

CALC REPORT

Vol. VI No. 2

Special Issue



EAST TIMOR AN ACT OF GENOCIDE

Dear CALC Friends,

While our attention is focussed on Iran, on Afghanistan, and on Kampuchea, unnoticed horrors are being perpetrated on the people of East Timor. Genocide is, unfortunately, an accurate term to describe the effects of the Indonesian invasion and occupation on the people of East Timor.

The population has been reduced by half, from an estimated 690,000 to 333,000. Nearly all the East Timorese are now refugees, as hundreds of villages have been wiped off the face of the earth. Before the Indonesian invasion, the people were self-sufficient in food. Now there is widespread famine, as a result of the Indonesian policy of starving out Fretilin, the resistance movement.

Our response to the situation in East Timor should flow, not only from our commitment to human rights and justice as a network of activists, but also from a sense of responsibility as Americans. 90% of the arms used by the Indonesians at the time of the invasion came from the U.S. Since the Indonesian invasion, the U.S. has granted \$178 million in military aid alone to Indonesia.

The Asian Center brought this information to our attention at the last meeting of CALC's national Human Rights and U.S. Power task force. After discussion, we recommended to the National Interim Steering Committee that the CALC network focus attention on East Timor.

This focus can take the simplest forms, or could be more ambitious. The point is to insist that the U.S. end military aid to Indonesia and reverse its position of support for Indonesia at the U.N. We are requesting that all CALC chapters and affiliates do at least the following: 1) send a letter or letters to your local newspaper, 2) contact your Congressperson, 3) contact the Indonesian Embassy. Chapters able to do more can count on resources and suggestions from the Asian Center, for help with media work or in putting on an educational program, either as a special event or for a class-room or church-related group.

Why is the U.S. involved in genocide against the people of East Timor? The Human Rights task force and CALC have been gaining an understanding of the relationship between U.S. involvement in human rights abuses and the American drive for energy-related resources. We are aware that many foreign and domestic policy decisions are made to ensure access to scarce resources and to secure markets for energy-related technology. The presence of vast quantities of oil, gas, and manganese in East Timor helps to explain the deadly role played there by the U.S. In East Timor, as elsewhere, we have to insist that human rights cannot be subordinated to "national interests."

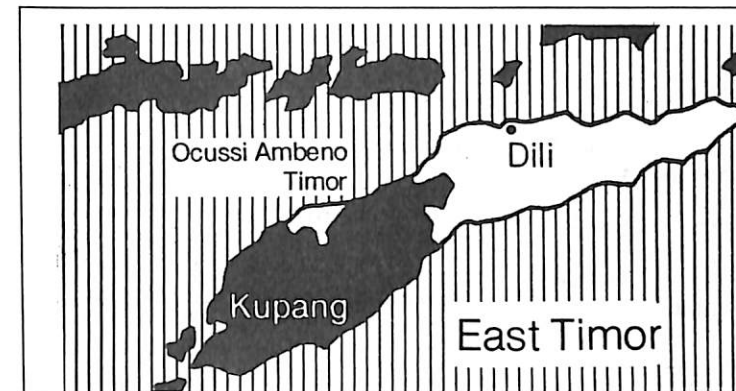
For justice,
Marion Malcolm

(Editor's Note: The East Timor section in this issue of **CALC Report** was written and prepared by the staff of the Asian Center. We would like to thank the East Timor Research

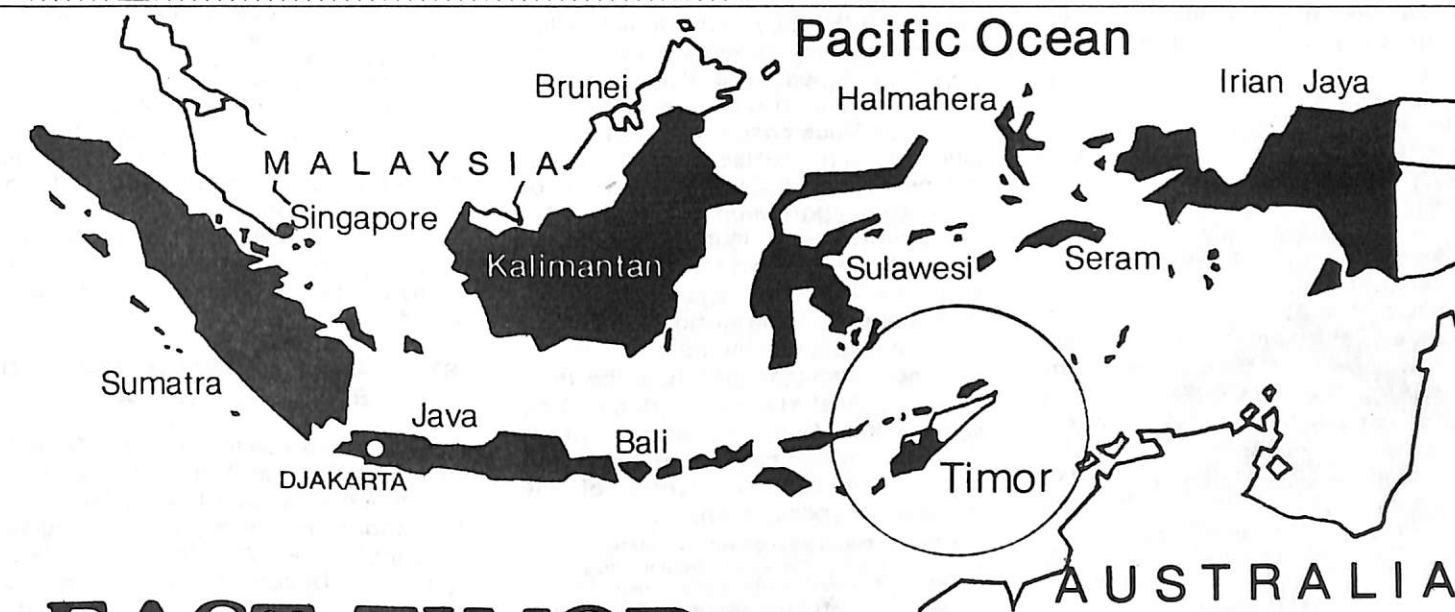
Project for their editorial contributions, and the Syracuse Peace Council/CALC for its assistance to Michael Chamberlain, an associate of the Asian Center.)

CALC REPORT is published by Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038. Views represented are those of the authors and not necessarily those of CALC. Subscription to 10 issues of **CALC REPORT** is included with membership (see back cover for membership form). Readers are encouraged to submit articles, letters, poems, drawings for possible publication. Editor: Sherman Austin.

PAGE 2 **CALC REPORT** MARCH 1980



Timor, an island in the East Indies some 350 miles northwest of Australia, was colonized by Portugal in the sixteenth century. As Dutch control of the East Indies grew, Portuguese influence was reduced to the eastern half of Timor and three small territories around the island. When the Netherlands East Indies declared its independence in 1945 as the Republic of Indonesia, West Timor became part of this new state. East Timor remained in the hands of the Portuguese, however, until August 1975. At that time, Lisbon's colonial authorities abandoned the territory when armed conflict broke out between rival East Timorese groups.



EAST TIMOR: four years of genocide

By the Asian Center Staff

In November 1979, the only International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) relief specialist then allowed in East Timor described the situation there as being worse than Biafra and potentially more dangerous than Cambodia. An ICRC delegation returned to East Timor in April 1979 after the Indonesians had kept them out for more than three years. In July 1979 they visited 13 villages with a combined population of 75,000; 60,000 people were found to be in "a state of alarming malnutrition." Of these 60,000 people, 20,000 were in a "calamitous" condition: they were literally "dying of hunger." For them, the ICRC relief efforts, which began in October 1979, were too late. During a December 4, 1979 hearing before the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Bruce Cameron of Americans for Democratic Action cited a report prepared after a September 1979 visit by American officials. The report noted that it was rare not to see a child or an adult in "an advanced state of malnutrition." The

majority of the children were suffering from marasmus, a fatal disorder where the body, deprived of food, begins to consume itself. The report also noted widespread malaria and tuberculosis. Intestinal disorders and skin diseases such as scabies were also common.

