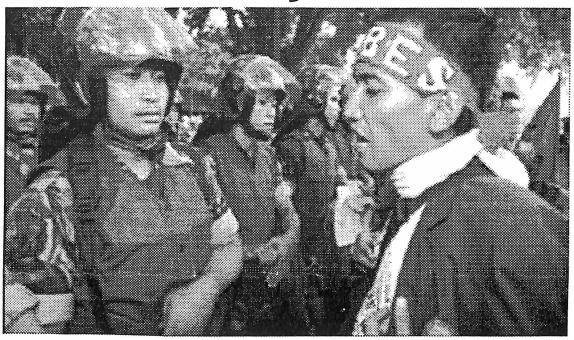
Canadian Action for Indonesia and East Timor

December 1998



Black Friday in Jakarta



On November 10, a Special Session of the MPR — the Upper House of the Indonesian Parliament — convened in Jakarta to pass a number of laws, many dealing the upcoming elections. It was well-known that student groups would protest, and indeed their presence and moral pressure was essential to ensure that this MPR, mostly leftovers from the Suharto era, made the slightest effort at all to accommodate demands for reformation.

Perhaps the most crucial student demand was for an end to the doctrine of "dual function", the principle that the military has a role to play in the political and social life of the nation. It is "dual function" and its many implications that have, more than anything else, maintained Indonesia as a sort of constitutional military dictatorship for more than thirty years (see also comments by Yeni Damayanti on pages 7-9)

The students — many of them committed to nonviolence — never posed a real threat to the safety of the MPR. But the military chose to respond, in their usual heavy-handed way, by sending thousands of hired thugs into the streets with sharpened bamboo sticks, by facing the students with tear gas and water cannons and rubber bullets. Almost certainly, provocateurs were placed in the crowd. Very possibly snipers were employed at critical moments. Certainly some students were killed by live ammunition. The end result of this violent over-reaction was a series of clashes resulting in nearly twenty deaths (the majority on Friday, November 13 — now called Black Friday).

Below we reprint some statements from Indonesian groups

with whom we work in solidarity.

Statement from the Volunteer Team for Humanity

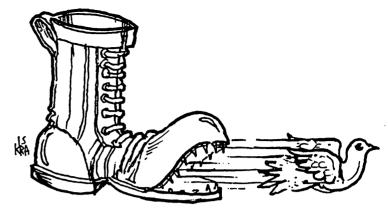
Amidst the crisis in Indonesia, the government of BJ Habibie persisted in holding the MPR Special Session at a cost of 20 billion Rupiah, under criticism and scrutiny from many parties. Outside the MPR building, tightly guarded by tens of thousands of special security troops and barricaded by barbed wire, hundreds of thousands of people, under the leadership of university students, conducted peaceful protests, demanding that their aspirations be heard. But instead, during the four-day-protest, the students and people, under the sun and rain, had to face political violence beyond humanity and common sense — batons, tear gas and rubber bullets and live ammunition, which resulted in many casualties.

The bloody incidents since November 10, 1998, up to today, indicate the hardship for the people of this country to voice their choice, even in the era of Reformation. Casualties during the four days of the MPR Special Session were mostly the true reformers. They were young men and women who since the beginning of this year truly believed that in order to achieve a more just and civilized Indonesia in the economic and political sectors, we need a clean government. That also includes the end of state violence over its own people. The students, fully supported by the people, are not groups of youth who are easily instigated by political

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Welcome to issue #2 of the CAFIET newsletter. As you'll see on page 13, we are planning to hold CAFIET's first national meeting in Toronto in February. Please think about coming; it should be an interesting and important event.

And as usual, there is far too much news from Indonesia and East Timor to report in this newsletter -- we encourage anyone with e-mail access to look at our web page. www.interlog.com/~cafiet, for more detailed updates.



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Death in the streets at MPR special session

continued from page one

brokers or hired agents roaming around to disrupt their struggle for independence. What kind of political "divide and conquer" is cruelly being spread again? The civilians are divided.

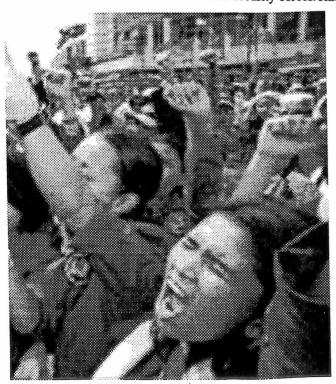
The students who are widely supported by the members of the community were faced directly with the "volunteers security unit" who were backed up by the military, acting for the government, to create an excessive conflict between citizens.

The Volunteer Team for Humanity has tried always to provide "coordination post" members to give humanitarian assistance including medics for the casualties almost at every confrontation. Since Jakarta bloody incident, July 27, 1996 and May 12-15, 1998 tragedy, the VTH has been actively involved in various kinds of independent humanitarian movements. The activities are similar to the Red Cross movement, to give assistance to casualties at the violent front without discrimination, both to the people in general or to the students. One of VTH's members, who was a very sincere young man working actively with high spirit at the critical moments during the Semanggi Tragedy, was Bernardinus Realino Norman Irmawan (Wawan), semester seven student of the Catholic University Atma Jaya, majoring in Economics. During the protest movement disapproving of the MPR Special Session, Wawan worked in his campus to evacuate casualties from the field, to be brought to hospital by ambulance or to contact victim's family.

With other VTH members, Wawan at the time attempted to approach and to save someone who had been shot and fell in front of his campus. During his humanitarian effort, a deadly bullet penetrated his heart.

Other VTH members took him to Jakarta Hospital to obtain emergency treatment. But, the bullet that penetrated his heart was more powerful than assumed before. It was not a rubber bullet, but a live bullet. Wawan died on Friday, November 13, 1998 around 6 PM.

He died with several other university students and other students due to reckless attacks from the security forces. This



bloody tragedy reminded us to the Trisakti Incident, May 12, 1998, when four of Trisakti University students who struggled for a peaceful reformation and a better life for this country, were purposely killed. A tragic incident, triggering a much bigger chaos, that happened during May 13-15, 1998. Similar to Trisakti Incident, the security forces procedure during November 13, 1998 tragedy was excessive. It gave the impression that there was no differentiation between war circumstances and peaceful demonstration activities conducted by the students. By the death of a VTH member in this incident, when he attempted to assist a casualty, the security forces have attacked the whole symbol and work of humanity that we really need. It occurred in the torn civilization of this nation by the military political violence like this.

And, all of this happened even after all the military high ranking officials spoke of their commitment to wise action to handle demonstrations which had been anticipated well beforehand. The culmination of this political violence tragedy was the death of 18 people — 6 university students from various universities in Jakarta, two high school students, 2 members of the POLRI (Police) security forces, one private security member of Hero Supermarket, 4 members of Pam Swakarsa (the vigilante gang set up by the military) and three people yet to be identified.

