



## SCHWEIZERISCHE BOTSCHAFT

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T i m o r

Wie Portugal seinen Verpflichtungen in Osttimor nicht mehr nachkommen konnte oder, besser gesagt, sich nicht mehr fähig zeigte, ihnen nachzukommen, als die Kolonialverwaltung sich auf die Insel Atauro absetzte und das Terrain der Fretilin überliess, signalisierte es Indonesien, dass es sich der Kolonie entledigen wolle, ohne aber zu sagen wie.

Was Indonesien anbelangt, so sollte das Communiqué der Aussenminister Malik und Antunes in Rom die Basis für eine ordentliche Dekolonisierung abgeben, hiess es doch dort: "that the fundamental responsibility for the decolonization of Portuguese Timor lies with Portugal and that Portugal as the legitimate authority in the territory engages itself to undertake all efforts towards a speedy and orderly implementation of the act of self-determination by the people of Portuguese Timor."

In Jakarta weiss man wohl, dass es in Osttimor weder eine Volksmeinung noch einen Volkswillen gibt, handelt es sich doch um primitive, ungelehrte und apolitische Bewohner, für die eine Parteizugehörigkeit etwas Unverständliches ist. Sie folgen jeweils dem der bestimmt. Es war daher wichtig für Indonesien, dass es den Truppen der pro-indonesischen Parteien



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gelingt, gegenüber der revolutionären Front vor dem Referendum ein klares militärisches Übergewicht zu gewinnen. Schon im Oktober wurden daher 500 Mann, meistens Unteroffiziere und Offiziere in Zivil nach Osttimor geschickt. Sie wurden zum Rückgrat der nichtkommunistischen Streitkräfte, deren Kampfkraft dank massiver Aufrüstung seitens Indonesiens rasch zunahm, was sich auf dem Schlachtfeld bald bemerkbar machte und die Fretilin in Schwierigkeiten brachte.

Angesichts der für sie kritisch werdenden Situation riefen diese in der Folge die Unabhängigkeit aus, was wiederum indonesischerseits als Bedrohung seiner Sicherheit und der Stabilität der Region empfunden wurde und zum Eingreifen führte. Dies hätte unmittelbar geschehen sollen; "D-day" wurde dann aber mit Rücksicht auf den Besuch von Präsident Ford um einige Tage verschoben.

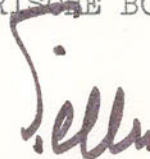
Wenn Indonesiens Regierung sich heute damit verteidigt, dass Portugal in sträflicher Weise seine Pflichten als Kolonialmacht vernachlässigt und Schuld an der "Timor mess" habe, so dürfte sie zweifellos dem Nagel auf den Kopf treffen, was aber die von ihr gewählte Methode zur Sicherstellung eines Referendums über die Zukunft Osttimors nicht weniger fraglich macht.

Mit einer Verdammung Indonesiens dürfte die UNO jedoch nichts erreichen. So hat Aussenminister Malik bereits erklärt, "that Indonesia did not feel bound by the U.N. Trusteeship Committee's resolution". Ohne das Gesicht zu verlieren, könnte Indonesien aber, wie mir scheint, akzeptieren, dass Osttimor einem UN Committee unterstellt wird, dass dieses eine Ueberwachungskommission dorthin schickt mit der Aufgabe, die Einhaltung von Ruhe und Ordnung zu überwachen und die Durchführung einer Volksbefragung, an der alle Parteien sich

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beteiligen könnten, sicherzustellen. Sollte der Sicherheitsrat aber eine harte Linie verfolgen und Indonesien zum Alleinschuldigen stempeln, wird dieses wohl ohne Rücksicht auf die Konsequenzen seinen eigenen Weg gehen.

DER SCHWEIZERISCHE BOTSCHAFTER



(Feller)

Beilagen: 2 Fotokopien "Government Statement on Portuguese Timor"

11. GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON PORTUGUESE TIMOR

Jakarta, Dec.11 (Antara).-- The Indonesian Government stressed again last night that what has been taking place in Portuguese Timor up to now is caused by the criminal absence of the Portuguese government itself in organizing the decolonization process in the area and in its other former colonies.

