

Book Review

January 11, 1987

Post-Colonial Oppressors

FUNU

The Unfinished Saga of East Timor.

By José Ramos-Horta.

Preface by Noam Chomsky.

207 pp. Trenton, N.J.:

The Red Sea Press. Cloth, \$29.95. Paper, \$9.95.

By Henry Kamm

TRAGEDIES of greater scope have marked this century; genocide and wars have destroyed life with unprecedented thoroughness, and oppression has reached a state of technological perfection that earlier tyrants did not dream of. But the sad fate of the 650,000 or so Timorese who were wrested from the yoke of a feckless European colonizer to be placed under that of a ruthless Indonesian conqueror has a special poignancy that cannot be encompassed in the mere number of victims.

The pathos of East Timor lies in the fact that in an age of instant communications, in which the victims' grief is seen and heard around the world, argued over by statesmen and kept alive in the public mind which allows hope for redress — its suffering is muted by indifference, remoteness and underdevelopment. Living at the eastern edge of the far-flung Indonesian archipelago, illiterate and largely unaware of the rest of the world, with their nearest foreign neighbor the emptiness of northern Australia, the Timorese have not become a "cause" except among a small band of Australians and Americans.

It has been the lot of East Timor, as backward and chronically subject to famine as all the other islands of Indonesia's Lesser Sundas group, to have been for more than four centuries a Christianized colony of Portugal, one of Europe's poorest countries, and now to have become an unwilling part of predominantly Moslem Indonesia, a nation rich in areas of underdevelopment and neglect.

East Timor does not qualify for a busy world's attention. Its lot is not at issue between the great world powers, because the United States and the Soviet Union would rather woo Indonesia, the conqueror, for its size, strategic situation and rich resources. Its people's misery has almost no company, because Indonesia keeps out almost totally those who would lend the Timorese a voice that could be heard and an image to be seen.

This is a partisan book because José Ramos-Horta has been a representative at the United Nations of one of the parties that sprang up when the revolution in 1974 tolled the death knell of Portuguese colonialism. His group, the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, known by its acronym in Portuguese as Fretilin, is the only guerrilla force that still remains in the field against the invaders.

• • •

"Funu" (the word for war in Tetun, an indigenous language in East Timor) is a book that tells more about the futile diplomatic struggle to undo Indonesia's act of aggrandizement and obtain the right to self-determination for East Timor than of what has happened to its people since Jakarta imposed its might in 1975.

It could be argued that for the Timorese people the dreadful famine of the late 1970's, which Indonesia did nothing to allay, nor did it ask for international help until tens of thousands had died, was more painful even than the denial of the right to choose their postcolonial status.

Despite its partisanship, Mr. Ramos-Horta's book presents a modest, more-in-sorrow-than-anger account of his bitter experience of the world's indifference to Indonesia's aggression. Unlike the



ELANE BRIERE/NANCOUVER ISLAND
An East Timor village in 1974; it was destroyed during fighting with Indonesian forces in 1977.

strident preface by Noam Chomsky, an Institute Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who lays principal blame on what he views as the overriding evil of Washington's "global planning," the book distributes with an even hand responsibility for Indonesia's annexation and the world's implicit acceptance of the deed.

IN an almost understanding tone, Mr. Ramos-Horta notes the various reasons for self-interest that determine not only the acquiescence of the United States but also of most of the other actors on the world scene. They include not only the Western allies and Japan, Australia and New Zealand but also such self-righteous defenders of the rights of the third world as most of the Communist nations, the nonaligned bloc, the Nordic countries and the secretaries general of the United Nations.

"My impression of [the former Secretary General Kurt] Waldheim from the moment I met him in 1975 was that he was a man who knew no principles," says Mr. Ramos-Horta. Only the former Australian Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, and Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand are treated with comparable bluntness. The book traces the increasingly sad discovery by a nobly intentioned, painfully sincere young man from one of the most isolated corners of the globe of the cynical truth that national egoism is the principal motive force of diplomacy and hypocrisy its cloak.

