



EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK **NEWSLETTER**

FEBRUARY 1993

ETAN CONFERENCE

The East Timor Alert Network will be holding a national meeting in Ottawa on Sunday, 28 February, at the Unicentre at Carleton University

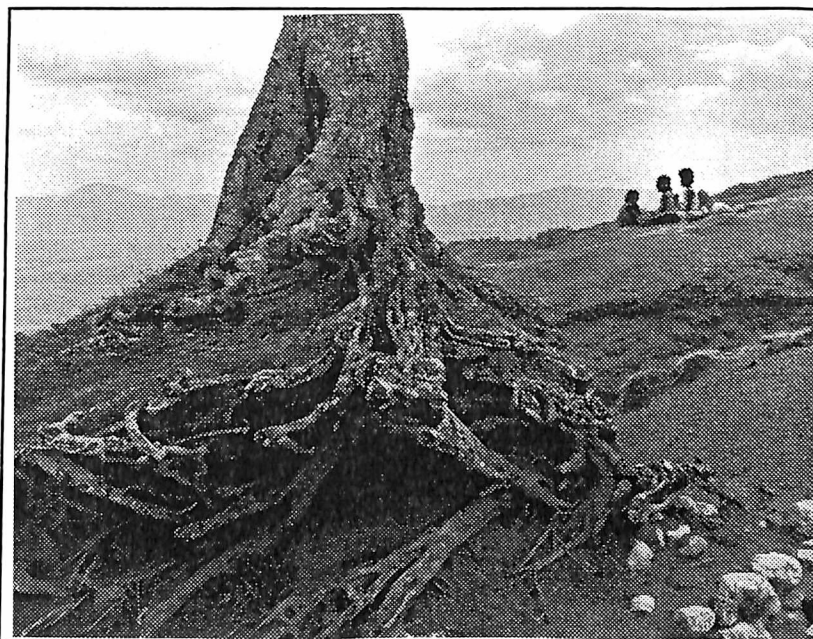
MEMBERSHIPS

Please consider becoming a member of the East Timor Alert Network. For those that didn't join with our last newsletter, a membership is just \$10. If you can't afford to pay the fee, please let us know — no one will be denied membership for inability to pay. Memberships and donations can be sent to our Vancouver address: 104—2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2.

ACTION ALERTS

Due to popular demand, the East Timor Alert Network has begun issuing periodic action alerts on East Timor for those supporters who can help by writing letters in urgent situations. The alerts are modelled on Amnesty International's system.


Supporters can get action alerts in three ways: by computer networking; by fax; or by mail. Get in touch if you want to be on the list: ETAN/Toronto, PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1, (416) 531-5850, Electronic mail etantor@web.apc.org.



Welcome to the February ETAN newsletter.

It's been a busy time for ETAN across the country. Since our last newsletter, local groups have started up in two new provinces (Quebec and Alberta) and there are now local activists busy in 11 cities, as well as our network of individual supporters from coast to coast.

A generous grant from the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (headed by Ed Broadbent) has given us the financial means to expand our national network and broaden the circle of popular involvement in East Timor solidarity work in Canada.

We also have to send congratulations to our American friends and counterparts, the East Timor Action Network. ETAN/US recently marked its first birthday. It too has spread nationally (with groups from California to Rhode Island) and was the key to 

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ETAN/Calgary: c/o 2320 First Ave. NW, Calgary Alta., T2N 0C8

ETAN/Windsor-Essex: c/o Third World Resource Centre, 125 Tecumseh Rd., Windsor Ont.

ETAN/Hamilton: c/o Earth Action, Box 212, Gilmour Hall, McMaster University, Hamilton Ont., L8S 1C0

ETAN/Guelph: c/o HANDS, PO Box 1302, Guelph Ont., N1H 6N6, (519) 767-1781

ETAN/Toronto: PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto Ont., M5S 2T1, (416) 531-5850

ETAN/Ottawa: PO Box 2002, Station D, Ottawa Ont., K1P 5W3

ETAN/Montreal: c/o Global Co-operative Network, QPIRG, 2130 Mackay St., Montreal Quebec, H3G 1J2

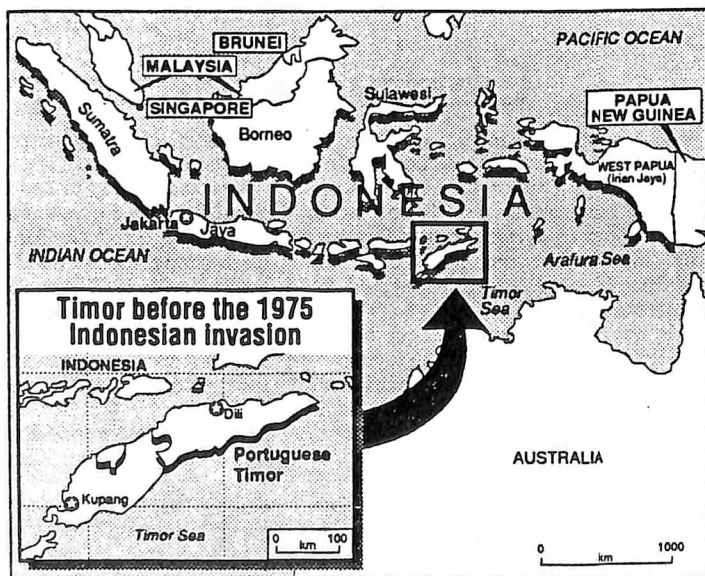
Congress' decision to delete military aid that the United States was providing to Indonesia under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program (along with other longtime friends of East Timor in the US). With a new president, American policy may be changing.

ETAN/Canada has been engaged in too many projects to list them all. The action reports from local groups later in this issue give a flavour of the many things that are being done.

East Timor is now firmly on the media agenda in this country. Awareness has been spread even more by the award-winning new documentary film "Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media." Manufacturing Consent includes a lengthy segment that shows how the media covered genocide in Cambodia while it covered up genocide in East Timor. The segment features ETAN founder Elaine Briere, who is now working on a film of her own on East Timor.

The situation in East Timor is at a crucial point. The arrest of resistance leader Xanana Gusmão is a severe blow to the East Timorese people — but the resistance goes on. Reports reaching the outside world say it is worse in East Timor today than it ever has been since the 1975 invasion — a grim reminder of how important our work is. The government of Canada is still backing Indonesia's Suharto regime with aid, trade, diplomatic support and even weapons.

Read on for news about the situation in East Timor, the position of the Canadian government, international and Canadian solidarity actions, ideas on what you can do to help, press clippings, poetry and more.



BERNARD BENNELL/The Globe and Mail

Resistance leader Xanana goes on trial

East Timor resistance leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão has gone on trial in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The Indonesian government has accused him of "rebellion," a criminal charge, rather than the usual charge of subversion. He has also been charged with possessing illegal firearms. The first charge carries a possible sentence of life imprisonment; the second a possible death penalty.

The trial opened on Feb. 1, with Xanana being represented by a court-appointed Indonesian lawyer.

Xanana, leader of the Timorese resistance movement CNRM, was arrested in Dili on November 20, along with several members of his family and close associates. Amnesty International and other human rights monitors believe he and others have been tortured while in military custody. There are also reports that female members of the group have been raped by their captors.

Lawyers with the Jakarta-based Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH) who offered to defend Xanana were denied the right to meet with him. LBH lawyers defended a group of young non-violent Timorese who were charged with subversion earlier this year, arguing that Indonesian sovereignty does not apply in East Timor. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor, and repeated UN resolutions have called for East Timor to be allowed the right to self-determination.

Groups and individuals from around the world have called on Indonesian government to release Xanana, who is recognized throughout East Timor and around the world as the voice of the Timorese people. In Canada, Liberal human rights critic Beryl Gaffney has made the same call in the House of Commons, while other members of the all-party Parliamentarians for East Timor have written letters demanding he be set free.

However, the Indonesian military is trying to use Xanana as a symbol in their own war. In December Indonesian TV broadcast an interview conducted by a Portuguese reporter in which Xanana apparently calls on guerrillas to lay down their arms and on the Timorese to accept their "integration" with Indonesia. The interviewer, however, notes that Xanana was, in his opinion, not speaking of his own free will. Parts of the interview were excised, including Xanana's statement that he would not have spoken in the same way if he was not a prisoner.

Even Timorese collaborators have rejected the truth of the broadcast. "Sorry, but we're not that stupid," said Mario Carrascalao, who served as

governor of East Timor for 10 years before leaving office in September. "I am against Fretilin, but when I saw that statement, I was ashamed as a Timorese. It was an insult to my intelligence as a Timorese."

Additionally, a handwritten appeal signed "Xanana" is circulating in East Timor. Again, it calls on guerillas to surrender. Handwriting analysts say the writing is very different from Xanana's writing, with the exception of the signature. Resistance leaders called it "an amateurish forgery."

The Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights (Infight) wrote in a statement released on the eve of the trial that "there is no justification for a court of law to try Xanana, especially since the trial is being staged in order to reinforce Indonesia's claim to the territory of East Timor.... It is only by conforming with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights formulated by the United Nations that Indonesia will become a nation that properly conforms with basic human rights and avoids the tarnished reputation which it has won for itself up to the present."

Shocked by the international outcry, the Indonesian government is trying to downplay the trial of Xanana as "nothing special," and apparently trying to conduct the trial in accord with due process. Security measures around the tiny Dili courthouse, however, tell a different story. Police chief Col. Nugroho Djajusman said roadblocks outside Dili and the closure of the street in front of the court were necessary to stop Xanana's supporters from disturbing the proceedings.

Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists have been banned from sending an observer to the trial, a dozen journalists — half of them Portuguese — have been allowed to attend.

In Japan, the Free East Timor! coalition declared that "Putting Xanana Gusmao behind bars serves no purpose whatsoever. Maltreating Xanana Gusmao, the

symbol of the resistance movement, will bring the Indonesian authorities no closer to solving their problems, but rather will fan the flames of resistance among the people of East Timor."

As the trial opened, Xanana gave his citizenship as "Indonesian," but apparently signalled otherwise by his instructions to his defence lawyer Sudjono. Although Sudjono was appointed by the court, he went on to open the defence by challenging the jurisdiction of an Indonesian court in East Timor, which international law says is still Portuguese. And

Xanana, while being hustled into the courtroom, turned to journalists and asked them — in English — to "cover this proceeding until the end."

The trial is expected to last up to two months.

Resistance still fighting

Xanana Gusmão has become famous for the slogan: "To Resist is to Win." By that standard, the East Timorese resistance is winning — even without Xanana leading them.

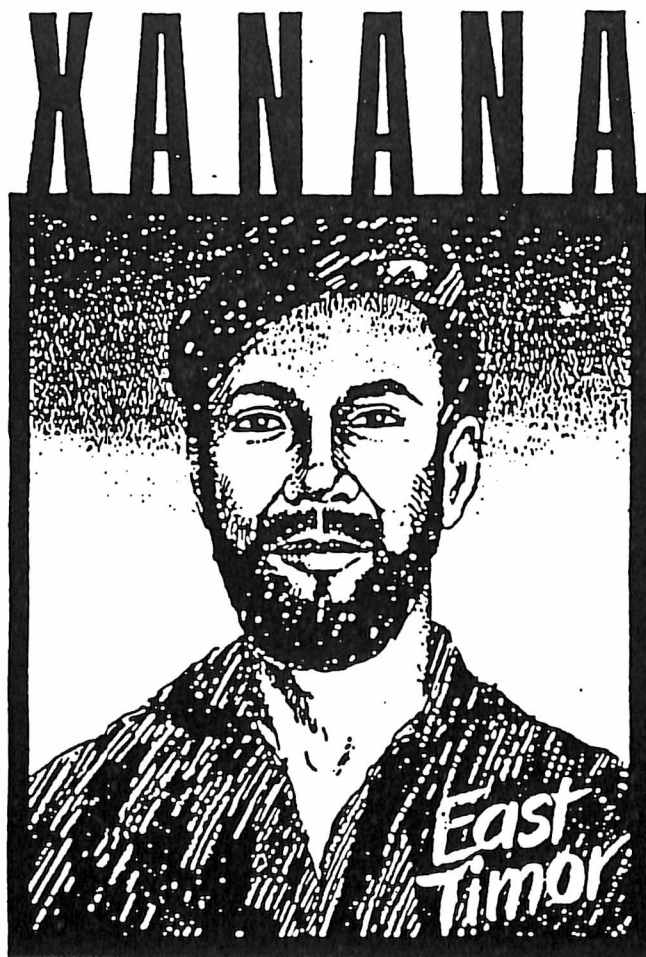
Xanana's capture has failed to break the East Timorese resistance guerrillas. Armed clashes continue under the leadership of Ma'huno Bulerek, Xanana's number two. According to the latest smuggled report, 78 Indonesian soldiers were killed in six

clashes between Nov. 27 and Dec. 23.

