

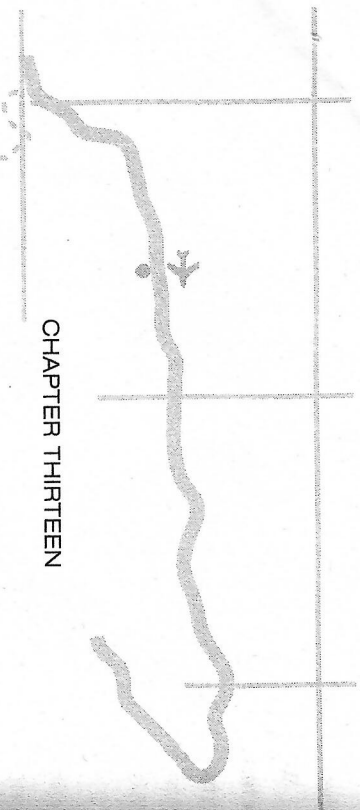
**LAST
FLIGHT
OUT OF DILI**
MEMOIRS OF AN ACCIDENTAL ACTIVIST
IN THE TRIUMPH OF EAST TIMOR

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PLUTO PRESS AUSTRALIA

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Crisis in Maputo



A scorched earth policy

From mid-1978, Indonesian forces gradually took over effective control of most of East Timor. General Yusuf was commanding a more professional army and using brutal tactics combined with new weapons. The 'fence of legs' strategy forced villagers to be a screen for advancing Indonesian troops and the notorious 'red beret' Kopassus troops carried out wide sweeps. Families were starved and forced to relocate from traditional villages in the hills to rows of small, iron-roofed huts along roads under Army surveillance. The hot, corrugated iron roofs were without the eaves of the traditional houses to prevent people from sheltering from helicopter surveillance.

Many suspected Fretilin supporters were deported to the island of Atauro which I had visited briefly when we were ordered out of Dili in 1975. Within East Timor the civilian and armed resistance was weakening under pressure.

In September 1978 Xanana Gusmão supervised a march of

civilians fleeing the Indonesian campaign along the tip of the Legume Range taking the old road that connected Luro to Baguia, constructed during the Japanese occupation.

Fretilin's defence in the eastern region was concentrated on Mount Marebian, the last support base of the resistance. The Indonesian military had also launched a 'scorched earth' policy to destroy food crops in the region, followed by intensive bombardments. When the base fell in November 1978 a large number of East Timorese people and Falintil troops were killed.¹ Many who surrendered were killed. Dunn says more than 100 Fretilin supporters with their families were disposed of in this way at Quelicai in the central eastern sector. Others were tortured. These defeats further fragmented the Timorese resistance.

Emerging crisis

In October, Denis Freney in Sydney intercepted a message from Alarico Fernandes in East Timor. Freney said it was addressed to Ramos-Horta asking him to join a coup against Nicolau Lobato and open negotiations with Indonesia.² Freney and his colleagues in Darwin had control of the radio. Robert Wesley-Smith, who played a major role in ensuring the radio was concealed from Australian Customs and police,³ doubted whether Fernandes was acting freely when he was supposed to have defected.

To Freney, who had almost daily contact with Alarico for nearly three years, Alarico's expressed intention to defect was an 'extraordinary betrayal'. Freney said he [Freney] had a choice of actions. He and Abilio Araújo, Freney's soul mate on the Fretilin External Committee in Maputo, could immediately denounce Fernandes hoping that Nicolau Lobato, Fretilin President and Commander of Falintil, would hear their message and be warned but this depended on Lobato having access to a radio other than the one Fernandes had operated. The alternative was to pretend they were delivering the message to José Ramos-Horta and send messages back in his name. This was their choice.

Freney and Araújo saw Alarico Fernandes's supposed defection as an opportunity to discredit José and those who supported his 'democratic socialist' position and diplomatic campaign, expel them from Fretilin and force José out of his crucial role as Foreign Affairs spokesman for Fretilin.

Detention in Maputo: Freney declares José a traitor

Later in September, while José, Mari Alkatiri and Olympio Branco were in New York for the annual UN debate on East Timor, José's wife Ana,⁴ Mari Alkatiri's wife Marina,⁵ Leonel Andrade and some others were detained by Abílio and one or two others of the Fretilin group at Matola, the small Fretilin settlement I had visited earlier in the year. Leonel Andrade was attacked and badly injured by a parang knife but survived. Ana, who was about to have her baby⁶ was put in a room for four days guarded by the man who had attacked Andrade. Alkatiri's wife, Marina was taken to a hospital where she was able to contact Frelimo officials who intervened and moved the detainees closer to Maputo.

