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CG-13 Southeast Asia

Curt Gabrielson, a science teacher and an Institute Fellow, is observing the reestablishment of education in East Timor.

East Timorese Women's Fight Against Violence

By Curt Gabrielson

JANUARY 1, 2002

BAUCAU, East Timor – In late 1998, several East Timorese women's organizations brought together a group of women, all of whom were victims of Indonesian-military violence. On the 9th and 10th of November 1998 at a public event in Dili, the victims told their stories to a crowd of hundreds. Then, with the help of various solidarity organizations outside of East Timor, the stories were published, together with stories of other women survivors of Indonesian-military violence, in a book in English called *Buibere* (Rebecca Winters, East Timor International Support Center, Darwin, Australia, 1999). Buibere means "woman" in Mumbai, the second most common language in East Timor.

Buibere is a powerful book. The reader learns of the heinous violence that East Timorese women endured continuously from 1975 to 1998. From the mouths of some 20 women young and old come simple accounts of surviving unthinkable terror.

The Indonesian military, then called ABRI¹, employed rape as a policy. ABRI soldiers imprisoned one woman and raped her daily for four months. They raped pregnant women. They raped many women and girls while on routine marches through rural areas. Once they gang-raped a seven-year-old in a field. In Baucau, ABRI soldiers detained random women for several months for the purposes of sexual servitude until asked to stop by the Catholic Bishop and a few international organizations.

Many women were raped and tortured as punishment for their support of the clandestine East Timorese resistance. Often rapes would take place in front of a husband or father as a method of interrogation.

ABRI carried out many forms of torture during the 23-year period. The pages of *Buibere* deliver careful, first-person descriptions of women suffering the following types of torture from ABRI soldiers: chaining women in the sun without water; chaining women indoors for 20 days in a row; burning and electrocuting women's flesh with cigarettes and cattle prods, especially the breasts and genitals; "shooting" women with unloaded guns; forcing women into a water tank together with deadly snakes and crocodiles; forcing women into a tiny box lined with steel spikes that prohibit relaxation and that could be charged with electric current; keeping women in cages lined with human bones; and ignoring women in a cell for days with no food or water.

ABRI committed various other inhuman acts against women including killing a woman's husband and dismembering his body before her, taking photos of women stripped of their clothing, and forcing or deceiving women to receive shots of the chemical contraceptive, Depo-Provera.

Many ABRI officers forced East Timorese women to "marry" them. These women were then required to provide sexual services for years, in addition to

¹ A few years ago, ABRI was split into two groups: the Indonesian military, now known as TNI, and the national police.

keeping house and raising the children sired by these officers. When the officers returned to Java, Bali, or wherever their homes may have been, they left their "wives" alone and unsupported. Many youth in East Timor today are the products of such bitter unions.

The wounds from such violence have not yet healed, and virtually none of the perpetrators of these crimes or those military and political leaders who established and condoned these policies have been brought to justice.

(These crimes could not have happened without the military, economic and diplomatic support the United States gave to Indonesia.² The U.S. supplied the Indonesian military with weapons and training and maintained warm political and economic relations with Indonesia throughout the occupation of East Timor. Some of the worst stories of suffering in the book *Buibere* took place in the late 70's and early 80's. At that time, the Indonesian campaign of terror in East Timor rose to new levels of cruelty as U.S.-military support to Indonesia rose to unprecedented levels. Today the Indonesian military continues to maintain and perpetrate the same well-documented terror toward citizens of various other areas in the archipelago including Aceh, Ambon and West Papua (Irian Jaya). The U.S. military is eager to restore military aid and trade, which are still cut off due to the Indonesian government's failure to bring to justice those responsible for the killing, deportation, and destruction carried out in East Timor in 1999.3 The Indonesian government has never acknowledged its policy of torture or rape in East Timor, nor taken any significant steps to reform its military.)

My partner Pamela and I know several of the women who gave testimony for the book *Buibere* and who spoke at the public ceremony to officially launch the book in 1998. The event was held at the Dili Cultural Center, which was only two or three blocks from a notoriously brutal ABRI unit in eastern Dili. I was amazed to find the women in *Buibere* giving not only complete descriptions of the crimes they suffered but also dates, times, places, ABRI unit numbers, and sometimes the names and ranks of the soldiers who committed these crimes. Under any circumstances, speaking out about personal experiences of sexual abuse and violence is extremely difficult. To do so under and during the Indonesian occupation was to risk one's very life. The courage demonstrated by the women who gave testimony for *Buibere* is truly extraordinary.