The level of fighting is higher than it has been in several years, according to CNRM overseas representative José Ramos Horta. "There has been an intensification," he said.

Ramos Horta, whose position was confirmed by Ma'huno in December, added that more encounters had taken place in January since the report was received.

Indonesian military spokesman quickly denied the report.



Repression stepped up in East Timor

Armed Forces Commander Gen. Theo Syafei has raised the intensity of "Operasi Tuntas" (Operation Thoroughness, or Operation 'Once and for All') to as fever pitch, declaring that all villages in East Timor will soon be painted "meruputi" (red-and-white, the colours of the Indonesian flag).

A source in the East Timorese Catholic Church reports that the level of repression is higher even than during the mass killings of the late 1970s. "Numerous people have been arrested and a significant number have been forced to betray others after being tortured. The reality is far worse than observers can see on the surface... Many people who are released look like zombies... the lines to the prisons are tremendous... the beatings and tortures are out of this world. There has never been anything like it."

In a new tactic, soldiers have begun rounding up Timorese villagers and forcing them to drink blood and swear oaths of allegiance to Indonesia, according to reports published in the London Observer. The oath-takings are an attempt to mimic traditional Timorese ceremonies.

Meanwhile, at least two clandestine youth organizations have been forced to "dissolve" themselves. Both Fitun ("star" in Tetun, the major Timorese language) and the Organization of Young East Timorese Catholic Students were involved in organizing the Nov. 12, 1991 demonstration that was ended by a barrage of gunfire from Indonesian soldiers (at least 250 unarmed Timorese were killed, in full view of Western journalists and TV crews). The "dissolutions," accompanied by oaths of loyalty to the Indonesian regime, haven't stopped youth groups from issuing appeals from underground.

Recent reports in the Indonesian press, which have been uncritically picked up by Western wire services, say that over a thousand guerrillas — 1,147 at last count — have "surrendered." The numbers contradict repeated statements by Gen. Syafei in 1992 that the number of guerrillas is now under 300. What has happened is well over 1,000 arrests, and continued torture, despite

promises of amnesty for those who surrender.

Tapol, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, reports that there are at least 120 Timorese political prisoners being held in Indonesian jails, and probably many more. (There are a total of at least 600 political prisoners in Indonesia, the bulk of them East Timorese, West Papuan, or Muslim activists.)

The plight of Timorese prisoners was recently recognized by a U.S. human rights group including former President Jimmy Carter, which awarded the Reebok Human Rights Award to Fernando do Araujo, a Timorese student now serving a nine-year jail term for helping to organize a human rights demonstration in Jakarta. Before being jailed for subversion, he was chairman of the National Resistance of East Timorese Students; he has since been named an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience.

"Working in an environment of repression, intimidation and fear, do Araujo collects information on government human rights abuses, acting as an invaluable source of information for the international



human rights groups," the award citation said. "He has alerted the world to the arrest and prolonged torture of students, developed a network of young people to promote human rights, and organized peaceful demonstrations in East Timor and Indone-

Massacre remembered worldwide

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers gunned down a crowd of unarmed Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor. According to an exhaustive study undertaken by Timorese activists in Dili and released by the Lisbon-based ecumenical group Peace is Possible in East Timor, 273 Timorese were killed in the massacre, while 382 were wounded and another 250 disappeared (a full list of these names is available from ETAN/Toronto).

The day was immortalized by a British TV crew, which produced the documentary "In Cold Blood: the Massacre of East Timor" (shown on CBC-TV's The Journal last year).

Despite the protests of Western governments at the time, it is now back to business as usual between the West and Indonesia.

The first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre

was marked as a day of mourning and protest around the world.

- In Malaysia, Nov. 12 was marked by the first public event of the newly-formed East Timor Information Network, followed by a candlelight vigil. Over 100 Malaysians signed a strong statement opposing their government's alliance with Indonesia, a remarkable feat in a country where freedom of speech is extremely limited. Every Catholic church in Penang, where ETIN is based, dedicated a special mass to the people of East Timor on Nov. 15, the first Sunday after the anniversary.

"We will organize more of such activities to counteract the media blackout which has so far prevented more Malaysians from learning about the unspeakable military atrocities which are occurring right on our doorstep," said an ETIN spokesperson.

- The Free East Timor! coalition in Japan presented a petition with 60,000 signatures to the Japanese parliament, calling for Japan to link its aid to Indonesia (Japan is the number one aid donor, giving \$1.3 billion) conditional on Indonesia leaving East

What development?

Indonesian government apologists are fond of quoting statistics on how East Timor has been "developed" since the 1975 invasion. Leaving aside the fact that the "development" benefits Indonesian soldiers and settlers rather than the indigenous Timorese (by building roads to move the army about, schools to teach Timorese children Bahasa Indonesian, and hospitals to promote the forced birth control program), a recent report in the Jakarta Post shows how little success Indonesia has had, even by its own standards, at development.

The Indonesian government's booklet "East Timor: Building for the Future" blames Portugal for

leaving East Timor underdeveloped, with illiteracy rates as high as 80% and only 50 schools. Now, with 673 Indonesian schools operating in East Timor, literacy is up to just 45% of people aged 10 and up. Among women, 63.2% are illiterate.

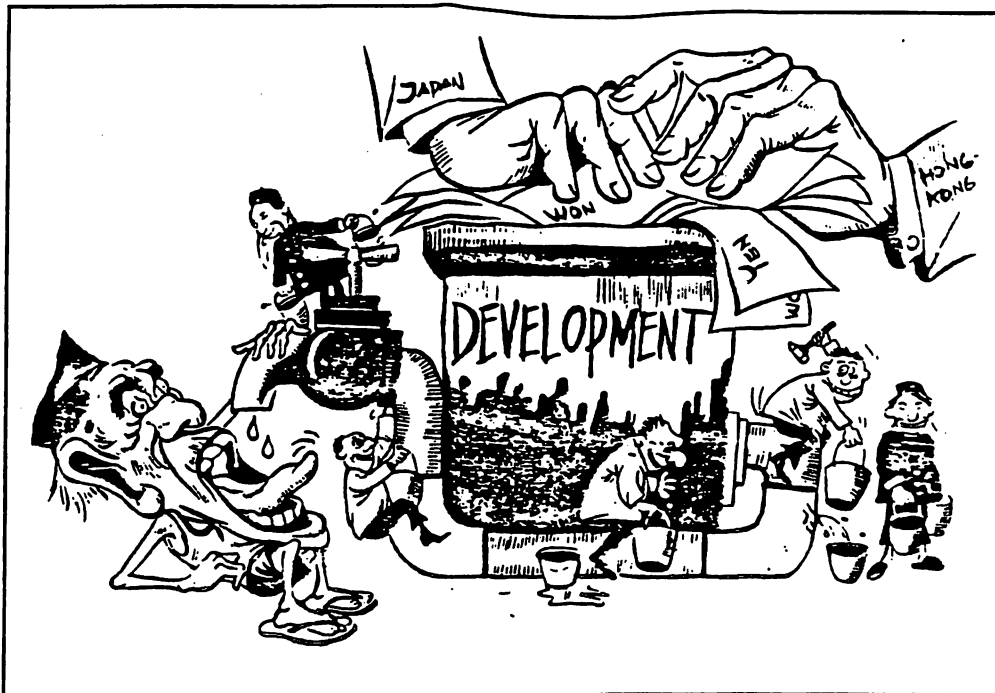
In Indonesia, literacy is 83% among men and 65% among women.

Two other conventional development markers:

- Infant mortality: East Timor 166 per 1,000; Indonesia 84 per 1,000.

- Life expectancy: East Timor 42 years; Indonesia 56 years.

This does not even take into account human development, which includes human rights and the right to live free of war and terror. (Statistics: Jakarta Post; Third World Guide.)



Timor. The coalition also held a demonstration at the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo and launched a speaking tour that will see three Timorese women visit dozens of communities.

- In the **United States**, an interfaith service and demonstration were staged in New York City by the East Timor Action Network, which was formed less than one year ago in response to the Santa Cruz massacre and has grown rapidly since then. Showings of *Cold Blood*, the documentary of the massacre, were held in several campuses from California to Rhode Island.

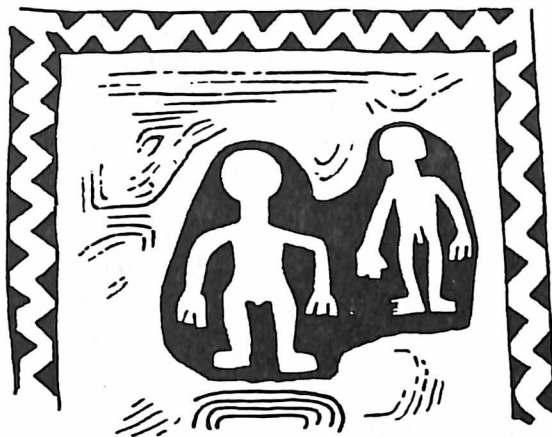
- **Portugal** marked the Nov. 12 with a national day of mourning. Every school in the country held a special debate on East Timor. Members of all parties in the Portuguese parliament spoke up for the rights of the East Timorese. President Mario Soares re-iterated his country's demand for a referendum on independence for East Timor. Peace is Possible planted 273 crosses in a Lisbon park to represent the dead, and published their names in Lisbon newspaper ads.

- In **England**, a motion marking the anniversary and calling for the British government to back human rights in East Timor was tabled in the House of Commons. The motion was supported by MPs from all three parties. The British Coalition for East Timor organized a candlelight vigil and interfaith service in London and many events in smaller centres around the country.

- Angry protests were held all around **Australia**, East Timor's nearest neighbour after Indonesia. The largest demonstrations took place in Darwin and Sydney. An Australian Senate delegation was refused permission to visit East Timor shortly before November 12.

- Tight surveillance of human rights activists prevented a remembrance in **Indonesia**, but the underground Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights made its position clear with an open letter to visiting Australian parliamentarians signed by co-ordinator Saleh Abdullah. INFIGHT called for a referendum in East Timor and for development aid to be linked with human rights. "Welcome to Indonesia," the INFIGHT letter said, "where workers are forbidden to organize, where political and civil rights are repressed, where detainees are tortured, sometimes to death. Welcome to a country where to speak out and to organize means jail."

- The anniversary was also remembered in many other countries, including Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries. For details on the Canadian reaction, see the following pages.



Making a mockery of human rights

The UN Commission on Human Rights has long been a forum where East Timor activists have lobbied hard, usually to no avail. Last year, the Commission's annual February meeting looked like it was going to take a stand in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre. But backroom lobbying by Canada, Australia and Japan watered down a European Community resolution into a weak consensus declaration. Indonesia, a Commission member, agreed to "improve" human rights in East Timor and allow access for international human rights groups (Amnesty International and Asia Watch are still waiting for their invitations).

This year, the same players are back in higher profile roles. Canadian ambassador Anne Park will chair the Western group at the commission; while Indonesia, incredibly, has been chosen as vice-president of this year's session.

