

the country opposed clemency for the FALN terrorists. The Government Reform and Oversight Committee asked President Clinton to explain himself to the American people, to release the papers that showed why this was done, and not hide behind executive privilege. Mr. President, release those papers.

WE SHOULD LOOK AT THE FACTS AND NOT AT FICTION

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to speak this morning, but one of my colleagues on the other side aroused my interest and curiosity sufficiently to make me rise and speak to this issue.

Mr. Reagan's new biography is already controversial because it is predicated on the insights of a fictional character. Well, we have just had a fictional representation of what happened to the American economy in recent years. It was in 1993—when without a single Republican vote in the House or in the Senate—we changed the course of this economy which is now resulting in huge budget surpluses.

It is remarkable that a book that has not even been released already has such a major impact that my colleagues on the other side engage in a fictional representation of what happened to the American economy during the last 7 years.

Our economic indices are at an all-time favorable position; low unemployment, low inflation, high productivity, and the Clinton-Gore administration was in charge.

WE SHOULD STOP PRETENDING AND FACE THE REAL ISSUE, WHICH IS THE NATIONAL DEBT

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

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, following up on the previous speaker, I would just like to suggest that since this administration took office, the public debt has increased \$1.5 trillion, but that is not just the President; that is Congress and the President who control borrowing and spending.

We have decided to keep on borrowing and spending. So every year we have increased the public debt of our federal government.

To suggest that tax increases result in a stronger economy would be contrary to what almost every economist says. The previous speaker is correct—the 1993 largest tax increase in history was passed by Congress and the President without a single Republican vote.

I am going to send a copy of our debt history out as a "dear colleague" so that everybody is fully aware of what is happening to our public debt. We

now owe roughly \$5.6 trillion. Ten years ago, it was half that amount.

It seems important to me that we understand that we have three parts of our public debt. One is what I call Wall Street debt, about \$3.6 trillion. One is Social Security debt, approaching \$1 trillion, and then the other 122 trust funds and intergovernment transfers, which is another \$1.2 trillion. We cannot pretend to pay down one part of the debt without considering what we are doing to the total debt of this country. It is all debt. It all has to be paid back, if not by us, by our kids and grandchildren.

WE MUST PUT A STOP TO THE RAID ON SOCIAL SECURITY

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

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the President and House Democrats want to continue their 30-year raid on the Social Security trust fund but Republicans have drawn a line in the sand. First, we forced the President to agree to our lockbox provision, which walls off the Social Security trust fund from Washington politicians who want to use it for new Federal spending. Now we want to protect the Social Security money from the big government liberals who want to increase spending and increase the size and power of the Federal Government.

The President's budget would spend \$57 billion of the Social Security surplus in the fiscal year 2000 budget alone. We must put a stop to the raid on Social Security. Stop the raid. Let us put an end to 30 years of fiscal irresponsibility.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair announces that he will postpone further proceedings today on each motion to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

Such rollcall votes, if postponed, will be taken later today.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF HOUSE REGARDING EAST TIMOR

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 292) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the referendum in East Timor, calling on the Government of Indonesia to assist in the termination of the current civil unrest and violence in East Timor, and supporting a United Nations Security Council-endorsed multinational force for East Timor, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 292

Whereas on May 5, 1999, the Governments of Portugal and Indonesia and the United Nations concluded an historic agreement intended to resolve the status of East Timor through a popular consultation based upon a universal, direct, and secret ballot;

Whereas the agreement gave the people of East Timor an opportunity to accept a proposed special autonomy for East Timor within the unitary Republic of Indonesia or reject the special autonomy and opt for independence;

Whereas on August 30, 1999, 98.5 percent of registered voters participated in a vote on the future of East Timor, and by a vote of 344,580 to 94,388 chose the course of independence;

Whereas after the voting was concluded, violence intensified significantly in East Timor;

Whereas the declaration by the Government of Indonesia of martial law in East Timor failed to quell the violence;

Whereas it has been reported that hundreds of people have been killed and injured since the violence began in East Timor;

Whereas it has been reported that as many as 200,000 of East Timor's 780,000 residents have been forced to flee East Timor;

Whereas it has been reported that East Timor militias are controlling the refugee camps in West Timor, intimidating the refugees and limiting access to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, relief agencies, and other humanitarian non-governmental organizations;

Whereas it has been reported that a systematic campaign of political assassinations that has targeted religious, student, and political leaders, aid workers, and others has taken place;

Whereas the compound of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) was besieged and fired upon, access to food, water, and electricity was intentionally cut off, and UNAMET personnel have been killed, forcing the temporary closure of UNAMET in East Timor;

Whereas Catholic leaders and lay people have been targeted to be killed and churches burned in East Timor;

Whereas the international community has called upon the Government of Indonesia to either take immediate and concrete steps to end the violence in East Timor or allow a United Nations Security Council-endorsed multinational force to enter East Timor and restore order;

Whereas on September 9, 1999, the United States suspended all military relations with Indonesia as a result of the failure to quell the violence in East Timor;

Whereas on September 12, 1999, Indonesian President B.J. Habibie announced that Indonesia would allow a United Nations Security Council-endorsed multinational force into East Timor;

Whereas on September 15, 1999, the United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 1264, authorizing the establishment of a multinational force to restore peace and security in East Timor, to protect and support UNAMET in carrying out its tasks and, within force capabilities, to facilitate humanitarian assistance operations, and authorizing countries participating in the multinational force to take all necessary measures to fulfill this mandate; and

Whereas on September 20, 1999, the multinational force led by Australia arrived in East Timor and began to deploy for an initial period of four months until replaced by a United Nations peacekeeping operation, or as otherwise determined by the United Nations Security Council: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) congratulates the people of East Timor on their exemplary participation in the August 30, 1999, popular consultation;

(2) commends the professionalism, determination, and courage of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) personnel in support of the August 30, 1999, vote on the future of East Timor;

(3) recognizes the overwhelming expression of the people of East Timor in favor of independence from Indonesia;

(4) condemns the violent efforts of East Timor militias and elements of the Indonesian military to overturn the results of the August 30, 1999, vote;

