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- Email from the Foreign Bases Project (11.04.1999) Subj.: BBC: Attack on Bishop Belo | 3 pp.
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- Email from the Foreign Bases Project (11.04.1999) Subj.: Belo bishop suspends mediation talks
- Letter to the Hon. William Jefferson Clinton & the Hon. Madeleine Albright from Melvin Talbert (15.04.1999)
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- Email from the Foreign Bases Project (18.04.1999) Subj.: IHT: Timor Militia Killings Raise doubts on future | 2 pp.
- Email from Tapol (19.04.1999) Subj.: Belo seeks proper for Saturday's dead
- Email Foreign Bases Project (07.04.1999) Subj.: AGE: Defence paper 'riled' Minister | 2 pp.
- Email from joyo@aol.com (05.09.1999) Subj.: The Guardian: Militias 'intent on genocide' | 4 pp.
- Email from joyo@aol.com (05.09.1999) Subj.: Desperate diplomatic effort: Chinese would veto peace force for E. Ti | 2 pp.
- Email from joyo@aol.com (05.09.1999) Subj.: NYT: Indon.'s assurances to UN now proved to be hollow | 2 pp.
- Email from joyo@aol.com (15.09.1999) Subj.: Indon. double agent reveals reconciliation 'charade'
- Email from joyo@aol.com (15.09.1999) Subj.: East Timor relief drops delayed by Indon military: PM
- Email from joyo@aol.com (15.09.1999) Subj.: Harold Crouch: Don't rush to write off our Indon links | 2 pp.
- Email from joyo@aol.com (15.09.1999) Subj.: JP: Gen. Kiki warns UN troops; militia vows to "eat their hearts" | 3 pp.
- Immediate Release: Health Care situation precarious as East Timor nears vote; medical group reports abuses of physicians and patients (24.08.1999) | 3 pp.

**Subject: Mary Robinson criticises UN over Timor 'horrors'**

**Date: 23 Sep 1999 22:34:27**

**From: Joyo@aol.com**

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

Subject: Mary Robinson criticises UN over Timor 'horrors'

Irish Times [Dublin]

Friday, September 24, 1999

Robinson criticises UN  
over Timor 'horrors'

By Rachel Donnelly, in London

EAST TIMOR: The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mrs Mary Robinson, has said the world "all but failed" the test of its preparedness to bridge the gap between aspiration and the protection of human rights in East Timor.

In a speech last night in London's Royal Festival Hall Mrs Robinson said the warning signs were there, but the horrors of East Timor still happened. "Action, when it came, was painfully slow; thousands paid for the slow response of the international community with their lives.

"The murders, maimings, rapes and countless other atrocities committed by the militias with the involvement of elements of the security forces were especially repugnant because they came in the aftermath of the freely expressed wishes of the East Timorese people about their political future," she said.

Peace-enforcing would be necessary in East Timor, as in other areas of conflict. However, the deployment of such forces was "an admission of earlier failures" and should only take place when authorised by the Security Council and with the aim to protect the civilian population on all sides.

When human rights aspirations were not matched by reality, the UN usually got the blame. Mrs Robinson acknowledged that the UN had many failings. It could be "cumbersome and slow-moving" and she admitted that the lack of credibility in the UN structures was "very worrying" and must be urgently addressed.

The question of accountability for gross human rights violations must also be addressed, she said. One need look no further than Northern Ireland for evidence of "unpalatable" decisions in the interests of lasting peace and reconciliation, but there were many ways of addressing the issue of impunity. To that end, she had called for the establishment of an international commission of inquiry into gross human rights violations in East Timor.

In Geneva, at a session of the UN Commission on Human Rights convened at the request of Portugal, the EU supported Mrs Robinson's call for an international inquiry.

-Storyref-

9905320

-Filename-

surround

-Path-

1999/09/14/

-Dates-

19990914

-Slugline-

TIMOR-SURROUND Sep-14-1999 (240 words) xxxi

-Headline-

Refugee camp surrounded by Indonesian military, say church sources

-Alerts-

-Byline-

By Stephen Steele

Catholic News Service

-Text-

NEW YORK (CNS) -- The Indonesian military encircled a refugee camp in Dare, East Timor, and was preparing to attack, said church sources in the territory.

As of Sept. 14, troop movement had been reported for days in the territory, with Indonesian soldiers moving into the hills surrounding Dili, the capital. A church source outside Dili said by telephone Sept. 14 that the Indonesian military had surrounded the refugee camp, located on the grounds of a seminary, with heavy artillery equipment.

"They are preparing to bomb the whole mountain tomorrow," according to the source.

Several thousand people are said to be living in the Dare camp, including many who had been residing in the U.N. mission compound in Dili before staff evacuated Sept. 13. Most people in Dare supported independence, and their lives are in grave danger, according to the source.

Meanwhile, the International Committee of the Red Cross returned to East Timor Sept. 14 and began delivering limited supplies under heavy guard to refugees around Dili. The committee's movements were restricted due to violence at the hands of the militias, according to a humanitarian aid official.

The Red Cross delivered provisions to a Salesian convent in Dili, where more than 100 people have been residing since early September.

"They were here this morning and they dropped off baby food, and thank God for that because we have so many young children here," said Salesian Sister Marlene Bautista, an American.

END

-Timestamp-

09/14/1999 2:10 PM ET

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-Keywords-

-End-



FROM THE OFFICE OF  
U. S. SENATOR RUSSELL FEINGOLD

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webpage: //feingold.senate.gov/

DATE:

9/15/99

TO:

ARNOLD

301 585-3288

FROM:

LINDA

Total Pages (including this cover page): 8

Do you have time to review?

This may actually be moving.

Hope you  
are well

—LINDA

O:\RYN\RYN99.967

S.L.C.

DRAFT 9/15/99 9 am

AMENDMENT NO. \_\_\_\_\_

Calendar No. \_\_\_\_\_

Purpose: To provide substitute text.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—106th Cong., 1st Sess.

## S. 1568

To impose an immediate suspension of assistance to the Government of Indonesia until the results of the August 30, 1999, vote in East Timor have been implemented, and for other purposes.

Referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_  
and ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT intended to be proposed by Mr. FEINGOLD ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

Viz:

- 1 Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the fol-
- 2 lowing:

- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

- 4 This Act may be cited as the "East Timor Self-Deter-
- 5 mination Act of 1999".

- 6 SEC. 2. SUSPENSION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

- 7 (a) MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.—

- 8 (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in sub-
- 9 section (c), the Secretary of the Treasury shall in-

1       struct the United States executive directors to the  
2       international financial institutions to oppose, and  
3       vote against, any extension by those institutions of  
4       any financial assistance (including any technical as-  
5       sistance or grant) of any kind to the Government of  
6       Indonesia.

7               (2) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of  
8       Congress that the international financial institutions  
9       should withhold the balance of any undisbursed ap-  
10      proved loans or other assistance to the Government  
11      of Indonesia.

12              (3) INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
13      DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term “inter-  
14      national financial institution” includes the Inter-  
15      national Monetary Fund, the International Bank for  
16      Reconstruction and Development, the International  
17      Development Association, the International Finance  
18      Corporation, the Multilateral Investment Guaranty  
19      Agency, and the Asian Development Bank.

20              (b) RESTRICTION ON BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSIST-  
21      ANCE.—Except as provided in subsection (c), none of the  
22      funds appropriated or otherwise made available to carry  
23      out chapter 1 of part I (relating to development assist-  
24      ance) or chapter 4 of part II (relating to economic support  
25      fund assistance) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961

1 may be available for Indonesia, except subject to the pro-  
2 cedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under  
3 section 634A of that Act.

4 (c) EXCEPTION.—Subsections (a) and (b) shall not  
5 apply to the provision of food or medical assistance to In-  
6 donesia or East Timor for humanitarian purposes.

7 (d) CONDITIONS FOR TERMINATION.—The measures  
8 described in subsections (a) and (b) shall apply until the  
9 President determines and certifies to the appropriate con-  
10 gressional committees that the Government of Indonesia  
11 is cooperating with efforts by the international community  
12 to establish a safe and secure environment in East Timor,  
13 including the Government of Indonesia's taking significant  
14 steps to—

15 (1) end the violence perpetrated by units of the  
16 Indonesian armed forces and by armed militias;

17 (2) enable displaced persons and refugees to re-  
18 turn home;

19 (3) ensure freedom of movement within East  
20 Timor, including access by humanitarian organiza-  
21 tions to all areas of East Timor; and

22 (4) implement the results of the August 30,  
23 1999, referendum on independence for East Timor.



1 SEC. 3. SUSPENSION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE.

2 (a) PROHIBITIONS ON COOPERATION AND SUP-  
3 PORT.—

4 (1) ASSISTANCE.—None of the funds appro-  
5 priated or otherwise made available under the follow-  
6 ing provisions of law (including unexpended balances  
7 of prior year appropriations) may be available for  
8 Indonesia:

9 (A) The Foreign Military Financing Pro-  
10 gram under section 23 of the Arms Export  
11 Control Act.

12 (B) Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign  
13 Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to military as-  
14 sistance).

15 (C) Chapter 5 of part II of the Foreign  
16 Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to inter-  
17 national military education and training assist-  
18 ance).

19 (2) LICENSING.—None of the funds appro-  
20 priated or otherwise made available under the follow-  
21 ing provisions of law (including unexpended balances  
22 of prior year appropriations) may be available for li-  
23 censing exports of defense articles or defense serv-  
24 ices to Indonesia under section 38 of the Arms Ex-  
25 port Control Act.

1 (3) DELIVERIES.—No defense article or defense  
2 service may be exported or delivered to Indonesia by  
3 any United States person or any person subject to  
4 the jurisdiction of the United States.

5 (b) CONDITIONS FOR TERMINATION.—The measures  
6 described in subsection (a) shall apply with respect to the  
7 Government of Indonesia until the President determines  
8 and certifies to the appropriate congressional committees  
9 that—

10 (1) a safe and secure environment exists in  
11 East Timor, that Timorese who were forced to flee  
12 the militia-led violence are able to safely return to  
13 East Timor, and that there is freedom of movement  
14 within East Timor;

15 (2) there exists freedom of movement in East  
16 Timor, including access by humanitarian organiza-  
17 tions to all areas of East Timor;

18 (3) the United Nations Assistance Mission in  
19 East Timor (UNAMET) can resume its mandate  
20 pursuant to the June 11, 1999, authorization by the  
21 United Nations Security Council, and any subse-  
22 quent authorization by the Security Council, without  
23 threat or intimidation of its personnel;

24 (4) significant steps have been taken to imple-  
25 ment the results of the August 30, 1999, vote on

1 East Timor's political status, which expressed the  
2 will of a majority of the Timorese people; and

3 (5) the armed forces of Indonesia clearly—

4 (A) have ceased engaging in violence in  
5 East Timor;

6 (B) have ceased their support and training  
7 of the armed militias in East Timor and the  
8 other elements in East Timor that are attempt-  
9 ing to reverse the results of the August 30,  
10 1999, vote in East Timor; and

11 (C) are conducting a monitored withdrawal  
12 of their forces from East Timor in coordination  
13 with the United Nations and in accordance with  
14 an orderly process of transferring sovereignty  
15 from Indonesia to an independent East Timor.

16 **SEC. 4. MULTILATERAL EFFORTS.**

17 The President should coordinate with other countries,  
18 particularly member states of the Asia-Pacific Economic  
19 Cooperation (APEC) Forum, to develop a comprehensive,  
20 multilateral strategy to further the purposes of this Act,  
21 including urging other countries to take measures similar  
22 to those described in this Act.

POPE-INDONESIA Aug-25-1999 (320 words) With photo. xxxi

Pope prays for peace in Indonesia and East Timor

By Lynne Weil

Catholic News Service

VATICAN CITY (CNS) -- Pope John Paul II prayed for peace in Indonesia and East Timor, saying their situations were "always present in my heart."

At the end of his Aug 25 general audience, the pontiff asked the faithful to pray for world peace.

Turning first to East Timor, Pope John Paul prayed "that all its inhabitants and all others involved in the events of that territory" work sincerely for reconciliation and help heal historical wounds "with mutual respect and love."

Pope John Paul also expressed his "firm condemnation" of Christian-Muslim fighting in Indonesia and called for an end to "the violence which has until now caused innumerable victims and huge damage."

The pope said he hoped that the region's people can "reconstruct in pardon and justice the peaceful relations which for so long have characterized the coexistence of the two communities."

In mid-August, Muslim and Christian mobs armed with bows and arrows, swords and spears clashed in Indonesia. Army troops were deployed to halt the fighting. More than 400 deaths have been attributed to such battles since the start of the year.

The same day the pope spoke, more than 10,000 East Timorese in Dili, the capital, took part in the largest pro-independence rally in the territory's 23 years of Indonesian military rule.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 after it declared its independence. The next year, Indonesia annexed East Timor as its 27th province. Church and human rights groups say some 200,000 East Timorese have died from fighting, starvation and disease since the invasion.

The territory's population of 800,000 is predominantly Catholic.

In the run-up to an Aug. 30 election on autonomy, pro-Indonesia militaries were terrorizing much of the East Timorese population, and posters were circulated threatening death to Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo of Dili.

Indonesian President B.J. Habibie has said if the voters reject autonomy, Indonesia would consider granting the territory independence. END

**Subject: AGE: Timor: plan for UN rule**

**Date:** Fri, 30 Jul 1999 13:19:01 -0700 (PDT)

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

**Newsgroups:** reg.easttimor

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

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

Received from Joyo Indonesian News:

The Age [Australia]

July 31, 1999

Timor: plan for UN rule

By MARK RILEY

NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, FRIDAY

EXCLUSIVE

The United Nations is drafting plans for an administration to rule East Timor for up to four years if, as expected, the territory votes to break away from Indonesia.

In interviews with The Age, senior UN officials have revealed they are preparing to establish an elaborate interim government structure in the event of a yes vote for independence in next month's referendum.

The officials said that during the period Australia and other countries with a particular interest in the future of East Timor would have to be prepared to maintain large commitments of money, police and soldiers.

The most pressing issue, emphasised by the Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Alexander Downer, this week, is getting an agreement with Jakarta on bolstering the UN police presence in the territory after the vote.

The first significant step towards achieving this was taken yesterday when the UN invited senior Indonesian military and police officials to New York next week for a series of crucial meetings on post-ballot security.

At the same time, Australia has begun a new push within the UN for a senior military envoy to be appointed to negotiate separately with the Indonesian army on increasing the international military presence in the territory after the vote.

The Australian proposal is to forge an agreement with the Indonesian generals to allow UN peacekeepers to gradually replace Indonesian soldiers in East Timor if there is a move to independence.

