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April 23, 1991

Dear friends,

On behalf of the Parliamentarians for East Timor, I have enclosed some recent information on the situation there, as well as events in Canada related to this issue.

The media seem to have developed a new interest in East Timor, especially because of the newly found U.S. support for the United Nations. While it will be interesting how long the "New World Order" actually lasts, we should all take this opportunity to promote the cause of the people of East Timor.

If you have any comments or questions on these articles please contact Elaine Briere at East Timor Alert Network or any member of P.E.T.

Sincerely,

Ray Funk, M.P.
Prince Albert/Churchill River



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

Box 354, Ladysmith, B.C., Canada V0R 2E0 (604) 245-3068



April 3.91

Dear Friends of East Timor,

Greetings. Thanks to you the issue of East Timor's continued occupation by Indonesia has been raised a number of times in the national media since the Allied liberation of Kuwait. I was even interviewed on CBC Radio Current Affairs in Montreal in March. A first. But there is still a continued refusal by the Anglophone CBC to independently raise the issue.

On March 25 Lord Avebury and five members of Parliamentarians for East Timor met with Feres de Cuellar in New York to discuss the possibility of a referendum on self-determination in East Timor. The Secretary General was quite positive and said East Timor has just as much right to independence as Namibia and the Western Sahara. He said that Security Council decisions of 1975 still stand etc.. A written report on the meeting is not out yet.

Portugal will take the Australian government to the International Court in the Hague over the Timor Gap Agreement. The action was brought against Australia alone because Indonesia is not a signatory to the jurisdiction of the ICJ. Meanwhile the Japanese government has advised its oil companies not to get involved in exploration in the region until a later date.

WRITE LETTERS OF SUPPORT FOR THIS IMPORTANT ACTION TO:

Dr. Mario Soares
President of the Republic
Palac Belem, Pr A Albuquerque
1300 Lisbon, Portugal

Dr. Pedro Masado
Ambassador to Canada
645 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ont. K1Y 0B8

Sources in Dili report large numbers of Indonesian troops arriving since December 1990. The sole mission seems to be the capture of Sha.Na Na Gusmao. Extensive searches in the Ainaro area has lead to the death of 23 guerillas on 26 January. The Indonesian military also captured documents and photographs left behind by the guerillas. A number of the photographs were of local people who had participated in Falintil celebrations the previous August. A large number of these people were picked up, interrogated and tortured at the Kodim (military headquarters) in Ainaro. (Publico 16 Feb. 1991)

The parallels between Kuwait and East Timor were emphasized by many of the participants at a meeting in New York, held on 6 February to mark the second anniversary of Bishop Belo's letter to the U.N.. The meeting was jointly sponsored by Pax Christie International and the Japanese Catholic Council for Justice & Peace.

Sincerely,

Claine Breen, coordinator

Regional Contacts:

BQ Box 562, Stn. P, Toronto, Ont. M5S 2T1 ★ 217 Glengary Rd., Kingston, Ont. K7M 3J6

2 Meadowglade Gardens, Nepean, Ont. K2G 5J5 ★ 1592 Vernon St., Halifax, N.S. B3H 3M7

Apt. 151-1375 Sherwood Cresnet, Town of Mount Royal, PQ. H3R 3C8



OPIRG film screening raises eyebrows

by Mike Adler
Charlatan Staff

Carleton students got a look at a film the Indonesian government doesn't want them to see.

The film, *Buried Alive*, says 200,000 people were killed by soldiers or deliberately starved in East Timor, a Pacific island territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

University president Robin Farquhar said two Indonesian officials visited him March 18 and complained about the film.

"There was no implied threat whatsoever," Farquhar said. "They simply wanted to register a concern with me, which is their right."

Farquhar said he phoned Jane Beauchamp, coordinator of Carleton's Ontario Public Interest Research Group, and told her the Indonesian government was unhappy about the film, which OPIRG screened in the Unicentre March 20.

"I just said that Indonesian students would be more than welcome to come to the screening and that the main purpose of it was educational," Beauchamp said. OPIRG sent Farquhar an information package on East Timor and an invitation to see the film, she added.

OPIRG volunteers suspect the Indonesian embassy sent observers to the *Buried Alive* screening and the screenings of other films critical of the Indonesian government which have appeared at Carleton. *Buried Alive* was also shown on campus last October at an international conference on East Timor.

Supporters of East Timorese independence hope the Gulf War, sanctioned by the United Nations, will draw attention to their cause. The UN has passed resolutions supporting self-determination for East Timor and demanding that Indonesia withdraw.

Amnesty International and other human rights organizations have docu-

mented cases of torture in East Timor, where some resistance to Indonesian rule still takes place.

"Indonesia's record on human rights is worse than Iraq's," said Tim Colby, a member of OPIRG's social justice working group.

The group will lobby MPs this summer and raise the East Timorese flag across the street from the Indonesian embassy, Colby said.

"It pisses the hell out of the embassy," Colby said two men who sat at the back of the room during the screening had been sent by the embassy to watch those who attended.

"The soft underbelly of the Indonesian regime is their sense of indignation that there should be any criticism of them anywhere," said Elaine Briere, coordinator of the East Timor Alert Net-

work, a national organization which promotes the film.

"We have the right to criticize Indonesia because we give so much aid to them," she said.

An information officer from the Indonesian embassy refused to speak to *The Charlatan* about the film, saying one student from Carleton has already been told why the film is offensive.

"Carleton has no projects with Indonesia at present," said Fraser Taylor, director of Carleton International, an administration office which deals with foreign contacts for the school. He added he has "one ambassador a week" in his office interested in partnerships with the university.

"If you're asking if Indonesia is a high priority for Carleton, and if we're actively seeking to do things there, then

INCO grant called into question

by Shawn Murchison
Charlatan Staff

Carleton University's acceptance of a \$750,000 donation from the INCO corporation has raised some eyebrows about how the university raises its money.

Kate Marshall, a member of OPIRG's board of directors, said government cut-backs to post-secondary funding have made it difficult for universities to refuse donations from controversial companies such as INCO.

Marshall said INCO's association with the Indonesian government calls the company's motives into question. Indonesia has been criticized for its program of transmigration, seen as a threat to the residents of East Timor, a Pacific island territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Marshall said INCO, because of its mass-scale dealings with Indonesia, has

work, a national organization which promotes the film.

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"Carleton has no projects with Indonesia at present," said Fraser Taylor, director of Carleton International, an administration office which deals with foreign contacts for the school. He added he has "one ambassador a week" in his office interested in partnerships with the university.