Our friend Mena Dos Reis⁴ has been involved in



Mena Reis at work

Fokupers, one of the women's organizations that put together the *Buibere* event, since its formation in 1997. Its name is a short form of the Bashasa Indonesia "Forum Komunikasi Perempuan," or "Women's Communication Forum." I recently asked Mena how they were able to pull off such an event without being taken straight to jail.

She told me that Fokupers, like other human-rights groups in East Timor, created and relied on a strong network of support among both urban and rural East Timorese, the Catholic Church and various solidarity organizations in Indonesia and throughout the world. Through this network Fokupers kept one eye on Indonesia's political climate at all times. Midyear 1998, the women of Fokupers realized that amid the "Reformation" happening in Indonesia in the aftermath of the Asian monetary crisis it was possible to risk new action. Indonesian president Suharto had already stepped down, and his interim successor B.J. Habibie was promising to install true democracy. Fokupers planned the event and invited representatives of both the local and international press with the goal of focusing worldwide attention on the ongoing tragedy in East Timor. In the end, it was just a raw-judgment call: they thought that they might be able to get away with it. At the same time, Mena remarked that they were committed to ending the military occupation and were well ready to die for it.

None of the women contributing to the book was punished or detained by the Indonesian authorities. Two months after the original *Buibere* event, B.J. Habibie announced that Indonesia was prepared to consider a UN-

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² Recently declassified documents confirm that President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger, on an unrelated visit to Jakarta the day before Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975, gave very explicit support for Indonesia to annex East Timor. They coached the Indonesian government on how to frame the release of the information so as to effect the best reaction in the US. See Reuters "US OK'd Indonesian '75 East Timor Invasion — Documents" December 6, Jim Wolf, also www.nsarchive.org.

³ Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI) has recently inserted language in the Defense Department Appropriations bill HR 3388 appropriating money to establish a counter-terrorism training program. There are no restrictions on which countries can participate, effectively lifting the ban on training Indonesian forces. If the bill passes, Indonesian military, well known to practice terror against its own population, will very likely receive further training and support. See www.etan.org for more details.

⁴ Mena will be speaking in the U.S. in February and March on a tour organized by East Timor Action Network (ETAN). Watch for more info at www.etan.org.



(Above) Several of the women who contributed to the book Buibere dressed in traditional woven ceremonial attire called tais. Each one suffered violence from the Indonesian military. As the women were called one by one to stand, continuous applause filled the auditorium. (Top right) Cipriana Peirera, member of the East Timor's current governing body, the Constituent Assembly, holds up the new Tetum version of Buibere during the unveiling ceremony. (Bottom right) Sister Maria Lourdes speaking at the Buibere event.





sponsored referendum for East Timor to determine the future status of the nation. Vast numbers of East Timorese came out in the face of great violence and intimidation on August 30, 1999 to vote firmly in favor of independence from Indonesia. I described in my newsletters 1, 2, 5 and 6 the massive destruction that the Indonesian military and its militias carried out in East Timor following the referendum. Since October 1999, the United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor (UNTAET) has been the functioning government.

In November 2001, Fokupers released a second version of Buibere in Tetum, East Timor's lingua franca. The new book was unveiled at a gala event. Songs were sung and speeches were given. The women who contributed stories to the book were nearly all present. Fokupers women explained that the Tetum version was the logical extension of the project. The first English-language edition had the very specific purpose of spreading the word internationally about terror and suffering in East Timor. The second edition is to formally respect and honor the contribution of East Timorese women and the high price they paid during the Indonesian occupation. Speech-makers made this point over and over again at the event: During the Indonesian occupation, East-Timorese women made sacrifices equal to those of men, and all too often endured suffering even greater. This must never be forgotten.

Sister Maria Lourdes, however, made a markedly different point in her speech. "A luta continua!" she said,

and described how the women of East Timor were still second-class citizens in their own land. "A luta continua!" and she described how girls still don't receive the same educational or employment opportunities as men. "A luta continua!" and she told of domestic violence still rampant, women still serving as slaves in their own homes, women bought and sold like commodities under the tradition of bride price, and men leaders still unwilling to accept East Timorese women as equals. Ovation after ovation shook the hall, and it was clear to all present that indeed, the struggle continues.

