2) Letter dated 16 February 1984 from the Indonesian-appointed Apostolic Administrator of East Timor (see annex II);
- (3) Indonesian bishops call for end to war in East Timor (see annex III);
- (4) From the press (see annex IV):
 - (a) "Timorese face starvation as military operations disrupt food production" by Gilles Bertin, Correspondent for Agence France Presse at Jakarta;
 - (b) "12,000 Indonesian troops in big sweep across Timor" by Jill Jolliffe, Lisbon Correspondent for major British and Australian newspapers.

It would be highly appreciated if these documents were distributed as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 108 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

* A/39/50.

ANNEX I

FRETILIN COUNTER-ATTACKS INDON. FORCES

The following statement was released by Abilio Araujo, head of Fretilin's external delegation on January 26, 1984 in Lisbon.

In the last three weeks the heroic Falintil have conducted several actions against the Indonesian invading forces stationed in East Timor.

Since the current military hostilities were commenced by the fascist General Murdani, Falintil have gone from success to success, blocking and neutralising the invading army's essential objectives which is to isolate the army of liberation dispersed throughout the motherland and so destroy it sector by sector.

Using their knowledge of Indonesian military tactics gained in the years 1977, 1978 and 1981, Falintil has forced the Indonesian armed forces to accept the superiority of Falintil tactics in the field and to re-cast their original tactics.

In answer to the massive concentration of Indonesian forces in cordons along the Baucau-Viqueque road, destined to advance to the east and supported by aerial and naval bombardments, Falintil unleashed in November and December 1983 co-ordinated military operations in the central, south-eastern and border zones.

Their renewed mobility and increased offensive and organisational capacities enabled Fretilin to win important military victories.

1. Period November 20 - December 10, 1983

A. Central Sector

In the last week of November, the 4th Company of Falintil, supported by a shock brigade, attacked the Indonesian military unit stationed some five kilometers from Barique causing it to flee to a village leaving behind five dead Indonesian soldiers, three destroyed assault cars and an immense quantity of light and heavy war material as well as several cases of ammunition.

At the same time, the 3rd company of Falintil ambushed an Indonesian military column advancing along the Alas-Fatuberliu road coming from Betano harbor (south coast), killing seven of the enemy and capturing army rations, uniforms and a lot of medicine.

The enemy counter-attacked, backed up by its airforce. Hence, in the first week of December, several Falintil detachments from the 4th and 3rd companies launched fierce attacks on enemy advance posts in Taitudak, Mane, Aimale Fu and Loi Hunu taking prisoner two seriously wounded Indonesian sergeants and a corporal and capturing 13 automatic rifles (AR-15 and M-16s) as well as grenades and explosives.

B. Border Sector

In this region, the 2nd company of Falintil launched, at the end of November and the beginning of December, several military actions against enemy posts at Aitalik Dare (Hatu Builiku) and Roturu, killing 17 Indonesian soldiers, capturing two light machine-guns, nine automatic rifles, 10 mortars (? carregadors -- translator), and two sets of binoculars as well as army rations and uniforms.

On December 6, the Falintil 6th company attacked an enemy military column advancing on the Zumalai-Mape road. This surprise attack caused a big number of deaths amongst the enemy and destroyed two assault cars which were escorting the column. The Falintil unit was forced to withdraw and disperse when the enemy airforce intervened and helicopters were used to evacuate the wounded, but regrouped in the second week of December, making attacks on Suyru-Craik, Monteunil and Raimea.

C. Eastern Point Sector

During this same period the invading forces launched massive land and naval bombardments against civilian and economic targets without discrimination in the areas around Laga, Viqueque, Uatulari, Luro, Venilale and Fuiloro where thousands of people have gathered and today are lacking in health and food requirements.

2. Period December 15, 1983 to January 5, 1984

Intensified offensives by Falintil, in areas where attacks were not anticipated by the enemy's strategic and operational command, resulted in the general disorientation of the enemy.

In the period in question in response to the enemy's concentrated bombardment in the central and south coast sectors, Fretilin launched new attacks in areas where for the last three years the liberation forces of the Maubere people had been inactive.

In fact, during the period from Christmas to New Year, Falintil attacked enemy positions in the areas of Talo, Fatubessi

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(coffee zone), and extended their action to Balibo (north border area).

While this was happening, Falintil made several fierce raids and counter-attacks in the Eastern-Point sector during which they captured and summarily executed individual Timorese who were highly compromised with the occupying authorities such as the camat (local administrator) of Lacluta and the Koramil representative of the Indonesian military commander in the Lacluta region.