When José and Mari returned to Maputo from New York, Freney had accused José of being a traitor and said that the Central Committee in East Timor wanted him detained. Mari Alkatiri and Roque Rodrigues denied this but it was decided that José should be kept in Maputo until communications could be restored with the Central Committee in East Timor. Freney sent a telegram saying he would no longer organise communications with East Timor if the Central Committee freed José.

Freney travelled from Sydney to give 'evidence' against José at the 'internal self-examination'. To Abílio Araújo, Denis Freney and the one or two others in the clique, it was an offence to support talks or even speak to fellow Timorese who were, or had been, in the UDT party.

The Fretilin-to-Darwin radio was closed with Alarico's departure so I was asked to transmit and receive coded messages through the telex at Trade Action, the handcrafts trading subsidiary of

Community Aid Abroad in Melbourne.

On 28 October 1978, I was asked to send a long coded message to Maputo, marked: 'Attention Horra or Alkatiri' from 'Saturno'. Converting 150 lines, each containing 60 closely typed letters in groups of five into a telex message almost a metre long was a heroic assignment undertaken willingly by my secretary Vera Hart on 1 November. I did not know who 'Saturno' was, had no idea what the message contained and consistent with my view that if it was not my business, and to know might jeopardise the safety or lives of those whose business it was, I did not ask about the contents or who was sending the messages.

On 9 November I received a telex from Alkatiri (Mer) in Maputo to be passed on to Wesley-Smith in Darwin:

DO NOT FORWARD ANY MESSAGE SENT FROM
INSIDE EAST TIMOR THROUGH PUBLIC RECEIVER.
UNABLE TO EXPLAIN NOW WHY, BUT THIS IS
EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO SAFEGUARD THE
SUPREME INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST
TIMOR... STOP... CORDIAL GREETINGS... STOP
MAPUTO 9 NOVEMBER 1978
SIGNED 'MER' OF DRET MARI ALKITIRI.

Then a few days later, on 12 November, there was a disturbing message from Sue Roff in New York:

I have been ringing José's phone [in New York] each day to see if he has returned. Today it was answered by Abílio. He says he is here with 'my comrade Branco'. He says he will be making a speech at the UN on Tuesday 14 November.

José, he says, is in Mozambique 'because of higher priorities'. I asked why José did not go to New Zealand and he said 'I do not understand about this trip to NZ'. So... I wonder if you know more about the state of things. Perhaps José wants to be with Ana now that the baby is nearly due.

Changing personnel at the UN seems very poor strategy to me as people seem to be very concerned with rumours of internal faction fighting in the leadership. I asked Abilio if Jill [Lolliffel] is in New York but he said he had not heard she was planning to come.

I had also received an instruction passed on from Darwin which said I should obtain permission from Alkatiri before passing messages from José to 'DRET'. It was all very confusing so I telexed Mari in Maputo for confirmation:

RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE NOV 9 WE PASSED ON . . .
STOP . . . HAVE NOT RECEIVED REPLY FROM YOU
TO MINE (ON BEHALF OF DARWIN TELEX DATE
1/11) WHICH SAID 'HAVE BEEN ASKED TO OBTAIN
YOUR APPROVAL TO SEND MESSAGES FROM HORTA
TO DRET' PLS ADVISE
DAVID

But the really troubling question was where was José and was he a free person?

I cabled Sue on 13 November:

The ET scene becomes murkier and murkier. I think José is in Maputo. We sent a long message for him in code at a cost of \$60 and received a message in return to send up to Darwin.

The Darwin people, including 'Wes', questioned sending it because José had told them not to send anything unless Mari approved it. No reply confirming the message to Mari, so there we are.

Chris [Santos] has dropped out as official spokesman so that he can find a job. He is as committed as ever but he and the three children cannot go on living on his wife Sofia's small earnings.

Whatever the situation, it was serious because Denis Freney called

to say he would like to see me in Melbourne, the following day. I reported to Sue:

The arrival of your letter on Friday was followed by a call from Denis the peacemaker wanting to see me in Melbourne this morning. He met with AETA people last night (Richard was away) and Chris [Santos].

His story is that there was an inclusive, no-holds barred, lay-it-on-the-table conference in Maputo under the chairmanship of José Luis Guterres.

Meantime there were mysterious messages for José [Ramos-Horta] from Alarico. The latter indicating he has control of a certain area and would like to negotiate with the Indonesians. Denis says José reported this to the others and messages were sent in to elicit more information.

