

Date: Wed, 15 Jul 1998 10:54:42 +0200
To: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
From: Gunnar Staalsett <gunnar.stalsett@teologi.uio.no>
Subject: Re: US Senate resolution, etc
Status: RO

Dear Arnold,

Thank you for your message including the very encouraging resolution of the Senate. It is indeed important that this good news be spread to other nations who might have an inclination to resolve likewise. I am glad that you keep up the good work. I am also anxious to know the result of your conversation with Fransesc Vendrell.

By the way, the weather has been rather rainy and stormy here, but we are still hoping for change.

Best regards,

Gunnar

At 16:30 14.07.98 -0700, you wrote:
>Dear Gunnar,

Below is some good news, a resolution that passed the Senate last week with wide support. This was only a dream years ago...

Tomorrow in New York I will meet Mr. Vendrell for lunch and will transmit your message. There should be some more news and strategic analysis.

After this resolution, I will send a small news bulletin (this one is 750 words plus a document by the two East Timor bishops) on recent developments in East Timor based on contacts with Bishop Belo and others, something I will be doing regularly -- or as regularly as the information warrants it -- at the request of some church agencies, humanitarian and human rights groups, selected politicians and other supporters and friends.

I hope that the weather is fine in Norway during these summer holidays!

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>
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With best regards,

Arnold

Date: Sun, 19 Jul 1998 18:17:21 -0700 (PDT)
From: "Arnold S. Kohlen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
To: gunnar.stalsett@teologi.uio.no
Subject: Re: US Senate resolution, etc
Cc: askohen@igc.org
Status: RO

Dear Gunnar,

There was still more good news that I thought you should have.

The UN special envoy did visit Timor after all, but there was no trouble of the kind Bishop Belo had feared. A big reason is that the UN team flew into the military airbase in Baucau (in the precise vicinity where Bishop Belo was born, in fact) and held his meetings at the airport! Belo was overjoyed. The agreement to visit this way was arranged by the bishop.

The bishop's visit to Jakarta was productive. He was quite outspoken at public events, one together with Wahid (he emphasized that most people in East Timor favor a referendum, and said in front of a large audience that the rape of women in Jakarta in recent months has been an everyday trauma in East Timor) and in the press -- now such things can be printed -- and he met the foreign minister as well as Xanana in prison (their first since 1990 -- since his capture in 1992 the authorities denied requests for a meeting between the two). The bishop received Xanana's agreement to call for an end to big demonstrations, and told me tonight it was a very cordial session. The bishop also told me that he stated publicly his willingness to meet with Amien Rais whenever possible (this time, he said his schedule was full from early morning until 11 PM).

All very hopeful signs. One thing Vendrell stressed is that the Senate resolution should be adapted wherever possible, as you suggested.

I told the bishop it has been raining in Norway, and he said it has been raining in Dili and Baucau (this, in the dry season). He is now headed for a weeklong retreat at the site of the former seminary at Dare, in the mountains overlooking Dili. The bishop sends his special greetings, and hopes for good weather for all in the mountains this week.

Many thanks for your kind words,
Best regards,
Arnold

Date: Tue, 21 Jul 1998 08:48:07 -0700 (PDT)
Dear Fionnuala,

Many thanks for your note. It is good to have your perspectives. Regarding the Marker visit, it may look worse than it actually is. Things have a way of getting distorted, because the UN goal so far as I know it (and the bishop's and, for that matter, Xanana's as well) is to seize the current momentum to reach some sort of interim agreement that demilitarizes East Timor and creates a basis for further moves in the future. It is all very delicate because of Indonesian military sensitivities and what gets said in public reflects that. But talk about this or that option can easily get blown out of proportion. I suspect that we will see many more days like this before a full settlement is finally reached. I should be sending something once I have checked around (the last bulletin requiring a good deal of checking) that will attempt to explain things more thoroughly.

It will be very difficult to get a reaction from the bishop (or anyone else in the Church) this week because they are all on retreat and unreachable except in case of emergency. Thus, it may be best for me to wait to send another bulletin to the Cidse list until next week, when I can also speak with diplomatic sources who are now travelling. But the long and short end of it is that I think we should wait and see before drawing broad conclusions. What may appear to be grave this week may well turn out to be far less important by next week.

Warm regards and thanks,

Arnie

Date: Tue, 06 Jan 1998 09:57:11 +0100
To: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
From: Gunnar Staalsett <gunnar.stalsett@teologi.uio.no>
Subject: Re: More news from Bishop Belo
Mime-Version: 1.0
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="us-ascii"
Sender: 6089@pat.uio.no
Status: RO

Dear Arnold,

Happy New Year. May it bring good news to our brothers and sister in East

Timor. Thanks for notes on developments around th bishop.

Indeed I sense a new tone in the statements of our bishop. It is also

positive to note that the atmosphere around his visits and public appearances has been less threatening.

There was a note in the press here a few days ago reporting a statement by

Ramos Horta to the effect that he asked the FRETILIN to lay down their

armed resistance. Do you have any authoritative text and or interpretation of this?

Yours Gunnar

At 17:53 05.01.98 -0800, you wrote:

>Dear Gunnar,

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> I am also attaching a report of an interview by the bishop.

>I think it is fair to say that he is certainly speaking in a more >global way and more confident than before 1996:

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>02 JAN 98 - 08:17

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>East Timor: Bishop Belo defends "changes" in Indonesia

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> Lisbon, 02 Jan (Lusa) - East Timorese Bishop D. Ximenes Belo

>defended

>on Wednesday the "change of regime, government, Constitution and >mentalities" in Indonesia as a way to reach a solution for the

>conflict in

>the Pacific territory.

> The bishop, a 1996 Nobel Peace Prize co-laureate, in an
>interview by
>phone to Portuguese radio Antena 1, recognised the existence of
>"signs"of
>change in Indonesia, but stated the main
>problem lied in the mentality of the Indonesian community which he
>said had
>to become "more open and democratic". "The groups that fight for
>democracy
>and freedom (in Indonesia) are too weak", Belo said.

> He said also that there was no improvement in the human
>rights
>conditions in East Timor, due to a system that does not respect
>and
>practices the international conventions over the issue.

> Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it one
>year
>but the
>United Nations still regards Portugal as the territory's
>administering power.

> Lusa/Fim

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Arnold S. Kohen

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30 June 1998

The Most Reverend Ian George
Archbishop of Adelaide

Dear Ian,

What a pleasure to hear from you!

I was actually about to contact you regarding your impressions of our pilgrimage to Mount Ramelau, the march up, the march down. Would you be able to send me a paragraph or two? Then I will ring you.

The manuscript is finished, except for some elements that are still being added here and there. The publisher, St. Martin's Press in New York, has accepted it and scheduled the book for publication in February. In Australia I am not sure.

Korinna is in Portugal this week. I spoke this evening with the Moores and they send their fondest greetings. We all look forward to seeing you again.

With very best wishes,



A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Arnold".

June 5, 1998

Most Reverend Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, s.d.b.
Apostolic Administrator
Diocese of Dili
Uskupan Lecidere [Bidau]
K.P. 10250, Dili 88010
East Timor

FAX: (62)(390) 23.184

Dear Bishop Belo,

As we Bishops of the United States are about to meet in our Spring Assembly, I am reminded of your presence among us at the Kansas City Assembly last year. It was a great pleasure to have you with us at that time, and I was particularly pleased that you were able to be my guest in Newark.

At this historic juncture, our Conference is eager to lend whatever support we can to make real the promise of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize. We believe that the United States government should impress upon the new Indonesian administration the need for a prompt resolution of the East Timor issue, based upon the freely expressed wishes of the people and in accord with the resolutions of the United Nations.

Attached is a copy of a letter I have just sent to Secretary Albright expressing those views. I extend warm personal greetings to you and to Bishop Do Nascimento, assuring you of the continued solidarity of our Conference with the Church in East Timor.

Fraternally yours in Christ,

Most Reverend Theodore E. McCarrick
Archbishop of Newark
Chairman, USCC Committee on International Policy

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

Alamat Keuskupan : Uskupian 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

No.	/UDD/	Dili, 7 de Marco de 1998
Inre	:	
Perihal	:	
Your Ref.	:	Senhor Arnold Kohen e Senhora Dona Khorina Horta Takoma - Maryland

Os meus melhores cumprimentos.
Espero que tenham pasado bem. Nós aqui estamos bem, como sempre.
Com esta minha carta quero pedir um favor muito importante ao Senhor Arnold. Como sabem, vou participar ao Sinodo dos Bispos para Asia, a partir do dia 14 de Abril ate 13 de Maio de 1998, em Roma (Cidade do Vaticano).

Foco ao Senhor Arnold, se pode, através do seus Amigos de USA, Cafod, e Oslo, preparar, "short statement" sobre a Paz, a Justica, os Direitos Humanos" na Asia, para eu ler, durante a minha intervenção no Sinodo. Eu quero fazer uma intervenção, sobretudo, como "Nobel Peace Prize Winner". Como o primeiro e único Bispo Católico que ganhou o Premio Nobel da Paz, se eu posso falar nessa qualidade na Assembleia dos Bispos da Asia, e através desta, falar ao todos os Bispo Católicos do Mundo. Poderia o Senhor preparar um Statement em Inglês para 10 minutos de intervenção.!!

Eu parto de Timor no dia 15 de Abril, no dia 16 parto para Amsterdã e no dia 17 estou em Roma. O Sinodo começa no dia 19 e termina no dia 13 de Maio. Depois vou a Lisboa, e ficarei por la ate o dia 22 de Maio. Nao havendo mais nada de importante a comunicar, renovo os meus cumprimentos, e espero a vossa resposta,

Yours sincerely,

Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, SDB
Bispo de Dili

Facsimile Transmission

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

3 pages

(from Geoffrey Hull, 10 April 1998)

Dear Arnold,

Being a linguist who only dips into anthropology when necessary, I'm running out of thoughts on the Timorese mountains. But I can do two things for you which might lead to more information.

First, I will ring my friend Kevin Sherlock, who is an amateur timorologist (and more knowledgeable and lovable than the average professional academic!) and has in his flat the biggest collection of timorensia in the world. You've probably seen his excellent resource-base *A Bibliography of Timor*. A fortnight ago, for instance, I needed some details about two Timorese marsupials for entries in the Tetum dictionary I'm compiling, and he sent me a stack of photocopies from a number of publications he has. So we'll see what he can come up with for Matebian and Ramelau. To expedite things, I'll give him your address and ask him to send everything directly to you.

Might I suggest you send Mr Sherlock a small token remuneration of some kind (this has become a tradition among scholars who take advantage of him)? Mr Sherlock is probably the most humble and modest person I know: he has never been to university but is very intelligent and has a great love of East Timor (which he used to visit in the Portuguese days); he works as a clerk in a Darwin stationery firm and has absolutely no funding from anyone. So all the photocopies and information-filled letters he sends to people all over the world are done at his own expense, and I suspect he receives a pitiful salary. This man is one of the unsung heroes of the cause, one you won't find big-noting himself at activist jamborees.

Second, you must make contact with my colleague at the University of East Timor, Senhor Benjamim Araújo e Côrte-Real. Mr Côrte-Real belongs to the Ainaro nobility (being the grandson of the liurai); he was in Sydney for a few years working on his Ph.D. thesis on the oral literature of the Mambai people. Ainaro, as you know, is right next to Ramelau, and I know Benjamim knows all the folklore about it. The only possible hitch is that he is rather timid being a lecturer at UNTIM where the staff are constantly under military surveillance. Also, he recently married (I attended his wedding in Sydney) and now has a wife to worry about. So it is essential that you let him know from the beginning that you are Bishop Belo's *authorized* biographer. He is very devoted to the Bishop and if he knows that the Bishop would want him to help you, he wouldn't hesitate. Come to think of it, your best bet would be to ring or fax Belo directly and ask him to contact Mr Côrte-

* → Another important consideration. The Portuguese don't consider themselves a European nation that once had an empire. They even today talk of Portugal as an international community (lusofonia) made up of many races and all united in Portuguese language and culture.

* You can say what you like about the repressiveness and shortcomings of the Salazar regime, but at least Salazar honoured this sentiment, and when in 1951 East Timor and other colonies were declared 'overseas provinces' it was because Lisbon did sincerely consider these lands as integral a part of the Portuguese nation as Coimbra or Oporto. And yes, East Timor was neglected by the Lisbon government, but so was the rest of Portugal neglected by the regime, so that by the 1970s it was the poorest state in Western Europe.

I know that the 1974 reaction against the dictatorship was inevitable (and few Portuguese remember the Salazar years fondly), but the Leftists have a lot to answer for by suddenly decolonizing (in fact implicitly expelling from the family) societies used to thinking themselves integral parts of Portugal. It was a very different thing from the UK giving independence to Kenya or Nigeria which were in every sense colonies of a foreign power. What happened in East Timor, Mozambique and Angola was the result of these unnatural amputations.

* If today so many ET refuse to accept an Indonesian identity and are nostalgic for Portuguese rule, it really is because they have never ceased to think of themselves as Portuguese in a real sense. Remember that 'Portuguese' doesn't mean European; it's a global cultural concept. This explains why one can be happily East Timorese and Portuguese simultaneously,

* Your friend Belo is an absolute lusophile and this is nothing unusual. It's a typically and authentically East Timorese phenomenon. The only way the Indonesians could possibly woo the ET would be to recognize and tolerate their Portuguese identity (or if you like, the integral Portuguese component within their Timorese identity) as the Indian government did in regard to Goa after 1961; but this they refuse to do. Hence the impasse.

* ET society is rigidly hierarchical, and the highest things in the cultural pyramid have been, since the mid 16th century, shared with Portugal. All the indigenous languages are utterly permeated with Portuguese words and concepts. All this simply can't be undone in a few decades.

re.
Also, the charge of the Portuguese imposing their language of the East Timorese. They *were* cavalier, but they hardly needed to be, since the ET themselves regarded Portuguese as the prestige language and held Tetum and local languages in lower regard than even the whites did. This is a continuing problem, I can assure, you. Even Bishop Belo can't see what a cultural treasure he has in his polyglot diocese. He tends to see the multiplicity of languages as 'obstacles to progress' rather than as riches to exploit. This is one of my big bugbears as a linguist.

p. 16

"The exception was Timor..." No. Portuguese held on to eastern Flores and the Solor and Alor archipelagoes until

* Bishop Belo dislikes). I believe that the 'rebellion' began as a squabble between the neighbouring Mambai kingdoms of Manufahi/Same and Ainaro/Suro. Dom Boaventura rebelled because his enemies supported the colonial regime. Or so I'm told by Ainaro people. Personally, I prefer to keep out of all this. All I can say is that the 'Great Rebellion' business is a contentious one. You might check with Belo on this.

My general impression of the ET is that they often hate each other more than any foreigners! After all, the abundance of languages points to a history of mutual isolation of many tribes.

It's pretty safe to praise the clergy in a book on ET, but if you make a big thing of any local leader, some other East Timorese are sure to object. East Timor is united in the same negative way that Ancient Greece was.

p. 33

* The Concordat allowed Dili to become a separate diocese from Macao in 1940. The Portuguese clergy were loyal to the Salazar government because it gave them *carte blanche* in the colonies. When the Church had infrastructures going (e.g, hospitals, schools), the government didn't bother duplicating, except in big towns. Needless to say, the clergy in ET were very unhappy about the Carnation Revolution of 1974 and highly suspicious of secularistic Fretilin.

Mgr Ribeiro at first preferred the Indonesia integration option because he naively thought that Indonesia would treat ET as India had treated Goa. He was soon disabused of this when he witnessed the massacres. But it's interesting that even APODETI expected Indonesia to maintain the use of Portuguese in East Timor: it's in their charter in black and white.

Nothing much to say about pp. 34-46, apart from my general comments.

Hope this is of help, Arnold. Let me know if you need more info. on anything.

Best wishes,

Geoffrey

p.6. Bello tribe — correct to Belu or Belunese.
 "namesakes, as it turns out, of the current bishop."
 No. The names have nothing in common. The tribal name probably originally meant 'comrades', but the surname Belo is Portuguese and means 'handsome'.

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Facsimile Transmission

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

(from Geoffrey Hull, 9th April 1998)

6 pages

Dear Arnold,

Thanks for your fax of the other day. I'm glad that what I wrote was of interest to you and I'm pleased that you are taking a demythologizing approach in your biography. God knows East Timor needs to be demythologized!

If you want to send some questions, I'll do my best to answer them. Regarding the second bishop in our party. That was Bishop Kevin Manning, the ordinary of Parramatta diocese (NSW) and chairman of the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council that sponsored the visit. Our delegation of four was invited by the Indonesian Human Rights Commission to investigate allegations of human rights abuses. Our report was sent (by prior arrangement) to the Government of Indonesia, the Australian government, Mrs Mary Robinson - Commissioner for Human Rights at the UNO, and the Vatican. Given the confidentiality of the matter, I can't say more than that.

Perhaps it might be best to acknowledge me in a general way in your preface, e.g. "Dr Geoffrey Hull (of the University of Western Sydney Macarthur and chairman of the International Academic Committee for the Development of East Timorese Languages) provided information on the languages and cultures of East Timor." *-If you could subtly plug my work in such a way as to attract me sponsors, I'd be delighted!*

I'd be happier if you didn't attribute to me my own comments on political matters and sensitive historical ones for the simple reason that I am trying to carry out a research project in East Timor which — whether I like it or not — is under Indonesian rule. Also, the churchmen and Dfli-based academics who co-operate ^{with} me are in a constant state of nervous tension which I certainly don't want to aggravate more than necessary. It amazes me how much I've gotten away with so far, given my critical stance (which extends, I must confess, to criticizing the East Timorese church and civic ^{leaders} themselves when I think they are wrong; I'm aware of the scholar's need to avoid both demonizing and angelizing even when one has strong opinions on a subject).

I'll see if I can put down some notes about the different East Timorese ethnic groups. In that there's of course the danger of making gross generalizations, especially since, apart from the Firaku/Kaladi divide, the East Timorese are basically similar. But there are interesting

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cultural and environmental things to say about groups which are psychologically similar, I suppose. I'll do my best.

Last week I (finally) sent my revised begging document to Tessa Piper in the hope that she can point it in the direction of some funding. All I'm asking for is SAUS 12,000 per annum, which will free me up for two days a week. My research work on East Timor has come to a standstill because the University has me working five days a week teaching and administering. So the situation is pretty desperate. I'll send you two copies of the funding proposal, too. Please send one of them with an endorsement to a money-source if you think there's any chance.

I'm faxing also an advance copy of the section in this document that lists my Timor-specific publications. Unfortunately there's much more in manuscript (both embryonic and birthed) than in print.

Till next time,

Geoffrey

Re. Ramelau and Matelran. All the East Timorese believe that these spirits of their ancestors dwell on the mountain-peaks, so the higher the peak the more sacred the site. The mountains are the most salubrious district in an equatorial island, hence the associations with strength and vitality and all warrior virtues. (The Lowlanders are always tamer).

Some peoples (e.g. the Bunak and the Kemak — and probably others) build their houses with the doors pointed towards the mountain-tops to court the protection of ancestor-spirits.

These beliefs have harmonized well with Catholic tradition of apparitions of angels and the Blessed Virgin on mountain-tops (hence the Statue); in Christianity this has, of course, Jewish roots — Mt Sinai, Mt Carmel etc.

New 2 10,370

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Facsimile Transmission

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

Dear Arnold,

Your manuscript is very interesting and, I think, captures the spirit of life in East Timor admirably. Here are some notes on ethnolinguistic technicalities, to use as you see fit.

- p. 1 *malai* - misspelling; change to *malae*. You may come across claims that this word is the same as 'Malay', supposedly a proof that the ET see Indonesians as aliens. This is not true. The word originally meant 'far', hence 'person from far away'.

An interesting point. The Timorese traditionally distinguish three species of foreigners: *malae-mutin*, literally "white foreigners" = Europeans and Portuguese in particular; *malae-metan* "black foreigners" = Africans (like those in the Portuguese army); and *malae-mean* "red foreigners" = Asians of the Mongoloid racial type, and especially Chinese.

For reasons I will gradually give, I would question putting the Portuguese as foreigners in the same category as other invaders.

- p. 2 The ET, who proudly talk of Baucau as the country's 'second city' might not like to hear it described as a 'village'! Especially now that it is a new episcopal see.

Loro Sae: correct to *Loro-Sa'e*. This word does literally mean 'rising sun', but the immediate meaning is simply 'East'. i.e. ET don't normally think of the sun rising when they use the word. So it's not really "a special word in the Tetum language." The words for 'east' in most languages mean 'rising sun', cf. Latin *oriens*, Gk. *anatolos*, Eng. *east* (originally = 'dawn').

- 10 — Actually what is special about the east of ET is the character of the people as *Firakus*: speaking mainly Papuan languages and with strong warrior traditions (cf. the *Kaladis* or easterners, stereotypically more docile and open to foreign influences).

Suggested rewrite: "This region, the land of the mainly Papuan-speaking *Firakus*, is known as *Loro-Sa'e* in Tetum, the word for 'east' (and literally meaning 'sunrise' as in most languages of the world)."

- p. 3 *Matebean*: misspelling; correct to *Matebian*.
- p. 4 *Loro Munu*: misspelling; correct to *Loro-Monu*. Same comment as above. The immediate meaning in Tetum is 'west', and the literal one 'sunset', as in most other languages.

