



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

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Welcome to your new newsletter!

We hope you enjoy the new format of the East Timor Alert Network Newsletter and find it informative. It's been a busy summer for ETAN, and promises to be an even busier fall. Read on for news of what the Network has been up to and what you can do to help free East Timor.

With this issue, we are moving to a membership basis. An annual membership to ETAN, which can be sent to ETAN's Vancouver address, will now cost \$10, to cover the increasing costs of East Timor solidarity work in Canada. If you can't afford the \$10 fee, please let us know — no one will be denied membership for inability to pay.

Thanks for your continuing support! Together, we **are** making a difference.

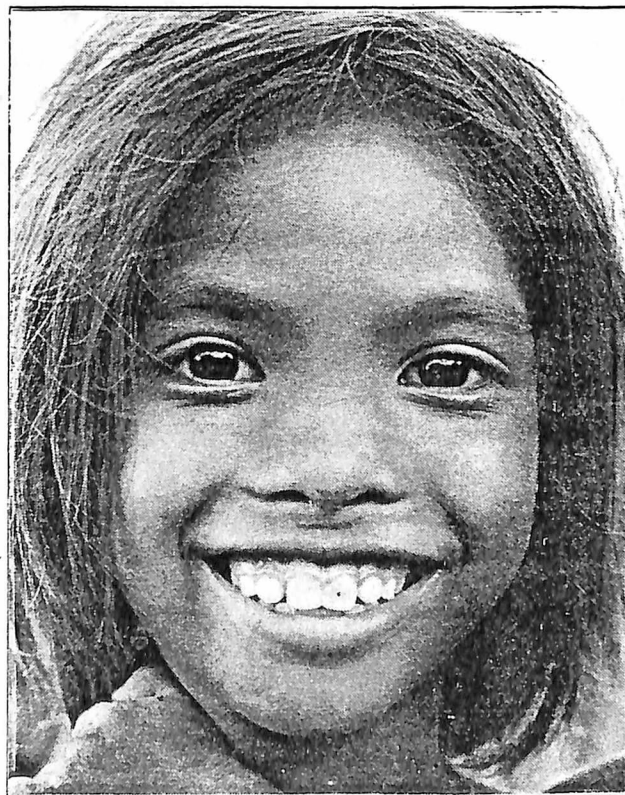
UN Commission condemns Indonesia

The United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights has condemned, for the first time, Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975.

The 13 to six vote (with four abstentions) blasts the Indonesian government for "continuing to shut East Timor off from the eyes of international observers." The Indonesian government is also required to free Timorese political prisoners jailed this year for "subversion" or "spreading hostility" under the Indonesian anti-subversion law. Finally, the UN commission asked Indonesia to provide aid to the families of over 100 Timorese civilians massacred by Indonesian soldiers last November 12.

The UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights is composed of representatives of 23 member governments, including Canada. Its votes are secret, but countries voting against

the resolution are thought to include China and four of Indonesia's Islamic allies: Nigeria, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. All are "countries familiar with human rights violations," noted José Ramos Horta, external representative for the Timorese independence movement CNRM.



Last February, Indonesia promised the Human Rights Commission it would show greater respect for human rights in East Timor, where over a third of the population has died under Indonesian rule. However, it has since sentenced 21 Timorese independence activists to jail terms ranging from six months to life imprisonment, over the protests of human rights groups around the world (including Amnesty International and Asia Watch).

The resolution is a sign of "shame for a country that aims to take a leadership position in the Third World," Ramos Horta said. Indonesia took over the leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement on September 1 at its triennial summit in Jakarta.

New Attacks in Timor Mountains

The Indonesian Armed Forces have reportedly launched a major new offensive against East Timorese guerrilla fighters in a bid to capture resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. "It's a very big offensive," said Alfredo Ferreira, a Timorese representative in Australia. "These operations are progressing now. The Indonesians are trying to encircle them and push them toward the centre of Timor. It is arid there and living conditions are very difficult."

Several "intense" clashes have been reported in Viqueque, Baucau and Same regions of the East Timor interior.

There are now twelve battalions of Indonesian soldiers in East Timor, four "combat battalions" and eight "territorial battalions" (whose job is to control dissent in villages and resettlement camps). This marks an increase of two battalions since November 1991, which contradicts Indonesian government statements that troop strength in East Timor is being reduced.

Blaming the victim

The Indonesian government's recent explanation to New Zealand for the Nov. 12 murder of Kamal Bamadhaj by Indonesian soldiers in Dili, falsely accuses him of being "actively engaged in fomenting and encouraging the demonstrators to be defiant to the security officers" during the procession to the cemetery. The report is another white-wash, calling the massacre an isolated incident in which "spontaneous and unauthorised shooting took place resulting regretably in a number of casualties, including Mr. Kamal Bamadhaj." The explanation fails to account for the fact that two military road blocks severely delayed Kamal's access to medical treatment and that his family were never notified by Indonesian authorities about his death.

What "sincere remorse"?

The New Zealand government believes that the Indonesian government has shown "sincere remorse" over the Santa Cruz massacre last November. The Indonesian authorities have not even had the decency to inform the families of the 18 deceased Timorese who were given single graves. Military operations and intimidation of Timorese civilians have been stepped up in East Timor since last November and therefore there is no evidence of a change in Indonesian government policy.

On July 31 New Zealand foreign minister, Don McKinnon, said that the Dili incident reflected neither the Indonesian Government's nor the Indonesian Armed Forces Command's policy or orders. This endorsement of Indonesia's explanation over the murder of a New Zealand citizen not only defies

testimonies and film-footage of western journalists, but also adds to such an outrageous loss of life.

Great turn-out at UN Decolonisation Hearings

On July 27 representatives of over 25 groups from around the world testified for East Timor before the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation in New York. This year's hearings were particularly significant in view of the Nov. 12 Santa Cruz massacre. Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman (US journalists who witnessed the massacre) and Li-Lien Gibbons (step-sister of Santa Cruz victim Kamal Bamadhaj) were among those who testified. José Ramos-Horta also presented CNRM's (National Council of Maubere Resistance) peace plan for East Timor.

The testimonies lasted a day and a half, much to the annoyance of the Indonesian delegates who frequently disrupted the session with their statements of disapproval regarding hearings on East Timor. The Tunisian delegate also complained about petitioners' terms "dictator" and "regime" as references to Suharto and his government. Indonesia testified before the committee in response to Portugal's petition, claiming falsely, as always, that the East Timorese voted for integration in 1976.

Many petitioners requested the release of Dr Amos Wako's (the Secretary General's special envoy to East Timor earlier this year) report. The committee has not draw any resolutions and is expected to make recommendations to the General Assembly this September.

Canada silent at Aid meet

The July inaugural meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) gave the Indonesian government \$4.94 billion in aid for the coming year, slightly more than the Indonesians had requested. The CGI is a new donor forum chaired by the World Bank that replaced the old Netherlands-based Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia when Indonesia refused to accept further aid from the Netherlands (which has a policy of linking aid with respect for human rights).

Canadian representatives at the CGI meeting ignored appeals from ETAN and 16 Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor that Canada use the forum to advance its stated policy of linking aid and human rights. Canada will give Indonesia another \$46 million in aid this year, but is still maintaining its freeze on \$30 million in future aid projects in Indonesia. The \$30 million was frozen after last November's Santa Cruz massacre. Last year's \$46 million aid package placed Indonesia third among all recipients of Canadian Development aid.

on an ambitious new economic cooperation agreement with Asean (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries to protest against what Portuguese foreign minister João de Deus Pinheiro called Indonesia's "unacceptable violation of human rights" in East Timor.

This sets a good precedent for other governments to start imposing sanctions on Indonesia after its cold-blooded murder of peaceful demonstrators in East Timor last November. Portugal's action is also timely given that this December will mark the 17th year of Indonesia's criminal occupation of East Timor.

Portugal's decision to block the new EC-Asean pact has embarrassed not only the EC Commission, which has been trying eagerly to develop EC-Asean relations, but also the British government which has promised to focus more attention on Asean and South Asian countries while it chairs the EC over the next few months.

US Representatives Cut Military Aid to Indonesia

The House of Representatives voted unanimously on June 25 to stop funding the Indonesian military. The vote came on an amendment introduced by Ronald Machtley (Republican-Rhode Island) and Tony

Hall (Democrat-Ohio) which removes \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) for Indonesia from the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1993.