(5) notes with grave alarm the failure of the Government of Indonesia, despite repeated assurances to the contrary, to have guaranteed the security of the people of East Timor and further notes that it was the responsibility of the Government of Indonesia to restrain elements of the Indonesian military and paramilitary forces and restore order in East Timor;

(6) calls upon the Government of Indonesia to recognize its responsibilities as a member of the United Nations and a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to cooperate with appropriate United Nations authorities in the restoration of order in, and the safe return of refugees and other displaced persons to, East Timor;

(7) urges the Government of Indonesia to allow unrestricted access to refugees and displaced persons in West Timor and elsewhere and to guarantee their safety;

(8) urges the international community to investigate the human rights abuses and atrocities which occurred with respect to the situation in East Timor subsequent to August 30, 1999, and calls upon the Government of Indonesia to hold accountable those responsible for these acts;

(9) notes with approval the decision of the United States to suspend military relations with, and the sale of any military weapons or equipment to, the Government of Indonesia until the Indonesian military has effectively cooperated with the international community in facilitating the transition of East Timor to independence;

(10) expresses approval of Indonesia's belated decision to allow the United Nations Security Council-endorsed multinational force into East Timor;

(11) expresses support for a rapid and effective deployment throughout East Timor of the United Nations Security Council-endorsed multinational force;

(12) urges that the United States consider additional measures, including the suspension of bilateral and international financial assistance (except for humanitarian assistance and assistance designed to promote the development of democratic institutions) to the Government of Indonesia should it curtail or suspend cooperation with the multinational force in East Timor, interfere with the full deployment of this multinational force, hinder the operation of UNAMET, hinder the safe return of refugees and displaced persons to East Timor, or otherwise interfere with the restoration of order and respect for human rights in East Timor;

(13)(A) expresses approval of United States logistical and other technical support for the multinational force for East Timor; and

(B) declares that neither subparagraph (A) nor any other provision of this resolution—

(i) shall constitute a waiver of any right or power of the Congress under the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1541 et seq.); or

(ii) shall be construed as authority described in section 8(a) of the War Powers Resolution (50 U.S.C. 1547(a));

(14) strongly commends Australia for its willingness to lead the multinational force for East Timor and for rapidly deploying its initial contingent of forces and welcomes and commends New Zealand, Canada, Thailand, the United Kingdom, Singapore, the Philippines, Italy, Brazil, France, and other nations that will participate in this force;

(15) urges the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly to expeditiously ratify the vote of August 30, 1999, in East Timor and to otherwise speed the transition to full independence for East Timor; and

(16) recognizes that an effective United States foreign policy for this region requires both an effective near-term response to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in, and progress toward independence for, East Timor and a long-term strategy for supporting stability, security, and democracy in Indonesia and East Timor.

□ 1030

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 292.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in support of House Resolution 292, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the referendum in East Timor and the tragic events which followed.

I want to thank the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), our distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, for his leadership in helping to bring this very timely measure before us today. This measure has broad bipartisan support, and we are proud to bring it at this time to the House floor. I am proud to be a cosponsor.

Mr. Speaker, we are all very troubled by the situation in East Timor. Although the first elements of the multinational force, led by our friends, the Australians, and supported by some of our American troops, have landed on the island, there are still many critical challenges ahead. The extent of these challenges is now only becoming known.

First, the government of Indonesia must abide by the commitment to respect the results of the August 30 referendum and the rights of the East Timorese to a peaceful transition to independence.

I have been informed that some 325,000 citizens of East Timor were forced to leave East Timor under gun

point, and only very few of them have returned at this point.

President Habibie's comments, though tragically late, that Indonesia "must honor and accept that choice," I think is an important step forward. However, I hope his words are going to be fulfilled by deeds. Accordingly, the Indonesian parliament must ratify the popular decision of the people of East Timor at an early date and set East Timor on its course to independence.

Secondly, the Indonesian military, which participated in the violence and aided and abetted the militias, should fully withdraw from East Timor. This will allow refugees and displaced persons to return home from West Timor and elsewhere, confident of their safety, something they will not do unless they are assured of their safety. It will also reduce the likelihood of a clash with the multinational force.

Third, I urge the international community to investigate the human rights abuses and the atrocities which occurred in the aftermath of the elections, and I call upon the government of Indonesia to hold fully accountable those responsible for those reprehensible acts of violence.

Finally, in light of these devastating events, the administration should re-evaluate its military relationship with the Indonesian armed forces. The Pentagon should conduct a full scale review of its military-to-military relationship with Jakarta, including the effectiveness of the IMET program, joint training and exercises, and arms sales.

The Pentagon should not reinstitute any aspect of our military relationship without a full consultation with the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring this important measure to the floor for consideration today. I strongly urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I might consume.

Mr. Speaker, first I want to commend the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) for introducing this resolution. I want to commend the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), the ranking member, for their strong support of this resolution. I, of course, rise in strong support of H. Res. 292.

First, Mr. Chairman, we are all pleased that the multilateral peace-keeping force has arrived in East Timor. It has begun the long process of restoring peace and stability. I think we all need to be appreciative of the Australians for being willing to take the lead on this most difficult mission.

Despite the arrival of the peace-keeping mission, Mr. Speaker, there are tens of thousands of East Timorese living in the hills, surviving as best they can. Many are afraid to come down until they know that the anti-

independence militias are no longer roaming the streets, pillaging and killing. I am convinced that everyone's hope is that the peacekeeping force will restore order to East Timor as soon as possible so that families may return and start the enormously difficult job of rebuilding and reconstruction.

The resolution before us endorses the policy of our administration to provide logistical and technical support for the multilateral force. We are always at our best, Mr. Speaker, when we speak with a bipartisan voice, and we do so on this issue. Given the humanitarian crisis in East Timor and the need to pave the way for a stable and independent East Timor, we must use whatever resources we have in the region to ensure the success of the peacekeeping mission.

I also strongly support the language in the resolution, Mr. Speaker, calling on the administration to suspend support for bilateral and multilateral assistance to Indonesia until the multilateral peacekeeping force is fully deployed, the refugees are able to return to their homes, order is restored, and human rights are respected.