INDONESIAN INVASION CREATES CRISIS

Why is there such widespread starvation and disease in East Timor? No catastrophic natural disaster has afflicted East Timor in recent years. Under Portuguese colonial rule, life in East Timor was never easy but, as the Legislative Research Service of the Australian Parliament reported, "in the last years of Portuguese rule, food supplies were adequate in all parts of East Timor." A month-long civil war broke out between rival East Timorese groups which precipitated the departure of the Portuguese. The ICRC and qualified Australian observers who had free access to the country at the end of

the civil war noted, however, that food production had returned to normal. State Department officials would have us believe that "slash and burn" agriculture practiced by the East Timorese caused the current famine. Such an explanation begs the question as to why there should be famine on such a scale after centuries of "slash and burn" agriculture. The answer lies in what happened after the departure of the Portuguese: the invasion of East Timor by the Indonesian army and their subsequent occupation policies.

As much humanitarian aid as needed to alleviate starvation and disease should be sent to East Timor. But as Representative Tom Harkin pointed out at the December 4th hearings on the famine in East Timor, "We must at some point address the serious political problems that have precipitated the tragedy....It is not enough for us to simply provide disaster assistance. We must act as well to bring a resolution to these political problems through every diplomatic and political

CALC REPORT MARCH 1980 PAGE 3

means possible." We should thus examine events in East Timor leading up to the famine.

BEFORE INVASION, INDONESIA TARGETS FRETLIN

The civil war in East Timor in August 1975 was between Fretilin, a Populist party favoring moderate social and economic reforms and the Timorese Democratic Union, a conservative party of ex-civil servants, merchants and land-owners. Fretilin, increasingly popular because of their agricultural co-operatives, rural health and literacy programs, won control and began to administer the country.

While the ruling elite in Jakarta were willing to tolerate a Portuguese East Timor, an independent East Timor undergoing such exemplary reforms was unacceptable. In 1965, this same Indonesian elite was responsible for killing 500,000 to 1 million Indonesians, mostly landless peasants and Chinese, people who were thought to be possible supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party. The Indonesian government accused Fretilin of being a communist organization. Despite persuasive evidence to the contrary, despite the fact that East Timor with 1/200th the population of Indonesia could not be a threat, the Indonesians began their

border attacks.

INVASION BY LAND, SEA AND AIR

The Indonesians made sure that there would be no foreign witnesses to what was to happen in East Timor. Five Australian journalists filming the border attacks were killed in October 1975. Australian Intelligence sources believe that at least three and probably all five reporters were executed by Indonesian troops to conceal the operations. Days before the land, sea and air invasion, the Indonesian military made thinly veiled threats that any foreigners remaining would be killed. The ICRC left. An Australian journalist who remained was killed. On December 7, 1975, nine days after Fretilin declared East Timor independent and brought charges of Indonesian aggression before the U.N., the invasion was launched. A naval blockade was thrown around the island and East Timor was effectively cut off from the rest of the world. Information still filtered out via smuggled letters and refugees who managed to bribe their way into Australia and Portugal. One such letter from a Catholic priest describes graphically what happened during the first two years of the Indonesian occupation.

First the war. It goes on with the same initial furor. Fretilin goes on fighting despite famine, sickness, death and the crisis in the leadership that happened in the last couple of months. The Indonesian invaders have intensified their attack in the three classic ways, by land, sea and air.

From December 7, 1975 till February 1976, they were anchored in Dili harbor—23 warships which bombarded the hills around Dili 24 hours a day. Helicopters—8 to 12—and the war planes—4—were flying all over Timor.

Inland there are countless tanks and armored cars. The Indonesian troops in Timor might now be 50,000 (I'm not sure). In December 1976, there was an intense movement in Dili harbor, unloading new materials and troops. From last December, the war was intensified. The war planes don't stop all day long. There are hundreds of human bodies who die daily. The bodies are food for the vultures.

The war is entering its third year and it seems it won't stop soon. The barbarities, the cruelties, the theft, the firing squads without any justification are now part of everyday life in Timor. The insecurity is total and the terror of being arrested is our daily bread.

Wanton killing by Indonesian troops began at the time of the December invasion. In early 1977, James Dunn, the former Australian consul in East Timor, interviewed refugees from the territory. One woman interviewed by Dunn reported:

At 9 o'clock on the following morning,.... she and others were ordered by Indonesian soldiers to go to the wharf where some twenty-seven women captives, some Chinese, some Timorese, were being held. She said some of the women had children, and all of them were crying. The Indonesians, she said, tore the crying children from their mothers and passed them back to the crowd. The women were then shot one by one, with the onlookers being ordered by the Indonesians to count.

At 2 p.m., fifty-nine men, both Chinese and Timorese were brought onto the wharf. One was her brother-in-law.... These men were shot one by one, again with the crowd, which she believed amounted to some five hundred, being ordered to count. The victims were ordered to stand on the edge of the pier facing the sea, so that when they were shot, their bodies fell into the water.

By September 1976, 60,000 people may have been killed, according to reports reaching Indonesian Catholic Church officials who visited East Timor on relief operations. When they expressed their incredulity, two priests in Dili expressed the opinion that as many as 100,000 people may have been killed.

STARVATION CAMPAIGN ASSISTED BY U.S. MILITARY AID

But more was to come. The ferocity of the invasion and the tenacity of the resistance was such that by late 1977, the Indonesian military was running out of supplies. A Western diplomat was quoted in a December 1977 *International Herald Tribune* article as saying that the Indonesian military "are running out of military inventory. The operations in Timor have pushed them to the wall." The Western European countries replenished the Indonesian arsenals, as did the United States.

The State Department has disclosed that "roughly 90%" of the arms used in the initial invasion were supplied by the U.S. From 1976 to 1978, the Indonesians received from the U.S. 16 OV-10 "Bronco" counter-insurgency aircraft. These planes are slow, low-altitude aircraft equipped with bombs, rockets, napalm. Thus they are useful only against an enemy that has no effective anti-aircraft capability—such as the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and Fretilin in East Timor.

These aircraft changed the nature of the war: before the OV-10s arrived, the Indonesian military lacked such planes. They were able to intensify their attacks against Fretilin-controlled areas only through the use of the OV-10s. Crop-growing areas were destroyed or badly damaged.

By late 1977, a witness to the bombing and crop destruction, Father Leoneto de Rego noted that hunger had become a severe problem. Father Leoneto is a 63 year old Catholic priest who spent some 23 years in East Timor, the last three years in regions controlled

by the independence movement. Before the intensified Indonesian offensives, people in Fretilin-held areas grew and tended crops and the guerillas carried seed with them wherever they travelled. Father Leoneto noted in an interview with correspondent Jill Jolliffe. All this was rendered impossible by the saturation bombing and gradually, out of desperation, people had to leave the areas under Fretilin control. Indonesian "search and destroy" missions ensured that people were fleeing from one area to another. No crops could be harvested.

The results of the 1977-1978 offensives were witnessed by foreign journalists and diplomats, including the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, during a conducted tour of the town of Remexio in September 1978.

David Jenkins of the Hong Kong based weekly, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, described East Timor as being in a "state of collective trauma." He continued,

In Remexio, as in most other towns, the people are stunned, sullen and dispirited. Emaciated as a result of deprivation and hardship, they are struggling to make sense of the nightmarish interlude in which as much as half the population are uprooted.... The townspeople are undernourished and desperately in need of medical attention. Many have recently come down from the hills where they lived on tapioca and leaves—and berries so poisonous they have to be cooked six times before they can be eaten. Tuberculosis is a major problem, and with so many people sleeping on the damp ground at night there is danger of wide-spread pneumonia. The children at Remexio are so undernourished that one ambassador said they reminded him of victims of an African famine.

