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- Letter to the Most Reverend Theodore McCarrick, Archbishop of Newark from Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo (20.03.1999)

Subject: CNS: Violence may delay E. Timor ballot, says visiting U.S. bishop

Date: Wed, 21 Jul 1999 08:36:43 -0700 (PDT)

From: Foreign Bases Project <fbp@igc.apc.org>

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

From: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>

Reply-To: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>

Subject: CNS: Violence may delay E. Timor ballot, says visiting U.S. bishop

Jul-19-1999

Violence may delay E. Timor ballot, says visiting U.S. bishop

By Atika Shubert

Catholic News Service

DILI, East Timor (CNS) -- Ongoing violence makes a planned August ballot on East Timor's independence unlikely, said a U.S. bishop during a trip to Indonesia as a board member of Catholic Relief Services.

"In times of escalating violence, and it gets worse day by day, there is less and less hope that the ballot will take place in August," said Bishop Dale J. Melczek of Gary, Ind., in an interview in Dili.

He said priests are called upon to speak out against violence wherever it occurs, and this might be interpreted as choosing political sides.

"There seems to be clearer and clearer evidence that the military is behind a lot of the violence against the people, and the intimidation is obvious," he said.

"Where priests have the knowledge that this is happening, priests must speak out. They see that the militias have to cease causing the violence. But how to vote in the ballot is up to the people," Bishop Melczek said.

"It's been a good visit and I'm impressed with the people," he said, "So many things in Indonesia have converged at once, the economic crisis and the political situation, that it has greatly increased the people's need, the number of people beneath the poverty line. CRS always gravitates to areas that are in most need of assistance, and that's why we have increased our programs here."

In little over a year, Indonesia has seen the authoritarian government of former President Suharto crumble under the weight of an economic collapse that, according to government statistics, has dragged more than 40 percent of the population under the poverty line.

Ethnic and religious tensions have flared across the island nation, just as disease and malnutrition are on the rise.

In the province of Ambon, more than 200 have died this year from fighting between Muslim and Christian communities.

As a consequence, Catholic Relief Services, the international relief and development agency of the U.S. bishops, has had to step delicately around political issues while still providing urgently needed relief, staffers said. CRS programs, such as food drives and village banking, are conducted under the guidance of committees attended by religious leaders of different faiths in a bid to overcome recent violence.

Michael Frank, CRS country representative for Indonesia, said that "instead of interfaith dialogue, this is interfaith action. We get religious leaders working together, not just talking."

Bishop Melczek attended one such committee session and praised the group's collaboration.

"We had 20 leaders of different faiths, sharing the experience of working together with the people. It was a very fraternal spirit," the bishop said.

However, in East Timor, violence has escalated since Indonesia announced its intention to hold a ballot on East Timorese independence, 23 years after invading the former Portuguese colony.

The United Nations plans to hold the ballot in late August, but a violent campaign by pro-Indonesia militias has displaced at least 50,000 people, nearly 7 percent of the population, according to estimates of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Church leaders, including Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili, have said it was unlikely that a free and fair vote could be held under conditions in which pro-Indonesia militias terrorized civilians.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and unilaterally annexed it the following year. Neither the Vatican nor the United Nations has recognized the annexation, and most countries still view Portugal as territorial administrator.

In addition to disrupting the voting process, the militias have created conditions for widespread disease and malnutrition, which kills at least one refugee a day in some areas.

"All along the road to Baucau, you could see children with distended stomachs and mothers unable to feed their babies," said Bishop Melczek, recalling a visit to the eastern part of the territory.

"There is so much need for development, but there will be no development in East Timor until there is peace and security first. Our efforts will be in vain if there is no security," he said.

In early July, pro-Indonesia militias attacked an aid convoy, including several church-affiliated organizations, attempting to deliver food and medicine to refugees.

Bishop Melczek emphasized a need for church-sponsored reconciliation talks, bringing together "mortal enemies" to achieve peace before the ballot.

"The world community, including CRS, will need to take a significant role in East Timor. We will continue to help, until the people of East Timor are able to bear more of the burden," he said.

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Monday 27th September 1999

East Timor Special Session at the Commission on Human Rights

Information from Adrien Claude Zoller, International Service for Human Rights Circulated by CIIR

1. Ngos, having put forward strong witness statements and arguments, managed to prevent a consensus statement being agreed at the special CHR session on Friday. The session will continue after 3pm today.
2. Under discussion is a draft resolution. It will contain language referring to the setting up, under the UN Security Council, of an International Commission of Enquiry to investigate Human Rights abuses in East Timor. Indonesia has rejected the notion, insisting on setting up its own commission of enquiry. EU countries are apparently seeking compromise language whereby the two different enquiries would 'cooperate'. Also seeking to placate the Asian block by ensuring that any international commission of enquiry would include 'adequate' representation by Asian countries.
3. Generally, discussions seem more oriented to what is happening in Indonesia and a perceived international need to bolster Habibie than with the recent and future experiences of the East Timorese.
4. Asian block communiqués on ET, under the influence of Indonesian government, fraught with contradictions - East Timorese not Indonesians any more, but the refugees in West Timor are considered internally displaced, etc.
5. EU governments generally being supportive of NGO concerns but still a need to lobby for non-cooperation of any international commission of enquiry with any Indonesian one.

(Mrs. FEINSTEIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 805, a bill to amend title V of the Social Security Act to provide for the establishment and operation of asthma treatment services for children, and for other purposes.

S. 864

At the request of Mr. BINGAMAN, the names of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. FITZGERALD), the Senator from New York (Mr. MOYNIHAN), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. LIEBERMAN), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. TORRICELLI), the Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER), and the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CONRAD) were added as cosponsors of S. 864, a bill to designate April 22 as Earth Day.

S. 890

At the request of Mr. WELLSTONE, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) was added as a cosponsor of S. 890, a bill to facilitate the naturalization of aliens who served with special guerrilla units or irregular forces in Laos.

S. 897

At the request of Mr. HAGEL, the name of the Senator from Montana (Mr. BURNS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 897, a bill to provide matching grants for the construction, renovation and repair of school facilities in areas affected by Federal activities, and for other purposes.

S. 901

At the request of Mr. BINGAMAN, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROCKEFELLER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 901, a bill to provide disadvantaged children with access to dental services.

S. 931

At the request of Mr. MCCONNELL, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. TORRICELLI) was added as a cosponsor of S. 931, a bill to provide for the protection of the flag of the United States, and for other purposes.

S. 956

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the name of the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 956, a bill to establish programs regarding early detection, diagnosis, and interventions for newborns and infants with hearing loss.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 21

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the names of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. DORGAN), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRAIG), the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN), and the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 21, a joint resolution to designate September 29, 1999, as "Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Day."

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 9

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the names of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. SARBANES), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. JOHNSON) were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 9, a concurrent resolution

calling for a United States effort to end restrictions on the freedoms and human rights of the enclaved people in the occupied area of Cyprus.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 11

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. MURKOWSKI) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 11, a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the fair and equitable implementation of the amendments made by the Food Quality Protection Act of 1996.

SENATE RESOLUTION 59

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 59, a bill designating both July 2, 1999, and July 2, 2000, as "National Literacy Day."

SENATE RESOLUTION 96—TO EXPRESS THE SENSE OF THE SENATE REGARDING A PEACEFUL PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN EAST TIMOR, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. LEAHY (for himself, Mr. FEINGOLD, Mr. REED, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. MOYNIHAN, and Mr. KOHL) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 96

Whereas United Nations-sponsored negotiations between the Governments of Indonesia and Portugal have resulted in significant and encouraging progress toward a resolution of East Timor's political status;

Whereas on January 27, 1999, President Habibie expressed a willingness to consider independence for East Timor if a majority of the East Timorese reject autonomy in a planned August 8, 1999 ballot organized by the United Nations;

Whereas despite President Habibie's efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution of the political status of East Timor, the arming of anti-independence militias by some members of the Indonesian military has contributed to increased political tension and violence;

Whereas since January 1999, violence and human rights abuses by anti-independence militias has increased dramatically resulting in the displacement of thousands of East Timorese villagers and scores of deaths;

Whereas since March 1999, hundreds of civilians may have been killed, injured or disappeared in separate attacks by anti-independence militias;

Whereas there are also reports of killings of anti-independence militia members;

Whereas the killings in East Timor should be fully investigated and the individuals responsible brought to justice;

Whereas access to East Timor by international human rights monitors, humanitarian organizations is severely limited, and members of the press have been threatened;

Whereas a stable and secure environment in East Timor is necessary for a free and fair ballot on East Timor's political status;

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the United States should promptly contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund which will provide support for the East Timor ballot process;

(2) the President, Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense should intensify their

efforts to urge the Indonesian Government and military to—

(a) disarm and disband anti-independence militias; and

(b) grant full access to East Timor by international human rights monitors, humanitarian organizations, and the press;

(3) the President, after consultation with the United Nations Secretary General, should report to the Congress not later than 15 days after passage of this Resolution, on steps taken by the Indonesian government and military to ensure a stable and secure environment in East Timor, including those steps described in subparagraphs (2) (a) and (b); and

(4) any agreement for the sale, transfer, or licensing of any military equipment for Indonesia entered into by the United States should state that the equipment will not be used in East Timor.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, today I am submitting a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding a peaceful process of self-determination in East Timor. I am joined by Senators FEINGOLD, REED, HARKIN, MCCONNELL, MOYNIHAN, and KOHL.

A year ago I doubt anyone would have predicted that a settlement of East Timor's political status would be in sight.

While there are many obstacles and dangers ahead, we should take note of what has been accomplished. In the past year:

President Suharto relinquished power. The Indonesian Government endorsed a ballot on autonomy, which is planned for August 8th.

The United Nations, Indonesia, and Portugal are to sign an agreement today on the procedures for that vote.

If the East Timorese people reject autonomy, there is every expectation that East Timor will be on the road to independence.

The resolution that I am submitting today recognizes the positive steps that have been taken.

But it also expresses our deep concern that since January, when Indonesian President Habibie expressed the willingness to consider independence for East Timor, violence and intimidation by anti-independence militias backed by members of the Indonesian military has increased dramatically.

The perpetrators of the violence want to sabotage the vote on East Timor's future.

I spoke with one East Timorese man today, Mr. Francisco Da Costa, who witnessed the April 6th massacre of scores of people in the village of Liquica.

An Op Ed article in today's New York Times by East Timorese lawyer Aniceto gutterres Lopez says it all. He wrote: "With arms, money and a license for reckless rampages, the militia leaders have openly threatened death to anyone opposed to continued Indonesian occupation."

I received a report earlier today that Mr. Lopez' house is surrounded and he has been threatened with death. Bishop Belo, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and one of the most courageous people I have ever had the privilege to meet, has also been threatened.

Hundreds of East Timorese civilians have been killed, injured or disappeared. Thousands have fled their homes to escape the violence, and are struggling to survive. Food and medicines are in short supply because the Indonesian Government has severely restricted access.

This resolution sounds an alarm. The situation is extremely fragile. The militias are sowing chaos and terror. Far stronger steps are needed by the Indonesian Government and military to rein in the paramilitary groups.

The resolution calls on the President and Secretary of State to intensify their efforts to urge the Indonesian Government and military to disarm the paramilitary groups. This must be done.

Another recommendation we make is that the United States contribute to the U.N. Trust Fund which will set up polling booths and put people on the ground to monitor the vote. I plan to work with Senator MCCONNELL, who is a cosponsor of this resolution and Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, to obtain the funding as soon as possible.

The resolution says that any agreement to sell or transfer military equipment to Indonesia should state that the equipment will not be used in East Timor. We would prefer that there be no military equipment. But at the very least, we do not want our equipment ending up in the hands of thugs who are trying to derail the vote.

We know from history how much blood can be shed in East Timor. Nobody—not the Indonesian Government, not the Indonesian military, and certainly not the East Timorese people, benefits from a return to those days.

Mr. President, this resolution should receive overwhelming bipartisan support. I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times Op Ed article by Mr. Lopez be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the item was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 5, 1999]

EAST TIMOR'S BLOODIEST TRADITION
(By Aniceto Guterres Lopes)

Dili, East Timor—April 6, 1999. Another massacre. April 17. Another. Two more to add to an already lengthy list in East Timor. Since Indonesia invaded my homeland in 1975 and officially annexed it the following year, our history has seemed little more than a succession of massacres, one following the other in a depressingly predictable pattern.

Although the recent attacks have many precedents, they were committed when we were filled with unprecedented hope. Only four months ago, the Government of President B.J. Habibie offered us the chance to vote on whether to remain in Indonesia or become independent. Indonesia began working out the logistics of the vote with the United Nations and Portugal (the former colonial power still acknowledged under international law as the administering authority over East Timor). Today the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, is due to sign the final agreement on the vote at the United Nations.

The recent wave of violence here reveals that the Habibie Government is reneging on

the promise of a peaceful resolution to East Timor's disputed political status. Although the Habibie Government denies it, the military, since last December, has organized its hardened East Timorese camp followers into militias. With arms, money and a license for reckless rampages, the dozen or so militia leaders have openly threatened death to anyone opposed to continued Indonesian occupation. Their spokesman, Basilio Araujo, told an Australian television crew, "We will kill as many people as we want."

The militia bosses boast that they are countering pro-independence guerrillas, but they have not fought a single battle with the guerrillas. They have only attacked unarmed civilians and created a refugee crisis. In sweeps through the countryside, the militias have threatened to kill the families of any male, young or old, who refuses to join their ranks. Many "members" of the militias are ordinary villagers, some of whom I know personally. They are forced recruits sullenly going through the motions and hoping to avoid being hurt and hurting others.

The human rights organization I direct has been trying to care for those who fled the villages to escape the militia threats. According to our figures, about 18,000 refugees are now sheltered in the towns. With little food, money and medicine, they are slowly succumbing to disease.

By unleashing the militias, the Indonesian Government's apparent strategy is to create the appearance of a civil war. Indonesia falsely claims to be an enlightened and neutral arbiter between a factious and primitive people not yet ready for independence.

As is clear to all observers, the militias have not been engaged in any pitched battles with pro-independence forces. They attacked, with axes and machetes, hundreds of helpless refugees sheltered in a church in Lliquica on April 6. My staff has recorded the names of 57 dead, many of them women and children. Here in East Timor's capital, they attacked another group of about 150 refugees on April 17. Meanwhile, the pro-independence guerrillas, observing a cease-fire since December, refrained from responding to the militias' attacks on civilians until mid-April, as the Indonesian military spokesman in East Timor has admitted.

The militias have no other aim than to sow chaos and terror. Instead of allowing us to vote on whether to remain within Indonesia, the militia bosses are killing those who oppose them and vowing to wreck the United Nations-supervised vote scheduled for August. Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996, is on their hit list, as are Australian journalists, East Timorese students and human rights workers (myself included). The militia bosses are even threatening to attack United Nations officials who will come to administer the vote.

Sadly, President Habibie and his top military commander, Gen. Wiranto, have done nothing to stop the militias. Over the past five months, the gang leaders have, in public view, committed atrocities and issued death threats. Yet they move around with impunity. The much-publicized "peace pact" Gen. Wiranto arranged in Dili on April 21 was nothing more than a public relations stunt. The militias continue to attack unarmed civilians unilaterally.

For a free and fair vote to be held, Portugal and the United States will have to insist on a disarming of the militias and a substantial withdrawal of Indonesia's all-pervasive troops. The United States, holding considerable leverage over bankrupt Indonesia, should take strong action, like cutting off all military aid and training until a valid vote on independence is held in East Timor.

Every day my staff records more cases of torture, disappearances and killings. All

East Timorese, except for a few deranged militia leaders, have experienced enough violence in their lives. We are desperate for a peaceful resolution. Yet the Indonesian military, by allowing these militias to be deployed, is drowning our hopes in blood.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to join my distinguished colleague from Vermont [Senator LEAHY] to offer this resolution to encourage a peaceful process of self-determination in East Timor. We are introducing this resolution because of serious obstacles that have appeared en route to a ballot to determine the future status of East Timor.

Earlier this year it appeared that there was finally some progress in East Timor. President Habibie announced on January 27 that the government of Indonesia was finally willing to seek to learn and respect the wishes of the people in that territory. There appears to be an agreement between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal to hold a vote, currently scheduled for August 8, to determine East Timor's future political status. This latter accord is expected to be finalized today at the United Nations.