Although non-binding resolutions have passed at various times, this is the first time ever that Congress has taken substantive action to support the East Timorese people. The arena now moves to the Senate, which will vote in September on cutting IMET to Indonesia.

The Indonesian Armed Forces commander, Gen. Try Sutrisno, attacked the House vote, saying "they should not use their yardstick to evaluate our performances (on human rights) because we have our own yardstick."

Carrascalao replaced by thug

Jakarta's newly appointed governor of East Timor, Mr Abilio Osorio Soares, is a "common criminal who personally tortured and murdered innocent civilians" according to CNRM overseas representative, José Ramos-Horta. Soares is a founding member of an organization that has always backed East Timor's integration with Indonesia, since before the 1975 invasion.

General Theo Syafei, commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces in East Timor said during the recent selection that "The new governor must fight for the integration of Timor" with Indonesia and "exterminate those who are two-faced."



After the Massacre: Punishing the victims in East Timor

On Nov. 12, 1991, a crowd of thousands of unarmed Timorese civilians marched to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili to lay flowers on the grave of slain independence activist Sebastião Gomes. Indonesian soldiers opened fire on the crowd without provocation, killing at least 100 people. The Indonesian government promised to punish the guilty. Two generals were fired and replaced with more hard-line generals. Ten soldiers were court-martialled, and sentenced to jail terms ranging from eight to 18 months. Eight Timorese survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre, meanwhile, have been jailed for "subversion" or "anti-government activities" for periods ranging from five years to life.

Timorese students studying in Indonesia who joined a protest against the massacre in Jakarta on Nov. 19, 1991, have also been harshly punished with jail terms ranging from 6 months up to 10 years.

Sebastião Gomes was killed on Oct. 28, 1991, when Indonesian soldiers entered to Motael Catholic Church in Dili and attacked civilians taking refuge there. No soldiers have been charged in connection with this murder, but five of the Timorese pro-independence activists sheltering in the church have been convicted.

Western governments, including Canada, the United States, Britain and Japan, have accepted the Indonesian response as appropriate. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall told a news conference in February that "(Indonesia) is very clearly attempting to come to grips with the situation," and praised "the commitment of the Indonesian government to ensure the perpetrators among the military and civilians will be brought to justice."

At the same news conference, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters: "What is important is for people and governments abroad to evaluate the (Indonesian) government's response, to judge us by what we are doing to overcome the incident."

A list of sentences in connection with the events around the Santa Cruz massacre follows.

I. Court-martials of Indonesian soldiers

Pvt. Mateus Maya	8 months for disobeying orders
Pvt. Afonso de Jesus	8 months for disobeying orders
1st Corporal I.P. Marthin	17 months for torture (cutting off the ear of a demonstrator)
1st Sgt. Aloysius Rani	18 months
1st Sgt. Udin Syukur	18 months
1st Sgt. Petrus Saul Mada	12 months
2nd Lt. Sugiman Mursanib	14 months for failing to control his troops
2nd Lt. John Aritonang	12 months for opening fire without orders
2nd Lt. Hadrianus Eddy Sunaryo	12 months for ordering troops to fire
2nd Lt. Yohanes Panpada	8 months for disobeying orders

II. Trials of East Timorese civilians In Dili, in connection with Nov. 12:

Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29	life sentence for subversion
Francisco Miranda Branco, 41	15 years for subversion
Jacinto des Neves Raimundo, 34	10 years for publicly expressing hostility
Filomeno da Silva Pereira, 34	5 years, 8 months for conspiracy and hostility
Juvencio de Jesus Martins, 32	10 years for expressing hostility (prosecution had requested 6 years, 10 months)
Carlos dos Santos Lemos, 31	8 years for expressing hostility
Bonifacio Magno Pereira, 35	6 years for expressing hostility
Saturnino da Costa Belo, 21	9 years for expressing hostility

In Dili, in connection with Oct. 28:

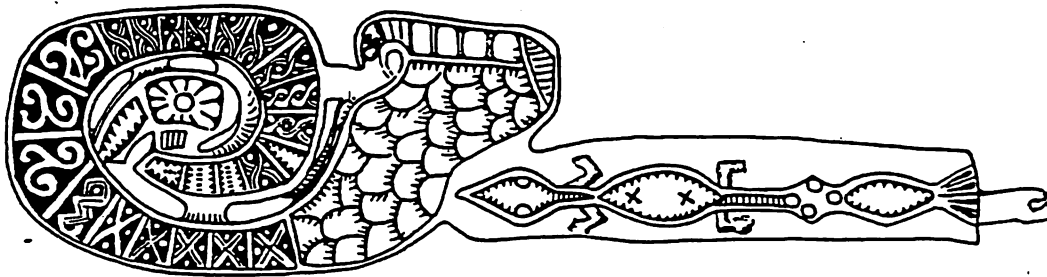
Bobby Xavier, 18	3 years
Aleixo da Silva, 22	2 years, 3 months
Jacob da Silva	2 years
João dos Santos, 23	1 year, 8 months
Bonifacio Bareto	1 year, 8 months

In Dili, for sending "secret" documents overseas

Afonso Rangel	5 years
Felismina dos Santos Conceição	5 years
Amarão de Araujo	3 years

In Jakarta, in connection with Nov. 19:

Fernando de Araujo, 26	9 years for subversion
João Freitas da Camara, 37	10 years for subversion
Virgilio da Silva Guterres	2 years, 6 months
Dominggus Barreto, 29	6 months for spreading hostility... (freed in May, 1992)
Agopito Cordoso, 25	10 months for spreading hostility...



Elaine Brière is extremely busy with her film on East Timor which is developing very positively into a unique tribute to East Timorese culture. She however is still involved in political work. An interview with Elaine which was published recently by "Z Magazine" has been very successful in raising interest about East Timor and Indonesia; Elaine has since been sending out numerous Indonesia Kits by request from people who read the article in "Z".

Azé, our East Timorese refugee has just moved to Vancouver. He is attending ESL courses in Capilano college. Azé is coping well with his difficult situation thanks especially to the Wood family in Campbell River with whom he was living for the past year. ETAN is also grateful to many people in Campbell River who helped Azé during his time there.

Li-Lien Gibbons recently testified at the UN Decolonisation hearings on behalf of ETAN, Parliamentarians for East Timor and her family. "As It Happens" interviewed her in New York, marking the first time that the UN Decolonisation Hearings on East Timor have been aired on CBC radio. This October she will be leaving Vancouver temporarily to study Mandarin in China, but is due to return next summer.

A Growing Interest in Vancouver...

Ever since the Santa Cruz massacre of Nov. 12 various individuals in Vancouver have been contacting Elaine Briere for more information about East Timor and Indonesia. This is exactly what we like to see and encourage! It is a matter of time and effort before Canadians realise that they simply cannot actively ignore the issue.

Tony Palma has begun to link ETAN to the Portuguese community in Vancouver, mainly through the Catholic church. We really appreciate the church's offer of its photocopying facilities to Azé. It is also likely that the church (on E. 12th, near E. Broadway) will hold a mass on November 12th in commemoration of the Santa Cruz victims.

ETAN would also like to thank Plamen Gantchev (our most fearless activist!), Nick Witheford and BC PIRG for helping to raise the issue of East Timor and university involvement with the Indonesian regime in

the SFU community. SFU's CIDA-funded East Indonesian Development Project has become quite an issue since last Spring's forum at which Elaine, Li-Lien and Svend Robinson spoke.

CBC French TV calls us!

Again, thanks mainly to Plamen Gantchev's fervent lobbying, CBC French TV aired a special feature on the SFU-Indonesian project and East Timor on its news program early in September. The feature included brief interviews with Elaine Briere, Li-Lien Gibbons and Christopher Dagg (administrator of the SFU project) and also footage of the Santa Cruz massacre last November.

SFU Out of Indonesia!

The five year old East Indonesian Development Project is coming up for renewal after spending its \$20 million from CIDA. The fundamental question is how can a Canadian university which is supposed to uphold and promote the values of academic and political freedom be involved with a government which is one of the worst human rights abusers in the world! As it so happens, SFU is involved with helping the Indonesian government "upgrade" the Eastern Indonesian region.