Another meeting of senior UN and Indonesian Government officials has also been scheduled in Jakarta in mid-August to finalise arrangements for post-ballot security.

UN officials said that all the discussions would relate to the period between the ballot on 30 August and the ratification of the outcome by the new Indonesian Parliament, between two and three months later.

The ultimate composition of the UN mission during this period, known as phase II of the self-determination process, will depend heavily on the outcome of the vote.

Observers believe the possibility of widespread violence will be greatest if, as expected, the East Timorese reject the option of autonomy within Indonesia and opt for independence.

Anti-independence militia have been responsible for several attacks in recent months, backed covertly by elements of the Indonesian military.

There are deepening concerns that those attacks could worsen and be met by reprisals from pro-independence guerrilla forces if a strong security presence is not maintained.

The magnitude of the task ahead was reinforced by Mr Downer, who today became the first Australian foreign minister to visit the Timorese capital, Dili. He described the post-ballot period as ``very dangerous'' and committed Australia to support plans to boost the UN force already in the territory.

He also hinted that Australian troops might be sent to East Timor if the vote is for independence.

``As the Indonesian security forces withdrew the UN would be increasingly responsible for security,'' he said.

He said that while at first he thought it would be a miracle if the ballot could be held successfully, the security environment had improved and ``I think there is a chance it can be achieved''.

``But I am not calling the game over yet,'' Mr Downer said. ``There is a long way to go. There are enormous risks ahead. There has been so much violence for so long it could very easily erupt again.''

UN officials emphasised this week that the Indonesian army would retain the primary responsibility for security in the phase II period and that any build-up of UN forces would be gradual.

``There seems to be this growing misconception that we can just send in the cavalry if violence breaks out after the consultations (ballot), but that simply is not true,'' one official said.

It would take several weeks for the UN to mount a peacekeeping mission, which could be done only with the approval of the Security Council.

Contingency plans for such a mission have been discussed for several weeks in various departments of the UN, but no formal strategy has been finalised.

If the vote is for independence, Indonesia would maintain administrative control of the territory until the outcome was ratified by the Indonesian Parliament. It would then hand over responsibility to the UN in what would become phase III.

That part of the process is expected to be the most critical, requiring a new civil administration to take immediate control of all government services, including health, education, justice, electricity and water. The UN expects it will have to maintain a strong military, police and administrative presence in East Timor for up to four years after the vote to allow it sufficient time to establish an effective independent administration.

Diplomats voiced private concerns this week that the UN planning for such an outcome has been inadequate.

``I really don't think we realise the immensity of the task ahead of us if we move to independence in Timor,'' one diplomat said.

**From:** etisc@indigo.ie <etisc@indigo.ie>  
**To:** Recipients of etimor-private <etimor-private@igc.apc.org>  
**Date:** Saturday, May 29, 1999 5:46 AM  
**Subject:** Actual situation

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\*\*\* This is a private communication. Do not circulate without approval. \*\*\*

In Suai, 7,000 people from Atambua (West Timor) have been brought in, and provided with identity cards for East Timor. They belong to FPDK Forum Persatuan Demokrasi dan Keadilan, pro-integration group lead by Domingos das Dores (Bupati Dili). They are each paid 250,000 rupiah each month.

Last night in Dili pro-independence supporter Pedro Barreto has his house raided by militia Besi Merah Putih and Aitarak. They escaped, but everything was stolen from their house. Besi Merah Putih also receive 250,000 Rp a month and 20kg of rice.

East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign  
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Mobile 087 286 0122  
Fax 00 353 1 671 9207  
Timorese Community in Ireland 00 353 1 453 1462  
web <http://indigo.ie/~etisc/>  
Offices in:  
Dublin  
Belfast  
Laois  
Galway  
Claremorris

Number: 10264      Date: 11-May-99      Type: B      Code:

### **Vote Wisely, Lay Down Arms, Bishop Belo Says**

DILI, East Timor (CWNews.com/Fides) -- Amid a fresh eruption of violence between pro-Indonesia militiamen and pro-independence activists, Bishop Carlos Belo of Dili encouraged East Timorese to wisely take the opportunity to choose the best future of the troubled region and urged the warring parties to lay down arms in preparation for the August 8 referendum.

Bishop Belo said at Mass on Sunday that East Timorese were entering a new phase in which they must prepare to determine their own future. "Raise your voices wisely and in a mature, democratic manner, not on the basis of emotional feelings, revenge, and the past civil war," the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize winner said.

The bishop explained the ballot options for the largely illiterate congregation. "If the offer of wide-ranging autonomy is accepted, it means we will live with Indonesians under the unitary state of the republic," Bishop Belo said. "On the other hand, if we reject the offer, East Timor will be returned to [the protection of] the United Nations and Portugal, and we will prepare ourselves to become an independent nation free from the Republic of Indonesia."

The bishop also condemned the violence between factions that has claimed hundreds of lives in recent weeks. "We hope, therefore, that until August 8 all East Timorese maintain security and order to enable the direct ballot to be conducted in peace," he said. "Lay down all arms and let us learn to live in a democracy, in which any result of public consultation will not result in groups who win or lose."

The rising violence erupted as UN advisers arrived in Dili on Saturday. Om Prakash Rathor, the UN's civilian police official, said he would spend one week in the region to study security needs for the plebiscite on the future of East Timor. Rathor and five other officials prepared for the arrival of international civilian police who were expected to reach the region this month. Indonesia stressed that the police are there "as merely advisers and not a peacekeeping force."

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Use BACK button to return to selection list.

[Back to home page.](#)



Subj: **Xanana on Postponement and Dare-II**  
Date: 6/23/99 1:34:35 PM Eastern Daylight Time  
From: [tapol@gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@gn.apc.org) (TAPOL)  
To: [east-timor@igc.apc.org](mailto:east-timor@igc.apc.org), [indonesia-act@igc.apc.org](mailto:indonesia-act@igc.apc.org)  
CC: [fortilos@indo.net.id](mailto:fortilos@indo.net.id), [solidmor@centrin.net.id](mailto:solidmor@centrin.net.id) (Solidamor), [askohen@AOL.com](mailto:askohen@AOL.com), [mriht@pacific.net.sg](mailto:mriht@pacific.net.sg),  
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CNRT - Timor-Leste  
xanana gusmão

## STATEMENT

The East Timorese political process has undergone significant developments over the last few months. The UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has already pronounced himself on the brief delaying of the Consultation formerly set for 8 August 1999.

All parties involved in this process, and obviously the UN Secretary General, are unanimous in considering that the existence of conditions of security and tranquillity in East Timor is a prerequisite and a sine qua none condition for the holding of a free, fair and democratic consultation.

In this moment of decision, I wish to reaffirm my full confidence in the evaluation of the situation in East Timor made by the UN Secretary General and the UN Assistance Mission to East Timor (UNAMET), and consequently, in the decision on the manner in which the New York Agreement signed on 5 May 1999 should be implemented, particularly in relation to the date of the popular consultation.

I hereby express our firm commitment to continue to work and co-operate with

all parties involved in the process, so as to guarantee to the People of East Timor the needed and yearned for peace and tranquillity.

An event of crucial importance for the East Timorese political process is about to take place: the Dialogue and Reconciliation meetings. I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to the Reverend Bishops, D. Carlos Ximenes Belo e D. Basilio do Nascimento, for the remarkable efforts they have made for these meetings to become a reality.

The Dialogue and Reconciliation meetings, which will take place in Jakarta in the coming days, would not have been possible without the co-operation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. I wish to seize this opportunity to acknowledge the efforts undertaken by the Government and diplomatic officials in the various Indonesian diplomatic representations throughout the world to facilitate the travels of the East Timorese in the Diaspora who will participate in these meetings.

I send my heartfelt and cordial greetings to all my East Timorese Brothers and Sisters who will participate in the Dialogue and Reconciliation meetings. It is our duty to present the People of East Timor with the outcome it expects: ensure the tranquillity and peace of mind they have been yearning for so long. I trust that all of us, together, will prove worthy of the confidence and respect of our People.

Salemba, 23 June 1999

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão

+++++

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign  
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Surrey CR7 8HW, UK  
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email: [tapol@gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@gn.apc.org)  
Internet: [www.gn.apc.org/tapol](http://www.gn.apc.org/tapol)  
Campaigning to expose human rights violations in  
Indonesia, East Timor, West Papua and Aceh

25 years - and still going strong

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Wed, 23 Jun 1999 13:34:34 -0400

Received: from [monsoon.mail.pipex.net](mailto:monsoon.mail.pipex.net) ([monsoon.dial.pipex.net](mailto:monsoon.dial.pipex.net) [158.43.128.69]) by [rly-yc05.mx.aol.com](mailto:rly-yc05.mx.aol.com) (vx) with SMTP;  
Wed, 23 Jun 1999 13:34:28 -0400

Received: (qmail 13370 invoked from network); 23 Jun 1999 17:33:07 -0000

Received: from [usen664.uk.uudial.com](mailto:usen664.uk.uudial.com) (HELO TAPOLPFS) (193.149.85.189)  
by [smtp.dial.pipex.com](mailto:smtp.dial.pipex.com) with SMTP; 23 Jun 1999 17:33:07 -0000

X-Sender: [tapol@pop.gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@pop.gn.apc.org)

X-Mailer: Windows Eudora Version 1.4.4

Mime-Version: 1.0

Content-Type: text/plain; charset="iso-8859-1"

Content-Transfer-Encoding: quoted-printable

To: [east-timor@igc.apc.org](mailto:east-timor@igc.apc.org), [indonesia-act@igc.apc.org](mailto:indonesia-act@igc.apc.org)

From: [tapol@gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@gn.apc.org) (TAPOL)

Subject: Xanana on Postponement and Dare-II

Cc: [fortilos@indo.net.id](mailto:fortilos@indo.net.id), "Solidamor" <[solidmor@centrin.net.id](mailto:solidmor@centrin.net.id)>, [askohen@AOL.com](mailto:askohen@AOL.com), <[mriht@pacific.net.sg](mailto:mriht@pacific.net.sg)>, [kbrogan@amnesty.org](mailto:kbrogan@amnesty.org), [taylorjb@vax.sbu.ac.uk](mailto:taylorjb@vax.sbu.ac.uk), [will.carey@virgin.net](mailto:will.carey@virgin.net)



PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE ON  
**THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE POLITICAL TRANSITION IN INDONESIA**  
*29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> March 1999, London*  
*Chatham House*

**29<sup>th</sup> March**

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**09:00 Opening Session**

- *Lord Wright of Richmond*, Chairman of RIIA
- *Álvaro de Vasconcelos*, Director of IEEI
- *David Wall*, Head Asia Programme, RIIA
- *Hermawan Sulisty*o, Executive Director of RIDEP

**9:30 The process of political transition in Indonesia**

- June elections and future scenarios
- Forces favouring and obstructing the democratic transition
- Constitutional reform
- The model for the Indonesian State

**Speaker:** *Hermawan Sulisty*o, Indonesia Institute of Sciences and Executive Director of the Research Institute for Democracy and Peace, Jakarta

Comments: *Peter Ferdinand*, Director, Centre for Studies in Democratisation, University of Warwick

*Cornelis Lay*, Lecturer, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta

**10:45 Coffee break**

**11:00 Democratic Transitions: lessons from other transition processes**

- Comparing experiences
- Lessons from Europe and relevance for Indonesia

**Speakers:** *José Lamago*, International Secretary of the Portuguese Socialist Party

**Comments:** *Paulo Wrobel*, Research Fellow of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

*Umar Juoro*, President's adviser on economic affairs, Jakarta

**13:00 Lunch**

**14:30 East Timorese Transition – What prospects?**

**Speaker:** *José Ramos Horta*, Nobel Peace Prize winner of 1997, Vice-chairman of CNRT  
(Conselho Nacional de Resistência Timorense)

**Comments:** *Lela Madjiah*, Director of the Jakarta Post, Indonesia

**16.45 Coffee break**

**16:30 EU, Indonesia and East Timor**

**Speakers:** *Dewi Fortuna Anwar*, the president's adviser/spokesperson on global issues and international affairs; researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI).

*Constâncio Pinto*, Joint Representative of CNRT to the UN

**Comments:** *Eilis Ward*, Political Scientist, Trinity College, Dublin

**20:30 Dinner at New World Chinese Restaurant**

1 Gerrard Place W1

Tel. 0171 734 0677

**30<sup>th</sup> March**

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**9:30 The role of the military in the transition**

- Internal reform of the Armed Forces
- Relations with political parties

**Speaker:** *Air Vice Marshall Graitto Usodo*, Armed Forces Headquarters, Jakarta

Comments: *David Camroux*, Director Asia-Pacific Programme, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris  
*Sabam Siagian*, Indonesian press

**10:45 Coffee break**

**11:30 The reform of the State, Rule of Law and Good Governance**

- Dealing with the past and preparing the future
- Non-State actors and the media
- Judiciary system

**Speakers:** *Indria Samego*, Presidential adviser on political and security affairs; researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Jakarta  
*August Parenkuan*, Editor-in-chief, *Kompas* daily newspaper, Jakarta

Comments: *Nico Nordholt*, Associate Professor University of Twente, The Netherlands

**13:00 Lunch**

**14:30 EU-Indonesia political relations**

- Co-operation between European political parties and Indonesian parties

**Speakers:** *Faisal Basri*, Secretary General of *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN), Indonesia

*Alex Queval*, *Parti Socialiste* (PS) - Socialist Party, France

**Debate:** *Hayono Isman*, Secretary General *Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan* (PKP), Indonesia

*José Lamego*, International Secretary of *Partido Socialista* (PS) - Socialist Party, Portugal

*Ellen van Koppen*, Member of *Partij van de Arbeid* (PVDA) – Labour Party, The Netherlands

**16:45 Coffee break**

**17:00 EU-Indonesia future agenda**

- Main political issues in the agenda
- Development of a political dialogue

**Speakers:** *John Gwn Morgan*, former director of the Southeast Asian Unit of the European Commission, Brussels

*Emil Salim*, Chairman, Community Recovery Programme, Jakarta

Comments: *Zacarias da Costa*, CNRT Representative in Brussels

**18.00 Closing Session**

- *Álvaro de Vasconcelos*, Director of IEEI
- *George Joffé*, Director of Studies, RIIA
- *Hermawan Sulistyo*, Executive Director of RIDEP

**Subject: Bishop Belo - Auckland interview**

**Date:** 05 Mar 1999 02:44:55

**From:** maire@clear.net.nz

**Newsgroups:** reg.easttimor

From: "Maire Leadbeater" <maire@clear.net.nz>  
Reply-To: "Maire Leadbeater" <maire@clear.net.nz>

4 March, 1999: New Zealand Herald

**Fight for Independence**

Limited Autonomy for East Timor is not an option for Bishop Carlos Belo, reports Pat Baskett

New Zealand can best help the beleaguered people of East Timor by being more sympathetic to their call for full independence, says Nobel Peace prize winner Bishop Carlos Belo.