ETAN will be sending Timorese refugee Abé Barreto Soares to the 1993 hearings this month. Abé will present a letter on behalf of international East Timor groups calling for the release of Xanana Gusmão.

International human rights policy is the latest battleground for the Indonesian government. President Suharto, who will be re-elected unopposed in March, hosted a UN human rights seminar in January and used the opportunity to reject the concepts of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. National sovereignty and the obligations of individuals to the state should be "equal" to individual freedoms, Indonesian participants stressed.

Hosting the conference was considered a diplomatic coup for Indonesia, which has joined with other Asian dictatorships to oppose "Western values." However, the government's record was attacked during the meeting by members of several different Indonesian human rights organizations.

POEMS BY XANANA GUSMAO, LEADER OF FALINTIL.

(ARRESTED 20 NOVEMBER 1992 BY INDONESIAN TROOPS IN DILI, EAST TIMOR).

A FIGHTER WHO FELL

High on the mountain peaks of Timor
The grass grows
And warms the fractured bones
Of a fighter who fell

Down on the grassy plains of Timor
A flower shows
And beautifies the bones
Of a fighter who fell

This is the hopeful life that grows
From life's release
The life that every woman knows
Who calls for peace
With every waking breath
But not the peace of death

Throughout the peaks and plains of Timor
The life-blood flows
And animates the bones
Of the fighters who fell.

TIMOR WOMAN

Timor woman
Manacled by your misery
Timor woman
Your spirit bound in servitude
Timor woman
Forced to bear invaders' children
Timor woman
Raped, abandoned in concentration camps

Timor woman
your feeble honesty your strength
Your bloodless voice a weapon of war
Your fragile chant the hymn of freedom

Timor woman
Companheira bombed, imprisoned
Your song a cry for justice Your soul anticipating death

Timor woman
You weep warm tears of blood
Your blood, our blood
You face the record of our struggle
Your determination the story of our resistance.



Xanana in better times, as guerrilla leader in the mountains.

The following organizations and individuals signed the November 12 open letter to the government of Canada and contributed towards its costs. ETAN would like to express our thanks to all of them.

ACT for Disarmament • Anglican Church of Canada • Assoc. of United Ukrainian Canadians • Calgary Disarmament Coalition • Canada Asia Working Group • Canadian Auto Workers • Canadian Catholic Org. for Development & Peace • Canadian Friends Service Ctte • Canadian Peace Alliance • Centre des Ressources sur la Non-Violence • Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade • COOP Radio • East Timor Alert Network • First Portuguese Canadian Cultural Centre • Greenpeace Canada Staff • HANDS/Guelph • INTER PARES • Int'l Centre for Human Rights & Democratic Development Justice and Peace Office—Scarboro Foreign Missions • McMaster Peace Camp Club • Menno-nite Conf. of E. Canada (Peace, Justice Ctte) • Necessary Illusions • Nuclear Free North • Oakville Community Centre for peace, ecology & human rights • Ontario Public Interest Research Group (Carleton, Toronto) • Ottawa Disarmament Coalition • La Quena Coffeehouse • Portuguese Canadian Democratic Organization • Presbyterian Church in Canada • Project Ploughshares • Ragging Grannies (Vancouver, Gastown) • Simon Fraser Univ. PIRG • Southeast Asia Working Group • South Pacific Peoples Foundation • Student Christian Movement (U of T) • Toronto Disarmament Network • United Church of Canada • University College Lit. • Univ. of Toronto Portuguese Assoc. • Voice of Women (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario) • Workers' Benevolent Assoc. • World Council of Indigenous People

George Adamson • Pat Adamson • Mike Akey • Jason Amyot • Rev. Tom Anthony • Margaret Atwood • Chris Axworthy MP • Maude Barlow • Wallie M. Barton • Mike Bell • Dawn Black MP • Bill Blaikie MP • Bob Bossin • Mordechai Briemberg • Elaine Brière • John Broderick • Bruce Burton • David Cadman • Iona Campagnolo • June Callwood • Orvall Chapman • Noam Chomsky • Bruce

Cockburn • Marjorie Cohen • Ryder Cooley • W.L. & M.E. Cook • Dr. Bill Courtenay • Paul D. Copeland • Phyllis Creighton • Gary Crystal • Claire Culhane • Ron Dart • Bishop Remi J. De Roo • Henry Demaer • Joseph & Lorna Diggle • Vas dos Santos • Marlys Edwardh • Peter Eglin • Val Embree • Timothy Findley • Ursula M. Franklin • Mary Ellen Francoeur SOS • Sue Fraser • Albert Frey • Ray Funk MP • Beryl Gaffney MP • Plamen Gantchev • Clarice Garvey OLM • Li-lien Gibbons • Steve Goldberg • Penny Goldsmith • Danny Goldstick • Judy Harper • Barry Hammond • George Harris • Dan Heap MP • Cathy Hellsten • Maggie Helwig • Bill Horne • Guy Hunter • Lynn Hunter MP • Louis Ifill • Mobina Jaffer • Mark Jeffrey • Esther Juce & Howard R. Engel • Terrence Keenlyside • Des Kennedy • David Kilgour MP • Charles King • Menno & Aggie Klassen • Nancy Knickerbocker • Eric LaDelpha • Steven Langdon MP • Bill Levant • Stephen Lewis • Ian MacKenzie • Robert MacLeod • Daniel & Karen Maitland • G. Ross & Renee Maitland • Elizabeth May • Dr. Gabor Maté • Howard McCurdy MP • Michael McGonigle • Bruce McLeod • David McMurrin • John & Stella McMurrin • Randall McQuaker • James & Mary Miller • Mario Misasi • Peter Monet • Margaret Morgan • Gabrielle Moro • Fernando Nunes • Anne O'Brien GSIC • Toni Onley • Marissa Orth-Pallavicini • Wil Osley • Tony Palma • Marg Panton • Howard Pawley • Ron Peterson • Louise Phillips • Lynn Pinkerton • John Polanyi • Duncan Raeside • Raffi • Klaus Reichoff • Karen Ridd • Wayne Roberts • Svend Robinson MP • Clayton Ruby • Bob Russel • Rick Salutin • Peter Sanford • Valerie Sheriff • Ross Shotton • Martin Silva • Bishop John M. Sherlock • Peter Stokoe • Doug Smith • Muriel Smith • Metta Spencer • Christine Stewart MP • Don Stuart • Margaret Sumadh • David Suzuki • Erik Svend Erikson • Jamie Swift • Ingrid D. Szymkowiak • Simin Tabrizi • Ann Thompson • Rob Thompson • Penny Tinlby • Allyson Watts • David Webster • Pat & Norman Webster • Wendy Wickwire • Nettie Wild • David Wurfel • Susan Yates • Lee Zaslofsky • Jerry Zaslove • Barrie Zwicker

MONTREAL

Greetings from Montreal! Over the past few months, there has been a definite showing of solidarity among individuals and groups for the people of East Timor.

In November, we hosted Abé Barreto for a full weekend of events. The weekend was an indication that we had a lot of support.

Abé's lecture and presentation of "In Cold Blood" took place at Concordia University on Friday November 6 and drew a crowd of approximately 80 people. There were about 15 Indonesian students present as well as an embassy official who was busily taking notes throughout the meeting. Many of the Indonesian students tried to dominate the question period by saying the video was a fabrication and it did not provide any concrete evidence, as well as giving lengthy pro-government proclamations of East Timor's willingness to integrate with Indonesia. We were not expecting such a presence of Indonesian students and such a response but Abé handled their statements very well, providing the audience with the documented facts. Overall, it was a good event and we now have approximately ten new members.

We also showed "In Cold Blood" to a Third World Politics class at John Abbott College, a CEGEP (senior high school) in the West Island. More presentations are planned.

On Sunday morning, we attended mass at the Santa Cruz Church, a Portuguese parish in the Plateau Mont-Royal neighbourhood. Abé was introduced to the parish at the end of the mass and we stayed at the back where some of the parishioners could ask him questions and meet with him.

The Montreal Portuguese community had organized a demonstration in November 1991 to protest the Dili massacre but were not planning one for the first anniversary. The Santa Cruz Church seemed like the most appropriate and a very symbolic place to hold a march and vigil as it shares the same name with the cemetery in Dili where the massacre happened, so we encouraged them to hold a commemoration.

Over 40 people attended the march and vigil that Thursday evening and now the parish is interested in organizing a march for November 12, 1993. There is also the possibility of organizing a twin parish program with the Santa Cruz parish through the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (headquartered in Montreal) which could begin during Lent.

There has been some local media coverage on East Timor during the last few months. Abé was interviewed on radio twice while he was here: firstly on

Radio Centre-Ville, Montreal's community radio station, and Sunday on McGill Radio's "Celtic Communion" show which deals with the war in the North of Ireland as well as other related political issues in Canada and around the world. Bob Palmer and Genny Marilley have also been on McGill Radio on several other occasions.

On November 27, the GAIA group at Dawson College organized a bake sale for ETAN/Montreal which raised \$100. The group showed "Betrayed but not Beaten" at the bake sale and provided information as well as Urgent Actions for Xanana's release.

The Concordia community has been really supportive to East Timor. We have received much support from Indigenous Peoples International, the Latin American Committee and the Quebec Public Interest Research Group (Q-Pirg). They all co-sponsored the event on November 6 and covered all the costs. The Concordia University Student Association gave an honorarium of \$200 while Q-Pirg and John Abbott College both gave \$50.

Thanks to the film "Manufacturing Consent," awareness about East Timor is growing and it has made it easier to promote our events and to gain support.

We have to keep the momentum going.

ONTARIO

East Timor was a big issue at most Ontario universities in the fall of 1992, largely because of a speaking tour by Abé Barreto Soares, an East Timorese who became a refugee in Canada earlier in the year. ETAN and other groups organized a tour that took Abé across southern Ontario as well as to Montreal. It also featured screenings of Max Stahl's excellent documentary on the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991: "In Cold Blood: the Massacre of East Timor."

By the end of the tour, there were groups working on East Timor at almost every city in southern Ontario.

The tour opened at McMaster University in Hamilton, where the forum was promoted with an excellent teaser campaign featuring posters ("Do you know where East Timor is?"), chalk outlines of dead bodies in the middle of campus, literature tables and other creative attention-getters. About 40 people came out and the event got excellent press on campus (including the front page of *The Silhouette*, the main student paper) despite almost non-stop heckling from an unofficial representative of the Indonesian Consulate from Toronto. The McMaster ETAN group has held many events since, including a joint commemoration of November massacres in East Timor and El

Salvador on November 17.

The speaking tour moved on Windsor, Brock (St. Catharines), Waterloo, Toronto, York, Queen's (Kingston), Guelph, Concordia (Montreal), Carleton (Ottawa) and Western (London). It also stopped off in Oakville for high school events and an evening at the Oakville Community Centre for peace, ecology and human rights. In each community, Abé's visit and the film of the massacre brought home the reality of East Timor to dozens of new people, and to thousands more through articles in student newspapers and radio interviews.

A new feature at many of the forums was the presence of large numbers of Indonesian students. Some of them were quietly supportive; others toed their government's line, handing out a "chronology" prepared by the Indonesian Embassy. Embassy officials attended speaking nights in Montreal and Ottawa in an apparent attempt at intimidation. And Indonesian student computer nets in North America were abuzz with talk about the tour, with students from as far afield as Colorado weighing in.

The tour concluded with a Parliament Hill rally on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, which was co-sponsored along with Ottawa's Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade. Fifty people came out to hear from Abé, Svend Robinson MP and Peter Monet of ETAN/Ottawa, as well as the peaceful music of the Raging Grannies. Participants

then walked to the Westin Hotel, where weapons dealers were holding an arms show. Among the customers for Canadian weapons is Indonesia. The Raging Grannies appeared on the front page of the next day's Ottawa Citizen.