Despite this positive development, excitement and tension over the possibility of gaining independence have in recent months led to an incredible level of violence and intimidation. The situation on the ground continues to worsen as East Timor has been wracked by violence throughout the last several weeks. Militias, comprised of individuals determined to intimidate the East Timorese people into support for continued integration with Indonesia and widely believed to be supported by the Indonesian military, are responsible for a sharp increase in violence.

Let me recount some of the horror stories I have heard coming out of East Timor in the last few weeks. To cite just a few examples, pro-government militias, backed by Indonesian troops, reportedly shot and killed 17 supporters of independence on April 5. Shortly thereafter, pro-independence groups reported clashes, arrests and deaths, as well as civilians fleeing violence in six cities. One of those cities was Lliquica where at least 25 people were brutally murdered by pro-government militias when up to 2000 civilians sought shelter in the local Catholic church. Later, on April 17, hundreds of East Timorese fled the capital of Dili as knife-wielding militias attacked anyone suspected of supporting independence. At least 30 were killed in this incident as Indonesian troops made little effort to stop the violence. The perpetrators have not all been on the government side. Over the years there have been atrocities on the pro-independence side as well. In recent months, however, the overwhelming majority of the violence has come from army elements and militias under their effective control. Overall, hundreds of civilians have been killed, wounded or disappeared in separate militia attacks.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, there is no sign that the tension will ease between now and the August ballot. Pro-integration militia leaders announced on April 29 that they reject the concept of the upcoming ballot, or anything that could be considered a referendum. They have further stated that if a ballot leads to independence, they are prepared to fight a guerrilla war for decades if necessary to defend Indonesian rule of the territory. Independent observers fear that neither side will accept a loss in the August 8 ballot, thus setting the stage for a prolonged conflict in East Timor. This type of rhetoric does not reassure us about the prospects for a successful transition for the people of East Timor, regardless of which form of government they choose. The climate in East Timor today, sadly, may have become too violent for a legitimate poll to take place. Worse yet, the agreement on the ballot process that we hope will be announced today in New York will be rendered meaningless if people will fear for their lives if they dare to participate in the process.

The government of Indonesia must shoulder particular responsibility. Whether Indonesian troops have actually participated in these types of incidents or not, the authorities certainly must accept the blame for allowing, and in some cases, encouraging the bloody tactics of the pro-integration militias. As a long time observer of the situation there, I see the continuation of this violence as a threat to the very sanctity and legitimacy of the process that is underway. It is for this reason that Senator LEAHY and I have submitted our resolution to encourage the government in Jakarta to do all it can to seek a peaceful process and a fair resolution to the situation in East Timor.

Mr. President, I believe the United States has a responsibility, an obligation, to put as much pressure as possible on the Indonesian government to help encourage an environment conducive to a free, fair, peaceful ballot process for the people of East Timor. Administration officials are saying the right things, but perhaps have not fully used the leverage we have at our disposal to make things happen. If we are ever going to resolve this issue, now is the time for us, the whole U.S. government, to act decisively.

In order to further bring pressure on the government of Indonesia to ensure the conditions necessary for the ballot on a settlement for East Timor, the Leahy/Feingold resolution would link the transfer of defense articles and services to effective measures by the Indonesian government and military to ensure a stable environment in East Timor.

Though non-binding, it is strongly worded. Specifically, our resolution recognizes progress in negotiations on a settlement proposal for East Timor, and the Indonesian government's apparent willingness to seek a peaceful

resolution to the status of East Timor, but highlights the resultant increase in violence and human rights abuses by anti-independence militias and urges the Habibie government to curtail Indonesian military support to the militias. Nevertheless, despite that progress and the prospect of today's finalization of ballot procedures, access to East Timor by international monitors remains restricted, threatening the very environment needed to conduct a free and fair ballot.

Most importantly, our resolution makes positive recommendations about what the United States can do to create an environment conducive to a free election. It states that it is the Sense of the Senate that we should urge the U.S. government to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund to provide support for the East Timor ballot process. It also encourages the Administration to urge the Indonesian government to disarm the militias and grant full access to East Timor by international monitors.

Mr. President, it is not in our power to guarantee the free, fair exercise of the rights of the people of East Timor to determine their future. It is, however, in our interest to do all that we can to work with the United Nations, other concerned countries, the government of Indonesia and the people of East Timor to create an opportunity for a successful ballot process. We cannot forget that the Timorese have been living with violence and oppression for more than 23 years. These many years have not dulled the desire of the East Timorese for freedom, or quieted their demands to have a role in the determination of East Timor's status. We have to do all we can to support an environment that can produce a fair ballot in East Timor. Now. And throughout the rest of this process.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of a May 3, 1999, editorial from the Wall Street Journal be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 3, 1999]

EAST TIMOR'S POISONED CHOICE

For more than two decades, the world has recoiled in horror at periodic reports of atrocities by Indonesian troops in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that Jakarta invaded in 1975 and then annexed amid great protest in 1976. Despite the outrage, sympathy with the plight of East Timorese and the repressed desire of many for independence didn't stop foreigners from doing business with Jakarta over the years. In fact, East Timor largely appeared on the world's radar screen only during peaks of suffering there—as in 1991 after Indonesian troops fired on a funeral procession and killed an estimated 180 people in the capital of Dili.

Even so, when President B.J. Habibie announced in January that East Timor could choose between autonomy or independence, a great cheer of moral satisfaction went up around the globe. After all these years and all that struggle, liberation was at hand! Even in recent weeks, as local antiseperation

militiamen with ties to the Indonesian army went on killing sprees in East Timor, the independence juggernaut churned on. Representatives from Portugal and Indonesia recently agreed to sign a U.N.-sponsored proposal that could bring a vote to East Timor by this summer and an end to Indonesian rule by 2000.

The fact that President Habibie didn't actually sign, but requested a delay until early next month, has led to speculation that he may be getting cold feet about a proposal that Indonesia's powerful military does not support. As ominous as that sounds for all who thought the end was in sight, what strikes independence enthusiasts as sad may not be entirely bad. Even before the emergence of East Timorese anti-independence militias added to an already volatile mixture featuring armed separatists, there was evidence that the ordinary people of East Timor might be getting a raw deal on a silver platter. Though the entire exercise, vote and all, is supposed to be about self-determination, in some ways it appears that they are being thrown to the wolves—and not only by Indonesia.

Consider the reckless manner in which Mr. Habibie acknowledged that the cost of maintaining a grip on the turbulent province was too high for Indonesia. Former colonial power Portugal departed from many of its possessions in a fit of spiteful destruction, smashing infrastructure and leaving arms in the hands of the baddest locals it could find. Similarly, Mr. Habibie offered East Timor what was in effect a poisoned choice of immediate autonomy or immediate independence. That frightened even separatists among the Timorese, some of whom have been pleading for a more gradual process that would enable the province to better prepare for an orderly transition and successful independence.

But such is the rush to complete the voting process that East Timorese expressions of concern about timing have been largely brushed aside by outsiders who claim to be on their side. Such concerns have been unheard, or dismissed as impossible to address given Mr. Habibie's all-or-nothing adamancy. Better to take what you can get, and take it now, the rest of the world has been telling the Timorese. It's a shame it has to be so hurried, and now so bloody, but these things do happen.

If outsiders are not willing to protect East Timorese from the violent consequences of the process now under way, they should stop cheering so hard for the process. Having come so far, nobody likes to think of delay, not least because that would be seen as a victory for the dark forces within the Indonesian military and elsewhere. But standing idly by while the people of East Timor are propelled into a situation that is not simply risky but more or less expected to bring death and destruction will be a crime in itself.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, having just returned from Cambodia, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand, I was impressed by how deeply concerned regional leaders were over the status and conditions in East Timor.

Although the first really democratic elections to be held in Indonesia are coming up in June, the U.N. autonomy agreement, which should be announced today, was the focus of most of my discussions. While I was in the region, there was yet another explosive round of violence which left 17 dead. There is absolutely no question that most of these attacks are being carried out by

milicias which enjoy military support from the Indonesian armed forces.

I do not believe these militias are directly commanded by Indonesian officers. However, I do think these militias are both encouraged and equipped by individuals in the military who oppose autonomy or independence for East Timor. There clearly are officers with a vested interest in controlling the ports and trade through Timor. These individuals have put self interest above their nation's interest.

While in Jakarta I raised these specific concerns directly with General Wiranto. I believe he recognizes that these events damage Indonesia's stability and stature. I hope he will pursue a more aggressive course in the days to come to assure this spiral of violence ends.

In the meantime, I think we should make clear we will not allow US equipment to be used to further the violence in East Timor. I also believe it is essential to deploy civilian poll watchers and police to restore calm and credibility to the election process. To accomplish this goal in a timely and effective manner, I have initiated discussions with key congressional members to add funds to the supplemental bill to support a peacekeeping presence in East Timor. I understand that the UN estimates an election team supported by civilian police observers may cost as much as \$50 million. I fully expect our regional partners and Portugal to assume a leadership role in meeting these needs, but we have key interests in promoting Indonesian stability and security. I would hope we can commit roughly \$10 million to this endeavor. I am convinced that our support for an international monitoring initiative administered through the United Nations Trust Fund will help ease this crisis and offer the citizens of East Timor a real opportunity for reconciliation, peace and democracy.

SENATE RESOLUTION 97—DESIGNATING THE WEEK OF MAY 2 THROUGH 8, 1999, AS THE 14TH ANNUAL TEACHER APPRECIATION WEEK, AND DESIGNATING TUESDAY, MAY 4, 1999, AS NATIONAL TEACHER DAY

Mr. COVERDELL (for himself, Mr. FRIST, Mr. GORTON, Mr. LOTT, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. ABRAHAM, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. MACK, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Ms. COLLINS, Mr. HATCH, Mr. LUGAR, Ms. SNOWE, Mr. GRAMS, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. KENNEDY, and Mr. WELLSTONE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 97

Whereas the foundation of American freedom and democracy is a strong, effective system of education where every child has the opportunity to learn in a safe and nurturing environment;

Whereas a first rate education system depends on a partnership between parents, principals, teachers, and children;

Whereas much of the success of our Nation during the 20th Century (the American Century) is the result of the hard work and dedication of teachers across the Nation;

Whereas in addition to a child's family, knowledgeable and skillful teachers can have a profound impact on the child's early development and future success;

Whereas many people spend their lives building careers, teachers spend their careers building lives;

Whereas our Nation's teachers serve our Nation's children beyond the call of duty as coaches, mentors, and advisers without regard to fame or fortune; and

Whereas across our Nation nearly 3,000,000 men and women experience the joys of teaching young minds the virtues of reading, writing, and arithmetic: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) designates the week of May 2 through 8, 1999, as the "14th Annual Teacher Appreciation Week";

(2) designates Tuesday, May 4, 1999, as "National Teacher Day"; and

(3) calls upon the people of the United States to take a moment out of their busy lives to say thanks and pay tribute to our Nation's teachers.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

**FINANCIAL SERVICES
MODERNIZATION ACT OF 1999**

**BRYAN (AND OTHERS)
AMENDMENT NO. 303**

Mr. BRYAN (for himself, Mr. DODD, and Mr. KERRY) proposed an amendment to the bill (S. 900) to enhance competition in the financial services industry by providing a prudential framework for the affiliation of banks, securities firms, insurance companies, and other financial service providers, and for other purposes; as follows:

On page 14, strike lines 8 and 9 and insert the following: "are well managed;

"(C) all of the insured depository institution subsidiaries of the bank holding company have achieved a rating of 'satisfactory record of meeting community credit needs', or better, at the most recent examination of each such institution under the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977; and

"(D) the bank holding company has filed). On page 14, line 20, strike "and (B)" and insert ", (B), and (C)".

On page 18, between lines 4 and 5, insert the following:

"(5) LIMITATION.—A bank holding company shall not be required to divest any company held, or terminate any activity conducted pursuant to, subsection (k) solely because of a failure to comply with subsection (l)(1)(C). On page 66, strike lines 7 and 8 and insert the following: "bank is well capitalized and well managed;

"(E) each insured depository institution affiliate of the national bank has achieved a rating of 'satisfactory record of meeting community credit needs', or better, at the most recent examination of each such institution under the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977; and

"(F) the national bank has received the". On page 66, line 12, strike "subparagraph (D)" and insert "subparagraphs (D) and (E)".

On page 66, line 16, insert before the period ", except that the Comptroller may not require a national bank to divest control of or otherwise terminate affiliation with a finan-

cial subsidiary based on noncompliance with paragraph (1)(E)".

On page 96, strike line 23 and all that follows through page 98, line 4.

On page 104, strike line 20 and all that follows through page 105, line 14.

Redesignate sections 304 through 307 and sections 309 through 311 as sections 303 through 309, respectively.

Amend the table of contents accordingly.

REID AMENDMENT NO. 304

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. REID submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 900), supra; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . FEDERAL RESERVE AUDITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 221 et seq.) is amended by inserting after section 11A the following:

"SEC. 11B. ANNUAL INDEPENDENT AUDITS OF FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS.

"(a) AUDIT REQUIRED.—Each Federal reserve bank shall annually obtain an audit of the financial statements of each Federal reserve bank (which shall have been prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles) using generally accepted auditing standards from an independent auditor that meets the requirements of subsection (b).

"(b) AUDITOR'S QUALIFICATIONS.—The independent auditor referred to in subsection (a) shall—

"(1) be a certified public accountant who is independent of the Federal Reserve System; and

"(2) meet any other qualifications that the Board may establish.

"(c) CERTIFICATION REQUIRED.—In each audit required under subsection (a), the auditor shall certify to the Federal reserve bank and to the Board that the auditor—

"(1) is a certified public accountant and is independent of the Federal Reserve System; and

"(2) conducted the audit using generally accepted auditing standards.

"(d) CERTIFICATION BY FEDERAL RESERVE BANK.—Not later than 30 days after the completion of each audit required under subsection (a), the Federal reserve bank shall provide to the Comptroller General of the United States—

"(1) a certification that—

"(A) the Federal reserve bank has obtained the audit required under subsection (a);

"(B) the Federal reserve bank has received the certifications of the auditor required under subsection (c); and

"(C) the audit fully complies with subsection (a).

"(e) DETECTION OF ILLEGAL ACTS.—

"(1) AUDIT PROCEDURES.—Each audit required by this section shall include procedures designed to provide reasonable assurance of detecting illegal acts that would have a direct and material effect on the determination of financial statement amounts.

"(2) REPORTING POSSIBLE ILLEGALITIES.—If, in the course of conducting an audit required by this section, the independent auditor detects or otherwise becomes aware of information indicating that an illegal act (whether or not perceived to have an effect on the financial statements of the Federal reserve bank) has or may have occurred, the auditor—

"(A) shall determine whether it is likely that the illegal act has occurred; and

"(B) shall, if the auditor determines that the illegal act is likely to have occurred—

"(i) determine and consider the possible effect of the illegal act on the financial statements of the Federal reserve bank; and

Subject: The Times: "There is no God left in E Timor, only evil"

Date: 13 Sep 1999 12:02:51

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: The Times: "There is no God left in E Timor, only evil"

also: Troops fire on women's refugee camp

THE TIMES [London]

Monday, September 13, 1999

Churches prove no sanctuary against the slaughter

FROM JANINE DI GIOVANNI IN KUPANG

"THERE is no God left in East Timor," the young seminarian just escaped from there said. "All the time I was praying and I felt no God, only evil." Now in hiding in a West Timor church, the frightened boy described what he had seen in his home town of Bobonnaro. "First the militias attacked the church then the seminary, bullets sprayed like mosquitoes, the militia men seemed to be poisoned or drugged, why else would they shoot mothers, sisters and brothers?"

He spoke of bodies being methodically hacked and how, finally, he and his fellow students dressed as priests to escape the town. He described the faces of the militia men, some of whom he knew. It took them two days to reach here, where they are now hiding from the militia who are roaming the streets. "But mostly we are worried about the people we have left behind," one student said.

Throughout West Timor the churches are full of displaced priests and nuns who have fled the fighting. The Roman Catholic Church here has decided to make a deliberate stand against the slaughter. In the wake of the brutal killing of three priests and an as yet unknown number of civilians in a Suai church in southern East Timor last Monday it is even more significant. According to one nun who witnessed the massacre, militiamen first lobbed grenades into the church and then went on a wild killing spree.

Today leaders of all the religious groups here will take a united stand and issue a statement denouncing the violence. "We are coming together to look for a way to help our fellow man," said Bishop Petrus Turang. While he was reluctant to condemn the Indonesian Government for failing to stop the violence, the bishop said: "They are targeting the priests."

