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25th September 1997

To: All participants of the Eight Christian Consultation on East Timor, Lisbon, 13/14
Sept. 97

Dear Friends,

It was good to meet you all in Lisbon recently at CCET 8. We write today to enclose the minutes of the meeting, together with a contact list. You will see that as we stated at the beginning of the first plenary on Saturday, we have not produced a verbatim record, but have instead concentrated on setting out the action agreed. We have summarised both planned activities and organisations responsible. We hope that this will encourage you to make active contact with the working group to which you attached yourselves, and to network over the coming weeks and months.

Please be mindful that some of the activities require fairly prompt responses. The proposed statement on arms sales by the EU Commissie of Catholic Bishops, for example, will require prompt lobbying, as they meet in November, and Ecumenical prayers for Dec 7th will also need to be organised soon. We urge WG members to be in contact with the organisations leading the various working groups: Maria Brett on Human Rights, at the ETHRC Melbourne, Catherine Scott at the CIIR Secretariat on Aid, Carmel Budiardjo and Pax Christi UK on Arms Trade, and Arnold Kohen of the Humanitarian Project, Washington on Peace-making.

We were pleased with the willingness of participants to commit to being active in the network. The real test for us all of these commitments lies ahead - there is much to be done. Please do not hesitate to contact us at the secretariat at CIIR if you require or can supply relevant information. We look forward to working together.

Yours sincerely,

Catherine Sunt

Catherine Scott

International Policy Department &

CCET Secretariat

Summary Minutes from the 8th Meeting of the Christian Consultation on East Timor (CCET 8), Lisbon, 13-14 September 1997

Attendance Stephen Baranyi, Hilary Coulby and Catherine Scott (CIIR); Johannes Brandstater (Diakonisches Werk), Maria Brett (ETHRC), Eileen Brosnahan (Pax Christi International), Carmel Budiardjo (TAPOL), Jean-Pierre Catry, Alfreda Fonseca and Ana Nunes (Paz e Possivel); Marie-Therese Chaffaut (ASTO), Zacarias da Costa (ET Representative to EU), Rui Gomes, Arnold Kohen (Humanitarian Project), Antonio Barbedo (Oporto University), Ewa Palys (J&P Belgique), Luisa Teotonio Pereira (CDPM), Sergio Regazzoni (Centre Lebret), Roque Rodrigues (CNRM), Fernanda Rondao (SOS Timor), Domingos Sarmento (RENETIL), Victor Scheffers, (J&P Netherlands), Monika Schlicher (Watch Indonesia), Jose da Silveria Salvador (Presbyterian Church of Portugal), Jorge Teixera Lapa and Suzana Braz (IPJET), Eilis Ward (Trinity College Dublin). NB. Agencies with projects in East Timor and agencies which may want to work on the ground in the future are not listed here, under apologies or in the minutes. Timorese participants who intend to return to East Timor are also not noted.

Apologies Johan Bosman (KWIA), Feije Duim (Dutch Reformed Church), Juan Federer (ETISC Australia), Pat Gaffney (Pax Christi UK), Tom Hyland (ETISC Ireland), Bern Jagunos (CAWG), Anselmo Lee (Pax Romana), Sabine Marquardt (J&P Germany), Akihisa Matsuno (OSETA), Gus Miclat (APCET), Monika Nakamura (J&P Japan), Eva Philipps (INFID), Charlie Scheiner (ETAN USA), Sharon Scharfe (PET), Chalida Tajaroensuk (Forum-Asia) and Adrien-Claude Zoller (ISHR).

Overview The meeting began on Saturday with a roundtable on the situation in East Timor, international developments, policy debates and campaigns in different countries. This session was followed by the presentation of a draft paper on "EU Policy Towards East Timor" by Eilís Ward. In the afternoon we divided up into working groups to discuss action plans for the coming year. Action plans were presented, discussed and finalised in the plenary sessions on Sunday. These minutes summarise the agreements reached on Sunday. A revised version of the EU policy paper will be published as an insert to the October 1997 issue of Timor Link.

Human Rights Working Group (HR WG)

The human rights situation continues to deteriorate in East Timor and the Government of Indonesia (GoI) is not complying with the resolution passed by the UN Commission on Human Rights in its 53rd session (UNCHR 53) or with many of its other obligations, under international human rights law. The CCET human rights WG will press key officials to urge GoI to comply with the UNCHR 53 resolution, and particularly to invite the Special Rapporteur on Torture to visit East Timor in 1997 and to release political prisoners. Officials will also be pressed to urge GoI to invite the working groups on Arbitrary Detention as well as on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to visit, and to consent to the establishment of a UN on-site human rights monitoring presence in East Timor.