Fokupers is one of the many women's organizations through which the struggle continues today. Fokupers' mission is to provide support to women survivors of violence. Manuela Leong Peirera, director of Fokupers, shares Sister Lourdes' viewpoint. She complains bitterly that under Indonesia, East-Timorese men in leadership positions used to give full support to Fokupers and use the information Fokupers gathered as evidence against ABRI and the Indonesian rule. Now that Indonesia is gone and great numbers of women are still suffering at the hands of East-Timorese men, Fokupers is often treated as if it is exposing a national embarrassment.

Manuela tells of domestic violence happening at all socio-economic levels, from farmers and workers to the intellectual community. She reports that Fokupers assisted 70 women last year, and that although domestic-violence reports to police are in-



Manuela Leong Peirera in her office at Fokupers creasing, the vast majority of cases are not reported.

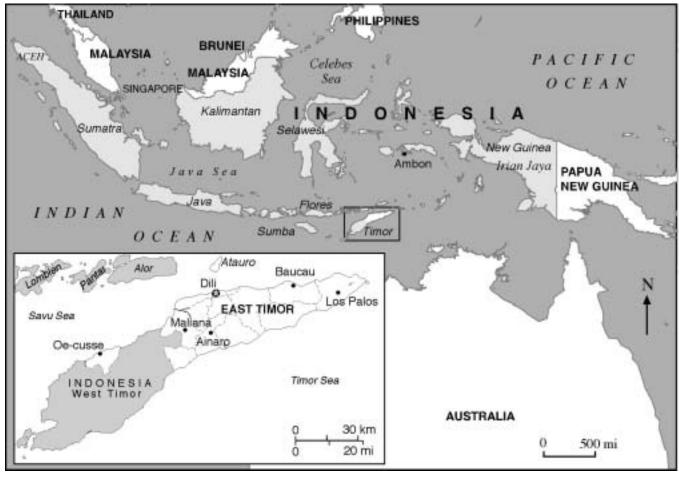
When victims do press charges, often laws are not sufficient to bring the guilty to justice, and often police do not adequately protect the victim in the process of the trial. One main issue is the legal code currently in use. The court system of East Timor continues to use Indonesian law, except in cases where it is in contradiction to international law, including the United Nations' International Declaration of Human Rights. Indonesian legal code holds no direct reference to domestic violence. The closest applicable section refers to torture. What's more, there is explicit language permitting rape within marriage: the section says that forced sexual relations are il-

legal unless the two have been formally married.

Fokupers has recently been involved in the high-profile court case of G.G. Ernawati (Erna) and Sergio Lobo. Sergio is one of East Timor's few qualified medical doctors. At the time of the crime for which he is currently on trial, he was surgeon-general of East Timor. He is a senior member of the UDT political party, and well respected as a leader in the independence movement in East Timor. Erna, who has been married to Sergio for 15 years, is an Indonesian, mother of four children with Sergio, and at the time of his crime, was the manager of a popular local restaurant on Sergio's property.

The current case arose around an incident that occurred in November 2000. At that time, Sergio threatened to punish Erna by killing her children in front of her, and threw out all of her belongings. He beat her until she passed out and had to be taken to the hospital. After this incident, she sought refuge in a women's shelter and then at a friend's home. Soon Sergio found her and again took all her belongings and tried to force her to come home.

Erna escaped and went to stay at the convent in Dare (pronounced DAH-ray), a half-hour drive from Dili. She had been there for a few weeks when Sergio appeared at the convent, demanded to see her, told her to come home, and when she would not, took a large stick from his pants and beat her with it repeatedly over the head and shoulders. When Erna had fallen to the ground, Sergio took



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Erna at her current workplace

out a syringe he had hidden in his sock and gave Erna an injection in the shoulder. The injection was later found to have been a sedative.

This took place in the presence of two nuns with whom Erna was staying. They tried to block Sergio from Erna and drag her into the convent after she had fallen, and in the process received physical abuse from Sergio as well.

The police apprehended Sergio and detained him for one day. The court then set him free, giving no explanation. Though the prosecuting attorney asked specifically that Sergio's release be conditioned on him not being allowed to go near Erna, no such conditions were included. Sergio was able to leave the country for several days soon after that with an official government delegation. Erna went into hiding again, first at Fokupers, then at various friends' homes, waiting for the trial. The court waited four months before setting the trial date.

During the time that Erna was in hiding and waiting for the court to set the trial date — a time of extreme stress for her — she found a new job in another restaurant, and decided it was worth the risk to take it. She had been working at her new job only a few days when Sergio came in one night with a crew of thugs who destroyed two rooms in the restaurant, and physically threatened the restaurant manager. Sergio again assaulted Erna and told her to come home. She was able to avoid actually being carried off by him.