He described how many people fled to churches for protection only to find themselves vulnerable to the militiamen. "All of us pity this action, in which lives of people have no value," he added. "Anyone who opposes them is killed." Like many people he is beginning to question the wisdom of the referendum. Many people thought that it had been called too early and without enough preparation for it to be run without violence. Others believe that Jakarta orchestrated the chaos to get rid of the East Timor problem.

Another priest said that the anger the refugees felt towards Westerners was because they considered that they had been coerced into having a referendum.

THE TIMES [London]

Monday, September 13, 1999

Troops fire on women's refugee camp

FROM MAX STAHL IN DARE, EAST TIMOR

THIS once peaceful hill station overlooking Dili was turned into a death site at the weekend as Indonesian forces surrounded and fired on terrified refugees living rough in nearby plantations.

Dare, once a popular resort for Portuguese colonists escaping the heat of the coastal capital six miles away, is today a scene of misery and terror.

Some 30,000 people, mainly women, children and the elderly, who were forced from their homes by the pro-Indonesian militias and the Indonesian Army, have erected shacks and home-made tents to escape the carnage in the below.

But on Saturday afternoon the deceptive tranquillity here was broken by the rumble of a column of military vehicles coming up the road. Normally the military's dirty work is conducted by the pro-Jakarta militiamen or soldiers dressed as militia. This time, however, the troops made no effort to conceal their identity.

A detachment of more than 100 Indonesian marines emerged from the lorries and then deployed, fanning out through the banana and coffee crops. Although there are no armed pro-independence forces here the marines did not seem to notice. They opened fire without provocation, killing a woman. Her body slumped over her handicapped husband, who was pinned beneath her.

Calling out for the people to "surrender", the marines did not seem surprised when the only people to emerge with their hands in the air were mothers and children. The incident served to prove graphically that despite repeated assurances from Jakarta, troops on the ground are carrying out very different orders.

Yesterday a German Jesuit priest, Father Karl Albrecht, was the latest victim when he was shot outside the Jesuit residence in Dili.

There are very real fears that in the time it takes to negotiate the make-up of a international force, Jakarta will be able to finish the brutal job of clearing the local population.

Subject: SMH: US talks tough but does little to offer support

Date: 07 Sep 1999 09:55:58

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: SMH: US talks tough but does little to offer support

Sydney Morning Herald
Wednesday, September 8, 1999

US talks tough but does little to offer support

By GAY ALCORN, Herald Correspondent in Washington

As pressure increased on the United States to play a greater role in the East Timor crisis, the Clinton Administration hardened its attitude towards Indonesia, warning that it had little time left to prove it could re-establish order.

Exactly what support the US would offer any Australian-led peacekeeping force remains unclear. While the US continued its official policy of calling for Indonesia to regain control of rampaging militia groups, the Secretary of State, Dr Madeleine Albright, said she had told the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, that Indonesia "did not have much time, that they had to deal with this, otherwise it was essential for them to invite the international community to take care of this".

Earlier, a State Department statement put US-Indonesian relations on the line over Jakarta's handling of the East Timor crisis.

"Indonesia's international standing, and the maintenance of productive relations between Indonesia and the United States, depend on Indonesia adopting a constructive approach towards both ending the humanitarian disaster in East Timor and supporting the UN-administered process by which East Timor will become independent," the statement said.

Until now, the US has not specifically linked the outcome of the Timor crisis with Indonesia's relations with the America.

The statement also, for the first time, specifically blamed "Indonesian military and police forces" for "allowing and in some cases participating, in these [humanitarian] abuses".

"We still believe Indonesia is responsible for security, but obviously we're appalled by the state of affairs in East Timor, with armed militia groups forcing displacement of thousands of people," a State Department official told the Herald.

But he refused to discuss what support the US would offer any multinational force.

"I don't have any information on that," he said.

Sources say America is still reluctant to commit troops because "it doesn't want body bags coming back from another Asian hell-hole". It was more likely to offer logistical and transportation assistance, and "moral encouragement".

Late yesterday afternoon, a State Department official said "the US would support an international effort to assist Indonesia to fulfil its commitment to maintain order". A short time later, however, the official deleted that sentence from the statement.

While the Administration remains publicly non-committal, the issue is now dominating CNN news and receiving daily front-page treatment in influential newspapers, although the emphasis remains on Australian involvement, with scant attention to possible US action.

Key figures pushing for greater US engagement remain the Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, Stanley Roth, with support now from the US Ambassador to the UN, Mr Richard Holbrooke.

But they are fighting the traditional Europe and Middle East-centred foreign policy and an Administration reluctant to commit to action without approval from Congress, which resumes tomorrow after its summer recess.

Earlier, White House spokesman Barry Toiv said the Administration supported the Australian plan to deploy a multinational peacekeeping force to Indonesia, provided Indonesia accepted the offer.

Subject: Murdered priest's brother recalls final plea for help

Date: 10 Sep 1999 19:38:04

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: Murdered priest's brother recalls final plea for help

note: Today's SCMP features 15 Timor-related articles

South China Morning Post
Saturday, September 11, 1999

EAST TIMOR

Murdered priest's brother recalls final plea for help

ANNEMARIE EVANS and AGENCIES

"Please help us, tell them to come. We will all die. The international community is delaying, delaying, delaying."
Those were the last words of Father Francisco Barreto, the priest heading the East Timorese branch of Catholic aid agency Caritas, to his brother five days ago.

On Wednesday, the agency reported most of its 40 East Timorese staff in the territory, including Barreto, had been murdered by pro-Indonesian militias.

His brother, orchestral conductor Simao Barreto, 59, said yesterday from Macau: "He was absolutely devoted to his country and his people. He was the right-hand man of [resistance leader Xanana] Gusmao in the clandestine organisation. He grew up with Gusmao."

With most phone lines still cut, Mr Barreto is desperately concerned for the rest of his family in East Timor.

With the pro-Indonesian militia seemingly targeting Catholic organisations in the bloodshed of East Timor, Mr Barreto was not alone in his grief.

Father Francisco Maria Fernandes, religious leader of the Timorese exiles in Macau, said: "I just lost my auntie. She was the oldest Canossian nun in Timor.

"Her name was Sister Margarida Soares, 85 years old and killed by the militia."

Soares was one of six nuns reportedly murdered in Dili and Baucau.

"She was very pro-independence," Father Fernandes said of his aunt. "In World War II she was already a nun and suffering under the Japanese occupation. And now this."

At least 13 Filipino missionaries were missing in East Timor, a Philippine Embassy official in Jakarta said yesterday.

East Timorese resistance leader Jose Ramos Horta said yesterday: "For the first time in the history of East Timor, the Catholic Church itself has come under fire.

"Churches are being burned, bishops are targets. Who is capable of doing that? The East Timorese are devoutly Catholic. Even the worst East Timor common criminal would never touch a priest, a bishop or the Church. Who therefore is behind them?"

Caritas Hong Kong's director of international co-operation, Kathi Zellweger, said three members of Caritas Indonesia would go into West Timor today.

Subject: TI: Subtle controlling intelligence behind militia violence

Date: 04 Sep 1999 17:28:16

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: TI: Subtle controlling intelligence behind militia violence

Excerpt: It is easy to think of the militias as aimless psychopaths, but these men are controlled by the armed forces of Indonesia, and Indonesia is not a Rwanda or a Somalia. A subtle controlling intelligence is behind their actions.

The Independent [London]
Sunday, September 5, 1999

Timor votes for freedom but terror holds sway

IT WAS evening in New York and morning in East Timor, when Ian Martin, the head of the UN in East Timor, walked into the rundown Hotel Mahkota in the capital Dili where the cameras were waiting. The statement took only a few minutes to read aloud, in four languages - English, Portuguese, Indonesian and the local tongue, Tetum. Nobody cheered or wept or punched the air; almost nobody smiled. Outside, the streets were almost deserted.

"On August 30 1999, in a show of courage and determination, the people of East Timor turned out in massive numbers to vote in the popular consultation, expressing their will as to the future of the Territory," ran the statement, which was read out simultaneously to the Security Council by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. "Therefore, in fulfillment of the task entrusted to me ... I hereby announce that the result of the vote is 94,388 or 21.5 per cent in favour and 344,850 or 78.5 per cent against the proposed special autonomy."

In that moment one of the last of the great colonial lies was nailed once and for all. A quarter of a century of Indonesian deception, accepted and encouraged by the rest of the world, was erased at a stroke. It should have been a moment of epic jubilation and relief, one of those moments that people remember for the rest of their lives, but rather than a town liberated, Dili yesterday was a place under siege, with a population fearful for their homes and lives, many of them desperate to escape.

No doubt there were private celebrations, as people gathered round radios and televisions in the stone villas on the Dili sea front or the simple huts of bamboo and grass, which are home to many Timorese outside the capital. A doctor told me that in the neighbourhood where he lives, people wept a little and embraced one another for half an hour before events drove them inside. But shots had been reported in the early morning. Less than two hours after Ian Martin's words, people were scrambling for cover in the very hotel where East Timor's freedom was announced.

You take your life in your hands when you step out in Dili these days and late last night, in towns and villages across the territory, the situation was as dangerous and lawless as it has been at any time since soon after the Indonesian invasion in 1975. Last night, UN staff were camping in the floors of their Dili headquarters, after an American policeman was shot in the stomach during the ambush of an evacuation convoy. Journalists and international observers in the rest of the town huddled in nervous pockets in hotels and houses, sealed off from one another by the dark streets and Dili's notoriously unreliable telephone system.

Immediately after the announcement there had been an anti-climatic calm. There were people on the streets, but almost without exception they were

fleeing - anxious family groups carrying clothes and food. The problem in travelling by car is not just getting safely from one place to another, but persuading someone to take you there. Many drivers, understandably, are terrified and almost nobody will venture outside Dili.

Opposite the Hotel Mahkota, a long, flat, cargo barge was in dock from early morning, set upon by people loading mattresses, fridges, motorbikes and cars. The journey to Indonesian West Timor would take 21 hours, twice as long as the journey by road. But the road is the road through Liquisa where the UN policeman, now undergoing surgery in Darwin, was shot.

While the ship was loading, the Indonesian police were placing roadblocks in front of the Hotel Mahkota. The barricades were impressive enough - big spindles of timber wrapped round with barbed wire, and backed up by hulking green trucks. But they must certainly rank among the least effective roadblocks in policing history.

The biggest alarm of Dili is not that there are insufficient police, for they festoon the entrances to every hotel lobby in town, and more reinforcements seem to fly in every day. The problem is that the police do not do any policing. For a start, they have to be paid to stay - in one hotel they have taken to adding a surcharge to the daily rate to cover their bribes. Most serious of all, they are in active collusion with the militias causing the terror.

The point was superbly illustrated at the Hotel Mahkota later in the day. Shots rang out close by at 11am. The police appeared to chase and give up. Then in mid-afternoon, a motorbike rider drew up in front of the hotel and smashed the window with a large stick. An hour later, six men with home-made pistols fired them into the lobby. Television pictures show them milling around afterwards, chatting with the impassive law enforcers.

It is easy to think of the militias as aimless psychopaths, but these men are controlled by the armed forces of Indonesia, and Indonesia is not a Rwanda or a Somalia. A subtle controlling intelligence is behind their actions. East Timorese, especially those associated with the independence movement, are open game, but until yesterday, the intention as far as foreigners were concerned was to intimidate - to sow terror without actually bringing down the international opprobrium which inevitably follows the death or injury of foreign national.

With the shooting of the UN policeman yesterday, that appeared to have changed and international policy must change too. Indonesia has been given enough chances and everything has failed - only last Monday the UN special ambassador on East Timor praised the "superb" work of the Indonesian police. Criticism - in the form of the patient, dogged and repeated statements put out by Ian Martin - has also failed. East Timor never was part of Indonesia and the world always knew it - after yesterday's result, it has no excuse for pretending otherwise.

What the territory needs is armed international peacekeepers with a mandate strong and detailed enough to cut through the lies which it is still being fed. The pro-Indonesian side, Kofi Annan said yesterday, "must not consider this outcome a loss ... for there are no winners and losers today." There are losers, of course, and at the moment they are winning.

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

January 23, 1998

12/9/97

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

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GOVERNMENT
FOREIGN OPERATIONS-EXPORT
FINANCING AND RELATED PROGRAMS
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed are two eyewitness accounts of an October 1997 visit to East Timor. Mr. Arnold Kohen and Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., are seasoned, experienced and tempered observers of East Timor and their thoughts hold considerable weight. I hope you will take time to read what they have to say and consider what America's response ought to be.

Conditions in East Timor are not getting better. People there are still being killed. People there still live in fear. People there still live in the shadows of freedom. But it doesn't have to be that way.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

Enclosures
FRW:cw



Embassy of the United States of America

Jakarta

January 8, 1998

JAN 20 1998

Dear Mr. Wolf:

Thank you for your December 9, 1997 letter regarding the situation in East Timor and for the enclosed accounts of Mr. Arnold Kohen and Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., which we have read with interest.

The Administration shares your concerns about developments in East Timor and your desire to work for a settlement of this issue. In this connection, we are supporting the ongoing efforts of the UN Secretary General's personal representative, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, and have made clear to Ambassador Marker and others involved that we are prepared to play a helpful role at a time when the parties agree that our assistance would be useful. Your suggestion that we appoint a special envoy would certainly receive serious consideration in this context.

As you know from your visit here last year, we follow developments in East Timor closely through frequent visits and meetings with a wide range of knowledgeable individuals. The Embassy and senior Administration visitors also continue to make known to the Government of Indonesia at all levels our concern about developments in East Timor.

We welcome your interest in East Timor and look forward to keeping in close touch as you follow developments there.

Sincerely,

J. Stapleton Roy
J. Stapleton Roy
Ambassador

The Honorable
Frank R. Wolf,
House of Representatives.

Chad
Mr
Not good
we bail out
Timor
will be
fr
help
in

1 year and no progress

Subj: **Australia Announces Plan To Train E Timorese In Oil Industry**
Date: 10/4/00 4:11:04 AM Eastern Daylight Time
From: Joyo
BCC: ASKOHEN

Associated Press
October 4, 2000

Australia Announces Plan To Train E Timorese In Oil Indus

CANBERRA (AP)-Australian Industry Minister Nick Minchin announced Wednesday a plan to help train East Timorese people for jobs in the former Indonesian province's fledgeling oil and gas industry.

The announcement came shortly before Australia and East Timorese negotiators begin talks on redrafting a treaty dividing up profits from the rich Timor Gap oil and gas fields under the sea between northern Australia and East Timor.

A joint body set up by Australia, East Timor and the United Nations body steering the province to full statehood has set aside US\$700,000 a year for the scheme from royalties paid by oil companies operating in the area.

"This is something constructive we can do to help improve the long term economic outlook for the people of East Timor," Minchin said.

Mari Alkatiri, an East Timorese leader who is minister for economic affairs in the United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor, welcomed the decision.

The rich petroleum and gas resources of the Timor Gap area were originally to be carved up under the Timor Gap Treaty, negotiated by Indonesia and Australia.

But Indonesia gave up its place in the treaty after the East Timorese voted for independence on Aug. 30 last year.

East Timorese have described the original Timor Gap Treaty as illegal and are seeking a substantial redrafting.

Oil and gas are expected to develop into an important source of income for East Timor along with coffee exports and, in the future, tourism.

Although current production is small, some Australian officials say the region could one of the richest new hydrocarbon areas outside the Middle East.

An estimated US\$2.1 billion has been spent to explore and tap its reserves so far.

B"tauran sms 10/28 text"— Page #1 Sunday. October 24. 1999 7:46 P

10/28/99

Essential Role

Church will rebuild East Timor, says Vatican official

By STEPHEN STEELE

The Catholic Church in East Timor will play an essential role in rebuilding the newly independent country, said Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran, Vatican secretary for relations with states.]

Archbishop Tauran, who was the first Vatican official to call for the sending of U.N. troops to East Timor to quell the Indonesia-led violence that broke out last month, told CNY Oct. 24 that among the Church's roles will be to ensure that "law and order in East Timor rests on moral principals."]

Archbishop Tauran spoke to CNY at Holy Family parish near the United Nations after celebrating Mass for United Nations Day and the parish's 75th anniversary.

Concelebrating were Archbishop Renato R. Martino, Vatican nuncio to the United Nations, Father Robert J. Robbins, pastor of Holy Family, and more than a clergy throughout the archdiocese. Cardinal O'Connor, who was scheduled to preside at the Mass, did not attend. The cardinal earlier presided at Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral.]

Archbishop Tauran said the Timorese church was a target of the violence, noting that priests, nuns and catechists were killed and Catholic schools and diocesan centers were destroyed in the orgy of violence that engulfed the the country.]