It is ironical that, nearly 40 years ago, when Indonesia became a nation after the Netherlands' last colonial war, there was only one fly in our Western liberal ointment: the line dividing Timor in two marked an unjust residue of European colonialism in the age of the newly emergent nations. If Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia, had decided then to go to war for East Timor, we would have regarded him as the liberator, and few who considered themselves enlightened would have raised their voices to call for self-determination for a distant, dark-skinned people.

Henry Kamm, the New York Times bureau chief in Athens, formerly covered Southeast Asia from Bangkok, Thailand.

Arnold -- Did you
ask this? Must have
become less "eastern", now
that one can appeal to those
who
is
off
the
hor

whenever he finds himself in the majority.

It is still too early to predict just how the Rehnquist Court will alter American life, but the judicial thought of the new Chief Justice is as easy to comprehend as it is impossible to accept. Rehnquist's written opinions suggest he believes that the primary responsibility of the Court is to protect the states against remedial actions of the Federal Government and the claims of rights by individuals. In Rehnquist's view, the Bill of Rights, as applied to the states, prevents them from encroaching on individual rights only to the extent that state action is entirely "irrational."

Such a philosophy will no doubt continue to cast the Supreme Court as a storm center of controversy. Unfortunately, the forecast for minorities, women, working people, and civil liberties in general calls for gale-force winds with little chance of clearing until well into the next century.

—BILL BLUM

(Bill Blum is a Los Angeles attorney and writer.)

Betrayed by All

FUNU: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor

by Jose Ramos-Horta

Red Sea Press (566 Bellview, Trenton, NJ 08618). 207 pp. \$29.95 hardcover. \$9.95 paperback.

For ten years, Jose Ramos-Horta has been perhaps the loneliest and most futile figure haunting the corridors of the United Nations. Each day, he has trudged through the lounges, quietly pleading his cause: self-determination for the 700,000 or so Malays and Melanesians who live on the eastern half of the island of Timor under brutal Indonesian rule. In *Funu*, Tetan or East Timorese for liberation war, Ramos-Horta gives a remarkably lucid account of his frustrating mission. He enjoys what may be the unique distinction of having been betrayed by all political forces, East and West, North and South, and, inevitably, U.N. bureaucrats.

A former newspaperman, Ramos-Horta is far too realistic to expect anything else. His fellow East Timorese, after all, have had little success on the ground; they are a handful of badly armed guerrillas against Indonesia's modern army.

East Timor is about the size of El Salvador and lies a few hundred miles northwest of Australia. It was ruled by the Portuguese for almost 500 years, until Lisbon's flower revolution of 1974. Then, in what amounted to a classic death wish, the small population's leaders divided. The elder, more conservative ones sought power under the banner of the Democratic Union of Timor (UDT); the younger people, like Ramos-Horta, joined FRETILIN, the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor. Ramos-Horta is enough of a historian to concede that this division, and the bloody civil war it provoked, were inspired madness. FRETILIN won, and Ramos-Horta was a minister at twenty-five. He and his colleagues held office for about a month.

Then Indonesia invaded. The civil war and the Marxists drawn to FRETILIN were the excuse. The real reason was Djakarta's fear that an independent East Timor would provide an enticing example to separatists on other islands in the archipelago and serve as a haven for Indonesia's shattered communists. Dili, East Timor's capital, was quickly captured. Pacification, according to Ramos-Horta, has been achieved by killing at least 100,000 Timorese. Starvation, resettlement, detention, torture, rape, and other standard colonial instruments have been employed.

Ramos-Horta says Indonesia would

never have invaded without a green light from Washington. The day before the assault, President Gerald Ford, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and Indonesian President Suharto met at Djakarta. East Timor was high on their agenda.

