



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

NEWSLETTER

JANUARY 1994

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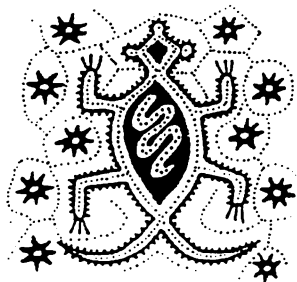
1994: new hope for East Timor

It has been 18 years since the Indonesian armed forces invaded East Timor — a period that has seen the death of 250,000 people, one third of the population of East Timor. In 1993, an Indonesian court sentenced Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão to life in prison — the culmination of a ten-year campaign to remove the charismatic East Timor resistance leader from the mountains. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government remained intransigent in international arenas, refusing to abide by repeated United Nations resolutions and continuing to insist that East Timor is its 27th province. ➤



ETAN/Vancouver members protesting at the APEC conference, Seattle, November 1993





The East Timor Alert Network is a national association of Canadians working for East Timor's right to self-determination.

We are committed to: (a) reversing the Canadian government's financial, military and diplomatic support for the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. (b) pressuring the Canadian government to fulfill its obligations to East Timor under the UN charter, and to recognize its own foreign aid guidelines. (c) severing bilateral and multilateral aid to the Indonesian government. (d) raising awareness among the Canadian public about the situation in East Timor, and promoting consistent media coverage of the events there.

We support divestment from the Indonesian military regime.

We support an arms embargo on Indonesia.

We are not politically affiliated and we believe it is important to network with other human rights groups.

We are non-hierarchically structured.

Every aspect of our work is carried out in accordance to a rule of non-violent action.

ETAN is open to all Canadians who agree with these goals. Memberships are \$10 annually through our Vancouver office.

The ETAN newsletter is published quarterly from our Toronto office and sent free to all who request it, thanks to the generous assistance of David Kilgour MP. ETAN gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

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☛ It sounds like a bad year — but there are many seeds of hope for East Timor regardless.

The East Timorese people continued to struggle for peace and independence. Konis Santana, the man who now heads up the armed resistance, carries on with Xanana's policies of offering to talk peace with the Indonesians at any time. The CNRM, the umbrella for pro-independence groups founded by Xanana, still unites guerrillas, clandestine organizations, students' groups and political movements.

Xanana himself remains a symbol of resistance despite his confinement in Cipinang prison in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. He is now to East Timor what Nelson Mandela was for many years to South Africa — the acknowledged leader of his people, held in a jail by a government with no legal authority in the eyes of the international community.

Despite the heavy hand of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor, the Timorese refuse to accept Indonesian rule. It is the generation that has grown up under Indonesian rule, in fact, that is the most active in the campaign for independence. Hundreds of young Timorese have been murdered in the past two years, whether at the Santa Cruz cemetery in front of TV cameras or in Indonesian prisons — but thousands more continue to work for a free East Timor.

Meanwhile, international support is at a higher level than it ever has been. There is more pressure on Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor than ever before, with much of it coming from Indonesia's traditional silent supporters — the United States, Japan, Europe and, yes, Canada.

East Timorese diplomats and solidarity groups are starting to get a hearing from western governments. Every positive step has been taken reluctantly, after months of constant pressure, but many positive steps have been taken.

The US, traditionally Indonesia's main source for the weapons it needs to keep up its wars in East Timor and other territories, may be putting a stop altogether to arms sales. Even preferential trade deals may be at risk. The new government of Japan — Indonesia's main economic supporter — is sympathetic to East Timor. Indonesian officials can no longer avoid the spotlight that is being thrown on their human rights record at international meetings.

Even Canada has started to speak up for East

Timor. Canada was one of the sponsors of a resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission that was strongly critical of human rights violations in East Timor. Canadian government officials have started to listen to the East Timor Alert Network and to East Timorese people. There are signs that

on East Timor, and on Indonesia itself, remains to be decided.

Right now, Canadians can affect what choices are made in Ottawa. Will the government follow the Tory practice of backing Indonesia's repressive rule in order to foster Canada-Indonesia trade

(expected to exceed \$1 billion for the first time in 1993)? Or will it start to work for human rights, and for the right of the people of East Timor to choose independence?

✎ Please write a letter to the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, André Ouellet. Letters can be sent, postage free, to House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6. Please also send a copy to Lucien Bouchard, leader of the opposition, and to Parliamentarians for East Timor, c/o David Kilgour MP.

Please ask Mr. Ouellet what will be done to enforce United Nations resolutions on East Timor, particularly the 1993 Human Rights Commission resolution co-sponsored by Canada that asked Indonesia to stop violating human rights, allow human rights groups access to East Timor and punish the military officers responsible for

the Santa Cruz massacre of Nov. 12, 1991. And ask Canada to support the UN-sponsored peace talks on East Timor, particularly by pushing for the inclusion of East Timorese people in the talks. Finally, ask Canada to make its trade and aid relationships with the government of Indonesia conditional on the Indonesian human rights record in East Timor.



East Timor benefit, Ottawa: "Abé ho Alos" in performance

Canada's aid program in East Timor will start to reflect the needs of the people rather than serving the interests of the Indonesian occupation.

The new Liberal cabinet contains several MPs who have been supportive of East Timor in the past. But it also contains others who would put trade first, ignoring human rights. Canadian policy

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CONSENT**
**NOAM CHOMSKY
AND THE MEDIA**

MANUFACTURING CONSENT

Screens on CBC-TV, Monday **Feb. 28** from 10 p.m.-12

Other screenings in February:

Feb. 4 & 5 • The Metro, Edmonton. **Feb. 9** • The Metropolitan, Toronto. **Feb. 9** • The Bookshelf, Guelph. **Feb. 16** • The Mayfair, Ottawa. **Feb. 21** • The New Yorker, London

Xanana refused visitors after writing letter

Xanana Gusmão, the jailed leader of East Timor's resistance movement CNRM, has been moved to the Cipinang political prison in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, where he is being denied visitors.

Xanana wrote to the International Commission of Jurists on the abuses of justice in his 1993 trial in front of an Indonesian court, in which he was refused permission to choose a lawyer from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute and not allowed to read his defence statement because it was "irrelevant." The letter documented the numerous abuses of international law and Indonesia's own justice system during the trial, and asked that it be nullified.

That prompted Indonesian authorities to order a ban on visits to Xanana by family members and human rights supporters (both Indonesian and international). Baharuddin Lopa, director general of Cipinang prison, told the official news agency Antara that "the decision was taken because Gusmão has tarnished the good image of Indonesia abroad."

However, Xanana has been allowed to receive mail, and has read and replied to dozens of letters from supporters in Portugal. International solidarity organizations are asking for post cards or letters of support (in Portuguese or English) to be sent to Xanana.

José (Xanana) Gusmão

Lembaga Pemasyarakatan

Jalan Raya Bekasi Timur no. 170

Jatinegara, Jakarta, INDONESIA



Xanana was initially transferred from East Timor to the Kedungpane prison in Semarang without his family's knowledge. The transfer to Cipinang, a prison with regular Red Cross monitoring visits, is a result of international pressure and constitutes an admission by Indonesian authorities that Xanana is a political prisoner rather than a criminal.

Xanana is serving a 20-year jail term for "rebellion" and possession of firearms. Canadian foreign affairs officials say they have asked for him to be released.

A letter from Cipinang

From a letter sent by Xanana Gusmão to a supporter in England:

I am grateful that you are thinking of me but, before me, think too about my people who find themselves captive in a huge prison which was once their country of birth and the country they believed in.

It is a country which has lost the colour of its wild flowers. They have been replaced with plastic flowers which go under the name 'development' (the Indonesian word for development was used here). This has happened because the occupation forces came 18 years ago to burn our forests, our mountains and our plains in military operations designed to persecute those fighting for freedom.

Flowers are nature's way of celebrating and, there is a common saying that life without liberty is like a garden without flowers. If liberty is one of the main aspirations that people have during their lives, liberty must be inherited across generations.

It is my simple duty, along with my compatriots, to struggle for liberty throughout my life, to take on this essential role. I have to do this to rescue liberty for the generations to come and to pass on this precious heritage.

I send you my fondest thoughts in the name of all Timorese who are prisoners, those who are held without trial in Cipinang and in East Timor.

Yours sincerely,
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão

"FREE XANANA GUSMAO!"
buttons (\$2) and posters (\$5) for sale
from ETAN/Toronto or Vancouver

Inside East Timor, war and killings carry on

Although most of the recent attention on East Timor has focused on Timorese political prisoners and international solidarity actions, the situation in East Timor itself has been far from quiet. Indonesian military authorities have kept a tight lid on the territory, with special security in place to prevent a demonstration on the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991, when 273 unarmed people were gunned down at a funeral procession.

Because of limited reporting from East Timor, it is hard to guess how many people have been killed in the past two years, but estimates are that as many as 150 have died after being tortured in 1992 and 1993. Many more have been arrested and held for short periods.

At a peaceful pro-independence demonstration last September in Dili, the East Timorese capital, approximately 40 young protesters were arrested, out of a total crowd of fewer than 200. The East Timorese resistance movement CNRM says this is just one example of a pattern of increasing human rights violations.

"Thirteen (Indonesian) battalions each comprising 1,000 men, have been engaged for several weeks now in a major non-stop scorch earth policy inside the occupied territory," according to a statement from CNRM media director Margherita Tracanelli. "In parallel to this, a major crackdown against students, clergy and the general population is being carried out.

"Timorese are being killed, arbitrarily detained, tortured, both physically and psychologically; consequently the local population live in a constant state of fear and terror.

"Diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria are rampant, and killing an average of seven people a day, according to church sources. These facts illustrate the lies about Indonesia's so-called progress in East Timor."

East Timor's Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, agreed with the assessment in an interview with

a Swedish reporter. "We have neither freedom of expression nor of opinion and are, therefore, living as if we were imprisoned," he said.

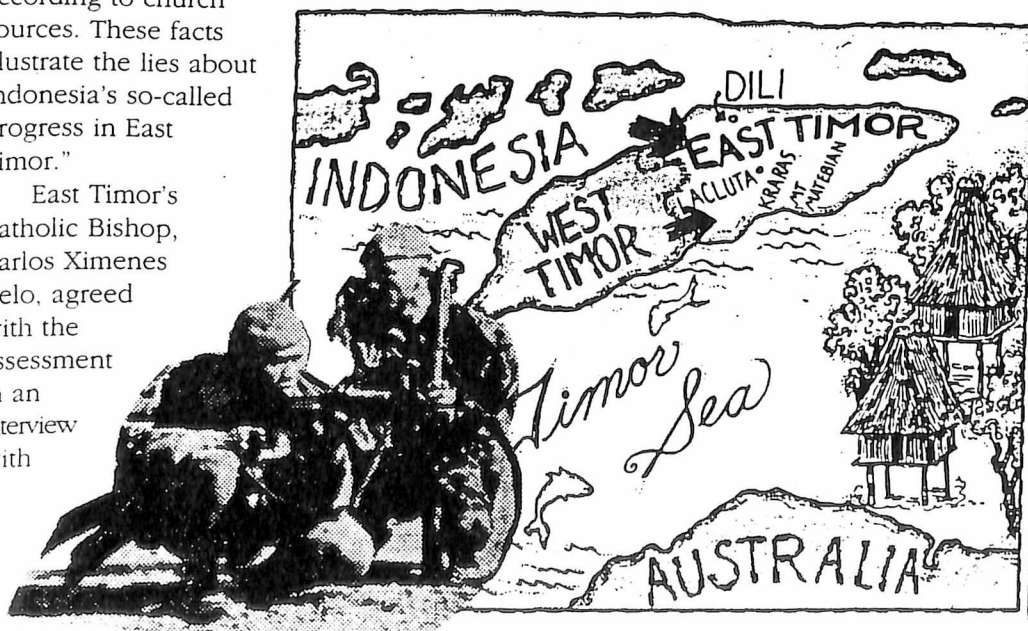
Bishop Belo added that "This military organization has to be got rid of. People have to be allowed to speak out freely, go around freely, and to create a clearly peaceful, free and democratic situation. Here, there is a dictatorship... (It is) very unsafe, people cannot go about from one place to another (and) in many villages, people cannot even go out to their rice or coffee fields."

Many Timorese were still in hiding after the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991, "afraid of the army's revenge," he continued, and re-iterated his call for a referendum on independence.

In recent trials, two pro-independence activists were jailed for ripping the Indonesian flag. (Many Timorese refer to the flag, divided horizontally into red and white stripes, as the "blood and bones" flag.) Another youth was sentenced to a year in prison for writing a note to President Suharto on a 10,000 rupiah (\$6) note.

The capture of Xanana Gusmão and his successor as head of the armed resistance Mau Huno have failed to dislodge guerrillas from the mountains. In a taped radio message smuggled out of the mountains, new guerrilla leader Nino Konis Santana declared that "the Indonesians and their weapons will never be able to silence us. We are ready to die ... so that the deaths of our brothers will not have been in vain."

Santana reported several armed clashes with Indonesian troops and a general restructuring of the resistance, facts that would seem to contradict the Indonesian claim that the guerrillas are a spent force. He also claimed that the Indonesian army has established



new concentration camps for entire families who are thought to be related to active guerrillas.