He said international troops had to be sent to East Timor "in order to avoid a full-scale massacre."]

Indonesia, a mostly Muslim country, invaded mostly Catholic East Timor in 1975 and annexed it as Indonesia's 27th province the following year in a move never recognized by the Vatican and the United Nations. More than 200,000 Timorese are estimated to have been killed or died of disease or famine during Indonesia's brutal rule.]

The East Timorese rejected Indonesian rule during a U.N.-sponsored referendum in August. Widespread violence broke out across the country after results were announced a few days later. The Church has accused the Indonesian military and their proxies of leading the violence.]

Holy Family was filled to capacity, with more than 500 people attending the Mass. Afterward a reception was held in the newly renovated parish auditorium.]

Archbishop Tauran noted at the Mass' onset that Pope John Paul II told him during a Oct. 20 meeting at the Vatican to invoke his apostolic blessing on Holy Family's parishioners. Later, the archbishop offered the pope's blessing in Latin.]

During his homily, Archbishop Tauran noted the important role that Holy Family plays in prayerfully supporting the U.N.'s role in promoting peace.]

"Your parish has a special vocation because of its proximity to the headquarters of the United Nations organization, where the hopes and struggles and the dramas of the whole world converge, where the cries of the victims of countless conflicts and injustices resonate, where the international instruments inspired by law and justice to resolve inevitable disputes in a manner worthy of humankind are drawn up," he said.]

"By the side of that vast hive of humanity is this little church," he said. "Here,

each one of us can stop awhile, be silent, pray and discover in wonder that God is ever awaiting us and wishes to accompany us on our journey.”]

He called on parishioners to be “heralds and prophets” in a society that doesn’t always recognize God.]

“I am struck and saddened by how little time we set aside for God during the day. This is particularly true in the developed world. And this is the great poverty of the societies of plenty: to ignore that God awaits us—that without him, we cannot understand the true meaning of our existence,” he said.]

He said people of faith must do what they can to eradicate violence and promote and peace among nations. He said a society that favors technology and capitalism over serving its poor was dehumanizing; and noted that “an unbridled arms race is not the way ahead in securing peace.”]

“We cannot be happy without each other and even more so if we are against each other by excluding from our table those who are hungry for food, dignity and culture,” he said.]

Reply-to: Joyo@aol.com
Subject: 500 European radio stations in synch on East Timor
To: "undisclosed-recipients:;"@igc.org

also: Pope slams attacks against unarmed civilians in E.Timor

500 European radio stations in synch on East Timor

LISBON, Sept 29 (AFP) - Some 500 Christian radio stations from more than 15 European countries will simultaneously air a program Wednesday on the situation in East Timor, the president of Portuguese Catholic radio said Wednesday.

"Our hope is to make the people and governments of Europe aware of the dire situation in East Timor," said Magalhaes Crespo, president of Renascenca, the Portuguese Christian radio group.

Crespo, who also heads the European Confederation of Christian Radio (CERC), said the decision to air the program was made at the CERC's annual meeting in Vienna two weeks ago.

The program will include a news segment, a history of East Timor since its annexation by Indonesia in 1975, music, prayers and a plea to contribute to a fund opened in the name of the Timor Church.

More than 70 other Portuguese radio stations will broadcast the show.

The CERC brings together radio stations in Austria, Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain.

Pope slams attacks against unarmed civilians in E.Timor

VATICAN CITY, Sept 29 (AFP) - Pope John Paul II lashed out against a wave of massacres committed in East Timor against unarmed civilians and Christians, during his weekly audience in Saint Peter's Square Wednesday.

"Unarmed citizens as well as Christians, priests, monks and nuns who dedicate their lives to everyone" are being slaughtered, he said.

He was particularly horrified by the death of two missionaries near Baucau Saturday, he added.

He urged worshippers in Saint Peter's Square to pray for the slain nuns and for "all victims of the Timorese tragedy, for all those who suffer body and soul, for the refugees and those who try to help them and for peace in the territory."

Some 15,000 of the 60,000 people who fled rampaging pro-Indonesian militias to the mountains three weeks ago arrived back in Dili, the East Timor capital, within 24 hours of receiving the all clear on Tuesday.

UN officials and aid groups said another 10,000 to 15,000 were on their way, some on trucks, but most making the three-hour trek on foot.

The exodus started as soon as an August 30 independence poll in East Timor was held. It redoubled after pro-Indonesia militia launched a campaign of terror and devastation after the result of the ballot -- an overwhelming vote for independence -- was announced.

Indonesia has bowed to international pressure and agreed that East Timor could, at least in practice, be put under United Nations civil administration before Jakarta ratifies the territory's independence.

Subject: SMH/Analysis: Thirty years' policy out with garbage

Date: 21 Sep 1999 10:03:32

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: SMH/Analysis: Thirty years' policy out with garbage

Sydney Morning Herald
Wednesday, September 22, 1999

Thirty years' policy out with garbage

By HAMISH McDONALD

Yesterday marked a great departure in our foreign relations, and with Indonesia in particular, when the parliaments in each country debated in their own way the issue that is causing so much friction and mistrust between them.

In Canberra, our Prime Minister, John Howard, almost exuded a sense of liberation in discussing his thinking since last December, when he wrote the cautious letter to Indonesian President B.J.Habibie, suggesting an eventual act of self-determination in East Timor.

In Jakarta, President Habibie was a leader on the back foot, carpeted in a more deferential parliament, but still having to justify his decision to go beyond Howard's proposal and give the East Timorese the choice of going independent immediately.

Howard didn't explain what caused him to dump 25 years of what he called "reluctant acquiescence" by Australian governments to Indonesia, nor Habibie what made him adopt a policy that immediately set him at odds with his military and his own Soeharto-era power base.

Habibie is blamed for "losing" East Timor. Howard is attacked on one hand for not insisting harder on armed peacekeepers before the vote. The remnants of the Indonesia Lobby, on the other hand, say the "disaster" is the damage done to the relationship.

Both leaders now hope to be vindicated by Indonesian democratic reform.

Howard pointed to the "other voices" in Indonesia who were appalled at the security breakdown in Timor. "We look forward to working closely with the new democratically elected government ...," he said.

Habibie said letting East Timor go would allow Indonesians to "open new pages" in their history.

This is just the start of a top-to-bottom reappraisal of our diplomatic and defence policies. Take some of the lessons Howard sees in the Timor crisis:

We should not delude ourselves with special relationships or personal rapport between leaders, but focus on national interests and recognise differences in values.

We should accept we are a Western nation next to Asia with strong links to Europe and the United States, and "stop worrying whether we are Asian, in Asia, enmeshed in Asia, or part of a mythical East-Asian hemisphere.

The US alliance is important and is working, but we need a "significant increase" in defence spending.

Pursuing national interest must be based on Australia's values, and relations with Indonesia should not be sought "at all costs".
That's the sound of 30 years' policy, and many distinguished careers, going out with the garbage.

Subject: IHT&LAT: Beware of Pentagon Penchant for Parallel Foreign Policy

Date: 21 Sep 1999 17:10:37

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: IHT&LAT: Beware of Pentagon Penchant for Parallel Foreign Policy

Note: Pentagon's involvement with Indon military is the prime example of its parallel foreign policy described in this article

International Herald Tribune/Los Angeles Times
Wednesday, September 22, 1999

Beware of a Military Penchant for a Parallel Foreign Policy

By William Pfaff Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

PARIS - A recent study comparing the values and political outlooks of U.S. military officers with representative civilian groups (some with and some without military experience) shows that the military respondents are more conservative than the civilians, which is scarcely a surprise. It produces other, less predictable but more provocative findings.

The results demonstrate that today's U.S. officers believe that their values are closer to those of the public than are politicians' values. They also believe, more than do civilians, that it is 'very important' to use the military in conducting foreign policy.

The officers are conservative. Sixty-four percent are Republicans, and 67 percent describe their political philosophy as conservative.

They believe in themselves. Eighty-seven percent have 'a great deal of confidence in the military.' Just 35 percent of the civilians without military experience share that confidence.

Seventeen percent say they don't believe in the presidency (but they may be referring to the current president). They believe in the Supreme Court (72 percent), but not in the universities (34) or the press (4).

The poll was conducted among nearly 4,000 members of military and civilian elites.

Academic and political comment has focused on the political gap between the military and civilians. A professor at the National War College says that an officer corps so overwhelmingly Republican is 'scary.'

My view is that these officers are no more conservative than regular officers have always been. But, unlike officers in the prewar services, they make their political commitments known.

General George Marshall, the wartime chief of staff who is generally considered a model of military rectitude, never even voted. He also refused the offer of a million dollars for his wartime memoirs, replying that one does not enrich oneself from public service.

The postwar services were undoubtedly more liberal, but the times themselves were liberal, and hundreds of thousands of civilians served as wartime officers, greatly influencing military institutions. That civilian influence is gone now.

There is a more subtle problem posed by this perception by officers that they defend American values and interests, in contrast to politicians, academics

and the press, at a time when the military has greater influence on the conduct of U.S. foreign relations than ever before.

It is not too much to say that there is a distinct foreign policy of military inspiration, conducted from the Pentagon. The East Timor affair has shown this.

The Clinton administration acknowledges that it turned to the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, 'to deliver a tough message to Indonesia.' That would be unremarkable had the Pentagon not previously encouraged Indonesia's military leaders to believe that they enjoyed U.S. sympathy in their efforts to keep East Timor part of Indonesia.

It took three calls from General Shelton to convince General Wiranto, the Indonesian army commander, that the United States would actually block IMF aid to his country. General Wiranto previously had heard another story, by way of Admiral Dennis Blair, U.S. Pacific commander, and others.

In the early 1990s, after Congress demanded that a U.S. Army Special Forces training program in Indonesia be halted because of abuse of human rights under the Suharto government, the program was merely renamed, and the army continued it.

The Pentagon argues that 'military diplomacy,' meaning the cultivation of close relations with foreign commanders, joint exercises, training missions and scholarships for foreign officers - promotes U.S. interests and ultimately improves human rights performance. The East Timor affair gives little evidence of the last effect.

More than foreign policy confusion exists when the U.S. officer corps is convinced that it knows better about foreign policy than do civilians, and believes that it is the custodian of patriotic values that other Americans do not share.

The situation would merit little concern if the United States were a country with modest professional forces. But it is more militarized than virtually any other nation on earth, certainly more than any other democracy. Therefore the problem does deserve attention.

Subject: Dare: Cripple witnesses wife shot by Kopassus as she prays

Date: 21 Sep 1999 09:20:07

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: Dare: Cripple witnesses wife shot by Kopassus as she prays

Sydney Morning Herald
Wednesday, September 22, 1999

Crippled Tito sees wife shot as she prays

By YENNY ZANNUBA, Herald Correspondent in Dare, East Timor

He grimaced as he struggled to sit upright. A wide elastic brace encircled his fragile spine, the latter the source of years of agony and, he believes, the cause of his wife's death last weekend near the teeming refugee camp at Dare, on the outskirts of Dili.

Last Saturday a jeep full of Indonesian special forces - or Kopassus - soldiers pulled up outside the Dare church where tens of thousands of refugees have gathered since the militia rampage through Dili.

Shots rang out and the people began to run, but Tito, 54, could not. For years he had been slowed by a spinal problem and so his wife stayed behind to assist him as their five children ran ahead.

He says he got as far as the coffee plantation 200 metres away from the main church building. Then, the couple decided they could not go on, and crumpled to the ground to pray. They were deep in prayers when a single bullet hit Tito's wife in the head, killing her instantly.

"I just watched her as she fell across my feet," he says, slouched on a camp bed in the church.

"Sorry, I can't continue. It's too painful to remember."

Tito, a public servant, and his family left their house in downtown Dili after pro-Jakarta militias began burning houses.

With thousands of other refugees they took shelter in the Dare church compound, headed by Father Joseph Tan, 72, an ethnic Chinese Indonesian priest. They were sitting outside when the attack took place.

"We saw a jeep full of Kopassus, Indonesian special forces, wearing red berets, near the church up on the hill, said Mario Fernandez, 25, a student in the religious school.

"They didn't go further down into the village, but we heard gunshots." The Indonesian military commander, Major-General Kiki Syahnakri, denied the involvement of the special force in the atrocities.

"As a unit, there is no Kopassus here, but personally there are some members," he said. "But if sighting the red berets is the only evidence, then the Aitarak [pro-Jakarta militia based in Dili] also wear red berets."

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-Slugline-

TIMOR-FIDES Sep-20-1999 (330 words) With photo. xxxi

-Headline-

East Timorese used as 'war trophies,' says Vatican agency

-Alerts-

-Byline-

By Cindy Wooden

Catholic News Service

-Text-

VATICAN CITY (CNS) -- Indonesian forces are treating East Timorese refugees as "war trophies," rounding them up and parading them through the border towns where they are seeking safety, a Vatican news agency said.

The maltreatment of Timorese by Indonesian military and pro-Indonesian militias is, "we hope, the last of the disgraces of the 20th century," said an editorial distributed Sept. 20 by Fides, the agency of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples.

By trying to dominate rather than integrate the people of East Timor, Indonesia left the Timorese with no choice but to seek independence to protect their rights and taste freedom, the editorial said.

The challenge facing Indonesia now is not to figure out how its military can keep the country united, but what kind of country Indonesians want, Fides said.

Fides said reports it has been receiving from East Timor say that the Indonesia army is using airdrops of food and supplies to encourage people hiding in the forests to congregate, then it is bombing them.

"This is a cruelty for which we were not prepared," the editorial said.

In addition, the army and militias are scouring refugee camps looking for Timorese suspected of actively supporting independence, Fides said. Those who are found are taken away, "something which did not happen even in the era of the Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees."

What is happening in East Timor should not be used "to demonize Indonesia as a whole," the agency said. "While the army or a fringe of the army and the militias conduct their manhunt on the island of Timor, the Indonesian population is taking in and hiding refugees."

In fact, Fides said, the people of Timor who have been under military rule for more than 20 years are teaching the people of Indonesia the meaning of freedom.

END

-Timestamp-

09/20/1999 10:51 AM ET

From: "Rivera, Severina" <SRivera@catholicrelief.org>
To: "Wiest, Mike" <mwiest@catholicrelief.org>, "De Har...
Date: 11/10/99 1:28pm
Subject: FW: LUSA: Post-Independence Prospects Good, says Wold Bank Economist

Please note sections in bold.

Sev

> -----Original Message-----

> **From:** Mariza Costa-Cabral [SMTP:cabral@gkss.de]
> **Sent:** Wednesday, November 10, 1999 11:58 AM
> **To:** east-timor@igc.apc.org
> **Subject:** LUSA: Post-Independence Prospects Good, says Wold Bank
> Economist
>
> Post-Independence Prospects Good, says Wold Bank Economist
>
> Dili, Nov. 9 (Lusa) - A World Bank assessment team considers that there is
> a high probability that an independent East Timor will be economically
> stable and prosperous, contrary to the opinion trumpeted by Indonesia
> during more than two decades of occupation.
>
> During their visit to the territory, the international experts
> found that the inhabitants, long considered by Jakarta to be incapable of
> running their own country, were "technically very able", despite a need
> for some low-level training courses.
>
> The economist Sarah Cliffe, a member of the Joint Assessment
> Mission, discussed the team's preliminary evaluation during a Dili press
> conference Tuesday before leaving for Darwin, Australia, where a final
> report will be prepared.
>
> "In many aspects the situation in East Timor has been tragic. The
> East Timorese have had to cope with this (recent) period of destruction,
> after having suffered for several decades", Cliffe said.
>
> "However, regarding economic questions, I don't think the situation
> is so grave. I believe East Timor will be a self-sufficient country in the
> medium-term future. There is plenty of potential. And while it's
> impossible to create a new Singapore or Hong Kong from one day to the
> next, there is a lot of potential for economic development", she added.
>
> "The farming sector is without question the one that can contribute
> most, in the near future, to the economy as a whole. This sector has a

> real chance of re-imposing some stability on the economic cycle", Cliffe
> stated. One priority will be East Timor's well-developed coffee sector,
> she said.
>
> Regarding the currency that will be used in East Timor during the
> UN transition administration, the World Bank economist said the issue was
> a matter for the International Monetary Fund, but added that the final
> choice should be made "by the East Timorese".
>
> The Joint Assessment Mission evaluating reconstruction needs for
> East Timor arrived in Dili on Oct. 29. Working together with East Timorese
> leaders and representatives of donor countries, it focused on eight
> specific areas: the macro-economy, agriculture, education, health, public
> administration, infrastructures, community rehabilitation and justice.
>
> A final report, including budget recommendations, will be prepared
> this week in Darwin and subject to approval or amendment during the
> December meeting of donor countries in Tokyo. -Lusa-

CC: "Sicola, Geri" <gesicol@catholicrcclief.org>, "Roge..."