According to Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, "the development of East Indonesia through all kinds of projects World Bank, ADB, bilateral g to g or university projects like SFU do have one thing in common: not only do they enhance the image of the Suharto government, but even worse can support the further obliteration of the threatened cultures of the local people in the Moluccas and West Papua."

The SFU project is linked with three major state universities: Universitas Sam Ratulangi in Manado (Sulawesi), Universitas Pattimura in Ambon (Maluku) and Universitas Cenderawasih in Jayapura (West Papua).

The decision to choose for eastern Indonesia is most likely made through a process of discussions in higher spheres, World Bank and the Government of Indonesia (GOI). Many other donor countries like Holland and Australia have also decided to focus on

the development of Eastern Indonesia. It has become a kind of parole in the world of developmentalists to talk about Eastern Indonesia. They even developed an abbreviation IBT (Indonesia Bagian Timur, the Eastern Part of Indonesia). SFU's project administrators claim that their involvement is "empowering the individual's academic freedom". There is no evidence of any such improvement; student councils and senates do not exist in Indonesian universities. Instead SFU is involved with universities which have been called upon by the Indonesian government "to provide research support, professional services and trained individuals with skills in production, processing and marketing" due to "an increased recognition of the market potential of the Eastern Islands' marine, forest and agricultural resources."

We must bear in mind also that human rights violations in the region and in particular in West Papua are appalling. In recent months many West Papuans have fled from their homes to the neighbouring PNG. The situation in West Papua can be compared in many ways with that in East Timor.

New South Wales University Press

New South Wales University Press
PO Box 1, Kensington NSW 2033
Australia

Telling

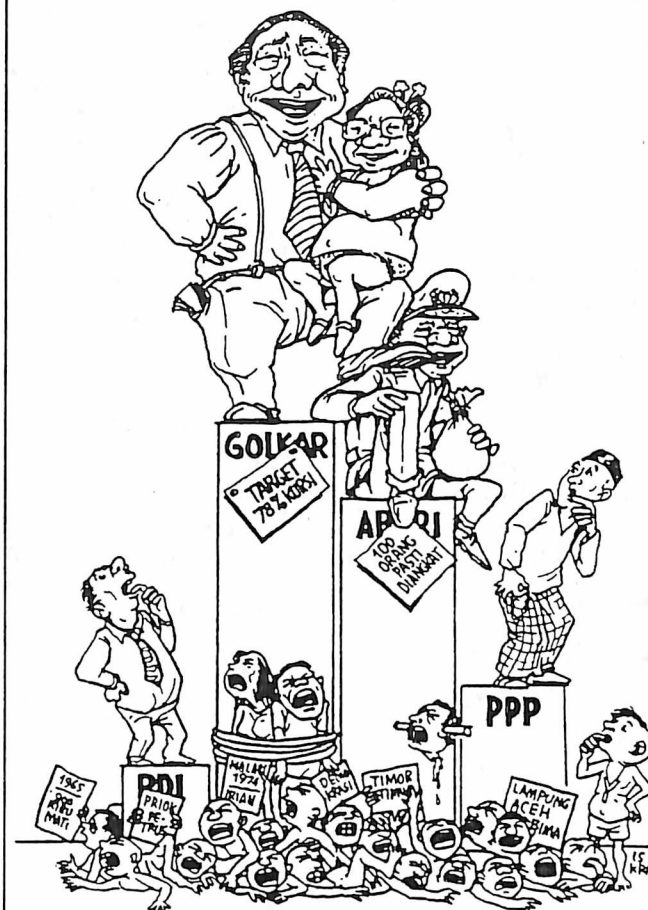
East Timor: Personal Testimonies 1942-1992

\$19.95 each plus \$3 per book postage



Michele Turner

Shock! Indonesian Government re-elected!



Indonesia held "elections" for parliament in May 1992. As always, voters were intimidated into backing Golkar (the government party) and the results were a foregone conclusion. Standings in the new parliament:

Golkar	282 seats
ABRI (armed forces)	100 reserved seats
United Development Party	62 seats
Indonesian Democratic Party	56 seats

SFU's Student Resource Centre is producing a pamphlet titled "SFU and Indonesia: Complicity in Human Rights Abuse?" which will be distributed with the help of BC PIRG in the university.

Reaching out to youth

We have had a couple of great experiences talking to young students this summer. Li-Lien was invited to do a presentation on East Timor and "Student Activism" from her personal perspective at Pearson College in Victoria. About 200 Canadian and international students attended the talk and film "Cold Blood". Azé and Li-Lien also gave a workshop to participants in the YMCA "Right On!" human rights conference on the Sunshine coast. We hope to reach out more to high schools in the future.

Activism spreads across the province!

New East Timor support groups have formed around Ontario, and interest in East Timor in the province is running higher than ever. ETAN groups are planning many activities throughout the fall to try to raise awareness about East Timor in Ontario.

An Ontario Regional East Timor Conference was held at the 519 Church St. Community Centre in Toronto on Aug. 1, with keynote speakers Abé Barreto (speaking on behalf of the East Timor nationalist movement CNRM, National Council of Maubere Resistance), Liem Soei Liong of Tapol, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign based in London, Li-lien Gibbons from ETAN/Vancouver and Peter Monet from ETAN/Ottawa. We were happy at the good turnout (31 people for a day-long meeting) and the wide representation from ten communities in Ontario. The conference got good media coverage, especially from the local Portuguese-language press and television and campus/community radio programmers who attended. Special thanks for making the day possible go to Maggie Helwig and ACT for Disarmament.

- A tour of Ontario universities this fall will feature talks by Timorese refugee Abé Barreto and the first Canadian screenings of the full-length version of Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor. A forum has already been held at Wilfred Laurier University, and more are planned at McMaster in Hamilton (Oct. 12-13), Windsor (Oct. 14-15), York and Ryerson in Toronto (Oct. 27), University of Toronto (Oct. 28), Guelph (Nov. 3), Brock, Carleton, Ottawa, Queen's, Trent, Waterloo, and Western (dates still to be decided).

- ETAN/Ottawa is concentrating on lobbying on Parliament Hill and conducting a membership drive for Parliamentarians for East Timor (PET). There will be a demonstration in Ottawa on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, starting at Parliament Hill and going to the Department of External Affairs. East Timor supporters from across the province are invited to attend. Ottawa contact: Peter Monet, (613) 283-6933.

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- In Windsor, an East Timor support group is just being formed, and has had very good response from local unions, churches, community groups, and the Third World Resource Centre. The group is lobbying the 3 local MPs to join PET, collecting signatures on a Free East Timor! petition, and working at the University of Windsor. In the summer, a picket was held in support of the Bata Shoes Boycott. Windsor contact: Jason Amyot, (519) 976-3166.

- The East Timor Working Group in Guelph keeps up its pressure on the Guelph University to end its spon-

TIMOR-LESTE — «VÍTIMAS» ENTRE NÓS



A manifestação de sábado, frente ao edifício onde funcionam os tribunais explica tudo. E o resto? — **PÁG. 6**

East Timor demonstration in Toronto, August 1. From the front page of **A VOZ** (Portuguese Canadian newspaper).

sorship of the Sulawesi Regional Development Project, the largest aid to Indonesia project of any Canadian university. A talk and information display at the School of Rural Planning (responsible for the Sulawesi project) is planned for this month, along with petitioning, radio shows, newspaper articles and other events. An external review into the Sulawesi project ordered by the university Senate (the first to consider ethical and human rights concerns) should table its report in November or December. Guelph contact: Sheila Wilmot, (519) 824-2091.

- ETAN/Toronto and ACT for Disarmament continue to promote the Bata Shoes Boycott and hold educational events. This month, a joint "benefit for boycotts" involved ETAN, the General Electric Boycott Committee, United Farmworkers, and other groups engaged in consumer boycotts. A petition calling on Bata to divest from Indonesia is now available. On October 1 there will be a benefit screening for ETAN of the new film Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media (Euclid Theatre, 7 pm, \$10). This excellent film will also be screened at the Euclid Oct 2-7 and the John Spotton Theatre 29-Nov. 4. Peace vigils will be held on December 7 and other dates through the year. Toronto contact: David Webster, (416) 539-9589, or call ACT for Disarmament, 531-6154.

- Groups and individuals are busy gearing up for fall campaigns in Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Oakville, Kingston and other communities. And ETAN has received inquiries from across Ontario, from Belleville to Thunder Bay.