Santana himself is an obscure figure about whom little is known. According to the Portuguese newspaper *Publico*, he left seminary school and joined the resistance as soon as Indonesia invaded in 1975 (when he was 15 years old).

United Nations update

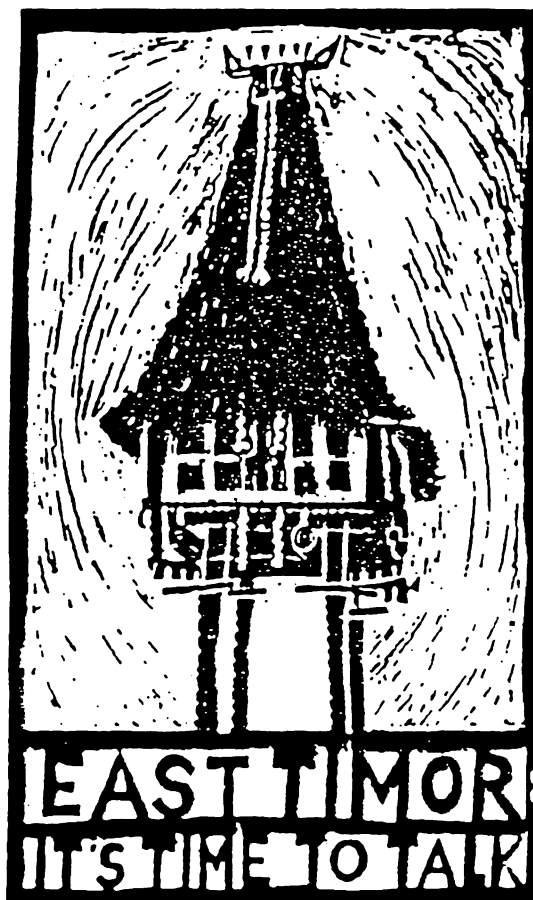
Just months after the United Nations Human Rights Sub-commission condemned Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor, an even stronger resolution was passed by the UN Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The sub-commission resolution, passed by 12 votes to 10, accuses Indonesia of violating the Geneva Convention on treatment of prisoners during wartime and urges implementation of past UN resolutions on human rights in East Timor.

Indonesia has consistently refused to follow any resolutions passed by UN bodies, even those it has agreed to. These include ten general assembly resolutions, two binding security council resolutions, a consensus declaration by the Human Rights Commission in 1992 (which Indonesia co-signed), another Human Rights Commission resolution in 1993, and repeated Sub-commission resolutions.

The last general assembly resolution (in 1982) mandated the secretary general to convene peace talks between all parties concerned — the governments of Indonesia (the occupying power), Portugal (the former colonial ruler still recognized as the "administering power" under international law) and representatives of the East Timorese themselves.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has convened three meetings between the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, the latest of them in September. However, Indonesian objections are still keeping Timorese representatives out of the talks. However, Boutros-Ghali indicated his intention to "follow closely the human rights situation in East Timor." The Secretary General has reserved the right to consult anyone he deems appropriate, regardless of any objections from Indonesia. In a progress report to the general assembly, he noted:

"Continued dialogue is the rational way towards the achievement of a lasting settlement of the question of East Timor.... Equally important and intrinsically linked to the peace process is the human rights situation in East Timor. The improvement of the conditions in East Timor is sine qua non to progress in the talks. It is in that spirit and in view of the continued concern of the international community in that respect that I have been closely following developments affecting the enjoyment of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the



East Timorese people...."

CNRM overseas representative José Ramos Horta reported that the September talks "produced some tangible results. (Indonesian) Foreign Minister Alatas put his signature on a agreement to facilitate access to East Timor by UN specialized agencies and human rights bodies. Timorese resistance participation in the talks is an already acquired fact. It is now almost certain that a meeting will take place between the Secretary-General himself and overseas resistance representatives. It is hoped that before the end of the year a political mission of the UN will visit East Timor for talks with the clergy and members of the civil society. The CNRM has advocated in its peace plan the modality of 'indirect talks' as long as Indonesia refuses to seat face to face with resistance leaders. This modality is satisfactory and has drawn the Timorese gradually into the negotiation process."

The new leader of the armed wing of CNRM in East Timor, Nino Konis Santana, also backed the peace talks in a taped message smuggled out of East Timor and broadcast on Portuguese radio in November. He acknowledged that Timorese guerrillas were not going to win a military victory over the 5,000 heavily-armed Indonesian soldiers in the country, saying "only a political solution" could end the war.

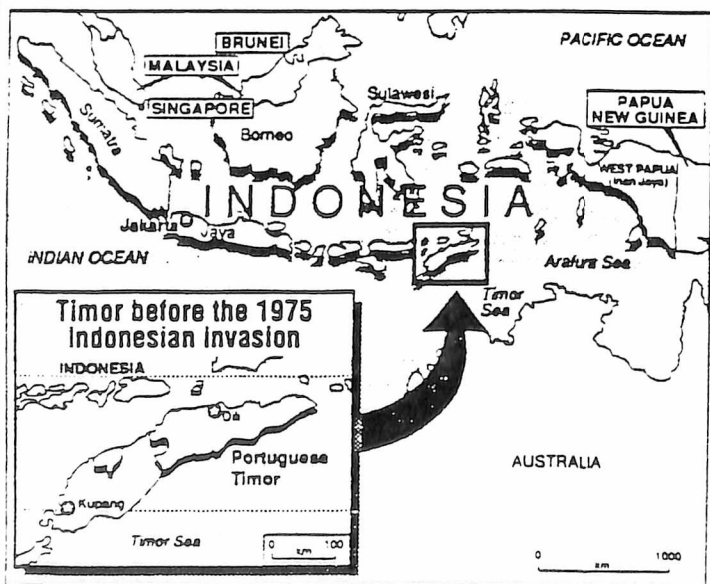
☛ Another round of talks is scheduled to be held in Geneva on May 6.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian government sponsored its own round of "reconciliation talks" in London in December. The talks between Timorese working for the Indonesian government and Timorese exiles led by former Fretilin overseas leader Abilio Araujo were boycotted by CNRM, the umbrella resistance coalition. Araujo was expelled from Fretilin's overseas delegation for taking part in the meeting. According to CNRM leaders, the meeting served only to legitimize Indonesia's rule and undermine the UN-sponsored process.

The spectacle in London, which featured delegates being shunted to the meeting-place under cover of darkness, was a sharp contrast to one presented a few days later in Lisbon. There, leading members of CNRM and the two main pre-invasion political parties — Fretilin and UDT — rejected the London talks as irrelevant and said they were united in their desire for real peace, with international involvement.

In November, the people of East Timor were awarded the 1993 Professor Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Award, considered to be just one step down in prestige from the Noble Peace Prize. In 1990, the award was given to Burma's jailed leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, creating the publicity that led to the award of the Nobel Prize.

The award was accepted by CNRM overseas representative Jose Ramos Horta at a ceremony in Bergen, Norway. Ramos Horta used the opportunity to reiterate his three-stage peace plan.



BERNARD BENNELL/The Globe and Mail

ETAN activists gather on eve of Decolonization hearings

ETAN/Canada and ETAN/US co-sponsored the first continental conference of East Timor activists in Westchester, New York, in July. Also at the meeting were observers from England, Portugal, the Netherlands and the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) which is the umbrella organization of the East Timorese resistance. As the newer organization, ETAN/US worked on its structure and purpose.

Leading off the meeting were briefings from Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL in England, journalist Allan Nairn, and José Amorim Dias of the CNRM. Budiardjo, a former political prisoner in Indonesia and a longtime activist on East Timor, told the group that the two ETAN groups added a "refreshing new dimension to the struggle for East Timor (that) could make a qualitative difference to the work internationally." East Timor is increasingly becoming an issue in Indonesian society and the US and Canada have a "key role in exerting pressure in making it as costly as possible for Indonesia to remain in East Timor."

Nairn, a correspondent for the New Yorker magazine, was beaten by Indonesian troops during the Dili massacre in November 1991. Nairn observed that since the massacre US policy "has shifted from rigid support of Jakarta's occupation of East Timor" because of grassroots pressure. He called current policy "somewhat incoherent and confused" as battle over it direction goes on in Congress and the Clinton administration. Mobilization at the grassroots would decide the outcome.

Amorim described his own experiences growing up in East Timor and as a student in Jakarta. Once in the early 1980s, he watched as his father was tortured by Indonesian troops in front of his entire family. In Jakarta, Amorim worked to convince Indonesian student and pro-democracy activists of the parallels between Dutch colonization of Indonesia and its occupation of his homeland. Arrested at a protest by East Timorese in Jakarta after the Dili massacre, he later fled the country. He is now the CNRM's representative to the European Community. At the meeting, beginning steps were taken to help ETAN/US's structure catch up with the explosion of interest in East Timor.

Immediately following the ETAN meeting, Sharon Scharfe, on behalf of ETAN/Canada described in a statement to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, that "as the atrocities continue in East Timor, the strength and size of the organization only continues to grow. Canadians realize that East Timor is a Canadian issue."

We were especially honoured to have New Democrat MP Dan Heap as the first of many ☛



Dan Heap MP, pictured here with East Timorese lobbyist José Luis Guterres, gave the PET presentation to the 1993 UN Decolonization hearings

deputants to the annual hearings, speaking on behalf of Canadians Parliamentarians for East Timor. PET has previously been represented by David Kilgour, Ray Funk, and Beryl Gaffney.

Heap, who this year tried to introduce a private member's bill that would have ended Canadian aid to Indonesia, blasted Indonesia's rule over East Timor, saying the solution could be implementing East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo's call for a referendum on independence.

"East Timor is still a colony: all that has been changed is the name of the foreign ruler," Heap said. "The colonialism being practiced by Indonesia's military-dominated regime is even more brutal than the Portuguese colonial regime that ruled East Timor before 1975."

The committee, following its recent pattern, took no action on East Timor — the largest of the 17 non-self-governing territories recognized by the UN as still needing to be decolonized.

ETAN members at World academic symposium

From July 21-28, 1993, ETAN/Vancouver members, Sabrina Hong and Eric Thorgeirson participated in the 5th symposium on Timor of Porto University, organised by Professor A. Barbedos Magalhães and supporters in

Portugal. The symposium was held in Estoril, near Lisbon, and was a week packed with historical lectures Indonesia, panel discussions and workshops regarding current affairs and strategies, and exchanges with the local Timorese community who shared with us their stories, traditional foods, dances and song. The experience was highly illuminating and provided for a much better understanding of the international solidarity network. Approximately 200 individuals from all over the world — Macao, Angola, Japan, Philippines, Italy, Netherlands, Germany, USA, England, France, Australia, etc. — took part, and many prominent East Timor activists were there to share their experience and wisdom.

USA: weapons embargo a step closer

(Condensed from ETAN/US Network News)

In a historic move, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously approved an amendment linking arms sales to

Indonesia to human rights in East Timor. The measure, which was proposed by Wisconsin Democrat Russell Feingold, was added to the Fiscal Year 1994 Foreign Assistance Act on Sept. 8. It requires the president to consult with Congress before approving any major weapons deals. It is believed to be the first time weapons sales to a US ally have been tied to human rights concerns.

Although the amendment's original wording would have barred all US arms sales to Indonesia until East Timor self-determination was achieved, it was modified after intense negotiations. Finally, the administration promised not to oppose the bill, and Nancy Kassebaum (Republican—Kansas) praised it, saying it was likely to pass. Charles Robb (Democrat—Virginia), chair of the Asia-Pacific sub-committee, also gave his assent.

The full Senate may not get to the bill this year, however.

The Feingold amendment covers government-to-government sales and licenses for commercial sales over \$14 million, which occur a few times each year.

Although it does not establish a legal requirement, there is clear Congressional intent and a politically binding connection between arms sales and human rights.

Even without being enacted the bill has had an effect. The US refused permission for Jordan to re-sell American F-5 fighter planes to Indonesia in the fall. ☛

☛ Indonesian armed forces spokesperson Brig. Gen. Syarwan Hamid reacted strongly, saying "by our standards we have implemented human rights maximally." Other Indonesian leaders called for diversifying their arms sources and reducing ties to the United States. Although Jakarta has bought more weapons from other countries in recent years, trade with the US is very important to their economy, and they are not likely to jeopardize it.

US corporations that do business with Indonesia and arms manufacturers lobbied hard against the Feingold amendment, seeing it as a dangerous precedent. They were backed by Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, who cautioned the Clinton administration that Washington should "tread softly" on issues of human rights in China and Indonesia, warning that economic relationships could be endangered. Keating's comments were called "music to my ears" by a leading Indonesian minister, but the Melbourne Age characterized them as "a bit of rather pathetic toadying," a view that was widely echoed in Australia.

On our side, a loose coalition of human rights, anti-arms trade and peace groups worked together. ETAN/US sent numerous faxes and mailings to people across the country, concentrating on states with swing Senators on the committee. We arranged for Irish parliamentarians to fax Senators with Irish-American constituencies. As the Washington arms control community realized the bill's significance, many took it up as a major campaign. Some are now working on a Code of Conduct for US arms sales, which would specify principles of human rights and non-aggression for buyers of US weapons.