The statement which was signed by Information Minister Mashuri and issued last night stated that in the decolonization process in the area the Portuguese government has permitted Fretilin to deploy Portuguese colonial forces and to use their weapons and equipment to suppress its political opponents.

The statement textually reads as follows :

1. In connection with the latest developments in Portuguese Timor and to make the issue clearer, the Government stresses again that what has been taking place in Portuguese Timor up to now is caused by the measures and policy, which are all resulting from the criminal absence of the Portuguese Government itself in organizing the decolonization process in the area, and in its former colonies.
2. In the decolonization process, the Portuguese Government has permitted Fretilin to deploy Portugal colonial forces and to use their weapons and equipment to suppress its political opponents. Fretilin has since then terrorized other groups of people's representatives whose views are different from those of Fretilin members. The development in Portuguese Timor leads into endless chaos where Fretilin commits massacre, tortures and suppression upon the local people while the Portuguese Government does not take preventive measures, politically or physically.
3. This is confirmed by the press statement by Apodeti General Chairman King Adsabe, Guilherme Mario Gonsalves, on December 7, 1975, that the freeling of Dilli, the blood-bath and massacre of the local people by Fretilin in the last four months have ended.

Meanwhile the local people have been increasingly suffering from the terrors and such arbitrary measures by Fretilin forces as the robbery of food stuffs for the Tropaz colonial forces and people's resistance and rebellions against the Fretilin savagery have since been escalating.

Besides, Fretilin has often violated in Indonesian sovereignty, attacking and robbing Indonesians in Indonesian territory of their cattle, food stuffs, and claiming human lives and incurring big material losses.

4. The Indonesian Government opines that as a result of the developments mentioned above the situation can no longer be tolerated, particularly since the legal foundations for a smooth, orderly and peaceful decolonization process of Portuguese Timor such as the results of the Macao meeting and the Rome Memorandum of Understanding have been ignored by Portugal and Fretilin.

The Indonesian Government is also of the view that the situation in Portuguese Timor has endangered the national and regional security and stability.

Ch 23.30

(QR)

5. Under .....

5. Under such situation the Indonesian Government has been urged by Portuguese Timor's people representatives grouped in Apodeti, UDT, Kota and TRABALISTA, as well as by the Indonesian House of Representatives itself to take the necessary steps to help Portuguese Timor people restore order and security in the area.
6. Faced with such situation the Indonesian Government has taken the only choice available, that is, not to prevent Indonesian volunteers who want to help their brothers in Portuguese Timor to restore order and security.
7. In connection with this it should also be made clear that the presence of Indonesian volunteers in the area has nothing to do with a territorial ambition but it aims mainly at enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise their right to determine their own future properly, orderly and peacefully.
8. The Indonesian Government has never and will not deploy her Armed Forces for territorial expansions since they are contrary to the principle held firmly to by Indonesia herself, that is, the anti-colonialism principle.
9. The Indonesian Government opines that the determination of the future of Portuguese Timor people shall be in their own hands and can not be decided on by the interests which are forced from outside nor by the interests of the Portuguese colonialist itself.
10. The Indonesian Government opines that the fact that the determination of the future of Portuguese Timor people shall be in their own hands does not reduce the role of the United Nations in giving its good offices for facilitating proper exercise of their right to determine their own future peacefully, properly and orderly.

Jakarta, December 10, 1975.

Minister of Information of the Republic  
of Indonesia.

Mashuri. (T32/h03/QR)

12. PUBLIC SAVINGS IN FIRST SEMESTER RP.467.54 BN

Jakarta, Dec.11 (Antara).-- The government logged a public saving of Rp.467,540 million during the first semester (April-September) of the current 1975/76 fiscal year, Finance Minister Ali Wardhana reported to the House of Representatives here.

Minister Wardhana explained that domestic incomes during the period under review totalled Rp.1.021 trillion, up by 10.3 per cent over those in the same period last year.