Lobby your Member of Parliament. Canada should be supporting the rights of East Timor, not backing the Indonesian position. There are now 21 members of Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor, representing all three major political parties. For more information, contact Peter Monet at ETAN/Ottawa, or MPs Ray Funk (NDP), David Kilgour (Liberal) or David MacDonald (Conservative).

Write to External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. Canada gave Indonesia \$46 million in economic aid last year (third among all countries we gave aid to). Despite a freeze in \$30 million of future aid projects, Canada plans to give another \$46 million in 1992-93. If our aid money is tied to human rights, all aid to Indonesia should be suspended. Write Barbara McDougall (postage free) c/o House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6, and send copies of your letters to External Affairs critics for the opposition parties: Lloyd Axworthy (Liberal) and Svend Robinson (NDP).

Circulate a Free East Timor! petition. Activists in nine communities (Guelph/Wellington County; Hamilton-Wentworth, London/Oxford County, Oakville/Halton Region, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver, Waterloo Region and Windsor) are carrying out petition drives to collect 5,000 signatures each. Get in touch with the contact in your area to participate in petition drives ... or we can make a personalized petition for your area (contact HANDS, PO Box 1302, Main Station, Guelph Ont., N1H 6N6, (519) 767-0313).

Collect endorsements on an open letter. ETAN and the Canadian Peace Alliance are hoping to publish an open letter to the Canadian government about East Timor in the national press on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. Contact ETAN/Toronto or the CPA (555 Bloor St. W., Toronto, M5S 1Y6, (416) 588-5555). Tax-deductible donations towards the cost of this letter can be made to "BC Conference, United Church of Canada" with a memo "For East Timor Relief," and sent to ETAN.

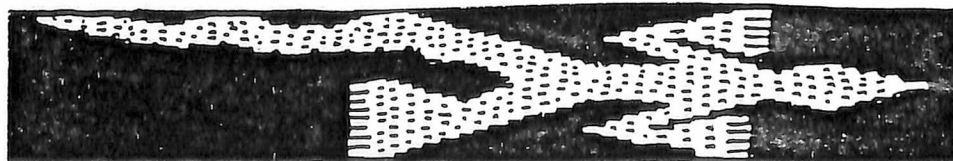
Organize a public forum. Show the film "Cold Blood" or "Manufacturing Consent" and invite a speaker from ETAN, in your town, church, university, school, community group, union or whatever.

Boycott Bata Shoes and other Canadian companies involved in Indonesia. Over 300 Canadian companies have invested more than \$2 billion in Indonesia, including Bata, Inco Inc., Gulf Canada Resources Ltd., SNC-Lavalin Inc., Pratt and Whitney Canada, General Electric Canada and many others.

Ask Canadian universities to divest from Indonesia. Simon Fraser, Guelph, Dalhousie and other Canadian universities have major projects in tandem with the Indonesian government.

Join an international day of action on November 12, 1992, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. Demonstrations will be held in Ottawa (with participants from across Ontario) and Vancouver. Or, organize a demonstration of your own.

Make a donation to ETAN. We are a grassroots organization dependent on public support to pay for our campaigns. Please consider a donation to ETAN — no amount is too small! Or, organize a fundraising event for East Timor.



Abé and Azé, Canada's only East Timorese refugees would like to share some of their thoughts with us.

There Was Someone Picking Them Up...

Timor and its dreams, fears, sufferings
and beauty
already have you recorded
humming
in the pieces of verses
lay down
in an untrodden path
There was a young poet passed
picking them up
and composed his verses
spoke through the mouth
of his verses

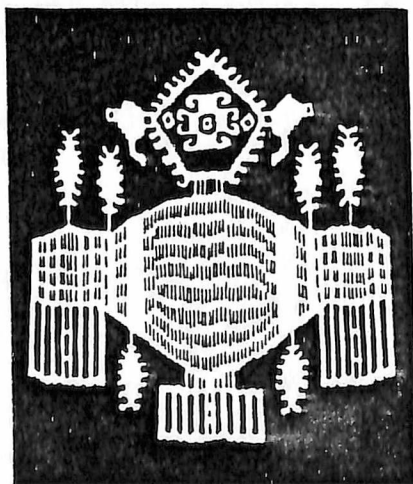
(Dedicated to an East Timorese poet, Fransisco Borja da Costa, killed in 1975 by the Indonesian military)

Dancing Around The Planet Earth

Walt Whitman and Pablo Neruda
were with me in the downtown of Montreal
spending the weekend
We exchanged views on democracy
and freedom

In a twinkling of an eye
I imagined when
the dream of my land comes true :
holding the torch of freedom
and dancing around the planet Earth
with a smile on its face.

— Abé Barreto Soares (Summer 1992, Kitchener, Ontario)



BY BLOOD YOU BUILD

Indonesia,
In scenes of your
Buildings, television and asphalt
Drops of human blood
still stain them all.

I DRANK BLOOD WATER

Oh Matebian
On top of you
There are thousands of corpses
Their blood colored the water
And I drank it
To hold my liberty.

— Azé @ Jose Maria de Jesus Luis Gutteres (Summer 1992, B.C)

*N.B. Matebian is the mountain in East Timor which the Indonesian military surrounded and bombed, killing many people everywhere and all the water filled with blood and we just used it for cooking and drinking.
(Aze witnessed the Matebian massacre and lost many relatives during the incident)*

MANUFACTURING CONSENT

NOAM CHOMSKY AND THE MEDIA



A FILM BY MARK ACHBAR AND PETER WINTONICK

ETAN BENEFIT SCREENINGS

TORONTO:

**Thurs. 1 Oct., 7 pm
Euclid Theatre**

VANCOUVER:

**Tues. 20 Oct., 7:30 pm
Pacific Cinemateque**

Manufacturing Consent, an excellent new film featuring a case study on the media treatment of East Timor, will also be shown at Film Festivals across Canada this fall.

- Vancouver BC (Oct. 20-21, 24-25, 31 and Nov. 1 at the Pacific Cinemateque)
- Guelph Ont. (contact The Book Shelf for dates)
- Toronto Ont. (Oct 2-7 at the Euclid Theatre)
- Toronto Ont. (Oct. 29-Nov. 4 at the NFB John Spotton Theatre)
- Montréal Que. (Oct. 29 at Concordia University)
- Montréal Que. (Oct. 30-Nov. 11 at Cinema Parallel)
- Halifax NS (Oct 2,3,4 at the Wormwood Theatre)
- Available from the National Film Board for screenings in your community
(call the 800 number for your region)

Stay informed about East Timor ... Read — East Timor Update —

published 11 times a year in The ACTivist, Canada's monthly newspaper of peace and human rights. East Timor Update is a monthly summary of events from East Timor and the international solidarity movement. It provides information that can't be found in any other news source in Canada.

The ACTivist also brings you the latest news of peace and human rights from around the world, First Nations here at home, peace campaigns, and much more.

Subscriptions are just \$10 for 11 issues, from ACT for Disarmament, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, M5S 2R4. Drop us a line today — don't miss a single issue!

EAST TIMOR

Will Ottawa put its money where its mouth is?

Brian Mulroney says his government will link foreign aid to human rights. He has a perfect opportunity to make a point in the case of tiny East Timor, the object of such ferocious aggression by Indonesia that is has been likened to Cambodia and Afghanistan. To date, Canada has been surprisingly — shockingly — muted in its outrage

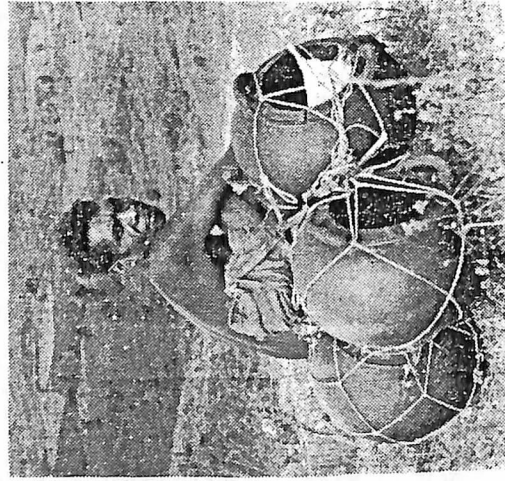
BY LINDA HOSSIE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORTER
TORONTO

MONIQUE Landry's enthusiastic, rapid-fire conversation ground abruptly to a halt. "Oh dear," said the Minister of External Relations and International Development. "If you're asking me the definition of genocide, I wouldn't like you to cite me making a link between that term and Indonesia. Genocide, surely, is how should I say it?" She lapsed into French. "It's the *effacement* of a people."