They could also work closely with any UN peacekeeping force that may be sent in, he said in Auckland yesterday.

Bishop Belo, based in the East Timor capital of Dili, is in New Zealand through the Catholic Church for a series of meetings and lectures.

He said technical expertise would be appreciated for his country.

"We have no teachers in our secondary schools, but we still have 16 indigenous doctors, so we can manage.

"But maybe we will need some doctors from New Zealand."

Indonesia's announcement that it is prepared to grant some form of autonomy to the East Timorese could signal brighter prospects.

But the offer is for a restricted form of autonomy that excludes finance, security and foreign affairs. Its terms are to be discussed at a meeting in New York next week between the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers and the UN Secretary-General.

Bishop Belo said Indonesia expected autonomy to be ratified after some form of consultation.

"But we don't know how that consultation will be carried out."

He supports the position of the Portuguese, who want a plebiscite so that all East Timorese can be consulted. That only 50% are literate is not a consideration.

"That doesn't mean that they don't understand politics."

While most East Timorese reject the possibility of autonomy, they may be forced into accepting it because Indonesia has indicated that if the offer is rejected it might simply withdraw, leaving the country to an ill-prepared, unsupported fate.

There is no suggestion of a transitional period. Bishop Belo said 10 to 15 years would be reasonable to allow East Timor to recover from 23 years of war.

"So compulsorily, we may have to accept autonomy and for Indonesia, that would be final with no other solution possible. But the people want independence."

Bishop Belo said that tensions between the pro-autonomy groups and those who want independence were such that civil war was possible " if we don't make an effort to sit down and talk."

The situation has been made more complex by the existence of groups of armed militia, alongside existing units of the Indonesian Army.

The activities of vigilante groups have so terrified people that about 6000 have left their homes and are now camped around a church.

In one incident a man was buried near a road with his head protruding.

"The life we have been experiencing is not a human life," he said. "We are continuously under oppression and surveillance. We only ask the international community to understand."

Maire Leadbeater,  
East Timor Independence Committee,  
P.O. Box 68-419,  
Auckland,  
New Zealand.



## **NATIONAL COMMISSION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

### **PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES IN EAST TIMOR**

#### **Report of the National Commission on Violence Against Women**

**Dili, May 29, 1999**

*(submitted by INFID at its Annual Lobby 1999)*

Of three visits to East Timor since April 11, 1999, the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Women Commission) identified some urgent problems about internally displaced persons (IDPs). These problems were brought to the fore by violent incidents that have taken place since January 1999, and especially at the beginning of April, in East Timor. The majority of these refugees are women, children and disabled old people who were compelled and forced to leave their homes and villages in the context of armed conflict in East Timor.

Women National Commission considered all these refugees as victims of a situation outside their control. The extension of assistance and protection to them constitute purely humanitarian attempt and the fulfillment of human rights of the refugees to maintain their lives.

The following are some findings obtained through interviews with different resource persons on May 24-28 and visits to refugee camps in Liquica on May 27, 1999,

#### **Number of Refugees**

The total number of IDPs can not be ascertained yet, because access to them is very restricted, so that accurate data about them is difficult to establish. According to the existing data, there are between 14,236 (Regional Office of the Department of Social Affairs in East Timor) and 44,388 (caritas) of IDPs in East Timor as at May 24, 1999.

The IDPs spread out in the City of Dili and districts in the western part of East Timor, especially in Liquica, Ermera, Manufahi, Covalima, Bobonaro, and regions belonging to East Nusa Tenggara province, namely Belu district. The break downs of the number of refugees in each district have been collected by different institutions, which is attached separately (see Attachment).

The actual number of internal refugees fluctuated from time to time, following the occurrence of violent incidents. Some of the refugees have returned to their home village, some others move from one refugee camp to another, while new refugees keep pouring in. Some of the refugees do not dare to appear before the public, even to receive assistance, because they feel that their lives are in danger. The precise number from one period to another can only be obtained through open and continuous access to refugee camps.

### **Conditions of Refugees**

Different eyewitness report from providers of humanitarian assistance, confirmed by direct visit by Women National Commission to several refugee camps described indecent living condition and health level that call for grave concern. Pregnant mothers and children under five years old are among those who are most vulnerable to disease.

Some refugees live in open space under plastic tents with small mats to sleep on. Some others without roof nor mattress; while some of them live in vacant buildings, such as schools, unused barracks or police and military offices. A number of refugees who have relatives in the refugee camps live in local inhabitants' houses jostlingly, and some others occupy empty houses and places of worship.

In one of the refugee camps in Liquica, 25 refugees including a number of children under five years old, live and sleep under a 2x3 meters tent erected behind the local inhabitant's house. They built emergency kitchen near the tent, cook the meal they looked for by themselves and utilized toilets and wells of the local inhabitants. According to one information, there are four such tents around the same location, so that public facilities owned by local inhabitants have to accommodate 100 additional people for more than one month. A refugee camp in the police barrack almost has no clean water at all, and in rainy days they have to walk 3 km to the river to dig clean water left over by the river stream.

Reports from other refugee camps described the same condition, namely the available living space, clean water and sanitation for the refugees are not appropriate and do not meet the minimum human standard.

From the medical point of view, malaria, diarrhea, skin disease, infection of resuscitation organs and lack of nutrition are detected disease already. The International Red Cross noted some moderate level of malnutrition, which may deteriorate rapidly, if assistance is not forthcoming within 1-2 weeks' time. Direct visit to the refugee camps by Women National Commission and other institutions, like UNICEF, confirm these facts. Presently, the refugees and local inhabitants in the surrounding places are faced with the danger of diarrhea disease outbreak, which can take place any time if their living condition is not improved in the near future.

In addition to this present living condition, several refugees also have to face with the reality that their household economy is in ruin. Some of their houses have been burned down, some are still sanding but they are empty, because all their belongings have been looted. Their livestock and farm produce have been neglected, or even disappeared because of having been stolen.

The condition of the refugees in some locations, such as in Suai (Covalima) and Cailaco (Bobonaro), has been unknown because access of humanitarian workers to those places are restricted (see next section below).

## **Humanitarian Aid**

A number of government institutions and humanitarian NGOs, have sought to extend assistance to those refugees. However, they are faced with severe obstacles.

The Agency of Social Affairs, for example, distributed rice to refugees, and the Health Agency made use of Social Safety Net funds to provide milk and porridge for children under five years old existing in the camps. Nuns, church social service organizations, humanitarian aid stations, as well as international institutions also sought to provide food and medicine assistance as well as tent equipment for the refugees.

In Liquica, for example, a health clinic was opened by nuns to help refugees who fell ill. In this clinic, two nurses and an assistant treated around 300-400 patients every day. Of three Community Health Centers in Liquica, only one is still functioning. A Health Center that used to treat 60-70 patients per day, since April 1999 have received 250-300 patients per day. Health service in these two centers was conducted without any doctor. Nevertheless, the service continued to give treatment and they are opened 24 hours daily.

Providers of humanitarian assistance, especially from non-government parties, face serious obstacles in carrying out their mission. They reported to have been charged with siding with one of the elements involved in the conflict and, on that basis, they are blocked on the road when bringing in assistance materials, their driver and co-driver are beaten up and they receive threatening phone calls in order to stop their mission. In this frightening circumstance, humanitarian workers including nuns, have to work under distress situation for fear of their lives and safety.

The restriction to access and the frightening atmosphere described above have weakened our capability to know exactly the condition and needs of the refugees and hampered the extension of humanitarian assistance so urgently needed by them.

Presently, food and medicine assistance for refugees has not been adequate to meet the refugees' necessities, despite the fact that they keep on coming in. In Liquica, for example, the refugees in one location reported that they receive rice distribution only once, amounting to 5 kg/family head, during two months of being refugees. Children under five years old received milk and porridge, but stocks are only enough for four days, while not all children refugees get assistance of the same value. The existing condition of malnutrition shows that food aid is still below the necessities. Two medical clinics in Liquica face the danger of diarrhea outbreak without any stock of infusion liquid and equipment. Other supply of medicines is also limited.

Up to now, the existing capacity in East Timor has not been made optimum use of to help all refugees.

Actually, resources and potentials to increase assistance are adequately available. Institutions for humanitarian assistance, local as well as international, are able to get assistance from outside East Timor quite smoothly. Caritas, for example, have a capacity to provide rice and medicine assistance with a work plan covering a period of 5-10 months ahead. Care International has a stock of 4,000 tons of rice, ready to be distributed as humanitarian assistance for refugees, but it is denied access directly to refugees.



Medical personnel and medicine are readily available, among others, by the International Red Cross and UNICEF, if access to the refugee camps could be obtained. Meanwhile, clean water supply and sanitation are the specialties of the International Red Cross, Care International as well as different locally available non-government organizations.

### **Summary**

1. Although the exact number is non-existence, the number of internally displaced persons until May 24, 1999 was between 14,000 and 44,000 persons. They spread out in the city of Dili, in the western districts of East Timor, and also in regions belonging to East Nusa Tenggara province, near the border.
2. Reports from refugee camps consistently show that living space, clean water and sanitation available to refugees are not appropriate and do not meet the minimum human standard.
3. From medical point of view, malaria, diarrhea, skin disease, infection of resuscitation organ and malnutrition have already been detected. Refugees and the surrounding local inhabitants are faced with diarrhea outbreak, which can. Take place any time if the living condition of he refugees does not improve in the near future.
4. A part of the refugees should also face the reality that their household economy has been in ruin, because some of their houses have been burned down or looted, and their livestock and farm produce have been neglected or disappeared because of having been stolen.
5. The condition of refugees in several locations could not be detected precisely, because access of humanitarian workers to those locations is restricted.
6. A number of government agencies and humanitarian NGOs have sought to give assistance to refugees. They have the capacity to help the refugees and in capable of increasing such capacity according to necessities. However, up to now the existing capacity in the region of East Timor itself has not been made optimum use of for giving assistance to all refugees.
7. Humanitarian assistance providing institutions are faced with constraints in the distribution of their assistance because of lack of access to refugees and the absence of security guarantee for humanitarian workers, especially those coming from NGOs, who are carrying out their missions.
8. Restricted access and distress condition experienced by humanitarian workers have weaken our capability to know exactly the condition and necessity of refugees and the constraints of humanitarian assistance which are urgently needed by them.

### **Recommendations**

1. Humanitarian workers, both governmental and non-governmental bodies, local as well as international, should be given safety and security guarantees by the security apparatus and law enforcement officials in East Timor, so as to enable them to carry out the humanitarian mission in an optimal way and without any constraint. Delay in the supply of assistance may result in the outbreak of epidemic disease, not only for the refugees but also for local inhabitants who live in the surrounding places.
2. In locations where armed conflicts still occur, it is necessary to enforce a corridor of peace, where all parties agree to stop conflict and to maintain security so as to enable humanitarian workers to move freely to give humanitarian assistance and health service to refugees and local inhabitants who are in need. The concept of corridor of peace has been developed by UNICEF in East Timor and can be coordinated with them.
3. Locations that are not involved in armed conflicts should necessarily be opened to humanitarian workers without any exception.
4. Provision of security guarantee to humanitarian workers by the security apparatus and local government should be conveyed openly to humanitarian assistance organizations and to the general public in order that all parties in the whole region may be aware of that.

**Women National Commission Team**

Signed

Koesparmono Irsan, Senior Member

Kamala Chandrakirana, Secretary General

Attachment

**NUMBER OF REFUGEES ACCORDING TO THE ESTIMATE  
OF CARITAS EAST TIMOR  
As at May 24, 1999**

Location and Number of Refugees	
Dili	2,579
Liquica	14,000
Maliana	12,000
Ermera (Hatolia)	12,000
Manufahi	312
Atambua	400
Suai	3,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>44,291</b>

Quoted from the Narrative Report on Emergency Assistance for Refugees

Caritas East Timor / SiaR Website: <http://APCHR.murdoch.edu.au/minihoop/siarlist/maillist.html>

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Subj: today  
Date: 9/27/99 8:44:07 AM Eastern Daylight Time  
From: JMARK@imf.org (Mark, Jeremy)  
To: askohen@aol.com (askohen@aol.com)

## WRAPUP-UN troops launch surprise Timor raid

By Tim Johnston

DILI, East Timor, Sept 27 (Reuters) - U.N. troops launched a surprise helicopter raid on an East Timor militia stronghold on Monday, forcing pro-Indonesia fighters to flee into the hills.

The swoop came as a Catholic priest said seven church workers, including two nuns and a priest, had been killed by Indonesian troops in the eastern part of the former Portuguese colony.

Indonesia said it had handed over security control for East Timor to the U.N. force, but the international force's commander denied there had been any transfer of power.

About 150 troops in Australian Blackhawk helicopters swooped into the town of Liquica, west of the capital of Dili, Australian Broadcasting Corporation radio said. It said about 30 armed militiamen had fled into the hills.

### "STRATEGIC STEALTH"

The raid was part of a "strategic stealth" campaign by the U.N.-mandated international force in East Timor (Interfet) to surprise militias in their strongholds outside the capital.

Australian Associated Press said no shots were fired during the operation, the first outside Dili and the territory's second major town of Baucau.

Pro-Jakarta militias are believed to have killed thousands and displaced hundreds of thousands in a campaign of terror following an overwhelming vote for independence by East Timorese in a U.N.-sponsored referendum on August 30.

A Roman Catholic priest, identified as Father Martins, told Portugal's radio TSF by telephone from East Timor that Indonesian soldiers had attacked the group of clergy on the road between Baucau and Lospalos.

"They were killed by the Indonesian military," he said, adding that the deaths had been confirmed by Bishop Basilio do Nascimento of Baucau.

Father Martins said one of the nuns, sister Herminia, was Italian. He did not say how the group had been killed.

Portugal's Lusa news agency quoted church sources as saying the attack occurred on Sunday. In Rome, the Roman Catholic news agency MISNA confirmed the deaths of the nuns.

Portugal's Publico newspaper meanwhile said the father of East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, earlier reported killed by pro-Jakarta militias, was alive and in hiding in the territory.

``SEND SOMEBODY TO GET US"

In the interview, Manuel Gusmao appealed to his son to help him and his wife escape to Australia, where many East Timorese refugees have been taking refuge, or find him somewhere to live in Dili. ``Look, son, send somebody to get us," he said.