"If you're asking if Indonesia is a high priority for Carleton, and if we're actively seeking to do things there, then

a great deal of influence on government policy. She also said the company's hesitancy to work to resolve the East Timor problem is effectively condoning the government's policy.

Rod Milne, an OPIRG volunteer, said Carleton students should be told about INCO's dealings with Indonesia.

"The problem with accepting the money without exposing the underside of INCO's dealings is that they appear to be charitable, guiltless and benevolent organization when they really are not."

Pat O'Brien, a Carleton spokesperson, said virtually all corporate donors to the university probably have interests that not all members of the university community approve of.

"If you want to find a squeaky clean corporation, you're going to look a long time," he said.

the answer is no."

At least two Canadian universities have signed lucrative deals with Indonesia. The University of Guelph is helping to coordinate a "transmigration site," where the Indonesian government is moving settlers onto rainforest land.

Farquhar said he met the Indonesian ambassador when both attended an international students' dinner on campus earlier this month, but the ambassador did not mention the film or last year's conference.

No one criticized the film when it was shown at the University of Ottawa last month, said Madeleine Roy, a coordinator for the university's OPIRG group.

"In fact, it was a very well-attended event," she said.

He pointed out INCO's pollution reduction technology, currently being put into place in Indonesia, will cut air emissions.

O'Brien said this reveals a concern on the part of the company about the environment in Indonesia, including East Timor.

A \$1 million INCO donation to Queen's University's mining department last March prompted one man to stage a hunger strike.

Bill Ripley, who squatted in a university office for 42 days, said INCO's open-pit mines have decimated Indonesian forests.

"It's just like a huge sandpit," he said. Queen's student government, the Alma Mater Society, voted to support Ripley's hunger strike and wants to set up a review board for corporate donations. □

Carleton University Student Paper
The Charlatan
March 28, 91

Toronto
Star

World Ignores Other Brutal Occupations

On the island of East Timor an invisible intifadah

25 Jan. 1990

By David Webster

FOR 15 years, the killing has gone on. For 15 years, the world has shut its eyes, tight.

East Timor is Palestine: Thousands of youths unfurl banners, demonstrate, sabotage army vehicles, argue with foreign soldiers occupying their homeland, demanding independence and their right (under the U.N. charter) to self-determination. The army cracks down brutally, attacking and arresting unarmed students, increasing troop levels and surveillance, sending in the defence minister to warn that all dissent will be "wiped out."

East Timor is Kuwait: An oil-rich land invaded by the regional superpower next door in violation of all conventions of international law and annexed.

But, while Palestine and Kuwait have caught the world's full attention, East Timor's tragedy has passed virtually unnoticed.

As recently as last October, the Indonesian army officials who hold real power in East Timor were claiming that guerrilla resistance in the former Portuguese colony they invaded and annexed in December, 1975, was reduced to a few isolated pockets in the mountains, hundreds of fighters at best. To hear them tell it, the independence movement, Fretilin, had been driven back to these small and isolated bands, reduced to stealing from the population they once governed. And, while war and famine resulting from the occupation had cost 100,000 lives (sources less sympathetic to Indonesia place the death toll at 250,000 — over a third of the territory's population — East Timor was now firmly and happily under Indonesian control, open for tourism and business.

This Indonesian view was echoed by Canada and other Western governments, although the U.N. still called East Timor Portuguese. Even Fretilin guerrillas admitted they had little hope of outright military victory.

What the Indonesian generals had overlooked in all this were the Timorese living in cities and villages behind Indonesian lines, most of whom had grown up knowing nothing but the 15-year-long occupation, and who were almost unanimous in their desire for independence. For 14 months now, they have been rising up against their occupiers. It is being called the Timorese intifadah.

The new wave of protest began in October, 1989 when the Pope, titular head of the Diocese of Dili (East Timor's capital), made a pastoral visit. After a four-hour mass attended by 100,000 of the largely Catholic Timorese, an independence demonstration broke out. As the Pope looked on, police and soldiers attacked the banner-waving youths and took more than 40 of them into custody, where according to church sources and Amnesty International, they were repeatedly tortured.

Other protesters, not grabbed immediately, took refuge in the home of East Timor's Bishop Carlos Belo. In response, the army began a crackdown on students, suspected dissidents and the church.

Despite all the threats, the Timorese intifadah has continued to grow. News reports are heavily censored, so the only sources for news are letters smuggled out through church channels and (since early 1989) a few tourist accounts. Typically, several months are needed for a story to reach the outside world.

But the news does get out — and it shows a people in rebellion. Demonstrations are timed especially to visits of important outsiders like the U.S. ambassador and the Papal Nuncio, but they are fairly constant even when no



CHRISTOPHER GRIFFIN

foreigners are around. Children under 10 ask Indonesian soldiers, settlers and civil servants "kapan pulang?" — "When are you going home?" Illegal raisings of the Fretilin flag are increasingly widespread, despite the jail term applied for showing "subversive" emblems.

Indonesia's Defence Minister General Benny Murdani has warned the teenaged protesters that they will be "wiped out" if they continue their uprising. In a tape recording of a secret speech delivered by Murdani in Dili and obtained by the Australian Sunday Herald, the defence minister says: "If someone makes a movement for an independent state and that movement is strong enough, then the armed forces will destroy it . . . There will be no independent East Timor. There is no Timorese nation, there is only the Indonesian nation. Don't ever dream about a nation of East Timor. Don't even talk about a nation of East Timor."

The threats of Murdani and others in the circle of President Suharto (the world's senior dictator since the fall of Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu) haven't had much effect on a people who feel they have nothing in common — not religion, not language, not culture — with Indonesia.

As in Israel's occupied territories, as last year in Czechoslovakia, an unarmed mass of young protesters is resisting a modern army which has ruled them by fear and terror for years. It is a crucial time for East Timor. Will it go the way of Czechoslovakia and be the next nation to free itself in the age of glasnost, or will it go the way of Lithuania and be held by a foreign army for half a century?

□ David Webster is a Toronto freelance writer.

*Statement of the Canadian Delegation to the 43th
session of the UN HRC Hearings.*

(an improvement over last year)

WITH REGARD TO INDONESIA, CANADA WELCOMES RECENT INITIATIVES SUCH AS THE UN-SPONSORED CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS HELD IN THAT COUNTRY ON JANUARY 21-22. THESE ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS OF INDONESIA NEW COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE.