The eradication of a people. Genocide is a subject that comes up repeatedly in relation to Indonesia. Its campaign of forced birth control, the massacre of innocent civilians and the suppression of centuries-old cultures are all part of Indonesia's repressive tactics on islands such as East Timor.

So how is it that Indonesia receives tens of millions of dollars from Canada every year? That it is the third-largest recipient of Canadian country-to-country aid? That Indonesian political leaders are made welcome in Ottawa?

Those questions became national issues in November, when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a group of unarmed mourners in an East Timor cemetery, killing as many as 200



ELAINE BRIERE

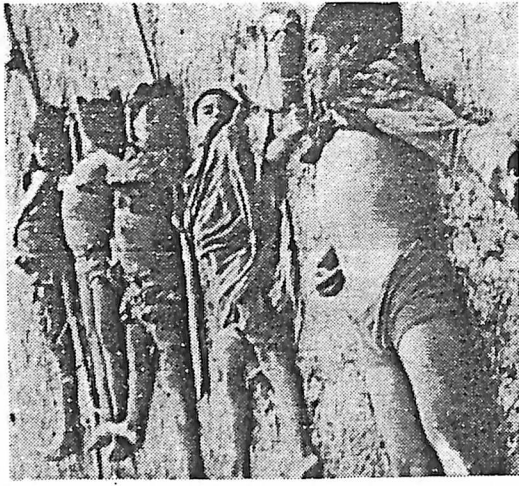
When the United Nations voted overwhelmingly for immediate withdrawal of troops and called on member states to respect East Timor's right to self-determination, Canada abstained

officials as a country that has been more restrained.

In reaction to that bit of news, Canada's East Timor Alert Network, an organization that has tried for years to raise awareness about the island just north of Australia, held a demonstration yesterday in front of the Indonesian consulate in Toronto. Only seven protesters showed up, a sad reflection of Canadian ignorance of East Timor.

EAST Timor, the eastern half of a mountainous island about the size of Vancouver Island, was a Portuguese colony from the early 1800s until 1974, when a military coup in Lisbon forced the Portuguese to turn their attention to the home front. In the aftermath, they gave the East Timorese three options: a continued but undefined relationship with Portugal, integration with Indonesia, or independence. East Timor, whose people are racially and culturally distinct from both Portuguese and Indonesians, has a long history of favouring self-rule.

Competing political parties sprang up in response to Portugal's offer and civil war broke out among them in 1975 after the most conservative party — backed by Indonesia — attempted a coup. The war was brief but bloody and in the end was won by the independence-minded Fre-



Ottawa joined other countries in condemning the massacre of 200 Timorese in November by Indonesian soldiers, but promptly hosted a visit from Ali Alatas, Indonesia's Foreign Minister

tilin, which set up a reasonably effective government. It was a taste of independence that East Timor cannot forget.

Indonesia immediately began a campaign of military harassment of the Fretilin government, and on Dec. 7, 1975, a full-scale invasion was launched. Fourteen thousand Indonesian troops landed from the air, land and sea. They took Dili within a day and cut off all communications with the outside world.

During the first 24 hours, Indonesian soldiers shot 150 people at random, including women whose terrified children had to be torn from their arms. Witnesses later reported they were forced to count the bodies as victims were shot on the Dili pier and fell back into the ocean. It is believed that in the first three months 60,000 people were killed.

Please see HUMAN-RIGHTS — D5

Human-rights violations are noted 'with concern'

Continued from D1

(The count at the end of the war was thought to be as high as 200,000 dead out of a pre-war population of 700,000, a toll that U.S. political analyst Noam Chomsky says flatly is, "relative to the population, the worst case since the Holocaust.")

A week after the invasion, the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for immediate withdrawal of troops and called on member states to respect East Timor's right to self-determination. Canada, which had extensive business interests in Indonesia, was one of 43 countries that abstained.

Six months later, Canada played host to a formal visit from Indonesian President Suharto and awarded him a \$200-million mixed-aid package. In the same month, 2,000 people were executed by machine-gun in Lamakan, on the border with West Timor. Later in June, 1976, in violation of international law, Indonesia annexed East Timor as its 27th province.

The fight for control of East Timor continued with heavy resistance from Fretilin guerrillas. Finally, in 1977, the frustrated Indonesian military dropped incendiary bombs and napalm on mountain villages and crops. Hundreds of thousands of Timorese were forced into detention camps; tens of thousands died there.

The following year, Indonesia escorted some foreign visitors to East Timor, including Canada's ambassador of the day, Glen Shortliffe. Mr. Shortliffe returned with this remarkable conclusion: "Anything undertaken by the Indonesians [in East Timor] represents an improvement over conditions which existed hitherto."

The International Committee of the Red Cross was allowed into East Timor to see the camps in 1979. Unlike Mr. Shortliffe, it saw the tragedy unfolding there and reported that 60,000 of the 75,000 people it visited were in "an alarming state of malnutrition," and that 20,000 were so far gone they would die whether or not they received help.

In 1980 and 1982, Canada voted against General Assembly resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops. In 1984, while the Indonesian army was conducting Operation Clean Sweep in East Timor to "crush the opposition without mercy," Canada hosted an arms bazaar for Canadian weapons manufacturers in the Mandarin Hotel in Jakarta.

Canada's friendly relations with Indonesia continued through the late 1980s, while that country launched Operation Eradicate, and the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops attacked Indonesia's forced birth control in East Timor as tantamount to genocide. It was during Operation Eradicate, when thousands of East Timorese were killed, that former external-affairs minister Joe Clark said he was satisfied human-rights abuses had ended in East Timor.

Given all of that, there is something grimly ironic about the November massacre in Dili. Unlike many atrocities of the past, it was committed in full view of several foreign correspondents. A New Zealander was killed in the shooting and two U.S. reporters were badly beaten by Indonesian soldiers.



A Timorese woman. (ELAINE BRIERE)

The massacre elicited condemnations from governments around the world, including Canada's. However, Canada maintained its friendly stance overall and promptly hosted a visit from Mr. Alatas, the Foreign Minister. At recent meetings of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Canada's representatives actively fought a strongly worded resolution condemning Indonesia's actions.

Instead Canada, Australia, Japan and the United States pushed for — and got — a much softer statement by the commission chairman. Instead of condemning human-rights violations, it merely "notes them with concern."

"I guess it's a question of what you perceive to be the best way of going," says Howard Balloch, assistant deputy minister of the Asia and Pacific branch of External Affairs. The chairman's statement, "put more pressure on them than any kind of measure [that would] say East Timor should never have been put in Indonesia in the first place," he says. "We made a decision, I guess, in 1975 or '76 that we were not going to recognize the annexation [but] we were going to recognize that it was a fact" that Indonesia controlled East Timor.

"You look for reasons" to explain Canada's low-key response, says Ed Broadbent, president of the Montreal-based International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. "So what seems to be an obvious factor is the hundreds of Canadian businesses [involved in Indonesia]. My own hunch is that they don't misunderstand history. It just goes against their economic interests."

Canada is hardly a big player in Indonesia. Trade between the countries in 1990 was worth about \$500-million. The Canadian International Development Agency's budget for Indonesia this year — which has not been suspended — is \$46-million. Canada sees opportunities for itself in Indonesia in fields such as communications, engineering consultancy, mining equipment and educational services.

That Canadian companies and universities have projects in Indonesia is a sore point with many pro-Timor activists. The institutions

themselves, however, tend to toss the moral ball into the federal government's court.

Litton Systems Canada Ltd. of Toronto is typical. It tied up a sale of airborne radar systems to Indonesia less than a year ago and is in competition to sell a flight-inspection system to the country's civil-aviation department.

"No Canadian company can export to another country other than the United States without obtaining an export permit from the federal government," says Chuck Pittman, Litton's director of public relations. "They are the people who do all the analysis. That's their business and they can do it a lot more extensively than a private company can."