Since then, FRETILIN and Ramos-Horta have been largely friendless. Indonesia is a large, oil-rich Moslem power, and few Third World governments want to offend it. The Soviet Union, nominally a friend of self-determination, appreciates Indonesia's anti-China stance and makes no waves. Successive U.N. secretaries general have ignored resolutions to intervene, knowing sentiment lies elsewhere. Doing the work of the conqueror, UNICEF actually helps teach an alien Indonesian dialect to the East Timorese.

FRETILIN's resistance continues in the hills of East Timor but almost nobody expects it will make any difference. Ramos-Horta says he hopes a more enlightened Washington and less timid U.N. leaders will somehow press Indonesia to let his people go. But his highly readable book makes perfectly clear why no one should expect this to happen.

—BERNARD D. NOSSITER

(Bernard Nossiter, a veteran reporter, formerly was United Nations correspondent for *The New York Times*.)

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The Five Ws

READING THE NEWS

edited by Robert Karl Manoff
and Michael Schudson

Pantheon Books. 256 pp. \$19.95
hardcover. \$9.95 paperback.

This is a book that has some sensible and occasionally insightful things to say about the current problems and infirmities in American news reporting, but these useful nuggets are set in a framework that is nonsensical and unreal. I wish the editors and contributors could have begun all over with a straightforward, less cute (and, at times, less silly) approach to the subject.

Leon Sigel has interesting things to say about some unhappy conventions. Reporters lose sight of the fact that most of the time they are not reporting reality but someone else's portrayal of reality; they concentrate on what he calls The Knowns, the authority figures. In the process, they miss the realities not announced by The Knowns.

James Carey presents a thoughtful picture of other weaknesses: fragmentation of events without coherence and context to

COMMENTARY

Bishops Join Hands in Condemning Timor Tragedy

At its spring meeting, the Administrative Board of the United States Catholic Conference expressed concern over conditions in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. The conference, which reflects the views of the 50 American Catholic bishops, issued the following statement:

* * *

The brutal invasion and takeover of East Timor by Indonesia, which started in 1975 after the collapse of the Portuguese colonial administration, has in recent years begun to receive the attention it deserves, but this attention has not yet been translated into the action needed to right the wrongs which continue to this day.

In July 1984 Pope John Paul II expressed grave concern over the East Timor situation while receiving the credentials of the new Indonesian ambassador to the Holy See. Bishops' Conferences and Catholic Justice and Peace Commissions in Western Europe—in Portugal, West Germany, France, Switzerland and the Netherlands—as well as in Canada and Japan, have made statements or otherwise communicated support and sympathy for the East Timorese and concern over the armed conflict that persists in the territory.

This conflict has seen an estimated 100,-

000 East Timorese (of a population of less than 700,000 before the Indonesian invasion) perish as a result of the Indonesian occupation.

There is a pressing need to guarantee freedom of expression for, and an end to intimidation of, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor. The church has the heavy responsibility of attending to the spiritual needs of a people that has suffered grievous losses since 1975 and has seen its tasks multiplied during this period. A serious effort to bring a just and authentic peace to East Timor should be made.

Forced birth control measures introduced by Indonesia in East Timor are especially disturbing—and not only because of the Church's abhorrence of unnatural birth control. Given the great loss of life that has already taken place among a largely Catholic people, this Indonesian policy takes on the character of genocide. Accounts of sterilization of East Timorese men and women without their informed consent and an array of other evidence, impel us to call for an immediate end to this policy: "For in view of the inalienable human right to marry and beget children, the question of how many children should be born belongs to the honest judgment of parents. The question can in no way be

committed to the decision of government" (Gaudium et Spes 87).

While East Timor has received increased notice in recent years, it is nonetheless undeniable that this issue exists far from the great political debates of the day and is all too likely to be overlooked as pressing national and international issues compete for public attention. East Timor's remoteness and isolation from the outside world make its inhabitants all the more vulnerable. It is therefore crucial that the East Timor tragedy be highlighted whenever possible and that efforts continue to enhance the dignity of life in East Timor and the right of the territory's inhabitants to live in peace and freedom.