Interfet troops arrived in East Timor a week ago in a mission to restore peace. Indonesia said on Monday it had handed over security control of East Timor to the international troops, although Interfet denied there had been any transfer of power.

Indonesia's local military chief said he had relinquished control at a meeting with U.N. force commander Major-General Peter Cosgrove and that only about 1,000 Indonesian troops would remain.

But only two hours after the meeting, Cosgrove said Indonesia was still formally in control of security.

``Indonesia retains security control for the province," he told reporters, adding that his force's U.N. mandate barred a transfer of power until Jakarta had given East Timor independence.

``This is still Indonesian sovereign territory so I share security responsibilities which is what the mandate requires."

Large numbers of reinforcements were flying in to Dili from the north Australian city of Darwin, limiting the number of aid flights. ``We have got 30-something sorties, that is military aircraft programmed today," said a spokesman for the U.N. force, Mike Lawson.

#### SOME FIRES STILL BURN

Dili was quiet on Monday, but some fires were still burning in the charred city and tensions ran high. On Sunday, a bank near an evacuated Indonesian army barracks was set on fire.

People who fled the city during the bloodshed have begun to return, only to find their homes destroyed. Many recover what belongings they can and return to hiding places in the hills.

Much of East Timor is turning into a no-man's land as the Indonesian troops quit the territory, leaving a void U.N. forces are struggling to fill.

``There is now of course a vacuum and we must ensure that we maintain a security environment conducive to government, to administration, to the delivery of aid in Dili," Cosgrove said.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1999

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter supporting assistance to East Timor and indicating your willingness to work with the Administration. I share your commitment to helping the people of East Timor build the foundation for an independent future.

As you know, the United States has already provided substantial resources including over \$20 million in humanitarian assistance, providing food aid, and support for shelter, water, sanitation, health and agriculture programs. Also, I authorized an additional \$30 million from the Emergency Refugee and Migration Fund to address basic needs and support the repatriation of refugees, the reintegration of refugees and displaced persons into East Timor, and continued assistance for those who cannot yet return. The State Department will channel this new contribution through international and nongovernmental organizations.

We are working closely with the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other donors to assess the longer term needs of East Timor for development and reconstruction assistance. Once the various assessment teams have had the opportunity to report their findings and the United Nations administration is fully functional, we will be in a better position to judge the appropriate level of United States support as well as suitable sources of funding.

Again, thank you for writing concerning this important matter. I look forward to working with you and appreciate your continued support for our policy and objectives in East Timor.

Sincerely,



The Honorable James P. McGovern  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515-2103

**Late News****The New York Times**  
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November 26, 1999

## Indonesian Probe Uncovers East Timor Mass Graves

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

**D**ILI, East Timor -- The bodies of 25 people, including three Roman Catholic priests, have been exhumed from graves in West Timor -- evidence of what is believed to be the worst massacre of East Timor's September upheaval, officials said Friday.

The victims allegedly were killed by anti-independence militias and Indonesian troops in East Timor in the days after the territory's Aug. 30 vote to become independent from Indonesia.

A top U.N. investigator vowed to bring the killers to justice.

"We will follow up on all the evidence found in West Timor," said Sonia Pikado, a Costa Rican lawmaker who heads the U.N. team investigating allegations of East Timor atrocities.

The decaying corpses were discovered at Oeuli Beach, two miles from the border with the eastern half of the island, Indonesian investigators said.

The victims are believed to have been slaughtered in a Sept. 6 attack on two churches in Suai, a town in East Timor close to the border, said Munir, a member of the commission investigating alleged crimes by Indonesian troops and their militia proxies in East Timor. The panel was set up by the government in Jakarta to act as an independent probe of human rights abuses.

According to witnesses, dozens of people who took refuge in the churches of Ave Maria and Nossa Senhora de Fatima were shot or hacked to death by militiamen supported by Indonesian soldiers and police. The Vatican has said more than 100 people died.



"We have found three bodies in the first grave, 11 in the second grave and 11 in the third grave," Munir was quoted as saying by The Jakarta Post.

Munir, who like many Indonesians uses only one name, said autopsies on the three priests determined that one had been shot while the other two died of knife wounds.

In Dili, East Timor's capital, Father Filomino of the Jesuit Refugee Service said he was outraged by the killing of the priests and "hundreds" of people who had sheltered in the two churches.

Dominique Liengme, deputy head of the International Committee of the Red Cross, said the organization would transfer the priests' bodies to Dili today. The international peacekeeping force would arrange for the transport of the other victims, she said.

The killings in Suai are generally considered to be the deadliest incident in the three-week militia rampage that followed East Timor's overwhelming vote for independence in a U.N.-sponsored referendum. The territory is now under U.N. administration and being primed for self-rule.

While no one disputes that pro-Indonesian forces destroyed many cities and towns in East Timor and left hundreds of thousands of citizens homeless, the number of victims found so far is nowhere near the thousands that international organization originally estimated had been killed.

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**Subject: FEER: Independence Crusader (JRH)**

**Date: Mon, 12 Jul 1999 07:37:16 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

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

Politics & Policy

East Timor :

Independence Crusader

By Hugh Williamson in Dili

07/15/1999

Far Eastern Economic Review

Moments before leaving East Timor for exile, on the last plane out before Indonesia invaded in December 1975, Jose Ramos-Horta was handed a letter addressed to an aunt in Portugal. In it, his sister Romana spoke of her hope that Jose would persuade the world to help the East Timorese. "That's our only hope," she wrote.

"Brother Jose" has borne that hope for almost 25 years, most recently as resistance leader Xanana Gusmao's foreign envoy. And it is beginning to bear fruit. A vote against autonomy in the coming United Nations-organized ballot could see the territory gain independence, as promised by Indonesian President B.J. Habibie.

Ramos-Horta, who shared the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize, would get a slice of the credit. The son of a Timorese mother and Portuguese father, he left the territory as a rebellious, idealistic 25-year-old. When he returns, after years championing East Timor 's cause on the international political circuit, he will do so as a deeply cynical but beguiling diplomat. "Our independence is now inevitable, even if Jakarta hesitates," Ramos-Horta says. "But if Jakarta does pull back from its promises, we are ready to return to the mountains and streets."

And if the independence prize is won? Perhaps surprisingly, Ramos-Horta sees a mediating role for himself in East Timor , wanting to "protect human rights, especially of those on the wrong side, such as current pro-Indonesia supporters." He says he has no political ambitions. Nonetheless many East Timor watchers see him as the territory's first post-independence foreign minister.

Others doubt his suitability for the task. A European diplomat who deals with East Timor says Ramos-Horta may be unable to shed his "confrontational approach," and could prove problematic as a foreign minister. "East Timor will quickly need some kind of working relationship with Indonesia. I'm not sure Ramos-Horta can do this."

Ramos-Horta's opponents in Jakarta have long referred to him with contempt. The Foreign Ministry described comments by him on the August ballot as "cheap grandstanding" and dismissed his international work as "avid publicity seeking." His arrival in Jakarta on June 26 marked the start of his first visit to Indonesia since 1975, but permission to travel to East Timor was refused; the government cited safety grounds.

Whatever the future, his achievements have been widely recognized. "He is simply one of the best Third World diplomats around," says Liem Soei Liong of the London-based Indonesian human-rights group Tapol. "Being from such a small country, he has had to swallow a lot from the big powers. But he's

dogged and tenacious, a survivor."

A self-trained diplomat, Ramos-Horta travels constantly between Australia, Europe and the United States with his mobile phone and laptop computer at hand, checking his e-mail every few hours. "I don't see the Nobel peace award as a retirement prize," he jokes.

Liem wonders whether Ramos-Horta the cosmopolitan diplomat will fit in with East Timorese life. He values pluralist politics, Liem says, adding: "He is quite secular, but the church is dominant there. Deep in his heart he believes politics should be made by politicians. East Timor will be quite stifling for him."

END

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**From:** Dennis W. Frado <lwfny@UNDP.ORG>  
**To:** TIMTIM@LISTSERV.ELCA.ORG <TIMTIM@LISTSERV.ELCA.ORG>  
**Date:** Tuesday, September 14, 1999 3:34 PM  
**Subject:** West Timor Update

---

I have received the following from reliable sources. Their sources, in turn, wish to remain anonymous as they are still presently in West Timor.

#### West Timor Update

14 September 1999

Since yesterday the security situation has continued to deteriorate. >From last reports the militias have taken control of many of the refugee areas on the border and particularly in Atambua. It would also appear many of the refugees are migrating towards Kupang. The militia groups appear to have lists of people they are trying to track down.

There has been a number of conflicts in Atambua, but further detail is not available. There is great fear of a conflict breaking out here between West Timorese enraged by the presence of the militias and their arms.

Many of the refugees in Kupang who are being targeted by the militias are seeking asylum in houses and with various churches. Many are also trying to get on flights to Denpasar and Jakarta.

The humanitarian situation remains precarious with increasing numbers arriving. The public hospitals report to be overcrowded and unable to deal with new cases. Health and sanitation remains the top priority.

Civic groups are trying to place people in the camps to keep constant updates on the situation.

>From East Timor there are reports of organised killings continuing by the militias.

The refugees who have just arrived hold grave concerns for those 100,000's still in the mountains. Their main concerns are obviously water, food and the cold weather.

Attached below are a couple of actions various civic groups believe to be important for the International community to raise.

#### Recommended Actions

Call on the Indonesian Government to immediately disarm all militias in West Timor and ensure refugees have their basic right to security.

Call on the Indonesian Government to allow UNHCR safe access to political refugees and hence allow them to be registered and provided immediate asylum.

Call on the International community to organise an immediate humanitarian relief drop into East Timor to prevent starvation and hypothermia killing East Timorese who fled up into the mountains.

--

Dennis W. Frado  
Director, Lutheran Office for World Community  
Division for Church in Society, ELCA &  
Main Representative at UN Headquarters (New York)  
The Lutheran World Federation  
telephone: +1-212-808-5360

**Subject: RT: Bishop Belo calls for U.N. rights team in Timor**

**Date: Tue, 06 Apr 1999 08:22:47 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

From: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>  
Reply-To: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>  
Subject: RT: Bishop Belo calls for U.N. rights team in Timor

Bishop Belo calls for U.N. rights team in Timor  
06:49 a.m. Apr 06, 1999 Eastern

JAKARTA, April 6 (Reuters) - East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo on Tuesday called on the United Nations to send a civilian team to control and check on the human rights situation in five districts of the troubled territory.

In his first comments since guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao called for a popular insurrection against Indonesian forces, Belo stressed his support for a peaceful settlement.

But the Nobel peace laureate said he ``urged the United Nations to form soon an independent civilian team to control the human rights situation'' in the five areas.

On Monday, rebel leader Gusmao abandoned a ceasefire, after the pro-independence National Council for the Timorese Resistance (CNRT) said at least 17 civilians were gunned down by Jakarta loyalists backed by Indonesian troops.

The incident occurred in Liquisa district, one of the five named by Belo. The others were Bobonaro, Cova Lima, Baucau and Viqueque.

Gunshots were still being heard in Liquisa on Tuesday, although the capital, Dili, was reported to be calm.

Belo also called for support for a church-backed initiative to seek a peaceful settlement.

``We urge all East Timorese to support a dialogue between pro-integration groups and pro-independence groups which is under progress under the leadership of the church hierarchy,'' he said.

But he urged Indonesia's armed forces (ABRI) in the disputed territory to withdraw soldiers who shot people, tried to stir up unrest and were unable to be neutral and maintain the law.

Tensions in the former Portuguese colony have increased since Jakarta suddenly reversed 23 years of policy and said it may grant the impoverished territory independence if East Timorese vote down an offer of increased autonomy.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations.

END

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**Subject: LUSA: Bishop Belo Confirms Church Massacre in Liquiça**

**Date: Tue, 06 Apr 1999 12:28:06 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

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

Subject: LUSA: Bishop Belo Confirms Church Massacre in Liquiça

06 APR 99 - 19:43

East Timor: Bishop Belo Confirms Church Massacre in Liquiça

Jakarta, April 6 (Lusa) - East Timor Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo told Lusa Tuesday that the Indonesian military commander in the territory, Tono Suratman, had confirmed reports that 45 people had been killed Tuesday afternoon when militiamen attacked a church in Liquiça.

"We don't have much news, but I telephoned the commander of the Besith Merah Putih (militia), who confirmed that five persons had been killed in the house of the parish priest of Liquiça. Then I received a call from a Telekom representative in Liquiça who spoke of 40 deaths inside the church. I immediately contacted Tono Suratman and he confirmed the deaths", Belo said.

The 1996 Nobel Peace Prize co-laureate said that more than 2000 people were inside the Catholic church in Liquiça, 30 kms west of Dili, when unidentified gunmen entered the building, firing indiscriminately and lobbing several grenades.

"Lisbon should be alerted now, as the situation is getting worse by the hour. We have to insist on the immediate despatch of a UN peace force to East Timor", Belo declared.

The Catholic prelate said he had no more information on the situation in Liquiça but announced that on Wednesday he would travel to the region with Tono Suratman. -Lusa-

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**Subject: SMH: Belo backs popular insurrection after 25 massacred**

**Date: Wed, 07 Apr 1999 11:30:57 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

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

Subject: SMH: Belo backs popular insurrection after 25 massacred

Received from Joyo:

From: Joyo@aol.com

Sydney Morning Herald

08/04/99

Belo's call to arms after 25 massacred

By LINDSAY MURDOCH, Herald Correspondent in Liquisa, East Timor

The head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Belo, last night backed a call for a popular insurrection in the former Portuguese colony after Indonesian-backed militia massacred at least 25 Timorese villagers on Tuesday.

Shocked and angry church officials in Dili said last night the total number of deaths could be more than 40.

The massacre, at a priest's house in the town of Liquisa, 40 kilometres west of the capital, Dili, followed an earlier call by the Timorese guerilla leader Xanana Gusmao for an end to the truce between Timorese struggling for independence and the Indonesian Government.

Priests told last night how the victims were either hacked to death or shot by the militia after staggering from the home of Father Rafael dos Santos when Indonesian security forces fired tear gas into it.

Father Rafael said the people who had taken shelter in his house were wiping their eyes and confused from the tear gas when they walked into the attacking militia.

The victims had run into his house fleeing security forces who were firing weapons in the air, he said. Indonesian troops had stood back from the militia and looked on while the killings took place.

Speaking from his home in Dili, Bishop Belo said the massacre made him ashamed to be an Indonesian citizen.