WE REGRET HOWEVER, THAT UNHINDERED ACCESS TO EAST TIMOR BY INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IS NOT YET POSSIBLE. WE ALSO REGRET THE CONTINUED ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EAST TIMOR AND ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY, AND URGE INDONESIA TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF EXCESSIVE FORCE, ARBITRARY ARREST AND DISAPPEARANCES THAT HAVE OCCURRED OVER THE LAST YEAR."

What about East Timor?

Now that the forces of democracy stand triumphant in the Gulf amid 100,000 corpses, while various transnational giants jostle for the most lucrative contracts in rebuilding that ravaged piece of earth, I believe, it's time we looked elsewhere for some action.

Like, say, East Timor. Much like Kuwait, this tiny island nation was invaded by a brutal neighbor — in this case, Indonesia. As with Kuwait, the United Nations passed solemn resolutions condemning the invasion and demanding withdrawal of the Indonesian troops.

At least as brutal as Saddam Hussein, General Suharto's occupying forces have attacked Timorese villages with phosphorus bombs and napalm. Amnesty International estimates that 200,000 civilians have died as a direct result of the invasion — and the killing continues.

But what has been the response of Bush, Mulroney and company, with their much-trumpeted intolerance of "naked aggression"?

Canada remains one of Indonesia's top five foreign investors. We sell weapons to Indonesia which are

*Times-Colonist
Victoria, B.C.
March 11, 1991*

Submission on East Timor by the 12 EEC countries (European Community) called for a "just comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement" be achieved in accordance with U.N. principles and the "legitimate interests of the East Timorese."

used against the Timorese. We provide Indonesia with several hundred million dollars a year in foreign aid. We support Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor at the United Nations.

Somehow, I don't foresee our mighty coalition forces bombing Jakarta into rubble just yet. Or am I missing something here?

Desmond F. Kennedy,
Denman Island.

Now Feb 21-27/91
p. 17 (2nd article in Gulf War coverage)

NEWS FRONT

Canada backs Kuwait, backs off on East Timor

Indonesia ranks high in foreign aid despite human-rights abuses

By AHMED ELAMIN

As the American military and its allies await a massive land war designed to evict Iraq from Kuwait, a new report is highlighting the agony of another annexed region.

The document, released by the East Timor Alert Network last week, recounts torture conducted by the Indonesian military against Timorese student Abilio Mesquita. It is the first signed account from among hundreds of human rights abuses that go on daily in Indonesian-annexed East Timor, activists say.

Those monitoring the region say that Canadian support of Indonesia's 15-year occupation of the small Southeast Asian country is hypocritical in light of the federal government's military involvement in ending an occupation in the Mideast.

Elaine Briere, a British Columbia-based member of the network, says the situation in East Timor is a clear case where tough international pressure, including sanctions and conditional aid, should be applied.

Briere says that Indonesia is at-



Indonesia's occupation of East Timor has raised little protest, but the supporters of East Timor autonomy hope new reports of state torture and killing will force Canada to rethink Indonesian aid.

DEVELOPMENT

tempting to destroy the indigenous cultures in East Timor and squash local opposition to the occupation.

"Canada is one of the few countries in the world that supports the systematic genocide of the East Timorese," she says.

about 700,000 — are reported to have died from famine, disease and killings since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and subsequently annexed it.

Since then, Indonesia has ignored United Nations general assembly and security council resolutions that affirm the right of East Timor to self-determination and appeal for a withdrawal of occupation forces.

Despite Indonesia's record in East Timor, Canada has unconditionally given \$350 million in bilateral aid to Indonesia since 1987, making it the third-largest recipient of Canadian aid.

Timor oil

As well, about 300 Canadian businesses currently operate in Indonesia, many of them vying for the expected profits from large offshore oil deposits discovered near the island of Timor.

External affairs department spokesperson Denys Laliberté says that Canada has accepted Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor.

He adds that Canada has put diplomatic pressure on Indonesia but has stopped short of tying aid to an improvement of human rights conditions in East Timor.

"Most countries, like Canada,

are of the view that Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor is now a fact," he says. "We believe that the best approach is to support the talks and monitor the human rights conditions there."

Laliberté says Canada will raise the issue at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva this month.

Daralyn Bonner, an Ottawa-based spokesperson for Amnesty International, says that at least 20 people in East Timor have been killed by armed forces since August 1990. A further 20 are reported to have disappeared in detention. After student demonstrations last year, 100 people were imprisoned. Their accounts of torture — some of the first to come out of East Timor — are beginning to surface.

"It's been difficult to get information out of East Timor," says Bonner. "The Indonesian government has not allowed Amnesty in there. There is much intimidation through short-term detentions, torture and extra-judicial killings."

Members of the East Timor Alert Network hope that the firsthand accounts of torture will embarrass supporters of Indonesia and force them to put direct pressure on the country to change its stance in East Timor.

The world ignores East Timor's struggle for independence

by David Webster

"There is no freedom in East Timor. No freedom of speech, no life or anything... Before we were always healthy, and had little sickness. Now we are often sick and dying from lack of food and the repressions that the Indonesians make against us."

Timorese youth leader, December 1990

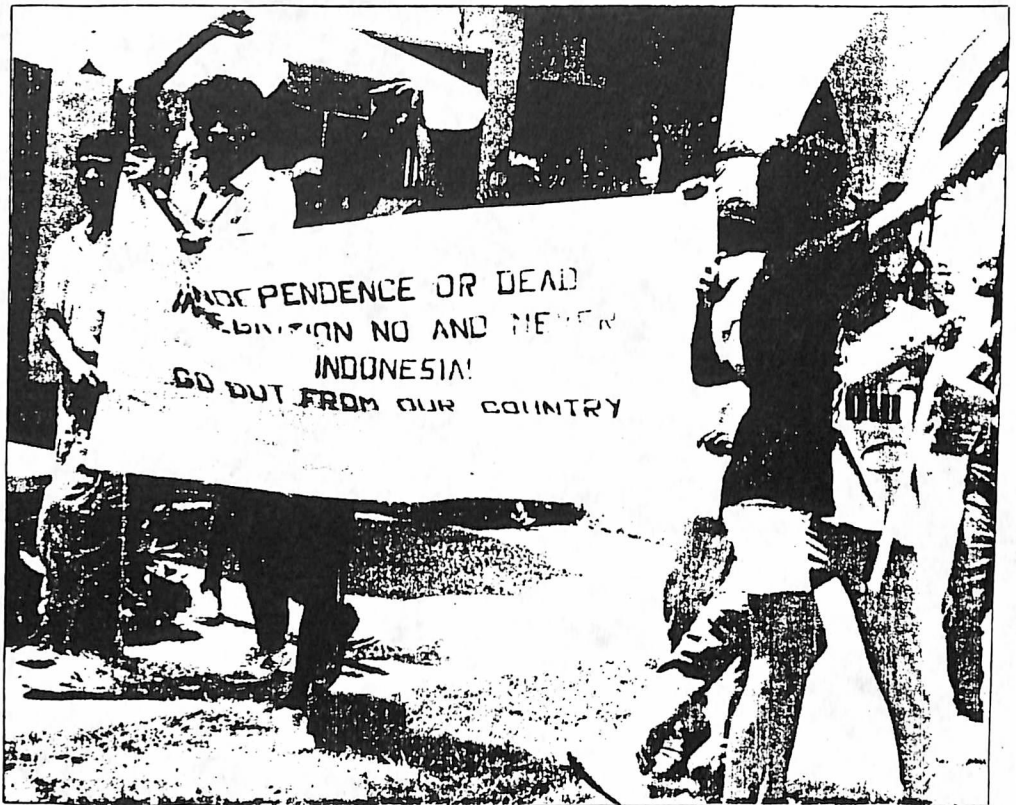
Thousands of youths unfurl banners, demonstrate, sabotage army vehicles, taunt foreign soldiers occupying their homeland, demand independence and their right (under the United Nations Charter) to self-determination. The army cracks down brutally, attacking and arresting unarmed students, increasing troop levels and surveillance, sending in the Defence Minister to warn that all dissent will be "wiped out."

