

# The Crossroads of Destiny

To lift the economic threshold of our downtrodden aspirant people we have to come to terms with the harsh political realities that makes co-existence necessary and confrontation a disastrous option. A vast gulf of emotions has to be overcome, it is time to take radical political steps for the economic emancipation of our people.

FOR many Pakistanis the cricket test at Chennai on Indian soil had a profound moment of poignancy within minutes of victory. Notwithstanding the insecurity unleashed by Bal Thackeray's venom, the entire audience in the stadium, though acutely disappointed at India's defeat, rose to applaud when the Pakistani team took their victory lap.

Mian Nawaz Sharif must be commended for a long and relentless crusade to establish mutual relations on a sound footing without losing sight of the core Kashmir issue. It is BJP's Vajpayee who as Indian PM crossed the Wagah border in a bus rather than a tank (despite the entreaties of Jose cannon Thackeray). Taking history by the scruff of its neck, the bus ride has brought the leaders as well as the peoples of Pakistan and India face to face with a harsh economic reality in the new millennium, we will either sink or survive together.

How can one question the natural demarcation imposed by geographical boundaries enclosing the peoples of South Asia in a high, mountainous embrace of the Himalayas, Karakoram and other ranges in the North, bounded in the South by the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean? Distinct peoples and religions are enclosed within this sub-continent, despite many diverse languages one can still understand each other. Invasions bring in new dynamics (and with it many excesses), for the most part the peoples of South Asia have lived in racial and religious harmony for over a millennium till the British established their bedrock authority on a policy of divide and rule. Even the much vilified (by the Hindus) Emperor Aurangzeb, last of the Great Moghuls, had a Hindu General as his Commander against Shivaji! Two centuries of festering hatred, assiduously nurtured by the British, resulted in a new reality in 1947, that has continued now for over 50 years, the British leaving a bone of contention in Kashmir. At worst Vajpayee's trip could end on a note of symbolic significance, at best it presents us with a unique opportunity to study the consequences of confrontation in the past and replace it with co-existence in the future.

Reality begins with identity. Hindus and Muslims are as different as chalk is to cheese in ideology, in culture there are distinct areas of conformity, while respecting each other's beliefs we must ensure that militants among the minority on either side should not ride roughshod over the overwhelming desire of the vast silent majority to live in peace. Any military analyst will confirm that wars between Pakistan and India are unwinnable - if either India or Pakistan were to gain any territory would they be able to hold ground in the face of guerrilla warfare that would almost certainly ensue? On the other hand what about the danger that either India or Pakistan, facing possible defeat in the battlefield, not turn to the weapon of last resort as a desperate measure? The nuclear potential has made victory for either side fruitless. Meaningful détente was born during the cold war out of the negative vibes to any such query.

Ground realities demand that we work our way from confrontation to co-existence. Reality must begin with the core issue of Kashmir. Pakistan cannot abandon the long-suffering people of the valley for narrow, crass economic considerations; on the other hand

India has adopted a hard-line stance to the whole issue, shunning third party mediation to solve the dispute. Why not a radical departure from stated options? For 50 years now the Cease-Fire Line (CFL) has seen fire and bloodshed being exchanged all along the line. Why not exchange that for the movement of people and trade across a defunct CFL but with the restriction of no permanent residency for the time being so as not to upset the population count? The status quo in the Northern Areas and

## AS I SEE IT

Ikram Sehgal writes from Karachi

Azad Kashmir (AK) must be regularised as Pakistani territory and Ladakh and Jammu should go to India. Let us look for a solution for the Valley within the parameters of South Asia, bringing in SAARC troops (light infantry) from Sri Lanka (4 Brigades), Bangladesh (4 Brigades) and Nepal (one Brigade) to enforce the peace, allowing India (with a meaningful participation from Pakistan) to keep on administering the Valley for the next 10 years till 2010, with the laws of either India or Pakistan applicable to the individual as per his or her choice. India would retain a maximum of one Infantry Division concentrated at two or three locations in the Valley. SAARC troops would be stationed across the broad expanse of the vale, having right of hot pursuit to maintain law and order.