1. + 4220

The World Bank
Washington, D.C. 20433
U.S.A.

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN
President

September 8, 1999

His Excellency
Prof. Dr. Ing. B. J. Habibie
President of the Republic of Indonesia
Jl. Veteran No. 17
Gedung Utama, 2nd Floor
Jakarta,
INDONESIA

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to seek your personal intervention to restore peace in East Timor, and to ensure that those who would use violence to thwart the result of the referendum do not succeed. The World Bank, as you know, has closely monitored events in East Timor in the months preceding the vote, so we would be ready with appropriate assistance whatever the outcome. In this, we were particularly heartened by the assurances of your government at the Consultative Group meeting in Paris that the international community should *"rest assured that.....we are determined to implement our part of the agreement, and give our full support to the operations of the United Nations in East Timor."* The CGI donors based their commitments on these assurances. However, reports from Dili and elsewhere in East Timor in the past few days have described military and police personnel standing by as civilians have been wounded and killed by armed militias.

As you know, the Bank and Indonesia have a long and positive relationship, stretching back many years. We have been through many ordeals together, and I am sure we will go through many more. For the international financial community to be able to continue its full support, it is critical that you act swiftly to restore order, and that your government carry through on its public commitment to honor the referendum outcome. The World Bank stands ready to do all we can to assist in the long and difficult task of building an independent East Timor, consistent with the decision of the August 30 referendum.

Sincerely yours,

James D. Wolfensohn

cc: Mr. James Hutagalung, Executive Director

Subject: SMH/D.Jenkins: US\$47 billion threat will plug boodbath

Date: 02 Sep 1999 12:00:07

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: SMH/D.Jenkins: US\$47 billion threat will plug boodbath

Sydney Morning Herald
Friday, September 3, 1999

A\$67 (US\$47) billion threat will plug boodbath

By DAVID JENKINS, Asia Editor in Jakarta

The Indonesian Government was in disarray yesterday over the escalating violence in East Timor, with the civilian government of President B. J. Habibie wringing its hands and hinting at a possible foreign peacekeeping force as an increasingly defiant army showed no sign it was willing to stop instigating the unrest.

It now seems that nothing short of an international threat to pull the plug on a \$US43 billion (\$67 billion) IMF bailout of the stricken Indonesian economy will succeed in persuading Habibie to rein in his generals, who have made it plain in private briefings that they are determined to hold on to East Timor at all costs.

A freeze on the disbursement of emergency aid could have a devastating effect on Indonesia's fragile economy, sending the rupiah into a new decline.

And as East Timor edges closer to anarchy, the Indonesian Army (TNI) is looking for all the world like a runaway institution, supporting the policies of Habibie in public but working assiduously to undermine them in private.

"The only way to avoid a bloodbath and end the conflict is for the world community to apply high-level economic pressure on the central government," said a Jakarta analyst with high-level army contacts.

"They will have to feel the intensity of the pressure. If it is only statements of concern they won't take it seriously. Indonesians believe in concrete things, in cash. Only if you withhold the cash and squeeze them will they listen.

"The outside world has to say we will not disburse further credit and will advise tourists not to come to the eastern part of Indonesia, meaning Bali. It is no good threatening to send in a peacekeeping force, as New Zealand has suggested. That will produce a nationalist backlash and greater defiance."

Four days after the successful United Nations ballot in East Timor, prominent members of the Jakarta foreign policy elite are expressing dismay and disbelief at the behaviour of the army and police in the territory. It is no secret in Jakarta that the army is behind the militia gangs sowing terror there.

"I just don't know what is going on," said Sabam Siagian, a former Indonesian ambassador to Australia. "On the referendum day it was quiet and in the following days one can't help get the impression that it was orchestrated.

"One day the Indonesian Army and police can control the situation. The next day they either acquiesce or can't control it. "What's the political plan? It doesn't make any sense any more. From our side, what's the scenario? Just to create a mess? What for? Isn't Jakarta aware that the Western powers, especially Washington, are using East Timor as a yardstick to judge whether

the Indonesian Government will adhere to an agreement?"

It was plain, even from television coverage, that Indonesian security forces acquiesced in the rioting, he said.

"The question is, what's the political scenario?

"While Indonesia is in dire need of international assistance that only the Western powers can provide, either bilaterally or through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, we are shooting ourselves in the foot. All in all, it's very disturbing."

Similar views are expressed by retired military officers, a number of whom have held key diplomatic postings.

"I don't see any strategy [behind the current violence]", said Lieutenant General Hasnan Habib, a former Indonesian ambassador in Washington and Bangkok, whose last posting was roving ambassador to the Non-Aligned Movement.

"It would have been much more logical if they had done this before the voting took place."

According to a civilian adviser who has worked closely with the army on East Timor, "the current army policy is reckless. There is no advanced strategic thinking. "Three weeks ago these [top army] people said, 'There is no way we will give independence to the Timorese. If they win by the ballot, we will win by the bullet'.

"But yesterday when [UN Secretary-General] Kofi Annan and the United States and the entire world was crying out, they began to panic. They do not know what to do. But beneath the surface they are [still] instigating violence. This is all a mess. They have embarked on half-baked operations without proper planning, just emotion."

Another source in the capital said: "Many in the military don't yet comprehend that they can be told by a civilian president - a weak, illegitimate joker of a president - what to do."

The Defence Minister and armed forces chief, General Wiranto, was a weak commander, and the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, was "tired of Timor", the source said.

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Deadly asbestos plagues E.Timor's reconstruction

By Kurt Schork

(1999)

DILI, East Timor, Nov 2 (Reuters) - Cancer-causing asbestos found in ruined houses across East Timor is complicating the job of rebuilding this former Indonesian province.

Sheets of asbestos, long banned as a building material in many countries, lie burnt and broken amongst the rubble of East Timor's devastated towns, releasing deadly fibres into the air.

"There was a lot of asbestos in the roofs and walls of these houses and now that material has been burned and broken so the asbestos is made airborne by people scavenging to rebuild," Australian construction expert Tony Medina said on Tuesday.

"There is no safe level of exposure to asbestos. This is a difficult issue that must be considered as a part of East Timor's overall reconstruction. People's lives are at stake."

Medina is part of an international group of 20 trade union construction experts now arriving in East Timor as part of CARE Australia's initiative to help rebuild this shattered society.

Pro-Jakarta militias ravaged the territory in September after people here voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence in a U.N.-supervised referendum on August 30.

U.N. officials, who are running East Timor for the next few years until it assumes full independence and self-government, say it will take years to recover from the militia destruction.

Heavy seasonal rains have begun in some parts of East Timor and many people cannot wait for the international community to help them get a water-tight roof over their heads.

Locals are picking through destroyed and badly damaged buildings, scavenging whatever they can and unwittingly stirring up asbestos-laden dust that could prove deadly.

“Our reconstruction and assessment teams have found asbestos throughout the majority of the buildings in Dili,” said Jacqueline Pascarl-Gillespie of CARE Australia.

“It is highly carcinogenic. We are bringing in suits and masks for our builders to use but people are rummaging through damaged buildings with no idea that they may not realise for 20 years that they have polluted their lungs.”

Microscopic asbestos fibres can cause serious long-term lung damage once inhaled, leading to cancer or a debilitating lung disease known as asbestosis.

CARE on Tuesday shipped in 13 pre-fabricated buildings that will be distributed throughout East Timor and used as medical clinics and sleeping quarters by local communities.

Most of the international shelter assistance to East Timor to date has been in the form of plastic sheeting.

U.N. officials say it will still be some time before major quantities of roofing timber, corrugated iron and concrete can be made available here for large-scale residential reconstruction.

01:53 11-02-99

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Subject: Promising Safety, the U.N. Led East Timor to the Slaughter

Date: 10 Sep 1999 12:47:21

From: Joyo@aol.com

Newsgroups: reg.easttimor

Subject: Promising Safety, the U.N. Led East Timor to the Slaughter

Guardian

Friday, September 10, 1999

Promising Safety, the U.N. Led East Timor to the Slaughter

The international community organized an independence referendum, but won't protect Timorese from the consequences

Like a shameful family secret, East Timor's plight is once again tugging at Western consciences, but the Timorese may pay heavily for expecting salvation from the international community. In fact, the magnitude of their betrayal by that community began to dawn on the Timorese Thursday, when the United Nations mission started pulling out amid a rein of terror by pro-Indonesia thugs. When the U.N. organized last month's referendum — in which almost 80 percent of East Timor's voters opted for independence from Indonesia — it told the Timorese that a new day had dawned and they were free to express their wishes without fear of retribution. But now that the retribution has come, as swift and terrible as the pro-Indonesia militias had warned for months that it would be, world leaders are protesting their impotence and the U.N. has struck its tent.

Paying the price: East Timorese refugees flee the violence

Sentimentally, of course, Western leaders would like nothing more than to act decisively to end the pogrom in East Timor — but sentiment seldom trumps geopolitics in the affairs of state, and geopolitics is a cynical business. Back in December 1975, the U.S. gave Indonesia a nod and a wink to proceed with its invasion of the tiny country, whose Portuguese colonial administration had collapsed. In fact, President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had been in Jakarta the day before Indonesian troops went in. With Ho Chi Minh having overrun South Vietnam only eight months earlier, Washington wasn't about to see another Asian domino fall to the communists. The murder and mayhem wrought by the Indonesian forces may have been distasteful, but Indonesia had been the anchor of Western interests in Asia. So East Timor had to wait for the end of the Cold War and then some before democracy could be allowed to take its course.

Despite the wishes of 80 percent of the population as expressed through a referendum organized by the international community, geopolitical considerations are likely to once again leave Western arms folded as the Timorese suffer another pummeling. The U.S. and Britain insist that keeping the peace in East Timor is Indonesia's responsibility — despite considerable evidence suggesting that at best the Indonesian military is standing by passively as the anti-independence militias wreak havoc, and that at worst they're actually sponsoring those militias — and oppose sending in a U.N. peacekeeping mission. This may be simple realism: Indonesia has made clear that it won't accept foreign troops in the region, and peacekeeping forces aren't about to fight their way in. This isn't Kosovo, after all — although cynics may be tempted to ask whether that's simply because the victims aren't European, or because Indonesia, unlike Serbia, is a longtime ally of the NATO countries.

The geopolitical calculations are, however, more complex than in Kosovo: Indonesia is the key state in the region both politically and economically, and right now it's teetering on the brink of a cataclysmic implosion.

Different political factions are vying to fill the void left by last year's ouster of the dictator Suharto, the once-booming economy of the world's fourth most populous country is in the doldrums, and all across the ethnically diverse 13,000-island archipelago there are secessionist rumblings. Western leaders fear that forcing the Indonesian military to give way to foreign troops may spark a nationalist backlash in which the generals stop Indonesia's hesitant democratization. They're also reluctant to encourage secessionist tendencies in Indonesia proper. And a U.N.-authorized peacekeeping mission would require China's approval, which would be highly unlikely given Beijing's reluctance — in light of its own plethora of secessionists — to approve Kosovo-style peacekeeping operations.

Even simply putting pressure on Indonesia to carry out its commitment to maintain the security of the East Timorese is difficult, because Western leaders fear that the obvious pressure point — denying economic assistance — could trigger further financial turbulence throughout Asia.

What was at stake in East Timor in 1975 was the outcome of the Cold War; what may be at stake now is the future of Indonesia. Either way, the Timorese lose. Currently it appears they'll be disappointed if they expect much more from the international community than a lot of sympathetic clucking.

-- TONY KARON

From: winnubst@cidse.be <winnubst@cidse.be>
To: etimor@cidse.antenna.nl <etimor@cidse.antenna.nl>
Date: Wednesday, September 08, 1999 3:24 AM
Subject: Pope's message

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ET3655.1044 September 7, 1999 35 EM-lines (403 words)

EAST TIMOR POPE EXPRESSES CONCERN FOR EAST TIMOR, DENOUNCES VIOLENCE

VATICAN CITY (UCAN) -- Pope John Paul II has denounced "the violence and intimidation" in East Timor following the announcement of the outcome of the U.N.-run ballot, and called for peace in the predominantly Catholic territory.

"There is worrying news from East Timor in these hours, where grave acts of intimidation and violence are occurring," the Holy Father said Sept. 5 during the Angelus at Castel Gandolfo, his summer residence outside Rome.

That day in Dili, capital of East Timor, pro-integration Aitarak (thorn) militiamen attacked the Dili diocese center, killing at least 35 people and injuring 50 others who had sought shelter there.

On Sept. 6 the militia attacked the residence of Salesian Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, killing 30 people and injuring 80 among the 2,500 people seeking refuge at the compound, a kilometer from the diocesan center.

Following the attack, during which the residence was burned, police evacuated the people there. Bishop Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili, was later flown to Baucau, 120 kilometers east of Dili.

Sources at the Vatican said that on Sept. 6, Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran, Vatican secretary for relations with states, contacted unnamed governments, urging them to act to ensure that peace is restored in East Timor.

The Vatican was concerned for the safety of Bishop Belo, they added.

At the Angelus Sept. 5, the pope called for respect for the results of the Aug. 30 referendum on East Timor's status, announced Sept. 4, which were that 78 percent of voters rejected autonomy within Indonesia. By rejecting the offer of autonomy, they implicitly voted to create an independent nation.

The Holy Father prayed to the Blessed Mother to "arouse in the hearts of everyone sentiments of true pacification and constructive respect for the will of the Timorese people which has been expressed in the past days."

The pope also expressed hope "that a climate of serenity and harmony can be established in the territory," and invited everyone to join with him in prayer "for these our brothers who are being sorely tried."

According to Church sources, the pope's expression of concern over the deteriorating situation in East Timor was primarily aimed at the Timorese people in the hope of helping calm the situation.

A secondary purpose, they said, was to spur the international community to take urgent steps to ensure that peace comes to East Timor soon, even though the pope realizes the difficulty of this task.

Subj: **Vatican envoy gathers bishops in E. Timor for reconciliation talks**
Date: 1/4/01 4:01:27 AM Eastern Standard Time
From: Joyo
BCC: ASKOHEN

Vatican envoy gathers bishops in East Timor for reconciliation talks

JAKARTA, Jan 4 (AFP) - A Vatican envoy is leading talks between bishops from Indonesian West Timor and UN-ruled East Timor on how to reconcile the rival East Timorese factions, a priest said Thursday.

"Talks were held yesterday and today and will continue tomorrow," Father Ansel Leu told AFP by phone from the West Timor capital of Kupang.

He confirmed that Bishop Petrus Turang of Kupang had travelled to the East Timor capital of Dili on Wednesday to meet with Dili's Bishop Carlos Ximenes Filepe Belo and Baucau's Bishop Basilio do Nascimento.

Bishop Anton Pain Ratu of Atambua, a refugee-swollen West Timor border town, would join talks scheduled for Friday at 5:00 pm (0800 GMT) in the hill town of Dare outside Dili, Pastor Agus Berek at Atambua's cathedral said.

"All five bishops will meet there, under the leadership of the Vatican representative," Berek told AFP by phone.

Staff at the Vatican embassy in Jakarta confirmed that chief representative, Monsignor Renzo Fratini was in East Timor for the talks.

Friday's talks would focus on reconciliation between pro-independence and anti-independence East Timorese, with the aim of resolving the dragging refugee problem, Berek added.

Some 250,000 were forced out of East Timor across the border into West Timor in September 1999 when pro-Jakarta militias went on the rampage angered after the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly for independence from Indonesia, which invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Many have returned home to East Timor, but it is estimated up to 100,000 remain trapped in refugee camps in West Timor, where the militias reportedly still hold sway.

Father Leu said further repatriations of the refugees still holed up in the squalid West Timor camps was impossible without reconciliation.

"They must be able to make a decision about returning or staying, without pressure from any side, and this can only happen if both sides forgive each other first," he said.

"If they don't forgive each other, reconciliation will be difficult. They must be reconciled."

But attempts to reconcile the two sides have been hampered by the grindingly slow legal system, which has been forced to set free many of those blamed for the violence which erupted after the UN-held ballot.

In Australia, a priest who heads the Jesuit Refugee Service said Thursday thousands may decide not to return home because they had links either to Indonesia or to the pro-Jakarta militias.