That's where that stands. It is likely the Indonesians will use this [Alarico's defection] at the UN so you should know about it but don't pass it on.

Chris is concerned about José although it is reasonable that he should stay in Maputo for the baby's arrival and to support Ana. I'll send José an innocuous telex tomorrow asking about the baby to elicit a reply.

If they had thought he was responding to Alarico they might not want him communicating but Denis gave no indication of this. He said there was talk of José being based in New Zealand if Labor won the election. José was still banned from entry to Australia.]

Denis says they believe in Maputo that the military situation is substantially the same as twelve months ago, except for Remexio. The Indonesians can take towns whenever they wish but have not extended their control outside. The problem now is how to establish contact with Nicolau Lobato but they are working on that.

In his biography, Freney says that when he knew of Alarico's

request that José join him in a coup (a message José had not received), he contacted Abllio and Rogério Lobato. They decided not to tell José and 'pretend we were delivering messages to Horta and were unaware of the contents and perhaps learn more of the conspiracy'.

Freney wrote in his autobiography:

For the next few weeks we passed on a series of carefully worded messages designed to draw Alarico out, but purportedly in Horta's name.⁷

At last a message was radioed to East Timor condemning Alarico and alerting anyone who might be listening among Fretilin guerrillas to Alarico's plans.⁸

In an attempt to find out where José was and if he was safe, I sent an innocent message to him on 24 November:

WHEN WILL YOU VISIT NEW ZEALAND AND TRANSIT
IN AUSTRALIA... STOP... HAS BABY ARRIVED
... GREETINGS... DAVID

News of a crisis in East Timor came in a message from Chris Santos saying that a message broadcast from Rogério Lobato in Maputo on 25 November denounced the actions of groups inside East Timor. This was answered immediately by Alarico Fernandes expelling everyone and banning all criticism.

From the shock that Freney expressed, having worked so closely with Fernandes, it was assumed Alarico had defected.

Later another explanation was that Alarico had been captured by Indonesian troops who had been given information about the location of Alarico's hideout near Aileu by one or more people who had been badly treated by Alarico for supporting the

I am very worried about José and your remarks haven't reassured me. I wasn't clear where the cable was coming from and why it was necessary for it to go to Darwin. I think a possible interpretation is that José wanted to be in Maputo with Ana for the birth of the baby and didn't care if Abllio and Branco wanted to do the UN this year. I'll let you know as soon as I hear anything. The only clear thing is that Abllio and Branco are being useless and perhaps disastrous here at the UN.

I wrote to Sue again on 6 December to bring her up to date:

I was also beginning to worry about José as I had sent an innocent telex two weeks ago to obtain a response and have not had one.

Maputo sent back a message saying the address was not known. I then sent it c/o the Mozambique Foreign Affairs number where he is certainly known, but no reply.

Mari phoned Chris a few days ago. He said José had stayed in Maputo because of the baby... a boy who arrived on 28 November.

Chris, and later John Sinnott, AETA Secretary, called to say Alarico's 'capture' had been announced via Lisbon. We speculated as to why the Indonesians did not use the story at the UN. My guess is the timing went awry. They wanted to have Alarico in person before the announcement and the UN debate. Also heard the UN resolution has been passed but no details.

Adrian [Adrian Harris, Director of CAA] had made all arrangements for João Carrascalão⁹ to speak at the UN but a day from the UN on 1 December approving or inviting him

Xavier do Amaral was calling on Fretilin to surrender.

I'm sure José is physically safe but it looks as if there are difficulties over Alarico's messages. If you, Chris [Santos], other friends and I do not hear from him around Christmas I would be concerned that he is being detained.

Ten days later still no one seemed to know where José was. Sue reported:

Well, we got there on the seat of our collective pants, non? [referring to the UN vote on East Timor]. The amazing thing is that the Indonesians did not make propaganda out of the Alarico Fernandes business.

Apparently the Indonesian Ambassador was informed of it by cable just after the Fourth Committee vote. Gilberto [Schlitter, UN] and I thought they would make a lot of hooey out of it but there was not a peep.

When I interviewed David Anderson, Australian Ambassador, on Monday 12 November, he referred to 'the possibility of a change/shift [of Australia's position] before the plenary'. I thought he was referring to something I didn't know about – but it didn't happen.

I ran into one of the Portuguese delegates in the Press Room yesterday and we chatted. He said: 'Horta's out of Fretilin. He's not in Mozambique now. I don't know where he is.' He says his source is a Timorese in Lisbon. I told him my story of wife and baby just being born which was clearly news to him.