In their own areas (Northern Areas and AK for Pakistan, Jammu and Ladakh for India) there should be a limitation on number of troops and offensive weapons, particularly artillery. Siachen must be immediately demilitarised and all troops withdrawn, in fact India is spending five times what we are for this senseless war at the coldest height of nonsense, money that could well be used for giving good air mobility and reconnaissance potential to the SAARC troops policing the Valley. The complications inherent in enforcing such a plan are a far better option than continuing with the loss of precious young lives on a daily basis with no possible end result. At the end of the 10-year period, let there be a referendum to determine the real wishes of the Kashmiri people.

When we come to terms with Kashmir only then we can consider the economic benefits of co-existence for the peoples of South Asia, possible only if there is free trade without any tariffs between the participating nations, with a start made to eventually have a South Asian currency on the pattern of the "Euro" called the "Rupiah" to coincide with the final settlement of Kashmir. Some of Pakistan's competitive price and quality of Indian goods will overwhelm us. That makes for commercial nonsense, if Indians can produce quality goods, so can we. In any case most of our goods and services, even though suffering in price comparison due to the vast economy of scale in India, are still quite competitive. In time we will get benefit of the "freight" advantage.

The Indians get a market for 130 million people, in contrast a market of 900 million people of India and 250 million peoples of the rest of South Asia (over a billion) opens up to us, a vast economic opportunity that is enhanced by the transit nature of the trade that flows

through us. Our cotton is a main cash-earner, with downstream textile mills and cotton derivatives surpassing the Indians in quality. Instead of being overwhelmed by our fears let us be prepared to accept the challenges that economic opportunity presents us with. The gateway to Central Asia is Pakistan, crossroads for an unimaginable trade opportunity that will never become a reality without an amicable understanding over Kashmir.

China as well as the regions of East and South East Asia

requires the capability of 'mutually assured destruction' mad as it may seem we have to keep our powder dry and our troop levels intact for the time being because in both nations there will be elements instigating and creating reasons for suspicion and conflict. Nobody can afford a Trojan Horse but one may be sure there will be elements on both sides intent on planning it. On the other hand to instill a modicum of cohesion, we could take a giant step forward by making the para-military Border Forces (Rangers and BSF) work under a Joint Military Commission while keeping their identities distinct, a direct experiment in meaningful co-existence.

Barring the unfortunate people of Africa, who nonetheless still have vast resources to fall back upon, is there anyone in the world further below the threshold of poverty than the peoples of South Asia? If we do not cooperate economically the world will pass us by; hi-tech will accelerate the gap in the 21st century. I am sure that anyone can imagine a far bigger than our people can bear. To lift the economic threshold of our downtrodden aspirant people we have to come to terms with the harsh political realities that makes co-existence necessary and confrontation a disastrous option. A vast gulf of emotions has to be overcome, it is time to take radical political steps for the economic emancipation of our people. We are at the crossroads of destiny on the verge of the new millennium, either we can have the courage to take bold, imaginative steps to brighten our future together or because of myopic vision consign more than one billion people into the dustbin of history.

There will always be hawks and peace-niks, the hawks will always raise alarm bells about "Balkanisation" and hold forth about a "sell-out", the peace-niks would favour immediate disarmament, both are wrong. Have the nations of Europe reduced any of their troop levels even as they turn to political integration to match economic initiatives of the Common Market? Détente

have had tremendous economic progress mainly because free trade has flourished in a sea of peace and stability. They have many problems between them, not perhaps on the scale of Kashmir, yet they have chosen co-existence instead of confrontation even though they are far more diverse than the peoples of South Asia. Together, we can surpass their potential, if only we do let us not fritter away our respective economic strength in escalation of conflict down the military route.

Today when the rumbling and crumbling sounds are coming out from that unfortunate country - Indonesia, it indicates some shocking bad news are in the making. It's a pity to note that one of the most resourceful developing countries of the world, comprising some 17,000, big and small islands, with a population of over 150 millions, predominantly Muslim, having a dominant voice in Asian and world affairs being one of the four founding fathers of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), is today facing an unprecedented political humiliation and economic ruin.

It's a sad picture, no doubt. Because emerging as an independent nation after 350 years of colonial rule by the Netherlands, it stood boldly on its feet in 1945 and followed a policy of non-alignment embodying the NAM as a powerful third force in relation to two superpowers - USA and the Soviet Union, during the chilling cold war. But its slow but steady down-hill fall, with a cancerous disease within, began with the grabbing of power illegally, through a bloody coup, by then Army Chief Gen. Soeharto, with the blessings of the West, casting that legendary figure Dr Soekarno who had infused a new life and a new sense of direction among the Indonesian people. Somebody somewhere was not pleased with Soekarno's brilliant performance.