The scene could be the Palestinian intifada (uprising) in Israel's occupied territories, but in this case it is Dili, capital of Indonesian-ruled East Timor. But while the uprising of the Palestinians has caught the attention of the world and stirred international controversy, Timor's has passed virtually unnoticed.

As recently as last year, the Indonesian army officials who are the real rulers of East Timor were claiming that guerrilla resistance in the former Portuguese colony they invaded in December 1975 was reduced to a few isolated pockets in the mountains, hundreds of fighters at best. To hear them tell it, the independence movement Fretilin (Front for an Independent East Timor) had been driven back to these small and isolated bands, reduced to stealing from the population they once governed.

And they maintained, while war and famine resulting from the occupation had cost 100,000 lives (sources less sympathetic to Indonesia place the death toll over 250,000—more than a third of the territory's population—and speak of a "hidden holocaust") East Timor was now firmly and happily under Indonesian control. The view was echoed by Canada and other western governments, although the United Nations still called East Timor Portuguese. Even Fretilin guerrillas admitted they had no hope of outright military victory.

What the Indonesian generals had overlooked were the Timorese living in cities like Dili behind the Indonesian lines, who were almost unanimous in their desire for independence. These were people who had been uprooted from their traditional villages, where they had lived undisturbed by colonial rule, and resettled in strategic hamlets under military control. They had been subjected to arbitrary detention, torture, an aggressive birth



Student demonstrators in the Beer Garden of the Hotel Turismo. (Photo: Jenny Groves)

control programme (reportedly including forced sterilizations and murder of newborns in government-run hospitals), conscription into the Indonesian army, and rigid supervision of all aspects of their lives. Ignored by a world in which few have even heard of their country, let alone its tragedy, they had seemed passive in the face of ongoing genocide.

All that changed when the Pope, titular head of the diocese of East Timor, visited Dili in October 1989 for a four-hour outdoor Mass attended by 100,000 Catholic Timorese. This was far less than the expected number—nearly all of East Timor's 400,000 Catholics had been expected to make the trek to Dili—because of travel restrictions imposed by the military and tight security to prevent an em-

barrasing (for Indonesia) incident in front of the TV cameras.

In spite of it all, banners were unfurled welcoming the Pope to East Timor on behalf of Fretilin and supporting the call of East Timor's Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, for a referendum which would allow the Timorese to choose between independence and annexation by Indonesia. As the Pope watched, police and soldiers attacked the banner-waving youths and took more than forty of them into custody, where according to Church sources and Amnesty International, they were repeatedly tortured.

Other protestors, not grabbed immediately, took refuge in the home of Bishop Belo. In response, the army began a crackdown on students, suspected dissidents, and most importantly, the Church.

The importance of the Catholic Church in East Timor is hard to overstate. It is the only independent Timorese institution which has been allowed to exist under Indonesian rule. With indigenous languages and culture suppressed, it has become the focus for the aspirations of the people, providing a space for dissent and Timorese self-expression available nowhere else.

"The Catholic Church in East Timor has played an essentially moral as well as a political role, and is deeply involved in the popular resistance," Fretilin leader Shanana Gusmão said in an interview smuggled out of East Timor in September. "The Church has a great influence, increasingly the people have great trust in the Catholic Church because it is not isolated from their suffering." Indeed, the lives of many priests have been threatened, and many have been interrogated—a word that in Indonesia is almost synonymous with torture. Even Bishop Belo says he fears that he will meet the

same fate as murdered Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero.

Despite all the threats, the Timorese intifada has continued to grow. News reports are heavily censored, so the only sources for news are letters smuggled out through Church channels and (since early 1989) a few tourist accounts. Typically, several months are needed for a report to reach the outside world.

But the news does get out—and it shows a people in rebellion against their occupiers. The most recent reports tell of a Mass on September 4 celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Dili diocese was the scene for a pro-independence demonstration. Following the Mass, attended by Msgr. Canalini, Papal Nuncio to Jakarta, the Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor, and other military and non-military officials, demonstrators raised "Independence for East Timor" banners and asked Msgr. Canalini to deny rumours that the Vatican would begin to favour the integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

The protest led, again, to the inevitable crackdown. 80 of the demonstrators were arrested a few days later and one, Domingos Mau Radi, was stabbed to death by soldiers. Masked and hooded men began roaming the streets at night, beating up Timorese and imposing a de facto curfew. The gangs are thought to be off-duty police, and are reminiscent of the death squads of Central America.

In October, a second wave of arrests saw 45 people rounded up. Even the civilian Governor of East Timor admitted that the country had been plunged into "a climate of terror."

But the Timorese continue their acts of defiance, drawing strength from gatherings like one at Dili's statue of the Immaculate Conception, where 3000 assembled and, in the words of one participant, "prayed, some with backs beaten raw, some with heads split open, others with various injuries they had received...It is not necessary to lead and organize, it is the mass of people who do not accept this, who are discontented, who reject it, who are sickened."

David Webster is a Toronto peace activist and freelance writer.