The Indonesian military, Mr. Speaker, has blood on its hands for its behavior over the past few months. We must keep the pressure on the Indonesian Government to finally do the right thing.

Parenthetically, Mr. Speaker, let me indicate that I am working on companion legislation that will make the Indonesian Government fully responsible for all of the financial costs involved in this human tragedy. It is with the acquiescence and connivance of the Indonesian Government that East Timor has been destroyed, physically destroyed; and the cost of rebuilding this tiny entity should be borne entirely by the government of Indonesia.

My legislation will oppose any bilateral or multilateral aid through any instrumentality—the World Bank, the IMF, or other organizations, until the government of Indonesia fully accepts its financial responsibility for this sickening outrage that has unfolded on the island of East Timor.

I also wish to express my deep concern, Mr. Speaker, about the plight facing over a quarter million East Timorese refugees who are now in refugee camps in West Timor. There are reports that the militias are targeting East Timorese leaders in these camps. It is critical that international observers get full and complete access to these camps immediately.

I would also like to add my regret and concern for the failure of the Japanese Government to participate in the peacekeeping effort. Time is long overdue for Japan to get over the Second World War psychological issues. We have German troops in Kosovo, as we should. Germany is a democratic country accepting its responsibility in the international arena. It is long past due

for the Japanese Government to do the same. It simply makes no sense that, from the United Kingdom to the Philippines, countries are accepting their peacekeeping responsibilities in East Timor; but the most powerful democratic nation in Asia, Japan, meticulously stays out and stays away from all of these endeavors.

I am developing a letter to the Prime Minister of Japan, and I am asking all of my colleagues to join me in signing this letter, calling on him as a friend to recognize Japan's responsibility to participate in missions of this kind, not just financially, but with manpower.

The international community, Mr. Speaker, is now focused on the future, how to make the multilateral peacekeeping operation work effectively, but we must not forget the past. There must be an international inquiry into the atrocities which have been committed in East Timor, including those committed by both members of the militia and the Indonesian military.

Those who committed atrocities will have to face up to the consequences, and they will have to face an international tribunal as have the perpetrators of atrocities in the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution, not because I lack concern for the serious problems that the East Timorese are undergoing, and not for lack of humanitarian concerns for this group of people or anybody in the world. It is just that there is another side to the argument for us intervening. And, besides, we helped create the problem in Indonesia.

In the 1970's, we were very supportive of the Indonesian Government in their takeover of East Timor after it became independent from Portugal. So once again, here we are intervening.

I would like to advise my colleagues that we are not just endorsing a humanitarian effort to help people who are suffering. We are literally giving the President carte blanche to go and commit war in this area. We are committing ourselves to troops, and it is an open-ended policy.

We complained a whole lot about what was happening in Kosovo. And that operation has not ended. It is continuing. This is just another example of being involved, although with good intentions, but with unintended consequences just hanging around the corner. I would like to point out that some of those unintended consequences can be rather serious.

I would like to call my colleagues' attention to number 11 under the resolve clause, making these points. Number 11 says it "expresses support

for a rapid and effective deployment throughout East Timor of the United Nations Security Council-endorsed multilateral force." This means troops.

Our Security Council has already decided to send troops to East Timor. What we are doing today is rubber stamping this effort to send troops into another part of the world in a place where we have no national security interests. We do not know what victory means. We do not know what lies ahead.

In addition, under number 13, it "expresses approval of United States logistical and other technical support for deployment of a multinational force for East Timor." Troops, that is what it means, endangerment and risk that this could escalate.

Under number 13, there is another part that concerns me a great deal. In the 1970s, we passed the War Powers Resolution. Both conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats endorsed the notion that Presidents should be restrained in their effort to wage war without declaration.

Once again, we are endorsing the concept that, if we just subtly and quietly endorse a President's ability and authority to go into a foreign country under the auspices of the United Nations, we do not have to deal with the real issue of war. But under 13(B), it explicitly restates the fact that a President in this situation can at least wage war for 60 days before we have much to say about it.

I think this is dangerous. We should be going in the other direction. This is certainly what was expressed many, many times on the floor during the Kosovo debates. But we lost that debate, although we had a large number of colleagues that argued for non-involvement. We are now entrenched in Kosovo, and we are about to become entrenched in East Timor, not under the auspices of the United States, but under the United Nations.

□ 1045

I do not see that the sanctity and the interests of the United States will be benefitted by what we are getting ready to do.

Number 16 under the resolved clause, "recognizes that an effective United States foreign policy for this region requires both an effective near-term response to the ongoing humanitarian violence in, and progress toward independence for, East Timor."

If we decide that we have to fight for and engage troops for everybody who wants to be independent, we have a lot of work ahead of us. And, in addition, in the same clause, "and a long-term strategy for supporting stability, security and democracy."

This is a major commitment. This is not just a resolution that is saying that we support humanitarian aid. This is big stuff. The American people ought to know it, the Members of Congress ought to know it.

This resolution became available to me just within the last 20 minutes. It

has been difficult to know exactly what is in it, and yet it is very significant, very important; and we in the Congress should not vote casually and carelessly on this issue. This is a major commitment. I think it is going in the wrong direction, and we should consider the fact that there are so often unintended consequences from our efforts to do what is right.

I understand the motivation behind this, but tragically this type of action tends to always backfire because we do not follow the rule of law. And the rule of law says if we commit troops, we ought to get the direct and explicit authority from the Congress with a war resolution. This, in essence, is a baby war resolution, but it is a war resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I want to commend my colleague from Texas for stating the case for isolationism and appeasement as eloquently as he has. It is appropriate when we are discussing a major international issue that the various positions be laid out clearly so we can make an intelligent decision.

In this century we have had numerous instances when in this body the voices of isolationism presented their case. And whenever they prevailed—and they prevailed from time to time—the cost in blood and treasure later on was infinitely greater than it would have been had the perpetrators of violence and human rights abuse—whether they were called Hitler or Saddam Hussein or the Indonesian militia or the thugs of Milosevic—had they been stopped early on, the cost would have been infinitely less in both blood and treasure.