After the tour was over, we gathered for an ETAN conference in Guelph to plan future actions. Although the meeting ran out of time, the experience was still useful in bringing together 20 activists to compare notes and ideas. At the end of the day, we paid a call on the university's acting president, who was hosting a reception for a visiting Indonesian government delegation. Since we weren't allowed to stay, we held a spirited protest outside. Special thanks for organizing the conference and demonstration should go to Sheila Wilmot, Susanne Blau, Aloz and all the other Guelph activists.

WINDSOR/ESSEX

The Windsor/Essex County group of ETAN was very active in the fall, with ten active members. East Timor has really caught the imagination of the community! Some highlights of fall activities:

- 450 letters from Windsor and area residents were sent to all three local MPs, plus 500 letters to External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. Liberal MP Herb Gray pledged support to the group, while

"We don't sell military equipment to Indonesia"

— External Affairs Minister
Barbara McDougall, Toronto, 7
February 1993

According to information obtained from the Department of External Affairs, the government of Canada authorized ten military export permits to Indonesia for the period of January 1990 to August 1992. However, "All of the information contained in them is exempt from release under Section 15 (1) of the Access to Information Act, because its release would be injurious to the conduct of national affairs, and/or under Section 20 (1)(b) of the Act," according to External's Access to Information and Privacy Commissioner.

What does the government of Canada have to hide?



Indonesian helicopters in East Timor: Pratt and Whitney engines?

the NDP's Steven Langdon agreed to join Parliamentarians for East Timor (NDP MP Howard McCurdy was already a member of PET).

- Presentations at classes at the University of Windsor (Third World Politics, World Politics, International Business), Assumption High School, Massey High School, Iona College, Walkerville High School, St. Anne High School, Catholic Central High School, Cardinal Carter High School, and Brennan High School.

- Meetings with Amnesty International, Third World Resource Centre, Windsor Labour Council, Students for Global Awareness, Windsor Catholic Deanery, Windsor Catholic Lay Deanery, St. Vincent de Paul Church Youth Group, Essex Catholic Deanery.

- ETAN/Windsor co-ordinator Jason Amyot attended the national conference of the World University Service of Canada last November in Ottawa. WUSC is undertaking an Indonesia project in 1993; Jason and many others raised the issue of human rights at this meeting and WUSC planning sessions.

- Thirty people came to an East Timor coffee house on November 27.

- ETAN wrote several articles in The Lance (University of Windsor) and was covered in the Windsor Star and on radio.

TORONTO

ETAN/Toronto has been growing by leaps and bounds since the summer. We are now meeting regularly on the third Monday of every month at the Earthroots office (401 Richmond St. W. at Spadina) at 7:30 p.m. And every Monday is ETAN office day at ACT for Disarmament, 736 Bathurst St. (south of Bloor). We invite all supporters to join us, or to stay in touch through our phone line, (416) 531-5850.

We held a successful public forum on October 28 with Abé Barreto, David Webster of ETAN/Toronto and Max Stahl, the maker of "In Cold Blood," at the University of Toronto, with the help of the U of T Student Christian Movement, U of T Global Development Network and ACT for Disarmament. 75 people came out to the forum. A hastily-organized event at York University drew a smaller crowd, but the people in attendance formed a dynamic new ETAN group at York.

The York East Timor group has held several public events, including a screening of "Manufacturing Consent" in January that drew 200 students. They held a forum on East Timor with Elaine Briere of ETAN/Vancouver and Sujit Chowdhury of the York group, who is also director of the National Model United Nations. The Indonesian Consul in Toronto had initially said he might attend, but cancelled at the

last minute on orders from his government. At the same time, an Indonesian delegation was meeting with environmental studies professors and students across the hall. (The delegation refused to meet ETAN activists while they were in town.)

ETAN/Toronto held two demonstrations in November. On November 12, we were part of a national day of action, picketing outside the Indonesian Consulate (the event, along with the demonstration the same day in Ottawa, was seen on CBC-TV national news). Then on November 28, ETAN members from across Ontario converged on the Toronto constituency office of External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. About 30 people attended each event.

Two ETAN activists, Joanne Young and Maggie Helwig, threw blood on the Indonesian Consulate during Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas' visit to Canada a year ago. In August, they were found guilty of mischief. Joanne was jailed for a day; Maggie was given a sentence of community service.

On October 1, "Manufacturing Consent" opened in Toronto for a week-long run at the re-opened Euclid Theatre. The first night was a benefit for ETAN — like all showings, it sold out all seats. The film has been playing to packed houses since at several locations around the city, usually with an ETAN table in the lobby. We have found "Manufacturing Consent" to be an excellent outreach tool, which inspires everyone who see it to greater levels of activism.

ETAN members have been actively reaching out to other groups in the community, attending gatherings on the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Tibet as well as other groups' meetings, like Oxfam and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) North American students' conference. We have had tables at Ryerson Polytechnic, Harbourfront's International Development Fair, and many other events. We arranged media coverage, including in the Toronto Star, Globe and Mail, CBC-TV, and 3 campus radio stations: CIUT, CHRY and CKLN.

After a meeting with Michio Takahashi of the Free East Timor Coalition in Japan, we agreed to set up a fundraising project to help support an East Timorese cultural survival school in Darwin, Australia (home to a large East Timorese refugee community). Angelo Gonsalves jump-started the project, with help from many others, and we hope to be sending some large donations to support the school shortly. A fundraising party and East Timor cultural evening on February 13 was the first big fundraising event for the school. There will be more information on the school in the next newsletter.

Another piece of good news was the establishment of the East Timor Alert Network/Toronto Portuguese

Committee last fall, on the initiative of Fernando Nunes. The group included members of the Portuguese student associations at U of T and York. The committee has been hard at work spreading the word about East Timor in the large Portuguese community, translating ETAN materials into Portuguese, and reaching out to churches and Portuguese-language media. Portuguese programmers on Channel 47 (multicultural television) and CHIN (multicultural radio) have been particularly supportive.

VANCOUVER

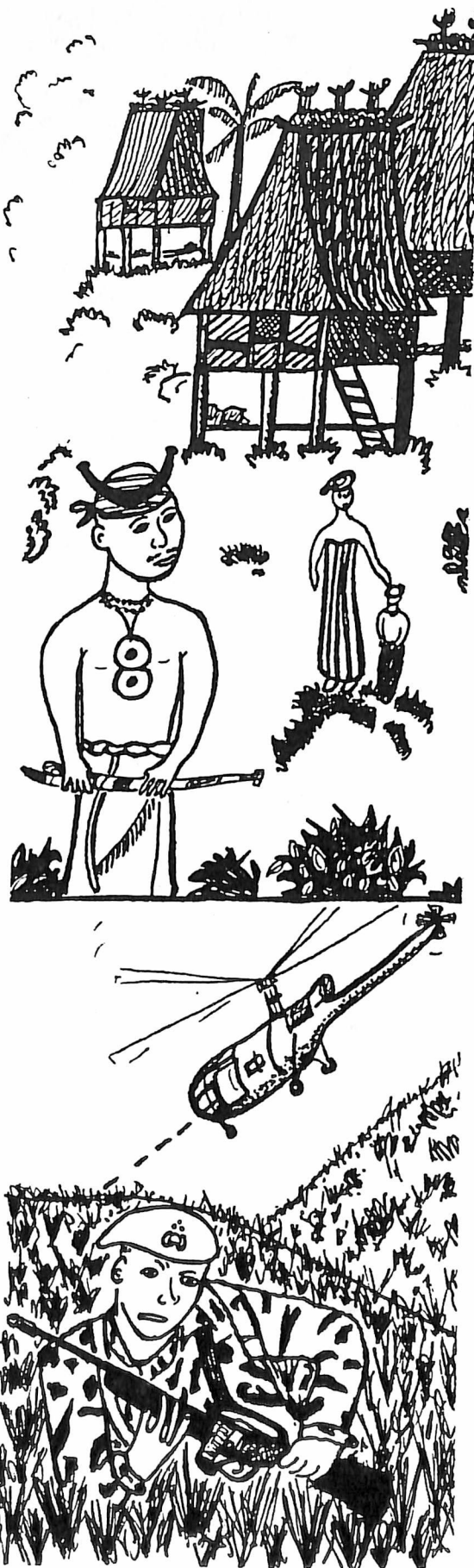
ETAN/Vancouver has coalesced into a group of nine people who have assembled gradually over the past five months. We are a new ETAN group — until this year, Elaine Briere (one of the network's founders) was working virtually alone in Vancouver. Operating on an ad hoc basis, the group organized a demonstration on November 12, arranged several public information events, raised money for the ETAN open letter published in the Vancouver Sun and elsewhere, and held a candlelight vigil on December 7 (which was attended by about 50 people, the largest East Timor demonstration yet in Vancouver). The group also got a strong response (and several committee members) from our presence at the many Vancouver screenings of the film *Manufacturing Consent*. This film has proved extremely effective at politicizing people on East Timor.

In the wake of this activity, we've settled down and begun looking at how our ETAN group should operate. We've sat down to define our responsibilities, our resources, some basic operating rules, and the interests of individual committee members. Projects that are being discussed include: keeping in close touch with a newly developed local membership base (many who donated for the open letter), organizing lectures in high schools, developing an accessible archive, running a letter writing campaign, designing information packages, and organizing fundraising events.

Another important local target is Simon Fraser University, which will soon be reviewing its huge project in Indonesia. SFU runs a \$22 million CIDA-funded project servicing Indonesian universities in the Mollucas and West Papua.

The group has expressed an interest in co-ordinating events with other ETAN groups. These local group reports seem useful for outlining successful projects across the country and sharing our information, leaflets and other materials.

ETAN/Vancouver has set up a new voice-mail phone number. Please feel free to call us at (604) 739-4947.



Lobby your member of parliament. Canada should be supporting the rights of East Timor, not backing the Indonesian occupation. Ask your MP to get involved in Parliamentarians for East Timor. If they won't, tell them you won't be voting for them in this year's election. Ask candidates to make a commitment to East Timor before being elected.

Write to External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. Canada gave Indonesia about \$43 million in economic aid in 1992, near the top of all aid recipients. Despite a freeze of \$30 million in future aid projects, Canada plans to give at least \$40 million in 1993 as well. If Canadian aid money is to be tied to human rights, aid to Indonesia should be suspended immediately. Canada should also announce a ban on weapons sales to Indonesia. Write Barbara McDougall (postage free) at: House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6. **Be sure and ask for a reply.** Send copies to the opposition parties' critics for external affairs: Lloyd Axworthy (Liberal) and Svend Robinson (NDP).

Circulate a Free East Timor! petition.

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

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

Share this information with others, and get them involved too.

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

Ask the media to cover East Timor. Newspapers, television and radio stations really do listen to their markets. Give them a call or write and tell them you think news about East Timor is important.

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

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

Help get *Manufacturing Consent* on CBC. Over 25,000 audience members have helped make *Manufacturing Consent*: Noam Chomsky and the Media one of the biggest theatrical

success stories of any Canadian documentary. And it's still going strong, from coast to coast. To date, CBC's documentary program *Witness* has said they will only consider airing *Manufacturing Consent* if two hours are excised. That would mean airing 47 minutes of this 167 minute film. (The East Timor segment alone is nearly 30 minutes long). Write to: Mark Starowicz, Head of Documentaries, CBC-TV, Box 500, Station A, Toronto Ont., M5W 1E6.

Write Now!

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is meeting in Geneva this month and in early March. This year, Canada is chairing the Western group of countries. Please take the time to write a short note to External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall (postage free at House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6), making the following points:

- It is appalling that Indonesia has been chosen as vice-president of the Commission
- Canada should take a strong position at the Commission in support of the people of East Timor. Minimally, Indonesia should be held to the terms of last year's resolution, which demanded access for human rights groups.
- In international forums including the Human Rights Commission, Canada should call for all Timorese political prisoners, including Xanana Gusmão, to be freed.
- Canada should call for UN resolutions on East Timor to be enforced.

Secret Indonesia conference ignores human rights groups

Support network says violations are taking back seat to business

By ZUHAIR KASHMERI

Human rights groups are turning over a secret conference on Indonesia, organized by the Asia-Pacific Foundation, to which watchdog associations such as Amnesty International and the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) were not invited to participate.