Key targets include EU governments which sponsored the UNCHR 53 resolution (especially the Netherlands, which held the EU Presidency in early 1997, the UK, which will hold the

Presidency in early 1998, and Portugal), the USA and Japan. UN officials and experts, including the new High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Special Rapporteur on Torture, will also be lobbied. WG members and others will approach these targets as soon as possible; their efforts will intensify in January 1998, when inter-governmental preparations for UNCHR 54 begin in earnest. The ETHRC will lead this WG in 1997-98. The Centre's August 1997 report can be used for immediate lobbying; an updated report will be published in early 1998, in time for lobbying prior to and during UNCHR 54. The ETHRC will work with other WG members to prepare a memo to guide this lobbying (and activities like testimonies in Geneva) in early 1998. The CCET Secretariat will support this effort by synthesizing information received from participants in different countries and by distributing the lobbying memo to the wider CCET network. Diakonisches Werk, A Paz e Possivel, the Humanitarian Project, and J&P Netherlands agreed to participate actively in this effort, in liaison with the East Timor Permanent Representation to the EU. TAPOL, J&P Germany, the Osaka East Timor Association, APCET and the ISHR have indicated an interest in collaborating. Others who could be approached include CAWG, PET, and IPJET.

The Humanitarian Project will liaise with Human Rights Watch; ETHRC and CIIR will liaise with the International Secretariat of Amnesty. The World Council of Churches should also be informed of this initiative. The effort to get the European Commissie of Catholic Bishops to adopt a statement on East Timor at its November 1997 meeting, and the CCET mission to Brussels tentatively planned for November 1997, should draw on and reinforce this campaign.

Official Development Assistance Working Group (ODA WG)

In his presentation, Rui Gomes argued that the effectiveness of the development assistance which governmental and inter-governmental agencies provide to East Timor is undermined by the fact that it is channelled aid through GoI agencies, that Timorese beneficiaries are not adequately involved, that projects are not properly monitored and evaluated, etc. [See copy.]

The ODA WG will focus on two donors in 1997-98, UNESCO and the European Commission (EC), with a view to monitoring and influencing their development programmes in East Timor. The group will initiate an evaluation of a UNESCO-funded project in East Timor, in collaboration with local partners. The development and implementation of the EC's aid package for East Timor will also be monitored through discussions will officials in Brussels and local counterparts.

CIIR will lead this WG in collaboration with certain development NGOs. Rui Gomes will act as a link between this group and the Platform of Portuguese NGDOs. These initiatives will be coordinated with the work of the British Coalition on East Timor (BCET) on UK aid, and with lobbying by INFID prior to the June 1998 Consultative Group on Indonesia. Others who have indicated an interest in monitoring the ODA programmes of their governments include CAWG (Canada), Diakonisches Werk (Germany), the Osaka East Timor Association (Japan). CIIR could also approach an Australian counterpart about monitoring AUSAID.

Arms Trade Working Group (AT WG)

Despite the illegal occupation of East Timor and ongoing grave human rights violations by

Indonesian security forces in the territory, many states continue to allow the sale of arms to Indonesia. The AT WG will press for a ban on arms sales to Indonesia, particularly by EU states. To this end, the group will feed into four initiatives.

First, it will facilitate efforts to get bishops conferences and other church bodies to speak out against arms sales. Every effort will be made to ensure that the EU Commissie statement on East Timor, planned for November 1997, adequately addresses this issue.

Second, the group will feed into the CCET advocacy mission to Brussels in late November 1997, which, among other things, will press appropriate EU officials to end arms sales to Indonesia. This item would be relevant to discussions with officials from EU permanent representations, since arms sales come under the jurisdiction of member states and not of the European Commission. Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) will also be pressed to follow up on the many resolutions which the EP has adopted on East Timor and Indonesia, by searching for more effective ways to persuade EU member states to discontinue the sale of arms to Indonesia.

Third, the group will feed into the coordination of an international day of prayer for East Timor tentatively planned for 7 December 1997 on the 6th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor. The group will also feed into the effort to channel information, to the Government of Portugal and the Timorese, which might be useful in the Tripartite Talks and the All-inclusive East Timorese Dialogue. The group's specific contribution will be to provide information on the military situation inside East Timor.