Here now we have the case of East Timor. My friend from Texas, instead of placing the burden of blame on the thugs who have persecuted a small Catholic minority in a large Muslim nation, the largest Muslim nation on the face of this planet, blames the United States for contributing 200 individuals and providing logistical and technical assistance to an international peacekeeping armada. I could not disagree with him more strongly.

One of the great victories that I am sure we all cherished was the collapse of the Soviet empire. The Soviet empire and the threat it represented to civilized democratic peace-loving nations across the globe was clearly one of the greatest threats of the 20th Century. And it was the determination of the United States and our allies, in facing up to the mighty Soviet Union, that resulted in the collapse of the Soviet empire and the fact that large numbers of countries, from Poland to the Czech Republic, are now democratic and free, and three of them are now members of NATO.

Now, if we did not yield to the threats of the gigantic Soviet Union, a powerful nuclear nation with vast conventional forces, it would be intriguing to know why we should now yield to

the militia thugs in East Timor who are denying the Catholic population of that little island their right to live under rules and authorities and leadership of their own choosing. I have difficulty following the logic.

If the Soviet Union could be resisted by Democratic and peace-loving nations, it is hard to see why Milosevic should not be resisted in Kosovo and why the thugs of the militia in East Timor should not be resisted by democratic forces.

Let me also point out to my friend, as he well knows, it is our ally, Australia, which is carrying the bulk of the load in East Timor. That is as it should be. Australia is the most powerful military force in the whole region, and our friends in Australia willingly and proudly accepted their international responsibility. For the United States to bail out on this effort would undermine our long-term policy, conducted by Democratic and Republican presidents, supported by Democratically controlled and Republican controlled Congresses, of speaking out for and taking a stand on the matter of collective security.

I think it is important to realize that there is a common thread running through our opposition to the Japanese warlords in the Second World War, to Mussolini and Hitler, to the long regime of Joseph Stalin, and to other dictators ranging from Saddam Hussein through Milosevic to the militia, the thugs, in East Timor. To argue at the end of the 20th century that we should revert to isolationism is really a sorry spectacle. What it reveals is that nothing, nothing has been learned from the bloody experiences of this entire century, which so clearly demonstrate that neither appeasement nor isolationism are proper policies for the United States.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANTOS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. The gentleman makes a good case for the humanitarian needs of the people. My point is that sometimes our efforts do not do what we want.

For instance, the gentleman talks about the thugs that are in Indonesia, those who are violating the rights of the East Timorese. We have to realize that they have been our allies and we helped set up the situation. So our interventions do not always do what we want.

Also, the gentleman talks about the Soviets. We supported the Soviets.

Mr. LANTOS. Reclaiming my time, if I may, Mr. Speaker. If I may remind my colleague of history, it was President Ford and under President Ford's tenure that we acquiesced in the occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian military.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, I think the gentleman is absolutely correct.

But I happen to see these things in a very nonpartisan manner. So to turn this into a Republican versus Democrat issue, I think, is in error.

I would like to suggest that the careless use of the word isolationism does not apply to me because I am not a protectionist. I believe in openness. I want people and capital and goods and services to go back and forth. When we trade with people, we are less likely to fight with them.

So the proposal and the program I am suggesting is a constitutional program. I believe it is best for the people. It has nothing to do with isolating ourselves from the rest of the world. It is to isolate ourselves from doing dumb things that get us involved in things like Korea and Vietnam, where we do not even know why we are there and we end up losing. That is what I am opposed to.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I must say to my colleague from Texas that we have heard voices in the last few days on the part of one presidential candidate calling our participation in the Second World War against Hitler a mistake. Now, this is a free country, and people can choose to accept any position that they are inclined to do so.

But let me state for myself that I think our participation in the Second World War was one of the most glorious aspects of the whole of American history. Our standing up to the regime of Stalin and other Communist dictators in the second half of this century is among the most glorious aspects of our history. The work of President Bush in pulling together a coalition in facing up to Saddam Hussein was an important and glorious chapter in our history.

And what we are seeing unfolding in East Timor now represents just another chapter in the determination of the American people and the American government to stand up to the horrendous dictatorships that still are present in many parts of this globe.

And I hope that as we enter the 21st century, this bipartisan policy of rejecting isolationism will continue.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, may I ask how much time both sides have?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 4 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has 11 minutes remaining.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond. To try to tie in World War II is not quite fair. I think the gentleman has to admit that we are not talking about that. Besides, I am talking as much about procedure as I am talking about the policy itself.

In World War II there was a serious problem around the world. It was brought to this Congress. We voted on

a war resolution. We went to war. The country was unified, and we won. That is what I endorse, that procedure. What I do not endorse is us getting involved the back-door way; getting involved carelessly and casually. Not realizing what we are doing.

I come to the floor only to try to warn my colleagues of what they are voting on today; that this is not just a simple humanitarian resolution. It is the process I'm concerned about. If we bring a war resolution to the floor and say, look, we need to go to war to defend the East Timorese, we can vote it up and down and decide to go over and settle it in 2 or 3 months. But we should not do what we are doing now, to endorse internationalism, or interventionism that inevitably fails.

I think there is a better way to proceed, and it is written in the Constitution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Nebraska, (Mr. BEREUTER), the chairman of our Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations.

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. It is interesting to hear the comments that have taken place here on the floor in this resolution. Let me assure my colleagues who are listening, who are watching, that the anxieties of the gentleman from Texas are not well taken. This resolution has been carefully drafted. This is a gentleman who is concerned about the promiscuous use of our military forces on peace enforcement, peacekeeping activities around the country. As I will try to show point by point, the concerns of the gentleman have been taken into account. And, in fact, what we are doing here has been very carefully crafted and is appropriate as a military and foreign policy response to the crisis in East Timor.

I want to thank first of all the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and the distinguished Democratic ranking minority member, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDESON), for their support of this legislation. But in particular I wish to thank my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

□ 1100

By the way, I might say in general that he and I and indeed his predecessor, the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN), his ranking member, have worked on the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific in a very careful bipartisan fashion and the interaction between our staff I think has been appropriate on foreign policy matters.

