

Preliminary Listing Only



## East Timor Collection

Papers of Gordon D. McIntosh  
Senator for Western Australia 1974-1987

September 2003

Clearing House for **Archival Records on Timor**

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**Please Note:**

This guide to the Timor papers of Gordon McIntosh is a preliminary list only.

The bulk of these papers have been held by me since Gordon's retirement from the Senate in 1987. Gordon added some materials to this collection during early assessment of the papers in 2000. He has since added materials documenting his involvement in the Timor issue after 1987. These latter materials are yet to be included in this listing.

These papers are expected to be available for access in a public repository in 2010. There will be restrictions on access to some parliamentary materials.

John Waddingham  
15 June 2009

## Collection Description: Explanatory Notes

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### Folder Group ID

A simple alphabetical character denoting each distinct 'series' of 'group' of folders.

### Folder Group

A 'heading' or 'series title' for a group of folders characterised by a particular type of material or content theme.

### Folder Title

Recorded from folders where titles already exist. For untitled folders and folders created to hold previously unfiled materials, a folder title was created and recorded in pencil at right of front flap. Folder Titles are used to physically identify individual folders in a given box or other container.

### Date Range

Expressed in years. These should be seen as guides rather than accurate statements. Where date range was not recorded, a 'guess' has been made for the start of the range and is indicated in this way: **1986-0**.

### Size

Indicates thickness of folder or other container. Recorded to the nearest half centimetre as a rough guide to amount of material in container. 0.0cm indicates size was not measured.

### Contents

Only a rough guide to contents of folder. Individual items named are only a random selection to provide some 'flavour' for the content. This descriptive area may also contain some clarifying notes on the location, state etc of the material.

### Box Number

More accurately expressed as 'container number'. Most materials have been re-boxed into standard archive boxes which have been labelled in this way: **MGD 3** (meaning McIntosh Box 3).

### Folder Identity

A combination of 'Folder Group ID' and a running sequence of numbers for each folder group. These IDs are recorded on the folders for easy folder identification..

**Preliminary Listing: Papers of Gordon D. McIntosh**

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**A: CORRESPONDENCE**

- Box 1 A1 **Australian Government 1977-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Letters, telegrams. Includes photocopies of letters out.
- Box 1 A2 **Parliamentarians 1977-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with (mostly) Labor Party colleagues.
- Box 1 A3 **Senate FADC Inquiry (Non-official) 1981-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence concerning but outside the official proceedings of the 1982 Senate Inquiry into East Timor
- Box 1 A4 **Parliamentary Delegation to Indonesia 1983 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes letters supporting McIntosh's decision to dissent from the official report of the delegation.
- Box 1 A5 **East Timorese 1975-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with East Timorese political leaders, community leaders and members
- Box 1 A6 **United Nations 1982-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with UN Secretary-General Office
- Box 1 A7 **Portuguese Government 1984-1987** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondents include Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, Foreign Minister Jaime Gama and Portugal's Ambassador to Australia.
- Box 1 A8 **U.S. Politicians 1982-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondents include Tony Hall, Paul Tsongas.
- Box 2 A9 **New Zealand 1984-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with New Zealand parliamentarians.
- Box 1 A10 **East Timor Activists 1977-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with Timor activist organisations and individuals. Australia and international.
- Box 1 A11 **Avebury / Budiarjo 1983-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Communications with Lord Avebury, House of Lords, U.K. and Carmel Budiarjo, Tapol, UK.
- Box 1 A12 **Clark, Roger 1986-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Exchanges with Professor Roger Clark on international legal issues - particularly the Australia - East Timor seabed boundary
- Box 1 A13 **East Timor Office - Melbourne 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with Pat Walsh, John Waddingham
- Box 1 A14 **Herrera / Hobart Timor Committee 1984-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with Mrs J Herrera from Queensland and later as convenor of the Hobart East Timor Committee.
- Box 1 A15 **Jolliffe 1981-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Correspondence with journalist Jill Jolliffe, Portugal
- Box 1 A16 **Miscellaneous Correspondents 1976-1986** [2.00 cm]  
Correspondents include organisations such as Human Rights Council of Australia, Free Aceh, Republic of South Moluccas Movement, Free Papua Movement, United Nations Association, Community Aid Abroad, 2/2nd Commando Association and individual representations.