Norman Peagam, then reporting for the *New York Times*, wrote that, "Foreign ambassadors...., including U.S. Ambassador Edward E. Masters, came away so shocked by the conditions of the refugees that they immediately contacted the (Indonesian-installed) governor of East Timor, Arnaldo Dos Reis Araujo, to explore the possibilities for providing foreign humanitarian assistance."

According to sources like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *London Times*, the suffering inflicted on the East Timorese is a consequence of the Indonesian policy of starving the resistance into submission. As one relief official was reported to have said, Indonesia attempted to starve Fretilin into submission but succeeded in starving the whole of East Timor instead.

"Resettlement camps," as the Indonesian government calls the town of Remexio, are the equivalent of the American "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam and the British "New Villages" in Malaya; they serve to remove the population from mass-based resistance movements, which are thus deprived of the food and medicine they need.

Concentrating the displaced people of East Timor in a small area makes the East Timorese dependent on the Indonesian military for food and medicine, thus enabling the Indonesian military to control them better. Even more deplorable is the Indonesian use of the suffering in the "resettlement camps" as a lever to obtain recognition of their sovereignty over East Timor. The Indonesian Foreign Minister who conducted the Remexio tour told reporters that relief aid would be accepted only if the donor nations accepted Indonesian sovereignty.

RELIEF AID USED BY INDONESIAN MILITARY FOR PROFIT

It was to be a whole year before the ICRC was allowed to begin a relief program that is slated to end on April 1, 1980, unless the Indonesian government grants an extension. Together with the Indonesian Red Cross (a military-controlled organization), the ICRC is administering a program to reach 60,000 people in eight extremely remote districts. The other relief organization, Catholic Relief Services, is administering a program to reach 240,000 people in all the 13 administrative districts.

Aside from the fact that they have only a minimal on-the-ground presence, the major problem encountered by relief organizations is corruption on the part of the Indonesian military. Jimmy Burns of the *Christian Science Monitor* recently reported that East Timorese refugees who, newly arrived in Lisbon, have charged that the "Indonesian authorities are embezzling part of the international aid currently being channelled to starvation-struck East Timor.... Indonesian authorities are keeping some of the donated food and medical supplies back and then distributing them to local shopkeepers. The aid is, in turn, sold at highly inflated prices rather than given to the local population." Apparently not satisfied with having slaughtered as much as half the population, dislocated the rest, destroyed many crop-growing areas, the Indonesians are, in fact, profiting from their actions.

Meanwhile the Indonesians are underplaying the extremity of the degree of the suffering in East Timor and—in defiance of the facts—are blaming the Portuguese and Fretilin for it.

AND THE GENOCIDE CONTINUES

What is in store for East Timor? Qualified observers believe that between 100,000 to 300,000 East Timorese of the total pre-invasion

population of 690,000 are dead, either as a direct result of Indonesian military actions or because of starvation and disease. Many of those alive are in some 150 "resettlement camps." In the cities, people and whole families with Fretilin associations are still "disappearing;" the genocidal policies of the Indonesian military continue unabated. The Indonesian rationale behind their unprovoked aggression becomes clearer when we consider a recent Reuters report which stated that on January 14, 1980, the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration included East Timor in the Indonesian



resettlement plan for the over-populated island of Java and Bali. The Secretary-General of that Ministry was reported as saying, "It is impossible to develop this vast province with the small number of people there. It needs a considerable amount of manpower."

All this has been made possible in part by the careful exclusion of international observers, in part by the military, diplomatic and media support provided by other countries, especially the U.S., and by the deafening silence from most of the world. For three years, the Indonesians have been aided in their bombing of East Timor and killing of East Timorese. Now they are replacing East Timorese with Indonesians in East Timor. To prevent this genocide from being carried to its final conclusion, the people of this world, especially of the U.S., must voice their opposition now.

words of RESISTANCE

A poem calling for unity of the people

Streams

Refrain:

Ó hele ó, o hele olé, ó hele lê,
Ó hele ó, ó hele ó hele lé hele ó

I
Streams flowing together become rivers
Rivers increase, whatever opposes them

II
So must the children of Timor unite,
Unite against the wind blowing from the sea

III
The sea wind whips the *kabala*
Whips our eyes bloody, our backs bloody

IV
Makes our tears roll down, our sweat flow down
Sucks the fat of our earth, the fat of our bodies

V
Streams flowing together become rivers
CHILDREN OF TIMOR—
UNITED, RECLAIM OUR LAND!



E. Timor's Martyred Poet

Francisco Borja da Costa, the son of a traditional chief, was educated at the Jesuit College in E. Timor. He was involved in FRETILIN's efforts to eradicate illiteracy. Da Costa's poetry speaks both of his ties to traditional culture and his commitment to E. Timor's struggle for self determination. His poems use traditional forms to engage modern themes; rhetorical questions are asked about the sources and conditions of oppression. Da Costa was mutilated and murdered by the Indonesians during their invasion; he was 30 years old.

If we were to observe one moment of silence for each of those who have died as a result of Indonesia's policies in E. Timor, we would be silent for nearly half a year. If we do not speak out now that silence would be multiplied by the continuing starvation. Soon the E. Timorese would fall silent, never to be heard from again.

One Minute of Silence

Be silent
mountains
valleys and springs
rivers and streams
stony ways
and grassy reaches,
be silent

Be silent
birds of the air
and waves of the sea
winds that blow
on sands that flow
in lands that no-one owns,
be silent

Be silent
canes and bamboos
bushes and eucalypts
palms and grasses
endless verdure
of tiny Timor,
be silent

Be silent
your silence, our silence
FOR ONE MINUTE
It is a time for silence
for the silenced time
for the life times lost
the lives given

FOR THE HOMELAND
FOR THE NATION
FOR THE PEOPLE
FOR OUR
LIBERATION

BE SILENT—
ONE MINUTE OF SILENCE ...

U.S. RESPONSIBILITY....

We are more or less condoning the incursion into East Timor—State Department official, *The Australian*, 1/22/76

They were armed roughly ninety per cent with our equipment—State Department Legal Advisor George Aldrich

As the world's leading power and Indonesia's principal source of military and economic aid, the United States has all along been in a position to exert influence on the Suharto government's actions. That this influence has been wielded only in support of the Suharto regime's goals should not be surprising. Indonesia has long enjoyed a key position in the thinking of US foreign policy makers, including Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Advisor, who in 1978 targeted the South-East Asian archipelago republic as one of seven Third World nations with which the United States should 'develop new and wider relationships.'

Since the military came to power in 1965, crushed its left-wing opponents, crippled the trade union movement and liberalised foreign investment laws, Indonesia has been favoured by the United States and international funding agencies under American control. Measured against the quagmire that the United States was then facing in Vietnam, the events in Indonesia were greeted with joy by leading American commentators. In 1967, Richard Nixon presented his view on Indonesia's importance:

With its one hundred million people [now one hundred and forty million] and its three thousand-mile arc of islands containing the region's richest hoard of natural resources, Indonesia constitutes the greatest prize in the South-East Asian area.

The United States has provided massive aid for the military regime that rules this 'greatest prize', totalling more than two billion dollars since 1965. Meanwhile, American oil companies, and multinationals with diverse interests that include rubber, tin and timber concessions, have reaped a bonanza.

In a report to Congress in 1975, the US

State Department outlined the official American perspective:

Indonesia is important to US interests because:

1) It has the largest population of any country in South-East Asia.
2) It is the principal supplier of raw materials from the region.

a) Japan's continued economic prosperity depends heavily on oil and other raw materials supplied by Indonesia.

b) Existing American investments in Indonesia are substantial and our trade relationship is growing rapidly.
c) Indonesia will probably become an increasingly important supplier of US energy needs.

d) Indonesia is a member of OPEC, but it has assumed a moderate stance in its deliberations, and did not participate in the 1973 oil embargo.