10 | You might want to comment on the irony that whereas the bishop of Dili (and the West) is an eastern Firaku, the new bishop of Baucau and the east is a western Kaladi.

p. 5 Yes, when I read *Victory*, I too was stunned by Conrad's damning description. By other accounts, too, old Dili *was* a dump, but the town was largely rebuilt in 1951 (thanks to the Japanese bombings) and the Portuguese made it the attractive Latin-looking seaside town it is today. The Indonesians, to their credit, have maintained its Latin architectural character.

p. 5 The name Timor has nothing whatever to do with the Latin word for 'fear' in spite of the grizzly episodes in the island's history: it's pure coincidence that the words look the same. The word *Timor* is Malay (not even Timorese!) and means 'eastern', i.e. in relation to Java and other western islands. The name of neighbouring *Wetar* (and *Wetan* further east in the Babar group) also means 'east', this time in Javanese. Therefore the expression 'East Timor' in Indonesian (*Timor Timur* > *Timtim*) is a tautology: 'east-east'!

The Belunese myth of origin I'm familiar with states that the crocodile came from Macassar (which probably referred originally to another part of Celebes). But it's possible that other myths talk of the Moluccas, as there was a Moluccan component in the early settlement of Timor. What is your source here? (I'd be interested to know for my own work)

p. 6 linw 3: Lisbon: better changed to Portugal?

| A point of interest. In Tetum the Timor Sea to the south is called **Tasi-Mane** 'the male, i.e. rough sea'; the *Wetar* and *Oambar Straits* are **Tasi-Feto** 'female, i.e. calm sea'.

Par. 2 needs to be rewritten. I'd suggest:

"...ethnic groups." The oldest one, which has been in Timor and the neighbouring Alor-Pantar group for well over two millennia, is of New Guinean origin and is today represented by the Fataluku, Makasae and Bunak peoples. The speakers of Austronesian languages came much later — probably not more than 900 years ago — from Buton and the Tukang Besi Islands off the south-eastern point of Celebes (Sulawesi), and all the remaining peoples of Timor are their linguistic descendants. The two most widely-spoken Austronesian languages are Mambai and Tetum, and Tetum (also spoken on the other side of the border) has been since pre-colonial times the lingua franca of eastern and central Timor.

In the person of Carlos Belo these two ethnic groups meet: the bishop's maternal family speaks Waima'a, one of the numerically smaller Austronesian languages, whereas his paternal family speaks Papuan Makasae."

There are 18 distinct language groups in the whole of Timor, and 15 of them occur in East Timor. On the other hand, contrary to what you say at the top of p. 7, the traditional cultures and religions of all these groups are basically similar and generally 'Timorese'. On the level of popular culture, differences between East and West Timor are minimal (though this does not mean that they are psychologically the same people: the Portuguese saw to that!).

- p. 7 Liurai does *not* mean 'over the land' (folk etymology!). It's a Butonese word (*lipu-laki*) originally meaning 'village lord'.
- p. 9 Regarding the late conversion of most Timorese to Catholicism. In Timor you didn't have, as in many other 'mission lands', the situation of a culturally intrusive Christianity being fiercely resisted by the indigenes. It is noteworthy that the Timorese pagans gave the Church no martyrs. On the contrary, once the main liurais were baptised, all other Timorese became what I'd call 'potential Catholics'. The Portuguese didn't force them to convert, and they were socially friendly towards the Church. Which explains why, after 1976, they all opted en masse to embrace Catholicism (rather than Islam). The ground-work had been done. Unlike Protestants, Catholic missionaries have never (generally) had a big problem with syncretism, as occurs in Timor, especially since local ancestor-worship harmonizes with Catholic theology on the cult of the dead. Protestantism was, after all, historically a reaction against the 'pagan' element in medieval Catholicism, i.e. non-Judaic practices admitted from polytheistic religions since apostolic times.

Makasae *Uru-uato*, misspelt: replace with *Uru-Watu*. Like that of the ancient Indo-Europeans, the Timorese supreme deity was a sky-god. The Tetum word for him, *Maromak*, literally means 'the bright one'.

} Put in X

- p. 10 "... despite the Catholicization that has taken place." A valid statement, but as I say above, Catholics don't have a theoretical problem with non-Christian practices which do not conflict with Christian teaching (unlike polygamy, which the Church has cracked down on). It's interesting that the ET are strongly pro-life and hostile to contraception and abortion because of strong animist beliefs which happen to coincide with Catholic dogma!

Uimor: correct to *Waima'a*.
Matebian simply means "soul[s] of the dead", nothing else.

- p. 11 Buffaloes are especially sacrificed at funeral feasts called *estilu*.
- p. 12 Did you get this elaborate meaning for "namu" from that article I sent you? (It's at work; I can't check). Again, this looks like foreigners romanticizing simple Timorese words. *Namu* just means 'time', 'weather' or 'season' in *Waima'a*, nothing else as far as I know.

This is all I have time for today. More soon.

f.

Facsimile Transmission 5 pages

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

The second instalment.

- p. 12 Re. *namu*, Bishop Belo could have been exaggerating, or struggling for English equivalents, or the word might have a cultural significance I don't know about.
- pp. 12-13 Letemumo. Very interesting. Will you please give me your source for this information? You've just solved a problem for me. Waima'a is especially rich in Malay loanwords, the sheer quantity difficult to explain historically. Now I see that this was due to the immigrants from *Aus* who certainly spoke Malay as well as Portuguese. *i.e. Lamatuka*
- The Letemumo people were obviously Topasses (Christian Eurasians). Therefore you should introduce the theme of Topasses here rather than on p. 15.
- p. 13 *Mombai*: correct spelling is Mambai (or Mambae).
- p. 14 "East Timor was not entirely under Portuguese control until early in the 20th century." It was and it wasn't.

Something now about Portuguese imperialism, without ^{an 'inside'} knowledge of which one can't understand East Timor.

The key feature of the Portuguese was their non-racism (rather than anti-racism). Although the Portuguese aristocracy certainly were a proud class and avoided 'miscegenation', the Portuguese by and large paid little attention to race. The important thing was to become a Catholic, speak Portuguese and practise Portuguese culture (the assimilationist as opposed to integrationist approach). Portugal exported few women to its colonies; colonial men were expected to take local wives (after the latter had been duly baptised and lusified); the more plebeian took concubines, but the mixed-race issue were always brought up Catholic and Portuguese. This was Albuquerque's approach in Goa from the early C16, and repeated everywhere in the Portuguese Empire.

Portugal never needed to subdue Timor by arms; the pacificatory expeditions were few and far between. They conquered the Timorese by sleeping with their women and inviting them into the Portuguese 'family'. It was enough to baptize the liurais and bestow grandiloquent Iberian names and titles on them to create a permanently Portuguese Timor. And given the social structure of the island as a patchwork of petty kingdoms, it was not necessary to baptize and lusify the lower orders either. The fact that their kings were now vassals of the King of Portugal and subjects of the Pope was enough to make the lot of them potential Catholics and allies of the Church and its missionary endeavours.

They were there from all over the country. From the extreme east or *Ponta Leste* came the Fatalucos, born craftsmen and builders of elegant gabled houses on wooden pillars. Present, too, were their close kinsman the Makasai, intrepid Papuan-speaking warriors haunted and driven by the ghosts of their sacred Matebian Mountains.

The small eastern tribes also sent their delegates. From the Tutuala district came the Lovaia, descendants of immigrants from the nearby South Moluccan islands. More numerous were the representatives of the four kindred tribes, the Nauti, Midiki, Waima'a and Kairui, whose curious, enterprising ancestors spearheaded the Austronesian invasion of Timor from Celebes a millennium ago.

From the environs of Laleia and Manatuto, hometown of Xanana Gusmão, came the Galolis, whose seafaring and fishing traditions are a response to the harsh realities of the most arid and inhospitable environment in Timor. Represented, too, was Dili's small offshore dependency of Ataúro, the island of goats and another fishing population linked for generations with the Galolis as well as with the inhabitants of nearby Lirar and Wetar. Among the Ataurans were even an ecumenically-minded family or two from Biqueli, the only fully Protestant settlement in East Timor.

The language in which all the pilgrims shared their thoughts and feelings was, of course, the Tetum lingua franca, but prominent within the crowd were those who spoke it as a mother tongue. These included not only the cosmopolitan Dili folk, but indigenous Belunese from the north-western district of Bobonaro near the old Portuguese-Indonesian border, and from the great, rainy southern plain, from Viqueque and Suai and the mountains of Samoro and Soibada.

The present Governor's people, the Idaté of the central mountains, were there as well, as were the westerly Bunaks, whose exotic Papuan speech, unintelligible to all other Timorese, makes them one of the oldest ethnic groups of the island. Pilgrims had travelled even from the distant Oecusse enclave in West Timor, historic seat of the Black Portuguese and landing-place of the first Catholic missionaries five hundred years ago.

From the sharply eroded land sloping north-westward towards the sea from Ramelau came the Kemaks and the Tokodedes, quiet agriculturalists whose languages point to an infusion of blood, somewhere in the past, from the easterly string of islands that link Timor with New Guinea. But no ethnic group was more strongly represented than the ancient inhabitants of the rugged ridges and hilltops fanning out in all four directions from the Ramelau peaks: the Mambai, whose religious attachment to their land has made them living symbols of all that is most deeply and intransigently Timorese.

1851 (when the then-governor, short of cash, sold these lands to the Dutch, to the great annoyance of Lisbon, which was in no financial position to buy them back). Incidentally there is still a lot of Portuguese cultural influence in these regions, which explains why the Diocese of Dili is so friendly with Flores, and the seminary in Maumere.

"In fact, their languages are quite different." Not true (see my notes above). Four languages, Kemak, Bunak, Tetum and Dawan, are spoken on *both* sides of the border. And the two remaining languages in West Timor, Helong and Rotinese, are closely related to Tetum.

You *could* make the point that the Papuan languages are spoken mainly (but not exclusively) in the eastern sector, but as I've noted, it's the Portuguese *factor* that differentiates WT and ET.

"... totally unrelated to the languages spoken in neighbouring Indonesia." Not true. Tetum and its siblings are related to most Indonesian languages, and Papuan languages closely akin to Makasai and Fataluku are spoken on Alor and Pantar.

p. 17ff. Revise in the light of my above comments.

p. 22 St Francis Xavier is normally known as 'the Apostle of the Orient/the Indies' in Catholic parlance. He spent some time on Ambon, but not in Timor or near it.

"the younger da Gama": correct to "the younger Gama". The *da, dos, de* in Portuguese surnames is used only after Christian names, e.g. Pedro da Silva. But otherwise Mr. Silva (never Mr. da Silva: this irritates the Portuguese no end!)

pp. 24/25 * Conversions were not more frequent because the secular-minded white authorities often made things so hard for the missionaries. They were excluded from East Timor between 1834 and 1874, and the clergy had major problems under the anti-clerical Republic the next century. Lack of manpower was always a big obstacle to evangelization.

p. 26 * Portuguese rule was harsh (and so was the regime in Catholic boarding-schools with all the muscular Christianity, bad food and corporal punishment with the dreaded *palmatória*), but so was indigenous life, with internecine warfare and endemic headhunting. The native kingdoms long had slave castes.

p. 27 * Re. the 'Great Rebellion' and Dom Boaventura. This liurai has been lionized by the ET Left (whom I know

Facsimile Transmission

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

(from Geoffrey Hull, 22 April 1998; 1 page)

Dear Arnold,

Further to my fax of yesterday a couple of points.

First, there is a mistake in par. 4 of my text. "...the north-western district of Bobonaro" must be changed to "...Balibó." (Bobonaro doesn't speak Tetum natively).

Second, I was talking yesterday to a colleague in history who has done some work on East Timor. He told me (from having spoken to members of the Mambai nobility) that it is true that Dom Boaventura really opposed the Portuguese because his enemy Dom Aleixo the *liurai* of Suro-Ainaro supported them. What is interesting is that Dom Aleixo supported the Portuguese because he realized that because of their weak rule his people would be relatively undisturbed, and that the consequence of throwing out the Portuguese would be a Dutch invasion from West Timor, and the Dutch interfered with local liberties and oppressed their subjects far more than the Portuguese.

I am not alone in the view that glorifying Dom Boaventura as a sort of ^{would-be} George Washington misses the point of his lack of political astuteness and the important fact that not all the Timorese nobility agreed with him.

All the best,



*

It's important to distinguish between the White Portuguese and the Black Portuguese (Topasses or Mestiços). It's true the former didn't gain direct control until the late C19, but East Timor was an integral part of the Portuguese world long before that thanks to the Topasses, who represented Portuguese authority in the island. Significantly, the allies of the Dominicans were the Topasses, not the Europeans, and this set a permanent pattern in Timorese history: Church + native elite versus European Portuguese who are often hostile to both the missionaries and the natives (especially under the Liberal and Republican regimes in Portugal).

0

The early clashes between the Macassarese and Dutch and the 'Portuguese' in the region were between these groups and Black Portuguese. Indeed the 'Portuguese' present in Timor from 1556 to 1701 were practically all Topasses; the only whites being the handful Dominican friars.

0

Significantly, when the Viceroy in Goa moved the seat of regional government from Larantuka (Flores) to Lifau in 1701, the new white governor, António Coelho Guerreiro, was opposed by the Topaz 'king' (or capitão-mor/captain-major) Domingos da Costa. The Topasses simply would not accept direct rule by the whites, and in 1704 the whites had to abandon Lifau and return to Flores. Then in 1719 the Topaz leader Francisco de Hornay led the liurais in a big revolt against the White Portuguese. It was only ten years later than a permanent white governor could be installed at Lifau. But in 1767 Governor Menezes was again besieged by the Topasses. He offered Lifau to the Dutch but they wouldn't take it, being afraid of the Black Portuguese! So the Portuguese capital was moved eastwards to Dili in 1769 precisely because of the strength of Topaz power in the West.

*

My point is this. People can say and write all they like about the Timorese resisting Portuguese rule and native rebellions, but the fact is that, because of the peculiar character of Portuguese colonialism, this hostility was directed exclusively against one group within the vast Empire: the strangers sent out from Lisbon. There was no hostility to the Black Topasses, who were no less Portuguese culturally and Catholic than the whites. So in my view the line that talks about indigenes versus colonialists just doesn't apply to Timor.

Put in
*
P.L.

0

And getting back to the point I made yesterday. East Timor and West Timor hardly differ on the level of popular culture and language. What made East Timor unique was the willing absorption of the people into the Portuguese world. This was a cultural phenomenon to which the operations of Lisbon's political power have only limited relevance.

*

The Indonesians are incapable of understanding this about ET. Since their own experience was 'native versus aloof, racist whites', they can't conceive the extent to which the ET were long ago absorbed into the Portuguese world, and (all in all) happily so.

* This doesn't mean that the Topasses and liurais didn't often squabble among themselves.

Facsimile Transmission**Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen**

3 pages

(from Geoffrey Hull, 14 April 1998)

Dear Arnold,

My hard sayings about the post-conciliar Catholic Church reflect my dislike of what I see as the hypocrisy of the progressives. There is one inconvenient fact that the progressives — who can't bear to tear themselves away from the power, money and real estate of the established Catholic Church — can't face up to, and that is that modern secular civilization (which makes man and this world the centre of everything) is basically at odds with Christian doctrine which is theocentric and insists on living this life as well as possible, but with eyes constantly fixed on the life beyond death. The teaching of Christ as traditionally transmitted by the Church is an uncompromising, intractable thing that doesn't bear diluting. Accept it or reject it by all means, but people shouldn't delude themselves into thinking that they can change it to suit a philosophy basically opposed to its premises (this is not to say that a good deal of common ground can't be sensibly found without compromising any essentials of belief).

I believe the divide between orthodox and liberal Judaism is along the same philosophical lines. No-one has to accept the teaching and practices of the orthodox Judaism or of the Catholic Church, but it seems to me that the progressives have clearly rejected them and yet delude themselves and others that they haven't. I strongly believe in accepting or rejecting a thing for objective reasons; what I can't countenance is any form of self-deception and the Catholic Church is at present passing through an epic psychosis of self-deception and the result is a sort of mass paralysis, except in 'oases' like East Timor where the Church still has some grasp on reality.

My problems with the Church in East Timor are mainly anthropological, not with the Church's faith (which, for good or ill according to one's philosophy, is sincerely and unashamedly orthodox) but with some of its methods in inculturating that faith. I can see that I am about to wax prolix and start lecturing you again, but the problem as I see it stems from a puritan current that invaded Catholicism at the Reformation and reached epidemic proportions after Vatican II. Medieval Catholicism (like Eastern Orthodoxy) had syncretistic tendencies in its cultural expression while not being syncretistic in matters of doctrine. When the first missionaries in Europe were converting pagans, they deliberately 'baptized' any pagan custom or belief that was compatible with Christian doctrine. So magic springs became holy wells, temples became sanctuaries of saints, Easter bonfires became paschal fires symbolizing the risen Christ, animal or human sacrifice gave way to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, mother deities gave way to Mary the Mother of God, and so on. The Protestant Reformation (with its strong anti-pagan tendencies) rejected all this and wanted to purify everything to recreate (in the most rationalistic manner) a 'biblical' Christianity. Hence all the iconoclasm, anti-sensualism and (when all this had turned septic) literal witch-hunting.

The case of East Timor is no different from that of Gaul or Russia before their conversion. The Church has a missiological policy which is based on

christianizing in non-Christian culture and belief whatever is christianizable. Now there are certain elements in the Dili diocese who are opposed to this approach and would like to see residual animism not harmonized with Catholicism but annihilated and witch-hunted. I can't go along with that.

The approach of the official Church is that in catechizing the animists, the Church must show profound respect for the old religion, and adopt the line that it is not being abolished, but 'perfected' in Christianity. For instance ancestor-worship can continue in the Catholic cult of the dead. Obviously the actual rituals of animism cannot intrude into the traditional liturgy of the Church, but those that don't conflict with Christian belief and morals should be allowed to continue and all of them should be studied and recorded as part of the traditional culture. Pope Pius XII summed up this traditional approach in his encyclical *Evangelii præcones* ('Heralds of the Gospel'):

"Let not the Gospel destroy or distinguish whatever is naturally good, just or beautiful. The Catholic Church has neither scorned nor rejected the pagan philosophies. Instead, after freeing them from error, she has perfected and completed them by Christian revelation. So, likewise, the Church has graciously made her own the native art and culture which in some countries is so highly developed. Whatever in the native customs is not inseparably bound up with superstition and error will always receive kindly consideration and will, when possible, be preserved intact... The missionary's office does not demand that he transplant European culture. His task is to teach principles that fit into any culture, provided that it be good and sound."

I realize that for the non-Christian anthropologist this amounts to an imperialistic interference in local cultures, but the point is that the Catholic Church, bound by her religious convictions, at least insists on *minimal* interference. The trouble is that most Catholic priests (especially today) are ignorant of their own Church's policy on matters like these (seminary education is pretty pathetic in most countries nowadays; they don't even learn Latin, the official language of their Church and the key to most of its literature; compare if you like rabbis being taught no Hebrew).

The modern clergy's ignorance in linguistic matters (a bugbear with me, naturally!) is a case in point. Regarding languages, all peoples have the right to hear the Word of God in their own tongues. When the Vatican authorized Mass in the vernacular as well as Latin in the 60s the idea was to give all vernaculars an equal exposure, not to allow the big vernaculars to lord it over the small ones. Now Tetum in East Timor is a lingua franca, a social utility, but *not* the mother tongue of every Catholic. It's no use pretending otherwise and it would be downright immoral to try to create a new reality by driving the vernaculars to extinction (as the philistine Irish Catholic clergy almost did to Gaelic last century).

Some priests in East Timor wrongly see the languages other than Tetum as instruments of paganism (and therefore deserving to be ignored or even extirpated). I have proposed a project for the translation of the Gospels into *every* Timorese dialect so that people can practise their Catholicism within their own culture, but this has met with considerably hostility. Yet historically such biblical translations have always been the cornerstones of the secular literatures of Christian countries: look at the first literary monuments in Anglo-Saxon, French, German, Russian etc. Why should East Timor be any different? (Only, be it admitted, if the Timorese are conceived as savages in need of civilizing, which seems to me to be — perhaps unwittingly — at the base of the policy I criticize).

This uncatholic desire to impose Western-style Catholicism on the East Timorese with scant respect for anthropological realities, and the centralistic exaltation of Tetum (the legitimate successor of exclusive Portuguese) at the expense of the other vernaculars, smacks of imperialism and cultural centralism, and historically continues the policies of the Salazarist missionaries who were incapable of making a distinction between Catholicism and Portuguese nationalism. I would bet my bottom dollar that, if the Indonesians hadn't forced the issue, the Church in Timor today would still be using Portuguese exclusively in its services and marginalizing Tetum as in the old days. Just look at the Catholic Church in Angola, Mozambique and every other ex-Portuguese colony. Whether they want to admit it or not, the Tetum language has benefited enormously from the Indonesian occupation (as has Catholicism: all those mass conversions in the late 70s were at bottom an anti-indonesian gesture).