**B: ISSUE / ACTION FILES**

- Box 2 B1 **Timor Visit - 1975 1975-1975** [1.00 cm]  
Includes original typescript report of visit to Timor as part of Labor Government Caucus Committee; pamphlets, photographs and other material collected; records of interview with Timorese parties and Portuguese officials; correspondence between delegation and PM Whitlam after visit.

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**B: ISSUE / ACTION FILES**

- Box 2 B2 **Delegation to Indonesia - 1976 1976-1976** [1.00 cm]  
McIntosh was a member of a Parliamentary Delegation visit to Indonesia in 1976. Material includes unofficial backgrounder material on East Timor, official schedule with written annotations, Senate discussion on Delegation report.
- Box 2 B3 **United Nations - 1982 1982-1982** [1.00 cm]  
McIntosh petitioned the UN Decolonisation Committee in November 1982. Folder includes speech notes, UN press summaries of petitions, Federal Parliamentary Labor Party petition to UN, correspondence, other collected materials.
- Box 2 B4 **United Nations - 1983 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
McIntosh was the Labor Party's representative on the Parliamentary Delegation to the UN. Folder includes correspondence and collected materials.
- Box 2 B5 **Labor Parliamentarians 1984-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Working materials, drafts, final texts of collective letters sent by concerned Labor federal politicians.
- Box 2 B6 **Seabed Boundary 1986-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Background materials, letters, parliamentary speech.
- Box 2 B7 **East Timor Radio Link 1985-1985** [2.00 cm]  
Background materials on reestablishment by Australian activists of radio contact with the armed
- Box 2 B8 **Family Reunion Cases 1983-1987** [3.00 cm]  
Includes correspondence, general materials and specific case files
- Box 2 B9 **Student Abductions - Jakarta 1986 1986-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Background plus McIntosh letters and documents on the arrest and disappearance of three Timorese students in Jakarta.
- Box 2 B10 **Europe Visit - 1986 1986-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous materials, mostly correspondence with individuals in London, Portugal, European Parliament.
- Box 2 B11 **Belo Letter - 1985 1985-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Background on controversy over authenticity of Monsignor Belo letter highly critical of human rights situation.
- Box 2 B12 **Office Organisation / Contacts 1982-1987** [1.00 cm]  
Includes contact address lists, internal office organisation materials.
- Box 3 B13 **Labor Party Policy Development 1981-1986** [7.00 cm]  
Includes correspondence, draft proposals, State and National foreign policy resolutions.
- Box 3 B14 **Hawke Sovereignty Statement - 1985 1985-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes McIntosh discussion paper; media clippings
- Box 3 B15 **Senate Inquiry Proposal - 1977 1977-1977** [1.00 cm]  
Includes Senate motion texts; letters lobbying for inquiry.
- Box 3 B16 **New Zealand Visit - 1977 1977-1977** [1.00 cm]  
Media coverage of McIntosh visit to New Zealand
- Box 3 B17 **Civil War and aftermath - 1975 1975-1975** [1.00 cm]  
Includes parliamentarians (incl McIntosh) letter to PM Whitlam; Report of Arthur Gietzelt, Ken Fry visit to

**C: PARLIAMENT**

- Box 3 C1 **Parliamentary Proceedings - Hansard 1974-1987** [0.00 cm]  
Photocopy of all McIntosh's contributions to proceedings in the Senate Chamber (i.e. includes non-Timor material)

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**C: PARLIAMENT**

- Box 4 C2 **Questions - Parliament 1976-1987** [2.00 cm]  
Questions asked "without notice" and "on notice" in the Senate (incomplete record). Includes draft questions, original ministerial replies, background material.