Following the 'coup', Soekarno's life was spared but

his able and most influential Foreign Minister Dr Subandrio, and about half a million ethnic Chinese were massacred on the plea of 'cleansing the country of the communists. The whole nation was terrorised and a silence of grave-yard prevailed.

**Annexation of East Timor: Soeharto's Gimmicks**

As an act of 'bravery' and 'patriotism' for his nation, Soeharto invaded East Timor in 1975, after it achieved independence from its colonial power, Portugal in 1974. And in 1976, East Timor, with a population of some eight lakhs, mostly Christian, was declared as the 27th province of Indonesia. Since then it has become a prickling thorn in the throat of Indonesia. The people's resentment and anguish against robbing them of their newly-gained independence, that was suppressed by the iron-hand army rule of Soeharto, proved to be fatal in the long run both for Soeharto and his country. The people's wrath that was brewing underneath like a dormant volcano burst out at the right time when that so-called 'Life President' Soeharto was thrown out in May last year in the face of violent street demonstrations crying for establishing democracy and implementing economic reforms for the welfare of the people. His successor, Vice-President Habibie, and a former protégé of Soeharto, took over as Acting President.

Although he is said to have 'dismantled' many features of Soeharto's rigid political legacy, he has so far failed to meet the demands of guerrilla-wrecked East Timor for inde-

pendence. But he has come down a lot from a rigid position to reconciliation with the guerrillas. The arrested guerrilla leaders have been released from jail, and even their 'mastermind' Xanana Gusmao, who was earlier sentenced for 20 years in criminal charges, has been released and treated as a political prisoner. But the East Timorese have categorically rejected all advances made by Habibie. They stand solidly behind their leaders for independence of their territory and withdrawal of Indonesian forces from their soil. Habibie, thrown into the quagmire, rather unexpectedly, is now trying hard to find an honourable way-out, under pressure from America, EU, and the UN, to grant independence to East Timor. UN has however accepted the illegal 'annexation' of East Timor by Indonesia.

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The Western world, particularly the media, along with the human rights organizations, have taken up the cudgel on behalf of the freedom fighters of East Timor for obvious reason. Australia, which had so far followed an officially pro-Indonesia policy, supporting even the 'annexation' of East Timor, has not yet shown any change in its official stance. But there is a growing pressure from an influential section of the Australian press to move with the times and help those who are trying to achieve independence. Jakarta spooked by a mouse that roared, ran a headline in an Australian daily, another said: 'Time to Correct East

Timor Mistakes' has come. An Australian columnist said: 'After three decades of repression, military rule and 23-years of occupation, the democratisation of Indonesia and East Timor's impending freedom should be causes we can all celebrate.'

Australia, which always looked at Indonesia as a 'threat' to its sovereignty, has a 'border agreement' and a 'resource exploitation treaty'. Perhaps that limits Australia's 'sphere of activities' towards East Timor's freedom movement. But all indications are there that Australia would welcome a free East Timor which is likely to be a wealthy state because of its off-shore oil reserves. Australian Prime Minister Howard has already expressed the hope that East Timor would achieve independence within 18 months.

But many apprehend that the 'buck' is not going to stop at East Timor alone. There is already a pass the back run around some other islands of Indonesia. Signs of violence and hostility in such 'trouble spots' are taking menacing shapes. Even Christian-Muslim riots in several islands are casting long dark shadows.

**'Balkanisation' in the Making?**

In short, the revolt against Jakarta has already been intensified in a number of islands, including Aceh, West Papua, Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya. So when there is smoke, the fire can't be far behind. The cracks are already visible. Many, therefore, apprehend

nouncing the current positive initiative.