3) The Indonesia archipelago sits astride strategic waterways and the government of Indonesia is playing a vital role in the Law of the Sea negotiations which are vital to our security and commercial interests.

Seen in this context, the East Timor events have, if anything, been a mere annoyance to both the Ford and Carter administrations. It is worth noting that the Carter administration refused the request of Congressman Donald M. Fraser for 'any written account or summary or report on the conversation between President Ford and Secretary Kissinger with Indonesia officials during their visit to Jakarta in December 1975' on the eve of the East Timor invasion. The Carter administration's desire to suppress these records serves to emphasize the basic uniformity of US policy on East Timor over two successive administrations. It also indicates that the United States has something to hide. The public record, however, is revealing enough.

When President Ford landed in Hawaii

the day after the December 1975 invasion, he was asked for his reaction to the Indonesian move. According to the *Boston Globe*, 'Ford smiled and said, "We'll talk about that later".' In a 12 December 1975 seminar at the University of California-Berkeley, the then US Ambassador to Indonesia David Newsom said that the United States had 'not disapproved' of the Indonesia invasion. And a State Department official was quoted in *The Australian* on 22 January 1976 as saying that

the United States wants to keep its relationship with Indonesia close and friendly. We regard Indonesia as a friendly, non-aligned nation—a nation we do a lot of business with.

In terms of the bilateral relations between the US and Indonesia, "we are more or less condoning the incursion into East Timor."

In the United Nations, the Ford administration worked to lessen the impact of the resolutions condemning the Indonesia invasion. A cablegram published in the *New York Times* on 28 January 1976 had the then US Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, applauding the 'considerable progress' made by US strategy at the UN 'toward a basic foreign policy goal, that of breaking up the massive blocs of nations, mostly new nations, which for so long have been arrayed against us in international forums...' The cablegram referred specifically to the General Assembly vote on East Timor. Later, Professor Thomas Franck of New York University Law School testified before Congress that the significance of this vote was not lost on the Suharto government:

The failure of fifty-three countries, including the United States, to support this resolution, I contend sent a clear signal to Indonesia that the United Na-

tions lacked the political will to oppose Jakarta's action and that the United States would turn a deaf ear to the demands of the East Timorese to be accorded the benefits of the firmly established international normative right of self-determination.

Also in early 1976, the Ford administration doubled its military aid to Jakarta showing that it not only condoned the invasion of East Timor but was ready to finance an expansion of Indonesia's war. In order to get this military assistance passed by Congress, the Ford administration had to lobby against an amendment introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Thomas Harkin which called for the elimination of grant aid to Indonesia. He stressed that the invasion of East Timor was a prime reason for his proposed aid cut-off. 'The question to be answered is whether Congress condones Indonesia's act of aggression', he said. Mr. Harkin's amendment was defeated.

There has been no substantial change in United States policy on East Timor under the Carter administration. Although President Carter has proclaimed that human rights are 'the

both in Washington and Jakarta we counseled caution to the Indonesians. We indicated our concern over the possible use of US-supplied military equipment, and we assured ourselves that the Indonesian authorities were aware of the appropriate provisions of US law.

Under questioning in later hearings, however, US Legal Advisor George Aldrich placed this 'concern' in a different perspective:

We certainly did make the [Indonesian government] aware, if they were not already aware, of the problem that would be posed under our law if they took action with equipment they had received from us. . . But it is not my impression. . . that we pressed them terrible hard about it. We simply told them what I suspect they already knew, that there may be problems under our military assistance laws. (emphasis added)

The Carter administration's contention that the previous administration had 'stopped processing new requests for arms' for Indonesia in the wake of the East Timor invasion has been shown to be fraudulent. The official US justification for continued military aid to Jakarta stands on similarly shaky ground. Indonesia's unilateral annexation of East

Advisor George Aldrich testified before Congress in July 1977 that:

we have directed our efforts to urging Indonesia to institute a humane administration in East Timor and to accept an impartial inspection of its administration by the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is believed that these measures represent the most effective way we can promote the human rights of the inhabitants of East Timor in the present circumstances.

Aldrich neglected to mention that heavy fighting was continuing in East Timor as he was speaking, and that US equipment and spare parts were playing a vital role in the Indonesian campaign. Previous State Department Human Rights Reports provide definite signs of the US government's real level of concern over the East Timor events. In the 1977 Report, taking in the period when Jakarta launched the December 1975 invasion, there is no mention of East Timor. In 1978, the State Department Report handled allegations of genocide in East Timor as follows:

Questions have been raised concerning atrocities by Indonesian troops in East Timor in 1975 and 1976 prior to the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia. The Indonesian government withdrew and disciplined offending units guilty of individual excesses, but most of the human losses in East Timor appear to have occurred prior to Indonesia's intervention. (emphasis added)

In the words of Noam Chomsky in his November 1978 address before the United Nations, this statement is a disgraceful falsehood'. It should be stressed once again that the International Red Cross and other independent agencies estimated that one thousand five hundred to three thousand people were killed in the period 'prior to Indonesia's intervention'. Recent estimates of the number killed in East Timor range from one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand, information that the United States has chosen to ignore. Chomsky concludes his remarks of the 1978 State Department Human Rights Report as follows:

No less disgraceful is the refusal to concede that questions have been raised concerning atrocities after July 1976, let alone to consider the substantial evidence supporting the allegations that there have been massive atrocities and that the US government is participating in them and that with the complicity of the press, it is concerned to bury the issue as quickly and completely as possible.

ACTION SUGGESTIONS

There are many simple and effective things you can do to help stop genocide in East Timor.

I. **Write letters to your Senators, Congressional Representatives, and editors of the publications that you read.** Send us a copy of responses received. Visits to Congressmen in their local offices are also very effective.

• Urge that humanitarian assistance to East Timor be channelled through a significantly increased number of international relief personnel and that they actually distribute the aid in East Timor.

• Urge that all U.S. military aid be cut off to Indonesia until the Government of Indonesia withdraws all its troops from East Timor. So far the U.S. has supplied about \$11 million in humanitarian assistance to East Timor. But since the December 1975 invasion, the U.S. has provided more than twenty times that amount in military aid to Indonesia. In addition, the Indonesian use of U.S. military equipment in their invasion and occupation of East Timor violates a 1958 bilateral arms agreement and U.S. laws which specify that U.S. military equipment be used only for national defense and never for acts of aggression.

• Urge that the people of East Timor be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination freely. The U.N. has urged 5 times in the General Assembly and twice in the Security Council that the Government of Indonesia withdraw its troops to allow internationally supervised elections in East Timor. Urge

that the U.S., which has opposed recent U.N. resolutions, reverse its stand.

• Urge that the Government of Indonesia allow free travel in and out of East Timor. More international journalists need to be able to report from East Timor, and Timorese who wish to leave should be allowed to do so. The severity of the situation in East Timor can be traced in part to the sealing off of the country to international journalists and the Indonesian government's refusal to allow the people of East Timor their right to emigrate. The unreported genocide in East Timor has thus gone unchecked; news filtering out from East has thus been disputed.

It is extremely important that you write and visit your Congressional representatives. There is interest among your Congressional representatives in Washington, D.C. They need your support before taking a public stand on the issue. Representative Tom Harkin, who has been doing a lot of work on East Timor, is sponsoring a House Resolution in March. Let your Congressional Representatives know how you feel about East Timor and mention the Harkin resolution in your letter.

Indonesia is extremely sensitive to international pressure. In October 1977, Amnesty International released a major report on political prisoners in Indonesia. Two months later, 10,000 political prisoners who had been held without trial for more than twelve years

were released. Since then, another 20,000 prisoners have been released. The intransigence of Indonesia can be traced in part to the lack of response from the West. Make it different; write your letter and make your visit.

Portugal's role in resolving the situation in East Timor is a crucial one. The Portuguese are also very sensitive to international pressure. The Prime Minister of Portugal made campaign promises that he would press for an Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor. Write Prime Minister Sa Carneiro at the Assembly of the Republic, Sa Bento, Lisbon, Portugal.