Human mound formed by military police. (Photo: Jenny Groves)

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Alejandro Corte Real, aged 27
Manuel Sarmiento, aged 25
Boaventura da Silva, aged 27
Jose Celestino, aged 26
Lorenco, aged 26
Miguel Ximenes, aged 27

*Amnesty
International*

Amnesty International is concerned for the safety of dozens of university students arrested during an apparently peaceful demonstration at Udayana University in Bali on 13 March 1991. Among those arrested were six East Timorese students, named above, who the authorities alleged organized the demonstration and who are therefore believed to be particularly at risk. Four are students in the Faculty of Agriculture, and two in the Faculty of Law.

According to eyewitness reports, a force of some 100 military and police arrested the students at the campus of Udayana University at about 4:30pm. The students were said to have been punched and kicked at the time of their arrest and then taken away in three waiting military vehicles to an unknown location.

The demonstration, which began on 12 March, had been organized to protest aspects of the university's financial policy. However, government and military authorities reportedly alleged that the purpose of the demonstration was political and accused the East Timorese students of being the organizers; these allegations were denied by the students and their colleagues.

In view of past evidence and persistent reports that suspected political opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor have been seriously ill-treated or tortured while in police or military custody, Amnesty International is seriously concerned for the safety of those recently detained.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975 in the aftermath of Portugal's withdrawal from its former colony. Since that time Amnesty International has continued to document serious human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory, including extrajudicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance", and political imprisonment.

In the past six months Amnesty International has learned the names of more than 100 East Timorese detained for their alleged involvement in apparently peaceful demonstrations advocating independence for East Timor. Many of those detained have reportedly been ill-treated or tortured in custody. The forms of torture inflicted include beatings with iron bars, batons and fists, burning with lighted cigarettes, slashing with razor blades and immersion for long periods in fetid water.

East Timorese living in Indonesia, especially those who have been politically active, have also been detained and ill-treated by police and military authorities in recent years. In April 1990 three East Timorese university students living in Bali were arrested and badly beaten in custody by police and military authorities. Fellow students who tried to intervene with the authorities on their behalf were reportedly threatened with death by a military officer of the District Military Command (KODIM).

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters:

- expressing concern for the safety of the students detained by security forces during a demonstration at Udayana University on 13 March 1991;
- urging the authorities to ensure that the detainees have access to relatives, legal counsel and medical attention;
- appealing to the authorities to ensure that the physical and mental well-being of the detainees is fully protected;
- asking to be informed of the current situation of those detained and the precise reason for their arrest;
- urging the authorities to release immediately and unconditionally those held solely for their non-violent political activities.

APPEALS TO: [Suggested Salutation]
Minister of Justice: [Your Excellency]

Let. Ismail Saleh
Jalan Rasuna Said, Kav 6-7
Kuningan
Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia

(Telegrams: Justice Minister, Jakarta, Indonesia)

(Telexes: 796 44205; 796 44469; 796 45611 DEPLU IA via Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Commander-in-Chief, Armed Forces: Governor of Bali: [Your Honor]
General Try Sutrisno Prof. Dr. Ida Bagus Oka
Pangab Gubernur KDH Tk. 1 Bali
Markas Besar Abri Jl. Civic Centre Renon
Cilangkap Denpasar
Jakarta Timur, Indonesia Bali, Indonesia

(Telegrams: Gen. Sutrisno, Markas Besar Abri, Jakarta, Indonesia)

(Telexes: 796 46116 MENHUB IA; 796 44310 DEPHUB IA)

Regional Military Commander, Region IX: [Dear Commander]
Major General Sintong Panjaitan
Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar
Bali, Indonesia

(Telegrams: Maj-Gen Panjaitan, Markas Besar KODAM IX, Indonesia)

COPIES TO:
Minister of Education and Culture Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly
Prof. Dr. Fuad Hassan Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
Jl. Jend. Sudirman 2020 Massachusetts Ave NW
Senayan Washington DC 20036

Canadian role in Indonesia opportunistic

By John Sorenson
Special to the Free Press

ACCORDING to Joe Clark, Canada's multi-million dollar military mission in the Gulf was launched "to force Saddam Hussein to respect the fundamental laws of international sovereignty." Respecting international law sounds like an admirable stance but an investigation of Canada's response in a comparable situation shows this concern to be a very selective and opportunistic one.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded the small island of East Timor and subsequently annexed it. In the last 15 years, hundreds of thousands of Timorese have been slaughtered by Indonesian troops. At the time of the invasion, Canada was one of the largest foreign investors in Indonesia. As such, Canada had a significant opportunity to exert some degree of restraining influence on its trading partner and might possibly have been able to halt the genocide in East Timor.

Unfortunately, Canada did not use that opportunity. Instead, our ambassador to Indonesia, Glen Shortcliffe, advised that Canada recognize the takeover as a fait accompli. Mr. Shortcliffe also pointed out that this would result in greater benefits to Canadian companies and improve trading relations with Indonesia.

In fact, this proved to be an astute judgment. The benefits to Canada which resulted from our decision not to criticize the Indonesian invasion are not insubstantial and have continued to accrue. Over 300 Canadian companies do business in Indonesia, which has been seen as an investor's paradise.

The Indonesian government has established this paradise by ignoring civil liberties, banning all unions, keeping the wages of most workers below one U.S. dollar a day, strictly controlling the media and maintaining an extensive security force. Two-thirds of the population are undernourished and Indonesia's poor make up the cheapest labor force in Asia. A strict Anti-Subversive Law and the activity of police death squads ensures that there are few protests in paradise.

Canada has invested over a billion dollars in Indonesia, most of that money going to a huge mining and smelting operation run by INCO, but also in manufacturing, oil and gas and financial services. Since the invasion of East Timor, Canadian aid dollars have continued to flow through Indonesia, which is the largest non-Commonwealth recipient of such assistance. Several Canadian universities have established lucrative multi-million dollar contracts with CIDA and the Indonesian government to supply technical expertise.

Just as the Canadian government has remained silent on Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, very few Canadian academics have had the integrity to raise ethical questions about their universities' involvement with the Indonesian dictatorship. One exception is David Fraser, a law professor at Dalhousie, who compared his university's collaboration with Indonesia to providing aid to Nazi Germany.

Powerful market

Mike Flynn, director of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, has explained this silence: "Indonesia is a powerful market which the Canadian government does not want to alienate." In other words, Canadian concern for "the fundamental laws of international sovereignty" is nowhere in evidence where there is a profit to be made.

Despite its considerable influence as a major economic partner in Indonesia, Canada has not only refrained from exercising its leverage but has blocked international attempts to address the issue of East Timor. Although the United Nations continues to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, Canada originally abstained from voting and later repeatedly voted against the resolution.