After this second incident, the police detained Sergio for several days. At a preliminary hearing, the court decided to detain Sergio until the trial. Sergio's lawyers quickly appealed this decision, and at the appeal hearing different judges decided to release Sergio on the con-

dition that he be constrained to his house and his workplace. There is, however, no official monitoring of his movements.

The court gave the following reasons for Sergio's release: 1) East Timor has a shortage of doctors and Sergio is needed at the hospital, 2) The children of Erna and Sergio have a right to have their father at home and 3) According to East Timorese culture, a woman must ask her husband before leaving the house, which Erna had not done. Several local and international human-rights and justice-monitoring organizations condemned the decision as seriously flawed, in opposition to the law, prejudicial against women and dangerous

to the victim. Clearly this was a case of corruption in high places.

The case seems to me to be cut-and-dried; a nobrainer, so to speak: a crime was committed, witnessed by nuns, no less, and admitted to by the accused. Thus, the guilty party must be punished. I have seen however, that very few East Timorese espouse this point of view. Most people I talk to about the trial are quick to point out the rumor that Erna had a boyfriend. Sergio and his lawyers have held a few press conferences and people are more than ready to believe that it was Sergio in fact that was wronged. People say he is an upstanding member of the East Timorese leadership. They say Erna was far too friendly with patrons of her restaurant, has publicly embarrassed Sergio, and that probably this sort of sexual looseness stems from her being Javanese. In essence, and sometimes explicitly, they say she deserved it.

This attitude extends to those who are supposed to be working for Erna. Erna's public prosecutors have very seldom met with her. When they do, they tell her hurriedly what the plan is, and don't invite discussion. They appear to have a thinly veiled mindset that Erna has done wrong, and often act as if they are doing her a favor in representing her at all. Erna also gets support from a small, nonprofit, legal-aid group working to insure that everyone receives proper court representation. Even among these lawyers, there is confusion and prejudice. A colleague of mine overheard one of them stating that if he was married to Erna, he too would have beaten her.

During the trial, which I have been attending, the defense lawyers and even the judges have asked Erna all manner of exceedingly inappropriate questions. Erna was asked how Sergio looked when he showed up in Dare to beat her, how she felt her marriage was going, if she had had any previous thoughts of divorce, how she viewed her relationship with Sergio during the time she was in hiding, whether she had any "good" friends outside their marriage, if she was doing any "other" business at the restaurant where she found a job and whether she had asked Sergio before taking the restaurant job. Once she



Sergio Lobo, far left, and his attorneys during Erna's testimony

was even asked if she was not concealing some truth in this trial.

Very rarely during these questions did Erna's prosecutors object. At one point in the trial, Erna herself felt it necessary to remind the judges that this case is not an adultery trial.

Sergio's statements are of equal rancor. He has not denied his actions, and holds the clear position that he had every right to do as he did. He has presented, as evidence of his innocence and love for Erna, gifts he has given her — clothes, a car, a mobile phone — and laments that she left without giving these things back. He has stated that Erna is a prostitute, is mentally deranged, and that as a doctor, he can tell that she has AIDS. He asserts his right to control his wife's actions as well as his responsibility for her activities outside their home.

Sergio's accusations of Erna's prostitution and AIDS, combined with his insistence that she come back home, give credence to the theory that he views his wife as property, property that has been taken from him and that he intends to take back.

Erna is seeking divorce from Sergio, but this is not an easy task either. According to Indonesian law, if the man does not agree to the divorce, a long court procedure is necessary. The Catholic Church, strongest moral authority in East Timor, has consistently spoken out against divorce, even in cases of severe violence. Fokupers used to have a radical young priest on its board of advisors, but recently he left the position, publicly criticizing Fokupers for assisting women in getting divorces. In the past two years, Fokupers has supported three women through their divorce proceedings.

The point of view that women are a man's property — first a father's, then a husband's — seems to be the norm in East Timor. At the same time that there is a great amount of information bouncing about East Timor on the subject of human rights, women are often viewed as less than human. Violence is a tool for men to control women they feel they own, and violence in the home is endemic; it is a rare home without it. Even the intellectual community here is full of men who regularly joke about violence against women. One of Pamela's colleagues put it plainly, with a slight smile: if Erna wasn't doing something wrong, why would Sergio have hit her?

