

East Timor Beyond the Ballot

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Before Indonesia elected a new president and Indonesian troops made their long-overdue exodus from East Timor to give way to the former Portuguese colony's statehood, Dr. Jose Ramos Horta anticipated his people choosing independence over autonomy. During his visit at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines-Diliman, on July 28, 1999, Dr. Horta shared his hopes for a tiny nation-to-be and saw a promising future for his people if only given the chance to live in peace.

Standing here in this great institution of yours, the University of the Philippines, gives me not only a genuine, great pleasure, but gives me, as it would give every East Timorese and President Xanana Gusmao, a great source of inspiration for what this institution has been over the years in the struggle against tyranny in the Philippines. But also because it was the people's movement in this country, the academics, the students, the clergy that have brought about or initiated the winds of change in the entire region.

When Ninoy Aquino was gunned down at the airport we watched it from far away. I was in New York at the time and I spoke to him two weeks before he was due to leave for the Philippines. There was anger, there was sadness, but there was also a renewed determination. As the Filipinos took to the streets and finally put an end to the case of tyranny, oppression, it was also the beginning of the winds of change that would sweep the rest of the region. It took longer than we thought. It has taken over 10 years but finally we see some hope in South Korea, Indonesia and Thailand. And after 23 years of a brutal military occupation we see light at the end of the tunnel in East Timor.

To those of you who are not very familiar with the background, the historical context, as well as the geopolitical context of the problem of East Timor, allow me to spend a few minutes recalling the social, political, geopolitical elements that explain the conflict today in East Timor.

It was over 23 years ago to be precise, December 7, 1975, when Indonesia invaded East Timor. East Timor, a Portuguese colony for more than 500 years, from the early 16th century to 1975, as a matter of fact, and the Philippines are the two predominantly Catholic countries in the

region colonized by the two Iberian powers, Portugal and Spain. Sometimes people joke that I'm a cousin of the former Philippine president Fidel Ramos. My name is Jose Ramos Horta, he is Fidel Ramos, and I think when the Pope, in the 15th century decided to divide the world between Portugal and Spain, maybe that's when the Ramos family split into two branches. And we became rivals ever since. And maybe that's why President Ramos would not let me into the Philippines in 1992 for the Apcet Forum. That's why I do not hold it against the Filipino people because it has something to do with family rivalries that go back centuries ago.

The Portugese were in East Timor for 500 years and the Spaniards were here in the Philippines for over 300 years. In 1974, in the aftermath of the so-called Carnation Revolution, a bloodless coup engineered by radical young Portugese army officers, that brought down the 50-year-old dictatorship of Salazar in Portugal, the new Portugese revolutionary government declared recognition of the right of all Portugese colonies to independence including East Timor. It was then that Indonesia decided it should prevent the emergence of an independent East Timor. On December 5, 1975 Indonesia invaded. President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were in Jakarta a few hours after the invasion, conferring with the Indonesian dictator Suharto on security matters in Southeast Asia in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. As you may know, 1975 was the year of the "Domino Theory," and the American intervention in Indochina in the 1960s was motivated by the fear that if the US and other Western countries were to allow one country to fall under communist rule all the others will follow. It was during this time that Gerald Ford went to Jakarta.

East Timor therefore was a footnote in the casualties of the Cold War. An obscure footnote because no one paid much attention to and even in some academic books at the time East Timor was actually referred to only in footnotes. East Timor was a casualty of the pragmatism and *realpolitik* of states which have defined the foreign policy of all the major countries, even those who claim to be the guardians of human rights, democracy and rule of law. The guiding principal, the guiding thinking in terms of international thinking has always been *realpolitik*. As a result, when faced with the problem of East Timor, the right of the people of East Timor to self determination and their larger interest with anti-communist

regime in Indonesia obviously the East Timorese were sacrificed on the altar of *realpolitik*.