Undeniably, the visit of the Indian prime minister to Lahore is different in many ways and is being described as "historic", "remarkable", "significant", so and so forth. It is because of the mechanism and modalities of the visit that has long been dubbed as bus diplomacy and for several other factors which include the first nuclear peace talks after the nuclear detonations over nine months

ago. Nuclear explosions in early May last year by both sides led to a highly charged atmosphere in both countries with provocative figures making provocative statements. Bilateral ties appeared to plunge in an all-time low but certain developments mainly in the form of contacts at the highest level on the sidelines of international conferences helped arrest the worsening conditions. Subsequently, things began to improve and went on to de-escalate the tensions by forging co-operation and exchanges in various forms like the cricket match. They also held 'composite talks' covering many areas of bilateral relationship, ranging from skirmishes at the 'Siachen' glacier in the Himalayas to trade matters.

Problems between India and Pakistan are too complicated for solution as they have been there almost in unaltered manner since the two nations became independent from British

India in 1947. They fought wars while tensions along the border are a normal affair. Still, there are pressures at home and abroad to normalise ties as far as possible. There has been pressure, political and financial, on them after the nuclear blasts and both said they were moving towards signing the CTBT and the NPT. International sanctions, imposed in the aftermath of the nuclear explosions, are being relaxed. There are political parties and other socio-political organisations in both countries in favour of peace efforts since the people of the two countries have so many things in common. However, there are also Shiv Sena or similar parties in India and forces like Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan which always seek to thrive on communal and hostile nature of politics for their own existence. Fortunately, their strength is not much to reckon with. Vajpayee's trip to Pakistan and talks with Nawaz Sharif in Lahore is in line with the current trend of de-escalating tensions in different regions of the world. Their talks do not mean that something will emerge overnight and result in disappearance of tensions and the problems will be resolved. To expect that one will call all the other a 'spade' on 'Kashmir' issue will be fallacious. In substance, their talks may not go too far in terms of solution of bilateral problems, but their moves to improve ties either through the bus diplomacy or any other method are being well received by their peoples, other South Asian countries and the world at large. Hope, Vajpayee's visit will contribute towards that end despite the fact that too much cannot come in the given nature of the relationship between India and Pakistan.

not only been 'politicised', it has also been 'baptised' to some extent.

**Sword of Damocles**

President Habibie had already taken several steps to meet the demands of the East Timorese people, such as, partial withdrawal of the army from the territory, release of all political prisoners, including the separatist leader Xanana Gusmao who was earlier sentenced to 20 years prison-term on criminal charges. Recently, the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal who met in New York at a UN-brokered meeting, had ended on an inconclusive note, disagreeing on the formation of a 'consultative mechanism' that would enable the East Timorese people to eventually gain independence. It may be a 'face-saving' device for Indonesia which seems, in all respects, to be mentally and physically prepared to part with East Timor, proved to be the most costly province of Indonesia. However, the two Foreign Ministers are again scheduled to meet in New York on March 10 next under UN auspices to reach a final deal.

Meanwhile, President Habibie has indicated that East Timor's political futures could be determined by the end of this year. That's a hopeful note, no doubt. But achievement of independence by East Timor will undoubtedly throw a big question mark for peoples in other parts of Indonesia, who had raised their voice against Jakarta for independence. How far the East Timor tremor spreads, only future will show, although Habibie says that the remaining 26 provinces had been 'unified' since independence in 1945 and for 350 years of Dutch rule. History will set the path. But the question continues to hang like a Sword of Damocles: 'Is Balkanisation' of Indonesia inevitable?

# East Timor: How Far is the Tremor Felt?

by A M M Shahabuddin

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that 'Balkanisation' or 'fragmentation' of Indonesia into a number of independent states can't be ruled out altogether. When one brick comes out of the wall, that definitely rings the alarm bell for the impending danger for the entire building. It won't be out of context here to say that there might be some 'evil forces' working behind the unholy move to cut a powerful and the largest Muslim country to its size for good. It is an open secret that the West has shifted their emphasis from 'downed' communism of Soviet Union to 'rising' Islamic forces, or, in their parlance, 'Islamic militancy'.