During the same period, 269 ratihs (local militia in the service of the Indonesian army) deserted and joined the armed resistance.

ANNEX II

Letter dated 16 February 1984 from the Indonesian-appointed
Apostolic Administrator of East Timor

I received your letter and want to thank you for the clarification and news.

We are now in worse socio-political conditions. As you know, the situation has become worse since August 8th. In all administrative areas people have been imprisoned (in Dili alone 600 people) and now they are going to be tried in military courts. Other people have disappeared. We do not know if these courts are impartial and if there are defense lawyers... In the areas of Lospalos, Viqueque, Baucau and Ainaro the war exists and the populations are encircled. They suffer from sickness, hunger, lack of liberty and persecution. In Lospalos alone there are ten battalions and these bapaks (Indonesians) cannot win the war. They thought they would clean up the situation by the end of December 1983, but now we are already in February and the end of the military operation cannot be seen. They (the Indonesians) started again to mobilize the civilian populations in the administrative areas of Covalima, Ainaro, Same, Manatuto, Baucau and Viqueque. We are surprised how in this country with so many battalions, helicopters, tanks and bombers they still need the support of the rayat (local population). And there the men go armed with sticks and cutlasses, leaving their ricefields and gardens. It is misery, Monsignor! The Red Cross does not enter the prisons, nor can I celebrate Eucharist for the political prisoners in the Komarca (a Dili prison).

In Muapitini (Lospalos) and Iliomar there were "public judgements"*, this means people implicated for having contacts with the mountain areas were killed in front of the other inhabitants by knife, cutlass and by beating with sticks and by their own family members... And the bapak (Indonesian) laughs with contentment, rubs his hands together and says that it is not his fault... It is a macabre situation that we are living. This is more or less a pale image of what we are going through. I ask you, Monsignor, to continue to pray for us and to launch an appeal to the free world to open its eyes to the barbarities of which the Indonesians are capable. The Church is being persecuted and accused and our schools are being searched and the students are being interrogated. The residence of the Salesian priests in Baucau

* quotation marks were put by the translator

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was "savagely" searched by the Red Berets (elite Indonesian military units). Well, Monsignor, I hope that this letter will reach your hands. Without anything else special to communicate I only ask you to take care of our economic interests in the Metropolis and to convince the priests who are there to return to Timor.

United in the Lord, the servant always at disposal

Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Apostolic Administrator

ANNEX III



The former head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Mgr da Costa Lopes, is received by the Pope in Rome. The Mgr told the UN Commission of Human Rights in Geneva on February 21, 1984 that the "war will go on and on for as long as natural justice and freedom are denied to the East Timorese people".

Indonesian Bishops call for end to war in East Timor

In a significant new development the Catholic Bishops of Indonesia have recently broken their silence on East Timor and expressed their "sympathy and solidarity" with the Church and people of East Timor whom they describe as "being deluged by most bitter trials both physically and spiritually".

In a letter to the Church in East Timor, dated November 17, 1983, the Bishops write "we have met in our hearts with all, but especially with those who are suffering, with those who have been wounded in body and spirit, with those who have lost parents, children, relatives and friends, with those who have lost possessions, with those who have lost any source of income and even with those who have lost their lives".

In a clear reference to the current military offensive, the Bishops say their first concern is "a return to peace for all those now at war".

They add that this must be accompanied by an enforcement of "respect for those things considered most sacred by the people of East Timor: their religion, their family and their land".

An "extraordinary" effort is required by "both parties now confronting each other", the letter continues, to appreciate each other's attitudes and aspirations.

The letter is signed on behalf of the Bishops Conference of Indonesia by its President, Mgr F.X. Hadisumarta O.Carm., and secretary, Mgr Leo Soekoto, SJ, the Archbishop of Jakarta. It is addressed to the Apostolic Administrator of the Dili diocese, Mgr Carlos Belo and his clergy and religious. Mgr Belo attended the Indonesian Bishops Conference in November at their invitation and delivered an emotional report on the situation in East Timor.

The Bishops' letter is significant in that it is the first time the Conference has publicly expressed concern over East Timor. The Indonesian Catholic Church is the third largest Catholic community in Asia after the Philippines and India.

Peace is an enterprise of justice not merely the absence of war or something brought about by dictatorship.

The letter conveys an acute sense of the suffering in East Timor. Any material assistance given so far by the Indonesian Church has been, the Bishops say, "a drop of water compared to the ocean of pain suffered by our brothers and sisters".