At the University of Guelph, which is working with CIDA on development projects on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi, "our debate is about the ethics of being involved in countries in which there are obvious human-rights violations," says Jim Shute, acting director of the Centre for International Programs. "It is a very difficult one in Timor because Indonesia's right to govern that country has never been recognized by anyone. . . . I feel awkward that Canada has been so reluctant as a nation to take a position on it."

Public attention has focused on East Timor since the November massacre but it is far from being the only sore spot in Indonesia. Both West Papua and the Aceh region in northern Sumatra are the targets of intensive counter-insurgency actions by the Indonesian army. In December, Asia Watch described one form of torture practiced in Aceh and standard throughout Indonesia — "the placing of a chair or table over the suspect's foot, which the interrogator then sits on."

"In sharp contrast to the sacking of several army officers for failing to prevent the killings in East Timor," another Asia Watch report observed, "11 Indonesian officers in Aceh were given special promotions in January for their role in suppressing the conflict with a ruthlessness that involved large numbers of extrajudicial executions, arbitrary detention and torture of civilians."

In West Papua, as in East Timor, Indonesia dominated the island militarily in order to quell an independence movement. The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights has estimated that as many as 300,000 Papuans were killed during the Indonesian takeover. The occupation was completed in 1969 by a UN-supervised, fraudulent "Act of Free Choice" in which Indonesia appointed council members to cast votes and threatened to kill anyone who voted for independence.

Since then, in West Papua (or Irian Jaya, as it's called by Indonesia) and later in East Timor, the Indonesian government has transferred hundreds of thousands of citizens from poverty-stricken Java to the islands, gradually diluting the ethnic Timorese and Papuan communities. Rape and forced marriages — other tactics to "Indonesianize" the islands' populations — have been reported. Meanwhile, the islands' rich forests, mineral reserves and fisheries have been opened to exploitation by Indonesian and foreign firms.

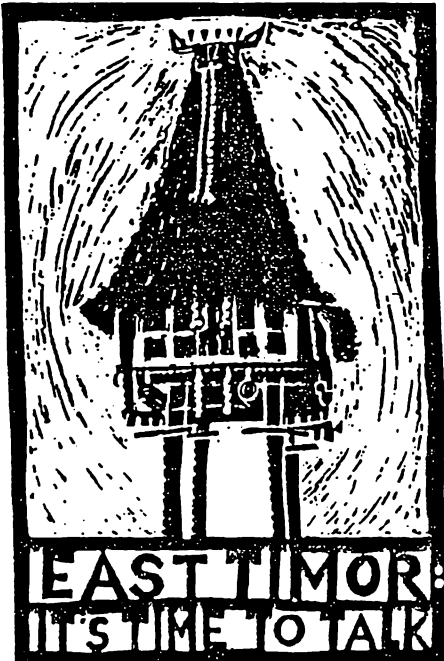
There is some hope for change, however, says Benedict Anderson, director of the Modern Indonesia Project at Cornell University. "The political situation is shaky in a way it hasn't been in 20 years. The regime is not in good financial shape. It's got a huge debt." President Suharto is unpopular, he is facing an election "and needs lots of money to make sure it comes out the way he wants it to."

Mr. Anderson believes middle powers like Canada and the Netherlands can put pressure on the United States and Japan to come down hard on Indonesia over human-rights offences. "That's why I think it's so important that Canada do something," he says.

There is no similar sense of urgency in Ottawa, in spite of repeated reports of human-rights violations in the aftermath of the Dili massacre. Ms. Landry, in fact, seems to see Indonesia almost in religious terms, as a kind of repentant sinner seeking the path of truth.

"We think they do admit [their wrongdoing] and they're trying to address the situation," she says. "I think we have fair reason to think they're acting in good faith."

Disarming Times



Why Won't Canada Follow Its Own Human Rights Rules?

By Brian Masse

Last November 12, Indonesian soldiers fired on a civilian demonstration in East Timor, killing or wounding more than one hundred persons. The protesters were calling for independence for their island territory, which the Indonesians seized by force in 1975. During and after this bloody seizure Canada, the largest single investor in Indonesia, turned a blind eye. Indeed, despite strong human rights guidelines governing its aid agencies, Canada continued and increased its aid programs as Indonesia killed 200,000 East Timorese. But now the widely publicized killing of nearly one hundred civilians has Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, deploring the "shocking turn of events" and announcing plans to review foreign aid to Indonesia. Is Canada finally ready to follow its own guidelines?

The Canadian "Exports Control Policy" is supposed to monitor nations receiving Canadian aid in the form of trade and investment. For example, Canadian military goods are not to be exported to governments that persistently violate the human rights of their citizens. Barbara McDougall's promised review is good news for East Timor, but historically, such promises by Canadian officials have only amounted to rhetoric. In a 1988 speech to a human rights conference, the then External Affairs Minister Joe Clark stated that "the first responsibility of policy-makers has always been to protect and promote national interests, and to conduct relations with countries accordingly. But if the 20th century has taught us anything, it is that the single-minded pursuit of one's own political or economic advantage is a formula for disaster."

Mr. Clark's policy stipulates that governments receiving military and technological exports from Canada must not pose a threat to Canada or its allies, be involved in or under imminent threat of hostilities, be under United Nations Security Council sanc-

tions, or have a record of serious human rights violations (unless it can be demonstrated that these exports would not be used against civilian populations.)

Canada followed these guidelines with Indonesia as long as it was ruled

Six months after Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, Canada increased aid by \$200 million

by socialist leaning governments unaffiliated with Canada's business interests. In 1964, for example, Canada halted food aid in protest over Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia. But in 1965 General Suharto staged a successful coup and immediately proceeded to purge Indonesia of "communist" elements, killing more than a hundred thousand individuals. Because the political and economic leaning of Suharto was pro-Western, Canada did not suspend aid again but instead increased it.

Barely six months after General Suharto began his infamous invasion of East Timor, Canada again contradicted its guidelines and increased aid, this time by \$200 million.

The invasion of East Timor violates basic tenets of the United Nations, including the respect for territorial boundaries and the universal right of self-determination. On December 12, 1975, the United Nations General Assembly passed a motion deploring the Indonesian assault on East Timor. Ten days later, the U.N. Security Council demanded that Indonesia remove its armed forces from East Timor.

The Indonesian assault on East Timor clearly violates Canada's own criteria for foreign aid. First, Indonesia has been involved in hostilities against a nationalistic movement called FRE-TILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) which contin-

ues guerilla warfare up to this day. Second, the criterion that no country will receive military or technological goods while under United Nations Security Council sanctions escapes only under a technicality. Although the Security Council has not applied sanctions, it has called for the removal of Indonesian armed forces from East Timor. Third, Indonesia has a persistent record of human rights violation against its civilians. If Canada were to acknowledge East Timor as an independent state, then Indonesia would be involved in hostilities against a sovereign nation. Following Canada's present position that the invasion of East Timor is a "fait accompli," Indonesia is violating the human rights of its own civilians.

Compounding this hypocrisy is the

sale of military goods from Canadian manufacturers to Indonesia. These materials, which include air navigation equipment and body armor for security forces have, in all likelihood, been used in the violence. Adding insult to injury, in 1985 the Canadian government sponsored a military trade fair in Jakarta which showcased the Canadian weapons makers.

But Western governments consider Indonesia a local superpower in the Asia-Pacific region and are confident in its ability to provide a stable environment for economic investment. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) believes that "there will be a shift of the world's industrial and technological power to the Pacific

rim area by the year 2000." This is why Canada has continued to provide aid to one of the worst human rights violations of this century.

When Barbara McDougall reviews our aid to Indonesia she should review the history of Canadian linkage to the genocide of East Timor. Canada must withhold aid from Indonesia and prohibit any trade that is detrimental to the citizens of East Timor. Otherwise McDougall will once more confirm that Canada only spews rhetoric of human rights, but conducts foreign policy according to cold-blooded, amoral calculations. ■

Brian Masse is a support worker with the Community Vocational Services of Mississauga.

"I remember pushing the Canadian Government on East Timor. In the early '80s, 200,000 people were massacred by the Indonesian forces in East Timor. We tried, many times a year for several years, to get the Canadian government to raise that issue. We were told, bluntly, that Canada has focused on Indonesia as its aid, investment and trade target, and will not allow the question of human rights to interfere."