There was another element. Most of you would agree with me when I say that wars, conflicts start when one side underestimates the other. You underestimate your adversary for different reasons. One is when you overestimate your own political and military might. The other is when you lack intelligence about the actual power of the other side. This underestimation often comes from prejudices. In the case of East Timor it was lack of information, Jakarta underestimating our potential strength. The Indonesian side, particularly the mighty Indonesian generals were trained in the best American and British academies and were tremendously experienced in crushing resistance. They perceived our tiny country of inferior quality so they never thought that we would stand up against the might of the Indonesian army.

That was in my view the most important factor that led them to invade the territory because if they had talked to the Portugese, they would know the East Timorese spirit, culture. The Portugese would have explained to them how the East Timorese fought for centuries against Portugese domination, how from 1885 to 1912 the first incipient movement led by Ventura almost expelled the Portugese out of the island. The Portugese survived only after they brought in two warships from another colony, Mozambique, and crushed the rebellion. Or if they checked with the Japanese, because East Timor was invaded by the Japanese Imperial Army during WWII, they will know that the one place in Southeast Asia where they were not able to establish a military base to invade Australia was East Timor. The Japanese would have told them "don't try." So overconfident, the Indonesians invaded East Timor. Twenty-three years later, 200,000 dead on the East Timorese side, thousands dead on the Indonesian side, and Indonesia is thoroughly bankrupt economically and politically.

B.J. Habibie, who may not be a Jeffersonian democrat but is certainly a pragmatist, decided to make a historical shift in the policies by recognizing the right of East Timor to self-determination. Habibie has shown statesmanship and courage, because it does require statesmanship and courage to make this shift and because there are many elements in the Indonesian army not used to policy change, who oppose strongly the notion of leaving East Timor. The Indonesian army, once confronted with

the decision of Habibie and this international agreement that would put an end to the occupation of East Timor must honor the decision of its head of state. It did exactly the opposite and challenged the policy of the president. Through army intelligence, through special troops they began to orchestrate a campaign of terror.

Militias, who are recruited from as far away as Java terrorized women and children, even those who took shelter in church yards. Churches even in German occupied Europe, in France and Italy, were by and large respected by the Nazi army. Children, women who had already fled their villages in the countryside, and took shelter in a church yard west of the capital were slaughtered. The best estimate, the most conservative, was that 50 people, women and children, were killed in that incident. But this is only the tip of the iceberg if you think of the 23 years of terror in the country. However, let me say also that there are a lot of people of goodwill in Indonesia. Fortunately for Indonesia, not all people are criminals. There are people in the government and even in the army who want to resolve the problem in East Timor at least to the best interest of Indonesia. These people, the more moderate elements of Indonesia, led by the president and foreign minister, the diplomatic adviser of the president, the minister of justice and a few others, they see that the best interests of Indonesia are best served if the army leaves the territory. Because of that, my trust, I have faith in some of these good people of Indonesia. I believe that somehow, maybe in the days to come, those forces of moderation will prevail upon the hardliners. Security would then prevail.

The resistance led by our brother, our compatriot, Xanana Gusmao, has stated quite emphatically that the so-called pro-integration side should not fear reprisals. Gusmao will call a national conference on reconciliation and power sharing. We will invite our brothers and sisters, who for the past 23 years collaborated with the adversary, to join us in a transitional administration under the UN. We will not declare independence immediately. We plan to have the UN administer the country with an East Timorese administration for up to three years before statehood is declared. In the course of three years we will begin to rebuild the country in all its aspects. Not only physical infrastructure such as roads and bridges but also heal the wounds of the war. We will be inheriting a society severely traumatized by violence.

No family has escaped violence in East Timor. In that 90,000 square kilometers it would be difficult to find a family that has not suffered. We will also invest energy and resources in building the democratic institutions, civil society, and promote tolerance, a culture of peace that is the only guarantee of real peace in the future. That's why we believe in a three-year transition. The response from the international community, particularly the UN, and the major powers have been gratifying, promising. The former colonial power, Portugal, has shown tremendous commitment in upholding its responsibilities as a former colonial power and has indicated that it is ready to shoulder the entire annual budget of East Timor for the first three years.