"It was barbaric and takes us back to the Middle Ages."

Asked about Gusmao's call for a popular insurrection, Bishop Belo said: "My only comment is ... now there is proof, the Liquisa massacre case is proof, that [Gusmao] is right."

Bishop Belo, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, said after visiting Liquisa yesterday that Indonesian military officers had given him a paper proving that people had been killed in the massacre, the worst in the former Portuguese territory since hundreds of mourners were gunned down at the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991.

Bodies were found in a church courtyard and scores more were injured, many of them seriously, he said.

Witnesses said a 500-strong militia group used homemade rifles, swords, machetes and other crude weapons in the attack, which happened shortly before midday.

They feared the massacre would plunge East Timor into a vicious cycle of violence likely to sabotage a scheduled vote on the territory's future in July.

About 2,000 mostly pro-independence villagers sought refuge at the church after attacks by pro-integration militia over several days, the witnesses said. The church where the attack took place is less than 100 metres from the headquarters of dozens of Indonesian soldiers based in Liquisa.

The militia in Liquisa have taken away the bodies of people killed in Tuesday's attack and are apparently refusing to allow many of the wounded to travel to Dili for treatment.

Trembling and carrying a suitcase with her only possessions, a woman who gave her name as Anita said: "The men were killed ... I ran away."

Most of the villagers were too scared to talk.

Hundreds of villagers, some of them with head and other wounds, have fled the area in buses and trucks, while dozens more, too scared to return to their homes, have been made refugees in their own town.

Indonesia has repeatedly claimed that its armed forces in the province would remain neutral and help secure a free and fair vote on Jakarta's offer of wide-ranging autonomy.

- Ethnic and religious clashes killed up to 15 people in two other areas of Indonesia, witnesses and local media reported yesterday. Fighting between Christians and Muslims claimed 12 lives in the far eastern Moluccas late on Tuesday, and police reportedly shot dead at least three people when they fired on a crowd in Borneo's Sambas region.

END

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**Subject: JP: Editorial: CALL IN THE UN NOW**

**Date: Thu, 08 Apr 1999 06:29:34 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

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

via Kompas web site, April 8, 1999

Update 16:00 WIB

Editorial: CALL IN THE UN NOW

Violence in East Timor began escalating before independence leader Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao called, from his detention house in Jakarta, on his supporters on Monday to take up arms against the Indonesian government and pro-Indonesian forces in East Timor.

Fears of East Timor plunging into bloody civil war -- the reason given by the Indonesian government for its reluctance to withdraw from the territory -- are becoming all too real. They are becoming more and more polarized -- those who support integration and those who wish for independence. There is hardly any middle ground left.

While there are signs that East Timor is heading toward civil war, what is even more disturbing is that there are hardly any moderate forces left to arrest the process.

The Indonesian government, which had no legitimacy in East Timor in the first place, is fast losing the faith of the East Timorese in its ability to maintain peace and order there, especially amid allegations the military has been arming prointegration forces. Given these suspicions, and without the full support of the people there, it is difficult to envisage the military playing an objective peace-keeping role in the province.

All this points to the need for some kind of United Nations presence in East Timor now, rather than later, if only to arrest the violence. A UN peacekeeping force would not only keep the two conflicting parties apart, it could also begin the process of disarming them, a prerequisite to the UN sponsored ballot.

The presence of the UN peacekeeping force is the only hope left to stop the violence and prevent a full-scale civil war erupting in East Timor. -- The Jakarta Post (Ant)

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**Subject: BBC: Attack on Bishop Belo**

**Date: Sun, 11 Apr 1999 06:02:30 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

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

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/asia-pacific/newsid\\_316000/316455.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/asia-pacific/newsid_316000/316455.stm)

Sunday, April 11, 1999 Published at 06:10 GMT 07:10 UK

World: Asia-Pacific

Timorese bishop's convoy  
attacked

Parishioners cry during Bishop Belo's mass at in Liquica

One of East Timor's most prominent figures, the Nobel prize-winning Bishop Carlos Belo, has escaped injury in an attack on his convoy as it returned from the scene of an alleged massacre.

The bishop had just left the town of Liquica after holding mass for the victims of an attack there earlier in the week.

As his convoy passed by, more than 30 pro-Indonesian militia members pelted the vehicles with rocks, stones and metal pipes.

One person was injured in the attack, and at least three cars in the convoy were damaged.

The bishop had just called off peace talks aimed at ending the worsening violence in the territory pending a proper report into last week's violence.

According to the BBC's Jakarta correspondent, Jonathan Head, the attack on the convoy suggests that Bishop Belo is no longer regarded as neutral.

Government involvement suspected

Talks being organised by Bishop Belo between opposing factions were part of a process sponsored by the United Nations which is expected to lead to a vote on the future status of East Timor in July.

Bishop Belo said he had withdrawn his participation until the Indonesian authorities provided more information about the reported massacre in Liquica.

He accuses Indonesian troops and police of involvement in the killings, which were said to have been carried out by pro-Indonesian militias.

It was one of the worst incidents of violence in East Timor in recent months.

Bishop outraged

According to the authorities, only five people died in the violence, but Bishop Belo says the total death toll is at least 25.

The town's priest has described local residents taking shelter in the church and inside his house being butchered like animals.

Eye-witnesses said hundreds of people were attacked. So far, none of the bodies has been handed over by the military.

The former Portuguese colony was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, but the Indonesian Government has said it can have independence if its inhabitants vote against an offer of autonomy.

Since the events in Liquica, an East Timorese man is reported to have died in clashes with security forces in the town of Gleno near the scene of Tuesday's killings.

The state news agency Antara said the man was a member of the Falentil resistance group.

UN warning

Bishop Belo has asked the Indonesian military to release the bodies of the victims and to give evidence to support its conclusion that only five people died.

The UN has warned that a ballot on East Timor's future cannot go ahead while the violence continues.

And the rebel leader, Xanana Gusmao, has given his supporters the green light to defend themselves against attack.

In response, the Indonesian government is threatening to move him from house arrest back into jail.

According to the BBC correspondent, President Habibie's dramatic offer of independence last January seems to have backfired.

Indonesia's insistence on a rapid timetable for the vote

rather than a more gradual  
transitional period appears to  
have provoked opponents of  
independence and their  
military backers to start  
using force to expand their  
areas of influence.

END

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**Subject: AFP: Belo holds mass amid threats by militias at massacre church**

**Date: Sun, 11 Apr 1999 05:54:55 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

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

Subject: AFP: Belo holds mass amid threats by militias at massacre church

Received from Joyo:

Belo holds mass amid threats by militias at East Timor massacre church

LIQUISA, East Timor, April 11 (AFP) - Nobel laureate Bishop Carlos Ximenes Felipe Belo Sunday celebrated mass with the terrified congregation of the East Timor church of Liquisa, as a machete-wielding mob of pro-Indonesian militia circled the building.

Belo arrived at the church -- the site of an alleged massacre by the militia last week -- under heavy police escort only to find the building deserted.

"It is the first time, no one is here for mass. It is the first time, this is tragic," Belo mumbled, before people slowly began to trickle into the church as the bells were rung repeatedly.

Many of the men, women and children who emerged hesitantly under the watchful eye of a threatening group of militia armed with machetes and muskets were openly weeping, an AFP photographer said.

Around 500 to 600 people finally gathered inside the church for Belo's service, as police tried in vain to force the militia members to leave the area.

Holy Communion was given outside the church with most of the congregation taking the bread and wine in tears.

"Jesus suffered but accepted everything ... we have to behave like Jesus," Belo said in his sermon.

"We have suffered but we have to have faith that we will build a new Liquisa ... We have to build life again, we have to help each other, to be free to go to the church whenever we want to go, without fear," he said.

Belo has alleged that at least 25 people were hacked to death by the "Besi Merah Putih" militia in the Liquisa church yard and in the priest's house last Tuesday.

Indonesia insists only five died, while other tallies by human rights watchdogs put the death toll as high as 52.

The spiralling violence has led the United Nations to warn that an upcoming vote on autonomy in East Timor could be put on hold, while East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmao has urged his people to arm themselves in self-defence.

While allowing churchgoers into the building unmolested, militia members shouted threats at visiting local and foreign journalists in Belo's convoy.

"Go back Home," "Leave this town," shouted some militia members from the back of a motorbike waving their machetes and home-made muskets.

On the way back to Dili, the main town in East Timor, the convoy of cars carrying journalists following Belo was repeatedly harassed by militia



members who had set up road-blocks along the way.

Belo was allowed to pass unharmed, but cars carrying the press had logs thrown in front of them. They were also pelted with stones and passengers were threatened.

At least three windshields were shattered by stones and one driver was injured by a rock, the AFP photographer said.

Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer on Sunday urged the Indonesian government to take more action to curb the violence in East Timor following the Liquisa massacre.

"At the end of the day the Indonesian authorities ... the military and the police have responsibility for the security of East Timor for as long as East Timor remains part of Indonesia.

"And they have to redouble their efforts to make sure that they act in a neutral way and do everything they possibly can to make sure violent incidents of the kind that took place last week won't occur in the future."

Australian diplomats on Saturday visited the scene of the slaughter at Liquisa, but Downer said their investigation was being hampered by conflicting reports about the killings.

Tension between pro-independence and pro-Indonesia supporters in East Timor has been heightened since Jakarta announced in January that it would be prepared to grant the former Portugese colony independence if the majority of the population voted for it.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it a year later in a move that was not recognised by the United Nations. An estimated 200,000 people have died in ensuing violence and famine in the territory since the invasion.

END

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**Subject: RT: Belo bishop suspends mediation talks**

**Date: Sun, 11 Apr 1999 05:54:15 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

From: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>  
Reply-To: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>  
Subject: RT: Belo bishop suspends mediation talks

E.Timor bishop suspends mediation talks  
01:49 p.m Apr 10, 1999 Eastern

LISBON, April 10 (Reuters) - Nobel peace laureate Bishop Carlos Belo on Saturday broke off his attempt at mediation between East Timorese supporters of integration with Indonesia and advocates of independence because of mounting violence in the former Portuguese colony.

Portugal's Lusa news agency quoted Belo as saying in the East Timorese capital Dili that he would only resume the initiative, aimed at smoothing the path to a planned vote on a Jakarta offer of self-rule, when a degree of calm had been restored.

His decision followed a series of bloody clashes in the Indonesia-occupied territory between pro-Jakarta militiamen and supporters of the independence movement. According to the Roman Catholic cleric, pro-Indonesia forces massacred at least 25 people in the town of Liquisa earlier this week.

"I decided to suspend all the talks on reconciliation that were planned during April," the bishop told Lusa. "I will only start again when the situation has calmed down," he added.

Jakarta has said that it is aware of only five deaths during the Liquisa incident in which, according to church officials, militiamen and troops slaughtered people who has taken refuge in a local church.

"There was a massacre and that the people (in Liquisa) are far from being safe," Belo said.

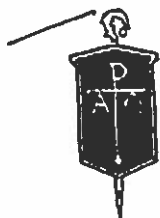
In a dramatic change of policy, Indonesia earlier this year said that it would be prepared to grant full independence to the territory it annexed in 1976 if the East Timorese rejected an offer of sweeping autonomy.

The exact terms of the offer and details of the ballot are being negotiated by Indonesia and Portugal, which the United Nations still recognises as the administering power.

Thousands of pro-Indonesia East Timorese rallied in a show of force on Saturday as a pro-independence activist was reported shot dead in a clash with security forces.

It was the second such rally since pro-independence guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao issued a call to arms nearly a week ago. Jakarta threatened on Friday to return him to prison if he did not retract the call within a week.

END



THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH  
SAN FRANCISCO AREA / CALIFORNIA-NEVADA CONFERENCE

Melvin G. Talbert  
Resident Bishop

Donna La Point  
Administrative Assistant

April 15, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President  
United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20520

The Honorable Madeleine Albright  
Secretary of State  
U. S. Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President and Madame Secretary:

I write as the Bishop of the California-Nevada Annual Conference of The United Methodist Church to reiterate my grave concern over the deteriorating human rights situation that currently exists in East Timor.

There have been reports of an impending attack on Dili, the East Timor capital, by paramilitary forces widely viewed as under Indonesian military control. I was shocked by the tragic massacre at the church in the town of Liquica last week, and believe that the United States should convey to the Indonesian military the unambiguous message that in the event of further incidents of this nature, and in the absence of a free and fair election in East Timor under impartial international supervision, American public support for assistance to Indonesia will be severely undermined and, in fact, may no longer exist.

We know that you have taken an interest in this problem and appreciate your efforts. However, I believe that the situation is so urgent that extraordinary measures are vital.

I trust it will be possible for me or my representative to meet with you to elaborate on our views at the earliest possible time.

Sincerely,

Melvin G. Talbert

MGT:rev

**Subject: Response to ABRI/militia terror**

**Date:** 18 Apr 1999 07:13:11

**From:** jdunn@interact.net.au

**Newsgroups:** reg.easttimor

From: "James Dunn" <jdunn@interact.net.au>  
Reply-To: "James Dunn" <jdunn@interact.net.au>

This is a multi-part message in MIME format.

-----= NextPart\_000\_0075\_01BE89F8.4F5640A0  
Content-Type: text/plain;  
charset="iso-8859-1"  
Content-Transfer-Encoding: quoted-printable

In the face of the mounting outrages in Timor we should consider the =  
following initiatives:

=20

1. To start the process of charging those responsible for this campaign =  
of terror and killing with crimes against humanity, thus publicly =  
listing them people like Mladic and others from Rwanda. It may be a =  
longist term process but it will at once warn the officers concerned =  
that they could end up in prison.

=20

2. Urge the EU to appoint a special negotiater to help end the current =  
militia campaign and demand of the Habibie Government that a genuine and =  
free act of self determination take place. We need a high level official =  
to work on this issue full time, and facilitate a concerted approach by =  
Portugal, the EU, the US and of course Australia, New Zealand and Japan.

=20

3. To demand the immediate installation in Timor of an international =  
mission, with some military presence to monitor the performance of the =  
military as well as to provide the mission with adequate security.=20

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4. To demand the immediate disarming of the militia and the ending of =  
what is in effect a deliberate attempt to sabotage the self =  
determination process.