Meanwhile, the injured victims amounted to 456 people, mostly due to shooting and blow by hard tools, sharp or blunt. These victims were university students, students, journalists, security forces and other community members from different background and age, including Ayu Ratna Sari, a six-year-old girl, who was wounded by bullet went astray. She is still in critical condition at RSCM's Intensive Care Unit.

Thus, another proof exists that ABRI (military) again has failed to prevent more casualties caused by political violence in this country. It is etched in our history that the military has run away from its responsibility as the protector of the people. As common people, we witnessed that the security forces had not acted neutrally in handling the disagreement amongst people. It even violated the basic human rights, which are the right to live and the right to be free from fear in the heart of every person.

Based on our experience and observation during this condolence, in the name of justice, peace and unity of people in this beloved Republic, the VTH recommends the following independent investigation for MPR Special Session Nov 10-13 1998 tragedy — a fair court that is consistent and firm with all parties that are found guilty. The government and military have to be responsible by admitting mistakes and must give compensation to all the casualties of violence so far. The military should stop all violence towards its people who want to voice their opinions, even if their opinions are the opposite of those of government's. The government and military officials who are responsible should resign from their positions because they have failed to perform their duties and responsibilities. And all form, mechanism and military practices under the military "dwifungsi" (two-functions). must be ended.

To respect all casualties, died or injured, and to put into reality the justice mentioned above, we would like to appeal to every Indonesian people. Every one from security officers, government, university students and other people, should be calm and consistent to work together during this hardship, in order to achieve the objective of reformation of this nation and country, justice, peace

"ABRI's dual function must be abolished"

and unity.

This statement is made based on humanity and human rights principles that have to be instituted in this country.

Jakarta, November 14, 1998
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LSandyawan Sumardi, SJ, Secretary

Statement from Women's Solidarity for Human Rights

THE ARMY ATROCITIES: A THREAT TO INDONESIAN PEOPLE AND THE MAIN OBSTACLE FOR DEMOCRACY

The killings of ordinary people and students of Indonesia on 12 and 13 November 1998 have destroyed the remaining legitimacy of the Armed Forces of Indonesian Republic (ABRI). We, women and mothers, are deeply saddened by the deaths of the children who were born and raised with difficulties by their mothers, and later were brutally killed by the army of their own country.

All claims of the army's legitimacy, which tried to indoctrinate the people about its glory as the defender of the people, unity with the people, and so on and so forth has been destroyed along with the bloodshed of people at a young age in the heart of Jakarta. The defending army is actually the killing army, the army united with the people is actually the army facing the people with the shooting guns.

We have already known for a long time that ABRI has to be responsible for the various killings in all over the country and East Timor. Take for example, the incidents of Tanjung Priok, Lampung, Aceh, Irian Jaya, Banjarmasin, Banyuwangi, Marsinah, Udin and the May riots and mass rape plus other victims of

violence

The bloodshed of the ordinary people and the students has convinced us more that ABRI is the main agent of violence in Indonesia, and if we dream of a future of a just and democratic Indonesian society without violence, the main obstacle we face will be ABRI with its brutal and facist doctrine. The tragedy has completely overcome the legitimacy of Habibie as the president of Indonesian Republic.

In relation to the above killing mentioned and also to struggle for our ideals for a just Indonesian society without violence, there is no other way for us, the Women's Solidarity for Human Rights, except being ready and struggling all out with the capacity we have in demanding:

- a. ABRI's dual function must be abolished
- b. Indonesian Army Commander in Chief./Minister of Defense, General Wiranto must stand trial
- c. President B.J. Habibie must take responsibility for this incident.

We call upon our fellow women to get out from the cover of terror and fear. The children of our country are in danger. The killings will only stop if we struggle to stop it! We appeal to the international community to stop all kinds of violencen all over the world, including the stopping of sending as well as the sales of arms to Indonesia.

Jakarta, 19 November 1998
Women's Solidarity for Human Rights
The Executive Chairperson,
Tati Krisnawaty
The Chairperson of Political Department,
Titi Soentoro,
The Chairperson of Union,
Yeni Rosa Damayanti
translation by Abé Barreto Soares

From the East Timor International Support Centre, Dec 7

Today marks the 23rd anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. As a result of the invasion over 200,000 East Timorese, or a third of the population, have perished either fighting the Indonesian troops or from disease and malnutrition.

Twenty-three years later, East Timor still remains under the jackboot of oppression and reports from the troubled territory indicate that the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) are not keen in participating in any endeavour towards finding a lasting, peaceful solution to the bloody conflict.

Over the weekend, ABRI's East Timor commander Colonel Tono Suratman told the press that he plans to arm civilians in more than 440 villages, in the territory, as protection against rebels fighting for independence. The commander said the weapons would be issued to volunteers who join a "people's defense force" known as Wanra.

For years, ABRI has armed, trained and worked with gangs and paramilitary groups to sow terror and commit human rights abuses in East Timor. In late October, confidential Indonesian army documents leaked to journalists grossly undermined Jakarta's credibility on East Timor. The documents indicate the territory's

elaborate network of paramilitary groups totalling 4,000 armed militia. One document outlines the existence of 13 paramilitary squads and names an infamous group known as Team Saka — a non-uniformed squad which uses black-clad ninjas to inflict terror on East Timorese suspected of supporting the armed Resistance. Both Team Saka and another group, Team Alpha, have been indicated in numerous disappearances and extra-judicial executions in the troubled territory.

A "people's defense force" is just a cruel excuse to create another paramilitary group in East Timor. This defense force will be used by ABRI to do their dirty work, and being out of uniform they are unaccountable for the abuses they might commit.

ETISC repeats its demand that international monitors be sent immediately to East Timor to monitor the troop levels there—both regulars and paramilitaries.

Twenty-three years later, East Timor still remains an international embarrassment for the Indonesian pro-democracy movement. For the East Timorese, the Indonesian occupation remains a question of life and death. What's at stake is the survival of their nation.

East Timor and military lies

In our last newsletter, we reported on Indonesia's claims to have withdrawn troops from East Timor, and cast doubt on these claims. Our doubt has now been backed up by hard evidence, as leaked documents have demonstrated that Indonesia had — as of the end of August, after the so-called "withdrawals" — at least 17,000 troops in East Timor. Perhaps even more important, the documents clearly listed the paramilitary "ninja" units as being under the overall command of the armed forces. If these paramilitaries are counted in, the total comes to over 21,000 troops.