Father Frank Brennan told ABC Radio the UN refugee agency estimated that up to 19,000 refugees belonged to families which had at least one member "in receipt of an Indonesian government pension or salary."

Others were militia members or families of militiamen for whom the option of returning to East Timor was unattractive.

"But you also have a third group who would be those that are our greatest concern, that is those who in a sense are hostage to those who are running the camps with militia backing," Father Brennan said.

Tensions flared at the weekend when refugees from the Tuapukan camp in Kupang attacked the Poto resettlement camp 80

kilometres (50 miles) east of the city.

About 100 houses, mostly belonging to local residents, were reportedly looted and burned.

Brennan said the tensions were fuelled by complaints about food distribution by the Indonesian government.

Subj: **Bishops say many East Timorese refugees want to go home**
Date: 1/6/01 10:30:02 AM Eastern Standard Time
From: Jyo
BCC: ASKOEN

Bishops say many East Timorese refugees want to go home

JAKARTA, Jan 6 (AFP) - Four bishops from East Timor and Indonesia on Saturday said many East Timorese refugees still languishing in camps in Indonesian-ruled West Timor want to return to their homeland.

In a joint statement issued at the end of a two-day conference in the East Timorese capital of Dili, two East Timorese bishops, Nobel laureate Carlos Ximenes Belo and Mario do Carmo Lemos, and West Timor's bishops Petrus Turang and Pain Ratu also called for smooth return of the refugees.

The talks focused on reconciliation between pro-independence and anti-independence East Timorese, and discussed ways of resolving the dragging refugee problem. It was mediated by Vatican envoy to Indonesia Renzo Fratini.

"We have the impression that many of the refugees want to go back to East Timor," the four said in the statement read out by Belo, according to the Indonesian state news agency Antara.

The statement also said the church was ready to promote reconciliation between pro-independence East Timorese and those who opposed the territory's breakaway from Indonesia, which annexed the region in 1976.

"We reaffirm our support for efforts by the Indonesian government to provide security for the refugees, to facilitate their return and to monitor anyone who is exploiting the refugees' suffering for their political and economic benefits," they said.

Some 250,000 people were forced out of East Timor into West Timor in September 1999 when pro-Jakarta militias went on the rampage, angered by the province's overwhelming vote for independence from Indonesia.

Many have returned home to East Timor, but it is estimated that up to 100,000 remain trapped in the camps in West Timor, where militias reportedly still hold sway.

Attempts to reconcile the two rival East Timorese groups have been hampered by the grindingly slow legal system, which has been forced to set free many of those blamed for the violence which erupted after the UN-held ballot.

In Australia, a priest who heads the Jesuit Refugee Service said on Thursday thousands may decide not return home because they had links either to Indonesia or to the pro-Jakarta militias.

Father Frank Brennan told ABC Radio the UN refugee agency estimated that up to 19,000 refugees belonged to families which had at least one member "in receipt of an Indonesian government pension or salary."

Others were militia members or families of militiamen for whom the option of returning to East Timor was unattractive.

CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS WORLDWIDE URGE U.N. ACTION IN EAST TIMOR

ROME (UCAN) -- Catholic relief and development organizations worldwide have called on the United Nations to deploy a peacekeeping force in East Timor to stop massacres and displacement of people in the troubled territory.

"The intimidations, killings, massacres and displacements should be stopped," read a joint statement of Caritas Internationalis (CI), the European consortium CIDSE and the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC).

"We therefore urgently call on the U.N. to take on a peacekeeping role to help the East Timorese, whom the U.N. have enabled to express their will in the self-determination ballot, to rebuild their lives and their country in peace," the three international Catholic organizations said.

They emphasized that U.N. action "must be immediate and decisive. The displaced and all those who are suffering need immediate protection from the United Nations and the international community."

The Sept. 6 statement, signed by Duncan MacLaren, Jef Felix and William Canny, secretary generals of CI, CIDSE and ICMC respectively, was one of the appeals by Catholic organizations worldwide calling on the United Nations to take action in East Timor as terror and violence reigned in the territory.

At least 65 people were reported dead and 130 injured in attacks by Aitarak (thorn) pro-integration militiamen on the Dili diocesan office Sept. 5 and the residence of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili, Sept. 6. Some 4,500 people had sought shelter at the two sites.

Pro-integration militiamen were also reported to have attacked a Catholic church in Suai, 100 kilometers south of Dili, killing at least 11 people including Father Hilario Madeira. Some 700 people were sheltering there.

Although Indonesia imposed martial law in East Timor late on Sept. 6, eyewitnesses said on Sept. 7 that pro-integration militia continued to burn the abandoned homes of alleged independence supporters throughout Dili.

The militia rampage in East Timor began after the United Nations announced Sept. 4 the results of the Aug. 30 self-determination referendum, in which East Timorese voted overwhelmingly for independence rather than autonomy within Indonesia, which integrated East Timor as a province in 1976.

"Our three worldwide networks of Catholic agencies concerned with justice, peace and development, have been involved in humanitarian assistance to the people of East Timor," the Catholic relief and development agencies said.

CIDSE (Cooperation Internationale pour le Developpement et la Solidarite, international cooperation for development and solidarity) affiliates Catholic agencies in western and northern Europe.

The International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs-Pax Romana urged in a separate statement that the U.N. Security Council resolve to send a U.N. peacekeeping force to East Timor immediately to restore the rule of law and human security.

The statement signed by secretary general Anselmo Lee said the situation in East Timor requires immediate and determined action by the international community in order to avoid another disaster like that in Kosovo.

The credibility of the United Nations, which supervised the referendum process, and particularly of the U.N. Security Council, which is responsible for the peace and human security of the world's people, is at stake, Lee said.

In New Zealand, a multisectoral group headed by Caritas Aotearoa/New Zealand has called on Prime Minister Jenny Shipley not to "stand by and watch" the events in East Timor as it "is descending into chaos."

"We urgently request that you, as the leader of a government committed to the cause of human rights internationally, call in the Indonesian Ambassador to New Zealand in order to express your deepest outrage at the situation which is being allowed to occur in East Timor," the Sept. 2 statement said.

Signed by Caritas director Anne Dickinson, it also urged Shipley to request the Indonesian government to immediately invite an international peacekeeping force into East Timor to provide the security which its own forces have proven unwilling to ensure.

Among the 40 signatories were Cardinal Thomas Williams of Wellington, Bishop Peter James Cullinane of Palmerston North, president of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of New Zealand, New Zealand Dominican Sisters, the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa-New Zealand and the Student Christian Movement Aotearoa.

END

Rev. Sanny Y. Sanedrin

Subj: et/aug 30
Date: 9/2/00 1:29:24 AM Eastern Daylight Time
From: s_steele68@hotmail.com (Stephen Steele)
To: askohen@aol.com

TIMOR-BELO Aug-30-2000 (800 words) With photos. xxxi

-Headline-

Bishop says Timorese should honor those who died for independence

By Stephen Steele

Catholic News Service

DILI, East Timor (CNS) — In rebuilding their nation, East Timorese should honor those who died while helping the country achieve its independence, said Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili.

Bishop Belo, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 for his defense of human rights in East Timor, celebrated Mass Aug. 30 in Dili, commemorating the first anniversary of the U.N.-sponsored referendum that effectively ended 24 years of Indonesian occupation.

"We have to rebuild our nation, but let us not forget the people who died in helping us achieve our liberty," the bishop told an overflow crowd of more than 4,000 in Dili's cathedral.

"We must pray to our martyrs who died for us. They see us from heaven so we must continue their sacrifice," Bishop Belo said.

In Portuguese and Tetun, the indigenous language of East Timor, Bishop Belo spoke of his "fallen colleagues," a reference to the four priests who were murdered in the violence that followed the Sept. 5 announcement that the East Timorese had rejected Indonesian rule.

The bishop said that Aug. 30 would forever be known as "liberation day" in East Timor.

"Let us thank God for allowing the people to participate in the process of liberating East Timor," he said.

East Timor descended into violence and anarchy in the weeks following the referendum. Most of the island's infrastructure was destroyed by paramilitaries and retreating Indonesian troops. Some estimates said more than 1,000 people were killed, including the four priests, several nuns and lay catechists.

The violence continued until Sept. 17, when U.N.-troops, led by Australia, arrived in East Timor. About 150,000 East Timorese then fled or were forced at gunpoint to neighboring West Timor and resided in squalid refugee camps.

About 80,000 to 120,000 people still remain in the camps.

Bishop Belo, whose home was destroyed by militias, spoke briefly of last year's violence, but urged the East Timorese to not seek revenge for past abuses.

"We must not seek vengeance, rather we must work for mercy in the seeking of justice," he said.

Bishop Belo told the congregation that they must build a nation of peace and one that respects human rights. He called for a process of "reconciliation" where each person "seeks forgiveness and gives forgiveness."

"We are a Catholic people who must never forget that every person deserves dignity," he said.

Among the participants at the Mass were Jose Ramos Horta, who shared the Nobel Prize with Belo, and Xanana Gusmao, the former leader of the East Timorese guerrilla movement, who it is widely believed will be the new nation's first president following the departure of the U.N. administration.

Also present were Robert Gelbart, U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, and Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa.

Following Mass, the congregation processed from the cathedral to the Santa

Cruz cemetery, site of a 1991 massacre in which 271 people were killed during a funeral procession. Because of the unusual presence of foreign journalists who witnessed the massacre, the incident brought international attention to East Timor.

At the cemetery, participants laid flowers and wreaths at a memorial to the victims.

On the way to Santa Cruz, participants passed a cemetery for Indonesian soldiers. Unused land on the property was being used for a vegetable garden. Armed Portuguese soldiers guarded the entrance to the cemetery.

More than 250,000 East Timorese are believed to have been killed or died of starvation or disease during Indonesia's often brutal 24-year rule.

During a prayer service, Father Francisco Barreto, director of Caritas East Timor, told the mourners that they were to leave the flowers at the memorial for those "who died in the course of our fighting for independence."

He said the memorial was put in place in the cemetery to honor the "victims we could not bury."

"All of East Timor is a big cemetery. We do not know what happened to many of our brothers and sisters," he told Catholic News Service.

Father Barreto was reported dead by the Catholic humanitarian aid agency Caritas Internationalis last September, along with most of his staff. He said that the agency suffered no fatalities. He fled to the mountains surrounding Dili.

"We had no food or water, but we survived," he said.

Participants in the prayer service then processed to the seaside in front of the U.N. administration building, where they placed flowers in the sea. Many openly wept during the three-mile procession.

At U.N. headquarters, an outdoor celebration was held that featured speakers and music.

Harkin, a Catholic, spoke of his visit to Suai in southwest Timor two weeks before the referendum, where he met Fathers Hilario Madeira and Francisco Soares, who were later killed.

"As a Catholic myself, I am very proud that I knew them. They were kind, generous and loving Catholic priests," he said.

END

-Timestamp-

08/30/2000 11:49 AM ET

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-Keywords-

-End-

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Slain UN Worker's Kin Want Answers

By MICHELLE FAUL
c The Associated Press

online

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico (AP) - Their son is dead - and the family of the American relief worker slain in a militia-led rampage in West Timor wants answers from the United Nations and Indonesia: Why was Carlos Caceres allowed to work without protection even after he received a death threat?

"They should have got him out of there," the victim's father, Gregorio Caceres, told The Associated Press from his home in Jacksonville, Fla., on Thursday.

A mob led by militiamen stormed the U.N. office Wednesday in Atambua, West Timor, and killed three U.N. aid workers - including Caceres, 33, who was born in San Juan.

Witnesses said militiamen beat and stabbed the three foreign men before mutilating their bodies and burning them in the street. Other U.N. workers were cut by machetes and axes but escaped.

Earlier Wednesday, Caceres sent an e-mail to a friend, a U.N. security official in Macedonia, saying he had heard that "a wave of violence would soon pound Atambua.

"We sit here like bait, unarmed," he wrote. "We are waiting for the enemy."

Caceres had expected to be evacuated weeks before, said his father, who last saw his son on a Christmas visit in Florida. Caceres last telephoned his father Aug. 26.

"I was in fear for him. He told me, 'Dad, as we speak there is danger. ... He told me he was going to evacuate himself and his co-workers from that location to another location because of the danger,'" Gregorio Caceres said.

"One of the questions I have for the United Nations - and I spoke to them yesterday and today - I asked: He knew he was in danger and he told me he was going to be evacuated. What happened?"

The father said a Geneva official of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees told him the United Nations had evacuated its workers two weeks earlier and only sent them back after the Indonesian government promised its soldiers would ensure their safety.

UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski noted the aid operation has been repeatedly shut down after attacks by militia gangs on its staff and buildings in recent months and that several workers received death threats.

"There's always, for us, the dilemma of striking the right balance between helping the people in need and putting our own staff at risk," Janowski said. "In Atambua on Wednesday this balance was upset and we suffered the worst incident in UNHCR's history."

The UNHCR had received warning of possible trouble and was assured by Indonesian security forces that agency staff would be protected. But witnesses said Indonesian troops stood by during the attack.

World leaders at the Millennium Summit at the United Nations castigated Indonesia, an embarrassment to visiting Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid.

Carlos Caceres had told his family that he saw a militia leader giving an order to Indonesian TNI troops. Troops then ignored it when a militia leader threatened his life, he said.

"Despite the fact that over 70 TNI and police personnel were present at the scene, it is known that one refugee was beaten ...

by militia elements," Caceres told his family.

When Caceres tried to protect the refugee - his job as a protection officer - a militia leader he identified as Manek told Indonesian troops to escort him away.

"It was clear that Manek had authority over the TNI and that any order he made was going to be followed," Caceres wrote.

A month ago, Caceres sent an e-mail to his sister Elba, in Miami, noting, "The militia, by the way, hate me."

He implied he was not getting much help in the last message received by his family four days ago. "Here things are difficult, but one keeps working, with or without international support."

Caceres' grieving parents are puzzled by what lured their eldest child and only son so far from home.

His mother, Josefa Collazo, said she once asked him why he didn't work as a lawyer in Miami, where she lives. "He said, 'I like what I am doing: to see how other people are living, to see what they need, and to be able to help them.'"

Caceres' family moved to Miami in the 1970s. Caceres studied journalism at the University of Florida, then law at Cornell and went to Britain's Oxford University. He earned three doctorates and spoke five languages, including Czech and Russian, which he learned on assignment with the UNHCR in Moscow.

In East Timor, he wrote to sister Elba, he was the only foreigner for miles around Betun, a jungle village near the border.

"I became an instant celebrity. Flocks of people follow me wherever I go, everyone screams 'hello mister' when they see me," he said. "I attempted jogging once, and didn't do it again.

"I couldn't get a second of solitude and everyone started running after me. It was scary because I thought the militia was trying to get me!"

AP-NY-09-07-00 1723EDT

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US backs Australia's position on Timor Sea oil royalties

The US Ambassador to Australia has used a visit to Darwin to back Australia's position in negotiations over oil and gas royalties in the Timor Sea.

Australia and the United Nations administration in East Timor are negotiating a replacement for the Timor Gap Treaty, when East Timor elects its own government.

East Timor wants to increase its share of royalties which, at the moment, are shared equally with Australia.

The Northern Territory's Chief Minister, Denis Burke, says he is concerned about problems in the negotiations over oil and gas in the Timor Sea.

Mr Burke says he is concerned problems will delay the arrival of gas onshore to Darwin.

"The difficulties that are occurring at the moment in the negotiations with the United Nations, in terms of deciding royalty payments to East Timor, which to my mind has the potential to slow that project down," Mr Burke said.

The US Ambassador, Edward Ghnehm Jr, has echoed concerns about potential delays bringing gas onshore because of the negotiations.

"A lot of American companies very much engaged now, and all planning for bigger and better things, development, and I certainly share the Chief Minister's hope that these problems can be resolved and reconciled and these projects can move ahead," he said.

"We, certainly as a country, as Americans, want to be a part of that."

Thursday 2 November, 2000

9:48am AEDT

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Pope says genocide alive and well in world

CASTELGANDOLFO, Italy, Sept 11 (Reuters) - Pope John Paul said on Saturday that genocide was alive and well in the world and young people must acquire a "culture of peace" to avoid repeating the horrors of the past.

"Authentic genocides which we thought had been forever done away with are still perpetrated all over the planet," the Pope said in accepting the credentials of the new Japanese ambassador to the Vatican.

"In order not to forget the atrocities of the past, we must teach young people the incomparable values of peace," he said.

"The culture of peace is contagious, but it is far from being widespread, as demonstrated in certain hot spots where conflict dies hard," he added, in apparent reference to the violence in East Timor.