It would be interesting for you as a biographer to take these issues and discreetly find out where Bishop Belo stands on them. My suspicion is that, because of his thoroughly Portuguese education and certain comments he has made to me, he doesn't fully appreciate the ethnological riches of his own country and tends (how far I don't know) in the direction of cultural uniformity (intensive study of linguistics and anthropology are not part of the seminary syllabus, alas!). I'd love to be proved wrong. The clergy in East Timor have a lot to lose (more for posterity than for themselves) by not opening their eyes. One priest told me that it would be a good thing if all the local languages other than Tetum died out, because they are among the things that have divided the country in the past. Unity in uniformity was his (classically fascist!) motto. I shut him up by telling him that the Church has always stood by 'unity in diversity' as does the coat of arms of the Republic of Indonesia! Why is there this damned, murderous obsession in human beings to want to simplify and reduce to deadly sameness all that is complex and interesting in life? Isn't beauty all about complexity?

Admittedly, I am sitting in the comfort and safety of my study spouting principles and the Timorese clergy (and Bishop Belo especially) are in the thick of a life-and-death struggle to keep a whole people on the path of survival. No doubt they see a more 'inclusivist' cultural approach as excessively complicated in the present situation and subject to exploitations by enemies adopting the divide-and-conquer strategy. *A la guerre comme à la guerre*, granted. But the war won't last forever, and Timorese culture will have to be sustained by more than wartime rations when peace comes. I'm thinking of the future. Good wartime leaders must have good peacetime policies as well.

When I rang Kevin Sherlock he said he'd be glad to send you information on the mountains, and mentioned that he had met you in Portugal. Unfortunately because he's such a self-effacing fellow he hasn't tried very hard to get funding. It's the creaking gate that gets the oil, I suppose. I've learned to creak!

Please by all means put my case before Noam Chomsky; as a linguist he should be sympathetic to what I'm trying to do.

Will begin working on the vignettes for you in the meantime.

All the best,



Department of Social Development and World Peace
3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 FAX (202)541-3339



June 5, 1998

The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Madame Secretary,

For many years now, the Catholic Bishops of the United States have expressed their concern about the religious and civil liberties of the people of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. We are aware that you also have shared these concerns, and we recall especially your visit to Indonesia as our U.N. Ambassador in September of 1995 during which you addressed the continuing problem of the human rights situation.

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili, recipient of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize, has commented recently on the continued civil disturbances that are causing great suffering and growing resentment on the part of the people of East Timor, disturbances caused largely, in the bishop's view, by the heavy-handed excesses of the Indonesian military in the territory.

In view of the recent changes within the Indonesian government, this would seem an appropriate moment for the United States to press anew for a speedy resolution of the East Timor status question that, with the good offices of the United Nations, must be based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor.

While that longer-term goal is all important, I would urge that the United States advocate an immediate and genuine reduction of the Indonesian military presence in East Timor, the release of prisoners incarcerated for purely political reasons, the guarantee of freedom of speech and assembly, and an end to abuses of peoples' human rights. Minimizing the military presence and ending abuses could greatly enhance the prospects for a genuine solution of the East Timor tragedy.

With all best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Most Reverend Theodore E. McCarrick
Archbishop of Newark
Chairman, USCC Committee on International Policy

July 11, 1998

The Editor
The Washington Post

To the Editor:

Your news article on East Timor's revived independence drive (July 10) reported that "The United States supported Indonesia in its invasion of East Timor and helped supply the aircraft and bombs that strafed the region's mountains to rid them of suspected communist insurgents."

In fact, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the territory's politically moderate Nobel Peace Prize winner, has stated that "there was no danger whatsoever of a takeover by communists." Talk of such a risk ("another Cuba in the making," as your article put it), was "clearly a pretext," Bishop Belo has emphasized, to justify Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

It is crucial to stress that the bombing and strafing of East Timor's mountains and countryside in the late 1970s created famine and destruction that claimed the lives of most of the estimated 200,000 people, mainly civilians, who perished as a result of the military onslaught. And despite the recent changes in Indonesia, the repression in East Timor has not ended, with at least three killings by the Armed Forces in recent weeks.

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.
Arnold S. Kohen

Paul Moore Jr. is the retired Episcopal Bishop of New York (phone: 860-535-9023): See attached note.

Arnold Kohen is the author of a forthcoming biography of Bishop Belo, "From the Place of the Dead: The Epic Struggles of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of East Timor." (St. Martin's Press)
Phone: as listed above, or 301 585 3426.

/* Written 5:32 PM Jul 20, 1998 by etic@corso.ch.planet.gen.nz in
igc:reg.easttimor */
From: etic@corso.ch.planet.gen.nz (East Timor Independenc)
Reply-To: etic@corso.ch.planet.gen.nz (East Timor Independenc)
Subject: Re: Marker cites Hongkong, Macau as models for Timor

tapol@gn.apc.org (TAPOL) writes:

> AFP, Jakarta, 20 July 1998
> Extracts only
>
> A special UN envoy Monday cited Hongkong, Macau and the Southern
Philippines
> as possible models for a special autonomy for East timor, Justice
Minister
> Muladi said.
>

Dear Friends,

I see this as an extremely dangerous statement for the people
of East Timor.

It seems Jamsheed Marker, and through him, the United Nations
process on East Timor, has swallowed the "autonomy" bait laid
by Habibie.

I would like to draw your attention to a short comment
analysing the situation in the Southern Philippines so that you
are aware of what is being proposed.

The comment comes from Aziz Choudry of Aotearoa's Gatt Watchdog,
who is an eminent spokesperson on international trade issues.
It was published in the Feb 1997 issue of Overview, the
quarterly publication of Aotearoa's international justice agency
CORSO.

"...last October's [i.e. 1996] creation of the Southern
Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) [which
brokered the 'autonomy' status of the Southern Philippines],
while heralded by Ramos as a 'solid breakthrough' which could
end the 24 year Moro armed struggle for self-determination was
another dynamic.

A common concern about the SPCPD, signed between the Moro
National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Government was that
the development framework proposed was the same as the
Philippines 2000/Mindanao 2000 version of growth through trade
liberalization.

Many people feel that Ramos merely wanted to signal that peace
and order exists in Mindanao in order to attract overseas
investors - not to negotiate a genuine settlement of the
grievances of the socially, politically and economically

marginalized Moro.

Meanwhile Mindanao remains the base for over half of the armed forces total strength, and grave doubts exists as to whether a just and lasting peace has been struck."

Food for thought?

Yours sincerely,

Joe Davies

To: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
Date: Tue, 21 Jul 1998 12:36:29 +0000
Subject: Your news
Priority: normal
X-mailer: Pegasus Mail for Windows (v2.01)
Status: RO

Arnie

.....
The visit by Jamsheed Marker does not look positive considering his analysis of the possible solutions. We read it here as a grave step backwards. Perhaps Bishop Belo has a more positive perspective on it. His work over the past few days has been impressive, it would be great to see him come out strongly against this latest diplomatic move to push ET back into the integration option. I look forward to your updates, keep up the good work. With warm regards,

Fionnuala (FROM IRISH CATHOLIC AGENCY)

Action Alert

BAN ALL U.S. MILITARY TRAINING TO INDONESIA!

Issue: At the end of March, Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY) introduced the International Military Training Accountability Act (HR 3802). The bill would require the Department of Defense to stop all military training to countries the Congress prohibits from participating in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program.

Background: In March 1998, it was revealed that despite a Congressional ban on International Military Education and Training (IMET) to targeted nations, including Indonesia, the Pentagon continued military exercises through a program called the Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) exercises. Since 1993, United States forces have held 41 training exercises with the Indonesian military, including courses in counter-insurgency techniques, psychological warfare and military operations in urban areas. (*New York Times*, May 9, 1998)

Several members of Congress criticized the JCET exercises as a violation of Congressional intent to stop all military training to the targeted countries. They were particularly concerned that US-trained troops were part of the recent clashes in Indonesia and on-going conflict in East Timor. Representative Lane Evans (D-IL) said in a statement: "JCET is another way the Pentagon can assist Suharto and his soldiers in suppressing their opposition," and "the United States is supporting a military infamous for its brutal human rights abuses and subjugation of the East Timorese people."

On May 8, 1998, citing the increasingly volatile political situation in Indonesia, the U.S. Department of Defense called off a military training exercise scheduled in that country, and indefinitely suspended further joint command exercises and training there.

Action: Ask your member of Congress to cosponsor International Military Training Accountability Act (H.R. 3802) which would require the Department of Defense to stop all military training to any country designated by the Congress to be prohibited from participating in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program.



United Methodist Women's Action Network

Women's Division
General Board of
Global Ministries
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womendivdc@igc.apc.org

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

August 3, 1998

To Esteemed Members of the Clergy,

Dr. Geoffrey Robinson is a trusted friend. I hope that he can be given all the courtesies a trusted friend should be given, and that you will be as frank with Dr. Robinson as possible.

I hope all of you are well.

With many thanks,

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

August 3, 1998

Mr. Manuel Abrantes
Commission on Justice and Peace
Travessa da Lecidere
Dili East Timor

Dear Mr. Abrantes,

Dr. Geoffrey Robinson is the trusted friend I mentioned. I hope you will be able to assist him in arranging meetings with the clergy in Dili and Baucau.

I hope you are well.

Many thanks.


—

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

April 3, 1998

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are greatly concerned about the prospect of food shortages and related humanitarian problems in East Timor caused by drought. We recognize that other areas in the region are affected, but because of the history of hunger in East Timor, notably the catastrophic famine that struck in the late 1970s and led to well over 100,000 deaths which might have been averted had there been timely action, we are alarmed over the possibility of any recurrence in any part of East Timorese territory.

For instance, recent reports indicate that there are serious food and medical problems on the offshore island of Atauro, and that similar problems are developing along East Timor's northern coast as well as in other places. Enclosed is a news story from the *South China Morning Post* describing the situation.

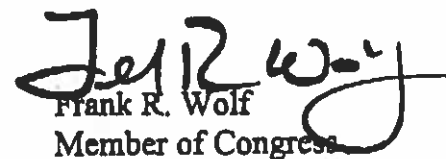
We believe that the international community, and especially the United States, must encourage timely action to ensure that such problems are dealt with as a matter of the utmost urgency. In light of the intense suffering East Timor has endured, we believe that your Administration should act to prevent further catastrophe.

We strongly hope that the United States will use its influence with Indonesia to guarantee that any overseas aid that is needed can enter East Timor without restriction, and that people in need receive all the help they require as soon as possible.

We recognize that you have raised the issue of East Timor with President Suharto on previous occasions, and thank you for your consideration of the current matter. Because of East Timor's tragic history since 1975, Congress feels a special responsibility to carefully monitor these developments on an ongoing basis.

Sincerely yours,


Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress


Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

Enclosure

I TOLD THE RECTOR OF THEOLOGY THAT Bp. Belo IS TRYING TO BE IN OSLO. THIS IS HOW HE REPLIED:

Date: Fri, 03 Apr 1998 12:07:23 +0200
To: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
From: Gunnar Staalsett <gunnar.stalsett@teologi.uio.no>

Dear Arnold

Thanks for good news on Belo. I hope he will manage. In exchange I might join him at some occasion when he needs support. I will not officially take over the new post until August 1. But even after that time, I will give priority to support his ministry.

...

Best wishes

Gunnar

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

April 6, 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

I am very grateful for all of your efforts. This is only to say that the "namu" definition from page 12 came from Bishop Belo! But perhaps he was exaggerating.

I will have some other questions soon. Many, many thanks.

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

April 13, 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

I enjoyed your communication of April 10. But when you made reference to "these post-Vatican years when most of the clergy and desperately trying to modernize and secularize themselves (and often making total asses of themselves in the process)..." Is this in reference to East Timor or more widely? I suspect more widely, but I wanted to check. I must say all of this is rather wryly amusing. On more than a few occasions I -- I, of all people -- have found myself launching a strong defense of Belo's traditionalism, on the ground, among others, that he does have such a right, doesn't he? Certain European "progressives" seem to think that he ought to be like them. One of the last sections of my book deals with his tour of some European churches a few years ago, where almost no one was present. I was with him on that trip, and Belo's reaction was something to behold.

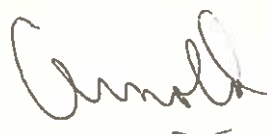
In what way have you been critical of the East Timor church?

About Kevin Sherlock, I met him about 20 years ago, and would be happy to send a donation. It's amazing that no one has taken the initiative to fund his library.

I have contacted Bishop Belo regarding Senhor Corte-Real.

I look forward to your thoughts on the other ethnic groups in the weeks ahead. I should be getting to the final chapter by the end of the month. Once the book is complete, I will have more time to take soundings about support for your work. Meanwhile, I hope Tessa can find something. Incidentally, I know Noam Chomsky well. Would you have any objection to me approaching him for ideas? He is very discreet about these things, despite his radical image.

Best,



Facsimile Transmission

TO: ARNOLD KOHEN
FAX: 301 585 3288
DATE: 24 March, 1998
FROM: GEOFFREY HULL, Fax. +61-2-9686-4654

Dear Arnold,

I'd be happy to read your chapter for you, and I appreciate and applaud your desire to get the anthropological facts right, human realities which I'm afraid the writers of 'bleeding-hearts' literature on East Timor tend to treat with cavalier indifference (I suspect some of them are — quite unwittingly — inverted colonialists shocked by what one group of 'natives' is doing to another group of 'natives'. You know the line: all natives are identical, so we don't need to be precise about linguistic and cultural differences between them as if they were first-world citizens with credit-cards, pay-TV and silicone implants!) So your serious and scrupulous approach promises to make a truly valuable contribution to the question.

I've been in touch with Tessa Piper and will be sending her a funding proposal. I'll keep you posted on progress, and thanks for your continued interest in my plight.

Best wishes,



Arnold S. Kohen

XXXX

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7 April 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

It was very good of you to provide such careful comments, which will be duly incorporated. You will have to tell me the way in which you would like to be credited, and which of your publications (including language texts) you would like to see in the bibliography).

The Letemuno story came from a paper by Sheperd Forman that was published in the record of a US Congressional hearing when he testified in 1977. I can send you a copy soon.

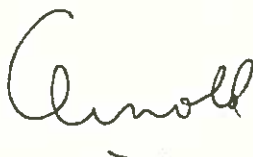
As you will see in the succeeding chapter, the book hardly takes the standard left line on decolonization. It is pretty close to your comments, in fact.

In the book's final chapter (to which I will turn in late April), the action is largely centered around the subject of the article I wrote for the Tablet on the Oct. 1997 procession to Ramelau. What I would like to do is say something about each of the indigenous groups assembled, even if only briefly, to illustrate the cultural richness of East Timor and to make sure the indigenous peoples receive their due, at least without the space constraints I have. To me, past works have been too narrow and formulaic in this regard, with the kind of fallacies you have described. Would you be able to provide any brief information -- for example, on the kind of traditional stereotypes (or any other interesting vignettes) you provided on the Makassae and Waima'a?

In addition, any information or printed accounts om Mount Ramelau itself would be greatly appreciated.

Finally, you were with Bishop Brennan, I believe. Was there another bishop as well? How should the mission be described?

With many, many thanks.



Arnold S. Kohen

XXXXXXXXXX

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9 April 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

Thank you for your jottings on Ramelau--Matabean. Do you think I am missing anything on Matabean in the chapter you read?

I would be very interested in including as much detailed information as possible on these two mountains, whether it be on physical or spiritual attributes -- especially in relation to the dead, particularly Ramelau. (The title that my publisher has given to my biography of Bishop Belo is "From the Place of the Dead.") If there any publications that can be sent, I would greatly appreciate it.

Do you have any further thoughts as to ways the bishop's Waima'a/ Makassae background may have influenced him? He is certainly more than the sum of his lusophile/churchly influences!

Looking at your publications, it is all the more criminal isn't properly funded.

I will do whatever I can to change this, most certainly with my book.

Best regards.



xxx

Date: Tue, 14 Apr 1998 09:16:59 +0200

To: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>

From: Gunnar Staalsett <gunnar.stalsett@teologi.uio.no>

Subject: Re: May 24, and other news

Dear Arnold,

... Thanks for your enquiry on Belo's visit. I am thrilled [EXTREMELY HAPPY] to know that he will try to make it for the consecration on May 24th. The surrounding program is still somewhat open, but it seems that the thrust of it will be on Monday the 25th. It would however be good if he could arrive in the afternoon of the 23, so that the Saturday evening will be open for encounters. He should leave on Tuesday at noon in the earliest, so taht he could be available for [other] visits.

Yours sincerely

Gunnar

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA



Church
World Service
and Witness
Unit

Southern Asia
Office

April 7, 1998

Memorandum

To: Members of the East Timor Working Group

From: Becky Asedillo

Re: Legislative Update

I would like to call your attention to three items:

1. A copy of H. Con. Res. 258, a Concurrent Resolution in the House "encouraging international resolution of the political status of East Timor." This was submitted by Representatives Lowey, Porter, Lantos and Chris Smith. While a "concurrent resolution" is not legally binding, if passed by both houses, it could send a strong signal to the Administration.
2. A copy of the Senate proceedings regarding the bailout package to the IMF, and Senator Wellstone's amendment.
3. A letter from Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) about a bill she will be presenting called "The International Military Training Accountability Act" to oppose further U.S. military training of the Indonesian military.

We need to decide on a focus for our legislative work. What do we see as the most critical issue for us to work on?

Please give your feedback to any member of the Advocacy Committee before their Conference Call on April 15 or send a message to: Tintim@elcasco.elca.org. The members are:

Dennis Frado -- lwfny@undp.org
Ken Butigan -- beatitude@compuserve.com
Arnold Kohen -- askohen@igc.apc.org
Carol Capps -- cwslwr@igc.apc.org
Becky Asedillo -- asedi@aol.com
John Chamberlin -- easttim@jps.net
Miriam Young -- miriam@apcjp.org

Thank you.

105TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 258

Encouraging international resolution of the political status of East Timor.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 1, 1998

Mrs. LOWEY (for herself, Mr. PORTER, Mr. LANTOS, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Encouraging international resolution of the political status
of East Timor.

Whereas the Indonesian financial collapse and political crisis have revealed that Indonesian corruption and violent repression are a serious threat to the stability of the international economy;

Whereas many nations and a wide range of international and non-government organizations have called on President Suharto to move forward with democratization in Indonesia and self-determination in East Timor;

Whereas Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and has for the past 22 years illegally occupied and systematically oppressed the people of East Timor;

Whereas the Indonesian occupation has claimed the lives of over 200,000 East Timorese, a third of the population, since 1975, through military bombardment, torture and killings, and starvation;

Whereas Indonesia's invasion has been condemned in 8 United Nations General Assembly and 2 United Nations Security Council resolutions;

Whereas on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops opened fire on thousands of peaceful mourners and demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing hundreds and wounding hundreds more;

Whereas Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta were awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize for their courageous contribution to the East Timorese struggle for human rights and self-determination;

Whereas both Nobel laureates have called for a United Nations-supervised referendum in East Timor;

Whereas the National Council of Maubere Resistance has offered a peace plan composed of gradual steps, including a withdrawal of Indonesian troops, the release of Timorese political prisoners, an end to torture, a period of limited autonomy, and a United Nations-supervised referendum;

Whereas the United States co-sponsored a 1997 United Nations Human Rights Commission Resolution calling for Indonesia to comply with the directives of existing United Nations resolutions regarding East Timor;

Whereas Indonesian human rights abuses continue in East Timor, including arbitrary arrests, torture, extra-judicial

executions and disappearances, and general political repression;

Whereas Bishop Belo has stated that conditions in East Timor have worsened since the awarding of the Nobel Prize over one year ago;

Whereas United Nations-sponsored tripartite negotiations between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal have offered renewed hope for a just, comprehensive, and internationally acceptable settlement on the political status of East Timor but have made little progress toward that end; and

Whereas the ongoing all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue is limited to nonpolitical topics and there has been no direct Timorese participation in the United Nations-sponsored tripartite talks: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That the United States should—*

3 (1) support an internationally supervised refer-
4 endum to determine the political status of East
5 Timor;

6 (2) recognize the need for direct Timorese par-
7 ticipation in the United Nations-sponsored tripartite
8 talks; and

9 (3) work actively, through the United Nations
10 and with its allies, to realize the directives of exist-
11 ing United Nations resolutions on East Timor.

○

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SECTION 1. PROHIBITION.

Notwithstanding section 11(d)(7)(B)(vii) of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (25 U.S.C. 2710(d)(7)(B)(vii)), the Secretary of the Interior shall not—

(1) promulgate as final regulations, the proposed regulations published on January 22, 1998, at 63 Fed. Reg. 3289; or

(2) issue a notice of proposed rulemaking for, or promulgate, any similar regulations to provide for procedures for gaming activities under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (25 U.S.C. 2701 et seq.), in any case in which a State asserts a defense of sovereign immunity to a lawsuit brought by an Indian tribe in a Federal court under section 11(d)(7) of that Act (25 U.S.C. 2710(d)(7)) to compel the State to participate in compact negotiations for class III gaming (as that term is defined in section 4(8) of that Act (25 U.S.C. 2703(8))).

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent this amendment be considered immediately after the amendment presented by the Senator from Minnesota, for which there is a time agreement already.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 212, AS MODIFIED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Minnesota is recognized for up to 30 minutes.