The United States, which has had friendly relations with the government of Indonesia since 1965 and which has contributed much economic and military assistance to Indonesia, surely has the right to raise these issues with that government. Appropriate representations by the United States could influence the government of Indonesia to take measures that would help to bring a just and authentic peace to the territory, end any policies of forced birth control in East Timor, and in other ways ameliorate the suffering of these unfortunate people.

The New York Times

Sunday, August 9, 1987

40 Senators Voice Concern for Timor Fighting

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8 — A bipartisan group of 40 senators has written to Secretary of State George P. Shultz about what they called "a renewed Indonesian military offensive against Timorese insurgents."

It was unusual for that many senators, led by Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, to express concern for a situation that draws little public attention.

Mr. Durenberger said in a statement that "by sending this letter, my colleagues and I want to insure that East

Timor receives international attention that will help to alleviate the tragic suffering of the Timorese people."

Timor is an island at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. During the colonial era, it was under Dutch rule in the west and Portuguese rule in the east. Indonesia inherited the Dutch portion when it gained independence and invaded East Timor in 1975.

Since then, according to repeated reports by Roman Catholic and humanitarian organizations, the Indonesians have sought, often with military force, to subdue East Timorese nationalist insurgents, many of whom are Catholics. Indonesian is largely Moslem.

The statement by Mr. Durenberger said "international human-rights organizations and church bodies estimate that 150,000 East Timorese, one fifth of the island country's population, have perished from warfare and famine over the past 12 years."

In their letter the senators urged that "at the very least, international humanitarian organizations should have full access to East Timor so as to insure the maximum degree of relief and protection to the civilian population and political detainees alike."

The senators made three specific points:
q "We have received reports that

Indonesia's World Bank-funded population control program in East Timor is coercive in some instances. There have been accounts of involuntary sterilizations in some instances."

q "We are concerned about the situation of individuals seeking to leave East Timor to join family members in Portugal who have thus far not been allowed to do so."

q "We are also particularly interested in the cases of four East Timorese students in Jakarta who wish to leave Indonesia but have thus far been denied exit visas by the Indonesian authorities."

Although noting that some aspects of the situation in East Timor had improved, the senators said that "we would like to insure conditions do not deteriorate as a result of an increased level of Indonesian military activity."

Senadores americanos protestam contra Jacarta

UM GRUPO de 40 senadores norte-americanos enviou uma carta ao secretário de Estado, George Shultz, protestando contra a «nova ofensiva militar da Indonésia contra os residentes de Timor-Leste».

De acordo com uma notícia ontem publicada pelo *New York Times*, esta atitude dos senadores, liderados pelo democrata Moynihan e pelo republicano Durenberger, é tanto mais «invulgar», quanto se relaciona com uma situação «distante e que pouca atenção tem despertado junto da opinião pública».

Para Dave Durenberger, ci-

tado por aquele matutino, «esta carta visa sobretudo assegurar o apoio internacional à situação de Timor-Leste, que contribuirá para aliviar o trágico sofrimento do povo timorense».

«As organizações humanitárias internacionais devem, no mínimo, dispor de livre acesso a Timor-Leste, no sentido de protegerem a população civil, assim como os presos políticos», referem os senadores, acrescentando que, nos últimos 12 anos, mais de 150 mil timorenses (um quinto da população do território) «morreram em consequência

da guerra ou da fome».

Os senadores classificam ainda de «coercivo» o programa de controlo populacional, em curso na Indonésia e com o apoio do Banco Mundial, afirmando que «de acordo com os relatórios recebidos, têm-se registado casos de esterilização involuntária entre a população timorense».

A carta enviada a Shultz faz também referência ao facto de as autoridades indonésias impedirem a saída de pessoas interessadas em regressar a Portugal e negarem a passagem de vistos a estudantes timorenses residentes em Jacarta.