I do think, of course, we will find times when we disagree even on foreign

policy issues, but we have worked carefully together to preserve whenever possible a bipartisan consensus. We have it in this legislation, and I thank him for his effort.

I also want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS), the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), the gentleman from California (Mr. POMBO), and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CAPUANO) in particular for their direct assistance in drafting this resolution.

I might say regarding the distinguished chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), his concern was that we not just focus on the immediate but we take a look at the long-term requirements and concerns that we ought to have in a foreign policy sense towards Indonesia and East Timor; and we have attempted to reflect that fact as well.

Now, there were some things where I certainly disagree on a matter of historical perspective with the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL). The story of East Timor is comprised of chapter after chapter of suffering and tragedy. After 450 years of neglect, Portugal abandoned this impoverished, disease-ridden colony in 1975 without providing any preparations for future self-governance.

If we look back in that period of time, of course, Portugal had extreme political, domestic problems and they abandoned all of their colonies in Africa and in the Pacific overnight. Of all of the colonies, East Timor was the most impoverished. In fact, it is said there was not a single college-educated person in that Portuguese colony to take on the responsibilities of self-governance.

In contrast to what the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) has said, the United States never recognized the sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor. We never took that step. They can criticize American foreign policy, even Republican and Democratic administrations, for some of our relationships with Indonesia, even as they relate to East Timor. But I want to make it clear that we never recognized that sovereignty when the Portuguese pulled out.

As we visited with Commissioner Chris Patten of the European Union last week, we talked about the European Union's responsibilities; but we also talked about the statements that Portugal has made about their responsibility and willingness to help finance the first few years of operation, I think five was mentioned, of an independent East Timor.

I believe because of the rejection of the autonomy provision before the Timorese people, it is clear that East Timor is moving towards independence. That may be difficult. We hope that it is not. The international community needs to be there and support them in that effort. And part of that requirement is addressed by this resolution.

It is clear that it is going to be very difficult for the Timorese on that end of the island to maintain an independent state. So it is going to need a lot of assistance from the world community in general.

Well, as a result of what happened then, East Timor erupted into a very bloody civil war in which all factions were vying for power and they engaged in human rights abuses against their own kinsmen. Famine soon followed. Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975, annexed East Timor in 1976, proclaiming it as Indonesia's 27th province. This annexation, as I said, was never recognized by the United Nations or the United States.

While Indonesia devoted significant infrastructure and desperately needed development resources to East Timor, Jakarta ruled the territory with an iron fist, as vividly exemplified by the massacre of peaceful East Timorese demonstrators in Dili in 1991.

Indeed, Indonesia's repressive actions in East Timor have been a festering sore in U.S.-Indonesian bilateral relations. It has been the largest complicating factor in our relationship with this, the world's fourth most populous country.

After years of Indonesian intransigence, President Habibie took the bold step towards resolving the longstanding problem of East Timor. And he did it, I think it is fair to say, over the opposition of the Indonesian military. But last January, he seemingly brushed aside the reservations of the military, which considered East Timor its special domain, and surprised the world by offering the people of East Timor an opportunity to determine their own future through the ballot box and under U.N. auspices.

There was, perhaps, at that time a general sense of guarded optimism prompted by the reassurances of President Habibie and Armed Forces Chief General Wiranto that Jakarta would live up to its promises to maintain order and create an environment conducive for a safe and fair election. But that proved not to be a realistic assessment, as we all know.

Despite increased violence and intimidation by Indonesian military-supported militia, however, on August 30 of this year, a record 98.6 percent of the registered East Timorese voters went to the polls with 78 percent of them choosing in effect by rejecting the autonomy provision choosing independence. The will of the people of East Timor is clear and overwhelming.

It is evident by the horrific events in East Timor which followed this vote that the Indonesian Government, and particularly the Indonesian military, was deliberately unwilling or perhaps in some cases unable to uphold their responsibilities to provide peace and security.

Indonesia demanded this responsibility and the international community, through the United Nations, entrusted Indonesia with it. Instead, elements of the Indonesian military were

directly responsible for the destruction, the mayhem, the murder that enveloped East Timor. Indonesia should be aware that its abject failure to live up to its promises and its complicity in that destruction of East Timor, especially the capital, Dili, will likely have long-term and far-reaching negative consequences.

On September 12, 1999, under pressure especially from this country, from our administration and from the Congress, and also from the Secretary General, President Habibie reluctantly announced that Indonesia would allow a United Nations Security Council-endorsed multilateral force into East Timor. The first contingent of that force, led by Australia and involving 10 or more countries, which are specifically mentioned in this resolution, began to arrive in a limited number on September 20.

The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has already talked about the major contributions that the Australians have made, their willingness to step forward. This is the kind of regional initiative by our allies that we have been encouraging around the world that we would like to see take place in Africa, that we would have liked to have seen take place in Europe. The Australians stepped forward, as they have so many times, always by our side for 80 years, the most loyal of all the allies. They were the neighboring country. They had the military force. They felt a sense of responsibility, and they stepped forward.

Our resolution does not suggest we are going to have a massive effort to involve our military forces there. We have 200, most of whom are in Darwin, Australia, not in East Timor itself.

We specifically mention in section 13(a) that we express approval of the United States logistical and other technical support for the multinational force in East Timor. We do not talk about combat troops. We are very specific in what we are suggesting there. And in 13(b) we specifically address the issue of the War Powers Act. We preserve the prerogatives of the Congress under the Constitution, a matter that is protested by the executive branch and Congress, but we do nothing to set aside our prerogatives that we think we maintain in this House of Representatives.

So the concerns of the gentleman expressed here earlier about some grant of power are just not here, and I encourage him to look again at section 13.

I also want to say that I think this legislation is one that my colleagues should endorse. It is an appropriate step in foreign policy and defense. I urge support of the resolution.

