

Philadelphia as a champion of the small states.

11. Convention rules were simple and took into account courtesy as well as convenience. It was an age of formal manners. George Wythe of Virginia, chairman of the rules committee, had a keen eye, a deeply lined forehead, and at age 60 resembled a sinewy old eagle. "Every member," read Wythe, "rising to speak, shall address the President, and whilst he shall be speaking, none shall pass between them or hold discourse with another, or read a book, pamphlet or paper, printed or manuscript."

12. Seven states were to make a quorum, and all questions to be decided "by a greater number of these which shall be fully represented." There was an excellent rule providing for reconsideration of matters that had already been passed on by a majority. Young Richard Dobbs Spaight of North Carolina suggested it: "The House may not be precluded, by a vote upon any question, from revising the subject manner of it when they see cause."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
APPROPRIATIONS ACT—H.R. 2607

SPEECH OF

HON. MAJOR R. OWENS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 12, 1997

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, once again the U.S. Congress has exhibited a double standard toward the people of Haiti. The District of Columbia appropriations conference report provides a badly needed resolution to the District's financial problems. This conference report also contains certain immigration policy provisions that are intended to counteract a provision in the extreme, mean-spirited immigration reform legislation passed by the Republican-led 104th Congress. I commend the efforts made by House and Senate conferees to stop the potential deportation of hundreds of thousands of Central American and Eastern European immigrants; however, they specifically left thousands of Haitian immigrants out in the cold. This is tragically unfair and must not be overlooked. The only discernible difference between Haitians and these other refugees is that Haitians are black. I cannot believe that in 1997 the U.S. Congress has chosen to make critical policy decisions in this irrational manner.

The United States Government helped create conditions in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador that resulted in great numbers of people from these countries fleeing their homelands and searching for relief on our shores. In spite of this, Republicans in Congress have attacked immigrants on all fronts, including those from these Central American nations. In addition to cutting back on the types of social services and benefits immigrants could apply for, the ill-conceived Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 created new rules for Central American refugees which would effectively disqualify the vast majority of these immigrants from attaining citizenship and set them up for deportation. Before the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 was passed, these immigrants were permitted to apply for suspension of deportation and then apply for permanent resi-

dence if they met several rigorous requirements. They had to follow a painstaking, labyrinthine process to become American citizens. American citizenship is so prized by our Central American neighbors that they were happy to play by these complicated rules. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 changed the rules for these immigrants midstream and would have forced many of them to return to their homelands even though many have established themselves as productive members of our society. The District of Columbia appropriations legislation treats all these groups with compassion.

The conference report even provides relief for refugees from certain Eastern bloc countries in which we did not become involved to create a refugee situation. Inexplicably, Haitians were not afforded the same treatment, even though their plight was just as terrible and their desire to become American citizens is just as great.

The United States must acknowledge that its support for previous Haitian regimes has forced thousands of Haitian refugees to seek relief here in America. Since the military coup in Haiti, the United States has allowed thousands of these refugees to apply for citizenship. Haitians are still endangering themselves, risking death in order to reach our shores. Clearly, the situation in Haiti is not that much better than it is in Central America and the former Eastern bloc countries. The Haitian Government continues to be in disarray. The country's infrastructure continues to decay at a rapid rate while more than \$1 billion in foreign assistance remains unspent. More than half the population eligible for work is estimated to be jobless at the same time that the cost of living is rising at an alarming rate. The situation in Haiti clearly calls for more compassionate action by the United States. Unfortunately, a proposal by Congresswoman Carrie P. Meek and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus [CBC] to provide relief for Haitian immigrants was not included in the District of Columbia appropriations conference report. This CBC-backed proposal would simply grant Haitians the same treatment given to Nicaraguans under the District of Columbia appropriations conference report. Like Central Americans and Eastern Europeans, Haitian immigrants have a powerful desire to become American citizens. They have established families and provided American businesses with skilled, dedicated workers. In my district in particular, Haitians are a vital part of the local economy and culture. Why are they not afforded the same treatment by American policy makers? It is unthinkable that Haitians were treated differently solely because they are black; however, the circumstances leave me no choice but to conclude that this Congress considers the suffering of black people to be of less importance.

We have settled in this country refugees from many war-torn nations. The people of Haiti have suffered long enough from the excesses of their former despotic leaders and the shortsightedness of our foreign policy. I plan to dedicate the second session of the 105th Congress to working with my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus and other Members of Congress to ensure that equal treatment of Haitian immigrants is achieved. I challenge the House leadership and the administration to make justice for Haitians a pri-

ority in 1998. It is time that we settle this moral debt that we owe the people of Haiti.

EAST TIMOR—NEED FOR A
POLITICAL SOLUTION

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 13, 1997

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks, there have been disturbing developments in East Timor, which was invaded and illegally occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and is an area that has long been of concern to me and many of my colleagues. On November 14, the Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, stated that Indonesian security forces had acted with "incalculable brutality" against students at the University of East Timor. The security forces are said to have burst into the university, opening fire on a group of students and injuring about five seriously. Six others are still in custody as a result of this incident. Amnesty International has asked that those in custody have proper access to legitimate legal advice, and has also called for an investigation into this incident, involving the excessive use of force by Indonesian military and policy.