You might ask, like many people, particularly the people in Jakarta, ask us "but how can such a small nation survive economically?" I tell you frankly I cannot give you any scientific answer to East Timor's economic viability. If it were Lee Kuan Yew who asked that question we will sit down and reflect, because after all, Singapore can show that it is a mini economic superpower with an incredibly efficiently run economy that just gave \$10 billion to Indonesia. If it were tiny Luxembourg who posed this question, if it were Liechtenstein, or even Fiji or Costa Rica, countries that are more or less models of successful management, transparency and accountability, we will pay attention. But when we hear things from Jakarta we certainly wonder why the fourth largest country in world managed to bankrupt itself despite all its natural resources. Indonesia has the only oil company in the world that in the height of oil price hikes manage to go bankrupt and this is the country that's trying to give us lessons in economics.

We are also questioned regarding our ability to maintain a stable political entity. My answer to that is that I do not know of a single small country the size of East Timor who invaded its neighbor. Conversely, we know of many large countries who invaded others and if we look into the history of the world of the last 50 years as we move towards the end of this century, the century of the greatest technological achievement by human kind was also the most destructive. The more it progressed in science and technology the more it progressed in its ability to self-destruct. Two hundred million people in this century died in conventional war. Since the end of World War II when everybody made a pledge "never again," at least 40 million have died. Then came the end of the Cold War ten years ago and at least four million died. And most of these have

happened in the developing countries. There are now 30 to 40 armed conflicts around the world resulting in 30 to 40 million refugees.

If you want to understand the root cause of these conflicts I can name some factors. The most obvious is the transfer of conventional weapons from the developed countries in the north to the poor in the south, particularly after the end of the Cold War. When the Warsaw Pact was dismantled the arms-producing countries of the north could not find markets within the Nato countries. What they did was accelerate, intensify, pressure with lobby, weapons export to the countries in the south. And who are the victims of these? The poor people of the south. They are victims not only of the weapons transfer but of indebtedness of governments that cannot provide clean water for their people but have money to buy helicopters and F-16s to fight an “invisible army.”

I say “invisible” because if you look into these conflicts you will find no potential threat to security. Does anyone believe that Pakistan is a threat to India? Or India a threat to Pakistan? Is China a threat to India or India a threat to China?

The millions of poor people within our own countries, they are the greatest threat to peace in the centuries to come. And Indonesia, instead of wasting resources in a war against a poor nation like East Timor, should use the millions saved from the occupation of East Timor to address poverty. Poverty is indeed a threat to Indonesia’s national unity and integrity in the years to come.

What I want to say is that an independent East Timor will not be a threat to any country in the region. We have vowed not to have a standing army in independent East Timor. A country solidly founded on human rights principles, on tolerance and compassion, and without a standing army is not a threat to the region. Our best security comes from the best policies to alleviate poverty and meet the expectations of the people, through active dialogue with our partners in the region and in the world. And what if somebody invades us? We just hope that nobody invades us. That’s what you do when you don’t have a standing army.

The Philippines and Singapore are the two countries that we have consciously elected as our privileged partners within ASEAN. The Philippines for obvious reasons: cultural, historical and religious commonality. The

only country in the region with Catholic majority, Iberian colonization. Your priest and nuns were in East Timor when not too many foreigners were there to help. The first lessons of human solidarity, concrete, on the ground, in East Timor, we learned from them. In the future, the Philippines can do even more to help rebuilding the country. Singapore for the reasons we mentioned. Small country, tiny country that managed to turn itself into an economic superpower. Without any judgment on the politics of Singapore, we have the greatest respect for that country.

An independent East Timor, without army, founded on solid principles of human rights, of tolerance, of compassion, of dialogue with the neighbors, including Indonesia. We hope, without too much pretence, to be truly a haven of peace, of dialogue. Those Indonesian migrants today living in East Timor is the result of the Indonesia policy to resolve a political problem through population transfer strategies to outnumber the local peoples. The thinking is if you change the demographic composition you might resolve the political problem. So in the course of the years, ten of thousands of Indonesians went there, however, most of them were poor people. And true to our own struggle, the Indonesians there whoever they are should not fear the future. They will be welcomed to stay in an independent East Timor. The Indonesians there who elect East Timor as their home can be rest assured that the East Timorese who have shown tremendous courage in fighting for independence against the same dictatorship will also have a great heart and courage to pursue a policy of reconciliation.