TAPOL will lead this WG, in collaboration with Pax Christi UK. The group also includes ASTO, Paz e Possivel and Watch-Indonesia.

Peace-making Working Group (PM WG)

The new format of the UN-mediated Tripartite Talks and the revived All-inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue (AETD) may provide opportunities for progress in the search for a solution to the conflict that corresponds to the wishes of the Timorese people and is also internationally acceptable. Yet GoP is at a considerable disadvantage vis-a-vis GoI given that it has no access to East Timor. Moreover, many of the Timorese participating in the AETD face pressures and possibly security threats because of their role in the Dialogue.

The PM WG will take two initiatives to respond to these challenges. First, it will coordinate the compilation of strategic information on the situation in East Timor and discretely share this information with GoP. CDPM and Paz e Possivel will lead this initiative by soliciting from other organisations information on aspects of the human rights, socio-economic and military situation inside East Timor. The CCET Secretariat will distribute their requests to the wider network. The Portuguese organisations will share the information received with GoP, and will keep the Secretariat informed about policy developments in Portuguese.

Second, the group will urge the Office of the UN Secretary-General to ensure the security of participants in the AETD, especially those coming from the inside. The PM WG will also

prepare itself to react effectively in case the security of certain participants is endangered due to their role in the Dialogue. The Humanitarian Project will lead this initiative, in coordination with the East Timor Representation to the EU and the CCET Secretariat. Others contributing to these initiatives include Diakonisches Werk, ETHRC, IPJET and Watch Indonesia.

Institutional Strengthening Working Group (IS WG)

Historically, the CCET has held meetings every 18 months, to which church-based organisations were invited for consultations. A Secretariat facilitated these meetings and other exchanges of information, and a Steering Committee backed up the Secretariat. In recent years, participation has been broadened to include Timorese and secular organisations with a record of action on East Timor. Ad hoc coalitions were formed for particular campaigns.

Participants agreed that the CCET should clarify its structures and procedures to further enhance its impact as a network. The aim is not to create a bureaucratic organisation but rather to make our network more transparent and effective. The IS WG presented proposals in this regard to CCET 8. These are noted below.

The CCET will have four bodies: working groups (WGs), a General Assembly (GA), a Secretariat and a Steering Committee (SC).

Working groups

The working groups will be the principal fora for action agreed at CCET Assemblies. The function of working groups will be to propose action plans to the General Assembly, implement the plans agreed upon by the Assembly and report back to the CCET via the Secretariat and the GA. WGs will be created at the initiative of participants, subject to agreement by the GA. They will be monitored and supported by the Secretariat and by the SC.

General Assembly

We discussed membership, and agreed that we did not want a two-tier system(church/non-church affiliated) but strong recommendations were made by a number of participants on the advantages of preserving the Christian character of the network. In that case the GAs will be open to all organisations with a strong record of promoting respect for human rights, peace or self-determination in East Timor at the invitation of the Secretariat and the Steering Committee. It was agreed that a sentence underlining the Christian character and history of the network would be acceptable as a basis of assent to GA membership. The functions of the GA will be to exchange information, and decide on the work plans of the CCET. It will hold annual meetings, preferably in September at the beginning of campaigning season.

Steering Committee

The function of the SC will be to oversee and support the working groups and the Secretariat in between annual general assemblies. As such, it will meet twice a year: once in tandem with the GA and once in between, preferably in January. The SC will have five members (including the Secretariat) who will be elected by the GA for two-year terms. Every effort will be made to ensure broad ecumenical and geographic representation. The SC will take advantage of new technologies to facilitate transnational communications and cut down on travel costs.

The IS WG proposed that a majority SC members be drawn only from church-affiliated organisations with up to two of the five SC seats open to secular organisations. This proposal should be further discussed and agreed at the GA next year.

Secretariat

The Secretariat will lead the organisation of GAs and SC meetings, in collaboration with local host organisations. It will report on those meetings to CCET participants. It will oversee and support the work of the WGs, particularly by facilitating information exchanges with the wider CCET network. It will maintain an up-to-date list of participants, with due regard for the confidentiality that certain agencies require to carry out their work in East Timor.