This bill is now in legislative limbo. Senator Feingold will continue working on East Timor in 1994. On Nov. 1, the New York Times editorialized in favour of the Feingold amendment, saying that "it would begin to redress the inconsistency between Washington's vigorous punishment of Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and its past indifference to Indonesia's comparable aggression."

ETAN/US has been very active across the United States, from Rhode Island to California. They can be contacted at PO Box 1182, White Plains NY, 10602. Phone (914) 428-7299, fax 428-7383, email cscheiner@igc.apc.org.

Indigenous peoples struggling for survival throughout Indonesia

(Condensed from the TAPOL Bulletin)

The Asian continent is home to the majority of indigenous peoples on the globe. In Indonesia alone some 300 indigenous peoples can be traced on its 13,000 islands. Although many Indonesians have been reassessing indigenous peoples, the majority still regard them as primitive, backward, animist and uneducated. This attitude is reflected in the paternalistic policy of the government towards indigenous peoples: they have to be modernized, civilized and permanently resettled to fit into Indonesian society. "Care" of the *suku-suku terasing* (isolated tribes), as they are officially called, falls to the Ministry for Social Affairs. State and private plantation and logging companies, who threaten the livelihood of indigenous peoples most directly, take a similar approach.

Three distinct cases have lately emerged:

- The **Anak Dalam** of Sumatra do not practice agriculture and rely entirely on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. A respect for the delicate balance of nature is essential for this way of life. Two years ago their quiet isolation was disturbed when the government opened the forest for a transmigratory site. Now, the entire region has been declared *hutan produksi* (production forest): the green light has been given for the logging companies to move in.

- The **Bentian** people, one of the many Dayak tribes in Kalimantan, are shifting rattan cultivators. In 1992, the government declared that this forest was to be converted into an *HTI Trans* area, a relatively new government scheme in which a logging company clear-cuts the area so as to later replant it as a monocultural timber estate.

- In an unprecedented case, the **Chaay** of coastal West Papua have taken three government institutions and a construction company to court for unlawful possession of the *tanah ulayat* (traditional land) of the *Chaay*. In 1991, the construction company PT Jayapura began digging white sand from the beach. The bay will be converted into a huge business centre. LBH lawyer Bambang Widjojanto confirms that the indigenous peoples on the island of West Papua do have traditional rights to the coastal waters.

(TAPOL Bulletin subs are \$30 from TAPOL/Canada, c/o ETAN Toronto. The TAPOL Bulletin is published six times a year from London by TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign.)

Canada redirecting aid projects in East Timor

As a result of several meetings with ETAN members and East Timorese during 1993, Canada's aid program to East Timor is starting to change. Indonesia's status as the third-largest recipient of Canadian aid is fairly well-known by now. Less well-known is Canada's record regarding East Timor itself. Canadian aid to Indonesia is just a fraction of the total \$5 billion given by donor nations each year. But Canada is one of the top donors to projects in East Timor.

The Canadian International Development Agency, which funnels the bulk of Canada's overseas aid, has set up a special "Canada Fund for the East Timorese." The idea of giving money to projects in poverty-stricken East Timor sounds like a good one, but the reality is that most of these projects have served the purposes of the Indonesian authorities.

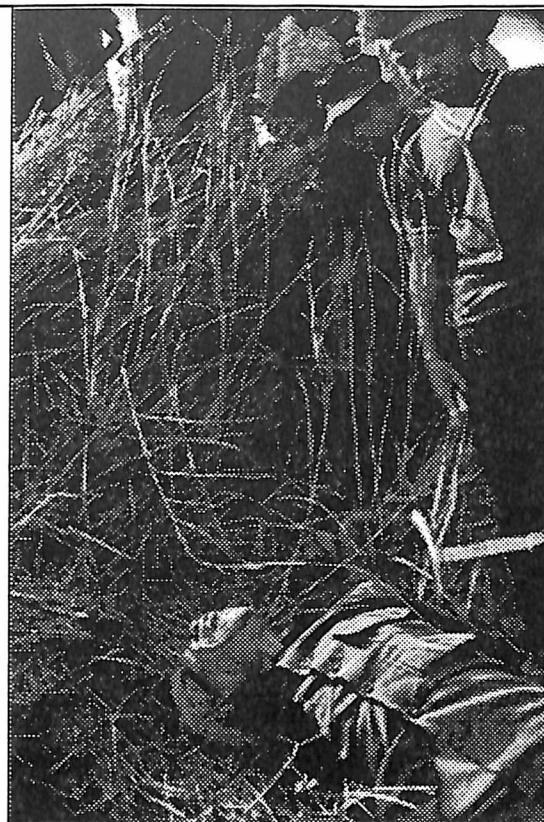
East Timor advocates held several meetings with CIDA in 1993. These meetings included Timorese visitors José Ramos-Horta (chief overseas representative for the resistance movement CNRM), Abé Barreto Soares (CNRM representative to Canada), Constancio Pinto (CNRM representative to the United States), and even East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo. The Belo meeting was arranged by the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace; the others were arranged by ETAN/Ottawa.

Belo did not give press interviews while in Canada, but in September explained the church's position on development to UCA, a Hong Kong-based Catholic news agency. "As the Church is striving to become a serving Church that takes the side of the poor, most clerics here are quite critical about government calls to organize public support for its programs," he said. "They are not satisfied if they are used to mobilize people without being allowed to voice people's aspirations."

ETAN and CNRM both urged CIDA to redirect its aid in East Timor to bypass unknown "non-governmental organizations" that could be under the sway of Indonesian military authorities. Instead, aid should only go through the Catholic Church or international bodies like the Red Cross.

ETAN/Ottawa met with CIDA most recently on Nov. 12, where we received more details on new CIDA projects in East Timor. Basically, CIDA has decided to contribute to Bishop Belo's new seminary in conjunction with the CCODP; and to support a joint project in East Timor with the LBH (Legal Aid Institute — the most established of Indonesia's human rights groups and one of the few able to function legally). Another project that is still in the proposal stage is to fund human rights training through the LBH.

These are projects that are a result of ETAN's



Water diving ritual, East Timor, Fall 1991 (Steve Cox photo)

lobbying for less CIDA funds through Indonesian NGOs and more funding directly through and/or in conjunction with the Catholic Church in East Timor. ETAN has also been talking with the Canadian NGO aid community. On May 11, we were at a meeting organized by the Indonesia-Canada Forum attended by representatives from INGI (the International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development), who were in North America to meet with members of the World Bank and the US and Canadian governments to impress upon them the importance of continued aid to Indonesia.

The ICF organized a conference on Indonesia in Ottawa on November 22-23. Sharon Scharfe was invited to represent the views of ETAN in a panel on linking human rights with development in Indonesia. Other speakers on the panel were: Gerry Schmitz (North South Institute), Susan Davies (Deputy Director, Indonesia Program, CIDA), Harry Cummings (School of Rural Planning and Development, University of Guelph — and former director of Guelph's Sulawesi Project), Peter Lumby (Canadian Exporters Association, Subcommittee on NGOs — and former director of SNC-Lavalin) and Katherine Pearson (Canadian Council for International Co-operation). It was a very profitable conference, which included guest speakers such as Sydney Jones (Asia Watch), Bambang Widjojanto (Legal Aid Foundation Indonesia), and Clarence Dias.

• (International Centre for Law in Development).

Many participants pointed up the contradictions in Canada's policy of linking aid with human rights when trade — which accounts for far larger sums of money — is not linked. Most felt that the artificial line that has been drawn between "development" and "human rights" should be erased. The two concepts are really two sides of the same coin, and cannot be separated by governments that only want one or the other.

The new Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor (PET)

The successes of East Timor advocacy work in Canada over the past couple of years would not have been possible without the existence of a strong and dedicated group of Parliamentarians for East Timor. The October election saw the defeat of half of the PET members in the last parliament, along with the election of some new MPs we believe will work actively to further change Canada's policy to one that would support self-determination and human rights for East Timor.

Two MPs will be particularly missed: Ray Funk and Dan Heap. Dan was one of the strongest voices for justice in the House of Commons, raising East Timor too many times to count and even trying to introduce a private member's bill that would have ended Canadian aid and weapons sales to Indonesia. He travelled to New York on extremely short notice to speak for PET at the UN's Decolonization Committee hearings last August, and was always willing to speak at public forums and press conferences in Toronto and Ottawa.

Ray represented PET at the UN Decolonization hearings in 1990, and helped ETAN immeasurably by mailing out this newsletter for many years and making his office available for East Timor support work far beyond the call of duty. The work of ETAN on Parliament Hill would have been almost impossible without his help.

We are exceptionally lucky that David Kilgour has agreed to take on the newsletter mailing. David has also represented PET at the UN, when he was a Conservative backbencher. He is now a Liberal, and has agreed to lobby the new government on behalf of the East Timorese cause.

ETAN is also fortunate that three other MPs have kept the word "East Timor" constantly on the foreign affairs agenda in parliament: Svend Robinson, Beryl Gaffney, and Christine Stewart. We look forward to their continued support in the new parliament, and plan to work hard to enroll many more MPs in PET.

Before the election, the following re-elected MPs had indicated they were willing to be members of PET:

- Warren Allmand (Liberal, Montreal Notre Dame de Grace)
- Mark Assad (Liberal, Gatineau-La Lièvre)
- Chris Axworthy (NDP, Saskatoon-Clark's Crossing)
- Bill Blaikey (NDP, Winnipeg Transcona)
- Charles Caccia (Liberal, Toronto Davenport)
- Sheila Copps (Liberal, Hamilton East)
- Jesse Flis (Liberal, Toronto Parkdale-High Park)
- Beryl Gaffney (Liberal, Nepean)
- David Kilgour (Liberal, Edmonton Southeast)
- John Manley (Liberal, Ottawa South)
- Audrey McLaughlin (NDP, Yukon)
- Dennis Mills (Liberal, Toronto Broadview-Greenwood)
- Dr. Rey Pagtakhan (Liberal, Winnipeg North)
- Svend Robinson (NDP, Burnaby-Kingsway)
- Christine Stewart (Liberal, Northumberland)

PET mission to UN

Members of Parliamentarians for East Timor from four countries brought PET's concerns to United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Feb. 5, in a mission co-ordinated by ETAN/Ottawa.

The mission included: Lord Avebury (Britain, international president of PET), Sen. John Dardis (Ireland, foreign policy spokesperson for the Progressive Democratic Party), Ingela Martensson MP (Sweden, Centre Party) and John Langmore MP (Australia, Labour Party). The last three are all members of parties that form part of their countries' government.

The mission also carried a message of support from the Japanese Diet Forum on East Timor.

Last-minute scheduling conflicts prevented the attendance of a Canadian representative, but several MPs indicated their willingness to attend if they had not had prior commitments.

Ms. Martensson was part of a delegation of three Swedish members of parliament who travelled to East Timor in September, including members of the Liberal, Centre and Social Democratic parties. "It is difficult to see the real life. We are constantly watched," she reported from Dili, the capital, adding "when we are taken somewhere by car, there are military everywhere and sirens are heard."

She compared the East Timor situation to that of the Palestinians, saying "I appreciate the initiative of the Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to negotiate with Indonesia and Portugal. But representatives of the Timorese people must also take part in the negotiations.... In the meantime, the Indonesian military must be taken away from East Timor as soon as possible and the role of the police radically reduced. Weapons exports to Indonesia should not be allowed as long as the status of East Timor is not decided."

OTTAWA

Since Xanana Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment in May, ETAN/Ottawa has been busy lobbying both the Canadian government as well as members of Parliamentarians for East Timor to condemn the sentence. So far, Svend Robinson, M.P., confronted then Minister for External Affairs Barbara McDougall at the Sub-Committee for External Affairs concerning the sentence; as a result, she promised to review the report of Canadian embassy observers at the trial.

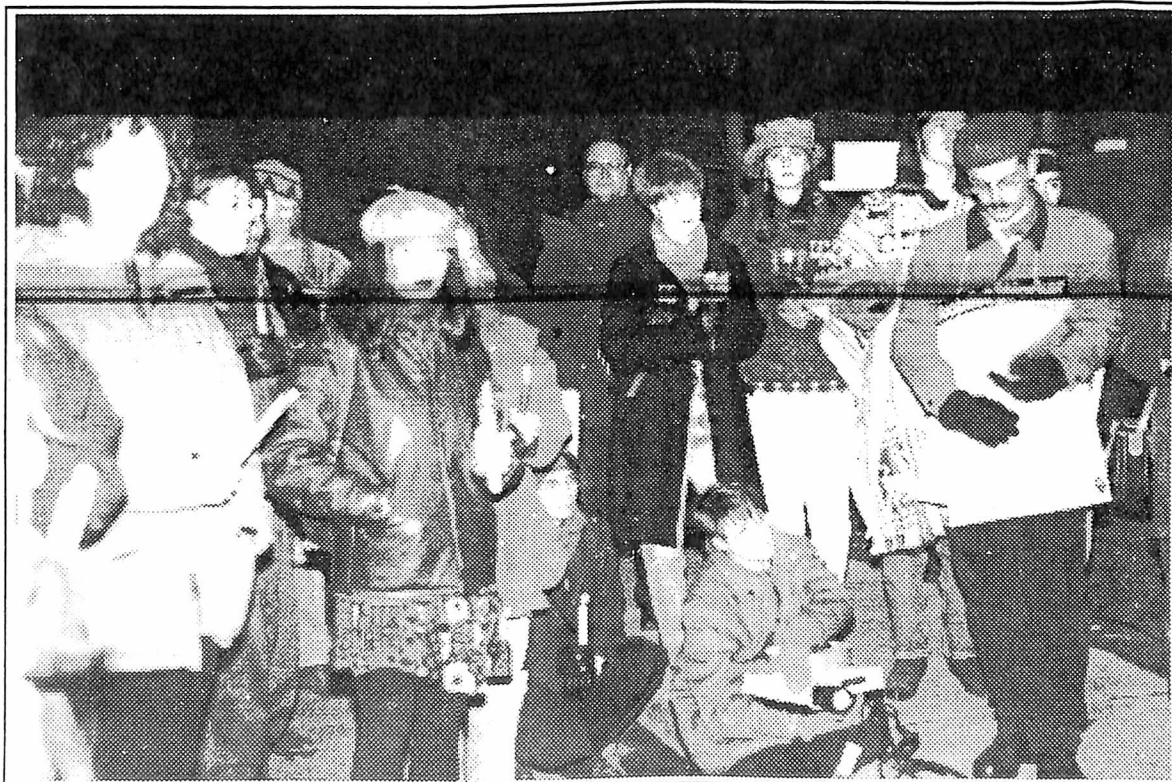
(The report is not public; however an Access to Information request was filed for its release, which was received heavily censored by the Department of External Affairs due to concerns with "threats to international security" should such information be released).