This is only the latest in a series of violent incidents since Bishop Belo returned last December from Oslo after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. Only in the past 2 months, there have been brutal actions by security forces or those connected to them, near the towns of Viqueque and Ossu. Paul Moore, Jr., the retired Episcopal Bishop of New York, who recently visited East Timor for the second time since 1989, reports that one paramilitary group under Indonesian control throws rocks nearly every night at the home of Bishop Belo's mother and sister in the town of Baucau. I share Bishop Moore's view that such actions are intolerable. And if they can be directed at the family of someone as prominent as a Nobel Peace Laureate, how many can really be safe?

Bishop Moore attended some of the religious festivities that took place around East Timor's highest peak, Mount Ramelau, on October 6-7. As Bishop Moore puts it, "What I saw was an entirely peaceful gathering of tens of thousands of people motivated by their faith. But many in the clergy in East Timor affirm that provocateurs under the control of the Indonesian military have dedicated themselves to marring such events at every opportunity."

This is apparently what happened on Mount Ramelau on October 7, when the stabbing of a young man led to the cancellation of a long-awaited religious procession. As Bishop Moore stated, "This incident is seen by senior clergy, rightly or wrongly, as a deliberate attempt by those under the control of Indonesian authorities to thwart the aspirations of the East Timorese people—in this instance, ruining a day of piety and peace."

However, it is clear to Bishop Moore, and especially to Bishop Belo, that the problem in East Timor is not a religious problem but is political in nature, just as the recent incident at the University of East Timor was rooted in the heavy-handed, illegal Indonesian military occupation. The pattern is one of conscious use and creation of violent incidents, religious and otherwise, by security forces. If such incidents

are created by the security forces, who in the end, are subject to official control, they can be stopped by government action. I wish to emphasize that this is not a matter of Moslem versus Christian but rather it is one of the aspiration of a people for self-determination.

All of this points to the need for a just political settlement to this long-festering problem. Bishop Moore calls for serious efforts by the United States to help solve the East Timor tragedy. The Indonesian Government is accepting billions of dollars from the United States to help support their economy. It is not too much for us to ask that there be a just and peaceful solution in East Timor without further delay. I am sure that many of my colleagues would heartily agree.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I have inserted in the RECORD a copy of Bishop Moore's account of his visit and a brief report by Mr. Arnold Kohen from the London-based Catholic weekly, *The Tablet*, which provides a moving description of what happened on Mount Ramelau on October 7.

REPORT OF BISHOP PAUL MOORE, JR., ON VISIT TO EAST TIMOR, OCTOBER 4-10, 1997

I returned to East Timor almost exactly eight years after my first visit there in 1989. In some fundamental respects there has been little change in the intervening period. The fullscale military occupation continues as before. The level of fear remains profound. What has become stronger, if anything, since 1989, is the desire of the people of East Timor to maintain their own identity and determine their own destiny. In light of everything that has happened since my first visit in 1989—the Santa Cruz massacre, the unrelenting repression and torture, the influx of migrants who take the best opportunities—the determination of the East Timorese people is remarkable.

I was privileged to visit East Timor with my friend, Anglican Archbishop Ian George of Adelaide, Australia, who is also a trained lawyer. We were struck by certain telling details. In meeting with a Catholic priest with whom I was acquainted, we were unable to talk at our hotel but had to go to a nearby beach because of our friend's fear of the authorities. This kind of anxiety was repeated time and again. If a visiting bishop and archbishop have such difficulties in meeting with people in sensitive positions, what does that say about the atmosphere in the territory?

By all accounts, widespread torture continues as I write, as do violent incidents fomented by paramilitary groups of East Timorese under Indonesian control. It is my clear understanding that one such group, known as the Gada Paksi, throw rocks nearly every night at the home of Bishop Belo's mother and sister in the town of Baucau. Such actions are intolerable. And if they can be directed at the family of someone as prominent as a Nobel Peace Laureate, how many can really be safe?

Just after we left, Bishop Belo reported that several homes in the southern town of Viqueque had been burned and several people had disappeared, all of this at the hands of Gada Paksi-type groups with the connivance of the Indonesian military. Incidents like this have continued and grown, especially since Bishop Belo returned from receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo last December. It is not accurate to say, as some in the Administration have done, that there are fewer incidents of violence in East Timor. While such incidents may be cyclical, senior church and other reliable sources, and not

only Bishop Belo, made it clear to us that such incidents are most often provoked by people working closely with the Indonesian military, in an effort to justify the continuing occupation of East Timor. I do not mean to suggest that there is bad will on the part of American officials who seem to believe that violence is lessening. Rather, I believe that because of the language barrier, the narrow range of informants and the state of fear in the territory, the information our State Department receives from East Timor is less than adequate. Thus, I was pleased to learn that USAID will be providing support to the Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission and the Dili branch of the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute. One hopes this will lead to an improvement in the quality of information that our government receives from East Timor, at the same time that it gives the United States an added responsibility to protect these institutions from intimidation and harassment.