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5. We should also call for the immediate suspension (pending an enquiry) =  
of General Damiri, the Udayana military commander, for his role in =  
allowing the expansion of the militia units, and for the virtual =  
encouragement of their terror campaign.=20

=20

6. The Habibie Government should be reminded that as East Timor is at =  
best a disputed territory, Indonesia's authority is subject to =  
decolonisation constraints. Unlike the case of Kosovo external military =  
intervention would not really constitute a violation of national =  
soveriegnity.=20

=20

7. Finally, it is time that the major players in the international =  
community used firm language in relation to this matter, so that the =  
Habibie government and ABRI generals, in particular, are left in no =  
doubt as to their resolve to ensure that the Timorese are able to make a =  
free and just decision on their future destiny.=20

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=20

James Dunn

-----= NextPart\_000\_0075\_01BE89F8.4F5640A0  
Content-Type: text/html;  
charset="iso-8859-1"  
Content-Transfer-Encoding: quoted-printable

**Subject: IHT: Timor Militia Killings Raise Doubts on Future**

**Date: Sun, 18 Apr 1999 18:56:24 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

From: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>  
Reply-To: "John M. Miller" <fbp@igc.apc.org>  
Subject: IHT: Timor Militia Killings Raise Doubts on Future

Received from Joyo:

Paris, Monday, April 19, 1999

Timor Militia Killings Raise Doubts on Future

Plebiscite Seen In Jeopardy After Rampage

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By Michael Richardson International Herald Tribune  
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SINGAPORE - A bloody weekend rampage by militiamen who want East Timor to remain part of Indonesia threatens to undermine talks this week on the future of the territory and raises new doubt about whether the Indonesian government can control the military, foreign officials say.

Militia groups loyal to Indonesia stormed through Dili, the capital of East Timor, on Saturday. Indonesian military officials said the attacks on houses and offices of pro-independence leaders had left at least a dozen people dead and many more wounded.

The killings prompted renewed calls from the United Nations, Portugal and Australia for the Indonesian authorities to disarm the militia and restore order.

Prime Minister John Howard of Australia said Sunday that he would contact President B.J. Habibie of Indonesia to express Australia's "deep concern" over the killings in Dili and the "growing evidence" that Indonesian security forces had failed to prevent repeated attacks by pro-Jakarta militia groups on supporters of independence.

"You would have to wonder whether these pro-integration militiamen are not getting some kind of permissive response from the Indonesian Army," Mr. Howard said on Australian television. "I am very concerned at the way in which the situation has deteriorated, and the Indonesian government cannot escape responsibility for at least some of that, if not all of it."

Mr. Howard said that the increased violence in East Timor was threatening a UN-organized plebiscite scheduled for July to enable people in the territory to choose between autonomy within Indonesia or independence.

Mr. Habibie reversed in January a policy of long-standing Indonesian opposition to independence when he offered the possibility of autonomy.

The foreign ministers of Indonesian and Portugal are to meet Thursday and Friday in New York under the auspices of the United Nations to finalize details of the Indonesian autonomy offer and how it is to be put to the people of East Timor.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year. But the United Nations has never recognized the takeover of the former Portuguese colony.

Indonesian news organizations, quoting local police and military officials, reported that more than 20 people, including the teenage son of a prominent independence leader, Manuel Carascalao, had been killed in Dili over the weekend. The violence occurred after more than 1,000 East Timorese militiamen armed with guns and machetes rallied Saturday in front of the office of the Indonesian-appointed governor.

A militia commander, Eurico Guterres, told his followers to clear the territory of groups supporting independence, journalists present at the rally said.

'Starting today, I command all pro-integration militias to conduct a cleansing of all those who betrayed integration,' the commander said.

The mob also beat several foreign journalists and ransacked the office of a local newspaper, as well as other buildings and vehicles.

Police officers and soldiers appeared to make no effort to stop the violence, Reuters reported from Dili.

An aide to the spiritual leader of East Timor, Bishop Carlos Belo, said that the situation in Dili remained tense Sunday, with reports of gunshots in some parts of the town.

The Australian foreign minister, Alexander Downer, said it was 'imperative' that Indonesian armed forces 'begin the process of disarming the militias and that those responsible for the violence and killings be brought to account.'

The Portuguese leader, Antonio Guterres, said in Lisbon that the latest killings underlined the need for a UN presence in East Timor to help halt the violence. The UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, said in New York that he regretted 'this apparent inability of the Indonesian authorities to control the violence by militias and to protect the civilian population.' Mr. Annan called for an immediate end to the escalation of violence 'by all sides' in East Timor.

But the differences between Mr. Habibie's government and the security forces were underlined Sunday when civilian and military officials issued conflicting accounts of the Dili rampage.

A senior foreign policy adviser to Mr. Habibie said that Indonesia must accept the blame for the violence. By contrast, the military put the blame for the rampage on pro-independence groups.

There is increasing international concern that the Indonesian military regards the independence offer by the Habibie government as a serious threat to national unity and the honor of the armed forces, which analysts say has suffered thousands of casualties in fighting with pro-independence guerrillas in East Timor since 1975.

END

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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  
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Subj: **Belo seeks proper burial for Saturday's dead**  
Date: 4/19/99 11:05:14 AM Eastern Daylight Time  
From: [tapol@gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@gn.apc.org) (TAPOL)  
To: [east-timor@igc.apc.org](mailto:east-timor@igc.apc.org), [indonesia-act@igc.apc.org](mailto:indonesia-act@igc.apc.org)  
CC: [solidmor@centrin.net.id](mailto:solidmor@centrin.net.id) (Solidamor), [fortilos@indo.net.id](mailto:fortilos@indo.net.id), [askohen@aol.com](mailto:askohen@aol.com), [taylorjb@vax.sbu.ac.uk](mailto:taylorjb@vax.sbu.ac.uk),  
[will.carey@virgin.net](mailto:will.carey@virgin.net)

Media Indonesia, 19 April 1999

#### Summary

Bishop Belo has expressed his amazement at the inability of the security forces to control the disturbances in Timor. 'After hearing about disturbances, we are told that the security forces don't have enough personnel or facilities.'

He was amazed that political disputes were always resulting in people being killed. 'Is this because of political intrigue within the elite or are there other causes that we know nothing about,' he said.

Bishop Belo went to Wira Husama Hospital to pray over the bodies of twelve victims and to visit six gravely wounded victims.

He then had a meeting with two senior army officers, Lt General Zacky Anwar [former longtime intelligence officer in Timor and more recently chief of the army's intelligence agency, BIA], and Mayor-General Kiki Syahnakri [a former military commander in Timor] who are on a working visit to Timor, along with the military commander Colonel Tono Suratman.

'I asked them for guarantees for the safety of the population of Timor who are facing terror and intimidation,' said Belo.

He also asked for the families of the dead to be allowed to take the bodies home for burial.

There were further clashes in Hera village, East Dili, as a result of which one person was killed. The chief of police Timbul Silaen said one person had died but other source that the death toll was seven.

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TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign  
111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath,  
Surrey CR7 8HW, UK  
Phone: 0181 771-2904 Fax: 0181 653-0322  
email: [tapol@gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@gn.apc.org)  
Internet: [www.gn.apc.org/tapol](http://www.gn.apc.org/tapol)  
Campaigning to expose human rights violations in  
Indonesia, East Timor, West Papua and Aceh

25 years - and still going strong

+++++

#### ----- Headers -----

Return-Path: <[tapol@gn.apc.org](mailto:tapol@gn.apc.org)>

Received: from [rl-yd01.mx.aol.com](mailto:rl-yd01.mx.aol.com) ([rl-yd01.mail.aol.com](mailto:rl-yd01.mail.aol.com) [172.18.150.1]) by [air-yd04.mx.aol.com](mailto:air-yd04.mx.aol.com) (v59.4) with SMTP; Mon, 19 Apr 1999 11:05:13 2000

Received: from [mail.gn.apc.org](mailto:mail.gn.apc.org) ([mail.gn.apc.org](mailto:mail.gn.apc.org) [194.202.158.47])

**Subject: AGE: Defence paper 'riled' Minister**

**Date: Sat, 07 Aug 1999 09:08:04 -0700 (PDT)**

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

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

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

Received from Joyo Indonesian News:

The Age [Australia]  
Sunday, August 8, 1999

Defence paper 'riled' Minister

By BRENDAN NICHOLSON  
SYDNEY

A high-level military intelligence assessment of Indonesia's role in East Timor was given to the United Nations by the Foreign Minister, Mr Alexander Downer, before the Defence Minister, Mr John Moore, was aware it had been written.

An angry Mr Moore called in his department head, Mr Paul Barratt, and told him Defence was not to prepare such papers again without his permission.

Details of the tension within Cabinet and between the two departments emerged in an affidavit produced by Mr Barratt at the Federal Court hearing in which he is seeking a ruling preventing Mr Moore sacking him.

Mr Barratt said the document, providing a frank assessment of Indonesian activities in East Timor, was prepared by the Department of Foreign Affairs in June with the help of the Defence deputy secretary in charge of strategy and intelligence, Mr Hugh White.

He said Mr Downer gave a copy to a senior United Nations official in New York.

Mr Moore then phoned Mr Barratt and told him he was annoyed that Mr White participated in preparation of the paper without his knowledge and he did not get to hear of it until Mr Downer passed it on to the UN.

"No papers are to be prepared by Defence without the knowledge and concurrence of the Minister," Mr Moore told Mr Barratt.

Mr Barratt told Mr Moore a lot of people were surprised that the paper was handed over to the UN. "And, in Hugh's defence, DFAT may have been less than frank with him about the purpose for which that assessment was produced."

Mr Barratt also described a conversation with Mr Moore in which the minister said he should provide more advice on Indonesia.

Mr Barratt told Mr Moore he realised Indonesia was very important. But the Indonesian defence system was so dominated by the armed forces that the military there tended not to have a clear idea where Australia's civilian defence personnel fitted in.

"... So our practice has been to place heavy reliance on our own senior military people in managing that relationship."

Elsewhere in the lengthy affidavit Mr Barratt describes a conversation in which the head of the public service, Mr Max Moore-Wilton, told him that Mr Moore wanted to move him out of Defence.



Mr Moore-Wilton said the Prime Minister, Mr John Howard, did not want to sack Mr Barratt because that ``would send a very bad signal".

Mr Barratt told Mr Moore-Wilton that he might previously have been willing to move to another public service job but he was no longer prepared to do so.

``I didn't give up all I've given up to come back to Canberra for the purpose of being branded a failure and I will resist efforts to move me on that basis most strenuously."

END

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**Subject: The Guardian: Militias 'intent on genocide'**

**Date:** 05 Sep 1999 23:29:42

**From:** Joyo@aol.com

**Newsgroups:** reg.easttimor

Subject: The Guardian: Militias 'intent on genocide'

also: 'Twenty villagers were shot while they were sleeping'; and 'Medical clinic under siege'

The Guardian [UK]

Monday September 6, 1999

Militias 'intent on genocide'

Indonesia accused of genocide in East Timor

John Aglionby in Dili

Indonesia stood accused of genocide in East Timor yesterday as its armed forces allowed pro-Jakarta militias to intensify their campaign of murder, arson and intimidation across the territory.

Militiamen took over several towns, including the capital Dili, as Indonesia's armed forces commander, General Wiranto, and three cabinet ministers made a flying visit to East Timor and promised to deploy more troops to end the violence. Their refusal to leave the safety of the airport exposed their words to ridicule.

Sources put the death toll at more than 1,000 since last Monday's referendum on sovereignty in which 78.5% voted to sever ties with Jakarta. Hundreds are thought to have been killed since the announcement of the results on Saturday.

"There is every indication that a massacre is taking place, staged by [Indonesian] military forces," Ana Gomes, Lisbon's diplomatic envoy to Jakarta, told Portugal's TSF radio. "Over 100 dead would be a conservative estimate."

The foreign secretary, Robin Cook, yesterday called on the Indonesian government to allow the international community to help restore order.

"If the government of Indonesia cannot get its own security forces to restore order, it should allow the international community to assist in securing an orderly transition to independence in East Timor," he told the BBC's Breakfast With Frost programme.

However he stressed that any international peacekeeping force would only enter East Timor with Jakarta's consent.

Meanwhile the UN personnel now in East Timor, who were sent in to run the referendum, are effectively prisoners in their own compound, which last night was besieged by militiamen who fired guns into the air to prevent UN staff from venturing out.

The UN security council was due to meet to discuss East Timor in New York last night.

An estimated 100,000 people have fled their homes in the past few days, many heading to the hills. Those who headed to ports found their way blocked by militiamen who prevented ships from departing.

More than 200,000 people have died in the 24 years since Indonesia invaded East Timor. President BJ Habibie offered the East Timorese their independence in January if they rejected an autonomy deal.

However the militias seem intent on destabilising East Timor before that can be realised.

A local UN employee said last night that his family had been told by soldiers to leave or be shot. "This is ethnic cleansing. They want to drive everyone out of the city who does not support autonomy," he said

The home of Bishop Carlos Belo, where up to 2,000 refugees were sheltering, was also attacked yesterday.

Earlier, Bishop Belo, who shared the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize with independence activist Jose Ramos Horta, said: "The commitment of the Indonesian government and the Indonesian army to respect international agreements and human rights is non-existent.

"It is now urgent and necessary to have an international peacekeeping force."

Under the terms of the UN mandate on the referendum Indonesia is responsible for security in East Timor until its parliament ratifies the result. This is expected to happen in November. No UN personnel are allowed to carry arms.

UN officials are arguing that an international peacekeeping force would take too long to mobilise and what is needed is proper peace enforcement.

General Wiranto promised yesterday to send 1,400 extra troops to East Timor in addition to the 1,400 deployed last Friday.

But numbers are not the issue, according to UN military advisers in Dili. "It's all a matter of politics because these militias are really a joke," one said. "It would only take a few hundred good men a week to deal with them once and for all."

The Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, blamed the UN for the violence. He said the world body had not adequately explained to the defeated pro-autonomy groups the way it handled complaints of electoral fraud.

Western diplomats reject this and say the terror campaign is a deliberate strategy to provoke pro-independence Falintil guerrillas into leaving their mountain bases so they can be attacked.

The strategy appears to be working. The Falintil commander Taur Matan Ruak told Portuguese radio yesterday: "We will not accept further humiliation from the Indonesians. Our patience is starting to wear out.

"If things get worse, there'll be chaos and we will respond at a national level."

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The Guardian [UK]  
Monday September 6, 1999

'Twenty villagers were shot while they were sleeping'

John Aglionby in Dili

Sheltering with hundreds of frightened people in a police station in the East Timor town of Maliana, Briton Mark Harris listened to tales of terror from the surrounding area.

"A priest reported that 20 people had been killed in Manapa [a nearby

village]. They were shot while they were sleeping." Other people taking refuge in the police station, said Mr Harris, told similarly horrific tales.

Mr Harris, 28, from Birmingham, was one of the first eyewitnesses to describe the militia rampages going on in towns and villages the territory's capital, Dili.