Last May, the husband of our neighbor, Mariella, beat her severely with a large chair. He had come home drunk, and she had asked him for money. We heard the commotion as we were getting ready for bed, and soon someone knocked on our door to ask us to take her to the hospital in our car. We did and then talked to several other neighbors about what to do. They were afraid of the man and his friends, but thought that the police should be called. Pamela and I discussed the merits of "the foreigners stepping in to straighten things out" and decided since the

community clearly wanted this action taken, it was something we could offer them. In addition, we could teach them the process after we had learned it and they could presumably do it themselves in the future. That the police here are now East Timorese, and presumably on the side of the people, is an entirely new and different situation for the local population.

There are still many United Nations Civilian Police working in East Timor, and many of them are not top quality. We had to beg and threaten to get the international policeman in charge of the local station to send out a car to arrest the man. On the other hand, the East-Timorese police at our local station appeared competent, professional and bold. (One of them gave us the name of the Dili police chief and encouraged us to make a formal complaint against the international cop who had been so obstinate.) The guilty man was arrested and sent through

This friend, who chooses to remain anonymous but wants her story told, manages a small restaurant. She was beaten and threatened by her husband for years. When she asked

for a divorce, he put a knife to her throat and said that he would kill her before accepting a divorce. The woman pressed charges, stayed in Fokupers' shelter for four months with her children while the police tried to find her husband, and now runs her restaurant as before with her husband behind bars. He now seems ready to accept the divorce.



the Dili Domestic Violence Unit, where he was talked to sternly about the law and his actions. The woman received counseling as well from the Unit. She chose not to press charges, and they are living together still.

Why didn't she press charges? It wasn't the first time he had beaten her. While talking to neighbors, it came out that a woman was beaten to death just a few houses up the street last year. One older woman said casually, "This happens all the time — many many women get beaten." Yet Mariella actually rode home with her man and continued her life as it was.

Upon closer consideration, it is no mystery at all that our neighbor and most East-Timorese victims of domestic violence are afraid to prosecute, afraid to go to the law to find relief from their suffering. First of all, domestic violence is viewed as a private problem, an embarrassment and something that is definitely not discussed outside the home. Second, most women have little information or understanding as to the workings of the police and justice systems. To go to the police is to enter into an

unknown world, and as I have made clear already, the police until very recently have been the enemy. Third, most of the police are men. The vast majority of men, as I have also mentioned, think it is ok to beat women. Fourth, the cycle of domestic violence always includes periods of warmth and loving repentance from the man. He is so sorry, loves her, and will never do it again. An isolated, suffering woman hungry for hope of a better future is often willing to believe this. Fifth, women companions often have no more experience than the beaten woman, and can only offer advice on how to deal with the man. Thus, the vast majority of women who suffer violence remain trapped in isolation with very few options available to them.

Pamela, who has worked in several women's shelters in the U.S., is quick to point out that the situation here is not a great deal different from that in the U.S. The cycle of violence is the same: men returning again and again to abuse their women, followed by repentance and expressions of affection. The police and justice system is equally obscure to many women in the U.S., and most working within that system are men. The system very often drops women back into the violence, sometimes with deadly consequences. The courts, again dominated by men, routinely view women victims of violence with enormous skepticism, and operate on a clear but unspoken assumption that if a woman did receive abuse, she must in part be responsible for it.⁵ Violence is a vital, if not the vital, feature in the multibillion-dollar U.S. pornography industry. And how many men get a good laugh out of the idea of a woman being hit? For years it was a standard element in pop comedy: "One of these days,

Alice, one of these days: POW, right in the kisser!"

Clearly this is a global issue, and support and solidarity from international women's groups has been crucial in setting up the women's' organizations operating in East Timor today. Foreign workers in East Timor have contributed much to the improvement of women's rights. The UN Gender Affairs Department and the UN Human Rights Unit have made vital contributions toward ending violence against women.

On the downside, several members of the international security forces in East Timor have been accused of rape and sexual assault of local women, and prostitution is said to be at an all-

time high, thanks to the foreign clientele. Any East Timorese woman aware of this information is not likely to view international security personnel as a possible solution to her suffering.⁶

In addition to Fokupers, there is one other women's group in Dili, called ETWAVE (East Timor Women Against Violence...), working primarily to support victims of violence, both women and children. Rede Feto, East Timor's national women's network, includes nearly 20 organizations focusing on women and has conducted several campaigns to stop violence against women. Nove Nove, meaning "9-9," arose after several women were made to watch Indonesian forces kill their husbands and cut them to pieces on September 9, 1999. These women have used activism as a method of grieving their losses. In their hometown of Maliana, they have set up a "Women's House" to give support to local women who suffered in recent violence. Fokupers supports Nove Nove as well as several similar groups in the districts. Another women's group in Dili is trying to focus international attention on the continued human-rights violations against women in the militia- and military-controlled refugee camps of West Timor.7