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DRE FOGBOUND AIRPORTS?

delays caused by bad visibility at Faro and Oporto airports will be of the past. Ultra-modern airports are to be installed at all three to take-off and land, even in thick fog which caused Lisbon se last weekend.

Portugal is also to expand its purchase of three 310-300 aircraft with an option to buy two more when they arrive, plane spotters could look at them from the tarmac which opened at Lisbon last year.

MOVING IMAGES

Council is bringing the experience company "Images" to modern Art at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon from 21.

will perform two different ones on Wednesday 18 at 8 pm, Thursday 19 at 6.30 pm, and Friday 20 at 9.30 pm and Saturday 21 at 9.30 pm.

are bought at the Centre of Modern Art from 10.0 am to 7.0 pm to Saturday and on Sunday from 10.0 am to 7.0 pm. The price of sc. 400, with half price for

Eanes calls for Portugal to provide help for East Timor guerrillas

FORMER President General Ramalho Eanes said on Monday that Portugal should give financial aid to nationalist guerrillas fighting for the independence of East Timor from Indonesia.

General Eanes, who now leads the center-left Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), said he believed it was Portugal's duty to help the people of its former Asian colony to achieve self-rule. He told foreign journalists that Portugal should supply money to the resistance movement formed out of a recent coalition of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) and the Democratic Union of Timor (UDT).

But he added that the Lisbon Government should not directly supply the guerrillas with arms or other military equipment. There has so far been no response to the former President's proposal from the Government.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor from the Indonesia-ruled half of the island territory in 1975, shortly after the Portuguese colonial administration withdrew amid civil strife between rival independence movements. Human rights

groups estimate more than 200,000 people died in the fighting or were killed by the famine and disease which followed.

The Jakarta Government subsequently made East Timor its 27th province in defiance of a United Nations resolution calling on it to withdraw. FRETILIN has been fighting a guerrilla campaign for independence since the Indonesian invasion and they were joined by UDT last year.

Students held

In a separate development on Monday, a lawyer appealed to the Portuguese President to intercede on behalf of four East Timorese students he said had been imprisoned and tortured in Jakarta and were now being refused exit visas.

João Barreto, who said he was asked to act as the students' lawyer by a Roman Catholic institute in London, told the Portuguese News Agency LUSA that the students had been studying in Roman Catholic institutes in Jakarta when they were detained. It is presumed the four

were held for alleged links to the East Timorese resistance movement.

Following their release from prison and alleged torture, Mr Barreto said that the students were being prevented from leaving Indonesia as they wished. He said they held Portuguese passports but were being refused exit visas. The lawyer also said there had been an attempt to kidnap the four since their release.

Mr. Barreto said President Soares had agreed to contact the Lisbon Government in an effort to secure exit visas for the students.

"The students could be disturbing witnesses of what has happened and what is happening in East Timor. They could be a risk to the Indonesian regime," Mr. Barreto told LUSA.

'SAGRES' MAKES IT TO MACAU

The Mooney Super 21 Monoplane, "Sagres" completed its historical flight to Macau last Friday, after a series of mishaps delayed its arrival.

In Kunming, China an aileron was damaged when a bicycle lost in the mist, collided with the plane parked on the runway. After repairs it was further delayed by bad weather.

The "Sagres" landed in Concórdia on the island of Coloane, where it was enthusiastically received by the local people and the Assistant-Secretary for Education and Culture, Mário Cordeiro.

Fireworks, and a traditional "Lion Dance" marked the welcome for the three crew members, including flight commander, Jorge Cruz, who had repeated the pioneering flight made 63 years ago by Brito Pais, Beires and Gouveia.

BETHANIA IN CONCERT

The famous Brazilian singer Maria Bethânia is returning to Lisbon this weekend. She will be performing at the Coliseu from Friday, February 13 until Monday 16, every evening at 10.0 pm. Tickets can be obtained at the Coliseu and the usual ticket agencies.

ARGENTINE ENVOY

A special envoy from Argentina delivered to President Soares last week a personal message from President Alfonsín. Press reports suggest the message is connected with the forthcoming visit to Brazil by the Portuguese President.