"We must constantly repeat that peace is the primordial principle of collective life."

The Pope called on anti-independence militias in East Timor to end a campaign of murder and destruction and urged Indonesia and the world to stop the bloodshed.

Thousands of people are believed to have been killed in massacres carried out by militias angered by the territory's overwhelming vote on August 30 for independence from Indonesia.

12:18 09-11-99

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Pope says Timor violence defeat for humanity

CASTELGANDOLFO, Italy, Sept 12 (Reuters) - Pope John Paul on Sunday condemned the "brutal violence" against the people and the Catholic Church of East Timor, calling it a defeat for humanity on the eve of the new millennium.

The Pope, speaking at his Sunday blessing, called on political and military authorities in Indonesia and on the international community to "listen to the cries of the weak and the defenceless and to help them soon."

It was some of the Pope's toughest language on the crisis in which thousands are believed to have been killed after the territory voted overwhelmingly on August 30 for independence from Indonesia.

"I cannot keep quiet my profound bitterness for yet another defeat of any sense of humanity when, at the dawn of the third millennium, fratricidal hands are raised once more to kill and destroy without mercy," the Pope said.

"I express once again my complete reprobation for the grave human rights abuses perpetrated in that territory in the vain attempt to wipe out the desire expressed by the population and their legitimate aspirations," he added.

"I repeat my appeal to the responsible political and military parties and the international community to listen to the cries of the weak and defenceless and to help them soon."

06:39 09-12-99

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East Timor mourns on the Day of the Dead

By Kurt Schork

HERA, East Timor, Nov 2 (Reuters) - East of Dili, beyond a hilltop statue of Christ, lies a melancholy, deserted stretch of beach where an unknown number of East Timorese were murdered and hacked apart by pro-Jakarta militia in September.

The place is Hera, but it is sometimes referred to locally as "the far side of Jesus."

There are too few international forensic experts on hand to exhume and investigate the bodies found in makeshift graves since militia forces went on a rampage after the overwhelming vote for independence in an August 30 referendum.

Ten days ago in Hera some family members keen to give their dead a proper burial dug up a small common grave between the beach and the coast road.

Grisly work. Tropical heat. Flies and mosquitoes. The suffocating stench of decomposition. Then, the sacks with bits of bodies. A head in one, black hair still glistening. Feet, arms, legs in others.

More bodies lie nearby but have yet to be excavated.

Specialist forensic teams are expected in a week or so to relieve international police and military investigators who have been doing their best to fill the void in the meantime.

Hundreds – not the thousands once feared – were apparently killed in East Timor.

Even so, it has been too much for the international community which now rules here to cope with adequately.

DAY OF THE DEAD

Against this backdrop, profoundly Catholic East Timor on Tuesday celebrated the Day of the Dead, trekking to cemeteries across the city to honour deceased relatives with flowers, prayers and tears.

"In East Timor we have great respect for the dead and this year, because there are so many killed and missing, the day has a special significance," Father Marcal Lopes, 37, told Reuters.

"There is no desire for revenge but there is a yearning to know what happened to loved ones. Knowledge, then acceptance and forgiveness."

What about justice? There seems little prospect that militia murderers and their accomplices will ever be brought to justice.

Since most are now in Indonesian-controlled West Timor, the issue for the moment is moot.

Should they ever return Bishop Carlos Belo, the Nobel laureate leader of East Timor's Catholics, demands they acknowledge their evil deeds before being accepted back into this society. Justice, then reconciliation, he preaches.

Thirty-two year old Floriana Nunes has little time to worry about such abstractions.

She has eight children to raise. Their father, Luciano, was shot dead on September 4 by militia and Indonesian army forces who stormed through the Dili district of Becora.

At dawn on Tuesday she put flowers on her husband's grave, next to the house he had built for his family in the forest.

"He was shot in the back while running away. We were all running away. He was a good man, a good father. Now he is dead.

My children and I are alone," the woman moaned.

NO SYSTEM

A United Nations official talked about the problems the authorities face in recovering bodies and carrying out proper investigations.

"There has been no comprehensive system for the identification, investigation and recovery of bodies in East Timor," explained the official, who asked not to be identified.

"It was a matter of mandate. Only last week did we get a Security Council resolution that enables us to carry out the kind of forensic investigations that are needed here. When our teams of experts begin arriving next week they will already be very, very late."

Evidence not destroyed by the heat, animals and insects seems likely to be washed away by heavy seasonal rains which are just beginning.

Planes full of Scotland Yard detectives and Federal Bureau of Investigation forensic scientists descended on Kosovo earlier this year; that has not happened in East Timor.

Also, forget about mobile, refrigerated morgues or the vans of specialised equipment that attend forensic investigations in other parts of the world.

Only a few weeks ago journalists were organising body bags so that bodies which television crews were finding in Dili's rubble could be decently recovered and temporarily reburied.

There were bodies of people stuffed in filing cabinets and burned alive, hacked up bodies thrown down wells, and bodies rotting alongside well-travelled roadways.

01:44 11-02-99

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Catholic Clergy Killed in East Timor

By IRWAN FIRDAUS

.c The Associated Press

BAUCAU, East Timor (AP) - Mourners paid tribute today to nine people, including two Roman Catholic nuns, killed on a mercy mission to East Timor refugees.

The victims, whose bodies were dumped in a river, included a 69-year-old Italian nun, Ermina Cazzaniga, who had been in East Timor for 30 years.

Also killed were a Timorese nun, five church workers and students, an Indonesian journalist working for a Japanese news organization and a local driver.

"My son has gone so quickly. Oh, my God, he's dead already," Ana Maria Gusmao, the mother of a seminary student, cried out, collapsing in the arms of a mourning nun.

Baucau Bishop Basilio do Nascimento said the killers belong to one of the pro-Indonesian militias that still control much of the countryside, outside the reach of the multinational peace force that arrived in East Timor eight days ago at the United Nations' behest.

"I don't know why they killed our people," the bishop, dressed in white robes, said after an emotional memorial service attended by 200 weeping parishioners.

For years, the Catholic clergy was at the forefront of the independence movement in East Timor, making them a special target of militia wrath after the province voted to break away from Indonesia a month ago. Earlier this month, four priests fell victim to the militias, two in the capital Dili and two in Suai.

"People are very upset and angry over this killing," Nascimento said.

The group was killed Saturday near the town of Lospalos, where they had gone to distribute food and medicine and to survey the refugees displaced during the torrent of violence that followed the U.N.-supervised Aug. 30 referendum.

The journalist - 26-year-old Agus Muliawan - had been in East Timor for more than two months working on a television documentary on the Falintil, the main pro-independence guerilla group, said a colleague at the Tokyo-based Asia Press International.

They were supposed to return in the afternoon, but apparently were delayed. They were ambushed after nightfall not far from Lospalos on their back to Baucau, Nascimento said.

Seven bodies were found floating in the Raomoko River, 38 miles east of Baucau. The bodies of the two girls were still in the van, which also was pushed into the stream.

Plans to bring the bodies to Baucau were canceled because of their poor condition, and they were quickly buried in Lospalos, in the far east of the former Portuguese colony.

One young deacon had a bullet wound to the head, but the other victims were too decomposed to determine how they died.

The mourners attended a memorial service at Baucau's cathedral. Many walked behind the bishop's motorcade to the cemetery 1 1/2 miles away, where a 10-foot crucifix was erected and surrounded by red roses and candles.

"They were doing a big service for our community," Sister Domingus Geuterres wept. "They were on a humanitarian mission."

The official stressed that Washington wanted to resume normal military-to-military ties with the world's sixth most populous nation, but said "conditions are not ripe, or right, at this time."

While Cohen does not plan to visit East Timor, the Pentagon said representatives travelling with the secretary would go there and report back to him.

Cohen will arrive in Cairns, Australia, on Tuesday night. He will meet Moore and they will go to Darwin on Wednesday to visit peacekeeping troops from a number of Asia-Pacific nations at that embarkation point for East Timor.

The U.S. military is contributing a small contingent of about 200 intelligence, communications and transportation support troops to the operation.

13:47 09-26-99

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Last Indonesian Troops Leave East Timor

By Kurt Schork

Reuters

DILI, East Timor (Oct. 30) - Indonesia's last main force withdrew from East Timor Saturday, effectively ending nearly a quarter century of occupation.

The U.N.-mandated force charged with restoring peace to the territory boosted security in the capital, Dili, around the sea port through which most of the Indonesian forces were leaving.

All Indonesian soldiers and police, except for a handful of top brass, left the territory Saturday.

"All of the TNI (Indonesian military), 900 of them, are going home today," said Yuri Thamrin, an Indonesian government spokesman in Dili. "Perhaps the senior officials will go home tomorrow."

Recently freed pro-independence leader Xanana Gusmao, wearing fatigues and a green beret, flew into Dili's airport aboard a U.N. helicopter for talks with Indonesian officers.

"It means that the historic mistakes end on this historic day," he told reporters after what appeared to be a friendly meeting with Indonesian military heads.

"We are now in a position to look at the future and we hope the two countries can develop a friendly, cooperative relationship."

A spokesman for the Australian-led multinational force here, INTERFET, said there still was no official time for the pullout of the last Indonesian officers and civilian officials.

"The TNI...are now literally in their last 24 to 48 hours here," INTERFET Colonel Mark Kelly told reporters in Dili.

The bulk was expected to pull out by Saturday night.

At the airport, an Indonesian military C-130 Hercules loaded supplies and some civilian officials Saturday morning. Two Indonesian ships docked at Dili port were loading soldiers and equipment under a blistering hot morning sun Saturday.

FOREIGN TROOPS PROTECT INDONESIANS

Australian-led multinational forces, deployed here with a U.N. mandate to restore order, sealed off Dili's main street for several blocks where it passes the port to prevent local residents from hurling insults and stones at departing troops.

Most of the remaining Indonesian troops in Dili were gathered under INTERFET protection in a compound.

Responsibility for the security of vacated barracks, the city's main telecommunications facility and its oil terminal passed into INTERFET hands Friday.

But Indonesian air force special forces were still sharing security responsibilities with INTERFET at the airport west of the city, from which the most senior military and civilian officials were expected to depart.

At the airport, the spokesman for Indonesia's armed forces in East Timor, Colonel Willem, urged an end to the suffering in the troubled territory.

"We don't want the East Timorese to suffer any longer, that's something we all want," he told reporters.

Willem said some of Indonesia's ethnic East Timorese soldiers, and even some other Indonesian soldiers, may have been involved in some abuses but said the armed forces never condoned such action.

East Timor erupted in violence in September when pro-Jakarta militias began burning and looting the territory after its people voted overwhelmingly for independence from Indonesia in a U.N.-run referendum.

Jakarta has now approved the divorce of East Timor, and a new U.N. transitional authority will administer the former Portuguese colony until it is ready for full independence and self-government in a few years.

Indonesia's often brutal army-imposed rule of the territory has never been internationally recognized.

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Bishop Asks for East Timor Probe

By LAURA KING

c The Associated Press

DILI, East Timor (AP) - Indonesia's military chief and other officers should face a war crimes tribunal for orchestrating a reign of terror in East Timor, Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Carlos Belo says.

"All these people, they must be put in a tribunal, an international tribunal," Belo told the Australian Broadcasting Corp. today. "The U.N. should create a commission ... for these people."

Indonesian soldiers in East Timor abetted pro-Indonesian militiamen in attacks on East Timorese after the territory voted to break with Indonesia in an Aug. 30 vote. Many East Timorese say the rampage was planned by the army.

Among those who should be tried, Belo was quoted as saying, is Gen. Wiranto, the former defense minister and military chief who was given a different Cabinet post Tuesday under Indonesia's moderate new president.

Belo also named Gen. Syafie Syamsuddin, the former Indonesian army chief of operations, and Gen. Adam Damiri, a regional military commander whose area of responsibility included East Timor. Senior Indonesian military leaders have denied ordering attacks by the militia or soldiers.

However, any ordinary East Timorese who took part in the violence should be forgiven if they showed remorse, he said.

"They must state publicly they are in guilt, they are at fault, they committed crimes against humanity and against the East Timor people," he said. "They must kneel down and kiss the feet of the people (of) Timor, and after that we will receive them as brothers and sisters and they can come back."

The rampage left much of East Timor in ruins. Hundreds of thousands of people fled or were driven from their homes.

International peacekeepers arrived Sept. 20 to restore order, and a United Nations transition team took control of the territory this week.

Belo said he hoped East Timor and Indonesia could eventually forge friendly ties.

"We need good relations," he said. "We have interests ... beyond all the barbarity committed by the army."

In Jakarta, the head of the U.N.'s relief effort in East Timor said Thursday that 120,000 refugees were planning to leave camps in Indonesian-held West Timor and walk home before seasonal rains begin over the next few weeks.

Speaking at a news conference, Ross Mountain said it is "now fully safe" for the refugees to return to East Timor.

About 250,000 people fled to the western half of the island to escape the militia rampage.

"There remain difficulties in the camps in terms of individuals who wish to exercise their right to voluntarily return to their country due to the presence of militia in the camps," Mountain said.

Meanwhile, Thai Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai called for Indonesian army participation in the international peacekeeping force in East Timor. Chuan, who is also defense minister, made the remark during a meeting with Gen. Wiranto in Bangkok.

It was not immediately clear what form Indonesian participation could take. Most East Timorese are extremely unlikely to welcome back Indonesian troops who are gradually withdrawing after 24 years of harsh occupation.

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E.Timor Political Prisoners Go Home

By HEATHER PATERSON

c The Associated Press

DILI, East Timor (AP) - The last East Timorese political prisoners arrived home to tears and a hero's welcome today after years in Indonesian jails.

The eighteen men were granted amnesty by Indonesia's new government and released Friday.

They flew into Dili and were greeted by independence leader Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao and scores of family members and supporters.

Thousands of East Timorese who resisted Indonesia's 1975 occupation were killed or jailed by the army, which ruled the province as a virtual fiefdom.

Most of the political prisoners were released prior to the U.N.-supervised referendum on Aug. 30, in which the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly for independence.

Tears flowed freely as Gusmao embraced the men, some of whom shared the six years of his life spent in Cipinang Prison in Jakarta.

One of those freed, Francisco Branco, was overcome with emotion when he arrived on home soil for the first time in eight years. He had been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for being a member of an illegal pro-independence organization.

"I'm very happy," he said, choking back the tears.

The 18 were on a list of 91 political prisoners who were granted an amnesty or had the remainder of their sentences waived by Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid.

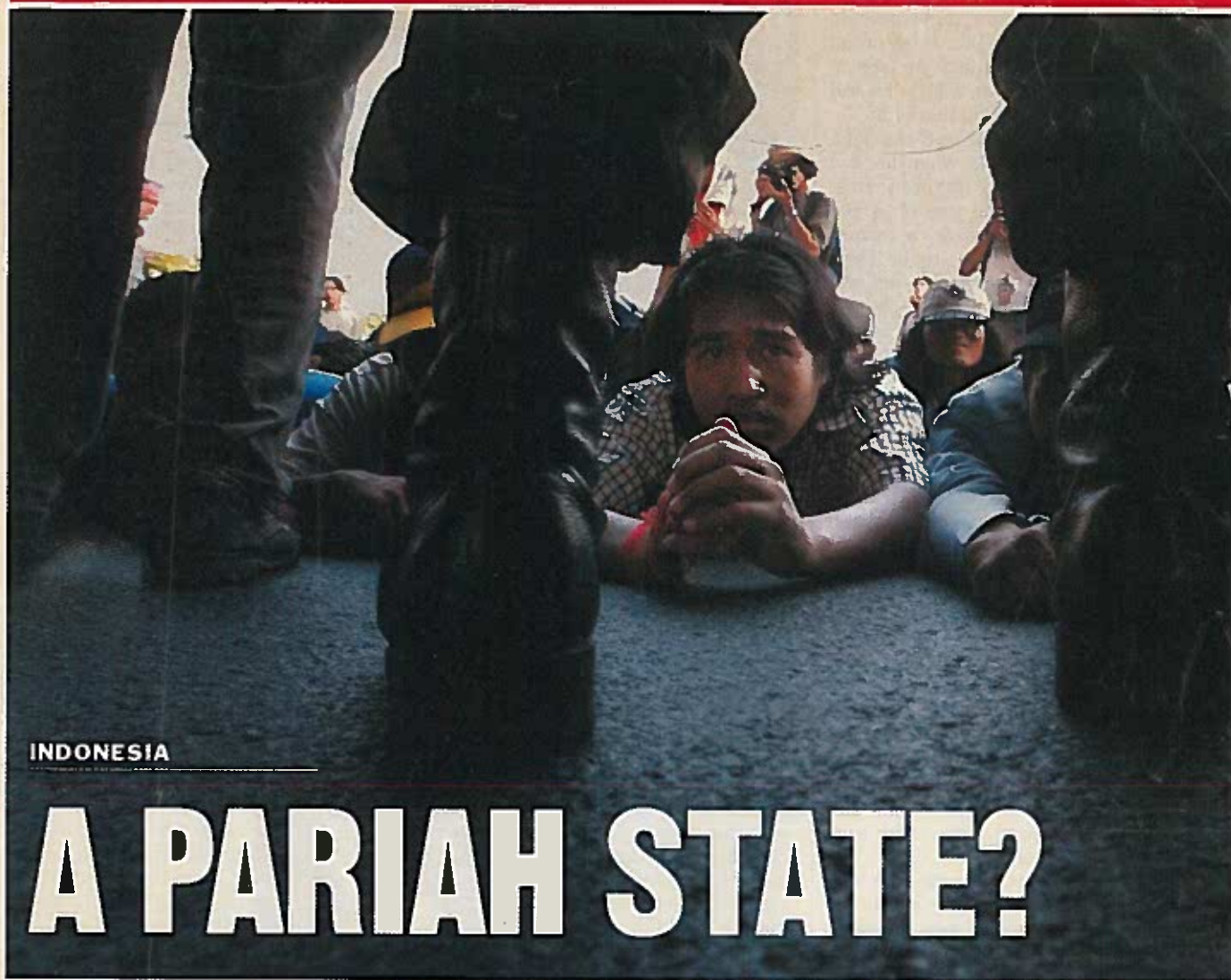
The prisoners freed included a handful of now old men who were jailed along with thousands of others suspected of being communists following an abortive coup in 1965.