The CCET will not have a permanent Secretariat: instead, the Secretariat will be elected by the GA every two years, on years alternating with the election of the SC. Organisations wishing to maintain the Secretariat for more than one term will be able to present their candidacy to the GA. The IS WG proposed that this post should only be open to church-affiliated organisations; this to be discussed next year. The Secretariat will raise the funds it requires to carry out these functions. It will report to the SC and the GA; this will include information on running costs. NGDO participants in the CCET are encouraged to financially support this work.

Participants are invited to reflect on the above proposals and come to CCET 9 prepared to reach final agreements on these matters. In the meantime, the CCET will function on the basis of the proposal as a provisional arrangement.

Follow-up

- 1. CIIR will maintain the Secretariat for the next year and will carry out its functions as noted above. In particular, it will also circulate an updated list of CCET participants prior to CCET 9 for input and approval by the assembly.
- 2. J. Salvador, V. Scheffers, C. Scott and an anonymous participant will continue to serve on the Steering Committee. The Secretariat will invite the US Conference of Bishops and the US National Council of Churches to appoint a joint representative to the SC. CIIR will host a Steering Committee meeting in the UK in January 1998. The SC will ensure that participants are properly informed before the final discussion on institutional strengthening at CCET 9.
- 3. The four substantive working groups will follow through on the action plans noted above and will report to the Secretariat on their work.
- 4. A General Assembly will be held on 12-13 September 1998, in France or in Ireland.
- 5. The Secretariat, the Steering Committee and relevant working groups will collaborate on several joint initiatives: a) the attempt to get the European Commissie of Bishops to adopt a strong statement on East Timor in November 1997; b) a lobby mission to Brussels in late November 1997 which will address a range of issues falling within the ambit of the EU CP, such as Human Rights, Negotiations and arms sales; c) a day of prayer for East Timor on 7 December 1997.

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8TH Christian Consultation on East Timor 13 - 14 September 1997 Lisbon, Portugal

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SOME ALTERNATIVE THOUGHTS FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE IN EAST TIMOR (FY 1997/98)

The 8th Christian Consultation on East Timor Lisbon, 13-14 September 1997

Rui Augusto Gomes

Introduction

This working paper is a modest contribution to the Working Group II (Development Assistance Advocacy) of the 8th Christian Consultation on East Timor, incorporating a draft formulation of some alternative thoughts for development assistance in East Timor in FY 1997/98. I have divided this into three main sections: background, development constraints/ issues, and a list of (alternative) projects that can be designed to advance/ empower the Timorese.

Background

East Timor, the Indonesia's unilaterally-proclaimed "27th Province", is now in its 22nd year of Indonesian occupation. After the invasion and annexation of East Timor, the Indonesian government has indicated its political will to "develop" this newly-conquered territory. The achievements of the so-called economic "development" (pembangunan in Bahasa Indonesia) over the last two decades of Indonesian occupation are exeptional compared to five hundred years under Portuguese rule. Pembangunan has brought about significant changes, such as, an increase of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, and more people appear to have access to education, health, and so on. Despite this, the improvements in terms of economy and infrastructure have not brought about major structural changes which favour the interests of the Timorese. Moreover, such improvements do not reflect the real picture for the Timorese. There have also been negative outcomes as indicated by the dramatic increase in population as a result of massive migration into East Timor, the loss of life on the Timorese side, the locals' lack of control over their resources, the widening gap between the rich (mostly migrants) and the deprived, and the destruction of the environment.

As a matter of fact, East Timor remains the least developed region in Indonesia and, therefore, special efforts are required to bring about equitable and sustainable development which recognises the diversity, uniqueness and heterogeneous social groupings that exist. Therefore, the aim of every single project must be one that reinforces the efforts of NGOs and the Church in order that development resources and energies can be utilised and directed by the Timorese themselves for their own interests. Projects must be designed in such a way that help to build and re-build self-reliance and self-generated internal accountability.

Development Constraints/ Issues

What prevail in East Timor today are a number of issues which reinforce the need for a sharp focus and at the same time breadth in technical assistance programmes.