Incidentally, it may look strange that the Nobel Peace Award authorities in 1996 had conferred Peace Award on two personalities of a tiny island East Timor with a population of eight lakhs, one spiritual leader, Bishop Carlos Belo, and another political leader, Jose Ramos Horta, perhaps in recognition of their services in the struggle for independence of Christian dominated East Timor. The same authorities never took recognition of M K Gandhi, who devoted his life to the cause of independence of India from British rule, who first raised his voice against racial discrimination as a young barrister in South Africa and who ultimately sacrificed his life in the hands of a fanatic for preaching peace between Hindus and Muslims in a riot-stricken India following partition. Do you get the message? There has been a bit diversion from my main point, but I think there is some food for thought for those who reach the bottom line - that the Nobel Peace Prize has

# Turkey Holds Trial of Human Rights Workers

by M A Obaydullah

THE Turkish government has resumed trial against 10 executives of the Diyarbakir branch of the Turkish Human Rights Association (HRA). The 10 HRA executives were taken to Diyarbakir State Security Court on 9 February, charged under Article 7(2) of the Anti-Terror Law with producing propaganda for the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). If found guilty, they face up to 10 years of imprisonment. The prosecution is also calling for the permanent closure of the Diyarbakir branch of the HRA. Various human rights organisations including Amnesty International have criticised this. Amnesty International has described the proceedings as "a shameful attempt to sabotage the work of a courageous human rights organization."

As no serious evidence has been produced to support the allegation that these HRA officers engaged in illegal or inappropriate activities, Amnesty International believes that they should not be standing trial. The 10 human rights defenders are not accused of violent offences. Therefore, should they be imprisoned as a result of the current trial, Amnesty International has said it would adopt them as prisoners of conscience. Amnesty International members worldwide will campaign for their immediate and unconditional release.

The HRA is Turkey's largest independent human rights organization, with offices throughout the country. It carries out its work against the backdrop of a bitter conflict be-

tween the state and the PKK in Turkey's southeastern provinces. As one of the key HRA offices in the southeast, Diyarbakir has had a prominent role in investigating and reporting on human rights abuses committed in the region.

The HRA has openly condemned human rights violations committed by both the state and the PKK, but its work is often presented by the government as undermining Turkey's reputation and damaging public confidence in the country's security forces. In such a highly-charged context, the HRA has been repeatedly targeted for attack. Its officials have been threatened, arrested, prosecuted, abducted, killed, and its offices have been ransacked and bombed. In May 1998 the Turkish authorities began ordering the closure of branch after branch of the HRA in an apparent bid to stifle its activities permanently.

The Diyarbakir branch - as several others - remains closed, and its archives were confiscated by the police. The Turkish authorities have used a range of pretexts to justify these closures. The Diyarbakir branch was closed on the grounds that "its activities threaten the unity of the state".

Other branches were closed because they were "acting outside their authority" or because "illegal publications" had been found during police searches. Alongside these closures, national and regional HRA officials face a string of prosecutions under repressive legislation which restricts peaceful freedom of expression.

ON January 27, Indonesian President B J Habibie raised the prospect of giving East Timor independence - as early as July next year. With this announcement, tensions raised in that territory. The tensions have raised questions over whether the territory will ever have the social and political cohesion to survive as an independent entity. What's more, does it have the basis for a viable economy? Who will nurse the country through transition towards independence?

For now, it's not even clear if matters will reach that stage. Popular opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri has threatened to scrap the independence offer if she wins Indonesia's June elections. Although the vast majority of 830,000 Timorese want to go it alone, Indonesian settlers and some sections of Timorese fear they may be targeted for reprisals if the Indonesian army pulls out. Meanwhile, in the Indonesian and Portuguese negotiations are still hammering out a wide-ranging plan to give autonomy - rather than independence - to the former Portuguese colony.

The autonomy plan will be finalised in April, then presented to the Timorese. If they reject it, the process of cutting East Timor loose will be taken over by next October's session of the People's Assembly, Indonesia's highest legislative body, to be formed after the elections in June. The assembly will decide whether to revoke the 1978 res-

olution that made East Timor an Indonesian province, opening the way for an Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor by July next year.

Most Timorese, however, say they want a period of autonomy under Indonesian rule to build institutions and disarm the populace before independence. Fretilin resistance leader, now under house arrest after release from jail, has advocated five to ten years of autonomy followed by a referendum. Like many of the initiatives, the Habibie administration, the offer of independence to East Timor seemed too sudden and too simple. "This is too premature," said Nobel laureate Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, spiritual leader of the predominantly Catholic East Timorese. "This process has to be carried out respectfully. All but the most radical Timorese worry deeply that if the Indonesians leave abruptly, history could repeat itself. The Portuguese left behind a civil war when they withdrew in 1975."