At least two men's groups have recently formed to fight domestic violence. In Oe-Cusse and Los Palos, the two far tips of East Timor, men have come together to work in solidarity with women who suffer violence. These groups carry out training sessions and community education about violence in the home and how to stop it. This is especially appropriate, in that women can only learn how to better defend themselves; in the end it is



A poster advertising a T-shirt available for purchase at UNTAET. The angry bulldog with an erection calls women to provide him sexual services if they want to feel safe. The UN Peace-Keeping Force's Legal Affairs Division, when called on the issue, claimed that no soldiers will wear the shirt. That it is available for sale within the UN compound speaks to the degree to which violent sexism is institutionalized, unquestioned and unchallenged.

⁵ All manner of questionable decisions have passed through US courts. In several cases, a man with foreign roots accused of assault or of killing a woman was given a lighter sentence or let off completely after arguing that his foreign culture allowed such practices.

⁶The problem of civilian police on international missions committing crimes against the local population, especially women, seems to be international and widespread. While none of those facing charges in East Timor have been from the U.S., the *Washington Post* (May 29, 2001, Tuesday, Final Edition) reported on the disgraceful conduct (rape, statuatory rape, purchasing women, frequenting illegal brothels) of the U.S. civil police force in Bosnia. The vast majority of those found guilty were simply sent home, with no accountability whatsoever.

⁷ See my newsletter CG-6 of June 2001, for more information on the camps of West Timor.

men who create and must change the situation of domestic violence.

Both Pamela and I have heard our male colleagues frequently complain that they want more women to participate in their organizations or in leadership positions, but that it is hard to find competent, willing women. To that, Pamela makes the lucid point that unless and until violence against women stops, women will not be able to emerge from their homes and take places equal to men. Development, democracy and equality are not often defined in terms of violence, but upon consideration it is obvious that as long as there exists systematic violence by men against women, there will be no sustainable development for women, no growth of democracy, no hope of equality. If men are truly interested in women's participation, they will work to stop violence against women.

Manuela of Fokupers speaks and writes eloquently about the solution to domestic violence. She says women must work together to gain strength and courage in order to speak out. Breaking the silence about domestic violence will force the issue to be dealt with not as a private matter, but as the pervasive, widespread problem it is. Culture must never be used as a means of protecting

the guilty or excusing the crime. The police and justice system must be equipped and its personnel trained to deal effectively with instances of domestic violence. Both leaders and the greater community must encourage women victims to prosecute and seek justice for their suffering. Men as individuals and within organizations must speak out against all forms of violence against women in order to eradicate this inhumanity from their own homes and communities.

Though the situation is grim, there is much hope to be found among the women of East Timor today. Erna has bounced back again and found an administration job in a retail shop. She intends to see justice done in her case and educate the country on women's rights. Leaders are speaking out against domestic violence — the head of the cur-



Regina Cardoso Lete, founder of Nove Nove. She is still haunted by visions of her husband being dismembered.

rent governing body (the Constituent Assembly), Mari Alkatiri, proclaimed that stopping domestic violence is a national priority, and even Bishop Belo of Dili Diocese, well known to view women as inferior, has spoken against the tragedy of violence in the home. More women are reporting violence, and the police unit dealing with these cases is receiving training and presumably honing its skills. The East Timor National Police force has hired over 20 percent women, one of the world's highest women-to-men ratios for a police force and a large step toward creating a system conducive to dealing properly with crimes against women. Conscientious internationals are helping with the training of police and authorities and with the support of women seeking legal assistance. Working together, the women of East Timor are taking a formidable stand against the violence that daily dehumanizes them.

If you wish to join in the solidarity and support of the women of East Timor, you may send a bank check for the amount of your choice to:

FOKUPERS, PO box 338, Dili, East Timor, VIA Darwin Australia

Fokupers is a nonprofit organization entirely dependent on donations to carry out its programs in Dili and throughout the districts of East Timor. To contact Fokupers, you may write to <u>fokupers@fokupers.minihub.org</u>. Please include "ICWA Newsletter" in the subject line, and write in basic English, Portuguese, or Bahasa Indonesia. Contributions to Fokupers are not tax-deductible in the U.S.

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