II. **Using our resources, get more people involved in working on the East Timor issue.** Organize an event with the **Timor: Island of Fear, Island of Hope** film. Use our audio-visual show. Contact us for suggestions about speakers. Distribute our reprints.

III. **Help us do our work.** Some of you may be able to contribute financially to our work on East Timor. Others can help by organizing a fund-raising event. We will need a lot of help to make this campaign effective. We hope you will help.

We need your assistance in making better use of the materials we have. Can you get a taped talk on East Timor on your radio? Can you get some people to watch a film? Can you get a speaker into your local college?

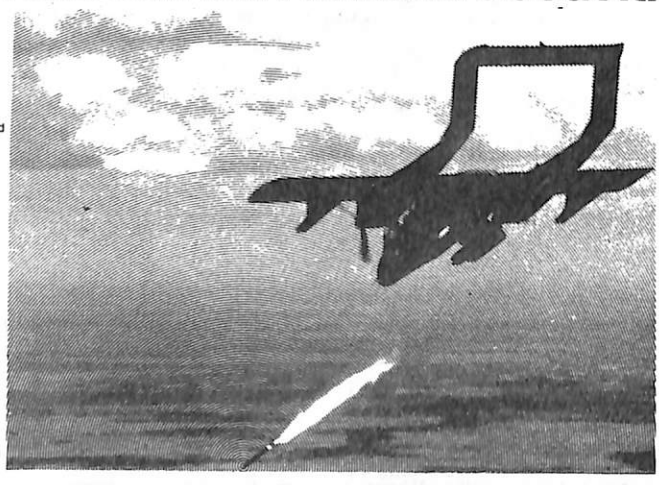
The Bronco workhorse: Ask Thailand about it.

Or Venezuela or West Germany or Indonesia or the U.S. Marines, Navy and Air Force. Their reasons for choosing Bronco are numerous, but center around this: it's a real workhorse. The Royal Thai Air Force, for example, accumulated over 11,000 flight hours on 16 OV-10Cs in its first two years of operation. About 5,000 hours were counter-insurgency missions of various types using mixed ordnance. Including suppression attacks on terrorist camps and mountain fortified positions, escorting ground troops through terrorist territory, patrol paradrops, reconnaissance, and rescue helicopter escort. With as many as five separate tasks conducted on a single flight. Bronco's Combat Ready Rate during this time was a remarkable 90%. Testimony to its simple, reliable design. And its ability to stand up to rugged terrain, torrential rains, very high temperatures and humidity, sand and gravel operating surfaces and battle damage.

And since OV-10 incorporates features like quick, tight maneuverability, low-speed, short takeoffs and landings and long cruise periods, it's well suited for a variety of economic development and utility missions as well. Including spray operations, cargo and passenger transport, leaflet or loudspeaker communications, mapping and firefighting.

Over 870,000 flight hours of worldwide operation have proven that Bronco can fly many different missions. At operating costs that won't work a strain on any country's budget.

For more information contact Columbus Aircraft Division, Rockwell International, 4300 E. Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43216 U.S.A.



soul' of his foreign policy, officials in his administration have dismissed the question of East Timor by stating that US action on the issue 'would not serve our best interests in the light of the importance of our relations with Indonesia'.

In the March 1977 Hearings, the Carter administration strenuously tried to promote the idea that the previous administration had been genuinely concerned over Indonesian use of US weapons in the invasion. Speaking of the days before the December 1975 assault, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Oakley testified that

Timor—rejected by the United Nations—has been recognised by the United States, and is used by the Carter administration as a justification for Indonesian use of US war material there, although it concedes that no valid act of self-determination has been carried out in East Timor. The United States' position is therefore reduced to a political decision to sanction the Indonesian occupation in defiance of the UN Charter.

The Carter administration has also attempted to obscure the character of its East Timor policy by employing humanitarian rhetoric. Thus US Legal

resources

RESOURCES

To help you with your writing, organizing and fund-raising around the East Timor issue, the following resources are available from the Asian Center.

AUDIO-VISUALS

Timor: Island of Fear, Island of Hope. To date, this is the only film about the invasion of East Timor. The film was made and released around the time of the Indonesian invasion. Thus it does not discuss the massive slaughter, starvation and disease that prevails in the country.

Audio-Visual show. A set of slides and taped talk meant to supplement the film.

TAPES

Taped talks. These 15-minute talks by people knowledgeable on particular aspects of the East Timor issue are meant to be aired over non-commercial radio stations, particularly campus radio stations and listener sponsored radio stations. If you know of anybody who can use these talks, please put them in touch with the Asian Center.

REPRINTS

Reprints of particularly significant speeches and reports on the East Timor situation are available for 50 cents each. They tend to be focused on a particular facet of the issue.

- Noam Chomsky's 1978 and 1979 speeches before the Decolonization Committee of the General Assembly, U.N. The 1978 speech exposes the subservience of the major press to the State Department and the Indonesian interpretation of the East Timor situation. The 1979 speech is an up-date of the 1978 speech.

- Jose' Ramos-Horta's 1979 speech before the Decolonization Committee of the General Assembly U.N. His speech articulates Fretilin's position and details the widespread violations of human rights committed by Indonesian troops in his own country.

- Bruce Cameron's speeches before the Decolonization Committee and the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. Cameron is the

Legislative Aide for Foreign Policy, Americans for Democratic Action. His speech before the Decolonization Committee focuses on the contradictions between the espoused human rights policy of the Carter Administration and U.S. policy towards Indonesia and East Timor. He spoke on the need for increased volume and monitoring of humanitarian aid to East Timor before the House Sub-Committee.

- Arnold Kohen and Roberta Quance, "The Politics of Starvation," *Inquiry*, February 18, 1980. Develops the argument that the current situation in East Timor is a deliberate policy on the part of the Indonesians. Also provides details of the December 4th hearings on the famine in East Timor before the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs.
- The Asian Center is also willing to supply interested people working on the East Timor issue with newspaper cuttings from the U.S. and foreign press. Please inquire.

BOOKS

For systematic documentation of the events leading up to the Indonesian invasion, analysis of Indonesian occupation policies and positions of the various European governments, see:

- Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, **Washington Connection and Third World Fascism**, South End Press, Boston, 1979, pp. 129ff. \$5.50

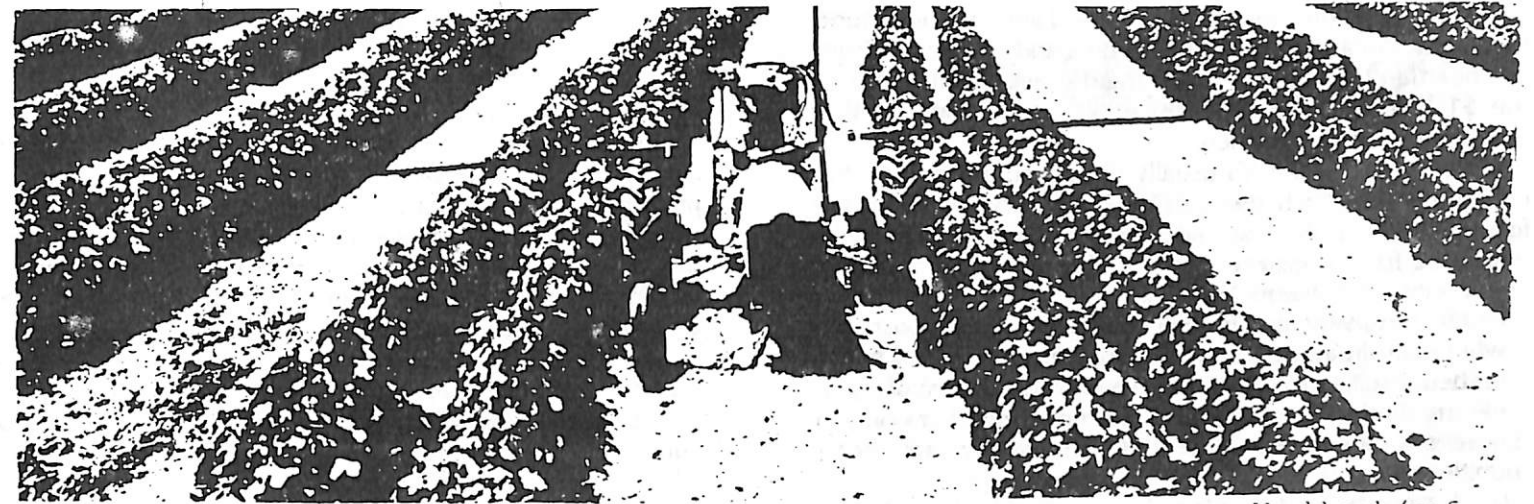
- Arnold Kohen and John Taylor, **An Act of Genocide**, TAPOL, U.K., 1979. \$4.25

ORGANIZATIONS

The following organizations have on-going programs about East Timor.