"They wouldn't even acknowledge the conference," says Li-lan Gibbons of ETAN. "When we called them up to ask about it (after learning about the conference from NOW), they said: 'It was a private conference and we can't disclose anything.'"

However, the conference did draw high-level government officials from external affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency in Ottawa and from the ministry of industry, trade and technology's Ontario International Corporation.

The Asia-Pacific Foundation is a nonprofit organization set up by Parliament in 1984. It receives a third of its funding from Ottawa and five provinces, including Ontario, and several private companies. The rest comes from fees for programs such as the conference.

The conference was held in Toronto on September 27 and 28. Asia-Pacific spokesperson Stanley Jung says there were 26 representatives from Canada and 25 from Indonesia.

"The topics included economic and business relations and politics, and to a lesser extent, human rights," he says. "Diplomatic relations are strained because of the ac-

B U S I N E S S

tions of the government of Canada. There is a tear on the part of Indonesia, and it was felt there was a lack of communication, and misunderstanding. This forum was to overcome those tears."

Aid suspended

Canada suspended future aid to Indonesia last December after troops in East Timor opened fire on a peaceful demonstration, killing more than 100 people. The demonstration was timed for the visit to East Timor of the United Nations special representative on torture. Jung says the conference was private, and was not designed to be a wide forum to extensively discuss human rights. Responding to complaints that neither Amnesty nor ETAN were invited, he says a non-governmental organization, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) was, and it put forward a participant.

However, Maggie Helwig of ETAN says the CCIC is a "very cautious" NGO. She is disturbed that playing down human rights at such a high-level conference essentially tells Indonesia that "you can keep doing what you're doing. There has to come a point when human rights take precedence over trade."

Rights central

Amnesty, which considers Indonesia among the worst human rights violators — citing arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, jailing and extra-judicial killings — says it found out about Asia-Pacific's conference by accident. At the time, co-

incidentally, its representatives were meeting UN officials about Indonesia and East Timor.

"We don't have any problem with trade, but our views on Indonesia and East Timor are very clear," says Amnesty spokesperson John Tackaberry. "We would be upset even if human rights were discussed in a less than substantial way at this conference."

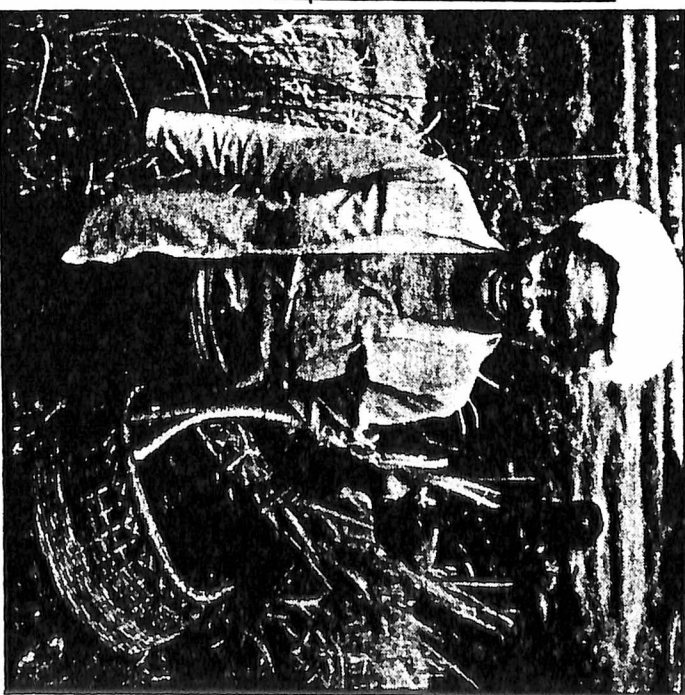
"We're in favour of a dialogue if that includes human rights and a country's international responsibility. At any dialogue that takes place with government officials, human rights must be discussed."

The conference did include a final session on human rights, an external affairs official says, but the participants were two Indonesian journalists, Asia-Pacific's own media person and an academic from Simon Fraser University's Indonesia project.

The official, who holds a senior position in external's Asia Pacific unit and did not wish to be named, says the department did ask the organizers to include speakers from Amnesty and ETAN, but were told the participant from the NGO would be enough.

The official, who attended the conference, believes that even without the two watchdog groups, the issue was not completely swept under the rug.

"But the focus was clearly more on economic cooperation, the problems we have bilaterally. We saw it as an opportunity for an exchange. Environmental discussions also played a part. After all, it was a conference on trade, and I don't think human rights was very relevant."



Amnesty International says violation of freedoms continues in Indonesia despite global condemnation.

North News

East Timor refugee speaks at WOSS

By ANGELA BLACKBURN
Oakville Beaver Staff

About a dozen White Oaks Secondary students received a quick lesson in freedom of speech from a young refugee from East Timor last week.

"From being here in Canada for one year, I'd say you take your freedom, democracy and freedom of speech for granted. If I was to do what I am doing now, in East Timor, I'd be arrested," 26-year-old Abe Barreto Soares told the students.

Soares is one of only two East Timor natives in Canada.

East Timor is one half of a mountainous island in the south Pacific that sits about 400 miles northwest of Darwin, Australia.

First colonized by Portugal in 1560, East Timor saw West Timor fall to the Dutch in 1859 and then to Indonesia in 1945.

When Portugal became a democracy in its Carnation Revolution, its colonies were freed, including East Timor in 1975, and the small country saw the Fretline independence movement embrace democratic ideas and a democratic election.

But in 1975 the Fretline was suppressed by the Indonesian military and East Timor has since been called Indonesia's 27th province - despite 10 United Nations resolutions to con-

demn the action.

Sixteen-year-old Nadia Bhabha, a Grade 12 student at WOSS and a member of the local peace group, ACT for Disarmament, arranged with local peace worker Stephen Dankowich for Soares' talk at White Oaks.

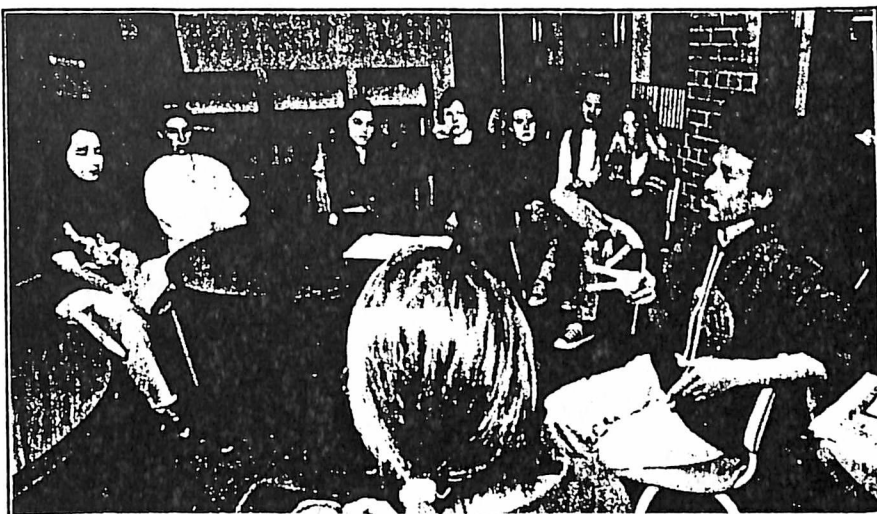
COLD BLOOD

Interested students gathered in a seminar room of the school's library to hear Soares talk and to view a CBC/The Journal documentary called "Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor" which aired earlier this year. Both Dankowich and the video claimed East Timor's population has dropped from 600,000 in 1975 to 400,000, after 15 years of Indonesian military rule.

"The Indonesian army invaded in December 1975 and since then over 200,000 of Abe's people, fully one third of the population, have been killed. This we can call genocide," said Dankowich.

The figure of 200,000 is one provided by Amnesty International, said Dankowich.

Before seeking refugee status in Canada, Soares had been studying English literature on an Indonesian government scholarship at a university located just outside of the Indonesian capital city of Jakarta. In November, 1991, Soares was in Kingston, Ont., on an exchange program when news



Abe Barreto Soares, right, a refugee from East Timor, spoke to about a dozen White Oaks Secondary School students last week about what freedom of speech means to him, coming from a country where expressing one's opinion can lead to arrest. Soares claimed refugee status following the November 1991 massacre at Santa Cruz.

(Photo by Peter McCusker)

of a massacre in Santa Cruz, East Timor, filtered out.

Soares, who slowly gathered news about the massacre and its aftermath, learned his friends and other students involved in independence movements had been interrogated and tried — one, he said, received nine years in jail.

At that point, Soares feared returning home to East Timor and claimed refugee status in Canada.

He now has landed immigrant status and is allowed to work in Canada. When his status changed, Timor became vocal about the plight of his country.

SMUGGLED VIDEO

His efforts were aided earlier this year by the CBC documentary filed by a British journalist who managed to get into East Timor under the guise of a businessman/tourist and filmed

actual footage of the November, 1991, massacre at Santa Cruz. The film shows young people scrambling over a heap of bodies to flee rounds upon rounds of bullets fired by the militia.

"It's (the CBC show) the first recorded evidence of the atrocities the East Timorese people have been subjected to, proving in fact that they are being slaughtered," claimed Dankowich.

The video also contains interviews with East Timor people who, through a translator, claim atrocities including the slitting of a pregnant woman's stomach and the tying of 60 people who were forced to lay on the road and be crushed by a bulldozer.

"I feel I'm lucky I can get out of the country and come to Canada and speak about our plight to the outside world. Through English, I would like

to communicate to the outside world that something went wrong in East Timor, there's something bad in East Timor," said Soares.

Besides saying some of his maternal family had been killed during the 1975 take-over, Soares left much of the atrocity descriptions to the video show.

In contrast, he spoke about his goals and reasons for speaking out.

The risk is great. He fears his family — mother, father, three brothers and six sisters — could be jailed or worse if news of his efforts gets back home. Of his decision not to return to his country, the indigenous tribal native of East Timor said, "It was the hardest decision of my life.

"I travel around as an exile, being away from my home and family but it's the only (thing) I can do to help

(See 'Refugee...' page 7)

NEWS

Freedom in Canada



East Timor refugee speaks to WOSS students

Page 6

Refugee considered 'bad boy' by Indonesian government

(Continued from page 6)

my people. I may have to sacrifice my family for this cause but compared to them (others in East Timor) mine (sacrifice) is little. Their families were killed, mine is still alive," said Soares.

The refugee said he was recently attacked by an Indonesian government representative while speaking at McMaster University. "He (the representative) said, 'you know nothing,

you're biased, a liar.'

"People call me a dreamer but I will let history judge what I'm doing and what I'm going to do for the sake of my people. I'm a dreamer, but probably dreamers can change the world," said Soares.

The refugee said he is considered a "bad boy" by the Indonesian government since he learned English through a scholarship and is now using his

education and opportunity to fight against the government.

He said if a meeting, like the seminar at WOSS, was to occur in East Timor the police and military would be present.

Dankowich charged that it's possible U.S. officials knew of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor since Henry Kissinger was reported in Indonesia shortly before the invasion.

Dankowich also outlined that people in Indonesia often work 12-hour days for wages of \$2 to \$4/day. He also said that Indonesia is Canada's fourth largest trading partner behind the U.S.A., Britain, and France.

The peace worker told students that until the early 1980s Canada voted in the U.N. opposing the take-over of East Timor, but in the early 1980s, began abstaining from voting on the

issue. Now, he says, Joe Clark has referred to East Timor in the House of Commons as the 27th province of Indonesia.

"It makes me ashamed to be Canadian," said Dankowich pointing to Canadian government silence and economic profits.

He suggested calling the Indonesian consulate in Canada and being aware of news of East Timor

Indonesian genocide

Dear Editor,

This letter is directed, in the first place, to WLU faculty.