**D: SPEECHES, PAPERS, ARTICLES**

- Box 4 D1 **Speeches - Non Parliamentary 1982-1986** [5.00 cm]  
Original text of speeches in a range of forums.
- Box 4 D2 **Speech Notes 0-0** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous collection of talk notes, draft comments.
- Box 4 D3 **Discussion Papers 1983-1987** [1.00 cm]  
Papers prepared for circulation to interested people and organisations. Includes two papers on Hawke government's handling of East Timor.
- Box 4 D4 **Media Releases, Letters 1975-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Original texts or copies of media statements and 'Letters to the Editor'.
- Box 4 D5 **Media, articles about McIntosh 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous collection of media and other material featuring or quoting McIntosh.

**E: SENATE INQUIRY 1982**

- Box 5 E1 **Final Report 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Published version of Committee's Report: "The Human Rights and Conditions of the People of East Timor." September 1983. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra .
- Box 5 E2 **Draft Reports 1983-1983** [8.00 cm]  
Five successive drafts of the final Committee report. From April 1983 (annotated) to September 1983.
- Box 5 E3 **Committee Logistics 1982-1983** [2.00 cm]  
Includes schedules for committee hearings; lists and summaries of submissions; internal correspondence - including discussion of draft report.
- Box 5 E4 **Official Hansard Record 1982-1982** [10.00 cm]  
Volumes include submissions and transcripts of evidence of individuals and organisations appearing before Committee. (Incomplete)
- Box 6 E5 **Transcripts - In Camera Evidence 1982-1982** [10.00 cm]  
Transcripts of non-public evidence given "in camera" to the Committee.
- Box 6 E6 **Senate Proceedings on Report 1983-1984** [1.00 cm]  
Includes official transcripts and original speech notes on tabling of Report, the Government's response to the report and McIntosh's subsequent comments.
- Box 6 E7 **Submissions - Folder 1 1982-1982** [8.00 cm]  
Official copies of submissions sent to McIntosh by Committee Secretariat. Ordered into groups by McIntosh's personal staff. Folder includes listing of submissions.
- Box 7 E8 **Submissions - Folder 2 1982-1982** [8.00 cm]  
Official copies of submissions sent to McIntosh by Committee Secretariat. Ordered into groups by McIntosh's personal staff. Folder includes listing of submissions.
- Box 7 E9 **Submissions - Folder 3 1982-1982** [8.00 cm]  
Official copies of submissions sent to McIntosh by Committee Secretariat. Ordered into groups by McIntosh's personal staff. Folder includes listing of submissions.
- Box 7 E10 **Submissions - Folder 4 1982-1982** [8.00 cm]  
Official copies of submissions sent to McIntosh by Committee Secretariat. Ordered into groups by McIntosh's personal staff. Folder includes listing of submissions.

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**E: SENATE INQUIRY 1982**

- Box 7 E11 **Submissions - Folder 5 1982-1982** [8.00 cm]  
Official copies of submissions sent to McIntosh by Committee Secretariat. Ordered into groups by McIntosh's personal staff. Folder includes listing of submissions.
- Box 8 E12 **Submissions - WA Folder 1 1982-1982** [3.00 cm]  
Copies of submissions by West Australians - given directly to McIntosh for lodgement with Committee
- Box 8 E13 **Submissions - WA Folder 2 1982-1982** [2.00 cm]  
Includes original hand-written translations of Portuguese-language materials from inside East Timor which were included in some West Australian submissions to the Inquiry.
- Box 8 E14 **Submissions - Supplementary 1982-1982** [1.00 cm]  
Material from Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace as well as Foreign Affairs and Immigration
- Box 8 E15 **Whitlam Hearing 1982-1982** [1.00 cm]  
Copies of submissions (with some annotations) taken by McIntosh to Committee Hearings.
- Box 8 E16 **Canberra Hearings 9/10 June 1982-1982** [2.00 cm]  
Copies of submissions (with some annotations) taken by McIntosh to Committee Hearings.
- Box 8 E17 **Sydney Hearings 10-12 August 1982-1982** [2.00 cm]  
Copies of submissions (with some annotations) taken by McIntosh to Committee Hearings.
- Box 8 E18 **Canberra Hearings 24 September 1982-1982** [2.00 cm]  
Copies of submissions (with some annotations) taken by McIntosh to Committee Hearings.
- Box 8 E19 **Backgrounder File 1981-1982** [3.00 cm]  
Collection of background documents used by McIntosh during Committee proceedings.
- Box 8 E99 **Temporary File 1981-0** [1.00 cm]  
Misc submissions + other material. Duplicates??