Geographically speaking, Australia is our backyard so I don't think physically they can change that. We understand that as a small fragile entity in the process of rebuilding a country, there will be temptations from different parts of the world to mold our behavior on both domestic and international issues. It will not only be Australia or New Zealand that will try. It could also be Indonesia. Australia and New Zealand could be our strategic partners. Our intention precisely is to find a counterpart in the region to counter Indonesia's desire to make East Timor its backyard. We understand the difficulties of managing relations with other countries.

When we talk about strategic relationship with the South Pacific Forum we are consistent in what we say that we will develop people to people relationship. In Australia we have 20,000 East Timorese living there who are very important in the future for East Timor. There is

tremendous popular support for East Timor in Australia. When we talk about strategic relations we are not only talking about thinking of official relations with Canberra but also strategic relations with Australian NGO communities of different kinds. And the same goes for New Zealand.

On the cultural level, majority of the East Timorese are of Melanesian background. East Timor is a multi-culture, multi-ethnic society, but the predominate group is Melanesian. And if any Timorese goes to Fiji or Solomon Islands or Vanuatu, New Caledonia, he would immediately feel that he is of our part of the world. In fact migration to East Timor over a thousand years from the Pacific region took place, later from the Asian continent. There are also our pragmatic choices, after all Australia and Indonesia are the two most important economies in the region. Then we look at the Asean. We would look at the Philippines as one of our favorite choices, that also because of the cultural, religious and political affinities. Which country in the Asean has more affinities with East Timor than the Philippines. I have already mentioned the historical religious background, the enormously positive experience with Filipino priests and nuns in East Timor and the links and contacts we have established over the years in the diaspora between East Timorese and Philippine communities around the world and the last few years through various organizations.

Aside from the official level with the Philippine government, very important is people to people relationships. With Singapore we see it more at the pragmatic level, that both island states we are vulnerable to the larger neighbors, to their pressures. We look to Singapore with their experience in the 1960s and today you will find a lot of similarities with East Timor and because of their economic skills so we try to combine certain important aspects of people to people relations with other relations that stem, that we're compelled to go into because of strategic relations. A relationship with Singapore and Australia is of strategic necessity.

Cultural Integration

As far as Megawati's ideas to have East Timor integrate with Indonesia, I'll tell you I have a Mongolian friend who once asked me "why not join Mongolia?" I found the idea interesting. A Bolivian medical doctor told me the same thing. Joining Indonesia, Mongolia and Bolivia are all

very legitimate issues. The question is not so much Megawati's culinary preferences but what the people of East Timor desire.

Megawati, an alleged democrat, and the Indonesian Democracy Movement, an alleged democracy movement, will certainly not do the opposite of what the people of East Timor want as a newly emerging democracy in the region. We need to prove that we have gotten over 32 years of Suharto's arrogance.

East Timor has survived a long dramatic history. Portuguese colonial rule left a deep cultural imprint and Indonesia introduced a language totally alien to the people. The new government must address the culture issue, including what the national language of East Timor will be. Portuguese or Bahasa which you can learn in a day, or the East Timorese language? The East Timorese language was never a written language. Over the past few years, the resistance side has been trying to put it in writing, working with experts to put together a grammar book and dictionary. But we cannot run a modern state with a basic language so our strategic choice now is to reintroduce Portuguese as our official language. The East Timorese language is no longer a minority language. We will cultivate it into a national language but it will take 20 years or more.

Portuguese puts us in touch with a community of more than 200 million people around the world because those who can speak Portuguese can understand 85% of Spanish. It does not work the other way around. So we will work on these two languages. But we are also pragmatic enough to realize that English is also important so we will introduce it at the elementary level. We will not exclude Bahasa but it will be optional.