He was in the Maliana police station on Friday waiting to be evacuated as pro-Jakarta militiamen tore to pieces the town of about 8,000, which lies 90 miles south-west of Dili.

"There was absolutely no law whatsoever," the postgraduate student at London's School of Oriental and African Studies said yesterday as he recovered in Atambua, the nearest town over the border in West Timor, which has always been part of Indonesia.

Mr Harris, who is writing his MA thesis on East Timor's 13 pro-Jakarta militias, had gone to watch the territory vote last Monday on independence from Indonesia.

Sensing the outcome - an overwhelming vote for freedom, announced formally yesterday - the militiamen unleashed a new wave of terror.

At 5pm on Thursday afternoon, according to Mr Harris, they began shooting people, burning houses and driving from their homes anybody thought to support independence.

"The police were completely powerless to stop the violence because it was the army that was organising it all," he said.

They began with the office of the main pro-independence political organisation, the National Council of East Timorese Resistance, shooting into it and then setting it ablaze.

Then the militiamen and their army overseers moved to the United Nations compound close by, shooting into the air and at the 10ft outer walls. They did not attack it, however.

"By 7am the next day [Friday] Maliana was on fire," said Mr Harris, who was in the town to observe the referendum under the auspices of the International Federation of East Timor, a monitoring group made up mainly of independence activists.

Burned out cars littered the streets, he said. "Houses were smoking everywhere and no one could be seen" - except for the hundreds who had fled to the police station in fear for their lives. Among them were 55 unarmed UN personnel.

"All the UN guys were there [in the police station] ready to go" - to leave the area, said Mr Harris.

Shortly after the UN group left the station in a police convoy for Dili, Mr Harris left the town, also with a police escort.

By the time he left he reckoned that about 200 houses had been burned. "I felt an incredible sense of helplessness to see the refugees in the police station and no one doing anything to help them. We were the last foreigners to leave and now no one knows what's going on."

UN officials in Dili said yesterday that they had heard Maliana "had been all but burned to the ground". The death toll was conservatively put in the dozens.

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Australian Broadcasting Corp.  
AM News  
Monday, September 6, 1999 8:16

#### Medical clinic under siege

COMPERE: The latest report from the UN compound in Dili is that a Catholic clinic in the town is under attack and it appears that despite cries for help the Indonesian army is still not intervening.

Judy Lessing, a producer for Radio UNAMET, spoke to Ticky Fullerton from inside the UN compound.

JUDY LESSING: The Motaiei [phonetic] Clinic, I spoke to the doctor - Dr Michael Tyman, who I understand is an Australian - about 15 minutes ago. I'd spoken to him before about two hours ago. Some, we assume militia members, six to eight men, tried to batter down the doors of the clinic. This attack seems to continue, they must have strong doors. Inside Dr Tyman told me - and these are not the most recent figures - that he had one dead person, a newborn baby, 25 patients, other patients, two of whom were very, very close to death, and 25 terrified locals.

The Motaiei Clinic is very well known for providing very good care here in Dili. Most people prefer to go to the clinic than to go to the local hospital.

The police have been asked for on two or possibly three separate occasions, both by the clinic and by UNAMET. I went to the UNAMET Joint Ops Centre where our military and police have their headquarters, near our office, and talked to the people there. They then went to contact the TNI, the Indonesian military forces liaison unit, and that would have been about 45 minutes ago. As I say, I had a call just a few minutes ago to say that there had been no response. And I called in again and one of the local patrols was going to try to do something about getting the army, but I understand there, again, hasn't been a response.

We're doing everything we can to get people down there, but we ourselves (A) Cannot get down there and (B) Our military and police are unarmed and we're not quite sure what we could do if these people are armed - and they seem to be - but I can't confirm that they are armed.

TICKY FULLERTON: But you're still trying to get people down there. How far away is it from the UN compound?

JUDY LESSING: Oh I would say that on a clear day you could drive there in five minutes, even closer to them than us. I know - or I knew - that there was a large group of Indonesian military outside the Makota Hotel which had come under sort of attack and threat over the last two days. I saw these people as I myself was being evacuated from my house back to the compound late yesterday afternoon, so I know that the TNI is out there.

COMPERE: Judy Lessing.

**Subject: Desperate diplomatic effort: Chinese would veto peace force for E.Ti**

**Date: 05 Sep 1999 23:31:21**

**From: Joyo@aol.com**

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

Subject: Desperate diplomatic effort: Chinese would veto peace force for E.Timor

The Guardian [UK]

Monday September 6, 1999

Chinese would veto peace force for East Timor

John Gittings in Jakarta

A desperate diplomatic effort has been launched to persuade Jakarta to accept some form of international intervention in East Timor, where it is feared that a week of killings since Monday's independence vote in the Indonesian territory could swell into massacres.

An informal coalition of foreign governments is hoping - against the odds - to find some formula for an armed contingent that would not offend Indonesian pride and could be put in place very quickly.

Nobody seems to be suggesting a large force. Diplomats insist that China would veto a fully fledged force and that Asian countries such as Malaysia would be unhappy. The same applies even more strongly to any scheme for "peace enforcement".

Australia said yesterday even its proposal to the United Nations to send a small peacekeeping force had drawn Indonesian objections.

"I can say at this stage," said the foreign minister, Alexander Downer, "[that] the Indonesians are quite resistant to having any armed foreign presence in East Timor."

"We remain willing to participate in a constructive fashion" in a peacekeeping operation, the Australian prime minister, John Howard, said yesterday, "but you cannot go in ... without that country 's approval".

In New York yesterday the UN spokesman, Fred Eckhard, said that a small unit such as Australia has proposed could be put together quickly if the security council agreed. But it would not be practical, he said, to assemble "a peacekeeping force from scratch".

Diplomats in the territory's capital, Dili, reported back to their governments that the situation was one of "authorised anarchy", and called for urgent action to stop the excesses of the pro-Jakarta militias, operating under the patronage of the army.

"There is now a concerted effort to turn over as much territory as possible to the militias", said one observer, "and the only way we are going to stop that is by a peacekeeping force."

Among the Jakarta public, concern at the effect on Indonesia's image is offset by resentment of foreign criticism.

Indonesian media reported some of the violence in Dili, but also reflected the popular ambivalence about the government's decision to hold the independence referendum: many Indonesians resent the amount of state money spent over the years on East Timor, yet feel Jakarta should not abandon its stake in the place.

The investment is not just economic but also human. The media have given prominent coverage to the views of army veterans of the 25-year campaign to pacify East Timor.

"What do our medals mean if East Timor is independent?" asked one veteran. One television channel quoted a widow whose husband had been killed in the campaign.

"We should not have let East Timor go," she said. "Thousands have died ... Of my husband, only his name remains."

The press reported yesterday that national political figures had accepted the ballot result with an air of despondency.

Megawati Sukarnoputri, who leads the party that won Junbe's national election, the PDI-P, said she was "very sad."

Gus Dur, founder of the Muslim National Awakening Party (PKB), said Indonesia should have only a "cold relationship" with an independent East Timor.

The pro-Muslim Republika newspaper said that the independence movement was a western conspiracy against Indonesia, led by the US.

One plan for a form of intervention would involve a change of mandate by the security council to arm the 500 or so foreign military observers and police already in East Timor. This could be presented to Indonesia as an exercise to "protect UN staff" and installations. "We are trying to find a half-way house," said a negotiator.

Western ambassadors have been telling the highest levels of government in Jakarta that what is happening in Dili is disastrous for Indonesia as well as for the East Timorese.

President BJ Habibie, who reversed Indonesia's policy in January by authorising the independence ballot, met the British, US, Japanese and New Zealand ambassadors on Saturday. He said he was doing everything he could, and resented being criticised after having taken such a big step under international pressure.

The diplomats felt that there were limits to the power of Mr Habibie and other civilian ministers in the face of army elements apparently opposed to relinquishing East Timor.

Foreign observers who have witnessed the militia's fury on the ground in Dili are less patient with diplomatic scruples. They fear that a massacre is imminent.

**Subject: NYT: Indon's assurances to UN now proved to be hollow**

**Date: 05 Sep 1999 23:43:10**

**From: Joyo@aol.com**

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

Subject: NYT: Indon's assurances to UN now proved to be hollow

Excerpt: The Security Council, which some officials said met reluctantly, has no real power to stop the violence. Its most prominent members, led by the United States, have long resisted sending international troops to the territory, preferring to accept Indonesia's assurances -- now proved to be hollow -- that its military would guarantee a peaceful transition to whatever future the East Timorese chose.

The assurances from Indonesia that it would provide security in East Timor were made to the United Nations Security Council by President B.J. Habibie and his Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, who, like his predecessors, has proved to have virtually no influence over the Indonesian military.

The New York Times  
September 6, 1999

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

The United Nations Security Council met Sunday night to condemn "in the strongest terms" the violence in East Timor and to ask Indonesia to live up to its pledges to provide security to the territory, which has been torn by violence after a ballot there favored independence.

The Council, which was briefed Sunday night by top United Nations officials on the deteriorating situation in the territory since the United Nations-sponsored referendum, decided to send a mission of five members to East Timor. Council members were asked to decide overnight whether they were prepared to take part.

Three Council members -- China, Bahrain and Malaysia -- expressed reservations and demanded that Indonesia be consulted first. The Indonesian Government said Sunday night that it would permit such a mission, but would allow it to visit only the capital, Jakarta, hundreds of miles from the unrest.

The Security Council, which some officials said met reluctantly, has no real power to stop the violence. Its most prominent members, led by the United States, have long resisted sending international troops to the territory, preferring to accept Indonesia's assurances -- now proved to be hollow -- that its military would guarantee a peaceful transition to whatever future the East Timorese chose.

Even Portugal's envoy, representing the colonial overlord that walked away from East Timor in the mid-1970's, apparently did not demand stronger action Sunday.

For the international civil servants of the United Nations secretariat, whose tasks are determined by the Security Council, the situation in East Timor is taking a toll -- and it is far from over.

Several local United Nations workers in East Timor have been killed in recent days, and the situation in the territory remains precarious for the many other East Timorese who work for the organization. An American was also attacked, but survived, and is recovering in Australia.

For the time being, a core staff of United Nations officials will remain in



the territory. Their spokesman, David Wimhurst, who had recent experience in the civil war in Angola, where the United Nations also suffered considerable violence, said that the organization did not intend to be driven out.

But evacuation of United Nations staff members was continuing, with Australia planning to fly out more on Monday.

From the moment Indonesia agreed earlier this year to allow the referendum, two significant and ultimately conflicting factors came into play: Indonesia was prepared to allow the United Nations to organize the ballot, but it would not condone the presence of foreign troops or an international military presence.

A small number of unarmed police monitors was all that the agreement between Indonesia and the Security Council allowed to conduct the vote. The only peacekeeping presence, tentatively planned, would come after East Timor formally became free of Indonesian control, at least several months from now. And Indonesia had resisted even that.

All along, however, it was apparent -- as is now being amply demonstrated -- that the most serious crisis was likely to follow the vote.

The Security Council had that possibility in mind when it decided to raise the number of police monitors in the territory last month. Yet no major country on the Council urged the creation of an armed peacekeeping force. Diplomats said that the United States, in particular, remained opposed to such action, for which Washington, as a permanent member, would be assessed part of the cost.

Indonesia repeatedly assured the Security Council and Secretary General Kofi Annan that its military would provide security in East Timor until a final decision on the territory's status was made by the new Parliament, which is scheduled to assemble in November, when a new President will also be elected.

But even Sunday, amid reports of a massacre, the Australians and others who have been most fearful of severe violence held to the agreement with Indonesia.

"Nobody is going to fight their way ashore," said Robin Cook, the British Foreign Secretary. But he did call for a more active international response, and it was Britain that put forward the idea of the mission to Indonesia.

"If the Government of Indonesia cannot get its own security forces to restore order, it should allow the international community to assist in securing an orderly transition," he said in London. "We are getting the right words on that out of Jakarta," he said. "As yet we have not seen the right action."

The assurances from Indonesia that it would provide security in East Timor were made to the United Nations Security Council by President B.J. Habibie and his Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, who, like his predecessors, has proved to have virtually no influence over the Indonesian military.

Whether Habibie, essentially a technocrat, ever intended to abide by his promises to the United Nations is unclear, but this weekend's events suggest that he may not have the political clout to carry them out.

The Indonesian Army has been fiercely determined to keep the country united. And since it invaded the territory in 1975, Indonesian officers have dominated its politics and security. Even black-market smuggling was under military control.

**Subject: Indon double agent reveals reconciliation 'charade'**

**Date:** 15 Sep 1999 19:13:41

**From:** Joyo@aol.com

**Newsgroups:** reg.easttimor

Subject: Indon double agent reveals reconciliation 'charade'

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

Thursday, September 16, 1999

EAST TIMOR

Double agent reveals reconciliation 'charade'

ANNEMARIE EVANS in Macau

Rui Lopes could count former president Suharto's son-in-law, Prabowo Subianto, and General Gleny in Jakarta among his closest friends.

They have been fighting and working together since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Since 1985, Mr Lopes, 47, had also been working for Xanana Gusmao's resistance guerillas.

Yesterday he revealed the extent of the Indonesian military's plans for the political cleansing of East Timor, and for the arrival of foreign peacekeepers.

While "reconciliation" meetings were being organised throughout East Timor this spring between pro-Jakarta militia chiefs and bishops and pro-independence leaders, a massive military build-up was taking place over the border, the East Timorese agent said in Macau.

At least 20 battalions - a total of 15,000 soldiers - were stationed in West Timor by June. Some were in Tamrasi and had a secret base in a mountain called Laser, which the Australian military had also used as a clandestine refuge during World War II.

The Indonesian military brought in a sophisticated radar from Bandung, West Java, that could track ships in the South Sea. Marines and tanks were taken to the Indonesian island of Kisar, off the eastern tip of East Timor. These had now been driven up through Iospalos in East Timor, Mr Lopes said. "They prepared all this," he said, "because they knew the Australians would intervene."

A strategic triangle was set up. There were bases at Balibo on the West Timor border; Kupang, the West Timor capital, would be used for the refugees coming in after the cleansing; and military training was carried out in Atambua, just inside West Timor. Troops would go to the border at night to spy, dressed as civilians.

Mr Lopes was president of a pro-autonomy campaign based in Suai, East Timor. He was trusted enough to attend an annual meeting in Austria organised by the United Nations to bring about reconciliation between the two sides. Mr Lopes arrived in Macau on Saturday after fleeing Jakarta.