House Resolution 292 supports the referendum that occurred in East Timor and our acceptance of the results. Among its other provisions, it expresses concern about Indonesia's failure to provide safety and security to the people of East Timor and condemns the militias and the elements of the Indonesian

military that have engaged in violence. It urges the international community to investigate the human rights abuses that have occurred and calls on Indonesia to hold accountable those responsible for such acts. The Resolution urges the unrestricted access to and safe return of refugees and displaced persons in West Timor and elsewhere. It supports the consideration of additional economic and other sanctions against Indonesia should Indonesia not cooperate with or hinder the multinational force, the civilian UNAMET, the safe return of refugees or the transition to independence for East Timor. This measure also supports the limited U.S. logistical and other technical support for the multinational force for East Timor. And, it strongly commends Australia and the other multinational force contributors for their willingness to rapidly deploy this rescue force for East Timor.

Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 292 also recognizes that an effective United States foreign policy for the region requires both a near-term response to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in, and progress toward independence for, East Timor and a long-term strategy for supporting stability, security and democracy in Indonesia. This Member stresses to his colleagues that while CNN and many of us in this Chamber have focused on the crisis affecting 800,000 people on East Timor, we must not lose sight of the more important relationship we need to rebuild and maintain with 209 million other Indonesians. Previous congressional actions which were focused on East Timor have largely been counterproductive and have resulted in us losing overall access and leverage in Indonesia, particularly with the Indonesian military as evidenced by our limited ability influence and temper its role in East Timor.

Mr. Speaker, the pending resolution, however, is a responsible, balanced statement. It certainly condemns those Indonesian actions that warrant condemnation. It supports the will of the East Timorese people and the multinational force being deployed in East Timor. It also helps provide direction for a more peaceful and cooperative future for both Indonesia and East Timor. Therefore, this Member strongly urges his colleagues to support House Resolution 292.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has no time remaining. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY).

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Speaker, today we are not just taking a resolution, and I want to support this resolution, but it is not just about East Timor.

As my colleague from California has pointed out in the past and the President has pointed out, the United States cannot be the policeman all over the world for everyone all the time. We cannot be expected to carry that responsibility, and we should not.

This resolution recognizes, in my opinion, the new world order of peacekeeping that we need to look forward to going into the next millennium; and that is an order that says the United States will be involved anywhere and

everywhere it can be, but the nations and the communities where the problems occur must take the lead, they must take the responsibility of being the regional leaders.

Australia and her Asian allies have taken this responsibility and set an example for not only other countries in Europe and Africa, but also for us that we should be engaged; but we should also recognize that the responsibility of world peacekeeping, of human rights, is not just uniquely an American responsibility. It is time that we recognize that part of maturing as a society is to make sure that everyone participates.

This resolution supports a strategy that shows that we are now participating with but not doing for the rest of the world what they need to do for themselves.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I think we had a lively and spirited and useful debate. I have no further requests for time. I call on all of my colleagues to support this carefully crafted, bipartisan legislation.

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

On May 5, the United Nations and the Indonesian government signed an agreement to allow an independence referendum in the territory of East Timor. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called the signing "an historic moment."

As part of the agreement, the Indonesian government promised to maintain order and security during and after the August 30 vote. Nearly five months later, it is clear that the Indonesian government did not fulfill its end of the bargain. In addition, the government-sponsored military has been a willing participant in the carnage that has torn apart the East Timorese capital and that threatens to destabilize this country of 200 million.

In the days after the referendum, thousands of East Timorese were driven from their homes and untold numbers were killed. I am hopeful that the recent arrival of the Australian-led multinational peacekeeping mission will bring a measure of peace to the region. But the continuing support of the Indonesian government for the peacekeeping mission is crucial.

President Habibie said himself last week that "we must honor and accept" the choice of the people of East Timor to become independent. In voting to support a multinational peacekeeping force in East Timor, we are sending a strong message that we endorse this view and that we won't ignore the democratically expressed wishes of the East Timorese people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for this resolution.

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I would first like to thank Mr. BEREUTER for introducing this necessary and timely resolution and for his ongoing effort to ensure peace and justice. I would also like to commend the brave people of East Timor for their courage in participating in the August 30th referendum in the wake of the escalating violence that occurred.

This resolution makes it a sense of Congress to congratulate these brave citizens and

to call on the Government of Indonesia to end the current civil unrest and violence in East Timor, and it supports the UN multinational force for East Timor. In addition, this resolution says that the United States should take steps to help end the human rights abuses that have for so long taken place in East Timor by suspending military and economic aid to Indonesia. Human rights abuses by paramilitary forces have taken the lives of more than 200,000 East Timorese. In the past 24 years, the United States has spent more than 1.5 billion dollars in economic aid to Indonesia. In the past 24 years, the United States has spent more than 510 million taxpayer-dollars on military assistance and training in Indonesia. We know the Indonesian military openly associates and arms the paramilitary forces in East Timor who continue to provoke violence and spread terror among the citizens of East Timor. Just this week two missionary nuns were among 16 people killed by gunmen in the latest attack on Roman Catholic clergy in East Timor. All military and economic assistance to Indonesia must end. If America seeks to advance democracy, tolerance and equality in the region, we must send a message to the Indonesian government that the United States will suspend all of its support permanently if human rights continue to be violated. Passing this legislation will send the message to Indonesia.

And with my support for Mr. BEREUTER's resolution, I would also like to express my support for another bill recently introduced by Mr. PATRICK KENNEDY. It is a binding resolution which would make it U.S. policy to end both military and financial assistance to Indonesia until the East Timor's vote to be independent is honored and human rights are upheld in East Timor and certain conditions are met.

If you support the restoration of human rights in East Timor, if you support the brave citizens of East Timor, then I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. WEYGAND. Mr. Speaker, since 1975 when Indonesia invaded East Timor, the people of East Timor have been struggling for their independence. Last month, they took a courageous step in that direction. I therefore strongly support this resolution and urge my colleagues to do the same.

As we all know, the people of East Timor voted on August 30, 1999, and by an overwhelming majority, 78 percent, chose independence. Unfortunately, the violence that has plagued East Timor for the past quarter century was only intensified in the weeks following the election.

The people of East Timor have been brutally attacked by Indonesian military forces masquerading as "militia," their homes burned, their neighborhoods destroyed, thousands are missing or killed. We heard many reports of people, hiding from the militia, starving to death in the countryside. Last week, after too many lives were lost a United Nations peacekeeping force was deployed to bring order to East Timor.