FRANCE AGAIN No. 1 PORT IMPORTER

(continued from page 1)

The total quantity of Port wine authorised to be made in the Douro region has fallen short of shipments for several years running. In spite of the increased "authorisation" at the 1986 vintage of 107,500 pipes of "must" — meaning some 142,000 pipes of Port wine after the addition of brandy — there is again a shortfall of about 3,000 pipes, since the now known world sales, including internal sales within Portugal itself, are 145,000 pipes.

PEACEFUL COUNTRY RETREAT



occupying almost a secret position at the end of a winding lane which leads from the main road West of Azeitão, is this modern house which was built to provide a summer home for a large family.

Extending in grounds of nearly 8 hectares, the property has 14 bedrooms each with a bathroom (six having South-facing terraces); enormous living room; appropriately equipped dining room and kitchen; games room and usual offices.

Aside you will find a manager's cottage and "Casas Antigas" (all capable of refurbishment to provide additional accommodation), plus a huge cisterna, which is suitable as a pool with changing rooms, and a basketball court.

Beautiful views of the natural park of Arrábida are enjoyed in every direction.

Ideal use as holiday centre; guest house/restaurant; retirement home, etc.

J.P. 16. XII. 87
Pope calls for protection of East Timor

VATICAN CITY (AFP): Pope John Paul II on Monday called on Indonesia "to protect the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of East Timor", the Vatican said here.

The Catholic church's "Universal mission of service leads her to hope that particular consideration will be given to the protection of the ethnic, religious and cultural character of the people of East Timor," the pope said.

He made his appeal while receiving the credentials of the new Indonesian ambassador to the Holy See, Roni Hendrawan Kurniadi, and also said he appreciated Indonesian efforts in Irian Jaya.

"Because of her intimate concern for the welfare of all peoples, the church appreciates efforts being made to improve the condition of the population of Irian Jaya," the pope told the ambassador.

JAKARTA POST

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1987

Pope inadequately informed on East Timor development

JAKARTA (JP): The government said Wednesday the scarcity of balanced foreign media reporting on East Timor has regrettably motivated Pope John Paul II to renew his appeal that Indonesia should give "particular consideration" to preserving the East Timorese cultural heritage lest it should vanish.

By Pitand M. Akal

The pope, who has so far seen East Timor only from the map, expressed such worries when Indonesia's new Ambassador to the Vatican, Roni Hendrawan Kurniadi, presented his credentials Monday.

John Paul II told Ambassador Kurniadi to "protect the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of East Timor," adding his remark was a reflection of "the Catholic Church's universal mission of service."

But Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja said the pope — who had bypassed Indonesia on his Southeast Asian tours — has been misinformed on the current progressive development in the former Portuguese colony whose population is largely Catholic.

Mochtar criticized the foreign media for "tending to blame" Indonesia ever since East Timor's integration in 1976, which sparked intense debates at the United Nations. Further debates on this have been postponed for five years running, however.

Catholics

"The pope is one-sidedly informed... Local culture is not endangered at all," Mochtar stressed.

The minister said the number of Catholics in East Timor had, in fact, increased.

The Catholic community is much better off now, than during the reign of the Portuguese who introduced the religion in the region, he said.

"And their criticism of the government has not stopped them from getting subsidies," the foreign minister added.

"Those who were heathen and animists before have become Catholics... I think the pope would commend Indonesia if he knew what we did for the Catholic Church there," Mochtar noted.

Pope John Paul II's Monday remarks caught Indonesian observers by surprise. One senior observer said yesterday he wondered why the pope should make such an appeal once again. He said the pope had made a similar appeal to the predecessor of Ambassador Kurniadi.

Foreign Minister Mochtar, meanwhile, implied that there needed to be more foreign observers to visit and report on East Timor in a more balanced way "like Mr Reuters," he said, referring to a Reuter correspondent who visited the province early this year.

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