Habibie's offer confronts the East Timorese with a stark choice: broad autonomy with no hope of independence, or independence next year. Many Timorese are convinced that Habibie's proposal was designed to fail. They see it as a ploy to show that East Timor - ruled by Indonesia since 1975 - cannot govern itself. "We've been of-

fered two choices, and neither of them is the right one which makes me doubt the government is dealing in good faith," says a top academic of the University of East Timor.

But in Jakarta, a different motivation seemed to have emerged. Habibie appeared to have been the driving force behind the policy shift. Analysts say that Habibie and his supporters from the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals have not been kindly disposed towards throwing money at the Catholic-dominated province, where Muslim settlers were being mistreated and resistance has continued unabated. Academics, new generation military officers and a growing number of officials had also long been pondering the prospect of a change in policy.

A presidential advisor on foreign affairs said, "It's a realistic solution. We see East Timor as an appendix giving a fever to the rest of the country." Former President Suharto refused to acknowledge that, but the current political transition, according to the advisor on foreign affairs, "means there is a whole new prism through which we see the issue."

The new outlook became official policy when Habibie decided to announce it to the cabinet. His sudden decision was reportedly triggered by a letter from the Australian Prime

Minister saying that Canberra would change its policy and join the chorus urging self-determination for East Timor. "Why don't we just let East Timor go," Habibie told his aides. "Haven't we suffered enough character assassination as a nation because of this?" There was also a growing sense that the loss of East Timor would not fracture the Indonesian republic and even remove one obstacle to the foreign aid Jakarta so desperately needs. President Habibie's eight months in office have been chaotic, marked by ethnic and economic turmoil. Granting independence to East Timor relieves Habibie of a major headache and could win him support both at home and abroad. "This has been more than a pebble in our shoe," said one Indonesian diplomat, repeating Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas's oft-quoted complaint. "It's been a millstone around our neck."

According to reports, Alatas will be meeting his Portuguese counterpart and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in New York this month. Since Indonesia has ruled out a referendum, the negotiators will have to find a way to assess whether the Timorese favour the autonomy plan or immediate independence. Alatas said: "If autonomy is not accepted, then Indonesia will part ways in an

honourable, peaceful and orderly way - we're not just going to pack up and leave and say goodbye."

Still, Western diplomats and Timorese leaders question the take-it-or-leave-it nature of Indonesia's decision. They say that without a referendum, pro and anti-independence forces will turn the province into a battleground. The potential for conflict between Gusmao's separatist guerillas and newly armed pro-integration groups is growing.

Tension is already reported to be brewing on the ground. Fomenting the tension, the Indonesian army has reportedly supplied hundreds of weapons in the past month or so to previously unarmed loyalists in some districts of East Timor. Defence Minister and armed forces chief Gen. Wiranto, however, denies that the army is providing new arms to anyone. Indeed, Wiranto has called the policy change "most appropriate."

After years of subjugation and an estimated 200,000 deaths, the East Timorese may view Jakarta's offer of olive branch with suspicion, but they may be willing to put aside such suspicions. "If we don't accept the offer, we may never know our future," says a long-time independence campaigner. "It is better to start from nothing than to suffer more."

In reality, the fundamental structural dependency created over the period of more than two decades of hegemonic oppression must be recognised. Indonesians at every layer of governance and in the private sector have succeeded in securing for themselves a privileged position at the expense of the native Timorese through a process of subordination and in the name of security.

Impressive physical infrastructure has been built up but the social, cultural and spiritual infrastructures have been systematically dismantled. The sense of belonging to a community has disintegrated. Even the social cohesion has been rent asunder by a policy of divide and rule. The pro-integration forces have been armed to the teeth to subdue the majority Timorese.

In this backdrop, it is generally felt that if independence comes, a strong UN transition authority would be needed for at least two years backed by peacekeeping troops from Australia, New Zealand, Portugal and possibly Indonesia. It is also believed that it is important for Indonesia to play some sort of role to ensure it doesn't sabotage the process and to show its good faith. Everything, has to have the blessing of Indonesia, otherwise it is useless. Some among the Indonesians feel that despite all the money and sacrifices, Indonesia has failed to win the hearts and minds of the Timorese, in much the same way as the US failed to win the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese.