

Filner	Lowey	Rothman
Forbes	Luther	Roybal-Allard
Ford	Maloney (CT)	Rush
Fossella	Maloney (NY)	Sabo
Frank (MA)	Markey	Sanchez
Frost	Martinez	Sanders
Gejdenson	Mascara	Sandlin
Gephardt	Matsui	Sawyer
Gonzalez	McCarthy (MO)	Schaffer
Goodlatte	McCarthy (NY)	Schakowsky
Gordon	McDermott	Scott
Green (TX)	McGovern	Serrano
Gutierrez	McInnis	Sherman
Hall (OH)	McKinney	Shows
Hall (TX)	McNulty	Sisisky
Hastings (FL)	Meehan	Skelton
Hill (IN)	Meek (FL)	Slaughter
Hilliard	Meeks (NY)	Smith (WA)
Hinchey	Menendez	Snyder
Hinojosa	Millender-	Spratt
Hoefl	McDonald	Stabenow
Holden	Minge	Stenholm
Holt	Mink	Strickland
Hooley	Mollohan	Stupak
Hoyer	Moore	Tanner
Inslee	Moran (VA)	Tauscher
Jackson (IL)	Morella	Taylor (MS)
Jackson-Lee	Nadler	Thompson (CA)
(TX)	Napolitano	Thompson (MS)
Jefferson	Neal	Thurman
John	Oberstar	Tierney
Johnson, E. B.	Obey	Trafficant
Jones (OH)	Olver	Turner
Kanjorski	Ortiz	Udall (CO)
Kaptur	Owens	Udall (NM)
Kennedy	Pallone	Velazquez
Kildee	Pascarell	Vento
Kilpatrick	Pastor	Visclosky
Kind (WI)	Paul	Waters
Klecicka	Payne	Watt (NC)
Klink	Pelosi	Waxman
Kucinich	Peterson (MN)	Weiner
LaFalce	Pickett	Wexler
Lampson	Pomeroy	Weygand
Lantos	Price (NC)	Wise
Larson	Rahall	Woolsey
Lee	Reyes	Wu
Levin	Rivers	Wynn
Lewis (GA)	Rodriguez	
Lofgren	Roemer	

## NOT VOTING—20

Ackerman	Miller, George	Roukema
Cooksey	Moakley	Stark
Crowley	Murtha	Sununu
Diaz-Balart	Oxley	Towns
Houghton	Pryce (OH)	Weldon (PA)
Latham	Rangel	Young (AK)
Lipinski	Rogan	

□ 2032

Mr. SHOWS changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. HERGER and Mrs. CHENOWETH changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

# WE MUST ACT ON EAST TIMOR NOW

(Mr. MCGOVERN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, this morning I woke up to read in the paper a high-level administration official comparing our choices in East Timor to whether he asked his daughter to clean up her room.

I find this comment offensive, offensive to the people of East Timor who are paying with their lives for trusting the international community; paying

with their lives by having 78 percent of the people vote for independence; offensive to the four priests I met on August 20 in Suai, East Timor, who are now rumored to be murdered; offensive from a representative of the United States which for the past quarter century has trained, armed and equipped the Indonesian police and military, who in turn organized and armed the militias now rampaging throughout East Timor.

Rather than talking about their kid's room, the Clinton administration should be announcing a cutoff of U.S. aid to Indonesia until the violence in East Timor stops and the people can return to their homes safely.

I am proud to join with my colleague, the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. KENNEDY), in introducing legislation to oppose an immediate suspension of all U.S. assistance to the government of Indonesia. I urge all my colleagues to join us and send a message to the administration, as well as to Indonesia, that we will not stand by while East Timor burns.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, DC, September 8, 1999.

WILLIAM S. COHEN,  
Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense,  
The Pentagon, Washington, DC.

DEAR SECRETARY COHEN: I read today a summary of your position on the East Timor crisis in USA Today, which emphasized your absolute rejection of U.S. troops participating in any peacekeeping force. While I can understand your legitimate concerns regarding U.S. commitments already in place around the world, as well as for the safety of our troops, I was disappointed and dismayed that nothing was put forward about what the Pentagon might be willing to support to stop the slaughter in East Timor. Hopefully, this was the fault of the reporter and does not accurately reflect your complete views on East Timor.

Laying aside for the moment the participation of U.S. troops at some time as part of a multinational peacekeeping force in East Timor, I would hope that you would agree the U.S. could and should provide financial support to such an operation, as well as warships (similar to what Britain has already put in motion), helicopters, medical personnel, and other transport, logistical and communications support. A forceful public pledge of such support might provide the signal other nations in the region are looking for to move forward with their own commitments to such a peacekeeping mission.

The United States has been a strong and vocal supporter of the U.N.-brokered plebiscite that took place on August 30, where over 78% of the East Timorese voted for independence. What credibility will the United States and the international community have if the reward for embracing democracy is death and destruction? Is it not indeed in the U.S. interest to help in stopping the current slaughter in East Timor?

Over the past quarter century, the Department of Defense spent considerable time and funds in training, equipping, and arming the Indonesian military and police, who in turn, organized and armed the militias currently rampaging in East Timor. Just as U.S. policy now supports the democratization of Indonesia and the referendum process in East Timor, so now should the Pentagon help to protect the vulnerable East Timorese people who embraced that process.

Time is of the essence. As you are well aware from your briefings, every hour, let

alone every day, increases the death toll and forcible displacement of the people of East Timor. I look forward to seeing more concrete, constructive and affirmative statements from you and the Pentagon on how to stop the killing and resolve the crisis in East Timor.

Sincerely,

JAMES P. MCGOVERN,  
Member of Congress.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Sept. 9, 1999]  
ONLY INTERVENTION CAN STOP THE VIOLENCE  
EAST TIMOR: THE JAKARTA GOVERNMENT, UN-  
ABLE TO CONTROL ITS RENEGADE ARMY, HAS  
LOST LEGITIMACY

Jose Ramos-Horta shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 with Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, whose home was burned to the ground Tuesday by militias roaming Dili, the capital of East Timor. Ramos-Horta spoke with Global Viewpoint editor Nathan Gardels on Wednesday.

Question: Why is the violence taking place now, after the independence vote? Who is committing it?

Answer: The killing is a well-designed strategy prepared for a long time by the Indonesian Army intelligence and special forces. They have their own agenda, and it is very simple: They are not prepared to relinquish East Timor, regardless of the vote in favor of independence and regardless of the commitment by Indonesian President B.J. Habibie.

The so-called "militias" are a fiction. Most of these militia members are not East Timorese opposing autonomy but are Indonesians recruited from West Timor. Among the militias are special forces and Indonesian police in plain clothes. And it is not even these militias that are carrying out the main violence. They don't have the firepower to destroy buildings. And where on Earth would these local militias get the means to ship tens of thousands of people out of East Timor? The Indonesian army, like the Serbian army in Kosovo, arranged for this mass deportation of our people. They have provided the ships to take the people away.

Q: What is the objective of their campaign?

A: To overturn the vote. As far as the army is concerned, the vote is history. They know if they don't accept it, there is no one who will enforce it. Again, let me stress: The war is not being waged by the 20% of the East Timorese who voted for autonomy over independence. We had meetings with all their leaders and they were prepared to accept the vote and join us in a power-sharing arrangement. It is the Indonesian Army that is waging this war.

Q: The martial law that has been declared, then, will consolidate the military control of East Timor, not stem violence?

A: Absolutely. Martial law only strengthens the power of the military. Neither President Habibie nor the defense minister have the power to stop the army. In the context of a democratic country, the Indonesian Army is a renegade army. Along with the special forces, they are a law unto themselves in East Timor.

Q: What, then, is the solution?

A: The only solution is international intervention. If the United Nations Security Council does not fulfill its obligations and call for armed intervention, then countries that have a conscience and resources—Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Europeans—should do it.

Q: Even if the government in Jakarta does not invite them in?

A: A government that cannot honor its international obligations because it cannot control its renegade army does not exist from the standpoint of international law.

The army has hijacked the legitimacy of Indonesian sovereignty. It is a false issue to argue that intervention by the outside world requires the approval of Jakarta.

Q: Are you hopeful about a U.N. Security Council resolution?

A: No, I am not. Some Security Council members insist on an invitation from Jakarta.

Now that U.N. personnel have left East Timor, the violence will escalate. East Timor will be betrayed once more and left alone at the mercy of the Indonesian Army. Thousands and thousands will die in the next few days.

I also cannot say I am hopeful that the Australians and others might take action on their own. I can only pray for a divine inspiration that will summon those with decency to go in and fight for justice, to save the people of East Timor.

[From Human Rights Watch, Sept. 6, 1999]

EAST TIMOR: THE WORLD MUST ACT OR BE COMPLICIT IN THE KILLING

(New York—September 5, 1999)—Human Rights Watch today charged that Western governments were not doing all they could to stop the violence spreading across East Timor in the wake of the vote in favor of independence there last week.

"Indonesia seems bent on leaving East Timor the same bloody way it went in," said Sidney Jones, Asia director of Human Rights Watch. "Western governments will be complicit in the killing if they fail to use any and every means possible to force the Indonesian government to either stop the militia violence or allow international peacekeepers in." Jones dismissed as "nonsense" the suggestion that the militias—created, supported, and armed by the Indonesian army—were beyond Jakarta's control or that they were acting at the behest of "rogue" elements of the armed forces. "The only evidence one needs of Jakarta's involvement is that some 15,000 army and police are in East Timor doing absolutely nothing to stop the terror, arrest the perpetrators, or protect the victims."

"This shows every sign of being planned and coordinated beforehand," she said. "The Indonesian army may be trying to teach a lesson not only to the East Timorese but to the people of Aceh and Irian Jaya. The lesson is: if you seek separation from Indonesia, even if support for separation is overwhelming, we will destroy you, and no outside power will come to your aid." She said it was absurd to explain the violence simply in terms of the pro-Indonesia militias being poor losers.

The increasing invective over the last week in the Indonesian press and on the part of Jakarta-based politicians against the United Nations, Australia, and the U.S. was serving to discredit those most visibly involved in the referendum process.

Human Rights Watch said Indonesia's major donors and trading partners, including the U.S., Australia, Japan, and the European Union should agree on coordinated and targeted sanctions, including suspension of direct budgetary support and other forms of non-humanitarian aid. That aid would be resumed if and when the violence was brought under control. Since it appeared that the Indonesian army had no intention of bringing the militias to heel, Human Rights Watch said, the leverage should be used to persuade President Habibie to accept an emergency international peacekeeping force.

Military training and transfers of equipment—such as U.S. \$5 million in aircraft parts pending from the U.S.—should also be halted. At the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit convening in New

Zealand later this week the crisis in East Timor, and coordinating sanctions should be a top priority.

The main arguments against a peacekeeping force thus far have been that Indonesia would never agree (and without Indonesia's agreement, the Security Council would never approve), and that it would take too long to deploy. Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, and the United Kingdom have been reported at various times to be considering such a force that some have termed a "Coalition of the Willing," the bulk of whose forces would almost certainly have to come from Australia. If Indonesia gave a green light, a rapid deployment would probably be possible. But as of Sunday afternoon New York time, there was no evidence that the Indonesian government had changed its stance of rejecting international peacekeepers.

In the meantime, East Timorese are being attacked in the schools and church compounds where they have sought refuge, most international journalists have left, and by Sunday evening Dili time, the militias were in control of most of the territory.

"The international community paid for this referendum to happen," said Jones. "It sent more than 1,000 expatriate staff to Dili as part of the United Nations Mission in East Timor and hired more than 4,000 local staff, all of whom are in serious danger of militia attack because of their UNAMET association. Its failure to even try to use maximum leverage has turned these people into sitting ducks for militia gunfire."

[From Human Rights Watch, Sept. 7, 1999]

EAST TIMOR: MARTIAL LAW WILL MAKE THINGS WORSE

NEW YORK, September 7, 1999.—Human Rights Watch said today that President Habibie's declaration of martial law in East Timor, apparently at the urging of Indonesian armed forces commander General Wiranto, could make a terrible situation worse. It urged Indonesia's donors to continue to press Habibie to invite an international peacekeeping force to East Timor. The text of the September 6 decree had not been made public as of Tuesday morning, Jakarta time, but was expected to include authorization for the army to shoot on sight and make arrests without warrants. As many as 6,000 new army troops were expected to be sent to East Timor as a result. Indonesian officials gave no indication of how long martial law would last.

"The army says the violence is out of control, but in fact, the army's behind it," said Sidney Jones, Asia director of Human Rights Watch. "It says pro-autonomy groups are clashing with pro-independence groups, but this is not a two-sided conflict. It's a one-sided, well-organized, premeditated rampage, led by fully armed militias and backed by local troops."

Jones said the militias were systematically attacking refugees, journalists, and people associated with the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). "The army organized and armed these militias in the first place," she said. "Since senior officers at any time could have arrested soldiers and militia leaders involved in murderous attacks but did not, why on earth should anyone believe that martial law and more troops will solve the problem?" Jones said the existing troops in East Timor did not need the extraordinary powers that martial law confers. "They just need the political will to act," she said.

Human Rights Watch said it was concerned that with almost all international journalists out of East Timor and most foreigners evacuated save for some 100 UNAMET staff holed up in the UN compound in Dili, the

army could now use martial law as a cover for furthering the work of the militias. "One test will be whether members of the Aitarak militia, responsible for some of the worst violence over the last three days, will be arrested and charged," Jones said. The international community has been urging Indonesia to either stop the violence or invite international forces in to do so.

A five-person delegation from the U.N. Security Council left for Jakarta Monday evening New York time with a mandate to insist that Indonesia take steps in the next forty-eight hours to curb the violence. The martial law decree appears to be Indonesia's response to growing international pressure to act. In interviews with Jakarta newspapers, General Wiranto continues to insist that Indonesia is fully capable of resolving the problem without international assistance and maintains that no international forces will be permitted in East Timor until November, when Indonesia's highest legislative body, the People's Consultative Assembly, ratifies the results of the referendum held last August 30. In that ballot, almost 80 percent of East Timorese voted to reject an offer of autonomy and separate from Indonesia.

## URGENT

(Mr. WOLF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOLF. Madam Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), nominated Bishop Belo for the Nobel peace prize; and shortly thereafter, I visited East Timor about 2 years ago. I want to read a fax that I just received in my office about East Timor. The man said this is a deliberate, carefully planned operation. The militia are not out of control. They are, in fact, firmly under the control of the Indonesian military. East Timor is an Asian Kosovo. Asian Kosovo; and then he goes on to say that a gentle 80-year-old nun who helped work for Bishop Belo has been shot. Bishop Belo's home has been burned down. Bishop Belo has fled the country. And he ends by saying the neck of a 3-year-old child was wrung while his family watched.

This administration has to speak out and deal with this issue, and they have to speak out and deal with this issue before the end of the day.

URGENT

September 9, 1999.

Congressman FRANK WOLF,  
241 Cannon HOB, Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLF: I'm aware of your interest in the people of East Timor and am contacting you because I believe you may not have heard of the massacre at Suai. Details of this event follow later in this message.

The East Timorese desperately need outside help and the support of democratic nations, in particular the USA. No less than 78.5% of East Timorese voted for independence from Indonesia. Since then, Indonesia has subjected them to a terrible revenge. Militia and Indonesian military have been burning, shooting and looting their way through East Timor for days.

The latest estimate (given tonight by the Australian Defense Minister) is that 200,000