The amendment (No. 2128, as modified) is as follows:

At the appropriate place, add the following:

SEC. . ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON IMF POLICY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall establish an International Monetary Fund Advisory Committee (in this section referred to as "Advisory Committee").

(b) MEMBERSHIP.—The Advisory Committee shall consist of 8 members appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, after appropriate consultations with the relevant organizations, as follows:

(1) at least 2 members shall be representatives from organized labor.

(2) at least 2 members shall be representatives from nongovernmental environmental organizations.

(3) at least 2 members shall be representatives from nongovernmental human rights or social justice organizations.

(c) DUTIES.—Not less frequently than every six months, the Advisory Committee shall meet with the Secretary of the Treasury to review and provide advice on the extent to which individual IMF country programs meet requisite policy goals, particularly those set forth as follows:

(1) in this Act;

(2) in Article I (2) of the Fund's Articles of Agreements, to promote and maintain high levels of employment and real income and the development of the productive resources of all members;

(3) in Section 1621 of P.L. 103-306, the Frank/Sanders amendment on encouragement of fair labor practices;

(4) in Section 1620 of P.L. 95-118, as amended, on respect for, and full protection of, the territorial rights, traditional economies, cul-

tural integrity, traditional knowledge, and human rights of indigenous peoples;

(5) in Section 1502 of P.L. 95-118, as amended, on military spending by recipient countries and military involvement in the economies of recipient countries;

(6) in Section 701 of P.L. 95-118, on assistance to countries that engage in a pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights; and

(7) in Section 1307 of P.L. 95-118, on assessments of the environmental impact and alternatives to proposed actions by the International Monetary Fund which would have a significant effect on the human environment.

(d) INAPPLICABILITY OF TERMINATION PROVISION OF THE FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ACT.—Section 14(a)(2) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act shall not apply to the Advisory Committee.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I will try not to take 30 minutes. Since the manager of the bill supports this amendment, if we want to do it on voice vote, if that will be better for colleagues, I will be pleased to do it that way as well.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I welcome that opportunity. I want to say Senators ought to be on notice we will get to the Encl amendment sooner, and I thank the Senator.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, this amendment says that the Treasury Secretary shall appoint an advisory committee, composed of eight members, at least two of whom are from organized labor, two from nongovernment environmental groups, and two from nongovernmental human rights or social justice organizations. This is an advisory group on IMF policy, which the Senator in the Chair right now has worked very hard on. I know that.

This advisory group would meet at least twice a year to advise the Treasury Secretary on IMF's compliance with existing statutory requirements relating to IMF promotion in a variety of different areas: High levels of income and employment in other countries, fair labor practices, indigenous people's rights, reductions in military spending, respect for human rights, and sensitivity to the environmental impact of IMF policies.

The advisory committee shall meet with the Treasury Secretary at least every 6 months to review and provide advice on IMF compliance with these mandates.

There is no legislative mandate. All the Treasury Secretary has to do is meet twice per year with the committee to hear their views on IMF compliance with existing mandates.

Let me explain to my colleagues why I bring this amendment to the floor. We spent, yesterday, altogether 30 minutes in debate on IMF. We are talking about, roughly speaking, \$17 billion to go to IMF. We are talking about countries in Asia—I have heard my colleague from Alaska say this very forcefully—that are really right now in economic trouble. We are talking about a lot of economic pain. I agree—I am an internationalist—what happens in

these countries will dramatically affect people in our country as well. There is no question about it.

But I want to suggest to colleagues that the question is whether or not the IMF, as I look at the record of the IMF, has been helpful or not helpful in helping these economies and helping the people in these countries. What happens in some of the Asian countries will dramatically affect the lives of people in our country in a number of different ways. Either people in countries like Thailand or Indonesia will not be able to work at decent jobs, will make subminimum poverty wages—in which case, they will not be able to have the money to purchase goods—or, because of IMF policies, which has too often been the case, they will be forced to currency devaluation and they will try to work themselves out of trouble through cheap exports to our country. Either way, working families in Nebraska and Minnesota and Alaska and around our country are hurt if we do not put some focus in the IMF.

I am about to go through existing laws and statutes that the IMF is supposed to live up to, and I am just going to talk about a whole history of non-compliance. We have not had this discussion on the floor of the Senate. We should. I mean, if in fact what happens in these Asian countries is that we have the IMF pouring fuel on the fire, if you have an International Monetary Fund that imposes austerity measures on these countries, depresses wage levels, has no respect for international labor standards, shows no respect for human rights—people cannot even organize to make a decent living, people cannot even organize in these countries like Indonesia in order to make sure that they are paid decent wages—then what is going to happen is, you have countries with a populous where the vast majority of the people cannot buy what we produce in our country. This is like economics lesson No. 1. Or—and this has happened all too often because of IMF prescriptions—what happens is, these countries try to export themselves out of trouble: Currency devaluation, cheap exports to our country, and our workers and our families cannot compete.

Let me just go through some existing laws right now that are supposed to govern the International Monetary Fund. By the way, they are in non-compliance. The problem is, the administration has not spent much time really insisting on accountability. The problem is, we have turned our gaze away from this. I wish our country would be stronger in supporting international labor standards, stronger in supporting environmental standards, stronger in supporting basic human rights for people. But we have not done that.

The Secretary of Treasury shall direct the United States executive directors of the international financial institutions to use the voice and vote of the United States to urge the respective institution [this covers

the IMF) to adopt policies to encourage borrowing countries to guarantee internationally recognized worker rights and to include the status of such rights as an integral part of the institution's policy dialog with each borrowing country.

I suggest to colleagues, even though we have not discussed this on the floor of the Senate, that the IMF has ignored this law and that the International Monetary Fund pays precious little attention to whether or not these countries that we bail out live up to internationally recognized labor rights.

Mr. President, to go on:

Beginning 2 years after the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States executive director of each multinational development bank not to vote in favor of any action proposed to be taken by the respective bank which would have a significant effect on the human or environmental assessment for at least 120 days before the date of the vote until an assessment analyzing the environmental impacts of the proposed action and alternatives to the proposed action has been completed by the borrowing country or institution.

Again, another law that the IMF is supposed to live up to, another relevant statute that there ought to be an environmental impact statement. We ought to look at what these countries are doing; we ought to look at where the money is going. These countries—or many of these countries—are in non-compliance, and the IMF just turns its gaze away from this, as does the United States, our Government. This is not in the name of our people, because I think people in our country support human rights, support respect for the environment.

Human rights title:

The U.S. Government in connection with its voice and vote in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, the International Finance Corporation, the InterAmerican Development Bank, the African Development Bank [so on and so forth] the International Monetary Fund, shall advance the cause of human rights including by seeking to channel assistance toward countries other than those whose governments engage in a pattern [and I am quoting] of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights such as torture or cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged detention without charges, or other flagrant denial to life, liberty and the security of person.

Mr. President, in this connection, let me point out that a labor leader in Indonesia, Mochtar Pakpahan—we are about to provide the IMF, and the IMF is about to provide, based upon, in part, the U.S. contribution, Indonesia with bailout money—and this man, this labor leader, I say to my colleagues, is in prison. Why is he in prison? He is in prison for organizing workers in support of a higher minimum wage, people who work for wages that don't enable them or their families even to be able to have enough food to eat. And this man's crime, this labor leader's crime in Indonesia is that he has organized workers to get better wages.

I just read the statute that applies to IMF policy. The way I read this—maybe I will read it again—is that the "International Monetary Fund shall advance the cause of human rights, including by seeking to channel assistance toward countries other than those whose governments engage in gross violations of humans rights of citizens."

What do we think is happening in Indonesia? Does any Senator on the floor of the Senate want to defend the Government of Indonesia for imprisoning a labor leader?

Mr. President, I will suggest—and I will go on and read other laws that apply to the IMF—that what is wrong with this IMF provision, the amendment that we are going to vote on eventually, is that nowhere in here do we have any conditions dealing with labor, human rights standards, nowhere in here do we have any conditions dealing with environmental standards, nowhere in here do we have any discussion about the importance of promoting employment and higher wage levels for the citizens of these countries.

So, it is a flawed institution. I am all for making sure these countries do better, but I don't think the IMF is going to help these countries do better. In fact, I think what the IMF does over and over again is make matters worse. I look at the record in some of these countries, and I see no evidence whatsoever that IMF policies have led to an improvement in the living standards of people in these countries. For the bankers, yes; for the investors, yes; and for some of these governments which are all too often corrupt, yes, but not for the people.

We have an IMF agreement. I know that the Chair has worked hard on this. I know that the Senator from Alaska has been involved in this. And that is why I come out with an amendment that is very reasonable, because all this amendment says is, look, we have these existing statutes, it is already law, this is what the IMF is supposed to live up to, but we have a clear record of flagrant noncompliance.

At the very minimum, let's make sure the Secretary of the Treasury meets with an advisory committee made up of some non-Government people dealing with human rights, dealing with labor, dealing with the environment at least twice a year so that we can put this on the radar screen.

I know colleagues feel strongly that we must do something. I hope it works out. But I have to say that on the basis of the record of the IMF, I see no evidence whatsoever that the IMF's economic policies are going to help the Asian countries or help the people in the Asian countries. Instead, what I think is going to happen, since we have not had any clear provisions with real teeth in this legislation—and the best I can do today is to get a strong vote on this advisory committee, and I am intending to send a message to the administration.

Secretary of the Treasury Rubin is a fine Secretary. He is skillful, he has been gracious, and I think he is committed to doing better. It isn't even personal, because I think he believes that we have to do better. But in all due respect, we at the very minimum ought to begin to put these questions on the table. We ought to put these issues on the table. In all due respect, I say to my colleagues, I am just telling you this is a flawed institution.

We are about to invest a lot of money in the International Monetary Fund, which has a record of imposing economic policies on countries which depress the living standards of most of the people in those countries. That is the record. As a result, those people don't have the economic power, the dollars to consume products that we make in our country; as a result, quite often these countries barrel down the path of exporting cheap products to our country, and, again, working families in the United States of America pay the price.

It is a lose-lose situation. The people in Indonesia are not going to win, the people in Thailand are not going to win, and the people in the United States are not going to win.

Let me go on and read a few other provisions. Talking about the International Monetary Fund, one of the goals must be to "facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high-level employment and real income and to the development of productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy."

I have to say to colleagues, I cannot believe that this is a statute that applies to the IMF, because that is not what the International Monetary Fund has been about. I do not know how anybody here can make the case that the IMF's economic prescriptions for these countries have been about promoting "high levels of employment and real income and the development of productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy." That is almost laughable. That is not what the IMF has done.

I think what we have done is we have forfeited a historic opportunity to strengthen the position of working people in these other countries, to support the human rights of citizens in these other countries, to take a look at Thailand and Indonesia, who are among the worst offenders in Asia denying worker rights, among the worst offenders in Asia in violating the human rights of their citizens, and, basically, what we have on the Senate floor is silence on these questions.

Why don't we have any connection to what are, I think, the most important factors in determining whether or not the people in these countries are going to do well and the majority of the people in our own country are going to do well?

As I look at these provisions—and I will go back and I will summarize this amendment—this amendment essentially instructs the Treasury Secretary to appoint an advisory committee composed of eight members, at least two of which will be from organized labor, two from nongovernmental environmental groups and two from nongovernmental human rights or social justice organizations. This advisory committee will meet with the Secretary of the Treasury twice a year, and they will talk about IMF policy, whether or not the IMF is in compliance or not with existing statutory requirements relating to IMF promotion of high levels of income, employment, fair labor practices, indigenous people's rights, reductions in military spending, respect for human rights and sensitivity to the environmental impact of IMF policies.

The advisory committee shall meet with the Treasury Secretary at least every 6 months to review and to provide advice on IMF compliance with these mandates.

I will say one more time, by way of conclusion, the IMF is not in compliance with these mandates, not in compliance with the existing laws that apply to IMF, not in compliance on internationally recognized labor rights, not in compliance of respect for indigenous people, not in compliance in human rights, not in compliance with sensitivity to environmental concerns. We have a golden opportunity, and we are missing it. That is why I am not going to vote for this amendment that deals with International Monetary Fund assistance to these countries to make things much better.

I believe that what we are about to do, the amendment we are going to adopt on the International Monetary Fund, will, in fact, not help those countries in Asia, not help the peoples of those countries that are struggling, and will end up hurting not only people in countries like Indonesia, but also will hurt families in our country as well.

Why in the world don't we have more to say about a brutal dictatorship in Indonesia? Why don't we have more to say about the ways in which this dictator crushes people in his own country? Why don't we have more to say about the depressing of living standards of people in Indonesia? Why don't we have more to say about all the ways in which those people, not having decent jobs and decent wages, cannot buy what our working people produce? Why don't we have more to say about the way in which the IMF comes in, balls out the bankers, balls out the investors, insists on currency devaluation, insists on austerity and, therefore, forces those countries into currency devaluation and to exporting cheap products into our country, thereby hurting, again, working families in the United States of America? Not a word about that.

I think the Senate is in serious error for not focusing like a laser beam on

these concerns. But I will thank my colleagues for at least supporting this amendment, which I will fight very hard to keep in conference committee, because I really do believe that if we can have this advisory committee which will meet with the Secretary of the Treasury twice a year and which will raise these issues twice a year and which will discuss with the Secretary and analyze with the Secretary whether or not the IMF is in compliance with all of the statutory requirements relating to environmental protection, relating to human rights, relating to international labor standards, I think this will at least be a step forward.

I am, on the one hand, just saying to colleagues that I think the provisions we have out here in relation to the IMF, the investment we make in the International Monetary Fund is mistaken. I think we miss a tremendous opportunity to exert leadership, the United States of America exerting leadership in behalf of working people in other countries, in behalf of human rights, in behalf of the environment. We are not doing that. But at the very least, I hope my colleagues will support this amendment.

I said to my colleague from Alaska that if the Senate is, in its wisdom, going to support this amendment, then I am pleased to have a vote right now.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I see the Senator from Minnesota has finished his comments on his amendment. I have had no request for time. So if the Senator is prepared to vote, I am prepared to yield back the time allocated to our side. I so yield back the time.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I am prepared to vote.

Mr. STEVENS. The Senator said we will have a voice vote on this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the Wellstone amendment No. 2128, as modified.

The amendment (No. 2128), as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the next order of business will be the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming. I ask unanimous consent that that be the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct, the pending business is the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. STEVENS. Is it possible, Mr. President—I know the Senator from Wyoming is for the amendment and I understand the Senator from Hawaii is

opposed to the amendment. Can we have a time agreement on the amendment?

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, 40 minutes on a side; 80 minutes equally divided will be agreeable. We were just talking about reducing that by 10 minutes a few moments ago, but I have not had a chance to check with the other side.

Mr. STEVENS. Seventy minutes equally divided. I say to the Senator, that is agreeable, but we have a time already set for the vote on the Helms amendment. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. If we enter into a time agreement, what happens to the vote at 6:30?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We would suspend consideration on the Enzi amendment until we have the vote on the Helms amendment, and after that, we would resume debate on the Enzi amendment.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we enter into such an agreement, 70 minutes equally divided on this amendment and no second-degree amendments be in order to this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Wyoming.

AMENDMENT NO. 213

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 2133.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the pending question.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Andrew Emrich and Katherine McGuire be granted the privilege of the floor during the course of the debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I rise to offer an amendment with my colleagues, the distinguished Senators from Nevada, Senator BRYAN and Senator REID, and the Senator from Alabama, Senator SESSIONS.

This bipartisan amendment touches an issue that is very important to me, and that is the issue of States rights. This amendment is very simple and straightforward. It would prohibit the Secretary of the Interior from finalizing the proposed rules published on January 22 of this year. It would also prohibit the Secretary from proposing or promulgating any similar regulations. In effect, this amendment would prohibit the Secretary of the Interior from bypassing the States in the process of approving class III Indian casino gambling.

Mr. President, I must admit that I am disappointed this amendment is necessary at all. Last year, I offered an amendment, along with a number of my colleagues, on the Interior appropriations bill. We debated that on the floor. That prohibited the Secretary of the Interior from approving any new tribal-State gambling compacts which had not first been approved by the State in accordance with existing law.

Although that amendment provided only a 1-year moratorium, the intent of

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEES:
LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES,
AND EDUCATION
FOREIGN OPERATIONS,
EXPORT FINANCING AND
RELATED PROGRAMS
VICE CHAIR, DEMOCRATIC
POLICY COMMITTEE



Nita M. Lowey
Congress of the United States
18th District, New York

March 25, 1998

**INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRAINING SHOULD BE
CONSISTENT WITH CONGRESSIONAL INTENT**

Dear Colleague:

As you may have seen in recent news reports, the Department of Defense has been sidestepping congressional intent by providing military training to Indonesia and other nations.

Congress has imposed restrictions on several countries, including Indonesia, prohibiting them from participating in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. These restrictions were passed to eliminate United States support for the militaries of these targeted nations. Many of these targeted militaries have amassed long and atrocious human rights records. The United States should not be in the business of training armies that have been implicated in cases of torture, murder, and disappearances.

It has come to light recently that despite these restrictions, the Department of Defense has been providing military training through other channels to these same countries, including Indonesia. That is why I am introducing the International Military Training Accountability Act. My legislation says very simply that if Congress prohibits a nation from participating in the IMET program, the Department of Defense must stop all military training to that country. This makes the Department of Defense's military training program consistent with congressional intent, and eliminates any room for misinterpretation.

I commend your attention to the attached New York Times editorial on this matter. If you have any questions, or would like to be an original cosponsor of the International Military Training Accountability Act, please call Matthew Traub in my office at x56506.

Sincerely,

Nita M. Lowey
Member of Congress

DISTRICT OFFICES
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SUITE 310
WHITE PLAINS, NY 10606
(914) 425-1707
FAX (914) 328-1504

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Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

25 January 1998

Canon Anthony Harvey
Westminster Abbey

Dear Canon Harvey,

Thank you for your phone message. I spoke with Bishop Belo and he asked me to obtain two things:

1. A program for the July event(s), and any additional printed information you may have.
2. Any further specifics on what you would like his contribution to be.

As I believe I indicated in our previous telephone conversation, I am quite enthusiastic about this invitation to the bishop and am doing everything possible to encourage him to attend. Because of all the various demands on his time it has been difficult to obtain commitments terribly far in advance, but I hope to know something by the middle of next month.

Thank you for your continued patience.

Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

P. O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

January 28, 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

I just wanted to let you know that I am trying to locate a close academic friend of mine who might have some funding contacts for your work. Unfortunately, this person is travelling, so I must wait for a couple of weeks.

We need to go to someone like this, I think, because he may be able to get to an appropriate level at a foundation.

I will be seeing Bishop Belo in Madrid next week, and will return by mid-February.

With best regards,

Arnie
—

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

April 20, 1998

For Bispo Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo

Senhor Bispo,

Today is my 48th birthday.

Less Katuas than Amo bispo!!

With best
regards,

x TK.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

P. O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

19 January 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey (may I?),

I have been away and only recently returned.

I have not yet succeeded in getting the right contact for the Ford Foundation, but am still trying. As you know, I really am quite enthusiastic about your work.

I had tried another foundation, without success, because they said they can't fund "expatriate programs." Any chance of your doing something through or in conjunction with the University of East Timor or an Indonesian universty?

Since you kindly offered to provide "any linguistic, ethnological or historical information of Timor," I am very keen to get as much information as possible on the Uimor people (from hills of Baucau, Vemasse, Venilale) of Bishop Belo's mother's side. Do you know anything about them in any of these categories?

Best regards.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Annie". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

P. O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

20 January 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

2 Pages

Dear Geoffrey,

It was very good of you to send information on the Waima'a. Are there any written references on them, or, for that matter, the Makassae -- aside from what Sheperd Forman has done?

Where do these traditional stereotypes come from? Do you know anything about the initial or early contacts between these groups and the Portuguese, and any interesting anecdotes about them? Any traditional Waima'a legends? How have these two groups gotten along? Do you believe the Waima'a may have aligned themselves with the Portuguese as protection against their Makassae neighbors?

I will proceed in trying to find some contacts at the Ford Foundation, and will also make other inquiries. Unfortunately, this is not something for Bishop Moore personally, but he may have a contact somewhere, and I will check.

With the wealth of knowledge you have, I think it is criminal that your work isn't properly funded. This, on top of everything else East Timor has endured.

I will make what inquiries I can, and hope something can be located in time.

Best regards.

Arnold

PS: I am not aware of any easy way to locate someone from the Jewish community here, but that may only be because anyone I want to know I already know!

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

January 22, 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

Thank you for your letter and, no, your comment on Tatamailau is neither trifling nor pedantic.

I will certainly do anything I can to spread the word about your work, and only hope that something materializes soon.

Two more brief questions: do you know how to say, "hello, how are you?" and goodbye or other types of salutations in the Waima'a language?

Second, do you think David Hicks would be a good person to speak with about the Waima'a?

I will be in touch soon.

Again, many thanks for your efforts.



Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

April 21, 1998

Bispo Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
Pontificio Collegio Portoghese

Senhor Bispo,

Yes, despite all my best efforts, I am already
Katuas Boat!

Our friend the Rector of Theology will be very
happy, delighted I am sure, to hear the news that you will be able
to be in Oslo on those dates.

I will accompany you to Oslo and then on the 26th
to Amsterdam.