But I wonder – should there be a move to Fretilin to insist that José ring you or me to really assure ourselves that he is well and a free being? It seems a bit dramatic but on the other hand it could be that we are remiss in not 'checking' up on him?

I'll ask Gordon Bryant [Federal ALP MP] tomorrow as he is coming to tea. Gordon assured me that our Embassy had assured him that Australia was going to abstain (from the resolution that would effectively remove East Timor from

the UN agenda). The instruction to vote 'against' came from Canberra on the morning of the vote. Gordon says some of the Embassy people are much better on East Timor than the previous lot but they have to toe the line.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian army had expanded the war of annihilation with more bombing and driving people from their villages. The main casualties were civilians who had to make the awful choice between staying in the mountains to starve or surrendering and being placed in concentration camps. Falintil encouraged the civilians to surrender because of the increasingly difficult food situation.¹⁰

José in danger

On 22 December, I was at a holiday house our family shared with three other families in the bush, two kilometres from Wonthaggi and 130 kilometres east of Melbourne. It was a hot day and I had walked back through the tea tree, coastal wattle and banksia after a swim on the ocean beach. It was good to relax or at least withdraw from East Timor, the Brotherhood, Community Aid Abroad and other responsibilities for a time.

Hot and salty and looking forward to cooling off under the outside shower, I was surprised to see a police car come along the track through the manna gums. The constable said he had an urgent message that I should contact Herb Feith at Monash University. I drove to Wonthaggi and phoned Herb who said I was to call Sue Roff in New York urgently, which I did.

Sue told me José was in danger. Maureen Berman of the International League of Human Rights told Sue that she had received a letter from José two weeks earlier. The letter told her that he was in serious trouble and she should contact Sue when she got a signal from him. Maureen had waited for three weeks, heard nothing from José so was telling Sue of her concerns. Sue showed the letter to her husband, Professor Bill Roff of Columbia University, a wise counsellor. He said Sue should call me.

Meantime Sue had contacted people in the United Nations and others including Noam Chomsky who expressed concern about José. They all wanted evidence that he was in some kind of danger that she could not give. Sue told me that Alkatiri, who was in New York, was piqued about the fuss, but said, 'we all know DF [Denis Freney] is a maniac.'

I sent a copy of my telex to Mozambique's Ambassador to the UN, da Costa Lobo, told Ken Fry and other friends of José's suspected detention and asked them to cable Maputo. Chris Santos gave the story to the Melbourne *Herald* journalist Peter Game and also contacted John Ridley, Andrew Peacock's secretary, to see if Peacock would offer asylum to José if it became necessary. I sent messages to Jill Jolliffe in Lisbon.

The message people were asked to send to Maputo was:

CONCERNED AT RUMOURS THAT HORTA IS
DETAINED . . . STOP . . . PLEASE GIVE ASSURANCE
OF HIS SAFETY AND FREEDOM IMMEDIATELY . . .
STOP . . .
UN WILL BE ASKED TO INVESTIGATE IF ANY
EVIDENCE OF RESTRICTION OF HIS RIGHT TO
COMMUNICATE AND TO TRAVEL . . . STOP

I said I did not think Frelimo, the governing party in Mozambique knew José was being detained. [In fact the Frelimo Government had 'rescued' the detainees and placed them under government protection pending the Frelim inquiry.] In New York, da Costa Lobo said José's situation was a surprise to him and he would find out what was happening.

By then I thought we were justified to express concern and ask where José was. I cabled Alkatiri:

CONCERNED AT RUMOURS THAT HORTA IS BEING
DETAINED . . . STOP . . . URGENTLY REQUEST
HORTA PHONE ME WITHIN TWENTY FOUR HOURS

. . . STOP . . . PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF
THIS MESSAGE . . . DAVID SCOTT

Then came a telex from Alkatiri:

JUST RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE . . . STOP . . . RAMOS
HORTA IS OK . . . STOP . . . EVERYTHING GOING ON
VERY WELL . . . STOP . . . MERRY CHRISTMAS AND
HAPPY NEW YEAR FOR YOU AND ALL YOUR FAMILY
AND FRIENDS . . . STOP . . .
ALKATIRI.

It was not reassuring. Why couldn't José speak to me? Then Sue sent me a copy of a letter José had left with Maureen Berman and I had no doubt he was in danger. But the letter could not be cited as evidence of our concern or José would be in deeper trouble.