I was fortunate to be able to attend some of the religious festivities that took place on Mount Ramelau on October 6-7. What I saw was an entirely peaceful gathering of tens of thousands of people motivated by their faith. But many in the clergy in East Timor affirm that provocateurs under the control of the Indonesian military have dedicated themselves to marring such events at almost every opportunity. The stabbing to death of a young man that took place at the summit of Mount Ramelau on October 7 led to the cancellation of the religious procession. This incident is seen by senior clergy, rightly or wrongly, as a deliberate attempt by those under the control of Indonesian authorities to thwart the aspirations of the East Timorese people—in this instance, ruining a day of piety and peace. The fact that this version of events is given widespread credence by responsible clerics and many others speaks volumes about the atmosphere in the territory.

Finally, let me emphasize the deep seriousness of the problem in East Timor. It cannot be solved without taking into account the domestic aspirations of the East Timorese people. The fact that Bishop Belo received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 gives the East Timor issue a worldwide currency that it previously lacked. This provides opportunities for people, governments and institutions of good will to help solve the problem over time. We would be seriously remiss and morally negligent if we were to allow such unique opportunities to go by, particularly in view of the initial support of the United States government for Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor.

[From the *Tablet*, Oct. 25, 1997]

MURDER ON THE MOUNTAIN

(By Arnold Kohen)

It seemed too perfect, and for beleaguered East Timor it was. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people made the long trek to the top of Mount Ramelau, the territory's highest peak, an exquisitely beautiful site as well as a symbol of the struggle for East Timor's independence. People had travelled in the back of trucks, some for days, in a remarkable outpouring of faith and hope. Many had walked long distances.

This was a singular event in East Timor's history, a two-day gathering uniting the territory's traditional animist religions, which venerate sacred objects known as *lulik*, with the traditions of the Catholic faith. In the light of the huge number of conversions that have taken place since the Indonesian invasion of the territory—the proportion of

Catholics has grown from less than 20 per cent of the population to more than 95 per cent in a little more than two decades—the event had special significance; many of those who have converted continue to worship their *lulik* and at the same time attend church services that have themselves become a quiet statement of nationalist feeling.

First there was a Mass attended by tens of thousands in the foothills of the mountain range late on the afternoon of 6 October. It was celebrated by Bishop Basilio de Nascimento, who recently joined Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo of Dili when he was appointed to head East Timor's newly-created second diocese. Then for hours the two bishops led a procession in the dark up the long, steep pathways of Mount Ramelau. They were accompanied by a group of elders who had donned ancient symbols of Timorese religion. The culminating event was to be the placing of a statue of the Virgin Mary the next morning at the summit of the mountain, called *Tata-Mai-Lau* in the local Tetum language. Many thousands, mainly younger people, spent the night outdoors in piercing cold in a clearing dotted by black eucalyptus trees. The excitement was palpable.

The next morning Bishop Belo devoted his homily to themes of peace. The fact that so many people had gathered in a place so difficult to reach as Ramelau, bearing such good cheer and patience, had its own positive message. Spirits were high, as participants took refreshments before making the hour-long climb to the peak. Some had already gone to the top to watch the sun rise.

But only moments after Belo completed the Mass, the bad news arrived. A man, whom some church sources have linked to a military-inspired vigilante group called the Gada Paksi, tried to break through a cordon of Catholic boy scouts who were guarding the pathway to the top, where the statue was to be placed. (There were reports from the Indonesian military that the assailant was a member of the Fretilin independence movement, but no evidence has been produced to support this claim.) The intruder was told to go back, whereupon he stabbed one of the scouts to death; the assailant was in turn beaten to death by the crowd.

Senior clergy had little doubt about the source of the profanation of the event at Ramelau. Something similar had happened only hours after Bishop Belo returned from Oslo on Christmas Eve 1996 after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. They attributed the incidents to crazed East Timorese, possible drug-addicts, in the pay of Indonesian military intelligence. And then there was the rock-throwing by provocateurs when Cardinal Roger Etchegaray visited East Timor in early 1996. Many people, clergy and laity alike, complain bitterly that whenever there is an event reflecting the people's aspirations, the Indonesian military set out to stifle it.

The way Bishop Belo handled the crisis on Ramelau provides graphic illustration of his cohesive role. Immediately he took to the microphone at the altar where he had just finished saying Mass to appeal for calm, and announced that the procession to the top had been cancelled. He had not slept all night, but he coolly led the crowd down steep inclines on a two-hour march that was shadowed by the possibility of further acts of violence. The pathway was rocky and at times perilous, the mood extremely tense (if an individual could come out of nowhere to commit a stabbing, what else might follow?) but Belo reacted with aplomb.

He was sad as well as furious over what he saw as a clear attempt to denigrate the Church, but he would not show it, as people looked to him for inspiration. His soft-spoken, indirect and sometimes enigmatic man-

ner of discourse can baffle some of those who meet him expecting a more militant personage. In fact, Belo is perfectly capable of tough and blunt talk on human rights and the condition of his occupied nation, but sees

it as his main role to prevent the kind of mayhem that could easily have ensued on Mount Ramelau on 7 October.