One question: regarding your ticket, Lisbon-Oslo-
Amsterdam. Because you are already travelling a very long distance
the extra parts to Oslo, etc, normally would be very inexpensive if
they are added to your original ticket, otherwise they are very
expensive separately. Anyway, we will find a solution. It is like
Senhor Bispo said in one of his philosophical meditations!
What is the best way for arrangements to be made? By Mauricio?
Maybe the reservation can be made now and the ticket changed when
you are in Lisbon. I also need to know the precise times of day and
flights to take from Lisbon-Oslo and Oslo-Amsterdam on the 26th,
because I must make my bookings as well.

About accommodations. What is your preference?
With Catholic bishop of Oslo or hotel or guest house?

Very best GREETINGS,

Your friend,

Bp. Tk.

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

24 February 1998

Monsignor Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
c/o UPS

Dear Senhor Bispo,

I received your message. I tried to phone 2 more times but you were out, and then it was too late. I will try again tomorrow.

There is another private number you can use here, for you only -- 301 585 3426.

Rua di Nokarau?

Obrigado,

TK

Subj: Congress Opposes Military Training for Indonesia
Date: 98-03-25 20:49:40 EST
From: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
Sender: owner-east-timor@igc.org
Reply-to: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
To: act.indonesia@conf.igc.apc.org, east-timor@igc.org

"Dear Colleague" Letters

For Immediate Release
March 25, 1998

Contact: Lynn Fredriksson
(202)544-6911

The East Timor Action Network today released the text of two congressional letters expressing disapproval of ongoing training of the Indonesian military.

"The two letters represent part of the growing public and congressional opposition to the training of an Indonesian military that abuses human rights in Indonesia and East Timor," said Lynn Fredriksson, Washington Representative of the East Timor Action Network.

In their "Dear Colleague" letters, Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Rep. Lane Evans (D-IL) expressed their opposition at the continued training of the Indonesian military saying it violated the spirit of the 1992 cut-off of IMET military training aid following the massacre of over 270 people in Dili, East Timor.

Training has continued under the Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) program. Rep. Lowey says she intends to introduce legislation shortly to close the loophole that permits Indonesian participation in JCET. Her "International Military Education and Training Act" will make it law that if Congress bans a country's participation in IMET, the Department of Defense must stop all military training to that country.

"This makes the Department of Defense's military training program consistent with Congressional intent, and eliminates any room for misinterpretation," Lowey said in her letter.

Indonesian participation in JCET was revealed in a letter from the Department of Defense to Rep. Evans. The letter and other research released by ETAN and members of Congress last week shows that the U.S. has been training Indonesia's armed forces (including the notorious Kopassus special forces) in combat procedures, including sniper training, urban warfare, explosives, and other tactics used to suppress civilian dissent in Indonesia and East Timor. At least 36 such training courses took place between 1992 and 1997, in clear violation of the intent of the U.S. Congress.

On Monday, the New York Times editorialized that the "case for an end to the riot troop training is now especially strong because it seems likely that the troops will be used to crush legitimate democratic protests." It accused the Pentagon of "cynically sidestepp[ing] Congressional objections" to training. "In Indonesia, the riot-suppression trainees can be expected to absorb American instruction in subjects like advanced sniper techniques and special air operations and ignore any accompanying civics lessons," the Times added.

Subject: CONG: Lowey 'Dear Colleague' letter
Date: 98-03-26 12:42:57 EST
From: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
Sender: owner-east-timor@igc.org
Reply-to: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
To: act.indonesia@conf.igc.apc.org, east-timor@igc.org

Nita M. Lowey
Congress of the United States

March 25, 1998

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRAINING SHOULD BE
CONSISTENT WITH
CONGRESSIONAL INTENT

Dear Colleague;

As you may have seen in recent news reports, the Department of Defense has been sidestepping congressional intent by providing military training to Indonesia and other nations.

Congress has imposed restrictions on several countries including Indonesia, prohibiting them from participating in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. These restrictions were passed to eliminate United States support for the militaries of these targeted nations. Many of these targeted militaries have amassed long and atrocious human rights records. The United States should not be in the business of training armies that have been implicated in cases of torture, murder, and disappearances.

It has come to light recently that despite these restrictions, the Department of Defense has been providing military training through other channels to these same countries, including Indonesia. That is why I am introducing the International Military Training Accountability Act. My legislation says very simply that if Congress prohibits a nation from participating in the IMET program, the Department of Defense must stop all military training to that country. This makes the Department of Defense's military training program consistent with congressional intent, and eliminates any room for misinterpretation.

I commend your attention to the attached New York Times editorial on this matter. If you have any questions, or would like to be an original cosponsor of the International Military Training Accountability Act, please call Matthew Traub in my office at x56506.

Sincerely,

Nita M
Lowey
Member of Congress

The New York Times
Monday, March 23, 1998

Editorial: Military Mischief in Indonesia

American military training for Indonesia's notoriously brutal anti-riot troops is a dangerous idea that was expressly prohibited by Congress on human rights grounds years ago. But such training has been going on,

quietly, since 1992. The Pentagon cynically sidestepped Congressional objections by moving the Indonesian training from the military education program, where it was prohibited, to a different bureaucratic pocket.

The case for an end to the riot troop training is now especially strong because it seems likely that the troops will be used to crush legitimate democratic protests. President Suharto's erratic response to the severe economic crisis and his stage-managed re-election have sent demonstrators into the streets and his Government's legitimacy to a new low.

Regrettably, the Defense Department persists in believing that all military training programs are of great benefit to the United States. Pentagon officials argue that such training forges valuable friendships with future foreign military leaders and teaches trainees greater respect for civilian authority and for human rights.

Such benefits may realistically be expected in countries where top military and political leaders are committed to professionalizing the armed forces. But the record of American training efforts in repressive military cultures like Indonesia's is bleak. Unambiguous success stories are rare, while some military graduates of American training programs, like Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega in Panama, have gone on to lead ugly, anti-American dictatorships. In Indonesia, the riot-suppression trainees can be expected to absorb American instruction in subjects like advanced sniper techniques and special air operations and ignore any accompanying civics lessons.

Washington faces difficult enough challenges as the Indonesian crisis unfolds. It should not be complicating its agenda by tying the reputation of the United States to anti-riot troops whose history is marked by gratuitous violence and whose future behavior Washington is powerless to control.

END

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John M. Miller Internet: etan-outreach@igc.apc.org
Media & Outreach Coordinator, East Timor Action Network
PO Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215-0014 USA; Phone: (718)596-7668

NOTE NEW PHONE NUMBER

Send a blank e-mail message to timor-info@igc.apc.org to find out how to learn more about East Timor on the Internet

etanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetan

----- Headers -----

Return-Path: <owner-east-timor@igc.org>

Received: from relay29.mx.aol.com (relay29.mail.aol.com [172.31.109.29]) by air17.mail.aol.com (v40.16) with SMTP; Thu, 26 Mar 1998 12:42:56 -0500

Received: from igcb.igc.org (igcb.igc.apc.org [192.82.108.46])
by relay29.mx.aol.com (8.8.5/8.8.5/AOL-4.0.0)
with ESMTP id MAA28717;
Thu, 26 Mar 1998 12:42:53 -0500 (EST)

Received: from igc3.igc.apc.org (igc3.igc.org [192.82.108.33])
by igcb.igc.org (8.8.8/8.8.8) with ESMTP id IAA01214;
Thu, 26 Mar 1998 08:49:51 -0800 (PST)

Subj: CPNG: Evans "Dear Colleague" letter
Date: 98-03-26 12:33:40 EST
From: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
Sender: owner-east-timor@igc.org
Reply-to: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
To: act.indonesia@conf.igc.apc.org, east-timor@igc.org

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

March 25, 1998

Dear Colleague,

Last fall, I wrote Secretary of Defense William Cohen requesting detailed information on the training of members of the Kopassus, the special forces division of the Indonesian military. The Kopassus is infamous for its role as ruthless "enforcer" of the 22 year Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

The Indonesian Military had been trained for years by U.S. armed forces under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. In 1992, Congress banned U.S. taxpayer funded IMET training to Indonesia in the wake of the brutal massacre of over 270 peaceful demonstrators in an East Timor cemetery. This ban was enacted in an attempt to put an end to the egregious human rights abuses that President Suharto's regime has committed against its own people and the people of East Timor.

Last month, I received a response from the Pentagon describing how the United States' continued training of the Indonesian military under another program - the Joint Combined Exchange Training program (JCET). While the JCET program is technically legal, I am deeply disturbed that the U.S. continues to provide any military training to the notoriously brutal and repressive Indonesian military.

Shockingly enough, Secretary Cohen has recently expressed a desire to seek the full restoration of IMET assistance to Indonesia.

I commend to your attention this recent New York Times editorial sharing my view and giving national attention to the need to ban all remaining U.S. military training to Indonesia.

Sincerely,

Lane Evans
Member of Congress

[The New York Times' editorial of Monday, March 23, 1998, "Military Mischief in Indonesia," is reproduced on the letter.]
END

etanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetan

John M. Miller Internet: etan-outreach@igc.apc.org
Media & Outreach Coordinator, East Timor Action Network
PO Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215-0014 USA; Phone: (718)596-7668

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etanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetanetan

Subj: CONG: State Dept Testimony on Indonesia
Date: 98-03-27 18:09:26 EST
From: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
Sender: owner-east-timor@igc.org
Reply-to: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
To: act.indonesia@conf.igc.apc.org, east-timor@igc.org

Prepared Testimony Of
Aurelia E. Brazeal, Deputy Assistant Secretary
East Asian And Pacific Affairs
Before The Senate Foreign Relations Committee

March 24, 1998

U.S. POLICY ON INDONESIA

Thank you Mr. Chairman, for inviting me here today to discuss Indonesia. Developments over the past year have taken most observers by surprise. Last spring, investors and corporations world wide had great confidence in Indonesia. They looked at the country's consistent record of growth, its growing middle class, and saw unlimited potential.

But the context in which we discuss Indonesia today is vastly changed. The economy is at a standstill, factories closed and employees idled. There are almost daily protests criticizing the government's handling of the crisis. Today, Indonesia faces a crisis of confidence, a crisis which will take determination and commitment by the government of Indonesia to overcome. Early on in the financial crisis, when the Indonesian first came under pressure, Indonesia was generally applauded for its active response. In August, it permitted the rupiah to float before depleting its reserves. In September, it announced cut backs in fiscal spending. In October, it called on the IMF to discuss an assistance program.

But the period from November through February saw decreasing confidence that President Soeharto and Indonesia would abide by IMF commitments. Politically connected projects which had been postponed were allowed to proceed without explanation. Monetary targets were not met. The extent of the problems in Indonesia's banking sector became clearer, and Indonesia flirted with the idea of a currency board despite widely-held serious concerns. As the value of the rupiah continued to plummet, the debt problems of the private sector became more acute, exacerbating the sense of crisis.

The continuing downward turn of events in Indonesia stands in marked contrast to Korea or Thailand, where the markets perceive that governments are now committed to reform. Indonesia has not convinced the global markets that it is serious about changing the status quo. Lack of transparency in decision making, cronyism, government crackdowns on dissent, and human rights abuses by the security forces are well documented. With greater media scrutiny of Indonesia, more of the world has learned about these problems.

The political and social costs of the financial crisis have been high. Indonesia has seen gains of thirty years deteriorate seemingly overnight. Where Indonesia averaged seven percent growth for nearly two decades, analysts predict negative economic growth over the next year or two. Where inflation measured a manageable 5-10%, it could potentially reach triple digits this year. And where the value of the rupiah was 2500 to the dollar, it now hovers between 9,000-10,000. Per capita income has dropped, unemployment is rising rapidly, and basic necessities including food have become more expensive.

The economic and financial crisis has produced uncertainty about Indonesia's prospects for political stability. Demonstrations against the

adverse effects of the crisis have taken on a political dimension as well, with more frequent calls for the government to stem corruption and step down. Hundreds of these demonstrators have been arrested; a few opposition figures have disappeared. There has been an effort to find scapegoats, whether ethnic Chinese businessmen, currency speculators, or Western governments, to blame for Indonesia's problems. But Indonesia's press remains relatively free to express its views and criticism of the government is widespread. Indonesia's biggest looming challenge on the political front is maintaining stability and national cohesion at this time of political transition.

Why is Indonesia Important to the U.S.?

With Indonesia facing its worst economic and political crisis since the mid-sixties, one may ask just how U.S. interests are affected. Our strategic and economic interests are served by helping Indonesia restore financial stability and economic growth. Indonesia has the fourth largest population in the world. It has immense natural resources and a strategic location. Indonesia controls all or part of every major waterway between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The U.S. Pacific Command transits these "SLOC's" in order to support operations in the Gulf. More than half of all international shipping trade traverses these seaways.

Indonesia, and President Soeharto in particular, made ASEAN possible. ASEAN's formation was a result of Indonesia's adopting a more cooperative approach to its neighbors. Over the last thirty years, ASEAN has developed a pattern of cooperation so strong that it has altered the geopolitics of East Asia. The cohesion among ASEAN countries has added to the stability of the East Asian region by allowing smaller countries to band together to form a counterweight to larger regional powers. Though by far the largest member of ASEAN, Indonesia has been careful to ensure that ASEAN has remained an organization of equals. A blow to Indonesia would undermine the integrity of ASEAN as an institution. The Indonesian government has strengthened its regional and global influence in international fora over the past several decades. In the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, Indonesia has been a key supporter of a more open regional economy. It helped clinch the success of WTO financial services negotiations by submitting a strongly improved offer in a time of economic crisis. It has taken an active role in trying to resolve regional problems such as Cambodia. It joined the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). It has played a moderating role in multilateral organizations and offered support on important global issues, such as biodiversity, climate change, narcotics control and counterterrorism.

Thus, the stakes in helping Indonesia overcome its current crisis are quite high both in bilateral and regional terms.

U.S. Response to the Crisis

For all these reasons, we must respond, and we are responding. When fires flamed by drought raged out of control and caused severe environmental damage, we offered C-130's equipped with special aerial fire-fighting systems and shared satellite photos to help track the worst fires. When the IMF put together its financial support package, we committed \$3 billion as a second line of defense. In January and February, when the Indonesian rupiah continued to tumble and there was widespread speculation that the Indonesian economy might melt down, President Clinton spoke with President Soeharto several times to urge he stay the course and demonstrate vigorous, public commitment to the IMF package to which he had agreed. He sent two envoys to the region -- Deputy Secretary of Treasury Summers in January and former Vice President Mondale earlier this month -- to reinforce that same message.

Encouraging Indonesian adherence to the IMF economic adjustment program and helping stabilize the immediate economic crisis are our immediate foreign policy objectives for Indonesia. Those are not our only goals.

We continue to work toward

- furthering Indonesia's contribution to regional stability and security, promoting greater respect for democratization, and human and worker rights,
- encouraging a diplomatic resolution to the East Timor dispute,
- promoting the interests of U.S. companies operating in Indonesia,
- protecting Indonesia's globally important natural resources,
- strengthening defense cooperation aimed at greater military professionalism in the Indonesian armed forces.

These all remain priorities, and a substantial part of our bilateral dialogue with the Indonesian government.

Democratization and Human rights

What are we doing to support these goals? In the area of human rights and democracy, embassy officers have monitored trials of political dissidents and we have publicly underscored our support for the rights of free speech and free association. AID funds a number of Indonesian nongovernmental organizations, many of which promote democratic principles and better governance and take active roles in defending the human rights of individuals accused of wrong doing. We maintain an active dialogue with numerous NGOs pressing for change in Indonesia, and with opposition leaders working for a more responsive, pluralistic society. The embassy is in regular contact with all segments of public opinion, including the NGOs and opposition elements such as Megawati, Amien Rais, and Gus Dur. In a widely publicized step, Ambassador Roy attended a social event hosted by Megawati on the occasion of the Idul Fitri holiday (the only foreign ambassador to do so) and was quoted in the media, both Indonesian and abroad, as supporting efforts to promote democratization. On labor issues, we maintain ongoing discussions with Indonesian authorities to urge implementation of internationally accepted labor standards. The Indonesians have accepted our offer to consult on implementation of the new labor law passed in 1997. At the highest levels, we have called on the Indonesian government to allow imprisoned labor leader Muchtar Pakpahan to receive medical treatment abroad. Assistant Secretary of State Roth met with Pakpahan twice during the past six months.

We have urged the Government of Indonesia to reduce force levels, curb human rights abuses, and improve human rights conditions on East Timor. We continue our efforts to help bring about a resolution of the situation in East Timor and strongly support the UN-facilitated initiative, led by the Secretary General's Personal Representative Jamsheed Marker, between Indonesia and Portugal to reach a satisfactory settlement.

Over the years, we have been the largest international aid donor to East Timor. Our aid programs are designed to improve the lives of average Timorese, while helping them achieve more control over their own lives.

While many of our efforts involve quiet diplomacy, we also have not been reluctant to support public expressions of concern where appropriate. Last year we co-sponsored a resolution on East Timor at the United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva.

Humanitarian efforts

We recognize the impact the current crisis has had on the average Indonesian, and are taking steps to ease some of their hardships. In conjunction with the IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and other nations, the Administration will work to provide the Indonesian public access to critical food and medical supplies.

We are fortunate that AID has a program in place in Indonesia which provided us some flexibility to support social safety net activities, such as maternal and child health care, and urban infrastructure projects which

create job opportunities. AID has provided advisors to GOI to help in developing a bankruptcy law and implementing other IMF mandated reforms. This is in addition to ongoing AID activities that aim to strengthen human rights practices, democratization, and good governance, all of which are priorities in our bilateral relationship. Finally, we are examining the food situation with great care in view of the double impact of the E1 Nino drought and economic crisis. We intend to provide assistance as appropriate and continue to support international efforts to do so as well.

What next?

Following Soeharto's reappointment as President and the appointment of the new cabinet earlier this month, the new government must now act decisively to restore market confidence by undertaking needed economic reforms. An IMF team is currently in Indonesia to discuss with the government's new economic team how best to overcome the current crisis. The situation has deteriorated markedly since the most recent reform program was announced in January. These changed circumstances will most likely require some modification in the specifics of the program. In particular, the IMF and the Indonesians are focusing their discussions on five key areas which must be addressed if Indonesia is to overcome its crisis.

But Indonesia, not the international community, has the first responsibility to reverse its economic plight, a responsibility that President Soeharto acknowledged in his recent inaugural speech. Indonesia's vigorous and sustained commitment to IMF reforms offers the best prospect for restoring financial confidence. Until that confidence is restored, a foundation for renewed growth cannot be established. To date, Indonesia's response to the IMF package has been uneven. As a result market confidence remains weak.

We do not have the luxury of walking away from Indonesia. At the same time, we have to recognize that Indonesia's people and political leaders must shape their own future. We will continue our efforts, both bilaterally and working in conjunction with our international partners, to encourage Indonesia to undertake the economic and political reforms that the markets and the world community deem essential.

In conclusion, let me thank you, Mr. Chairman, for providing me the opportunity to speak to you and your colleagues on the Subcommittee on Indonesia. After 30 years of progress, Indonesia confronts hard choices. An economic turnaround will take time, as will the development of a more open political system. In the meantime, we should be prepared to be helpful where we can, and to continue to reach out to all segments of Indonesian society, in particular those Indonesians working for a more pluralistic and democratic society and greater respect for human rights.

Headers

Return-Path: <owner-east-timor@igc.org>

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Subj: CONG: Q&A on U.S. Policy
Date: 98-03-27 18:08:08 EST
From: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
Sender: owner-east-timor@igc.org
Reply-to: fbp@igc.apc.org (John M. Miller)
To: act.indonesia@conf.igc.apc.org, east-timor@igc.org

Hearing Of The East Asia And Pacific Affairs Subcommittee Of The Senate
Foreign Relations Committee
on Economic And Political Situation In Indonesia

Aurelia Brazeal,
Deputy Secretary Of State For East Asian And Pacific Affairs

[excerpts]
March 24, 1998

SEN. RUSSELL FEINGOLD (D-WI): Madame Secretary, if I could ask you a couple questions about the situation in Indonesia as it relates in particular to East Timor. Although the economic crisis has overshadowed the East Timor crisis, still I think the economic crisis and political situation in Indonesia generally, obviously, has an impact on East Timor.

Prolonged drought conditions and continuing hardships that have been brought on by Indonesia's economic difficulties have resulted in even a new level -- a new low, in effect, of suffering for the people of East Timor. As the uncertainty increases, Indonesian soldiers based in East Timor appear to have become increasingly nervous, and there have been some reports of new acts of repression.

What's your opinion of the effect of Indonesia's broader economic and financial crisis on the conflict in East Timor?

MS. BRAZEAL: Well, indeed, Senator, East Timor has been overshadowed by the economic crises in Indonesia, but it's not an issue that we have forgotten. In fact, in early February, I was in New York talking to the secretary-general's special representative, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, about East Timor. We have continued to press for reduction of the levels of troops in East Timor, for opening up the dialogue between the different Timorese groups, and for strong support for the U.N. secretary-general's effort. There will be renewed talks between Portugal and Indonesia in April under the U.N. auspices. And also in April, around Easter time, there will be meetings between the different Timorese factions and groups to have an intra-Timorese dialogue, which is also supported by the U.N. So we remain very much aware of that issue, very much concerned with it, and continue to raise it with Indonesian officials as well as to have our embassy officials visit to East Timor.

SEN. FEINGOLD: Thank you. What do you think of the view of Nobel Peace Laureate Jose Ramos-Horta that the economic pressure on Indonesia could lead Indonesia to feel that it should pull back on some of its military presence in East Timor?

Do you think that's a possibility?

MS. BRAZEAL: That's a difficult question I think to answer in the following way: Indonesia has had cycles of economic difficulties in earlier days, and that has not seemingly had an effect on East Timor. So that I can't exactly reach the conclusion that within the question or the statement by Ramos-Horta that that necessarily one leads to the other. I think this is an issue that is very, very difficult and nuanced to deal with, and which is why we are so supportive of the U.N. effort, because the brings all of the countries of the world into the process, so to speak, behind the secretary-general. And through those talks, we would hope some solution

could be found.

SEN. FEINGOLD: Thank you. Let me now ask you a more general question about our policy toward Indonesia. Some have said that in an attempt to focus our efforts on the economic reform of Indonesia that we really have focused far less on the political developments in Indonesia. I wonder if you'd like to respond to that.

MS. BRAZEAL: I would like to say that we don't think we have ignored the political side or other sides of our relationship with Indonesia during this time. We have certain priorities, and I don't want to be repetitious, but in the testimony that I gave and made -- submitted for the record, we tried to outline several areas that we're continuing to work on even with this crisis, and it does say that the first priority, of course, is to have adherence to the IMF economic adjustment program.

But we also work with Indonesia on regional security and stability issues, and we are also working on the democratization and human rights and labor rights issues, and on East Timor, which you've already asked about. Also helping U.S. companies who are operating in Indonesia. We are looking at natural -- the natural resources in Indonesia. We have been helping on the fires and the haze problem that has been evident in Indonesia.

And we have also been strengthening defense cooperation. So in many areas, we're working. We don't see that our policy should ignore the multi-faceted aspects of our relationship with Indonesia just to concentrate on the economic crisis.

SEN. FEINGOLD: Thank you, Madame Secretary.

----- Headers -----

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Mime-Version: 1.0

Precedence: bulk

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Sender: owner-east-timor@igc.org

Subject: CONG: Q&A on U.S. Policy

To: act.indonesia@conf.igc.apc.org, east-timor@igc.org

X-Mailer: QUALCOMM Windows Eudora Pro Version 3.0.5 (32)

From: OneMan <oneman@gn.apc.org> on 02/05/98 06:55 PM GMT

To: Korinna Horta

cc:

Subject: comment on International Committe

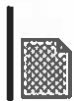
Hi Korina,

Envio em anexo o comentario sobre a proposta da Instituicao a ser fundeada "International Committe" para supervisionar os trabalhos do Bispo de Dili juntamente com a Comissao Iustitia et Pax que o Senhor Arnold me solicitou.

Mui lhe agradeço passar a copia ao Sr. Arnold.

Respeitosos cumprimentos para si e Sr. Arnold.

Manuel Abrantes



- COMMITTE.WPD

Manuel Abrantes

Address : Al via Lucia Withers or CAFORD UK via Steve Alston (London)

Dear Korinna,

Would you mind pass this message/comment on to Senhor Arnold. Thank you very much. Respeitosos cumprimentos para si e para o senhor Arnold,
Manuel

Subject : International Committe + Justice & Peace (Institution)

1. Justice & Peace Commission (Today)

E uma instituicao da Igreja Catolica estruturada sob a egide da Diocese de Dili e dependente da mesma. Justice & Peace e supervisionada pelo Bispo de Dili, membros do clero e leigos responsaveis para o exercicio da pastoral da Igreja no campo de Justica e Paz (Iustitia et Pax).

Para o exercicio das suas funcoes, Iustitia et Pax dispoes de 4 (quatro) diferentes seccoes:

- a. Educacao e Treino (particular/stafs e geral/comunidade eclesial)
- b. Leis e Direitos Humanos (Law enforcement e violacao dos Direitos Humanos)
- c. Documentacao, analise e pesquisas (Doutrina social da Igreja, casos)
- d. Relacoes Externas (J&P counterpart and Institutions/NGO's)

2. Staffs / Recursos Humanos sua anatomia (HR)

Estruturalmente e supervisionada pelo Bispo de Dili, D. Carlos Felipe Ximenes Beloe o Vigario Geral da Diocese de Dili. Reverendo Padre Mateus do Rosario da Cruz e o Presidente da Comissao juntamente com leigos membros honorarios fazem parte do Bordo.O Secretariado (Office) desempenha funcoes de executivo, tecnico, pratico e operacional no campo. Portanto a hierarquia esta assim constituída :

- Bispo de Dili
- Presidente da Comissao
- Membros do Bordo (como orgao consultivo composto de clero+leigos)
- **Secretariado (orgao executivo)**
- Regioes Pastorais (4 regioes pastorais incluindo Dili e redondezas)

3. Secretariado/Orgao Executivo (Office)

Neste momento o Secretariado esta carente de profissionais aptos para trabalhos de investigacao de casos, documentacao, advocacia (necessita mais de um advogado) operator/programmer, assistente tecnico e legal (general) bilanguage drafter. O Ingles (active english speaking either writing and speaking) e uma necessidade de ordem no executivo/Secretariado para redigir relatorios, propostas e Oficios (Notas) e contactos de ordem a nivel internal e external.

O Secretariado tem neste momento:

- 1 Acting Executive Director
- 1 Assistente Director Executivo
- 1 Assistente para investigacao
- 1 Book keeper (female)
- 2 Computer operators
- 1 Office boy

Todo o staf precisa de intensive up grading no seu respectivo campo.

4. Independent entity (Justice & Peace being an Independent entity?...)

Concretamente, neste momento nao e viavel esta ideia por Justice & Peace ter o seu mandato limitado criado atarvez da Provisao de Sua Excia Reverendissima como Instituicao da Igreja Catolica que actua sob a egide do Bispo e Clero da Diocese de Dili. Podera vir a ser naturalmente como Instituicao Independente depois de uma estruturacao solida capaz de desempenhar grandes e maiores responsabilidades. Como e obvio e uma grande obssecao minha ver Justice & Peace nao como "Commmission" mas sim uma Instituicao capaz e credivel a nivel Internacional; "Independent entity" dentro do Territorio de Timor Leste, apoiadado e suportado pelas Nacoes Unidas e respeitado pela Indonesia. Este assunto tem que ser discutido com a sua Excelencia Reverendissima o Senhor Bispo D. Carlos Felipe Ximnes Belo. Justice & Peace tem proteccao da Igreja Catolica. Mas podera vir a ser mais tarde uma entidade independente segundo necessidades. A Necessidade cria orgaos. Neste Momento Justice & Peace como Instituicao tenta ser visivel, forjando a sua capacidade profissional, ser apto e viavel nos seus recursos humanos, com capacidade depois de uma estruturacao solida de trabalhar e edificar a Instituicao.(Capacity bulding and strenghtening stage). Justica e Paz esta na sua primeira fase de capacity to build up and strenghtening stage.

Atravez das suas relacoes externas a Comissao Justica e Paz pode naturalmente e deve estar em contacto com o "International Committe" que se pretende criar com Sede/Base nos Estados Unidos da America. Ate o momento presente Justica & Paz desfruta destes contactos com exterior sobretudo com Australia, UK, Suecia, Noruega, Franca, Suissa (Genebra/Palais des Nations Uni), Indonesia (American Embassy + Asutralian Embassy), o Vaticano , Orgaos da Imprensa Portuguesa (RTP/RDP/Renascecnca) e NGO's.

Estamos na fase de estruturar a Instituicao J&P no seu todo: recursos humanos, meios e material, organizacao e quadros para diferentes especialidades. A montagem the computerizing electronic-mail para contactos e report exchanges com o exterior e a necessidade de ordem e obssecao para quebrar o isolamento da situacao e apurar a veracidades dos factos que estao ocorrendo diariamente.

Conclusao

Justice & Peace esta na fase de estruturacao e "capacity bulding" como (Instituicao) Comissao da Diocese de Dili (Igreja Catolica). Sendo Instituicao da Igreja ela e protegida. Outras funcoes poderao ser desempenhados discretamente para alem do Mandato. Sua Excelencia Reverendissima devera ser consultado neste aspecto de 'Independent entity of Justice & Peace Institution no futuro. Ha tambem necessidade

de reaver plataformas de trabalho com 'The International Justice & Peace World Wide' isto e o envolvimento de "Iustitia et Pax" das Igrejas Catolicas no Mundo e a Santa-Se (Vaticano). Sendo necessidade de Ordem, nao dispensaria isto no nosso caso, uma coordenacao com a International Committe e a ideia de Justice & Peace vira a ser JUSTICE & PAdreEACE INSTITUTION - como Independent entity..



UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY
Macarthur

29th April 1998

Dear Arnold,

Terna Piper has given me some excellent tips ~~of~~ on improving my application so I have revised the first part of the version I sent you.

Would you please substitute these new pages for the old ones if you send the proposal to anyone new? The old appendices are okay - just add them.

All the best with your book,

Jeffrey.

Subject: AUTHOR'S NOTE AS DISCUSSED
Date: Mon, 24 Aug 1998 12:56:20 -0700 (PDT)
From: "Arnold S. Kohan" <humanitarian@igc.apc.org>
To: will.carey@VIRGIN.NET

Arnold. This reads very well - have booked room for 21 Sept. Will look forward to seeing you then. Will phone from RT in first week in Sept.

WPC)
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T ? T Revised CCAuthor's NoteDD

Since late 1975, when I produced feature programs for a radio news service in Ithaca, New York, I have participated in international efforts to draw public attention to Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. By 1979, involvement in these activities led to a meeting with Father Reinaldo Cardoso, a Roman Catholic priest from the Azores who had moved to the United States before Indonesia occupied the territory after 12 years in East Timor. But in spirit Father Cardoso had never really left East Timor, and he suffered like no other foreigner over the horrific news he received from former colleagues from the island after Indonesia closed the territory to the outside world in 1975.

~~White completing a Master's degree in journalism at Cornell?~~
Peter 24.10.98

give date

It was through Father Cardoso that I came to know several priests from East Timor. Each had compelling stories to tell and drew me further into the Timor drama, none more so than Bishop Belo's predecessor, Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, whom I met when he went into exile in 1983, and got to know well before his death in 1991. Dom Martinho, as he was known, was a man of rare courage and fortitude who nonetheless had the air of someone who had witnessed more horror than a human being could be expected to bear.

Feb. 1

Given Dom Martinho's ^{qualifications} ~~experience~~

I was quite curious about the nature of the man who had the unenviable task of replacing such an individual. In 1993, I met Bishop Belo, [who had been one of Father Cardoso's students in the seminary in the cool hills overlooking East Timor's capital city of Dili.] Over the next four years I traveled with the bishop, both in East Timor and abroad, and worked closely with him on human rights matters as well as efforts to find a solution to his nation's tragedy.

him

in sep. 7

Exactly, in June 1993, I met Bishop Belo when he was attending a general assembly to the U.S. Bishops Conference in New Orleans,

It was through these various ^{endeavors} since 1975 that I came to write this biography. Although it is based on independent research and interviews with a range of sources, not all of them friendly to the bishop, the book does give prominence to Bishop Belo's memories and viewpoints, which are not widely known. While it is not an "authorized" biography, neither is it meant to be an ~~exhaustive~~ account of the events under discussion, which would have required a volume twice the size of this one. Furthermore, though this book concentrates on Bishop Belo, this is in no way intended to undervalue the role of other East Timorese leaders, both secular and ~~members of the clergy~~, living and dead, known and unknown, who have made ~~important~~ contributions over the past 23 years.

a definitive

religious, ^{king?} ~~Christ~~ ^{significant}

to the ~~benefit~~ ^{welfare} of the people of East Timor.

Although this work deals extensively with the way in which the world has responded to the East Timor tragedy, it hasTh)0*0*0*00Ta part recent years has become a world figure, and how he has managed to navigate a situation marked by repression and violence, with pressure and fierce demands from competing sides. But this is not only the story of Bishop Belo of East Timor: his experience also may have implications for members of the clergy facing similar circumstances in ~~many~~ other parts of the world.

One thing has especially of Central Africa

Finally, although the Suharto regime has fallen, prospects for the future remain uncertain. Therefore, because of considerations of privacy and personal safety, at the request of Bishop Belo the names of several East Timorese who are not public figures have been changed.

Vuy

Arnold S. Kohen
Washington, D.C.
August 24, 1998

Arnold - for info.

Mr Eric Ho Tung,
636 Chain Bridge Road,
McLean,
Virginia,
USA.

8 February 1998.

Dear Mr Ho Tung,

I am sending you herewith my op=ed piece for the New York Times. Please emend it in any way you think fit. It is probably a bit on the long side, but presumably the paper can cut it down as required.

I would be grateful if any payment resulting from this can be channelled to my friend and colleague, Mr Arnold Kohen (7324 Baltimore Avenue, Takoma Park, Maryland 20912), who is a great expert on East Timor, a doughty lobbyist in East Timor's interest on Capitol Hill, and a good friend of Bishop Belo, whose biography he is completing at the present time for publication later this year. He will be in a position to send any money which accrues out to Bishop Belo in Dili (East Timor) for the support of political prisoners and their families, and those who suffer human rights abuses at the hands of the Indonesian military. I hope you will also bear him in mind should Congressman Patrick Kennedy's plans for an East Timor/Indonesia Conference come off in the near future. I cannot think of a better person to speak for the East Timorese cause.

Let us hope that this nightmare of the past 23 years in Timor can be put behind us and we can building for a better future both there and in Indonesia proper. When you are next in Oxford I will look forward to meeting you and to discussing with you some plans I have of establishing a library holding for East Timor - or at least a collection of key texts, documents and printed works, which could one day - when East Timor is free - form part of its National Library collection.

With kind regards.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr Peter Carey,
Laithwaite Fellow and Tutor in Modern History.

INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR: TIME FOR THE US TO ACT

by

Peter Carey (Oxford) for Eric Ho-Tung

'I worry about the stresses and strains on the Government [of Indonesia] [...] It's a really tough situation. Even if all the good decisions are made, there is trouble ahead. There is no economic and political stability ...'. Admiral Joseph Prueher, commander-in-chief of the US Pacific Command, is well briefed: there could not be a more testing time for US defense interests in Asia. Should the Suharto regime be torn apart by civil unrest the consequences for both Indonesia and the region would be incalculable. What is to be done? In 1945, after untold suffering at the hands of the colonial powers, Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Netherlands. In the subsequent four-year struggle to preserve that independence from the Dutch, the US played a pivotal role. Indonesia's very existence today is a direct result of US diplomatic intervention at that time. Now, fifty years on, the US is again being called upon to take action to ensure Indonesia's preservation as a unitary state. This time the adversary is no longer the forces of colonialism, but the power of the global market and the sclerosis of an ageing autocracy. Other states in the region - Thailand and the Philippines in particular - face similar pressures, but they at least have the capacity to ensure political change without bloodshed in the streets. Only in Indonesia, it seems, does regime renewal seem so fraught with danger. Yet change, there must be if Indonesia is to embark with confidence on another half century of statehood. Nowhere is that issue of change more pressing than in the ~~matter~~ of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor which Indonesia invaded in December 1975 and formally annexed seven months later. Like that of the Dutch in Indonesia, Jakarta's own colonialism in Timor has been marked in blood - at least 200,000 or nearly a third of the pre-1975 population are thought to have died. Like the Dutch, Indonesia has poured millions of dollars into 'developing' its annexed territory, but still has to maintain a huge military presence to ensure the 'loyalty' of its subjects. Unofficially, there were thought until recently to be 30,000 troops in Timor (for a population of 850,000). Now, with the riots in Java and Eastern Indonesia, many of the best units are being withdrawn to be replaced by less experienced territorial battalions and paramilitary police. The Indonesian army is small (288,000) and cannot be everywhere at once as Army Chief-of-Staff, General Wiranto, has recently admitted. So, the way is open for the East Timorese armed resistance to come down from the mountains and take the offensive. Imperial Indonesia is crumbling. It should be allowed to pass away provided the original boundaries of the Indonesian state, which the US helped establish in 1945-9, are guaranteed. East Timor was never a part of the Dutch colonial empire. Its destiny is not an Indonesian one. The initiative now lies with Washington, in particular the US Congress. Jakarta is a supplicant at its door. It wants a share of the \$18 billion which may be voted for the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)-led economic stabilisation programmes in Asia. It should be told that such funds will be dependant on a resolution of the East Timor conflict. Such a resolution must respect the East Timorese right to self-determination. This is what Washington helped the Indonesians achieve in the late 1940s. Now it is the turn of the Timorese. Without it, a stable Indonesia will be impossible. As Admiral Prueher contemplates the end of Suharto's 'New Order' from his Pacific Command Headquarters in Honolulu and the decks of his Seventh Fleet in the Pacific, he would do well to remember East Timor and the historical role which Washington is now called upon to play.

Mr Eric Ho Tung,
636 Chain Bridge Road,
McLean, Virginia,
USA.

26 April 1998.

Dear Eric,

It was very good to have had the chance to see you at The Randolph last week and I hope the rest of your trip to the UK/Europe went well.

I have spoken with Arnold Kohen and he has suggested the following names for the private meeting/colloque on East Timor which you propose bringing together at your house in Virginia in June (the best dates for me would be sometime between 22-28 June - term ends on 20 June and I have to be in Jersey for the lunch of the Cambodia Trust's Channel Island Appeal on 1 July).

1. US Congress

- *Congressman Patrick Kennedy (D-Rhode Island)
- *Congressman Frank Wolf (R-Virginia)
- *Congressman Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio)
- Congressman Frank Murkowski (D-Alaska)
- *Senator Russ Feingold (D-Wisconsin)
- *Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vermont)

2. US Catholic Church

- *Archbishop Theodore McCarrick (Newark, NJ; Chair, International Policy Committee, US Bishops' Conference)
- Mr Tom Quigley (Secretary, US Bishops' Conference)
- Cardinal Bernard Law (Boston)
- Cardinal O'Connor (New York)

3. US Academia

- *Professor Ben Anderson (Aaron Binnenkorb Professor of Government, Cornell)
- *Professor Geoffrey Robinson (Department of History, UCLA)
- Dr Peter Carey (Vice-President, Trinity College, Oxford)

4. US Administration

- *Mr Stanley Roth (Under-Secretary of State for Pacific and East Asian Affairs)
- Mr Sandy Berger (National Security Advisor to President Clinton)

5. Portugal

Mr Andersen Guimaraes (Portuguese Ambassador to Washington)
Head of East Timor/Indonesia desk Portuguese Foreign Office (get name from Arnold Kohen)

6. Indonesia

Indonesian Ambassador in Washington (get name off Arnold Kohen)
Other names to be suggested by US Administration/CIA

7. South Africa

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, DD, FKC

8. Norway

*Bishop Gunnar Stalsett (Lutheran Bishop of Oslo; member of Nobel Committee and Rector of the Theology Faculty, Oslo University)

9. Germany

Bishop Walter Casper (Rothenburg; also teaches Theology at Tübingen; very bright German Bishop, well informed on issue).

The above are just a few names for you to consider (those asterisked are maybe especially important). Might I suggest that you contact Arnold Kohen (7324 Baltimore Avenue, Takoma Park, Maryland 20912; Tel: 301-585-3229; Fax: 301-585-3288) before he leaves the US on 10 May next for a month-long tour of Europe with Bishop Belo, to see whether he has any other suggestions and whether he might himself be available to attend such a meeting in late June.

I suggest that the only reason worth holding such a meeting is that (a) it involves people with substantial political clout and/or expertise/interest in the East Timor issue; (b) that it helps to crystallize US public policy on the East Timor issue in a way which may bring substantive pressure to bear on Jakarta to adopt a new policy, one which will permit the people of East Timor to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination.

If you feel that you would like to follow up on my suggestion that you contact my graduate student, Susan Tamondong-Helin, she can be reached at:

3022 Cedar Hill Road,
Falls Church,
VA 22042,
Tel: 703-573-6605
Fax (World Bank): 202-473-8110

She has had experience of organising a meeting at the American University in Washington (her alma mater) last year on East Timor, and she is a very reliable person.

Best wishes,

26 October 1998

Our ref: AN116A0A

Arnold Kohen,
East Timor Research Project,
PO Box 32307,
Washington
DC 20007
USA

Christian Aid has authorised a grant of £8000 to HUMANITARIAN PROJECT for its programme of research, translation, education and advocacy on humanitarian issues related to East Timor, 1998-9.

You will receive £8000 as FULL payment by telegraphic transfer.

The bank has been instructed to refer all bank charges to Christian Aid. If transferring directly to the bank, we will do so in accordance with the following details which you have given us:

Address of bank: Signet Bank N. A.
5025 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington DC 20008, USA

Account title: The Humanitarian Project
Account number: 6670152708 (ABA#054000807)

It is important for us to know the funds have arrived safely. When you have received the money, please complete the enclosed copy of this letter, attach your own official receipt and return these to Nicola Rigby at the address below.

If the payment was made by telegraphic transfer, the date on which it was made is given below along with the reference quoted by our bankers, Co-operative Bank, London. If you do not receive the funds within four weeks of the date of payment, please ask your bank to contact the agent used by Co-operative Bank with this information. Christian Aid pays all charges on transfers. If charges have been deducted, you may ask your bank to refund them to you. They will then claim them back from Co-operative Bank London, by quoting the bank reference given below, and they will be met from our account. In case of difficulty, please contact Christian Aid.

In order that we may account for the grant, please send a copy of your annual audited accounts as well as a narrative report on the project. The report should be in line with Christian Aid's Proposal and Reporting Guidance for Partners (this is available on request if you have not already received it). The first progress report should be sent to us by 01.04. 1999. If it will prove difficult for your organisation to produce audited accounts, please let us know and we can then agree upon an alternative form of accounting.

N. Rigby Programme Officer
N. Borden Team Leader

For completion by Project Holder

We received these funds at our address on (Date) /at our bank on (Date)
3 November 1998 *J12277*
Project holder's signature

For Christian Aid use

Committee Date *26/10/98* Committee ref *SE/110/98*
Account Code *AN116A0M1* Grant ID *AN116A0A*
Finance ref Amount *£8000*
Bank ref *9981030 0153 0P08* Payee's name for cheque/draft
Date paid *30/10/98*

Mr. Arnold Kohen
The Humanitarian Project
PO Box 32307
Washington DC 20007
USA

6th July 1998

RE: TIM00033 - A0112
Visit of Bishop Belo to Europe

Dear Arnie,

Please be advised that IR£1,175 has now been transferred to your bank account and represents Trócaire's contribution to the cost of Bishop Belo's visit to Europe last year.

The delay in sending this grant was due to an administrative error and we apologise for any inconvenience this may have caused.

I hope you are keeping well. Thank you for your recent correspondence. I look forward to hearing from you on the The Humanitarian Project's proposal for 1998/1999. In the meantime, I wish you well in your continuing work.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,


Fionnuala Gilsean
Asia Project Officer



TRÓCAIRE The Catholic Agency for World Development

169 Booterstown Avenue,
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Tel: (01) 288 5385
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Mr Arnold Kohen
The Humanitarian Project
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USA

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Overseas Dept. Fax: +353 1 283 6022

Title : *VISIT OF BISHOP BELO TO EUROPE*
Project No: TIM00033
Agency No: A0112
Date: 29/06/98

Dear Mr Kohen

We are pleased to inform you that the Trustees of Trócaire have approved a grant of IR£1,175 for the above project. This amount represents Trócaire's total contribution to the project and should be used for the costs of Bishop Belo's airfare expenses while in Europe in 1997.

Following your instructions, we are now authorising our bank to transfer the grant as follows :


Name of Bank **Signet Bank N.A.**
Address of Bank **5025 Connecticut Ave., NW**
 Washington D.C. 20008
 USA

Name of Account **The Humanitarian Project**
Number of Account **6670152708 ABA#054000807**

We would be grateful if you would sign and return the receipt as soon as you have been advised of the safe arrival of the funds.

As agreed, we will expect a progress report on the project by 26 December 1998.

Yours sincerely,


Justin Kilcullen
Director

Enclosed: Receipt of Grant Form

International Conference
East Timor - History and Conflict Resolution

December 5-6, 1998
at Osaka University of Foreign Studies

Program

1st Day (December 5, Saturday)

10:00-10:20

Opening

Welcome speech, Prof. Osamu Ikeda, President of the OUFS
Briefing on technical and administrative matters

10:20-12:20

Session 1. East Timor and Portugal in Historical Perspective

Rui Araujo, Portuguese TV, "East Timor: A Journalistic View"
Geoffrey Gunn, Nagasaki University, "From Salazar to Suharto: Toponymy,
Public Architecture, and Memory in the Making of Timorese
Identity"
Akihisa Matsuno, Osaka University of Foreign Studies, "The People's
Assembly in East Timor, May 1976."

12:30-14:00 Lunch at the University Hall, 2nd Floor

14:00-15:20

Session 2. Impact of Japanese Occupation in East Timor

Kenichi Goto, Waseda University, "Japan's Southward-advance, Military
Occupation and 'East' Timor"
Masamichi Kijima, former financial officer of the Japanese navy in East
Timor

15:20-15:50 Coffee Break

15:50-17:10

Session 3. Democratization in Indonesia and East Timor (Part I)

Muhammad AS Hikam, LIPI (Indonesian Academy of Sciences),
"Democracy in Indonesia and East Timor"
Pedro Pinto Leite, IPJET (International Platform of Jurists for East Timor),

"A Fabrication of History: the Arguments of Suharto's Regime for the 'Reintegration' of East Timor into Indonesia"

2nd Day (December 6, Sunday)

10:00-12:30

Session 3: Democratization in Indonesia and East Timor (Part II)

George Aditjondro, Newcastle University, "The twin struggle of the Indonesian pro-democracy movement: democratizing a militarized oligarchy, and supporting the self-determination rights of the Maubere, West Papua, and Acehnese peoples"

Joao Carrascalao, UDT, the title to be given later

<10 minutes break>

Session 4. East Timor and the International Community

Arnold Kohen, Humanitarian Project, "Then and Now: International Perspectives on East Timor"

Akira Kono, Osaka University of Foreign Studies, "Brasil and East Timor"

12:30-13:50 Lunch at the University Hall, 2nd Floor

13:50-15:20

Special Speech

Jose Manuel, visiting East Timorese youth, "The Indonesian invasion and its consequences"

Session 5. Conflict Resolution (Part I)

Richard Tanter, Kyoto Seika University, the title to be given later

Kiyoko Furusawa, Keisein University, the title to be given later

15:20-15:50 Coffee Break

15:50-17:00

Session 5. Conflict Resolution (Part II)

Jose Gracio, University of Aveiro, "The Portuguese position and Conflict Resolution"

Armindo Maia, Univesity of East Timor, the title to be given later

Holbergsgate 30, N-0166 Oslo, Norway
Telephone: +47 22 11 30 00 Fax: +47 22 11 30 17

	Name Navn:	Company Firma:	Fax No Fax Nr.:
To Til:	Gunnar Stålsett		22 8503 01
Copy to C.C.:			22 7346 57
From Fra:	ARNOLD KOHEN	RM 822	Date Dato: 16 June 98
Subject Vedr.:	MEETING June 17	Total number of pages including this page Totalt sideantall inklusive denne:	1

NOTE: Please call us immediately if you do not receive all pages correctly.
Vennligst ring dersom De ikke mottar alle sidene.

Gunnar,

To avoid any possible
confusion on which Radisson
I am at, here it is.

Looking forward to seeing
you at 8:30.

Best regards,
Arnold



News Service 29/98

AI INDEX: ASA 21/11/98
18 FEBRUARY 1998

Indonesia: Hundreds arrested -- what price for economic stability?

More than 250 peaceful political activists have been arrested in the last two weeks in Indonesia, yet other governments are ignoring the renewed crackdown on opponents of the regime or its economic policy, Amnesty International stated today.

"World leaders must use their influence not just to pressure Indonesia to implement economic reforms but also to stop the repressive measures being employed by the authorities against its own population," the organization urged.

Among those being targeted for arrest are people calling for President Suharto not to stand for a seventh term in the March 1998 presidential elections. At least 20 members of one organization, Aldera (the People's Democratic Alliance), have been briefly detained and four are now facing charges. There is serious concern for the safety of Aldera's Secretary General, Pius Lustrilanang, who has been missing since the beginning of February and there are fears that he may be held in incommunicado detention. Aldera supports a presidential coalition of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the former leader of the People's Democratic Party (PDI), who was ousted in a government backed congress in 1996, and Amien Rais, the head of the Muslim group Muhammadiyah.

One hundred and twenty eight supporters of Megawati remain in custody in Jakarta after demonstrating on 11 February against rising prices, growing unemployment and government corruption. There are reports that five of the detainees may face charges under the Anti-subversion Law which has been extensively used in Indonesia to jail government opponents and carries a maximum sentence of death. The remaining 123 detainees are facing five year jail sentences.

"The Indonesian authorities have a policy of zero tolerance when it comes to any criticism of the regime or its policies," Amnesty International declared. "Economic stability must not be bought at the cost of individual freedom."

Riots sparked by rising food and fuel prices have spread across Indonesia in the past weeks increasing tensions in the country. Initial perceptions of relative restraint by the security forces in dealing with the riots are being replaced by fears of serious human rights violations after reports that five people were shot dead and another 15 injured when security forces opened fire on rioters over the weekend.

"The Indonesian security forces have a poor record when it comes to dealing with disturbances, both peaceful and violent, yet foreign governments have continued to sell them weapons which are used against the civilian population," Amnesty International stated.

"It is now the responsibility of those governments to monitor the use of the equipment they have sold and to put pressure on the Indonesian authorities to act with restraint in dealing with both peaceful demonstrations and riots," the organization added. ENDS.../

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom

Tel: Int. Code: (44) (171) 413 5500. UK Code: (0171) 413 5500. Fax: Int. Code: (44) (171) 956 1157. UK Code: (0171) 956 1157.

E-Mail: amnestyis@amnesty.org

Web: <http://www.amnesty.org>

Telegrams: Amnesty London WC1 Telex: 28502 AMNSTY G

Summary of Activities, The Humanitarian Project for East Timor, January – June 1998

- Completion and partial editing of full-length biography of Bishop Belo and history of East Timor with special focus on the past 15 years since he took office as Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili.
- Phone contact with Bishop Belo from two to four times each week, dissemination of information through church and human rights networks
- * Research and communications with Bishop Belo via fax several times each week.
- Contact with other Timorese clergy on a weekly basis or more
- Consultations with Bishop Belo in Madrid in February 1998 and in Lisbon in May 1998
- Briefings for Congressional staff, the Clinton Administration and United Nations officials on a weekly basis or more.
- Drafting of Action Alerts for United States Catholic Conference in February and June 1998.
- Drafting of letters of support for Bishop Belo by United States Catholic Bishop and accompanying letter to US Secretary of State Albright.

Drafting of Congressional letters to President Clinton and Indonesian President Habibie in May and June 1998 to form the basis of an international campaign on the current crisis in East Timor

- Feature article for the London-based magazine Index on Censorship
- on developments in East Timor since the fall of President Suharto and the prospects for the future
- Advocacy in American Congress and the Clinton Administration on the food emergency and problems of Dengue fever and other diseases within East Timor., the relation of East Timor with the U.S. contributions to the International Monetary Fund multi-billion dollar bailout of Indonesia and recent human right developments in East Timor.
- Consultations in Norway in June 1998 with Norwegian Nobel circle regarding current and future needs for followup activities on East Timor.
- Work with news media, including editorial pages of The New York Times, The Boston Globe and other leading outlets.

Planned Activities, July – December 1998

- * Contact with Bishop Belo by phone three times per week. Distribution of information in digest form on a monthly basis or more to donor agencies, and international church and human rights networks on key advocacy points.
- Consultation with Bishop Belo in Europe in August 1998, Possible visit to East Timor before the end of 1998
- Coordination of effort in Congress and international Parliamentary circles to gain support for letters calling for peaceful solution of East Timor conflict, including withdrawal of Indonesian troops, freedom of speech and assembly, and respect for human rights.
- * Weekly briefings with Congress, United Nations and Clinton Administration

- * Coordination of informal international advisory council to provide information and strategic assistance to Bishop Belo.
- * Creation of structures to establish closer informational and strategic links with church and secular organizations, especially with respect to the current thinking of Bishops Belo and Nascimento and others in the Church in East Timor.
- Assistance for Dili-based Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in terms of editing report summaries for international outreach.
- Continuation of strategic planning process within the Humanitarian Project for East Timor
- Continuation of activities listed in first six months of 1998 as appropriate
- * Ghost-write two articles for Bishop Belo

Subject: ASIAWEEK Special Investigative Report on May Riots (Pt-1)

Date: Wed, 22 Jul 1998 15:10:22 +0100 (BST)

From: tapol@gn.apc.org (TAPOL)

To: indonesia-act@igc.apc.org, taylorjb@vax.sbu.ac.uk, aradea@dds.nl,
will.carey@virgin.net, sliem@xs4all.nl, <hellzhere@usa.net>,
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ASIAWEEK INVESTIGATION

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK INDONESIA

New evidence indicates that the riots that convulsed Jakarta during May were masterminded

BY SUSAN BERFIELD AND DEWI LOVEARD

In the twilight hours of May 12, four student protesters were shot dead at Jakarta's prestigious Trisakti University. Within 24 hours, the killings by security forces had sparked savage riots and an anti-Chinese pogrom that turned Jakarta into a war zone, forced out President Suharto and altered the destiny of a nation.

>From the moment the first rock was thrown and car set alight, Indonesians suspected the riots were more than a spontaneous uprising against an overstaying president. The nation has a history of violence instigated by shadowy figures who are rarely identified. This time, however, suspects have been charged in connection with the Trisakti shootings. Two police officers are on trial in Jakarta for misconduct - but many Indonesians believe the suspects are scapegoats and that the court martial is part of a larger military cover-up.

A month-long Asiaweek investigation, that included interviews with military officers, lawyers, human-rights activists, victims and witnesses, suggests that the Trisakti shootings, the riots that followed and the rapes of Chinese women were indeed planned. Among the evidence uncovered in the investigation: four police officers and their uniforms disappeared days before the shootings; the bullet retrieved from a Trisakti victim is not police issue; two men, now in hiding, have admitted they were recruited to provoke riots; and military sources have revealed for the first time that they intercepted radio traffic between Jakarta army headquarters and groups of provocateurs on May 14.

If the riots were orchestrated, there had to be a mastermind. His identity may never be fully substantiated, but one man has been consistently linked to the violence: Suharto's son-in-law, Lt.-Gen. Prabowo Subianto, at the time commander of the elite Army Strategic Reserves (Kostrad). Prabowo, a volatile and much-resented officer, is almost too obvious a suspect. Fadli Zon, a Muslim activist close to Prabowo, says the lieutenant general is a victim of "character assassination." Days after the riots, Prabowo himself denied involvement. In June his intermediaries told Asiaweek he might consent to an interview. It hasn't happened yet.

Prabowo is ambitious and he certainly had the means to instigate riots. He had at his call thousands of reckless young men, many of them members of paramilitary organizations known to foment trouble. Hoodlums, gangsters, paramilitaries, youth groups - call them what you will. Some, like Pemuda Pancasila, are well established and led by retired officers. Military sources suspect other organizations involved in the riots are no more than local rackets headed by thugs recruited from the provinces and set loose in the

capital.

"Prabowo was obsessed with his belief that the only way to govern Indonesia was by military stratagems," says a senior military officer, "and that he could take power in exactly the same way as his own father-in-law wrested power from Sukarno." The officer claims Prabowo wanted to create such chaos that his rival, armed forces chief Gen. Wiranto, would be unable to restore order. Suharto, in Egypt at the time, would have had to declare martial law. As chief of Kostrad, a key combat-ready unit, Prabowo would have been the only one able to take charge. That's one theory. Others say he wanted to impress Suharto by sowing chaos - and then proving he could control it.

In the end, Prabowo lost his patron and his command. His country lost far more - 1,188 people dead, as many as 468 women raped, and 40 malls, 2,470 shophouses and 1,119 cars looted or destroyed. Ten days that shook Indonesia:

MAY 12

STUDENTS BEGAN GATHERING AT Trisakti at about 10:30 a.m., in the parking lot outside the 12-story M Building. This was to be the campus's first big demonstration. The participants were among the elite, the sons and daughters of businessmen, bureaucrats, diplomats and military men. On this hot, steamy day, the parking lot, usually filled with Kijangs, Toyotas and Peugeots, was empty. Just before 11 a.m., the national flag was lowered to half-mast, while students and faculty sang the national anthem. They observed a moment of silence, then called on Suharto to step down.

At 12:30 about 6,000 students moved onto the four-lane highway running alongside Trisakti. They planned to hold a "long march" to Parliament. Three Trisakti representatives - Adi Andoyo Sutjipto, dean of the law faculty, Arri Gunarsa, head of campus security, and Julianto Hendro Cahyono, the 24-year-old leader of the student senate - began negotiating with police around 1 p.m. to allow the students to walk the 5 km into central Jakarta. Hendro says he called a university lecturer and member of parliament to see if it was possible for the students to meet with a government representative.

The students, meanwhile, sat on the street in protest, made speeches, sang the national anthem, refused to retreat. With rain falling, some put flowers in the rifles of police officers. Finally Hendro heard from the ruling party, Golkar: No one was prepared to meet them. Standing on a table between students and police, he told the disappointed students not to provoke violence.

At about 3 p.m. the situation seemed calm and Adi Andoyo returned to his office. Half an hour later his assistant called: The police had threatened to use force if the 200 or so students still on the street did not return to campus. By 4:15, an agreement had been reached; students and police were to retreat line by line, five meters at a time. Most students headed back on to campus. Others relaxed on the street or snacked at food stalls alongside the highway. Hendro went to get some bottled water. Some police officers took a break. All seemed quiet. Adi Andoyo headed home.

Around 4:30 p.m., a man standing among the students began yelling at them to abandon the protest. The students labeled him an undercover intelligence agent, and began beating the man as he ran the 50 meters to the first police line. (He was later identified as Masud, a Trisakti drop-out. Neither the police nor military claim him as one of their own.) Arri and Hendro told the students to remain calm and return to campus. Then at about 4:45 a police lieutenant colonel halted the negotiations: The students had 15 minutes to get off the streets.

About 100 students refused to retreat and stood at the police barricades.

Three or four police officers began taunting them to cross, says Hendro, and the students moved forward, but no further than their own security line. Police claim crowds on the street turned violent then, but witnesses say the protest seemed to be winding down. At about 5:20 someone fired a gun in the air. The police charged, lobbed tear gas, swung batons and opened fire. The students ran for cover in nearby buildings and under street stall umbrellas. The police chased them to the Trisakti gates and stopped there. Bullets were flying. A rubber one struck Hendro in the back outside the student senate office.

The students fought back from inside campus, hurling bottles and rocks at the police. The students were convinced the bullets aimed at them were all rubber. Soldiers and police, both part of the armed forces, are trained to follow strict procedures at demonstrations. A standard operation includes four lines of forces: the police in front with shields, body protectors and batons; a second line of police with stun guns and tear gas; a third line of soldiers armed with rubber bullets and tear gas; and finally a line of soldiers and police on motorbikes with water cannons.

On that day, two police commanders later testified, officers were not issued live ammunition but carried Steyr AUG and SS-1 rifles loaded with three blanks and 12 rubber bullets, plus SS-1s loaded with five tear gas canisters apiece. But someone did use real bullets. Witnesses say men on police motorcycles drove onto an overpass that runs parallel to the toll road and the university. They were wearing uniforms of the Police Mobile Brigade. (Later, two military officers told the Human Rights Commission that a week before the demonstration, four members of the motorcycle unit went missing, along with their uniforms.)

Whoever the men on the flyover were, they used real bullets and shot to kill; the four were hit in the head, neck, chest and back between 5:30 and 6 p.m.

Most of the victims were facing police, throwing rocks. Arri drove Hendriawan Sie, 20, the first victim, to the nearby Sumber Waras hospital. Hendriawan was shot in the neck just inside the campus gates. He bled to death during the ride.

Elang Mulya Lesmana, 19, was shot in the chest and died on campus; Hafidhin Royan, 21, was shot in the head and died at the hospital; Mery Hartanto, 21, was shot in the back as he stopped to wash tear gas from his eyes and died on campus. The bullet that killed him, according to police and a source close to the military, was a 5.56mm MU5 from a Steyr AUG rifle - police use MU4s. Extracted from Hartanto's exhumed body June 7, the bullet is the only evidence suggesting police were not responsible.

Students heard sporadic shooting from 6 to 7 p.m. Some time after, the last gunshot victim, Sofyan Rachman, fell. (He remains in intensive care recovering from chest and kidney wounds.) At about 8 p.m., Intan, a law student, walked out of the campus waving a white cloth. She yelled to police that people needed medical assistance. Soon after, the shooting ended. Only then were the other 35 wounded taken to hospital; the police had earlier refused to guarantee the ambulances' safety. Moreover, says Arri, the police commander had told him that the wounds would not be life-threatening because the bullets were rubber.

Shortly after the Trisakti shootings, the north Jakarta district of Sunter went on alert. Sunter is a Chinese neighborhood. That evening, Imam Suyitno, a civilian trained to assist the army in emergencies, had been ordered to help organize a security watch. He was standing guard at the local shopping district when he and his colleagues saw an army truck pull up behind the supermarket. Up to 20 "tough-looking" men got off. Suyitno says they received something from a man on the truck before disappearing into the night.

MAY 13

AT 9:15 A.M., SEVERAL thousand students attended a memorial service at Trisakti. A plastic tent marked a blood stain on the pavement near M Building, the flag flew at half-mast, and nearly every one of the government's critics arrived to give a speech. After the commemoration had concluded and Indonesia's new political celebrities had left the scene, witnesses say the mood turned ugly fast.

A crowd had earlier gathered outside the campus gates. Now the mob began marching down the road. Sensing trouble, the students refused to leave the university grounds. Those who were there say after that the march quickly disintegrated into mayhem. Rioters vandalized cars parked at the nearby Citraland mall and set two toll booths on fire. The violence spread throughout west Jakarta and then beyond.