There are of course other dimensions of the cultural issues. East Timor is very culturally diverse. We would like to cherish this cultural diversity but the people of East Timor has been thoroughly uprooted. Before 1975, 95% of the population live in remote rural areas and this has now become an opposite. Through a strategy of war, tens of thousands were uprooted to settlement camps and people were moved from one island to another. So we will be working with various UN bodies and NGOs to resettle the people back to their ancestral lands. Like many indigenous peoples, the East Timorese have a profound attachment to ancestral lands. One of the most dramatic developments is the sudden

break of this spiritual connection with the people, the land and the universe. This has been far more destructive to the people than physical violence. Any government that wishes to heal the wounds, repair the psychological and spiritual damage of the people must address this problem.

East or West

If I have to choose between putting myself squarely in the Western camp and choosing to be brutalized physically and mentally by a Third World country, let me tell you honestly and with humility that I prefer the "Evil West." I do not belong to the school of thought that everything in the West is bad and everything in the developing world is romantic and revolutionary. We just have to look around our midst in Southeast Asia. The worst species belong to our region.

Having said that, I would also like to say that I think it is time the World Bank and the IMF become moralized. For too long they endorsed policies and regimes like Suharto and Marcos. So maybe now there's some policy review, soul searching within the World Bank. Within the IMF there are profound questions being asked about the consequences of their recipes for developing countries. The experiments with developing economies of South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, I don't know about the Philippines, has rocked a lot of consciences. In the end they know, the policy-makers in the West know, peace and stability are necessary for Western economic interest. They must also seriously address the issue of poverty because otherwise there won't be stability for anybody.

On our part, we must consolidate peace and we cannot accept the classic prescription imposed by the World Bank and IMF about austerity measures particularly after a war such as ours. We have to feed the people, educate them and give them health care. But on the other hand the fact of the matter is that the Indonesian side is wasting tens of millions of dollars that are supposed to go to a social safety net to help the millions of poor people in Indonesia and East Timor. We are telling the World Bank that it is immoral to continue to release funds to Indonesia as it pursues its dirty war in East Timor.

Wars are becoming more and more increasingly obsolete because of globalization. There was a time when conventional wars were still

winnable by weapons size and political will. Now it is difficult for wars to become isolated in one country or for the wars to be won only by weapons. Our experience has become an evidence of this. With all their weapons Indonesia has not succeeded not only because of the resistance in East Timor. They have not succeeded because the East Timorese side benefited from the support of millions of people around the world. Public opinion from civil society, NGOs, mass media, public opinion mobilized by the internet. Something that happens today in a remote village in East Timor the UN Secretary General will receive on his desk in a matter of hours. We make sure he gets it.

Sometimes your ability to make use of the international financial institutions or political bodies and lobbies are far more important in helping you winning a certain battle than arming a group of fighters however courageous and heroic they are. We have caused much more damage to Indonesia in terms of financial and diplomatic cost than if we were able to purchase some helicopters and engage them in air battles. This has been the extraordinary transformation in the last 30 years or so particularly in the last 10 years. Sometimes I myself get totally surprised when I receive e-mail messages from Timorese students. If anyone should be given credit for generosity, courage besides the fighters in the mountains, besides the Catholic Church, the bishops, the priests and nuns of East Timor, it's the students.

In the Sta. Cruz massacre, November 12, 1991, 271 people were killed, shot in cold blood, within 10 minutes inside a cemetery. More than half were below the age of 20 and there were kids as young as eight. As I saw the list there were very few over the age of 30 because they were always at the forefront. There are many other casualties among the youth in East Timor.

There is absolutely no reason for the Philippines to be fearful of upsetting the mighty Indonesian neighbor. In practical terms we see relations with the Philippines, at people-to-people level. I also happen to believe that yes states, governments must have relations. That's part of the normal diplomatic process for centuries but also I believe that it is extremely important in the relations between states, between countries, is that people-to-people relations are developed. Only when you have true people-to-people relations, crisis because of conflicts over fishing rights, over navigation rights, trade issues, would not really affect the

relationship. When relationship between countries is artificially concocted through cocktails and on golf courses, there is no real cohesion.