The Washington Post reported that the Australian led peacekeepers were "... [w]elcomed by Indonesian officers ..." and "... greeted with smiles from the few relieved civilians. ..." However, there are also reports that the militia continues to make threats that they will return and continue the violence. If these reports are true, it is as im-

portant now as it ever was to show to those who would perpetuate violence that the United States and the United Nations are committed to a peaceful transition to democracy and independence for East Timor. This resolution sends that message.

Mr. Speaker, on September 8, 1999, I introduced two pieces of legislation. One is a resolution calling for an end to the violence and urging the United Nations to take immediate action to end the violence and urges the President to provide whatever assistance the United Nations may need. The second is a bill that would suspend economic and military assistance to the government of Indonesia until the violence ends.

Again, I strongly urge my colleagues to support the East Timorese as they continue the process toward independence and to vote for this resolution.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the Chairman and Ranking Member of the International Relations Committee, Mr. GILMAN and Mr. GEDJENSON, for bringing to the House floor this important measure regarding the recent dire developments in East Timor.

I would further deeply commend the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Asia-Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, Mr. BEREUTER and Mr. LANTOS, for introducing the resolution and their considerable work on it. I am honored to be an original co-sponsor of House Resolution 292.

Like many of our colleagues, I am greatly disturbed and saddened by the brutal, violent response of the pro-Jakarta militia and Indonesian military to the overwhelming vote for independence demonstrated by the courageous people of East Timor. However, I am not at all surprised at the rampant killings, Mr. Speaker, as the Indonesian military has routinely used violence as a tool of repression.

Although the Timorese struggle for self-determination has received much publicity, Mr. Speaker, scant attention has been paid to the people of West Papua New Guinea who have similarly struggled in Irian Jaya to throw off the yoke of Indonesian colonialism. As in East Timor, Indonesia took West Papua New Guinea by force in 1963. In a pathetic episode, the United Nations in 1969 sanctioned a fraudulent referendum, where only 1,025 delegates handpicked and paid-off by Jakarta were permitted to participate in an independence vote. The rest of the West Papuan people, over 800,000 strong, had absolutely no voice in the undemocratic process.

Since Indonesia subjugated West Papua New Guinea, the native Papuan people have suffered under one of the most repressive and unjust systems of colonial occupation in the 20th century. Like in East Timor where 200,000 East Timorese are thought to have died, the Indonesian military has been brutal in Irian Jaya. Reports estimate that between 100,000 to 300,000 West Papuans have died or simply vanished at the hands of the Indonesian military. While we search for justice and peace in East Timor, Mr. Speaker, we should not forget the violent tragedy that continues to play out today in West Papua New Guinea. I would urge our colleagues, our great nation, and the international community to revisit the status of West Papua New Guinea to ensure that justice is also achieved there.

Mr. Speaker, with respect to the events of the past weeks, the Indonesian Government

should be condemned in the strongest terms for allowing untold atrocities to be committed against the innocent, unarmed civilians of East Timor. I commend President Clinton for terminating all assistance to and ties with the Indonesian military. U.N. estimates are that over 300,000 Timorese, in excess of a third of the population of East Timor, have been displaced and it remains to be seen how many hundreds, if not thousands, have been killed in the mass bloodletting and carnage. Yesterday, the U.N. Human Rights Commission voted for an international inquiry into the atrocities committed in East Timor. The call for an international war crimes tribunal to punish those responsible for the atrocities should be heeded, even if it implicates the military leadership in Jakarta.

I strongly supported the intervention of a U.N.-endorsed multinational force in East Timor and am heartened at their arrival in Dili last week. Although little more than half of the 7,500 troop peacekeeping force is presently on the ground, they have already had a significant effect in stabilizing the situation and restoring order. I especially commend the government of Australia for its leadership role with the multinational force and recognize the important and substantial troop-contributions of Thailand to the peacekeeping effort.

While I believe America's role in the peacekeeping mission should have been greater, certainly the contribution of U.S. airlift and logistical support has been invaluable. If Australia, Thailand and our allies call upon us and it is necessary that the United States play a more substantial role in the peacekeeping effort—even if it means the contribution of a small contingent of ground troops which could easily be drawn from our reserves of U.S. Marines in Okinawa—we should not shirk our duty.

Mr. Speaker, with Indonesia being the fourth largest nation and the largest Muslim country in the world, which sits astride major searoutes of communication and trade—certainly we have substantial national interests in preserving stability in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, as well as preventing a U.N. initiative from turning into a catastrophic humanitarian disaster.

By its simple presence, Mr. Speaker, the international peacekeeping force in East Timor may well lend a hand in stabilizing not just that island but the fragile democracy that ostensibly governs Indonesia at this precarious point in that nation's development.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us addresses these concerns and I would urge our colleagues to adopt it.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Res. 292 which expresses the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the referendum in East Timor. I am proud to be an original cosponsor of this important piece of legislation.

I also want to thank the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Mr. BEREUTER, and the Ranking Member, Mr. LANTOS, for their leadership in bringing this resolution to the floor today.

Mr. Speaker, I was encouraged when the United Nations and the governments of Portugal and Indonesia concluded a historic agreement on May 5, 1999, allowing self-determination for East Timor. In an effort to stop the referendum, militias, with the support of the Indonesian military, began a campaign of

terror and intimidation. However, the people of East Timor could not be deterred, and the voted overwhelmingly for independence on August 30, 1999. Nevertheless, after the vote, the militias stepped up their campaign, burning houses to the ground, including Bishop Carlos Belo's home, and killing thousands of innocent people.

Mr. Speaker, Indonesia and the international community must respect the referendum and the vote of the East Timorese people. Therefore, I would urge all Members to support H. Res. 292.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of Bishop Belo's article, which appeared in the international editions of Newsweek on October 4, 1999, which outlines the reasons why the international community should care about East Timor.

[From Newsweek (International editions), October 4, 1999]

WHY THE WORLD OWES MY PEOPLE—NATIONS THAT IGNORED EAST TIMORESE SUFFERING 24 YEARS AGO MUST HELP NOW

(By Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo)

Much of my beloved homeland of East Timor has been destroyed, my people displaced. Much of their land has been forcibly depopulated by Indonesian forces, with hundreds of thousands suffering from hunger and disease. Many have been killed or wounded; babies and the old have died of malnutrition that could have been avoided had relief convoys been allowed to reach them. The world has a solemn obligation to rescue my people before it is too late.