This is a stunning refutation of the Indonesian government's claim that there are "no combat troops" left in East Timor. In fact, the documents establish that after the withdrawals, there were 7,938 combat troops, not including the paramilitaries. Among these combat troops were members of the infamous KOPASSUS special forces.

But the total now may be even more than in August. Since the time these documents were drawn up, reliable sources have reported a new influx of troops into East Timor. This is apparently a last-ditch attempt on the part of the Indonesian government to wipe out the FALINTIL guerrillas once and for all (perhaps under the confused impression that if they really did succeed in doing so, the rest of the Timorese resistance would immediately fold). Clashes between FALINTIL and the army have been frequently reported through this fall, with casualties on both sides.

On November 9, FALINTIL guerrillas attacked an Indonesian army post at Alas, in the south of the country, killing three Indonesian soldiers and one villager, and capturing 13 Indonesian soldiers and dozens of automatic weapons. Eleven of the soldiers were released, but two (both Timorese) continue to be held by the guerrillas as prisoners of war. Indonesian troops quickly moved into the area in large numbers and sealed off the village.

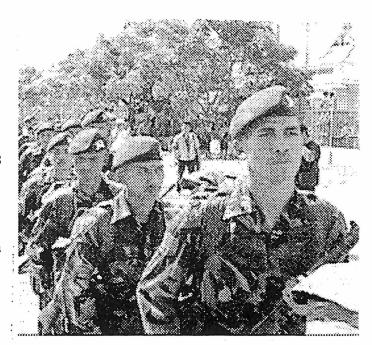
Then, according to church and other sources, they began to take reprisals against civilians. The exact nature of the events at Alas is very difficult to determine — since there is, of course, no external monitoring body. The Red Cross was able to confirm four deaths; church sources have released the names of eleven people who have been killed; and some sources indicate that the total number of deaths could have been 40 to 50. Most or all of those killed were not guerrillas. They were unarmed civilians, slain in cold-blooded revenge killings. The army is also said to have cut the village's water pipe and burned down houses. Some people are known to be under arrest, and many cannot be found.

The Alas incident has made clear, once again, the great urgency of stationing a permanent human rights monitoring body in East Timor, so such incidents may be prevented, or at the very least quickly investigated and the perpetrators brought to justice.

Please write to the Canadian government asking them, again, to take the lead at the United Nations in establishing a permanent human rights monitoring presence in East Timor. Write to Lloyd Axworthy, c/o House of Commons, Ottawa, ON, K1A 0A6, fax 613-947-4442.

In areas where there is more public attention and more ability to monitor events, the Indonesian army is indeed being compelled to allow the Timorese a bit more freedom. On November 12, a large demonstration in commemoration of the Santa Cruz massacre was allowed to go ahead completely unhindered — thousands marched to the cemetery where the massacre took place, and a theatre troupe re-enacted the events. But outside of Dili, where there are no journalists or foreign visitors, human rights abuses go on much as ever.

In fact, after news of the killings reached Dili, a thousand or more students occupied the regional parliament building on



November 23. Returning the next day, the students met with East Timor's military commander, and negotiated an agreement on an investigation into the incident. According to Conor O'Clery of the *Irish Times*, who was in Dili at the time, "Under the agreement the students will be allowed to travel to Alas accompanied by other organisations concerned with human rights." But when the team actually arrived at Alas, they were turned away by armed soldiers and forced to return to Dili. The students also asked for an office of the UN Human Rights Commission to be opened in East Timor, but unsurprisingly, no action was forthcoming on this request.

O'Clery further reported, "One young man wearing a Virgin Mary medallion described how in January four of his friends were killed by soldiers and he was injured in the same incident. Eleven East Timor people have disappeared and 28 have been killed by soldiers in the first six months of 1998, according to statistics compiled by the Justice and Peace Commission, which believes the real number is higher. Some 511 human rights violations, including rape, torture, arbitrary arrests, disappearances and intimidation, were recorded in 1997 and 369 in the first half of this year, indicating that despite reforms the situation has changed little." Reports of atrocities in the more remote areas of East Timor continue to surface.

The Portuguese government temporarily pulled out of the UNsponsored talks with Indonesia on the future of East Timor, in protest against the killings at Alas.

They returned to the table in late November, but the talks ended without agreement, breaking the UN's informal deadline—the UN had hoped to achieve agreement on at least a provisional autonomy plan by the end of this year. Another round of talks will take place in February 1999. Although details of the talks are not released, it is reasonable to assume that the breaking point has been Indonesia's insistence that "autonomy" will only be offered in exchange for the permanent acceptance by the East Timorese of Indonesian rule. As long as the Indonesian government remains inflexible on this point, it is unlikely that any agreement will be reached.

Voices from the resistance

On November 7, Fernando de Araujo, a leader of the Timorese student movement RENETIL, and Yeni Damayanti, an Indonesian activist for human rights and women's rights, spoke in Toronto, at an event co-sponsored by CAFIET-Toronto and the US-based Global Exchange. Slightly abridged versions of their talks are reprinted here. Thanks to Abé Barreto Soares for providing the interpretation for Fernando's talk.

Fernando de Araujo

Solidarity among people can make change.

Solidarity for East Timor is growing tremendously in Indonesia, especially the young people are now involved in trying to do something, trying to inform the general public about what is happening in East Timor. Now the young people, they are starting to take concrete steps, to demand that the government change its policy in regard to East Timor.

Because of the overwhelming solidarity from the Indonesian youth, sometimes it makes me confused which struggle I should get involved with, so I combine them.

In East Timor itself, after the fall of Suharto, there was a little bit of change, so that the Timorese could at least have some room to organize themselves, to openly express their opinions. In June this year, there were 70,000 Timorese who were on the streets demanding that the government release East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, and also demanding a referendum, and also demanding that the government have a UN presence in East Timor.

At the same time, on June 12 in Jakarta, along with Indonesian friends we organized a demonstration, we hoped to occupy the Department of Foreign Affairs. We demanded the same things that the Timorese people were demanding in East Timor. We thought we were going to meet the people from Foreign Affairs but what we faced that time was the military. The military that we faced at the Department of Foreign Affairs were so brutal, and because of that 80 people out of 1,800 were injured, and ten had to be taken to the hospital.

I would like to be precise here, that now it is the young people of East Timor who are in the front line, taking the risks, trying to do everything they can. These are the activities, what the Timorese young people are doing. They're trying to do everything they can to demonstrate at government buildings. They try to get involved in discussions about freedom for East Timor, but what they face is terror. They are terrorized by the military. And they are facing tremendous difficulties.