Of particular concern are "the orphans who have lost their parents", "widows and young girls wounded both physically and spiritually", "the sick and wounded". Other priorities are the edu-

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cation system, teacher training, economic rehabilitation and support for the Dili diocese.

The Bishops' letter closes with a prayer "that we will never be frightened from searching for a road to peace", noting that peace is an "enterprise of justice". . . "not merely the absence of war" or something "brought about by dictatorship". The Church in East Timor must be "the vanguard" in this search, "holding strong until the above ideals are attained".

ANNEX IV

FROM THE PRESS

A. The Australian (6 January 1984)

Timorese face starvation as military
operations disrupt food production

From Gilles Bertin in Jakarta

Severe food shortages have stricken parts of East Timor following recent Indonesian military operations against pro-independence guerillas in the former Portuguese colony, diplomatic and Catholic Church sources said.

The Indonesian Army began a counter-insurgency drive in August against the Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of East Timor (Fretilin), said to number a few hundred guerillas with fairly active local support.

An estimated 10,000 - 12,000 Indonesian troops, backed by helicopters, AMX tanks and counter-insurgency Bronco OV10-type aircraft, have been involved in operations in the territory, which Jakarta annexed by force in December, 1975.

Church sources said the military move had completely disrupted already precarious food supplies in the territory of 550,000 people, the majority of whom are Catholic.

Crops have been destroyed and farmers have been unable to get to their fields or to forage food in the forests, they said.

In the central region of Viqueque and the eastern region of Lospalos, food shortages have been aggravated by a flood of refugees, with about 3000 living around the city of Viqueque.

The serious scarcity of food in various areas has been confirmed by diplomatic and other sources here.

In a confidential letter dated late last month, the papal administrator in the East Timor capital of Dili, Monsignor Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, expressed concern over the problem of hunger and food shortages.

Monsignor Belo, 35, generally considered a moderate, took over as papal administrator in May from the popular Monsignor da Costa Lopes, known for his opposition to the "Indonesianisation" of East Timor.

The move was interpreted as a goodwill gesture towards Jakarta by the Vatican. But reliable sources here said the new papal representative later received a written warning from the local religious affairs office following a sermon in October

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in which he protested the "arrests and violence in East Timor."

However, on November 17 the Conference of Indonesian Bishops, often considered close to the local authorities, sent a six-page letter to Timorese clergy assuring them of their support and calling for the respect of human rights in East Timor.

Arrests

"We have met in our hearts with all, but especially with those who have lost parents, children, relatives and friends, with those who have lost their possessions, with those who have lost any source of income and even with those who have lost their lives," the bishops said.

It was the first time the Conference of Indonesian Bishops had expressed in an open letter their concern over the situation on East Timor as they urged officials to work in a "spirit of honesty" to resolve the situation.

Meanwhile, arrests have continued: 600 people were brought in for questioning recently in Dili, 125 in Baucau and 34 in Viqueque, well-informed sources said.

Eight schoolchildren, aged 14-15, were arrested in Viqueque and held "for several days in a room so narrow they could not sleep," said one Catholic source.

Dozens of people, including three children, were hauled away by unknown abductors in civilian clothes, the sources said.

They expressed fear that those abducted could meet the same fate as the 3000-4000 presumed criminals who have been executed by the "mystery killers" stalking the entire archipelago since April.

About 130 auxiliary Timorese troops attached to the Indonesian Army were disarmed and arrested, the sources said. Ninety were still in custody and the fate of the others was not known. In August, 86 militiamen deserted with their weapons to join Fretilin.

The toll of clashes between the Indonesian Army and Fretilin is extremely difficult to establish since the military operations remain top secret in Jakarta, where rumors circulate of big battles.

The army commander-in-chief, General Benny Murdani, a Catholic, made a Christmas appeal to Fretilin guerillas "in the mountains, in the jungles, in the grottos and the cities" to give themselves up.

East Timor is completely cut off from the rest of the world and special authorisation is required to visit or even telephone there.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has been barred for "security reasons" from the interior. It can send representatives only to Dili and the island of Atauro off the

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provincial capital where about 2100 prisoners, presumed
Fretilin sympathisers, are confined.

(Agence France Presse)

B. The Age (Melbourne)

12,000 Indon troops in
big sweep across Timor

From Jill Joliffe

LISBON, 27 Jan. - Twelve thousand Indonesian troops set up a north-south cordon across Timor and swept eastwards against Fretilin guerillas, according to a coded message from Fretilin which has reached Lisbon.