- East Timor Research Project
410 Stewart Avenue
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850

- Asian Center
198 Broadway, Room 302
N.Y., N.Y. 10038



Workbook/cpf

Trouble in the Heartland

by Michael G. Matejka

MILBANK, S. DAKOTA—The sky is so deep and so blue that one sinks into it like an ocean, a vast white-capped sea over the endless plains. The bright sun warms the air, but a cool snap in the breeze and the changing colors remind one that the seasons are revolving again.

Combines roll through fields of wheat and corn, as another record harvest is counted. The long grain trains roll through the night, and the two-lane black stretches are busy with semi's, littered with kernels of golden waste.

To most Americans this would be a picture-perfect image of rural America, the endless Midwestern heartland full of tall corn, waving wheat and ruminating cattle. Pa's out on the tractor while Ma's busy in the kitchen, canning the last of the garden produce and baking an endless line of homemade sweet rolls, pies and bread.

But for all the golden fields and blue skies, there's trouble in the heartland.

It's not immediately apparent; everything looks its calm and somnolent self, an unchanged world for generations.

But the changes stare like a spectre from the greying farm houses, surrounded by sagging and empty barns. They shout from the even quieter village streets, full of boarded-up store fronts and abandoned buildings.

The signs of the rise and fall are subtle and often elude an outsider. But they can be read at the implement dealer's, no longer a small garage in the town's center, but now a new corrugated building at the edge, representing one of the "big 4" multi-national corporations that control the implement market. The signs can be read on the \$80,000 4-wheel drive tractors and the \$120,000 combines, along with the bigger and longer mortgages at the bank.

The signs can be read in the furrows on the land. At the edge of a stream, coursing through a field, the trees and windbreaks have disappeared, and the big new tractor plows every available inch, regardless of the obvious erosion and disappearing topsoil. Around the edges of the deep

blue sky a grey, dark band appears, sign of soil ill-kept, blowing away in the wind.

The heartland is in trouble. The family farm system, part myth and part reality, but somehow always alive here, is faced with either extinction or a hard fight to save itself.

The American family farmer is still out there, but is an embattled breed. Low prices, high taxes, high-energy farming techniques and land speculation are taking their toll. Few of them farm their own land, many are partially, if not totally, tenant farmers now.

American tenant farmers supposedly disappeared in the 1930's. They were "dirt farmers," eking out a living with 40-acres and a mule.

Today's tenant farmer might work from 600 to 1000 acres or more. His only property (and the bank's) is equipment—giant, fast tractors and combines, aided by petrochemical fertilizers and pesticides. His living is made with long hours and expensive energy, trying to farm so many acres so fast so he can make his margin.

In poorer, Third World countries, one hears of long battles, as tenant farmers and peasants organize to change the percentage rate for their produce, from a "60/40" relationship with the landlord (60% for the landlord) to a "50/50."

So one is shocked to hear an American farmer complain that his landlord, usually speaking through a bank farm manager, is going to change him from 50/50 to 60/40 next year.

The tenant might raise enough of an outcry locally to prevent that; but there's usually another tenant, willing to sink deeper in debt for a larger tractor, who will work that land for whatever arrangement is available.

And then another family or two will disappear to the big city, looking for work. And with every few families, another set of boards covers a town store front, closed with diminishing business.

To the urban consumer, it's a confused and misunderstood mess. Tractorcades, protesting farmers and complaints from the heartland seem foolish as bread creeps ever-closer to the \$1 loaf. High food prices would seem to mean that some farmer is getting rich.

Some farmer is. But it's usually the corporate farmer, the conglomerate which owns not just the grocery store, the food factory and the truck line, but increasingly the land on which the food is grown. Farmers with names like Tenneco and Continental Illinois National Bank.

To talk of buying land in Mid-America today is foolish and a whimsical dream. Prime farmland in the black and fertile corn belt is selling for over \$4000 an acre, and most of those areas are already over 50% corporate controlled. It's only in the less fertile, hillier areas that true family farm communities survive.

Land is not bought by other farmers, but by large banks, often in the name of big-city investors. And just as one might be induced by a "free trip to Florida" or Colorado, to examine and possibly buy resort land, plane-loads of German speculators descend on the plains states, feted at local German restaurants and toured by the busload, offered hot "investment" bargains on available farm land, speculated beyond the reach of local families.

All this might seem a dirge for a nostalgic but out-dated way of life, the mom and pop family farm a victim of modernization and a new day.

But more suffer than just mom and pop. The whole nation, whether it realizes it or not, is faced with a crucial change that will affect everyone.

As one old farmer put it, last spring during the so-called "gas shortage," "If you think it's crazy and violent at the gas station now, wait till the oil companies have control of the supermarket, and there's a 'bread shortage'."

The U.S. Department of Agriculture admitted long ago that the most efficient food production system is the family farm. Efficiency means low cost.

But there's more than money involved. There's a way of life at stake.

It's a way of life that sees soil, formed by thousands of years of natural effort, as a precious resource to be carefully nurtured and passed to the next generation, against a "profit now" attitude that views the earth as a tool for maximum exploitation, regardless of the destruction.

It's the choice between "small is beautiful" and "bigger is better." Family farmers are increasingly experimenting and looking again at organic methods and more diversified agriculture, realizing the destruction that inorganic petrochemicals and giant machinery are taking is eventually inviting total destruction of the food system.

It's a choice between a food production system based on human energy or based on non-renewable resources like oil, necessary to run the machines and make the fungicides, pesticides and fertilizers.

And again, it's a way of life. If there's one thing that many small farm families don't understand, but confront daily, it's greed.

Most family farmers are not in it for the money. They could do much better elsewhere. It's a hard and challenging life, but rich with its own rewards.

Rich with a sense of family and of the generations, of working with land that one's parents and grandparents worked, of handing down a living thing to one's children.

It's still a world of caring, of small-town neighborliness. Where people do know each other by first name, do help each other, do celebrate and share together. Where kitchens are still warm with home-baked and home-grown food, and where thankful and sincere prayers still rise from the table.

It's a way of life full of character and goodness. But it doesn't have long left. The big tractors are getting bigger every year and the grey and sulking farmhouses, empty of those prayers and warm laughter, are dotting the landscape, boding a different and perhaps catastrophic future for the tables we depend on.

Nuclear Victims Go On U.S. Tour

(Editor's Note: The following was prepared by the Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival and is part of a brochure that can be ordered from their office at 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038.)

WE'VE RUN OUT TIME

The Iran and Afghanistan crises, with their aftermath of military hysteria that is sweeping the world, have made it painfully clear that we either decide as a nation to stop the madness of creating and stockpiling nuclear armaments or risk a nuclear holocaust. But even supposing we are able to avoid a nuclear war, we are still in danger from the threat of nuclear power right in our own backyards. Every phase of nuclear technology, research, production, deployment and storage contains potential and realized threats to the health and safety of us all. Some of these hazards are inherent, as in the case of the uranium miners who inhale radioactive particles into their lungs as they dig up the uranium, or the "acceptable risk" of cancer-causing low level radiation. And some of these hazards are caused by accidents at nuclear research facilities, reactors, weapons research, testing and production sites, waste storage areas, as well as transportation accidents. These are happening with alarming frequency and results. Even nuclear war by accident or miscalculation is a real possibility as witnessed by the recent nuclear war "false alarm" on November 9, 1979.