Canada also opposes self-determination for East Timor and has actively campaigned to have the issue excised from United Nations meetings, including those of the Human Rights Commission. In 1980, Canada even voted with Indonesia against resolutions which would have allowed for international humanitarian aid to reach the people of East Timor.

In 1984 Canada assisted with a weapons bazaar in Indonesia and by 1986 eight Canadian weapons manufacturers had facilities there. Since 1975 Canada has sold ammunition, military vehicles and helicopter engines to Indonesia. These weapons have been used in the brutal attacks on the civilian population of East Timor which killed hundreds of thousands of people.

Profits to Canadian corporations have not been the sole determinant of Canada's policy towards Indonesia, however. As is the case in the Gulf, Ottawa follows Washington's lead. The CIA helped to engineer the coup which brought General Suharto to power in 1965 and provided lists of Communist party members to the Indonesian army, who executed them and many thousands of others.

While justifiably criticizing Saddam Hussein as a tyrant, Canada continues to look upon Indonesia's Suharto as a suitable ally. The fact that the coup which brought the general to power was followed by a wave of mass killing has been conveniently overlooked. Over a million people — most of them landless peasants — may have been killed at that time by the Indonesian military. Others were herded into forced labor camps.

International outcry was muted, however, as the victims were all said to be communists. Canada was quick to see advantages in the new regime. *The Globe and Mail* found it "encouraging and remarkable that responsible leaders have emerged in Indonesia".

Rather than responding with a show of concern for human rights

and for the observation of international law, Canadian government officials have either ignored this evidence or attempted to discredit those who speak out against the ongoing abuses.

Joe Clark states that allegations of human rights abuses by the Indonesian government are "a gross exaggeration" made by "biased" supporters of the independence movement in East Timor. Clark also suggests that the Indonesian troops which had massacred a third of the population were in East Timor to ensure "the maintenance of public safety".

James Dunn, former Australian consul to East Timor and now head of Australia's Human Rights Council, has charged that Canada is involved in an effort to cover up Indonesian atrocities. Even Conser-

vative MP David Kilgour regards Clark's views as "deeply misinformed."

While Canadian government officials attempt to excuse the murderous actions of a business partner and ideological ally, more evidence of human rights abuses by the Indonesian government has continued to pile up. Groups such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch have made severe criticisms of the regime.

External Affairs states that it "does not condone" Indonesia's invasion, although any effort to stop human rights violations is nowhere in evidence. In contrast to the position taken on the Soviet Union's annexation of the Baltic states and its recent line on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Canada has readily acknowledged Indonesia's control of East Timor.

Grim lesson

In short, the case of East Timor serves as a grim lesson in political realities. Canada's profitable relations with Indonesia have ensured that violations of international law and extensive human rights abuses are ignored. Our significant economic ties to Indonesia mean that Canada could effectively lobby for a cease-fire, free access by international humanitarian agencies and a UN-supervised referendum which would allow the surviving population of East Timor to exercise its right to self-determination.

Instead of using its influence where it may be effective, Canada has not only remained silent but has actually assisted Indonesia to carry out its genocidal policies by blocking international opposition and allowing Canadian arms manufacturers to do business with the current regime.

The government's position that it is defending fundamental principles of international law by sending troops to the Middle East is scarcely credible when viewed in the light of its enthusiastic support for the murderous regime in Indonesia. Self-interest fuels foreign policy and Canada is only too happy to overlook the actions of tyrants if it is to our advantage.

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Development and Death in East Timor

by Elaine Brière & Dan Devaney



"Barbarous civilizers...in the point of a bayonet is carved the trail of your progress."

Borja da Costa, Timorese poet slain the first day of the invasion.

Borja da Costa's words speak for millions in the Third World. He speaks against the neo-colonialism that denies a people control over their own future. He speaks against the brutal force unleashed against the Timorese, who to this day, experience a systematic attempt to destroy them as a people. And he died, as many others did because he put into words the process that was destroying his world.

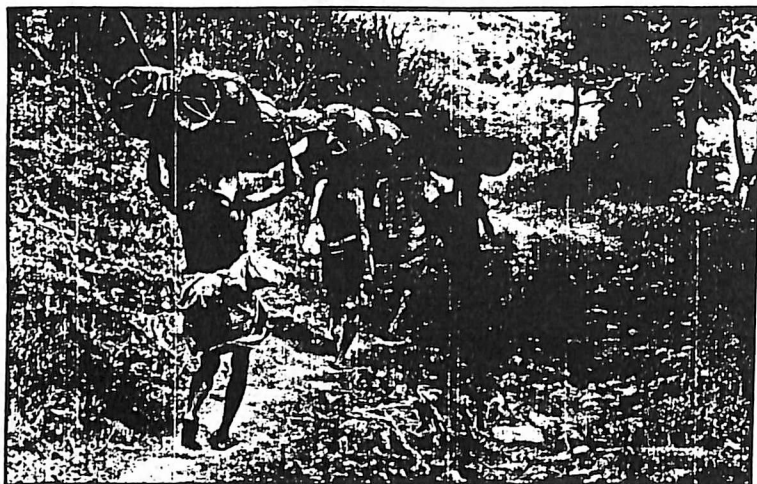
Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, on December 7, 1975, one-third of its population has been killed from military attack and starvation. Without provocation 200,000 have died.

Canada watched the bloodbath and has gradually snuggled up to the aggressor. Today, Canada is a close partner with Indonesia which continues to occupy and brutally rule East Timor.

Our government does not applaud the invasion of East Timor. We see it as a regrettable "fait accompli." The thousands of Timorese that died are "regrettable." The continuing brutality of the Indonesians against the East Timorese is "regrettable." There is a smidgen of regret which is spread thinly over Canadian relations with Indonesia. Underneath that thin layer it's "business as usual." We support them diplomatically, financially, and culturally - all in the name of development.

Development - that great icon that coats and obscures the phoney campaign to help the poor and unfortunate of the world. We hear a honey-glazed rhetoric about the needs of the poor and our country's determination to give assistance. Most Canadians think their aid dollars are being used to alleviate suffering for the poor of the world.

And, in fact, the number one stated goal of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) is humanitarian: "to express the Canadian desire to alleviate human suffering and



photos: Elaine Brière

promote social justice." But in reality, 75 percent of Canadian development assistance goes to military regimes like Indonesia who are replacing healthy indigenous economies which serve people directly, with export economies which drain a country's resources to meet the needs of the global marketplace.