— Michael Schelew of Amnesty International speaking at a Toronto forum on human rights, Dec.11, 1991.



Fishing people from Itowa Island, East Timor, 1974

Elaine Briere

And What Is Stopping the U.N.?

By David Webster

There are few tougher acid tests for the United Nations system and Canadian foreign policy than the problem of Indonesian-occupied East Timor. The recent killing of several hundred people at a peaceful demonstration has brought this issue to a head.

After initial expressions of outrage, world governments quickly washed their hands of the matter. The

Netherlands and Denmark suspended all aid but restored it within a month; Canada suspended new aid but left existing aid untouched; the United States and Britain made ritual condemnations but kept selling weapons systems to Indonesia's ruling generals. Then U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar asked to send an envoy to East Timor but let the idea pass; successor Boutros Boutros-Ghali

sent a representative, but kept his report a secret. In the U.N. General Assembly, only Cape Verde and Vanuatu, themselves tiny island states that few have heard of, spoke out against Indonesia.

Indonesia's President Suharto set up a "National Commission of Inquiry" dominated by former military men. The inquiry came out with a report that was little more than a whitewash of the In-

SFU reviews Indonesian connection

By TIMOTHY FOLSOM
SFU's international activities will now come under the scrutiny of a senate committee.

After three drafts, and a lengthy debate, senate passed by a wide margin the university's official international policy at its July 6 meeting.

A new senate committee on international activities (SCIA) will use a number of human rights considerations and assessment guidelines in reviewing proposals or existing international activities.

At least one student senator will sit on SCIA, which is required to report annually to senate. There will also be three faculty senators, an at-large senator, the vice-president, academic as chair and the director of international cooperation as secretary (non-voting).

SCIA's long list of guidelines include: the practices of an international activity taking place within a country governed by an abusive political regime should be assessed on their own merits, and individuals who live under an abusive regime should not be additionally penalized by being denied access to assistance through international cooperation. SCIA must also be culturally sensitive when assessing human rights.

General principles specify that activities under such agreements must mitigate rather than abet the violation of human rights and they must support the equitable participation of women and minority groups.

Dr. Jock Munro, vice-president, academic said SFU's international activities are "potentially controversial enough that we should involve oversight by a senate committee."

"It is ... impossible to foresee every contingency"

— Dr. Jock Munro

Faculty senator Dr. Rieckhoff, a continual critic of the administration, said he was "very pleased that the university was finally coming to grips with setting up a policy."

"[But] as this policy is written it can lead to considerable conflict between some of the sections," argued Rieckhoff.

He thus urged senate to hold off approval and refer it to a committee for fine tuning.

Much later on, Rieckhoff said he was in favour of the amendments he not getting all the amendments he wanted because it was better to have a policy than none at all.

Munro said "it is absolutely impossible to foresee every contingency... we have to trust the [review] committee as it will be formed to apply their own judgment."

He later said the terms of reference were quite elaborate when compared to other senate committees.

Gregg Macdonald, the director of international cooperation told senators that there was conflicts among the policy's principles but that he was sure SCIA would resolve them.

There was also debate on adding another student senator position to the committee. Student senator Morrison moved that there be two student senators on the committee — one undergraduate, the other a graduate student. The motion, seconded by student senator Wade, was defeated 20-17.

The controversial \$20 million Eastern Indonesia University Development Project also came up for discussion.

Dr. Leigh Palmer, a faculty senator asked for a review of this project under the new guidelines. Other senators also demanded an inquiry.

The project has direct links with the Indonesian government which is responsible for a number of serious human rights violations as documented by Amnesty International and the East Timor Alert Network and reported earlier in the Peak.

Munro said human rights were considered at the time SFU decided to go with the project. The five year project was started in 1987.

Student senator Chris Green filed a notice of motion urging SCIA to "review the university's participation in the Indonesia project with particular reference to human rights considerations." The motion will be debated at the next meeting that is tentatively scheduled for early August.

After the open session in which student senator Jose Flores was absent, Plamen Ganchev of SFU PIRG's Environmental Action Group commented on the meeting in which he distributed information about human rights abuses in Indonesia.

"I'm extremely disappointed by the student representatives, they by and large have a very confined attitude," said Ganchev. "I find the senate extremely vague and extremely loose. We are talking about human rights and genocide, in the case of East Timor where more than 200,000 people have been killed."

Silent conspiracy

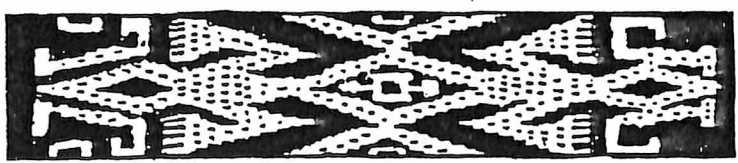
There is pressure, even from former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher on the United Nations to intervene in the tragic civil war in former Yugoslavia. The United Nations, it should be remembered, does not only represent the nations of Europe, whether of the European Community or of the former Communist bloc (Thatcher Speaks — Aug. 14). Many more millions are represented, even the people of North America are a lesser fraction of the total.

Many on the fringes have been asking why "we" (meaning the United Nations) have not intervened in other areas, though remote, where the violations of the charter are more glaring and reasons for intervention more legitimate and plausible. These violations have been largely obscured by media silence, and the silent conspiracy of "economic expediency."

One of the most glaring violations and one even definitively condemned by a majority vote in the UN Assembly and in the Security Council was the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Why was nothing done about it? Why has the issue been shelved and left to negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia which are going nowhere during the most recent 10 years of Indonesia's painful occupation?

Economic expediency has taken precedence over justice. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of innocents have been sacrificed on the altar of the modern Mammon. The trading nations (including Britain and Canada) though they be so-called Christian countries, have served this God too often with the tacit support of a too easily brainwashed electorate.

George Adamson, Ennismore, Ont.



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donesian army, blaming demonstrators for "provoking" soldiers to fire on them.

Amnesty International criticized the report as "fatally flawed and unacceptable." But it was welcomed by most governments, who saw it as an opportunity to absolve Indonesia of blame for the massacre. "There has been considerable progress," said Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, in a typical reaction. "We believe that the government of Indonesia is very strongly attempting to come to grips with the situation."

The most telling example of world eagerness to forget East Timor has come at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which met in February and March in Geneva. Canada put a big effort into getting onto this commission, which makes recommendations for international action.

The Commission passed multiple resolutions condemning South Africa and Israel. It devoted a large chunk of its agenda to discussing human rights violations in Iraqi-occupied Kuwait. But it did not put East Timor, which has suffered the greatest per capita death toll of any country in the world since World War Two, on the agenda.

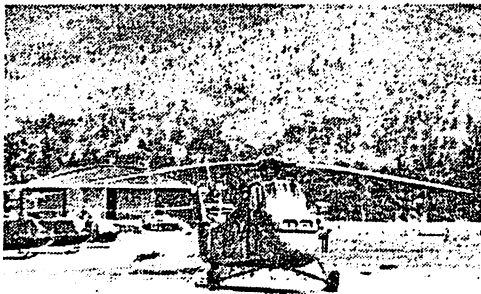
Under a general item, however, former colonial ruler Portugal introduced a resolution that condemned the Santa Cruz massacre and other violations of human rights.

The fortunes of this resolution, backed by three East Timorese lobbyists and by East Timor solidarity activists from thirteen countries who met in Geneva at the same time, provides a vivid illustration of international cynicism at work. The resolution was first watered down to "welcome" the Indonesian inquiry in a compromise to gain joint sponsorship by Portugal's European Community partners. Then Australian and Japanese delegates began a campaign to take out all key paragraphs from the resolution and so make it meaningless.

For the two days I was at the Commis-

sion, Canadian delegation head Anne Park spent much of the time closeted with the Australian delegation chief. "I can't give you a reaction right now," she said when asked if Canada would support the resolution as it stood. "But certainly it's an issue we're taking a lot of interest in and we'll be discussing it over the next few days within the Western group."

Why the international support for Indonesia's bloody rule?



Indonesian helicopter in East Timor. Pratt & Whitney engine?

A week later, Anne Park gave a speech to the Human Rights Commission, accepting completely the Indonesian inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre. "The interim report of the Indonesian commission of inquiry and the prompt response of the Indonesian government are very encouraging," she said. Nothing in the report was challenged, Canada's "concern" had come full circle since Barbara McDougall condemned Indonesia outright in the House of Commons in November.