Why should there be a special debt to East Timor, a former Portuguese colony with a small population (less than a million), a small territory (about the size of the Netherlands) and a remote locale? There are several reasons among them the fact that most, if not all, of the killing and mayhem of recent weeks, and over the past 24 years since Indonesia first invaded our island, might have been averted had the community of nations firmly impressed upon Jakarta that the fate of East Timor was a real concern.

This is the sad reality that history illustrates. In early 1975, months before the initial invasion took place, President Suharto was afraid that important powers might disapprove of Indonesian moves to take East Timor by force. But once the former president became convinced that Indonesia did not have to worry about the world's reaction, he allowed his general to move on East Timor. The result was that more than 200,000 persons, or fully one third of our population, perished as a consequence of this merciless and illegal occupation. Most nations turned a blind eye toward this situation because of their material and political interests in Indonesia: East Timor paid the price.

Most recently, my people trusted the United Nations to carry out the Referendum this August on whether East Timor should remain part of Indonesia. Though nearly 79 percent of registered voters chose to become independent, the United Nations had no means to protect the people who voted their conscience. They became the victims of a calculated scorched-earth policy carried out as revenge for the decision to free East Timor from Indonesian rule. Before the people of East Timor could celebrate the election result, Indonesian forces and their local allies launched a ferocious attack that has killed many East Timorese and uprooted 90 percent of our population, including an estimated 200,000 who were herded across the border into Indonesian territory.

Thousands had taken refuge in the property surrounding my residence in Dili, the capital, on Sept. 6, when they were compelled to leave after an armed attack led by Indonesian Special Forces. Thousands who found haven next door at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) compound also had to flee. Many remain missing, and are feared dead. Both my home and ICRC offices were set afire and destroyed, as were numerous homes and other structures in Dili and elsewhere, not least of all many church institutions. Many were brutally murdered, including members of the clergy whose only crime was to defend their parishioners against violent retribution by Indonesian forces. Many fled to the mountains, where food and medicine remain scarce even now because of Indonesian military obstruction of international relief operations. Those who have been moved to West Timor face appalling conditions and persecution, as do others who have been forcibly moved to other Indonesian islands.

Now that the spotlight of world attention has reached East Timor, it is vital that everything possible be done to save the lives of those who have thus far survived the Indonesian onslaught, and to make certain that we in East Timor can rebuild our shattered land. The United Nations, having encouraged the people of East Timor to vote their conscience, should assist those who risked all and paid dearly for their decision. The deployment of international peacekeepers is a good beginning, but they must advance into the interior to protect people throughout the territory, not only in Dili.

The United Nations must insist on obtaining speedy permission to work in West Timor to address the plight of the East Timorese who have been taken there by Indonesian forces, who are reportedly prepared to use West Timor as a base for cross-border attacks and moves to retain control of sections of East Timorese territory. Powerful nations must use their influence on Jakarta to ensure that all such attacks cease against my people in East Timor, West Timor and other Indonesian islands, and to ensure that all East Timorese can return to their homes.

The killing this week in Dili of Sander Thoenes, a journalist for The Financial Times, is another sad illustration that no one is safe from brazen violence on the part of the Indonesian military, who must be told to withdraw from East Timor once and for all. The disappearance of an East Timorese interpreter and the brutal beating of a driver whose eye was forced out of its socket—both were assisting Western journalists—are further reminders. It seems clear that some Indonesian leaders still believe that they will not suffer any concrete consequences as a result of their crimes in East Timor. How many more lives must be needlessly sacrificed before the world takes a firm stand?

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my deep concern, sympathy and hope for the people of East Timor. We have witnessed an extraordinary month on the island of East Timor. On August 30th, the people of East Timor voted overwhelming to reject autonomy within Indonesia. The people chose to be a free country, a free people, free to make their own laws and practice their own religion, and most importantly free from the terror and oppression which Indonesia has imposed on them since 1975. It is this same freedom that our country stands for, fought for many years ago and must continue to protect around the world.

I want to commend the United Nations and the work the peacekeeping force is conducting

to secure peace and stability on the island. Unfortunately, the work has only just begun. Once stability is achieved, the U.N. must work to ensure the safe return of the refugees. Thousands of refugees are hiding in the hills of East Timor and thousands more are living in refugee camps West Timor. These people must be able to return to their homes in Dili, and elsewhere in East Timor, without the fear of losing their lives. There is also a great concern for the safety of East Timorese living in other regions of Indonesia. Reports of threats against these individuals are surfacing. A close eye must be kept on this situation by the international community and if necessary action must be taken to ensure that no additional human lives are lost.

I was outraged that President Clinton did not speak out sooner about the atrocities which took place in the weeks following the election. I communicated with the President numerous times in the past months expressing my concern for the fairness and outcome of these elections and the potential outbreak of violence. The Administration assured me that everything would be done to help and protect the people of East Timor. The United States encouraged a process of self-determination after decades of ghastly human rights abuses by the Indonesians against the people of East Timor and, when with great courage, the East Timorese overwhelmingly made their choice, the U.S. stood by in helpless silence as that choice was reversed by bloodthirsty thugs backed by the Indonesia military.

The United States should be leading the way, cutting all military aid, voting against multilateral funding to Indonesia and calling on the World Bank and the IMF to freeze all funds to Indonesia until it is clear that the order has been restored in East Timor and all East Timorese are safe. There is no question of Jakarta's involvement in the brutal crackdown following the vote. Over 15,000 army and police were in East Timor and did nothing to stop the terror, or to protect the victims. The Indonesian army exhibited unequivocally not only to the East Timorese, but also to the people of Aceh and Irian Jaya, that independence from Indonesia and freedom is not an option.

If this country does not protect human rights around the world and support the outcome of free elections, what do we stand for? The United States, the founder of democracy and the land of the free, must start doing everything in its power to help those who are trying to achieve the same goal.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 292, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.