**Subject: East Timor relief drops delayed by Indon military: PM**

**Date: 15 Sep 1999 17:24:21**

**From: Joyo@aol.com**

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

Subject: East Timor relief drops delayed by Indon military: PM

East Timor relief drops delayed by Indonesian military: PM

SYDNEY, Sept 16 (AFP) - Australian Prime Minister John Howard said aid drops into East Timor were not likely to go ahead Thursday because the safety of the planes could not be assured.

Howard told Channel Nine television Australia had yet to get an Indonesian military guarantee they would not shoot down the planes carrying much-needed aid.

He said difficulties were being experienced because there were no clear lines of command in Indonesia.

"We had hoped today," Howard said. "The prospect of that, I was told a few minutes ago, are not all that bright because we're still having trouble getting certain assurances from the Indonesian military authorities.

"We can't take the risk of the planes being shot down because they're needed for other things but we want to get the aid in as soon as possible.

"Now we're working on that over time. We've got the approval of the Indonesian minister but we haven't got the approval of the Indonesian military."

Australian troops will help deliver the aid once it arrives on the ground.

"Under the United Nations resolution, one of the tasks of the force is to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance," Howard said.

**Subject: Harold Crouch: Don't rush to write off our Indon links**

**Date: 15 Sep 1999 16:31:15**

**From: Joyo@aol.com**

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

Subject: Harold Crouch: Don't rush to write off our Indon links

This article is by Dr. Harold Crouch, senior fellow in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University and author of "The Army and Politics in Indonesia," (Cornell University Press, 1988).

Sydney Morning Herald  
Tuesday, September 14, 1999

DON'T RUSH TO WRITE OFF OUR INDONESIAN LINKS

Harold Crouch

The Indonesian people, too, resent what the military is doing in their name in East Timor.

Australia's inability to prevent the devastation by the Indonesian military in East Timor following the referendum result has led to fierce condemnation of Australia's softly-softly approach to Indonesia during recent decades.

The critics claim Australia's relationship with Indonesia is at its lowest point in decades, and a former foreign minister, Bill Hayden, has even said: "I don't think the relationship can ever be the same for this generation and probably longer."

The view that a different Australian policy in the past could have averted the present disaster is, however, based on totally unrealistic expectations about Australian influence in Indonesia. The softly-softly approach was not designed to give Australia a voice in what the Indonesian Government - and especially its military - considers to be Indonesia's internal affairs, but to minimise the likelihood of direct confrontation between the two countries.

One of the successes of Australian foreign policy for several decades has been the virtual elimination of the Indonesian "threat." That Australia has been able to get away with such a low level of defence preparedness is one indication of this. One consequence, of course, is our inability to intervene militarily in East Timor, but I do not recall present critics demanding the trebling or quadrupling of defence spending to give us such a capability.

Similarly, critics claim Australia's support for the "fatally flawed" referendum in East Timor contributed to the present situation. But I don't recall their voices in August demanding the referendum be cancelled while Xanana Gusmao and Jose Ramos Horta were calling for it to go ahead. Anti-Indonesian feeling is rising in Australia, as seen by attempted disruption of Garuda flights, the burning of the Indonesian flag, demands for trade boycotts and so on. While understandable, such actions miss the target, which should be the Indonesian military, not Indonesia as a whole. Flag-burning offends all Indonesians, including the passionate critics of the Indonesian military.

Many Australians seem to be shutting their eyes to the extraordinary political changes in Indonesia in the past 16 months. Indonesia is no longer ruled by a repressive military-based regime but is moving, if

fitfully, in a democratic direction.

One of the results of this political change is the lifting of constraints on public debate. While the Indonesian military has been trying to give the impression its intervention in East Timor is to stop a "brutal civil war", the free press shows the military and police are backing the pro-integration militias responsible for the killing and arson. As the full extent of the atrocities are revealed to the Indonesian public in the next few weeks, it is likely that anti-military sentiment will be strengthened.

Meanwhile, debate in the Indonesian Parliament last week on a new emergency law showed once again widespread public distrust of, and antagonism towards, the military, which is suspected of trying to find a way to restore its old powers.

General Wiranto's success last week in obtaining President Habibie's endorsement of martial law in East Timor was interpreted in some quarters as indicating that the military runs the Indonesian Government. But Sunday's decision to accept UN peacekeepers runs counter to that interpretation.

During the past 16 months the military has been hugely discredited in the eyes of the Indonesian public and forced to carry out significant reforms. Serving military officers can no longer be appointed to civilian positions in the Government, the police have been separated from the armed forces and the military refrained from interfering in the recent general election. The military, however, is still a significant political force and is represented in the Parliament and the People's Consultative Assembly, which will elect the president and determine the future of East Timor.

Most crucially, President B.J.Habibie has not been able to assert his authority over internal military operations in East Timor or other troubled provinces like Aceh, Irian Jaya and Ambon. But the military is still far short of controlling the Government. It is doubtful that the military today has the capacity to carry out a coup, even against the increasingly discredited Habibie Government. Such an action would be met by massive opposition in the streets of Jakarta and other cities. This would make government unworkable and put an end to any hope of economic recovery.

The future depends a great deal on the presidential election in November. Even without East Timor, Habibie's prospects seem to have been fatally wounded by the scandal involving Bank Bali.

It is likely that his own party, Golkar, will drop him as its candidate and it is possible the party's anti-Habibie wing will support Megawati Sukarnoputri, thereby reducing her dependence on military votes. Prediction is risky in Indonesian politics, but we should not dismiss the possibility that the new government will reflect the anti-military sentiment that is so widespread in Indonesian society. This, of course, provides no immediate relief for the people of East Timor, but it surely needs to be taken into account by those who seem to be writing off Indonesia for the next generation.

Anti-Australian sentiment has been growing in Indonesia partly because too many Australians are expressing anti-Indonesian attitudes, when the target should be the military that inspired and supported the atrocities in East Timor.

**Subject: JP: Gen.Kiki warns UN troops; militia vows to "eat their hearts"**

**Date: 15 Sep 1999 14:57:29**

**From: Joyo@aol.com**

**Newsgroups: reg.easttimor**

Subject: JP: Gen.Kiki warns UN troops; militia vows to "eat their hearts"

Excerpt: Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri, who leads the East Timor command, warned that feelings among pro-Indonesia militias were running high against ICRC and UNHCR workers because they felt cheated by the international community after losing the ballot. "I can guarantee their safety as long as they request protection and are willing to be escorted by the military. But if they do their own thing, it will be at their own risk," he said.

In the West Timor border town of Atambua, a pro-Indonesia militia leader said his men would "eat the hearts" of Australians and anyone else included in a UN force, Reuters reported.

TNI pledges cooperation with multinational force

JAKARTA (JP): The Indonesian Military (TNI) said on Wednesday that it had accepted a United Nations Security Council decision to send an Australia- led multinational force to East Timor.

It also pledged full cooperation with the force if and when it arrives in East Timor.

Others warned of a hostile reception for the multinational force from pro-Indonesia militias, who are bitter toward the United Nations and Australia for their handling of the Aug. 30 ballot won by pro-independence East Timorese.

President B.J. Habibie welcomed Australia's role.

"Indonesia never has any hostile feeling against any other countries," Minister of Information Muhammad Yunus told reporters after a cabinet meeting at Bina Graha.

Yunus said TNI members will act as liaison officers and observers in the force.

TNI spokesman Maj. Gen. Sudrajat told reporters the military was not in any position to reject the UN decision.

"We will be very cooperative. TNI is prepared to join the multinational force if asked. But if it is not needed, we will only be too happy to stay out," he said.

"TNI will leave East Timor if it has to. It could remain there, not necessarily under the UN flag, but in its capacity to help coordinate the work to safeguard the United Nations mission."

When asked about the role of Australia in the multinational force, Sudrajat said: "People should understand that there have been bitter feelings between people in the two countries.

"Political leaders in Indonesia and Australia should understand the situation, and this should not jeopardize our bilateral relationship that has been going on very well, (but) now is slightly disrupted," he said.

In Dili, the Military Emergency Command in East Timor said it had began

preparations to make way for the arrival of the multinational force.

Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri, who leads the command, told Antara that until the arrival of the UN force, TNI would continue with its job of restoring peace in East Timor, particularly in Dili.

The military has also been overseeing work to repair buildings and property destroyed during a nearly week-long "scorched-earth" campaign blamed largely on pro-Indonesia militias.

Antara reported that the priority for repair works was given to the residence of the Dili Bishop, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, and the buildings of humanitarian missions, including the International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

Kiki warned that feelings among pro-Indonesia militias were running high against ICRC and UNHCR workers because they felt cheated by the international community after losing the ballot.

"I can guarantee their safety as long as they request protection and are willing to be escorted by the military. But if they do their own thing, it will be at their own risk," he said.

In the West Timor border town of Atambua, a pro-Indonesia militia leader said his men would "eat the hearts" of Australians and anyone else included in a UN force, Reuters reported.

"The PPI (Command of the Pro-Integration Struggle) will eat the hearts of those that come to East Timor," PPI leader Filomeno Kornai told reporters in the border town of Atambua.

"We reject a peacekeeping force from Australia and those countries which have betrayed the Aug. 30 popular consultation."

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, a senior adviser to President Habibie warned that Australian troops could be singled out for militia attacks.

"There is a very strong feeling of animosity towards Australia, rightly or wrongly, from the pro-integration forces in East Timor," Dewi told Australia's SBS television.

Golkar Party Chairman Akbar Tandjung expressed his disappointment at the Australian role.

"We know Australia is not neutral and has its own political agenda in East Timor," Akbar told reporters.

Australia's leadership in the force could make the entire multinational force less than neutral, he said.

Political analyst Soedjati Djiwandono foresaw problems if TNI remained when the multinational force arrived.

"I am afraid the issue of cooperation between the UN force and TNI may become a bone of contention.

"It's a unique experience. We have not heard of a case in which the UN peacekeeping force cooperates with the local military ... This could be tricky," Soedjati said.

"Ideally, TNI should be withdrawn completely because I doubt that it can ever be impartial in East Timor."

Small protests took place outside the British Embassy and the Australian Embassy on Wednesday, criticizing these two countries' role in the East Timor

affair.

The protests passed off without any major incidents. (prb/byg/emf/03)



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**For Immediate Release**  
**August 24, 1999**

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**HEALTH CARE SITUATION PRECARIOUS AS EAST TIMOR NEARS VOTE; MEDICAL GROUP REPORTS ABUSES OF PHYSICIANS AND PATIENTS**

As the UN-monitored vote on the future status of East Timor nears, Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) reports intimidation of patients and physicians, militarization of health facilities, violence toward health care workers, a gross decline of adequate medical facilities and widespread civilian fear of using health facilities. PHR also reports malnutrition of internally displaced people and warns of a possible tuberculosis epidemic.

"A climate of fear has resulted in the large scale exodus of health professionals from East Timor, leaving the populace without adequate medical care," said David Stein, M.D., the principal PHR investigator. "This situation will not only hinder the consultation, but present a looming health and human rights catastrophe for whichever administration results from the vote." Dr. Stein spent about two weeks in the capital, Dili, with a delegation organized by Health Alliance International, a Seattle-based organization doing health work in East Timor. Security was so tight that he was unable to safely travel out of the capital. Dr Stein met with local physicians and health workers, patients, and non-governmental aid workers.

In a new briefing paper, "Health Care on the Brink: Violations of Human Rights and Medical Ethics in East Timor", the Boston-based group reports the removal of patients by Indonesian military from the only functioning civilian hospital in East Timor, Dili's Tokuboru

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AN ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH  
SCIENTISTS AND CONSCIENTIOUS

facility. Patients suffering from gunshot wounds or other traumatic wounds received inadequate care and were transferred to the military hospital regardless of whether they consented.

"It is rarely in the best health interest of patients with recent traumatic injuries to be transported from a health facility due to the high risk of further injury," said Dr. Stein. Civilians are not allowed to visit the military hospital, including civilian health workers, thus patients' treatments can not be monitored by their original physicians or family members.

PHR has found that the presence of the military at the hospital deters patients from seeking care there. For example, a man seriously beaten by militias and in need of immediate hospitalization refused to go to the hospital for fear that he would be "disappeared" if he were subsequently transferred to a military hospital.

Even those who seek care from the government institution suffer neglect and abuse. Nurses were afraid to work at Dili's Tokuboru hospital due to its militarization, and PHR observed few nurses on the hospital wards. Two critically ill patients (a serious tuberculosis meningitis case and a child with severe swelling of the brain due to hydrocephalus and brain damage) at Tokuboru hospital were practically abandoned due to lack of personnel there. The child was expected to slowly die.

PHR found that militias acting with impunity in East Timor engaged in repeated acts of violence against patients, clinics, and health workers. Doctors, nurses and health workers have been attacked for fulfilling professional duty and treating those in need, including displaced persons and other perceived opponents of integration with Indonesia. PHR heard reports of the execution of two nurses and the ransacking of another nurse's home by militias.

Since mid-April, it has been difficult and, at times, impossible to deliver medical supplies outside of Dili due to militia activity, PHR learned. Non-governmental organizations reported that they could not deploy community health workers because of harassment and theft by militias. Several physicians refused to work in outlying areas because they felt threatened.

Despite East Timor's extensive burden of traumatic injury and infectious

disease, such as tuberculosis, most government health facilities are understaffed or not functioning at all, PHR observed. About 50 physicians, including only 4 surgeons, were treating patients in July 1999, as compared to about 400 doctors in 1997. Several wards of Tokuboru Hospital were closed in July of this year.

Lack of access to adequate medical care, supplies, and medication has led to increased threat of larger epidemic outbreaks in East Timor. The failure of Indonesian forces to provide security to health providers and institutions has permitted militias to steal food stocks from internally displaced people so that their food supply has dwindled, causing threat of malnutrition and wasting of limbs.

Physicians for Human Rights calls upon the Indonesian authorities to insure protection for all civilians, the immediate disarming of the militia, and investigations of past abuses, including attacks on health workers. PHR further calls upon the pro-integration and pro-independence groups, as well as the militias, to agree not to interfere with health treatment or delivery. The organization also strongly recommends that the United Nations urgently prepare a security program to provide security for the civilian population immediately following the consultation (vote), assist in the demobilization of armed factions, and ensure that health care is provided without discrimination or repercussions against health workers. A peacekeeping force should be under active consideration. The United States and other foreign governments should strongly press the Indonesian government to fulfill these duties, and make international development bank loans conditional upon a satisfactory response by the authorities.

Copies of the full report are available by contacting PHR at 617-695-0041.

Physicians for Human Rights mobilizes the health professions and enlists support from the general public for the protection and promotion of human rights for all people. PHR shared the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize for its work on the steering committee of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.