**F: PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION 1983**

- Box 9 F1 **Background Material - Official 1983-1983** [4.00 cm]  
Departmental pre-visit briefing materials for Delegation members
- Box 9 F2 **Background Material - Unofficial 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Letters and other materials collected pre-visit.
- Box 9 F3 **Procedural Papers 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes letters, press releases from Delegation leader, draft itinerary, pre-visit briefing record.
- Box 9 F4 **Collected Materials 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes document passed to McIntosh by prisoners on Atauro; extensive Indonesian Press clippings.
- Box 9 F5 **Chance Meeting with Fretilin 1983-1985** [2.00 cm]  
Various materials concerning the record of the "chance meeting" between members of the Delegation and some Fretilin members in Laga.
- Box 9 F6 **Records of Conversation: Drafts 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Primary drafts of conversations recorded during official delegation meetings. Includes some McIntosh corrections, annotations.
- Box 9 F7 **Records of Conversation: Pre-Press 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes unpublished record of discussion with Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta.
- Box 9 F8 **Official Report: First Draft 1983-1983** [2.00 cm]  
Includes many markings, annotations by McIntosh

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**F: PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION 1983**

- Box 10 F9 **Official Report: Pre-Press 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes minor corrections.
- Box 10 F10 **McIntosh: Dissenting Report 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes research notes and drafts for dissenting report.
- Box 10 F11 **Official Report: Published Version 1983-1983** [4.00 cm]  
Three copies with annotations by McIntosh's research staff.
- Box 10 F12 **Parliamentary Proceedings on Report 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes draft notes and final text of speeches in the Senate. Also House of Reps speeches.
- Box 10 F13 **Aftermath - Miscellany 1983-1983** [1.00 cm]  
Includes media clippings, letters, draft notes.

**G: INFO: BY SOURCE**

- Box 10 G1 **Australia - Government 1977-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous collection of letters, media releases, statements from government Ministers and
- Box 10 G2 **Australia - Politicians, Parties, Parliaments 1978-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Media releases, letters, documents from (mostly Labor) Members - eg a 1978 media release by then Labor Opposition spokesman critical of Fraser Government's exclusion from Australia of Jose Ramos Horta. Also miscellaneous copies of material in Parliamentary debates (Hansard).
- Box 10 G3 **Australia - Parliamentary Library (Canberra) 1975-1985** [6.00 cm]  
Papers prepared by the Legislative Research Service of the Federal Parliamentary Library. Most written by Jim Dunn.
- Box 10 G4 **Australia - Non-Government Organisations 1975-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Mostly material from ACFOA, including its original 1975 post-civil war report on Timor and the report of the controversial ACFOA-initiated "Traill Commission".
- Box 11 G5 **Australia - Activist Organisations 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous collection of materials from East Timor Activist organisations such as AETA, ACET, CIET, Ciset
- Box 11 G6 **Australia - Individuals 1984-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes items from Jim Dunn and Herb Feith
- Box 11 G7 **East Timorese - Organised Resistance 1976-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Includes copies of letters, media releases, other documents from the Resistance inside Timor and its
- Box 11 G8 **East Timorese - Church 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes text of letters from Mospignor Belo and former Apostolic Administrator Lopes.
- Box 11 G9 **East Timorese - Communities 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes documents from various Timorese community organisations inside and (mostly) outside Timor. One 'inside' document is an "E.T. youth appeal for solidarity" directed to a visiting official of the
- Box 11 G10 **East Timorese - Individuals 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Various documents describing particular events or situations inside Timor.
- Box 11 G11 **East Timorese - Integrationists 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes miscellaneous collection of media material based on interviews with then ET Governor Mario Carrascalao