When Nazi Germany invaded, occupied and annexed Austria in 1938, what would you have thought and what would you have done if the President of (the precursor) of WLU had entertained six of twenty-five visiting German government officials and academics at the presidential house?

When Iraq invaded Kuwait, occupied it, annexed it and turned it into a province of Iraq, what would you have thought and what would you have done if the President of UW had invited Iraqi academics involved in a Waterloo research project in Iraq to his campus home for a reception and dinner?

What do you think, then, of the actions of the (Acting) President of the University of Guelph who on the evening of Sunday, November 22 entertained with a reception and dinner at the president's campus home six of twenty-five visiting Indonesian 'counterparts', together with their Guelph 'originals', involved with the University of Guelph's Sulawesi Regional Development Project in Indonesia? And what will you do?

What's the problem, you say? What's the connection with Nazi Germany and Baathist Iraq? Why should I do anything?

In 1975 Indonesia invaded East Timor, annexed it, turned it into Indonesia's twenty-seventh province, and has illegally occupied it ever since in violation of

ten United Nations resolutions calling on it to withdraw. Moreover, its actions have caused the deaths of between one quarter and one third of the (1975) East Timorese population. On November 12, 1991 its troops opened fire on mourners/demonstrators in a funeral procession, killing over two hundred persons. In short, in its military dictator, General Suharto, ruler since 1965 (and who came to power at the expense of the lives of 750,000 to 1,000,000 Indonesian peasants), we have a criminal of the same moral order as Adolf Hitler, and somewhat worse than Saddam Hussein.

At what moral level, then, do we situate the actions of Dr. Jack MacDonald, the (Acting) President of the University of Guelph, of Dr. Tim Babcock, the Director of the Sulawesi Regional Development Project, of Dr. Harry Cummings, former Director of the project and those others in the academic community who enjoyed their official dinner with their Indonesian guests? For they are all, all honourable men and women.

Some twenty of us East Timor Alert Network activists made a short uninvited appearance at the Guelph reception. We wanted to remind the Canadians there of the role of academics in legitimating Nazi rule in Germany. And we wanted those present to consider the fate of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese resistance, who was arrested on Friday, November 20 and who, as they were downing their fondue

and wine, was being interrogated by the Indonesian army -- which is to say, in all likelihood, being tortured.

But then what of WLU which participates in the WUSC program which brings Indonesian students to campus, and next summer will run its Seminar in Indonesia for Canadian students and academics? The WUSC national organization shudders at the mention of East Timor, as does CIDA, the source of over ninety per cent of its funding, for

WUSC's biggest programs are in the terrorist state of Indonesia.

There is at least this to be said: 1) the Guelph project is currently under external review, the two reviewers (one being the renowned human rights campaigner Meyer Brownstone) having recently been, or currently being, in Indonesia inspecting the project site; 2) the student involvement in Indonesia (and China) at the recent WUSC National Assembly in Ottawa, and the question is alive in our own

WLU committee. It is only for this reason (and for the invaluable work it does in sponsoring refugee students) that I have not yet resigned from this committee.

I, for one, will not simply go on putting a smiling and humanitarian face on a part of Canadian foreign policy, a policy that over the last seventeen years has been complicit in near-genocide.

Peter Eglin, Chairperson
 Department of Sociology and
 Anthropology

Wilfred Laurier Univ.
 Waterloo, Ont.

A line was omitted from a letter written by Peter Eglin to issue 15, on page 28. The line which read "the student involvement in Indonesia..." should have read "the student members of WUSC campus committees across the country raised the question of WUSC's involvement in Indonesia..."

By David Webster

A YEAR AGO today, Indonesian soldiers gunned down more than 200 mourners at a funeral procession in East Timor. The massacre was nothing new in East Timor, a tiny southeast Asian country that Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year. According to Amnesty International and local Catholic sources, one in every three Timorese has died under Indonesian rule.

What made this particular atrocity different was the presence of several foreigners, who filmed the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery and spread eyewitness accounts of the unprovoked shootings around the world.

This prompted the foreign ministers of most First World countries to make their first-ever condemnation of human rights violations in East Timor. Among them was Canada's Barbara McDougall, who called the massacre "a shocking turn of events (that) will only serve to worsen what is already a troubling human rights situation."

Indonesian President Suharto promised to punish those responsible for the massacre.

One year later, the promise has been thoroughly broken. Ten soldiers who opened fire at Santa Cruz are in the middle of jail terms that range from eight to 18 months. (The generals who are ultimately responsible for ordering the killings have not even been prosecuted.) Pro-independence Timorese,

including massacre survivors, face years rather than months in jail, after being convicted of subversion and spreading hostility against the Indonesian state. One of them, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, will spend the rest of his life in an Indonesian prison.

The human rights situation, meanwhile, continues to deteriorate. In the last week of October, Indonesian soldiers arrested 1,000 people in a three-day house-to-house search throughout East Timor, a staggering figure in a supposedly "integrated" territory.

Indonesia-watchers have been expecting a strong stance from governments, like Canada's, that crusade for human rights. Canada, however, has been largely silent since freezing \$30 million in aid to Indonesia last December. (The existing \$46 million aid project, Canada's third-largest, remains in place.)

McDougall insists Canada is "seeking further assurances from the Indonesian government that they are committed to a progressive approach to human rights in East Timor." The actions of her government tell a different story.

While the United States ended all military aid to Indonesia, Canada has refused to impose a ban on weapons sales. In 1991, External Affairs issued permits for military exports to Indonesia valued at \$28,000. The final figures for 1992 are not yet in, but officials at External say more sales have been authorized this year.



SHOWING THE FLAG: A Timorese youth displays a flag prior to last year's funeral procession that was attacked by Indonesian soldiers.

Canadian military supplies "have played an important role in the war in East Timor," according to José Ramos Horta of the Timorese nationalist umbrella group CNRM.

Money is at the root of Canada's reluctance to confront Indonesia. With 180 million people, Indonesia ranks along with China in the minds of many businessmen as one of the world's great untapped markets. "Of all the countries of the Pacific Rim in terms of opportunities, Indonesia is Number 1,"

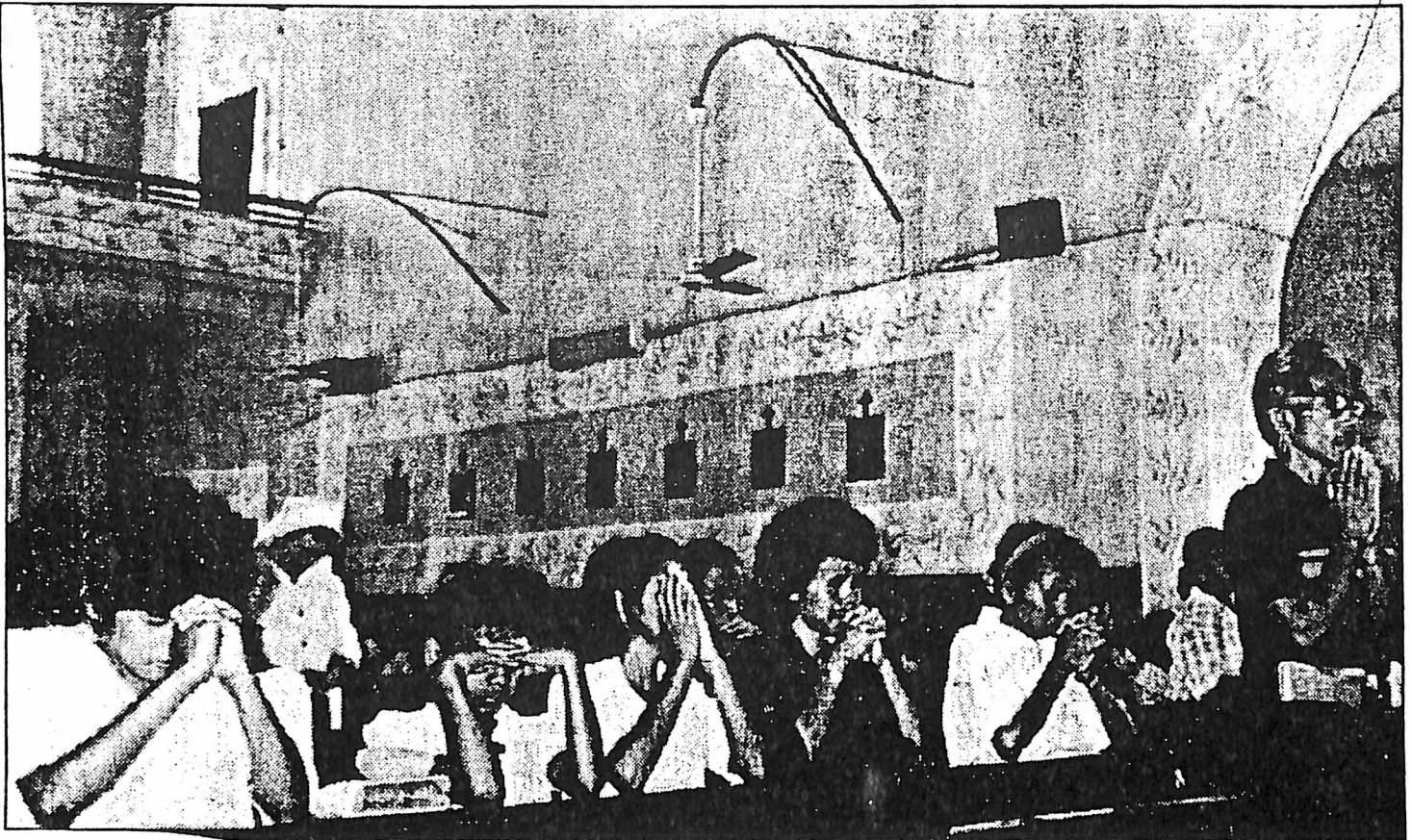
says Mahmood Hak of Toronto-based Bata Shoes. With its low wages and strict laws against labor activism (a 1979 strike by Bata workers was defused by troops), Indonesia ranks as an investor's paradise.

More than 300 Canadian companies invest in Indonesia. Inco alone has spent \$1 billion on a nickel mining complex in the jungles of Sulawesi island, while cutting back its Canadian operations.

This September, a Canada-Indonesia trade conference in To-

ronto put human rights on the back burner. Both the federal Conservative and provincial NDP governments sent representatives to re-assure Indonesian delegates that, whatever Ottawa said about East Timor, business would go on as usual. When corporate profits and the rights of a tiny country like East Timor come into conflict, Canada doesn't think twice about which it will give the nod.

David Webster is a Toronto writer and member of the East Timor Alert Network.



SILENT PRAYER: East Timorese pray in Dili yesterday, the first anniversary of an army massacre in

which hundreds of people were believed killed. The government has acknowledged only 50 deaths.

REUTERS PHOTO

Aid policy for Indonesia under fire

By Tim Harper
TORONTO STAR

OTTAWA — Opposition politicians and peace activists marked the first anniversary of the East Timor massacre yesterday by calling for an end to aid and weapons sales to Indonesia.

Canadian policy was under fire in newspaper advertisements, Parliament Hill protests and statements from MPs.

A wreath was laid at the National War Memorial, commemorating the unarmed Timorese mourners who were gunned down by Indonesian soldiers a year ago.

The Indonesian government has acknowledged that 50 in the funeral procession were killed, but independent witnesses have

MPs, activists rally on Hill

placed the death toll at upwards of 250.

Canada suspended a proposed \$30 million aid project in the wake of the massacre, but continues to provide more than \$40 million annually to the Indonesian government.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 shortly after its Portuguese colonial rulers left. The tiny region of 750,000 has been fighting a guerrilla war since in a bid to win its independence.

Most governments, including Ottawa, do not recognize the annexation of East Timor by In-

donesia.

NDP external affairs critic Svend Robinson said Indonesia should be denied aid based on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's stated policy of linking aid with human rights.

"The Canadian government is abdicating any leadership in the commitment to human rights," said the Vancouver MP, who addressed a Parliament Hill rally. "For this government, it's been business as usual."