July and August saw ETAN/Ottawa in continuous contact with ETAN/US and TAPOL in Britain in the attempts to arrange an international mission of Parliamentarians for East Timor (PET) to the Secretary General of the United Nations. However, due to the fact that the initial proposed date, namely the first week in September, would not be agreeable to either Canadian MPs (due to the election) nor to appropriate US Senators (due to the Feingold Amendment being introduced), it was decided that a more appropriate date would be January, 1994. As such, work continues on this from Ottawa, trying to coordinate MPs from Japan, Ireland, Australia, the United Kingdom, Portugal, Sweden and the US.

On July 13 1993, members of the East Timor Alert Network held an awareness benefit for East Timor at Irene's Pub at 885 Bank St. in Ottawa. Ottawa-based Canadian talents Lonesome Paul, the Toasted Westerns and the Angstones generously contributed the entertainment, drawing a crowd of approximately 200 people. Although donations were accepted at the door, the main objective of the event was to raise awareness about Canada's role in the situation. This was accomplished by handing out literature, and selling books, T-shirts and buttons. Longtime ETAN member Peter Monet spoke about East Timor. We could not have anticipated the tremendous success of the event; a full house demonstrated marked interest in the issue, and many asked why there was not more information available in the media. The audience was encouraged to write to their members of parliament and to the Minister of External Affairs. A beautiful poster advertising the event was donated by graphic artist Jane Stewart, and many who saw it and do not frequent bars came only for information and to make a donation.

In August, at the request of External Affairs, ETAN/Ottawa was invited to meet with Canada's new Economic and Political Counsellor to the Canadian embassy in Jakarta to express our concerns with the human rights abuses in East Timor.

FurnaceFest, held in Ottawa on August 27, saw a day of live performance by independent musicians from Ontario in front of a crowd that was comprised of mostly high school and college/ university students. ETAN/Ottawa, with permission from MCA Records, had an



Candlelight vigil in front of the Indonesian Embassy, Ottawa, November 12, 1993. Over 100 people attended the event, organized by ETAN/Ottawa.

information booth, that was quite popular among the attendees due to the continuous promotion received from musicians throughout the day.

September and October were busy with fundraising to bring José Ramos-Horta, overseas representative of the East Timor resistance movement CNRM, to Ottawa October 16-19. Accompanying him was CNRM media director Margherita Tracanelli, based in Sydney, Australia. José spoke at the benefit (see below), had several interviews with the media, met with the new Portuguese Ambassador to Canada, spoke at a screening of "Manufacturing Consent" at Carleton University, and had a meeting with External Affairs and CIDA.

It was an interesting meeting. External Affairs was fuming on account of the Ottawa Citizen article that day that quoted Ramos Horta calling Canada "one of the most hypocritical countries in the world" because of its favourable foreign policy towards Indonesia. Perhaps one of the more interesting aspects was that External Affairs agreed it would be a measure of goodwill for the Indonesian government to release Xanana Gusmão and that Canada would inform its Embassy in Jakarta to put this idea forward. CIDA informed us that it had been listening to us when we met in the spring and was working on three new projects in East Timor. Among other things, José explained the Peace Plan to the government and ETAN made an appeal for more openness and information from the Canadian government. (If you would like a copy of the unofficial minutes taken by ETAN at that meeting, please write to ETAN/Ottawa.) After leaving Ottawa, José spoke at the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development in Montreal, which was followed by a press conference.

The CNRM visit to Canada could not have been possible without the financial support of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP), OPIRG/Carleton, OPIRG/University of Ottawa and Carleton University Student's Association (CUSA).

October 17th saw the biggest ETAN benefit ever in Canada. Over 1,000 people attended throughout the 12 hour benefit at Irene's Pub. Artists who performed (in order of appearance) were: Abé Barreto Soares and Aloz, playing traditional Timorese music and folk songs; Bob Stark; Ian Tamblyn; Epona K'Wae; Dog Day Afternoon; The Dust Bunnies; Lonesome Paul; The Unbeatables; and the Hammerheads. Special guest speakers were José Ramos-Horta and Abé Barreto Soares. The event was MC'd by Chopper McKinnon, and well covered by the local media. ETAN had an information booth set up where hundreds of pamphlets were distributed; many sheets of petitions filled, and everyone's questions answered.

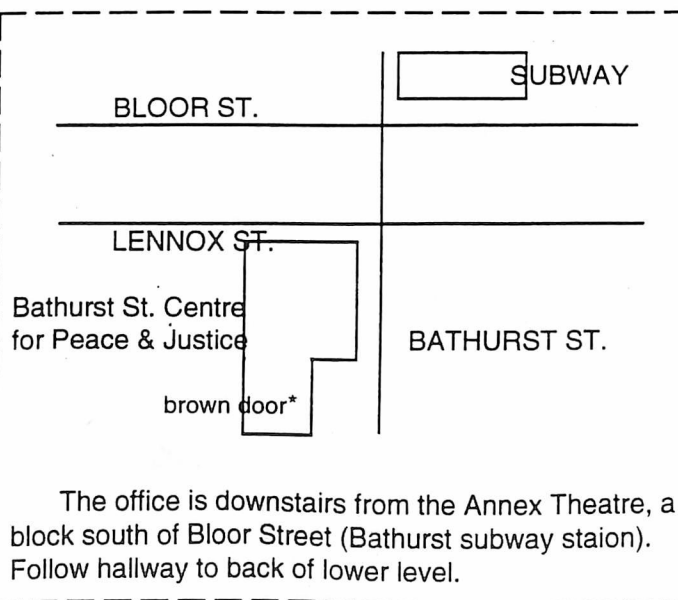
Also on November 12th, ETAN/Ottawa held a candlelight vigil outside the Indonesian Embassy. Ottawa was plastered with posters advertising the event

and our time and efforts were well it: over 100 people showed up at the one hour benefit. Slides of Elaine Briere's photos were shown while Kerry Pither read out the names of the people who were killed in the Santa Cruz Massacre. Sharon Scharfe spoke briefly about the Canadian government's inaction on East Timor, a result of the huge economic stake Canada has in Indonesia. The Embassy was well staffed that evening (unusual for a Friday night), and the vigil was videotaped from inside the Embassy, while officials took turns running out and photographing supporters. The event was quiet and respectful; it was also monitored closely by three RCMP officers and one Ottawa Police officer.

TORONTO

ETAN/Toronto has been busy since the last newsletter with public forums, vigils, gathering and disseminating information, and moving into our new office in the Bathurst Street Centre for Peace and Justice. We are now holding a regular volunteer day every Tuesday afternoon and evening — please drop by, or give us a call at 531-5850.

ETAN/Toronto general meetings are on the third Tuesday of every month at 7:30 p.m. Mark your calendar now for Feb. 15, March 15, April 19, etc.



In July, we were honoured to host East Timorese folk singer Agio Pereira, who was in Canada for the Vancouver and Winnipeg international folk festivals. Between festivals, he came to Toronto for an ETAN social and screened a video on the life of Xanana Gusmão for us. The social proved to be a successful fund-raiser.

In October, ETAN participated in the peace community's Disarmament Week by holding a public forum on East Timor and Tibet in front of a full house at

the University of Toronto's International Student Centre. Speakers Abé Barreto Soares and Losang Rabgey explained that the two countries have similar histories of invasion and resistance. Since China and Indonesia are two of our top three aid recipients and both are trade targets for Canadian corporations, we hope this is just the first event we ETAN/Toronto holds along with the U of T Tibet Committee.

On Nov. 6, Abé was a featured speaker at Amnesty International's demonstration under the theme "Stop Disappearances and Political Killings," which visited many consulates of human rights violators — including the Indonesian Consulate. ETAN/Toronto was back at the Indonesian Consulate on Nov. 11 for a candlelight vigil that continued until the following morning, with about 40 people attending some or all of the event. The event was held to mark the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre.

We also marked the anniversary with a grand theatre night at the First Portuguese Canadian Cultural Centre, an event organized by our friends in the Camarin theatre group. Many popular entertainers from the Portuguese community lent their talents to the night. There was also a dramatization of the trial of Xanana Gusmão, with excerpts from his defence plea making up much of the performance.

The ETAN/Toronto Portuguese Committee has also opened its own bank account at Sottomayor Bank and drafted several letters and appeals.

On Dec. 11, ETAN/Toronto rallied outside the corporate headquarters of Inco, the top Canadian investor in Indonesia (an estimated \$1.5 billion invested in a nickel mining complex in Sulawesi), then marched to the Bata Shoes outlet in the Eaton Centre. As at a similar demonstration in June, we left a mound of bloodstained shoes in front of the store; however, this time security guards briefly arrested some of us. No charges were laid, but six protesters were banned from the Eaton Centre for a year.

VANCOUVER

Thanks to the collective effort of all our members, ETAN/Vancouver has been consistently active since the fall. Elaine Briere and a few other volunteer speakers have been giving talks all over B.C. We have been networking successfully with the Global Development Centre at UBC. They have been helping us to raise awareness among the students about East Timor; almost 400 people came to our November screening of "Manufacturing Consent" at UBC. Our petition campaign has flourished thanks to the film which was also shown on December 7 (the 18th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor) at the Ridge.

Efforts are being made in SFU to set up a Professors'

group in support of linking human rights to university projects and work abroad; if this is successful it will strengthen our campaign against the current Eastern Indonesia Development Project.

We have been meeting on a regular basis and this has helped us to keep momentum. In October we had a small rally outside Kim Campbell's office.

On November 6 the Indonesian Consulate in Vancouver sponsored Indonesian Cultural Day at the Vancouver Museum. The event was free and open to the public, replete with exhibits, performances and a food and drink reception. Six ETAN/Van members and supporters created a presence by leafletting all those who entered the door, by providing information to over 200 people. After we ran out of leaflets, all of us entered the exhibit hall as members of the public, to the frustration of the Consul-General and Vice-Consul. For over half an hour, as people were lining up and waiting to enter the room for tasty Indonesian treats, it was clear that the organizers and officials from the Consulate's office were debating what to do with us, and were perturbed at our nerve to actually take part in their event! To our success, they finally decided not to create a scene for themselves, and to let us in with everyone else. Clearly though, the Vice-Consul was displeased. Another useful informational action for the plight of the East Timorese people.

On November 12 we held a vigil outside the Vancouver Art Gallery and marched to the Indonesian Consulate to remind them that we haven't forgotten the Dili massacre nor the ongoing occupation of East Timor. A few of us joined forces with ETAN/U.S. in Seattle to protest Suharto's visit and both Canada's and Indonesia's participation in APEC (see APEC story).

Finally, we would like to thank everyone in B.C. who has been helping and supporting ETAN/Van. A special thanks in particular to Yvonne, who has been incredibly active ever since she joined us in September, and to Jamie who has kindly provided us with a computer and access to the GDC at UBC.

We are also very excited about all the awareness-raising work that is currently underway in the West: in Whiterock, Vernon, Quadra Island and Calgary. We are glad to have Eric and Sabrina back with us after their trip to the Porto East Timor conference.

The media need lots of attention because they have been very unresponsive over the last few months. Any ideas?

Asian leaders meet in Seattle *ETAN protests against Suharto visit*

A new Asia/North America trade bloc moved a step closer to reality in November when U.S. President Bill Clinton hosted a high-profile gathering of the Asia



Protesting at the APEC summit

■ Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) heads of government. Canada's Jean Chrétien was there, along with Australia's Paul Keating and the leaders of 11 of the 12 Asian members of APEC (Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed, who wants an Asia-only trade bloc, boycotted the meeting). One of the leaders was Indonesian President Suharto.

Trade Minister Roy McLaren was prominent at the meeting pushing Canada's trade interests with the fast-growing Pacific Rim economies like China and Indonesia. Human rights was also on the agenda, but it took a back seat to talk of "globalization" and "growth economies," despite the release of an excellent new report by Asia Watch, "Human Rights in APEC Countries."