Under the antiquated U.N. system, only two resolutions are allowed for

any continent. Resolutions were presented on the human rights situations of East Timor, Sri Lanka, Tibet, Burma, and Iraq. Solidarity among the dictatorships and near-dictatorships of the Asian Group at the Commission kept the East Timor resolution from a vote. The actions of Canada, Australia and Japan were key to killing the resolution.

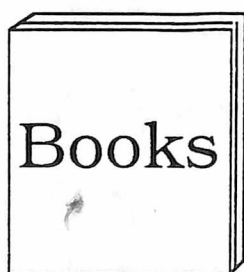
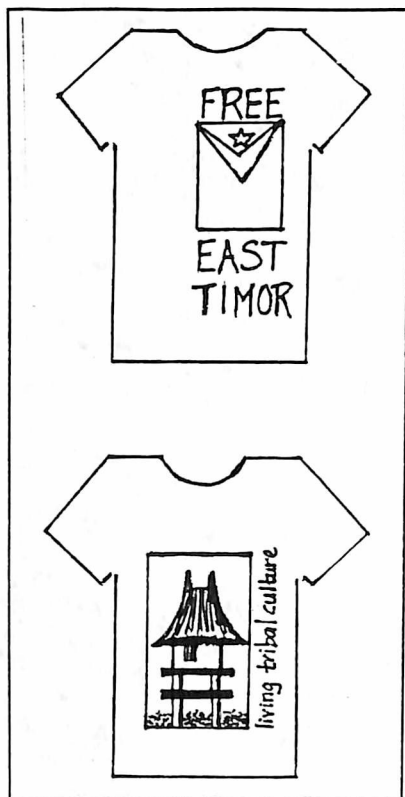
Why the international support for Indonesia's bloody rule? For Canada and the West, the answer is probably economics — Western corporations have billions of dollars tied in the Indonesian "investors' paradise." Canada has made Indonesia our third-largest recipient of government-to-government bilateral aid. Last year, we gave Indonesia \$46 million. Indonesia, a country where Canadian companies like Inco, Bata shoes, Asamera Oil and aircraft engine manufacturer Pratt and Whitney have big investments, provides the key test for the government's stated commitment to linking aid and human rights.

It's also a test for the new U.N. Peace seems to be breaking out all over, with imaginative U.N.-brokered settlements in the works for Cambodia, Western Sahara, Eritrea, and a host of other trouble spots. The U.N. moved rapidly to intervene in Yugoslavia and Croatia once white people started dying.

Yet none are willing to confront Indonesia: the fifth most populous country in the world, the strategically-located regional superpower of Southeast Asia, the head of the Non-Aligned Movement. If the UN's new activist role is to mean anything more than sanctioning global bullies, it must act against regimes like Indonesia. ■

David Webster is a Toronto writer who works with Act for Disarmament and the East Timor Alert Network.

For sale from ETAN



The Indonesia Kit by Elaine Brière and Susan Gage (ETAN, 1991). \$7 plus \$2 P&P.

East Timor: a Western-made tragedy (Australia, 1992). \$5 plus \$2 P&P.

Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor by John G. Taylor (Zed Books, 1991). \$20 plus \$2 P&P.
(Order from ETAN Vancouver)

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\$15 each (\$10 each for ten or more) from ETAN/Toronto or ETAN/Ottawa

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Front: select Elaine Briere photo of your choice: Timorese traditional house (shown), Timorese woman carrying corn, villagers going to market, tribal man with water buffalo. Back: "Free East Timor".

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INDONESIAN GENERAL SUED IN BOSTON COURT FOR ROLE IN SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

Indonesian general Sintong Panjaitan is being sued in US federal court for the Santa Cruz massacre of Nov. 12, 91. The Center for Constitutional Rights in New York filed the lawsuit on Sept. 17 behalf of Helen Todd, the mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, a New Zealander who was killed in the massacre.

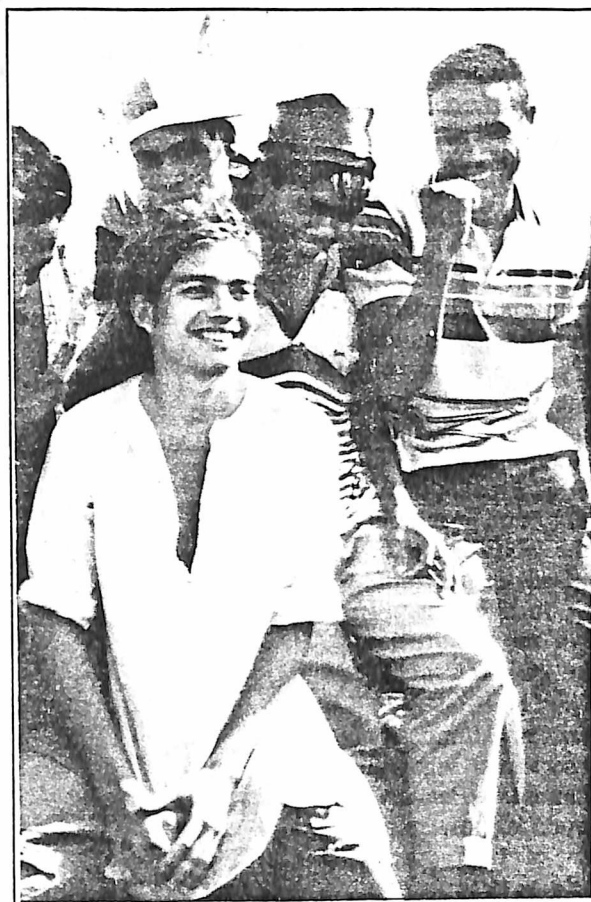
The suit charges General Panjaitan as one of the Indonesian military leaders responsible for a program of systematic human rights violations which include the execution of Kamal Bamadhaj. Panjaitan, allegedly studying at Harvard University, is currently living in Boston, having been removed from command by Suharto after the Nov. 12 massacre. The lawsuit was filed under two US laws which allow victims of gross human rights violations to bring to suit in US federal courts, no matter where the violations occurred, as long as the defendant is in the country.

In the suit plaintiff Helen Todd stated "I am bringing him to book not just as Kamal's mother, but in place of hundreds of East Timor mothers who are forced to grieve in silence for their dead children. Our grief and anger is the same, but unlike them, I can bring a case against a military officer without putting the rest of my family in danger." She also said that she will share any money judgement with the families of the Santa Cruz victims.

Beth Stephens, a CCR attorney working on the case said "we hope with this case and others like it to make it clear that the US is no longer a safe refuge for the torturers and murderers of the world." Michael Ratner, also an attorney with CCR, added "the Timorese people have a right to struggle peacefully for democracy without being massacred. We hope this lawsuit teaches the Indonesian military a lesson—stop the killing and get out of East Timor."

New Death Tolls

A new investigation conducted by the East Timorese themselves on the Santa Cruz massacre and its aftermath was released recently in Portugal. The results, accompanied by a list of names show that there were 273 killed, 376 wounded and 275 Timorese who disappeared. These figures have taken a long time to confirm because the investigation had to be conducted



Kamal Bamadhaj with young Timorese, November 1, 1991 — just days before the Santa Cruz massacre

clandestinely.

This report coincided with the account of two Santa Cruz survivors, smuggled out on a home-made video tape to Portugal. This footage has already been screened on Portuguese television.

Computer-networking

If anyone has access to WEB or another E-mail account please send your addresses to David Webster in Toronto (E-mail: etantor@web.apc.org) so that you can participate in our computer-networking. The WEB conference reg.easttimor always has the latest news on East Timor, and ETAN may soon be opening its own private discussion conference.

JOIN US NOVEMBER 12 FOR THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

Demonstrations will be held at:

Parliament Hill in Ottawa (call Peter Monet at 613-238-6933 or David Webster at 416-539-9589 or 531-6154)

Garuda Airlines office on W. Georgia St. in Vancouver (call Elaine Briere at 604-264-9973 or Ken Bragg at 253-1953)

We encourage those who cannot come Ottawa or Vancouver to organise your own events such as candle-light vigils, screenings of "Cold Blood", special mass for the victims... Commemorations will be taking place world-wide to mark that tragic day and the ongoing plight of the East Timorese.