José's letter to Maureen said:

I had intended to be back in New York a week after I left on 22 October but I'm now stuck in Maputo and unable to leave. I am virtually under house arrest.

I have been charged with treason but no evidence has been presented. Just because I'm a social democrat and the liberal conservative faction tried to get my support I was accused of betraying the Republic.

I'll be here for a while until they make up their minds about my fate. I shall try to leave the country. If that is not possible I shall seek political asylum here, most likely with the British or US.

Now I need your support. First of all keep this in strict secrecy.

You should contact Margot Picken of Amnesty International when the occasion arises. I will send you a telegram as follows:

John will get married in UK on (date meaning the day I

would contact the UK Embassy and ask for political asylum).
Signed Polly.'

If I decide to seek asylum at the US Embassy I would write John will get married in New York'.

As soon as you get this telegram please contact the State Department or the British Mission, the Press and whomever you think could be useful.

If a political asylum is refused, I'll be killed or be detained to spend many years confined. Please understand the seriousness of my situation.

I have been the victim of a power struggle of which I have no part. I have served the people of East Timor and the Central Committee of Fretlin the best I could.

I spared no efforts and sacrifices over the past four years to promote the struggle of my people for self-determination. Now I'm stabbed in the back because I'm not communist.

I do not fear for my life under Fretlin but I fear for my life under my own colleagues.

I might also try to cross the border into Swaziland and seek asylum there with British, Australian or US Embassies. My plan is to proceed to Australia. Once in Swaziland I would phone you or send a clear telegram.

I must sign off now. Please keep this strictly confidential. If a word of this is leaked out I shall be shot!

Warmest regards

José

When you get any message please call immediately Sue Nichtentein [Roff] in New York. She is an Australian lady with excellent contacts in NY and Australia. She could get the story into the media for Australia newspapers and radio. Phone New York 864 7986.

José had left New York on 22 October expecting to return a week later. When Maureen Berman had no word from him by

18 December she had contacted Sue Roff expressing her concern. On Friday, 29 December after I had returned home to Fitzroy to be close to a telephone. The phone rang at 12.30 am. I raced downstairs and was relieved to hear José's rich, deep, subdued voice. There was someone by his side. He said my message to Alkatiri asking him to phone had been received. He was fit and had suffered no physical harm but was not able to leave 'to anywhere'. He said the Mozambican government had nothing to do with the situation. It was due to 'over-excitement' on the part of his friends . . . he believed the situation would be sorted out.

José said he would find ways of letting us know what was happening and asked me to contact the International League of Human Rights (Maureen Berman) to pass on what he had told me. His wife Ana was well and their baby son (Maubere) was 'beautiful'. Alkatiri sent good wishes and New Year greetings.'

On the same day the telephone operator at the Brotherhood took a cryptic message for me from nine-year-old Sarah, daughter of Bill and Sue Roff in New York, 'thank you, thank you, thank you so, so, so much for making José be able to telephone David, and saying it was going good. Please make it finish well.'

Young Sarah's plea for a happy ending was not granted until February when José arrived at Sue's office in New York. She said he was tired and emotional about his treatment and also concerned about Ana and the baby, Maubere.

José wrote to me from London in mid-February saying he knew Sue had told me of the 'episode' in Maputo:

I am planning to return to Mozambique. I have been advised by well-meaning friends not to, but I still owe loyalty to the people of East Timor and FRETILIN.

If I did quit I would just be giving ammunition to the Indonesians to fire at FRETILIN. I still believe that FRETILIN is the only legitimate and capable representative of the people of East Timor.

In spite of the overwhelming odds and serious setbacks of the past few weeks, the struggle goes on. I could not, therefore conceive of not going back to Maputo. I am aware of the fact that in going back to Maputo I am taking a serious risk.

I must tell you that your 'good friend' DF (Denis Freney) is seriously implicated in this whole story. My detention in Maputo was largely pressed for by DF (Denis Freney). The others succumb to his pressures and political blackmail.

I must sign off this now. Thank you for your concern and efforts in helping me. Believe me, if it weren't for you, I would have been left to rot in Maputo.

Warmest regards

José

José gave credit to the Fretilmo (Government) authorities for the way they handled the intra-Fretilin dispute. An unfortunate but not surprising outcome from the incident was Sue and Bill Roff's reluctant withdrawal from work in support of East Timor, concluding that ideologies had poisoned and factionalised Fretilin.

I pushed aside awareness of the madhnesses and ambitions of Fretilin, UDT, Apodeti and the other groups and through all the fog tried to keep my eyes on the people of East Timor.