The eight-page document from Fretilin leader Jose Gusmao Sha Na Na said the Indonesian troops were backed by air and naval bombardments.

The document, dated 21 December, was smuggled from the embattled territory, and reached Lisbon early this week. It said the Indonesian forces had set up a line from Baucau to Viqueque in November and December and were advancing east.

It said most of Fretilin counter-attacks were concentrated on the south coast zone around Viqueque and Barique.

The arrival of the document demonstrates that Fretilin has succeeded in keeping its communication lines open to overseas representatives despite the Indonesian offensive first begun in August. A Fretilin delegate in Lisbon, Abilio Araujo, said his organisation's main efforts after the offensive were directed at protecting communication lines. "Because of the large-scale police activity in Timor when the offensive began--arrests and searches--Fretilin made a conscious decision to suspend communications in August, September and October," he said. "Communications are continuing, but with difficulty."

Many Timorese refugees, Fretilin and non-Fretilin, have also received letters recently. Five letters, two written from Dili and three from Jakarta, by three different authors, correspond in their general description of a massive operation involving Indonesian troops supported by air and sea bombardment concentrated mainly in the east and on the central south coast, which Fretilin has successfully resisted to date. All speak of arrests and disappearances of Timorese suspected of supporting Fretilin.

The document from Sha Na Na, handwritten with a felt-tip pen in numbered code on eight pages of flimsy airmail paper, lists a series of engagements between the guerrillas and Indonesian regular troops, including ambushes by Falintil (the Fretilin army), according to the decoded version made available by Abilio Araujo. For example:

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"On 6 December, the sixth company of Falintil attacked an armored military column proceeding along the Zumalai-Mape road. The surprise attack caused a high rate of enemy casualties and the destruction of two assault cars which escorted the column. Only the intervention of enemy aircraft, bombers and helicopters to evacuate the wounded, forced the retreat and dispersal of the Falintil unit..."

The Fretilin leader describes similar attacks in the Alas, Fatuberliu, Barique and Hatu Builico areas.

The Eastern zone, which was a key area for Fretilin guerillas before the offensive began, appears to be the scene of intense Indonesian action. According to Sha Na Na, in the period 20 November to 10 December "the invading forces used a massive and indiscriminate air bombardment against civilian and economic targets in the areas of Laga, Viqueque, Uato-Lari, Luro, Venilale and Fuiloro where thousands of people are gathered, living in deficient food and sanitary conditions."

The theme of arrests and disappearances is constant in the private letters coming from Timorese Amnesty International, which has been monitoring the offensive closely, has a growing list of people who were arrested after the offensive began and have not been seen since. One letter from a non-Fretilin source in Dili, dated 12 October 1983, reported: "Timor is now in a state of great insecurity, especially in the east. The Javanese have removed prisoners from the Comarca prison and are sending them to other parts."

Another dated 13 January, written from Jakarta, reads: "Everything is more complicated, more confused, more exhausting, in the widest sense...the Red Cross are now only allowed to work in Atauro; the program elsewhere is cancelled. Little can be done to help. The Catholic church is passing through difficult moments. The military are making life hell for them. Many prisoners are sent to Bali to be interrogated. Some have returned to Timor, but nothing is known of the others. Over 2000 prisoners are still on Atauro. I point out that Bali is the tourist centre of Indonesia...whose special market is Australia. If you start a political campaign about the prisoners in Bali maybe the Australian Government will take this into consideration."

A letter written by the same author a week earlier lists some of the prisoners whose cases are being followed by Amnesty International: Octavo Jordao de Araujo, Elder Jordao de Araujo, who are brothers, and Francisco Calcona.

It continues to say that in the mountain areas around Viqueque Indonesian soldiers are "doing what they like" with 14-year old girls, and that "it's the same in Lospalos. Couples who are suspected are dying in each other's embrace in common graves, riddled with bullets. The least suspicions lead to liquidation."

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A letter written on 6 January notes that "Radio Australia has finally realised that Viqueque and Lospalos are the zones worst-hit by the military operation...in these respective regions there are about 12,000 - 15,000 soldiers concentrated with heavy arms (tanks, bombers, warships), continuing to kill civilians. Through the infamous Lieutenant-Colonel Iswanto (former commander of operations) we learnt that the situation in Timor has deteriorated, that Fretilin killed soldiers from Koromil and Camat in Lacluta...and that the fighting in the east has intensified, resulting in the defection of 269 armed militia from the Ratih units to Fretilin...the military has decided to continue the operation for some months more. They want to finish it off once and for all."