The oil sector accounted for Rp.550,464 million of the total incomes. However, tax incomes outside the oil sector also recorded remarkable rises.

Income tax .....

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Earlier the clergyman, acting as an emissary for the five gunmen holding 25 hostages in the Indonesian consulate, arrived at police headquarters here in a third attempt to start a dialogue with an Indonesian diplomat on the guerrillas' demands.

The emissary, was driven from his home in Assen, about 100 kms (60 miles) north of Amsterdam with his son-in-law, the Reverend Seth Passereron, a police spokesman said.

The two men immediately began consultations with city and provincial officials.

Mr Passereron, also a South Moluccan, has been helping his father-in-law in negotiations with the guerrillas here, and with another gang of South Moluccans holding 31 hostages aboard a hijacked train in northern Holland.

#### Appeal to ICRC

The International Red Cross Committee (ICRC) has been asked to help free hostages held in Holland by South Moluccan gunmen but cannot intervene under present circumstances, an ICRC official said in Geneva Monday.

She said the Red Cross could act only if no other contact existed, when asked by one of the parties involved and if the other agreed.

The request was made by the leader of the self-styled South Moluccan government in exile, Johan Manusama, in a telegram to ICRC headquarters in Geneva, the official said.

She added that although he had been aiming as a go-between with extremists who hijacked a train at Beilen six days ago, his organisation had condemned the seizure.

"We are the last resort when there was no other possibility", the official said. "But contact is still continuing".

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#### GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON PORTUGUESE TIMOR

Jakarta, Dec.9 (Antara).--- The Indonesian government yesterday issued a statement on latest developments in East Timor where joint forces of the moderate Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Trabalista parties seized the capital, Dilli, from control of the leftist Fretilin Sunday.

The government statement said:

1. In connection with latest developments in Portuguese Timor in relation to the fall of the town of Dilli on December 7, 1975 into the hands of the joint forces of Apodeti, UDT, Kota and Trabalista, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia reiterates its views on the Portuguese Timor problem as follows:

- a. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia founding its views on the principle of anti-colonialism support the decolonisation of Portuguese Timor in a normal, orderly and peaceful manner. *cls. 24-30*

b. The endless ...

(QR)

- b. The endless developments in Portuguese Timor have disturbed Indonesian stability, in particular and in South-east Asia in general.
  - c. For this reason a settlement of the Portuguese Timor issue is entirely not aimed at a territorial ambition of the Republic of Indonesia.
  - d. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia deeply regrets the unilateral action taken by the Fretilin which only was made possible after room for such action has been opened by the Colonial Portuguese Government.
  - e. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia fully understands the wish of the people of Portuguese Timor for independence after being under colonial domination for 400 years.
  - f. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia very much regretted the attitude of the Portuguese Government to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of Indonesia particularly so because efforts taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia specifically are aimed at supporting the implementation of the right of self-determination in an orderly, normal and peaceful manner.
2. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia so far consistently and earnestly have made serious endeavours at realizing the policies as outlined above and adopted a correct attitude towards any effort carried out by the Government of Portugal in the efforts towards solution of the decolonisation issue of Portuguese Timor. / in -
- In this framework the Government is /full support of the results of the "Macao Meeting" and the "Rome Memorandum" which basically desire that a solution to the decolonisation question in Portuguese Timor should be carried out in a earnest way conform with what has been agreed upon by the parties concerned.

Particularly as one of the parties involved, Fretilin has betrayed the agreement by not being present at Macao and by ignoring the Rome Agreement. Since the negotiations with Dr. Almeida Santos, personal emissary of the President of Portugal on August 29 - September 1 and on September 11, 1975, the Government of Indonesia has forwarded its views that the process of decolonisation in a normal, orderly and peaceful manner must be carried out by first restoring security and order in the Portuguese Timor territory which since the middle of August 1975 has deteriorated after the Fretilin started its terror, tortures and cruelties against other community groups who wanted to integrate themselves with the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

As a result thousands of refugees entered Indonesian territory who by the Government and the people of the Republic of Indonesia conform to humanitarian principles have been properly received and assisted with regard to accommodation, food supplies, clothes and medical treatment. *els 24.30*

3. During these .....

3. During these developments, the Government of Portugal itself was incapable to restore security and order and guarantee human rights to the people. This has been admitted by Portugal in its statement before the United Nations, leaving the fate of the people of Portuguese Timor entirely in the hands of Fretilin. The Government of Indonesia has offered its good offices in the efforts to help Portugal restore security and order in the interest of the implementation of the process of decolonisation in a normal, orderly and peaceful manner, but the goodwill of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia has been rejected by Portugal.