Fretilin leader killed

On New Year's Eve 1978, the people of East Timor suffered another bitter blow and, one that seemed at the time to be a terminal one. On 31 December, in fierce fighting with Indonesian troops, Fretilin's immensely popular and skilful leader, Nicolau Lobato was captured after being shot in the leg and stomach. He died of these wounds. An Indonesian account of the events said the Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian Army flew to East Timor to pay his respects to the dead – a nice touch of military honour but I think not true.

Twenty-five years later, Jill Jolliffe, writing in Dili for *The Age*,

reported 'that a headless skeleton discovered by workmen digging in the yard of East Timor Prime Minister, Mari Alkatiri is believed to be the remains of Nicolau Lobato, the charismatic resistance leader killed by the Indonesians in 1978'.¹¹ Jolliffe said it was reported that Lobato's head was severed after the former Indonesian President Suharto demanded it be sent to Jakarta as proof of Lobato's death. The report she wrote made sense because the house of Chief Minister Alkatiri had been occupied by Colonel Dading Kalbuadi, the Indonesian Army chief who was also implicated the killing of the newsmen in Balibo in 1975.

'Lobato's killing was heralded in Jakarta as a great victory, accompanied by much rejoicing', Dunn wrote. 'General Yusuf at once flew to Dili to inspect the body of the fallen Timorese leader. It was photographed against the background of a group of triumphant Indonesian officers, including Brigadier-General Dading Kalbuadi.'¹²

Dunn in his compelling account, says 'a wave of deep sorrow and hopelessness swept across the territory. In the previous years Nicolau Lobato had become legendary figure to the Timorese and Indonesians, but to the former he was a symbol of the slender hope that, some day the occupying forces would be driven out of East Timor. For the first time many Timorese felt theirs was a defeated nation.'

Jolliffe also cites a book on Kopassus by Ken Conboy in which Lobato's last moments are detailed in interviews with Kopassus troops.¹³ Conboy said that two platoons of Indonesian soldiers spotted Lobato with a seven-man escort near Maubisse: 'A withering amount of fire was directed at the Fretilin chief. Hit in the stomach, Lobato attempted to cross a river; too weak to do so, he collapsed near a tree and bled to death before Indonesian troops reached him.' The unit was led by Prabowo Subianto, Kopassus leader and son-in-law of President Suharto.

Conboy, said Jolliffe, had said Colonel Dading arranged a triumphant ceremony in Dili for the arrival by helicopter of

Lobato's body. The event was filmed. Xavier do Amaral, now Deputy Speaker of the East Timorese Parliament, who had been captured by Dading in 1978 had identified the corpse.

Back in Australia, Denis Freney had lost his position of influence with the closure of the radio and exposure of the plot against Ramos-Horta. East Timor is not mentioned again in his *A Map of Days* other than a meeting with Abilio Araújo at an International Symposium organised by the Communist Party in Tokyo in 1979.

It was a tragic year for José. Friends had been killed and his own life had been endangered. Xavier do Amaral, whom he respected as President had apparently defected and the admired new President and leader of Falintil, Nicolau Lobato, had been killed.

More killings

Closer to José and most distressing, his younger brothers Nuno, a Falintil commander, and Guilherme had been executed by Indonesian soldiers in 1977 and he learned his younger sister, Maria Ortencia, was killed on 19 December 1978 by a rocket fired from an aircraft. It was an OV-10 Bronco aircraft supplied to Indonesia by the United States. Maria Ortencia was buried on a majestic mountain top in a grave tended since then by the people of the area. Also, there was always the worry that his mother Natália, living with her sadnesses in Dili, might be used as a hostage against José's challenges to Indonesia.¹⁴

And so thankfully, 1978 was over and also it seemed, East Timor's prospects for self-determination. José was still banned from entering Australia where the only members of his family outside East Timor lived. He had many good reasons to quit Fretilin, but he returned to Maputo and carried on.

US arms authorised by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger but used illegally against East Timor¹⁵ sped up what was to be the final elimination of resistance in East Timor. At the UN, time, lack of information and Indonesia's well-financed diplomatic

campaign to gain votes to remove East Timor from the UN list of non-self-governing territories was eroding East Timor's support. Three years later, East Timor remained on the UN list by only two votes.

'I'll celebrate my fiftieth birthday in Dili', José said. An impossible dream, I thought, as I indulged him his fantasy.