THE DECISION TO SURVIVE IS OURS

Each one of us must make a decision...today. Do we want our children to survive the nuclear age? And what price are we willing to pay for remaining "#1" in the arms race, or heating our homes with nuclear energy while we neglect the development of safe and clean alternatives?

But how do we make that decision? How do we know what facts and figures we can trust? Government studies predict that 140 million Americans and 133 million Russians would die in a nuclear war, and that a "worst case" nuclear accident would cost 45,000 lives (yet others predict that figure could be as high as half a million).

THE ANSWER LIES WITH THOSE WHO HAVE SURVIVED

The only way to make an informed decision is to understand, in human terms, what the "costs" of a nuclear society are. That is why the experience of the Japanese Hibakusha—survivors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—who are the only direct victims of nuclear warfare in human history is a precious and unique witness of this "cost." The

concern about the human ramifications of pursuing the nuclear path has been sharpened by the discovery over the past years of American radiation victims who suffer cancer, leukemia and [whose children show] genetic defects. These include G.I.s and civilians involved in nuclear weapons testing, G.I.s sent to clean up radioactive debris in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Native American uranium miners, nuclear workers and residents living near nuclear power plants.

That is why the Religious Task Force (with the support of the National Council of Churches) has organized the **U.S.-Japanese Nuclear Victims Tour**, scheduled for March 26-April 11, 1980. A 40-member delegation of Japanese Hibakushas along with religious leaders and scientists together with American radiation victims will tour 60 cities in the U.S., speaking at public meetings, worship services and rallies as well as meeting with prominent religious, political and labor leaders and the press.

The witness of these people (many of them mortally affected by nuclear weapons and power) communicates, more than any theoretical analysis or facts and figures can—whatever the source—the bitter personal price of nuclear technology.

For more information on the Japanese-U.S. Nuclear Victims Tour, contact Donna Herman, Religious Task Force/MFS, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038. Or you can contact one of the regional coordinators:

•NORTHEAST
Rev. Tony Mullaney
AFSC
2161 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02140
(617) 661-6130

•SOUTH/SOUTHEAST
Joceline Lemaire
Nashville CALC
P.O. Box 90557
Nashville, TN 37209

•MIDWEST
Pam Barbour
Minnesota CALC
122 W. Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55404
(612) 871-8033

•WEST
Deborah Lorentz
Alliance for Survival
7123 S. Grandview Street
Los Angeles, CA 90057
(213) 738-1041



News from Chapters & Friends

SOUTHEAST REGION

Robeson County CALC is a brand-new action group just started in North Carolina. The two staff people are Donna Chavis and Mac Legerton. Donna is a native of Pembroke, North Carolina and a member of the Lumbee tribe. Mac is from Atlanta, and has lived in and been accepted by the Lumbee community. Some of the things Mac and Donna will be working on include forming a tri-racial coalition to facilitate consciousness-raising in the areas of human rights and justice, and organizing a cooperative network of individuals and organizations, locally and state-wide, to work in combined education and action efforts.

Nashville CALC organized a series of speaking engagements for CALC Politics of Food Coordinator Jack Nelson in their area, February 17-19. The events included Jack's appearance on TV and radio talkshows. The Nuclear Weapons Taskforce of Nashville CALC is focusing on building opposition to the development of first strike nuclear capability (the cruise missile, the Trident submarine, and the MX missile). As part of that emphasis, Nashville CALC held a meeting on February 4, during which Paul Slentz gave a presentation on the significance of this quantitative change in the arms race. The meeting included planning concrete approaches for educating the Nashville community about the new generation of first strike weapons.

NEW ENGLAND REGION

Peace Education and Action Center/CALC members are participating in efforts to assist the struggle of members of the International Association of Machinists Victory Lodge 609 at the Olin Corporation in Connecticut. The workers are in the 21st week of a strike aimed at reaching a fair settlement with the company. Support efforts include collecting food, clothing, toys and funds for the strikers and their families.

UPSTATE NEW YORK REGION

Western New York Peace Center/CALC held its annual planning meeting on January 26. The meeting included presentations on "Responding to the Crises in Iran and Afghanistan" and "Responding to the Call for Higher Levels of Military Spending." Some Peace Center members participated in a peace vigil on the steps of the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. The vigil, organized by Jonah House (a non-violent community in Baltimore) will last the entire year with different groups around the country taking responsibility for different weeks. The Peace Center is also starting a Hunger/Cambodia Relief Task Force. The Peace Center is in a transition period right now. Two staff people, Nancy Lampka and Walter Simpson, have moved on. Nancy has worked with their disarmament and hunger programs during the past year, and Walter has been Peace Center Coordinator for the last three years. Right now, they're looking for applicants to fill these positions. If you're interested or know someone who would be interested, contact the Peace Center (address on the back cover of **CALC Report**).

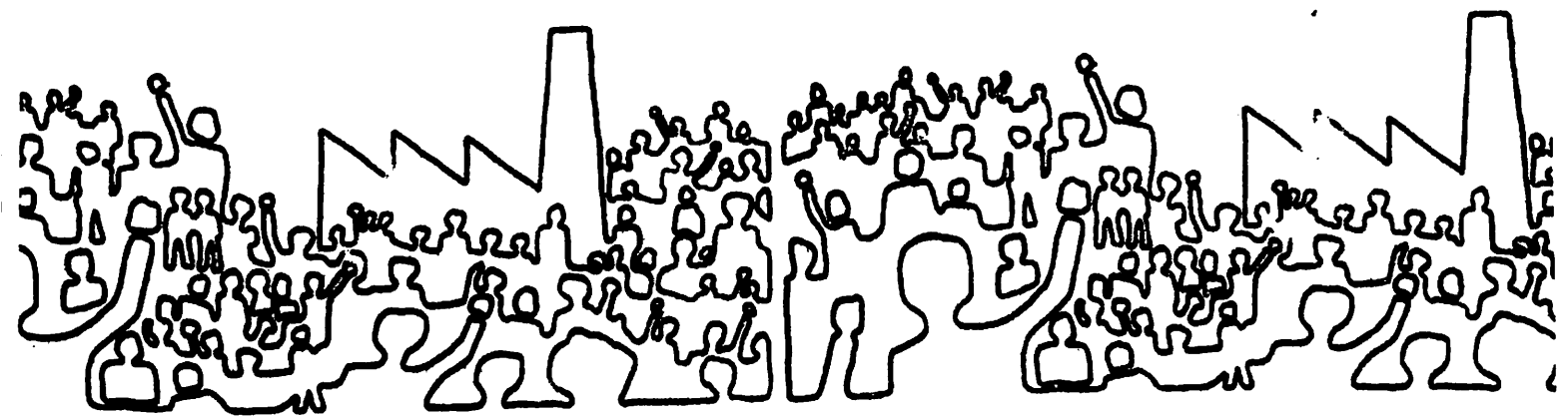
Rochester Peace and Justice Education Center/CALC is coming out with a new "Seeds For Change" issue which will focus on farmworkers. The next issue will deal with Guatemala food connections. "Seeds for Change" is a food and justice publication of RPJEC. If you're interested in ordering copies, contact them. RPJEC, in conjunction with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the U.S. Catholic Conference held a special event on oppression in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala on January 12-13. Also in January, RPJEC held two potluck discussions aimed at making connections with land issues in the Northeast. The two invited speakers were Alan Casline, editor of *Root Drinker*, a magazine of regional self-reliance, and Chuck Mathei, who works with the Institute of Community Economics in Boston.