But Denis Boulet, a spokesperson for External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, reject-

ed that characterization.

"It has not been business as usual," Boulet said. "The minister has put pressure on the Indonesian government over human rights."

Bilateral trade between Indonesia and Canada totalled \$500 million last year.

In Ottawa and Vancouver newspapers yesterday, an open letter called for a ban on weapons sales to Indonesia. Among those signing the letter were Nobel Prize winner John Polanyi and writer June Callwood.

and former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations Stephen Lewis.

The letter was also signed by nine NDP and three Liberal MPs.

Commerce outguns human rights in East Timor mess

MARK CURTIS
THE GUARDIAN

6-2-92
Nov. 10/92

LONDON — On Nov. 12 last year, Indonesian security forces killed more than 100 demonstrators in Dili, the capital of East Timor. These events provoked widespread international outrage, several governments withheld their aid allocations and Portugal led the European Community in attempting to condemn and punish Indonesia.

A year later, however, Indonesia still gets arms from Britain and increased aid from the World Bank. In a meeting held recently in Manila, the EC, under Britain's chairmanship, appeared close to signing a new co-operation agreement with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean), of which Indonesia is a leading member. Negotiations had been previously held up by Portugal, in protest against human-rights abuse in East Timor.

With about 200,000 having been killed in East Timor since Indonesia invaded in 1975, the extent of human-rights abuses is severe. Portuguese President Mario Soares described the situation as one of "repeated acts of escalating violence by the occupying Indonesian forces against the defenceless population of East Timor".

The subsequent official Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre concluded that "about 50" people had been killed and that the security forces had acted "in self-defence" and "under no

command," all of which was plainly untrue, as was later confirmed by witnesses. The massacre was an orchestrated and unprovoked attack on innocent demonstrators. Portugal refused to accept the report, Soares noting that "everyone knows Indonesia is a brutal country that has killed opposition leaders and has no respect for human rights."

Indonesia's most important partners reacted as though the affair were merely a nuisance which would soon go away.

After Soares met George Bush in January this year to seek support in punishing Indonesia, a White House statement did not even mention East Timor but only alluded to "Asian developments." Japan — by far Indonesia's largest aid donor — served notice that it would "not change its mind in providing economic aid."

Exciting part of the world?

Britain continues to be a major arms supplier to Indonesia, most recently with the announcement of a British Aerospace/Rolls-Royce deal to supply 40 Hawk trainer-fighter aircraft. A Rolls-Royce representative described Indonesia as "a very exciting part of the world." These aircraft, as well as U.S.-supplied helicopters and British-supplied scout cars and personnel carriers, are all thought to be available for use in East Timor.

The announcement of the sale of a

navy support ship was delayed in January owing to the outcry over the Dili massacre: it went ahead in February. Britain has also recently offered places in military training programs for three Indonesian army officers.

Their boss — chief of the armed forces, General Try Sutrisno — formerly promised to "wipe out all separatist elements."

In 1991 the UK committed itself to an EC Declaration which calls for member states to consider "human rights as an element of their relations with developing countries." So what are the underlying reasons for these double standards?

The first is that Britain's position as Indonesia's second-biggest supplier is worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

Second, protection of human rights is seen as a selective rather than absolute principle depending on the stake involved.

Human-rights criteria can sometimes be applied as tools of foreign policy, as with criticism of the Soviet bloc during the Cold War. National interests usually prevail over moral considerations. It is, therefore, the national interests which need to be redefined.

Third, Indonesia is a key economic ally in the post-Cold War world. British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker has said Indonesia "has a well-deserved reputation for sound macro-economic management," meaning that its economic climate is generally favorable to Western corporate interests.

Having "deregulated" its economy throughout the 1980s, Indonesia recently announced that foreign investors would be allowed to hold 100 per cent equity in new companies. Gross inequalities of wealth, consigning millions to live in conditions of poverty, have been a natural consequence of these economic policies, which have been supported by the World Bank.

Lack of drinking water

As the latter presses for further deregulation and opening up to the world economy, the lowest 20 per cent of earners (some 40 million people) account for only 9 per cent of total household income.

Thirty eight per cent of the population lack access to safe drinking water. The top 10 per cent of earners, meanwhile, account for over a quarter of all incomes.

Reports from East Timor suggest heightened security force activity in the territory in preparation for commemorations of last year's massacre.

From their actions, it seems clear that the leading members of the international community would wish all this fuss would die down, and allow themselves to pursue higher priorities.

■ *Mark Curtis is research fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.*

Five days in East Timor



RENA POWNER

Fear fuels paranoia in a land of military saturation, political surveillance and bitter young men

By GLENN WHEELER

DILI, East Timor — I hadn't expected it would be this easy.

The French business executive in Jakarta had scoffed, said you need a special permit. But they had written us the plane tickets as if East Timor was just another holiday destination, as if a third of the population hadn't died since the Indonesian invasion of 1975.

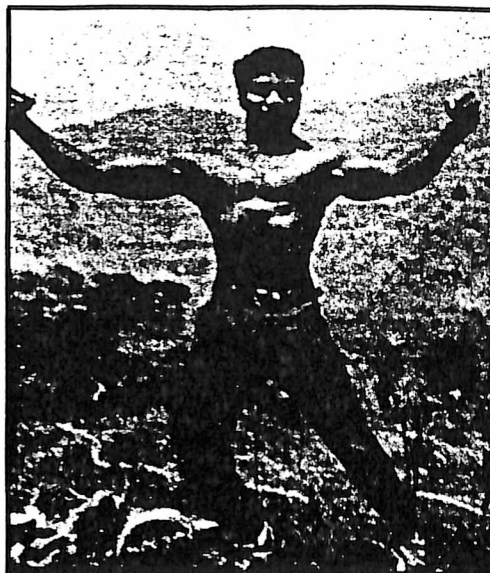
So I arrive on a tourist visa with journalistic intentions, humanist and egotist, walking in the dry mid-day heat past kids casually playing under the coconut trees beside the runway.

Indonesia is trying to "normalize" the situation in what it considers its 27th province, but which the United Nations still considers ille-

ON LOCATION
Dili, East Timor

gally occupied territory. And so, quietly and selectively, they open this land of bloodshed to the outside world.

On the map, UN protestations aside, East Timor appears as part of Indonesia. But it's more than halfway out in the string of islands that make up the archipelago, closer to Australia than the Indonesian capital Jakarta. Here, the skin is darker, the features flatter, more aborigine than Javanese. And the religion is Roman Catholic, not Islam, a legacy of the Portuguese who were co-



Francisco Da Silva, 1972-1991

He has brought a picture of his brother who died in his arms in the Dili massacre. Print it in your newspaper, he says.

lonial masters for 500 years.

The afternoon of our arrival, we head to Santa Cruz cemetery and

stroll the dirt pathways, looking for anyone who died on November 12, 1991.

There was a funeral for political activist Sebastiao Gomes Rangel that day. When the mourners' funeral procession reached the gates carrying their pro-independence banners, 100 soldiers jumped off a truck and opened fire. First, the Indonesian government said 19 were killed, then upped the figure to 50. Amnesty International says the number could be 200.

And so "the Dili massacre" became part of the political parlance, an unimply embarrassment for the Indonesian government, which wants the world to notice all the money they're spending on roads and schools in East Timor, not the excesses of 50,000 troops who keep the territory part of the fold.

Furtive Intro

A man wearing a straw hat, white cotton shirt, shorts and sandals approaches, smiling tentatively.

"Is it alright for us to walk here?" we ask.

"Yes," but then he adds nervously, "vintera (military)."

He speaks softly, looking over his shoulder. "You can walk," he says, "but we'll be hassled after you leave." Then someone calls from somewhere, he puts up his hand as if to say, "Please, no more," then he's gone.

After our introduction to the fear and furtiveness of Dili, we walk up the road, away from the cemetery, wondering if we should take a taxi back to the hotel. My companion, Ian Row, exclaims, "Look, that's family!"

The man standing across the way wears loose-fitting brown slacks,

yellow patterned shirt — and a bouffant hairdo.

His name is Abilio and his friend Suzie is about to open her hair salon. Dili shuts down from 2 to 5 (give or take a half hour) for the siesta. Now Suzie pushes back the shutters. She's done away with her biological masculinity, burying it under lipstick and makeup. She moves with a precise, feminine grace.

Ian slides into the chair for a trim. A porcelain John Paul II smiles at us from his perch next to the shampoo and hairspray, and there's a black-and-white picture of the parish priest on the wall.

The procession of November 12, 1991, passed on the road just outside the shop. Frightened, Suzie closed and hid in the back.

As she talks, a gaggle of little girls poke their heads around the corner periodically, laughing at Ian's hair tied up in two ponytails as Suzie shaves his upper neck with a straight razor.

She says, "We laugh, whether we're happy or not."

It's teenage boys who are most anxious to talk, first checking to see if there are "any eyes" around. Ian, who was born in Singapore, uses his Malay — the language on which Bahasa Indonesia is based — to translate.

Jobs scarce

One afternoon, we sit on the steps of the Dili stadium, waiting for the souvenir shop across the street to open, and someone invites us inside.

INDEPENDENCE LEADER GOES ON TRIAL

By NANTHA KUMAR

The leader for 17 years of East Timor's Fretilin armed freedom movement, Jose (Xanana) Gusmao, is on trial in Dili, the capital, amid allegations by rights groups that the proceedings are being "stage managed" and foreign reporters do not feel free to provide full coverage.

The 45-year-old Gusmao has been the driving force for the armed Fretilin. He was arrested in Dili, East Timor's capital, on November 20, 1992, and held incommunicado for several days.

There are reports that Gusmao was tortured in detention. The trial itself is strangely peppered with confessions and acknowledgments by the accused as it speeds toward an end.

For instance, Australia's Melbourne Age daily reported that

Gusmao did an about face right when the trial began on February 1, 1993, describing himself as an "Indonesian". East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was forcibly taken over by Indonesia in 1975, spawning the freedom movement.

The trial in Dili, East Timor's capital, is being broadcast on loudspeakers outside the courthouse and to Australia, which has a sizeable Timorese emigre population.

However, groups such as Amnesty International, which has consistently monitored the East Timor situation, regularly issuing appeals that embarrassed Indonesia, is persona non grata in East Timor and has no observers in the courtroom.

Says John Tackaberry, head of AI in Ottawa, "We did make a request, but, we've been restricted. We've been kept out of Dili."

It was AI that first reported Gus-

mao had been held incommunicado for 17 days after his arrest before being produced for Red Cross officials. It says 19 others, either relatives or associates of Gusmao, were also arrested and face possible torture.

Reported torture

One detainee, Jorge Manuel Aaujo Serrano, is reported to have died under torture, says AI, and two women reportedly raped by soldiers, whereas others simply "disappeared." A spokesperson at the Indonesian embassy in Ottawa had no comment on the Amnesty allegations.

Lindsay Murdoch, the Age's south-east Asian correspondent who is covering the trial, refuses in a telephone interview from Dili to discuss the trial. "There's a guy

standing right beside me," says Murdoch. "You know what it's like at Hotel Turismo."

In an interview with the paper, Gusmao's government-appointed lawyer, simply referred to as Sudjono, says his client "was being treated well at a jail in Dili, where he spent much of his time playing dominoes with a guard."

He claims his client possessed the disputed weapons prior to 1975 — the prosecution has already introduced evidence to show the rifle and pistol were an Indonesian army issue stolen from a barracks.

Sudjono is also appealing to the high court on a matter of jurisdiction — he will argue that since Fretilin has been fighting Indonesian rule since 1975, and refusing to accept its sovereignty, the court had no jurisdiction to hear the charge against Gusmao.

The existing court dismissed this

argument based on Gusmao's admission in court that he considered himself an Indonesian.

The admission about being an Indonesian is as controversial as a heavily-edited TV interview that was broadcast on state-controlled television after Gusmao's arrest. The rebel leader is shown asking his supporters to give up their armed struggle and accept the Indonesian takeover.