- 5 John Tomlinson was a Darwin social worker.
- 6 Sally Wilkins, 'Timor Ship Aground On Legal Reefs', *The Age*, 8 and 9 June 1977.
- 7 *The Northern Territory News*, 15 October 1976.
- 8 Statement by David Scott to John Waters, solicitor, Darwin, 20 October 1976.
- 9 *The Northern Territory News*, 7 December 1976.
- 10 *Nation Review*, 19–25 May 1977.

Chapter Ten

- 1 Warwick Nelly was a Darwin trade unionist and Communist Party member who was active in starting the radio link.
- 2 Personal email from Robert Wesley-Smith (to be referred to as R.W-S) to the author, 17 November 2002.
- 3 'Dili Story' was an account of my brief stay in Dili before the invasion. Sue Roff used it in her book *Timor's Anschluss: Indonesia and Australian Policy in East Timor 1974–76*, The Edwin Mellen Press, NY, 1992.
- 4 Brian Harradine, later Senator Harradine, was a supporter of B.A. Santamaria.
- 5 Brendan O'Dwyer was a political activist who worked with ACFPOA. He was the first Australian journalist to interview José Ramos-Horta in 1973. The interview was broadcast by the ABC.
- 6 Leonel Andrade was a member of the External Fretilin Committee in Maputo.
- 7 See Xanana Gusmão, *To Resist is to Win!: the Autobiography of Xanana Gusmão with Selected letters & speeches*, edited by Sarah Niner, Aurora Books, Richmond, Victoria, with David Lovell Publishing, 2000.
- 8 See Rowena Lennox, *The Fighting Spirit of East Timor: The Life of Martinho da Costa Lopes*, Pluto Press, Australia, 2000.
- 9 The *AETA Newsletter* reported a survey that showed a majority of Liberal and Labor candidates strongly criticised the former Whitlam administration for its lack of action over East Timor.
- 10 Clyde R. Cameron, *The Cameron Diaries*, Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, 1990.

Chapter Eleven

- 1 Denis Freney, *A Map of Days: Life on the Left*, William Heinemann, Australia, 1991.
- 2 *ibid.*, p. 125.
- 3 *ibid.*, p. 225.
- 4 *ibid.*, p. 346.
- 5 Unpublished papers. The author has copies.
- 6 Roque Rodrigues studied psychology in Lisbon. He had postings in

Angola and other countries as Ambassador for Fretilin and DRET. He is now Minister for Defence Security in the Government of Timor-Leste.

- 7 Tanter/Scott paper, 23 March 1978.
- 8 Jill Jolliffe, *East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1978.
- 9 Michael Hodgman was a Liberal MP serving in the Fraser Government, one of the few Federal Members to take a keen interest in East Timor.

Chapter Twelve

- 1 Rowena Lennox, *The Fighting Spirit of East Timor: The Life of Martinho da Costa Lopes*, Pluto Press, Australia, 2000, p. 199.
- 2 Gerald Stone, *Compulsive Viewing*, Penguin, Australia, 2001, includes the story of a boat trip to Dili on 29 August 1975 to report on the civil conflict between Fretilin and UDT. Kerry Packer, proprietor of Channel Nine, insisted on accompanying Stone. Stone believes the presence of their boat in Dili may have aborted a planned Indonesian intervention taking advantage of UDT/Fretilin conflict. General Mardani had prepared a force to intervene at this time. See Julius Pour, *Mardani: a Profile of a Soldier Statesman*, The Yayasan Kejuangan Pangalima Besar Sudirman, Jakarta, 1993.
- 3 See Jill Jolliffe, *Cover Up*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2001
- 4 Robert Domm, a Sydney lawyer, interviewed Xanana Gusmão for the ABC.
- 5 Herb Gans, sociologist and author at Columbia University, New York.
- 6 David Scott, *Don't Mourn For Me Organise: The Political Role of Voluntary Organisations*, Allen & Unwin, 1979.

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- 1 Xanana Gusmão, *To Resist is to Win!: the Autobiography of Xanana Gusmão with Selected letters & speeches*, edited by Sarah Niner, Aurora Books, Richmond, Victoria, with David Lovell Publishing, 2000, p. 5.
- 2 Denis Freney, *A Map of Days: Life on the Left*, William Heinemann, 1991, p. 370.
- 3 Robert Wesley-Smith, Chapter 5, 'Maubere Radio and Links to East Timor' in *Free East Timor*, edited by Jim Aubrey, Vintage 1998.
- 4 Ana Pessoa studied law and became a Judge in Mozambique. She returned to East Timor after independence and was appointed Minister for Justice and in 2004 was appointed Minister of State.
- 5 Marina Alkatiri is Ambassador to Mozambique, a country she lived in for many years.