OOPS! A CORRECTION

Due to a printing error the last issue of **CALC Report** was inadvertently called Vol. 1, No. 1 giving the mistaken impression that it was the first issue of CR ever published. Instead, the last issue of CR should have read "Vol. VI, No. 1." We hope that people weren't too confused by the error.

UPPER MIDWEST REGION

Nebraskans for Peace/CALC has bid a fond farewell to two staff members. Suzy Prenger, NFP President, has left to travel in Latin America. And Marilyn McNabb is taking leave of absence to work with SANE in Washington, D.C. to assist in their efforts to sink the MX missile. During the month of February, NFP sponsored a series of evening events titled, "Glass Onion Chautauqua." The events included talks on "Resolving the Hostage Impasse" with Clarence Dillingham, one of the three Kansas University professors who went to Iran in early December 1979; "SAC and the Nuclear Rat Race" and "Nebraska Energy Conservation and Independence Act." On March 8, NFP held their annual planning meeting which included workshops on radiation, health and anti-nuclear organizing, and uranium in South Dakota and Nebraska. NFP members who were part of a group of 50 Americans traveling to Iran at the invitation of the students at the U.S. Embassy there gave a presentation at the meeting on "Citizen Diplomacy in Iran." There were also workshops on Cambodia, and registration and the draft. The keynote speaker for the meeting was Judith Kohnsrud, co-director of Pennsylvania's Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power, who spoke on the topic, "A Non-Nuclear Future: A Viable Option?"



COALITION FOR A NON-NUCLEAR WORLD SPONSORS ACTIONS IN D.C., APRIL 25-28

Plan now to come to Washington for this important weekend of activities to demonstrate to our national leaders our concern for the dangers of nuclear technology and the price we are all paying for it. The coalition which is organizing these events is perhaps the largest grouping of anti-nuclear organizations and individuals to date. The goals of the coalition are: Stop Nuclear Power, Zero Nuclear Weapons, Full Employment, Safe Energy, and Honor Native American Treaties.

CENTRAL REGION

Interfaith Council for Peace/CALC sponsored a talk with Jack Nelson, CALC Politics of Food Coordinator, on February 28. Jack spoke on the topic, "Agriculture becomes Agribusiness...The Costs." ICP staff member and CALC Viet Nam coordinator Barbara Fuller returning from a trip to Viet Nam and Cambodia reported on the situation in Southeast Asia at a special event held by ICP on March 20. She will probably write an article on her trip for **CALC Report**.

MIDWEST REGION

Bloomington CALC together with members of the Peace and Justice Coalition of Illinois State University and the Fellowship of Reconciliation of Illinois Wesleyan University staged a protest against reinstatement of Selective Service registration January 26. The site of the protest was the UARCO printing plant in Watseka, Illinois, where the new draft cards, called "status forms" are being printed.

The activities will include a legal march and rally on Saturday, April 26, and non-violent civil disobedience at the Department of Energy on April 28. There will also be lobbying before and after the actions, and an Inter-religious Worship Service and all-night vigil at the White House on Friday, April 25.

For more information contact: Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, 413 8th Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 544-5228. For specific information on the worship service contact: CALC, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038, (212) 964-6730.

ARIZONA

Arizonans for Peace
c/o Mohit
919 E. Southern Ave.
Phoenix, AZ 85040
(602) 268-3952

CALIFORNIA

Ecumenical Peace Institute/
CALC
944 Market St. Room 509
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 391-5215

Southern California CALC
P.O. Box 3820
Rosebowl Station
Pasadena, CA 91103

COLORADO

Fort Collins CALC
1525 Crestmore
Ft. Collins, CO 80521
(303) 493-1933

Colorado CALC
c/o Rev. Lellita Smith
280 Flint Way
Broomfield, CO 80020

CONNECTICUT

Center for Peace Education
and Action
84 Edgewood Ave.
New Haven, CT 06511
(203) 624-0339

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington Area CALC
1322 18th St. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 223-0527

GEORGIA

Atlanta CALC
c/o Oakhurst Baptist Church
222 East Lake Drive
Decatur, GA 30030
(404) 377-6516

ILLINOIS

Chicago CALC
542 S. Dearborn, Room 510
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 922-8234

IOWA

Quad City CALC
c/o Fr. William Dawson
St. Ambrose College
Davenport, IA 52803
(319) 324-4519

MARYLAND

Western Maryland CALC
c/o Colleen Mannis
311 S. Market St.
Frederick, MD 21701
(301) 662-4160

Baltimore CALC
The Relay Center
5025 Cedar Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21227
(301) 247-4033

MASSACHUSETTS

Central Massachusetts CALC
14 Castle Street
Worcester, MA 01610
(617) 755-0253

MICHIGAN

Detroit CALC
2640 Trumbull
Detroit, MI 48216
(313) 963-4539

Interfaith Council for
Peace/CALC
604 East Huron
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
(313) 663-1870

Peace and National
Priorities Center
of Oakland County/CALC
P.O. Box 5194
Orchard Lake, MI 48033
(313) 626-8369

MINNESOTA

Minnesota CALC
122 W. Franklin Ave.
Minneapolis, MN 55404
(612) 871-8033

Duluth CALC
2007 E. Superior St.
Duluth, MN 55812
(218) 724-1558

Morrison County CALC
c/o Pat Powers
106 NE 4th Ave.
Little Falls, MN 56345

MISSOURI

St. Louis CALC
3753 West Pine
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 533-3121

NEBRASKA

Nebraskans for Peace/CALC
430 South 16th St.
Lincoln, NE 68508
(402) 475-4620

NEW YORK

CALC National Office
198 Broadway, Room 302
New York City, NY 10038
(212) 984-6730

Rochester Peace and
Justice Education
Center/CALC
713 Monroe Ave.
Rochester, NY 14607
(716) 244-7191

Schenectady Peace
Center/CALC
P.O. Box 721
Schenectady, NY 12301
(518) 377-6684

Syracuse Peace Council
924 Burnett Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13203
(315) 472-5478

Western NY Peace Center
440 Leroy Ave.
Buffalo, NY 14215
(716) 833-0213

NORTH DAKOTA

Karl Limvere
Route 1 Box 70
Ypsilanti, ND 58497
(701) 489-3279

OHIO

Cleveland CALC
3484 Fairmount Blvd.
Cleveland Heights, OH 44118
(216) 932-9919

OREGON

Lane County CALC
1414 Kincaid
Eugene, OR 97401
(503) 485-1755

Mid-Valley Center for Peace
and Justice/CALC
1165 NW Monroe St.
Corvallis, OR 97330
(503) 752-2491

Portland CALC
215 SE 9th
Portland, OR 97214
(503) 232-2641
(503) 771-4950

PENNSYLVANIA

Central Pennsylvania CALC
c/o Bill Vastine
1706 Maple Street
New Cumberland, PA 17070
(717) 766-6044

Philadelphia CALC
c/o David Brown
233 W. Haines St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 563-1791

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia CALC
1401 Washington St.
Columbia, SC 29201
(803) 254-9348

TENNESSEE

Nashville CALC
P.O. Box 90557
Nashville, TN 37209
(615) 292-7607

VERMONT

St. Johnsbury Peace
Team/CALC
P.O. Box 22
East St. Johnsbury, VT 05838
(802) 748-8644 (winter)
(802) 748-8198 (summer)

WASHINGTON

Seattle Religious Peace
Action Coalition/CALC
c/o United Ministries
4759 15th Ave. NE
Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 525-1213

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

198 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038

Kindly enroll me as a CALC member. Send my CALC
Report and Membership Card to the address below.
My check is enclosed.

Categories of membership
Check One

- | | |
|---|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Contributor | \$100.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donor | 50.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Family | 25.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Individual | 15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Limited Income | 5.00 |

NAME _____

C/O _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

TIME VALUE DATA

Clergy and Laity Concerned
198 Broadway
New York, New York 10038

NON PROFIT ORG.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
PERMIT NO. 7969