As smoke from many fires rose above the buildings, Adnan Buyung Nasution, a prominent lawyer, and Bambang Widjoyanto, chief of the Legal Aid Institute, met Prabowo for about 30 minutes at Kostrad headquarters. They recall asking him about his involvement in the kidnappings of at least a dozen political activists. They brought up the suspected conflict between him and Wiranto. Prabowo swore he knew nothing about the kidnappings and denied any rivalry with Wiranto.

Some time between 4 and 5 p.m., Wiranto ordered Jakarta military commander Maj.-Gen. Syafrie Syamsuddin to send troops to control the spreading violence, says a high-ranking military officer. Syafrie did order some troops on to the streets. But he did not deploy them with dispatch, send them to the areas where they were most needed or give them clear orders. Troops barracked in the western part of the city were commanded to go the east, says the officer, and those in the east to go west.

Prabowo urged Wiranto to allow him to bring his special reserve units into the capital, says a high-ranking military officer, but Wiranto refused. At about 7 p.m., Wiranto checked with Syafrie and was not pleased with the response. It was then that Wiranto asked the Central Java commander to send troops to Jakarta. Their journey took more than a full day. Prabowo and officers loyal to him, such as Syafrie, controlled most of the troops deployed in Jakarta. Before the soldiers from Central Java arrived, insiders suspect that Wiranto did not want to send out the few troops he could rely on, fearing they might encounter armed resistance.

At 6:30 p.m. Susi, a student at a central Jakarta university, was heading home by bus on her usual route, passing by Citraland and Trisakti. As the bus reached the mall, a dozen or more men surrounded it, forcing the driver to stop. They shouted at the passengers to get off, or burn with the vehicle. Eventually all 50 or so people got off the bus. Then the rioters set it aflame.

Susi began her long walk home. On the darkened highway, burning cars and motorcycles lit the way. The crowds were getting wilder. Hundreds of people were on the streets and hundreds more stood at the edges watching the destruction. An unarmed man tried to rob Susi. She refused to hand over her purse and ran. He chased her.

When he was near, Susi grabbed the man closest to her. Wahyu couldn't offer much protection, but he didn't shake her off either. Susi swore the only money she had was what she carried in her pocket, about 10 cents. He took it, she says, and yelled that she was a crazy Chinese girl.

Wahyu gave Susi his hat to help cover her face and, since they were heading in the same direction, they set off together. Along the way Susi saw a car burned with passengers inside. She heard shouts of "Banish the Chinese." Across the

highway, she saw a huddled group of girls who had been stripped naked. People stood watching. Susi tried not to.

She and Wahyu left the main road. Around 9 p.m. they stopped for tea at a family-run shop. The owners' son returned from a look at the road ahead. He would say only that "they were doing terrible things to the Chinese." The couple offered to put up Susi. Early the next morning, they arranged for a friend to drive her home and gave her a jilbab (Muslim headscarf) to wear just in case. Susi put on Wahyu's hat instead. By 9:30 a.m. she had arrived home safely.

Stores on the main road of her neighborhood had been burned and looted. Those who had written "Muslim-owned" on their shop gates were largely spared. Susi's mother, who runs a cosmetics store, didn't want to do so. Located on a side street, the store was not touched. For a week afterward, Susi's neighborhood organized night watches. Everyone gathered weapons, from samurai swords to golf clubs.

About the time Susi left her university, a Chinese Indonesian businessman arrived home in Jembatan Lima, a mostly Chinese area. His wife had called him at work, nervous about crowds of people she didn't recognize roaming the street carrying stones.

Nearby, his brother-in-law saw five rough-looking men shattering building windows with rocks to attract attention. When a group had gathered from the surrounding kampungs, the five encouraged them to enter the building (a bottled water warehouse), take what they wanted, burn what they didn't. Then they said: "Let's go damage another place." And the crowds went.

That night the neighborhood bank was looted, cars burned. A gold store was cleaned out, a food market destroyed. Residents phoned the police station and military post for help. No one answered their calls.

At about midnight, says a relief worker named Karyo, a "godfather" asked a young gang member and drug user to meet in the morning for a "street party." According to Karyo, who runs the Volunteer Team for Humanity, the man told him the godfather's request amounted to an order, so he went. He was asked to put on a school uniform, travel to an area called Klender and start a fight. He lost the group, says Karyo, before reaching the destination.

MAY 14

AT ABOUT 2 A.M., according to a military officer, the regional military command, headed by Prabowo's old friend Syafrie, began issuing radio instructions to groups on the streets. Throughout the day, people in Syafrie's HQ were overheard ordering men where to go next. Eventually the frequency was jammed; only Kopassus special forces and army intelligence can do that.

Just after dawn, says another military source, gangsters from Lampung in south Sumatra were escorted into town by Kopassus troops, the force Prabowo commanded from 1995 to February this year. A civilian who works with the military said that in the week before the riots, hundreds of young men trained by Kopassus were brought from East Timor to Jakarta. He says they were flown from Dili to Jogjakarta in chartered planes. They traveled from Jogjakarta to the capital by train. The aircraft company told Asiaweek its policy is not to discuss flights.

Early in the morning, Karyo, the volunteer aid worker, got an anonymous phone call: Jatinegara Plaza, in east Jakarta, would burn that day. Witnesses say eight men arrived in Jatinegara soon after. One set a tire ablaze to attract the attention of people living in the surrounding kampungs. When a crowd had gathered, four of the men led them to the plaza, which had opened for

business. They looted, and the security officers watched.

Hours later someone fired tear gas into the plaza's lower floor. Two witnesses say a man splashed gasoline at the entrance and then set the place on fire. On the third floor another man reportedly started a blaze by burning a roll of cloth. He escaped down the drain pipe. Seventy others, including many who worked in the plaza stores, burned to death. The fire department and police did not respond.

Further east in Klender, Yogya Plaza was also under attack. Witnesses say a group of men goaded those gathered on the streets to take what they wanted. The men, short-haired, fit and attired in black jackets, said they were college students. After several hours, one of the men warned looters to get out of the building quickly. Soon after, he and three others soaked a large piece of cloth in kerosene, touched matches to it, tossed it into the plaza and left. About 100 people died there.

In west Jakarta, a crowd gathered in Meruya. They had heard a rumor that the neighborhood market would be burned. Soon, witnesses say, two minibuses dropped off a group of men well past their teenage years but wearing high school uniforms. They used gasoline bombs to start a fire. As residents watched the blaze, the men slipped away.

Later that morning, a few men who looked too old and big for the high school uniforms they were wearing started fighting on the main street of Sunter. Soon they began to burn tires. At least three motorcyclists were seen circling the neighborhood. Suyitno, a community military liaison, says he offered one directions, but the motorcyclist rode away.

Suyitno had been in regular communication with the local military command post for the past two days. He says someone at headquarters told him: "If you are stoned by the rioters, respond with a smile. I order you only to smile, that is all." Soldiers in the area say they received similar commands, or none at all. When some officers provided superiors with details of the spreading violence, they were told to stand by for instructions. Suyitno says an officer told him: "I have noticed that similarly unclear orders have been issued in Jatinegara and Klender."

Meanwhile, police units were ordered to assemble in their compounds but stay put, says a source close to Jakarta police commander, Maj.-Gen. Hamami Nata (who was later replaced). Most police dared not leave, he says, because they were not sure whose orders to follow. Firemen also were told not to report to work.

Glodok Plaza stands at the center of Jakarta's commercial district, Chinatown. Muladi, a security officer, watched as more than 2,000 people walked to the plaza at 4 p.m., some carrying bags of stones, others with tools to pry open the gates. A few carried gasoline bombs. The police fired in the air, but the mob ignored them. Eventually the police stepped aside; Glodok Plaza was ripped open and burned out. People carted off computers, refrigerators and TVs until the fire began around 7 p.m. Nobody arrived to douse the flames. "It was worse than war," Muladi recalls, "because we couldn't call for back-up."

By late afternoon the smoke had thickened in a Chinese businessman's neighborhood, flames were visible and he was nervous. He could not pass through by car so he tried to make his way by foot. A large crowd had gathered, its size daunting the few military men in sight. Then the businessman saw more people running from inside the compound. As they approached a supermarket, a few at the front of the mob broke its metal door and then kept moving. A second group rushed inside, dragged out some clothing and set it on fire. Others encouraged bystanders to loot.

It was the middle of the night before he reached his home. Fire still lapped at what was left of it. It was the next morning before he could enter,

accompanied by two military policemen. The first and second floors had been gutted. He made his way to the family apartment on the third floor. The living room had been ransacked and what was left had been singed. In his bedroom he found his wife, burned to death. Under the bed, he found the body of his younger daughter, aged 17. He discovered his eldest daughter, 18, in a wardrobe. She had died with a mobile phone and bible in her hands.

Throughout the day, up to 468 women were attacked by groups of men in over 15 places, says Rosita Noer, a doctor and human-rights activist. In 10 areas, groups of women were assaulted. They were attacked in their shops, homes and cars. Sometimes men were made to undress and watch. Or rape their neighbors. The attackers were strangers to their victims. Most women were Chinese, the others may have been mistaken for Chinese or working for Chinese families. At least 20 were killed or died after being raped; others killed themselves.

According to Ita Nadia, head of the women's center Kalyanamitra, 10 men forced their way into one house, smashing everything they could lay their hands on. Then they raped the mother and daughter in front of the father and son. An elderly woman at home watching her grandchildren was raped with a bottle. Elsewhere, a mother tried to kill herself after her two teenage daughters were attacked in front of her. One father gave his daughter Baygon insecticide to help her commit suicide after she was assaulted. A mother died of a heart attack after hearing her daughter had been raped.

In a 15-floor apartment building in the middle-class area of Pluit, in north Jakarta, several groups of men moved systematically from floor to floor attacking Chinese women. From 9 a.m. to noon, they had control of the building and may have raped more than 40 girls and women.

Three sisters were minding the family shop when seven "dark, strong, not ordinary" men forced their way in around 4 p.m. The girls ran to their apartment on the third floor. The men chased and caught them. They raped the younger two sisters, telling the third that she was too old for them. Then arsonists set fire to the ground floor, and the two girls were pushed to their deaths. The eldest sister was rescued by neighbors. The attackers moved through the community; by 7 p.m. several women had been raped and the district burned.

In three Chinese areas of west Jakarta, between 5 and 8 p.m., dozens of men dragged a hundred or so girls on to the streets, stripped them and forced them to dance before a crowd. Twenty were raped, then some burned alive, says Noer. She examined six other victims attacked in their homes in different areas of Jakarta. The girls were all between the ages of 14 and 20; four of them had been raped by seven men. Their entire genital areas, from vagina to anus, had been torn open. "They can be physically cured," says Noer. "But they will be haunted by this forever."

At about 7:30 p.m., Wiranto appeared on television and said the military could control the situation. But the absence of security forces on the streets prompted many embassies to issue evacuation orders. Thousands of foreigners, as well as many ethnic Chinese, began fleeing Jakarta.

As the rapes and looting continued, Prabowo was at Kostrad headquarters, where he met representatives of a youth group and Muslim organizations. According to someone who was there, Prabowo asked them to help calm the situation and give their support to Syafrie. Prabowo was tense, but calm, says his associate. Those who stayed for dinner ordered food; an armored car was sent to pick it up. At about 1 a.m., Prabowo visited the powerful Muslim leader Gus Dur at his home. Then Prabowo returned to Kostrad, where he would stay almost continuously for the next week.

<Picture: Pathfinder><Picture: This Week Online><Picture: Asiaweek
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<Picture>

Subject: Viva dates
Date: Fri, 7 Aug 1998 04:08:37 -0400
From: Jack Turner <noukri@compuserve.com>
To: Peter Carey <will.carey@virgin.net>

Dear Peter

A short note to confirm that I have your email address correct and to let you know when I am available for a viva. This next month I am in Georgia, but I am due back around the 5th of September. I will be here for only a week or so, then I am off to Malaysia and Indonesia to do some research. I hope this brief window suits, as I will not be back in the UK before January 1999.

I hope to be able to access this email address from Georgia, but if not, I can be reached at jturner@jturner.pvt.ge or, failing that, helenaf@access.sanet.ge

best wishes

Jack

Subject: ASIAWEEK Special Investigative Report on May Riots (Pt-2)

Date: Wed, 22 Jul 1998 15:10:33 +0100 (BST)

From: tapol@gn.apc.org (TAPOL)

To: indonesia-act@igc.apc.org, aradea@dds.nl, taylorjb@vax.sbu.ac.uk,
will.carey@virgin.net, sliem@xs4all.nl

ASIAWEEK SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ON MAY RIOTS -- PART TWO (End)

MAY15-19

OVER THE NEXT FOUR days the violence ebbed and the drama moved off the streets. Suharto returned from Cairo at 4:40 a.m. on May 15, landing at Halim military airport in east Jakarta. A convoy of 100 armored vehicles escorted him to his home in central Jakarta. Soon after, the first Scorpion tanks and battalions rolled into the city center.

Shattered glass, blackened cars, smashed televisions and much more littered the streets. Banks, businesses, government offices and schools were closed. Only the international airport was open. As firefighters extinguished blazes at malls, the death toll rose. Fathers looking for their children, wives searching for their husbands arrived at hospitals to identify victims. In most cases the bodies were unrecognizable, and hundreds were buried in mass graves.

Paramedics from the Volunteer Team for Humanity came across a badly injured man outside a military compound in east Jakarta. They brought him to their headquarters to treat his head wounds. There, says the group's founder Father Sandyan, the man confessed to being recruited, shown how to start trouble, paid an initial two dollars and transported to Jatinegara by men he could not identify or easily describe.

He said he had been part of a group of eight recruits from West Java, who had been given stones and gasoline bombs. He thought he was the only one of the eight to survive the riots. Father Sandyan said that the young men had been housed and briefed for two weeks in a military compound on the southern outskirts of the city. (He believes the account but cannot say how accurate his information is because the man is suffering a brain injury.)

The exodus gathered pace. Thousands of ethnic Chinese Indonesians and foreigners left by air, by water if they had to. At 5 a.m. on May 17, a foreign woman and her infant were escorted to the airport under diplomatic protection. At every roadblock, the driver gave a prearranged signal. Soldiers hidden behind the barricades appeared to let the car through. Some believe the troops were told not to stand in full view because commanders feared attacks, possibly by other soldiers.

Prabowo visited the Jakarta home of slain student Hery Hartanto at 10 a.m. on May 17. As Hery's parents looked on, Prabowo held a copy of the Koran over his head and swore he did not order the Trisakti killings. Hery's father, Sjahrir Muljo Utomo, a retired army officer, later said he did not know whether to believe him or not.

As Jakarta residents began to clean up, Suharto's former allies started looking for a face-saving way to convince him to resign. Parliamentary leaders talked of impeachment. But this was potentially unconstitutional and threatened to spark a confrontation between the military and Parliament. As it was, a clash was looming between soldiers and activists who planned a million-person demonstration on May 20.

Then Wiranto asserted himself, throwing his support behind Suharto, but urging the president to appoint a new cabinet and launch reforms. Meanwhile, the

students, emboldened by Suharto's fading presence, decided to take their protest to the citadel of his power. The first protesters arrived at Parliament by military transport early May 19. They wore their university jackets and showed their identity cards at the gate.

At 11 a.m., Suharto made a rare appearance on national television. Reading from a script, he vowed to leave office as soon as possible. He promised new parliamentary elections under new laws; that neither he nor Habibie would seek another term in office; and that he would set up a council to oversee political reform.

Afterward, the students said they would not leave Parliament until Suharto quit. That night some 3,000 students stayed on the Parliament grounds. They slept in tents or on plastic sheets. Middle-class supporters passed them food and bottled water.

Habibie called on Suharto that night, associates say, fearing his political career had ended prematurely that morning. Suharto had pledged to hold elections rather than hand over to his vice president. Habibie, say colleagues, was hurt. He promised Suharto a dignified retirement, and warned that others might not be so reasonable.

MAY 20-21

IN THE HOURS BEFORE dawn, the city had been sealed off. Hundreds of troops armed with assault rifles and backed by light tanks and armored personnel carriers patrolled Jakarta. The National Monument, where the million-person protest was to occur, was cordoned off, surrounded by barbed wire and heavily guarded. The march was canceled.

That evening Wiranto told Suharto that the only constitutional way to transfer power was to cede the presidency to Habibie. Wiranto made three demands of Habibie: Wiranto would remain armed forces chief, Habibie would commit to reform, Prabowo would be transferred.

But Habibie had come to know Prabowo. They had both lived abroad. They shared an interest in promoting Muslim interests. They needed each other. Prabowo had helped Habibie make friends with senior officers. And, say associates, during the week, he worked with Habibie to encourage Suharto to resign. In turn, they say, Habibie agreed to make Prabowo army chief.

At 9 a.m. on May 21, Suharto resigned on national television and asked for forgiveness. Habibie seemed to hesitate before stepping up to be sworn in as Indonesia's third president since Independence.

Late that night, says a senior military official, Prabowo appeared at the presidential palace in full battle gear, armed with an automatic pistol and accompanied by truckloads of special Kostrad troops who had stripped off their regimental markings. Prabowo wanted to force Habibie to honor his promise that Prabowo would be promoted to army commander.

Habibie's aide-de-camp called Wiranto and Feisal Tanjung, a former armed forces commander, to the palace. Feisal warned Habibie that Prabowo was too dangerous a man to lead the army. Habibie later told people he feared for his life that night.

EPILOGUE

Habibie announced his cabinet at 10:30 a.m. on May 22. Students still occupied Parliament, demanding that he step down. Several thousand members of Muslim

youth organizations, supporters of Habibie and protected by Prabowo's troops, arrived at the complex that afternoon. The confrontation was tense, but did not turn violent. By midnight soldiers had cleared Parliament.

The military announced on June 6 that it was charging two police commanders from the Mobile Brigade with disobeying orders and not controlling their troops at Trisakti. They face maximum sentences of 28 months in prison. Fifteen other suspects await court martial.

The then-national police chief, Gen. Dibydo Widodo, denied his troops were responsible for the deaths of the four students. He said on June 7: "We have checked with every officer assigned there and found that none of our men used live ammunition." On June 24 Wiranto transferred him, along with other top military commanders, calling it a routine rotation. Insiders say the police chief lost his job because he refused to take the blame for the shootings. After meeting the parents of the four slain students for 30 minutes June 22, Habibie called them "reform heroes."

At police headquarters, three students and a Trisakti security official guard the bullet taken from Hery Hartanto's body June 7. Whenever the bullet is removed from a safe for tests, the team records it on videotape and notes its markings to make sure the bullet has not been switched. The police promised not to open the safe without a university representative there.

Theoretically it is possible to identify which gun fired the bullet that killed Hartanto. But in practice it may not be. The Indonesian military possesses more than 2,000 Steyr rifles (the weapon determined to have been used in the killings) and is resisting an open investigation. Plus it is possible to buy Steyrs on the black market. Authorities have confiscated 21 weapons from officers on duty May 12, but have not handed them over to investigators.

Adnan Buyung Nasution, the lead defense lawyer and a noted human-rights activist, says: "It is far too early to make conclusions about who is responsible, but the military has tried to limit the investigation." He has said, repeatedly, that the trial is "engineered." The military judge closely questions the defendants' testimony, but witnesses for the prosecution are rarely challenged. His displeasure with Buyung is obvious. On at least one occasion the two shouted at each other in court, prompting security guards around the room to snap to. And more than once the judge has threatened to banish Buyung from the trial.

On May 28, the day Prabowo was installed as head of an army staff college in Bandung, he said reports of his attempted coup were "rubbish, rubbish, rubbish." But a senior military officer says Suharto has refused to speak to Prabowo, even when Prabowo visited his father-in-law on June 8, Suharto's 77th birthday.

Syafrie admitted on June 13 that in parts of Jakarta, some riots were "sporadically organized" by groups. The Jakarta military commander, a Prabowo ally, was transferred June 24, after serving in the post for eight months.

Jakarta city police have summoned a Chinese ex-convict-turned-Muslim-preacher for questioning about his role in the riots. Anton Medan was on the streets of Jakarta May 14, to dissuade people from violence, he says. A source close to the military believes Medan was offered money to send boys to start trouble, but refused. That, he says, may be why someone gave Medan's name to the authorities. So far, he is the only suspect that the military has named.

The armed forces has said its own investigation did not find evidence of rapes and that not a single victim had come forward. State Minister for Women's Affairs Tutty Alawiyah also at first denied that women were raped during the riots. But on July 8 she formed an all-woman team to help those assaulted. Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a member of the National Commission on Human

Rights, warned July 9 of a possible attempt at a cover-up because some rape victims had been warned to keep quiet. The commission has called for an independent probe into the shootings, riots and rapes and an official apology.

On July 13, Habibie formed a team to probe the riots; it includes Wiranto, the attorney general and the home, foreign and justice ministers. The next day, Military Police Chief Maj.-Gen. Syamsu Djalal said seven Kopassus troops had been arrested for the abduction of pro-democracy activists kidnapped earlier this year. On July 15 Habibie condemned the May violence.

A source close to the military says that, as of early July, 74 Kopassus soldiers were missing from their barracks. He believes they are on Jakarta's streets, collecting information and covering their tracks. Two human-rights activists, Father Sandyawan and Ita Nadia, have been warned (with a live grenade) to end their investigations into the riots and rapes.