We believe in real people-to-people relations. Maybe East Timor will introduce a new kind of diplomacy. When there are disputes of some nature, when dialogue might close down at government level, the mediators will be the people through the civil society, through the academe, whoever, that can overcome the difficulties in the relationship between the states. So that's how we see it at one level, a practical level.

We would like to see Filipino doctors working in East Timor. We will need many doctors. East Timor has 20 or 25 medical doctors for a population of 800,000. So when we talk about strategic choices it encompasses precisely that. And one can really respond to that because of the trust of the people of East Timor. As for the Fidel Ramos decision not to grant the authorization to come again it had nothing to do with state interest. It was a family feud going back centuries ago.

The Women and the Church

I surrender to embarrassment. We are worse than the Burmese nationalist movement where they also have very few women. I tell you it's an embarrassment, a shame. In Lisbon, we held the first national convention of the Council of East Timorese Resistance, attended by 218 delegates coming from all walks of life. I drafted my list of candidates for the leadership. I wrote down the names that came to my mind as the most dedicated and most competent and when I finished, I counted, four were women, three were men. All belonged to the new generation. I looked around at some of my compatriots and everybody agreed with the list in terms of quality but the response from everyone was "too soon." The old generation will be totally rocked off their chairs. Then we selected 17 orangutans and one woman. And the woman who was elected happened to be my ex-wife, an outstanding lawyer, a former judge. The most intelligent one among the 18. I leave it to the people on the ground a few months from now to resolve this incredible, embarrassing imbalance.

Traditionally, the Portugese colonial system and the Timorese traditional society discriminated against women for different reasons. We inherited a given situation. We decided in Lisbon to create an institute for women with its own charter enshrined in our future constitution, next to

an institute of human rights precisely to tackle this issue. I tell you with all frankness, the Church of East Timor for me is the most noble church you can find anywhere in the world. During the 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule, the Portuguese colonial state did not give education. It was the Catholic church who educated the few who were able to be educated because there were not resources for everybody. During the Japanese occupation of East Timor everybody fled the country, the Church stayed behind. In 1975 when Indonesia invaded, everybody fled. No one helped.

The Church stayed behind and for this reason and this reason alone the Catholic Church has tremendous popular support in East Timor. What will be the role of the Church in the future? I'm not a fundamentalist Catholic. I'm a reformist Catholic and I believe in the separation of powers of the state and the church. At the same time I would be the first to advocate that the Church in East Timor be given a privileged and important role in the education of East Timor. Because I believe, and I don't want prescriptions for each country, that if we want to build a society that is worthy of the sacrifices of the past 23 years, the society must be founded on moral values, ethics, on compassion, and only an education that has these very strong elements can produce a society that is healthy spiritually and physically. And in that regard I would hand over the education of East Timor to the Jesuits, the Church and so on. That is our concrete experience with the Church in East Timor. As much as the majority religion in East Timor is Catholic now, we have a small Protestant community of only 40,000 to 50,000 people. They are part of society. In my view, the Protestant church must also share, give its input to the educational system. We have a smaller Muslim community of Arabic descent that went to Timor about 200 years ago. They are only 500 to 1,000. I don't know now how many Muslims are in Timor but yes they too must give an input in the educational system, in the other aspects of life in East Timor. Absolutely no exclusion, no discrimination on the grounds of religion or gender or ethnicity. I'm happy to say that our Catholic church, the two bishops we have, are the first to promote interfaith dialogue with the other churches in East Timor. Relations between them are very good. Bishop Bello has good relations with Abdul Rahman Wahid, the most important Muslim leader in Indonesia. They are really friends of each other. Bishop Bello, in fact, in the future, once he's not so busy with the problems of East Timor, would be a great individual to help in the interfaith dialogue with Indonesia itself, which is also going through other serious problems between Muslims and Christians and other ethnic

groups in Indonesia. The East Timorese Catholic church will play an important role in Indonesia in the future.