Most of the prisoners were arrested during the 32-year dictatorship of ex-President Suharto. The strongman routinely silenced his critics by jailing and exiling many of them.

The prisoners hailed from many of Indonesia's 26 provinces, including Aceh, where separatists are fighting for independence.

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INDONESIA

A PARIAH STATE?

As the world recoils, a political crisis may unfold in Jakarta

It has become one of the most disheartening horror stories in global diplomacy. Just four months ago, Indonesia seemed to be finally putting its shattered economy and political system back on track. Millions of Indonesians celebrated the downfall of strongman Suharto by overwhelmingly voting against the ruling party in the first democratic elections in four decades. The Indonesian military, under the seemingly enlightened leadership of a soft-spoken, surefooted general named Wiranto, appeared ready to yield to civilian leadership. Thanks to reforms mandated by

the International Monetary Fund, the economy showed signs of recovery. And the long-brutalized population of East Timor won the right to vote for independence from a lame-duck President who craved international respect.

The world community—the international lending agencies, the United Nations, Western governments—wanted desperately to believe Indonesian military and political leaders when they said that all these reforms would be carried out. The unfolding tragedy of East Timor has shattered that belief.

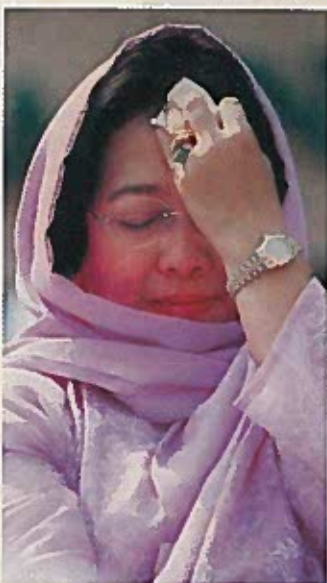
Even as Jakarta promises to allow foreign peacekeepers to restore order, the horror has not ceased. By the latest U.N. estimate, rampaging militias and Indonesian soldiers have slaughtered at least 7,000 civilians for exercising their right to vote on Aug. 30. A staggering 600,000 people—three-quarters of East Timor's population—have been forcibly driven from their homes. The U.N. is trying to verify reports that hundreds of Timorese are being loaded onto ships—

and dumped into the sea. "It reminds me of Rwanda," says a shaken senior U.N. official, referring to the mass ethnic cleansing in that African nation.

Whatever the motives of the hardened men who run Indonesia, it is clear that the damage to this Asian giant will be immense. Nothing is certain any longer—the country's passage into democracy, its economic recovery, even who is running the government now. With relations with the IMF already inflamed over a banking scandal, Indonesia is on the verge of being cut off from new loans that are needed to stabilize the financial system. Indonesian economists have lowered forecasts for this fiscal year, from 2% growth to negative 0.8%. Ethnic Chinese businessmen, still traumatized by deadly rioting in 1998, are moving funds offshore again, putting pressure on the rupiah. As the international backlash mounts, Indonesia is close to being branded a pariah state.

A new political crisis may loom in Jakarta. Withering international criti-

(CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT) PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARIFFS DHARAPAK/AP/WIDE WORLD



FRONT-RUNNER
General Wiranto
(above) could try
to grab power,
thwarting top
vote getter
Megawati
Sukarnoputri

Timor's capital, and down to the district chiefs, who organized and paid the militias? "We will gather more evidence from atrocities committed in just 10 days in East Timor than in the past 24 years,"

predicts one U.N. official.

Certainly, many of the parties involved, the U.N. included, had reason to expect the worst. Wiranto said in private meetings a week after the referendum that he knew from the start that East Timor would be a bloody mess.

The genesis of the crisis was Jan. 27, when Habibie said he would give the Timorese a chance to vote for independence. The U.N., which did not acknowledge Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor after the former Portuguese colony was invaded in 1975, wanted the vote to go ahead. If it were not held while Habibie was in power, it feared, later governments could renege. With world attention on the vote, they hoped the army would not intervene.

But the U.N.'s referendum organizers foresaw trouble the moment they touched the ground in February. They immediately sent detailed reports to superiors in New York and Jakarta saying that the army was openly organizing pro-Jakarta militias and supplying them

with weapons and "uniforms" of baseball caps and black T-shirts. Copies went to Western embassies and the Indonesian military headquarters.

One report describes a visit by U.N. Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) head Ian Martin in June to the Liquisa district. Martin stumbled upon non-Timorese Indonesian regulars training newly inducted members of an anti-independence militia. "Nobody ever had any illusions about the military's backing of the militias," explains a U.N. official.

LEAP OF FAITH. In meetings in Jakarta and New York before the referendum, U.N. and Indonesian officials kept negotiating on security measures. In late April, Jakarta agreed to a one-man-one-vote format using secret ballots. But in return, it insisted that only Indonesian troops be allowed to provide security. That meant trusting Wiranto to control the army and the militias. "It was a leap of faith," admits Tamrat Samuel, UNAMET's senior political affairs officer. "But if we had insisted on the withdrawal of the Indonesian army, it would have been a dealbreaker."

The U.N. also appears to have miscalculated the extent to which East Timor's 78.5% vote for independence would anger the army. The top brass only went along because they expected the vote to be indecisive, says Harold Crouch, an Australian National University expert on Indonesia. They also figured the militias would intimidate many Timorese into not voting. The army then would have a pretext to challenge the vote when parliament met to ratify the results in November. If that failed, then the army would seek to partition Timor, creating some Indonesian districts from areas where pro-independence sentiment seemed weak.

But UNAMET scuttled the plan. A day before the Aug. 30 vote, its staff rejected a list of poll observers presented by two anti-independence political parties on grounds that they didn't have time to give them ID badges. The real reason, says a U.N. official, was that "the list of names included known militia members."

Then, U.N. poll organizers trucked all the ballot boxes from 13 districts to the Dili museum, dumped their contents on the floor, and mixed them up so that the army could not tell which districts were more in favor of independence. Senior UNAMET officials insist that this move, which outraged officers, was the voters' best defense against army meddling. When the final tally came in, "the army was shocked," says Crouch.

There's little doubt that the militias were set up, run by and even manned

cism of Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief General Wiranto could undermine his hope of becoming a leader in Indonesia's next administration. And the military, analysts fear, could try to seize power if it comes under too much pressure. That could send the economy into a new crisis as confidence collapses and international aid halts. Already, on Sept. 13, new Deputy Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief Admiral Widodo told top officers from Indonesia's 27 provinces that the assembly charged with selecting the next president in November may be postponed because of nationwide unrest. "The military is becoming very dangerous," says Luksama Sukardi, aide to presidential front-runner Megawati Sukarnoputri.

Adding to the pressure is the likelihood that the U.N. will form a war crimes tribunal to investigate the East Timor massacres. One question will top the agenda: Was there a clear chain of command from Wiranto's office in Jakarta to the provincial commander in Dili,

WB to build East Timor economy from scratch

WASHINGTON (Dow Jones): How do you build a macroeconomic infrastructure from scratch?

The world's most powerful economic policy makers will get a chance to show how to do it in East Timor. This tiny, devastated former Portuguese colony is set to become an important testing ground for the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and a group of wealthy donor countries.

They have the task of building and developing the foundation of the fledgling country's economic structure. A finance ministry; a revenue collection agency; a monetary authority; a currency regime; customs and payments systems; regulatory bodies — all will likely be designed and built by a clique of Washington-based economists and development planners.

Assuming Indonesia formally cedes control of East Timor later this year to a transitional United Nations administration, these people will be handed a clean slate. Insulated from the domestic political constraints they typically confront elsewhere, they'll have what is perhaps a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to draft a policy blueprint that's entirely in line with the Bank's and the Fund's fundamental free-market prescriptions for sustainable development.

They'll also face formidable challenges. If East Timor is to put its painful birth behind it, its international guardians need to coordinate the implementation of their policies with local leaders, many of whom are

By Michael Casey

as yet unschooled in the ways of modern economic governance.

These people will need to be trained and prepared to officially take over from the U.N. in two, maybe three, years time. The world's newest country might be but a speck in a giant global economy, but a lot is at stake.

"We don't have any excuses in this case — it's a new country and if we don't get things right, we cannot blame our predecessors or someone else's mistakes," says Klaus Rohland, the World Bank's country director for Papua New Guinea and the Pacific Islands, who's been charged with coordinating the Bank's involvement with East Timor.

The crazed violence that followed East Timor's vote for independence on Aug. 30 has made Rohland's job more complicated.

He, and others who began looking into the East Timor issue early this year, expected a grace period during which the U.N. would ease its people into the territory while the Indonesian administration gradually withdrew. But the bloodletting and destruction wrought last month by anti-independence militias and Indonesian soldiers, and the subsequent arrival of an Australian-led international peacekeeping force, has added a sense of urgency and a new layer of complexity to the

international community's economic mission.

Not only is humanitarian and reconstruction aid now desperately needed, but the hurried deployment of 7,000 well-paid soldiers could create an economic headache.

Take the currency question. For political and practical reasons, it now seems inappropriate for the Indonesian rupiah to function much longer as the territory's central form of legal tender. The peacekeepers' presence has meant IMF advisers need to devise a new currency arrangement sooner than they'd planned.

"I would expect that you will already find that the Australian dollar, the U.S. dollar and the rupiah all circulating in a private market," said Anoop Singh, deputy director of the IMF's Asia Pacific department. "Giving order to this market requires an institution and that institution needs to be established quickly."

In fact, the large, unexpected influx of foreigners could lead to disruptive distortions in East Timor's small, underdeveloped economy.

Here, the experiences of the U.N.'s transitional authority in Cambodia during the early 1990s are a "warning sign," the World Bank's Rohland says. He outlined a "scary" scenario in which an "artificial" and essentially short-lived service economy develops, fueling rapid growth, inflation and wealth disparities in the towns without bringing any long term benefit to the poor, rural majority.

"Suddenly you could see

rents in Dili (the capital) go sky-high, for example," Rohland said. "You would see a lot of revenue coming into the country and yet you need to prepare for a situation when these people have gone, two or three years from now."

One solution under consideration is a temporary tax regime that would essentially sterilize the impact on the service sector. It would seek to steer some of the foreign soldiers' and bureaucrats' spending power away from Dili pizza joints and landlords and into rural development projects.

This, of course, might not please Washington's free market purists. But IMF, World Bank and donor country staff readily acknowledge that East Timor is a special case.

"The word 'tax' raises the hairs on the back of some people's necks. Intervening in the markets runs counter to what many economists believe in," said Joao Gomes Cravinho, an economic adviser to the Portuguese government. "But the problem is you have a situation that creates severe distortions and you can't just go back to where you came from. You have to deal with that."

Cravinho was in Washington last week to attend an informal meeting of prospective East Timor donor institutions and countries. Portugal has offered to fund the bulk of the new country's future development needs and this week formed a liaison group to coordinate technical, financial and political cooperation with East Timorese leaders.

This might not sit well with the World Bank, which wants to direct all future aid through a comprehensive, multilateral plan so the competing demands of different bilateral donors don't overwhelm a small, ill-prepared local administration.

The Bank has already aggressively sought to take charge. In addition to organizing last week's donor meeting, it recently provided a three-week crash course in international economics to a small group of East Timorese economists.

For recruits to that program, the World Bank dipped into what is just a small pool of available economic talent, the size of which poses a challenge to the development of effective, self-sustaining institutions. The few ethnic East Timorese holding Ph.D.s are mostly former exiles living in places like Sydney or Lisbon, for whom starting a new life in Dili might be hard.

Even so, Bank staff say they're impressed with the support they've found among the far-flung East Timorese diaspora.

They also sing the praises of Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusman, the former guerrilla commander who has emerged as East Timor's de facto head of government.

Last week he outlined a set of principles to develop a democratic, global-minded, pro-development government that's free of corruption.

That was music to the World Bank's ears. The challenge, however, lies in the next phase — implementation.

The importance of rethinking the shelved oil and gas bill

By T.N. Machmud

JAKARTA (JP): The chorus of incoherent voices debating the merits of the oil and gas bill has, at least for the moment, died down. The House of Representatives (DPR) has elected to do nothing by shelving the bill and saving it for the next government. Does it mean that the oil and gas industry goes back to business as usual? One would hope not.

Aside from the flaws in the bill and the timing of its sub-

nificantly increase our national production of oil and gas. Petroleum is still the single largest export commodity that can provide much-needed relief. Exports of handicrafts and TKW (domestic servants) are not enough.

Current high oil prices con-

mean incompetence but rather that their contract area did not yield the exploration result that was hoped for and having reached the limit of the portfolio provided by their shareholders, they then subsequently withdrew. The reason why Pertamina was not as successful as their foreign partners, the Production Sharing Contractors (PSC), again is not a matter of technical competence but simply a matter of

ability to spend it. It will need to restructure and perhaps go public or to privatize. It is reassuring to hear from Pertamina's President Director in his key note address at the International Indonesian Oil and Gas Exhibition '99, held in Bali recently, that these restructuring efforts are well on their way.

While Pertamina is restructuring and while the new House, hopefully, makes it a pri-

required. The kind of incentives desired by the PSC group are known to Pertamina and to the Ministry of Mines and have been discussed ad nauseam. One example where Pertamina agrees with the PSC is with regard to Presidential Decree number 16/1994 which imposes severe restriction on PSC operations because of bureaucratic tendering procedures.

The bottom line is that we disagree with the headline of

**USKUP ADMINISTRATOR APOSTOLIK KEUSKUPAN DILI - TIMOR
DIOCESE DE DILI - TIMOR ORIENTAL**

Alamat Kediaman : Uskupan Leclidere (Bidau) - Kotak Pos 1250 - Dili 88000 - Tel. 21331 - Fax. 62-390-23184
Alamat Kantor : CAMARA ECLESIASTICA, Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia, 25 Dili - 88000 - Tel. 21665

20 March 1999

The Most Reverend Theodore McCarrick
Archbishop of Newark
Chairman, International Policy Committee
U.S. Catholic Conference
3211 4th Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20017

Your Excellency,

Once again, I would like to express my appreciation for your hospitality when I visited the United States in 1997.

The situation in East Timor is extremely tense at present, with much uncertainty about the future. I am deeply worried about intimidation of the population and the possibility of violence now that elections are a real prospect. I believe that international solidarity can have a beneficial impact, and would ask you to continue your efforts on behalf of the people of East Timor. As I emphasized in my address to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Kansas City, statements such as the ones made in by the U.S. Catholic Conference 1994 and 1987 are of great importance.

I will look forward to seeing you in the near future. For the moment, Mr. Arnold Kohen has been in East Timor this week and will be able to convey recent news on conditions here.

Fraternally yours in Christ, I remain,



Mr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
Apostolic Administrator of Dili
Titular Bishop of Lorium