5 JOHNSON
6 S.

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of Days, p. 371.

as born to Ana and José Ramos-Horta on
The glaucoma he was born with was a deep
over the years. Sight in one eye was restored
confident, humorous 25-year-old completing

arrascação was the Commonwealth Grant In Aid worker,
aided by the Fraser Government to facilitate family reunions in
Australia. He is currently a Member of Parliament of the Republic
of Timor-Leste.

10 Xanana Gusmão, *To Resist is to Win*, p. 52.11 *The Age*, 17 January 2004.12 James Dunn, *East Timor: A Rough Passage to Independence*,
Longueville Books, Sydney, 2003, p. 274. Dading's association
with East Timor began, according to Dunn, in 1975 when he led
the Indonesian attack on Balbo and Maliana on 12 October, p. 95.
Dading also commanded a unit formed to intervene in East Timor
at the time of the Fretilin/UDT conflict if President Suharto had
given permission.

13 Ken Conboy, *Kopassus: Inside Indonesia's Special Forces*, Equinox
Publishing, Asia, 2002. Nicolau's wife, Isabel, was executed on the
Dili wharf the day after the invasion in 1975. Their son, José, is
now a member of the Timor-Leste Parliament.

14 Later, José's mother was allowed to leave East Timor to live
with her daughter in Sydney. It was believed Indonesian Foreign
Minister, Ali Alatas, facilitated permission for her to leave. Still
later José purchased a house for his mother in western Sydney
with the proceeds of a successful libel prosecution by Sydney QC,
Stuart Littlemore, on behalf of Ramos-Horta, against *Nationwide*
News.

15 Christopher Hitchens, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*, Text
Publishing, Melbourne, 2001, p. 104.

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1 *The Age*, 18 June 1981, p. 2.2 *The Weekend Australian*, 3 October 1981, p. 2.3 Clyde R. Cameron, *The Cameron Diaries*, Allen & Unwin, North
Sydney, 1990, p. 88.

4 Copy of letter, 13 March 1983, sent to author.

5 *Triune*, 29 May 1985.6 Robert Domm, 'East Timor: To Resist Is To Win' in *Free East*
Timor, edited by Jim Aubrey, Vintage, Sydney, 1998, p. 123.7 Stahl was banned from entering Australia for two years to placate
Jakarta.8 Mark Arons and Robert Domm, *East Timor, a Western Made*
Tragedy, Left Book Club, Sydney, 1992.

9 Jolliffe to author, 4 September 1980.

10 Letter to author.

11 *The Northern Territory News*, 4 July 1978.12 See report of the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor
(APCED), 31 May to 1 June 1994, University of the Philippines,
Quezon City, Philippines, 1994.

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1 In 2003 Abel Guterres was appointed Consul General for Timor-
Leste in Sydney.2 Richard Tanter et al. eds, *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers*, Pluto Press,
2001, p. 110.3 Daniel Nicholson, 'The Lorikeet Warriors: East Timorese New
Generation Nationalist Resistance', 1989-99, Department of
History, University of Melbourne, 2001. Accounts were also
included in Yorkshire TV documentary by Peter Gordon, *In Cold*
Blood: The Massacre of East Timor, 1992.4 At the November 2003 CAVR hearing on massacres, Max Stahl
confirmed his belief in the list of 273 names collected by the
Portuguese but he considered it incomplete. He spoke of 'days of
killing'.5 *The Australian*, 3 January 1992.6 Stewart Firth, *Australia in International Politics*, Allen & Unwin,
1999, p. 206.7 *ibid.*, p. 195.8 *The Age*, 15 February 1994.9 *Jakarta Post*, 12 July 1994.10 *The Australian*, 15 March 1995.

11 Letter from author to Evans.

12 Letter from Evans to author.

13 James Dunn, *East Timor: A Rough Passage to Independence*,
Longueville Books, Sydney, 2003, p. 296.14 *De Tijk*, 4 July 1992.15 *The Australian*, 8-9 July 1995.16 ABC, *Four Corners*, 21 August 1995.17 Duncan Campbell, 'Indonesian Security Agreement Ignores
Human Rights', *The Australian*, 3 January 1996.18 *The Age*, 21 December 1995.19 *The Australian*, 14 January 1998.

Chapter Sixteen

1 Justino Guterres is now Director of Tertiary Education in the
Government of Timor-Leste.