Even after a major review of our aid policy in 1987, Canadian aid policy is still dominated by the concept of "enlightened self-interest." What this means is that the creative aid giver should design the aid in such a way that the "gift" will also promote or enhance the commercial interests of Canada. The concept of enlightened self-interest dominates almost every aid decision.

Despite government speeches to the contrary, most aid ends up primarily benefiting Canadian consultants and manufacturers. Even food aid helps eliminate surpluses in Canada. The benefits to the aid receiving country become secondary. And there you have it, aid that Canadians feel should benefit the poorest is primarily benefiting Canadian business.

Canadian aid policy is littered with dozens of skewed goals like the above. Another is our goal to make sure aid reaches the most needy. This token goal is actually played out in a way that actually undermines the interests of the most needy. Aid may be earmarked for the poor, but distributed by corrupt political elites. These elites obviously have different goals than the welfare of the poor. Or the aid may be in the form of dams that flood productive farmland or chemical pesticides that create dependency (a hidden goal of our aid policy). It is no wonder we find ourselves closely linked with Indonesia, one of the most consistent human rights violators in the world today. Indonesia is willing to play along.

Our aid to Indonesia assists corrupt officials bent on destroying not only the Timorese culture, but dozens of others under their control. Self-reliance is destroyed. The

poor get poorer. The rich, corrupt elites get richer, and Canadian business prospers. No amount of flowery speeches can hide this from the people who suffer as a result of our twisted aid policy.

Another basic assumption of ODA policy is the superiority of modern methods of farming and community planning. Generally, the Timorese model, which is common to hundreds of contemporary tribal groups, is considered backward. These "primitive" economies are considered the most needy - the most poverty-stricken, merely because they are not a part of the global system that is considered so sacrosanct and all-knowing. Most aid ignores the wishes of the people they supposedly serve. Many of their needs include basic health care, simple farming implements, or credit for small farmers.

For thousands of years, under Portuguese colonialism, the Timorese lived in little hamlets scattered throughout the hills and pursued a small-scale agricultural economy which satisfied their modest needs and gave them regular surpluses for trade and festivals. The economy used many forms of trading vehicles such as barter and the Corameton (similar to the Potlatch) to facilitate the distribution of goods. It was a highly self-reliant economy - decentralized and concrete. It worked well for hundreds, if not thousands of years. The introduction of a money economy by the Portuguese was absorbed into the existing traditional economy.

In the early 1970s, a German agronomist, Joachim Metzner, undertook a lengthy study of Timorese agriculture showing how Timorese farmers have skillfully adjusted to difficult soil and climate conditions, and were always able to produce good crops despite



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numerous obstacles. So much so, he wrote that "the visitor is bewildered by the ingenuity the Timorese display in the construction of their rice terraces."

Indonesia, on the other hand, sees all Timorese methods of agriculture as "primitive," "depraved" and "backward." Today the occupation forces in East Timor are building a plantation economy helped by generous amounts of foreign aid. In March 1984 the East Timor Plantation Service announced that the area given over to plantation crops had doubled since 1977.

Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of Timorese farmers have been driven off the land and confined in military-controlled strategic hamlets in the lowlands. The Timorese have traditionally avoided settlement in the lowlands and coastal plains because they are malaria infested. Now many are dying of the disease. In addition they suffer from influenza and tuberculosis - the diseases of poverty.

Some Timorese are placed as "translocals" in the model villages that Indonesia is setting up in the pacified areas. These model settlement areas are a centrepiece of development propaganda and are getting a great deal of attention and capital investment. Balinese families are being brought in to teach "proper" farming methods to the Timorese - methods dependent on imported seeds, fertilizers and large scale irrigation systems. Production is geared to cash crops serving the international marketplace.

The former Bishop of East Timor, Mgr. da Costa Lopes explains what happened in the district of Maliana. "About 200 families were brought in from Bali. But they settled on the land of the Timorese who were driven off the land. The Timorese were very angry but, being powerless, they kept silent. They came and told me about it. These Balinese farmers are not familiar with the soil so they have taken other jobs. They are favoured against the Timorese who have not only lost their land but have also lost the various jobs they used to do."

The Canadian International Development Agency, the umbrella organization coordinating aid programs and promotion of Canadian businesses, is giving Indonesia some 400 million in aid over the next few years. This "aid" - to a regime which killed up to a million of its own citizens in 1965 - allows Indonesia to divert resources into the militarization of East Timor.

At the same time Canada has a special aid program in East Timor in support of an orphanage. Without Canada's aid to Indonesia there would be no need for an orphanage in East Timor. Aren't you proud to be a Canadian helping an orphanage in a country that had no orphans up until it was invaded by the country that you are also aiding?

This process happens over and over again throughout the global development community. We create a problem and then we solve it. As a start, what Canada should be doing for East Timor is pressuring Indonesia to follow United Nations demands for a withdrawal of Indonesian troops and supporting efforts in the international community. Instead, we undermine global initiatives and support the aggressor with generous aid. To this day, Canada votes

against East Timor's right to be a nation in the United Nations - something that pleases Indonesia to no end.

Even some of the most admirable programs administered by non-government organizations (NGOs) are tainted with Canada's flawed development policy. Take for example CUSO, which sends skilled volunteers to help small communities build small-scale projects. In a letter concerning human rights violations in East Timor, former director Chris Bryant stated that "CUSO believes the government of Indonesia will reduce and eventually eliminate the violation of human rights that have caused onlookers to cry genocide...CUSO does not foresee...independence for East Timor, now integrated into Indonesia." Statements like this encourage Indonesia to continue its policy of oppression. After all even development agencies in Canada see East Timor's independence as a Quixotic goal.

Contrast this attitude with that of the European NGO community which in their general assembly meeting in Brussels in 1989 called for a withdrawal of Indonesian forces and a settlement which would "respect the rights of Timor's people, including the right of self-determination."

Another example of the compromised position that some of Canada's NGOs have taken is the cultural exchange program of Canada World Youth (CWY) in Indonesia which gives Canadian and Indonesian youth a chance to live in each others communities. CWY has a complete hands-off approach to discussion of any of the political realities in East Timor or Indonesia, for fear it may offend the Indonesians. They leave all CWY exchange students in the dark and are hostile to any participation in human rights education for its participants. Many young participants have felt betrayed by this policy - particularly those going to countries with horrendous human rights records, like Indonesia. Even worse, this policy greatly assists Indonesia's propaganda machine who uses ignorant participants as a showpiece in diplomatic events.

On the contrary, similar youth programs run by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid arrange briefings by human rights groups for both Indonesian and Australian participants. The Indonesians lodge complaints, but haven't cancelled the program.