The Constitution and Human Rights

We have a legal affairs and a constitutional affairs department that is working with many friends including from South Africa like Abby Sax, a constitutionalist and famous lawyer who survived bomb assassination attempt a few years ago. He lost an arm in that. He's one of the people advising us. We have a famous French constitutionalist, Roland Dumas, former foreign minister and currently president of the constitutional court in France who has agreed to be part of these efforts. And we are looking for a couple in Asia to advise us on our constitution. What we want is that with the Timorese and with the input of many legal systems, traditions, philosophies and experiences would emerge a unique constitution in East Timor which would be a model of tolerance, of democracy and so on.

Fortunately, the East Timorese people are open, tolerant to foreign input, to experiences, maybe because it was always for a hundred years a crossroad of cultures. The constitution itself will be debated upon in the national congress of the CNRT with delegates from all over the country, with input from the Church. So the decisions on economic policies that affect the lives of the poorest are not made only by the academics and the politicians. Maybe the street vendor knows more about his needs, the needs of the community more than a Ph.D. of ours who studied in the United States. So let's have a national debate that can go on for days, weeks if necessary, but everybody must thoroughly understand and agree on the major choices. Of course, in a country like the Philippines, with 80 million, it is a bit unmanageable to do something of this sort but East Timor has only 800,000 so why not have the luxury of full participatory democracy?

In the field of human rights, we have two issues to address. To live up to our own commitments to uphold human rights and the rule of law in East Timor. In this regard we will set up a human rights institute with an independent charter, part of the constitution, which will work on the human rights curriculum to introduce human rights at the kindergarten level because we believe that if peace and stability, and the compassionate society we want is to be a reality 10 to 20 years from now we must start at kindergarten to teach children about human rights. Human rights is all-

encompassing, It is not only reciting the universal declaration of human rights but understanding other cultures and other religions and respecting and cherishing diversity. That's what we mean by human rights. Regarding human rights violations, we have two problems there. One is what to do about the East Timorese who collaborated with the Indonesian side. Many East Timorese are responsible for enormous atrocities, but we believe that these Timorese are themselves victims. They did not go out and start killing people because they wanted to. Many of the perpetrators involved in that were at one time or another tortured, captured by the Indonesian side and some are innocent villagers who are supported by the villagers and they know that if they don't join the militia they will be killed. So if we are going to start a process of prosecution, even legal prosecution after the ballot, we are only targeting the small fish, those who themselves are victims. So our belief is that we prefer a blanket amnesty and reconciliation among the Timorese. At the other level, the biggest culprits are the Indonesian military, from Suharto to General Anwar.

I believe that as long as war criminals go unpunished there will always be a repetition of crimes. If the Nuremburg and Tokyo tribunals had become permanent tribunals back then, independent tribunals with enforcement for independence your dictator Marcos would not have been tempted to embark on tyranny. Maybe the crimes in Cambodia of Pol Pot would not have happened. Maybe Pinochet would have checked more carefully before launching a coup in Chile. And maybe the Indonesian military would not have done what it did in East Timor. Because there is no international deterrence against war crimes, crimes are repeated all over again.

Those who perpetrate crimes against Indonesian students, against Indonesian workers and peasants, against the people in Aceh are the Indonesian military. The people of Aceh are not Catholics, they are Muslims. The Indonesian military never discriminate when it comes to killing not only the Catholics of East Timor the people of West Papua. The Muslims of Aceh can also tell you about the barbarism of the Indonesian military.

As an individual I will pursue with friends around the world justice to bring about a war crimes tribunal for the Indonesian military. I'm already working with a number people in England, US, Spain, Australia assembling

the best possible team of lawyers around the world including the Spanish judge who initiated the whole Pinochet case. They are working with me to chase these war criminals. And maybe if they believe that we are serious that one day as one of them land in an airport in San Francisco or Los Angeles or Miami or in Perth if they are on the Interpol list to be arrested they might be careful and not kill more people. That's why I think justice is important not as not as revenge only but as a deterrent against future crimes. ❁