The movement in East Timor, we are trying to be as nonviolent as possible. But the Indonesian military was smart enough to try to manipulate people. For instance, when I was arrested in Bali, they came to my house, they ransacked everything, and they tried to plant a grenade in my room, to try to show the public that it was me who was trying to organize an underground uprising with arms to try to overthrow the regime. They do this in East Timor itself. They try to manipulate, to make it look as if we are the ones who start the violence.

The same thing happened on November 12 1991. The military tried to infiltrate the crowd that was marching to the cemetery, they tried having Timorese who are paid to have weapons, so they tried to convince the world that it was the Timorese themselves who were trying to use weapons, trying to attack them.



Fernando de Araujo (r) and Abé Barreto Soares

For the Indonesian military to be manipulative is something common, and many, many Indonesian pro-democracy activists face the same thing as we do.

Until now, the bodies of the 200 Timorese who were gunned down have not been found, we do not know where they are buried. The same things happen in Indonesia. In prison, I met many, many people who experienced the same thing, at Tanjung Priok for instance, and also from the "communist coup", many, many people were gunned down, massacred, but the bodies were not found. So from that I learned the brutality, the character of the Indonesian military.

The most impressive experience I had in prison was my association with the elderly political prisoners who were arrested in 1965. Most of them are now very, very old. But even now that they are very old, the regime just continues to punish them. So from that experience, I learned more and more about the character of this regime.

The main focus of the Timorese young people's struggle now is to try to create the conditions so that the Timorese can have dialogue among each other. That is the main focus. With this idea in mind, the Timorese believe that through dialogue, through understanding among the Timorese, the Timorese can create peace in East Timor. Otherwise it will be impossible. The spirit of reconciliation that I'm talking about is something that has to do with a meeting that I was involved in, I was invited by Monsignor Belo to attend a meeting of reconciliation in Dare, East Timor, on September 10-11; from that meeting I learned that the Timorese are actually ready to reconcile with each other, the Timorese are ready to dialogue. So the Indonesian propaganda that if there is a referendum in East Timor there is going to be a civil war, this is not true.

At that meeting, the Timorese were free to speak about the political status of East Timor. This meeting was different from the Intra-Timorese Dialogue sponsored by the UN, where at that meeting the Indonesian government imposed on the Timorese not to discuss the political status of East Timor. So that is really something that I found made a difference. The Timorese in East Timor, I can see from the Dare meeting, are ready to discuss the future, to hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

No matter how, the Timorese will continue to demand to have a referendum in East Timor, to be conducted under the UN, so the Timorese can freely determine their own future. I appeal to you all, friends of East Timor, that now is the right time for us to intensify our campaign, because Indonesia is in a transition period right now, Indonesia is facing many, many problems and because of that is very weak, so we have to intensify our campaign now, to let East Timor be free.

I personally believe that the people in power in the US and Canada can put pressure on the Indonesian government to change its policy in regard to East Timor, because now Indonesia is really dependent so much on assistance from Western countries. Having a weak position, Indonesia is not going to come and say, well, we don't need assistance, or, we don't need aid from the western countries. No matter what, the Western countries continue to deal with Indonesia because they have this interest. But I believe that the solidarity movement among the people in Canada and the US, they can continue to demand, continue to pressure their own government, to change their policy in regard to East Timor.

In my view, I think that for Canadians it's time right now, since Indonesia is in a weak position, I appeal that you put pressure, appeal to your Prime Minister to use his capacity as Prime Minister to put pressure on Indonesia to change its policy. That is my view.

I also want to remind you, when you campaign for East Timor, please also don't forget to campaign for the wellbeing of the seniors that I met in prison. They are in their old age but they continue to be punished. So I remind you please, don't forget to fight also for them. They are in a very, very bad situation.

Yeni Damayanti

This is the first time for me touring with my East Timorese friend, addressing almost the same thing — the Indonesian military. As Fernando has very clearly stated, the root of the problem, not only in East Timor but in Indonesia, is the military, ABRI. I don't know how far journalists here have put news on the resignation of Mr Suharto and the prospect of democratization in Indonesia. But I don't think they put enough attention on the fact that the military is still there. So, what's the "New Order" regime, the Suharto regime? It's nothing less than a military dictatorship. What has happened in Indonesia — Suharto stepped down, but the whole structure of military government is still there. The military has total impunity in Indonesia and it has total control of civilian life in Indonesia.

To back up this control is the doctrine of dual function. Dual function means that ABRI has two functions. The first is the military function, and the second is the sociopolitical function. So it has everything. Military affairs, civilian affairs, are both the military's role. That's the control. And how do they do that, technically? Well, first of all, the military do it in parliament. We have 400 seats in the second chamber in the Indonesian parliament. Out of those 400 seats, before the reformation, there's 100 seats given automatically to the military, without any elections. Now it's a little bit better. Out of 400, 75 given seats for the military. So that's one way. That's the legislative.

Let's see in the executive. Probably nearly 50% of the executive branch is military. You can see this in the present cabinet. The major key positions in the cabinet are given to the military even under Habibie.

The most important position is the Ministry of Home Affairs, because it's dealing with the sociopolitical, inside the country. And the Minister

of Home Affairs is Lt-Gen Syarwan Hamid. This general is the one who is responsible for the 27 July, 1996, attack on the headquarters of the PDI in Jakarta. It caused — I don't know how many deaths. Almost one hundred still missing up to now.

Another important position — Ministry of Information. And who holds the position of Minister of Information in Indonesia right now? It's Lt-Gen Yunus Yosfiah. This general actually is the one responsible for the killings of five western journalists during the invasion of East Timor. So a general that's accountable for the murder of journalists is now in the position of Minister of Information.

Another very important position — the Coordinating Minister of Politics and Security. This is a very important position in Indonesia. This is General Feisal Tanjung. He was commander in chief of ABRI for six years under Suharto. And here's another one, the Minister of Education. Sofyan Effendi is a commander who participated in the 1975 invasion of East Timor. He was also a provincial commander in Aceh from 1989 to 1990, when ABRI began the mass killing in that region. Another killing general, a killing machine, is put in the Ministry of Education.

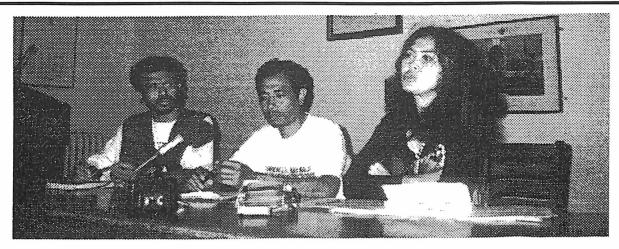
Okay, that's from the executive point of view. But also, military has the government of its own, and it goes together with the so-called civilian one. So, from the government to the district, sub-district, village level. The military has the very same structure, following that of the civilian government — or so-called civilian, because of course 50% of them are military. The military has the structures from the provincial level, and the district level, and the sub-district level, and the village level, and they call that the territorial command. And its sole purpose is to control civilians.