Development aid is a sensitive subject in humanitarian circles for fear that Canadians may give up on aid altogether rather than forcing our politicians to improve how it is administered. It is for this reason that the gross distor-

tions of our aid program have persisted and even grown.

Large institutions, like the World Bank have become gigantic tools for draining the Third World of resources



Catholic orphanage, East Timor

photo: Martha Kumar

while destroying the environment on which future generations will depend. This is all done in the name of development. So the problem is wider than just Canadian sins. But Canada is particularly disturbing when you consider cases such as our aid to Indonesia and its effects on the whole region, particularly East Timor.

It is up to Canadians to carry on the plea of the Timorese for fair treatment in the global community. It is only we who can hold our politicians to account for their actions and demand that our aid do what they so eloquently say it is doing. We must each study the reality and do our part. Otherwise it is ultimately each of us who must answer for the deaths of the Timorese and millions of other Third World citizens who suffer from our government's callous actions on our behalf.

Elaine Brière is a photojournalist and coordinator of the East Timor Alert Network. She photographed the East Timorese 18 months before the Indonesian invasion of 1975. Dan Devaney is her husband. For more information contact East Timor Alert Network, Box 354, Ladysmith, BC V0R 2E0.

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Canadian Newspapers Coverage of East Timor, 1990

A massive drop-off in coverage on East Timor from the previous year. Only 2 articles appeared in the 7 major Canadian English-language newspapers indexed by the Canadian News Index (Toronto Star, Toronto Globe & Mail, Vancouver Sun, Calgary Herald, Winnipeg Free Press, Montreal Gazette, Halifax Chronicle Herald) compared to 12 (plus 2 in the Toronto Sun and 1 in the Ottawa Citizen) in 1989.

In 1989, articles were:

- "Bitter legacy of war fading slowly in East Timor" by Martin Cohn. Toronto Star, 5 Feb. (Comment: account of Cohn's visit, largely sympathetic to Indonesia)
- "Indonesians continue to conceal island war" by David Webster. Toronto Star, 15 May. (opinion piece on op-ed page)
- "East Timor problems haunt Indonesia, blight international image" by Edith Terry. The Globe & Mail, 25 Sept.
- "East Timor tense on eve of visit by Pope" by Edith Terry. The Globe & Mail, 26 Sept.
- "Military in East Timor seeks human face for harsh presence" by Edith Terry. The Globe & Mail, 28 Sept.
- "Military in East Timor pays little attention to top-ranking civilian" by Edith Terry. The Globe & Mail, 30 Sept.
- "Mission in East Timor embroiled in dispute over resistance group" by Edith Terry. The Globe & Mail, 2 Oct. (Comment: This series of 5 articles by The Globe's Tokyo correspondent gradually moved away from her initial sympathy to Indonesia but she presents throughout the series the image of someone who isn't really concerned about human rights but rather about business)
- "Papal mass under tight security" by Canadian Press. Toronto Star, 11 Oct.
- "Near-riot breaks out in front of Pope" by Associated Press. Toronto Star, 13 Oct.
- "Pope assails rights abuses on Indonesian killing fields" by Clyde Haberman, New York Times Service. Montreal Gazette, 13 Oct. (a shortened version of the Times article, but the most extensive coverage given to the Papal visit in Canada)
- "Four hurt in brawl at papal altar" by Associated Press. Toronto Sun, 13 Oct.
- "Preaching human rights in East Timor". Montreal Gazette editorial. (Although it says "things have improved", the editorial supports the Pope's call for Indonesia to start respecting human rights and talks of "[the] forcible and brutal annexation", "horrible human rights abuses ... torture, disappearances and wholesale killings" and calls the position of the Canadian government "morally indefensible and practically unassailable".)
- "Canada ignoring occupation of East Timor, author says" by Charlotte Montgomery. The Globe & Mail, 25 Oct. (coverage of James Dunn/José Guterres speaking tour Torontoleg)
- "Canada accused of East Timor coverup" by Debbie Parkes. Montreal Gazette, 28 Oct. (coverage of tour Montreal leg)
- "Peace activists slam Canada" (unsigned). Toronto Sun, 8 Dec. (Coverage of protest at Indonesian consulate in Toronto)

In 1990, the articles in the 7 indexed papers were:

- "Hunger strike protests East Timor occupation". Winnipeg Free Press, 14 April. (Bill Ripley's hunger strike in Kingston)

"15 years after occupation, East Timor still creates problems for Indonesia" by Steven Erlanger, New York Times Service. Montreal Gazette, 22 Oct.

[Bill Ripley's hunger strike also received coverage in smaller local papers in April: the Kingston Whig-Standard, Peterborough Examiner, Queen's University Journal. The Whig-Standard also ran a story in August on Bill's presentation to the United Nations Decolonization Committee.

[The 1990 News Index lists approximately 200 entries on Kuwait after August, including many on the horrific nature of the Iraqi occupation. Some titles: "Kuwait became 'a wasteland': witnesses recall horror of Iraqi murder, pillage and rape" and "Atrocities ravage Kuwait as 'time is running out'." In comparison, the invasion of East Timor received just a handful of mentions in 1975-6.]

Coverage in magazines was no better: the Canadian Periodicals Index (which includes hundreds of magazines including general interest (eg. Maclean's and Saturday Night); international affairs publications; church papers like the Anglican Journal, Catholic New Times and United Church Observer; and "progressive"/left magazines like Canadian Forum, New Catalyst, New Maritimes, Our Times, Ploughshares Monitor, Probe Post, This Magazine) and Canadian Magazines Index between them list only 2 articles.

Articles were:

"East Timor's pain — and Canada's complicity" by David Webster. Peace Magazine, Dec 89/Jan 90.

"East Timor: the slaughter of a tribal nation" by Elaine Briere and Dan Devaney. Canadian Dimension, Oct 90. (incredibly, this is indexed under "Canada—Foreign Relations—Indonesia")

[In 1989, there were also just 2 articles: "Measuring the political dimensions of a papal kiss" by Agostino Bono, Catholic News Services (Catholic New Times, 5 Nov) and "Canada's policies implicated in East Timor's repression" by Mohammed Urdoh (NOW Magazine (Toronto), 19-25 Oct).]

So, there's lots of work to be done here. What else is new?

PS: in Jan 1991, there have been 2 articles in the papers so far: a strong editorial in the Montreal Gazette making the connection to Kuwait and an op-ed piece in the Toronto Star on the "Timorese intifada". Also an article in Peace Magazine and one soon to appear in Catholic New Times on the same subject.