Some activists fear that trade concerns will again overshadow human rights issues, as seems to have been the case with the North American Free Trade Agreement (in which Mexico's human rights record was all but ignored in the rush for a profitable trade deal, prompting the Jan. 1 uprising in southern Mexico).

Four members of ETAN/Vancouver travelled to Seattle to join with ETAN/U.S. in a vigil and demonstration during the APEC conference. On Friday November 19, Li-Lien Gibbons gave interviews while others posted sheets, each printed with a name of one of the 273 victims of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. That night over 60 people, including members of the local Amnesty International, gathered along the motorcade route. Everybody had a sign, flag or banner and one of the local activists led us tirelessly in chants. Having detoured from the route for which our permit had been issued, we were thus very visible to the flood of APEC participants as they were driven to a reception with Clinton.

The next day we joined groups representing human rights concerns in countries throughout the APEC region, including Tibet, Burma, Vietnam and others, in an inspiring march through the streets of Seattle. This event received worldwide media coverage.

The next APEC conference is to be held in Jakarta, Indonesia in the fall. Some ETAN members are already working on a Canadian boycott. Look for more news soon!

East Timor activist in court over tax resistance

Vancouver East Timor activist Bo Filter has been refusing to pay his taxes to the government of Canada because of its support for the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Below we reprint a letter from Bo to ETAN members and supporters.

In 1987 I stopped paying income tax. I had become aware of Canada's involvement in sponsoring state-supported terrorism in foreign countries such as East Timor. The purpose is age-old: to enslave, to eliminate rebellion or the potential for resistance by native populations so that natural resources can be stolen for foreign control and use, what is defined as imperialism or totalitarianism. The standard scenario is familiar to foreign policy analysts: a propagandistic cover story — an excuse to intrude, impose, invade, followed by mass murder and taking power, followed by multi-million dollar mass media intensive cover-ups, subterfuges, and staged public righteousness. Whistle-blowers and critics are denounced, ridiculed and black-balled.

Today, multi-national corporations seize control of the world's resources but they don't use their own money to wage wars against tiny third world countries. It's considered good business sense to risk and use other people's capital, so they arm-twist the foreign policies of western countries to include, euphemistically, foreign investment incentives and humanitarian aid, what we are to believe is the export of democracy. When this "foreign aid" arrives to the tune of \$50 million a year, as in the case of Indonesia, all of us taxpayers are implicated in the genocide of native populations, and it goes on country after country.

Since I stopped paying taxes, stopped my participation in murder, Revenue Canada has hounded me, even confiscated my bank account, leaving me financially destitute, but not spiritually deflated. After another series of events I was able to land a few moments of time in court.

On Sept. 7, I argued before the Tax Court of Canada: that my forced participation in the genocide in East Timor violated my constitutional right to freedom of expression which implicitly includes the right not to harm another human being; that to not kill others or participate in any way in the killing of others is consistent with the Canadian Criminal Code; and that our foreign policies, those responsible for them, should be equally subject to prosecution under the criminal code. ■

On Sept. 28, the Honourable Judge Terrence P. O'Connor issued a written statement limiting the court's jurisdiction to tax assessment only. Judge O'Connor concluded, "The Court fully sympathizes with the position put forward by the Appellant but regrettably is without jurisdiction...."

With the Tax Court out of the picture, the matter now clearly becomes a constitutional challenge. Grievances, according to section 23 (a) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, shall be heard by a court of competent jurisdiction. Subsequently, I am now presently moving to have a constitutional court established. The speed at which such a court will be created will depend on the degree of support coming from Canadians. Maybe we'll need a referendum on the matter. For now, ETAN members could join together and start a petition.

Let me know what you want to do.

—Bo Filter

2078 West 5th Avenue
Vancouver, BC
V6J 1P9
(604) 732-4540

ONTARIO

The East Timor Alert Network held vigils across Canada to mark the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. In Guelph 40 people came out to a showing of the film "Cold Blood" and then joined a candlelight walk to the local armoury. Radio interviews around this event went out across Canada on the Broadcast News network and (a one-hour feature interview of Abé Barreto Soares by Eric Gabriel) Native Networks. East Timor supporters also phoned and faxed the department of Foreign Affairs throughout the day.

In Windsor, activists set up an 8-foot high cross outside the office of Herb Gray, House Leader for the newly-elected Liberal government. Heavy pressure is also planned for the other two Windsor-area MPs, both Liberal newcomers.

ETAN/Windsor-Essex County also placed a large open letter in the Windsor Star on Nov. 12, signed by a host of prominent local groups and individuals. Among the signatories were both Bishops in the Catholic diocese of London (which includes all of southwestern Ontario), three locals of the Canadian Auto Workers union, the Windsor and District Labour Council, and eight University of Windsor professors (including former Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley).

A commemoration was also held by the East Timor & Tibet Alert Network at Hamilton's McMaster University.

Fund for Timorese political prisoners

East Timorese political prisoners in Indonesian jails live in appalling conditions. They are being held merely for their belief that their country has a right to be free of Indonesian rule.

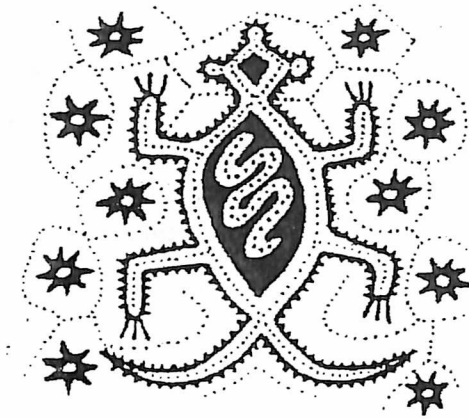
They need our help for basic necessities that are not provided by the Indonesian prison system.

ETAN can now get funds directly to some of these prisoners. We are appealing for special donations for this purpose, so that a small regular monthly amount can be provided.

If you can help, please send cheques with a note "for Timorese prisoners" to ETAN/Toronto.



The TAPOL Bulletin is one of the world's foremost sources of information and analysis on human rights, labour, the environment, and land rights in Indonesia and Indonesian-occupied territories. It has been published every two months for 120 issues by TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign (based in London). Now, you can buy subscriptions in Canadian funds. Send \$30 (\$15 for students and unwaged) to "TAPOL-Canada", and mail to ETAN/Toronto, PO Box 562, Stn. P, Toronto M5S 2T1. Please include your name and full address including postal code.



Many people have asked us what the ETAN logo (shown at left) represents. It is a representation of a crocodile (in Tetum, the main language of East Timor, *Lafaek*) taken from a pre-invasion drawing. And it comes with a story. If you look at a map of the island of Timor, it has the shape of a crocodile. Many Timorese cultures tell a story of the crocodile that became Timor. The version given here is based on Fernando Sylvan's *Hananuknanoik Maubere* (*The Legends of the Mauberes*).

I heard it said that once there was a crocodile who had lived for many hundreds of years in a swamp and whose great dream was to grow and reach a phenomenal size. But not only was he a small crocodile, he lived in a very confined space. Only his dream was large.

The crocodile was tired of the swamp, lonely, and very hungry. Over the years — thousands of years it would seem — it was the crocodile's love of talking that kept him going. He would ask himself questions and then, as if he were somebody else, answer them. Finally it was too much, and after a long debate with himself he struggled up the bank out of the swamp.

The sun was high in the sky, scorching the ground. There was no refuge anywhere. The crocodile became weaker and weaker until he remained where he was, roasting alive.

At that moment a lively young lad happened to pass by, humming to himself. The crocodile begged him for help, and so he picked him up and carried him to the edge of the swamp. What the lad failed to notice, however, was that the crocodile had perked up — and was getting hungry again.

"This lad must be tastier than anything I've ever eaten," thought the crocodile — "Don't be so ungrateful," said the other voice inside himself — "But the need justifies the end." — "That may be, but remember it is also shameful to betray a friend. And this is the first friend you have ever had."

So when the lad placed him on the ground, the crocodile thanked him and said that if the lad ever wanted to travel he should come back and he would carry him across the sea.

"I'd like that very much, because it's my dream to see what lies out there across the sea," the lad said — "Dream? Did you say dream? I too have a dream."

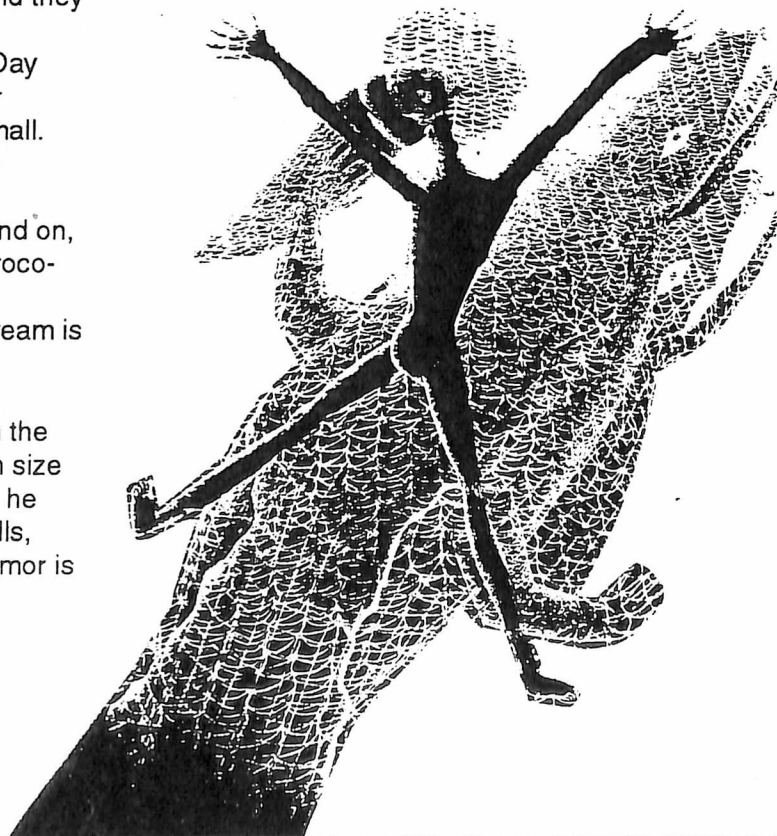
One day the lad returned. "Listen, crocodile, my dream hasn't gone away. I can't stand it any more." The crocodile had learned how to find his own food and was now so plump and well-fed he had almost forgotten his dream, but he happily agreed. So the lad settled himself on the crocodile's back, as if in a canoe, and they set off to sea.

It was all so big and beautiful! Day and night, night and day, they never rested. They saw islands big and small. They could not say which was more beautiful, the days or the nights, the islands or the stars. They went on and on, always following the sun, until the crocodile finally grew tired.

"Listen, lad, I can't go on. My dream is over."

"Mine will never be over...."

The lad was still speaking when the crocodile suddenly grew and grew in size until, still keeping his original shape, he turned into an island covered with hills, woods and rivers. And that is why Timor is in the shape of a crocodile.



WORLD

Canada 'one of the most hypocritical countries in world'

East Timor activist critical of national trading policies

By Robb Critch

Citizen staff writer

One of the most eloquent and forceful voices of the East Timoran resistance movement is in Ottawa to deliver some harsh words to the Canadian government.

"Canada is one of the most hypocritical countries in the world," said Jose Ramos Horta at a benefit for his troubled homeland Sunday.

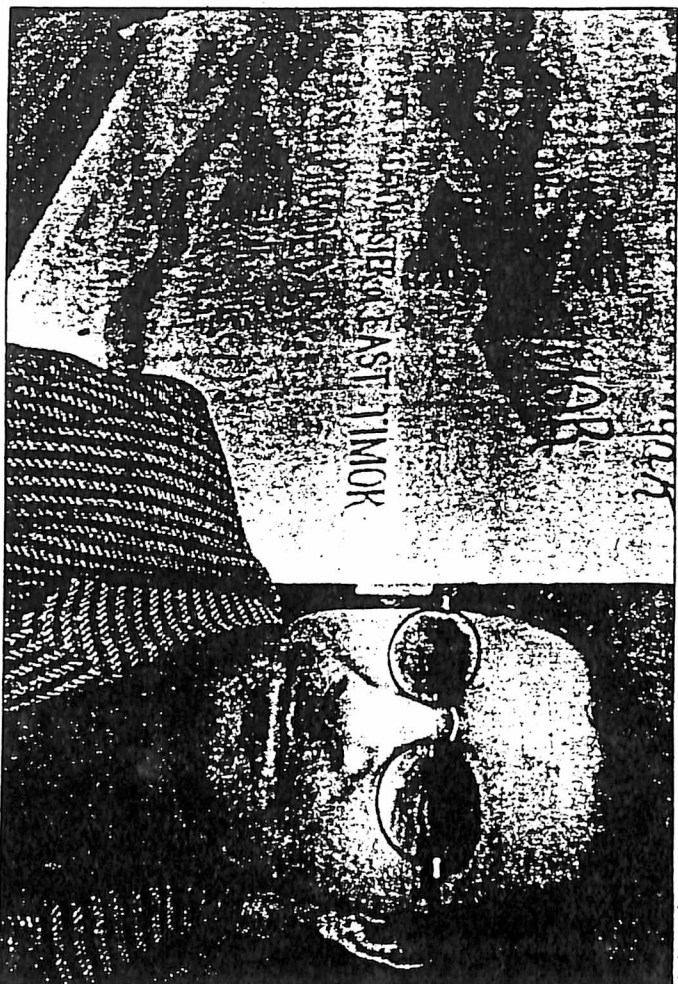
"Canada has one of the most immoral policies in the world when it comes to East Timor."

Ramos Horta wants Canada to recognize East Timor — a small Pacific Island occupied by Indonesia since 1975 — as a sovereign nation. Under Indonesian rule, about 200,000 Timorenses have died from violence, famine or disease.

Ramos Horta, co-chairman and special representative of the National Council of the Timorese Resistance, was to meet several Canadian government officials today including the deputy director of the Indonesia program at the Canadian International Development Agency, and the director general of human rights at External Affairs.

"Canada is audacious with regards to human rights when small countries like Haiti and Kuwait are concerned, or with countries like Iraq when the U.S. is standing behind it," says Ramos Horta, 44.

"But when it comes to a country like Indonesia, which is a big trade



Jose Ramos-Horta has not been in his homeland for 19 years out of fear of Indonesian reprisals for his leadership of East Timor's independence movement

—Dave Chan, Citizen

ing partner, Canada shows its true colors — utter hypocrisy."

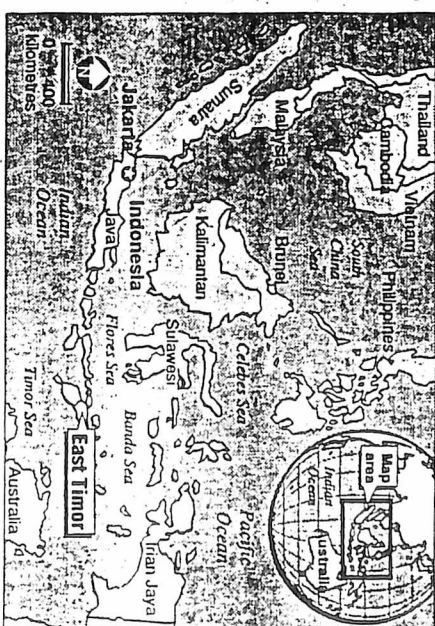
Ramos Horta, who served as official observer for East Timor at the United Nations between 1975 and 1989, has not been in his homeland for 19 years because of Indonesia's "racist and brutal" policies which he says have killed four of his

brothers and sisters.

Peter Monet, a member of the East Timor Alert Network and producer of a 1987 film called *East Timor: Betrayed But Not Beaten*, says Canada is legitimizing the Indonesian occupation through aid and trade policies, and by allowing Canadian weapons manufacturers to

sell arms to Indonesia.

"Because Timor has nothing to offer us, and Indonesia has natural resources and cheap labor, it is not in the interests of government to publicize the facts," Monet said. In both 1975 and 1976 Canada abstained in UN General Assembly votes calling for Indonesia's im-



date withdrawal from East Timor. In 1980, Canada began opposing UN declarations acknowledging the right of the East Timorese to exist as a sovereign nation.

Ramos Horta last visited Ottawa in 1991, shortly after more than 100 unarmed independence supporters were killed when Indonesian soldiers opened fire into a crowd of mourners at a cemetery in Dili, the capital of the island. He urged then-external affairs minister Barbara McDougall to impose economic sanctions against Indonesia.

Beyond a temporary suspension of aid, that request was ignored. Indonesia remains Canada's second-largest recipient of bilateral government-to-government aid, receiving about \$40 million a year.

It is also one of Canada's biggest trading partners in Southeast Asia, with two-way trade totalling about \$500 million annually.

Facts

East Timor: East Timor, the eastern portion of the island of Timor, is about the size of Vancouver Island and is 650 km north of Australia.

History: Ruled by the Portuguese from 1512 to 1974, East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, nine days after declaring independence from Portugal.

Population: About 555,000. Since 1975, 200,000 Timorese have died from violence, famine or disease. In 1991, 180 people were killed when troops fired on a crowd of 3,500 in Dili, the capital.

A N A R C H Y



David Malmo-Levine

NDP Talks the Talk... But Audrey won't Walk the Walk

It was just last Saturday, October 16th, that me and fifteen others had this demonstration outside the Convention Centre. We were attempting to call attention to the CBC's covering up of corporate involvement in the ongoing genocide in East Timor. Just by coincidence, the NDP were having a little gathering on behalf of Audrey McLaughlin, who was in town that day, to call attention to the problem of cuts to health care.

What an opportunity! We could go up to Audrey, who herself belongs to Parliamentarians for a Free East Timor, and ask her to communicate to her entourage of reporters the CBC's crimes, thereby putting pressure on the CBC to show *Manufacturing Consent* and *In Cold Blood*, educating the electorate who could then put pressure on the new government to attach human rights conditions to the \$40 million in aid we give the Indonesian Military Government every year. That was the plan, anyway.

So I goes up to Audrey, who was quickly making her way into the Convention Centre hall, and I says "The CBC has refused to air a movie which would explain Corporate

Canada's role in the East Timor Genocide. Could you use your immediate connection with the mass media to do something to call attention to this?"

"I wasn't aware of this. We'll look into it," she said as she slipped away into the hall.

It was exactly what Jaemi (my buddy and fellow protester) said would happen a few minutes earlier.

"We'll create a committee to look into the problem, we'll conduct a study, we'll weigh the options, and we'll get back to you."

A few of the lesser NDP people came out to divert our attention from the carefully staged rally in the next room. They complained that, throughout the election, the media were unresponsive to what the NDP attempted to get across to the electorate. They claimed that the press would not report on NDP concerns for women's issues or

health care or anything, that the media were beyond their control. Jaemi and I then suggested to them that, since the common concern between all these issues was access to the mass media, then the nature of the media should be the

of soap and write "CBC MANUFACTURES GENOCIDE" on the convention centre walls, thereby forcing the CBC to air *Manufacturing Consent*, which would not only explain Corporate Canada's role in East Timor, but would also address the main issue of the corporate media's role in election control, and thought control in general. I decided to go inside the hall and bounce that one off her.



As it turned out, the NDP were ready for me. I wasn't in the hall five seconds before I was grabbed by two men in suits and ties (later identified as mounties) who informed me that it was a private party for NDP people only and I would have to leave.

major election issue. As well, there were ways of forcing issues that really matter.

If, for example, Audrey was truly concerned with East Timor and not just out to get the "human rights" vote, she could very well take a bar

Now, it bothered me that the *Journal* described me as a "heckler" because I was thrown out before I could heckle. "Suspected heckler"

would be more accurate. And it pissed me off to no end that the *Sun* described the Genocide in East Timor as a "civil war." That's like ascribing Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait as a "Kuwaiti civil war."

But I expected that from the Corporate Media. Their job is to satisfy the needs of their advertisers. If they have to cover up Corporate Canada's war crimes to do so, it's all part of the job.

But I expected better of the NDP. Democracy means authority of the people. When you have carefully staged rallies, where anyone with a different point of view is forcibly removed, and election issues are dictated by the leadership to the rank and file instead of the other way around, and leaders are scared to address the real issues for fear of them getting in the way of getting elected, then you no longer have democracy.

You have, instead, a most cruel and humiliating exercise in public relations, a rounding up, once every six years or so, of all the unformed and indoctrinated to choose which master they find most appealing.

Amnesty accuses Canada of more talk than action

KAREN GRAM

Vancouver Sun

The Canadian government is big on speeches but small on action when it comes to human-rights abuses, says the secretary-general of Amnesty International.

That's not good enough when about one-third of the world's countries engage in political killings and disappearances, said Roger Clark.

Although the Canadian government has sometimes taken the lead on resolutions at the UN, Canada shows the same apathy as other countries towards real actions," Clark said Sunday at the culmination of a weekend fax campaign to stop disappearances and political killings.

Clark said Canada's resolutions are often too watered down to make a real difference.

"In the name of political expediency, people are not being held accountable, they are not being asked why events are happening the way they are in their countries."

As well, Clark said economic interests in a country — such as Indonesia — have stopped Canada from taking a tough stand on the human-rights abuses there.

"Unless governments like Canada are going to take the lead, there is little hope," he said, adding what is needed is hard-hitting resolutions that point out the real problems.

In countries such as Guatemala, Indonesia, former Yugoslavia and Iraq, political killings and



CLARK

disappearances are commonplace forms of political repression, he said.

Clark also argued Canada should link its international aid to democracy-building projects in an effort to build democracy from the ground up.

But he drew the line at recommending economic sanctions.

Clark was in Vancouver for a conference of Amnesty International workers. While Clark sees a strong role for the Canadian government, the real power lies with individual citizens who in traditional Amnesty fashion, pepper the perpetrators of human-rights abuses with letters, telexes or faxes.

As Clark met with Amnesty volunteers during the weekend, a small group of volunteers set up a display tent outside the Vancouver Art Gallery, complete with fax machines through which citizens could voice their opposition to the killings

and disappearances.

By 3 p.m. Sunday, almost 500 faxes had been sent to five governments just from Vancouver protesting the death or disappearance of one of their citizens. Similar campaigns were going on all over the world.

Hardeep Sull, one of the organizers of the fax protest, said everyone from the mainstream to the fringes had signed faxes during the weekend. They had even taken the time during Saturday's downpour.

"I think this makes a big difference when a citizen does this," she said, adding they were getting return faxes from some of the governments pleading with them to stop the electronic bombardment.

Clark said the fax campaign is different from the usual Amnesty campaign in that it is bigger and more pro-active than in the past.

"We felt that the level of disappearances and political killings had risen to the point where we need to address it seriously by mobilizing our membership throughout the world," he said.

Amnesty has identified 24 serious cases that it will use as symbols of the hundreds of thousands of similar cases throughout the world, Clark said.

"We hope that at least this will open the door to a much wider discussion — so that one person may become the symbol of the problem and then become part of the solution to the problem."



Photo courtesy of Elaine Brayera ETAN

Young Timorese girl captured on film prior to Indonesian invasion of Timor

2 THE VOICE, OCTOBER 1, 1993

East Timor: Western aid fuels tragedy

By SIMONE HOEDEL

East Timor has been called Indonesia's killing fields.

International human rights organizations have reported that since Indonesia's invasion of the small island just off Australia's north coast in 1975, more than 200,000 people have been killed in a brutal campaign of oppression and counterinsurgency.

Li-Lien Gibbons of the East Timor Alert Network spoke at Langara last week in a talk sponsored by the Peace and Conflict Studies program.

Li-Lien's step-brother, Kama, was one of 273 people killed by the Indonesian military in a massacre which followed a peaceful demonstration in Dili, East Timor, almost two years ago. This incident brought the world's attention to the plight of the Timorese people and finally forced western governments, in-

cluding Canada, to examine their trade and aid based relationships to Indonesia.

"East Timor has largely been an issue that has been covered up not just by Indonesia, but also by the West," said Li-Lien. Western countries, including Canada, have courted the Indonesian government for access to East Timor's resources, including oil, minerals and labor, and have supported the Suharto dictatorship through weapons sales and the training of the Indonesian military.

But in a complete policy reversal, and following U.S. lead, Canada in March supported a U.N. resolution which condemns human rights violations in East Timor.

A spokesperson at the Indonesian Consulate, when asked by the Voice if the U.N. condemnation had affected their aid and trade relationships to other coun-

tries, had no comment.

This year the Indonesian regime is Canada's second largest recipient of bilateral (government to government) aid. "Since 1985, Canada has been giving \$45 to \$75 million annually to Indonesia," said Li-Lien. Last year, according to CIDA, the aid package was worth \$41 million.

Although Canada has recently made attempts to tie aid to human rights, the presence of Canadian investment in Indonesia makes the government reluctant to threaten their economic relationship with that government. More than 300 Canadian companies currently operate in Indonesia, and in the last six years, B.C.'s exports to Indonesia have nearly doubled.

"The tragedy of East Timor is essentially a Western made tragedy," said Li-Lien.

(Langara Coll., Vancouver)

The Globe and Mail, Tuesday, October 26, 1993

REPORT ON BUSINESS

B19

Canadians key players in Indonesian pulp mill

Skills and experience honed back home part of a growing trend to knowledge-based exports

BY ROBERT WILLIAMSON
The Globe and Mail

JAKARTA — B.C. companies have pulled off a business coup in landing key roles in a huge pulp mill planned for Indonesia, which is emerging as one of the world's hottest pulp and paper producers.

The Canadians, headed by leading pulp mill engineering consultant H. A. Simons Ltd. of Vancouver, stand to pick up as much as \$200-million of the estimated \$800-million project, Indonesian sources say.

The blending of Canadian skills and experience, hinting at a Canada Inc. approach to the growing trend to knowledge-based exports, points the way for other companies looking to establish a foothold in what has been one of the toughest markets in Southeast Asia.

The Canadians have won contracts largely because of experience gained on projects in Canada. The global reality of the New Economy means that they are in demand to apply that know-how to help expand an Indonesian industry that's being warily eyed by Canadian pulp producers as a serious, potential competitor. The industry would be capable of producing export market pulp at low prices Canadians mills can never hope to match.

Fast-growing hardwood plantations contribute to lower wood costs, producing harvestable trees in as little as seven years, compared with 40 to 70 years for trees in Canada. Workers earn about \$2 a day and transportation costs are much lower than for B.C. Interior and Alberta producers.

In the longer term, the Canadian industry had better watch out, said Keith Anderton, general manager of Simons's Indonesia office.

"The more of these low-cost producers that come into the market, the more interest paper makers will show in trying to use these shorter hardwood fibres and save on creating and fibre costs. It poses a long-term threat."

He estimates that Indonesian producers can turn a handsome profit on pulp sold at about \$400 (U.S.) a tonne — roughly the current softwood market price. The Council of Forest Industries of B.C. estimates that the average cost of production in British Columbia is about \$600 a tonne, and even low-cost producers in the south-

em United States have costs of at least \$500.

Formal announcement of the PT Kiam Kertas 500,000-tonne-a-year bleached kraft hardwood pulp mill, on the big island of Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), is expected when final financing agreements are in place. While Simons executives declined to divulge specifics of the project, they did discuss the implications they see in Indonesia's forestry developments.

Kiam Kertas is just one of a string of pulp and paper megaprojects proposed to exploit Indonesia's vast tropi-

'We had to find experts on everything from air pollution to orangutans, so we turned to several other Canadian firms we had worked with in the past for some of the help.'

cal forests that have sparked a rush among the world's leading mill designers and suppliers for what some see as the new white gold: pulp. Three world-scale mills are already under construction, and several more are on the drawing boards. Canadian pulp exports are among their targets.

Canadian design engineers say their chief competition is Finland, whose government-backed bidders can boast competitive supporting financing and supply of pulp-making equipment from Finnish manufacturers, as well as design services.

"The Finns speak with one voice," said Colin Baker, Simons managing director for Asia.

"Their government has done an excellent job with an industrial strategy that has decided that pulp and paper is one of the sectors it will support fully and unreservedly. Canada is still trying to be all things to all people; whether it's a fish processor in Newfoundland or a consultant in Vancouver, they're all treated the same."

Simons, which found work preparing technical studies when it set up shop in Indonesia in 1991 after several

years of business trips, scored a breakthrough when it introduced its concept of an owner-led consortium to timber tycoon Mohammad (Bob) Hasan.

Mr. Hasan, one of the most influential businessmen in Indonesia — where influence commonly goes hand in hand with connections to the governing Suharto family — had had trouble nailing down financing for his pulp mill.

Publicly-shy Mr. Hasan, known as a golfing pal of Indonesia's President Suharto, heads the Pasopati Group of more than 70 companies. The industrialist is a business partner with at least one of the president's sons and heads virtually every forestry business association in Indonesia. Mr. Hasan also has close connections with offshore Chinese whose investments generally are helping power Indonesia's robust economy — and is expected to have a major Hong Kong-based partner in his proposed mill.

Another B.C. knowledge exporter, Sandwell Inc. of Vancouver — a Simons competitor — also has shared some Indonesian action. It has completed engineering design and tender documents for another world-scale pulp mill proposed for South Sumatra.

Sandwell won't discuss the billion-dollar project. One reason, according to company spokeswoman Alison Higgins, is that Sandwell chairman Alan Pryat doesn't want to upset domestic forest industry clients with talk of work for offshore competitors.

When the Sumatra project gets under way, Sandwell will act as representative for the owner, Indonesia forestry baron Prajogo Pangestu and his Bantio Pacific Group, which is one of Asia's biggest timber producers. Mr. Prajogo's joint venture partner in the proposed mill is President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hardjanti Rukmana.

Simons convinced Mr. Hasan that a consortium approach would be cheaper than a conventional turnkey project, which normally sees a contractor turn over a finished mill to an owner-operator. A consortium also spreads around the risk among designer, supplier and builder, an idea that appealed to bankers asked to back the Hasan mill.

Simons, as consortium manager for the Kiam Kertas venture, is in charge of engineering design and is responsible for satisfying lenders that it incorporates proven, state-of-the-art technology that will produce a marketable product.

Simons selected Commonwealth Construction Co. of Burnaby, B.C., as contractor for about \$100-million worth of construction work. While Simons likes the comfort factor of working with a Canadian supplier it knows, Commonwealth had to beat out other bidders for the work.

Commonwealth, given a mandate by its U.S. owner, Guy F. Atkinson Construction Co., to chase new business in Asia, has a long list of pulp mill and power dam credentials in Canada and is currently working with Simons on a new plant to recycle cardboard into pulp for a Domtar paper mill in Cornwall, Ont.

Simons chose a U.S. supplier, Babcock Corp. of Wisconsin, for key fibre line components because there is no Canadian-made alternative. Some pulping equipment also will be sourced out of Finland. As owner, Mr. Hasan is responsible for financing, fibre supply, transportation and marketing.

Environmental expert Hatfield Consultants Ltd. of North Vancouver also was introduced to the pulp project by Simons. Hatfield, which has established a joint venture consultancy with Indonesian partners in Jakarta, has handled about \$1-million worth of environmental assessment work on the project, about half of which has been farmed out to about six other consultants in Canada.

"H. A. Simons knew us," said company president Chris Hatfield. "We had to find experts on everything from air pollution to orangutans, so we turned to several other Canadian firms we had worked with in the past for some of the help."

It helps, he said, to have a team of people with some common background, so they can talk, for example, about the Blue Jays. "Canadians, as diverse as we might be, have a lot more in common across the country than we give ourselves credit for. With the chemistry from other projects, we had a natural consortium."

(Toronto)

NOW OCTOBER 28-NOVEMBER 3, 1993

ment, wants Canadian money to be given directly to local NGOs and not channeled through Indonesian authorities.

"Canadian funding should go only to the Catholic church and indigenous NGOs," says Ramos-Horta, after a meeting last week with officials from external affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Sharon Scharfe of the East Timor Alert Network says this is important because just about everything in East Timor, except the Catholic church, is run by the Indonesian government.

She adds that CIDA officials who met with Ramos-Horta were unable

to provide proof that Canadian funds were not going to Indonesian NGOs.

"When we asked for their reports, their response was that they have them in Jakarta," she says.

Ramos-Horta says there is only one way of ensuring that the Timorese get the full benefit of Canadian aid, and that is to send it to Canadian-based NGOs in East Timor to administer.

CIDA admits that some of the money goes to the Red Cross, UNICEF and CARE, but also to indigenous social organizations.

Chris Neal of CIDA says they are trying to do what Ramos-Horta and Scharfe suggest and agree that the

"Catholic church remains an active force in East Timor."

According to a report entitled CIDA In East Timor, more than \$900,000 has been disbursed in East Timor for more than 90 projects since 1979. An additional \$500,000 has been allocated for the 1993-94 fiscal year.

- NANTHA KUMAR

EAST TIMOR

AID ALLOCATION

Jose Ramos-Horta, a representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, the East Timorese independence move-

Manufacturing consent

by Dinos Kyrrou

In 1975 Indonesia invaded the small island of East Timor. Since then Amnesty International reports that over 250,000 Timorese have been killed and thousands more have been incarcerated. The occupation continues today, with dissent crushed and human rights abuses paralleling those in Iraq.

Canada has been guilty of rewarding the invasion. According to the East Timor Alert Network, the Canadian government is giving \$46 million in aid to Indonesia this year. The total investment in Indonesia from Canadian business is more than \$2 billion.

Kamal Bamadhaj, a 20 year old student, was killed along with 300 others in East Timor on 12 November 1991 at a demonstration that came to be known as the Dili Massacre. Half of those killed were under 21 years of age. Bamadhaj's step-sister, Li-Lien Gibbons, is a student at UBC.

"Canada should not be sup-

porting a military dictatorship as they have promised to tie human rights to aid," Gibbons said.

"I hope the new Liberal government will fundamentally change the long history of Canada's shameful complicity. Canadians are not aware that their tax dollars are supporting a government guilty of a systematic pattern of human rights abuses both in East Timor and in Indonesia itself over the past 28 years. The culture of East Timor is being destroyed, it's colonization, through a brutal military occupation."

So why has so little been heard about East Timor in the news, especially in North America, and why has the world simply stood by and allowed it to happen? Why does Canada remain a huge investor and donator of aid to Indonesia? A recent film tries to make sense of the situation.

"The film *Manufacturing Consent* attempts to raise awareness about media literacy and how the

media can manipulate and ignore world events, such as the invasion of East Timor, and thereby prevent political pressure from taking place," says Jason Mogus of the Global Development Centre.

The film is based around Noam Chomsky, a noted linguist and political activist who has constantly called into question the hypocrisy of countries who preach human rights but blatantly ignore the lack of them when it is to their advantage. Chomsky focusses on the US government and how it takes full advantage of the lack of media coverage.

The UBC Global Development Centre will be sponsoring a showing of Manufacturing Consent in the SUB Theatre on Tuesday 9 November at 7:00pm. Admission is free

TUESDAY 5 NOVEMBER 1993 THE UBYSSEY News 3

(Vancouver)

NOVEMBER 16-17, 1993

TUESDAY 11 NOVEMBER 1993

(UBC, Vancouver)

THE UBYSSSEY News 3

Remembering the victims of Santa Cruz

by Talvo Evard

The second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, in which Indonesia slaughtered 200 unarmed mourners in an East Timor cemetery on 12 November 1991, was commemorated at the Vancouver art gallery's south steps, and followed by a march to the Indonesian consulate to protest the ongoing occupation.

Canada responded to the Santa Cruz massacre by freezing \$30 million in aid. Later, in a joint press conference with the Indonesian foreign minister, external affairs minister Barbara McDougall praised "the commitment of the Indonesian government to ensure the perpetrators among the military and civilians be brought to justice"—Indonesia replaced two generals and jailed ten soldiers; the only civilians present were mourners, eight of whom were jailed for "expressing hostility," and eighty of which were executed.

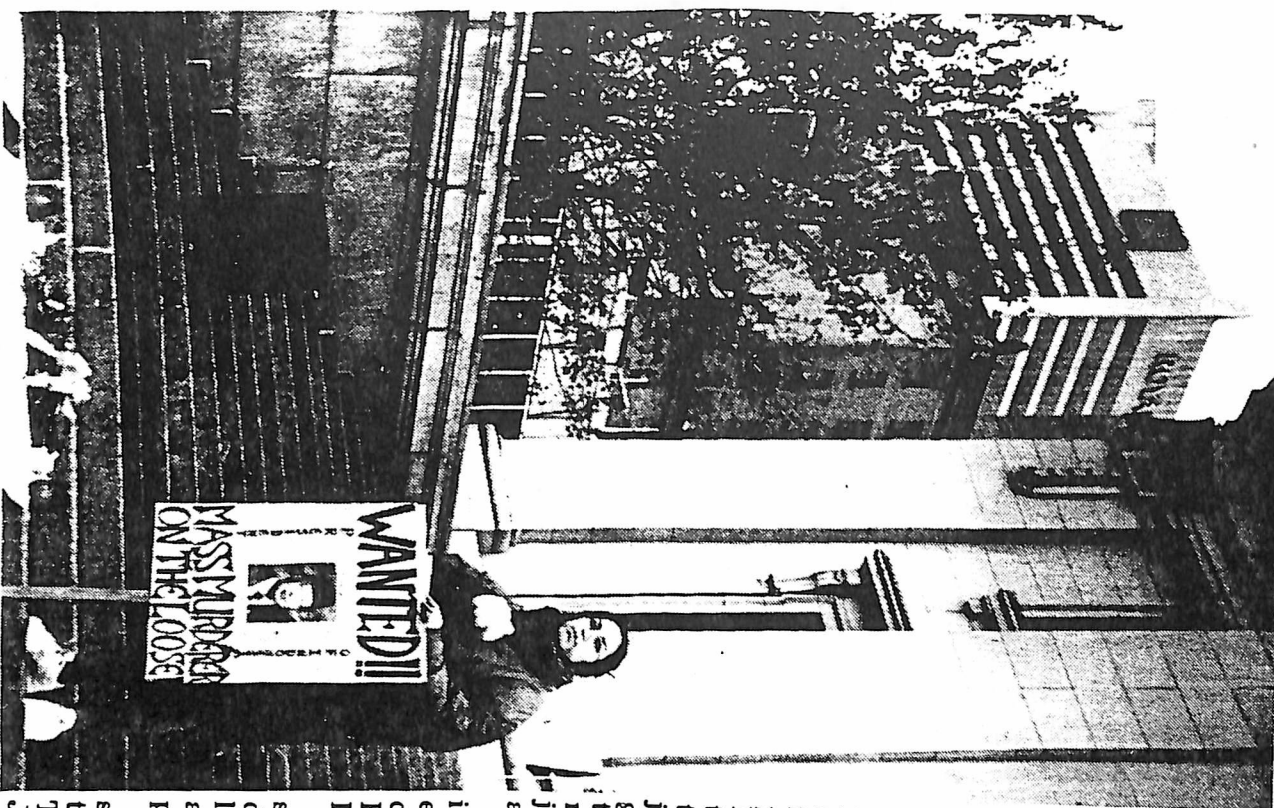
Canada is the third largest investor in the Indonesian economy, with more than 300 companies active, including Royal Bank, MacMillan Bloedel, GE, Inco, Bata, and Alcan.

East Timor also possesses offshore oil reserves, currently being divided by Indonesia and Australia. Chevron, British Petroleum, and Shell all began oil retrieval projects this year.

On 7 December 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor, and over the next year 100,000 East Timorese were killed. At the time, Jean Chretien, minister of external affairs under prime minister Trudeau, was a key figure in making sure Canada abstained from a

the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. There have been ten UN resolutions for Indonesia to pull out of East Timor, and each time the US and Canada rejected or abstained.

Over 200,000 Timorese have been killed since the 1975 invasion. This year, Indonesia will receive an estimated \$5 billion in aid, \$46 million of which is to come from Canada.



TALVO EVARD PHOTO

Remembering the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre while the shadow of the Royal Bank, a large investor in Indonesia,

Wednesday, December 22, 1993

The Province A41

Jailed for ripping flag

United Press International

JAKARTA — A court has sentenced an independence activist from East Timor to 22 months in prison for ripping the Indonesian flag.

Alberto Rodrigues Pereira, 21, received the sentence in Dili, the capital of East Timor, news reports said yesterday.

The judge said the accused was "undoubtedly" guilty.

The prosecution had asked

for a three-year prison term.

Prosecutor Sudiro Husodo said Pereira ripped the red-and-white flag on Aug. 16, the eve of Indonesia's 48th independence anniversary, in Aimutin, a village on the outskirts of Dili.

Pereira went on trial two weeks after another East Timorese, Pedro Sarmiento Da Costa, was sentenced to one year in prison for defacing Indonesian currency, the rupiah.

Da Costa was convicted of writing a note to President Suharto on a 10,000-rupiah (\$6.35 Cdn) bill demanding compensation for relatives of victims killed in a 1991 demonstration.

At least 50 East Timorese youngsters were slain as Indonesian soldiers fired into the pro-independence protest in Dili.

The killings prompted a wave of international criticism of Indonesia.

A genocide to call our own

EAST TIMOR

by Chuck E. Tallyrand

Canadian Involvement in East Timor

Ever since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 (90 per cent armed by the United States), western countries have played a crucial role in encouraging the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia. Because of its cozy economic and political ties to Indonesia, Canada is at the forefront.

"Until 1991 Canada didn't recognize human rights violations in East Timor," says Peter Monet of the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN), noting Canada does not recognize the UN resolutions regarding East Timor. The resolutions call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, and for a legitimate act of self-determination to take place.

Canada's complicity continues despite the repressive measures of the Indonesian government.

The 'encirclement and annihilation' operations against Fretilin, the East Timorese resistance group, has led to widespread use of napalm and phosphorus, as well as the use of resettlement camps, likened widely to the Nazi concentration camps of the second World War, for those displaced by military operations.

In addition, a scorched earth policy of burning homes and crops led to the famine of 1977-80, which killed over 100,000 people.

Indonesia, with funding from the World Bank, is carrying out a program of forced sterilization, already imposed on over half the couples in East Timor. This is happening despite the fact that Indonesia sees East Timor as being sufficiently underpopulated to encourage a massive influx of Javanese settlers, who now number about a quarter of the island's population.

In addition to consistently abstaining from or voting against UN resolutions affirming East Timor's right to self-determination, Canadian responses to the genocide have included: Trudeau's \$200 million aid package, presented to Indonesia the year following the invasion; organizing an arms bazaar for Canadian manufacturers in Jakarta in 1984 (during the Indonesian military's Operation Clean Sweep); and former External Affairs minister Joe Clark's assertion that human rights abuses in Indonesia had ended (during Operation Eradicate).

"Defending" Democracy

"Canada is supposed to be a frontline defender of democracy," said Abe Soares, an East Timorese who has lived in Canada since 1991. "But my view as a Timorese is that Canada supports the invasion and the genocide. The Canadian government knows what's wrong in East Timor, but because of their business inter-



"Returning from Sunday market, East Timor", by E. Briere

This November 12 marks the second anniversary of the day demonstrators marched through the streets of Dili, East Timor, protesting their country's 16-year occupation by Indonesian forces. They were hoping to reach the hotel of a local United Nations representative, to call attention to a slaughter that has claimed the lives of one out of three East Timorese. They never made it.

Indonesian troops fired on the demonstrators, killing (the government said) 19 people. An independent study has slightly different figures: 271 killed, 250 disappeared, 382 wounded. It was the latest incident in Indonesia's ongoing campaign of persecution, torture, imprisonment and mass killings of East Timorese. This repression which has created an "island of total fear and terror" has taken the lives of 250,000 people. It is the worst genocide, per capita, since the Holocaust.

It is also a genocide with a distinctly Canadian stamp.

ests they keep silent. It's hypocrisy."

Despite former External Affairs minister Barbara McDougall's claim that "We do not sell arms to Indonesia," Canadian support continues to this day. The government issued ten military export permits to Indonesia between January 1990 and August 1992. This leads East Timorese resistance representative, Jose Ramos Horta, to say that Canadian military supplies "have played an important role in the war in East Timor."

"They recognize the Indonesian occupation as a 'fait accompli', claiming that it's too late to turn back the clock," said Monet. "But at the same time, Canada refused to recognize the Soviet occupation of the Balkans for 50 years."

Canadian Interests in Indonesia

Canada's blind eye is doubtless due to its economic relations with Indonesia, with whom it shares \$1 billion in annual trade. Indonesia consistently ranks as Canada's second largest recipient of bilateral aid, receiving \$52.5 million in 1991-92. The only interruption of government aid followed the Dili massacre, when \$30 million in future projects was suspended — of which only \$150,000 was actually affected. Aid has since resumed at record levels, despite the former Mulroney government's stated policy of linking aid to human rights.

In addition, more than 300 Canadian companies, including Bata Shoes, Alcan, and Lavalin (in charge of logistics for the transmigration program in West Papua New Guinea), have over 2 billion dollars invested in Indonesia. The Canadian government, in turn, has spent over \$1 billion since 1985 in promoting trade with Indonesia, by way of export development credits, tax credits, and subsidies.

ETAN has called for an overhaul of all aid programs which are channelled through the In-

donesian government or Jakarta-based Non Governmental Organizations. Aid Affected by this overhaul would include portions of the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) Canada Fund, which in 1992/3 has spent \$500,000 on projects in East Timor alone. CIDA's accomplishments include the construction of irrigation systems, wells, roads and community health centres.

"If you cut aid, you affect all kinds of people," says Chris Neil, a spokesman for CIDA. He adds that CIDA's programs are routed through the Catholic Church, practically the only independent organization left in East Timor.

This would seem to contradict CIDA's own reports which show that the majority of funds are channelled through ETADep, an Indonesian Non Governmental Organization.

Monet said that many development projects have ulterior motives. Health centres, for example, enforce the sterilization of East Timorese women. He also cites CIDA's recent funding for a road into North Sumatra, which has been used largely for transport of Indonesian tanks and military personnel in a massive military crackdown.

ETAN claims that only threats to such aid, amounting to approximately \$5 billion yearly from the 18 leading donor nations, will cause Indonesia to change its policy.

"No one puts enough pressure on the Indonesian government to make sure it takes its human rights record seriously," said Li-Lien Gibbons of ETAN Vancouver, whose stepbrother was killed in the Dili shootings. "Indonesia relies so heavily on foreign aid. If governments were to start taking a stand, they would have to address human rights."

International Outcry

The latest international outcry comes after the July arrest of the Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao, who was sentenced to life in prison for rebellion. He was held responsible for the Dili massacre, as were various demonstrators, who were given jail terms of six years to life. Soldiers involved in the shooting were sentenced to an

average of eleven months.

Observers maintain that any trial of Gusmao is illegal.

"The Indonesians have no jurisdiction over him, because they are in an occupied country according to UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions," says Monet.

Since the arrest Indonesia has taken 13 of Gusmao's relatives into custody, and forced him to denounce the East Timorese resistance over Indonesian television. His words were translated by East Timor's puppet governor, Abilio Soares, who is remembered for his statement that more people should have been killed in the Dili massacre. Despite the fact that Gusmao showed clear signs of having been tortured, Canadian embassy officials saw his statement as a legitimate change of heart.

"The Canadian government accepts whatever the Indonesians say," says Monet. "They don't accept reports of Amnesty International, of the Catholic Church, or of independent journalists: they only accept official Indonesian statements. Because we're in such a close relationship with the government, we accept what they say verbatim."

The resistance continues despite Gusmao's arrest. "They don't expect to beat the Indonesians militarily," says Monet. "They tried that in the '70s, and the Indonesian response was a massive aerial bombardment, napalm, and concentration camps. All they're trying to do is maintain the resistance until the outside world recognizes them."

Indonesian policy has been to maintain that East Timor requested integration in 1976. The official agreement was signed by representatives of Apodeti, a political party with little popular support but strong links to Indonesian intelligence. They claim the incorporation as Indonesia's "27th province" was as a result of the national ideal of 'mushawara', or discussion - which involved the landing of 30,000 troops.

In support of its case, the government cites the results of the 1982 elections, when 99 per cent of East Timorese were said to have voted for the governing Golkar party. The returns, curiously, exceeded the entire population of East Timor.

Perhaps Indonesia's primary concern is the precedent Timorese independence would set, in a state with literally hundreds of cultures. Other current trouble spots include West Papua New Guinea, where a resistance movement has been fighting since its 1969 integration into Indonesia. In Aceh, North Sumatra, Indonesia's military action reportedly rivals their activity in East Timor. Aceh's military commander is recorded as saying, "If they don't do as you order them, shoot them on the spot or butcher them."

A change in Indonesia's policy does not seem likely, considering that the newly appointed vice president, Try Sutrisno, was formerly in charge of military operations in East Timor. The puppet Soares remains convinced that his country will achieve self-determination and that western nations will reconsider their support of the worst genocide of the half century.

Canada does not seem to deserve Soares' optimism. A former Fretilin leader of the East Timorese and their 18-year struggle said, "We are alone. In a world full of people, we are alone."

(ETAN Montreal is planning a Nov. 11 video screening at Concordia's Hall building, Room 651, to commemorate the Dili massacre. For more information call 848-7443.)



EMERGENCY FUNDRAISING APPEAL

"The tragedy of East Timor is one of the most terrible of the modern period. The shameful complicity of the West is relieved only by small numbers of dedicated activists, who have kept the issue alive, brought the story to a broader public, and pressured their governments to live up to the principles they profess.

The East Timor Alert Network has been outstanding among these groups. Its work has already saved many lives. If they can bring others to join them, it may yet bring about a day when the people of this tortured land will enjoy the right of self-determination for which they have struggled with such courage."

— Noam Chomsky, MIT professor, author and U.S. foreign policy critic

February 1994

Dear friends of East Timor,

This letter is a request for donations — but please don't stop reading.

In 1993, the East Timor Alert Network received some substantial (for us) grants. Partly because of our strong political stance, and partly because it has recently become easier to fund East Timorese groups directly, we will not be getting these grants again in 1994.

That's why we have to turn to our supporters for help. We are asking for any donation you would be able to make to the ongoing work of ETAN. We are not a registered charity (again because of our advocacy work, which often involves criticism of the government of Canada). In the case of larger donations, we can sometimes arrange a tax receipt on a case-by-case basis — contact us if you need more information on this.

In 1993, ETAN had a good year in terms of advancing our goals of raising awareness about East Timor in Canada and changing the position of the government of Canada. Canada has been a top supporter of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor since the 1975 invasion — despite the deaths of one in three Timorese.

Last year, Canada took some small but significant steps away from that history of complicity in the genocide of the Timorese.

- For the first time, Canada was a co-sponsor of a resolution at the annual United Nations Commission on Human Rights that condemned human rights violations in Indonesian-occupied East Timor. Southam News credited this change of heart to "a strong East Timor lobby at home."
- The Canadian International Development Agency consulted ETAN and East Timorese leaders on what sort of aid projects it should be funding in East Timor, agreeing to some positive projects and promising to consult ETAN on any new aid projects.
- Canadian officials called for the release of jailed East Timor resistance leader Xanana

Gusmão, the Nelson Mandela of East Timor, and called on Indonesian authorities to allow free access to East Timor for humanitarian agencies.

- For the second year running, Canada refused to authorize any weapons sales to Indonesia. All sales are now personally reviewed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- Although it did not come to a final vote, a private member's bill calling for the end of aid to Indonesia until it leaves East Timor was introduced in the House of Commons by Toronto NDP MP Dan Heap, increasing pressure on the government.

These steps are in large part because of the hundreds of letters sent by ETAN supporters — you. We hope the new Liberal government will increase the pressure on Indonesia.

In the next few months, we have some more very important jobs.

- In February, the government of Canada begins a comprehensive foreign policy review. It is important for ETAN to be there calling for an activist foreign policy, guided by universal principles of human rights, and backed by action.
- The UN Human Rights Commission meets again this month. Indonesia has ignored last year's resolution. Again, the pressure needs to be increased.
- We need to spread the word about what is happening in East Timor, and how much Canadian money is involved in Indonesia, to many more Canadians. It is only with continued grassroots pressure on our government that there will be any change in Canadian policy.

We hope you'll be able to help out. Please send your donations to:

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