You can imagine how tight the control of civilian society in Indonesia is. It's very hard to escape. And in most parts of Indonesia, if you are a guest in a house for more than 48 hours, then you have to report yourself to the closest village authority. So it's very hard to escape. And the whole structure is still intact. Up to now, no change at all.

The first thing that ABRI does to stay in power is to control the society. And the second method is terror. Political terror, using laws, because Indonesia is what I call a "constitutional dictatorship". Because they are a dictatorship based on laws and rules and regulations, and even our constitution has provided them with support. So terror, it's one of the great methods used by the military. If you are against the government, you just disappear. Especially if you live far away from the city, you just disappear, you're taken into custody and tortured, even raped or tortured to death, or left in prison for many years without trial. And the military, like I said before, is not taking accountability for anything that they do. They can kidnap. They can torture. They can do whatever they want, without anybody, any institution that can control them. Until recently, when cases of disappearances of people took place.

And the third very effective method, especially recently, is dividing civilians, creating conflicts or maintaining conflicts. This is a very important method of the military. What they fear most are strong civilians in Indonesia. So they will do whatever they can to divide and weaken civilian society. Especially they have used this recently, the last several years, when the civilian struggle started to emerge.

They maintain, they create conflicts between civilians. So they have a very fundamental legitimation to keep on controlling civilian power in Indonesia. And they do that very effectively. Because of what? Because everybody in the world believes them. United States, Western European countries, they believe them, they believe that the military



(1 to r) Abé Barreto Soares, Fernando de Araujo and Yeni Damayanti

is the only power that can keep the barbaric Indonesian society from killing each other.

For example, the last two years have been a very important period where the military really used this extensively. Because of what? Because that's the uprising of civilian powers in Indonesia has started to take place. Probably you remember the case of the church-burning last year. From the local evidence, there's some very strong evidence that those groups that did the church-burnings were very well-organizing, very well-trained, and were not the local people — they were taken to the place by trucks or by minibus, and they were shouting and provoking people to burn the churches. And there is strong evidence that some of these people were military officers. And who's been the target of this? This will divide the Muslims and the Christians. And especially, this will be very good to secure their image outside of Indonesia. Church-burning. Okay. Indonesian Muslims doing that. Okay. Military needed. Of course.

And of course the recent case of Chinese rapes and burnings and lootings. I just received from the internet some information about the report of the fact-finding team, which from our point of view is very much controlled by the government, but actually some of their fact-finding — well, of course it's not up to our expectation, but it says that there is strong evidence that the military were involved in the riots. It is one set, the disappearances, the killings of the Trisakti students during the demonstrations, and the riots and the rapes, are in one set, aiming to make unrest and to disrupt the people's uprising at that time. And they said there was a meeting in KOSTRAD, the military command, on May 14 that should be investigated, because there's some say that the whole thing was kind of discussed and planned over there.

This is not the first time the Chinese have been targetted when peaceful demonstrations take place. The first time was far back in 1974, when there was a big student uprising in Jakarta. The students gathered in thousands of number in one university in central Jakarta. And suddenly there's rioting and burning of Chinese shops in another part of Jakarta. The students were accused of masterminding or orchestrating the riots, the burning of buildings and everything, and the student leaders were taken to court and imprisoned for several years. Another case which is fairly well known — perhaps you've heard about Mochtar Pakpahan, a labour leader who was taken to prison. He was accused of organizing riots in Medan. What happened? Well, at that time there was a workers' strike demanding an increasing of their wage. Then suddenly, from nowhere, there's a leaflet saying, Let's go burn the Chinese shops and everything, and then suddenly there's burning and provoking and looting, and one Chinese businessman was killed. Every time there's

a peaceful demonstration, the military always tries to switch that peaceful demonstration into a race conflict, instead of admitting there's an economic conflict between classes, they switch into a horizontal conflict, it's not a vertical conflict, it's a horizontal conflict between races. Or sometimes it's between religions. Or sometimes it's between ethnicities.

Of course, there is indeed race conflict in Indonesia. So they maintain this conflict by limiting the political participation of the Chinese and limiting the economic participation of the Muslims. Suharto kind of divided people into these sectors. This one deals with the economy and is not allowed to deal with politics. This one is having a kind of negative discrimination about the economy. The best solution for this is to destroy all these methods of dividing peoples, conflicting civilians. They know they cannot attack us openly now, as the military, because the international community is watching them. But they are now using more sophisticated methods. When they attack, they wear civilian clothes, so it looks like a conflict between civilians. And I'm sad to see how many western media fail to see the real problem, are successfully fooled and manipulated by the military to see it the way the military wanted them to see it.

I'd just like to restate that the only way to deal with the problem in Indonesia and East Timor is to deal with the military first.

Regarding the East Timor case, in Indonesia there is now a campaign about the East Timor case, and my organizations, we are doing a campaign, and lobbying independent political parties, independent political organizations. And most of the organizations already agree that the solution for East Timor is self-determination, which means a referendum in East Timor.

It's been very dangerous to talk about East Timor. As dangerous as it is for the East Timorese to talk about themselves. So for example, in 1991, I had a demonstration, and I read a statement at that demonstration — a big demonstration, about 500 people. And I mentioned something about East Timor. And I was arrested, I was interrogated, and during that interrogation, this military from BIA, the military intelligence service, who was interrogating me, he gave me a death threat. He put a gun in front of me and said if I keep talking about East Timor, who already are sacrificing thousands of military lives, then my life is not worthy at all. So talking about East Timor it means you can be facing a death threat. That's one reason Indonesians don't talk about East Timor until a few years ago.

Now there are three big opposition parties in Indonesia. And one of these parties, PAN, has already said in their political manifesto that

Amien Rais.

their foreign policy (very interesting) towards East Timor is to have a referendum under United Nations supervision. And this is one of the Muslim-based parties. The two other parties, the leaders have met with Bishop Belo, and they have not yet made it clear in their official statement what their position is on East Timor, but after the meeting, when journalists ask what they think about the East Timor case, their answer is, whatever Bishop Belo says is best for East Timor is okay with us, because we don't know anything about East Timor and Bishop Belo must know what is best for East Timor. So they said they would just follow whatever Bishop Belo said on East Timor.

So what is the constraint now? They are the biggest parties, so if they can win the next elections, if the next election is not manipulated by the military the way it has been up to now, then they are going to be the majority in parliament, and they vote for a referendum in East Timor, and the Indonesian occupation of East Timor is over. But what's the main constraint there? It is the military. For most civilians, the military occupation in East Timor has nothing to do with them, actually. There's no benefits of that invasion for the civilians; it's all the military business, the interest goes to the military, the military has a training ground, the military has the reason to ask from the national budget to buy tanks and fighting airplanes and everything, the military has reason to ask for more and more money, the military has a reason to maintain their important position, saying we have a threat in that area. So it's all military business, it has nothing to with Indonesian civilians.

I hope that you understand that Suharto's resignation doesn't mean much if the military is still there. So what can you do then? If you can influence, if you can make your country's policy on Indonesia, or relations with Indonesia conditional on on demilitarization of

New oil and gas projects

According to Down to Earth, the Indonesian economic crisis has caused many oil and gas explorations projects to slow or halt. "For at least two oil and gas mega-projects, however, it is full steam ahead." Canada is involved in both these mega-projects, as well as a number of smaller ones.

The first is the exploitation of a natural gas field discovered by US-based Atlantic Richfield Corporation, in Bintuni Bay, part of occupied West Papua. This may be the largest natural gas field in South-East Asia. Three blocks are to be exploited under production-sharing agreements with British Gas, Nippon Oil and Indonesia's state-owned Pertamina. Minority shareholders include Oxy Ltd, a Canadian company.

The chances of any profits from this project going to West Papua itself are minimal to non-existent, though Atlantic Richfield is cheerfully promising construction jobs to the local population. Whether they actually want jobs constructing oil wells is a question no one has yet bothered to ask.

Another huge project which is going ahead is a pipeline that will transport gas from Indonesia's Natuna gas fields to Singapore. The fields will be jointly developed by Premier Oil (UK), Conoco Oil (US) and Gulf Oil (Canada).

According to Down to Earth, Gulf is also involved in two other new projects in Indonesia. They have signed a memorandum of understanding to pipe gas from fields in southern Sumatra to Singapore Power's power stations, and they have signed a production sharing contract that will allow them to exploit an area off the shore of Madura Island.

Down to Earth, the International Campaign for Ecological Justice in Indonesia, publishes a quarterly newsletter. Write for a sample copy to Down to Earth, 59 Athenlay Rd, London SE15 3EN, England, e-mail dte@gn.apc.org, tel/fax 44-171-732-7984.

Indonesia; not just talking about the general terms of human rights conditions in Indonesia, because with human rights conditions in Indonesia, the cause, the heart of the problem is the military. So please talk about the demilitarization of Indonesia. That's the first step.

Of course, we have a lot of steps to take after we get rid of the military, but that's the first step, that's the first constraint that we have to deal with before we can reach democracy.

There are two things that can challenge the military power. First of all, it requires the unity of the civilians. There's about 200 million, at least 150 million civilians. If we unite, why can't we challenge them? But we're still divided. What we are hoping is just to strengthen our position. I just read from the internet that there's now a student rally in Jakarta facing this parliament special assembly, and they said that first of all the number of seats of the military should be reduced or even abolished. So that's the start of a civilian movement in Indonesia demanding the military to step down from civilian government.

Another thing that can help us to force back the military into the barracks is the international solidarity. These two can probably put the military back into the barracks. Especially if the international solidarity movement connects the issue with development aid to Indonesia. Indonesia now is in a very vulnerable situation. They cannot say, "Go to hell with your aid." Whatever the conditions attached to any aid, they will go for it. Not like before, not like we were still the emerging new economic tiger of Southeast Asia, no. Now this is the time. As Fernando said, now in Indonesia is the moment of truth. It's now or never. This is the time, this is the weakest period of the Indonesian military.

PT TEL Update

The Prosecutor General for the province of South Sumatra has summoned journalists from the national Indonesian daily, Kompas, and two local newspapers on November 30th to his office. Lukharni SH wants them to account for their reports on a clash between staff from his office and victims of the PT TEL paper pulp development (see previous newsletter) plus student supporters which took place on 25th November.

The Palembang-based NGO Lembaga Analisa Informasi (Essai) has issued a statement accusing the local Prosecutor of arrogance and trying to intimidate the press - common symptoms of the legal system in the Suharto years.

Lukharni is angry with the way that local farmers, legal aid staff and students demonstrated outside his office. The demonstration was to draw attention to corruption in the PT TEL case which involves Hasan Zen - the former regent of Muara Enim district who has been promoted to a senior position in the provincial administration. The provincial Prosecutor's staff were rough and abusive towards the demonstrators and one threatened them with a weapon.

-- from Down to Earth

Meanwhile, Canadian Minister of International Trade, Sergio Marchi, has declined to answer a specific list of questions about the project sent to him by CAFIET, but has written back to at least one supporter of ours who wrote to him, with bland assurances about how the project "promotes development" and has been given permits by several levels of the Indonesian government. We are now trying to find out more about Beak Pacific Consultants, which Marchi says carried out an environmental assessment of the project.

And PT Musi Hutan Persada, which operates the main feeder plantation for the project, has been found guilty, by a Palembang court, of involvement in starting the devastating forest fires of 1997/8.

Stop Canadian Military Exports to Indonesia!

Sharon Scharfe of Parliamentarians for East Timor has obtained updated information on Canadian arms exports for Indonesia, revealing that 6 permits for military exports were granted during 1997, for goods coming to a total of \$12,510,000. The goods covered by the permits were classified as "military aircraft and helicopters or related parts and components" and "electronic equipment for military use". [See table below]

While not all of these permits may have resulted in sales, this is nevertheless an indication of the Canadian government's willingness to continue to sell military hardware to a regime which continues to oppress its own people and the people in occupied territories like East Timor.

Indonesian and East Timorese activists consistently cite demilitarization, and delegitimization of the army, as the single most pressing need both in Indonesia and in East Timor. An arms embargo on Canada's part would be a great step in this direction; it would clearly make the point that the international community recognizes the Indonesian military as an instrument of repression and a criminal organization.

Please write to Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy and ask for an immediate embargo on all sales of military equipment to Indonesia. You can write to him c/oHouse of Commons, Ottawa, ON K1A 0A6, or fax 613-947-4442

The International Secretariat of Parliamentarians for East Timor can be contacted c/o Sharon Scharfe Suite 116, 5929-L Jeanne D'Arc Blvd., Orleans, ON K1C 7K2 CANADA, e-mail pet@web.net

Full information on Canadian arms exports to Indonesia

(all obtained by Sharon Scharfe via Access to Information requests)

Year	Value of Permits	Permit Types*	Total Value of Sales
1988	**	3 Permits: 7005, 7011	**
1989	**	2 Permits: 7010, 2010	**
1990	**	3 Permits: 2011, 2015	**
1991	\$3,780,082	6 Permits: 2011, 2010	\$580,963
1992	Nil	0 Permits	Nil
1993	\$10,000,000	1 Permit:2009	\$0.00
1994	\$5,506,926	3 Permits: 2010	\$1,244,042
1995	\$362,380,101	6 Permits: 2010, 2014, 2009, 2005	\$0.00
1996	\$32,285,205.86	5 Permits: 2010, 2006, 2014	\$1,638,426.00
1997	\$12,510,000.00	6 Permits: 2010, 2011	\$34,508.00

^{*} For definition of Permit Numbers, please see below.

MILITARY PERMIT NUMBER — DEFINITION

7005 Fire control, and related alerting and warning equipment, and related systems specially designed for military use, and specially designed components.

7010 Aircraft and helicopters, unmanned.

7011 Electronic equipment specially designed for military use, and specially designed components.

NOTE: NEW CATEGORIZATION SYSTEM BEGINS IN 1989

2005 Fire control radars, range finding sensors, ballistic computers and related alerting and warning equipment specially designed for military use, and parts and components.

- 2006 Vehicles and related equipment specially designed or modified for military use, and specially designed components.
- 2009 Military vessels and specially designed parts and components such as engines, navigation systems and sonar equipment.
- 2010 Military aircraft and helicopters, including transport aircraft, aero-engines, parachutes and related parts and components.
- 2011 Electronic equipment for military use such as communications equipment and radar systems.
- 2014 Specialized equipment for military training or for simulating military scenarios, such as computerized trainers, aircraft and vehicle simulators, components and accessories.
- 2015 Imaging or imaging countermeasure equipment, including photographic, thermal imaging equipment and specially designed components.

^{**}Note: An Access to Information request was filed with DFAIT on April 28, 1995, regarding Canadian military export permits for goods destined to Indonesia for the period 1975-1995. The department responded: "Data retrieval on the issuance of export permits was computerised in October, 1988; collection of information on actual export sales of military goods was systematised in 1990. We do not have earlier records in which we can have equal confidence. The 20 permits of which we have records together total \$22,256,369. As you may know, in general, the value of actual sales normally represents only a fraction of the value of permits issued; the ratio is often as low as 10%."

Halifax:"Who represents Canada?"

By Brooks Kind

On Monday, November 23, a panel discussion of the 1997 APEC affair was held at King's College in Halifax. This event was sponsored by the Canadian Federation of Students, and included well-known anti-APEC organizer, Jaggi Singh; King's College professor of Journalism, Bruce Wark; Antoni Wysocki, a well-known local activist and international trade expert; and myself. Though the media stayed away, the public turnout was impressive and those attending certainly were left with a much better idea of what the anti-APEC protests were all about — i.e. their background and significance — and what factors led to the police repression.

Antoni opened the discussion, with a thumbnail sketch of the history and constitution of APEC, noting that of all international trade liberalization instruments, APEC has most categorically rejected any linkages to environmental or human rights standards, and is simply an instrument of banks and transnational corporations. I spoke next, explaining the reasons for the anit-Suharto protests, giving a history of his crimes, and of the United States' and Canada's, eager participation in them, with a focus on the betrayal of East Timor. I drew special attention to the real meaning of Axworthy's reassurances to Suharto which finally convinced him to attend APEC, i.e. comments like "Canadians are not like ETAN" which not only imply that Canadians do not care about international law, or about the countless victims of Suharto's atrocities, but that, like Chretien and Axworthy, they put profits for corporate Canada above every principle, institution and value at the heart of civilized life. I concluded with the following words: "So who really represents Canadians? Those in the Liberal party who have endorsed such sociopathological sentiments in their actions, and, in their arrogance and self-delusions, slanderously imputed them to their constituents, or the protestors, like Jaggi and the other anti-APEC demonstrators who stand for the exact opposite principles — that is for justice, freedom, human rights, international law, compassion, democracy, and solidarity with our persecuted sisters and brothers at home and around the world? The question is not. I believe, a very difficult one for most of us to answer. The difficulty lies in how we act upon these principles to realize them in an era of such terrible injustices and such extreme concentrations of wealth and power, and how we ensure that our governments are compelled to actually represent the public's interests and values they have so consistently betrayed. As the APEC repression made very clear, the fate, not only of the heroic and long-suffering East Timorese - who have much to teach us about courage, resistance to oppression, and the real ideals of civilized humanity — but also the fate of our own country, our own loved ones, our own democratic institutions - and indeed the fate of every right and freedom we cherish depends on how successfully we respond to this challenge in the coming months and years."

Bruce Wark spoke next, with an interpretation of the mainstream media's coverage of APEC. He noted how the pre-summit reporting was, predictably, mainly restricted to trade issues, and downplayed or ignored the concerns of NGO's and ordinary citizens, reflecting the interests of those who own and run the "agenda-setting" media, like the Globe and Mail. He drew attention to the fact that even in the extensive coverage of the RCMP\Prime Minister's Office repression that followed the APEC events, a certain framework of discussion was adopted that largely excluded an analysis of the reasons for the protests, the political commitments of the demonstrators, or the historical background of the institutions, and criminals, like Suharto, being demonstrated against. A flagrant violation of civil rights in Canada that took place in front of dozens of cameras was easy to cover, sensational, and scandalous. Furthermore, if presented as an isolated abuse of power for which only a few individuals needed to be held accountable, there was no danger that the deep institutional flaws and inequities of our society, in which the owners and advertisers of the major media have a stake, would be exposed. Bruce also emphasized that, while the media seldom breaks out of the constraints imposed by the narrow, elite interests that dominate it, there are inconsistencies and conflicting interests that sometimes provide surprising openings, and that social activists should take advantage of these whenever possible.

Jaggi then took the floor and gave an account of the APEC incidents of precisely the kind that the Globe and Mail would never allow; i.e. one rich in background information and historical context which revealed those very institutional social pathologies and injustices that manifest themselves in a grotesque continuum, from the boundless rapacity of Wall Street and Bay Street plutocrats, to the foreign and domestic policies of bought federal politicians, to the horrible crimes in the third world, like the genocide in East Timor, to media supression of such stories, to organizations like CSIS, to incidents like APEC, i.e. the supression of dissent in the first world. Jaggi also drew attention to the fact that while the abridgement of civil liberties experienced by himself and the other anti-APEC demonstrators were not trivial, they were rather mild by historical Canadian standards, and even by standards of contemporary police treatment of First Nations people, i.e. at Ipperwash and Gufstafsen Lake. The fact that police brutality and state repression were, in this case, exercised not against their traditional targets, i.e. the poor, disenfranchised and marginalized segments of society, but against largely white, middle class university students, largely explains the extensive media furor and public interest, and we should avoid adopting this same double standard in our own reaction to the APEC events. Unfortunately, space does not allow for an adequate account of this compelling presentation, but I would encourage all groups that have the means to arrange for Jaggi to give a talk in their own city or town - particularly while APEC is still in the news - as an effective way to educate people about the broader context of issues like the genocide in East Timor and the APEC repression. Only this context can liberate us from the deceptive mainstream assumptions, that portray such issues as isolated aberrations and that even those on the left so often unconsciously adopt.



Photographs by Elaine Briere

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News from around Canada

• The Regina group (which is still using the name RETAN but is a CAFIET chapter) held an information picket outside the office of Liberal MP Ralph Goodale on November 12. A dozen people of all ages, wearing black cloth gags as a symbol of repression, held signs reading "Free Xanana Gusmao", "Free East Timor", and "Canadian military equipment, East Timor blood", and handed out a brochure with information about Xanana Gusmao and about the Santa Cruz massacre, and a pamphlet with information about RETAN and about Canadian arms sales to Indonesia.

RETAN is working closely with local labour groups, particularly with the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, which sends out their press releases. They also keep in close communication with churches and church groups, sending notices for church bulletins and church newspapers, through which they are able to reach hundreds, if not thousands, of people.

Work continues on their booklet about the impact of development on East Timor and Indonesia; a first draft is now nearly complete.

· CAFIET Toronto, in cooperation with US group Global Exchange, the Maquila Solidarity Network, and the Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto, brought Yeni Damayanti and Fernando de Araujo to speak in Toronto (unfortunately, they were not able to organize other Canadian stops for them this time — the group hopes this will be possible in the future). Many thanks to the Franz Blumenfeld fund for their financial support for this talk! The Toronto group also held an information picket outside the Indonesian consulate on November 12, and leafletted subway stops on December 7. The group is now exploring several joint initiatives on Canadian corporations working with Earth First! on the PT TEL project, and with the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People on a Shell boycott. They are also doing information talks and tables at a number of local schools, universities and colleges.

 CAFIET Calgary participated in a Calgary peace fair, and will be participating in Human Rights Day activities.

Photo exhibit in Windsor



Witnessing East Timor, a photographic exhibit by Sarah Atkinson and Shawn Hupka, was held in Windsor from November 14 to 26. About fifty people attended the reception on the 14, and more saw the show in the two weeks that followed.

The show received local media attention as well. An article in the daily newspaper *The Windsor Star* appeared on Friday November 13, an article in Windsor's monthly newsmagazine *Room* appeared in the November issue, and Radio-Canada (French CBC Radio) interviewed Sarah and went national the morning of Monday November 16. The University of Windsor's radio station and newspaper also did stories about the exhibit.

We would like to acknowledge the people and organizations that helped make the show possible: The Canadian Auto Workers (Windsor Local 444); Third World Resource Centre; OPIRG-Windsor; Citizen's Environment Alliance; Abé Barreto Soares; Mary Atkinson; Derek Coronado; Margaret Atkinson; Matthew Romain; Harold Atkinson; Common Ground Gallery; Art Nouveau Design Inc; and the people of East Timor.

We are now sufficiently exhausted, but would like to see the show up in different cities. If anyone is interested in helping us find a local venue in their hometown please contact us at (519) 973-0994 or hupka@hotmail.com



CAFIET National Meeting, February 26-28

CAFIET will be holding its first national general meeting February 26-28, 1999. This will be a very important event at which we can discuss our plans for the coming year, the ways in which we would like to see CAFIET work, and our political basis of unity. We also plan to hold informational workshops on some specific areas of interest, from the environmental impact of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, to the Indonesian student democracy movement, to how to lobby your MP or hold a civil disobedience action.

We strongly encourage every CAFIET member or cooperating group to send a representative, and we hope that others will attend as well. A few travel subsidies are available (see below).

The meeting will begin on the evening of Friday, February 26, and run through the weekend, at Toronto's Community Café on Ossington Avenue. Constancio Pinto and Abé Barreto Soares of the CNRT have plans to attend, and we hope there may be other Timorese and Indonesian guests as well. Those attending from outside Toronto will be billetted at the houses of CAFIET supporters.

Please let us know as soon as possible if you'd like to attend the meeting, so that we can send you agendas and other information.

And please, give us agenda suggestions. What topics would you like to see informational or strategy workshops on? Let us know now and we can start to look for appropriate resource people.

If you can't come, please consider making a donation that can go to a travel subsidy for someone else.

Hope to see you in Toronto in February!

	I would like to attend the CAFIET National Meeting. I will attend as
	a representative of a CAFIET group an individual
	I will need to be billeted in Toronto
	I can offer a place for someone to stay in Toronto
repre we ca	I will need a travel subsidy to attend (NOTE: we will provide a travel subsidy for one sentative from each member group. Travel subsidies might be available for a few others, but annot guarantee this. If you are not representing a group and would like to be considered for yel subsidy, please contact the national office)
	I cannot attend but would like to make a donation to subsidize someone else's costs. I have sed
	I am not sure if I will attend, but would like to receive further information
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Resources Available from CAFIET

Merchandise

"Free East Timor" button with smiling girl, \$2

"Free East Timor" t-shirt, black with Timorese flag, L or XL, \$15

Videos

"Bitter Paradise", by Elaine Briere — the story of the tragedy of East Timor and Canada's complicity. (\$26.75 for individuals. For institutional rate, please contact Snapshot Productions, 33659 Fifth Ave, Mission, BC, V2V 1X1, fax 604-820-3694)

"Indonesia: Islands on Fire" — human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor (\$25)

"There is only one word: RESIST!" — a profile of the People's Democratic Party of Indonesia (\$20)

Books

The Indonesia Kit, by Elaine Briere and Susan Gage: a primer on Indonesia and East Timor, intended mostly for secondary school students. (\$10)

Complicity: Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy, by Sharon Scharfe: a study of Canadian government involvement with Indonesia (\$15)

East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance, by Constancio Pinto and Matthew Jardine: Autobiography of a key member of the Timorese resistance, now living in the United States (\$15)

The West Papua Kit, from the Australia West Papua Association: history, background, culture and human rights in West Papua (\$10)

Information sheets on East Timor, West Papua, and Indonesian political prisoners are available without charge.

Subscribe to TAPOL Bulletin -- published in England every two months, this newsletter is the best source of comprehensive information on human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. A one-year subscription is \$35 (\$18 student/unwaged). Send subscriptions to TAPOL-Canada c/o CAFIET, PO Box 562, Stn P, Toronto, ON, M5S 2T1

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