Gusmao's wife, Emilia, who lives in Melbourne with their grownup son and daughter, told the Australian media her husband was "tortured and forced to appear on Indonesian television."

The Jawa Pos, an Indonesian daily, reports that the verdict will be reached March 20. The paper also lists prosecution witnesses set to testify. It writes all the witnesses are under custody and may themselves be charged.



Beach at Dili, January 21, 1993

Soon, we're surrounded by a dozen or so football players aged 14 to 23. They don't go to school because they can't afford the 5,000 rupiah a month in fees. It's hard to get jobs, they say, because people from Java with better education are usually chosen over Timorese.

After they've talked as long as they think they should, they ask us to come back another time.

The next afternoon, we sit on the steps again. Promptly at 3, a tanky player from yesterday approaches. But there's a soldier coming down the street, so he whispers that we should walk in the opposite direction, and then back, to the rear.

Five minutes later, someone older, in his early 20s, crosses the field to where we sit in the stands. He has heard about us from his friends.

Shooing away the younger boys, he tells us he's been imprisoned five times. Once, after the massacre, he was in jail for a week. They were thirsty, and when they were given water, it was mixed with blood. He's been hit with pieces of wood and iron bars, had his fingernails pulled out. Had a gun put to his head and heard the trigger click.

The ever-present Indonesian army can tell Timorese from settlers because of the colour of their skins.

Pulling up his jersey, he shows us the scars on his back.

Many Timorese have fled. Four soccer players who went to Darwin, Australia, for an exhibition game absconded, never came back.

He, however, sounds defiant. "We love our land. We will stay and fight."

Abruptly, he stands and says, "Eyes are watching." He stands and runs out on the field, laughing, stopping the ball with his head.

We sit five minutes more, wondering if he'll come back, but it seems he won't. So we leave, not wanting to cause trouble.

When I muse out loud about the futility of bravery in the face of military might, about the slim chances of a small, impoverished place like this ever being independent, Ian is offended. He thinks he detects journalistic cynicism.

"Do you think first, and decide

what you want to feel? Or do you ever feel?"

On every street in Dili, there are banners, with messages such as, "Raise the feeling of solidarity among youth," "Working towards unity," "Young people take part in the future of your race and country," "Many races, one nation," two or three to a block.

The brightly coloured fabric stretched from tree to tree lends a splash of colour to the drab streets. Still, after Jakarta, Bandung and Yogyakarta, Dili is almost relaxing. It's small — only 70,000 people, not as big as St. John's, Newfoundland. The air is clean, and there's little traffic.

But frequently there's the roar of army vehicles. This afternoon, as we drink coffee in a lean-to restaurant, listening to the downpour on the corrugated roof, an open-backed truck full of soldiers roars past. They hold on to the rails, their T-shirts plastered to their bodies, laughing as the rain beats against their faces. Then, another truck, just like it, but empty. Then another, full, off to some mysterious destination.

There's not much in the way of nightclubs, but there's a gay cruising area on the beach directly in front of the Kantor Gubernur, the governor's office. There's an army checkpoint nearby, but the soldiers don't seem to mind men having sex.

After supper, Ian says he's going for a flirt, be back in a while. But he's gone a long time, and when he returns he tells me a terrifying story.

Before he had a chance to get close to the men on the beach, he says, there was a voice.

"You're... Ian, from Singapore," says sergeant S. Untung of the Indonesian airborne. He knows, he

says, because every night the army gets copies of the hotel registration forms, and there are few enough tourists to keep track.

Sergeant Untung is bored. "Let's sit down."

His wife and daughter are back in Jakarta. He spent four months in Houston in 1984, parachute training.

"What do you think of Dili?" he wants to know, offering that it's preferable to Jakarta, where there are many drugs.

"There's nothing happening in Dili," he says. The journalists sensationalize.

"It's the same all over the world," Ian says in commiseration.

That seems to please the sergeant. And they talk, on and on, while the men circulate on the beach. After more than an hour, Ian manages to extricate himself from sergeant Untung's company.

Could they exchange souvenirs? the sergeant wants to know. Could he come to the hotel sometime?

Nightmare fear

I'm amazed that I was stupid enough to think no one would notice us sneaking around Dili. The army has a form where I've listed my profession as "editor." I wonder if there will be a knock on the door. No, I rationalize, they don't know what "NOW Communications Inc." is. They wouldn't bother.

That night, I dream Ian and I are being chased through the woods by the Indonesian army. Just when we're surrounded, I wake up.

Compared to our other informants, this part-time prof at Timor Timor university is surprisingly brazen. He joins us for supper at the Hotel Turismo, even though it's crawling with government employees. •Continued on next page

TOUGH TALKS ON TIMOR

By GLENN WHEELER

One of the last hopes for Timorese independence aspirations lie far away from the island, in Rome, where foreign ministers from Indonesia and Portugal meet in April.

The discussions are part of ongoing process, taking place under the auspices of the UN, that were suspended after the Dili massacre. Once again, Portugal is expected to demand there be a referendum in its former territory.

"What the Portuguese want to do purely and simply is to let the Timorese choose their own destiny," says Luis De Sousa, a spokesperson for the country's Washington embassy.

In all likelihood, the Indonesian response will be the same as it's always been, that the process is irreversible, that East Timor is its 27th province, that Portugal is merely agitating in its former colony.

"Timor is already integrated with Indonesia," says Bambang Muliyanto, a spokesperson for the Indonesian embassy in Ottawa. "There is no need for a referendum."

For its part, Canada suspended new aid to Indonesia after the Dili massacre, but 300 Canadian companies are still active in the country.

Flex time

As to the upcoming talks, "We think both sides should show more flexibility," says Denis Boulet, of the external affairs department.

That's also the view of senator Chris Schacht, chair of the Australian parliament's joint committee on defence, trade and foreign affairs. If Portugal is to get anywhere, he says, it must not start off talking about a referendum.

"My view is that the issue of sovereignty should neither be included or excluded but left aside for the time being so that talks can start, so that the issues of human rights and the internal administration of East Timor can be dealt with."

If there were a referendum solely on independence or integration, independence would win hands down, he says, but if there was an option of local sovereignty within Indonesia, that might attract a lot of support.

Schacht says that Timor is becoming a controversial issue within Indonesia, as well as the world at large. "One of the complaints the Indonesians are grappling with is the complaint of surrounding provinces that, per capita, East Timor gets more money than the other provinces."

Schacht says members of his committee wanted to go to East Timor, but the Indonesians wouldn't allow them.

"They worried that as the first outside delegation to East Timor since the Dili massacre, we would by our presence have started a demonstration that might have got out of hand."

TIMOR TRAGEDY

Total Canadian government aid to Indonesia in the five years prior to the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre: \$254 million

Canadian government aid to Indonesia in 1990-91: \$47 million

Cut in Canadian aid announced after the Santa Cruz massacre: \$30 million

Total development aid to Indonesia from 18 leading donor nations in 1992-93: \$4.9 billion (U.S.)

Percentage of Indonesian government revenue coming from foreign aid in the 1991-92 fiscal year: 20

Total foreign investment in Indonesia 1988-91: \$30 billion (U.S.)

Number of Canadian companies active in Indonesia: More than 300

Exports from Canada to Indonesia in 1991: \$341 million

Imports to Canada from Indonesia in 1991: \$222 million

Exports from Canada to Indonesia in 1986: \$241 million

Imports to Canada from Indonesia in 1986: \$114 million

SOURCES: Amnesty International, Canadian International Development Agency, East Timor Alert Network, Far Eastern Economic Review, Statistics Canada — Compiled by TIM TIER

NEWS FRONT

Masculine idealism fueling Timor independence dreams

• Continued from preceding page

ees attending a conference. Quaffing Bintang beer and digging into the grilled squid, he opines that his fellow Timorese should forget about independence and get on with their "economic and spiritual development."

"Maybe some people are too lazy to work or look for jobs," he says, adding that it's people like that who support independence. "I am Indonesian," he says. I'm tired, and he offers to meet the next afternoon. Somewhere more private, I suggest?

But he knocks on the door at 1, and we talk for another hour. We can come to the university later in the afternoon, he says. So we do,

and while waiting for him, we speak to a classmate, anxious to tell us about her trip to Singapore and try out her English.

He shows up, five minutes late, and she's surprised we know him. "That's my friend," she says to Ian, adding calmly, "He works for the police."

We share the hotel with delegates to the government conference on transmigration. There are so many people in Java, and so few in places such as East Timor and the neighbouring province of Irian Jaya. How many extra people could live here?

They look up from their meals as we make our way through the din-

ing room. "They're still here," one of them observes.

Ian makes contact with two members of Fretilin, the underground independence movement. They don't want to come to the hotel. Too risky. They want to meet on the beach after dark. And they want to meet at 7, not 8, because it's too dangerous walking home after that. Ian will meet them first, and then come get me.

It's still pouring at 7. But they show up anyway.

Youthful honour

"They want to honour their promise," Ian says, as I shake their hands, wondering if the melodramatic language is the result of the translation, or the fact that they're still teens. One of them has brought a picture of his brother, who died in his arms on November 12, 1991. Print it in your newspaper, he says.

It's men between 18 and 25 who have the hardest time with the police, because it was mostly young people who were in the funeral procession on November 12, 1991, and that's where resistance to integration is strongest.

They don't feel safe walking alone, but if they're in a group of three or more, they're harassed, accused of planning another demonstration. And the army can tell Timorese from settlers, because of the colour of their skin and the way they speak.

The wind whips the rain off the harbour, and we move to a picnic table closer to the road. Cars making right-hand turns send beams our way. They glance in the direction of the light, but keep talking.

"I'd rather die than integrate," one of them says. And then there are those words again, "We love our land."

But what are your chances, I ask. Do you have any support in other countries?

No, they say, "but if other countries want to give us arms, we will accept."

Sitting in the rain, watching them punctuate their remarks with the palms of their hands, I'm skeptical, knowing they stand little chance against the Indonesian army, that their freedom is more likely to come from the halls of the United Nations than the barrel of a gun.

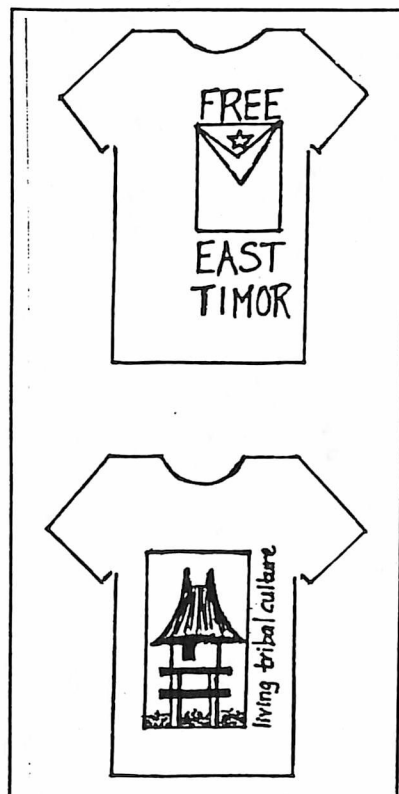
Back, in the hindsight of home, I wonder if I missed the point. Whether their words are teen dreams or political logistics, they're still criminals under the laws of Indonesia, which make it an offence to engage in "public expression of feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt toward the government of Indonesia," and "the spreading or exhibiting of letters or pictures which express hatred of the government of Indonesia."

I have such a letter here on my desk, one they handed us on the beach. It begins "peace in the name of friendship," and goes on to describe in sickening detail what happened to them after they were arrested in November 1991.

They still have the idealism, part of their masculinity, like their bodybuilder strength. I suppose that's why the Indonesian government is so afraid of them. ●



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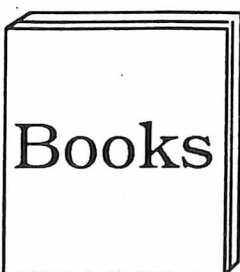
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