In the meanwhile the people of Indonesia are being tested to be patient and restrain themselves about the violations of Indonesian territory by bands of the Fretilin like the shelling by mortars, repeated raids, looting and stealing of cattle and other provocative acts which have caused casualties in lives and damage to property among the population.

4. Though facing these heavy trials the Government firmly kept to its original attitude and carried out efforts which could lead towards the materialisation of the process of decolonisation in a normal, orderly and peaceful manner.

Repeatedly the Government has contacted Apodeti, UDT, KOTA and Trabalista to persuade them to hold negotiations as meant in the Rome Memorandum. The same has been appealed to Fretilin repeatedly that they should abide to and carry out the results of the Rome Memorandum.

5. In the midst of the earnest efforts by the Government of Indonesia to carry out the Rome Memorandum, the Government was surprised by the independence proclamation of Portuguese Timor issued unilaterally by Fretilin on November 28, 1975, to which Apodeti, UDT, KOTA and Trabalista reacted on behalf of the people of Portuguese Timor by issuing a joint statement freeing themselves from colonial rule and proclaiming their integration with the Indonesian people.

6. With the two proclamations, Indonesia faced a situation whereby on the one hand the people of Portuguese Timor as a whole no longer recognized Portuguese authority and on the other Portugal, itself

has stated at the United Nations forum on November 30, last that she no longer is in a position to control the situation. This clearly has resulted in that the Rome Memorandum practically could not longer be implemented.

7. The situation in Portuguese Timor has deteriorated, fighting has increased and casualties among innocent people have risen.

In this connection the process of decolonisation in an orderly, normal and peaceful manner has become more and more



- difficult to be carried out. With these developments the Indonesian Government was given no alternative but to allow the desire of Indonesian volunteers to help their brethren to free themselves from colonial suppression and Fretilin terror.
8. The presence of Indonesian volunteers in the Portuguese Timor territory is founded on the following considerations :
    - a. The correct attitude of the Government in particular has been misinterpreted by Portugal and abused by Fretilin to create a situation making it even more difficult to carry out the process of self-determination of their fate by the people of Portuguese Timor in a normal, orderly and peaceful manner.
    - b. Demands by the people of Indonesia through the House of Representatives in the statement issued by Parliament on December 6, 1975 urging the Government to take sterner and more concrete steps towards solution of the Portuguese Timor question.
    - c. The inability of Portugal to control the situation resulting that the Rome Memorandum practically cannot be carried out.
    - d. Demands by the four parties, Apodeti, UDI, KOTA and Tribalista as contained in the Statement of Integration of the people of Portuguese Timor with the State of the Republic of Indonesia of November 30, 1975, whose aim was that the Government and people of Indonesia take steps considered necessary to protect the people of Portuguese Timor.
    - e. To guarantee the security of the refugees returning to their respective homes.
    - f. The Government of Indonesia has the moral responsibility to ensure the implementation of the process of decolonisation of the territory of Portuguese Timor in a normal, orderly and peaceful manner conform with the aspirations and the wishes of all the people in the territory.
    - g. The Government of Indonesia cannot allow the situation in the Portuguese Timor territory continue without end and endanger the security, national stability and the stability of the Southeast Asia region.
    - h. Considered it necessary to take steps to end the further prolongation of such a situation and to safeguard the unity of national territory, to defend national sovereignty and protect the people of Indonesia against disturbances, attacks, raids, looting and other provocative acts by Fretilin.

The government statement was signed by Information Minister Mashuri.

(Tz/f01/4000/012)