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**G: INFO: BY SOURCE**

- Box 11 G12 **Indonesia - Government 1974-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellany from Indonesian Embassy in Australia, 1976 GOI booklet "Decolonization in East Timor, Foreign Minister Mochtar's famous 1983 defence of Grenada's right to self-determination following US armed intervention; Tapol's publication of internal Indon. Army documents.
- Box 11 G13 **International Government - United Nations 1980-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous official UN documents including 1984-5 UN Sec-Gen progress reports.
- Box 11 G14 **International Non-Govt Organisations 1983-1985** [1.00 cm]  
International Red Cross reports on its work in Timor. Includes the politically significant September, October 1983 reports
- Box 11 G15 **Portugal - Various 1982-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Portuguese Government statements and letters on issues such as sea-bed boundary.
- Box 11 G16 **United Kingdom - Various 1981-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Material from Tapol, Catholic Institute for International Relations, Lord Avebury, Parliamentary Human Rights Group.
- Box 11 G17 **Europe - Various 1984-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Miscellaneous media items, letters from European government and non-Govt sources. Includes the Dutch Komitee Indonesie 1985 listing Of ET political prisoners held in Java.
- Box 11 G18 **USA/Canada - Various 1982-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Mostly texts of letters, initiatives and statements from US legislators such as Tony Hall, Dave Durenberger; Media Release from The US Catholic Conference on its letter of support to Monsignor Belo; 1984 Democratic Party platform item on Timor.
- Box 11 G19 **Pacific - Various 1976-1985** [1.00 cm]  
1976? NZ CIET pamphlet; interview fragment on then NZ Prime Minister Lange

**H: INFO: MASS MEDIA**

- Box 11 H1 **Australia 1975-1984** [4.00 cm]  
A miscellaneous collection without particular strengths. Predominantly 1981-1986. Includes some Parliamentary Library transcripts of electronic media items.
- Box 11 H2 **International Wire Services 1985-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Includes AP and Reuters reports
- Box 11 H3 **Indonesia 1984-1985** [1.00 cm]  
A few (mainly English-language Jakarta Post) clippings
- Box 11 H4 **Asia (Non-Indonesian) 1985-1985** [1.00 cm]  
Clips from Far Eastern Economic Review, Asian Wall Street Journal etc
- Box 11 H5 **USA / Canada 1983-1984** [1.00 cm]  
Copies of articles, Editorials from significant US Newspapers.
- Box 11 H6 **Europe 1983-1986** [1.00 cm]  
Clips from British, Portuguese media.

**J: INFO: PERIODICALS**

- Box 12 J1 **Tapol 0-0** [1.00 cm]  
Published by The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign (UK). Bulletins Nos 58 - ??
- Box 12 J2 **East Timor Report 0-0** [1.00 cm]  
Published by Australian Council for Overseas Aid. Nos ??
- Box 12 J3 **East Timor News 0-0** [1.00 cm]  
Published by Sydney's Campaign for an Independent East Timor (Denis Freney).

**K: INFO: PUBLISHED ARTICLES, PAPERS**

Box 12 K1 **Miscellaneous Articles 1962-1985** [1.00 cm]

Originals and copies of published articles and periodicals. Includes Helen Hill's "The Timor Story" (1976).