- Between 80-90% (587,382 people in 1995) of the population (excluding migrants) in the territory are rural based and require a certain degree of assistance and have inadequate income and standard of living (basic needs): 47.26% (293,000 people) still lived below the poverty line in 1993; income per capita registered US\$90.00 in 1992; monthly per capita expenditure = US\$9.00 for rural dwellers; 312 villages (70.60%) out of 442 villages are classified as desa tertinggal (impoverished villages) in terms of low caloric intake, malnutrition in children, occurrences of infectious diseases, inadequate diets, no drinking water and bad sanitary 1,400-1,900 cal/day conditions: caloric intake averages approximately 30 grs of proteins from which only 9.7 grs are animal proteins (meat, fish and eggs); illiteracy rate for women 70% and 40% for men; 53.8% of children under 5 years are malnourished and more than 10% of adults suffer from anemia and Vitamine A deficiency; IMR = 124/1000; life expectancy = 48 years; electricity and piped water remain a luxury for the majority of Timorese families. These families are amongst the poorest of the poor in Indonesia.
- The bulk of the rural population (587,382 people in 1995) are engaged in traditional agriculture, fisheries or mixed activities with the incumbent problems of low production, inadequate inputs, fragile or weak markets (more than 80% of street commerce are in the hands of migrants from Celebes/ Macassar). The migrants and the Chinese command 77.7% and 66%, respectively, of the large and medium-size businesses, in East Timor.

- The current unemployment rates run as high as 68% amongst East Timorese youth (compared to only 32% amongst migrants). In 1996, in the 15-60 age group, 299,177 Timorese were unemployed as compared to 150,100 migrants. In terms of the private sector, the majority (>90%) of the high ranking officials (Golongan III and IV), are migrants.
- More than 250,000 people (or 28. 21% out of 925,138 inhabitants in 1997) living in East Timor today are migrants from Java, Bali, Madura, Celebes and other adjacent regions. It should be noted that unofficial migrants outnumber official ones. The Indonesian government's intention of transposing Javanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Macassarenese into our homeland has been an effective way of breaking up the social cohesion and cultural identity.
- Methods must be devised to reach those in need as rapidly and equitably
 as possible. Thus, while a pilot programme may be necessary to set the
 stage for improving welfare and income, the requirements are widespread.
 In the case of East Timor, emphasis should be put on agriculture,
 education, communications, village improvement and health.
- The capability and staffing of the units responsible for planning (the Bappedas) is inadequate and the planning mechanism is weak and very top-down and project-centered approaches, particularly at the lower levels. An adequate system of information flow and data analysis is not in place that can form the basis for effective planning and management of resources, the establishment of priorities and guidance and direction for public and private investment. As a consequence of this, the government agencies operating in East Timor have been inundated with projects that are often disjoined and ad-hoc.
- Past experience has shown that projects in which a high level of technical input has been provided for a defined period dissipate as soon as that technical input is removed. One explanation of this is the mushrooming of corruption practices (>40% of "development" budget have been corrupted by officials from Java, Bali, Celebes and other adjacent regions). "Development" programmes are often seen as simple projects that need to be done and that can be used as ways for getting some commission.

Some Alternative Projects

1. Studies on the issue of rural development that give strong emphasis on people's participation in the development programmes. Rural development remains almost untouchable by the "development" programmes introduced in the eraly 1980s.

- 3. Design iniciatives to prevent further monopoly of land and property by migrants. Many of the migrants, owing to their economic, managerial and professional capabilities, have increasingly gained control over a significant number of buildings, properties and lands;
- 4. Encourage the opening of an independent HRs Watch Organization in Dili and Baucau;
- Preparation of secondary school teachers to teach Portuguese and English (Portuguese in Darwin and English in IALF-Bali?);
- 6. Provide scholarships to (potential and dedicated) young Timorese (in technical and vocational areas);
- 7. Strengthening of a cooperative which handles the production, processing and direct exportation of coffee. Today the KUDs (village cooperative units) which are supposed to support farmers and coffee growers, are also used as instruments to benefit the conglomerates (e.g., the Bhatara Indra Group);
- 8. In conjunction with ETISC (Australia) develop baseline surveys on education, language and arts;
- 9. Design integrated projects for the optimalization of the 208,706 hectares of grazing land (two head of cattle to one hectare of land, accommodates approximately 400,000 head of cattle); greater attention should be focused on improvement of agricultural support services and transfer of appropriate technology to farmers within a farming systems approach. Being one of the most potential sectors in East Timor, livestock has contributed 7% to the GDP in 1992.
- 10. Develop a center that can assist victims of war in Venilale and Same;
- 11.Develop small-scale projects for the protection of the environment, (some 78% of land were classified as critical land in 1995, as a result of systematic destruction of forests for engineering construction projects). In particular, the areas surrounding water sources must be protected.

What he been impossible for us is justille with God